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University of Kent

A River Worshipped, A River Wronged: The History of the St. Mary's River, and its People, from its Formation to Industrialization (15,000 ybp. - present)

By

Colin Elder

A Dissertation Submitted to the

School of History

In the Faculty of the Humanities

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In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Award of the Degree

of PhD in History

A River Worshipped, A River Wronged: The History of the St. Mary's River, and its People, from its Formation to Industrialization (15,000 ybp. - present)

Table of Contents

Introduction

-Abstract.. 2

-Acknowledgements.. 3

-Introduction to the St. Mary's River: an important feature of the Great Lakes, and centre of the Anishinaabeg homeland, and a case study in North American History.. 7

-Historiographical Discussions Surrounding the Upper Great Lakes: the Native American Renaissance, Environmental History, and Revising the History of North America.. 11

-Primary Source Base.. 18

-Methodological Approach: An Ecocultural Biography.. 25

-Chapter Breakdown.. 37

Chapter 1: A River Worshipped: The Early History of the Great Lakes, its Formation, and the Establishment of its Plants, Animals, and Peoples (15,000-7,000 ybp.)

-Overview.. 42

-Section I: The Great Flood: The Creation of the Great Lakes, and Ethno-genesis of the Anishinaabeg, told through Traditional Methods. (15,000-12,000 ybp.).. 43

-Section II: Reading these Sources Together: Using Oral Traditions, and Scientific Studies, to Describe the Formation of the St. Mary's River (12,000-9,000).. 52

-Section III: The Relationship Between the Original Man, and Wolf: Tracking Early-Holocene Development on the Great Lakes, through the Human-Wolf Relationship.. 59

-Section IV: The First Village at Baawitigong (12,000-10,000 ybp.).. 66

-Section V: The Origin Story of Dog: how the domestication of dog demonstrates the shifting of lifeways on the St. Mary's River (9,000-8,000 ybp.).. 71

-Section VI: Clear Markers of Anishinaabeg Woodland Traits on the St. Mary's River by the beginning of the Archaic Period (8,000-7,000 ybp.) 83

Chapter 2: Regionalized Specialities, Migrations, and the Development of the Great Lakes Trade Network (7,000 ybp. -1600 AD)

-Overview 90

-Section I: Development of Regionalized Lifeways and Specialized Trade Goods on the St. Mary's River (7,000 ybp. - 4,000 ybp.) 91

-Section II: Great Lakes Migrations: New Populations, and Lifeways, on the Great Lake Network (4,000-1,000 ybp.) 97

-Section III: Seven Fires Prophecies and Subsequent Migrations: Re-Establishment of the Anishinaabeg's Relationship with the Great Lakes (1000-1500 AD.) 107

-Section IV: An Ojibwa Village at Baawitigong: Political Structures, Annual-Cycles, and the Great Lakes Trade Network (1500-1600 AD.) 117

-Section V: The Importance of the Wendat-Ojibwa relationship to the Great Lakes Trade Network (c. 1500-1600) 132

Chapter 3: Disease, Displacement and Diplomacy: Ojibwa Strategy at Baawitigong, during Early Contact with the French (1600-1667)

-Overview 138

-Section I: Plagues, Politics, and Power Shifts: Initial European Influence on Baawitigong, and the larger Great Lakes Network (1600-1620) 139

-Section II: The First Recorded Europeans at Baawitigong: Early Experiments with Europeans on the Upper Great Lakes (1620-1640) 147

-Section III: A New World on the Great Lakes: The Feast of the Dead on the St. Mary's River, Little Ice Age, and Collapse of the Wendat Confederacy (1640-1659) 158

-Section IV: Baawitigong's Importance to the Refugee Triangle (1660-1667) 173

Chapter 4: A Changing Great Lakes World: The Battle for Baawitigong, Ojibwa Expansion, the Great Peace of Montreal, and the Ojibwa Golden-Age (1659-1750)

-Overview.. **190**

-Section I: The Battle for Baawitigong (1660-1667) **191**

Section II: The French Land Claim on Baawitigong: rebalancing the results of the "Pageant at Sault Ste. Marie" (1668-1680).. **195**

-Section III: Competing Belief-System on the Upper Great Lakes: The Response of the Midewiwin to the Jesuit's Efforts on the Upper Great Lakes (1680-1685).. **207**

-Section IV: Battle for the Great Lakes: Expansion, and the Creation of an Ojibwa Empire (1685-1700).. **214**

-Section V: The Ojibwa Golden Age, and the Return to Traditional Lifeways on the Upper Great Lakes, amidst colonial tensions (1701-1710).. **224**

-Section VI: France's Legacy on the St. Mary's River: Jesuits, Fur Traders, and the Ethno-Genesis on the Métis (1710-1750).. **229**

Chapter 5: "The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes": How Baawitigong Shaped Modern North America: (1750-1812)

-Overview.. **238**

-Section I: The Fight for the Great Lakes: The Seven Years War, and Obwandiyag/ Pontiac's Revolution on the St. Mary's River and Mackinac (1750-1763).. **239**

-Section II: The Results of Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Revolution at Baawitigong and the Birth of a New Colonial Threat in North America (1764-1783).. **253**

-Section III: Setting the Stage for the Nineteenth Century: Organized Anishinaabeg Resistance on the Upper Great Lakes (1783-1803).. **261**

-Section IV: Renewed Resistance: Tecumseh's Resistance (1803-1812).. **272**

-Section V: The War of 1812: Colonial Conflict on the Upper Great Lakes (1812-1815).. **275**

Chapter 6: A River Wronged: Physical, Ecological, and Legislative Changes Made to Baawitigong (1815-1850)

-Overview.. **284**

-Section I: Threats, Treaties, and Treachery: the policy of the United States and Upper Canada towards Baawitigong (1815-1820).. **285**

-Section II: The Treaty at Sault Ste. Marie (1820): A Case Study of Indigenous Resistance, Ozhaguscodaywayquay at Baawitigong.. **293**

-Section III: Social, Economic, and Ecological Shifts at Baawitigong (1820-1830).. **307**

-Section IV: A Tale of Two Colonial Towns: the Shifting Resistance Strategies of Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Shingwauk, in the Face of a Growing Colonial Population at Baawitigong (1830-1836).. **317**

-Section V: Changing Demographic on Baawitigong: the decline of the fur trade, and the implementation of new legislation and economic practices at Baawitigong (1836-1848).. **323**

-Section VI: New Forms of Resistance on the St. Mary's River: The Mica Bay Incidence (1849) and Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850).. **334**

Conclusions: A Modern Ecocultural Biography of Whitefish Island (1850-2020): as a living portal to the past, a case study of the present, and a model for the future

-Overview.. **339**

-Section I: A River (and People) Wronged: Reshaping the St. Mary's River, its ecology, economy and demographics, through the example of Whitefish Island (1850-1859).. **340**

-Section II: Whitefish Island as a Living Portal to the Past: contextualizing the effect of Industrialization and Assimilation on the Upper Great Lakes (1859-1875).. **348**

-Section III: Shaping the St. Mary's River into an Industrial Hub: Separation, Assimilation, and Economic Exploitation (1876-1900).. **358**

-Section IV: Removing the People to Change the Land, Whitefish Island During the Twentieth Century (1900-2009).. **366**

-Section V: Whitefish Island and the St. Mary's River: A Case Study of the Present **374**

-Section VI: Current Indigenous Resistance Strategies on the St. Mary's River: Education, Awareness, and the Questioning of Colonial Ideals (2010-2020) **380**

-Section VII: Using the history of St. Mary's River (and Whitefish Island) to Inform Our Future **384**

Works Cited **392**

Images:

-"Waters of the Great Lakes and the Drainage Basins Flowing into Them" *Government of Canada* (October 25, 2019) **1**

-"Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Great Lakes) in Anishaabemowin (Ojibwe)" Research by Charles Lippert, map by Jordan Engel, *Decolonial Atlas* **7**

- "Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Great Lakes) in Anishaabemowin (Ojibwe)" Research by Charles Lippert, map by Jordan Engel, *Decolonial Atlas* **10**

- "Late Pleistocene landscapes and early Paleoindian site locations in the Northeast, circa 13,000-12,200 cal yr BP" **55**

- "The Migration of the Anishinabe" in Edward Benton-Benai, in *The Mishomis Book* **108**

- "Carte de la Nouvelle-France, 1632" by Samuel de Champlain **149**

- "La Place de la Grande-Paix-de-Montréal est situé sur la place D'Youville dans le Vieux-Montréal, là où se trouve l'obélique qui rend homage aux fondateurs de Ville-Marie" by Francis Back **225**

- "The Great Peace of Montreal (1701)" in Alain et Roland Viau, *La Grande Paix, Chronique d'une saga diplomatique* **227**

- "Sault De St. Marie (1820)" by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft **290**

- "Sketch of a Canoe on the St. Mary's River" by Thomas Loraine McKenney **294**

- "Grand Council Held at Fond Du Lac (1826)" by Thomas Loraine McKenney **295**

- "O-SHAU-GUSCODAY-WAY-GUA now Mrs. Johnson" by Thomas Loraine McKenney **303**

- "Chief Shingwauk at Robinson Huron Treaty Signing in 1850" **322**

- “Map of Ceded Territories in 1830 (ceded territories in yellow)”**.. 325**
Eighteen Annual Report of the Bureau of America Ethnology to
the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-1897

- “Sault Ste. Marie from Waisicky’s Wigwam (c. 1837)” by Anna Jameson**......................... 329**

- “Principal Street in Sault Ste. Marie (c.1853)” in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine***.......... 332**

- “‘Sault Ste. Marie,’ Chippewa/Southeastern Ojibwa” by Paul Kane**................................... 343**
(c. 1849-1856)

- “The Sault—Looking Down from the Upper Landing (c.1853)” in**.................................... 344**
Harper’s New Monthly Magazine

- “Old State Locks (built 1855)” in *Images of America: Sault Ste. Marie*”**............................ 345**

- “Sault Ste. Marie [and Whitefish Island] from the Canal (1842-1887)”**.............................. 349**
by John Herbert Caddy

- “Steamer *E. Ward* Leaving the Locks (1855)” in *To Build a Canal*:**.................................. 352**
Sault Ste. Marie

- “Camp of Ontario Rifles at Sault Ste. Marie, Red River Expedition. (1870)”**..................... 354**
by William Armstrong

- **“**Landing at Sault Ste Marie, Red River Expedition (1870)” by**... 354**
William Armstrong

- “Advertisement” in *Lake Superior guide, giving a description of all***................................. 356**
the objects of interest and places of resort on this great inland sea with
an account of the iron, copper & silver mines, also commercial statistics
in regard to the product of the mines, fisheries, &c, (1872)

- “An Indian Settlement at Sault Ste. Marie [and Whitefish Island], Ontario**......................... 359**
with the Canal in the Background. (c. 1870s)” by William Armstrong

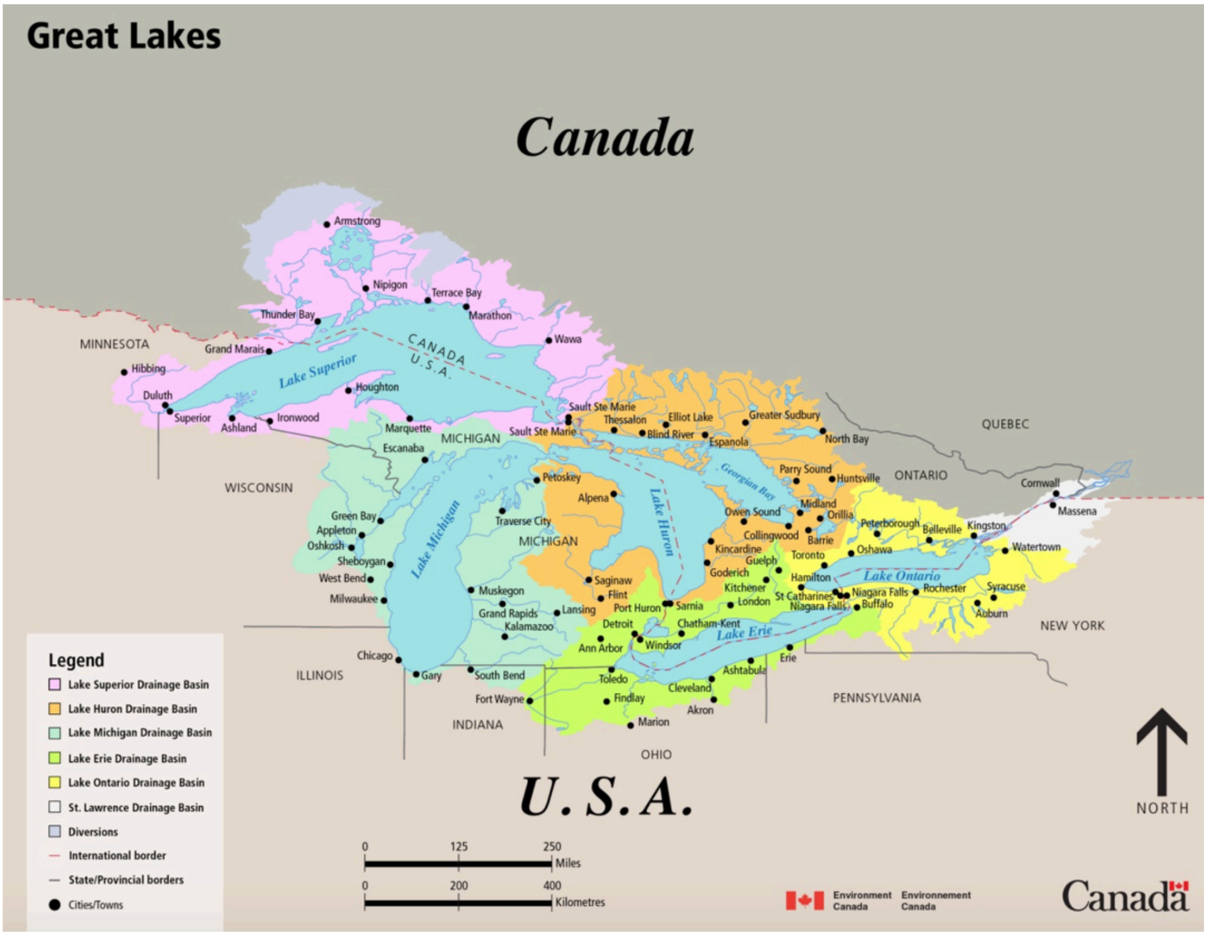
- “American canal at Sault Ste. Marie (c. 1870s)” by William Armstrong**............................ 359**

- “Fishing at Sault Ste. Marie” *Library and Archives Canada***... 364**

- “Aerial picture of the Soo Locks (downriver view)”, *United States***.................................. 369**
Army Corps of Engineers (August 15, 1992)

- “Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (aerial view)” *Whitefish Island National***.................................. 375**
Historic Site of Canada: Government of Canada (2001)

A River Worshipped, A River Wronged: The History of the St. Mary's River, and its People, from its Formation to Industrialization (15,000 ybp. - present)


Great Lakes
Canada
U.S.A.
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Georgian Bay
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
CANADA
U.S.A.
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
Armstrong
Nipigon
Terrace Bay
Thunder Bay
Marathon
Wawa
Grand Marais
Hibbing
Duluth
Superior
Ashland
Ironwood
Houghton
Marquette
Escanaba
Sault Ste Marie
Thessalon
Blind River
Elliot Lake
Espanola
Greater Sudbury
North Bay
Parry Sound
Huntsville
Petoskey
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Green Bay
Appleton
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Midland
Orillia
Collingwood
Barrie
Kincardine
Guelph
Goderich
Kitchener
London
Toronto
Hamilton
St Catharines
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
Oshawa
Peterborough
Belleville
Kingston
Rochester
Syracuse
Auburn
Watertown
Cornwall
Massena
Legend
Lake Superior Drainage Basin
Lake Huron Drainage Basin
Lake Michigan Drainage Basin
Lake Erie Drainage Basin
Lake Ontario Drainage Basin
St. Lawrence Drainage Basin
Diversions
International border
State/Provincial borders
Cities/Towns
0
125
250
Miles
0
200
400
Kilometres
NORTH
Environment Canada
Environnement Canada
Canada

"Waters of the Great Lakes and the Drainage Basins Flowing into Them", *Government of Canada* (October 25, 2019)

Abstract

For roughly 15,000 years, the area of the St. Mary's River known as Baawitigong (rapids) has been home to the Anishinaabeg, whose identity and lifeways are inextricably linked to the river. The area became an important location for the first Indigenous populations on the Great Lakes, the Copper People, during the Seven Fires migrations, and later became a capital of the modern Niswi-mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy). Its location in the centre of the continent also made the St. Mary's River a target of colonial expansion, and thus made Baawitigong (a.k.a. Bawating, Baawitig or Pawating) a strategic location of Indigenous resistance against imperial forces from the seventeenth century until the present. This makes the River an ideal case study with which to understand the impacts of colonization. Colonial populations did not have the same relationship with the river as the Anishinaabeg had; the Colonists did not view the river as a living force, but instead as an impediment to their westward migration and a bank of natural resources to be exploited. Rather than looking to the Natural Baseline of the river to inform their lifeways, the Colonists worked to alter the river for their own purposes. In the early-nineteenth century, legislated land use and industrialization were destructive to the environment and the health of the river, its flora, fauna, and people. By the twentieth century, both the Natural Baseline of the St. Mary's River, and the Anishinaabeg's lifeways, were threatened by these colonial land use patterns. Both would become further threatened into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, demonstrating the link between Anishinaabeg people and this region. Within this history, is also the story of hope and resistance to these colonial land uses, which may provide a model for North American society, legal structures, and land use patterns moving forward.

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by acknowledging that the St. Mary's River is the traditional territory of the Anishinaabeg, specifically the Garden River and Batchewana First Nations, as well as Métis People. That the Indigenous populations are the original stewards of the region, who have important historical and spiritual connections to this river; and that, the Canadian Government continues to infringe on these rights, and their side of the Robinson-Huron Treaty (amongst other infringements). I acknowledge that having grown up as a Settler on the St. Mary's River, I have a continued obligation to ensure that my representative government does not continue to infringe upon these treaty rights. While as a historian, I am looking to contribute to ongoing (and interconnected) discussions of North American History and present concerns facing Indigenous populations; by using information from Indigenous Cultural Studies and Modern Sciences together, to contextualize historical shifts in North America. I have attempted to rely heavily on Indigenous (and specifically Anishinaabe and Métis) written sources of this past, but acknowledge that I am interpreting this information as a Settler; and I sincerely apologize if I have misinterpreted any of these important sources.

I also would like to acknowledge (and thank) the St. Mary's River, which has personally influenced me in various ways. This river was a backdrop of my childhood, my mother's office looked out onto the St. Mary's River, and my father worked directly on this river (captaining tugboats, and a tour ship). I grew-up sailing, fishing, swimming, and paddling on this river, and exploring its banks. My interest in the history of this region began as a child, but it was not until much later that I began to realize the region's fuller importance to the historical narrative of Turtle Island (North America). It was while attending Algoma University on the banks of the St. Mary's River that I became more aware of my historical connection to this river as a European-descended Settler. That as a Settler, I had grown up in

Robinson-Huron Treaty territory, and attended both high school and university on land granted for educational purposes by Chief Shingwauk. That I, and my fellow settler Canadians, were not living up to the obligations of treaties signed by our government.

This local history (of Indigenous and Colonial interactions on the St. Mary's River), became a central focus of my historical research at the BA, MA, and PhD levels. Bolstered by time spent as an Archive Assistant in the Wishart Library and Shingwauk Residential School Centre, my BA and MA research was focused specifically on Indigenous-Colonial interactions on the St. Mary's River in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, I must thank historian William Newbigging for helping to foster my interest in the Indigenous History of the Great Lakes. I must also thank my former bosses Ken Hernden and Krista McCracken, who introduced me to the important collections housed at Algoma University's Wishart Library and the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre. I also owe a tremendous debt to my PhD advisor Karen Jones, for helping me take this investigation further. Not only did Karen allow me to approach a timeline which many thought was unmanageable, she encouraged me to stretch my topic to cover ground which I was initially reluctant to tackle.

Karen's focus on Environmental History directly informed my approach and helped me to bring together important connections between cultural and environmental factors. Without her guidance, this PhD project never would have progressed beyond a massive pile of research notes. Karen proofread multiple drafts, listened to countless hours of my ramblings, and provided direction. She has been an incredibly supportive mentor and friend during these four years and I am very grateful to her. I am also indebted to Ben Marsh, my second advisor, who provided important comments and corrections that helped me to narrow the focus of this work and to strengthen my analysis. His background in American History and Atlantic World History helped me to situate this project into a larger historical context. Throughout this process, Ben encouraged me to approach this historical narrative through different voices and perspectives. Like Karen, Ben made invaluable contributions to this project, and was incredibly supportive as a teacher, mentor, and friend.

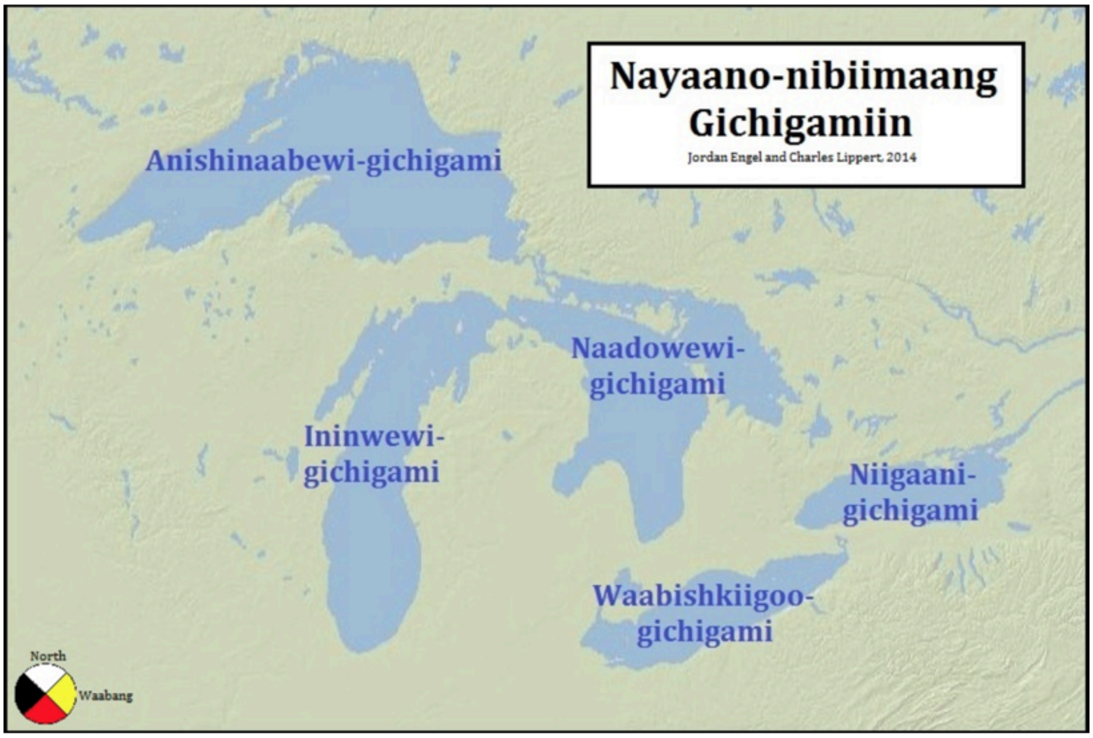
I must also thank a number of other people who have contributed to this project in various ways. A big thank you to Paulette Steeves, William Newbigging, and Cheryl Reed-Elder for reading sections of my drafts, and providing constructive comments and critiques. I wish to thank my external reviewers David Stirrup and Tony McCulloch, for their time and extremely helpful comments on how to improve this work. I also must thank the people who have provided support and encouragement that kept me going, including my family, in particular, my mom (Cheryl), dad (Alex), and brother (Riley) for everything they have done for me over the years. Thank you to my friends for understanding my need to sequester myself for long periods of time; I apologize to you all for not keeping in touch as well as I would have liked. A massive thank you is also due to my partner Thais Longaron I Biete, without whose support, patience, and understanding this project would never have been completed. Thank you as well to Bella (the spaniel), who has been by my side, and a very "good girl" for much of this project; she has served as a constant reminder of our responsibility to (and relationship with) nature.

This project would not have been possible without the support of staff from the various archives and libraries I have visited over the past four years. Thank you to the staff of the Templeman Library, British Library, and the Library of Congress, as well as to the staff of the various smaller archives, libraries, and museums along the banks of the St. Mary's River, all of whom have been incredibly welcoming, curious, and supportive of this project. This includes the staff of the Bayliss Public Library, Lake Superior State University's Kenneth J. Shouldice Library, the Sault Ste. Marie Public Library, John Johnston House and Historic Homes, the Sault Ste. Marie Museum, and the Chippewa County Historical Society

of Michigan. Thank you to all of you for your interest in this project, keen insights into these archives, and assistance in researching this project.

Nor would this project would never have existed, if it were not for generous funding, and feedback, from a number of sources. I am deeply grateful to the University of Kent for selecting me for a 50th Anniversary PhD Scholarship and Graduate Teaching Assistantship; and to my colleagues in the Department of History, for listening to various papers during the assembly of this project. Thank you as well to the Bolt family, for selecting me for the Christine and Ian Bolt Scholarship. I am grateful to Dalhousie University, for the Graduate Scholarship and Teaching Assistantship which allowed me to complete my MA; as well as the guidance of Jerry Bannister, and support of Valerie Peck. Thanks is also due to Algoma University, for the Algoma University Achievement Award. Thank you, to the many people that have engaged with this work at various conferences, symposiums, and workshops, who have offered a great number of helpful comments which have improved this study. Thank you as well, to the many people that I have most certainly forgotten to mention, but whom I am deeply indebted to in the completion of this work.

Introduction to the St. Mary's River: an important feature of the Great Lakes, a centre of the Anishinaabeg homeland, and a case study in North American History


Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin
Jordan Engel and Charles Lippert 2014
Anishinaabewi-gichigami
Naadowewi-gichigami
Ininwewi-gichigami
Niigaani-gichigami
Waabishkiigoo-gichigami
North
Waabang

"Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Great Lakes) in Anishaabemowin (Ojibwe)"
Research by Charles Lippert, map by Jordan Engel, *Decolonial Atlas.*
(accessed: https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2014/12/01/the-great-lakes-in-ojibwe/)

In Anishinaabemowin (the language of the Anishinaabeg), the Saint Mary's River is often distinguished by the name Baawitigong (rapids), in reference to the fast-flowing waters at its mouth. Baawitigong's seven-metre (23 foot) drop in river level forms a dramatic landmark, and has long served as a natural gateway between Anishinaabewi-gichigami (Anishinaabe's Sea, aka Lake Superior) and Naadowewi-gichigami (Iroquois' Sea, aka Lake Huron).[1] Historically, the bottleneck rapids blocked the only waterway (Gichigami-ziibi, aka Sea River) out of the Anishinaabewi-gichigami.[2] At the mouth of the St. Mary's River there is access to the nearby Straits of Michilimackinac, which connects Lake Huron to the

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[1] "Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Great Lakes) in Anishaabemowin (Ojibwe) vol. II", by Charles Lippert, map by Jordan Engel, *Decolonial Atlas.* (accessed: https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/04/14/the-great-lakes-in-ojibwe-v2/)

[2] "Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Great Lakes) in Anishaabemowin (Ojibwe)" Research by Charles Lippert, map by Jordan Engel, *Decolonial Atlas.* (accessed: https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2014/12/01/the-great-lakes-in-ojibwe/)

Ininwewi-gichigami (Illinois Sea, aka Lake Michigan).[3] For the Anishinaabeg, the three Upper Great Lakes (Superior, Huron, and Michigan) served as important spaces of migration, subsistence, and belonging. Together, these lakes support several different eco-zones, and are home to a wide variety of species. As a result of this abundant geography, the Great Lakes as a whole (but especially the Upper Great Lakes), became the heartland of the Anishinaabeg. Over time, this stretch of water between Lake Superior and Lake Huron would take on a number of additional significances, making it a location of global importance; and today, it serves as a modern example of the destructive effects of European colonization and land use patterns.

The St. Mary's River (more accurately a strait), holds a unique position on the centre of the Great Lakes chain. It is the only drainage point of the massive Lake Superior, with an impressive rapid at its head, and a series of islands throughout its basin. It runs through the traditional heartland of the Anishinaabeg, from Lake Superior to Lake Huron, and houses a variety of different ecosystem. More recently, it has become an international border, with Ontario (Canada) on one side, and Michigan (United States) on the other. Although the St. Mary's River region is not generally well known by historians, it is an important case study of the wide-reaching, and long-lasting effects of different land use patterns in North America.

In this thesis, I use important indigenous knowledge that all too often has been overlooked (or dismissed) if it did not appear to agree with Western views. This indigenous knowledge not only provides information and insight that is typically not found in western writing, it also explains traditional indigenous values and principles of land stewardship that could be used to inform and guide current and future land management policies and practices. Through the blended use of Indigenous and Environmental History approaches, in combination with archaeological findings, I hope to demonstrate that the environmental influence of the St. Mary's River and the interconnected histories of the Anishinaabeg people who lived on and near it for over 15,000 years, have made this region a place of global significance in understanding the effects of colonization on the environment, human populations, wildlife and plants.

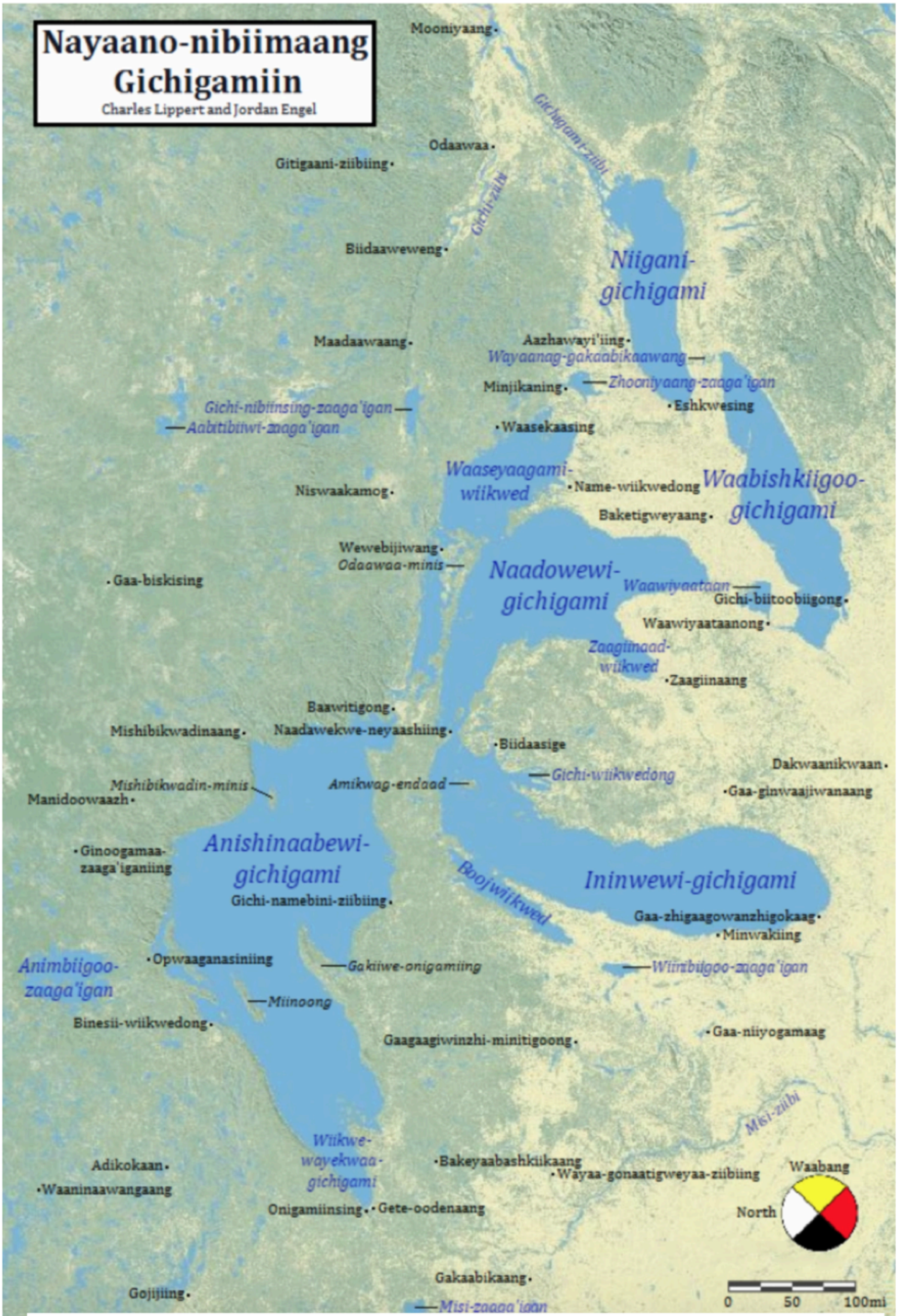
---

[3] Lake Huron is also called Gichi-aazhoogami-gichigami (meaning Great Crosswaters Sea).

This is, moreover, an activist space. Long at the forefront of resistance and decolonization efforts within North America (e.g., in education, science, and negotiating legal structures), the Anishinaabeg see themselves as embedded in the eco-cultural geography of the Great Lakes. As such, the St. Mary's River is a central component of their cultural identity, and an important centre of resistance. I hope to illustrate the longevity, success, and sustainability of the practices developed by the Anishinaabeg populations (particularly the Ojibwa) prior to colonization, and the river's importance to Anishinaabeg history, culture, and identity.[4] Which will further illustrate the transformative effects of colonialism in this particular region of North America. Accordingly, this thesis presents an Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River, from the time of its formation (at the end of the last Ice Age) to the present day.

---

[4] "Ojibway" or "Chippewa" are a subgrouping of the Anishinaabeg. The meaning (and origin) of this subgroup has been disputed for over a century. Important to note, is that the Ojibway identity seems to have its root in a village located on the St. Mary's River (c.1300-1550 AD.), and would become one of the largest Indigenous confederacies in North America (c. 1700). (see: Theresa Schenck, "Identifying the Ojibwa." Algonquian Papers-Archive 25 (1994)).


Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin
Charles Lippert and Jordan Engel
Mooniyaang
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Biidaaweweng
Niigani-gichigami
Maadaawaang
Aazhawayi'iing
Wayaanag-gakaabikaawang
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Zhooniyaang-zaaga'igan
Eshkwesing
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Waasekaasing
Waaseyaagami-wiikwed
Name-wiikwedong
Waabishkiigoo-gichigami
Niswaakamog
Baketigweyaang
Wewebijiwang
Odaawaa-minis
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Gaa-biskising
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Mishibikwadin-minis
Amikwag-endaad
Gaa-ginwaajiwanaang
Manidoowaazh
Ginoogamaa-zaaga'iganiing
Anishinaabewi-gichigami
Boojwiikwed
Ininwewi-gichigami
Gichi-namebini-ziibiing
Gaa-zhigaagowanzhigokaag
Minwakiing
Animbiigoo-zaaga'igan
Opwaaganasiniing
Gakiiwe-onigamiing
Wiinibiigoo-zaaga'igan
Miinoong
Binesii-wiikwedong
Gaagaagiwinzhi-minitigoong
Gaa-niiyogamaag
Misi-ziibi
Wiikwe-wayekwaa-gichigami
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"Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin (The Great Lakes) in Anishaabemowin (Ojibwe)", by Charles Lippert, map by Jordan Engel, *Decolonial Atlas.* (accessed: https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/04/14/the-great-lakes-in-ojibwe-v2/)

Historiographical Discussions Surrounding the Upper Great Lakes: the Native American Renaissance, Environmental History, and Revising the History of North America

A noticeable trend in the growing historiography of the Great Lakes region is the representation of the Indigenous History. The Native American Renaissance in particular, led to a rich bank of important Indigenous knowledge being published (often by Indigenous people), which helped to highlight the need to revise how North American history is understood. Although the Native American Renaissance led to a wide-wave of revisionist histories (and updated methodological approaches), as historian (and a member of the Wahpetonwan Dakota) Waziyatawin (Angela Cavender Wilson) has highlighted, there is still a disconnect between this Indigenous information, and written approaches to history.[5] Whilst many of these revisionist historians are quick to highlight the need to incorporate Indigenous understandings into written histories, there is still a hesitancy (by many European-descended academics), to rely exclusively on traditional accounts of Indigenous History; or to delve too deeply into the history of North American prior to 1492. This hesitancy, coupled with the disciplinary restraints of History, means that North American history prior to contact with Europeans is generally left to archaeologists and anthropologists. This also means, that the majority of the Histories written on the Great Lakes, are focused on the period after contact with Europeans. Whilst it is important to situate this cultural information on Indigenous populations, into the context of Indigenous-European relations throughout North American (c.1600-present), this is only a small part of the History of the Upper Great Lakes and its people. Although History (as a discipline) has been consciously working to include this new information into written descriptions of the past, there has been less consensus on how historians might access this earlier North American history.

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[5] Angela Cavender Wilson, "American Indian history or non-Indian perceptions of American Indian history?" *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1996), 3-4.

The birth (and progression) of the Native American Renaissance and the discipline of Environmental History, have been integral to the growth of North American Revisionist History. Historians Jo Guldi and David Armitage for example, point to conscious efforts to use these methodologies to explore transnational histories, as a way of challenging colonial narratives of the past.[6] They highlight that the next step in this approach is exploring transtemporal models, that can further challenge current historical periodization. Periodization, that is generally informed by specific (usually European) cultural shifts. In the case of the St. Mary's River, there has been a great deal of work that has questioned the reliability of national histories when exploring the history of this region. These works on the Upper Great Lakes include important works by Indigenous scholars, who have highlighted the importance of understanding Indigenous concepts of "Nations" within larger historical narratives.

Increasingly, scholarship on the history of the St. Mary's River has sought to incorporate information from Indigenous, Métis, and mixed-raced families, as a way of investigating specific transnational histories. This call to focus on Indigenous epistemologies (and structures) has inspired important studies on the St. Mary's River, including an incredibly significant study of a century of Anishinaabeg leadership on the St. Mary's River conducted by an anthropologist Janet Chute (*The Legacy of Shingwaukonse: A century of Native leadership* (1998)). A book which helped demonstrate the importance of Indigenous political leadership throughout the nineteenth century.[7] At the same time, smaller case studies from the region emerged (including: Bernard Peters' "Indian-Grave Robbing at Sault Ste. Marie, 1826" (1997), and Cary Miller's "Gifts as treaties: The political use of received gifts in Anishinaabeg communities, 1820-1832" (2002)) that have helped to paint a clearer picture of how different communities interacted with each other in the region.[8]

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[6] Guldi, J., & Armitage, D. (2014). Going forward by looking back: The rise of the longue durée. In *The History Manifesto* (pp. 14-37). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 14-16.

[7] Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The Legacy of Shingwaukonse: A century of Native leadership* (University of Toronto Press, 1998).

These works have used communities in the St. Mary's River region as specific case studies, on how Indigenous understandings can be employed in North American History. Rather than focus on tribal relationships within a European-model, the Native Renaissance has led revisionist historians to rely on specific Anishinaabeg and Métis frameworks on the Upper Great Lakes. This work has been furthered by studies on the Métis, which work to demonstrate cultural similarities, and to highlight differences between different cultural groups. This led to a wealth of scholarship on Métis families in the region (including works by Victor Lytwyn, Karl Hele, Alan Knight, Janet Chute, Theresa Schneck, and Carolyn Podruchny).[9] This scholarship, combined, has led to much more sophisticated understandings of the specific history of the St. Mary's River. Recently, approaches to this history have increasingly incorporated Social and Environmental methodologies together, as a way to focus these transnational discussions around a more culturally neutral lens.[10]

The inclusion of models from Environmental History to explore this region, has been argued for by preeminent historian of the Great Lakes Richard White. White examined how, Native American epistemological understandings, land use patterns, and the recent paradigm shifts in the history of the Great Lakes region, has necessitated more advanced frameworks for the region.[11] His study puts forward the concept of a *middle ground* on the Great Lakes, that certain geographic regions served as particular points of cultural interactions. White is mostly concerned with the *middle ground* after Europeans arrived in North America. His concept of the *middle ground* however, provides a useful conceptual space for this study to build on, focused specifically on the St. Mary's River.

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[8] Bernard C. Peters, "Indian-Grave Robbing at Sault Ste. Marie, 1826." The Michigan Historical Review (1997): 49-80.
Cary Miller, "Gifts as treaties: The political use of received gifts in Anishinaabeg communities, 1820-1832." American Indian Quarterly 26, no. 2 (2002): 221-245.

[9] Victor Lytwyn, "Echo of the Crane: Tracing Anishnawbek and Métis Title to Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie)." *New Histories For Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts* Ted Binnema and Susan Neylan, eds (2007): 41-65.
Karl Hele, "The Anishinabeg and the Métis in the Sault Ste. Marie Borderlands." Lines Drawn upon the Water (2008).
Alan Knight, and Janet E. Chute. "The Sault Métis—The People In-Between." *Lines drawn upon the water: First Nations and the Great Lakes borders and borderlands* 22 (2008).
Robert A. Papen, "The Heritage of Métis Language in Western Canada." Retrieved May 20 (2007): 2014.
Theresa Schenck, "Border Identities: Métis, Halfbreed, and Mixed-Blood." *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (2010): 233-48.
Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the voyageur world: Travelers and traders in the North American fur trade*. U of Nebraska Press, 2006.

[10] Eugene S. Hunn, and James Selam. *Nch'i-wana," the big river": Mid-Columbia Indians and their land* (University of Washington Press, 1991,) 19-23.

Approaching the history of the Great Lakes region as a whole (in a way which considers Indigenous perspectives and Environmental frameworks), has led to specific frameworks to approach the cultural and social life of the region. In his own book *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of early America* (2001), Daniel Richter provided an updated lens with which to examine the Native American-European interactions that occurred in colonial North America. He emphasized the need to incorporate Indigenous and Métis epistemologies, land-use patterns, and political structures in our study of the past.[12] Concepts taken further in Stephen Mosley's "Common Ground: Integrating Social and Environmental History" (2006), which looks at connections to "land" as a feature which different nations have in common.[13] Within this mixed Environmental-Social approach, Borderland theory has also been applied to the Great Lakes region as part of this revisionism; to highlight how these borders undermined establish political systems in the region.[14]

Border theory was a methodology brought to the examination of the St. Mary's River by Anishinaabe scholar (and member from the Garden River First Nations) Karl Hele. Hele's use of border theory relies on an indigenous framework, to highlight how colonial borders were seen merely as artificial “lines drawn upon the water” by Anishinaabeg and Métis populations in the region; but also highlights how borders were particularly important mechanisms to colonial expansion.[15] The idea of natural borderlands was added to this model, by Anishinaabe historian Phillip Bellfy’s use of the borderland theory on Lake Huron, in his *Three Fires Unity: The Anishnaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands* (2011); which has helped provide a lens through which to explore Native American inter-tribal relationships in the Upper Great Lakes.[16]

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[11] First in an "Environmental History, Ecology, and Meaning" (1990), an article written as White was in the process of publishing an important work in the methodology of the fur trade. (see: Richard White, "Environmental History, Ecology, and Meaning." The Journal of American History 76, no. 4 (1990): 1111-1116., & White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[12] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian country: a Native History of early America* (Harvard University Press, 2009).

[13] Stephen Mosley, "Common Ground: Integrating Social and Environmental History." Journal of Social History 39, no. 3 (2006): 915-933.

[14] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron. "From borderlands to borders: Empires, nation-states, and the peoples in between in North American history." *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 814-841.

Bellfy in particular, highlighted the complexities of nation-to-nation relationships on the Great Lakes, and considers how various borders (Indigenous, Environmental, and Colonial) influenced these political structures in the region around the St. Mary’s River. Similarly, Gillian Roberts and David Stirrup have built on the importance of borders to inform their concept of “Parallel Encounters”, an approach which encourages researchers to consider the effects of borders on natural cycles; as well as, their radial influences on people.[17] This concept of “Parallel Encounters” helps to further diagnose the effects of borders on Indigenous populations, by focusing on the combined Social-Economic results of these borders, within the frameworks of Indigenous and Colonial governments.[18] These concepts of “lines drawn upon the water” and “parallel encounters” in particular, helps to focus related methodologies, in order to approach the effects of colonization during the modern history of the St. Mary’s River.

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[15] Karl S. Hele, ed. *The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature: Indigenous Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2013.) I-V.
Karl S. Hele, ed. *Lines Drawn upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* Vol. 22 (Wilfrid Laurier University Press), 2008.

[16] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity: The Anishnaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands* (University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

[17] Gilliam Roberts, and David Stirrup, eds. *Parallel Encounters: Culture at the Canada-US Border* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 1, 22.

[18] Ibid, 15.

The wealth of studies on the modern period of North American history, has led to the establishment of complex frameworks, which help accurately describe social and political relationships on the Upper Great Lakes. The bulk of this scholarship however, has been focused on the "Contact", "Colonial", and "Modern" periods of Upper Great Lakes history (c.1600-present); reliant on written records, to focus on how Indigenous and Europeans interacted with each other in the region.[19] There have been fewer studies which seek to incorporate these Indigenous cultural beliefs, into an investigation of the past which spans the full human history of North America. This is important, because a longer timeline allows historians to understand the development of political networks on the Great Lakes. Understanding the early history of the Great Lakes, helps to better contextualize the full environmental effects of the later colonial shifts on the St. Mary's River.

This established wealth of scholarship (from the last fifty years), now allows historians to explore more difficult questions of transtemporal histories, which can allow historians to further embrace Indigenous concepts and beliefs within these studies.[20] This use of a transtemporal approach is important, because many of the models currently used to explore Indigenous History, are modelled after cultural frameworks which weigh European cultural traits more heavily than Indigenous understandings. Nature as lens in particular, may help further access transtemporal information on the Great Lakes; by using scientific models to situate these historical studies around a specific geographic region, and place them on a manageable timeline. Through scientific frameworks, and by including Indigenous accounts of the past into this history, the distant past (or *deep time*) of North America is now accessible to historians.

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[19] This focus on the Modern Period, is also true of Environmental Histories of the St. Mary's River, including: Micheal P. Ripley, Bernard Arbic, and Gregory Zimmerman "Environmental History of the St. Marys River." *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 37 (2011).
K.E. Bray, "Habitat models as tools for evaluating historic change in the St. Marys River." *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences* 53, no. S1 (1996).
Joseph E. Bayliss and Mrs Estelle McLeod Bayliss. *River of Destiny: The Saint Marys* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955).
Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: an environmental history, 1783–1933,* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

[20] J. Guldi & Armitage, D. (2014). "Going forward by looking back" in *The History Manifesto*, 14-16.

This interdisciplinary approach can inform a historical framework, through which indigenous histories can be tracked to the distant past, and linked to the bulk of scholarship focused on the Modern Period of this History. Centring this history around a specific geographic feature (such as Baawitigong), demonstrates how these methods can now be used to explore the traditional Indigenous Histories of a specific region. By focusing on the *deep time* of a certain geographic region, we can begin to develop historical frameworks which are more consistent to Indigenous understandings of this past; and which covers a timespan well beyond the last 500 years. Tracking the history of the St. Mary's River over a *longue durée*, helps to incorporate the methodologies of Indigenous Studies, Environmental History, Social History, and the importance of shifting borders (geographic and manmade) into a manageable case-study. This *longue durée* approach to a region, highlights the importance of this region over 15,000 years, which better contextualizes the changes of the Modern Period. A longer study of the St. Mary's River history therefore, better demonstrates the transformative nature of colonial encounters for indigenous people, ecosystems, plants and animals in the region.

Primary Source Base

A major obstacle of any historian looking at colonial encounters is overcoming the inherent racial biases, and cultural misunderstanding of the primary source base. While this is a definite problem in the study of the Upper Great Lakes, the Anishinaabeg have preserved their own history in several ways. The Midewiwin Order of the Anishinaabeg is a centre of teaching, medicine, and history which continues to operate, and are the traditional holders of the Sacred Birch Bark Scrolls (which record episodes of this history).[21] There is a rich tradition of Oral History within Anishinaabeg communities, that has helped their history survive across generations. More recently, a number of community leaders have recorded some of the ancestral histories and oral traditions (held by Ojibwa people for millennia), and these form the bulk of the primary material for this investigation of the earlier periods. This study relies particularly on the book written by the Anishinaabe scholar William Warren Whipple (1825-1853) *History of the Ojibways, based upon traditions and oral statements* (1885), which has been a key-stone work in the study of the history of the Upper Great Lakes, and is still an important, and relevant, book in studying the Ojibwa people.[22] Alongside Warren's work, more recent publications of the Anishinaabeg's Oral Traditions by Basil Johnston and Eddie Benton-Benai, are used as primary sources for the early history of the Anishinaabeg on the Great Lakes.[23] This rich banks of traditional Anishinaabeg histories, is particularly important to understanding the Pleistocene, Holocene, and Archaic Periods; and provides important Indigenous accounts of the influence of Europeans on the Great Lakes.

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[21] Timothy B. Powell, "Gibagadinamaagoom: An Ojibwe Digital Archive" (2011), 8.

[22] Warren, William Whipple. *History of the Ojibways, based upon traditions and oral statements* Vol. 5. (Minnesota Historical Society, 1885).
Theresa Schenck, *William W. Warren: The Life, Letters, and Times of an Ojibwe Leader* (University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

[23] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 1990.
Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book* (Saint Paul, MN; Red School House, 1988).

In order to demonstrate that this early period has been ignored by historians (despite the availability of sources), I relied exclusively on previously published Anishinaabe accounts of the past (relevant to this early period) while writing this dissertation. By relying exclusively on written materials, I hope to further demonstrate that incorporating Indigenous ideas into academic discourses is something that is accessible to all academics (not only those who focus on Indigenous-focused topics). As a historian, I have attempted to read these sources as accounts of the past, in a way that is aligned to how the Anishinaabeg view this history. I relied on these written Anishinaabe sources as records of the past, which contain important cultural information; but I acknowledge that to the Anishinaabeg, these histories also contain a wide variety of important spiritual information (beliefs, and messages, which I have not attempted to interpret or include). The use of these sources in English, is also problematic; not only because they are translations, but also because the English language works to strip valuable information that is present in its original version.

I also rely heavily on sources from Anishinaabeg writers which emerged in the nineteenth-century, and which, are focused on changes during their own time. These include Ojibwa Chief, George Copway (1818-1869): who provides two histories of the Ojibwa in: *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (1850), (1860); as well as two more personal histories in: *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway)* (1847), and in his *Recollections of a Forest Life: Or, The Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, (Or George Copway), Chief of the Ojibway Nation* (1851).[24] These written Ojibwa histories helped to preserve a record of Ojibwa traditional histories, and contemporaneous shifts in the Great Lakes region. These writers also worked to actively challenge the historical narrative, which colonial governments were promoting. For example, Odaawa Chief Macketebenessy (Andrew J. Blackbird (1814-1908) wrote the, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A Grammar of their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author* (1887), that focused on the Mackinac region to directly contest the United States government's treaties and policy of environmental destruction.[25] Where the social protests, and legal actions, taken by Shingwaukonse resulted in a collection of court-cases records, newspaper articles, treaties, and "Little Pine's Journal".[26]

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[24] George Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* (C. Gilpin, 1850).
George Copway, *Indian life and Indian history* (Applewood Books, 2009).
George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway): A Young Indian Chief of the Ojebwa Nation, a Convert to the Christian Faith, and a Missionary to His People for Twelve Years; with a Sketch of the Present State of the Ojebwa Nation, in Regard to Christianity and Their Future Prospects*. (Philadelphia; J. Harmstead, 1847).
George Copway, *Recollections of a Forest Life: Or, The Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, (Or George Copway), Chief of the Ojibway Nation* (C. Gilpin, 1851).

Importantly, these indigenous histories often placed environmental protection at the forefront of their discourse, and expressed concern over European/colonial land policies in the nineteenth-century. Smaller collections of Anishinaabe literature also came out of the St. Mary's River during the nineteenth-century; many which are consistent to other histories written by Ojibwa people further south on the Great Lakes. Including, the poetry and translations of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (the first known Native American literary writer), which appeared in the family's editorial, *The Literary Voyager, or Muzzeniegun* (1826-1827). Accompanying Jane's writing, were oral traditions from Ozhaguscodaywayquay (Woman of the Green Glade (a.k.a. Susan Johnston)).[27] Jane's husband Henry Schoolcraft was the editor of this journal while United States Indian Agent at Sault Ste. Marie, he gained the reputation of an expert on Indigenous history and culture. Henry Schoolcraft published several volumes of Anishinaabeg cultural information, histories, and oral traditions. Although he gained much of this information through his wife's family, he edited this information for white audiences, and published under his own name.[28] He would also write accounts of other Indigenous groups (often in problematic ways), which directly informed the policy of the United States government.

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[25] Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A Grammar of their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887).

[26] Augustine Shingwauk, "Little Pine's Journal", Algoma Missionary News (1872).

[27] Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (and family), The Literary Voyager, or Muzzeniegun, edited Philip P. (Michigan State University Press 1962).
Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and Robert Dale Parker. *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky*. Ed. Robert Dale Parker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Other period accounts, come from other Europeans who lived with Anishinaabe people, include Alexander Henry's *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776*, and John Tanner's *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* (1830).[29] Tanner's experience was much different than Henry's, as an English-speaking settler who was captured in the Midwest, and then raised by an Anishinaabe family on Lake Superior. Valuable for this study, Tanner's narrative provides a detailed cultural-description of seasonally-nomadic Anishinaabeg families in the nineteenth-century.[30] Tanner, unlike Henry Schoolcraft, argues that the collectivism and family-structure of the Ojibwa was far superior to European familial and political structures.[31] Historian Kyhl Lyndgaard has argued that Tanner's narrative was more inclusive than the contemporary rhetoric of Manifest

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[28] Not only did Henry Schoolcraft not give proper credit to his Native American sources, he also pursued and upheld destructive government-policies at Baawitigong. He published many works relevant to the history of the St. Mary's River, and about Indigenous groups throughout North America. Works including: Algic Researches: comprising inquiries respecting the mental characteristics of the North American Indians (1839), Personal memoirs of a residence of thirty years with the Indian tribes on the American frontiers: with brief notices of passing events, facts, and opinions, AD 1812 to AD 1842. (1851), and Historical and statistical information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States (1853); the latter two are part of a six-volume study commissioned by the United States Congress, which would remain in use by the United States Government until the Meriam Report (1928),
Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches: comprising inquiries respecting the mental characteristics of the North American Indians* (Harper & Brothers, 1839).
Rowe Schoolcraft, Henry. *Personal memoirs of a residence of thirty years with the Indian tribes on the American frontiers: with brief notices of passing events, facts, and opinions, AD 1812 to AD 1842* (Lippincott, Grambo, 1851).
Henry Rowe Schoolcraft*, Historical and statistical information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States: Collected and prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs per act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847.* Vol. 3. (Historical American Indian Press, 1853).
Lewis Meriamand Hubert Work. *The problem of Indian administration: report of a survey made at the request of honorable Hubert Work, secretary of the interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928*. No. 17. (Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).

[29] John T. Fierst, "Return to" Civilization": John Tanner's Troubled Years at Sault Ste. Marie." Minnesota History 50, no. 1 (1986): 23-36., 23-24.

[30] Gordon M. Sayre, "Abridging between two worlds: John Tanner as American Indian autobiographer." American Literary History 11, no. 3 (1999): 480-499.

[31] John Tanner and Edwin James. *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (US Interpreter at the Saut de Ste. Marie,): During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (Ballwin & Cradock, 1830).

Destiny, and worked to challenge colonial-notions of racial-inferiority.[32] This heretical take on imperial power relations was, in fact, noticed at the time by early-feminist writer Anna Jameson (a contemporary of Tanner), while she was staying with the Johnston family on the St. Mary's River.[33]

Lyndgaard argues that the importance of these works extends beyond their representation of Anishinaabeg culture, to include arguments for environmental justice; because of the way they contradict colonialist structures and the notion of the "Vanishing Indian", and describe their adherence to traditional lifeway patterns.[34] By describing Anishinaabeg communities, and some of the ways that these communities suffered at the hands of colonial-government policy, they actively critiqued the practices of colonial forces.[35] Highlighting specifically, the need to begin viewing nature (forest-landscapes in particular) as a living-thing, and a home for people, plants and animals; rather than as a foreign place to visit. Tanner's account in particular, mirrors the environmental concerns expressed by Native Americans in the region, including: Shingwauk, Blackbird, Warren, and Copway. These works highlight the connectivity between Environmental Justice and Social Justice for the Anishinaabeg people; as well as, indicating the importance of story-telling as a medium through which to express indigenous interests in the Upper Great Lakes.

This study also incorporates a body of colonial sources, which are here approached with a view to sifting out references to environmental-factors affecting the St. Mary's River.[36] These include the *Jesuit Relations* (1610 to 1791), as well as travel journals such as

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[32] Kyhl D. Lyndgaard, *Captivity Literature and the Environment: Nineteenth-Century American Cross-Cultural Collaborations* (Taylor & Francis, 2016).

[33] Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter studies and summer rambles in Canada* (New Canadian Library, 2008.) Johann George Kohl, *Travels in Canada, and through the states of New York and Pennsylvania* (Vol. 1. George Manwaring, 1861.)

[34] Kyhl D. Lyndgaard, *Captivity Literature and the Environment*, 15.

[35] Ibid,

[36] Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed). *The Jesuit relations and allied documents: travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610-1791; the original French, Latin, and Italian texts, with English translations and notes.* (Vol. 30. Burrows Bros. Company, 1898.)

Pierre Esprit Radisson's *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson: Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences Among the North American Indians* (1665), Jonathan Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (1778), Anna Jameson's *Winter studies and summer rambles in Canada* (1838) and George Kohl's *Travels in Canada, and through the states of New York and Pennsylvania* (1861).[37] Also part of the investigated corpus are personal correspondence, diaries, business documents and ledgers, legislation, newspaper articles, and treaties found within the Hudson Bay Company Archives (American Fur Trade Company records, and Northwest Company records).[38] Treaties such as *Jay's Treaty* (1794), *Treaty of Sault Ste. Marie* (1820), *Treaty at Fond du Lac* (1826), *Treaty of Washington* (1836), and the *Robinson-Huron Treaty* (1850) are also reviewed for the ways in which they not only depict the history of the Great Lakes, but also worked to physical impact the river in presiding on issues of ownership and governance (on behalf of business owners, and colonial governments).[39]

Accordingly, the St. Mary's River (and its islands) will also be used as an archive: based on the fact that ecological fluxes, climate, water-levels, flora and fauna, all tell us something about the past. Climate changes, archaeological finds, and animal population data are also used as primary sources within this study.[40] Into the nineteenth century, treaties, the history of human alterations to the river, and establishment of European-designed construction, form a predominant bulk of the sources used to highlight how colonial influences in the region affected its Indigenous flora, fauna, and people. Together these sources show how the river has been home to millions of plants, animals, fish, and people over its 14 millennia existence. Its ebbs and flows, has built, destroyed, and rebuilt the homes of its inhabitants, burying a wide variety of artefacts which speak to this history. The biotic history of the river – its biodiversity – thus serves as a living record of change and adaptation, that usefully, helps to corroborate indigenous accounts.

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[37] Pierre Esprit Radisson and Gideon Delaplaine Scull. *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson: Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences Among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684; Transcribed from Original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum; with Historical Illustrations and an Introduction*. Vol. 16. Prince Society, 1885.
Alexander Henry, *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776* (RR Donnelley & Sons Company, 1921).
Jonathon Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, etc. With maps* (Key & Simpson, 1796.)
Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter studies and summer rambles*.
Johann George Kohl, *Travels in Canada*.

[38] "Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1667-1991", The National Archives Kew.
"Sault Ste. Sainte Marie collection, circa 1802-1930" (Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; held at: Bayliss Public Library (Sault Sainte Marie, Mich.).

[39] "Copy of the Robinson Treaty Made in the Year 1850 with the Ojibewa Indians of Lake Superior Conveying Certain Lands to the Crown" Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada (1850). https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028978/1100100028982

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[40] Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book*.
Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*.
Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies*. U of Nebraska Press, 1981.

Methodological Approach: An Ecocultural Biography

My methodological approach (an Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River), is influenced by this growing historiography and available primary sources; as well as my own up-bringing (as a Settler) on the river, my time studying at Algoma University, and the influence of Karen Jones. During my first meeting with historian Karen Jones, we casually chatted about where we came from, our own research interests, and began to imagine a meaningful PhD project. I explained that growing up as a settler on the St. Mary's River (in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario), I have always been interested in its local history. This interest in the local history of the region began when my father worked as a Captain on the local tour boat (the "Chief Shingwauk"). I took this boat so many times as I child that I could recite the whole tour from memory. I further supplemented this knowledge by regularly dragging my parents to the Old Stone House, Sault Ste. Marie Museum, Bush-plane Museum, and the Tower of History. I explained Karen, that it was not until I studied History at Algoma University however, that I realized (despite my various trips to local museums) how generally unaware I was of the history of North America prior to 1600. Through the national curriculum, Heritage Moments, various books, and visits to museums, I had learned a great deal about the early-European explorers, and modern Canadian triumphs. But, with the exception of a few Indigenous individuals who came to our elementary school classes, and a few exceptional educators who went out of their way to include these histories (thank you in particular to Mr. Dodson and Ms. Traves), I as a settler Canadian, had very little exposure to Indigenous History (or the problematic nature of Colonial History) before attending university. Attending Algoma University (a former Residential School on the banks of the St. Mary's River), helped open my eyes to the importance of Indigenous History and sources, and the need to change popular understandings of North American History; themes which have become central components to my research in History.

This introductory preamble at my first meeting with Karen, was followed by the typical discussion of relevant historiographies, methodological approaches, the availability of primary sources, and other History focused questions. I explained that I wanted to write a history of the St. Mary's River region, but I wanted to avoid focusing exclusively on the post-contact period. Karen then asked me the remarkably difficult question: "What would you want to write about in an ideal world?" I responded, somewhat off the cuff, that "Ideally, I'd like to write a history of the St. Mary's River, and the people who have lived on its shore, beginning during the last Ice Age." We both chuckled at the idea and moved on with our discussion, without realising that we had just settled on a PhD topic. After this initial meeting in the Fall of 2015, I realized however, that (like the *Annales* were in the middle of the twentieth century) I was being overwhelmed by the great deal of *new* information available on the history of the Great Lakes (on its people, ecology, and historical shifts).

This *new* information is relevant to the history of the region, but its form does not always mesh well with historical investigations (which are generally focused on a much narrower timeframe, and supported primarily by written sources). Yet the wealth of cultural, archaeological, scientific, and ecological information that has emerged in the second half of the twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries, should not be ignored when investigating the History of this region. This *new* information, comes largely from scientific advancements (which have changed how we measure geographic and ecological shifts during this early history) and from three growing methodological approaches to the history of North America: the Native American Renaissance, Environmental History and Revisionist History focused on the Upper Great Lakes. This information has led to a great deal of important scholarship on the Great Lakes region, but this information is largely separated along disciplinary standards.

In my second meeting with Karen I highlighted my concerns about the problematic nature of echoing these modern North American histories, without proper consideration of the 15,000 years that came prior to contact. I explained that (like the Annales), I would use this overwhelming quantity of information to challenge disciplinary boundaries, and to look at larger trends of North American history over the longue durée. That I further wished to link the information which emerged from the Native American Renaissance, to scientific studies, and to current discourses in History; in order to write an ecocultural history of the St. Mary's River. Much to my surprise, I was not laughed out of Karen's office during this second meeting. Instead, she encouraged the 15,000-year timeline, the focus on incorporating traditional Indigenous accounts of the past with modern scientific discourses, and told me to run with it. Further than this, Karen encouraged me to look at the methodological approaches of Environmental History, as a way of bringing together Indigenous information and revisionist histories into a fuller narrative.

The nature-focused epistemological beliefs of the Anishinaabeg, means that the methodologies of Environmental History may provide a framework for writing History that is more inclusive of Indigenous peoples' histories. Paul Sutter has commented on how scholars of North American Indigenous History in particular, have "integrated environmental history in exciting ways" and, how they provide "the promise of developing a deeper temporal framework for American environmental history - one of the field's most important current challenges."[41] An important Indigenous voice in the Native American Renaissance, archaeologist Vine Deloria Jr. has outlined the ways that Indigenous understandings of science, and land management, have been ignored and suppressed by scientists and historians. He has argued for a general need to reincorporate Native American worldviews into scientific discourses, and while studying the History of North America.[42]

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[41] Paul Sutter, "The world with us: The state of American environmental history." Journal of American History 100, no. 1 (2013): 94-119. 99

[42] Deloria Vine Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Scribner; New York, 1995), 230-232.

Similarly, Freda Rajotte has maintained the need to incorporate First Nations' epistemologies into contemporary understandings of environmental studies.[43] She argues that the agency of nature and the importance of the human-nature relationship, has been understood for thousands of years by indigenous cultures around the world; who unlike Europeans, were conscious of, and concerned about, the plethora of devastating effects which European land-use patterns had over time.[44] The continuation of the Anishinaabeg's ceremonies, sacrifices, and gift-giving, highlight the important connection they felt to their ecosystem; and provides historians, a record of cultural markers which spans a much longer time period than written sources alone. For the Anishinaabeg, these concepts have been preserved (in part) by the Midewiwin Society, a powerful institution of education, belief systems, and cultural preservation; and traditional keepers, of their sacred birch bark scrolls which help record their history.[45] Anishinaabeg (and Midewiwin) teachings, emphasize the importance of natural cycles to healing practices and education; which demonstrates a highly sophisticated understanding of ecology and natural sciences. This idea that Natural Laws directly informed human culture, is reflected in the Anishinaabeg's history, ceremonies, and epistemological beliefs.

Ojibwa scholar Basil Johnston, highlights that living in accordance with Natural Laws, gaining knowledge, sacrificing, gift-giving, ceremony, and celebration, are important components to the Anishinaabeg's concept of *minobimaadizi* (living a good life).[46] Particularly relevant in this regard, are the Anishinaabeg's conceptions of the "Laws of Nature", "*minobimaadizi* (living a good life)", and the principles of "*kiki-inoom gagawin"* (learning from the Earth). Anishinaabe writer and scholar Margaret Noodin, notes that the concept of *kiki-inoomgugaewin* connects the "concepts of *maashkik* (medicine) with *aki* (earth)*,* thereby showing how interconnected the concepts of "nature" and "teaching" are to the Anishinaabeg.[47] This interconnectivity is further demonstrated by the related concept of *kinomaage* (the verb to teach). The word *kinomaage*, prefixed with *kino* (everything), is syllabically-related to *kinowaabmaa* (to observe) and *gikendaan* (to know).[48] These concepts further emphasize the interconnectedness of nature and history to the Anishinaabeg, which works to highlight the importance of certain ecological shifts over time.

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[43] Freda Rajotte, *First Nations Faith and Ecology* (Anglican Book Centre; Toronto, 1998), 4-5 and 60-63.

[44] Deborah McGregor, "Anishinaabe Environmental Knowledge." In *Contemporary Studies in Environmental and Indigenous Pedagogies*, Brill Sense, 2013., 77-88.

[45] Jennifer Meyer and Beverly Smith. "The Ojibwa Midewiwin." German Romanticism, the Sociology of Knowledge and Identity Crisis in Wolf's Unter den Linden, 48 (2005), 182-183.

[46] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 83.

Through this research, I realised that Environmental History offered an important approach to Indigenous History; but also, that many of these Environmental Histories relied heavily on a European-concept of "Nature" within their frameworks. These *European* conceptualizations of nature, are often focused on the importance of certain natural resources, transportation routes, and of certain economic practises, to the *development* of society. Like many forms of Revisionist History in North America, most of these environmental studies were focused on the periods after contact with Europeans.[49] However, within the works of Keith Basso, Elvira Pulitano, Heidi Altman and Thomas Belt, there are some important models for using "Nature" as a lens with which to view the history of Indigenous populations, and measure the full effects of colonial policy on North America.[50] Where works such as Eugene Hunn's *Nch'i-Wána "The Big River"* or Warren Cariou and Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair's *Manitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water*, emphasize the importance of understanding Indigenous epistemologies, and embracing Indigenous conceptions of nature, in the creation of a more balanced Environmental History about a specific body of water.[51]

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[47] Margaret Noodin, *Bawaajimo: A Dialect of Dreams in Anishinaabe Language and Literature* (Michigan State University Press; East Lansing, 2014), 112.
[48] Ibid, 112.
[49] Robert Kelly Schneiders, *Big Sky Rivers: The Yellowstone and Upper Missouri*, (University Press of Kansas, 2004).
[50] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache* (UNM Press, 1996).
Elvira Pulitano, *Toward a Native American critical theory* (University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 6-12.
Heidi Altman and Thomas Belt, "Reading history: Cherokee history through a Cherokee lens." *Native South* 1, no. 1 (2008), 89-91.

In the context of the St. Mary's River, "Nature" is not only an important influencer of human behaviour, but has been so since the river's formation (circa 15,000 ybp.). The original people on the St. Mary's River (the Anishinaabeg), link their own existence to the formation of the Great Lakes; during a period of dramatic climate change. They further view the river as a living sentient force, which demonstrates its maternal qualities by providing food, water, and other traits necessary for human existence. Their connection to this River goes further than European conceptualizations of nature, and has changed only subtly overtime. This symbiotic relationship was even adapted by some of the early Europeans to live on its banks, who were influenced more by the river, than the river was influenced by them. However, this relationship forged with the river, began to change into industrialization.

Through this initial research, I became convinced that no history of the St. Mary's River would be complete without significant consideration of the first 15,000 years of its history. I realized that there was enough information recently published, or available through archives, to write an *Annales* styled history of the Upper Great Lakes. Through feedback, tweaks, and multiple rewrites, it has since become what I describe as an *Ecocultural Biography* of the St. Mary's River. This model focuses on the human-nature relationship specifically, attempting to transcend academic discussions which focus on different cultural traits, or which attempt to rank the importance of specific historic events. Ecological Biographies can be used to build on these developing approaches to understanding the past, by offering specific geographic case studies (from around the world), which explores the important human-ecological relationship with "Nature" over the longue durée.

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[51] Eugene Hunn's *Nch'i-Wána "The Big River": Mid-Columbia Indians and their land*. (University of Washington Press, 1991).
Warren Cariou and Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, *Manitowapow: Aboriginal Writings from the Land of Water: Aboriginal writings from the land of water* (Portage & Main Press, 2011).

I acknowledge, that although I endeavoured to include information from Indigenous sources, that I (as a settler) have interpreted this information through a settler's perspective (and with a fairly academic/western approach). Organizing this information into a chronological Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River, is an example of this western/academic form which seems to conflict the Anishinaabeg's concept of cyclical time. However, like many examples in this study, I would argue that Indigenous and European perspectives of "time" may be presented in a different in form, but they are often similar in their conclusions. For example, the Anishinaabeg's concept of cyclical time, does not mean that linear trends do not exist. Rather it depicts a period of time, as a snapshot of time within a loop. Rather like plotting a linear trajectory on a Cartesian plot, linear patterns can be plotted within a larger circle. Moreover, the concept of linear time is directly reliant on the natural cycles of nature; the rotation of the Earth, Moon, and orbit around the Sun. The crossover between these different concepts of time, demonstrates that Indigenous and European different ways of conceptualizing the world, are not necessarily conflicted.

In the case of this Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River, the *longue durée* approach to the history of a specific geographic feature, helps to demonstrate how linear trends do in fact, create larger cycles within history. This Ecocultural Biography attempts to echo Anishinaabeg arguments, that ancestry is entwined with nature, and that cultural traits can be found within specific human-environmental relations. It thereby focuses on 'deep time' (or, in Annales-speak, *the longue durée*) to highlight the complex geological, biotic and anthropogenic processes at work on the St. Mary's River region.[52] The shifting natural cycles which influenced the Anishinaabeg overtime, can now be linked to specific global climate shifts (by using modern methods).

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[52] In particular, building off the recent conceptualization of deep time put forward by physicist Gregory Benford and palaeontologist Henry Gee; with the inclusion of an indigenous model. See:
Gregory Benford, *Deep Time: How humanity communicates across millennia* (Avon, 1999).
Henry Gee, *In Search of Deep Time: Beyond the fossil record to a new history of life* (Cornell University Press, 2000).

The Anishinaabeg's ecologically-focused epistemological beliefs not only contain important information regarding the environmental and human history of North America, but also contain important information on pursuing an ecologically-sustainable future. Centring this history around the St. Mary's River, further highlights the importance of this Anishinaabeg-Baawitigong relationship over a *long durée*; by linking this deep past, to the development of present concerns in the region. Importantly, the origin stories and early histories of the Anishinaabeg underscore the fundamental importance of water (including its role in the birth of their society, and the nurturing connection which the Anishinaabeg feel towards the Great Lakes specifically). The focus on the Great Lakes region in these histories, can now provide historians information with which to produce specific regional histories, which extend to the deep past of the region.

The Great Lakes, and St. Mary's River in particular, have long been a centre of important historic shifts. Historians Andrea Gutsche, Barbara Chisholm, and Russell Floren note that: "The St. Mary's River and the North Channel have been both participant in and witness to the flow of history. If their waters could speak, many would be the stories they could tell."[53] Although it does not speak, the St. Mary's River has recorded the memory of ecological manipulation by humans and natural phenomena. The condition of the St. Mary's River, serves as a barometer of eco-cultural relations, long in the making. As environmental historians Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Dominic Evenden, and Henry Vivian Nelles observe: "A river is an archive; it records and retains what has been done to it and by it. The condition of rivers is in some sense the measure of societies dependent upon them."[54] In the case of the St. Mary’s River, the Anishinaabeg knew how to tap its potential, but did so in an environmentally sensitive manner. The changing fortunes of the St. Mary’s, are therefore historical a gauge, with which to track climate shifts, political adaptations, and the devastating influences of colonization on the North American people and North American ecosystems.

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[53] Andrea Gutsche, Barbara Chisholm, and Russell Floren. *The North Channel and St. Mary's River: A Guide to the History* (Lynx Images Incorporated, 1997), XXXIX.

[54] Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Dominic Evenden, and Henry Vivian Nelles, *The River Returns: An environmental history of the Bow* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2014), 23.

The changing human-nature relationships with the St. Mary’s River (which often correspond larger ecological changes to the region) became the central focus of my approach: an “Ecocultural Biography” of the St. Mary’s River. By consciously combining different methodologies (of Indigenous Studies, Environmental History, and North American History) in this dissertation, I frame the river as a historical actor, as well as an eyewitness to human history. Focused specifically on the St. Mary’s River (in the middle of the Upper Great Lakes), I track the human-nature relationships that developed on the St. Mary’s River over the past 15,000 years; through the histories recorded by the Anishinaabeg, Metis, and settler populations on its banks, as well as, the archaeological records embedded in the river itself. This Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary’s River, builds on the concept of ecocultural history developed by Peter Finke. Finke’s model frames “ecology” and “human culture” as being inseparable; which is consistent with Anishinaabeg epistemological understandings of nature and the human condition.[55]

This view suggests that ecological paradigms directly influence cultural paradigms, and that these land use patterns (by humans) then work to influence the baseline of the natural world; a cycle which affects both humans and natural baselines overtime. This ecocultural model is further supported by historians on the British Empire, including James Beattie, Edward Melillo, and Emily O'Gorman, who have further linked the importance environmental processes, to the development of cultural traits, political structures, and economic strategies of various populations within the British Colonial world.[56] These nature-focused models, consider how specific cultural development began, the reason for changing political realms, and the effects which human land uses patterns can have on an ecosystem. These models can be adjusted by region, and are useful in understanding cross-cultural interactions, and cultural adaptations to a changing environment over time. Significantly, these models, alongside traditional Indigenous teachings, also provide a more complex understanding of the early-Holocene, Archaic, Anthropocene, and Modern Periods, than are available through modern methods alone.

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[55] Peter Finke, "14 A Brief Outline of Evolutionary Cultural Ecology." In *Traditions of Systems Theory: Major Figures and Contemporary Developments* edited by Darrell Arnold (2013), 294-293.

This Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River, attempts to connect current historiographical discussion (surrounding the more modern periods of Upper Great Lakes history), to the longevity of its importance to the Anishinaabeg. In the case of the St. Mary's River, people have held a wide variety of meanings, uses, and relationships with the river. During its 15,000-year existence, this River has witnessed (and influenced) the flow of North American History. Beginning at the end of the last Ice Age (when the Global Climate changed the regional ecology significantly), followed by flooding, mass extinctions, and a wide variety of cultural developments. The St. Mary's River itself, is an important location to the ethnogenesis of the Anishinaabeg, the formation of a Great Lakes trade network, and the first village of the Ojibwa. This was a region of great importance for 15,000 years, before Europeans were even aware of North America. Using nature as a lens, helps to focus the wealth of cultural, social, and economic, investigations covering this region (c. 1600-present); and links these studies of History, to the longer historical trends in the region.

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[56] James Beattie, Edward Melillo, and Emily O'Gorman, "Rethinking the British Empire through eco-cultural networks: Materialist-cultural environmental history, relational connections and agency." *Environment and History* 20, no. 4 (2014), 651-563.

This longue durée approach to an ecocultural history, helps demonstrate the pedagogical focus, and cyclical framework of these Indigenous histories. These Indigenous histories highlight, how (after nearly 15,000 years of successful land stewardship) two centuries of colonial endeavours in North America dramatically altered the human-nature relationship on the St. Mary's River. In this later period, the relationship between the Anishinaabeg and the St. Mary's River began to be undercut by colonial legal structures, concepts of land ownership, land use patterns, and economic policies. While the Anishinaabeg fought to maintain their important relationship with the St. Mary's River, the colonial forces increasingly challenged the movements of the Anishinaabeg; and in turn, began to change the very structure, and ecological make-up of the St. Mary's River. By the end of the nineteenth century, these colonial influences were noticeable on the St. Mary's River, and this trend would worsen dramatically into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

After being worshiped, revered, and respected by its inhabitants for 15,000 years, the St. Mary's River would be wronged by colonial conceptualizations of Nature. What follows, is a history of these shifts, in the form of an Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River (and its people), from the river's formation to the present; which uses natural ecosystems as a model to explore history, and provides a more culturally-neutral lens. This is a specific history, of a small geographic feature in North America, but it can inform models throughout the larger study of World History. This approach can help further understandings of the history of specific groups, and provides a framework which can also link these specific histories into larger trends of World History. By challenging the narrative of national histories, and stepping away from Eurocentric historical periodization, new lessons can be learned from North American history. Perhaps more importantly, these varied Indigenous approaches to land management (and different concepts of the Nature-human relationship) from around the world, may provide further important frameworks for managing our current climate crisis.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter One highlights how scientific and indigenous data-sources often paint a similar account of the past. Although these two groups use different terminology, the evidence provided by ethnographers, archaeologists, and geologists generally supports the Anishinaabeg account of the creation of the Great Lakes.[57] Using these two different approaches to the past in conjunction, this first chapter details the formation of the St. Mary's River (between 15,000 to 7,000 years before present (ybp.)), centred around the shared belief in a "Great Flood" which worked to carve-out, and fill, the Great Lakes during this period.[58] From these series of lakes, the early precursors to the Great Lakes were formed, which necessitated, and carved, the straits of Mackinac and St. Mary's River.[59] This flood is seen as the physical birth of the St. Mary's River, and the beginning of the Anishinaabeg's presence on its banks. Oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg, alongside geographical, and archaeological evidence, thereby works to paint a clearer picture of this poorly understood time on the Upper Great Lakes.[60]

Chapter Two uses this methodology to track the archaeological record of the St. Mary's River in the context of the development of a distinct woodlands identity (c. 8,000-500 ybp.). The significance which the Anishinaabeg ascribe to the Great Lakes as their place of origin, highlights a deep eco-cultural attachment to the region, which is demonstrated in virtually every aspect of their traditional culture. Their subsistence is directly related to the natural cycle of the seasons, and the cycle of its local plant and animal populations; their technology was created especially for life on the Great Lakes, and their epistemology is focused around living a good life in accordance to their covenant with the Great Creator.

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[57] Rajotte, Freda. *First Nations faith and ecology*, 7.

[58] Many Anishinaabeg Histories point to Michilimackinac (an Island in Lake Michigan) as the origin point to their World. According to geologists, this island was carved out during the end of the Pleistocene period (c. 14 000-11 000 ybp.). (see: Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 14-15).

[59] http://www.britannica.com/science/Pleistocene-Epoch

[60] Vine Deloria, "Indians, archaeologists, and the future." American Antiquity 57, no. 4 (1992), 597.

Using geographical changes, climate fluctuations, and artefacts alongside the early oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg, I flesh out how the Upper Great Lakes informed Anishinaabe identity, belief-systems, and subsistence practices; ending immediately before European presence on the Upper Great Lakes.[61]

Chapter Three focuses on two major influences which created a radial effect throughout the Upper Great Lakes (1600-1667 AD). The first was European pathogens, and the second the climate fluctuations of the 1630s and 1640s (referred to as the Little Ice Age). Together, these influences led to what Geoffrey Parker and Lesley Smith referred to as the "General Crisis"; a period which saw nearly one third of the worlds' population die as a result of failed harvest and disease.[62] This crisis hit the Great Lakes populations particularly hard, and by 1650 had led to the complete collapse, and dispersal, of the largest confederacy on the Great Lakes. The resulting power changes on the Great Lakes began with the dispersal of the Wendat (Huron), and worked to increase the importance of the established trade posts, and fisheries at the St. Mary's River.[63] Using their established trade network, the Ojibwa population on the St. Mary's River reached out to a plethora of allies in the 1640s and 1650s; one of these was the French. The latter who over emphasized their own position in the Great Lakes power-shifts during this period (1650-1667).

Chapter Four examines the Anishinaabeg's response to these migrations, and established a relationship with the French (1668-1750). It demonstrates how the Ojibwa used their pre-established Great Lakes networks, knowledge of the region, diplomacy, and strength of the Midewiwin Order to adapt (and thrive) during this turbulent time. By using the principles of the Midewiwin to promote a sense of unity in the Refugee Triangle, the Ojibwa also used the possibility to trade with the French as a bargaining chip to help unite various Great Lakes tribes. But by the end of the 1680s, threat of renewed Haudenosaunee Confederacy (also known as the Five Nations Confederacy) and Dakota aggressions, tensions with the French, and growing unrest in the Refugee Triangle, led the Ojibwa to pursue a policy of large-scale expansion across the Great Lakes region. Between the 1680s and 1701, the Ojibwa and their Native allies (with very limited French assistance), launched a series of large, protracted raids throughout the Great Lakes territory, forcing the powerful Haudenosaunee Confederacy to below the lower Great Lakes. This chapter explores how (in just over a century), the Ojibwa went from predominantly comprised of two villages on Lake Superior (at Baawitigong and LaPointe), to controlling the most territory of any known Indigenous group north of Mexico.

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[61] Lawrence Gross describes how: "Through years of observation and direct experience, the Anishinaabe elders developed a sense for how water moves through their territory. They developed an understanding of how to live on the land." (see: Lawrence Gross, "Some elements of American Indian pedagogy from an Anishinaabe perspective." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34, no. 2 (2010): 11-26., 15.

[62] Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith. *The general crisis of the seventeenth century*. Routledge, 2005. Geoffrey Parker, *Global crisis: war, climate change and catastrophe in the seventeenth century* (Yale University Press, 2013).

[63] The power-balance of the Great Lakes shifted with the loss of the Wendat (1649-1650) and allowed the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to raid further north and west into the Great Lakes region.

Chapter Five examines the Anishinaabeg's new position across the Great Lakes region (1751-1814). The new Ojibwa territory meant the control of villages in a variety of eco-zones, leading to diverse trade on the Great Lakes. This control of transportation networks also helped maintain their territorial rights, as well as moderating the influence of Europeans. But the power-balance that the Ojibwa had fought and died for, would be undermined by colonial greed, and indifference towards indigenous populations in the second half of the eighteenth century. As the colonial population of North America grew, the Anishinaabeg's control of the Great Lakes would be threatened by the British, and the United States. But throughout this turmoil, and in the midst of colonial competition, the Ojibwa were once again able to use their superior knowledge of the terrain of the Upper Great Lakes, to repel and then to negotiate, a new power-balance in the Great Lakes.

Chapter Six approaches the period after the War of 1812, focusing specifically on changes to the St. Mary's River, to demonstrate the resistance strategies of the Ojibwa and

Métis, to various-colonial forces during in this period. Particularly important to the St. Mary's River, were a group of leaders including Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Shingwaukonse. While each differed somewhat in their message, constancies emerged around a renaissance of traditional land practices, and the need to steer away from European influences. These resistance movements were particularly important in the face of land grabs by the United States and British North America. Into the nineteenth century these land grabs became more blatant on the St. Mary's River in the form of legislation, treaties, and an influx of European settlers arriving to its banks. Not only did the colonial governments negotiate in bad faith, they failed to live up to their promises to Indigenous populations. Further than this, they began to alter the landscape so that it could support colonial lifeways. The "Mica Bay Incident" (1849) and Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850) in particular, helps to demonstrate the way that legislative, ecological, and economical changes made by these governments worked to directly affect Indigenous populations; and their ability to live according to their traditional lifeways.

The concluding chapter, looks at the mixed ecological/environmental changes made to the St. Mary's River during the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. It uses an Ecocultural Biography of Whitefish Island (an island on Baawitigong) as a case study, to link these nineteenth century changes on the river to the present. It explores the ways that government used legislation to separate Indigenous populations from their lands, and the overarching ecological changes that these policies enacted. It argues for the need to incorporate Indigenous epistemological beliefs and traditional practices, into larger discussions of Conservation and Indigenous Rights. It ends by looking at on-going discussions on the St. Mary's River, suggesting how the full history of the St. Mary's River can help inform necessary discussions about colonial structures in North America, problematic land use patterns, and working towards a brighter future.

As a collective, these chapters explore the eco-cultural consequences of a collision between colonialism and thousands of years of customs, legal-structures, and lifeways. The way that Anishinaabeg and Métis populations resisted these changes on the St. Mary's River, works as a case study for larger studies of North America. Indeed, colonial efforts worked to substantively disrupt indigenous traditions and practices on the St. Mary's River, making the experience of the Anishinaabeg a cogent example of the destructive connectivity between colonial expansion/legislation and environmental exploitation. Centring this discussion around ecological impacts, and its effects on indigenous populations, provides a broad framework in which to measure the effects of the fur trade, timber-extraction, farming, mining, and changing political jurisdictions; which combined, brought significant physical alterations to the St. Mary's River. Using a new methodology founded on eco-cultural connectivity and indigenous ways of knowing, this Ecocultural Biography of the St. Mary's River, highlights the inseparable link between colonization/capitalism and environmental decline. It moreover, tells an important story of indigenous resilience, leadership, and resistance based on a long-held relationship with the 'living river.'

Chapter 1: A River Worshipped: The Early History of the Great Lakes, its Formation, and the Establishment of its Plants, Animals, and Peoples (15,000-7,000 ybp.)

Overview

By using the oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg, alongside modern academic methodologies, this chapter tracks the geographical-formation of the Great Lakes, through the flood-related histories narrated by the Anishinaabeg. Which explores the Anishinaabeg's concept of a *New World*, as an analytical tool for approaching the early history of the St. Mary's River (15,000-7,000 ybp.). The oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg accurately describe the processes which formed the Great Lakes (and the St. Mary's River), the mass extinctions that followed its creation, and adaptations made by animals and people during this time. Their histories speak of eco-cultural changes to the natural baseline of the region, and the effects of climate change on the St. Mary's River; which stretches back to the early-Holocene period. The origin story and early histories of the Anishinaabeg world in particular, highlight the fundamental importance of water, its role in the birth of the Anishinaabeg, and the maternal connection which the Anishinaabeg feel towards the Great Lakes.[64] The way in which the Anishinaabeg link their own history to the creation of the Great Lakes (and the attendant development of Holocene ecology), further illuminates the value of these early histories. Accordingly, by exploring the geo-philosophical tracks of indigenous oral tradition, we gain important insight into the landscape of the Pleistocene and the ethno-genesis of the Anishinaabeg within a new Great Lakes world, as well as a sense of how the early Anishinaabeg populations adapted to the dramatic changes that marked this epoch.[65]

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[64] Susan Chiblow, "Anishinabek Women's Nibi Giikendaaswin (Water Knowledge)." *Water* 11, no. 2 (2019): 209.

[65] In a similar manner to what Dave Egan has described as "ecosystem restoration".
See: Dave Egan, *The Historical Ecology Handbook: a restorationist's guide to reference ecosystems* (Island Press, 2005), 5.

Section I: The Great Flood: The Creation of the Great Lakes, and Ethno-genesis of the Anishinaabeg, told through Traditional Methods. (15,000-12,000 ybp.)

The Anishinaabeg's origin story of a "Great Flood" points to ecological changes as the defining influence in the region, which led to the creation of the Great Lakes. This important flood brought into being new geographical features, mass extinctions, and saw the settlement of new species. Histories recorded by Anishinaabe scholar Basil Johnston give descriptions of a time when: "earth was a huge unbroken stretch of water whipped into foam and wave by the ferocious winds. The world remained a sea for many generations."[66] Within these histories, there was a recognized difference between the people who existed before the "Great Flood", and those born after who inhabited a "New World." Although accounts of the "Great Flood" vary slightly by telling, the Anishinaabeg's accounts have some important consistencies. Present in all of the testimonies, are descriptions of a period of Great Flooding, vast-extinctions, and a sense of the importance of animals and people working together in the creation of a new world in the post-flood period. In all of these histories, Original Man (sometimes depicted as Nanabush) had to adapt to the new terrain of the post-flood landscape. New lifeways, and a shift in belief systems, also accommodated themselves to the transformed ecology of this new realm.[67] For the Anishinaabeg, the post-flood era saw changes to subsistence patterns, language, and epistemology, each created by the need to describe a new geography, ecology, and climate; recorded through the early chronicles of Nanabush.

The histories of Nanabush, and overall epistemological approaches of the Anishinaabeg, thus suggested a people embedded in a vibrant and dynamic geography.

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[66] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 13.

[67] For a fuller consideration of the term "lifeway" as it relates to North American Indigenous history. John A. Grim, "Indigenous Traditions: Religion and Ecology" in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Ecology* edited by Roger S. Gottlieb, (OUP, 2006), 286-288.

Rajotte's book *First Nation Faith and Ecology* (1998), records an account of this "Great Flood" which explains how:

> After the Creator had made the world with all the animals and with the first people, he told Wisakedjak, the Trickster, to take good care of the people, show them how to live and stop them from quarrelling with each other. However, Wisakedjak delighted in playing tricks upon the animals and the people so that they became angry with each other, quarrelled and fought until the land was red with blood.
> The Creator became so angry that he sent a flood to wash the Earth clean again. For many days the water rose until there was no land to be seen at all. Then Sky Woman fell down from the sky world, holding seeds from the Tree of Light. There was nowhere for her to land as the Earth was covered in water. As she fell, Ducks caught her on their wings, and landed Sky Woman gently in the world of water. When Turtle saw what had happened, she offered her body for Sky Woman's resting place. Wisakedjak tried in vain to find a small piece of Earth for he did not have the power to create anything, but could expand what already existed. So he sent down one animal after another to try reach the Earth beneath the flood waters. Otter tried several times but could not reach the bottom. Then Beaver tried, but he too was unable to dive deep enough to reach the land. Finally little Muskrat dived, down and down into the water, deeper and deeper. When he floated back to the surface he was dead, but clutched tightly between his paws were bits of earth. This earth was spread out over Turtle's back, and became a home for the first mother. There she planted the seeds from the Sky World.[68]

As indicated by the passage above, the Anishinaabeg viewed their own ethno-genesis as intrinsically linked to the creation of the Great Lakes. Indeed, many indigenous creation stories in North America emphasize the importance of water in the creation of a new world geography.[69]

In the case of the Anishinaabeg account of the Great Flood, there have been a variety of approaches used to interpret its significance. Most important of which, are the Anishinaabeg's interpretations. These highlight the interconnectedness of biotic relationships, as well as communicating a sense of species-specific roles and responsibilities. Anishinaabe legal-scholar Darlene Johnston explains, that: this

> story says much about Anishinaabeg notions of leadership and land. The Great Hare may be chief among the animals, but he is not despotic. His authority depends upon persuasion, not coercion. The dilemma of the landless animals is shared and resolved by cooperation and bravery. The point of creating land is for mutual sustenance, not

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[68] Freda Rajotte, *First Nations Faith and Ecology*, 11.
[69] Vine Deloria Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies*, 234.

> personal gain. Creation is continuing act of the Great Hare. The Anishnaabeg honour him as a living, creative force.[70]

These histories address notions of social and political authority, highlighting the connectivity between social structure and natural cycles for the Anishinaabeg. The geological and epistemological information contained in these Oral Traditions, serve as a historical record of ecological- and geo-cultural changes, which is contained in their histories; but also as a guiding principle of Anishinaabeg's social organization, and informs their concepts of authority.

Most accounts of this episode point to Mackinac as a geographical origin-point of this new world, highlighting the connection between the turtle in this story (miskwaadesiwag) and the name Michilimackinac. Mackinac's proximity to the St. Mary's River, works to highlight the importance of the St. Mary's River position, at the centre of this world.[71] As Anishinaabe literary writer and scholar Margaret Noodin, describes it: "The center of *Anishinaabewakiing*, or Anishinaabe country, is the life-giving *gaming*, the 'vast water.'"[72] The meaning of the name 'Anishinaabe' (meaning: original or spontaneous man) highlights the creation of a specific Anishinaabe identity that is connected to the flood. But this connection to the Great Lakes goes further than this, as Anishinaabe legal-scholar Darlene Johnston explains: "As a descendant of Great Lakes Aboriginal ancestors, I have been taught that our people come from the land that we are shaped by the land."[73] This origin story of both the Great Lakes and the Anishinaabeg is thus an intermingled one that speaks to a deep, ancestral, and nurturing connection with water.

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[70] Darlene Johnston, "Connecting People to Place: Great Lakes Aboriginal History in Cultural Context." *Ipperwash Inquiry* (2006)., 6.

[71] The account given by Andrew Blackbird (who lived periods of his life on Mackinac Island), suggests that this interpretation is a mistake, and that Michilimackinac, refers to a "Woodlands-Period" tribe who formerly resided on this island. He suggests that the "Turtle in this Story" refers to North America (Turtle Island) as a whole. He does however, emphasize the connection which the Anishinaabeg feel towards the Great Lakes, as the centre of their world. This differs slightly to Darlene Johnston's description, in which Johnston notes that: "The centre of Anishinaabeg creation is not Eden but Michilimackinac, as islands in the strait which separates Lake Huron from Lake Michigan." (see: Darlene Johnston, "Connecting People to Place", 4).

[72] Margaret Noodin, *Bawaajimo*, 1.

[73] Darlene Johnston, "Connecting People to Place", 2.

Not only did water exert a critical force in shaping historical space throughout the Great Lakes, but it was also a formative influence in constructing a specific cultural identity for the Anishinaabeg.[74] The oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg (including the Great Flood) were recorded, and transmitted, using Nanabush as a spiritual-figure.[75] This figure highlights how ecological changes during the Flood affected the region, and helped to lay-out the groundwork for the role of humans within the Great Lakes ecosystem.[76] As Basil Johnston contends, this was a story which speaks of the beginning of the world and cultural formation, which also informs political structures, family structures, and humans' role within the ecosystem. As Iain Davidson-Hunt and Fikret Berkes explain: "The social memory of landscape dynamics was documented as a combination of biogeophysical structures and processes, along with the stories by which Iskatewizaagegan people wrote their histories upon the land."[77] This sense of family connection (between geography and people), led the Anishinaabeg to develop advanced understandings of how their regional terrain changed during this period; which has resulted in their histories of this period.

In addition to their importance as historical records, oral histories, and ecological environments, continue to inform Anishinaabeg cultural behaviours.[78] Donald Fixico and Noodin highlight how, because of the non-linear way that the Anishinaabeg view time, these histories (oral and bio-geophysical) serve as constant reminders of the importance of pursuing a *bimaadiziwin* (living a good life) as nature shifts. Many of these histories emphasize the severity of the consequences if the Natural Order is not maintained.[79] Rajotte's work on linking indigenous knowledge to ecological precepts also emphasizes that the Anishinaabeg concept of a Great Flood, she recorded how this history: "is used to teach the value of co-operation and sacrifice for the good of the community, our dependence upon the other beings in the Creation, and the special re-creating powers of women."[80] It is thus an *aadizookaanag*, a historical-record, and a morally informative guide to action. Also important to note, is that the *aadizookaanag* are deemed an accurate account of the early-history of the Anishinaabe. A testimonial nugget, founded on eyewitness accounts and a direct reading of natural phenomenon.

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[74] Renée Elizabeth Mzinegiizhigo-kwe Bédard, "Keepers of the Water." *Downstream: Reimagining Water* (2017).

[75] Jamie Cidro, "Nanabush storytelling as data analysis and knowledge transmissions." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 32, no. 2 (2012): 159.

[76] Georgina Nepinak, "Mina'igoziibiing: A History of the Anishinaabeg of Pine Creek First Nation in Manitoba." (PhD diss., Brandon University, 2013.), 19-20.

[77] Iain Davidson-Hunt and Fikret Berkes, "Learning as You Journey: Anishinaabe Perception of Social-ecological Environments and Adaptive Learning", Conservation Ecology 8, no. 1 (2003), 1.

[78] Jamie Cidro, "Storytelling as Indigenous Knowledge Transmission", Abstract Committee and Proceedings Editorial Board (2012)., 26-27.

Incorporating *aadizookaanag* into the studies of the past, thereby speaks to Deloria Jr. and Paulette Steeves' call to re-evaluate our understanding of ancient North America in a way that incorporates indigenous ways of knowing and remembering.[81] Many academics use consideration of the Flood in order to inform their understanding of Anishinaabeg ideologies, but historians have largely withdrawn from these debates surrounding the Flood. At the same time as this withdrawal away from the study of the Origin Story, there has been a general acceptance (amongst those who study history), that inclusion of Indigenous Oral Traditions is necessary in the study of history. As archaeologist Paulette Steeves has written:

> It is important to re-write Indigenous histories from an informed Indigenous perspective. An Indigenous view of the past creates a dialog which forms the basis of an empowered identity from which Indigenous people can challenge historical erasures of communities, peoples, and places.[82]

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[79] Donald Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian studies and traditional knowledge* (Routledge, 2013), 1-20.
Margaret Noodin, Bawaajimo, 112.

[80] Freda Rajotte, First Nations Faith and Ecology, 11.

[81] Paulette F. Steeves, "Decolonizing the Past and Present of the Western Hemisphere (The Americas)." Archaeologies 11, no. 1 (2015), 61.
Vine Deloria Jr., Red Earth, White Lies, 234.

[82] Paulette F. Steeves, "Decolonizing the Past and Present of the Western Hemisphere (The Americas)." Archaeologies 11, no. 1 (2015), 61.)

There has been less consensus on how to incorporate Indigenous accounts of the past (methodologically), in the study of History. Some useful models have however been put forward, particularly by Indigenous scholars.

For instance, Deloria has looked at multiple aboriginal flood tales, alongside biblical referents and scientific modelling, to usefully reframe our sense of history. He provides the following example of how multiple approaches can be brought together. How:

> planetary-wide catastrophes followed, radically changing the nature of our physical world. It was at this time, most probably, that many of the older mountain chains were created, and thereby climate began to resemble what we have today. A feature of that world, however, was that the atmosphere was much different from our familiar sky today. The planet was shrouded in some kind of water vapor canopy and, while people could distinguish light and darkness, the canopy was too thick to produce clear images of the sun and moon. In this scenario the Indian tradition and the descriptions of Genesis are mutually supportive of each other.[83]

Deloria's model, helps to demonstrate that Indigenous traditional histories, and modern approaches to History, are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, he highlights that Oral Traditions are increasingly being corroborated by cutting-edge scientific methods.[84]

Recent advancements in the carbon dating of natural minerals, along with a few archaeological excavations, has led to a more advanced understanding of the Great Lakes timeline; as well as the geography of the region as a whole. Significantly, these modern studies suggest that deglaciation (which resulted in mass flooding) is responsible for the creation of the Great Lakes basin. Historian Alan Dundes' work on highlighting points of convergence between historical and scientific knowledge, has linked these flooding traditions to larger global themes, suggesting that oral traditions of flooding can often be linked to specific historical shifts.[85] In the case of the Great Lakes, these modem methods suggest, that a period of significant global warming led to receding glaciers which caused a flood of freshwater to fill the large Lake Keweenawan (the forerunner of Lake Superior).[86] Throughout Lake Keweenawan's 4000-year existence, it flooded a massive area of the modern Great Lakes (covering roughly 260,000 kilometres-squared at its peak), this lake flooded much of modern day: Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and sections of Minnesota and North Dakota; a clear period of great flooding.[87]

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[83] Vine Deloria Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies*, 234.

[84] Ibid, 234-237.

[85] Alan Dundes, (ed.) *The Flood Myth* (University of California Press, Berkeley), 1988.

In the case of the Upper Great Lakes, both the Anishinaabeg's histories and these modern methods, suggest that climate change led to a period of flooding, which then led to the extinction of many flora and faunal species; and which resulted in the creation of the distinct Great Lakes' geography.[88] Another clear parallel between these two approaches, is the mass extinctions described during this flood. Scientist Samuel Turvey suggest that climate change, and flooding which created an "extinction window" (11,500-10,000 ybp.) in North America.[89] This is echoed by scientists Tyler Faith and Todd Surovell, who links this period of flooding (which filled Lake Keweenawan), to the mass extinction of 35 genera of mammals in North America in a two-thousand-year period.[90] This is another clear parallel to the Origin Story of the Great Lakes. The fact that many of these mixed archaeological-geographical-climatological studies parallel the Great Flood concept (persevered by the Anishinaabeg), suggests that historians, archaeologists, and scientists should take oral tradition seriously as a part of a diverse corpus of historical material.

Similarities between the conclusions of oral traditions and modern methods are clear on the Great Lakes. Both schools of thought in fact, emphasize the importance of learning from natural observation, and both link flooding to geographical and climatic changes, which led to substantive shifts to the ecology and geographic formation of the Great Lakes region. Both schools of thought suggest that these changes came immediately on the heels of a Great Flood, which then covered the region. After this flood, a cycle of warming caused glacial retreat, exposing the southern section of the St. Mary's River, and north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. Both further point to the importance of water in the creations of the Great Lakes basin and highlight the ecological fluctuations and mass extinctions which occurred as a result of this flood.

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[86] Andy Breckenridge, Thomas C. Johnson, Suzanne Beske-Diehl, and John S. Mothersill. "The timing of regional Lateglacial events and post-glacial sedimentation rates from Lake Superior." *Quaternary Science Reviews* 23, no. 23-24 (2004): 2355-2356.

[87] James Teller, "Formation of large beaches in an area of rapid differential isostatic rebound: the three-outlet control of Lake Agassiz." *Quaternary Science Reviews* 20, no. 15 (2001): 1649-1659, 1650.

[88] Gary Haynes, (ed) *American Megafaunal Extinctions at the end of the Pleistocene* (Dordecht: Springer, 2009., 23-27).

[89] Samuel Turvey, "In the shadow of the megafauna: prehistoric mammal and bird extinctions across the Holocene" in *Holocene extinctions*. Ed. Samuel Turvey (OUP Oxford, 2009), 19.

[90] Tyler Faith and Todd A. Surovell, "Synchronous extinction of North America's Pleistocene mammals." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 49 (2009), 20641-20642.

Common to traditional indigenous histories and modern scientific discourses, is a sense of the nutrient-rich floodplains on the banks of the lakes (such as the highlands around the St. Mary's River), which allowed for early woodland growth and the creation of the *New World*, a world which defined the ethno-genesis of the Anishinaabeg.[91] This concept of a new (or spontaneous people) who emerged after the flood, has also recently been corroborated by anthropologists Brian Fagan, who has linked the Ice Age to development of the "first modern humans".[92] The power of modern science to confirm the 'truth' or worldly significance of a geo-hydraulic event is considerable.[93] However, modern scientific approaches are only able to tell part of the story. Where the histories of Nanabush are able to go even further than these modern-scientific methods by providing a first-hand account of these changes. The simple fact is, that the changes occurring during the early-Holocene period can be better understood through a close reading of the knowledge embedded in the Anishinaabeg's oral traditions.

In this account of a Great Flood, the adaptations made by Nanabush (sometimes depicted as the Original Man), enabled the Anishinaabeg to survive this new world; which also served a road-map for continued success in the region. Therefore, the tales of the great flood, and of Nanabush, demonstrate the longevity and sustainability of the Anishinaabeg's lifeways on the Great Lakes. Importantly, these lifeways relied on the careful reading, and monitoring of natural cycles. This means that the histories of Nanabush are not only informative of the past, but should also be used to inform the present. These histories demonstrate cultural continuity of specific Anishinaabe traits, which can be traced back 15,000 years; by using their relationship to this geography, alongside Oral Traditions, and more modern sources, an even clearer picture of this past emerges.

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[91] Gary Dunn, *Insects of the Great Lakes Region* (University of Michigan Press, 1996). 1-3.

[92] Brian Fagan, *Cro-Magnon: How the Ice Age gave birth to the first modern humans* (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2011).

[93] Walter Duffy and Ted R. Batterson. *The St. Marys River, Michigan: an ecological profile*. No. FWS-BR-85 (7.10). National Wetlands Centre Sidell LA, (1987), 6-7.

Through the combination of these traditional histories and more modern methods, the full history of the Anishinaabeg (and Great Lakes) can now be tracked from its beginning, to the present day. The Flood Story (and other stories of Nanabush) should then be seen as an instructive 'origin' account of how the early Anishinaabeg populations were influenced by, and related to, their surrounding landscape and water-ways. It was through Nanabush's lessons (which emphasized learning from nature), that the Anishinaabeg learned to survive in this new world. Nanabush taught the early-Anishinaabeg populations the importance of learning lessons from nature for their survival, and was a central component of their continued learning. Nanabush further helped these people become familiar with specific geographical features, the traits and uses of specific plants, the lessons that animals taught, and how humans could help to maintain the balance of Nature if they learned these important lessons. Tracking the chronicles of Nanabush in the period immediately following the Great Flood (alongside climate and ecological models), provides a fuller history of Baawitigong then can be accessed by either source base on its own; importantly however, the Anishinaabe histories contain lessons from this past, that can be used to track this history to today, and helps to better inform land use policies in the present.

Section II: Reading these Sources Together: Using Oral Traditions, and Scientific Studies, to Describe the Formation of the St. Mary's River (12,000-9,000)

The Origin Story of the St. Mary's River provides an example of how indigenous histories can be used alongside modern methods, in order to describe the ways that early-human, plant, and animal, populations adapted to this "New World". This story offers further evidence of centuries old information, being recently corroborated by scientific-methods. Demonstrating how when they are used together, the *aadizookaanag* of the Anishinaabeg and modern methodologies, provide a greater sense of the region and highlight the centrality of rivers (and river systems) to indigenous lifeways. By using modern methods (such as climate-charting), to track and corroborate Nanabush's chronicles (when he learned the basic requirements for life: fire making, food acquisition, canoe making, learning history and medicine), we can assemble a more complete ecological history of the St. Mary's River and its early populations. The Anishinaabeg's Creation Story of Baawitigong (and greater St. Mary's River) provides an instructive example of how Anishinaabeg's Oral Traditions, and modern-methods, provide similar accounts of the geographical formation of the Great Lakes. In this history of the St. Mary's River, Nenaboovhoo (Nanabush) and Mishi-amik (Giant Beaver) are seen as responsible for the creation of this impressive geographical feature on the St. Mary's River. Where, modern methods give greater weight to the influence of water, in the creation of this river. Yet these differing approaches to describing the St. Mary's River are not necessarily conflicted.

Anishinaabe scholars Darrel Manitowabi and Alan Corbiere, have explained, the creation of the St. Mary's River within these traditions, was attributed to Nanabush's interactions with natural players.[94] They describe how:

> Nenaboovhoo heard of Mishi-amik or "giant beaver" who was menacing the Anishinabek, so he sought to kill it. This giant beaver made a dam at Sault Ste, Marie

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[94] Darrel Manitowabi and Alan Corbiere, "Anishinabek & Mushkegowuk The Indigenous Peoples of Northeastern Ontario", in Come on Over!: Northeastern Ontario A to Z. by Dieter K. Buse and Graeme Stewart Mount (Scrivener Press, 2011), 17.

> and created a pond that is now called Lake Superior, or Gichi-gamin (Big Lake). Neneboozhoo went to the dam and erected stakes where he intended to break the dam. These stakes would allow the water to rush out but would trap an escaping beaver. Nenaboozhoo broke the dam, but Mishi.amik escaped by breaking through the stakes, the remnants of these stakes now cause the rapids, and all of the debris from the beaver's dam became the many islands along the north shore of Lake Huron. Nenaboozhoo continued causing trouble down by Lake Erie, and was chased up to Manitoulin. There, he picked up his grandmother and ran with her on his back, but he soon tired. About to be descended upon, he dumped his grandmother in Lake Mindemoya (inland lake on Manitoulin Island). She became Mndimoo-wenh Mnis (Old Lady Island), now called Treasure Island. He continued on, but dropped his michigiw (spearhead) and spearhandle. As a result, the Anishinabek call this place "Michigiwa-dinong," meaning "bluff in the shape of a spear." (Eventually this word became "M'Chigeeng." This land formation comprises part of the Cup-and-Saucer north of the M'Chigeeng First Nation, Manitoulin Island).[95]

The forces of Earth and Water created the Anishinaabeg's ecosystem and informed the Anishinaabe culture. In this story-telling form, the Anishinaabeg are able to embed important eco-cultural information into these histories, which helps preserve this information.

The interconnectivity of eco-cultural relations, starkly evident in the oral record of the St. Mary's River; albeit, presented in a different form than modern science. The Anishinaabeg attribute Nanabush as being responsible for the specific formation of the St. Mary's River, which made it fit for human habitation; and the stories of his early travels, serve as a way to track early-human populations in the region in the years immediately after the flood. More than this, by understanding the natural properties, and importance of water to ecology (as the Anishinaabeg do) helps to demonstrate that water not only defines the Great Lakes, it had also created them, shaped them, and served as an author and actor, on its history. The sciences of hydrology and geology helps support this early account. By suggesting that the early St. Mary's River and valley were formed in between 12,000-9,000 years before present; when the run-off from the Superior basin glacier broke a barrier at Baawitigong, and the subsequent flooding then shaped the region, and the river.[96]

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[95] Ibid, 17.

[96] Walter Duffy and Ted Batterson. The St. Marys River, 6-7.

Not only do both source bases suggest that the St. Mary's River was formed at the same time as a period of Great Flooding and mass extinctions in the region, these descriptions describe similar hydrographical processes which created of the river. Here, the descriptions of the Anishinaabeg are paralleled by those provided by scientists. Biologist William Tonn, has described the importance of violent water cycles in the creation of a new geography:

> following the Wisconsian glaciation in central North America, geological and hydrological events shaped the [Great Lakes] watershed and provided or blocked specific pathways for the recolonization of glaciated areas. Large volumes of meltwater were produced, forming periglacial lakes whose overflow created new stream channels that connected these lakes to river systems in the south.[97]

Anthropologists Lovis, Donahue, and Holman, equally, describe how:

> Like the waterways, the abundant wetlands and marshes in the area, as well as the several small lakes drained by creeks, are glacial in origin. The glacial topography variously includes end moraines consisting of debris deposited at the glacial margins, till plains characterized by materials deposited as the ice retreated, and outwash channels along the rivers.[98]

Geographers further suggest that this dam across the top of the St. Mary's River was eventually eroded, which worked to drain the upper lands, and formed the St. Mary's River, St. Joseph Island, and Manitoulin Island.[99] This scientific data strikes a remarkable parallel to the Anishinaabeg (millennia old) descriptions, of the way in which the breaking of a dam at the rapids worked to wash out the St. Mary's River channel and shape its islands.

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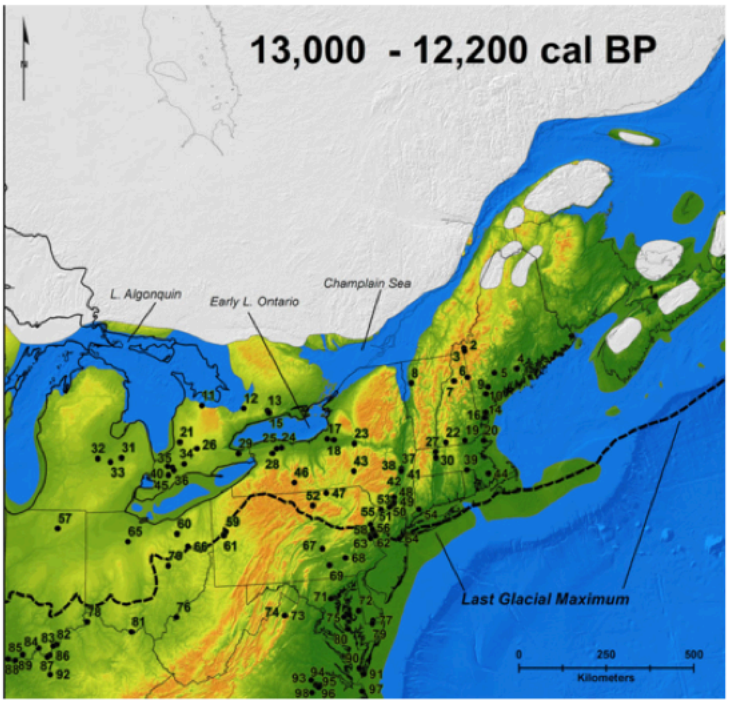
[97] William M. Tonn, "Climate change and fish communities: a conceptual framework." *Transactions of the American Fisheries Society* 119, no. 2 (1990): 337-352., 342-343.

[98] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility as an organizing principle among northern hunter-gatherers: a Great Lakes Middle Holocene settlement system." *American Antiquity* 70, no. 4 (2005), 682.

[99] "Late Pleistocene landscapes and early Paleoindian site locations in the Northeast, circa 13,000-12,200 cal yr BP" in Jonathan Lothrop (et. al.), "Early Human Settlement of Northeastern North America." *PaleoAmerica* 2, no. 3 (2016).



"Late Pleistocene landscapes and early Paleoindian site locations in the Northeast, circa 13,000-12,200 cal yr BP" in Jonathan Lothrop (et. al.), "Early Human Settlement of Northeastern North America." *PaleoAmerica* 2, no. 3 (2016).

Geographers attribute glacial debris accumulated around this region as responsible for creating a land mass which connected the highlands at the mouth of the St. Mary's River and what is now St. Joseph Island (and Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron).[100] Geographers point to this period as one of high water-levels, as deglaciation dumped water and debris formed a dam on the north of the St. Mary's River. What the Anishinaabeg describe as part of a "Great Flood" climatologists describe as marking the "Holocene Boundary" distinguished by a period of dramatic heating (c. 11,700 ybp.). Generally, the early Holocene Period was affected by "Altithermal" or "Hypsithermal" climates, which created a dry, warm, ecosystem.[101] An example of the flooding process which formed the St. Mary's River, is particularly clear on St. Joseph Island (*Payentanassin*).[102] Where the Great Flooding from the end of the Pleistocene Era, was now replaced by a climate which drained these massive bodies of water. This run-off, forming smaller prototypes of the modern-Great Lakes into the Holocene; within this water system, an early version of the St. Mary's River could be found.

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[100] John Roblin Abbott, Graeme Stewart Mount, and Michael J. Mulloy. *The History of Fort St. Joseph* (Dundurn, 2000,) 16.

[101] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 676.

Despite their difference in form, these approaches are unanimous in their conclusions. All these approaches to the past, suggest similar mechanisms led to the creation of the St. Mary's River. Anishinaabe Oral Traditions describe how: "Nenaboozhoo broke the dam, but Mishi.amik escaped by breaking through the stakes, the remnants of these stakes now cause the rapids, and all of the debris from the beaver's dam became the many islands along the north shore of Lake Huron."[103] Where biologist Toon describes, how "geological and hydrological events shaped the [Great Lakes] watershed and provided or blocked specific pathways... Large volumes of meltwater were produced, forming periglacial lakes whose overflow created new stream channels".[104] Although their form differs slightly, when read together, the consistencies between oral traditions and scientific studies works to paint a clearer picture of the early history of the St. Mary's River. Both source bases, describe the role of water pressure in creating the St. Mary's River's structure; and in particular the important rapids at its head (Baawitigong). Further describing how glacial flooding worked to flatten the region below the river; filling the region with a rich supply of soil.

The Anishinaabeg also record a period of great extinctions, and the rapid adaptation by new species. These physical changes around the St. Mary's River are also picked up on by Jacquelyn L. (et al), which suggests that between 17,000 to 9,000 years ago, the upper Midwest United States, housed "parent vegetation formations that were compositionally unlike any today."[105] They described a forest of mixed boreal conifers (spruce, and larch) coexisting with broadleaf species (ash, ironwood, and elm).[106] Wilson notes how deciduous forest replaced pine (initially oak and elm) before the Holocene, when oak and hickory became more predominant in the region.[107] Both source bases describe, how the climate, geography, and ecology of the St. Mary's River changed dramatically during this period.

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[102] Joseph E. Bayliss and Mrs Estelle McLeod Bayliss. *River of Destiny: The Saint Marys* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955), 120.

[103] Darrel Manitowabi and Alan Corbiere, "Anishinabek & Mushkegowuk",17.

[104] William M. Tonn, "Climate change and fish communities: a conceptual framework." *Transactions of the American Fisheries Society* 119, no. 2 (1990), 342-343.

It was during this time, that early Anishinaabeg populations tried to make sense of, and gain sustenance from, this new environment; notably in imposing strict sets of rules for the use of animals and plants through the Midewiwin. As Johnston explains, indigenous stories recognize that plants are integral for human and animal life, and changes to plants had dramatic consequences for humans and animals after the flood.[108] In the face of the mega-flora extinctions of the flooding-period, came the need to adapt. *Aadizookaanag* are particularly important sources in this case, as they highlight how, by removing species of plants or animals, their epistemological views were shifted as well. Understanding the specific information embedded within these oral traditions, also requires a sophisticated understanding of indigenous storytelling, and regional ecology, across a *longue durée*.

The shifting interactions between plants, animals, and people, are recorded within the oral traditions. Which describe how the same heating phase which allowed for this growth of deciduous forest, also created a dramatic period of mass animal extinctions in the area, and the establishment of new species.[109] For instance, the Holocene warming saw the shifting of the Mastodon north (before their eventual extinction), at which time, these populations were over-taken by population of caribou, elk, moose, and deer in the region (roughly 13,000-

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[105] Jacquelyn L. Gill, John W. Williams, Stephen T. Jackson, Katherine B. Lininger, and Guy S. Robinson. "Pleistocene megafaunal collapse, novel plant communities, and enhanced fire regimes in North America." *Science* 326, no. 5956 (2009), 1100.

[106] Ibid, 1100.

[107] Richard Leland Wilson, "The Pleistocene Vertebrates of Michigan", *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letter* Vol. LII (1967). 228-229.

[108] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 34-35.

[109] Ibid, 18-28.

10,000 ybp.).[110] The modern sources help to match these shifts to a specific timeline, by highlighting specific shifts across time. Together, these sources describe how in this time of flux, many of the surviving species of large herbivores (including caribou, elk, and moose), moved into their Northern ranges across an ecological borderland, which began slightly south of Baawitigong. Tracking the relationship which these early Anishinaabeg populations had with animals, helps provide further information as to how (and when) the Anishinaabeg first settled at Baawitigong; information, which is generally inaccessible through modern methods alone. For example, the Wolf-Human, and Dog-Human stories of the Anishinaabeg, speaks to changes to local-flora during this time; and provides an intellectual framework through which to track Anishinaabeg history forward, through the Archaic Period (and extending to today).

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[110] Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Around the Shores of Lake Michigan: A Guide to Historic Sites* (University of Wisconsin Pres, 1985), 4.

Section III: The Relationship Between the Original Man, and Wolf: Tracking Early-Holocene Development on the Great Lakes, through the Human-Wolf Relationship

In one of the first Anishinaabe histories from after the Great Flood, the Original Man (also depicted as Nanabush) was tasked with naming all the new geographic features, plants, and animals; which had recently been created. Midewiwin leader, and academic, Benai-Benton describes how in the post-flood world, the: "Original Man and Ma-en'-gun walked the Earth and came to know all of her. In this journey, they became very close to each other. In this journey, they became like brothers."[111] This can also be seen in the ways that Wolf taught humans important lessons in how to track prey, efficient hunting styles, and where to place a summer village with guaranteed game supplies. Anishinaabe writers, Basil Johnston, Benton-Benai, and George Copway, have all highlighted the specific importance of lessons taught by animals for the survival of the Anishinaabeg; and how this influenced the Anishinaabeg's political structures over-time.[112] In this way, the patterns of animals also provide a model to explore the early-Holocene lifeways of the St. Mary's River's populations. The use of animal patterns, ecological models, and oral traditions together, works to demonstrate that the distinct Anishinaabeg-woodland identity began to be formed amongst the populations on the St. Mary's River by at least 8,500 ybp.; several millennia earlier than generally believed. The Story of Original Man and Wolf is set immediately after the Great Flood (roughly 14,000-10,000 ybp.) when the Original Man (sometimes depicted as Nanabush), and Wolf, are given the task of exploring this New World from the Great Creator. The relationship between Original Man and Wolf in this history, speaks specifically to the importance of the human-animal relationship during the Holocene Period.

This history provides information which scientists can only theorize about, but which the Oral Traditions of the Anishinaabeg describe in greater detail. On this historic journey,

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[111] Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 7.

[112] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 46
Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 7.

Nanabush travelled with wolf, both were attempting to bring order to the disorder of the Pleistocene Epoch. During this process, and: "In their closeness, they realized that they were brothers to all of the Creation."[113] The history recounts how Wolf served as an important companion, guide, and teacher to early man. As described by Benton-Benai: "Both the Indian and the wolf have come to be alike and experience the same thing. Both of them have a mate for life. Both have a Clan system and a tribe."[114] This human-wolf relationship, also means that tracking wolf (and other animals) today, can allow for more complex reconstructions of early-Holocene annual-movements of humans around the St. Mary's River.

This Oral Tradition speaks specifically to the importance of Original Man's (and animals') adaptations to the new ecology after the flood. Wandering in the young world, Original Man (along with Wolf) were tasked with naming all of the new geographic formations, plants, and animals; which speaks to the ecological-effects of the "Great Flood," and the emergence of a new world amid geographic and ecological changes.[115] For both humans, and wolves, these changes necessitated a change to their hunting-strategies, catered to the changing availability of prey.[116] The Original Man (or Nanabush) and Wolf, worked together to develop an understanding of how to survive in this post-flood world. While there were many important animals to these human populations, the specific mention of the wolf-man relationship in this Oral Tradition, begs further historical consideration.

This history in particular, raises important questions about how (and when) this new ecology led to the formation of specific Anishinaabe culture and lifeway patterns. It also answers important ecological questions, and even speaks the separation between humans and wolves, and the domestication of dogs (c. 8,500) by the beginning of the Archaic Period. By describing how changing animal populations, worked to affect the Anishinaabeg directly, the Anishinaabeg acknowledge that these calamitous events were part of interconnected phenomena. Which in turn, worked to inform the early concepts of the Anishinaabe identity; and marked a shift towards the regionalized specializations which helps to distinguish woodlands culture. In this culture, animals were to be respected, as each played an important role because the human-animal relationship was acknowledged as necessary for human existence.[117] As the spheres of animal species changed during the mass extinction, the Anishinaabeg-Animal relationship changed as well.

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[113] Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book*, 7.

[114] Ibid, 8.

[115] As Gross explains of the Anishinabeg Oral tradition, which "primarily concern Bebaamosed, the One Who Walks Around, otherwise known as Wenaboozhoo." (see: Lawrence Gross, "Some elements of American Indian pedagogy", 16).

[116] John Alroy's computer simulation of humans and large herbivories in North America during the end of the Pleistocene, correctly predicted the survival/extinction of 32 of 41 of the prey species. (see: John Alroy, "A Multispecies Overkill Simulation of the End-Pleistocene Megafaunal Mass Extinction", *Science* Vol. 292, Issue 5523, (June 8, 2001), 1893).

In this period of mass-extinction, their histories seem to suggest that the Anishinaabeg relied heavily on a variety of animals; but their relationship with wolves in particular, was integral to their survival in this tumultuous period. Basil Johnston explains that: “Without the animals the world would not have been; without the animals, the world would not be intelligible.”[118] Through exposure, humans and wolves formed a bond of trust in this rapidly changing ecosystem.[119] Katherine Anne Usik’s work on the Anishinaabeg-Wolf relationship, demonstrates how the Anishinaabeg acknowledge the wolf as a particularly important animal. It was through these animals specifically, that the Anishinaabeg learned to explore non-human logics, in the acquisition of new knowledge, and skills.[120] Usik explains that wolf populations can teach humans important lessons, including how to track migratory-prey (such as the caribou), where to position a summer camp, and how to avoid over hunting a specific species. So close was the Anishinaabeg's initial relationship with wolves, that the migratory patterns of human populations and wolves would have had a great deal of overlap.

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[117] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 46-49.

[118] Ibid, 49.

[119] Juliet Clutton-Brock, "Origins of the dog: domestication and early history." *The domestic dog: Its evolution, behaviour and interactions with people* (CUP, 1995), 7-10.

[120] Explaining, how the wolf taught the Anishinaabeg to rely more heavily on sounds and smell (and less on sight), to be aware of animal-droppings to track animals, and the inter-connectivity of animal species. (see: Katherine Anne Usik, “The Hunt for Ma’iingan: Ojibwe Ecological Knowledge and Wolf Hunting in the Great Lakes”, (Master of Arts thesis, University of Iowa, 2015), 22-60).

In fact, the long-distance mobility practices of early human-populations on the St. Mary's River (outlined by anthropologists Lovis, Donahue and Holman), were directly influenced by the life-cycles of animals. Which means that tracking caribou-reliant wolf packs in similar ecological environments today, can help map the migratory patterns of the Anishinaabeg during this early-period of history. This in line with the Anishinaabeg belief that the animals were important educators, and the wolf (as an apex pack predator) had a number of lessons to teach. Alexander Paterson has looked at how the Anishinaabeg view ecology, and has described how the Anishinaabeg "have a viable political system that brings 'nature' into their political equation."[121] An example of using "nature" to inform their political decisions, was observing wolves, in order to select a summer village with a steady access to prey animals. Monitoring the movements of wolves therefore, increased the success rates of these early Anishinaabeg around the St. Mary's River.

Monitoring the movements, behaviours, and hunting strategies of wolves, was an important strategy for accessing prey. Tracking these animals took an intimate understanding of wolf-behaviour, and other natural-cycles, but was an important skill. As Johnston explains:

> There is in animals a unique capacity to sense the changes of the world, the alteration of seasons, and the coming state of things. Man does not have the preknowledge possessed by blue bird, or trout or squirrel. For man to prepare, he looked to his elder brothers.[122]

Wolves were used as forecasters by the Anishinaabeg, and influenced the positioning of their camps. Which means that, the movements of wolves were an important way that the early-Anishinaabeg modelled their own lifeways around the Great Lakes in the early Holocene.

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[121] Alexander Douglas Paterson, "World-Ecology and the Biskaabiiyang", 10.

[122] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 52.

In Canada, there are still wolves which rely predominantly on large migratory animals (such as Caribou) for most of the year; just as the early Holocene populations of humans and wolves did during this early period of St. Mary's River History. Modern studies on these wolves, help to demonstrate the extent to which they possess "a unique capacity to sense the changes of the world, the alteration of seasons, and the coming state of things".[123] Despite these wolves' reliance on Caribou, they create their summer dens hundreds of kilometres away from Caribou herds; leaving the larger prey of the subarctic plains, in favour for the smaller game housed in boreal woodlands. This strategy depends on the wolves' ability to predict fall migrations months in advance, in order to meet-up with this herd after the summer. More than predicting migration routes in advance, wolves are also able to easily find migrating caribou herds if their summer camps cannot support their hunting needs. In this way, signs from wolves, could help inform important human decisions for the entire year, including: where to position their own communities, when game was depleted in a region, and how to track the migrations of other animals.

The lessons wolves taught on hunting and conservation, were embraced by the Anishinaabeg. As Johnston explains, that from their older brothers (the animals), the Anishinaabeg also learned practical methods of conservation.[124] Multiple modern studies, highlight that wolves have beneficial effects for prey species, and large ecosystems.[125] Wolves work to thin weaker members from the herd, decreasing competition for resources, lessens risk of disease, and works to strengthen the bloodline of the herd. They also tend to help keep competition between prey species balanced, by specializing in the hunting of a particular species when that species numbers become too high. The fact that these caribou-reliant wolves, tend not to den near calving sites, further speaks to the wolves' importance understanding of conservation. What is more, is that even when with young pups, when times are tough wolves will travel vast distances to prey on herds of caribou. In this way, where a wolf established a den could serve as an Almanac for the up-coming months.

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[123] Ibid, 52.

[124] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 58.

[125] Kristin Marshall., Adrian C. Stier, Jameal F. Samhouri, Ryan P. Kelly, and Eric J. Ward demonstrate that wolves also adjust their hunting-patterns when a certain species becomes too heavily populated. Having their pups in the woodlands can bring separate them from their primary prey by vast distances. Which has led Frame, Cluff and Hik to conclude that "It is reasonable to think that the spatial separation of denning wolves from their main prey for part of summer influences reproductive success."
See: Paul F. Frame, H. Dean Cluff, and David Hik, "Wolf Reproduction of Caribou Migration and Industrial Development on the Central Barrens of Mainland Canada", *Arctic*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (June 2008), 135-138.
Kristin Marshall., Adrian C. Stier, Jameal F. Samhouri, Ryan P. Kelly, and Eric J. Ward. "Conservation challenges of predator recovery." *Conservation Letters* 9, no. 1 (2016): 70-78.

The movements of wolves, therefore serves as an important way to understand the early development of Anishinaabeg culture. Lessons from the wolves, directly informed these peoples' lifeways, and annual cycles, including: where to position their own communities, and how long they could live in a region before game became scarce. Scientists investigating this wolf-caribou relationship, such as Frame, Cluff and Hik, point to evidence that wolves are able to successfully position these sites in regions that will guarantee maximum exposure to caribou during their autumn migrations; predicting the route these ungulates will use months in advance.[126] Demonstrating how these modern scientific studies on wolves echo the traditional knowledge of the Anishinaabeg. The latter which, highlights the forecasting ability of the animals, and the importance of the human-wolf relationship on the St. Mary's River during the early-Holocene Period. This Anishinaabeg History of Man and Wolf, therefore highlights how these early humans relied directly on animals for survival.

These early Anishinaabe histories also depict larger trends of changing ecological-relationships around the St. Mary's River during this period.[127] Investigating the wolf-human relationships on the St. Mary's River during the early-Holocene Period, paints a clearer picture of the adaptations made by humans (and animals) in the St. Mary's River region; in the wake of the dramatic environmental changes which occurred during the Pleistocene

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[126] Paul Frame, Dean Cluff, and David Hik, "Wolf Reproduction of Caribou Migration", 135.
[127] Katherine Anne Usik, "The Hunt for Ma 'iingan", 30.

Epoch. The Wolf-Man relationship was so intrinsic to the Anishinaabeg's survival during this period, that it has been preserved within their accounts of the Original Man (sometimes depicted as Nanabush). It describes how this relationship saw human and wolves hunting large herbivores together. This was a mutually-beneficial relationship, and an early example of *bimaadiziwin* (living a good life) which used the Great Laws of nature, to make hunting much more efficient for both humans and wolves. It is likely that the first human village on the St. Mary's River (c. 12,000-10,000 ybp.), was reliant upon the relationship between humans and wolves; this location, was perhaps chosen by the Anishinaabeg, because a pack of wolves had decided to place their summer den in close proximity to its shores.

Section IV: The First Village at Baawitigong (12,000-10,000 ybp.)

Baawitigong's ability to support human and animal life, eventually allowed the early Anishinaabeg populations to develop new lifeway patterns which were specifically adapted to the traits of the St. Mary's River region. On the St. Mary's River, Bogue points this first evidence of human inhabitation coinciding with the period of transition between the early spruce and fir forest, to pine; which likely worked to initially support large Ice Age herbivores.[128] Deloria describes a general trend throughout North America, which saw people tracking these animals "south to north along river valleys."[129] Tonn points to the importance of north-south water-ways to fish species in the early-Holocene period, as various species of fish migrated northward, predators would have followed, helping bring additional animals, and eventually people, into the region.[130] Rivers (and rapids in particular), were important to these migrations, and served as important breeding grounds for plants and animals; drawing in the first human populations to the newly-formed St. Mary's River. The early human population on the St. Mary's River were representative of this trend, tracking remnant large animals across glacial strandlines, still reliant on Pleistocene prey and hunting strategies; likely hunting the caribou, mastodon, elk, moose, and musk ox, alongside wolves.[131] These early-human populations on the St. Mary's River, were composed of largely nomadic groups, who tracked animal populations long-distances in the midst of ecological-fluctuations; wanders alongside wolves, just as the Original Man was after the Flood, in the Oral Traditions of the Anishinaabeg.

The early-Anishinaabeg populations, and other predators (such as wolves), began to follow these prey animals north, which likely led to the first human village at Baawitigong.

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[128] Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Around the Shores of Lake Michigan*, 4.
[129] Vine Deloria Jr,. *Red Earth, White Lies*, 230.
[130] William Tonn, "Climate change and fish communities", 342.
[131] "Master Plan of Archaeological Resources City of Sault Ste. Marie Technical Report", Archaeological Services Inc. (December 8, 2011), 5.

As the only gateway connecting the warmer southern lakes with the colder northern water systems, the St. Mary's River was an important highway for fish species, animals, and people alike.[132] These various animals' migrations, corresponds to the earliest archaeology evidence of human-presence in the region.[133] During this period, at least one of these hunter groups, camped about one kilometre north of modern-day Leigh Bay; leaving behind them, the earliest known artefacts in the region.[134] Yet despite the rich indigenous histories from this time, historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists still struggle to describe the Upper Great Lakes during the early- and middle- Holocene.

Archaeologist Meghan Howey, has pointed to human inhabitation of the Upper Great Lakes from roughly 12,000-10,000 ybp.[135] While archaeologists Walter Duffy and Ted Batterson, point to archaeological evidence which suggests human occupation of the St. Mary's Valley from at least 11,000 years before present.[136] Archaeologist K. Dawson meanwhile, places the first human inhabitation of the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior at around 10,000 ybp. [137] The variance between these timelines is representative of the uncertainty surrounding this period. Uncertainty caused (in part), by the fluctuating water-levels throughout this period, which have led to a distinct lack of archaeological-records. The scarcity of archaeological evidence, makes the *aadizookaanag* of the Anishinaabeg pertaining to this period, particularly important sources to explore these poorly understood early villages around the St. Mary's River.

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[132] William Tonn, "Climate change and fish communities", 342.

[133] Meghan Howey, *Mound Builders and Monument Makers of the Northern Great Lakes, 1200-1600* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 34.

[134] "Master Plan of Archaeological Resources City of Sault Ste. Marie"., 5.

[135] Ibid, 34.

[136] Walter Duffy and Ted R. Batterson. "The St. Marys River", 11.

[137] K. Dawson, "A History of Archaeology in Northern Ontario in 1983, with Bibliographic Contributions." Ontario Archaeology 42 (1984), 28.
The "Master Plan of Sault Ste. Marie Archaeological Resources", points to early human contact on the Great Lakes from 11,000-10,000 ybp., evidenced by "Lakehead Complex" tools, including: lanceolate tips of projectiles, unifacial scrapers, and both semi-lunate and leaf-shaped knives. (see: "Master Plan of Archaeological Resources City of Sault Ste. Marie", 5.)

But even with the inclusion of oral traditions, it is difficult to track this period of history. It is an era, which suffers from a scant archaeological record, and has been influenced by inaccuracies in the Bering Straits theory, and interpretations by archaeologists who did not understand Indigenous people (or their history). As Deloria explains, "Matching traditions about floods and the creation of lakes, rivers, and inland seas is somewhat more difficult, since the water is an erosive force that can wipe out otherwise useful signs of age."[138] The sheer force of water erosion, did in fact work to destroy much of the fossil, archaeological, evidence in the St. Mary's River region. Much of the organic matter that remains from this time is either submerged or buried, meaning that there is a distinct lack of archaeological clues from this early period.[139] The archaeological and ethno-historical work by Charles Bishop and Estelle Smith, corroborates a sense of the fragmentary nature of knowledge on the early-history of the upper Great Lakes.[140] Or, as anthropologists Lovis, Donahue, and Holman have written: "The Middle Holocene human adaptations of the upper Great Lakes region are a poorly understood phenomenon."[141] In this region of great flux the use of multiple source bases is particularly essential, as water erosion worked to destroy most signs of human occupancy, and submerge other physical evidence of this period.

This lack of physical evidence, helps make the histories of the early journeys of Nanabush (in the post-Flood World) particularly important to investigations of this past. Using these Anishinaabe accounts as a framework, modern studies may help add information to this narrative. For instance, Richard Wilson has used of pollen profiles, to outline the development of early forestation following glaciation, pointing to an initial spruce forest, followed by a predominantly pine forest during the end of this period.[142] Which Lovis, Donahue, and Holman suggest, formed enough grassland, woodlands, marshes, and open-bodies of water in the area to support a variety of species. This mixed boreal forest-grassland region along the glacier ridge, would have initially been able to support a wide variety of species who had survived the Pleistocene period. On the heels of this climatic shift however, came new types of forestation, mass extinction, and (relatively) rapid evolutions, that formed a new world for the living beings in the Great Lakes region.[143]

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[138] Vine Deloria Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies*, 207.

[139] Ashley Kate Lemke, "Great Lakes Rangifer and Paleoindians: Archaeological and paleontological caribou remains from Michigan." *PaleoAmerica* 1, no. 3 (2015): 276-283., 4.

[140] Charles A. Bishop, and M. Estellie Smith. "Early historic populations in northwestern Ontario: Archaeological and ethnohistorical interpretations." *American Antiquity* 40, no. 1 (1975): 54-63., 54, 58.

[141] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 669.

This made human-animal relationships particularly important during this period. An anthropological study on the region conducted by Lovis (et al.), provides a framework to approach human-migration patterns in the early-pine-forests of Michigan.[144] Their study provides us a rough outline of these populations' subsistence patterns and helps to explain some cultural adaptation on the St. Mary's River during this period; but once again, this analysis could be taken further with consideration of the Anishinaabeg's Oral Traditions, and of larger ecological transitions.[145] Read together, the traditional histories of the Anishinaabeg and modern methodologies, suggest that there are cultural consistencies between the early Great Lakes Anishinaabeg, and the modern population, stretching back for over ten millennia. Further highlighting the interconnectivity that the Anishinaabeg people feel towards the Great Lakes, by demonstrating the importance of the St. Mary's River to the Anishinaabeg, since the physical creation of this river.

Further than this, these epistemological approaches to the past (from the Anishinaabeg), also stand to help advance contemporary approaches by scientists, historians, and conservationists; by allowing them to track shifting-natural baselines (through cultural adaptations made by the Anishinaabeg) from the Great Flood of the early-Holocene Period, to today. In the case of the Anishinaabeg's use of the St. Mary's River, the inclusion of oral traditions works to raise serious issues with the common historiography of the early-history of the Anishinaabeg (which were largely-influenced by an out-dated belief in the Bering Straits Migrations).[146] As continued education was not only the key to survival for the early-Anishinaabeg, it was also the key to achieving *bimaadiziwin*, adaptations to ecological shifts can now be used to back-track the development of a distinct proto-Woodlands identity of the Anishinaabeg people on the St. Mary's River.

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[142] Richard Leland Wilson, "The Pleistocene Vertebrates of Michigan", 228-229.

[143] By using ethnographic records of hunter-gathering populations in Mesolithic England, to track the Holocene-adaptations of populations in modern-day Michigan, Lovis' (et al.) reconstruction of Upper Michigan is also important. These are modelled after Northern-European lifeways in the early Holocene Period, which were similar to the upper Great Lakes ecosystems (see: William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 669).

[144] "Master Plan of Archaeological Resources", 5.

[145] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 669.

Shifting ecological baselines into the middle of the Holocene period, suggest that the Anishinaabeg began developing distinctly woodland traits during this period of forestation. This adaptation was necessitated by dramatic shifts in which prey animals were available, the location of edible plants, and by the geographic structure of their region. Through locating edible plants in season, in regions with good hunting, the early Anishinaabeg learned lessons which were incorporated into their oral histories. Through the repetition of these histories, these lessons then began to directly influence the Anishinaabeg identity. This approach suggests that the formation of a distinctly *woodlands* Anishinaabeg identity occurred over five millennia older than previously believed. Demonstrating that distinct Anishinaabeg (and great woodland) cultural traits, began to develop on the St. Mary's River region, as early as the Holocene Period. Today, understanding the relationship between the information contained in these oral histories and their relationship to shifts in natural baselines, are the key to understanding the early history of the St. Mary's River.

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[146] Paulette Steeves, "Decolonizing the Past and Present of the Western Hemisphere",42-47.

Section V: The Origin Story of Dog: how the domestication of dog demonstrates the shifting of lifeways on the St. Mary's River (9,000-8,000 ybp.)

This understanding of the early history of the St. Mary's River can be taken even further, by exploring the specific relationship between the early Anishinaabe populations and animals during this period of flux (9,000-7,000ybp.). In this case, the Anishinaabeg's early history of dog may provide additional information about the history of the St. Mary's River; ecological shifts in the region, as well as the general history of dogs. The traditions surrounding Anishinaabeg's relationship with wolves (and their transition to a reliance on dogs) is accounted for in these stories; and speaks to larger ecological-shifts, as well as adaptations by humans (and animals) in the early-Holocene Era. The contrast between two Anishinaabeg's stories of: "Original Man and Wolf", and "Story of Dogs", in the context of a *new world* (after a Great Flood), speaks to a variety of important shifts. It is not only a story about the physical-breeding of animosh (dog or *canis lupus familiaris*), which distinguishing this species from its cousin the ma'iingan (wolf or *canis lupus*). But it is also an oral tradition that emphasizes the importance of the Anishinaabeg's connection to the environment, and animal world; a history, which highlights the time of great flux, and adaptations to this changing ecosystem. It is also significant, that this story points to dog's existence prior to this point, but links a changing human-dog relationship as changing this relationship into the Holocene and Archaic Periods. This story suggests, that canine domestication was part of a larger change in cultural operation, which lessened the reliance on long-range migration; in favour for seasonal nomadism and summer villages.

The story of dog therefore serves as an example of this adaptation process, towards a more distinctly Anishinaabe lifeway pattern. The domestication of dogs (c. 9000-8000 ybp.) marks a distinct change in the Human-Animal relationship, both in this history and more generally. This history, demonstrates that the original relationship between Original Man and Wolf had now been replaced by the domestication of dogs. Following the example of the animals, the Anishinaabeg adapted their lifeways to suit accommodate the changing animal species in the region. As the natural baseline of the region shifted, the early Anishinaabeg populations structured their lives around this new ecology. Signalling the reliance on distinctly-woodlands species, at the very beginning of the Archaic Period, when populations on the St. Mary's River began to rely more heavily on regionalized-woodland specializations for their survival. The oral tradition which inform the early years after the Great Flood, records how before the flood (and in the years immediately following it), the Anishinaabeg's ancestors had been able to speak directly with animals.

This ability to speak to animals, may be a reference to Ice Age people's ability to communicate with animals, when they relied exclusively on tracking large groups of herbivores across the vast icy plains of Ice Age North America; during which time, they often lived in close contact with a wide variety of animals. These populations relied on their ability to read the movements of these animals for food and for safety, and the movements of these animals largely dictated their annual cycles. Brenda Parlee, Micheline Manseau, and Łutsël K'é (Dene First Nation), have provided examples of human communicating with Ice Age animals (e.g. caribou) that can still be found today, by some nomadic indigenous populations.[147] The same is true of some people's ability to communicate with elephants (genetically similar to mastodons), and historian Daniel Stiles has demonstrated how elephants are still relied on by people as guides to freshwater, edible vegetation, and as a warning sign when predators are in the area.[148] Where specialists in Animal Psychology Laurie Bloomfield and Christopher Sturdy, have demonstrated how people can not only communicate with birds, but are now able to read their movements, and interpret their calls with incredible accuracy.[149]

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[147] Brenda Parlee, Micheline Manseau, and Łutsël K'é (Dene First Nation), "Using traditional knowledge to adapt to ecological change: Denésǫłıné monitoring of Caribou movements." *Arctic* (2005), 26-28.
[148] Daniel Stiles, "A history of the hunting peoples of the northern East Africa coast: ecological and socio-economic considerations." *Paideuma* (1982), 165-167.

This ability to communicate with animals has also been demonstrated by human-wolf encounters, and further demonstrated by the existence (and domestication) of dogs. Wolves in particular, are quite social creatures, who express themselves in a variety of ways. Ice Age people who hunted alongside wolves, must have developed an intimate understanding of wolves' body language, calls, growls, yips, barks and howls, over time. The social wolf, likely also became familiar with the behaviours, movements, and some important words in the human's language (much like how a dog learns to recognize the words "leash", "walk" and "treat").[150] This would suggest, that the ability to communicate directly with animals was an important trait for human survival in the Ice Age. The continued importance of the human-wolf relationship (after the Great Flood), is acknowledged by the Anishinaabeg in their description of the period. By the time that dogs became domesticated however, the wolf-human relationship was strained; possibly due to competition over food, or a separation between humans and wolves (as the Anishinaabeg transitioned to more seasonally nomadic cycles).

Forestation of the region may be responsible for this change. At the same time as the number of large plains herbivores of the Ice Age declined, the region of the St. Mary's River became covered in thick forests, interspersed with grasslands, marshes, and lakes. This new terrain housed different animal species, who tended to be smaller, and live in less clustered grouping patterns. During this time, the Anishinaabeg populations began to rely on different animals for food, which is recorded in these histories. Johnston recounts how: "The bear, who loved the newborn beings, offered his flesh so that the Anishnabeg would survive. Following the example of the bear, the deer, moose, porcupine, beaver, ground hog, grouse, and goose, and almost every animal being offered himself in sacrifice."[151] This new geography, and smaller prey, necessitated new hunting methods. No longer were the Anishinaabeg hunting massive prey over the plains of a subarctic ecosystem, exhausting these animals with long chases, before being able to harvest them. They now had to rely on tracking animals through the forest, hiding in wait, and harvesting more (smaller) animals.

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[149] Laurie Bloomfield and Christopher B. Sturdy. "All "chick-a-dee" calls are not created equally." *Behavioural Processes* 1, no. 77 (2008), 73-75.
[150] Erich D. Jarvis, "Learned Birdsong and the Neurobiology of Human Language." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1016 (2004) , 749-750.

While hunting in forests, it was less beneficial to hunt alongside wolves. Wolves are expert trackers, capable of chasing their prey over great distances, and of herding this prey into a trap. Humans by comparison, are particularly good at killing prey (or designing tools to kill prey), and are capable of harvesting several large animals in a single ambush. These individual skills, made humans and wolves important hunting partners when hunting large animals on the plains; where harvests of even a single animal, could help feed a population of humans and wolves. This dynamic with wolves changed, as the Anishinaabeg became increasingly reliant on woodlands prey for their subsistence. A wider variance of smaller (easier to kill) prey, meant that wolves were no longer required to exhaust large animals, and there was less food to share when hunting this game. Dogs however, were more pliable than their cousin the wolf, and could be trained to perform specific hunting duties.

This shift (from reliance on wolves, to reliance on dogs) is demonstrated in Basil Johnston's telling of how dogs became connected to man. A history, which is linked to the reason that wolves distanced themselves from humans. The domestication of dogs not only demonstrates the early importance of this human-wolf relationship, but it also highlights that the domestication of dog marked a larger shift in the Anishinaabeg's lifeways. Given larger ecological trends in the region, and the actions of the other animals in this story, it would seem that the domestication of dogs can also be equated with more sedentary lifeways on the

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[151] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 50.

St. Mary's River around 8,500 years ago. In the midst of greater-ecological change, these forms of Indigenous knowledge transmission highlight how a new world had emerged after a "Great Flood", a world with a different geography, climate, and ecology from before the "Great Flood". These changes are specifically highlighted by the changing relationship between Original Man immediately after the flood, and the changing human-wolf relationship after the domestication of dogs (generations later).

The Anishinaabeg's narrative approach helps to provide additional layers of information, which works to broaden our understandings of this warming period in the region; and how it worked to shift the annual-cycles, and territories, of humans and animals alike. Meaning that, better understandings of this transition can be obtained through the inclusion of oral traditions, and ethnographic understandings specific to the Anishinaabeg, into this anthropological (and archaeological) examination. In this story of dogs, animosity between humans and animals seems to be linked to living in-close proximity to each other (as a result of high-waters decreasing the availability of land). This oral tradition outlines that there was a general animosity felt towards humans by the animal populations during this desperate time, which resulted in a separation. This may also be a reference to the dispersal of several breeds heading from the exposure of the plains, to the more claustrophobic forest landscape developing on the Upper Great Lakes.

This story of dog, demonstrates how animals will change their own lifeways, if the actions of humans force a change. In this stressful environment, the animals eventually grew "weary of service," deciding instead that something must be done, "the animals convened a great meeting to gain their freedom."[152] The bear, who had been the first animal to give his flesh for the survival of humans, was now "chosen to be the first speaker and to act as chairman of the session."[153] Councils were taken very seriously within Anishinaabe culture, and were places where various view-points were to be discussed.[154] This history is therefore, not just a description of human behaviour. It is also a historical account of the Anishinaabeg's local ecology, which describes issues that affected both the Anishinaabeg and the regional animal populations over time. In this council meeting the bear (the animal who first surrendered its flesh to the Anishinaabeg) spoke first, addressing the rest of the animals.

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[152] Basil Johnston, Ojibway Heritage, 50.

Johnston reproduces the speech of the bear at this important council of animals, an environmental history, preserved through oral traditions.[155] Bear began with agenda, highlighting how:

> We are met to decide our destiny. We have been oppressed far too long by man. He has taken our generosity and repaid us with ingratitude; he has taken our friendship and fostered enmity among us.
>
> Either we continue to serve him or we withhold our labours. Are we to continue to serve? We shall come to an end. If we deny our labours we shall live. Should you choose the former, you must resign yourself to your fate. Should you prefer the latter, then you must consider the manner by which it is to be accomplished. Consider carefully.[156]

Just as with the Great Flood, the people of the Great Lakes saw themselves as responsible for their shifting role in the ecosystem, as a result of the breakdown in their covenant with the Natural World. Animals were now reacting to the lack of respect the Anishinaabeg were demonstrated towards them, leading to the punishment of man.

In their anger, many of the animals believed that humans deserved death for their violations. Dog was the first animal to stand up to the crowd. Facing the other animals, the dog told the other animals that:

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[153] Ibid, 50.

[154] Heidi Stark, "Respect, Responsibility, and Renewal: The foundations of Anishinaabe Treaty Making with the United States and Canada." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34, no. 2 (2010): 145-164.

[155] Basil Johnston, Ojibway Heritage, 50.

[156] Ibid, 50.

> "I am for life. I am for mercy…While, it is true, that man has been unkind, he has been unkind to all. There are many in this company who have not suffered. The cat, the vulture, the whippoorwill, the frog, the butterfly, the mouse, the humming-bird have, all of them, lived and worked, and rested without harm. To them man has been kind. Perhaps he has been somewhat thoughtless. Is this a good reason to wish him dead? Man does not deserve death; he deserves to live, even as we live."[157]

Although the dog gained some support to spare man, he was still worried about what the other animals might do. While other animals argued over who would kill man, the dog attempted to sneak away from the council to warn the Anishinaabeg of this danger.

As the dog left, he was unwittingly followed by the wolf, who was suspicious of dog's intention. This set of a series of events, which would forever change the dynamic between humans and animals on the Upper Great Lakes:

> Meanwhile, the other animals were back at the council where arguing over the appropriate action to take against humans. But these discussions were interrupted abruptly, when the wolf dragged dog back to the council, and told the other animals that the dogs had attempted to warn the Anishinabek. Wolf than stated that: "'This dog has betrayed us. He must be punished. A little while ago he made off almost unnoticed. But I saw him and followed. He went directly to the village of the Anishnabeg and divulged what we were discussing. This one and all the dogs must be punished.'"[158] The dog's attempt to warm humans, was met with outrage, when the other animals, who: seized the dogs and began to pummel them. But though the bear was as outraged as his brothers, he maintained his composure. He thundered out, 'Brothers, it is too late. To kill the dogs would be without purpose and substance. Rather let him endure his servitude. Let him serve man. Let him know man's fickleness.'
>
> Turning to the dog, the bear speaking on behalf of his brothers said, 'For your betrayal, you shall no longer be regarded as a brother among us. Instead of man, we shall attack you. Worse than this, from now on you shall eat only what man has left, sleep in the cold and rain, and receive kicks as a reward for your fidelity.[159]

This story represents a very different dynamic to when the Original Man and Wolf were brothers that roamed the earth together. Although when asked to kill man, wolf replied that "We cannot, and we dare not. Man is too clever."[160] In this later tale, it was wolf who warned the other animals of dog's treachery (in attempting to warn the Anishinaabeg about the other animals' intentions), and insisted that the dog be punished.

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[157] Ibid, 51.
[158] Ibid, 52.
[159] Ibid, 52.
[160] Ibid, 51.

This Story instead speaks to larger natural trends, which led to large scale human adaptations into the Archaic Period. In this later tale, Dog became a reminder to the Anishinaabeg to not allow this covenant with nature to fail again.[161] According to these traditions, the relationship between human and dog, was dog's punishment for protecting them from other animals: as the bear told dog, that now, all dogs "shall eat only what man has left, sleep in the cold and rain, and receive kicks as a reward for your fidelity."[162] In this Oral Tradition, the Anishinaabe's original brother (the wolf), now supported the destruction of humans, and stopped the closely-related dog, from warning humans. The significance of the timing of dog's domestication (at the end of the mass extinction roughly 8,500 ybp.), is information that helps further unlock the important information is contained within the oral tradition. The timing of dog's domestication, further highlights how this *aadizookaanag*, speaks to changing human-animal paradigm during this period.

At the same time as dogs became domesticated (between 8,000 to 5,000 ybp.), climate fluctuations saw the botany of the Michigan forest, shift into elm, maple and basswood in central Michigan. Directly south of the St. Mary's River, houses archaeological evidence of the Spotted Turtle, Painted Turtle, Blanding Turtle, Musk Turtle, Mallard, large-mouth bass, and the all-important beaver; who helped to create, and maintain, this wetland ecosystem.[163] Significantly, these findings parallel the Anishinaabeg's Oral Traditions, which point to both the turtle and the beaver in particular, as playing predominant roles in shaping the St. Mary's

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[161] Ibid, 51-53.

[162] Ibid, 52.

[163] Including: the spotted Turtle (Clemmy guttata), Painted Turtle (Chrysemys picta), Blanding Turtle (Emydoidea blandingi), Musk Turtle (Sternotherus odoratus) Mallard (Anas plathynchos), large-mouth bass (Micropterus salmoides) (see: William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 683).

River region. The flora and fauna surrounding the Upper Great Lakes shifted greatly during this period, when it began to resemble its modern ecology.

These woodlands were with dispersed grass-plains, marshlands, and smaller-lakes in the basins of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron; which allowed animals populations to disperse over a larger region, settling in different eco-zones. The regions around the St. Mary’s River now housed: mixed woodlands, grasslands, and marshes.[164] As water further receded, animals were able to further separate themselves from humans, settling into their preferred territories. These histories therefore, not only provide information on intra-species interactions and the cultural-growth of the Anishinaabeg, but also speaks to large-scale geographical and ecological changes during this period; and the importance of the St Mary’s River in managing this shift. This inclusion is made more important by the fact that much of the archaeological-record of the St. Mary’s River during this period did not survive, and there have been few artefacts found anywhere on the Canadian Shield from this period (in contrast to the southern region, where multiple sites have been discovered).[165]

This story of dog, speaks to the effects of the rapid forestation in the rich flood zones, after the receding glaciers, facilitated the growth of woodlands.[166] While it is interesting that both Anishinaabeg Oral Traditions, and geographers, have highlighted the importance of flooding to the creation of these geographic-features. It is important to recognize that the similarities of these source-bases do not end there, as both schools of thought also track the effects that this flooding had on the local populations of plants, animals, and people. Both schools of thought highlight the importance of this Great Flood, Holocene-ecology, and to the creation of specific Anishinaabeg lifeways on the St. Mary's River (and throughout greater-Great Lakes region). Both approaches also link this period of flooding to mass-extinctions, and the rapid development of new ecosystems, which ultimately resulted in a different nature-human relationship than the one which had existed during the Ice Age. The similarities between these schools of thought, highlight the need to further incorporate indigenous people, and knowledge sources, into academic studies.

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[164] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. “Long-distance logistic mobility”, 682.

[165] The archaeological record the Early and Middle Archaic periods are much sparser than that of the Late Archaic period around the St. Mary’s River (see: “Master Plan Of Archaeological Resources”, 6).
Lovis., Donahue, and Holman, explain that: “The Middle Archaic has rarely been the primary focus of archaeological investigations in Michigan because so little hard evidence is available. Normally, only isolated finds of diagnostic artifacts, mostly points, are found, and by comparison with earlier and later periods, these are rare.” (see: Lovis., Donahue, and Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility as an organizing principle among northern hunter-gatherer”, 669.).

[166] K. Dawson, "A History of Archaeology in Northern Ontario”, 28.

The stories together, work to illustrate the adaptations made by animals, and people, to the shifting ecosystem on the St. Mary's River. The domestication of dogs can therefore be framed as a proxy for larger recognition of a step change in cultural and environmental practices. Domesticated dogs became increasingly reliant on humans (and *vice versa*) around 8,500 ybp., at the same time that the post-Ice Age landscape's flora and fauna changed the hunting territories, and strategies employed by: wolves, humans, and other predators.[167] It demonstrates how this tumultuous time of climatic flux, severely-affected animal populations animals, which led to difficult times for people and animals alike; and shifted the human-animal relationship. The contrast between the first story of Original Man and Wolf, and the later-domestication of dogs, describes how the human-wolf relationship changed in the midst of ecological-change; and frame the human-dog relationship as a result of this change.

The early-Holocene human-animal relationships on the St. Mary's River were undoubtedly important; and remains a field which would benefit greatly, from more serious consideration of what Indigenous knowledge can provide to understandings of animal behaviour. The contrast between the Wolf and Man at the end of the Pleistocene (15,000-10,000 ybp.), compared to the Wolf-Man relationship at the time of the domestication of Dog (roughly 8,5000 ybp.), helps to support their assertions, that these lifeway patterns on the St.

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[167] Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations* (Toronto (ON): Oxford University Press, 2006), 2.

Mary's River became more regionalized by the beginning of the Nippissing Rise (7,000 ybp.); when rising-water levels necessitated the use of regionalized specializations into the Archaic Period (8,000-3,000 ybp.). The domestication of dogs, are both, a cause and a symptom of this shift. These histories together, demonstrate how Wolf was able to teach the Original Man after the flood (how to track and hunt the new prey); by hunting alongside man in this new world. Where Dog was able to fulfil some of these roles, they also were able to hunt alongside the Anishinaabeg in the dense woodlands.

Dogs also served as a reminder to humans, of the importance of Living according to the Great Laws of Nature. But the adopted reliance on dogs, represent only one of the many changes on the St. Mary's River during the early Archaic Period. Lovis, Donahue and Holman add to this argument, by describing how lower water-levels of the Stanley Period, necessitated adaptations to lifeways and epistemologies. They explain that summer communities began to be established for more months at a time, but also point to the use large-scale hunting-parties as a social-organization-system by the middle-Archaic Period.[168] Significantly, these Oral Traditions suggests that by the early-Archaic period, the populations on the St. Mary's River had begun their transition into a distinctly woodlands and water reliant people; who lived according to an annual, seasonal migration, with established villages within a territory. These seasonal-migratory patterns in a smaller territory, worked to define a distinct Woodland-culture in this new world; but equally, it was these ecological transitions, which necessitated that the Anishinaabeg adapted to this woodland world.

This changing environment and their subsequent adaptations, worked to define the Anishinaabeg, which is reflected in the mandate to learn from their environment through the teachings of Nanabush; and carried forward by the Midewiwin, oral traditions, and continued practice. These oral traditions, help to highlight how the world that had emerged after the flood, was indeed a new world; which led to a new culture, that was distinctly-different to the earlier age of deglaciation and flooding. Once again, relatively recent scientific-advancements have only helped to confirm what the *aadizookaanag* of the Anishinaabeg had been repeating for thousands of years. The *aadizookaanag*, like these scientific findings, highlight how the flooding after the last Ice Age did in fact, lead to the creation of a new world; one which necessitated the development of a new, distinctly Anishinaabeg (meaning: Original or Spontaneous People), and led to increasingly specialized lifeways and technologies within this new Great Lakes world.

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[168] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 671-673.

Section VI: Clear Markers of Anishinaabeg Woodland Traits on the St. Mary’s River by the beginning of the Archaic Period (8,000-7,000 ybp.)

In the early-Archaic period, larger villages began to be established in the St. Mary’s River region, as the human population became increasingly reliant on a pattern of seasonal-nomadism in the wake of rising water-levels. Compared to the flux of the post-flood period, the beginning of the “Archaic Period” marked the beginning of (relative) stabilization of Anishinaabeg lifeways on the upper-Great Lakes. On the St. Mary’s River, fishing seems to have been particular important to this transition towards seasonally nomadic living-patterns (around 7,000 ybp.); which is much earlier in the Archaic Period than previously assumed. This is because, the narrows of St. Mary’s River houses distinct geographic advantages, which helped its populations embrace a more woodland-centred identity much earlier than elsewhere. This is a theme picked-up on by Kenneth Dawson, who points to 7,000 ybp., as the time when early communities transitioned from a nomadic Paleoamerican hunting culture, into a woodlands culture which adapting to life in a forested region with open water around the Great Lakes.[169] During this period, populations around the St. Mary’s River transitioned from being solely reliant on hunter-gathering to adopt fishing and larger trade networks.[170] Recent developments in carbon dating, has allowed for the creation of a more complex re-creation of the St. Mary’s River during the Archaic Period. This evidence suggests that the convergence of large lakes, woodlands, beaches, marshes, islands, and streams on the St. Mary’s River, made it a particularly important breeding ground for a variety of species; further highlighting the nurturing influence that the Anishinaabeg associate with it, and which allows this history to be tracked into the modern period.

The St. Mary’s River region was home to new-born water fowl, migratory birds, resident birds, a diverse array of vegetation, fish, amphibians, and terrestrial animals.

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[169] K. Dawson, “A History of Archaeology in Northern Ontario”, 28.
[170] “Master Plan of Archaeological Resources City of Sault Ste. Marie Technical Report”, 6.

Wetlands housed alder shrubs, sedge meadows, and willow forests; as well as, washed-out flatlands, which dried out to become grassland systems during arid periods (and transformed into genetically diverse swampland during wetter-periods).[171] With a healthy-beaver population moulding the shape of rivers and creeks, the St Mary's was dominated by riverine dynamics: a thriving wetland-ecosystem with a diverse ecological make-up. By the Archaic period, mixed-coniferous and deciduous forests were also beginning to grow throughout the St. Mary's River region.[172] This region was marked by loamy soil, which created a rich environment for maples and beech trees, the northern peninsula (which starts on the southern-bank of the St. Mary's River) found birch, maple, and hemlock in abundance.[173] During warmer periods, sandy dunes could also be found along the southern river banks, which housed oak and hickory trees; and further south in the Great Lakes chain, the southern forests of the Carolinian Biotic Province began producing a rich array of nuts and fruit bearing-trees.[174]

While less of these fruit and nut trees are found in the northern-hardwoods forests around the St. Mary's River (which house important tree-species, such as birch and maple). These northern forests are interspersed with both hardwood, conifer trees (such as white pine).[175] Further north of the St. Mary's River, forests were largely composed of boreal-type trees, making it an important source of small animals with thick furs (for clothing); and the preferred home of woodland caribou and moose.[176] Beyond the different goods yielded from different tree species, the variety of forest biota meant the decomposition of different vegetation, a wide-variety of soil-types, and considerable genetic diversity.[177]

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[171] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 682.
[172] Ibid, 676.
[173] Ibid, 682.
[174] Ibid. 682.
[175] Ibid, 682.
[176] Ibid, 682.
[177] Ibid, 682.

Increasingly, a few locations within a specific territory combined, could support a human population for a full-year on the Great Lakes; which further lessened the need to follow the annual cycles of large herbivores. The St. Mary's River's position between three of the largest lakes in the world (with a variety of islands, tributaries, beaver marshes, and freshwater-reefs), was one of these locations. Its waters, also made it an important spawning site for a large variety of fish species. Its position on an ecological border-zone further allowed it to support a diverse combination of flora and fauna the sandy beaches, rocky ridges, and nutrient-rich lowlands around its banks meant that the St. Mary's River region could support both Carolinian and Boreal forests, as well as meadow areas, and wetlands. For the people around the St. Mary's River in particular, the rise in fishing technology, must have been a particularly significant advancement; given the rivers importance as a spawning-site and, its bottle-necked rapids yielded highly-efficient fishing.

The fishery at Baawitigong was particularly significant to this new lifestyle. The geographic narrows of the St. Mary's River, and deep-decline of Baawitigong (at the entrance of Lake Superior) made the St. Mary's River a particular important fishery. Being the only source out of Lake Superior makes the St. Mary's River rich in fish. Where its rapids form a natural fish-ladder, making a number of fish species easily accessible. The importance of the St. Mary's River to the Anishinaabeg grew, as fish became a particularly important food-staple after the dispersal (or in some cases disappearance) of key-animal food sources on the Upper Great Lakes. Prominent early-historian on the region Charles Cleland, writes of the availability of a large quantity of fish at regular intervals (and its high nutritional value), as leading to the development of other technologies.[178]

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[178] Cleland, Charles E. "The inland shore fishery of the northern Great Lakes: its development and importance in prehistory." *American Antiquity* (1982), 768.

All of these traits would become a defining aspect of the Woodland culture, as a combination of specialized fishing, hunting, and plant-use became particularly important trade good for the people of the upper Great Lakes by around 7,000 years ago. The St. Mary's River straits, which housed good hunting, became increasingly important as a summer site of trade, fishing, and politically; as general-interactions with proximate micro-groups became more frequent. Fishing was a vitally-important adaptation, and archaeological evidence from this time demonstrates the exploitation of fish spawning sites as a major source of food, which further demonstrates the seasonal-patterns developing in the region.[179] Fishing in particular, became amongst the most heavily relied on resource on the St. Mary's River early in this period. The formation of the modern Great Lakes, joined many smaller lakes, and created large aquatic habitats for marine flora and fauna. The many islands, flood-plains, connecting rivers, wetlands, beaver marshes, and bays within the St. Mary's River area, were rich-breeding grounds for surface feeding fish.

In this early period, there was generally a much heavier reliance on smaller surface-feeding fish (such as bass, river trout, and pike), over larger bottom-feeding deep-water fish (such as whitefish, lake trout, and sturgeon). While, larger-fattier deep-water species (such as white-fish, sturgeon, and lake trout) were generally difficult to obtain with early-Archaic technology. The shape of the rapids on the St. Mary's River however, allowed for larger, fatty, deep-water species to be harvested at the fish trap at Baawitigong. Fish generally difficult to catch, without developing specific fishing technology. The rapids between Lake Superior and the mouth of the St. Mary's River (Baawitigong), presented people the opportunity to spear-fish a slow-moving prey; and to do so, with technology designed for larger-terrestrial species (yielding no archaeological-traces). Through careful observation of Nature, the Anishinaabeg became experts at predicting the migratory patterns of animals, spawning-cycles of fish, harvest periods of food-stuffs, and important-building materials on the St. Mary's River.

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[179] Walter Duffy and Ted R. Batterson, "The St. Marys River, Michigan", 11.

Beginning during this period, the adoption of fishing, had sweeping-social consequences for the people of the Upper Great Lakes. The reliability of fishing, allowed the people on the St. Mary's River to travel in order to access specific goods from multiple ecosystems; within a seasonal migration circumference around the St. Mary's River .For the upper Great Lakes populations, White fish was a particularly important staple for this transition, and the word for white fish (adikameg) is an aquatic version of the word for their previous protein staple, caribou (adikwag) which helps to demonstrate the importance (and similarities) between these important packs of animals.[180] This reliance on white fish over caribou, also enabled these early Anishinaabeg populations to live at designated summer villages for longer periods at a time. Suggesting that annual summer villages were established at Baawitigong by at least 7,000 ybp.

For the people on the St. Mary's River, this seasonal-cycle exerted an important influence on subsistence lifeways, and community-structures.[181] As the year was increasingly divided by winter hunting activities, and summer fishing-gathering activities. These early-Archaic Great Lakes summer communities, were often found on the mouths of rivers, and along the banks of lakes, in order to harvest both aquatic and land-based resources.[182] Making the St. Mary's River, a particularly rich-fishery in the early-years of fishing practices on the Great Lakes, at the centre of this aquatic-highway.[183] As the Anishinaabeg shifted from predominantly hunting-dependent, to more reliant on fishing, the straits of the St. Mary's would also enable their hunting practices to continue; leading to increased food security. This geography allowed for populations to remain in more localized regions on rich fisheries.

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[180] http://www.translateojibwe.com/en/dictionary-english-ojibwe/Caribou

[181] Charles E. Adams, *Assault on a culture: The Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes and the dynamics of change* (Xlibris Corporation, 2013), 9.

[182] Walter Duffy and Ted R. Batterson. "The St. Marys River, Michigan", 6.

[183] William Tonn, "Climate Change and Fish Communities", 342-343.

A reliance on fishing Baawitigong (the St. Mary's River rapids) in particular, allowed larger communities to remain static at a single location for months at a time. This ability to accurate predict harvest times, and locations of specific resources, cut down on the need to track herds of nomadic animals, and allowed for the development of new technologies, the domestication of dogs, regionalized lifeways, and diverse trade networks. The development of various technologies, also led to distinct regional-identities, and reliance on different food-stuff, depending on their territory. By the end of the Middle Archaic period, Lovis et al., point to populations on the upper Great Lakes as being "seasonally mobile, small-scale, egalitarian societies" with subsistence and economic activities organized around extended families.[184] Remaining in a smaller territory, also led to a greater reliance on trapping smaller prey-animals, which is marked in the archaeological record.

These general hunting transitions are marked by a shift in technologies early in this period, as fluted points became the preferred technology of hunters throughout the continent.[185] This would suggest that it was the availability of these resources, (including fish, moose, caribous, berries, beavers, etc.) within a single ecosystem, resulted in the adoption of regionalized seasonal-nomadism; and specialized woodland-fishing lifeways; as early as 7,000 ybp.[186] Tellingly, various small sites indicating human presence have been found along the banks of the St. Mary's River that have been dated to this period, and in particular an abundance of sites near the rapids (modern day: Sault Ste. Marie), signalling sustained human presence. Proximate, and diverse ecosystems, led to the greater reliance on fish as a primary resource, and advanced fishing technology led to seasonal-nomadism; and the establishment of larger communities around the St. Mary's River (where a variety of resources were available year-round).

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[184] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 673.
[185] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 4.
[186] "Master Plan of Archaeological Resources City of Sault Ste. Marie", 6.

Significantly, the oral traditions and archaeological record together, highlights a much longer existence of a distinct woodlands culture of the northern Anishinaabeg than previously believed.[187] This more accurate timeline, allows the Anishinaabeg identity to be tracked into an earlier-period on the St. Mary's River, by at least 7,000 ybp.; which highlights the importance of the Anishinaabeg -St. Mary's River relationship. The emerging woodlands after the flooding, were the predecessors to the woodlands make-up, and are similar to the ecosystems which the Anishinaabeg would continue to prefer. The ecological transition on the narrows of the St. Mary's River, was a particularly important point of this transition. With its important fishery, population of caribou, elk, moose, and a variety of other game, alongside its central position on the Great Lakes (which straddles an ecological border-zone). Meaning that, this river yielded a number of advantages, serving as a natural border, which influenced animal migrations. These resources of the St. Mary's River region increasingly brought together the multiple family hunting units. Communal hunting and fishing led these micro-groups, to development to include multiple-family settlements during the warmer months. This worked to alter the political-structures of the region, led to the development of a distinct Anishinaabe identity, and led to the establishment of a Great Lakes trade network by (at least) the early-Archaic Period.[188]

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[187] Meghan C.L. Howey, "Regional Ritual Organization in the Northern Great Lakes, AD 1200-1600" in *The Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology* edited by Timothy Pauketat (Oxford University Press, 2015), 287-291.

[188] Ibid, 6.

Chapter 2: Regionalized Specialities, Migrations, and the Development of the Great Lakes Trade Network (7,000 ybp. -1600 AD)

Overview

Into the middle of the Archaic Period, climate fluctuations throughout the Great Lakes region, led to a variety of adaptations by the Great Lakes populations (between 7,000-1,000 ybp.). Adaptations made by Great Lakes populations during this time, include: the use of metal, the creation of a large trade network, an increased reliance on agriculture, and a series of migrations. During this period, the history of southern Great Lakes groups is generally better understood than the history of the people further north. However, environmental changes which affected the whole of the Great Lakes, provide a framework through which to understand the poorly understood political history of the St. Mary's River during this period; which was closely linked to food security, trade, and influenced by a variety of migrations. Throughout this period, the lifeway patterns on the Great Lakes, generally became more sedentary, as access to new food resources increased; this also decreased reliance on tracking large herds of animals over thousands of kilometres. Increasingly these populations travelled through a smaller territory throughout the year, allowing them to rely on agriculture and specific fishing locations. A smaller cycle of movement, produced large villages on the Lower Great Lakes, which also saw a period of dramatic population growth. Less is known about northern activities during this period, but, a clearer picture of the St. Mary's River can be gained by a reading of the southern archaeological records, along with the Oral Traditions of the Anishinaabeg, and climate charts. The developments in the Great Lakes region as a whole further helps us to trace specific developments made on the St. Mary's River. The river played an important role in the formation of the Great Lakes trade networks, political structure, and alliances. In fact, the St. Mary's River gained new importance during this period, as a stopping point in the Seven Fires migration, and first village of the Ojibwa.

Section I: Development of Regionalized Lifeways and Specialized Trade Goods on the St. Mary's River (7,000 ybp. - 4,000 ybp.)

During the Nippissing Rise (between 7,000 and 4,500 ybp.), the water levels of the Great Lakes fluctuated severely, with water levels rising to 8 meters (25 feet) above current levels.[189] This led to the draining of Lake Stanley (the larger predecessor of Lake Superior) into the Georgian Bay (in modern-day Lake Huron), which had a dramatic impact on the populations around the St. Mary's River.[190] Unfortunately, the force of this water has made it difficult to access this period through archaeological evidence alone, as there is a lack of surviving artefacts, left by the St. Mary's River population during this time.[191] As Anthropologists Lovis, Donahue, and Holman, explain, the Upper Great Lakes region of the middle Archaic Period is poorly understood "because so little hard evidence is available. Normally, only isolated finds of diagnostic artefacts, mostly points, are found, and by comparison with earlier and later periods, these are rare."[192] The flooding of the Nipissing Period, was followed by a general heating trend in the Medieval Warming Period (1250-900 ybp.) led to flooding and to the formation of the *modern* St. Mary's River; and thus, led to several cultural adaptations made on its banks. Unravelling the development of the Great Lakes trade network in this early period, provides some clues which to frame the history of the St. Mary's River during the middle Archaic Period. By tracking the development of specific food stuffs, trade goods, and political alliances on the Great Lakes during this period, the St. Mary's River importance to the early Great Lakes network can be better understood.

Regional specializations in food, as well as tool production, and advancements in watercraft technology, provided a large range of goods for trade in the St. Mary's River/Lake Superior area (by 7,000 ybp.). This increased food security, helped to create a large (and diverse) trade network across the Great Lakes over the next two thousand years. Fishing continued to be an important aspect of this transition (from hunting to trade), because it provided a high level of local food security. In the Archaic Period, more efficient fishing practices used to harvest fish spawning sites (such as shifting from spears, gorges and harpoons to net seines) lessened the reliance on long-distance hunting trips and thus allowed regionalized seasonal migration patterns to be affirmed, rather than following nomadic hunting pattern.[193] Fishing in particular, led to a general increase in the specialized use of specific ecological regions, which led to the production of a wide range of regional goods, including copper. Developments in hunting and transport technologies were also made to accommodate these new lifeway patterns.

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[189] William A. Lovis, Randolph E. Donahue, and Margaret B. Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 669.
[190] Ibid, 677.
[191] Stephen Tapper and Jonathan Reynolds, "The wild fur trade: historical and ecological perspectives", *In: The Exploitation of Mammal Populations* (eds) Taylor V.J., Dunstone (Springer, Dordrecht, 2006), 29.
[192] William Lovis, Randolph Donahue, and Margaret Holman. "Long-distance logistic mobility", 670.

The level of food security that fishing could provide, created time to pursue other endeavours; including the creation of new tools, and the production of copper goods. Increasingly, the Great Lakes people began to form trade convoys in order to exchange these regional goods, for items that they could not access in their own territory. The regionalized goods that were produced by the populations of the St. Mary's River, were now traded to groups without access to the same resources. Though only a few types of items (like copper and stone tools) are present in the archaeological trail, it is likely that foodstuffs (such as smoked fish, smoked-meat, nuts, berries, rice and roots) and utilitarian goods (furs, clothing, tools, weapons, decorations, birch-bark canoes, specialized fishing equipment, etc.) were also traded. In part, because few of these biodegradable materials survive in the archaeological record, the northern tribes are not generally included in discussions of an Archaic Great Lakes trade network (beyond their importance as copper workers).

Historians Tapper and Reynolds, note that "it is clear that prehistoric societies traded industriously in such products" adding that "In northern communities, furs would have been one of the few exports."[194] Tapper and Reynolds are right to include furs in early Great Lakes trade system, but they fail to recognize the full diversity of northern goods from the Archaic Period.[195] However, these northern groups likely traded a variety goods much they had in steady supply, including: smoked fish, smoked meat, birch-bark canoes, birch-bark containers, maple sugar, tools, weapons, specialized fishing equipment, dried berries, rice, maple sugar, and copper goods (alongside furs).[196] In fact, it is likely that copper (because of its durability), is over-represented in the archaeological records.

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[193] Walter Duffy and Ted Batterson, "The St. Marys River", 11.

As a result of this skewed sample, archaeological records are usefully supplemented by climatological data, as well as by Oral Traditions. Used together, these sources can help to establish that the traits which define the woodland culture existed up to five millennia prior to the beginning of the so-called "woodlands" period. Given the rise of specialized skills, trade likely played an important role in the Archaic developments on the Great Lakes. This regionalized-specialization of a specific territory, minimized the need for individuals to travel long distances across ecosystems, and led to the development of a Great Lakes trade network of specialized goods. Regional-specializations of food, and tool production, alongside advancements in water-craft technology, also led to a large and diverse trade network across the Great Lakes by at least 7,000 years before present. This trade increasingly saw regional goods (from specific ecosystems), become available across the Great Lakes region. It led to general-rise in specialized use of specific ecological-regions, which increasingly led to significant trade-networks and technological advancements. Providing further evidence as to when (and why), the Anishinaabeg migrated from the Great Lakes to the east-coast of the continent.

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[194] Stephen Tapper and Jonathan Reynolds, "The wild fur trade: historical and ecological perspectives", 29.
[195] Ibid, 29.
[196] Ibid, 29.

The early-existence (c. 7,000 ybp.), and eventual-dispersal (c. 3,500 ybp.), of the Copper People may offer some clues as to who these people on the St. Mary's River were; and their position in the larger Great Lakes trade network. Generally speaking, metal work was not practiced in North America prior to European contact, but archaeological evidence from the Eastern Woodland Area of Lake Superior (just north of the modern St. Mary's River, demonstrates that people in this area were collecting and shaping copper. Ehrhardt has placed this *Copper Period* as beginning as early as 7 000 ybp., Bellfy labels the period from 6000-3500 ybp, as the "Old Copper" period.[197] The technological advancement of copper shaping, demonstrates that these people had enough time in their year to pursue this laborious art; where the distribution of copper artefacts from the region, demonstrates that the people on the Upper Great Lakes engaged in trade. This copper originated from a region only 80 kilometres (or 50 miles) from the head of the modern St. Mary's River (proximate to the now abandoned Tribag Copper Mine). During times of high water volumes in the Great Lakes, the flooded lowlands around the St. Mary's River stretched to the southern tips of this copper range, effectively connecting the St. Mary's River to Goulais Bay and Batchawana Bay, making copper working a particular example of specialized regional skill around the St. Mary's River.[198]

Copper artefacts from this region have been found on western coast of Lake Superior, extending to the eastern coast of North America, and as far south as the Appalachian Mountains. This distribution, demonstrates the vast extent of these early trade networks.[199]

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[197] Archaeologists have suggested different for why these people dispersed, and where they went. Identifying three predominant copper working groups: "Old Copper" (6000-3000 ybp.), Hopewellian (2100-1900 ybp.), and Mississippian (1100 ybp. – contact). The "Old Copper" tradition cantered around the Upper Great Lakes and the upper Midwest, during the Middle and Late Archaic Period. (see: Ehrhardt, "Copper Working Technologies", contexts of use, and social complexity in the Eastern Woodlands of Native North America. *Journal of World Prehistory*, 22(3), 214 & 220-227; and: Bellfy, Three Fires Unity, xxxiii).

[198] K Ehrhardt, "Copper Working Technologies", 214 & 220-227.
Phillip Bellfy, Three Fires Unity, xxxiii.

[199] Ehrhardt points to Lake Superior's copper deposits as "the largest native copper deposits in the world." (see: Ehrhardt, "Copper Working Technologies" , 217.)

The distribution of this copper specifically, speaks to the significance of the St. Mary's River to the formation of the Great Lakes trade network.[200] Copper use demonstrates that these populations around the St. Mary's River had enough time in their year available to pursue this laborious art, which suggests both food security on the Upper Great Lakes, and the establishment of a Great Lakes trade-network. Not much in known about these early copper-working communities in the regions around the St. Mary's River, but the evidence that is available, can be used to track the early subsistence patterns of the Archaic woodlands people on the St. Mary's River. Copper was a technological advancement, that was facilitated by efficient harvest practices (fishing, hunting, and collection of wild plant stuffs), which allowed people enough time to pursue copper work. Some copper artefacts had utilitarian purposes, but its relative rarity and wide dispersion suggests that it was a high-valued trade good which may have served as a status symbol.[201] That copper goods from the St. Mary's River, have been found throughout the Great Lakes (stretching to include the north-east section of North America), demonstrates that St. Mary's River was only one point on a larger Great Lakes trade network; which extended far beyond the Great Lakes.

Significantly however, technology in this area did not produce drastic changes in the lifeways or traditions of the First Nations, at least not to the extent of some other new technologies.[202] This would suggest that the Great Lakes trade network (on which it this copper was distributed), was established for the exchange of other goods, of which copper was the most likely to survive to the present. Copper likely did not gain great general use in North America because, for many tasks, there were better, more easily workable, more accessible, and more sustainable construction materials available. For instance, the populations around the upper Great Lakes began to rely heavily on birch bark for the creation of their containers, and water-craft; birch bark, and other plant-based goods in the Archaic Period, which may simply have replaced copper use on the Upper Great Lakes, when birch bark became the preferred building material.

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[200] Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxxiii.
[201] Ehrhardt, "Copper working technologies", 220-227
[202] Ibid, 215.

The end of this copper work in particular, saw new technologies in fishing, hunting, watercraft, tool-making, and farming technology (c. 3,500 ybp) become available on this Great Lakes trade network. Although copper working was phased out, the importance of the Great Lakes trade network would continue for millennia (and continues today). Copper artefact distribution reflects the reach and scope of this early trade networks; but likely only represents a small part of the total goods exchanged. The existence of this trade network however, suggests that a wide range of goods were accessible to the population from the St. Mary's River by this period (c. 7,000-3,500 ybp.). Consideration of the Upper Great Lakes' role in the Archaic Period trade network, may also provide clues as to the distribution of the Anishinaabeg throughout the late-archaic period. A period during which they are believed to have migrated to the east coast of the continent; an incredibly significant even, which is poorly understood by archaeologists, anthropologists and historians.

Section II: Great Lakes Migrations: New Populations, and Lifeways, on the Great Lake Network (4,000-1,000 ybp.)

The St. Mary's River's position at the centre of the Upper Great Lakes, means that the population at Baawitigong, held an important trade hub, which had access to specific regional technologies from a number of different eco-zones. By the middle of the Archaic Period (c. 5,000-2,000 ybp.), the population on Baawitigong, could remain on these rapids for longer periods at a time, and began to trade with a wide variety of Great Lakes people. Yet around 3,500 years ago, the Copper People living on the river left this important location, and migrated to the east. Archaeologists have suggested different for why these people dispersed, and where they went. The "Old Copper" tradition was centred around the Upper Great Lakes and the upper Midwest, during the Middle and Late Archaic Period.[203] Identifying three predominant copper working groups: "Old Copper" (6000-3000 ybp.), Hopewellian (2100-1900 ybp.), and Mississippian (1100 ybp. – contact)[204] The oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg might shed some light on this migration, as they suggest that the Anishinaabeg moved eastward around this time. This could link the dispersal of the Copper People to the large-scale Archaic migration of Anishinaabeg groups from the Upper Great Lakes (beginning roughly 3,500 ybp.). This might suggest an unknown environmental reason, which forced a variety of Upper Great Lakes populations to migrate at the same time. It also could mean that the Copper People were a part of the larger Anishinaabeg population on the Upper Great Lakes. This would further suggest that the Anishinaabeg of the Upper Great Lakes made the conscious decision to relocate to a region which yielded access to both salt-water, and fresh-water fisheries; a richer environment, capable of supporting their growing population; demonstrating the cultural continuation of the Anishinaabeg, over millennia.

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[203] Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxxiii

[204] Ehrhardt, "Copper working technologies", 220-227

This period saw both the dispersal of the Copper People and the eastern migration of the Anishinaabeg, by the end of this period (c. 3,000-2,000 ybp.); both events are shrouded in mystery. There is geo-cultural evidence to support the possibility that the Copper People were Anishinaabeg (or Algonquin-speakers). Which is consistent with, but not present in the Oral Tradition of the Anishinaabeg (that I have encountered). Linking the Copper People to the Anishinaabeg, would create further continuity to Anishinaabeg history, by linking the poorly understood eastern migration of the Anishinaabeg during the Archaic Period (to the dispersal of the Copper People (roughly 3,500 to 2,000 ybp.)), which may provide an explanation for the dispersal of the Copper People, and a timeline of Anishinaabeg migrations. A close reading of the evidence, then suggests that this eastern migration was a strategic decision by the Anishinaabeg (and some Copper People) to relocate to a richer biosphere in order to accommodate a growing population.

If these copper-working people, were composed of Anishinaabeg groups, then, it would make sense to connect the dispersal of the copper working people, to a larger Anishinaabeg migration (around 3,500 ybp.). This timeline places the Archaic Anishinaabeg groups on the Upper Great Lakes, into the scope of large scale development of static-towns, and mound-builders on the Lower Great Lakes during the late Archaic Period. This eastern migration away from the Upper Great Lakes, may also shed additional light on western migrations into the Lower Great Lakes during this period. This was a period of substantial demographic and environmental shifts on the whole of the Great Lakes. The dispersal of the Copper People and the eastern migration of the Anishinaabeg, were part of a number of important Great Lakes migrations (between 3,500-600 ybp.); during a period, which witnessed significant global warming, agricultural advancement, and establishment of important political confederacies on the Lower Great Lakes.

Historian on the Great Lakes region Andrew Nichols, suggests that the exhaustion of local resources during this period threatened the stunt population growth across the Great Lakes, and as their lifeways became unsustainable in the region, various groups migrated during this period.[205] This may have been the case of the Copper People/Anishinaabeg, that after several millennia on the northern edge of the St. Mary's River, the forests surrounding the copper mines had become exhausted. The historiography of this period is largely concerned with how these shifts affected the southern Great Lakes, where large sedentary villages gradually became the norm in the region; demonstrated in the archaeological record, by mound building, large palisaded villages, and vast fields of crops. These southern developments, would have had an impact on the new population of the St. Mary's River (likely early groups of Dakota). New form of land use on the Lower Great Lakes, led to a massive population increase throughout the Great Lakes region, and the introduction of new goods to the Great Lakes trade network.

Archaeologists and historians (such as: Megan Howey, Lawrence Jackson, and Heather Walder) point to this period as being particularly informative in the history of the Great Lakes, into modern times. The establishment of important food sources, helped to form diverse trade networks, and led to the creation of important political structures. New food sources, and an increased reliance on trade, allowed for dramatic population growth across the region. Historians Olive Dickson and Willian Newbigging use the Adena as an example of these early southern groups, whose population growth was reliant upon the introduction and cultivation of new agricultural goods. These crops included the introduction of the squash (4,300 ybp.), and particularly the sunflower (3,000 ybp.).[206] While much less is known about the northern tribes on the Great Lakes during this period (likely Dakota), it is likely that these populations remained heavily involved with this trade network throughout the period.

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[205] David Andrew Nichols, *Peoples of the Inland Sea: Native Americans and Newcomers in the Great Lakes Region, 1600–1870* (Ohio University Press, 2018), Chapter 1.

[206] Olive Dickson and Willian Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations,* 7-9.

After the dispersal of the Anishinaabeg/Copper People, the new St. Mary's River's population, continued to live seasonally-nomadic lifeways; which yielded less archaeological evidence, than the pursuits further south. This northern ecology also worked to limit the population expansion of the northern tribes during this period. Nichols points to a population density being ten times higher in the southern Great Lakes ecosystem, compared to the northern boreal regions; which has led to more archaeological excavations in the southern regions.[207] By tracking the growth of these southern tribes, and new goods reaching the Great Lakes trade network, the role of the northern tribes can be further accessed through these wider-trends; of global warming, agricultural advancement, an expanded trade network, and new political structures on the Great Lakes. Agricultural advancements in the lower Great Lakes (e.g., squash, sunflower seeds, nuts, and berries), allowed their populations to grow, and to develop new technologies.[208] After the tribes around the St. Mary's River migrated east (c. 3,500 ybp.), these specialized northern goods became less relied upon by southern Great Lakes tribes.

Archaeological evidence demonstrates, that by the Early Woodland period (around 2,300 ybp.) signs of the first ceramics from the south of North America also start to appear; a trait which is used to separate Late Period Algonkian culture from the Early Woodland Laurel period.[209] This shift in the archaeological record is (in part), demonstrated by the use of pottery into this period. But, the development of pottery on the Lower Great Lakes, may have been a result of the Anishinaabeg's eastern migration. Pottery certainly became more essential to the Lower Great Lakes tribes who relied on agriculture, after birch-bark containers became less available. These new southern lifeways, were largely dependent on producing and preserving enough food for the winter, and birch bark containers or pottery, was necessary to store these food stuffs. Birch bark containers seem to have been a bit of a specialist technology, and after the Anishinaabeg's dispersal, pottery was used (in part) to replace a reliance on birch bark containers (and other specialized northern goods).

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[207] Nichols, *Peoples of the Inland Sea*, Chapter 1.
[208] Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 2.
[209] K. Dawson, "A History of Archaeology in Northern Ontario", 28.

This may further suggest that the Anishinaabeg eastern migrations away from the Great Lakes (between 3,500-2,300 ybp.) had radial effects on the larger Great Lakes network. It is also difficult to say who this group of Early Woodland Laurel people were on the St. Mary's River immediately after this migration. Despite the clear importance of the Ojibwa and Dakota in later periods of history, this historiography of the St. Mary's River during the late Archaic Period, is scant.[210] Groups in the south generally left a more distinct archaeological record during this period. These groups adopted some reliance on agriculture to accommodate their growing populations; including the Adena, and Iroquois-speakers, who formed large static-villages reliant on farming (and the famous mounds), around the lower Great Lakes. The introduction of squash and sunflower in the lower Great Lakes, led to even further reliance on agriculture in the southern Great Lakes, and the cultivation of naturally occurring flora resources in the region.

Agriculture and a more sedentary lifeway pattern, allowed many groups to increase their populations dramatically in the south, influencing the power-balance on the Great Lakes. Between 1250-900 ybp., these trends became more pronounced on the Great Lakes, as the climate, and ecology of the region underwent further changes.[211] This was marked by warmer climates, and sweeping-demographic migrations into the region.[212] The warmer climate observed during the Medieval Warm period (1250-900 ybp.), led various groups to look to the Great Lakes as important water-sources; leading to a wave of migrations into the Great Lakes region.[213] Claude Chapdelaine, has argued that it was during this period that droughts in the western plains led Iroquois-speaking groups to settle around the Great Lakes.[214] These Iroquois-speaking groups, migrated from the western-plains to begin an agricultural lifeway pattern; reliant on, agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering.

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[210] Guy Gibbon, "The Sioux: The Dakota and Lakota Nations." Vol. 6. *John Wiley & Sons* (2008), 3.

[211] V. Trouet, H.F. Diaz, E.R. Wahl, A.E. Viau, R. Graham, N. Graham and E.R. Cook, "A 1500-year reconstruction of annual mean temperature for temperate North America on decadal-to-multidecadal time scales", *Environmental Research Letters* vol. 8 no. 2, 11 (April 2013), 1.

Before the sixteenth century, archaeological evidence suggests that there had been a series of migrations of different cultural groups around the Lower Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence Valley.[215] The two largest of these groups were both Iroquoian-speaking. With the population expansion of Iroquoian-speakers, also came the expansion of territory and political networks. In the lower Great Lakes, the proto-Iroquoian groups that had migrated eastward from the prairies, had now formed a distinct and important political Confederacies. These two large Iroquoian-speaking confederacies were established during the fifteenth century (or earlier): the northern Wendat (or Huron) Confederacy and the southern Haudenosaunee (or Five Nations) Confederacy.[216] Thereafter, agriculture became an increasingly important practice amongst Iroquois speakers as subsistence patterns of these proto-Iroquois groups shifted away from plains-hunting regimes especially in the Upper Great Lakes.

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[212] During this period of warmth, the ninth and eleventh centuries were the warmest. In North America, temperature peaks around 850 and 1050 CE have also been linked to drought in the American West, which may have been a push-factor towards the Great Lakes. (see: Trouet, Diaz, Wahl, Viau, Graham, Graham and Cook, “A 1500-year reconstruction of annual mean temperature for temperate North America”, 1, 7.)

[213] Astrid EJ Ogilvie, Lisa K. Barlow, and A. E. Jennings. "North Atlantic climate c. AD 1000: Millennial reflections on the Viking discoveries of Iceland, Greenland and North America." *Weather* 55, no. 2 (2000), 34.

[214] Claude Chapdelaine, “The Sedentarization of the Prehistoric Iroquoians: A Slow or Rapid Transformation?”, *Journal of Anthropological* Archaeology vol. 12 (1993), 74.

[215] Conrad Heidenreich and K. Janet Ritch, *Samuel de Champlain before 1604: Des Sauvages and Other Documents related to the period*. Vol. 71 (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2010), 41.

[216] Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada’s First Nations*, 26

During this warm period, more agricultural goods came to the region south and east of the Great Lakes, leading to the formation of large sedentary agricultural villages, with corn introduced (around 1500 ybp.), tobacco (1000 ybp.), and beans, were introduced into Ontario shortly afterwards.[217] By the 1200s there was evidence of some use of the "Three Sisters" growing method, of corn, beans, and squash grown together in a single field by the Wendat (the northern limit for this kind of agriculture).[218] Reliance on crops among the Iroquois-speaking people expanded into the fourteenth-century. Isotopic studies conducted by Eric Jones, shows that maize composed between 50-60% of the diet of the fourteenth century Wendat, as well as the fourteenth century ancestors of the Haudenosaunee (both Iroquoian-speakers in the lower Great Lakes).[219] Their combined territory was forced to end at the St. Mary's River, at the northern extreme of where agriculture could be reliably practiced.[220]

The introduction of new agricultural goods (during this extended warm period), helped to facilitate the growth of cultural groups that were able to effectively cultivate these crops. During the final period of the Medieval Climate Epoch, the Iroquois-speaking groups had become more sedentary farmers, relying on the Three Sisters for their large static-communities.[221] An increased reliance on agriculture, decreased the importance of the St. Mary's River for these Iroquois-speaking people (as it sat above the northern-limiter for agriculture).[222] However, these Iroquois-speaking migrations, still worked to directly influence the history of the St. Mary's River for the next five centuries. The Wendat's population was concentrated in the lower Great Lakes, between Georgian Bay on Lake Huron to Lake Simcoe; of which 2800 hectares (7000 acres) were cultivated for agriculture.[223] The St. Lawrence River and the Ottawa Valley, was controlled by the St. Lawrence Iroquois.[224]

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[217] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 2.

[218] Ibid, 2.

[219] Eric E. Jones, "An analysis of factors influencing sixteenth and seventeenth century Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) settlement locations", Journal of Anthropological Archaeology vol. 29, issue 1 (March 2010), 3.

[220] Claiborne Skinner, "Prologue." In *the Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 5.

[221] The Three Sisters (corn, beans, and squash) worked to increase the yield of the other plants. The thick root systems of the Squash work to minimize soil erosion, creating a foundation for the tall stalks of corn, and beans. Beans help to filter nitrogen from the air, and leeches it into the soil, but require a structure to climb upon. The stalks of corn are able to support the weight of the beans, giving them access to sunlight, and sheltering both the beans and squash from storms. In addition to helping each other grow, the plants supplied different vitamins and minerals, creating a more nutritious diet. The decision to grow them together demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of these plants, and how ecological interactions function in nature. (see: Ibid, 10.)

The Wendat, who lived on the northern fringe of agriculture, also relied on the bounties of the Carolinian Forest, but were even equally, if more, reliant on agriculture. Growing corn, squash, tobacco, potatoes, and beans. They did hunt deer and rabbit, as well as fish and gathered nuts, berries, birch bark and other local harvest. But much of their trade goods came from either agricultural produce, or goods specific to the region.[225] Towards the start of the seventeenth century, Huronia had an estimated 30 000 people dispersed into 25 villages; compared to 16 000 people in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; whose territory was largely below the Georgian Bay.[226] The Wendat's agricultural pursuits made them rich in these agricultural resources, but the process of farming limited their time, and sacrificed the necessary mobility for fishing and hunting/gathering pursuits. To address this, the Wendat also looked to northern population to trade for northern goods, which they could not produce as easily (e.g. smoked fish, the meat of larger herbivores, thick furs, maple sugar, and a variety of food stuffs).[227] In exchange for the excess production of corn, tobacco, nuts and other crops; which were more easily cultivated and harvested in the temperate confines of the deciduous forests in Huronia.[228]

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[222] John M. O'Shea and Claire McHale Milner, "Material Indicators of Territory, Identity, and Interaction in a Prehistoric Tribal System" in *The Archaeology of Tribal Societies* edited by William A. Parkinson (Berghahn Books, 2002), 201-203.

[223] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 39.

[224] Christian Gates St. Pierre, "Iroquoians in the St. Lawrence River Valley before European Contact." *Ontario Archaeology* 96 (2016), 47-49.

[225] Susan Pfeiffer, Judith C. Sealy, Ronald F. Williamson, Suzanne Needs-Howarth, and Louis Lesage. "Maize, fish, and deer: investigating dietary staples among ancestral Huron-Wendat villages, as documented from tooth samples." *American Antiquity* 81, no. 3 (2016): 515-518.

[226] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 39.

[227] see: Ibid, 14.

The rise in agricultural-goods available on the Great Lakes trade network, meant that even the Upper Great Lakes, could now house large populations (by supplementing their diet through trade).[229] But for the Wendat, trading their corps to the northern tribes, presented a few logistical problems. The northern populations of the Great Lakes were scattered over a large area, and this necessitated a convenient meeting place suitable for a variety of northern groups. North of the agricultural border (45th parallel) lived only 20% of the Great Lakes' population. On the banks of Lake Superior, the population was so dispersed that it averaged only one person every two-square miles; with an even lower population-density in the tundra further north.[230] Meaning that the Wendat would not have time after the harvest, to then take their excess goods, north of Lake Superior and trade with each of these groups individually. Harvest seasons varied according to the year, and the nomadic cycles of these northern groups, made it difficult to set a convenient time and place, for northern and southern groups to exchange their goods.

Unless of course, the populations of Lake Superior met annually at locations with access to these Wendat traders; such as Baawitigong and Mackinac. Highlighting that these positions did not entirely lose their value as trade stations on the Great Lakes network during the Anishinaabeg's extended absence from its banks. Rather the people on the St. Mary's River's banks, likely adapted their own lifeways subtly, in order to make use of the growing number of items available on the Great Lakes trade network. Items, which could now allow northern communities to maintain larger populations on the Upper Great Lakes than two millennia previous. Less evidence exists for the specific movements of these northern groups around the St. Mary's River (notably for the Dakota), who relied predominantly on family-groupings in the region into the 14th-century at least.[231] This small northern population was dispersed over a large territory, with a shorter summer than in the lower Great Lakes. While there is little physical evidence surviving, it is likely that the population on the St. Mary's River, continued to trade from its banks during the Anishinaabeg's absence.

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[228] Eric Jones, "An analysis of factors influencing sixteenth and seventeenth century Haudenosaunee", 3.
[229] John O'Shea, "Inland foragers and the adoption of maize agriculture in the Upper Great Lakes of North America." *Before Farming* 2003, no. 1 (2003), 1-3.
[230] Claiborne Skinner, "Prologue" in *The Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes*, 5.

By the sixteenth century, the Iroquois-speaking groups represented nearly one-half of Great Lakes population.[232] Estimates of the population dynamics in the Great Lakes region during this period vary (from between 150 000-250 000 people), who were distributed unevenly around the Great Lakes.[233] During this period, these Iroquois-speaking groups continued to trade with populations on the Upper Great Lakes (importantly with the Dakota) throughout the period. It marked the continuation of the Great Lakes trade networks throughout this period of migrations; now with a wide range of new goods available on this trade. Between 1000 and 500 ybp., the good available on this network would shift again, after a wave of Anishinaabeg migrations came into the Great Lakes.[234] This was followed by technological advancements, the introduction of new goods, and different diplomatic relationships on the vast trans-Great Lakes trading network. It was during this period that the Anishinaabeg resettled the St. Mary's River region, and used its centralized position to take-up a large role in the Great Lakes trade network.

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[231] Guy Gibbon highlights that before the presence of the horse of the plains the ancestors of the Sioux, "lived for hundreds of years in the forests of central Minnesota and northwest Wisconsin, where they hunted deer and harvested wild rice." (see: Guy Gibbon, Guy, "The Sioux", 1.)

[232] Malcolm Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking in the Great Lakes Region in Intercultural Contexts: A Historical Review." *Michigan Historical Review* 30, no. 2 (2004), 1.

[233] Claiborne Skinner, "Prologue" in *The Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes*, 3-6. Malcolm Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking in the Great Lakes", 1.

[234] Meghan C.L. Howey, "Regional Ritual Organization in the Northern Great Lakes", 289-291.

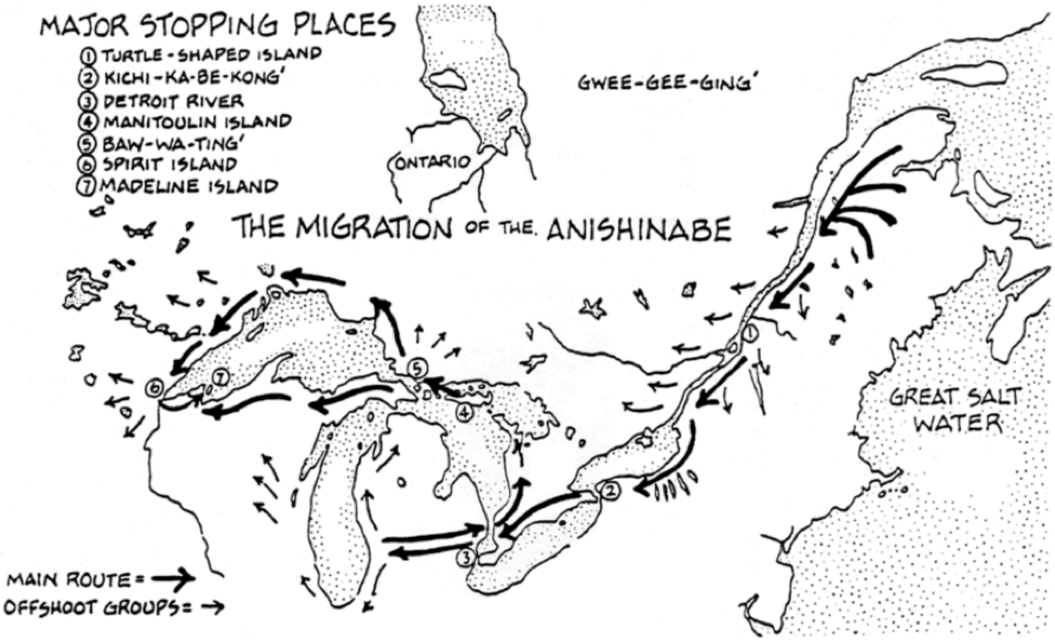
Section III: Seven Fires Prophecies and Subsequent Migrations: Re-Establishment of the Anishinaabeg's Relationship with the Great Lakes (1000-1500 AD.)

Sometime between 1000-1400 AD, the Anishinaabe communities who had settled on the east coast looked to return to the Great Lakes region. This began after the telling of the Seven Prophecies, which predicted foreign invaders, environmental destruction, and fostered a sense of the Great Lakes as a point of refuge and renewal. The apocalyptic-tones of the Seven Fires prediction resulted in the migration of several groups of Algonquin-speaking people, who would resettle throughout the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River regions. Oral Histories associated with this migration, have been recorded by important Anishinaabeg recorders, William Warren, Andrew Blackbird, and Eddie Benton-Benai. Not only do these histories provide valuable insight into the westerly movements, but also provide evidence of cultural interactions around the Great Lakes, including, how the Anishinaabeg decided to establish villages across the Great Lakes, the way they grappled with creating political structures in the region, and the specific importance of the St. Mary's River to their community. The settlement at Baawitigong, particularly, serves as an example of how these Anishinaabeg groups decided to choose the location of their villages, and how these locations in turn, led to the establishment of regional identities and subsistence skill-sets. The Oral Histories of the Seven Fires Prophecies provide important insights into this period, by describing specifically political shifts in the region, these histories help contextualize the effects of contact with Europeans, to larger trends within the history of the Great Lakes.

Benton-Benai's approach to retelling the history of this migration is both intuitive and methodologically flexible. He draws from the oral history (of the subsequent migrations), the linguistic codes of the Seven Fires prophecy, early scholarly writings, and historic maps, in order to plot an eco-cultural landscape of movement and migration.[235] His conclusions were as follows:

> When the seven prophets came to the Anishinabeg, the nation was living somewhere on the shores of the Great Salt Water in the East. There are many opinions about where this settlement was. It is generally agreed that the Ojibways and other Algonquin Indians were settled up and down the eastern shores of North America.[236]

These Oral Histories provide a conduit through which to view the relationship between their belief system and geography, which allows us to identify people across time by their particular landscape. Warren's history, further describes how the Anishinaabeg travelled through the recently established farming villages of various Iroquois-speaking groups, which led to a variety of political shifts in the region.[237]


MAJOR STOPPING PLACES
① TURTLE-SHAPED ISLAND
② KICHI-KA-BE-KONG'
③ DETROIT RIVER
④ MANITOULIN ISLAND
⑤ BAW-WA-TING'
⑥ SPIRIT ISLAND
⑦ MADELINE ISLAND
GWEE-GEE-GING'
ONTARIO
THE MIGRATION OF THE ANISHINABE
GREAT SALT WATER
MAIN ROUTE = →
OFFSHOOT GROUPS = →

"The Migration of the Anishinabe" in Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book: The Book of the Ojibway* (St. Paul, Minnesota; 1979).

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[235] See: "The Migration of the Anishinabe" in Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book: The Book of the Ojibway*, 53.

[236] Edward Benton-Benai, The Mishomis Book: The Book of the Ojibway, 94.

[237] William Warren, History of the Ojibway Nation, 76.

During their contact with the Iroquois speakers to the southeast of the Great Lakes, the Anishinaabeg observed some of the changes taking place to the politics, lifeways, and demographics throughout the Great Lakes region. During this migration, some Anishinaabeg groups adopted agricultural production, while many others remained reliant on north-eastern woodland lifeways, and continued into northern territory.[238] The common history of the Anishinaabeg, the belief in the Midewiwin, and totemic family-structures worked to keep these groups united. But within this Anishinaabe Nation, regionalism began to create distinct identities. Warren explains that as they migrated westward, internal-divisions began to occur amongst the Anishinaabe populations, which led to the formation of specific local-groups (e.g.: Ojibwa, Odaawa, and Boodwaadmii).[239] The northern groups perhaps recognized that large scale agriculture was a labour-intensive process (taking work hours away from hunting and gathering pursuits), decided to continue their migration northwest; to where food grew upon the water.

It was while these groups travelled northwest through the Great Lakes, that a particularly important division occurred on the straits of Mackinac. This division at Mackinac, likely occurred over a disagreement of lifeway strategies amongst several important ogima (of chiefs). Despite these disagreements, Patty Loew has described this connectivity in her writing about the Oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg, stating that: “We Anishinabe call ourselves the People of the Three Fires, which includes Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. We are also related to other Algonquin people, some of whom walked with us on our Great Migration."[240] These three groups (Boodwaadmii, Odaawa, and Ojibwa) are now seen as making up the Niswi-mishkodewin (Three Fire Confederacy), though each tailored their lifeways to their respective geographies after resettlement on the Great Lakes. Although they divided into different cultural groups, these three peoples remained connected, participating in trade, shared-ceremonies, through totemic-connections, and by acknowledging a common language and shared-history.

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[238] Dickason and Newbigging have highlighted how an over-reliance on corn brought possible protein deficiencies, shorter statures, and shorter life-spans for agriculturalists, compared to hunter-gatherers. The pros and cons of agricultural, versus a seasonal-nomadic fishing/hunting gathering lifeways would be further demonstrated in the midst of the “Little Ice Age” of the seventeenth-century. (see: Olive Dickason and William Newbigging, A Concise History of Canada's First *Nations*, 10).

[239] Warren’s reliance, and access to, Ojibwa Elders and their Oral Histories gave him much greater insights into the politics of the St. Mary’s River in the period from roughly 1300 AD, to 1640 AD. (see: William Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation*, 1-7).

The three groups that emerged from a separation at Mackinac (the Boodwaadmii, Odaawa, and Ojibwa), demonstrate how each adapted their lifeways to the available: ecosystems, resources and trade networks in their region on the Great Lakes. Warren recounts that since "The final separation of these three tribes took place at the Straits of Michilimackinac from natural causes, and the partition has been more distinctly defined, and perpetuated through locality".[241] All three of these groups adopted some agricultural practices, and worked to establish very strong ties with their Wendat neighbours. All became important middlemen in the north-south/east-west trade of the Great Lakes.[242] Of the Three Fire Confederacy members, the Boodwaadmii would remain furthest south (and begin farming) in the region between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. They began to form larger villages, in order to accommodate subsistence patterns dependent on the production of corn and other agricultural goods. The Odaawa remained on Mackinac, and used their position on the upper Lake Huron and Michigan borderlands, and their ability in birch-bark canoes, to become important middle-men in the Great Lakes trade network (their autonym Odaawa, meaning *trader* in Anishinaabemowin).

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[240] Patty Loew, "Hidden transcripts in the Chippewa treaty rights struggle: A twice told story. Race, resistance, and the politics of power." *American Indian Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1997), 714).

[241] William Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation*, 82.

[242] The Wendat's heavy reliance on agricultural production for their subsistence, and mourning warfare with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, meant that the Wendat had less time for hunting, fishing, and gathering than northern populations; making them reliant on a northern ally.

The final group of Anishinaabeg continued past Mackinac, and established a village on the St. Mary's River; it was here that they would become known as the Ojibwa. When this group arrived at Baawitigong, they encountered a group of Dakota who were living on its banks. After dispersing the Dakota village on the rapids, the Ojibwa claimed the territorial rights to the region, and settled on the St. Mary's River. But the situation with the Sioux was far from stable, and the Ojibwa and Sioux would continue their dispute for another three centuries after this initial conflict. As Warren wrote: "The opposition to their further advance westward commenced when the Ojibways first lighted their fires at Sault Ste. Marie, and it is from their first acquaintance with them, while located at this spot".[243] The Anishinaabeg group who settled on the St. Mary's River, would become known as the Ojibwa, and seemed to be most conservative in their woodlands lifeways out of the Niswi-mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy).[244]

This village on the St. Mary's River is not only the first known Ojibwa village, but seems to be the location where the name "Ojibwa" was first used. As Warren wrote:

> it is comparatively but a few generations back, that this tribe have been known by their present distinctive name of the Ojibway. It is certainly not more than three centuries, and in all probability much less. It is only within this term of time, that they have been disconnected as a distinct or separate tribe from the Ottaways and Potta-wat-um-ies. The name by which they were known when incorporated in one body, is at the present day uncertain.[245]

This origin and meaning of "Ojibwa" has been debated for at least two decades, and its true origin seems lost at present. In the context of this first village, Ojibwa seems to have been a single group of Anishinaabe people who decided to continue north on the Great Lakes.

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[243] Warren continues:

> They were surrounded by fierce and inveterate enemies whom they denominate the O-dug-aum-eeg (opposite side people, best known at this day as Foxes), and the "A-boinug" or (roasters), by which significant name they have ever known the powerful tribe of Dakotas. These two tribes claimed the country bordering Lake Superior, towards the south and west, and of which, the migrating Ojibways now took possession as intruders. (William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 96-97).

[244] William Whipple Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation*, 1857, 81.

[245] Ibid, 81.

This location at Baawitigong, was selected by the Ojibwa because of its geographical advantages as a gateway to Lake Superior, and its rich fisheries. Warren shares a description of the founding of this village at Baawitigong from Tug-waug-aun-ay, how:

> The Great Spirit once made a bird, and he sent it from the skies to make its abode on earth. The bird came, and when it reached half way down among the clouds, it sent forth a loud and far sounding cry, which was heard by all who resided on the earth, and even by the spirits who make their abode within its bosom. When the bird reached within sight of the earth, it circled slowly above the Great Fresh Water Lakes, and again it uttered its echoing cry. Nearer and nearer it circled, looking for a resting place, till it lit on a hill overlooking Boweting (Sault Ste. Marie), here it chose its first resting place, pleased with the numerous white fish that glanced and swam in the clear waters and sparkling foam of the rapids. Satisfied with its chosen seat, again the bird sent forth its loud but solitary cry; and the No-kaig (Ber clan), A-waus-e-wug (Catfish), Ah-auh-wauh-ug (Loon), and Mous-o-need (moose and Marten clan), gathered at his call. A large town was soon congregated[246]

These effects of this migrations were widespread across the Great Lakes region, and the St. Mary's River offers a particular case study, into the political effects of this Anishinaabeg settlement across the Great Lakes region (c. 1000-1600 ad.). With the Odaawa on Mackinac, and Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River, the Anishinaabeg now effectively controlled both major passages between the Upper and Lower Great Lakes.

One of the first major political-shifts caused by the sustained Ojibwa settlement on the St. Mary's River, was conflict with the Dakotas.[247] As this group reached the St. Mary's River (around 1,300-1,400 AD), they encountered a Sioux population on the St. Mary's River. But the position at Baawitigong was worth fighting for, as the only water-route between the lower Great Lakes and Lake Superior; and housed an important fishery. On this initial meeting, the Ojibwa were able to force the Sioux populations on the St. Mary's River, off of its banks, and further into the northern boreal woodlands. This allowed an Anishinaabeg subgroup (the Ojibwa), to settle this territory, and establish a village upon the banks at Baawitigong. The position of these rapids along an ecological transition zone, also allowed its residents to rely on northern and southern resources. Allowing these hunter-gatherers to adopt some agriculture, but continue to forge, fish, and hunt, in similar ecosystems to those on the east-coast of the continent. Like Mackinac, the Ojibwa village at Baawitigong also gained further importance, as a convenient location for both northern and southern traders to meet. In this conflict this with the Dakota, the Ojibwa relied on the St. Mary's River as their home-base, and forced them off of the river.

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[246] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 51-52.
[247] Gibbon. "The Sioux", 3.

The Anishinaabeg groups that migrated after the telling of the Seven Fires Prophecy, were comprised of a water and woodlands people, seeking the rich aquatic ecosystems of the Upper Great Lakes; a region above the 45th parallel, which marked the corn line.[248] The St. Mary's River is a natural transitional area between boreal and coniferous forests, where the Laurentian Shield begins to yield to the marshier wet-lands surrounding Superior. Significantly, the environmental dynamics on this village on the rapids were comparable to their east-coast village. White too, points to the centrality of the demographic and geopolitical trends, in the development of the Ojibwa. Writing that "its beginnings are apparent in the merging of several proto-Ojibwa groups with the Saulteurs at Sault Sainte Marie."[249] White, Schmalz, and Bellfy are right in their assertions that the St. Mary's River was extremely important to Ojibwa-identities.

It was from these rapids, that the Ojibwa were able to gain a foothold on the banks of Lake Superior. Throughout the Anishinaabeg's tenure on this river, natural climate fluctuations conferred the ability to harvest both southern and northern resources. Benton-Benai highlights how on the east-coast, and in the Upper Great Lakes, "They used the waterways of the land to travel by canoe. They had a system of overland trails. They used sleds and dog teams to travel in the winter."[250] This was a community which thrived, because its people were well adapted to the regional ecosystem and climate.[251] Moreover, it was also a critical space for other indigenous groups, including the Sioux, Wendat, and Odaawa. It produced a variety of resources, and offered a natural hub as a fishery and hunting grounds (notably offering the only water-route through which traffic between Superior and the lower Great Lakes could pass). The success of this village on the rapids, led to the establishment of Ojibwa villages throughout the St. Mary's River/Lake Superior region.

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[248] William Whipple Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 79-80.
[249] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 19.
[250] Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, 94.

The whole of the Ojibwa would remain in a single village on the banks of the St. Mary's River for several generations, before many families continued to the northwest; in search of food that grows on water. Warren wrote that "In the separation of the Ojibwa tribe into two divisions, upwards of three centuries ago at the outlet of Lake Superior…a considerable band remained on their ancient village site at Bow-e-ting or Falls of St. Marie".[252] This separation saw a large group of Ojibwa settle on Lake Superior, further displacing the Dakota and Fox populations. This initial divide, was followed by the increase in smaller communities (with distinct regional-identities), based on their specialized seasonal-lifeways. These divisions, throws light on the complex political networks, and the geopolitics of the Great Lakes in this period.

The establishment of this Anishinaabeg village on the rapids, led to the development of a site-informed Ojibwa identity on the St. Mary's River. Schmalz called the St. Mary's River "an ancient capital" of the Ojibwa, in the "pre-contact period".[253] While Bellfy added that the fishery and location were specifically important factors, writing that: "the rapids of Baawitigong are the essential reason that the Anishnaabeg came to reside in the area and the reason for their centuries-old residence there."[254] As they claimed space on the St Mary's River, they began to identify themselves by where they lived and the river assumed a new significance.[255] Despite the separation of the Ojibwa village on the St. Mary's River, this distinct political network of "Ojibwa" remained a vital political force on the Great Lakes for the next four centuries, and beyond. Despite the separation at Baawitigong, the two Ojibwa villages would remain connected; but began to identify by regional identities.

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[251] Ibid, 94.

[252] William Warren, *History of the Ojibway Nation*, 124.

[253] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (University of Toronto Press), 15.

[254] Phillip Bellfy, *Three Fires*, 131.

As Anishinabee legal scholar Darlene Johnston explains, the people living who continued at the rapids at the head of the St. Mary's River began to call themselves the Passinaouek, in specific reference to these rapids (or pawating). The neighbouring communities also distinguished these people by their proximity and relationship to the rapids, but in their language, they used "Skiaeronon" as a label.[256] The Passinaouek (or Skiaeronon) of the rapids increasingly acted as diplomats and middlemen, positioned in the centre of a new Upper Great Lakes network.[257] Warren explained that the Anishinaabeg began to form distinct identities during this time. He explains that the Anishinaabeg are "subdivided into several sections, each of which is known by a name derived from some particular vocation, or peculiar mode of procuring food, or other characteristic."[258] Out of these divisions developed auto-ethnonyms (name one calls themselves) and xeno-ethnonyms (name used by others), as representative of these identifying features.

Often these names were related to geographic locations. Further down the St. Mary's River, the Mississauga people gained this name in reference in the Mississauga River (Me-sey Sah-gieng). Warren explains at these titles were often region specific, "Thus, those of the tribe who live on the immediate shores of Lake Superior are known by the name of Ke-che-gum-me-win-in-e-wug (Men of the Great Water)."[259] Eventually, even the Dakotas even began to identify the Ojibwa by their location on the St. Mary's rapids, calling them "Ra-ra-to-oans" or "(People of the Falls)" throughout their centuries-long conflict.[260] The variance of their names (in several languages) helps demonstrate that Baawitigong became an important hub to many different cultural groups at this time.[261] The fishery at the St. Mary's River, and its position on the Great Lake's hub, made it an important centre to the Anishinaabeg; as well as to their friends, allies, and trade partners.

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[255] Robert Doherty, "Old-time origins of modern sovereignty: state-building among the Keweenaw Bay Ojibway, 1832-1854." *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2007), 170-171.

[256] Darlene Johnston, Connecting People to Place, 2.

[257] Theresa Schenck, *The Voice of the Crane Echoes Afar: The sociopolitical organization of the Lake Superior Ojibwa*, *1640-1855*. Taylor & Francis, 1997.

[258] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 38.

[259] Ibid, 38.

The Ojibwa's strategic location within the Anishinaabeg highway, on a major fishery, and in an area with ripe maple sugar bushes and game animals, meant that fishing, hunting, and harvesting naturally-occurring resources dominated their lifeways. In sharp contrast to documents from the Euro-American colonial period, which depict the Ojibwa as a starving and desolate people, the Anishinaabeg of the Upper Great Lakes had access to a multiple of foodstuffs and formed rich social networks based around these lives. Each community came to be defined by their seasonal-subsistence lifeways in their specific-geographic territory.[262] This Ojibwa's success, relied on how they adapted the skills and lifeways which they brought with them from the east coast of the continent, to the similar ecosystem of the St. Mary's River region; and in the process, they became important political-players in the Great Lakes region as a whole. Increasingly, their year was marked by councils and ceremonies, structured around when seasonal goods available. Which overtime made Baawitigong an important centre of ceremony, trade, and diplomacy to many groups on the Lower Great Lakes, in the northern boreal forests, the western plains, and throughout the Hudson Bay watershed.

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[260] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 97.

[261] Darlene Johnston, "Connecting People to Place", 2.

[262] As George Copway explains: "The Ojebwas are called, here and all around, Massis-suagays, because they came from Me-sey Sah-gieng, at the head of Lake Huron, as you go to Sault Ste. Marie falls." (see: George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh), *The life, history, and travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*, 14-15).

Section IV: An Ojibwa Village at Baawitigong: Political Structures, Annual-Cycles, and the Great Lakes Trade Network (1500-1600 AD.)

Once settled on Baawitigong, the Anishinaabeg adapted their traditional lifeways to the specific seasonal cycles of the St. Mary's River; traits, which began to inform a distinct "Ojibwa" identity on the river, and further created the specific "Passinaouek" identity subgroup on its rapids. Their life in the Upper Great Lakes was extremely seasonal – in the sense that climatic extremes of heat and cold were a feature of life in the North – and meant that social practices were guided by temporal environmental cycles. For these groups, survival depended upon anticipating harvest times, tracking game animals, and predicting spawning cycles of fish in the region. This adaptation to the cycles and resources of the St. Mary's River came to define the Ojibwa as a whole, and the Passinaouek (who lived on its banks) specifically. These seasonal-cycles of the region, influenced the population's annual routines, trade patterns, and ceremonies. This is reflected in the story-telling tradition of the Anishinaabeg, which highlights the seasonality of their life-style and identity. Additionally, these Oral Traditions about seasonal cycles, can help to unpack lifeways and demonstrate seasonal activities in action. Tracking a year in the life on the St. Mary's River during this period (c. 1500-1600), helps to demonstrate how the geography, weather patterns, and resources of this region, worked to influence the lifeways, trade patterns, and traditions of its people. Demonstrating how the Anishinaabeg on the St. Mary's River used this position on Baawitigong to continue their traditional lifeways from the east coast, while also adapting to the new demands of a larger trade network, and shifting political demographics throughout the Great Lakes region in the sixteenth century.

For the Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River in the Woodlands Period, their lives were organized seasonally around migration patterns and natural cycles. These shifts between seasons are accounted for, and were described in Oral Traditions. For example, these traditions tell of spirits' influences within nature, particularly in the story of an old man, Pebon (winter) and a young man Seegwun (spring), which describes the extreme variations between summer and winter climates on the Upper Great Lakes. Upon meeting, Pebon brags that: ""I blow my breath, ... and the streams stand still. The water becomes stiff & hard as clear stone.""[263] This spirit embodies winter, but also highlights its attributes, and provides signs to identifying shifting seasons. These are important signs which must be looked for each year, and which dictate the year's movements; and in order to read these signs, the information must be firmly implanted in an individual's consciousness, to ensure recognition.

This important knowledge was imparted through multiple generations, by storytelling.[264] Just as the earlier oral traditions speak to the history of the St. Mary's River during the early-Holocene and Archaic Periods, knowledge of seasonal shifts was preserved in similar ways.[265] The story of Pebon, and Seegwum, is another medium to recognizing, and understanding the importance of, seasonal-cycles and the Anishinaabeg's connection to the natural world. In the conflict between winter (Pebon) and spring (Seegwum), the old man-winter (Pebon) is juxtaposed by the young Seegwum (spring) who represents a time of plenty, marked by various social-events. Seegwun responds to Pebon, that when ""I breathe," said the young man, "flowers spring up, all over the plains.""[266] For the Anishinaabeg on the St. Mary's River, the Spring was marked by warmer days, while the nights were still cool and the time which yielded the valuable running of maple sap and peak harvest time for workable birch bark.

When the ice began to break in the Spring, maple sugar season began, bringing smaller wintering-groups together into larger community groups to distribute this labour.[267] This process involved the whole family, as women slit the trees, collected the sap and boiled it, the mean hunted and collected firewood.[268] Children helped out with different aspects of this labour and played with friends and cousins they had not seen all winter. Martin describes as a time where "Old acquaintances were renewed, new ones stuck up, gossip freely paused around", marked by feasts and ceremonies.[269] This was the season to harvest one the upper tribes most important trade goods/gifts: maple sugar. The production of maple sugar was an important activity in Spring. Beyond maple-sugar's importance economic staple, the maple sugar season was also a time for sharing stories about the winter months and planning for the summer ahead.

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[263] (likely) Susan Johnston, "The Literary Voyageur" (No.1, Dec. 1826), 3 in: *The Literary Voyager Or Muzzeniegun* edited by Philip Mason, (Michigan State University Press, 1962).

[264] Basil Johnston, Ojibway Heritage, x.

[265] Gerald Vizenor, *ed. Summer in the Spring: Anishinaabe lyric poems and stories.* Vol. 6. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 4-5.

[266] (likely) Susan Johnston, "The Literary Voyageur" (No.1, Dec. 1826), 3

The production of maple sugar was a labour-intensive process, but also a social one where much time was spent harvesting sap in groups, or waiting by the kettle for the sap to granulate.[270] The process of harvesting maple sap and the production of maple sugar involved slitting each tree with a tomahawk, or other blade, and inserting cedar planks or birch bark as a lining to direct the flow of the sap into "mukluks" (baskets of folded birch bark). Each morning these baskets would be collected in large containers (barrels, hollowed logs, or large animal skin vats). before being boiled and refined into sugar. McKenney noted: "the earlier part of the spring is that best adapted to make maple sugar. The sap runs only in the day, and it will not run unless there has been a frost the night before."[271] This warming, signified the best time to harvest maple-sap, and the beginning of larger-social activities for the year.

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[267] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the game: Indian-animal relationships and the fur trade* (Univ of California Press, 1982.), 96.
[268] Ibid, 96.
[269] Ibid, 96.
[270] Mathew Thomas and Janet M. Silbernagel, "The Evolution of a Maple Sugaring Landscape on Lake Superior's Grand Island." *Michigan Academician* 35, no. 2 (2003), 140;

[271] Thomas McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes, of the character and customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac,* (Baltimore, F. Lucas, 1827), 193.

This season saw the uniting of wintering families, into large communities to pursue this sugar-making process. Familiar social-groupings, particularly women, would work together to harvest the sap during this time. The best time for this was "in the morning, there is a clear sun, and the night has left ice of the thickness of a dollar, the greatest quantity is produced."[272] This sap was then boiled in large leather containers until the liquid evaporated leaving only granulated sugar, which was moulded into sugar cakes and packed into mukluks for storage and transportation. In the case of Sugar Island on the St. Mary's River, dog-sleds, were used to make this process easier. Before the introduction of the metal kettle to the area the local inhabitants would use a pelt filled with liquid, which was heated by placing hot rocks into it.[273] The sugar bushes, rich fisheries, and easily-accessible hunting made the St. Mary's River an important summertime hub for the people of the Great Lakes. The St. Mary's River was particularly important during the warmer months, as a place of fishing, ceremony, relaxation, and trade; a politically important location, where news was exchanged, relationships reinforced, and the gathering of larger communities.

On the Banks of the St. Mary's River, the spring-time maple-sugar season, was when the smaller Passinaouek community re-established their village on the St. Mary's River; and prepared to host various guests over the next 200 days.[274] Spring was a time of renewal, and when Seegwun shook his ringlets:

> "And warm showers of soft rain fall upon the earth. The plants lift up their heads out of the earth, like the eyes of children first opening in the morning. My voice recalls the birds. The warmth of my breath unlocks the stream. Music fills the groves, wherever I walk, and all nature rejoices."[275]

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[272] Ibid, 193.

[273] Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs*, Chapter 17

[274] Charles A. Bishop, "The Emergence of the Northern Ojibwa: social and economic consequences.", *American Ethnologist* 3, no. 1 (1976), 49.

[275] Ibid, 3

Spring signified the coming of a time of plenty, with the benefits of the warmth, and easier transportation through re-opened waterways. However, this time could not be wasted, as soon enough, Seegwun would come back and recover the land in snow.[276]

Odaawa Chief Andrew Blackbird, described the traditions of Spring Ceremonies that he participated in, describing how various small winter groups would gather together. When assembled, the ceremony began, which included the stripping-off and hanging of clothing worn over winter, and hanging them from a pole, as well as the sacrifice of a dog.[277] Followed by further ceremony and a festival, described by Blackbird:

> Here in great companies of them, consisting of men, women and children danced around the pole, according to the time by the beating of the holy consecrated drum and sacred rattle, which is made from the hard shell of a smooth winter squash, these instruments are very old and kept for that purpose only, and accompanied by two musicians with the following words (in song).
> "The Great Spirit will down upon us." The Great Spirit will have mercy upon us." Many times repeated, and response is occasionally heard from the company of dancers, "we-ho we-ho" which signifies, "so be it so be it." This was the beginning of the jubilee in the spring time there were many dances during the summer time, such as strawberry dance, green corn, dance, fire dance and medicine dance, and all these dances were considered as thanksgiving dances to the Almighty giver of all things.[278]

At least twice a year were Thanksgiving ceremonies, the first of which took place at the time of the first flow of maple sap in the spring.[279] These Spring ceremonies coincided with the gathering of smaller family groups, in order to harvest maple sap.

During this labour, the harvesters spent time in larger social circles, with people they had not seen for months. These Spring villages were made up of Wigwams, and the Spring village was a busy place. George Copway describes the labour involved, in the erection of his family's Wigwam, how:

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[276] Copway highlighted that hunting was not relied on heavily during this season, explaining that: "In the spring but few deer were killed, because they were not in good order, the venison being poor, and the skin so thin, that it was no object to kill them." Accordingly, the Spring was a time of reconnection after the long months in smaller hunting groups. (see: George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh), *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*, 14, 25).

[277] Andrew J. Blackbird, *Complete Both Early and Late History of the Ottawa and Chippewa*, 6.

[278] Ibid., 6.

[279] These ceremonies took place twice a year (Spring and Fall) but in rare instances up to four times a year, they were an addition too, not a substitute for, private acts of giving thanks. (see: Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 144).

> Poles were cut about fifteen feet long; three with crotches at the end, which were stuck in the ground some distance apart, the upper ends meeting, and fastened with bark; and then other poles were cut in circular form and bound round the first, and then covered with plaited reeds, or sewed birch bark, leaving and opening on top for the smoke to escape. The skins of animals formed a covering for a gap, which answered for a door. The family all seated tailor-fashion on mats.[280]

These wigwams could be large, as Blackbird wrote: "I distinctly remember the time, and I have seen my brothers, and myself dancing around the fires in our great wigwam, which had two fire-places inside of it."[281] Once this village was established, the various elders and community-leaders would need to decide on the policies of the upcoming months, plan diplomatic missions, and discuss issues of defence, and political networking.[282]

After the Spring, these dispersed sugar groupings, travelled from their northern sugar-bushes to form even larger (or macro) bands, on convenient locations (such as Baawitigong), villages which could last the whole of the warmer months. On Baawitigong, this might include groups of several thousand people at a time, who could be fed on the yields of the rich fishery at Baawitigong.[283] Accordingly, the St. Mary's River hosted various tribes from around the continent, in different years, and the Spring would be a time to make the necessary preparations for the expected ceremonies, trade, and customary-gifts which playing host dictated. On this river, the summer was a time of large-meetings, reunions, ceremonies, feasts, gift-giving, trade, and general celebration. Baawitigong served an important centralized-location for trading resources, information, and creating alliances, for several groups in the area. In addition, summer was also a time of important resources harvesting, in preparation for colder months.

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[280] Copway, George (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh), *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*, 19.

[281] Andrew Blackbird, *Complete Both Early and Late History of the Ottawa and Chippewa*, 29.

[282] See: "Sault Ste. Marie", Chippewa/Southeastern Ojibwa" (painted in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; 1849-1856). Rights held by the Royal Ontario Museum.

[283] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 96.

Amongst the Ojibwa, the rapids of the St. Mary's River were particularly important as a summer and fall campsite.[284] Although some agriculture was practiced on the St. Mary's River, their reliance was not as high as the southern tribes' reliance on corn, or the Northern Ojibwa's reliance on rice.[285] Instead the people of the St. Mary's River would have planted gardens, and modest fields; but relied more heavily on fishing, hunting, gathering, and trade. Schmalz explains, that annually: "Numerous Ojibwa bands representing the various clans gathered from hundreds of miles around Sault Ste. Marie to participate in religious festivals, to renew their alliances, and to indulge in the consumption of large quantities of white fish which sustained them during their lengthy meetings."[286] Feasts, social activities, trade, ceremonies, and worked to foster peace amongst the Great Lakes tribes, and increase the importance of the St. Mary's River. In the Summer, the St. Mary's River was a location where connections of friendship and family were created and enforced from a young age; and skills for adulthood practised.

While Summer was an important time of trade, food acquiring, ceremonies, and other serious pursuits. On the St. Mary's River, summers were also a time to rejoice, enjoy life, compete, laugh and socialize within a community. Blackbird explains how these relations were reinforced by combined ceremony helped reinforce these connections:

> After all the Indians arrived and had settled down, they would again have a prolonged merriment and another feasting of the dead and peace offerings. Grand medicine dances, fire dances, and many other jubilant performances my people would have before they would go to work again to plant their gardens.[287]

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[284] Ibid 96.

[285] After the separation at the St. Mary's River, the northern Ojibway had added rice to their traditional hunter and gatherer lifeways in the swampy eastern woodlands around the upper Great Lakes. During warmer periods, the agricultural border on the 45th parallel could extend to the north of the St. Mary's River (including the north coasts of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan), it was only cultivated to a limited extent on the St. Mary's. (see: Claiborne Skinner, "Prologue." *In the Upper Country*, 5).

[286] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 12.

[287] Andrew Blackbird, *Both Early and Late History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, 29.

Summer also differed greatly, depending upon one's role with a tribe, gender, or age. Women, children and the elderly often remained in relatively static summer communities, such as the one on the St. Mary's River. For those who remained in the village, the summer involved planting and tending their crops, fishing, the hunting of small animals, producing and repairing household goods, and gathering firewood.

Depending on the year, men were often expected to travel from this community on trade convoys, diplomatic missions, war parties, hunting trips, or other tasks. In the large communities, children were able to play with their cousins and friends in a snow free environment, when the living was relatively easy. These childhood connections, helped foster cross-generational political cooperation amongst groups. Accordingly, summer was an important time for children to play, which allowed them to reinforce these personal connections, and to practice skills which would be useful to them in adulthood, through: shooting contests, canoes races, and other sports.[288] In these larger communities, children spent more time with their extended families, who taught them how to identify plant and animal species. The teaching of these skills, were often left to the various elders of the extended communities. Bringing these various communities together in the summer months, helped encourage peaceful relationships, spread knowledge between groups, and encourage trade.

Particular north of the 45th parallel, villages like Baawitigong (that could support a large population for up to 200 days-annually), became particularly important hosts of these summer-time gatherings. This location at Baawitigong served as an important social and community centre, with a rich-range of food-stuff available throughout the year. Significantly, these networks informed the yearly-cycles of the Anishinaabeg on the St.

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[288] Jeffrey Carey, "New Directions of Play: Native American Origins of Modern Lacrosse." (MA Dissertation; Cleminson University, 2012)., 19-28.

Mary's River, hereby creating a distinct identity of a trading/fishing/harvesting/and hunting-gathering people, who lived on this river. While years of dearth did occur, the fisheries of the St. Mary's River remained one of the most consistent and important fisheries of the Anishinaabeg. Beyond its importance as a food supplier, Baawitigong was also located on a transportation hub, and was a short distance from the Wendat's territory; making it an important centre for ceremony and trade as well.[289] Generally, these ceremonies between communities, were practiced throughout the year; but larger multi-tribe ceremonies often took place in Spring, Summer, and Fall.

During these warmer months, life was relatively-easy; the weather was warm, food easily available, with friends and family present. Making these months, a time of relaxation, enjoyment, and the practicing of important skills. Describing his own childhood, Copway explains how "In the summer it was easier and pleasanter to move about from place to place, than in the winter. In the summer we had birch bark canoes and with these we travelled very rapidly and easily."[290] Moreover, summer was an important time for children to practice their hunting skills. As Copway explains "To hunt deer in the summer was my great delight," explaining how his method was reliant on the use of river, and understanding of animal behaviour:

> During the day I looked for their tracks, as they came on the shore of the lake or river during the night; they came there to feed. If they came on the bank of the river, I lighted pitch pine, and the current of the river took the canoe along the shore. My lantern was so constructed that the light could not fall on one spot, but sweep along the shore. The deer could see the light, but were not alarmed by it, and continued feeding on the weeds. In this way, I have approached so close that I could have reached them with my paddle. In this manner our forefathers shot them, not with a gun, as I did, but with the bow and arrow. Bows were made strong enough so that the arrows might pierce through them.[291]

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[289] Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The heritage of the circle* (UBC Press, 1999), 3-6.

[290] George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah*, 19.

[291] Ibid, 25.

This was a hunting method also practiced on the St. Mary's River, and its connecting waterways. This weather made many tasks easier including hunting, and allowed children to develop important hunting techniques, before being tested by the trickier winter conditions.

This village at Baawitigong also engaged in a variety of recreational activities, including: foot-races, canoe-races, climbing-races, shooting-contests, throwing-sports, swimming, wrestling, and team sports. Not only were these athletic events recreational, they also fostered a community spirit, taught teamwork, and helped identify individuals' particularly well-suited to a certain skill set, by allowing a child to demonstrate that they were physically capable of shouldering greater responsibilities. Perhaps most importantly, these activities taught and then trained, the physical skills necessary for: hunting, fishing, and warfare on the Great Lakes. An example of sport being used as a form of training these important skills, comes from children playing *bag-gat-iway* (or lacrosse) on the banks of the St. Mary's River. Thomas McKenney, who described children playing a game of *bag-gat-iway* on the St. Mary's River, also helps to highlight the importance of this game, as a teaching-device of specific skills. This game was played by both adults and children, who were split-up into teams (promoting teamwork), and competing against the other side.

Indian Agent Thomas McKenney, who witnessed one such game on the banks of the St. Mary's River, would record the dynamics of this sport. He describes how each participant was equipped "with a stick, having a little pocket at one end about twice the size of the ball, and made of net-work. The materials of the pocket is generally deer-skin, cut into strings. The pocket is about two inches deep."[292] Armed with only this net, and:

> in full run, they strike the ball, and dexterously take it up, flourish it over their heads, and run, and throw it, as they think proper, when the whole group give chace and overtake it, and change its direction. These boys and girls are nimble as fawns, and fleet as the wind.[293]

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[292] McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour*, 180-181.

[293] Ibid, 180-181.

This team sport was an enjoyable pastime and a good cardiovascular work-out, which encouraged teamwork, physically strengthened the participant, and taught them a specific-skills set. While playing lacrosse helped prepare children to participate in group hunts, and war-parties; the specific use of a net, points to lacrosse's importance in developing one skill in particular: fishing the rapids.

Fishing was arguably the most important skill for those who lived on the banks of the St. Mary's River. The style of fishing used, involved strength, timing, endurance, and specific skills with a net, making lacrosse an invaluable training-tool for this form of fishing in particular.[294] McKenney's record of fishing practices on St. Mary's, is in fact, very similar to his description of lacrosse. He explains that at Baawitigong:

> The white fish is taken by both whites and Indians with a scoop net, which is fastened to a pole about ten feet long. ... Two of them go out in a bark canoe, that you could take in your hand like a basket, and in the midst of the rapids, or rather just below where they pitch and foam most. One sits near the stern, and paddles; the other stands in the bow, and with the dexterity of a wire dancer, balance this "egg-shell," that you or I would be certain to turn over in our attempts to keep steady. When a fish is seen through the water, which is clear as crystal, the place is indicated by the man with the net, when, by a dexterious and quick motion of the paddle, by the Indian holding it, he shoots the canoe to the spot, or within reach of it, when the net is thrown over the fish, and it is scooped up, and thrown into the canoe—meanwhile the eye of the person in the stern is kept steadily fixed upon the breakers, and the eddy, and whirl, and fury, of the current; and the little frail bark is made to dance among them, lightsome as a cork; or is shot away into a soother place, or kept stationary by the motion of that single paddle, as circumstances may require it.[295]

The similarity between his description of lacrosse, and fishing at the rapids, highlights the importance of lacrosse in teaching Ojibwa children to fish the rapids. Martin points to the St. Mary's River as an important fishery, and the Passinaouek as "famous for their adroitness at this latter technique."[296] On the St. Mary's River, this fishery was used virtually-year-round, but was particularly important in Spring (when animal sources were skinny and breeding), and in the Fall (when fish was at its richest, and served as an important-staple to prepare for the winter ahead).

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[294] See: "Fishing at Sault Ste. Marie".

[295] McKenney*, Sketches of a Tour*, 193.

[296] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 96.

Most important to those on the St. Mary's River, was the fish spawn in the fall, particularly the white-fish run. With this mass-production of foodstuffs, simultaneous winterizing of the food was also necessary, the smoking of fish and certain meats as well as the drying of fruit, berries, corn, and the pounding of corn, acorns and other seeds into flour. While the most productive fishing done in the Fall, fishing was an incredibly important summer-resource, hunting, harvesting and collecting was also still relied on heavily by the people on the St. Mary's River. Hunting like fishing, was most productive and most important during the fall time. Copway explains that the fall hunt was particularly important, because "the meat was very fine, and the skins, (from which our moccasons were made,) were much thicker at this season."[297] While Summer was an important time for communal ceremonies, social events, trade, and relaxation, the fall was a time where food acquisition and preservation demanded the most attention.

The fall, like the summer, was also a time of ceremonies and of thanksgiving for the many bounties of the harvest. But, it was also a time of preparation for when the larger communities divided up into their smaller family groups, and returned to their winter-dwellings. This was a time for individuals to test the knowledge (and practical skills) taught throughout the summer, as Copway explains: "The fall is the best time to determine the skill of the huntsman."[298] The conditions of the season made hunting more difficult than the summer, and "Those that could track the deer on fallen leaves and shoot on each day, were considered first rate hunters."[299] Although hunting in fall was difficult, it was almost necessary to ensure one's family had enough food, fat, and furs to survive winter. The people of the St. Mary's River however, held a few distinct advantages in this fall hunt. The bottlenecked fishery on the St. Mary's River is an important source of food (and a crossing) for humans and animals alike; which lessened the need to track these animals through the forest.

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[297] George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway)*, 26.
[298] Ibid, 26.
[299] Ibid, 26.

On the banks of the St. Mary's River, the fall would have resembled a factory, of fishing, harvesting, hunting, and food preservation. The fall was a season when harvests of blueberries, cranberries, nuts, seeds, some wild rice, and grown in gardens (of potatoes, squash, corn, medicinal-herbs, etc.) on the rich banks of the St. Mary's River.[300] Ojibwa historian Priscilla Buffalohead, also points to the importance of growing corn, beans, and squash in communal fields, but she ultimately points to fish as the main subsistence-staple (and most important trade good) in the region.[301] These gardens and fields drew in grazing species, to feed in preparation for winter. Where predators such as bears, wolves, coyotes, foxes, wild cats, and predatory birds were drawn in by these prey-animals, as well as by the fishery itself. The St. Mary's River, further serves as a place for migratory birds to rest in the fall, and is the spawning location of several fish. This meant that the population on the St. Mary's River could harvest both fish and animals simultaneously; by using the methods described by Copway and McKenney, they increased the efficiency of both practices.

In contrast to these warmer months, the winter was a time of close family-contacts, and the exchange of stories, and traditions. It was a time of extreme cold weather, heavy snows, and limited hunting and fishing access; when smoked and dried produce was heavily relied upon. On the St. Mary's River, the beginning of winter was marked by the dying of vegetation, the migration of many species of birds, and the hibernation of other animals. In the story of Seegwun (spring) and Pebon (winter), Pebon bragged that when he shook his locks, the results were that:

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[300] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 96.

[301] Priscilla Buffalohead, "Farmers Warriors traders: a fresh look at Ojibway Women." *Minnesota History* 48, no. 6 (1983), 236.

> snow covers the land. The leaves fall from the trees at my command & my breath blows them away. The birds get up from the water, & fly to a distant land. The animals hide themselves from my breath, and the very ground becomes as hard as flint.[302]

Winters on the St. Mary's River, receives large-quantities of lake-effect snow, and is often where north-easterly cold fronts (from the Arctic-circle), meet with warm fronts (travelling up Lake Huron or Lake Michigan). This makes the St. Mary's River a particularly difficult location to pass these extreme winters; which only supported a few wintering groups.

The deep lake-effect snows and extreme colds, not only make living uncomfortable in winter, but it makes mobility difficult, and limits the effectiveness of hunting. For much of the winter, crumbling ice, open patches, and ice flows could render the St. Mary's River inaccessible. In the middle of winter, even the fast-flowing St. Mary's River can freeze solid; which occasionally allows it to be traversed by snowshoe and dogsled. During the full-freeze ice-fishing could also be pursued on the St. Mary's River; but is difficult to access when partially frozen. Men in the region, pursued hunting, and occasionally fishing, during the winter. The rest of the family collected fire wood, mended clothes, made tools, and prepared food. Both genders mended: fishing nets, birch bark containers, hatchets, and other important summer tools. All of the family, but particularly the elders and children of the winter-household, engaged in the teaching of History, and other forms of Oral Traditions and stories.

Historians Jennifer S.H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray point to the special significance of wintertime as a time for storytelling. The two cite demonstrate that sharing *aadizookaanag* (translated problematically as "myths"), was limited to the winter.[303] Brown and Gray even point to the possibility of penalization within a tribe for those who told these stories out of their designated season. During the long winters surround the St. Mary's River, the immediate family grouping spent time together telling their histories, and reflecting on the year's events. It was during this season, that the Anishinaabeg explored important historical and philosophical issues, through the telling of histories (including the histories of the Great Flood, Nanabush, the establishment of the Midewiwin, and the thousands of other important histories). This was particularly important amongst the Ojibwa, as it was the Ojibwa that held the Sacred Scrolls of the Midewiwin; and Baawitigong became an important centre of the Midewiwin Order.

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[302] (likely) Susan Johnston, "The Literary Voyageur" (No.1, Dec. 1826), 3

[303] William Berens, "Introduction." In *Memories, Myths and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader*, edited by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray. (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 8.

It was at this village on the banks of the St. Mary's River, where these annual cycles, cultural traits, and histories, came together to form the Ojibwa identity; as a subcategory of a greater Anishinaabe-identity (c. 1350-1550 AD). Baawitigong's geography made it an important political centre, which worked to increase the political importance of its population over time. After this original Ojibwa village separated (and established a number of smaller villages on the banks of Lake Superior), the people who continued living at Baawitigong became known as the Passinaouek; in reference to the Baawitigong on the St. Mary's River. Its ecology, enabled the Passinaouek to retain their traditional lifeways, in the midst of significant political changes in the region. In these early years of this large village at Baawitigong, the Ojibwa also worked to become part of a vast-trade network established throughout the Great Lakes, and increased its own political importance through the use of trade and by adopting combined ceremonies.

Section V: The Importance of the Wendat-Ojibwa relationship to the Great Lakes Trade Network (c. 1500-1600)

For the Ojibwa who remained at Baawitigong (the Passinaouek), it was not just inter-Anishinaabe allies that were important to their position, and the people on the St. Mary's River actively forged a connection with the nearby Wendat. This alliance between Huronia and the people of the St. Mary's River, was mutually beneficial for several generations, and allowed these groups to maintain a great deal of political sway on the Great Lakes for over four centuries. An alliance with the Wendat held many benefits for the Passinaouek, and vice versa. The St. Mary's River central position on the Upper Great Lakes, just above the 45th parallel, made it easily-accessible for the Wendat, which provided them an important market for surplus crops. Importantly, this location was also easily accessible to the dispersed northern groups. In addition to the importance of maize being incorporated into Ojibwa diets, the Wendat's numbers also made them an important military ally to the Ojibwa. But, this Ojibwa- Wendat relationship worked in both directions. Where the Wendat had created far reaching networks to the south through trade and wampums, the Anishinaabeg (who were interconnected by totems and a common language), had access to trade network extending to the east coast of the continent, and had begun to make regular trips north towards the Hudson's Bay. Both of these lingual-groups: the Iroquois speaking (Wendat, Chonnonton/Neutrals and Petun/Tionnontaté) and Algonquin-speaking (Anishinaabeg), gained useful trade goods, and allies from their proximity to each other on Lake Huron/Lake Superior divide.

Fostering gift giving and trade connections between the Wendat and northern tribes, helped to establish military alliances for the Ojibwa population on the St. Mary's River. Even with the threat of the Dakota on the St. Mary's River somewhat diminished (after the Ojibwa migration to LaPointe), the Ojibwa needed to ensure that they maintained their connections with their allies.[304] Of all the groups that came to trade annually at Baawitigong, the Wendat's numbers and proximity, made them important allies. The accomplished diplomatic-networks amongst the Wendat, helped to connect the dispersed Ojibwa people to convenient access to southern goods, even beyond what the Wendat themselves produced. Historians Olive Dickason and William Newbigging, highlight that the Wendat's network of alliances was vast, extended around 800 kilometres (500 miles) to the Susquehannoks (Conastogas, Andastes).[305] The south could consistently produce important goods, that the north could not, especially: corn, squash, potatoes, and tobacco; but, the south also had difficulty accessing the northern tribes.[306]

A major component of this Ojibwa/Odaawa-Wendat relationship, was trade and gift-giving and trade between tribes. The Odaawa were also important visitors to Baawitigong, Anishinaabe traders positioned on Straits of Mackinac on the Lake Huron/Lake Michigan divide. The Odaawa helped further the reach of the Wendat's goods. The Odaawa and Ojibwa recognized the logistical issue facing the Wendat, and began to actively cement their position in this cross-Lakes trade. Both the St. Mary's River, and Mackinac Straits, were centralized between these tribes, and were-easily accessible by canoe (because of their positions on Great Lakes and Hudson Bay Watershed hubs); additionally, the rich-fisheries and woodlands, could also feed large visiting populations. These factors together, worked to increase the political importance of the St. Mary's River and Mackinac Straits by the end of the sixteenth century. The Anishinaabeg's position on the rapids made them a natural middleman between the northern and southern groups; easily-accessible from both north-south, and east-west water routes. Its geography, made Baawitigong an important meeting hub, while the range of this trade network highlights the diversity of the diet and lifeways of these Great Lakes people.

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[304] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 97.
[305] Dickason and Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 39
[306] Claiborne Skinner, "Prologue" in *The Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes*, 7.

These trade relations influenced the groups differently, but generally worked to bring neighbours closer together. This trade network saw the exchange of technology, food, and other goods; but it also worked to form friendships, and create families. By incorporating other ceremonies, food stuff, material culture, and technologies, the Ojibwa were utilizing resources from both sides of the corn line, which improved their likelihood of surviving a failure of any one resource. The importance of the geographic formation of Baawitigong, also increased the political status of the Ojibwa living on its banks. The St. Mary's River's centralized position on Great Lakes (with access to Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and Lake Michigan), as well as its position on the Hudson Bay watershed, meant that northern hunters from throughout the boreal forests and tundra plains, could arrange to meet: southern agriculturalist, Great Lakes fishers, and the Buffalo hunters of the lower western plains.

By the end of the sixteenth century, goods were arriving annually at Baawitigong, from nearly every type of ecosystem found in northeast North America. This trade network helped to foster important alliances across the Great Lakes, which helped avoid conflict on the Upper Great Lakes. The lifeways of Anishinaabeg and Cree populations (north of the corn line), were less sedentary than those of the Wendat, and resulted in different trade goods travelling south.[307] This also meant a certain degree of specialization occurred regionally by the seventeenth century lifeways on the Great Lakes. With a steady supply of crops from their southern neighbours, northern tribes could spend more of their time hunting, fishing, and gathering; supplying these goods to their more agriculturally-reliant allies.

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[307] Skinner "Prologue." *In the Upper Country: French Enterprise*, 7.

This exchange, helped make both groups more efficient in these tasks. As a result, the Anishinaabeg of the St. Mary's River became expert fishers and hunters of the Baawitigong area. They produced large quantities of maple sugar, had access to superior northern furs, and had the ability to navigate the many waterways of the coniferous hardwood forests around the Great Lakes in their birch bark canoes. They were able to maintain a surplus of northern goods (that were important to the Wendat), easier than the Wendat could access these resources themselves. While their position on the rapids, allowed the Wendat to trade with a wide range of northern groups. This middleman position held by the northern Anishinaabe tribes was important, as it also granted them various rights and perks, including: a diplomatic position at councils between these tribes, and gifts; but also meant a responsibility to help ensure that this relationship was maintained.

Significantly, Baawitigong's position meant that the Ojibwa benefitted from this middleman status, without having to drastically alter their seasonal cycles. For the Ojibwa, Mississauga, Wendat, and Odaawa, annual meetings for trade purposes, also led to close-personal ties which were demonstrated by the adoption of combined ceremonies; which worked to further strengthen these connections. For instance, historians Alan McMilan and Eldon Yellowhorn, suggest that the Ojibwa and Odaawa began to participate in the Wendat's Feast of the Dead Ceremony even though it was not a traditional celebration of the Anishinaabeg (nor consistent with the death rituals of the Midewiwin), in order to strengthen their social and political ties with the Wendat.[308] The political allegiances, trade reliance, and use of combined ceremonies during this period, would help form the glue, which helped keep the Great Lakes world together in the face of European expansion into the region. While the importance of these connections became clearer after contact with Europeans (thanks to both written records, and the catalytic effect severe trauma), the importance of the Great Lakes networks stretches back to far before this modern chapter of Great Lakes History.

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[308] Alan McMilan and Eldon Yellowhorn, *First peoples in Canada* (D & M Publishers, 2009), 102-103.

Archaeologist Neal Ferris has rightful argued, that only by examining the extended history of the Great Lakes (and its people) during their first 15,000 years of existence, can the full effects of contact with Europeans be properly contextualized.[309] On the Great Lakes, this can be seen through the example of the shifting role of Baawitigong over these early periods. Shifts, which help to place the next four centuries of European presence on the continent into a larger historical narrative. The importance of Baawitigong to the Anishinaabeg extended back to its formation, and led to important cultural and technological developments for nearly 15,000 years. By the first decade of the 1600s, this Ojibwa population was firmly established at both ends of Lake Superior, had developed distinct regional-identities, made important alliances, and gained political sway on the Great Lakes trade network. The Ojibwa's important position on the Great Lakes network (and their web of allies), gave them greater influence in the region, which enabled them to face the calamites to follow.

The relationship that the Ojibwa forged with the St. Mary's River region specifically, ensured that the Anishinaabeg were able to survive on its banks, through: the climate change, great-plagues, and political changes of the seventeenth century. The establishment of this chain of Anishinaabeg villages across the Great Lakes (c. 1200-1400 AD), and their alliance with the Wendat (c. 1350-1550AD), would help the Ojibwa to become one of the most powerful political forces in North America by the beginning of the eighteenth-century. Their relationship with the Wendat in particular, helped to delay European presence on the Upper Great Lakes, shield the northern Anishinaabeg from the full effects of European pathogens, and allow them to maintain control on the St. Mary's River following European's arrival on the continent. Throughout the calamites of the seventeenth century, the Ojibwa would become what George Copway described as "the largest of any Indian possessions of which there is any definite knowledge" by the eighteenth century.[310] A feat they were only able to achieve, because of their position on Lake Superior, and ability to bring the Great Lakes populations together under a common cause.

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[309] Neal Ferris, *The Archaeology of Native-lived Colonialism: Challenging history in the Great Lakes*. (University of Arizona Press, 2009), xii-xvi.

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[310] George Copway (Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh), *The Traditional History and Characteristics Sketched*, 13.

Chapter 3: Disease, Displacement and Diplomacy: Ojibwa Strategy at Baawitigong, during Early Contact with the French (1600-1667)

Overview

First contact between North Americans and Europeans occurred in a variety of ways. For the Anishinaabeg, the history of cultural encounters began with the predictions of the Seven Fires Prophecies, which warned of detrimental effects on their environment and culture as a result of foreign interference from a pale-skinned people.[311] Although the years between 1600-1667 are referred to as the *contact* period, by this time European goods (and pathogens) had already penetrated the Great Lakes through established trade networks which connected the Anishinaabeg to populations on the east coast of the continent. In fact, interactions between Anishinaabeg and Europeans to the east of the Great Lakes were documented as early as 1534 (when Cartier arrived at Stadacona (now, Quebec)).[312] And (according to Warren and Benton-Benai) the Ojibwa on Lake Superior were aware of the French long before the French were aware of them.[313] News of these newcomers likely travelled through established indigenous trade networks before they did, and allowed the Anishinaabeg on the St. Mary's River to delay French influence in this region. Throughout the Anishinaabeg-French relationship, the Anishinaabeg were more aware of the French intentions in the region, than the French were aware of the Anishinaabeg's responses; nonetheless, the French presence began a tumultuous four centuries for the Anishinaabeg on the St. Mary's River, who were able to survive this period because of their political awareness, established connections, and important position on the Upper Great Lakes.

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[311] Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book*, 6-9.
[312] William Warren*, History of the Ojibways*, 112-113.
[313] Ibid, 112-114.

Section I: Plagues, Politics, and Power Shifts: Initial European Influence on Baawitigong, and the larger Great Lakes Network (1600-1620)

The St. Mary's River was important to the identity and survival of the Anishinaabeg, and to their interactions with their indigenous neighbours for millennia; now it had a vital role to play in their often-turbulent relationships with the Europeans. The early part of the *French Period* on the Upper Great Lakes (roughly 1608-1650), was marked by both a series of epidemics and a dramatic shift in the political structure of indigenous communities on the Great Lakes. The most significant immediate result of the earliest exchanges between North Americans and Europeans was the transfer of European diseases from the early European visitors to Indigenous groups, which led to recorded (and undoubtedly, plenty of unrecorded) plagues throughout the sixteenth century. Europeans brought diseases which had not existed in the Americas, but which could be transmitted (through contact with contaminated humans, animals, or trade goods) so even people who themselves had never met a European could be infected.[314] (These pathogens included: smallpox, measles, influenza, bubonic plague, diphtheria, typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, trachoma, whooping cough, chicken pox and tropical malaria.) This is referred to as the 'Columbian Exchange'.[315] These diseases were devastating: the mortality rate of newly introduced diseases is believed to be between 25-90% among infected populations.[316] Throughout this period, the Anishinaabeg suffered severely from the effects of European diseases, but the relatively small population that lived around Lake Superior early in the seventeenth century, also managed to grow by the end of the century; to become the largest known Indigenous confederation in North America into the eighteenth century.

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[314] As well as diseases, whose presence in the Americas is debated: malaria, yellow fever, pulmonary tuberculosis, venereal syphilis. (see: Olive Dickason and William Newbigging. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 37-38).

[315] Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: biological and cultural consequences of 1492*. Vol. 2. (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003), 1-5.

[316] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*,

It is well established that the Columbian Exchange resulted in wide-scale epidemics throughout North America, after the physical presence of Europeans on the continent.[317] Dickason and Newbigging point to evidence which demonstrates at least 17 major epidemics occurred between 1520-1600 in the Americas, with death tolls ranging from 30-75% of infected populations.[318] The written historical record of the Great Lakes people throughout the early seventeenth century depicts how epidemics were affecting the Indigenous populations to alarming extents as the French entered the Upper Great Lakes. After Champlain's arrival in 1611, the Great Lakes people suffered a fever that killed many people, followed by a series of other recorded epidemics. Even though patchy, written accounts record the terrible suffering of the Wendat and Anishinaabeg on the Great Lakes. During the 1623-1624 winter, disease and hunger was reported among the Weskarini of the Ottawa Valley.[319] Historian Calvin Martin wrote that "Indians were dying off in droves". He pointed to plague and smallpox as the two mostly likely endemics in the area throughout the seventeenth century (but he also includes tuberculosis, rickets, typhus, syphilis, scarlet fever, and cholera).[320] Although some epidemics were recorded in this early period, there are likely many more which eluded the attention of the few European observers in the territory.

Given the reach of the Great Lakes trade networks, it is likely that similar events in other areas were occurring but not being observed by Europeans.[321] French records demonstrate that epidemics were commonplace in the early years of French presence around the Great Lakes, but the plagues occurring after Champlain's arrival in 1611 (when the Great

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[317] Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian. "The Columbian Exchange: A history of disease, food, and ideas." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 24, no. 2 (2010): 163-88.

[318] Olive Dickason and William Newbigging. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations*, 37-38.

[319] Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: a history of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston; McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 499.

[320] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the game: Indian-animal relationships and the fur trade* (University of California Press, 1982), 99.

[321] Diseases in the region, have been linked directly to Cartier's efforts in the 1540s, and is consistent with wider-trends of epidemics across the Americas. (see: Marcel Moussette, "A Universe Under Strain: Amerindian nations in north-eastern North America in the 16th century." *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2009), 34-37).

Lakes people suffered a fever that killed many people) may have been a continuation of plagues experienced in the sixteenth century. If so, some early French visitors were unknowingly entering a region which had likely already felt the effects of European pathogens. The initial records suggest that these death rates were 50 percent. The halving of a population is devastating but the effects may have been far greater. This estimate is representative of only a snapshot of time during three centuries of epidemics. Overall, death rates were likely closer to 60%-80% of the lower Great Lakes population between the late fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century.

Resident of an Anishinaabe family, John Tanner later described how these epidemics had lasting effects on Anishinaabeg families: "the Indians who survived, some were permanently deaf, others injured in their intellects, and some, in the fury of the occasioned by the disease, dashed themselves against trees and rocks, breaking their arms, or otherwise maiming themselves." [322] Even those who did recover, continued to suffer. Tanner explained: "those who survived, had copious discharges from the ears, or in the earlier stages had bled profusely from the nose."[323] Beyond the initial deaths, there were effects of the epidemics in the form of injuries and of mental health problems that would continue to be felt by communities for years. These effects likely included many common post-plague conditions, including: survivor's guilt, post-traumatic stress disorder, and a general questioning of society.[324]

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[322] For example, John Tanner described the effects of a smallpox epidemic that he faced when he was around 21 years old and living among Ojibway and Odawas. Tanner's European ancestry likely shielded him from the worse of the symptoms but he saw how members of his tribe suffered:

> I moved, with Wa-me-gon-a-biew, and many other families of Indians, to the Wild Rice. While we were engaged in collecting and preparing the grain, many among us were seized with violent sickness. It commenced with cough and hoarseness, and sometimes bleeding from the mouth or nose. In a short time many died, and none were able to hunt. Although I did not escape entirely, my attack appeared at first less violent than that of most others. There had been for several days, no meat in the encampment; some of the children had not been sick, and some of those who had been sick, now began to recover, and needed some food. There was but one man beside myself, as capable of exertion as I was; and he, like myself, was recovering. We were wholly unable to walk and could scarce mount our horses when they were brought to us by the children. … In this emergency, we rode into the plains and were fortunate enough to overtake and kill a bear. … we took it home and distributed to every lodge an equal portion. (see: John Tanner, *A narrative of the captivity and adventures of John Tanner*, 110-113).

[323] Ibid, 113.

These waves of epidemics forced some Indigenous populations to look to the Europeans for aid. Some of the effects of the varied European diseases were, as Tanner noted, "entirely new to the Indians, and they attempted to use few or no remedies for it."[325] As the diseases affected the communities, it was difficult for the community to meet food demands; especially as hunters and other food collectors became bed-ridden. For example, in order to make up for the labour shortage due to deaths and illness within their communities, they sought some European time-saving technologies. Some European goods were helpful to their continued survival (e.g., copper kettles, steel blades, and guns) and became incorporated into their traditional patterns; this worked to increase several tribes' reliance on European goods, and led many to align themselves with the French. Some European recorders on the Great Lakes interpreted the use of European goods as their acceptance of European lifeways. Although Europeans (generally) spread these diseases unintentionally, they intentionally worked to take advantage of the crisis the spread of disease created in the Lower Great Lakes.[326] The Europeans attempted to push their own political agendas, and to create an Indigenous dependency on European trade goods. Much of the historiography surrounding these early encounters has focused on the benefit of European technology as the reason these First Nations sought alliances; but historian on the fur trade Arthur J Ray, has convincingly argued that this view minimizes the complexities of the trade alliances of the Great Lakes, and the full effects of these European diseases.[327]

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[324] Eva D. Papiasvili and Linda A. Mayers, "Perceptions, Thoughts, and Attitudes in the Middle Ages", in *Plante, Thomas G., ed. Abnormal Psychology Across the Ages [3 volumes]. ABC-CLIO, 2013. Santa Barbara (CA): Praeger* (2013), 21-26.

[325] John Tanner, *A narrative of the captivity and adventures of John Tanner*, 113.

[326] There have been a number or reports of Europeans weaponizing these plagues, and intentionally spreading these diseases. But this does not seem to be the case of the early French on the Great Lakes.

[327] Arthur J. Ray. *Indians in the Fur Trade: their role as trappers, hunters, and middlemen in the lands southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870: with a new introduction* (University of Toronto Press, 1998), xvii-xix.

The more the Anishinaabeg relied on European goods and military alliances, the more they exposed themselves to new diseases. Indigenous populations likely linked the new diseases to the newcomers, but despite the potential dangers, some of the Great Lakes people recognized that there were also advantages to making alliances with these foreigners. Trade allegiances (for the Indigenous populations of the Great Lakes), were also the promise of a military alliance, intelligence-sharing, and a guarantee that resources would be shared in times of dearth. This system had however, been challenged by the epidemics of European diseases which devastated a variety of communities, and would lead to a general questioning of many traditional practices. The effects of these early plagues led to a plethora of responses by the Great Lakes people during the first half of the seventeenth century. Throughout the epidemics, climate changes, and political shifts, the Anishinaabeg worked from their strongholds on Lake Superior to bring together various groups in complex ways.

Some families (such as the Cranes of the St. Mary’s, and the Bears around Mackinac) were more open to an alliance with the French than were the northern Ojibwa families on Lake Superior. Referring to their history, Warren explained:

> In one of their traditions, it is stated that "when the white man first came in sight of the `Great Turtle' island of Mackinaw, they beheld walking on the pebbly shores, a crane and a bear who received them kindly, invited them to their wigwams, and placed food before them." This allegory denotes that Ojibways of the Crane and Bear Totem families first received the white strangers, and extended to them the hand of friendship and rites of hospitality, and in remembrance of this occurrence they are said to have been the favorite clans with the old French discoverers.[328]

The Ojibwa around the St. Mary’s River were more open to these foreign French than were their Ojibwa countrymen at LaPointe; but those at Baawitigong by no means made this decision lightly, nor without observing the alliances that the Wendat and Nippissing had made with the French traders.[329] The Anishinaabeg realized very early on, that the French intended to expand their political holdings in the continent, and they sought to manage French presence in Anishinaabeg territory on the Upper Great Lakes.

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[328] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 125.

[329] This should perhaps not be surprising, as the population at LaPointe seemed to be more traditionalist and isolationist than the population at Baawitigong, since the original village at Baawitigong. The contingent at LaPointe had continued north as a result of the Seven Fires Prophecy, several generations before, and Warren

Although French documents (e.g., Champlain's diary, Jesuit Records, and other contemporaneous accounts of this period) depict the early seventeenth century as one of French expansion into the Great Lakes, the Anishinaabeg have preserved Histories that offer a different perspective. Warren wrote that:

> So far as their own tribe is concerned, the Ojibways have preserved accurate and detailed accounts of this event; and the information which their old men orally give on this subject, is worthy of much consideration, although they may slightly differ from the accounts which standard historians and writers have presented to the world, and which they have gleaned from the writings of the enterprising and fearless old Jesuit missionaries, and from the published narratives of the first adventurers who pierced into the heart of the American wilderness.[330]

Warren's account suggests that the Ojibwa recognized that an alliance with the French held some tangible advantages, but they also recognized the harm of many of the French policies, and intentions. They had witnessed how the French (both intentionally and unintentionally) worked to undermine the established political networks of the Upper Great Lakes, but their efforts to place the region under French law were thwarted by the Anishinaabeg's efforts to unite other indigenous groups throughout the Great Lakes region.

The Ojibwa recognized that of the predominant European forces in North America, the French were arguably the least aggressive colonizers, and they used their relationship with the French to delay British presence on the Great Lakes.[331] The French recorders of this history however, worked to suppress the role that the indigenous peoples (especially those on the St. Mary's River) played in shaping French policy. In practice however, the French followed the Anishinaabeg example of winning win allies through trust and friendship, not

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points to LaPointe as becoming the centre of the Midewiwin at this time. By comparison, the Ojibway at Baawitigong had adapted their Midewiwin rituals to include aspects of their trading partners, as a result of their diplomatic relations (e.g. Feast of the Dead). (William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 125.)

[330] Ibid, 114.

[331] Phil Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 17-19.

through attempting to physically dominate the Great Lakes. The Ojibwa were able to negotiate terms with the French, and then used this alliance (and the trade resulting from it) as a bargaining chip when negotiating with other Indigenous tribes. The geographical importance of the straits of Baawitigong and Mackinac, and political strength of the Midewiwin, enabled the Anishinaabeg to adapt to the dramatic changes caused by Europeans entering the Great Lakes region.

The tumult of the period (1600-1620), forced the Ojibwa to adopt several response strategies, which were informed (and aided) by their geographically-significant strongholds on both ends of Lake Superior (Baawitigong and Chequamegon Point). The Anishinaabeg (and the Ojibwa in particular), were able to use these positions to help increase their own political authority in the region, and beyond. The Anishinaabeg were generally able to monitor French actions in their territories, and were able to prevent the French from becoming the most powerful political force in the region (or to effectively legislate the region). As Peter MacLeod has described: “The Anishinabeg flourished in the geopolitical and economic environment of post-contact North America, and greatly extended the territory under their direct control and economic influence.”[332] The Ojibwa undoubtedly used their flexible subsistence patterns, military ability, diplomatic skills, statesmanship, and the strength of their traditions to achieve this growth.

In 1616, members of the tribes at Baawitigong had explored a relationship with the French, when representatives travelled to Petun villages south of the Georgian Bay to meet with Champlain, but most of these representatives returned to Baawitigong after a short time.[333] Their position on Baawitigong came under threat in the 1620s however, as the

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[332] Peter MacLeod, "The Anishinabeg Point of View: The History of the Great Lakes Region to 1800 in Nineteenth-Century Mississauga, Odawa, and Ojibwa Historiography." *Canadian Historical Review* 73, no. 2 (1992), 184.

[333] Charles Garrard, “Champlain and the Odawa”, *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring, 1999), 57.

Haudenosaunee Confederacy began to make European allies. The early efforts of the Anishinaabeg unity went unrecorded by French recorders, but likely had begun by the end of the 1620s. Many tribes on the Lower Great Lakes, now felt that they then had no choice but to join forces with the French in order to counter the growing Haudenosaunee threat; and to avoid finding themselves fighting alone against European weaponry.

Section II: The First Recorded Europeans at Baawitigong: Early Experiments with Europeans on the Upper Great Lakes (1620-1640)

The push to make alliances with Europeans became especially strong among the Wendat in the 1620s, who were rivals (and neighbours) of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The early alliances with Champlain, made by the Wendat and Nippissing groups (c. 1603-1620), involved an exchange of ambassadors between these Indigenous groups, and the French. Rather than immediately trying to reshape the Lower Great Lakes into their image of a French colony, the French were reliant on these diplomats to represent French interests in the region. There were numerous intricacies in the role played by the Wendat and Nippissing as intermediaries between the Ojibwa and the French. These have been outlined by historians Schmaltz and Trigger who argue that in the 1610s and 1620s, the French would not have been tolerated on the St. Mary's River without the Wendat or Nippissing tribes' permission; as well as the permission of those who lived at Baawitigong. It was only once these newcomers gained the trust of the Lower Great Lakes tribes, that they would be welcomed by the people of Baawitigong. Yet, because of the close relationship between these assimilated French and the Wendat, the Ojibwa permitted certain French individuals to enter Baawitigong as early as the 1620s. After a number of these semi-assimilated French had spent enough time proving themselves trustworthy by adapting to Great Lakes culture (and in the process, proving themselves to be disease free) they were permitted to enter the St. Mary's River region. This cultural exchange program included several young men, who learned the language and customs of their new ally; young men who would learn (and thus be able to teach their families) about the lifeways and culture of the other group.

One of the earliest of the young French to be welcomed into Huronia (as a part of this exchange program) was Etienne Brûlé, who quickly adapted to the customs of the Wendat and learned several of the Great Lakes languages. Brûlé's experience demonstrates how, despite being weakened by epidemics, the Indigenous tribes were able to dictate the terms of their alliances with the French. On the first (recorded) journey to Baawitigong by Europeans, Brûlé and another Frenchman in the region named Grenole, worked to promote Baawitigong as an important place for French expansion. The records of both the Jesuits and Champlain allude to these men (Brûlé and Grenole), as first *recorded* Europeans on the St. Mary's River (around 1623), but the details are scant. It is possible that Brûlé and Grenole wrote accounts of this journey, but no such accounts have been found.

Instead, this journey appears in passing in Champlain's diary, and more directly in the Jesuit Relations of 1623; unfortunately, neither of these accounts is overly descriptive.[334] In this uncertainty, these two Europeans are believed to have travelled to the St. Mary's Rapids sometime between 1620-1623. Brûlé and Grenole travelled up established trade routes that connected with the northern tribes, and met with the northern Anishinaabeg around Baawitigong, at which time they gave Baawitigong the European name "Sault de Gaston" to honour the brother of Louis XIII.[335] Brûlé gave the Recollects one of the earliest accounts of the Rapids of the St. Mary's River, which highlighted its utility as a post in the Fur Trade, and possible source of mineral wealth (mentioning copper in particular).[336] Their descriptions from this journey, seems to have informed Champlain's first European map of the River. This initial European presence on the St. Mary's River, also seems to have also made the St. Mary's River a target for French strategic interests on the Great Lakes.[337]

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[334] Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *The Jesuit relations and allied documents*, 74.

[335] Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 375.

[336] Ibid, 375.

[337] See: Samuel de Champlain, "Carte de la Nouvelle-France, 1632".

Samuel de Champlain, "Carte de la Nouvelle-France, 1632"
(Library and Archives Canada, NMC 51970).

The two Europeans later presented the Jesuits with furs and a bar of copper, extra incentive for the French to attempt to establish territory north of Huronia, around the St. Mary's Rapids. Trigger has convincingly argued that this copper was obtained at the rapids from a group on Lake Superior, who had brought it eighty to hundred leagues the Baawitigong.[338] The presentation of these gifts, demonstrates that the Ojibwa were aware of what the French were looking for in their land, and that they were able to supply these goods to them. Initially, the French under Champlain, presented themselves as a friend, and a powerful military ally against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; the latter whom now had access to novel-foreign technologies, medicines, and foods. These two Europeans to visit Baawitigong, were representative of Champlain' early policy. Although Brûlé and Grenole represented the hegemony of New France, they were permitted to travel into the Upper Great Lakes because of their adherence to traditional customs of the Great Lakes.

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[338] Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 375.

Historian Trigger, notes that Brûlé and Grenole would have been able to make this trip only with the permission of the Wendat, Odaawa and Ojibwa, but adds that it remains uncertain whether his indigenous contingent was Wendat or Odaawa.[339] During this time, (as Heidenreich has noted) "Europeans were tolerated but were not free to travel where they wanted."[340] This process indicates, that although they might have been open to the idea of forming an alliance, the people of Baawitigong were far from welcoming the notion of a French colony at their rapids. It is unknown whether the pair of Europeans were even permitted to travel beyond the rapids into Lake Superior, but given Warren's (and contemporary European) accounts, it seems that Baawitigong was as far into the Upper Great Lakes that these Europeans travelled at this time.

It is perhaps the Passinaouek's previous experience trading with foreign groups on the Great Lakes trade network that led them to allow this French presence in the early 1620s, when the Ojibwa population at LaPointe did not. Warren's record of the Ojibwa's history, suggests that the northern Ojibwa situated on Lake Superior were initially less open to the European newcomers than were the Ojibwa settled around the St. Mary's River (on the south-eastern point of Lake Superior).[341] By comparison, the Ojibwa population on Baawitigong (and Odaawa at Mackinac) had relied more heavily on their southern trade networks, which gave them more direct relationships with the southern tribes (and their new European allies). Warren emphasizes that although the Anishinaabeg were opened to trade with the French, it was only those Europeans willing to abide by the customs of the country that were permitted at Baawitigong during this period.[342]

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[339] Ibid, 375.

[340] Conrad E. Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada: Cartier (1534) to Mackenzie (1793)." *Terrae Incognitae* 37, no. 1 (2005), 32.

[341] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 125.

[342] Warren acknowledges, that the next Europeans after these "unlettered traders", were the Jesuits. (see: William Warren, *History of the Ojibway*, 115-124).

According to Warren, not all of these interactions were recorded and (at the same time as Brûlé and Grenole were travelling in the area) uneducated, unsanctioned, and unrecorded traders were also beginning to arrive on the shores of Lake Superior looking to trade their goods. Using his knowledge of oral traditions of the Anishinaabeg, Warren asserts that early traders were present in the Upper Great Lakes before missionaries (as the Jesuit Relations indicate), suggesting that initially (before French hegemony were accepted), only those who had proven themselves willing to respect the customs of the country were permitted at Baawitigong.[343] For the Ojibwa, this initial French presence gave the Passinaouek a more solid footing in the European trade networks, via their trade partners the Wendat. Yet despite the success of Brûlé and Grenole's trip to the St. Mary's River (c. 1623), France's dream of establishing a French colony on Baawitigong would be soon be seriously hampered after another series of outbreaks of disease further ravaged the Great Lakes populations.

In 1634, the first of a series of epidemics hit the northeast coast of North America in swift succession (1634, 1636-1637, and 1639). The disease (which seems to have been influenza) started in the St. Lawrence Valley mid-August, and arrived in Wendat country at the beginning of September.[344] It was catastrophic. Unprecedented numbers of documented cases of illness occurred among the Wendat around Georgian Bay.[345] Then, in the autumn of 1636, there was a particularly deadly and prolonged period of epidemic among the Wendat that lasted through the winter of 1636-1637.[346] Trigger asserts that, in these six years alone (1634-1640), around half of the population of the Wendat Confederacy died.[347] Historian Neil Stevens points to even higher death-rates in these six years, suggesting that the population of these already-weakened people on the Georgian Bay, plummeted from thirty thousand (in 1634) to twelve thousand (by 1639).[348]

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[343] Ibid, 115-124.
[344] Ibid, 526-527.
[345] Ibid, 499-500.
[346] Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 526.
[347] The Pequots were also affected by these epidemics during this time, their numbers falling from 13 000 in 1620 to 3000 in 1635. Like the Huron, the Pequot had served as middlemen between indigenous groups and the European traders, their decline lead to military challenges from the Narragansett (see: Geoffrey Parker, Global Crisis, 499).

These series of plagues in the late-1630s, would dramatically shift the existing power-balances in Great Lakes; and had a much larger impact on the region than the direct actions of French officials. At the same time as these epidemics hit the Great Lakes, there were significant shifts made to the French's policy in the region. In 1632, when the Jesuits came to New France, all of the French visitors who were not associated with the Jesuits were immediately recalled from the region.[349] The Ojibwa had forged a close relationship with some of the assimilated French traders who were now recalled. This warm welcome was not extended to include the Jesuits, who wished to push their lifeways and beliefs on Indigenous populations. During this period of multiple epidemics, the Jesuits openly challenged Indigenous peoples' traditional medicines, epistemological beliefs, and political structures. In a state of relative political isolationism towards Europeans in the 1630s, the Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River bore witness to how the Jesuits worked to undermine the family and political structures of some of the Lower Great Lakes tribes.

Throughout this tumultuous period, the Anishinaabeg observed how the Jesuits' influence on the Wendat, worked to weaken the Wendat Confederacy and left them vulnerable to attacks from the Haudenosaunee. The Jesuits had initially sold themselves to the Wendat as direct representatives of a powerful God, with technology, lifeways, and medicine that was ahead of the Wendat. Their role in the calamities now faced by the Wendat Confederacy, now worked to undermine all of these claims in the eyes of the people on the Upper Great Lakes.[350] For the Wendat, this period of epidemics coincided with the return of the Jesuits to Wendat territory, and saw the Jesuits attempt to challenge their traditional practices, medicine, and lifeways. Under pressure from the Jesuits, many desperate Wendat groups eventually began to question both their traditional leadership structures and their traditional medicines, which seemed ineffective in the face of these foreign pathogens.[351]

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[348] Neil Stevens Forkey, *Canadians and the Natural Environment to the twenty-first century* Vol. 10. (University of Toronto Press, 2012)., 12.

[349] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 32.

[350] Bruce Trigger, "Early Native North American responses to European contact: Romantic versus rationalistic interpretations." *Journal of American History* vol. 77, no. 4 (1991), 1209.

The Europeans (who seemed less susceptible to these diseases) purported to have medicine that would be effective in treating their diseases: it may have appeared to the Wendat that the Europeans were able to control or to cure their diseases. In the 1630s many of the southern tribes turned to Europeans for aid, out of the desperation that the series of prolonged plagues had created. Nor were these infections limited to the Lower Great Lakes, in the autumn of 1636 pathogens travelled up the St. Mary's River.[352] In 1636-1637, European diseases penetrated trade routes that few, if any, Europeans had ever been; and it caused many deaths in Northern Ontario.[353] There was scant time to recover from its effects before another round of contagion infected the Wendat in 1639.[354] However, not all the groups of the Great Lakes were necessarily affected to the same extent.[355] Although the European diseases spread and infected populations who had little previous contact with Europeans, the death rate may have been lower in some areas.

Death rates in the north may have been lower, because (between 1623 to the early 1640s) there was no (recorded) European presence on the St. Mary's River, and because northern populations lived in smaller communities that were dispersed over a large territory. Remarkably, the number of furs traveling through the trading routes (from the St. Mary's River to New France) did not decline during this period (despite the population decline of the

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[351] Jacki Andre, "Contagious disease and Huron women, 1630-1650." (PhD diss., University of Saskatchewan, 2007.), ii.

[352] Le Jeune, *The Jesuit Relations: Volume 4 and Allied Documents Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791* (Reuben Gold Thwaites Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Cleveland; 1897), 197-199.

[353] Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 499.

[354] *Jesuits Relations*, 197-199.

[355] Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 499-500, 605.

Wendat). This further suggests that the northern tribes were affected less directly by these initial plagues. Nonetheless, the documented impacts of these diseases on the Wendat, demonstrated how disastrous early contacts could be on the indigenous populations.[356] As European diseases devastated Indigenous populations in the Lower Great Lakes, European agents (and the Jesuits in particular) quickly attempted to use the crisis of these epidemics to gain political authority.[357] The Jesuits, however, did not help their own cause; instead they isolated themselves from their host tribes (even locking the Wendat out of their churches).

Historian Morgan Riley, has described how the Jesuits had failed to convert the Wendat, but: "succeeded in categorizing and secluding members of the Huron [Wendat] culture, which caused rifts in a society that valued communal loyalty and unity above all else."[358] Any medical treatments the Jesuits did provide, were generally ineffective in curing the disease, and the Jesuits often used the crisis to baptize large portions of the Wendat population.[359] The Ojibwa observed how these missionaries used their education and position within New France to act as diplomats, religious leaders, and medical practitioners, but it became clear to many that the Jesuits' remedies were almost wholly ineffective, and their presence in Native territories put more stress on the ailing Native populations than it helped to alleviate. [360] In addition, although the Jesuits brought servants (*donn*é*s*), they continued to rely on the Native populations for their transportation and continued subsistence; these demands put further stress on the surrounding Indigenous communities.[361] The Europeans claimed their medicines could treat their diseases, but the severity of the epidemics increased (not decreased) as the European population increased.

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[356] Ibid, 526.

[357] Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900*. (University of California Press, 1992), 5-9.

[358] Morgan Riley, All Souls Travel on Foot": Religious Conversion Among the Huron." *Primary Source* (Vol. II: Issue I), 39.

[359] Ibid, 39.

[360] Ibid, 32.

[361] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 32.

After witnessing the early collapse of the Wendat's population in the late 1630s, the Baawitigong Ojibwa grew warier of the French, who not only had brought catastrophic diseases, but who now wanted to impose their culture, beliefs, and power structures.[362] Undoubtedly, many people linked these new plagues to the presence of Europeans, but the Anishinaabeg could not immediately expel the newcomers. During the early years of French presence in the area, the devastation of disease had directly forced many Native groups into making an alliance with a European partner, which led to a complex interplay of political and cultural factors amongst their allies in the Lower Great Lakes. The effects of European diseases, along with access to European trade goods, worked to shift some of the existing power balances throughout the Great Lakes, and the decline of the Wendat Confederacy in particular, had radial effects for all the Great Lakes populations. The Ojibwa suffered in a variety of ways, as they watched their trade networks disrupted by the struggles of their powerful allies (the Wendat).

The Wendat's weakened state, meant that the northern tribes had limited access to agricultural goods, and led to a stockpile of northern trade goods (including furs). Worse than this, the Wendat's decline allowed their enemies (the Haudenosaunee Confederacy) to threaten control of the Wendat's trade network, which put military pressure on the important fishery and trading hub at Baawitigong. By the end of the 1630s, the effects of European diseases and power shifts in the Lower Great Lakes made it untenable for the population of Baawitigong to remain isolated. The Wendat's decline, now left the population at Baawitigong susceptible to attacks from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. As a result, the Anishinaabeg at Baawitigong were forced into quick and decisive actions in order to survive these changes. They began to use their position on the St. Mary's River to successfully form what would become a Great Lakes Confederacy, which relied on the strength of their social structures, diplomatic ability, and traditional knowledge, to bring together many groups around the Upper Great Lakes into an importance alliance.

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[362] While historians such as Trigger, Eccles, and White, suggest that it was the Huron who limited French travels into the Upper Great Lakes. It is also possible, that these northern tribes shared some of the concerns, as their ally/relative Tessouat. Tessouat's actions, may have influenced the policy of the Ojibway on the Upper Great Lakes in these early decades of interactions with Europeans.

Initially the people of the St. Mary's River faced their challenges without significant French assistance. Until, increased military aggression from the enemies in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (who by the 1640s, were armed with firearms) became another cause of concern.[363] Conflict between the Ojibwa and Haudenosaunee Confederacy was not new, but for at least two centuries the powerful Wendat had worked to create an equilibrium in the Great Lakes network. Now that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy had access to guns, and with the Wendat Confederacy weakened by plague, the next fifty years would be a period of uncertainty, war, foreign interference, and massive power shifts in the Great Lakes region. Increasingly throughout this period, the St. Mary's River and Mackinac Straits became targets of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's expansion, because of their importance to the Great Lakes trade network, and established diplomatic webs.

Trigger notes this Haudenosaunee territorial expansion was different than traditional notions of warfare in North American. Erik Seeman suggests that the increased level of aggression from the Haudenosaunee, was a result of mourning war during a time of high mortality rates and an effort to increase their own numbers (after suffering from plagues of their own).[364] Both of these historians further point to the early influence of the trade partners of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (first the Dutch, and then the English) who encouraged the Haudenosaunee to further engage in fur trading and territorial expansion.[365] Trigger and Seeman's theories are both credible but are unlikely to fully explain the behaviour of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's armies during this period. European inference definitely played some role. But whatever influence these European had on the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, it is likely that central control of the Great Lakes trade network/political world, was the true goal of this expansion. The threat of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy worked (more so than the Jesuit's efforts), to shift the existing power balance on the Upper Great Lakes.

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[363] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 2-5.

[364] Erik Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat feast of the dead: Indian-European encounters in early North America* (JHU Press, 2011.), Introduction and chapter 6

[365] Ibid.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the Ojibwa had felt some of the effects of the increasingly volatile attacks of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Riley suggests, that by the middle of the seventeenth century, the effects of European diseases, colonial villages, and overfishing on the east-coast, were already beginning to undermine some of the southern indigenous subsistence patterns; compounding the problems of the Upper Great Lakes population.[366] During this time, many of the northern Anishinaabeg continued to join Wendat war parties, and fought the Haudenosaunee Confederacy alongside their southern allies.[367] Until the 1630s, the Wendat's densely populated territory, served as a bumper between the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and Ojibwa. For the populations on Baawitigong (and Lake Superior), a weakened Wendat population in the Georgian Bay by the end of the 1630s, now meant that most of this conflict with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy would occur closer to home.

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[366] Morgan Riley, "All Souls Travel on Foot", 38.

[367] Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618*, (New York: Scribner's; 1907)).

Section III: A New World on the Great Lakes: The Feast of the Dead on the St. Mary's River, Little Ice Age, and Collapse of the Wendat Confederacy (1640-1659)

The Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River recognized this potential catastrophe by at least the 1630s, and took actions to promote this Great Lakes alliance as a united front towards a common enemy. In 1641, they took this one-step further by hosting a Feast of the Dead (a Wendat ceremony) at the Ojibwa village on Baawitigong. This Feast of the Dead Ceremony was symbolic of several important themes within the contemporaneous Great Lakes region.[368] The ceremony was a chance to mourn the fallen, during a time of plague, and reflect on the shared tragedy of several cultural groups; a time for group reflection, discussion, and to strengthen existing relationships. With the Wendat reeling, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy had become the largest coherent political entity in the Great Lakes region by the mid-1630s. This shift in the Great Lakes power balance, now posed a serious threat to the established order on the Upper Great Lakes. Throughout the 1630s and 1640s, the Passinaouek could only watch as the combination of starvation and epidemics destroyed Wendat communities.[369] The population at Baawitigong could not save the Wendat, but they could take actions to ensure that they did not await the same fate.

The St. Mary's River served as a perfect centre of resistance to the increasingly hostile Haudenosaunee Confederacy; but the Passinaouek needed allies to assist in this fight. In the late 1630s, the population at Baawitigong reached out to a number of potential allies from the southern tribes, Anishinaabeg groups, Lake Superior populations, and the French. The St. Mary's River and Mackinac both became important points to this resistance. Baawitigong in particular, was an important gateway to the north, whose fisheries could support a large population on its banks. Its currents, narrows, and islands were far more difficult to navigate with the wooden canoes of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, than with the birch bark canoes of the northern tribes. These factors made Baawitigong a difficult place for the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to launch a successful attack on the northern tribes.

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[368] Melissa Pflug, "'Breaking bread': Metaphor and ritual in Odawa religious practice." *Religion* vol. 22, no. 3 (1992), 247).

[369] Morgan Riley, "All Souls Travel on Foot", 38.

Baawitigong's central position on the Great Lakes chain, also made it a convenient meeting location for the many tribes who were accustomed to travelling to Huronia to trade. Significantly, hosting this important ceremony on the St. Mary's River, signalled to the other tribes, that the populations of Baawitigong would help continue these trade patterns and rituals, if the Wendat were not. This particular Fest of the Dead in 1641, was a symbol of continuity during a period of uncertainty. For generations, the Wendat had invited a variety of groups to a designated point to take part on this Wendat ceremony, to honour the dead, make new allegiances, and to trade. Learning from the political skills of the Wendat, the Ojibwa attempted to bring together various groups together in common-ceremony, trade, and to unite against a mutual enemy.[370] The Anishinaabeg at Baawitigong now demonstrated that these important relationships could continue after the Wendat's decline, if they began to actively pursue a new Great Lakes confederacy.

The Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River decided (that despite the threat of disease), the threat of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy now warranted approaching an alliance with French officials. After all, the French were also in conflict with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and they sought northern furs, which made them a potential military and trade partner to the Anishinaabeg; but importantly, the French were only one group of the many groups who the Ojibwa invited to the Feast of the Dead on the St. Mary's River in 1641.[371] The written record of the St. Mary's River (which depicts these shifts), begins with the Feast of the Dead at Baawitigong in 1641, when two Jesuits were invited to the event. Anishinaabeg involvement in the Feast of the Dead ceremonies was a result of the Wendat-

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[370] Erik Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat feast of the dead*, Introduction, and Chapter 6.
[371] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 85.

Ojibwa trading relationship, and it was a ceremony that had occurred every seven years around the Georgian Bay.

That the location of this Feast was on the St. Mary's River (rather than in Wendat territory), was likely a result of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's pressure on the Georgian Bay; it demonstrates the beginning of a larger power-shift in the Great Lakes region from Wendat to the Ojibwa. The weakened state of the Wendat Confederacy had created a political-vacuum around the Great Lakes, and opened the path for the Haudenosaunee Confederacy into the 1640s. The Wendat's central-position, far-reaching trade networks, military power, and agricultural production, had helped them to create a far-reaching diplomatic network of culturally different groups (including the Anishinaabeg, Eries, and Susquehanocks).[372] This diplomatic network worked to promote unity among their allies; but the Wendat seemed to have held a significant amount of sway among these groups. Hosting a Feast of the Dead ceremony, worked to provide some form of continuity in this turbulent time, especially for tribes facing plagues, repeated attacks, and shifts to their lifeways. It was a familiar ceremony to many of the southern tribes, and was particularly important in this time of elevated death rates.[373]

The importance of the Wendat to maintaining this diplomatic web, meant that the decline of the Wendat threatened to plunge to Great Lakes into wide-scale warfare, and further uncertainty. By hosting this ceremony at Baawitigong, the Ojibwa were reminding their allies of the former strength of the Wendat, and the ceremony worked to promote unity among the Great Lakes people. It demonstrated to the Great Lakes populations, that even with the Wendat in a weakened-state, the political network they had fostered could continue.[374] By the beginning of the 1640s, the St. Mary's River and Mackinac straits, had become essential to maintaining the Anishinaabeg's position on the Upper Great Lakes.

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[372] Where internally, the Huron villages, and tribes, made domestic decisions through designated representatives, attending a large policy council of fifty headmen. (see: Kathryn Magee, "Dispersed, But Not Destroyed: Leadership, Women, and Power within the Wendat Diaspora, 1600-1701" (Electronic Thesis or Dissertation. Ohio State University, 2011)).

[373] Charles Bishop, "Cultural and Biological Adaptations to Deprivation: The Northern Ojibwa Case." United States' Department of Health and Educational Welfare (1974), 2-3.

The Ojibwa recognized the dire nature of the potential troubles brewing in the Upper Great Lakes, as the Haudenosaunee begun pushing further into the Wendat territory. In the face of new threats, and a changing climate, the Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River began to take further evasive-action. Part of this strategy, involved weaving their own large web of alliances, evidenced by the many tribes in attendance at this ceremony in 1641. Attending this ceremony were important allies to the Ojibwa throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including members of the Wendat, Odaawa, Mississauga, Nippissing, and the French. The French were represented at this event, by the Jesuits Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault, who were invited to make a journey to the St. Mary's River; their presence helps to demonstrate the Ojibwa's wider intention (of expanding their own networks of allies).[375] Importantly, the French were only one of a number of other populations to join the camps on the St. Mary's River in 1641; which helped the Ojibwa to bolster their own number of warriors, and reopen the Great Lakes trade networks (in order to face of the Haudenosaunee threat).

This Feast of the Dead ceremony in 1641, worked to highlight that Baawitigong could serve as a new centralized location for ceremony, trade, and diplomacy on the Great Lakes; if the Wendat territory could no longer perform these duties. The Ojibwa's foresight turned out to be a solid policy-decision, as the calamitous 1630s only worsened for the Wendat Confederacy in the 1640s.[376] By assuring southern tribes (in 1641) that they had a friend in the north, the Ojibwa helped form a united-front against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy;

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[374] James Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie to Coldwater-Narrows." (Master's thesis, University of Waterloo, 2016.), 12-14.

[375] Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed. *Early narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*. Vol. 19. (C. Scribers' sons, 1917).

[376] Harold Hickerson, "The Feast of the Dead Among the Seventeenth Century Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes" American Anthropologists vol. 62, No. 1, (1960), 81-82.

ensuring that the Haudenosaunee could not turn these tribes' allegiances one-by-one. The Passinaouek's invitation to French official to attend the Feast of the Dead on the St. Mary's River in 1641, was a demonstration of good faith from the indigenous populations towards a potential ally.[377] One which also demonstrated the Anishinaabeg's ability to procure European weapons and goods if needed (in the same way the Wendat had been for decades) to their Indigenous allies.

While the Jesuit's assumed that they were the guests of honour, they were merely one diplomatic contingent at the Feast for the Dead at Baawitigong. The Jesuit's written account of the Feast of the Dead Ceremony on Baawitigong (the St. Mary's Rapids), describes the ceremony on St. Mary's River in September and October 1641. Father Lalemant recorded the festivities, and how:

> Those of each Nation, before landing, in order to make their entry more imposing, form their canoes in line to wait until others come to meet them. When the people are assembled the chief stands up in the middle of his canoe and states the object that has brought them thither. Thereupon each one throws away a portion of his goods to be scrambled for. Some articles float on the water, while others sink to the bottom. The young men hasten to the spot. One will seize a net, wrought as tapestries are in France; another a beaver skin; others get a hatchet or dish .... There is nothing but joy, cries and public acclamations to which the rocks surrounding the great lake return an echo that drowns all their voices.
>
> When all the Nations are assembled and divided, each in their own seats, beaver robes, skins of otter, of caribou, of wild cats and of moose; hatchets, kettles, pome-kein beads and all things that are precious in this country are exhibited. Each chief of a Nation presents his own gift to those who hold the Feast.[378]

Characteristically, the Jesuits self-aggrandise their role in their record of this meeting, and used the opportunity to preach to the locals.[379] As the first Jesuit missionaries at Baawitigong, they then claimed that theirs was "the first discovery of this tribe, at this point"; a statement which ignored the journeys made by Anishinaabeg groups to trade with Europeans, and the journey of Brûlé and Grenole eighteen years earlier.[380]

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[377] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 85.

[378] Father Lalemant, *Jesuit Records*, 13.

[379] Russell Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula: A Chronology to 1900* (University of Michigan Press, 2009), 6.

Ironically, it was during this gathering that the Jesuits first recognized that a distinct population held rights to live on this river year-round; a right, different from the other groups who travelled to Baawitigong for the season. The Jesuits began to identify the population on Baawitigong based on their connection to the place. They began to distinguish this community, by "the name… Saulteaux, from the circumstance of their residing at the 'Falls.'"[381] The Jesuit also recorded the attendances of this gathering, describing the autumn population, of around 2,000 people who had gathered around the rapids during the whitefish run in the fall.[382] While the Jesuits began to recognize the political importance of the rapids, and the population that resided upon them. The Jesuits also believed that they had gained some authority in the region. After Father Allouez attended a Feast of the Dead ceremony in 1641, he felt he had made a meaningful impact in the region. He wrote that "I believed that I had to seize the opportunity … to forge closer ties to these Savages, so as to find, in the future, greater means of promoting the Glory of God".[383] Although the Jesuits preached about "greater means" to extend the "Glory of God", the colony of New France was truly dependant on acquiring "greater means" of income for their colony.

Despite the confidence of the Jesuits in this early account, they had few immediate effects on the river that they had just dubbed "St. Mary's". Exaggerating their own self-importance in these accounts, this initial Jesuit presence had the opposite effect than they had intended. For the Ojibwa, political leadership was earned through action, and although the Fathers promised to return, they were blocked from doing so in 1642 by the Haudenosaunee

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[380] William Warren, *The History of the Ojibways*, 124.
[381] Ibid, 124.
[382] Victor P. Lytwyn, "Echo of the Crane",, 42.
[383] *Jesuit Records*, 208.
Martin Fournier, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: Merchant Adventurer, 1636-1701* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2002), 100.

Confederacy. This broken promise by the Jesuits, shook the Ojibwa's faith in the French's ability to assist in their struggle with the Haudenosaunee. Historian on the Wendat, Elisabeth Tooker, has argued that because members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy were now armed with guns (from Dutch traders that were stationed in Albany), they presented a greatly military threat. The Ojibwa now had little choice, but to try to negotiate with the French over the next two decades.[384] In the 1640s, this tentative alliance with the French, saw the upper Anishinaabeg tribes shouldering the bulk of the labour involved with this trade; gathering at the St. Mary's River, before travelling east to French settlements during the summer months.

Historian on the Upper Great Lakes, Russell Magnaghi, has argued that the French began to recognize that control over Baawitigong and Mackinac helped to strengthen the Ojibwa and Odaawa's authority on the Great Lakes trade routes; and began to gain their own control in the region.[385] What the French recorders did not realize, was that this was simply an extension of the centuries old Great Lakes trade, which now included some European-markets in the east; but was now controlled increasingly by the Anishinaabeg, rather than the Wendat. Moreover, these eastern markets held certain advantages for the upper tribes, by providing a convenient market for furs at a time when several displaced tribes were desperate for trade partners. More importantly, the shift of a centralized trade hub (from Wendat territory, to the St. Mary's River), was representative of the shifting power-balance on the Great Lakes into the Little Ice Age. The St. Mary's River position on the Great Lakes gained further importance as the climate cooled in the 1640s, because the horticulturalists in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy now needed to rely more heavily on hunting, fishing, and trade.

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[384] Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*. Vol. 190 (Syracuse University Press, 1991), vii.

[385] Russell Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, 6-7.

The Feast of the Dead in 1641, helps to mark the growing importance of the St. Mary's River into the Little Ice Age.[386] The importance of Baawitigong to the Great Lakes network only increased in the face of the Little Ice Age. The rapid global-cooling of the Little Ice Age had dramatic effects on the agriculturally-reliant populations on the Lower Great Lakes, and simultaneously worked to increase the French demand for northern furs. During the past six centuries in the Northern Hemisphere as a whole, 1641 was the third coldest summer ever recorded, 1642 and 1643, the twenty-eighth and tenth coldest respectively.[387] Meaning that hunting now became more heavily relied upon by all of the Great Lakes people, not only because furs were the preferred currency of Europeans, but also because other resources were hampered by the colder climate. This timing was convenient for the northern tribes, who had direct access to fur. But, it also worked to make them a target of Haudenosaunee (and European) expansion.

Locations like the St. Mary's River, which not only housed a number of fur-bearing species, but which could also support large scale fishing practices, and offer more cold-resistant plant stuff; now gained new importance in this colder period, as rich food sources, political centres, and points of military resistance. As seen in the previous chapter, the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed shifting cultural identities, migrations, and adapted lifeways based on new agricultural goods; amidst a sustained period of global warming. The global Medieval Heating period, which had led to advancements in farming and worked to increase populations in North America, had now ended.[388] In comparison to this warm period, the cooling of the 1640s had disastrous effects on these agricultural populations; especially as these groups had to survive the Little Ice Age, whilst dealing with European pathogens and political interference.[389]

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[386] This period of extreme winters (1641-1643), led historians and climatologists to refer to this period as the beginning of the Little Ice Age. (see: Geoffrey Parker; "Crisis and Catastrophe", 1068).

[387] Geoffrey Parker; "Crisis and Catastrophe", 1068.

[388] Recently, the beginning of the Little Ice Age has been linked to European's arrival on the continent; by a study at University College of London led by Alexander Koch. Koch, which suggests that the initial pathogen transmission from Europeans worked to reforest the hundreds of thousands of miles of farmlands throughout the Americas, leading to spike in global Carbon Dioxide-levels).
Alexander Koch, Chris Brierley, Mark M. Maslin, and Simon L. Lewis. "Earth system impacts of the European arrival and Great Dying in the Americas after 1492." *Quaternary Science Reviews* 207 (2019), 13-15.

Climatic fluctuations were particularly severe in the early 1640s (between 1641-1643), and the Wendat's situation would worsen dramatically as the climate cooled. This climate shift came at a particularly disastrous time for the Lower Great Lakes populations. The cold-snap in the early-1640s caused further crop failures, which made the hungry populations even more susceptible to disease and attack than normal. Many of the agricultural lifeways developed on the Lower Great Lakes (including the Wendat's) were reliant on a warm climate.[390] Between disease, starvation, and warfare, highly populated areas quickly became lowly populated areas; especially south the St. Mary's River ecological-borderland, where horticulture was the most relied-upon form of subsistence.[391] The Wendat in particular, serve as an example of how destructive these combined forces could be to Indigenous populations. As a combined result of European pathogens and warfare had halved the Wendat population within a decade. While the Little Ice Age was devastating to the Wendat (on the northern border of agriculture), it also worked to increase the importance of cold-resistant northern goods to the Great Lakes trade network.

The results of the Little Ice Age, compounded with the traumas of the previous two decades, worked to increase the importance of the St. Mary's River to the Great Lakes world by providing a reliable subsistence alternative to agriculture. During this period, Baawitigong increased in importance as a centre of resistance, a trade centre, and a diplomatic hub of the Great Lakes world; as Haudenosaunee aggression, European interference, and changing ecological baselines, pushed the population of the St. Mary's River into a quick and decisive response. The beginning of the written record of this history of Baawitigong start with the

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[389] Bruce Trigger, "The French Presence in Huronia: The Structure of Franco-Huron Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century." *Canadian Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (1968), 108-114.
[390] Morgan Riley "All Souls Travel on Foot", 38.
[391] Geoffrey Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe", 1059.

Jesuits in 1640s, which depicts Sault Ste. Marie as a significant community to the Ojibwa. These records further describe how this river gained even more importance over the next six decades.

It was their position on the St. Mary's River and Mackinac, that allowed the Anishinaabeg to maintain political authority in the Upper Great Lakes after the Wendat began to collapse into the 1640s. Historian David McNab has described the Passinouek as the "gatekeepers" of the Upper Great Lakes.[392] During this time, the population at Baawitigong worked to bring their Anishinaabeg allies together, and began to trade more regularly with Europeans. Baawitigong's important location on an ecological border region, and as the gateway to trade, helped to ensure the continued political importance of the St. Mary's River as a Great Lakes hub. The addition of European goods on the Great Lakes trade network provided additional economic opportunities, especially for those who could no longer farm during this period of global-cooling (and who turned to trapping during this period); but this one only was aspect of a much larger Great Lakes trade network. Although no Jesuits made it back to the St. Mary's River for over a decade after 1641, the occasional French trader did make their way west into the Upper Great Lakes.[393]

Like Brûlé, these traders had largely assimilated to Great Lakes life, by learning the local language, marrying local women, and helping their Indigenous friends learn how Europeans conducted their trade. These French-Native families on the Upper Great Lakes, likely began shortly after Champlain, and continued throughout the seventeenth century. Although known to exist, their questionable legal-status, has led to a lack of understanding about the impact of these early proto-Métis families on the upper Great Lakes. Largely absent from these records, are how these assimilated men also served as model examples of how

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[392] David T. McNab, *Circles of Time: Aboriginal land rights and resistance in Ontario* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 137.

[393] James Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie", 25-27.

Europeans might behave when exposed to Great Lakes life; and how they helped facilitate later French-Anishinaabeg relationships throughout the region.

Importantly, these traders did not try to change local customs (or lifeways) at Baawitigong. It was also through the interactions between Indigenous populations and these early European traders, that the Jesuits were able to record the news of the Upper Great Lakes during this period. In their accounts, fishing activities were recorded on the rapids in the warm months of 1647, suggesting the continuation of annual patterns on the St. Mary's River. But beyond the presence of these French, and (likely) the creation of some proto-Métis families, the French impacts were minimal during this tumultuous period. The literate French recorders, were of a far higher social-class than those Frenchmen who chose to live in the Upper Great Lakes. Neither the Governors of New France, nor the Jesuits, truly understood the cultural norms of the region (or, in fact of the norms and cultures of the least wealthy citizens of France); a sentiment, which is reflected in their written accounts. The Governors, and Jesuits who informed policy-decisions in New France, tended to be quite dismissive of Native American culture, as well as towards the lowering-sort of Frenchmen who chose to adopt it.

Despite the bias present in the historical records, the very survival of New France (and the continuation of the recorders' positions of authority), were directly dependent upon their Indigenous allies, French labourers, and traders on both sides. Without the continued support of the Wendat, Algonquians, Nippissing, Odaawa, Ojibwa, and other Indigenous tribes, New France would have failed almost immediately. This reliance on Indigenous populations was driven home for the hegemonic rulers of New France, when they were faced with the prospect of a Wendat demise in the 1640s. The weakened state of the Wendat, meant that the Haudenosaunee threat was now roving unchecked through the Lower Great Lakes and around New France.[394] Less than fifty years after the first Europeans entered the region, the political landscape of the Great Lakes faced some serious threats.

Sensing the weakness of the Wendat, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy raided the Georgian Bay in 1649. This was the final nail in the coffin for the struggling Wendat Confederacy, who (alongside many of their allied groups in the lower Great Lakes) were forced to flee the Georgian Bay region.[395] This final attack on the Wendat, ultimately led the Wendat (as the previously most-powerful Confederacy on the Great Lakes) to abandon the entire area between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe in the Spring of 1650.[396] This diaspora had wide-ranging impacts, as a North American Super-Power (the Wendat Confederacy) was effectively dismantled; the survivors were forced to flee the region, or join their attackers. For at least two centuries, the Wendat had served as powerful moderators of the Great Lakes political world, and the Haudenosaunee were now eager to fill the vacuum.

This was bad news for the Ojibwa and French alike, both of whom now had to face the direct threat of the Haudenosaunee without the assistance of the Wendat. In the span of a single lifetime, a new world order now threatened the Great Lakes, and various forces stood to inherit the Wendat's mantle of influence. But although European presence had been a major catalyst to these political shifts, Europeans themselves, held very little power in this order. The Wendat's early experiments with a French alliance, had demonstrated the potential negatives of associating with Europeans to all of the Great Lakes populations; who had borne witness to how the Wendat Confederacy paid dearly for this relationship with the French. The Ojibwa were neighbours, as well as long-standing trade partners with the Wendat, and were therefore in a much better position to judge the decline of the Wendat, than were the contemporary French recorders.

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[394] Russell Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, 6-8.
[395] Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, vii.
[396] James Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie", 27.

The Anishinaabeg witnessed how the Wendat people who survived the Haudenosaunee attacks in 1649, were forced to quickly abandon the region entirely; alongside waves of other refugees (people who had also been displaced by Haudenosaunee raids). Thanks in part to the Ojibwa's foresight at the Feast of the Dead in 1641, many of the displaced tribes (including many Wendat) now joined the northern Anishinaabeg groups. Tooker, has demonstrated how addition to travelling north, many of the southern groups were captured by (or willing surrendered to) the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; including many of the Neutrals, Eries, and Susquehanocks from around Lake Huron.[397] The French in the region did attempt to *help* their Wendat hosts in some ways, when the Jesuits led a congregation to settle an ill-fated mission on a Georgian Bay island that would end in starvation and misery.[398] This traumatic experience for the Wendat, was a learning experience for the Anishinaabeg and other Great Lakes people.

For the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the 1649-1650 raids on the Wendat Confederacy marked a decisive victory on the Georgian Bay, which worked to bolster their numbers and situate them on an important territory in the central Great Lakes. By 1650, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy now effectively controlled their original territory in the Lower Great Lakes, and the bulk of the Wendat's territory around Lake Huron; including important fisheries, and the major water-passages flowing out of the Great Lakes. For the northern Anishinaabeg, the collapse of their most powerful allies had serious and long-lasting repercussions. Both Richard White and Philip Bellfy have given detailed descriptions of these refugees, and their social effects in the region.[399] This was a time of general uncertainty, and confusion, for all those on the Great Lakes.

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[397] Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, vii.

[398] Amidst the calamity in 1648-1649 in Huronia, the Jesuit missionaries Jean de Brébeuf, Isaac Jogues, Jean de Lalande, Charles Garnier, Antoine Daniel, Réne Goupil, Nöel Chabanel, and Gabriel Lalemant were tortured then killed. (see: Daniel Hechenberger, "The Jesuits: History and Impact: From Their Origins Prior to the Baroque Crisis to Their Role in the Illinois Country." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (2007), 90).

[399] James Hardy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie", 26.

Many Wendat, Algonquians, and the other refuges, now travelled north to settle on territory deemed safe from further attacks. Although they were now safe from attacks by the Haudenosaunee, most of the refugees had lifeways that were ill suited to survival north of the corn line. The collapse of the Wendat Confederacy (and the resulting refugees travelling north), meant that the northern Anishinaabeg had to respond to these changes, with less resources to manage this transition. The Haudenosaunee's attacks (and the Wendat's dispersal), meant that the northern tribes no longer had access to a reliable supply of corn, beans, squash and other southern agricultural goods; goods, to which they had become accustomed to acquiring through trade.[400] More than this, the Ojibwa's political authority in the region came in part, from the trade goods that they could supply to their allies. But despite these stress factors, the northern Anishinaabeg allowed a variety of tribes to settle on the banks of the St. Mary's River in the 1650s; including the Odaawa, Wendat, Amikwa, and Nippissing.[401] While this helped to bolster the Ojibwa's numbers, the process was not an entirely straight-forward one, and varied by location.

With no one to separate the Haudenosaunee Confederacy from the St. Mary's River (after 1650), the Passinaouek's actions were increasingly influenced by this Haudenosaunee threat.[402] The Ojibwa recognized the strength in the field which the Haudenosaunee Confederacy could produce, and anticipated the Haudenosaunee's intent to push north into the Upper Great Lakes. After Huronia fell, the St. Mary's River became an important strategic target for the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, meaning that the Haudenosaunee now posed a serious direct threat to the Passinaouek, and to the larger Lake Superior population. At the heart of many of these issues however, were the environmental impacts of European-

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Richard White, *Middle Ground*.
Phil Bellfy *Three Fires Unity*.

[400] These agricultural goods had become an important part of the northern tribes' diet, and economy.

[401] Robert Hall, *An Archaeology of the Soul: North American Indian belief and ritual* (University of Illinois Press, 1997), 76.

[402] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 1.

pathogens, which had led to mass plagues, and possibly triggered the Little Ice Age. The Haudenosaunee's attacks, and global cooling, led to an influx of southern horticulturalists moving north onto the Lake Huron/Lakes Superior region throughout the 1650s. This migration not only taxed northern resources more heavily, but also led to social-tensions throughout the Upper Great Lakes in what White has labelled the "Refugee Triangle".

Section IV: Baawitigong's Importance to the Refugee Triangle (1660-1667)

Although many of these migrating groups had good relationships as trading partners, living side-by-side one another in a single village necessitated the formation of different relationships in the Upper Great Lakes. In this period of refugee migration (northward into the Upper Great Lakes), the upper Anishinaabeg became distinctly important as political leaders. Their northern lifeways helped to feed these displaced populations, and the Midewiwin offered spiritual guidance. But in the midst of this population influx, the population at Baawitigong, now found themselves in direct conflict with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; this time, in a theatre which threatened control of Baawitigong. Despite the importance of this period (1650-1667) to Indigenous and European history, it is still poorly understood by historians. Richard White describes it as "a historical landscape that consists largely of dim shadows."[403] With a lack of written accounts pertaining to the period (and inherent bias of most of the available sources), tracking the environmental impacts of these political shifts is particularly important to understanding this important historical landscape. The first stage of this response by the Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River, came from the acceptance of various displaced Wendat that the Ojibwa allowed to settle throughout Anishinaabeg territory; forming a large portion of the refugee triangle.

This strategy allowed the northern tribes to bolster their numbers by forming alliances with the displaced populations by assembling a large, quasi-unified population of tribes. Where the Haudenosaunee Confederacy seemed to have preferred to absorb the agricultural-dependent southern tribes, and generally required that their new recruits confirm to the cultural expectations of the Haudenosaunee .[404] The Ojibwa's strategy allowed their allies to maintain their cultural identity and retain their individual sovereignty, by permitting the formation of multicultural villages with distinct cultural divisions.[405] By pursuing this policy of integration over assimilation, the Anishinaabeg promoted a sense of unity without sacrificing their own tradition practices, or forcing others to adopt new lifeways. But even when people were allowed to continue their own cultural practices and traditions, this Georgian Bay displacement led to a blurring of cultural distinctions, and the formation of new identities on the Upper Great Lakes.

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[403] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 2.

[404] Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European encounters in seventeenth-century America*, (Cornell University Press, 2018), 107-108.

These northern villages (such as Baawitigong), now housed a variety displaced, which led to the formation of large multi-cultural villages throughout modern-day Michigan and Lake Superior. Mackinac, Chequamegon, Green Bay and Baawitigong all became important capitals of this network, and would remain important centres of Anishinaabeg resistance for centuries to come. By taking in displaced populations into their territory, the Ojibwa and Odaawa, helped ensure that they would be heard at council meetings. The Midewiwin Order also gained influence amongst the displaced tribes (beyond the Algonquian speaking groups), and their leaders helped to promote inter-tribal unity amongst Anishinaabeg families and displaced southern tribes. In addition to its diplomatic importance, the St. Mary's River also became an important point of military resistance for Upper Great Lakes communities. Especially because the Wendat Confederacy's dispersal, now exposed both the Ojibwa (on the St. Mary's River) and Odaawa (on the straits of Mackinac).

The fear that the Ojibwa had (of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy) in the 1650s, was recorded in their Oral Histories. Warren used these histories to describe how during this period, the Haudenosaunee:

> often collected their forces, and marching westward, their hardy warriors became familiar with the shores of Lake Huron, the banks of the Ste. Marie, and often even procured scalps on the shores of Lake Superior.[406]

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[405] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 3.

[406] William Warren, *The History of the Ojibways*, 147.

This common enemy led the Anishinaabeg to seek an alliance with a variety of tribes in the 1650s, including a renewed effort at negotiating a partnership with the French. Whether they wanted it or not, the Cranes of the St. Mary's River now found themselves as important leaders of this northern resistance; and they began to prepare themselves for a direct conflict with the powerful armies of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

Where previously the northern Anishinaabeg had joined the larger raiding parties of the southern tribes, the southern tribes would now have to join the raiding parties of the Anishinaabeg. This shift in military strategy was needed in the 1650s, as the Haudenosaunee Confederacy could still field more healthy soldiers than the northern tribes (and displaced allies) combined. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy had already defeated the numerically superior Wendat Confederacy, by using a combination of raids, pitched open-field warfare, and sieges on the palisaded Wendat villages; to displace, and destroy, large segments of the Wendat population. Although many Ojibwa were veterans of the Haudenosaunee-Wendat Wars, the Passinaouek (and other northern tribes) were not about to engage in the same style of warfare that had failed the Wendat Confederacy; especially against such a numerically superior force. With a smaller population, the Anishinaabeg needed to respond to the Haudenosaunee threat strategically, and the narrows at the banks of the St. Mary's River served as an important point of military strategy for the northern tribes.

In 1653, war parties set out from the St. Mary's River to counter the growing Haudenosaunee-threat on the Georgian Bay. The force of Passinaouek (along with Mississauga, and Nikikouek) then defeated a force of 120 Haudenosaunee, slightly to the north on Manitoulin Island, and reportedly only one member of the Haudenosaunee force escaped.[407] After this conflict, the Ojibwa took further actions to bolster their numbers. Among the many allies that the Passinaouek reached out to for help in countering the threat of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the French were included. Baawitigong was not only an important point of resistance, but it also became a strategic capital, and allowed the northern tribes access to French traders, and weapons.

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[407] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 11.

One such diplomatic gathering, and subsequent voyage east to New France, was conducted in 1654; after a number of tribes gathered on the banks of the St. Mary's River in the spring and early summer. A few of these individuals met at Sault Ste. Marie in 1654, then resolved to travel east, in order to trade with the French. There is a French record of a fleet comprised of Odaawa and Wendat traders who travelled from Sault Ste. Marie down the Ottawa River in 1654, before meeting with French traders on the St. Lawrence River.[408] Colonists recorded in New France, that: "The French were overjoyed at the sight of the canoes loaded with the precious beaver skins…plenty and prosperity one more visited the colony. Canada awoke to life and hope."[409] Handy echoes the French account written in 1654, writing that these traders were comprised of Wendat refugees, and Odaawa.[410] Given the close contact of the Ojibwa to these tribes, and that the St. Mary's River is pointed to as their port of departure, it seems likely that some Passinaouek were also a part of this fur fleet.

This meeting in particular, helped to reopen the trade networks which had been forged by the Wendat. The arrival of a fleet traveling from the St. Mary's River in 1654 was very welcomed by a very exposed New France. The French were overjoyed at the prospect of a continued connection with the *upper tribes*, and the upper tribes used this to their advantage. The French were quick to highlight the importance of the Fur Trade to their continued existence in North America; but seldom acknowledged, that the Anishinaabeg -French military alliance was much more important to the French's survival in Canada, than it was to the Anishinaabeg's successes. The French needed the military power and geographic expertise of the upper Algonquin-tribes, just as much as they needed their furs. But on the St. Lawrence River, inconsistent policies of North American exploration under different French monarchs, and the threat of Haudenosaunee attacks, further hampered the colonists' efforts at exploration, or establishing trade; and created difficulties in the formation of the Anishinaabeg-French relationship.[411]

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[408] James Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie", 30.
[409] Ibid, 30.
[410] Ibid, 20.

The government in New France feared that if too many colonists left to pursue their personal fortunes in the *pays d'en haut*, it would make their colonies susceptible to attack from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.[412] As a result, they relied heavily on their Indigenous allies for the defence of New France, and to support its economy. Realizing this, the Ojibwa attempted to establish a more reliable relationship with the French, which would provide them with consistent access to guns, ammunition, and connect them in a military allegiance.[413] Warren points to the establishment of a trade post near Baawitigong: "which as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, had already become an important depot and outlet to the Lake Superior fur trade."[414] He describes how for the northern tribes, "intercourse with the whites consisted in yearly visits to their nearest western posts."[415] The Ojibwa on Baawitigong became powerful moderators of this trade, and the rapids of the St. Mary's River became an even more important trade capital; situated between the northern populations, and French establishments.

At Sault Ste. Marie, furs and other northern goods, could now be traded for European weapons. By organizing trade convoys at Baawitigong, the Ojibwa were working to strengthen the connections between Indigenous groups, as well as with the French. Warren highlights that from Sault Ste. Marie, "The trade was partially also carried on through the medium of the intervening kindred tribe of Ottawas, or by adventurous traders who came among them with canoes loaded with goods".[416] The visiting groups "sometimes even passing a winter amongst them, following their hunting camps, but returning in the spring of the year to Quebec with the proceeds of their traffic."[417] The Ojibwa managed this transition in the face of warfare with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and conflict with the Dakota; as well as the introduction of another powerful colonial-power into the region.

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[411] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 29.
[412] Ibid, 29.
[413] Schmalz, *The Ojibway of Southern Ontario*, 19.
[414] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 130.
[415] Ibid, 130.

By 1654, the Haudenosaunee's numbers and confidence had been boosted by the dispersal of the Wendat Confederacy, which allowed them to settle their populations further north in Georgian Bay. The northwestwardly trajectory of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's attacks, meant that Baawitigong would be their next target.[418] For the displaced southern tribes, and northern tribes, losing the control of Baawitigong would have given the Haudenosaunee Confederacy an insurmountable military advantage on the Upper Great Lakes. For the French, the Upper Great Lakes tribes provided enough beaver pelts, that the French could fund their colonies.[419] In the Great Lakes region northern tribes had been trading their thicker furs to southern tribes for centuries, the French had recently become a necessary market for the northern tribes, who had now lost their largest trade partners to the south (in the Wendat). But the importance of this Fur Trade to the survival of New France, was greater than it was to the survival of the north Anishinaabeg.

The importance of the fur trade to New France, led the crown to seek control of its interests, in ways that increasingly threatened the established relationship between the Indigenous populations on Lake Superior and French-Canadian traders. The hegemony of the

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[416] Ibid, 130.

[417] Ibid, 130.

[418] Craig Keener, "An Ethnohistoric Perspective on Iroquois warfare during the second half of the seventeenth century (AD 1649-1701). (" PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1998.), 317-318.

[419] The use of beaver fur as felt for hats in Europe had occurred since the Middle Ages, over hunting, coupled with habitation-loss, led to the near extinction of the European beaver outside of Russia (and was now very expensive in Western Europe). (see: Claiborne Skinner, "Prologue." *In the Upper Country*, 2).

French colony, attempted to regulate and legislate life for their new allies in highly problematic ways, that were even contentious within New France.[420] This legislative approach employed by the governing classes of New France, differed from the accepted authority systems on the Great Lakes; which generally relied far more on actions than parentage, in selecting community leaders. But despite the actions of the leaders of New France, the Haudenosaunee threat meant that interests of the Anishinaabeg and French, were temporarily aligned.

To increase the French's reliance on the upper tribes, the Anishinaabeg ensured that canoe traffic continued between Baawitigong and New France throughout the early 1650s.[421] This trade route between Baawitigong and New France, was active until the Haudenosaunee attacked the Odaawa and Ojibwa in 1656-1657; on one of these trade voyages between Baawitigong and New France. In response to this attack, the Anishinaabeg of the Upper Great Lakes migrated (temporarily), off of the straits and Mackinac, and away from the St. Mary's River.[422] Unlike the horticultural Wendat, the northern tribes did not face the same difficult strategic decision: between, staying to defend their fields, or risking starvation on the run. Instead their subsistence strategies allowed them to support themselves (and to collect furs), while remaining mobile. When the war parties of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy came too close to the St. Mary's River in 1657-1658, the Ojibwa were able to move their people, and possessions, to safety via the superior birch bark canoe.

The Anishinaabeg's middleman position in this Fur Trade, now worked to make the French entirely-dependent upon their Native allies. This economic reliance by the French, helped to ensure that the French would have to respond to Haudenosaunee Confederacy's attacks, which threatened the Anishinaabeg-French trade routes. The decision of the Passinaouek and Odaawa (to relocate from Baawitigong and Mackinac, to the Chequamegon Bay in 1657) was seen as a retreat by their French allies.[423] When in reality, it seems that this Lake Superior *retreat*, was actually a conscious strategic-decision by the Northern Tribes.[424] Before their withdrawal from Baawitigong, the Ojibwa had successfully proven to the French that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy posed a serious threat, to both the Northern Tribes and to French settlements.

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[420] Among colonists in New France, tensions mounted after the Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Company of One-Hundred Associates) accused the Council which governed the Fur Trade of being corrupt, committing fraud and collusion. In 1657, the house of a representative for the Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Company of One-Hundred Associates) was burned-down in Quebec in protest. Agents in France launched an investigation into these events, until a special investigator (son of Péronne du Mesnil) was killed in broad-daylight in Quebec in 1662. (Fournier, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson*, 97.)

[421] James Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie", 30.

[422] Ibid, 30.

This Anishinaabeg strategy worked to put pressure on the French to intervene, or else risk attack from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, alone. Now armed with French weapons, and an economically dependent French-alley, the northern tribes launched a very different military strategy than the one that the Wendat had employed against the Haudenosaunee. In their own conflict with the Haudenosaunee, the more nomadic northern Anishinaabeg tribes (and their allies) played to their specialized lifeways, and knowledge of the Lake Superior landscape. Despite the military experience of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, in a war of attrition on the Upper Great Lakes, the Haudenosaunee were no match for the northern Anishinaabeg. Once above the St. Mary's River rapids, the northern tribes could virtually disappear into a series of rivers, throughout the in-land sea-sized lake, coniferous woodlands, and rivers of the Lake Superior terrain. Terrain which the Haudenosaunee were unfamiliar with navigating, or harvesting; and which left them exposed to ambush by a population familiar with its landscape.

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[423] Thwaites, Reuben G. "The Story of Chequamegon Bay." (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 10), 127.

[424] Warren describes how "At one time the Ottaways were forced to retire from the Straits of Mackinaw, and the island of Lake Huron, through fear of these redoubtable eastern warriors." (see: William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 147).

Initially, this temporary retreat northward off the St. Mary's River by the Ojibwa (1657-1658), worked to over-extend (and effectively cut-off) the *supply lines* of the Haudenosaunee, and take them out of their familiar environment. By remaining on Lake Superior, the Anishinaabeg were able to wait for their idea moment to launch a strike.[425] In this pivotal period, the Anishinaabeg used their diplomatic ability to unite the displaced tribes on the Upper Great Lakes (and the French), against a common-enemy in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The Lake Superior village at Chequamegon, and Lake Michigan village at Green Bay, served as multicultural villages for the migrants; and would quickly become strongholds for the displaced populations. In 1656-1657, the Ojibwa from the St. Mary's River region (and Odaawa from the Mackinac region), had joined this village at Chequamegon; where they began an agenda of promoting political unity.[426]

These villages made up what Bellfy has described as the *Huron Borderlands*, an area of cultural amalgamations and experimentation of lifeways; but also of new environments, and experiments in new political and economic structures in the region.[427] But the village structures had changed within this triangle, in Green Bay, for instance, the village was composed of various groups of predominantly southern groups; that had been displaced by several decades pathogens, cold weather, and Haudenosaunee antagonism.[428] From their position on Lake Superior, they now had to wait for their moment to attack, or risk permanently losing their positions on the St. Mary's River and Mackinac. After forcing the

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[425] Martin Fournier, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: Merchant Adventurer*, 97.

[426] During this period, the Upper Lake Huron, and Lake Michigan served as a region of multiple borderlands, a phenomenon which was also affecting Baawitigong (see: Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, xxviii-xxxiii, 5-7).

[427] Philip Bellfy, Three Fires Unity.

[428] Richard White's widely popular notion of the Middle Ground points to the creation of these towns throughout the refugee triangle during the 1650s-1670s, as a result of these Haudenosaunee infringements. In the 1660s, this village near Green Bay was comprised of Odaawas. As well as refugee from the: Wendat, Petuns, Fox, Sauks, Mascoutens, Boodwaadmii, Kickapoos, Noquets, Atchatchakangouens (a.k.a. Miami proper), as well as a few members of the Miami confederation such as the Weas. (see: Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 14).

Haudenosaunee to travel into unfamiliar territory, the Ojibwa, Odaawa, and their allies, struck back around the St. Mary's River in 1658; flanking their enemy in the process.

Picking their moments carefully, the northern Anishinaabeg used their experience in the colder northern winters as an advantage, launching a large winter-attack, which was reported in January 1658 by Father Simon LeMoyne. This was a significant attack, and LeMoyne recorded that 1200 Haudenosaunee Confederacy warriors were defeated by the Ojibwa in to the north section of Lake Huron; slightly southeast of the St. Mary's River.[429] This decisive victory worked to take some pressure off of the St. Mary's River region. This victory also helped the upper tribes demonstrate their military capability, and further demonstrated the Anishinaabeg's importance to the French's continued interests in the region. Their patient approach further paid-off, when French soldiers arrived in New France in the summer of 1658. In a strike, which saw the new Governor D'Argenson launch attacks against the Haudenosaunee around Québec and Trois-Rivières.[430] This French military force led the Haudenosaunee to withdraw their raiding-parties around Baawitigong, in order to face the French on the southeast of the Great Lakes.

This French foray, took some pressure off the Upper Great Lakes tribes generally, and especially off of the St. Mary's River.[431] But even after this victory, the Ojibwa continued to be strategic in their fight against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; and they would not attempt to hold the St. Mary's River in a siege from their enemies. While temporarily camping at Baawitigong in the summer of 1658, the Northern tribes once again reached out to the French, by welcoming traders to the St. Mary's River in 1658.[432] After the Ojibwa had unloaded some of their surplus of furs and other trade goods, they resupplied their stocks of European items, and then withdrew from their position on the rapids later in 1658; back to

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[429] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 11.

[430] Martin Fournier, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: Merchant Adventurer*, 97.

[431] Ibid, 97-98.

[432] Russell Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, 6-8.

Chequamegon on Lake Superior.[433] Despite the alleviated threat of Haudenosaunee attacks on the St. Mary's River, the Passinaouek chose to remain in the northern village at LaPointe for at least two more years.

It was in this village on Lake Superior, that they laid the groundwork for the events to come. During this time at Chequamegon, the Ojibwa worked to increase their political importance, working to influence the politics of the northern village and to cement their alliance with the French. The Ojibwa in particular, recognized the importance of the St. Mary's River, and what permanently losing this important location would do to the northern populations that were now pushed-together on the Upper Great Lakes. It was a mixture of their political foresight, and their strategic positions within the refugee triangle, that allowed the Ojibwa to use this dire situation to facilitate Anishinaabeg expansion over the next five decades. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy undoubtedly recognized the important geography of the St. Mary's River in the 1650s, and were also willing to fight for control of the St. Mary's River region.[434] To ensure that this did not happen, in 1658 the Northern Tribes on Chequamegon worked diligently towards creating diplomatic relationships among the displaced tribes; and began to shape a new alliance with the French.

The village that the Passinaouek joined at Chequamegon, was a multicultural village of distinct Odaawa, Ojibwa, and Wendat groups; including the Mississauga, and Passinaouek of the St. Mary's River. Also living in this village were the refugees of various southern Great Lakes tribes that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy had displaced. Warren explains how the Haudenosaunee's control of the Ottawa River (cutting off contact between the St. Mary's River and New France), had: "induced the Ojibways, Ottaways, Pottawatumies, Osaukies, and Wyandots to enter into a firm alliance."[435] The Ojibwa and Odaawa further realized that their personal connections with French traders could increase their own political influence among the displaced tribes. Controlling the French fur trade, could provide the Ojibwa an important diplomatic bargaining chip when negotiating with other Indigenous tribes; and into the 1660s, the Passinaouek began to make a more concentrated effort to form a meaningful alliance with the French.

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[433] Ibid, 6-8.
[434] Craig Keener, "An Ethnohistoric Perspective on Iroquois", 317-318.
[435] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 146.

After the summer of 1658, the French had finally demonstrated that they could be a powerful military alley, and an important trade partner, in the Anishinaabeg's struggle against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. But, just when the French seemed to become an important potential alley in this struggle against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, they were also becoming an increasingly difficult ally to the Anishinaabeg. At the same time that Haudenosaunee threat was alleviated (in the summer of 1658), the new Governor of New France (D'Argenson) began to institute legislative changes to New France, that made maintaining a relationship more difficult for the Anishinaabeg and established French traders. Among the changes made by D'Argenson, was his reformed Council, which was mandated to govern the fur trade, in line with the orders of Louis XIV.[436] These new actions were met with resistance from the established traders, and both the Compagnie des Cent-Associés (company of one hundred associates) and the Communauté des Habitants (community of Habitants) decried these legislative changes to the trade.[437]

These companies saw these legislative changes as damaging to their interests, but also recognized that the legislation of New France held little sway on the Upper Great Lakes. For their own part, the Ojibwa used the French's desire for these furs, to increase their own political capital in the Upper Great Lakes region. In particular, the Ojibwa looked to use the incentive of trading with the French, as a pacifying measure among the displaced indigenous groups, and as a new economic pursuit (to help replace farming). However, by pursuing a relationship with French traders, the Ojibwa would become unwillingly entrapped in the developing legislative web of New France.

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[436] Martin Fournier, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: Merchant Adventurer*, 97.
[437] Ibid, 97.

Internal tensions were brewing in New France, at the same time as the Ojibwa looked to strengthen their relationship with the French. These internal French tensions (and larger tensions between European nations), are clearly demonstrated by the example of Des Groseilliers and Radisson, French traders who were invited to journey with the Anishinaabeg, to trade on Lake Superior. In the summer of 1659, six Passinaouek canoes travelled southeast out of Lake Superior, down the northern route, to avoid Haudenosaunee raiding-parties. This party of Anishinaabeg, arrived at the French colonies to trade, and to enact their plan to unite the tribes of the Upper Great Lakes.[438] The discussion between the Passinaouek and Radisson brothers is not recorded, but the Passinaouek seemed to have agreed that they would wait for a few days on the St. Lawrence, until the European-brothers could get permission to leave the colony for trade purposes.[439] In order to gain a sanction for this enterprise, the French men had to agree to bring representatives of the crown and Jesuits missionaries.

The Radisson brothers (and quite-possibly the Anishinaabeg) were not looking to divide this monopoly with the Jesuits, or be further hampered by the bureaucracy of New France. The brothers had lost Europeans on previous expeditions on the Great Lakes, and (likely wished to operate without European interference in the Great Lakes), they subsequently declined these terms, and were not granted permission to leave New France.

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[438] The Jesuits recorded: "arrived the 19th, left the… 22nd & arrived in 3. Riv. The 24th. Left there the 27th". It is possible that during their stay the Algonquian-speaking traders invited the brothers to attend the Feast of the Dead planned for 1660. For European-traders looking to establish new trade networks, this was the promise of a gold-mine. (see: Pierre Espirit Radisson, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: the collected writings*, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 2012), 175).

[439] It is likely the Anishinaabeg traders intentionally invited traders, not the more difficult Jesuits or Government officials, rather intentionally. The French too, had already grown frustrated by French officials, even before they received this invitation from the Ojibway. As French bureaucracy had already led them to abandon their plans to accompany two Wendats to Green Bay earlier in the year; cancelling after the Governor's insisted that they bring other Europeans on this voyage. (see: *Jesuit Relations*, 45, 160).

The Radisson brothers' tension with the hegemonic forces of New France are representative of on-going tensions between the *coureurs de bois* and the authorities of New France; which was affecting the fur trade. Despite being unable to obtain official permissions in 1659, Radisson and Des Groseillers departed towards Lake Superior under the cover of darkness.[440]

A seemingly minor legal infringement, this unsanctioned departure would help shape the next three centuries of colonial policy on the St. Mary's River, and set important legal precedents which radiated throughout North America. The Radissons' voyage not only reopened the European fur trade to Lake Superior, but it also paved the way for the reintroduction of the Jesuits into the Upper Great Lakes (and later helped the British gain entry to the region). The brothers' record, also provides an important description of the important multicultural village at LaPointe in the early 1660s. Importantly, their account gives insight into the larger political situation of the Upper Great Lakes at this time. It was while the Passinaouek were living at Chequamegon, that Radisson first encountered the St. Mary's River (1659); viewing it uninhabited, he still highlighted the importance of Baawitigong's geography.[441]

Upon entering the straits at the south end of the St. Mary's River, Radisson wrote his first-person description of the river. Which highlighted the richness of the food from the St. Mary's River:

> Afterwardes we entered into a straight with had 10 leagues in length, full of islands, where we wanted not fish. We came after to a rapid that makes the separation of the lake of the hurrons, that we calle Superior, or upper, for that ye wildmen hold it to be longer & broader, befids a great many islands, wth makes appeare in a bigger extent. This rapid was formerly the dwelling of those with whome wee weare, and consequently we must not aske them if they knew where they have layed. Wee made cottages att our advantages, and found the truth of what those men had often [said], that is once we could come to that place we should make good cheare of a fish that they call Assickmacki, weh signifieth a white fish. The beare, the castors, and ye Oriniack shewed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a

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[440] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 34.

[441] Pierre Espirit Radisson, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: The Collected Writings*, 187.

> terrestriall paradise. After so long fastning, after so great paines yt we hd taken, finde ourselves so well by chossing our dyet, and resting when we had a minde to it, t'is here that we must tast wth pleasur sweet bitt. We doe not aske for a good fauce; it's better to have it naturally; it is ye way to distinguish ye sweet from the bitter. [SIC.][442]

Despite their recent military victories, the Anishinaabeg were still concerned about the possibility of Haudenosaunee attacks on the St. Mary's River. Further than this, Radisson's account of the village at Chequamegon highlights the importance of these northern Great Lakes villages as capitals in the late-1650s and 1660s, and highlights the particularly important political role played by the Ojibwa and Odaawa in these multicultural villages.

The Anishinaabeg that brought the Radisson brothers to this village, did so, to use them as an experiment in a new political structure. The Ojibwa sought to unite the displaced tribes in the north, and to dictate a role for the French in the Upper Great Lakes. By ensuring a connection to New France through the Radissons, the Passinaouek believed that they could now control the flow of European goods to their new-allies scattered throughout the Refugee Triangle. By using a direct supply-line to the French as a bargaining-chip for other tribes, the Ojibwa-Odaawa-Wendat alliance were able to form a political structure which connected the dozens of culturally different groups (that were now living in close-proximity to each other around Lake Superior).[443] This worked to simultaneously increase the Ojibwa's role in the Fur Trade, and Baawitigong's importance as a political capital and economic hub, within this triangle. The Upper Great Lakes during the 1650s and 1660s, were subsequently marked by a noticeable change in political structures.

These new political systems and alliances, were further cemented during the Feast of the Dead Ceremony at Chequamegon Point in 1660, (observed and described by Radisson). After almost three years of living at Chequamegon, and forming alliances amongst the Wisconsin, Ojibwa, Lowland Cree, and Dakota, the northern tribes felt more confident in their ability to face the Haudenosaunee forces around Baawitigong.[444] After the Feast of the Dead in 1660, the population from Baawitigong decided to leave this northern village, and to reform their own village on the St. Mary's River. Once this ceremony was completed in 1660, the Ojibwa disembarked down Lake Superior with the entirety of the Chequamegon Village (and the Radissons). This contingent initially travelled home to Baawitigong in 1660, with a flotilla of various nations which consisted of around 700 people, in about 100 canoes.[445]

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[442] Pierre Espirit Radisson, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: The Collected Writings*, 187.

[443] John Creese and Heather Walder. "From Wendake to Chequamegon: Bridging the Wendat Diaspora in Quimby's Early Historic Period." In Midwest Archaeological Conference, Inc. (2018), 33-39.

Despite its size, in 1660 this large contingent was still worried about the threat of Haudenosaunee Confederacy on Lake Superior.[446] This fear, demonstrates just how palpable the Haudenosaunee threat was, even among the northern Great Lakes populations. But, it seems that the Haudenosaunee forces which had raided as far north as the St. Mary's River at the end of the 1650s, had now receded south of the river by 1660 (possibly as a response to the arrival of a French army, and increased French aggression around New France). It was during this voyage with Radisson, that the Ojibwa learned that the bulk of the Haudenosaunee force on the Ottawa River had been dispersed by French attacks led by Dollard des Ormeaux in May of 1660. With this news, the northern tribes arrived in Montréal on August 19, 1660.[447] This information, further led the Passinouek to re-establish their village on Baawitigong (rather than returning to Chequamegon), and this village became a third capital in the refugee triangle. Upon returning to the St. Mary's River in the 1660s, the

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[444] Jill Doerfler and Erik Rednix, "The Great Lakes." *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History* (2016), 175.

[445] Pierre Espirit Radisson, Pierre-Esprit Radisson: The Collected Writings, 229.

[446] This trip helped affirm the Radissons' suggestions to the Anishinaabeg, that the French troops had helped to diminish the Haudenosaunee threat. But this threat was by no means entirely gone, and before this flotilla reached the St. Mary's River, they encountered a group of seven Haudenosaunee warriors. This small group, was possibly scouting the area, as they canoed away from the Anishinaabeg on Lake Superior; by whom they chased unsuccessfully. However, this encounter worked to increase fears that the Haudenosaunee were planning an attack, and help to further unify the displaced tribes After council meetings, most of the contingent believed that their numbers and possible reward made the risk worthwhile, with only the Cree turning back on Lake Superior. (see: Ibid. Pierre Espirit Radisson, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: The Collected Writings*, 124).

[447] Ibid, 125.

Passinouek began re-establishing their trade networks, and the St. Mary's River became an increasingly important centre of unification, for the enemies of the Haudenosaunee.

By resettling the St. Mary's River in the 1660s, the Upper Great Lakes populations were able to further unite their allies around a common goal, and would successfully launch attacks against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy over the next four decades. These skirmishes around Baawitigong would lead to a dramatic reshuffling of Indigenous and Colonial forces on the Great Lakes by the end of the eighteenth century. Thereafter, the Anishinaabeg used their stronghold on the St. Mary's River, Mackinac Straits, and Chequamegon to expand their political authority in the region, and to form a new type of confederacy (one which included French representatives, and) that extended northwest. This Confederacy would grow to encompass the majority of the Great Lakes region, and the 1660s, marks the beginning of this dramatic power shift on the Great Lakes (only a decade after the demise of the Wendat Confederacy). This power shift occurred on the Great Lakes, but it would have repercussions in the larger trajectory of North American history.

Chapter 4: A Changing Great Lakes World: The Battle for Baawitigong, Ojibwa Expansion, the Great Peace of Montreal, and the Ojibwa Golden-Age (1659-1750)

Overview

After 1660, the northern tribes were now able to present a more unified offensive to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; demonstrated by the 1662 battle at Iroquois Point on the St. Mary's River. This battle would help force peace between the Anishinaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in 1667. This provided a period of peace for the people on the Upper Great Lakes, but it also allowed new forces to enter the region. Among these were the Jesuits, who attempted to establish Catholic Missions to promote Christian lifeways. Recognizing these intentions, the Anishinaabeg countered the Jesuits' efforts by promoting the belief structures of the Midewiwin as an alternative to Christian views. They also worked to minimize the impact of the French in the region by moderating the fur trade. On this, they were able to control the French representatives' efforts somewhat, but the Anishinaabeg soon realized that they had another problem in the 1670s: growing tensions in the Upper Great Lakes as a result of French interference, overcrowding, food shortages, and the lack of a common enemy. In the 1680s, they used renewed Haudenosaunee threats to launch an aggressive Anishinaabeg expansion into the lower Great Lakes, and to the northwest beyond Lake Superior. This southern offensive was so effective that representatives of the Haudenosaunee, New France, and Britain, acknowledged the Anishinaabeg's authority on these territories in the Great Peace of Montreal (1701). This treaty ushered in what Paul Schmalz has labelled the "Ojibway Golden Age". George Copway has described how this expansion worked to make the Anishinaabeg the largest Indigenous Confederacy north of Mexico. This expansion however, could not have occurred without the political foresight and diplomatic skills of the Anishinaabeg, who were able to counter the Haudenosaunee's attack, ameliorate French influence, and unite the displaced refugees on the Upper Great Lakes, by the end of the eighteenth century.

Section I: The Battle for Baawitigong (1660-1667)

The actions taken on the St. Mary's River, Mackinac Straits, Green Bay, and Chequamegon Bay during this period, saw: the formation of the largest Indigenous Confederacy post-Contact, the first European land-claim on the Upper Great Lakes, the establishment of a legislated French fur trade, and the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company. All of these important events in North American history, can be directly linked to the actions of the Anishinaabeg population on the St. Mary's River during this time. As a result, the poorly understood period between 1650 and 1667 on the Upper Great Lakes, became a particularly formative era in the trajectory of North American History as a whole. Despite the difficulties faced by the Ojibwa into the 1660s, they would rise to the occasion, and use the geographic, and political importance of the St. Mary's River, to form the largest Indigenous Confederation since the period of European-plagues. By forming a network of alliances which included various indigenous groups (as well as the French), the Upper Great Lakes people had positioned themselves to counter the Haudenosaunee threat around the St. Mary's River (into the 1660s). Actions at Baawitigong in particular, helped the Anishinaabeg preserve their control on the Upper Great Lakes, and also set the frameworks for the Anishinaabeg-European relationship in the interior of the continent. At the centre of these important shifts in the 1660s, was the continued battle for Baawitigong, which would see the Ojibwa alleviate the Haudenosaunee threat; but which also, worked to inadvertently open the way for French (and English) presence on the Upper Great Lakes.

In the years immediately following the resettlement of the rapids (c. 1660-1670), Baawitigong became the third capital, and a critical epicentre of the Refugee Triangle. With these important villages established throughout the Upper Great Lakes (at Baawitigong, Mackinac, Green Bay, and Chequamegon), the refugees and northern groups, could now present a unified force in their conflicts with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Key to this

Ojibwa strategy, was Baawitigong's central-location on the Great Lakes, its established trade, and its fisheries. In its structure, Baawitigong, was similar to the villages at Green Bay and Chequamegon; with the St. Mary's River's fisheries, allowing the tribes to form large villages in the summer months. But its importance on the north-south hub of the Great Lakes (and its proximity to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy), further increased the importance of these rapids on the St. Mary's River, as a centre of defence and trade. These features also made the St. Mary's River a convenient garrison for the northern tribes to launch raiding parties.

In 1662 conflict with the Haudenosaunee came back to the St. Mary's River region, when the Haudenosaunee attempted to launch an attack on Baawitigong, from Iroquois Point. On their home turf, the Anishinaabeg forces quickly turned the momentum of this attack, by ambushing, and killing nearly all of the Haudenosaunee force camped on the St. Mary's River. Warren uses and account from "Ke-che-wash-keenh or Great Buffalo, chief of La Pointe" to describe the battle near Baawitigong, which occurred: "on Lake Superior, a short distance above its outlet, which has to this day retained that name of Point Iroquois."[448] Writing:

> The Ojibways, one time collected a war party on the shores of the Great Lake, which proceeded eastward against their old enemies the Naud-o-ways. On their road to the country of these people, they one evening encamped on a point of the lake shore a distance above Bow-e-ting (Ste. Marie). They had lighted their fires for the night and commenced cooking their suppers, when the sounds of distant yelling and laughter came indistinctly to their ever-listening ears. The noises appeared to come from the other side of the point, immediately opposite the spot where they had encamped. Scouts were sent to reconnoitre the noisy party, whom they supposed to be traders proceeding up the lake to trade with their people.
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> "These scouts soon returned on a run, and informed their party that they had seen a large war party of Naud-o-ways, who were encamped, drinking firewater, and carousing with perfect carelessness, and apparently with every sense of security. The Ojibways quickly extinguished their blazing fires, and making their usual preparations for a desperate fight, they noiselessly approached and surrounded the encampment of their boisterous and drunken enemies. They silently awaited the moment when nearly all had drunk themselves insensible, and the remainder had fallen asleep, for the war

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[448] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 147.

> whistle to sound the onset. They attacked them with great furry, and it is said that but few of the Naud-o-ways escaped the Ojibwys' tomahawk and scalping knife on this blood occasion.[449]

This was a significant victory, Warren describes this 1662 conflict as "The last important battle between the Ojibways and the Iroquois [Haudenosaunee]," in this conflict.[450] This skirmish in particular, sent a clear message to both the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and to any colonial powers who might have had intentions on the Great Lakes region.

The battle of Iroquois Point was a game changer in this war, and worked to end Haudenosaunee Confederacy's pressure on the St. Mary's River. As Warren explains: "The 'Six Nations' [Haudenosaunee Confederacy] never after this made incursions into the country of the Lake Superior Ojibways".[451] This battle in particular, seemed to have sent a message to the *refugee* tribes that if anyone could beat the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, it was the growing strength of the Ojibwa and their allies. After the successful battle at Iroquois Point, this Anishinaabeg military force then contained Haudenosaunee forces far below the 45th parallel (the corn border), and forced them to settle the banks of the Lower Great Lakes. While more skirmishes would occur before the Haudenosaunee Confederacy eventually sued for peace in 1667, the Battle of Iroquois Point on the St. Mary's River (in 1662) was a significant turning point in this war.[452]

After this battle on the St. Mary's River, the Ojibwa and their allies began to press south and east against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and this effort was assisted when the Haudenosaunee suffered from plague later in 1662. This plague in 1662 (hitting a force already weakened by their war to the south with the Susquahannas), ultimately forced the

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[449] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 147-148.
[450] Ibid, 147.
[451] Ibid, 147.
[452] The terms were also beneficial to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, who had found themselves fighting a war on two fronts already, sought to avoid French aggression. Including the nations which they had just dispersed and terrorized may have been negotiated by the French, for the good of their allies, it also worked in the Haudenosaunee's favour by allowing them to focus their attention to their war with the Susquehanna's, to their south, in what is now Pennsylvania. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy would absorb the surviving Susquehanna, who would resettle in Iroquoia. (see: Richard White, *Middle Ground,* 29).

Haudenosaunee Confederacy to let-up on their raids on the northern tribes.[453] The Haudenosaunee were then further weakened by New France, who had begun to receive additional military support from France in 1665; when 1200 French soldiers arrived to battle the reeling Haudenosaunee, which helped to further alleviate the Haudenosaunee threat.[454] The resulting peace treaty with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (1667), marked the end of a multiple decade war with this southern army; one which had been particularly costly for many of the tribes who now resided in the Upper Great Lakes.

But this French support came at a price to its Native allies, as the new Intendant Jean Talon also arrived with this ship, and began to change overarching policy. This peace in 1667, now promised to allow the Upper Great Lakes' populations to rebuild their lives and villages after this traumatic period. But this peace, also worked to open the St. Mary's River to increased French presence. It was not until these conflicts with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy had been suspended in 1667, that the French began entering the region in significant numbers. The large villages in the refugee triangle, provided convenient locations for Jesuits to establish missions, and as early as 1665 Jesuit missionaries (as well as French fur traders and New France's governors) began setting their sights on the St. Mary's River. This is marked on the St. Mary's River by the Jesuits' establishment of a mission at Sault Ste. Marie around 1667/1668.[455] Subsequently, into the 1670s, a clearer picture of life on the Upper Great Lakes emerges through written records; one which highlights the full effects of European pathogens, climate-changes, and dramatic demographic shifts in the region.

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[453] James Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840 Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie", 30-31.
[454] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 34.
[455] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 5.

Section II: The French Land Claim on Baawitigong: rebalancing the results of the "Pageant at Sault Ste. Marie" (1668-1680)

In this new political landscape on the Great Lakes after 1667, the French opportunistically presented an opportunity for Indigenous groups to adjust their lifeway strategies. Despite their ignorance of the region (including its political structure, geography, customs, etc.) the French represented the ability to pursue more European-styled lifeways at Baawitigong.[456] The Jesuits depicted Christianity as a belief system that might help the displaced Indigenous populations survive in a compacted region. Through trade interactions, French officials also began to recognize that there were several points of exchange throughout the Huron Borderlands. These points of exchange (the Rapids of St. Mary, Mackinac, Green Bay, and LaPointe) were potentially the most important passageways to the northern and western tribes (and their furs), during this period.[457] The French interest in the area grew as they became more aware of the established trade networks of the Great Lakes; which led the French to establish a mission and regular trading activity on the rapids at the St. Mary's River. Yet, despite what the records (kept by the Jesuits) say, the French were unable to significantly shift the belief systems, land use patterns, political structures, or instil French legislation on the Upper Great Lakes. While the French representatives were entering a region where they knew little about the geography, people, or cultural expectations, the Ojibwa had watched the actions (and shortcomings) of other Jesuits for decades. The Passinouek now used their connection with the French as a bargaining chip (to negotiate with other tribes), which worked to promote some unity throughout the Refugee Triangle; and in the process, worked to significantly increase their own political sway.

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[456] For instance, due to their initial exposure to the Odawa, the French at first, they still mistakenly believed every Algonquian speaking community in the Upper Great Lakes was Odawa. This mistake might be a result of mistranslation. As the name Odawa, literally means 'traders' it is possible that the French subsequently mistook all Algonquin-speaking traders from the Upper Great Lakes as 'Odawa'.

[457] Claiborne Skinner, *Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes*, 7.

The 1667 peace agreement cleared a path for the Jesuits, who sought to establish their own political strongholds in the region; and in service to this, Father Jacques Marquette established a mission on the banks of the St. Mary's Rapids in 1668.[458] The Jesuits had much to learn, as Father Allouez's writing illustrates. In his description of the populations on the St. Mary's River during this period, he wrote that: "THEY are called *sauteurs* by the French, because their abode is the *sault* [rapids] by which Lake Tracy empties into the Lake of the Hurons. They speak the common Algonquin, and are easily understood."[459] Another Jesuit, Father Dablon began to distinguish the various different cultural groups who regularly visited the rapids, identifying eight nations which had come to the St. Mary ́s rapids during his residency, aside from the Saulteurs (Passinaouek).[460] These observations informed the policy of Governor Talon, who sought to go further than simply establishing missions in the Upper Great Lakes.

Governor Talon promoted French land claims in the Great Lakes, in an effort to assure continued trade rights and to establish mineral claims, before the British could.[461] With time, the Jesuits began to become aware of the variety of cultural groups in the Upper Great Lakes, and of the complexities of social structures of the Algonquin-speakers. In addition to describing the different peoples of the area, Dablon wrote of the beauty of the area; and he described the resources, and politics in the region in "of the Nature and Some Peculiarities of the Sault, and of the Nations which are Accustomed to Repair Thither."[462] In one account, Dablon reflects on the geography and its importance to fishery to the region, and he also notes its political importance to the indigenous populations, and to the plans of New France. He writes:

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[458] Accompanied by a large trading party, Father Allouez followed the Raddissons' path from New France to the Upper Great Lakes in 1665, and arrived at refugee villages on Chequamegon Bay. Allouez used this opportunity to establish the St. Esprit Mission where he could preach to Huron refugees, Ojibways, Odawas, Illinois and other groups pushed north and west by the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. (see: Daniel Hechenberger, "The Jesuits: History and Impact", 90).

[459] "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791 (Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Vol. LI"), "Chapter XIIII: Of the Mission to the Outchibouec, 62.

[460] *Jesuit Relations*, 131-133.

[461] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 34.

[462] *Jesuit Relations*, 129.

> WHAT is commonly called the Sault is not properly a Sault, or a very high waterfall, but a very violent current of waters from Lake Superior, — which, finding themselves checked by a great number of rocks that dispute their passage, form a dangerous cascade of half a league in width, all these waters descending and plunging headlong together, as if by a flight of stairs, over the rocks which bar the whole river.
> It is three leagues below Lake Superior, and twelve leagues above the Lake of the Hurons, this entire extent making a beautiful river, cut up by many Islands, which divide it and increase its width in some places so that the eye cannot reach across. It flows very gently through almost its entire course, being difficult of passage only at the Sault.[463]

Dablon specifically called attention to the magnitude of the fisheries of this location: it is "at the foot of these rapids, and even amid these boiling waters, that extensive fishing is carried on, from Spring until Winter, of a kind of fish found usually only in Lake Superior and Lake Huron."[464] Both Allouez and Dablon provided detailed descriptions of the important geography of the rapids, emphasizing its accessibility to Lake Superior, its natural resources, and its aesthetic beauty.

In his journal, Allouez described his voyage from Lake Huron into the narrows of the St. Mary's River. Writing that: "This River is pleasing, not only on account of the Islands intercepting its course and the great bays bordering it, but because of the fishing and hunting, which are excellent there."[465] This ringing endorsement of this river helped change the French approach to the St. Mary's River, and its people by positively promoting its aesthetic and strategic value and its potentially lucrative resources. Accordingly, this worked to focus Governor Talon's sights on the banks of the St. Mary's River as a key locus for French expansion. But these same traits, also made the St. Mary's River an important resource for displaced Indigenous populations.

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[463] Ibid, 129-130.
[464] Ibid, 130.
[465] "Lower Canada, Acadia, Iroquois, Ottawas: 1659—1660", *Jesuit Relations*, 262-263.

Dablon recognized the importance of Baawitigong the border of the north-south divide of the tribes, and he noted the political importance of the Passinouek (or Saulteurs). Unlike the displaced southern groups, the Passinouek were not *refugees*, as they were able to return to their home on the shores of Baawitigong, where they welcomed their regular trade partners annually. Dablon wrote a description of the people living on the St. Mary's River,

> The principal and native Inhabitants of this district are those who call themselves *Pahouitingwach Irini*, and whom the French call *Saulteurs*, because it is they who live at the Sault as in their own Country, the others being there only as borrowers. They comprise only a hundred and fifty souls, but have united themselves with three other Nations which number more than five hundred and fifty persons, to whom they have, as it were, made a cession of the rights of their native Country; and so these live here permanently, except the time when they are out hunting.[466]

Importantly the *Pahouitingwach Irini* (or *Saulteurs*), "who live at the Sault as in their own Country," were the descendants of the original Ojibwa village of Baawitigong; where the Crane family, still held a great deal of political sway.[467] In the 1670s, Baawitigong also housed displaced populations throughout the year.

These early accounts of the St. Mary's River, highlight the importance of Baawitigong as an annual meeting point. Dablon observed that annually "more than four hundred souls" from several additional tribes travelled to Baawitigong from Lake Huron.[468] Dablon reported: "The people called Achiligouiane, the Amicoures, and the Mississague fish here, and hunt on the Islands and in the regions round about Lake Huron".[469] These early accounts help to demonstrate the scope of the Great Lakes trade network. It is likely that those "there only as borrowers" were those who White has described as the *refugees* displaced by the Haudenosaunee's attacks. These groups had settled on the St. Mary's River after the Passinaouek re-established their village there in 1660.[470]

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[466] *Jesuit Relations*, 131-133.

[467] Ibid, 127-131.

[468] Ibid, 131-133.

[469] Ibid, 131-133.

Martin describes the seventeenth-century village at Sault Ste. Marie, as "a loose confederation of allied kin groups".[471] Baawitigong's networks (as indicated by the trade partners who visited Baawitigong), served as a hub to the Upper Great Lakes, but it extended up from the rivers and marshes of the Hudson's Bay watershed, and west to the prairies. In addition to these displaced southern tribes, who lived by (or visited) Baawitigong, there were nations "which sustain relations to the place, repairing hither to live on its fish", Dablon included: "the Nouquet, who extend toward the South of Lake Superior, whence they take their origin; and the Outchibous, together with the Marameg, toward the North of the same Lake, which region they regard as their own proper Country."[472] Dablon also described: "six other Nations, who are either people from the North Sea, or the Guilistinous [*i.e.*, Kilistinons] and the Ovenibigonc [*i.e.*, Ouinipegouc], or wanderers in the regions around that same North Sea".[473] The Passinouek's role as hosts, along with their ability to maintain their trade networks, helped to increase their political authority. The rapids on the St. Mary's River also became home to northern tribes who had not come into direct conflict with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

Some of these tribes had rarely (if ever) traded directly with Europeans. Dablon noted the presence of "Two other Nations, to the number of five hundred souls". He described their lifeways as being: "— entirely nomadic, and with no fixed abode, — [they] go toward the lands of the North to hunt during the Winter, and return hither to fish during the Summer."[474]

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[470] Richard White, *Middle Ground*
Jesuit Relations 131-133.

[471] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 86.

[472] *Jesuit Relations,* 131-133.

[473] Ibid, 132-134.

[474] Two of these groups seemed to be tribes of woodland Cree, from the north shore of Lake Superior. (see: Ibid, 131-133).

The communities traveling to Baawitigong from the North Sea were probably made up largely of Northern Cree and Inuit. The *Jesuit* Records depict the importance of Baawitigong, and highlight French efforts to claim the region as their own. In 1668, a Jesuit wrote that "A location has been chosen at the foot of the rapids in the River, on the South side, nearly under the 46th degree of Latitude; and the cold is much less severe there than it is here, although we are in nearly the same latitude."[475] This strategy played on the annual trips regularly made to Baawitigong, in order to disseminate the French's message.

For this task, Governor Talon commissioned Father Claude Allouez, of the Society of Jesus, and Simon François Daumont, Sieur de St. Lusson.[476] Their efforts culminated in an important display in May 1671, when the French Church and Officials representing the Monarchy arrived on the banks of the St. Mary's River, in order to claim the land in the name of the French King. Sieur de saint Lusson was "commissioned to take possession, in his place and in his Majesty's name, of the territories lying between the East and the West, from Montreal as far as the South Sea, covering the utmost extent and range possible."[477] Although long winded, the full speech demonstrates some of the French's intentions with the land, while also highlighting reasons that the Great Lakes people should welcome an alliance with the French King. The speech is filled with religious-rhetoric, and nationalistic brags, while also being condescending to the people it addresses. Dablon described the scene, and transcribed the speech given by Allouez.[478]

This account (produced for a European audience), depicts the French's role in the region as a patriarchal one. It contains, boasts of the military power of France, and depicts

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[475] *Jesuit Relations*, 188-189.

[476] Tracy Neal Leavelle, "Geographies of encounter: Religion and contested spaces in colonial North America." *American Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2004), 913.

[477] Jesuit Relations, vol. 55, Part Third Relation of the Missions to the Outouacs during the years 1670 and 1671, 104-106.

[478] Michael McCafferty, "Jacques Largillier: French Trader, Jesuit Brother, and Jesuit Scribe" Par Excellence"." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 104, no. 3 (2011), 188-189.

France as a powerful (and rich) military alley, in a self-righteous, and patronizing tone towards the Indigenous populations to Baawitigong. The speech is recorded in the *Jesuit Records*:

> Here is an excellent matter brought to your attention, my brothers," said he to them, — "a great and important matter, which is the cause of this council. Cast your eyes upon the Cross raised so high above your heads: there it was that JESUS CHRIST, the Son of God, making himself man for the love of men, was pleased to be fastened and to die, in atonement to his Eternal Father for our sins. He is the master of our lives, of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell. Of him I have always spoken to you, and his name and word I have borne into all these countries. But look likewise at that other post, to which are affixed the armorial bearings of the great Captain of France whom we call King. He lives beyond the sea; he is the Captain of the greatest Captains, and has not his equal in the world. All the Captains you have ever seen, or of whom you have ever heard, are mere children compared with him. He is like a great tree, and they, only like little plants that we tread under foot in walking. You know about Onnontio, that famous Captain of Quebec. You know and feel that he is the terror of the Iroquois, and that his very name makes them tremble, now that he has laid waste their country and set fire to their Villages. Beyond the sea there are ten thousand Onnontios like him, who are only the Soldiers of that Great Captain, our Great King, of whom I am speaking. When he says, 'I am going to war,' all obey him; and those ten thousand Captains raise Companies of a hundred soldiers each, both on sea and on land. Some embark in ships, one or two hundred in number, like those that you have seen at Quebec. Your Canoes hold only four or five men — or, at the very most, ten or twelve. Our ships in France hold four or five hundred, and even as many as a thousand. Other men make war by land, but in such vast numbers that, if drawn up in a double file, they would extend farther than from here to Mississaquenk, although the distance exceeds twenty leagues. When he attacks, he is more terrible than the thunder: the earth trembles, the air and the sea are set on fire by the discharge of his Cannon; while he has been seen amid his squadrons, all covered with the blood of his foes, of whom he has slain so many with his sword that he does not Count their scalps, but the rivers of blood which he sets flowing. so many prisoners of war does he lead away that he makes no account of them, letting them go about whither they Will, to show that he does not fear them. No one now dares make war upon him, all nations beyond the sea having most submissively sued for peace. From all parts of the world people go to listen to his words and to admire him, and he alone decides all the affairs of the world. What shall I say of his wealth? You Count yourselves rich when you have ten or twelve sacks of corn, some hatchets, glass beads, kettles, or other things of that sort. He has towns of his own, more in number than you have people in all these countries five hundred leagues around; while in each town there are warehouses containing enough hatchets to cut down all your forests, kettles to cook all your moose, and glass beads to fill all your cabins. His house is longer than from here to the head of the Sault, "— that is, more than half a league, — "and higher than the tallest of your trees; and it contains more families than the largest of your Villages can hold."

> ... The whole ceremony was closed with a fine bonfire, which was lighted toward evening, and around which the *Te Deum* was sung to thank God, on behalf of those poor peoples, that they were now the subjects of so great and powerful a Monarch.[479]

Lusson was to ensure that France's "invincible Monarch [was] to be acknowledged by even the least known and the most remote Nations."[480] While the French saw the Ojibwa's territory as important to assert their presence in the area, the Ojibwa in turn, used access to French's trade items as a bargaining chip, with which to increase their own political-authority throughout the Great Lakes region.

Warren's account of the ceremony (which represents the northern Ojibwa's understanding of the event), contains none of the grandeur of this French account. This account demonstrates the *lasting* impact these land claim had on the people who lived on the Upper Great Lakes. According to the Ojibwa, ownership, nor fealty, were part of the deal with the French. Instead, as explained by Warren:

> The envoy of the French king asked, in the name of his nation, for permission to trade in the country, and for free passage to and from their villages at times thereafter. He asked that the fires of the French and Ojibway nations might be made one, and everlasting.[481]

Warren's account offers an Indigenous perspective to this 1671 ceremony, which paints a very different picture of the true results of this performance.[482] Given the French's reliance on Indigenous groups at this time, Warren's account seems more accurate than the grandiose-speech of French supremacy recorded by the Jesuits; which was intended for European consumption (and specifically, to assert claims to the Upper Great Lakes before the British could through the Hudson Bay).

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[479] *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (1610-1791)*, 107-115.

[480] Ibid., 104-106.

[481] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 131.

[482] He records that after meeting the French messenger in 1670:

> Early the following spring, a large delegation proceeded to Ste. Marie to attend the council, and hear the words of the "Great King of the French." Ke-che-ne-zuh-yauh, head chief of the great Crane family, headed this party, and represented the nation of the Ojibways. (see: William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 131).

It is quite likely, that the written account of this land claim is an exaggeration of the actual speech given from the banks in the St. Mary's River. In reality, the Anishinaabeg were willing to tolerate the French, and happy to use their trade networks as a diplomatic tool, but they also made it clear that this was their territory. Although the Anishinaabeg put up with some pageantry, and allowed the French to settle on a small section of this southern coast, they would not have seen this as a concession of their own rights to the territory. Instead, the French were just one of many groups which the Passinouek permitted in their territory during the 1670s and 1680s.[483] In the minds of the French however, the Anishinaabeg were now French subjects, and therefore could be subjected (in theory) to French laws; which also granted land rights to French men in the area. Beyond this, it began a process of colonization which was intent on changing the very culture of the people of the Upper Great Lakes.

The Jesuits looked to establish Great Lakes villages, and locations like Baawitigong (now called "Sault de Sainte Marie" by the French), were quickly identified as important locations for the Ojibwa in particular; and for Upper Great Lakes tribes in general. Although the St. Mary's River was new territory for the Jesuits and Talon, it was well known by the Anishinaabeg; who now had some experience dealing with French travellers. In their records, the Jesuits were quick to contend that the Native tribes were curious about Christianity. But in reality, the traders who accompanied the Jesuits, were the real objects of interest. It is questionable whether the Jesuits would have been welcomed into the region at all, had they not been accompanied by traders. The policies of these new French representatives, contrasted sharply with the working relationship between the Anishinaabeg and the unsanctioned French traders in the Upper Great Lakes. The Anishinaabeg had previously welcomed certain (well-suited) French men to trade on their shores, but were now faced with the prospect of the presence of Jesuit missionaries and sanctioned traders (who did not understand how trade, or religious ceremonies, were conducted in this part of the world).[484]

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[483] Russell Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, 12.

The Jesuits represented official powers of the Church, but their agenda was often aligned with the colonial government of New France. If the Ojibwa rejected these representatives, they risked conflict with the French, which could jeopardize their access to European goods; and threaten the uneasy peace in the region.[485] These representatives were protected by the government and army; where the unsanctioned traders had no such protections. Despite the fact that neither Jesuits nor sanctioned traders had proven themselves to the Ojibwa to be particularly trustworthy, they were being forced on the populations of the Upper Great Lakes. Regardless of whether they were welcome, the Jesuits quickly established missions in Upper Great Lake capitals, claimed to discover regions that were already inhabited, and (in these regions) they propagated Christian beliefs, and promoted European lifeways. The Jesuits actively sought to further French interests on the Great Lakes, and to have greater access to as many indigenous people as possible.

In 1668, the St. Mary's Mission was established near Baawitigong. The mission on the banks of the St. Mary's River was followed by the erection of the St. François Xavier Mission in Green Bay (in 1669), and the St. Ignace Mission on the Straits of Mackinac (in 1671). Once established, the actions of the Jesuits differed greatly from the unsanctioned French traders in the region. The unsanctioned traders spoke the local languages, lived according to the local customs, many married Indigenous women and formed families. Their integration was strongly contrasted by the Jesuits' attempts to control the region, and to convert the Indigenous populations to their ways and beliefs. Uninvited and (often) unpleasant guests, the Jesuits insulted their gracious hosts by underestimating their intelligence and dismissing their belief system, all in the name of a Christian God.

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[484] Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and traders in the North American fur trade* (University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 11-15.

[485] LH Roper, "Private Enterprise, Colonialism, and the Atlantic World." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History* (2018).

The *Jesuit Records* (written by those who established these missions) projected a grandeur; but in reality, the French presence on the Upper Great Lakes actually was very limited throughout the seventeenth century. Father Marquette's estimation of the Indigenous tribes around the St. Mary's River, was that: "the entire population, to the number of two thousand."[486] In contrast, there was a small number of missionaries, traders, and donnes, in the whole of the Upper Great Lakes region. The Jesuit missionaries were allowed to build their stone homes, to preach the Gospel, and often they were invited to councils.[487] However, the Jesuits did not assist in the collection of food or firewood (and although they were occasionally relied on as babysitters, and as entertaining storytellers), they generally worked to tax their Indigenous *congregations*. The Jesuits may not have admitted it in reports to their superiors, but these missionaries were likely far more influenced by "*their congregation"* than their congregation was influenced by them. The Jesuits attempted to bring in spread European ways, but they interacted with, and were influenced by, their Indigenous neighbours. They often ate food provided by the tribes, engaged in tribal ceremonies, and adopted some of the Indigenous practices to survive in the region.[488]

The Cranes on the St. Mary's River for example, used the presence of these prominent French representatives, to help promote indigenous unity at Baawitigong. The Ojibwa population on Baawitigong used the St. Mary's Mission to their advantage, and they treated the Jesuits as diplomatic hostages. They recognized that the presence of the Jesuits ensured that the French would honour their military pact (and ensure French protection in the area). That their presence helped to ensure the continued supply of French trade goods to the community on the St. Mary's River rapids. Having a French establishment at the village, also helped to demonstrate the far-reaching strength of the Passinouek to other Indigenous allies.

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[486] *Jesuit Relations*, 211.

[487] Daniel Hechenberger, "The Jesuits: History and Impact", 90.

[488] They allowed the donnés of the Jesuits, to build churches, and the Jesuits to worship as they pleased; and many Anishinaabeg even listened to what this foreign-religion had to say. Desperate for some tangible results of their efforts, the Jesuits mistook tolerance, and curiosity, for acceptance.

By allowing some French presence on Baawitigong, the Passinouek made room for some French presence in the Upper Great Lakes; but moderated the influx of their influence. Whilst the Jesuits had some minimal effects, the more significant change to Baawitigong's population in the 1670s, was in the number of displaced Indigenous people now living on its banks. There had always been several groups who visited the St. Mary's River during the summer, but the refugees made this a larger village, for a longer period throughout the year. Even with the recent political and population shifts on the Upper Great Lakes, the Anishinaabeg continued to practice their annual cycles, belief systems, lifeways, and ceremonies. Although the demographics of the visiting populations of Baawitigong had changed in recent decades (as southern tribes were forced onto the St. Mary's River and French representatives entered the region), the Anishinaabeg continued to hold general political authority on the rapids. Accordingly, the lifeways and annual cycles of life on Baawitigong (c. 1667-1680), carried on much as they had for the past few centuries.

Section III: Competing Belief-System on the Upper Great Lakes: The Response of the Midewiwin to the Jesuit's Efforts on the Upper Great Lakes (1680-1685)

Since the fall of the Wendat Confederacy, the northern Anishinaabeg groups had been making concentrated efforts to reunite Anishinaabe people behind the shared history of the Seven Fires Prophecy, Midewiwin belief system, and shared cultural traits. This effectively formed a loose Anishinaabeg Confederacy, which integrated other cultural groupings in complex and important ways. By the 1670s, all of the final stopping points of the Seven Fires Migrations had now become diverse villages, and centres of trade; demonstrating the importance of Anishinaabeg leadership during this period. The visiting populations (of Wendat, Cree, Dakota, and the French) who lived in these villages, were allowed to worship in their own way, govern themselves, and conduct daily-business, however they saw fit; provided it did not cause disruptions amongst the other groups. Amongst these groups, the French were the smallest, and most static of these populations, and the surviving *Jesuit Records* overplay the true authority of this French population. The leadership of the Anishinaabeg was the true key to maintaining this balance, and this leadership would face additional challenges in the 1670s. By allowing non-Anishinaabeg groups to continue their tradition practices, they worked to strengthen the connections felt amongst Anishinaabeg populations throughout the Great Lakes; effectively increasing the Anishinaabeg's authority amongst all of the visiting groups. The Anishinaabeg also effectively relied on ceremony as a unifying practice, relying particularly heavily on the Midewiwin Order, continuing to perform the familiar Feast of the Dead Ceremony and Wampum exchanges, and by adopting other cultures' ceremonies, such as the western tribes use of Calumets and Sun Dance; which worked to create a sense of unity amongst all of their allied tribes.

The multicultural and amalgamated village found at Baawitigong, was becoming increasingly typical in the Upper Great Lakes area, and especially in the refugee triangle during the 1660s and 1670s.[489] In the 1670s, Jesuits recorded a variety of types of villages in the region which were comprised of various cultural groups. The Mascoutens and Miamis were found together in a single palisaded village, and two neighbouring villages housed a mix of Boodwaadmii, Fox, Sauks, and Winnebagos.[490] Further into the interior, in the stretch around Green Bay, the Fox and several other nations, had joined creating a village. These villages are what White has described as "a seeming Babylon of tribes and dialects."[491] The Jesuits estimated in the 1670s, that these settlements were comprised of between 15 000-20 000 people, within a two or three day journey.[492]

The Upper Great Lakes region was now comprised of a mixture of lingual and cultural groups, including the Algonquian-speaking (Ojibwa, Odaawa, Boodwaadmii, Sauks, Fox, Kickapoos, Illinois, Miamis, and others) as the most represented language group in the region.[493] These groups now lived in close-quarters with the displaced Iroquois-speaking peoples (former Wendat Confederation members and some Tionnontaté groups).[494] White cites incidents of violence over the rights to hunting grounds between Algonquian and Iroquois speaking people, a lack of a united force against the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and a sense of post-traumatic uncertainty amongst these refugees.[495] Adding to governmental issues, were environmental concerns in the region. The overpopulated area where the refugees settled, quickly became depleted of many of its resources, which led to a time of suffering and competition over resources. Or as White has described it: "War, famine, and disease, which had been the executioners of the older, familiar world of the Algonquians, were also the gruesome midwives attending the birth of the new world of the *pays d'en*

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[489] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 85.
[490] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 14.
[491] Ibid, 14.
[492] Ibid, 14.
[493] Ibid, 11.
[494] Ibid, 11.
[495] Ibid, 14.

haut."[496] The constant threats of famine, disease and war lead the headmen in this region to take action.

The Ojibwa recognized that, a sense of connectivity needed to be fostered (and enemies managed), in order to avoid an internal collapse. While there were several points of friction, it is likely that overpopulation, ultimately led to struggles over resources. The threat of starvation, likely led to greater tensions in the region into the 1670s (after almost two decades of refugees traveling north). The need for cooperation in order to avoid destruction, and the common-enemy in the Haudenosaunee, were initially strong unifying factors in the region. But arrangements were needed to succeed in the long-term, which required greater unification. This forced co-inhabitancy, worked to create new cultural groups, societal structures, and power dynamics in the region; but also created tensions between different groups attempting to manage, and distribute resources in a stressful environment. White links to close quartered living to the development of distinct *pays d'en haut* identity, but argued that it still required "a political glue to hold the fragments together."[497]

Food production and trade was one of the strategies of peaceful co-existence, in a multicultural village of horticulturalist living alongside hunters/gatherers. But long-term alliances, and political structures, also needed to be implemented to ensure that the displaced tribes could peacefully coexist. From the 1670s through to the present day, the St. Mary's River increasingly became a centre to manage the colonial, and internal-Native policy changes taking place in North America. The territory they now controlled, was reminiscent of the formal glory of Huronia. Unlike Huronia however, the people were not connected by a common language or culture, resulting in a diversity of specialized skills and knowledge. Many Wendat, for instance, were accepted into Odaawa villages but remained culturally

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[496] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 16.
[497] Ibid, 14-16.

Wendat. These refugees, had at first been united as a marriage of convenience more than any other reason, which created the need to develop a distinct power structure.

Uniting these tribes was a difficult task, as the people settled within this triangle, did not have an established governmental structure (like the one which the Wendat Confederacy had with their 50 Headmen). Or as White describes it: “Nothing resembling a state existed in the pays d’en haut.”[498] Where the Wendat Confederacy had previously been organized by nations, and tribes, which had a common culture, language, ethnic identity, and shared history, the refugees of the Huron borderlands did not. In the face of Haudenosaunee threats and French interference, this unification became even more necessary on the Upper Great Lakes into the 1680s.[499] Throughout this period, the Ojibwa came-up with creative solutions to manage these fluxes, and created a sense of unity amongst very different cultural groups. In pursuit of this goal, the Anishinaabeg began to reinforce familiar cultural practices, and embraced new ones from different cultures. They began larger gift-giving exchanges, and promoting intercultural marriages, in order to connect people from different cultural groups. This fostered family-connections, and promoted reciprocity and mutual aid.[500]

These feelings of good faith were further reinforced through regular gift exchanges, large shared ceremonies, adopting the sacred practice of smoking calumets together, all acts which strengthened connections, and counteracted the infighting of the region.[501] Without these connections, infighting in the Refugee Triangle would have ruined these displaced groups almost immediately. To further strengthen these ties, new ceremonies, customs, and trading practices were adapted, as these transactions now had to occur within single villages, which were becoming increasingly metropolitan cultural zones. In particular, the Anishinaabeg relied heavily on the ancient order of the Midewiwin, to promote specific Anishinaabeg traits to a variety of cultural groups.[502]

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[498] Ibid,16.

[499] Marshall Joseph Becker, "Unique Huron Ornamental Bands: Wampum Cuffs." *Material Culture Review/Revue de la culture matérielle* 66 (2007).

[500] Ibid, 16.

[501] Ibid, 15-16.

Unlike the Jesuits, Mide leaders of the Midewiwin Order, allowed individuals to incorporate some of the Midewiwin's teachings and rituals, without sacrificing their traditional beliefs. It is likely, that Midewiwin leaders were at the heart of forming and maintaining the Anishinaabeg -alliance post-1650. But their importance become more represented post-1670, when Midewiwin leader would become heavily engaged in *foreign-policy* within the Refugee Triangle.[503] Importantly, the promotion of the Midewiwin Order provided a unifying spiritual belief-system for Indigenous populations during a time of uncertainty and fear.[504] The Midewiwin Order offered a much more attractive option than Catholicism for most facing existential crisis, and its members helped to check the efforts of the Jesuits; who wanted to pursue widely impractical lifeways practices in the Upper Great Lakes. Thanks in large part to the efforts of these Midewiwin Leaders, life on the St. Mary's River was returning to normal after the peace of 1667.

This process took compromise, and embraced governmental understandings from several different cultures, in order to organize themselves. Amongst many of the tribes, the village was consistently at the heart of the organization and structure of political influence. Village leadership was generally comprised of several ogima (chiefs) and elders, who made recommendations on important decisions within the community. At the heart of many First Nations' political organizations, was the belief that each member should have the personal liberty to make one's own decision. If they did not agree with the common consensus amongst their leaders, and the disagreement could not be settled through council, individuals would be free to act in the way that they deemed appropriate. If this disagreement was too divisive, it could result in the creation of another village on a different territory.

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[502] As established in the earlier chapters, the Midewiwin is an organized belief-system of the Anishinaabeg, which dates back to (at least) the early Holocene period. It was an institution powerful enough, to encourage a largescale Anishinaabe migration back to the Great Lakes after the Seven Fires Prophecy.

[503] Karl Schlesier, "Rethinking the Midewiwin and the Plains ceremonial called the Sun Dance." *Plains Anthropologist* 35, no. 127 (1990): 1-27. 1-5.

[504] Michael Angel, *Preserving the Sacred*, 12-14.

But the structure of these villages had changed, as people became forced to live increasingly closer together into the 1670s and 1680s.[505] These contiguous, multicultural villages, meant that headmen would have had to balance their authority within a village amongst different groups. Generally, this authority did not extend beyond their village.[506] Attempting to keep this balance could result in indecision, or misunderstandings between groups. The importance of the St. Mary's River as a major trade hub and fishery, may have helped allow the Cranes to maintain their role as interpreters and orators; likely giving them something akin to *final say* in important decisions to do with Baawitigong-specifically. A role which enabled and facilitated their political importance throughout the region. In other villages, the growing authority of the Midewiwin Order, became clearer in managing this demographic shift on the Upper Great Lakes.

The year-round access to food sources at the St. Mary's River, Mackinac, and Chequamegon further increased these villages' importance for those in the refugee triangle. The Anishinaabeg's ability to harvest these food sources helped strengthen their diplomatic connections, as did the Midewiwin Order. These forces helped to ensure that the people of the refugee triangle survived for over thirty years on the Upper Great Lakes. But by the 1680s, this situation was becoming unsustainable. The hunting grounds of the refugee area (throughout central and northern Michigan and eastern Wisconsin), had become too depleted to sustain the needs of this new population; in part, as a result of fulfilling the French's the

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[505] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, 85.
[506] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 16-17.

Fur Trade demands (in addition to overcrowding). Something had to give, and the next two decades, would see a dramatic reshuffling of political power on the Great Lakes.

Section IV: Battle for the Great Lakes: Expansion, and the Creation of an Ojibwa Empire (1685-1700)

By the middle of the 1680s, the cracks were showing in the *Pays D'en Haut*, and the Ojibwa realized that drastic actions needed to be taken. In years of dearth, the Upper Great Lakes region could be a hungry, dangerous, and anxious place; especially in villages now composed of several cultural groups. The alternative to this shaky web of alliances was worse, and the Anishinaabeg were so desperate to maintain these alliances into the 1670s, that they approached their generations-old enemies the Sioux; in an attempt to broker a peace.[507] In approaching the Sioux, they used the incentive of French trade goods, to form a pact of non-aggression in 1679; in a move which worked to end the threat of a war on two fronts. With the western threat pacified, they now turned their attention to the growing threat of the enemy to the south.[508] The Ojibwa rightly anticipated that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy was gearing up for renewed warfare in 1679.[509] In 1680 the Anishinaabeg's suspicions were confirmed, after the 13-year peace between the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the Great Lakes people (and their French allies) was broken by the Haudenosaunee's decision to launch attacks on the Illinois in 1680, which led to a reshuffling of alliances. This was the spark that lit the growing powder-keg in the refugee triangle.[510] After years of preparation, this was the moment for the upper tribes to strike. They had successfully brought the displaced groups together, and formed a strong Anishinaabeg alliance within the region. Although tensions between tribes had risen in the face of environmental decline, a common enemy worked to unite these groups. The ability of the Ojibwa to manage these influences, and maintain their important position on the St. Mary's River and Lake Superior, now led to large scale Ojibwa expansion from the 1680s, and into the eighteenth century.[511]

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[507] Ibid, 14-15.
[508] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 5.
[509] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 29.
[510] Ibid, 29.

When Haudenosaunee Confederacy's war parties began to infringe on this triangular territory into the 1680s, tensions were increased further; and other groups betrayed each other to the Haudenosaunee out of a sense of self-preservation.[512] The building tensions amongst the refugees, had led the Miamis to go as far as to conspire with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy against the Illinois. Historian Richard White, suggests that by sacking the Great Village of the Kaskaskia in 1680, the Haudenosaunee pushed the Upper Anishinaabeg tribes into a response.[513] The Ojibwa relied on the fear of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (amongst the displaced nations), to promote unified resistance. Their point was further demonstrated in 1680, when the Miami-Haudenosaunee conspiracy backfired on the Miami; and after the destruction of the Great Village of the Kaskaskia the Haudenosaunee Confederacy attacked their co-conspirators (the Miamis), immediately after they sacked Kaskaskias.[514] By betraying the Miami, the Haudenosaunee helped further support the Ojibwa calls for a unified resistance.[515] This betrayal, helped to affirm the Anishinaabeg's push for a united-front when facing the threat of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; by suggesting to the northern tribes, that the Haudenosaunee could not be trusted.

The people of the St. Mary's River were undoubtedly concerned about these renewed attacks on their allies; especially as the pressure moved north. Tensions worsened after an incident occurred in the nearby Kisakon Odaawa village on Michilimackinac, when an Illinois man killed the Seneca headmen Annanahae.[516] The murder of this important (and renown) chief, was likely to direct Haudenosaunee Confederacy's attention towards

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[511] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 15.
[512] Ibid, 15.
[513] Ibid, 29.
[514] Ibid, 29.
[515] Ibid, 29.
[516] Ibid, 29.

Mackinac. An attack on Mackinac, threatened to drag the St. Mary's River population into this conflict; reminiscent of the attacks on the Wendat two decades previous. Realizing that they would need to adopt a new military strategy than the one that they had employed against the Haudenosaunee previously, the Anishinaabeg now looked to their French allies.

But even approaching the French was a difficult task. As Jon Parmenter highlights, the French and some Haudenosaunee groups had formed new relationships amongst themselves during this peace.[517] Additionally, levels of bad blood between the Frenchmen and Algonquian-speaking groups had risen dramatically by the 1680s. Historian Conrad Heidenreich, suggests that after the legalization of the fur trade, the trade became increasing cutthroat on the Upper Great Lakes because the number of people in the trade, and demand from New France, had both increased.[518] The peaceful relationship of the 1670s had seen a boom in the French fur trade, which led to further exploitation by the French, and soured the Anishinaabeg-French relationship. A growing number of fur traders, voyageurs, and French agents in the area, meant that greater numbers of furs were arriving more consistently in Montreal; however, increased supplies trickled down the market, and ultimately led to lower prices per fur for trappers and traders.[519] The start-up costs and competition of trading furs, made this an increasingly capitalistic business. This also means that the pretentious richer-classes of French traders, were no longer taking as much time to learn the customs of the country; which led to the abuse, swindling, and robbery of the Native populations.

The French traders began to rely on increasingly exploitative tactics to gain an advantage in this trade; including the use of guns and alcohol as trade goods, in order to heighten Native people's reliance on European goods. The French also began to demand more and more furs, which forced Indigenous populations to choose between maintaining a traditional lifeway pattern and sacrificing their alliance with the French; or, participating in the European Fur Trade, and sacrificing aspects of their traditional lifeways. The severity and commonplace of these abuses continued to build, and by the 1680s, the French had antagonized the Anishinaabeg so badly that murder became frequent in the trade (on both sides).[520]

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[517] Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2007), 43-44.
[518] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 36.
[519] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 22-23.

But after the Haudenosaunee Confederacy launched their attacks in the 1680s, the Ojibwa were once again forced to maintain their alliance with the French. Without whom, they could not buy the guns necessary to defeat the Haudenosaunee. The mistrust from both sides affected this uneasy alliance into the 1680s, but the Haudenosaunee threat was drastic enough to force the Ojibwa to recommit to their alliance with the French. As these frictions reached a boiling point, a contingent of Odaawa and Ojibwa decided that their best option was to travel to New France in the summer of 1681, and directly ask the French authorities to honour their promise of a military alliance against the Haudenosaunee, and a return to the traditions of the fur trade.[521] After their bold promises, and boasts of French military prowess (when the Anishinaabeg agreed to this alliance), the French's failure to intervene when the Haudenosaunee violated a peace treaty (which the French themselves had helped to negotiate), must have appeared bad faith to the Anishinaabeg at best; and a betrayal to secure their destruction at worse.[522] The French's unwillingness to intervene, gave fuel to the rumours that the French were working with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, instead of honouring their alliance with the Anishinaabeg.

The Ojibwa began to believe that their French allies might even be encouraging the

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[520] Richard White, *Middle Ground*, 29.
[521] Ibid, 29-30.
[522] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 22-23.

Haudenosaunee Confederacy to destroy their villages, in order to take their lands.[523] In reality, the French policy was increasingly reliant on avoiding these Indigenous conflicts altogether, planning instead, to purchase furs from the victor at the cheapest possible price. When the French failed to intervene in any significant way, the Ojibwa began to further implore a policy Indigenous unification in the Huron borderlands.[524] But the northern Anishinaabeg's cause took another hit when the Ojibwa alliance with the Sioux broke-down in 1683. Seeing tensions mount around Baawitigong in October 1683, when fifteen Ojibwa families left Chequamegon Bay to escape the Lakota, to settle at Sault Ste. Marie away from the Sioux.[525]

Despite their strategic foresight in 1679 (to avoid this exact situation), the Ojibwa now found themselves in a war on two fronts; and the French now refused to assist them in this struggle. The Lakota did not venture onto the St. Mary's River during this 1683 raid, and by the mid-1680s the war with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy has fully resumed, directing their attention to the south. The British too, had now realized the importance of the St. Mary's River and Mackinac straits (to accessing the Great Lakes trade networks). Which saw the British join with their Haudenosaunee allies, to attempt to gain a stake in the Upper Great Lakes region in 1685; when eleven canoes filled with British trade goods arrived in Michilimackinac in an effort to form new trade contacts in the region.[526] It was an interesting offer, made at a time when Anishinaabeg-French relationship was not good; but the Anishinaabeg stayed loyal to the French (who had refused to help them), rather than trust an alliance with this unknown force. Given the tensions over the previous four decades, it was unlikely that the Ojibwa could have mustered enough trust in the Upper Great Lakes, to enter into an agreement with the British (which would also have tied them to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy).

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[523] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 30.
[524] Ibid, 30.
[525] Russell Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, 17-18.
[526] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 22.

That the British had made it so far into the Great Lakes, however, was cause for concern for the French. Unwilling to assist in a conflict between Indigenous peoples, the French quickly sought to defend the Great Lakes from English incursions. After this English threat, the French launched northern offensives, which led to the French's capture of the Hudson's Bay Company posts in 1686; a decisive action which effectively ended the colonial-participation of this conflict on the Great Lakes, by 1687.[527] With this victory, the French had bought themselves sometime in the *Pays D'en Haut* by delaying the trajectory of the Hudson's Bay Company. More than this, the 1686 attack the French to raid on British possessions in 1686, led to a mass-amount of beaver pelts in Paris. Allowing the French to continue their policy of disinterest towards the Indigenous populations. After this victory over the British, the French then began to close trade posts in the interior, as a result of this surplus gained from the British.[528]

Through these actions, the French had once again proven themselves to be an unreliable partner at best (and more often as a complete a liability), so instead, the Anishinaabeg launched their own military campaigns. Simultaneous to the French offensives in 1686, the Ojibwa used the threat of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to organize massive counter-raids into the territory around Lake Huron. In this crucial moment in the 1680s, the Anishinaabeg were able to successfully pursue a policy of aggressive expansion; an expansion which saw the St. Mary's River become the centre of an Ojibwa Confederacy. Using the political authority that they had gained in the refugee triangle, the Ojibwa now gathered large multicultural raiding parties on the St. Mary's River, which led a decisive southern-push into the Lower Great Lakes.

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[527] Conrad Heidenreich, "The Changing Role of Natives in the Exploration of Canada", 36.
[528] Ibid, 36.

This led to a period of significant Ojibwa expansion, which saw them push the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to below Lake Ontario, and resulted in the settlement of the Ojibwa and refugees throughout these lands.[529] Significantly, Schmalz points to the mid-1680s as the point at which the Ojibwa military strategy went from defensive to offensive; which resulted in the largest known Indigenous confederation in North America (after contact with Europeans).[530] Ojibwa family ties were at the centre of this expansion, making the St. Mary's River an important centre of this resistance. As the northern groups pushed south, several groups of Anishinaabeg (including several Ojibwa and Passinaouek families specifically), remained in these southern territories, greatly expanding the political strength of the Ojibwa Confederacy.

The Ojibwa and their Indigenous allies, fought largely alone in this southern expansion along the northern bank of Lake Ontario (without significant support from New France). Accordingly, the battles that took place on these southern pitches were not recorded first-hand by Europeans, and are poorly understood. Schmalz writes that during the battles that took place in the Georgian Bay, "No Europeans seem to have participated in the major confrontations."[531] This southern-push came from a large confederation of Great Lakes people, but the Ojibwa, Odaawa, and Mississauga seemed to have played a leading, and dominant, role. After over three decades of war on the Georgian Bay and St. Mary's River regions, the Anishinaabeg had chosen their moment perfectly. From Baawitigong, the Anishinaabeg began to push south, into the northern limits of Lake Huron.[532] Schmalz describes the Ojibwa in the 1680s as “the most powerful of the northern Indians”.[533] The French Royal Commissioner to Canada in the 1690s, Bacqueville de LaPotherie, wrote of the Ojibwa that “they were the first to defeat the Iroquois [Haudenosaunee], who to the number of warriors came to take possession of one of the villages”.[534] Although the Ojibwa had sought French support, they demonstrated that it was not necessary to the Anishinaabeg’s continued authority on the Great Lakes.

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[529] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 18.
[530] Ibid, 20-22.
[531] Ibid, 20.
[532] Ibid., 18.

The northern groups spread out the Haudenosaunee forces, with theatres of warfare in territories which suited their northern skill sets: along the St. Mary’s River, Montreal River, along the Ottawa River, and at Mattawa; all won by Ojibwa forces, or their allies.[535] By 1699, the northern tribes had pushed as far south and east, as the Kingston region in southern Ontario, putting further pressure on the Haudenosaunee.[536] This full-scale press of indigenous forces (with no help from their French allies, beside the occasional supply of guns and ammunition) forced the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to sue for peace in 1700, which resulted in the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701. This treaty acknowledged the military victories of the Anishinaabeg (and the French), and worked to acknowledge the authority of the Anishinaabeg in the Great Lakes area.[537] This treaty not only ended hostilities between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishinaabeg, it also delayed British expansion into the region. Beyond their push into the south-eastern ecozones, the Ojibwa and their allies, also expanded into the northwest of the Great Lakes; engaging in a prolonged conflict with the Dakotas.[538]

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[533] Ibid, 20-21.

[534] La Potherie, Historie de Amérique septentrional, in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes: As Described by Nicolas Perrot, French Commandant in the Northwest; Bacqueville De LA Potherie, French Royal Commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marston* Vol. 1. (ed) Blair, Emma Helen, (University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 275, 280-281.

[535] Peter Schmalz, The Ojibway of Southern Ontario, 24.

[536] Keith Otterbein, *How War Began*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 212-214.

[537] Alain Beaulieu et Roland Viau, *La Grande Paix, Chronique d'une saga diplomatique* (Montréal, Éditions Libre Expression, 2001), 109-111.

[538] Alan D. McMilan, and Eldon Yellowhorn. *First peoples in Canada,* 108-109.

With this expansion, the Anishinaabeg (and their allies) now gained territorial-claims to the largest Indigenous Confederacy in post-contact North America; with Baawitigong serving as one of its most central, and important, villages.[539] This new territory also allowed the refugee triangle to further disperse, and resettle a wide variety of Great Lakes ecozones; with the St. Mary's River at the geographical centre of this territory. This expansion saw Ojibwa groups settling villages in the Lower Great Lakes, Georgian Bay, in North-western Ontario, around the Lake of the Woods, and into northern Minnesota.[540] This Great Lakes trade network once again resembled the Wendat's trade network of the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries. Effectively connecting the population at Baawitigong, to the arctic populations around James' Bay, the western prairies people, the southern agriculturalists, the fishing populations along the St. Lawrence seaway, and the nomadic woodlands people of the Upper Great Lakes. Control of Lower Great Lakes, allowed the northern tribes more consistent access to agricultural goods; where the northern territories allowed them to maintain their important position in the fur trade.

The Anishinaabeg populations not only held important villages throughout this network (e.g., Baawitigong, Mackinac, Chequamegon), but now Anishinaabeg leaders were also playing a large part in its *administration* of this confederation, and its trade networks; seeing Anishinaabe representation at villages throughout the region. The start of the eighteenth century in fact, marked the beginning of an Ojibwa Empire which extended across the Great Lakes and beyond; from south-eastern Ontario, to the plains to the north-west of the Great Lakes. Although this was not an *empire* in the European conceptualization of centralized leadership, the Anishinaabeg were able to bring together large indigenous populations by encouraging a sense of early *pan-Indianism*; based on cultural similarities, and common concerns (often in the face of European infringements). The large territory controlled by the Anishinaabeg alliances by 1700, meant that agriculture could be re-established on the Georgian Bay, and pressure was temporarily taken off of the exhausted lands in Michigan. This expanded territory helped re-open the Great Lakes trade network, and to re-establish the traditional lifeway patterns of many groups: It enabled the Great Lakes people to return to a more normalized society. More than this, the Anishinaabeg had sent a clear message to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, French, and the British; that southern armies could not hope the take the north, from those with knowledge and skill sets specific to its geography.

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[539] Ibid, 3

[540] This worked to increase Anishinaabeg -Dakota tensions for the next century, but these tensions now occurred to the west of the Great Lakes region. (see: Neal Ferris, Ian Kenyon, Rosemary Prevec, and Carl Murphy. "Bellamy: A Late Historic Ojibwa Habitation." *Ontario Archaeology* 44 (1985), 3).

Section V: The Ojibwa Golden Age, and the Return to Traditional Lifeways on the Upper Great Lakes, amidst colonial tensions (1701-1710)

In 1701, the people of the Great Lakes met in Montreal to recognize the new political structure of the region after the Anishinaabeg's expansion.[541] This Anishinaabeg Confederacy had now proven that it was able to provide a unified front against Indigenous pressures and to European intervention; and Baawitigong has remained an important capital of this resistance to colonization, continuing to the present day. At this time, the Indigenous populations still greatly outnumbered the population of New France. This point would be further driven home in 1701, when Montreal (which had only 1200 residents) would watch the arrival of 1300 Indigenous Americans from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence region, who had travelled to sign this Treaty.[542] While the written records suggest that the French representatives controlled this treaty signing, Indigenous populations greatly outnumbered the French colony. Of these 1300 Indigenous delegates, Gilles Harvard suggests that the Great Lakes Nations, accounted for between 700 and 800 of these representative, travelling in 200 hundred canoes: and representing around thirty different nations.[543] The ceremonies surrounding the treaty were also conducted in a more *Indigenous* manner than it was *European.* This treaty was incredibly significant, and the result of nearly a century of political shifts in the region; this legislation, now allowed the Anishinaabeg greater negotiating power with French, English, and other Indigenous forces.

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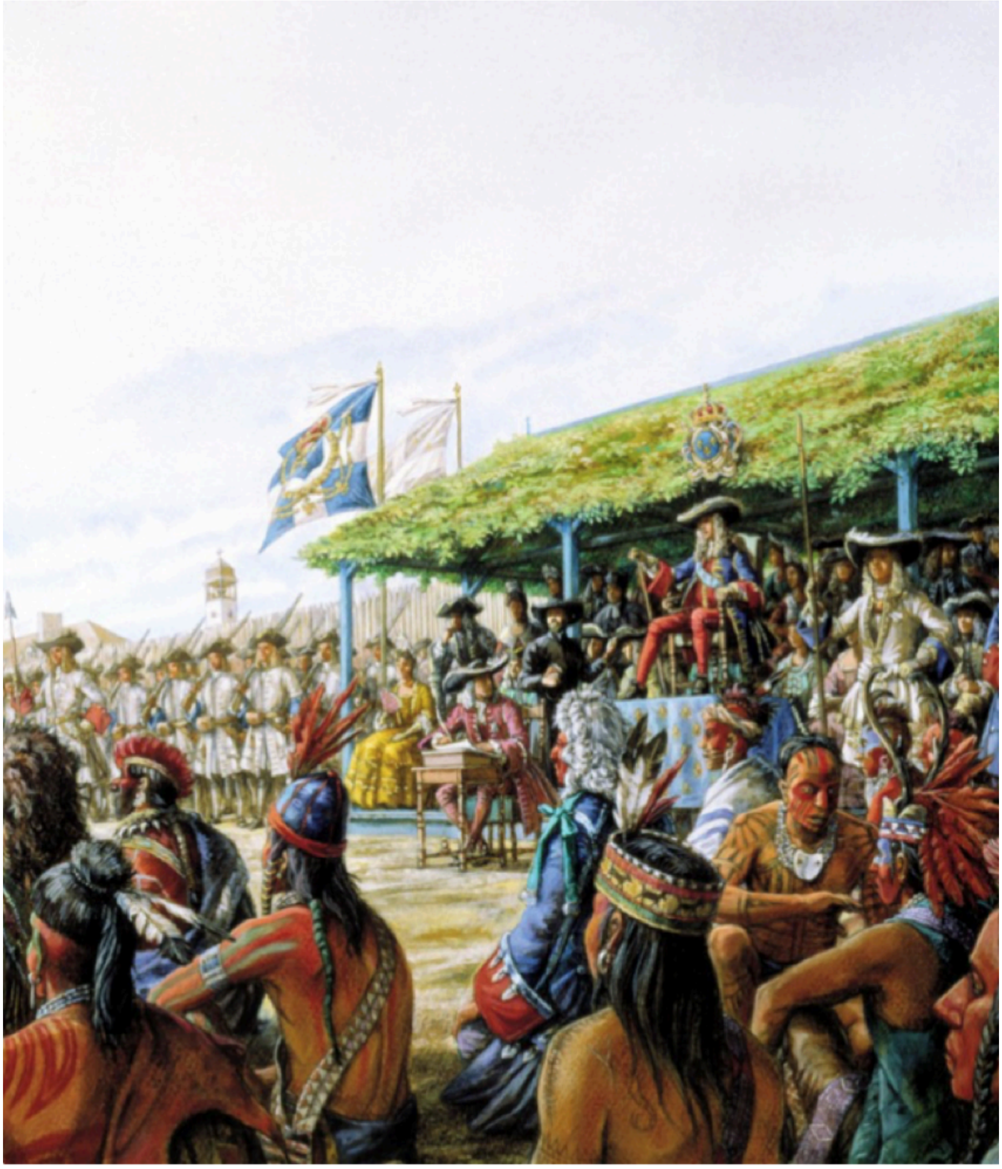
[541] See: "La Place de la Grande-Paix-de-Montréal est situé sur la place D'Youville, das le Vieux-Montréal, là où se trouve l'obélisque qui rend hommage aux fondateurs de Ville-Marie", by Francis Back (Pointe-à-Callière Montréal Archaeology and History Complex).

[542] Heidi Bohaker, "Nindoodemag", 23.

[543] Gilles Harvard, *Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2001), 119-120.



“La Place de la Grande-Paix-de-Montréal est situé sur la place D’Youville das le Vieux-Montréal, là où se trouve l’obélisque qui rend hommage aux fondateurs de Ville-Marie”, by Francis Back (Pointe-à-Callière Montréal Archaeology and History Complex).

The peace treaty was concluded in Montreal between representatives of Ojibwa, Odaawa, Boodwaadmii (representing themselves and western allies in Wisconsin tribes), Wendat, Miami, Fox and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.[544] The ceremonies of 1701 lasted two weeks, and included traditional Native American ceremonies and celebrations, within a larger amalgamated negotiation process; which resulted in European legislation.[545] After nearly four years of negotiations between these forces, an agreement was finally reached in 1701.[546] The document was *signed* by First Nations headmen, with 38/39 pictographic signatures which represent 25 distinct indigenous political entities (the pictographs and political groups do not directly correspond).[547] Bohaker has written that: “the relationships forged and strengthened as a result of this treaty would shape the region’s political history for many years to come.”[548] Harvard has highlighted how it set the foundation for the diplomatic history of North America into the eighteenth century.[549]

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[544] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 23.

This was a negotiation process that included at least over twenty-five (and as many as forty), distinct entities, with different relationships to each other. Decades of pressure from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy on the Lake Huron coast, had forced Anishinaabeg expansion, and the Haudenosaunee were now forced to accept peace terms.[550] The treaty itself, highlights the importance of Anishinaabe families in the formation (and continuation) of this peace pact; as well as their political importance to the displaced Lower Great Lakes tribes. The terms of this peace treaty were ratified on 4 August 1701, including the *signatures* of Native American and French plenipotentiaries, but this agreement was further solidified through wampum exchanges and smoking ceremonies.[551] As Bohaker wrote “These pictographs of the Great Peace of Montreal being to the foreground the challenge of understanding Native American collective identities.”[552] This is particularly clear on the Great Lakes, where almost of century of European presence, warfare with the Haudenosaunee, and migrations, had dramatically blurred cultural distinctions.

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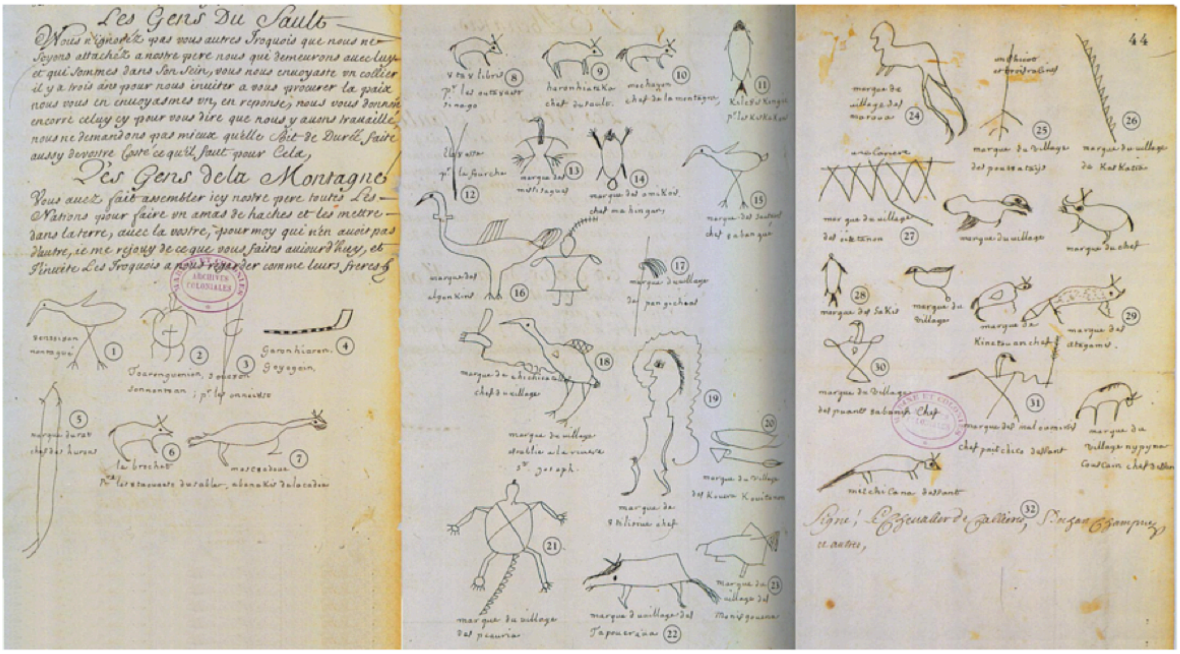
[545] Heidi Bohaker, ""Nindoodemag": The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006), 23-24.
[546] Gilles Harvard, *Great Peace of Montreal*, 108-109.
[547] Great Peace of Montreal (1701).
[548] Heidi Bohaker, "Nindoodemag", 23.
[549] Gilles Harvard*, Great Peace of Montreal of 1701*, 108-109.
[550] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, 31.
[551] “The Great Peace of Montreal (1701)”.
[552] Heidi Bohaker, "Nindoodemag", 24.



Les Gens Du Sault

Nous n'ignorez pas vous autres Iroquois que nous ne Soyons attachéz a nostre pere nous qui demeurons auec luy et qui Sommes dans Son Sein, vous nous enuoyaste vn collier il y a trois ans pour nous inuiter a vous procurer la paix nous vous en enuoyasmes vn, en reponse, nous vous donnons encorre celuy cy pour vous dire que nous y auons trauaillé, nous ne demandons pas mieux qu'elle Soit de Durée, faire aussy de vostre Costé ce qu'il faut pour Cela,

Les Gens de la Montagne

Vous auez fait assembler icy nostre pere toutes Les Nations pour faire vn amas de haches et les mettre dans la terre, auec la vostre, pour moy qui n'en auois pas d'autre, ie me rejouy de ce que vous faites aujourd'huy, et J'inuite Les Iroquois a nous regarder comme leurs freres.

"The Great Peace of Montreal (1701)", in Alain Beaulieu et Roland Viau, *La Grande Paix, Chronique d'une saga diplomatique* (Montréal, Éditions Libre Expression, 2001), 109-111.

After nearly a century of calamity, it is difficult to label the eighteenth century as a "Golden Period" for any Indigenous group in North America; especially when compared to pre-contact years. Yet, Schmalz's view of the period between 1701-1759 as a "Golden Age" in Ojibwa post-contact history is not unfounded.[553] This treaty marked the shift to a new power balance in the Great Lakes, and as Peter Schmalz has concluded of the 1701 negotiations: "the Ojibwa and the English won, and the French and the Iroquois lost."[554] The result, as Schmalz has written was: "that the Ojibwa, not the French, determined much of the policy in the Great Lakes."[555] Writing of the Ojibwa, that: "They were masters of the Great Lakes region and determined to a considerable extent the destiny of other aboriginal groups as well as Europeans who entered their territory."[556] While the Anishinaabeg controlled this territory, they did so according to their own conception of leadership. They did not issue orders, but relied on their reputation as leaders, in order to influence political decisions on the Great Lakes (and beyond). This political leadership was responsive to changing political realities, and worked to effectively *govern* the Upper Great Lakes for over a century.

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[553] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, x, xi, 18.
[554] Ibid, 31.
[555] Ibid, 33.
[556] Ibid, x.

Section VI: France's Legacy on the St. Mary's River: Jesuits, Fur Traders, and the Ethno-Genesis on the Métis (1710-1750)

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, many of the northern Anishinaabe tribes had returned to their pre-contact territories (Baawitigong, Mackinac, and Chequamegon), and continued their traditional northern lifeways; while others remained settled further south an adopted some agriculture into their lifeways. After the events of 1701, various Anishinaabeg communities moved south, and settled around Ponchartrain for a period which gave them access to European trade goods from the French at Detroit, and from the English at Albany.[557] This helped replace the agricultural output of the former Wendat Confederacy, within the established Great Lakes trade network. The people on the St. Mary's River, now traded the bulk of their excess furs to the French (or English), rather than the Wendat (and other southern Indigenous groups); but the Anishinaabeg's lifeways, and traditions, remained very much in intact. A century of direct contact with Europeans, had however, taught the Anishinaabeg how to spot the warning signs in changes to European policies. Such a shift had come from the Treaty of Utrecht (1713-1715), which had begun changing the European power balance on the east coast of North America. By the 1730s, reverberations from this increased English-speaking presence (and legislation), could be felt on the Upper Great Lakes. It began a period of renewed pressure from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and British, which saw their French allies' position weakened in North America. Fearing British intentions, the Anishinaabeg now sought to help their French allies strengthen their position on the Great Lakes; they allowed the French to settle trading posts further north, and worked to actively delay British expansion in the lower Great Lakes.

The establishment of Pontchartrain in 1701 marked a shift in French policy, rather than living with the Indigenous populations, they believed it would be more cost efficient to have the Natives come to a region they believed they could control. Unlike the older posts on the St. Mary's River, Mackinac Island, Port Huron, St. Ignace, and Niles (with forts at: Lake Nipigon, two to the north of Lake Superior, and the Albany River), Detroit could more reliably support the agriculture necessary for long-term European subsistence and settlement.[558] The Anishinaabeg further demonstrated their control of the Great Lakes by defending this French fort at Detroit in the early decades of the eighteenth-century. This fort allowed many Anishinaabe groups to remain in this southern region; enabling them to rely on a combination of agriculture and trade.[559]

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[557] Ibid, 23.

Even though arable land was available to them, not every Anishinaabeg group wished to farm, and in 1712 many Anishinaabeg groups returned to their northern homeland on the Upper Great Lakes. Bellfy suggests that growing English pressure in the region, led the French to attempt to coax their native allies away from the English, by re-establishing operations at the more northern Mackinac in 1712.[560] Whether this was entirely a French decision, or suggested by the northern tribes is harder to discern. These internal divisions recorded by contemporary French observers, may have been a sign that the northern tribes were simply returning to the traditional village-structured leadership they relied upon prior to the 1650s. Just as had happened during the Seven Fires Migration, in the eighteenth-century, different villages made the decision to settle in different territories based on the villagers' wishes. Some wished to remain in the south to adopt agriculture, and carry-on direct trade with Europeans; while others preferred to return north, or travel to the northwest. The lack of literate traders in the Upper Great Lakes during this period, makes the political structure of the Upper Great Lakes unclear during this period.

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[558] Ibid, 23-24.
[559] Philip Bellfy, Three Fires Unity, 24.
[560] Ibid, 28.

The trend across the Great Lakes, was that the Great Peace of Montreal (1701) and massive Anishinaabe territory, now allowed the populations (previously squeezed together) on the Upper Great Lakes to disperse and reform smaller villages in the north; seeing the return to larger southern villages on the lower Great Lakes, and dispersed smaller northern villages.[561] The return north for these Anishinaabe groups in 1712 was however, timely, as in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht would honour the HBC's original charter; *granting British control* in all lands that were north of the Arctic-Atlantic Watershed (without any official representation from First Nations communities).[562] This treaty saw the French *cede* some of their territory on the east coast, but *maintain possession* of the Great Lakes region. Historian Joseph Peyser has highlighted that how this treaty worked to focus the French fur trade efforts around the St. Mary's River/ Mackinac region.[563] But throughout it all, the Anishinaabeg were able to use their newly gained political authority throughout the Great Lakes, to re-establish the Great Lakes trade network, and grow their *empire*.

Part of the Anishinaabeg's strategy was to increase French economic interests in the region, by increasing production in the fur trade. This era saw the fur trade develop to include voyageurs, traders, missionaries, and posted soldiers, to establish these economic pursuits.[564] The Anishinaabeg even allowed the French to pursue other economic practices in the region. Krause identifies the period between 1725 and 1740, as a time when "a major French effort was inaugurated to attempt mining on a commercial scale."[565] Commenting that "This episode has often been passed over lightly in historical accounts of the region, but it resulted in some important steps being taken, both practical and theoretical, which were to advance the knowledge of the district significantly."[566] These efforts marked a slightly different stance in the French policy in the Upper Great Lakes, in order to strengthen their imperial claims in the region.

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[561] Ibid, 24.
[562] Dieter K. Buse, and Graeme Stewart Mount. *Come on Over!: Northeastern Ontario A to Z* (Scrivener Press, 2011), 85.
[563] Joseph Peyser, *Jacques Legardeur De Saint-Pierre: Officer, Gentleman, Entrepreneur* (MSU Press, 2012), 1.
[564] Ibid, 5.
[565] David J. Krause, *The Making of a Mining District: Keweenaw native copper 1500-1870* (Wayne State University Press, 1992.), 34.

The Anishinaabeg likely allowed the French to pursue these efforts, with the belief that increased French presence would lessen British interests in the region. The French were now seen as a necessary ally, and in 1739 the people of the Niswi-mishkodewin (Three Fires Confederacy), Nippissing, and Sioux would travel south to assist the French forces against the Chickasaw.[567] But some Anishinaabeg-French tensions were also growing as some of the Ojibwa and Odaawa travelled from the Huron borderlands (from Mackinac to Saginaw Bay), to participate with the Wendat and Miami in an unsuccessful conspiracy against the French at Detroit.[568] Despite these tensions, the French and Anishinaabeg ultimately recognized that their alliance was the key to resisting English colonial pressure. This allowed the Anishinaabeg and French to effectively check British interests on the Great Lakes. It was a different story elsewhere in North America however, and these tensions were about to directly impact the Upper Great Lakes populations. In the midst of the British expansion of the mid-eighteenth century, the French population of New France was seriously threatened.

In 1750, the French population of Quebec, Montreal, and the St. Lawrence River had a population of less than 50,000 people.[569] In comparison to the British colonies which had a population of over 1,500,000 people.[570] This growing British population, worked to influence the policies of the Anishinaabeg and the French. The French recognized that their continued presence in the country was now threatened by the British, and they (once again) looked to their Anishinaabeg allies in the Upper Great Lakes, in order to counteract the British threat. For example, in 1749 the French invited their allies to a gift giving ceremony to sort out a number of disputes, before asking them to join a French land claim expedition into the Ohio Valley. An expedition, the French argued, that would help to resist English-speaking encroachment, and ensure French (and therefore Indigenous) interests in the west.[571]

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[566] This is perhaps an understatement, as beyond Krause's work, and the primary source-base (which he uses), there is very little on this topic. This limited historiography includes: WF Pett. "A Forgotten Village." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* (1928), 3-18; Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Copper Mining in the Early Northwest", 146-159; and David J Krause, *The Making of a Mining District*, 34.

[567] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 28-30.

[568] Ibid, 30.

[569] Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: its causes, course and consequences* (Routledge, 2012), 5.

[570] Ibid, 5.

The French also took various other steps to ensure their continued alliance with the Upper Great Lakes Anishinaabeg during the 1750s. To ensure their continued interests in the region, the French established eleven fur posts (sold to the highest bidder on fixed-term contracts), which were virtual monopolies, in theory. The French were somewhat flexible in the establishment of their fur trading interests, relying predominantly on trade establishments around the Great Lakes. This form of fur post was established on Sault Ste. Marie, and would be run by the Cadot family; but directly reliant on the populations around Baawitigong.[572] The Fur Post at Sault Ste. Marie was established in order to re-establish French land claims in the territory made during the previous century. This saw Louis Legardeur de Repentigny and Louis de Bonne de Missègle granted a seigneury at the rapids of the St. Mary's River (modern day Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan) in 1750. Ill-suited to life in the region, Legardeur and Bonne then engaged Cadot who accompanied them to the rapids in 1750. They erected a small fort in 1751, before Repentigny left the region and Cadot remained as his agent.[573]

These posts in reality, allowed for the continuation of established trade practices on the Upper Great Lakes. The general Anishinaabeg-French relationship on the Upper Great Lakes was further demonstrated by the Cadot family. The Cadot family is an example of an influential Métis family in the region, with family ties to the Anishinaabeg, and to New France (whose ancestors now have ties to the Metis communities at Sault Ste. Marie, and Red River). Cadot carried on a relationship with a Nippissing woman named Athanasie (Anastasie), who was related to the chief Madjeckewiss. The Cadots, carried on a tradition of mixed-raced families (French and Anishinaabeg) that had been occurring on the Great Lakes for over a century. By the end of the seventeenth century however, some European men chose to remain in the region with their wife and children. These couples combined their cultural traditions to create a distinct multi-cultural family; the Métis.

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[571] Philip Bellfy*, Three Fires Unity*, 28-29.
[572] Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 3.
[573] Jean-Baptiste Cadot (Cadotte) (baptized Dec. 5, 1723- died during or after 1803), was the son of fur trader Jean-François Cadot and Marie-Josephe Protean. Following in the footsteps of his father who travelled to Michilimackinac in 1717, he pursued the fur trade, entering the Upper Great Lakes at 19 years old, after he engaged himself to Jean-Baptiste-Nicholas-Roch de Ramezay Cadot entered Nipigon country. (see: Jean-Baptiste Cadot-from: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cadot_jean_baptiste_5E.html).

Like many relationships between Anishinaabeg women and French trades in the later seventeenth century, Cadot and Athanasie remained together for years, and raised their children in a distinctly multicultural manner on the banks of the St. Mary's River.[574] The couple resided in the fort on the rapids: "The fort is seated on a beautiful plain, of about two miles in circumference, and covered with luxuriant grass; and, within sight are the rapids in the strait, distant half a mile."[575] Although this family managed the static holdings, which made up the French seigneury at the rapids (living in the fort, trading for pelts, and managing farmland), they relied heavily upon Anishinaabeg lifeways on the river.[576] Cadot and Athanasie both maintained many aspects of the local Anishinaabeg lifestyles and culture. They spoke Anishinaabemowin at home (rather than French), and relied on fishing, hunting, gathering, and producing maple sugar to supplement their subsistence. Importantly, they embraced skills from both backgrounds to cater their lifeways to the St. Mary's River (during their own time), which would become a common trend amongst the Métis.

The couple's oratory skills, personal connections, and role in the community, even led to their gaining a following of their own band at the rapids (which had about fifty warriors).

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[574] Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 3.

[575] Arthur J. Ray and Kenichi Matsui, "Fur Trade and Métis Settlements in the Lake Superior Region, 1820-50" Report for the Métis Nation of Ontario, (June 30, 2011), 101-102.

[576] Ibid.

Their holdings also worked to establish a year-round trade point on the Upper Great Lakes; that was controlled by people who understood the customs, traditions, and people of the region. While the Cadots represent only one (of the many) Métis families on Baawitigong in the eighteenth century, their experiences are representative of (and were informative to) the French-Anishinaabeg relationship throughout the Upper Great Lakes.

After over a century, the French, had realized that the key to maintaining their relationships in the Upper Great Lakes was not through cultural domination, being authoritarian, or rebuilding the region in France's image. Warren described the relationship between the Ojibwa and the French, since their early presence in the Upper Great Lakes. Writing that:

> The Ojibways learned to love the French people, for the Frenchmen, possessing a character of great plasticity, easily assimilated themselves to the customs and mode of life of their red brethren. They respected their religious rites and ceremonies, and they "never laughed" at their superstitious beliefs and ignorance. They fully appreciated, and honored accordingly, the many noble traits and qualities possessed by these bold and wild hunters of the forest. It is an acknowledged fact, that no nation of whites have ever succeeded so well in gaining the love and confidence of the red men, as the Franks.[577]

Compared to "the English and Americans, who, as a general truth, have made Mammon their God, and have looked on the Indian but as a tool or means of obtaining riches, and other equally mercenary ends."[578] As Cadot demonstrates, many French individuals were willing to adapt to the customs of the country.

For the most part, Anishinaabeg had been able to dictate the role of the French in the Upper Great Lakes. More than just control French expansion into the region, the Anishinaabeg had also been able to use this relationship with the French to help them gain influence amongst the Wendat refugees, and as an ally in their battles against the

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[577] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 133.
[578] Ibid, 134.

Haudenosaunee.[579] After a century of French presence on the Great Lakes, there were likely a number of mixed-raced families; who by the 1750s and 1760s, had established distinct Métis traits. These Métis families kept some aspects of French culture and land-use patterns, but they lived largely according to the Anishinaabeg's legal structures, spiritual beliefs, and social customs.

Significantly, by shouldering many of the middleman, and labour, positions in the fur trade, the Métis worked to check French presence in the region. Métis middlemen, allowed the Anishinaabeg to participate in the European fur trade, without having to sacrifice their own traditional practices. By 1750, these Métis families were able to help Anishinaabe hunters receive better prices for their furs. While the relationship with the French had not always been an easy one, it had been one which served a purpose, and had resulted in meaningful connections, family formation, and the distinct Métis identity on the St. Mary's River. Even in the face of French decline, the Ojibwa generally lived up to the terms of their alliance with the French, and continued to embrace Métis families on the banks of the St. Mary's River. The Métis' presence, enabled the Anishinaabeg to check other European migration into the Upper Great Lakes throughout the early eighteenth century.

While the French government, Jesuits, and members of the upper-classes, had all demonstrated that they were less than concerned for the welfare of the people of Upper Great Lakes. Marked on the St. Mary's River, by the remnants of LaRonde's ship-making endeavours and a decrepit ruin of the Jesuit mission. The lower-class Frenchmen that resided on the St Mary's River (who were willing to live according to the customs of the country), had proven themselves strong allies, friends, and trade partners. These men now saw the St.

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[579] The Anishinaabeg had used the Jesuits as diplomats to help call ceasefires with the Dakotas, and the French had been suppliers of European goods.

Mary's River region as home, but lived according to the customs of the region. By the 1750s, the St. Mary's River had some signs of this Métis influence, with a Métis community, a handful of log cabins, fur trade stations, and the Cadots' fort.

Overall however, this was a region that was overwhelmingly Anishinaabeg in its demographics, cultural practices, political structures, belief systems, and lifeways; with a small population of Europeans/Métis descendants, who were willing to live according to these expectations. As a consequence, in these years (1701-1750) the culture of the St. Mary's River was one of relatively peaceful and friendly co-existence between the Anishinaabeg and French. Things, however, were about to change. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the population of the Great Lakes once again found themselves facing a nearly impossible situation, as tensions rose between the French and English, worsened by the emergence of the United States. Into the 1750s, a larger population of British settlers (and a new economic approach), began to infiltrate the Upper Great Lakes region. In the face of these growing colonial tensions in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Anishinaabeg were forced to fight for their territory (land protected by the 1701 Treaty), against one of the signatories of this treaty. The middle of the eighteenth century would begin a period of warfare, which sought to divide this land amongst colonial forces. The Anishinaabeg found themselves regularly fighting in colonial conflicts, in order to protect their rights and territory; only to find themselves ignored completely in the settlement of these conflicts.

Chapter 5: “The Sixty Years’ War for the Great Lakes”: How Baawitigong Shaped Modern North America: (1750-1812)

Overview

The eighteenth century began with the Great Peace of Montreal (1701), which recognized Anishinaabeg expansion, pacified the Haudenosaunee threat, and ushered in what many refer to as the “Ojibwa Golden Age” (1701-1750). This peace proved to be a temporary one (that only lasted five decades), but still remains as an important example of how Indigenous populations and Europeans could inhabit the same terrain; when the latter were willing to respect the customs of the country. This relationship helped make the Anishinaabeg (and their allies), the most powerful political (and military) entity on the Great Lakes. Anishinaabeg control of such an extended region, meant that they were able to maintain their traditional trade routes across the Great Lakes; and were able to accommodate new European items into this trade network. But as the population of English-speaking settlers rose in North America (into the middle of the eighteenth century), the Anishinaabeg began to feel the threat of European colonization closer to home. Historian David Curtis Skagss, has described this period (1754-1814) as “The Sixty Years’ War for the Great Lakes.”[580] A period, which affected legislation, economic practices, land-use patterns, and alliances on the St. Mary’s River, in increasingly detrimental ways. Yet throughout six decades of almost continuous warfare against colonial forces, the Anishinaabeg would never lose a war on the Upper Great Lakes, nor did they surrendered their position on Baawitigong. Baawitigong as a case study, demonstrates how the Anishinaabeg’s efforts during this period (1750-1815), helped to shape modern North America; and the extent that colonial governments went to, in order to separate Indigenous populations from their traditional territories.

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[580] David Curtis Skagss, and Larry L. Nelson, eds. *Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes, 1754- 1814* (MSU Press, 2012, 1).

Section I: The Fight for the Great Lakes: The Seven Years War, and Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Revolution on the St. Mary's River and Mackinac (1750-1763)

The balance the Anishinaabeg had achieved with the French on the Great Lakes worked, because it allowed the Anishinaabeg to retain the political authority. But into the 1750s, British immigration now placed this power balance in jeopardy. In 1750, the French population of Quebec, Montreal, and the St. Lawrence River was under 50,000.[581] In comparison, the British colonies had a population of over 1,500,000 people.[582] The large English-speaking settlements worried the Ojibwa, who generally agreed with the sentiment of a French official in the upper Ohio, who, in 1753, warned them the British intended to: "plant all your country and drive you back so that in a little time you will have no land. It is not so with us; though we build trading houses on your land, we do not plant it."[583] The French's willingness to adapt to the customs of the country (rather than shape the land for a European lifestyle and large-scale settlement), is what Richard Middleton has described as "the crucial difference between the two European powers".[584] Once again, colonial conflicts forced the Ojibwa to adjust their political strategy as the French proved cowed by the British; and this time, the Anishinaabeg aligned themselves firmly to the French, (probably) because the French respected their sovereignty and political authority on the Great Lakes region.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian Wars in 1754, the Anishinaabeg aligned themselves with French forces, and directed all their resources to repel the impending British threat. Warren notes, that in the colonial dispute between the French and the English, the Ojibwa participated "in almost every battle which was fought during these bloody wars, [and they fought] on the side of the French, against the English."[585] Worried about the consequences of British expansion, the Northern Tribes temporarily engaged in a European-styled campaign alongside the French. Meaning that, the Anishinaabeg on the St. Mary's River were forced to raid far beyond the banks of the Great Lakes, in order to assure their position on these Lakes. The northern tribes (whose hunting and fishing skills translated well into in battle skills), quickly became one of the most significant military forces in North America assisting the French in theatres throughout the northeast of the continent.[586]

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[581] Richard Middleton, Pontiac's War: its causes, course and consequences (Routledge, 2012), 5.
[582] Ibid, 5.
[583] Ibid, 5.
[584] Ibid, 5.
[585] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 195-196.

The people from the Great Lakes region found themselves far from home for long periods of time, fighting for the French in Maryland, Connecticut, Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, and Quebec.[587] This was not the way that the Anishinaabeg traditionally fought wars, but it was seen as a necessary strategy to counter the British tactics by the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (1759). As Warren explains:

> Induced by their predilection to the French people, … the eastern section of the Ojibway tribe residing at Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, and the shores of Lake Huron, joined their warriors with the army of the French, and freely rallied to their support at Detroit, Fort Du Quesne, Niagara, Montreal, and Quebec…A party of the tribe from their central village of La Pointe on Lake Superior, even proceeded nigh two thousand miles to Quebec, under their celebrated war chief Ma-mong-ese-da, and fought in the ranks of Montcalm on the plains of Abraham, when this ill-fated general and the heroic Wolfe received their death wounds.[588]

Across the east coast of the continent, they established a reputation as skilled and determined warriors. This adoption of European-style pushes led to several issues for the tribes, including deaths on the battlefield, which reduced the population of Anishinaabeg warriors; and during their long absences, birth rates on the Great Lakes decreased.

Being constantly on the warpath also left little time for the acquisition of food and other supplies for winter. Those who returned from the raids had already sacrificed several months of food harvesting, so these veterans and their families faced a lean winter or two. At the September Conference in 1759, Odaawa Chief Mehennah told the French: “we must now depend upon you for supplies and hope you will consider our necessities at this time.”[589] This was an entirely reasonable request, as engaging in a prolonged push with the Europeans necessitated European-like supply lines, and Europeans arms. Mehennah explained to the French that this was a temporary measure, and assured them: “When we get settled to our hunting and planting again, we will be able to purchase necessaries for our families and give you less trouble than we do at this time.”[590] The Anishinaabeg had engaged in this war, in order to protect their traditional lifeways, but the surrender of the French force at the Plains of Abraham (on 13 September 1759), worked to place the traditional practices of the Great Lakes tribes in serious peril.

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[586] McDonnell, Michael. *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (Hill and Wang, 2015), 124-127.

[587] Phillip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 30.

[588] Ibid, 195-196.

After over a century of negotiating their relationship with the French, the Anishinaabeg were now faced with the prospect of a non-consensual relationship with the British; a prospect, which they resisted with force. Even the French’s surrender at Montreal (on September 8, 1760) did not stop this war for the Anishinaabeg. As Warren explains, this is: “the time when the French nation were forced to strike their colours and cede their possessions in America (comprising the great chain of lakes), into the hands of the British Empire.”[591] The British initially approached the Great Lakes region (including the St. Mary’s River) as their right of conquest (by virtue of the 1671 French land claim on the St. Mary’s River).[592] The British believed that French land claims on the St. Mary’s River now granted them rights over the territory. However (as Warren’s account demonstrates), the Anishinaabeg saw themselves as the rightful stewards of the region over the French, and certainly did not recognize the British’s claims.[593]

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[589] Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 11.
[590] Ibid, 11.
[591] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 195.
[592] Howard Henry Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Wayne State University Press, 1994), xx-xxi.
[593] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 131.

Despite the French's written claims on Baawitigong (largely in the form of Jesuit accounts), the French were merely allowed to visit and trade (and only if they conducted themselves appropriately). Legally, this was a land claim that was seemingly trumped by the terms of the Great Peace of Montreal (1701); a document, which the British themselves had signed. Historian Keith Widder has written of the period between 1760-1763 on the Upper Great Lakes, beginning with the first British presence on Mackinac in 1761. He described how Indigenous populations, alongside the "French, and British struggled to redefine the economic and diplomatic boundaries within a vast borderland surrounding Michilimackinac in the aftermath of the British conquest of Canada."[594] From the Native American representatives, the British Agent Croghan, recorded that the Indigenous populations "don't look on themselves under any obligations to us [the British], but rather think we are obliged to them for letting us reside in their country."[595] Ignorant to this relationship between the Anishinaabeg and French, the British attempted to institute their own legal structures and customs to the region.

The Anishinaabeg had a distinctively different interpretation to the French's surrender (than the British did), and they would continue to assert their authority in the Upper Great Lakes. The Anishinaabeg were understandably livid about the initial surrender by the French (in 1760), and even more livid about the British claims of authority on the Great Lakes (especially after the Treaty of Paris in February of 1763). As Bellfy explains, "For the first time in their history, the Anishnaabeg—no strangers to war in defense of their homeland—faced the loss of their territory to a European power, a European power, moreover, that had never militarily defeated them."[596] In response to this threat, Obwandiyag (Pontiac) and his brother Neolin, gained mass support throughout the Great Lakes in opposing the British.

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[594] Keith R. Widder, "After the conquest: Michilimackinac, a borderland in transition, 1760-1763." *The Michigan Historical Review* (2008), 43.

[595] Thwaites, Reuben Gold. "A Selection of George Croghan's Letters and Journals Relating to Tours into the Western Country, November 16, 1750-November 1765." *Early Western Travels* (1846): 1748-1846., 172.

By suggesting that the British posed a common threat to all Indigenous lifeways, the brothers advocated a return to pre-contact subsistence patterns, denounced the use of alcohol, and argued Native communities needed to wean themselves off the new reliance on European trade goods.[597] Obwandiyag (Pontiac) and Neolin were trying to create a cultural shift back to traditional ways. As Stoehr notes, this movement was also an early form of the environmental protection movement.[598] Describing how "Neolin wove resistance and religious revival together when he predicted a coming war through which the newly purified First Nations would finally effect complete isolation and independence from European society."[599] Warren describes Pontiac's Rebellion more simply. [It was the]: "most important event in Ojibway history."[600] Pontiac believed he had figured out a way to ensure that the animal populations could be restored, and the British threat reversed, but it was an ambitious plan, calling for many tribes to work together; and relying on the strength of their traditional belief systems, social structures, and lifeways.[601]

The structure of Obwandiyag's Rebellion was beyond what Europeans believed the Indigenous tribes were capable of organizing. Many of these resistance fighters however, were veterans of the French-British conflict, and quickly incorporated aspects of European chain-of-command into the political structure of the Great Lakes.[602] Well versed in European tactics, Obwandiyag's force relied on some European strategy as well as Native American war tactics.[603] These targeted the weaknesses of the British in the Upper Great Lakes, and their inability to survive unassisted in the region. Although the British were eager to secure their *territory* in the Upper Great Lakes, they did not find it easy to do so after France's surrender; nor were they well suited to life in the region.

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[596] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 34.

[597] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard: Neolin, Tenskwatawa, and the Anishinabeg Methodist Movement, in *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes borders and borderlands* (ed) Karl Hele (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 180.

[598] Ibid, 180.

[599] Ibid, 180.

[600] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 210.

[601] David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's uprising and the fate of the British Empire in North America*. Vol. 7. (University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 95-98.

[602] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Salvation from empire: the roots of Anishinabe Christianity in Upper Canada." (PhD dissertation; Queen's University, 2008), 5.

The British echoed the French model of use of the Fur/European-goods trade, as an incentive to form a relationship. But the British attempted to dictate the terms of this relationship to the populations of the Upper Great Lakes, and these traders were accompanied by a British military force, that was eager to take over French interests in the Upper Great Lakes region; without understanding how the French had conducted business in the region. One of these early British traders was Alexander Henry, who arrived in 1761 and recorded his time in the region. During this period, Obwandiyag's efforts remained subtle, as to not unnecessarily provoke British forces. In fact, the British trader Alexander Henry, appears to have witnessed one such action at Sault Ste. Marie without linking it to his experience of Pontiac's Rebellion the next year. Although the military resistance was initially subtle, Anishinaabeg leaders made it clear to the British, who controlled the region.

Before arriving on the St. Mary's River in 1762, Henry stopped on Mackinac Island where the anti-British sentiment of Obwandiyag was clearly felt by a large portion of the population. So strong, in fact, was the anti-British sentiment in the Upper Great Lakes, that when Alexander Henry first arrived in Michilimackinac in 1761, he was instructed to disguise himself as a French Canadian. The costume was quickly discovered by "the Ojibway chieftain" Mih-neh-weh-na," a lieutenant of Obwandiyag's (and veteran of the Seven Years War). Upon Henry's unveiling, the chief pointedly remarked that "the English were brave men and not afraid of death, since they dared to come thus fearlessly among their

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[603] Andrew Sturtevant, "Indigenous Politics in Pontiac's War." *In Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of American History* (2018).

enemies.'"[604] Mihnehwehna used this opportunity to demonstrate that the Upper Great Lakes were still controlled by the Anishinaabeg (despite the terms of the French-English agreements).

Mihnehwehna's speech to Henry in 1762, is reflective of the themes of Pontiac's Rebellion. Mihnehwehna reasserted the upper tribes' alliance with the French, and voiced his animosity towards the British. Asserting the Ojibwa's control of the Upper Great Lakes. Telling Henry:

> "Englishman, although you have conquered the French you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, and these woods and mountains were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread—and pork—and beef! But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes and on these woody mountains.[605]

This incident at Mackinac, suggests that Obwandiyag began taking anti-British action long before the British recorders realized (and even before the Treaty of Paris was signed). Beyond the animosity for the British, that this speech highlights, Mihnehwehna's message was that the Anishinaabeg did not acknowledge any colonial force as controlling this region.

Mihnehwehna made it clear to Henry, that even though the French had surrendered to the British (and ceded their land claims), the Anishinaabeg had not.[606] This area was seen as their birth right and homeland: even the French were visitors. Mihnehwehna also warned of the desire of European societies to adapt the land to their needs (mocking their reliance on "bread and pork and beef"), versus the Anishinaabeg's ability to thrive on natural resources found in the St. Mary's River region for their own subsistence.[607] Highlighting that the Anishinaabeg could survive and thrive in this land, and that the British could not (without the Anishinaabeg's consent, and assistance). Mihnehwehna explained to Henry, although the

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[604] Alexander Henry, *Alexander Henry's Travels* vol. II, 44.
[605] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 199.
[606] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, xi.
[607] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 199.

Anishinaabeg were open to the idea of forging trade networks with the English, it must be done on the Anishinaabeg's terms; and in line with Anishinaabeg traditions.

Although the English and French may have come to an agreement about their own positions in North America, their treaty was not recognized by the Anishinaabeg on the Upper Great Lakes. Visitors still needed to abide by the local customs. Mihnehwehna delivered this message to Henry:

> "Englishman, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us, wherefore he and we are still at war; and until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father or friend among the white men than the King of France; but for you, we have taken into consideration that you have ventured your life among us in expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed with an intention to make war; you come in peace to trade with us and supply us with necessaries of which we are much in want. We shall regard you therefore as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly without fear of the Chipewa. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe to smoke."[608]

Overall, the Anishinaabeg's message to the British was clear, this was their homeland, and the Anishinaabeg were not going anywhere. Despite these feelings toward the British, the Anishinaabeg were open to a British trade alliance, as long as it was understood that the Anishinaabeg had not been conquered.

Henry recorded these warnings, but he did not immediately heed them. Instead, he accompanied John Jamet and a garrison of Royal Americans (60th Foot) to the St. Mary's River, in order to demonstrate Britain's power at Sault Ste. Marie. In 1762, the British contingent on the St. Mary's River was somewhat blind to the growing discontent in the region. Despite the warnings that they received at Mackinac, they made camp at the rapids on the southern banks of the river, near the French fort controlled by Cadot.[609] Their stay would be short. The British-American Regiment was forced to withdraw from Sault Ste. Marie and return to Mackinac in December of 1762, when a fire destroyed three of the four buildings in the fort; only Cadot's personal residence surviving the blaze.[610] The British now feared facing the winter conditions ahead without these structures. Most of the British force withdrew immediately to Mackinac where they could pass the winter in a fort.

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[608] Alexander Henry, *Alexander Henry's Travels* vol. II., 45.
[609] Ibid, 45-46.

This seemingly accidental fire worked to move British forces off the St. Mary's River and place them into a trap set on Mackinac Island. Lytwyn suggests that this was "An Accidental fire" that destroyed Cadot's fort in December of 1762; however, the survival of Cadot's family's quarters, and the sack of Fort Mackinac the next summer, raises some questions of whether this fire on the St. Mary's River was an intentional action in *Pontiac Resistance*.[611] It seems quite possible that this fire was part of a larger Anishinaabeg push to maintain their authority on the Great Lakes region. Whether or not the fire was intentional, tensions between Anishinaabeg populations and foreign British forces worsened in 1763. In managing the transition from French to British allies on the Upper Great Lakes, the Anishinaabeg set the pace early. The Treaty of Paris was signed on February 10, 1763, and marked the official surrender of French interests in the Upper Great Lakes.[612]

News of this agreement reached the Upper Great Lakes around two months later, and it did nothing to settle tensions in the region. On April 20, 1763, George Croghan recorded the reactions when this news was received by local Anishinaabeg around Detroit; writing that:

> I understand the Indians in them parts, seem uneasy in their Minds, since they heard so much of North America is Ceded to Great Britain; and the Indian nations this way

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[610] The commanding officer Jamet, was severely injured in in the fire on the St. Mary's River, and had to remain with Henry and Cadot; but yet, Henry and Jamet then decided to undertake an ill-advised journey in late-February of 1763 to Mackinac. Victor P. Lytwn "Binnema", 46.

[611] Victor P. Lytwn "in, Binnema, Theodore, and Susan Neylan, eds. *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts* (UBC Press, 2011), 46.

[612] "The Royal Proclamation of 1763", *Library and Archives Canada*, OCLC 1007612335.

> seem somewhat Dissatisfied since they heard it, and Says, the French had no Right to give away their Country; as they Say, they were never Conquered by any Nation.[613]

Even though they had tolerated the French on the Great Lakes, the Anishinaabeg had never surrendered rights to the region (as demonstrated by Warren's account of the *land claim of Sault Ste. Marie* nearly a century earlier, and acknowledged in the Great Peace of Montreal (1701)). Britain's assertions did not convince the Anishinaabeg, that the British would honour their arrangement with the French; rather, it worked to strengthen their resolve to assert their sovereignty, and increased support for Obwandiyag and his Resistance.

By the Spring of 1763, it was clear to the people of the Great Lakes that the British were not willing to respect their customs in their land.[614] This resulted in a military response, launched by the Anishinaabeg and their allies in the form of the organized resistance of Pontiac Rebellion. In the spring and early summer of 1763, Anishinaabeg warriors from the St. Mary's River (and throughout the Upper Great Lakes), travelled to the Ohio Valley. Here it was and agreed, that Obwandiyag's push to reassert First Nation sovereignty and political power, was necessary to minimize European influence in the continent.[615] The British were seen as different from the French in problematic ways, and even Obwandiyag had emphasized the differences between the French and English trade practices.[616] Obwandiyag also seems to have placed conservation, and a return to traditional land uses, at the heart of this resistance to the British. As a result, there was wide (but not unanimous) support for Obwandiyag's vision among the Upper Great Lakes Anishinaabeg.

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[613] Victor P. Lytwn "Binnema", 45-46.

[614] David Curtis Skagss, and Larry L. Nelson, eds. *Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes*, 4-7.

[615] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard", 181.

[616] Although the surviving speeches of Pontiac have been demonstrated to be fakes, these counterfeits echo the speeches of Mih-neh-weh-na. Consistent, in how they argue, that "we cannot longer get our supplies as we had them from our brothers, the French. The English sell us the merchandise twice dearer than the French sold them to us and their wares [are worth] nothing." He allegedly argued for the expulsion of British forces, arguing that the Great Creator wanted the Indigenous people to "Send them back to the country which I made for them! There let them remain … It is important for us, my brothers, that we exterminate from our land this nation which only seeks to kill us." (see: Pontiac's Speech)

Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Revolution had resulted in a more unified Indigenous-thrust on the Great Lakes, a serious questioning of their growing dependency on European goods, and a growing distrust towards the intentions of Europeans on the Upper Great Lakes. Representatives from nearly every major Anishinaabe community north of Lake Huron joined in the resistance efforts.[617] On King George III's birthday (June 2, 1763), the Ojibwa and Sacs began a match of baggatiway (lacrosse) on the field outside the British fort at Mackinac. Initially, this delighted the British troops, who believed the game to be in their honour.[618] Henry explains that this game was interrupted however, when the ball was *accidentally* "launched over the palisades of the British forces."[619] As unsuspecting British forces opened the gates to return the ball, the mood of the day quickly changed. The Ojibwa and Sacs launched a raid on the fort with concealed weapons. The attack was swift and concise: in the initial conflict, they killed twenty enlisted men, a British officer, and a trader. Fifteen soldiers, two British Officers, and two traders (including Henry) were taken prisoner.[620] French-Canadian bystanders were untouched. The Indigenous forces then looted trade goods in the fort, and made sure that their prisoners knew who held the upper hand.

This attack was only one conducted by a unified Indigenous force across the Great Lakes. These attacks demonstrated to the British, the extent of Indigenous power on the Great Lakes, as they easily captured ten British military posts.[621] In the Upper Great Lakes they were particularly successful, capturing eight forts (Forts Michilimackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Presqu'isle, Miami, Sandusky, LE Boer, and Venago).[622] The message was clear, (as Widder has written): "these hostilities at the fort meant that the Ojibwe and other Native Peoples still needed to negotiate their relationship with British officials if a lasting peace were ever to be realized."[623] Using their superior knowledge of the geography, the Anishinaabeg managed to have their sovereignty on the Great Lakes, recognized by one of the most powerful kings in the world.

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[617] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard", 180.
[618] Keith Widder, "After the conquest: Michilimackinac", 43.
[619] Alexander Henry, *Alexander Henry's Travels* vol. II., 46.
[620] Keith Widder, "After the conquest: Michilimackinac", 43.
[621] Victor P. Lytwyn "Binnema", 46.
[622] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard", 181.

For the rest of the summer, the Indigenous forces held the Upper Great Lakes blockaded against the British Navy, and maintained a prolonged siege against Detroit.[624] This led the British to beginning an earnest period of negotiation with Native leaders as the threat of winter loomed. In a sign of good faith, the Indigenous forces lifted their sieges, and peace talks began.[625] This Rebellion had largely achieved Obwandiyag's wishes. It had shocked a World superpower, who believed their Army and Navy to be the best in the world. The impacts of Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Revolution were noted even among English royalty, who realized the need to come to peaceful terms with the powerful populations of the Great Lakes.[626] As a result of these attacks in June, on October 7, 1763, King George III recognized the Great Lakes peoples' rights to their lands and hunting grounds.[627] The land-use policies, customs, and traditions of the Anishinaabeg on the St. Mary's River, were now protected by the King of England.[628] King George III pledged to protect them from British encroachment, by formalizing procedures for procuring land, stipulating that land could only be bought by appointees of the Crown, if authorized by Indigenous Chiefs, and only at public councils.[629]

Initially the Royal Proclamation helped to settle tensions. As part of their truce with the British, Sir William Johnston was elected as King's representative and has some success in the region. Schmalz points to the result of the Pontiac Uprising as initially being favourable to the Ojibwa and their allies, noting that despite losing thousands of lives in the conflict, the British were unable or unwilling to retaliate.[630] Upon his arrival on the continent, representative William Johnston, immediately began to summon the Native populations to a meeting at Niagara for the next summer (1764), which was intended to recognize this Peace on the Great Lakes.[631] After the signing of the agreement on July 31, 1764, a large wampum belt was given to the people of Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac in trust.[632]

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[623] Keith Widder, "After the conquest: Michilimackinac", 43.
[624] Victor P. Lytwyn "Binnema", 46.
[625] Ibid, 46.
[626] Ibid, 46.
[627] "The Royal Proclamation of 1763", *Library and Archives Canada*, OCLC 1007612335.
[628] Victor P. Lytwyn "Binnema", 46.
[629] Ibid, 46.

The Niagara Peace Treaty (1764) was similar in its intent to the Great Peace of Montreal (1701), a mixed Indigenous-European ceremony meant to create peace amongst the tribes, this time with Britain as the only European power. Historian Lynn Gehl explains that the presentation of a wampum belt, “codified a nation-to-nation relationship rooted in the philosophy and practice of non-interference mediated by peace, friendship, and respect.”[633] The meeting at Niagara in July of 1764 was attended by a variety of Great Lakes people, including a contingent from Sault Ste. Marie.[634] Gehl, has pointed to over 2,000 Great Lakes headmen alone, in attendance at this important ceremony.[635] Anishinaabeg control of the St. Mary’s River was not only recognized by the Great Peace of Montreal (1701), but now, was also protected by King George III’s Royal Proclamation (on October 7, 1763).

This latter legislation recognized Indigenous Rights on the Great Lakes, which stalled western expansion of British colonies in North America. But this victory would be short-lived, as these rights were about to come under serious threat by the establishment (and expansion) of the United States federal government. Although the Royal Proclamation of 1763 was meant to recognize Indigenous control, territorial rights, and political authority of the Indigenous populations on the Great Lakes; it is now better known, as a direct cause of the American Revolution (1775-1783). The subsequent establishment of the United States Government, would work to place the Anishinaabeg population into making a series of impossible political decisions, in the face of a new threat to their homeland. Even when faced with this new threat, the St. Mary's River populations remained decidedly Ojibwa in its political allegiances and practices.

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[630] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario*, x-xi.
[631] Victor P. Lytwyn, “Binnema”, 46.
[632] Ibid, 46.
[633] Lynn Gehl, "Chapter 4. Indigenous knowledge, symbolic literacy and the 1764 Treaty at Niagara." in *Transforming the Academy: Indigenous Education, Knowledges and Relations* (2013): 24.
[634] Ibid, 46.
[635] Lynn Gehl, " Indigenous knowledge”, 23.

Section II: The Results of Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Revolution at Baawitigong and the Birth of a New Colonial Threat in North America (1764-1783)

Like they had with the French, the Upper Great Lakes Anishinaabeg were now able to dictate the roles of English traders on the St. Mary's River; a practice now recognized by Royal Proclamation from King George III. Although the British now governed the European side of fur trade, (after Pontiac's Resistance) they generally continued the practices instituted by the Anishinaabeg-French relationship. British suppliers and merchants relied heavily on Aboriginal communities, and their partnerships with French and Métis traders' in the Upper Great Lakes region; without whom they could not hope to profit.[636] Even those English-speaking agents allowed to operate in the region (such as Alexander Henry), now had to conform to the customs of the country, carrying on the relationship that the French had formed. The transition between French and English influence was relatively peaceful in Sault Ste. Marie in 1762-1765, largely because of the relationship between the Cadot family and Alexander Henry; and only after the latter lived with an Wawatam's family for a winter. Although Henry's personal experience was atypical, his approach is also representative of other encounters on the Upper Great Lakes during this period.[637]

Obwandiyag's rebellion had allowed the Indigenous population of the Upper Great Lakes to maintain their cultural lifeways, without significant European interference. Warren remarks, how the Indigenous groups around the St. Mary's River retained their authority. Explaining how:

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[636] Victor P. Lytwn, "Binnema,", 46.

[637] In 1765, Croghan was told by a Indigenous contingent at Detroit that they saw the British in a different light. Explaining

> They then spoke on a Belt & said Fathers, every thing is now settled & we have agreed to your taking possession of the posts in our Country. we have been infirmed, that the English where ever they settle, make the Country their own, & you tell us that when you conquered the French they gave you this County.—That no difference may happen hereafter, we tell you now the French never conquered us neither did they purchase a foot of our Country, nor have they a right to give it to you, we gave them liberty to settle for which they always rewarded us, & treated us with great Civility while they had it in their power, but as they are become now your people, if you expect to keep these Posts, we will expect to have proper returns from you (see: Thwaites, Reuben Gold. "A Selection of George Croghan's Letters", 159-160).

> For two years after the ending of Pontiac's war, the fear of Indian hostility was still great that the British traders dared not extend their operations to the more remote villages of the Ojibways, and La Pointe, during this time, was destitute of a resident trader.[638]

As Lytwyn has written: "The Niagara Peace Treaty did not immediately lead to significant changes for the Ojibwa at Sault Ste. Marie."[639] Despite its perceived importance by British agents after 1764, they did little to affect the Upper Great Lakes.

Warren points to the exception on Baawitigong, as being the Cadot-Henry partnership; but only because Henry was willing to learn the customs of this trade. Unfortunately, not all British-Indigenous relationships were so mutually-beneficial as the Cadot-Henry alliance. Historian Widder describes "frontier regions" as "incubators for friction" of these colonial-greater tensions.[640] As they had been during the early-contact with the French, the Ojibwa were once again divided on how to deal with the British. The Ojibwa settled to the south of the corn line were generally-more amenable to British interests and trade. Where the British relied on the crops and other local goods, traded by these southern groups. But on the St. Mary's River, these colonial powers had to submit to the established customs (and lifeways) of the country in order to survive. The Anishinaabeg made it clear to Europeans who lived on the St. Mary's River, that they still needed to abide by the customs of the country.

In a letter Croghan sent to William Johnson in November 1765, Croghan explained his understanding of how Europeans were expected to conduct themselves in the Upper Great Lakes. He wrote that:

> the French have always adopted the Indians customs & manners, treated them civilly & supplyed their wants generously, by which means they gained the hearts of the Indians & commanded their services, & enjoyed the benefit of a very large Furr

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[638] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 219.
[639] Victor P. Lytwyn, "Binnema", 46.
[640] Keith Widder, "After the conquest: Michilimackinac", 43.

> Trade, as they well knew if they had not taken this measure they could not enjoy any of these Advantages,[641]

Baawitigong's population's relative neutrality in the Obwandiyag/Pontiac Rebellion, and the Cadotte-Henry relationship opened the way for some British presence on the St. Mary's River. But because Anishinaabeg groups maintained their control on the Upper Great Lakes, only selected British individuals would be successful traders in the region.

A new political order had been established on the Great Lakes by 1770, which made some space for Europeans, but remained distinctly, politically, and culturally Indigenous. Historian Alan Taylor has written that "By catalyzing Britain's policy shift, the Indians demonstrated that they possessed initiative and were more than mere pawns in an imperial game."[642] The British had finally realized that they could not hope to make a profit without accepting the customs of the country in the *Pays d'en Haut.* This policy shift was the promise of a bright future for the Great Lakes people, after over a century of hardship; which could allow them to reorganize, and counteract the extreme mortality rates of the previous century and a half. However, recognizing Indigenous sovereignty in the Great Lakes, worked to upset the British (and other European) immigrants in the eastern colonies, who wished to expand west. This eighteenth-century legislation, which protected Indigenous rights, was seen by Euro-Americans, as an Intolerable Act; an act imposed on them unjustly by the overarching British hegemony. The Proclamation Line in particular, became one of the major rallying points, which built the fervour of the American Revolution.[643]

As happens so often in colonial narrative, just as the Anishinaabeg found themselves out of the frying-pan, they were facing fire; as the American colonies began to expand westward despite this British legislation. These Euro-*Americans* argued, that British could not rightfully interfere with their expansion. Despite the faltering attempts at English expansion in the region, these colonists believed that the fur trade was still profitable, and much of the land south of the Great Lakes had an established track-record as fertile farmland. As a result, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (which the Ojibwa had paid for in blood, and generations of resistance), led to one of the most significant Revolutions in the modern age.[644] Historian Vernon Creviston, has described how this concentrated propaganda campaign, worked to convince these colonies that this legislation was "intolerable".[645] But this was only because it reaffirmed that the Upper Great Lakes area (and other western regions) was under Native American control; and dictated that European-held deeds were invalid in the region.[646]

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[641] *George Croghan's Letters and Journals Relating to Tours into the Western Country, 170-171.*

[642] Alan Taylor, "The Divided Ground: Upper Canada, New York, and the Iroquois Six Nations, 1783-1815." *Journal of the Early Republic* 22, no. 1 (2002), 59.

[643] Although the Revolution did not reach Sault Ste. Marie, Article 2 of the 1783 Peace treaty would have long-lasting effect, by splitting the Upper Great Lakes between Britain and the newly formed United States. (see: (see: Victor P. Lytwyn "Binnema", 47.)

Historian Daniel Marston has also highlighted how this specific issue of this border set on the Ohio River (south of the Great Lakes), became a major factor in the out-break of the American Revolution.[647] These disputes over the Ohio River initially resulted in the Quebec Act (1774), which effectively placed all the land surrounding the Great Lakes into Quebec law, and in theory, reinforcing some of the restrictions enacted by the 1763 Proclamation Line. The 1774 Quebec Act, also brought French civil law into the Upper Great Lakes; allowing the customs of the French traders, voyageurs and Métis families to continue living by the customs of the country. Although the Native populations were not consulted in the establishment of the boundary, the British representatives assured them that they would ultimately be unaffected by this new border.[648] After decades of open resistance to, and negotiations with the British, the Anishinaabeg had finally been guaranteed continued sovereignty on their land guaranteed by British treaties (in 1763 and 1774); but all of these hard-fought for assurances from the British, became worthless after the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783).

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[644] "The Royal Proclamation of 1763", *Library and Archives Canada*, OCLC 1007612335.

[645] Vernon Creviston, "'No King unless it be a Constitutional King': Rethinking the Place of the Quebec Act in the Coming of the American Revolution." *The Historian* 73, no. 3 (2011): 463-466.

[646] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 41-43.

[647] Daniel Marston*, The American Revolution 1774-1783* (Routledge, 2003), 1-8.

[648] Victor P. Lytwyn, "Binnema", 46.

Much ink has been spent on identifying *how* and *why* the British were forced to surrender in the American Revolution. However, relatively little consideration has been given to how this surrender affected the Upper Great Lakes and its people. Many First Nations communities in the Upper Great Lakes avoided the American Revolution altogether, those who did fight, fought almost exclusively for the British (a mere decade after openly fighting the British in the same region). Bellfy wrote that: "The fact that the area's Native people fought on the British side should not be construed as their having any great love for the British side; more likely it reflected a greater fear of the American settlers."[649] Even without fielding its full strength, this Anishinaabeg army was a significant force. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft pointed to an Upper Great Lake force comprised of 5,000 Ojibwa, 450 Odaawa, and 250 Missisaugas, as well 450 Boodwaadmii, which supported the British effort in this conflict.[650] But after the smoke cleared, the United States became free to pursue its own colonial efforts. These efforts, were fought through a combination of military threats and legislation, which now directly threatened the people on the St. Mary's River.

For a Revolution that embraced "liberty", "freedom", and the "right of self-governance"; the American Revolution worked to destroy these traits for the people of the Great Lakes. Made worse by the fact that the Anishinaabeg's former allies the French, now helped to support this colonial revolution throughout North America. The white population decried the Royal Proclamation and Quebec Act as "Intolerable," and limiting their own freedoms; while ignoring (or blatantly infringing upon) the rights of the First Nations of

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[649] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 43.

[650] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Historical and statistical information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States: Collected and prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs per act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847*. Vol. 4. (Historical American Indian Press, 1854).

North America. In the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), Thomas Jefferson dictated that the King must abolish "the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies"[651] The American hypocrisy of arguing for *liberty,* while denying it to Native Americans, had long been the practice of white-Americans on the east coast of the continent. It was now being established into the very legal foundations of the United States' of Americas' legal structures; by directly excluding "Indians" from any form of Constitutional protection, and ignoring the treaty agreements between the Native Americans and the British.

The morality and hypocrisy aside, the white men who continue to be celebrated as *founding fathers*, were working to undermine thousands of years of legal structures in order to allow for white expansion, and to facilitate European land-use patterns. In suing for peace in 1783, the British effectively abandoned many of their Indigenous allies in territory now *granted* to the newly formed United States. This process also led to lengthy negotiations between colonial forces over contested territories.[652] For example, the results of the American Revolution, seemed to grant the south shore of the St. Mary's (and Mackinac) to the use of the United States; rights which the Ojibwa and fought and died for over more centuries than Europeans had been on the continent. Not only did Anishinaabeg (rightfully) fear the United States' intentions, they also believed that the allied Native-British forces were capable of defeating the United States.[653] After all, the British had defeated the French in North America, and claimed that theirs was the strongest military force in the world when negotiating with Obwandiyag; a mere two decades earlier.

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[651] Thomas Jefferson, *Declaration of Independence* (1776)

[652] David Curtis Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson, eds. *Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes*, 9.

[653] Ibid, 44.

The population of the Upper Great Lakes saw British surrender as a dangerous mistake. The Anishinaabeg force of 6,000 warriors from the Upper Great Lakes believed (probably correctly), that a concentrated assault by an Indigenous-British alliance, could help to preserve the equilibrium forged in the Great Lakes region. On Mackinac Island, an Odaawa Chief protested to Captain Robertson on July 6, 1783, ensuring him that the Ojibwa had not surrender and would continue to support British forces. The Odaawa Chief told Robertson, his fear that he:

> was afraid the Tree was fallen on the wrong side, and that [it] ought to have been laid before them, and [then] perhaps the Tree would still be standing straight. They are told the Five nations will keep the door shut…but I believe that all of you would have been telling us *lies*, but this is our Ground (7).[654]

This sentiment was also expressed by a member of the Weas on June 28, 1783 at Detroit, stating that "We are informed that instead of prosecuting the War, we are to give up our lands to the Enemy, which gives uneasiness—in endeavoring to assist you it seems we have wrought our own ruin."[655] Once again, the Anishinaabeg on the Upper Great Lakes, found themselves resisting a new colonial threat; who now attempted to legislate life in the region.

The second Treaty of Paris (September 3, 1783), seemed to give a hint of good news for the people of the Upper Great Lakes.[656] When their land was (at least) recognized by the terms of the Treaty (and although American expansion was no longer limited by the Proclamation Line), it was at least mandated in 1783, that Indigenous' lands needed to be purchased from the Indigenous population.[657] Meaning that Indigenous groups would be able to control United States immigration into their territories (in theory). The terms of the treaty also permitted the British to remain (at least temporarily) in their posts established on the

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[654] "Letter from Captain Robertson to Captain Brehm (July 6, 1783)", in *Pioneering the Upper Midwest: Books from Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin,* ca. 1820 to 1910, (Library of Congress), 361.
[655] "Indian Council in Detroit (June 28, 1783)" vol II (1887), 370-371.
[656] "The Definitive Treaty of Peace 1783", *British-American Diplomacy The Paris Peace Treaty of September 30, 1783*. Yale Law School; Project Avalon.
[657] "Ibid.

Upper Great Lakes.[658] Ensuring the continuation of the British-Anishinaabeg alliance in the region. But despite these safe-guards, into the 1780s, 1790s, and 1800s, the United States Government would continue to pursue a policy of aggressive expansion in the region; and manipulate their own legal-structures in order to force Indigenous peoples from their lands; or face slaughter at the hands of the United States army.[659]

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[658] Philip Bellfy, *Three Fires Unity*, 45.
[659] Ibid, 45.

Section III: Setting the Stage for the Nineteenth Century: Organized Anishinaabeg Resistance on the Upper Great Lakes (1783-1803)

The Treaty of Paris in 1783 ended the American Revolution, but solidified the United States threat to the Upper Great Lakes people. Despite over 150 years of colonial attempts to control the St. Mary's River, physically, the St. Mary's River had only been changed marginally by European-contact by the 1780s. But this would change after the American Revolution, which saw a series of legislative changes to the St. Mary's River, what Karl Hele has described as "lines drawn upon the water".[660] Significantly, the Treaty of Paris in 1783 placed a boundary across the 49th parallel, and across the St. Mary's River. Placing the northern region under British authority, and southern section under the United States government; in complete contradiction to the Proclamation of 1763, and the Quebec Act of 1774. This border ignored the established relationships between Indigenous groups, and treaties in the Upper Great Lakes, by placing certain Anishinaabeg populations (in theory) under either United States' law, or under the authority of British North America. The United States used this victory to rapidly-expand into the Great Lakes region, and attempted to assert their *authority*; which led to population displacement, and further migrations (of Indigenous people and settlers) into the Great Lakes.[661] Nor were the effects of this Revolution limited to the United States, as the influx of Loyalists (formerly from British colonies in the United States) began during the American Revolution. These colonial pressures (from the United States and British North America) became increasingly concentrated on the St. Mary's River in the 1790s, which became increasingly affected by colonial legislation, populations, and land use patterns into the nineteenth century.

Even with this legislation in place, the American Revolution was not felt by the St.

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[660] Karl S., ed. *Lines drawn upon the water: First Nations and the Great Lakes borders and borderlands* Vol. 22. (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008).

[661] David Andrews Nichols, *Peoples of the Inland Sea: Native Americans and Newcomers,* 165-180.

Mary's River populations until the 1790s. At which time, the St. Mary's River became a noted point of anti-American sentiment and resistance. For these local groups, the towns on the St Mary's River became important centres of resistance to United States intrusions. A significant part of this northern resistance, came from the importance of the St. Mary's River to the Upper Great Lakes fur trade. A trade route, which the United States was anxious to control, but that was firmly held by the Anishinaabeg and Métis; whose family-contacts, local knowledge, and an ability to survive in the *Pays D'en Haut,* was necessary for economic success in the Upper Great Lakes. Rather than adapt to the traditional trade networks, economic practices, and customs, the United States increasingly attempted to control the region, trade, and networks in their idealized image. This led to a wave of new legislation, which was meant to enforce authority of the United States in the region.

This legislation worked to limit the Great Lakes population's access to certain trade routes, and hunting territories. Restricting the mobility of Indigenous people was central part of the United States' plan, as they believed more static lifeway patterns would result in the adoption of more European-styled economic pursuits (farming, timber harvesting, and mining). Once again, the populations on the St. Mary's River were forced to resist these destructive colonial forces. This time, against a population who planned to remain in the region; rather than exist as a satellite colony, of a larger European force. The formation of the United States government would begin to directly threaten the Upper Great Lakes populations in the late decades of the eighteenth century, and became clear by the early decades of the nineteenth century. To make matters worse, the British populations in the Lower Great Lakes (now part of British North America) began their own push towards the St. Mary's River. This ushered in a period of exploitative legislation, warfare, treaties, and changes to the political and physical structures of the St. Mary's River.

Resisting this influence in general, became a major priority to the Ojibwa on the St. Mary's River; but this resistance necessitated the continuation of a (now uneasy) Ojibwa-British alliance. Into the 1790s, it became clear to the Ojibwa and Métis leaders that the fur trade was the major incentive for English-speaking expansion into the region. Using the fur trade as a political tool was by no means new for either the Anishinaabeg or the Métis. But now, these English-speaking forces were regularly changing the rules of engagement, and disregarding the terms of their own agreements to the people of the Upper Great Lakes. Just as the Ojibwa had with the French, they now looked to specific English-speaking traders in the region, through whom, they could control policy (especially individuals who were willing to adopt to their customs and to join their families). Just as the *coureur de bois* had proved themselves for over a century and a half, English-speaking traders were tested in the same way in the 1790s. Compared to these earlier French traders, the Ojibwa-English speaking family ties on the St. Mary's River are well documented, and demonstrate the intricacies of resistance on the St. Mary's River. In this better documented period, the leadership of Ojibwa families, and the important role of mixed-raced families in this resistance, becomes clearer in the historical record.

This was a similar strategy to the one that the Ojibwa had used towards the French over a century before, now reshaped to maintain the Ojibwa power in the face of the United States-British rivalry of the time. At the centre of this resistance, was the fight to preserve Anishinaabeg lifeways, customs and cultures; which necessitated resistance against the dangerous legal-structures and restricted access to natural resources, now posed by the United States. The Ojibwa and Métis populations had good reason to be concerned. Even before the American Revolution, the Thirteen Colonies had intentions of expansion into the Upper Great Lakes. After the American Revolution, western expansion became a much more tangible threat to the Ojibwa on the St Mary's River. At first this expansion was slow, although the

1783 Treaty of Paris had set a boundary across the middle of the Upper Great Lakes, this border was poorly defined; especially around the St. Mary's River region.

This led to land-grabs around the Lower Great Lakes, which became part of the United States' plans in 1785, when the Land Ordinance was created. This threat came closer to home in 1787, after the Northwest Ordinance; northwest of the Ohio River.[662] Even though the Ordinance in 1787 dictated that all the land northwest of the Ohio River became a part of the Northwest Territory, the territory was still controlled by the First Nations in the region.[663] The first true test from colonial-authorities, came to the St. Mary's River with the signing of the Jay's Treaty in 1794. Which seemed to guarantee Indigenous populations rights to continue moving freely throughout the Great Lakes region, regardless of colonial borders. This protected their rights, to continue living in a traditional manner (at least in theory).[664] This legislation targeted British interests in the region, and after Jay's Treaty (1794) the British had to move its economic centres to north of the new border.[665] By the terms of Jay's Treaty, the British needed to evacuate the land to the south of the St. Mary's River by June 1, 1796.

The Treaty staked out 25.6 hectares of land in exchange for five pounds, and other "goods and considerations."[666] Although the headmen at the St. Mary's River allowed the move, they were alarmed by the terms of Jay's Treaty.[667] As Warren explained: "The Indians could not, or would not, understand the necessity of this movement, as they claimed the country was their own, and felt as though they had a right to locate their traders wherever they pleased."[668] The United States' government's intention was to establish a post, for military security, and to gain a foothold in the Great Lakes fur trade.[669] But it was not until 1796 that Mackinac and Detroit were handed over to the United States.[670] With the establishment of United States presence at Mackinac in 1796, the population of the St. Mary's River would become even more actively resistant to the United States' incursions on their territory.

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[662] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, Chapter 4.
[663] David Krause, *The Making of a Mining District*, 60.
[664] "Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, Between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, by their President, with the Advice and Consent of the State." In *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875*, (Library of Congress), 117).
[665] Susan Sleeper-Smith, "[A]n Unpleasant Transaction on This Frontier" ": Challenging Female Autonomy and Authority at Michilimackinac." *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 3 (2005), 423.
[666] Greenville Treaty, 1795
[667] Binnema, Theodore, and Susan Neylan, eds. *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts* (UBC Press, 2011), 49.

When the British were pushed off of Mackinac, they settled and built fortifications on the St. Mary's River (between Mackinac and Baawitigong). Baawitigong itself, would not receive any significant American or British population until the 1820s.[671] But the effects of the United States' Revolution were felt in other ways on the St. Mary's River, as the British and United States increased their competition over Fur Trade interests in the 1780s and 1790s. This was a trade in which the Ojibwa and Métis still held a great deal of pull; controlling the necessary territories, trade networks, and alliances to assure continued fur distribution. For Indigenous populations, this border worked to limit colonial-populations' migration, which held some advantages (again, in theory). Initially, the incoming Hudson's Bay Company and American Fur Company, had to compete against the long-established *French* trading networks of the Northwest Company and XY Companies, as well as the established Métis, who were often influential private traders, in the region; further allowing the Anishinaabeg suppliers to curb this trade, and control who was welcome onto the St. Mary's River.

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[668] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 46.
[669] There was some success to this strategy for the United States government, as the Jay's Treaty in 1794 had allowed for Jack Astor's entry into the Great Lakes, where he quickly began establishing trade networks. (see: Russell M. Magnaghi, *Native Americans of Michigan's Upper Peninsula*, Chapter 4).
[670] Ibid, 42-43.
[671] Ibid, 42-43.

While the Ojibwa recognized the potential threat of English-speaking expansion, they also recognized that not all English-speaking people were the same. In the same way as they had with the French, the Ojibwa allowed specific, well-suited Europeans to reside on the St. Mary's River. Although they remained generally distrustful of either the British or the United States governments, they used traders with allegiances to these nations, in order to maintain Anishinaabeg control in the Fur Trade. During this period, the government of the United States pursued several strategies to gain traction in the Upper Great Lakes region. The government of the United States believed that the factory system (created by Congress early in 1795), would further improve the United States' interests in the fur trade; by helping to weaken Indigenous control on this trade. The factory system was composed of interconnected government-run trading posts, and government intervention was meant to make American traders more competitive with the established traders.

After Jay's Treaty, the United States General Anthony Wayne, was instructed to negotiate with the chiefs at Fort Greenville in 1795; a process, which at least recognized that different chiefs needed to be consulted in the land claims process; and that these chiefs held the rights to govern the use of specific lands.[672] But, as Lytwyn wrote: "The 1795 Greenville Treaty in the United States laid the framework for future land purchases by the government."[673] This United States' legislation had detrimental social and economic effects on the Upper Great Lakes. As Knight and Chute have described it, since "the 1790s, formerly workable cultural accommodations between Native and non-Native had been deteriorating in the face of severe intercompany competition."[674] While fur trading companies initially continued to operate according to the customs of the country (and in close contact with their

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[672] Victor P. Lytwyn, *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts* (UBC Press, 2011), 47-48.

[673] Ibid., 48.

[674] Alan Knight and Janet E. Chute, "The Sault Métis", 94.

Ojibwa-allies), fur trade relationship began to break down in the face of increased competition amongst governments, and outfitters.

The anticipation of the United States' entrance into the fur trade, led to a fairly dramatic reshuffling of fur trade powers on the St. Mary's River. This new corporate threat, pushed the North West Company into moving its trading post to the north bank of the St. Mary's River (on the British side); above the rapids, and away from the United States' territory.[675] That the powerful North West Company was forced to move its location as a result of this legislation, was an ominous sign of things to-come on the St. Mary's River. The North West Company even began to alter the geography of the region, in order to give themselves a tangible advantage over the incoming American outfitters, erecting: houses, a sawmill, and even a canal to bypass the rapids in canoes; in order to lower labour costs, and make shipping more efficient.[676] The XY Company was established in 1795-1796, with their headquarters at Grand Portage, it was arguably too close to the major trading post of the North West Company, which created further tensions within the trade.

The competition between fur trading companies, worked to decrease the price per fur received by Indigenous hunters, and increasingly encouraged them to pick a single trading outfitter. This competition created a ripple effect on the St. Mary's River, as trading families developed inventive ways to secure their interests. But the fact that even the powerful British Arm, and established fur trading outfitters, were proving themselves cowed by United States legislation, was another ominous sign of things to come. Despite the power of the United States, the Anishinaabeg continued to resist the United States government. The United States' government was generally disliked in the region, and proved ill-suited to winning the hearts and minds of the Indigenous population. For example, even after the United States established a military force and trading post on Mackinac, the villages at Mackinac (technically part of the United States), continued to be closer with the British. Throughout this turbulent period, the St. Mary's River continued to be an important point of resistance for the Anishinaabeg.

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[675] Brian Stewart W., *The Ermatingers: A 19th-century Ojibwa-Canadian Family* (UBC Press, 2011), 50.
[676] Ibid., 50.

In August of 1797, United States General James Wilkinson travelled from his station at Detroit to visit Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac, in order to distribute presents and American flags; hoping to strengthen ties in the region.[677] Wilkinson reported that these northern tribes around the St. Mary's River still displayed great animosity towards the United States.[678] He noted that, many families (Indigenous, Métis, and British) living on Mackinac, had already withdrawn from the Island, to live closer to the British Fort St. Joseph (on the eastern section of the St. Marys' River); shortly after the arrival of the American forces.[679] These families on the St. Mary's River continued to trade the bulk of their furs to Métis or British traders (rather than United States outfitters), and to generally ignore United States legislation. Into the nineteenth century however, the United States used legislation, the implementation of Euro-American lifeways, and exploitative methods, to separate Indigenous communities from their traditional lands.

Although the United States struggled to gain footing in the region, they had very little idea of what to do with their holdings in the Upper Great Lakes. Initially the upper peninsula between the St. Mary's River or the strait of Mackinac was classified as part of the Northwest Territories, before being included in the Indiana Territory in 1803.[680] Unfortunately this decision to classify the area as part of an extended Reservation was quickly reversed in 1805, with the creation of the Michigan territory.[681] The Michigan Territory was established with William Hull as its territorial governor, three judges, and their secretary.[682] Overall, these actions help to foster a general sense of anti-American sentiment on the St. Mary's River. This rocky political-footing for the United States, worsened when the territorial governor in the South (William Henry Harrison), actively pursued land claims in Michigan during 1807.[683] This was a complete affront to the sovereignty of the resident First Nations in the territory, and worked to undermine their established lifeways, and trade networks, which had existed in the region for millennia.

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[677] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 4.
[678] Ibid, Chapter 4.
[679] Ibid, Chapter 4.
[680] Douglass North, and Andrew Rutten. "The Northwest Ordinance in historical perspective." *Essays on the Economy of the Old Northwest* (1987), 8-14.

Further destructive policy was enacted by the Embargo Act of 1807, meant that Indigenous traders at Mackinac were not *permitted* to trade with their friends and family living in British North America.[684] This legislation in particular, was in conflict with the terms they had fought for during the negotiation of Jay's Treaty (and various treaties previous). At the time, the legislation was only partially helpful to the United States citizens it was meant to benefit. Land claims in the region were largely speculative, and legally suspect. Nor did the Michigan territory have the required infrastructure, white population, or economic out-put, to support a colonial-migration into the region. This region was still overwhelmingly Anishinaabeg, and the language of the region was comprised of Anishinaabemowin, and other Native languages. Amongst European languages, French, not English, was still by far the most common, and even proper French had largely been replaced with Michif. Even the *European*-descendants living on the banks of Baawitigong did not fit the cultural mould of typical Europeans, nor even that of the United States frontier identity.[685]

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[681] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 2.
[682] Ibid, Chapter 2.
[683] Ibid, Chapter 2.
[684] Ibid, Chapter 4.
[685] Colin Elder, "Changing Political and Cultural Realms in the Upper Great Lakes, 1826: a Case-study of the Influential "Oode" (or family) of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft." (MA dissertation, 2015), 26-29, 37-38.

Politically and culturally, there were growing tensions developing around the St. Mary's River towards the United States government.

The Fur Trade remained the only viable economic options north of Detroit (for white-settlers), and even the Astor import-export business was hampered by the 1807 Embargo Act.[686] Anticipating the changes to the market that this legislation would create, Astor quickly established the American Fur Company in April 1808; which would become much more successful, and ultimately more destructive to the region.[687] The restrictive 1807 legislation, now opened the door for opportunistic Euro-American traders, to attempt to form a monopoly within the United States; in this region John Jacob Astor (1763-1848) was particularly significant.[688] But, his American Fur Company was only one of the United States' growing Fur Trade interests in the region. In 1809 Joseph Varnum Jr. established a government trading post on Mackinac Island; further increasing United States presence in this trade in the Upper Great Lakes.[689] This United States legislation intentionally forced established traders to make deals with the United States' outfitters. This was a serious threat to the First Nations population of the Upper Great Lakes.

Not only were United States land-grabs minimizing their own hunting territories, and creating increased tension between tribes. But, the restrictive legislation of the Embargo Act restricted the centuries old trade networks of the Great Lakes; which forced Indigenous populations to become increasingly reliant on European-produced goods. The United States exploitative strategy in the Fur Trade meant that Natives could no longer play the market, in order to receive fair profits for their efforts. Instead, the Fur Trader became increasingly aggressive and exploitative. Meaning that at the exact moment that many Indigenous

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[686] Axel Madsen, *John Jacob Astor: America's First Multimillionaire* (John Wiley & Sons, 2002), 79-83.

[687] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 4.

[688] John Haeger, "Business strategy and practice in the early republic: John Jacob Astor and the American fur trade." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1988), 183-186.

[689] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 2.

Americans were forced to pursue fur hunting as a full-time employment, the job was no longer economically viable; and the animal populations became increasingly unsustainable.

Section IV: Renewed Resistance: Tecumseh's Resistance (1803-1812)

As a result of these tensions, Tecumseh (the Shawnee leader) gained influence with his prophet brother Tenskwatawa. Stoehr has described how the brothers built "an intertribal resistance that aimed to recreate their communities and take back their land in accordance with an ethical vision of the future that reflected, but did not mimic, the past."[690] Describing Tecumseh's Resistance as a whole (compared to Obwandiyag), he was a "more radical, incarnation of the intertribal resistance."[691] Tecumseh's resistance strategy, was based on a return to traditional lifeways and land-uses, free of European interference. Historian Gordon Sayre has written about how Tecumseh was able to change the strategy to Native Resistance in North America, how previously "the greatest challenge of native resistance was maintaining a solid alliance among various tribes or nations, any of which might have reason to ally with colonizers."[692] Sayre suggests that Tecumseh's "sense of pan-Indian land sovereignty was innovative."[693] Sayre writes that Tecumseh's resistance was different, because he "applied colonial realpolitik and expressed his people's interest in a new manner that complicated any simple portrayal of Indian resistance". [694] He was able to fight "with one colonial power against another."[695] Although innovative, Tecumseh built on the ideas of Pan-Indianism from Obwandiyag and Neolin's nativist spirituality; this time by challenging the role of all Europeans in North American, and preaching a more dramatic shift toward Indigenous lifeways than Obwandiyag.

Historian John Sugden explained that Tecumseh worked to "create an Indian confederacy."[696] This was not simply a return to pre-contact lifeways, but a renaissance of traditional practices across cultures; resurrecting many traditions, but also argued for the retirement those practices that they deemed were no longer helpful.[697] This aspect of their resistance, worked to break-down inter-tribal rivalries that had worked to create tensions between some people of the Great Lakes populations (particularly amongst former enemies).[698] For the Anishinaabeg however, Tecumseh's strategy also challenged the Midewiwin Order, which threatened to undermine the political capital which the Ojibwa and Odaawa had managed to garner since the collapse of the Wendat. The Midewiwin Order was a political entity, and belief-system, which the Great Lakes people still relied heavily upon. Despite this point of contention, a population of representatives from the northern peninsula of Michigan (the land connecting the St. Mary's River to the straits of Mackinac), travelled to Tecumseh and Tenskwatawan, at their village *Prophetstown* (modern day Greenville Ohio) to discuss how to deal with the growing problem of colonial infringements.[699]

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[690] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard", 184.
[691] Ibid, 184.
[692] Ibid, 268-269.
[693] Gordon M. Sayre, *The Indian chief as tragic hero: Native resistance and the literatures of America, from Moctezuma to Tecumseh* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 279.
[694] Ibid, 269.
[695] Ibid, 269.
[696] John Sugden, "Early Pan-Indianism; Tecumseh's Tour of the Indian Country, 1811-1812." *American Indian Quarterly* (1986), 273.

This contingent of Anishinaabe representatives, stayed at the community for nearly a year, listening to Pan-Indian ideology, and nativist resistance strategies.[700] But they left unconvinced, when smallpox hit the community in 1808.[701] For the people from the St. Mary's River, Tecumseh's open criticisms of shamans and medicine bundles were likely contentious sticking-points. Especially because, the structure and traditions of the Midewiwin was one of the unifying principles they had relied on to unite the people of the refugee triangle and the Ojibwa empire; since the middle of the seventeenth-century. Stoehr explains, that Tenskwatawa's influence amongst Anishinaabeg, "was muted by his polemical positions on shamans and accommodating chiefs. He condemned the Anishinabeg medicine society the Midewiwin, … and the use of medicine bags, which many Anishinabek,

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[697] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard, 185.
[698] David Edmunds, 44-47.
[699] Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard" 185.
[700] Gregory Dowd, "Thinking and Believing: Nativism and Unity in the Ages of Pontiac and Tecumseh." *American Indian Quarterly*, (1992), 309-310.
[701] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard", 185.

Midewiwin or not, used."[702] After the American army destroyed a smallpox weakened Prophetstown, the brothers travelled to Amherstberg for British help, which weakened their position as military leaders, and spirit protectors.[703]

Tecumseh's position was further weakened by rumours that he and his brother had poisoned those who opposed their radical ideas.[704] Although their authority was hurt, their political message had resonated amongst many tribes, often reflecting their own worries regarding colonial interference.[705] While unwilling to submit to the political leadership of the brothers, many Anishinaabeg in the Upper Great Lakes acted in a manner which was generally aligned with the calls of Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa.[706] This was certainly the case on the St. Mary's River, where the Anishinaabeg, Métis, and even establish Settlers, were increasingly finding themselves battling United States interference. Building on the examples laid out by Obwandiyag, Mihnehwehna, and Tecumseh, the nineteenth-century saw various Ojibwa, Odaawa, and Métis leaders began pursuing different strategies of Aboriginal resistance. By 1812 however, colonial tensions between the United States and the British reached a boiling point which dragged various Indigenous communities into their conflict. This war between colonial forces, would see a colonial army attack the populations on the St. Mary's River; an attack which worked to change the legislative, economic, and geographic landscape of the region.

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[702] Ibid, 186.
[703] Ibid, 185.
[704] Ibid, 185-186.
[705] Ibid, 185.
[706] Gregory Dowd, "Thinking and Believing: Nativism", 309-310.

Section V: The War of 1812: Colonial Conflict on the Upper Great Lakes (1812-1815)

In 1811, British ships intercepted American ships in the Atlantic Ocean which increased United States-British tensions throughout the continent. This incident between the British and United States at sea, is generally seen as the major spark for this conflict. However, Magnaghi, Bieder, and Sleeper-Smith, all argue that United States-British tensions on the Great Lakes, deserve larger credit for the break-out of this war. Not only had the British given into United States demands prior to this war, the United States' concept of Manifest Destiny worked to place the entire Great Lakes regions into the United States cross-hairs, regardless of British actions. Unlike in the American Revolution (a few decades prior), the War of 1812 saw the Upper Great Lakes face direct threat from United States forces. Meaning that, the populations of the St. Mary's River would not be able to sit this war out; especially with the United States forces stationed on the nearby straits of Mackinac. To entice Indigenous allies, the British promised (once again), to preserve the Ohio Valley for use by Native Americans. This promised reservation even enticed the partially-French-descended Métis populations to join forces with the British; a sign of the extent of anti-United States sentiment in the Upper Great Lakes. These various points of tension came to a head late in the summer in an event, now known as the War of 1812, which would directly affect the St. Mary's River.

Despite the inter-tribal rivalries on the Upper Great Lakes in the early nineteenth century (compounded by the still uneasy relationship between the upper Anishinaabeg tribes and the British), a mutual enemy and a threat to Indigenous traditions, once again proved powerful unifying forces in the Upper Great Lakes; allowing them to repel the United States military-invasion of the region in 1812.[707] It is clear that the Anishinaabeg played a very important role in the northern effort of this war, and demonstrated their superior knowledge of the country to the invading United States forces. This was particularly clear on the St. Mary's River, after Indigenous message runners far out-stripped the United States message carriers, and brought the news of this conflict to Fort St. Joseph before the United States soldiers at Fort Mackinac became aware. At Fort St. Joseph, a contingent of armed Anishinaabeg and Métis men, two local girls serving as nurses, and a cannon, where loaded into birch-bark canoes to attack Fort Mackinac. This contingent was able to capture the fort, before the northern United States forces were aware that they were at war with the British.

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[707] Catherine Murton Stoehr, "Nativism's Bastard: Neolin, Tenskwatawa, and the Anishinabeg Methodist Movement, in *Lines Drawn Upon the Water*, 186.

This Anishinaabeg-Métis force, quickly became one of the most important military forces in this war. The northern populations managed to secure the United States-held Fort Mackinac against a larger force, exhaust United States efforts at counterattack by leading the United States soldiers on a wild-goose chase on the St. Mary's River around Drummond Island, before the Anishinaabeg and Métis troops pushed south to support their allies at an important juncture. After the rapid taking of Mackinac, Anishinaabeg forces now outstripped United States soldiers through the forests and fields of Upper Michigan, to form a distinguished force in the Battle of Queenston Heights at Niagara on October 13, 1812. But this conflict was very costly in lives for the people of the Great Lakes. During this battle at Niagara, Tecumseh was fatally wounded, as were countless other Anishinaabeg and Métis from the Upper Great Lakes.

The population on the St. Mary's River further suffered when United States forces (frustrated in the Upper Great Lakes) sailed up the St. Mary's River, and launched an attack on the largely civilian community in Sault Ste. Marie in 1814.[708] Unlike the Anishinaabeg populations, Métis houses and fur trade centres, could not be packed up and placed into a canoe to escape attack. With most of the soldiers gone from the community, the people of Sault Ste. Marie could only watch as their homes, possessions, and trade centres were looted by American soldiers; before being put to the torch. Houses on both sides of the border were destroyed, food stores ransacked, and personal-wealth was stolen, or destroyed by fires set by United States soldiers. As were, the holdings of the Northwest Company, and several other established traders on the rapids. The Métis community was devastated.

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[708] Robert E. Bieder, "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812: A World Turned Upside Down in the Old Northwest." *Indiana Magazine of History* (1999), 3-4.

The attack on Baawitigong during the War of 1812, was the first time a European-descended force had managed to attack the St. Mary's River (and only did so when the fighting population was largely elsewhere). This blatant act of aggression on Baawitigong (by the United States), worked to foster decades of strong anti-American sentiment in the region. Even despite these hardships, the Upper Great Lakes populations proved themselves one of the most impactful armies in North America once again. Despite their contribution, after this conflict the Anishinaabeg were once again betrayed by the negotiators of their colonial allies. After winning their theatre in this war, the Upper Great Lakes people were once again ignored in the treaty making process (between the British and Euro-Americans). After two centuries of controlling the legislative, customs, and trade rights of the St. Mary's River, the people at Baawitigong now faced the loss of these controls to a colonial powerhouse. *Rights*, surrendered by their allies, to an army whom they had never surrendered.

This legislation was worsened by the fact that the Euro-Americans acted in an increasingly hostile manner into the nineteenth century (by ignoring the established practices of the region), and began to act in a way that was overtly detrimental to the local populations. Legislation was also implemented, which forced the Native inhabitants into trading exclusively with United States citizens, and limited their movements. As contemporary observer, Schoolcraft wrote:

> It was heretofore pretended by the British traders that all this country belonged to Great Britain, and they told the Indians that the war of 1812 would settle all this. It

> did so; but, contrary to their wishes and the predictions to the Indians, it settled it precisely on the basis of the treaty of 1783, which ran the boundary line through the straits of Saint Mary's and Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods.[709]

The border created further competition amongst colonial factions, as both the United States and Upper Canada now began to compete over resources in the region, which resulted in greater exploitation by Europeans. This border worked to dichotomize aspects of the fur trade in the Midwest of North America, by separating the United States and British interests with this border, this legislation worked to place Indigenous populations in the middle of this colonial conflict.

Some of this new United States' legislation came from federal desires for western expansion, while other pieces were lobbied for by private traders directly; all of it had wide-ranging impacts on the local ecology and culture. For instance, Astor who was able to use his influence to lobby the government to dismantle the factory system after the War of 1812. Then shifted operations from his original headquarters in New York (suspended during the War of 1812), to Mackinac after the War taking over control of the government's infrastructure. The Euro-Americans further attempted to control the fur trade by enforcing their limitations on Native and British movements across the *border*, taking punitive actions against individuals who traded with the British. All of these actions by the United States, worked to foster animosity towards Americans on the Upper Great Lakes.[710]

This new level of control on fur trade routes, coupled by the losses of the War of 1812 on the St. Mary's River, forced many families to trade with the United States. As Schoolcraft explained:

> As soon as the smoke of the war cleared off, namely, in 1816, Congress enacted that British traders and capital should be excluded from the American lines, that no British subjects should receive licenses to trade, and that all such persons who went inland in subordinate capacities should be bonded for by the American traders who employed them. This law seemed to bear particularly on this section of country, and is generally

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[709] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes,* 116.
[710] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 2.

> understood to have been passed to throw the old North West Company, and other British traders, trading on their own account, out of this hitherto very lucrative branch of trade. John Jacob Astor, of New York, went immediately to Montreal and bought out all the posts and factories of that company, situated in the north west, which were south of the lines.[711]

The border from Lake Superior stretching to Lake Huron, was still poorly defined, despite the King-Hawkesbury Convention in 1803 (which the Senate failed to pass anyways). This border was only marginally better defined in the Treaty of Ghent of 1815.[712]

The creation of a border by the colonial forces on the St. Mary's River, had a variety of negative consequences for the St. Mary's River and its people. It initially worked to limit the movement of people, and trade from the north of the lakes to the south; disrupting a millennia old trade network. Not only was access to trade stations limited by these restrictions, but the people's ability to harvest food stuff on both sides of the river was restricted, which limited their ability to be self-sufficient. With new United States interests in the eastern fur stages (especially Astor), the people of the Upper Great Lakes faced even greater peril. The laws that came into place immediately after the War of 1812 sought to firmly define this border, to open the way for American fur traders (noticeably Astor), and made established *British* ventures in the area effectively illegal, in order to promote a United States' monopoly. Despite resistance to the United States on the St. Mary's River, Astor was able to gain more of a footing in the Upper Great Lakes in 1816 after Congress passed an act which prohibited foreign trade on United States territory. This legislation allowed Astor to purchase the North West Company's American interests, and allowed him to more easily-establish a western headquarters on Mackinac Island.

Between 1816 and 1817, Astor began operations at Sault Ste. Marie, Ance-ke-we-naw and Grand Island.[713] With a virtual monopoly on the United States fur trade on the Great

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[711] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes*, 116.

[712] Howard Jones and Donald Allen Rakestraw. *Prologue to Manifest Destiny: Anglo-American relations in the 1840s* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), 106.

[713] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 384.

Lakes, Astor was further able to influence United States legislation in his favour. Partially in response to Astor's lobbying, in 1817 the US government further legislated the market with the Rush-Bagot Agreement; which saw the demilitarization in the Great Lakes, and restricted shipping vessels tonnage to an effort to regulate the commerce of the Lakes.[714] In the same year, Congress further moved to block traders that were not loyal to the United States, from the United States' territory, which led to a further stranglehold on the market. These restrictions together, would further strengthen Astor's position on the Great Lakes.[715] This legislation meant that Métis traders (many who had settled in the region for generations), were now increasingly facing direct competition and American Traders; and doing-so, on an uneven legal-footing. As colonial governments continued to squabble over land claims, the local inhabitants were increasingly the ones getting the short end of the stick.

European traders now directly competed for furs, rather than respecting the customs of the country; as the British and French governments had. Both the governments of the United States and British North America, now sought to maintain control of the region; which had immediate, and increasingly, detrimental effects on the First Nations. Many Upper Great Lakes leaders fostered a strong anti-United States sentiment, which made it difficult for even the savviest Americans to gain a foothold amongst the hunters. Amongst the most successful of these early American fur traders is the well-known Astor, but in 1817, even Astor was having a difficult time gaining stakes in this trade. Astor learned quickly, that despite his headquarters on Mackinac, and favourable United States legislation, he needed to learn some of the customs of the country. Astor did not have the trade contacts, or the knowledge to operate successfully in the Upper Great Lakes. Fortunately for Astor, he was able to form a relationship with the Johnstons (Oshasuguscodaywayquay and John) on the St. Mary's River, as well as other mixed-raced families in the region.

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[714] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A History*, "War of 1812"
[715] Ibid, Chapter 4.

The Johnstons had no great love for the United States, but were now forced to form connections with certain Americans, in order to recoup their losses from the War of 1812. Astor, who was flush with capital, needed to local traders' connections, abilities, and knowledge of the region. Oshasuguscodaywayquay and John Johnston's relationship with Astor is representative of the shifting power structures on the St. Mary's River in the early nineteenth century. This relationship between the Johnstons of the St. Mary's River, and Astor, was an exploitative one, which allowed Astor to use the Johnstons' position on the St. Mary's River to expand into Lake Superior by 1818. Astor entrusted the local knowledge and connections of John Johnston and Oshasuguscodaywayquay by providing them with $40,000 of capital. Not only was the capital necessary after their losses of the war, partnering with Astor allowed them to legally continue their trade connections in the United States (to which they were now restricted from, despite living in United States' territory). Partnerships such as this, were invaluable to Astor's expansion, but corporate control of the fur trade led to increasingly exploitive situations for the residents of the St. Mary's River.[716]

The Johnstons, and other families established in the region (LaFramboise, Schindler, and others), now continued their trade with Astor as an outfitter because they lacked a better alternative.[717] Their connections to Anishinaabeg and Métis hunters in the region, made them invaluable middlemen for Astor. But despite the almost legendary profits made by Astor, these established wealthy families on the St. Mary's River, witnessed their own fortunes dwindle; as exploitative capitalism began to slowly replace the established trade customs of the country. With a more established European population in the Great Lakes (after the War of 1812), the Anishinaabeg of the Upper Great Lakes were increasingly losing their long-held ability to set the pace of the fur trade. This trend was made worse by legislation, which forced Anishinaabeg hunters to pick a trade partner; rather than using the European-competition to ensure a fair trade was made.

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[716] William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, 384.
[717] Ibid, 384.

This meant that Anishinaabeg and Métis families felt the effects of this United States intervention at every level of the fur trade distribution network. While Astor has been celebrated as an early capitalist hero of the United States, his fortunes were made at the expense of Indigenous populations, and his labourers. Astor used established representatives in the fur trade to expand his trade networks, but also lobbied Congress to shape legislation in a way that allowed him to implore exploitative tactics in the region. Astor's early success also worked to encourage United States expansion into the region, which worked to further undermine the local customs, legal structures, and lifeways of Indigenous populations. This period in particular, is pointed to by historians as marking important cultural and legislative changes on the St. Mary's River. Colonial interference on Baawitigong had been a slow process prior to the War of 1812, but would increase rapidly following the signing of the Treaty of Ghent (on December 24, 1814); which effectively placed large sections of the Great Lakes under United States control.[718]

These colonial tensions were apparent on the St. Mary's River into the nineteenth-century, and increasingly these tensions worked to affect the Indigenous populations, and the St. Mary's River itself.[719] Sleeper-Smith points specifically to Tecumseh's defeat during the War of 1812 as a turning-point in the establishment of United States hegemonic-forces. She describes how "An increasingly repressive style of governance emerged, a process of state formation that ultimately challenged and redefined the inter-related world of the fur trade."[720]

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[718] "Treaty of Ghent" in A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, American State Paper v.3 (13th Congress, 3rd Session), 745-753.
[719] Ibid, Chapter 2.
[720] Sleeper-Smith, Susan. ""[A]n Unpleasant Transaction on This Frontier", 424.

Bieder has written: “At the Sault, within two decades after the war [of 1812], most of the old ways were forgotten; the old residents were largely supplanted by the incoming Americans, and a new Sault Ste. Marie sat on the south bank of the St. Mary’s River.”[721] Or as Magnaghi describes it: “Suddenly authority came from law, not custom.”[722] This sentiment is also back by historians Karl Hele, Janet Chute, and Alan Knight.[723]

The Ojibwa and Métis populations on Baawitigong however, continued to demonstrate resistance to the United States even after the War of 1812; by threatened the United States soldiers when they arrived on the banks of the St. Mary’s Rapids in 1815 and 1816.[724] This pushback against the United States was representative of a growing political movement on the St. Mary’s River. The Indigenous populations around the St. Mary’s River recognized that the United States legislation was increasingly destabilizing to their own security. In the face of this growing threat, important leaders emerged from this conflict, including some of the known veterans of the War of 1812, who were from the St. Mary’s River: Waishkey, Shingwaukonse, and Sassabassa. As well as the important leadership of Ozhaguscodaywayquay (who although she was a civilian, had watched United States troops burn her house to the ground). In the face of this mass colonial influx westward, the experiences of these leaders on Baawitigong, would directly influence their resistance movements into the nineteenth century. In the process, they set important legal precedents for treaty negotiations, led important environmental-focused protests, and influenced legal structures which continues to inform policy (in both Canada and the United States) today.

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[721] Robert E. Bieder, "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812”, 13.
[722] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 2.
[723] Ibid.
[724] Bieder, Robert E. "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812: A World Turned Upside Down in the Old Northwest." *Indiana Magazine of History* (1999)., 9.

Chapter 6: A River Wronged: Physical, Ecological, and Legislative Changes Made to Baawitigong (1815-1860)

Overview

Into the second decade of the nineteenth century, colonial pressures became much more distinct on the St. Mary's River. These colonial forces were not only increasingly disruptive to the traditions movements of the Anishinaabeg, they were also destructive to the local ecology on the Great Lakes. On the St. Mary's River, Indigenous leaders became increasingly concerned with resisting these threats. At Baawitigong, Ozhaguscodaywayquay and her family gained a following amongst the Anishinaabeg, Métis, and European colonialists, by the beginning of the nineteenth-century. Ozhaguscodaywayquay alongside her husband John Johnston, used their positions in both cultural spheres (Anishinaabeg and European), to negotiate with various colonial representatives at Baawitigong.[725] Into the 1830s, Shingwaukonse "Little Pine" (1773-1854) came to the forefront of indigenous leadership on the St. Mary's River. Shingwauk and his sons Ogista/Augustan (1800-1890) and Buhkwujjenene "Wild Man" (1811-1900), fostered a closer relationship with British North America/Upper Canada than the United States; and are credited for over a century of First Nations leadership on the St. Mary's River.[726] In the face of government land-grabs, unfair legislation, broken treaty promises, and destructive land use policies on both sides of the border. The actions of these leaders on the St. Mary's River, helped to protect the River itself; as well as to ensure the continuation of the lifeways, traditional knowledge, belief-systems, and sovereignty of Anishinaabeg and Metis populations throughout the Great Lakes region.

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[725] Marjorie Cahn Brazer, *Harps upon the willows: the Johnston family of the Old Northwest* (American Society of Civil Engineers, 1993).

[726] Janet Elizabeth Chute*, The Legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 4-9.

Section I: Threats, Treaties, and Treachery: the policy of the United States and Upper Canada towards Baawitigong (1815-1820)

The *official* entrance of the United States government to the St. Mary's River (excluding the attacks of the War of 1812) followed the famous fur trader Jacob Astor into the region. But when United States soldiers arrived on the banks of the St. Mary's River in 1815 and 1816, they were met with military threats, and forced to turn back.[727] This period in particular, would see the entrance of several well-known figures (in the History of both the United States and Canada) into the Upper Great Lakes region (e.g. Lewis Cass, Henry Schoolcraft, and Alexander Vidal) who attempted to claim this region for their respective colonial governments. These figures are often depicted as forefathers of these nationalistic histories, and these individuals were important in the formation of their respective governments. The emphasis on Euro-American actors in these histories however, has been demonstrated to be a part of a larger colonial conspiracy; intent on glorifying European figures, while ignoring the contributions, and suffering of Indigenous Americans. Yet equally (or more) important than any of these early nineteenth-century Euro-Americans' contributors to North American history, are the contributions of Indigenous and Métis leaders from the Great Lakes during this period. In the face of nearly-insurmountable odds, these Indigenous leaders on the St. Mary's River, took important steps to protect their people, their rights, and the surrounding landscape throughout dangerous shifts in the nineteenth century.

The St. Mary's River in the early nineteenth century, works as a case-study which demonstrates the importance of Indigenous leaders on the Great Lakes, to the trajectory of North American history as a whole.[728] This Indigenous resistance became clearer after the War of 1812, as the United States government attempted to demonstrate its influence on a larger scale; in part, to make Indigenous peoples' land, available for white settlement. While the roles of these Indigenous leaders are generally less known, than the role of Euro-Americans. Leaders such as Oshasuguscodaywayquay, Shingwauk, Peter Jones, William Warren, George Copway, Nebenaigoching, and Louis Riel worked tirelessly in this period for political representation, land-rights, and basic human rights. They negotiated important treaty protections on both sides of the border, launched protests, petitions, ad campaigns, political sit-ins, negotiated with government officials, and met with royalty; all the while, risking their lives and freedoms.

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[727] Robert E. Bieber, "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812", 9.

[728] Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shape Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 9-12.

The end of the War of 1812, began a period of land purchases by the United States government in 1818, at which point Alexander Macomb also entered the Upper Great Lakes on behalf of the United States.[729] Upon arriving on the St. Mary's River, Macomb reports that it would be a suitable location for an American government fort, to "have an excellent effect both as it regards our Indian relations & the revenue laws."[730] Historian Richard Bremer has demonstrated how United States official Lewis Cass, had definite intentions on extinguishing Ojibwa land claims along the St. Mary's River by at least the time he received this report in 1818.[731] While the United States government wanted to establish these military forts in the region, it proved to be much more difficult in practice. Indigenous resistance to United States expansion on Baawitigong, worked to ensure that the United States could not expand as rapidly westward as the United States' government hoped. But the importance of the St. Mary's River as a gateway to the west, was picked up on by officials in Washington; which led to changes in legislation on the river.

Through the notes of Cass and Calhoun, the attentions of a centralized colonial-government, were drawn to the St. Mary's River. Calhoun advised that, "As a military position will probably be taken on the straits of St. Mary's, you will give instructions to the agent at Michilimackinac to ascertain, whether the Indians who claim the lands along the straits are disposed to make a cession."[732] Cass would get in touch with the Indian Agent at Mackinac (George Boyd), in order to test the waters. But, Boyd was initially unsure (or unwilling to share his thoughts), of the anti-United States sentiment on the St. Mary's River. After receiving a letter from the General Alexander Macomb dated September 7, 1818, which reported that the population on the St. Mary's River was hostile to an American fort, the more militant Calhoun decided to act.

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[729] Victor P. Lytwn Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts, 48.

[730] "Alexander Macomb to the Secretary of War (Detroit, September 7, 1818), in *The territorial papers of the United States* Vol. 636. (eds.) Clarence Edwin Carter and John Porter Bloom, (United States Government Printing Office, 1934), 781.

[731] Richard Bremer, "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft: explorer in the Mississippi Valley, 1818-1832." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66, no. 1 (1982): 40-59.

Calhoun now decided that a show of force was needed to cow the population of the St. Mary's into submission of the United States government's trade laws. Calhoun wrote a letter to General Jacob Brown on October 17, 1818 which outlines the St. Mary's River's importance to the United States' strategy.[733] He wrote:

> I transmit to you a sketch of the country according to the best information in the Department, by reference to which it will be seen, that the positions will completely command the country, and prevent the introducing of foreign traders. These positions, with those at Green Bay, Chicago and Sault of the St. Mary's, will render your command, in that quarter, imposing.[734]

Writing to Cass on March 27, 1819 a letter which outlined his policy regarding the land, Calhoun gave Cass instructions on how he was to negotiate with the Indigenous populations.[735] Writing that:

> The rapid and dense settlement of the Peninsula of Michigan is considered important in a material point of view, and this can best be effected by an entire extinguishment of the Indian title if it can be effects on fair terms; but if it can not it will only remain to concentrate their population on reservations of reasonable extent... you will incur no expense that will not be necessary to the success of the negociation.[736]

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[732] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern regions of the United States: extending from Detroit through the great chain of American lakes to the sources of the Mississippi River, performed as a member of the expedition under Governor Cass in the year 1820* (E. & E. Hosford, 1821), 301.

[733] Ibid, 281-282.

[734] Ibid, 282.

[735] Ibid, 285-286.

[736] Ibid, 285.

In no uncertain terms, Calhoun outlined the government's plan for separating Native Americans from the Michigan territory as cheaply as possible; in order to settle a European population, and extract resources.[737] This policy was a policy radically different from the policies employed by the French (or even the British), in the *Pays D'en Haut*.

Calhoun went further in his designs than displacement, he blatantly attempted to increase Government control on this territory, in return for the least amount of compensation possible. Cass realized that this policy was unlikely to entice Indigenous Americans away from their British allies, and wrote to Calhoun, August 3, 1819, warning of possible Native uprising.[738] Cass gave his own insight to this resistance, writing: "My own opinion is that there is an intention of reviving the plans and policy of Tecumseh and of uniting them in a general confederacy."[739] Cass believed that negotiations, and separation from the British (and indeed, from white-Americans), would lead to a more peaceful existence for the Anishinaabeg. Cass believed that the St. Mary's River's population was growing more open to a negotiation with the United States, and was willing to make some concessions.[740]

While Cass believed the Indigenous groups were open to negotiations, he also believed that these negotiations had been unsuccessful because of British interference.[741] In addition to his overt attempts at blatant land-grabs, and the perusal of policies which promoted cultural genocide, Cass's letters have a certain ignorant, and bumbling nature to his approach to the St. Mary's River region.[742] Additionally, the writings of Calhoun, seem to suggest that if Cass failed to secure United States' interests in the region, military intervention would follow. This aggressive approach by the United States government, only increased the anti-American sentiment on the St. Mary's River; which by 1820, had grown to an extent, that this population was no longer making its regular trips to Mackinac (in order to avoid direct contact with the United States Agents).

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[737] Ibid, 285.

[738] He wrote the "It is believed that the annuities paid by the Government to the Indians have rather a pernicious effect on them as they encourage idleness and dissipation". Cass explained to Calhoun:

> There appears to be a morbid sensibility among the Indians, which I can attribute to nothing but the same [British] interference and counsels. They are restless and discontented without assigning any particular cause for it, and without clearly indicating any definit course, which they wish or intend to take, They say there are belts passing large enough for them all to sit upon, and speeches accompanying them. (Ibid, 288.)

[739] Ibid, 288.

[740] Ibid, 301.

[741] Ibid., 286, 302.

[742] After the (somewhat) failed attempts to secure Saginaw, Cass sought to alter his approach. Despite the available literature, the United States remained almost entirely ignorant of the region, its people, or its local

Cass however, believed that he had learned from his experiences at Saginaw earlier in the year, and was now prepared to negotiate for territory around Baawitigong in 1820. Cass assured Calhoun that "My experience at Indian treaties convinces me that reasonable cessions, upon proper terms, may at any time be procured."[743] Using Schoolcraft's account, alongside the correspondence of Cass, Calhoun, Boyd, and other US policy-makers in the region, helps to emphasize the level of strong-arming tactics used by the United States government in a blatant attempt to separate an indigenous population from their ancestral territory. Another important United States agent on the St. Mary's River was Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who began his time in the area as a member of the United States' contingent for this 1820 Treaty at Sault Ste. Marie. Amongst these European players, Lewis Cass and Henry Schoolcraft would play significant roles in the St. Mary's River region (and greater United States) throughout the nineteenth century. Schoolcraft's early accounts work to highlight the approach of the United States government to this river.

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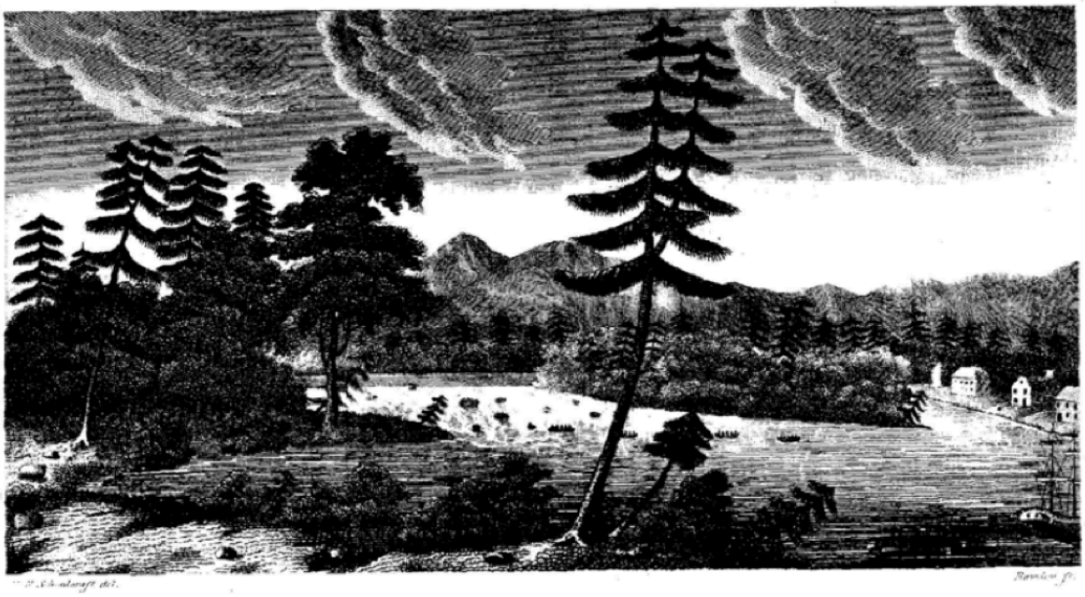
customs. Neither Cass, nor relevant members of the United States government it would seem, thought to read the Jesuit Relations, or other increasingly-popular contemporary accounts of the region (esp. John Carver's popular account, but also those left by the Raddisson's or Alexander Henry) which were published in English. Alexander Henry's account was to become much more famous after his death, especially because of its first-hand account of Pontaics Rebellion in the northern theatre, and because of the record his winter living with Wawatam. This work achieved international notice and was generally popular, translated into several languages, and released in various editions; of significant importance was the map included with this work which highlighted the locations where he believed there was copper. During the last decades of the eighteenth century, Johnathon Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (1778) was the seminal piece on the upper Great Lakes. Carver had spent much of 1766-1767 in the northwest of the upper Great Lakes, as an associate of Rogers. (see: Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, etc. With maps*. (Key & Simpson, 1796.); and: David Krause, *The making of a mining district: Keweenaw native copper 1500-1870* (Wayne State University Press, 1992), 41).

[743] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*, 303.

During this 1820 expedition, Henry Schoolcraft commented on this anti-American sentiment on the St. Mary's River. He recorded how: "Indian tribes were found in every part of the country visited by whom we were generally well received, except at the Sault Ste. Marie, where a hostile disposition was manifested."[744] His long winded writing style, also yields a detailed description of Sault Ste. Marie and the rapids in 1820, along with a sketch of Sault Ste. Marie, which according to him, serves "to convey an idea of the unusual manner in which the maple, and the pine,-- the elm, and the hemlock, and intermingled in the forests upon the banks of this beautiful stream."[745] He also describes the southern bank of the St. Mary's River, highlighting an Anishinaabe village, Métis settlement, and the remaining structures of several buildings (which were likely destroyed by United States soldiers in the War of 1812); including the remains of the Jesuit Mission, several trade posts, and the remains of the Cadot's fort.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SAULT DE ST MARIE

ALBANY. PUBLISHED BY E & E. HOSFORD 1821

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern regions of the United States: extending from Detroit through the great chain of American lakes to the sources of the Mississippi River, performed as a member of the expedition under Governor Cass in the year 1820.* (E. & E. Hosford, 1821), 130.

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[744] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal memoirs of a residence of thirty years with the Indian*, 57.
[745] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*, 131.

Schoolcraft's account also focused on the growing competition between the United States and British forces on the St. Mary' River. Turning his attention from the *American* bank of the St. Mary's River, Schoolcraft remarked on relatively few establishments on the *British* side. Writing, that:

> On the north, or Canadian shore of the river, there are also six or seven dwelling houses, occupied by French and English families, exclusive of the North-west Company's establishment, which is seated immediately at the foot of the Falls, and consists of a number of store and dwelling houses, a saw mill, and a boat yard… This company have also constructed a canal, with a lock at its lower enterance, and a towing path for drawing up barges and canoes. At the head of the rapid this have built a pier from one of the islands, forming a harbour, and here a schooner is generally lying to receive goods destined for the Grand Portage, and the regions northwest of Lake Superior.[746]

These constructions of the North West Company are apparent in the right-hand-side of the sketch of Sault Ste. Marie.[747] The accounts from Schoolcraft are amongst the richest accounts of the St. Mary's River at this time.

In this account, Schoolcraft was quick to recognize Baawitigong's strategic importance to the expansion and economic interests of the United States.[748] Schoolcraft was further convinced that due to its importance as a shipping route that St. Mary's River was particularly important to the United States growth. He wrote that: "No place could, therefore, be better adapted to acquire an influence over the savage tribes, to monopolize their commerce, and to guard the frontier settlements against their incursions."[749] He did not realize yet, that the Anishinaabeg had been using Baawitigong as a convenient location to trade and guard against colonial incursions, for centuries. These Indigenous populations (with over two centuries of experience dealing with Europeans), were aware of this looming military threat posed by the United States when they met this contingent on the banks of Baawitigong in 1820.[750] This meeting between Indigenous and Colonial forces on the St. Mary's River, marked a distinct shift the Indigenous-Colonial relationship in the region.

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[746] Ibid, 133-134.

[747] Henry Schoolcraft, "Sault De St Marie" in *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern regions of the United States*, 130.

[748] Schoolcraft wrote:

> It is, indeed; surprising to reflect upon the early enterprize and sound judgement of the French in seizing upon the points, commanding all the natural avenues and passes of the lakes, particularly when it is considered that these selections must necessarily have been the result of an intimate acquaintance with the geographical features of the country. (Henry Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels*, 135).

[749] Ibid, 134-135.

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[750] This is an account that also leaves much to be desired, especially as it was produced by a representative of the United States who was largely ignorant towards the region when he produced the record. This literature was produced by members of the United States government, who were attempting to force the resident indigenous populations to cede their lands to the United States government. The mandate of the United States' government motivated Schoolcraft's writing, and these 1820s reports were a motivating factor in Schoolcraft appointment to Indian Agent by the US government. Even with this inherent bias, the disregard for local populations the by the United States is clear in how they approached negotiations with Indigenous populations.

Section II: The Treaty at Sault Ste. Marie (1820): A Case Study of Indigenous Resistance, Ozhaguscodaywayquay at Baawitigong

In 1820, the established populations on the St. Mary's River brought together a council of respected members together to listen to United States representatives. The tension surrounding this meeting, was palpable from the start. This was an informative moment in the history of the St. Mary's River, and the United States. This 1820 Treaty on the St. Mary's River in particular, demonstrated to these Indigenous groups, that the United States would not negotiate in good faith as the French had; nor could they be driven from the Great Lakes like the British had been. This treaty *negotiation* would work to set precedents for the Anishinaabeg, United States, and Canadian governments in making treaties throughout the continent. These 1820 Treaty *negotiations* were important, as they worked to inform resistance tactics implored by the Anishinaabeg, Metis, and other Indigenous groups in the St. Mary's River; in the face of changing colonization tactics throughout the nineteenth century. While this 1820 Treaty Negotiation was legally, ethically, and morally suspect, it helped to set the pace for Indigenous resistance on the Upper Great Lakes throughout the nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first centuries. It is during this 1820 standoff on Baawitigong, that Ozhaguscodaywayquay (Susan Johnston) made one of her mostly politically-significant decisions; one which would inform the history of the St. Mary's River, and of North America as a whole.[751] The *negotiations* of this 1820s Treaty on the St. Mary's River were recorded by a young (and still relatively unknown) Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. Although his is a highly problematic account of the negotiation, it works to highlight the importance of a number of Indigenous leaders in the region, and their resistance strategies.

Fearing military attack, exploitation, and stealing by Europeans, several important Indigenous leaders attended this meeting by Baawitigong. Fearing anti-American sentiment on the St. Mary's River, the United States contingent (of 42 people in four canoes) departed from Mackinac on June 13, 1820, escorted by an oared-barge which carried an additional force of twenty-two men garrisoned on Mackinac under Lieutenant Pierce.[752] The military accompaniment was "deemed necessary to accompany us to the Sault".[753] A place "where the Indians reported to entertain a spirit of hospitality towards the United States, and some even went so far as to affirm that they would attempt to stop our passage through Lake Superior."[754] Regardless of the hostility, the expedition continued on towards the St. Mary's River. The contingent would have matched a later sketch by Thomas Loraine McKenney.

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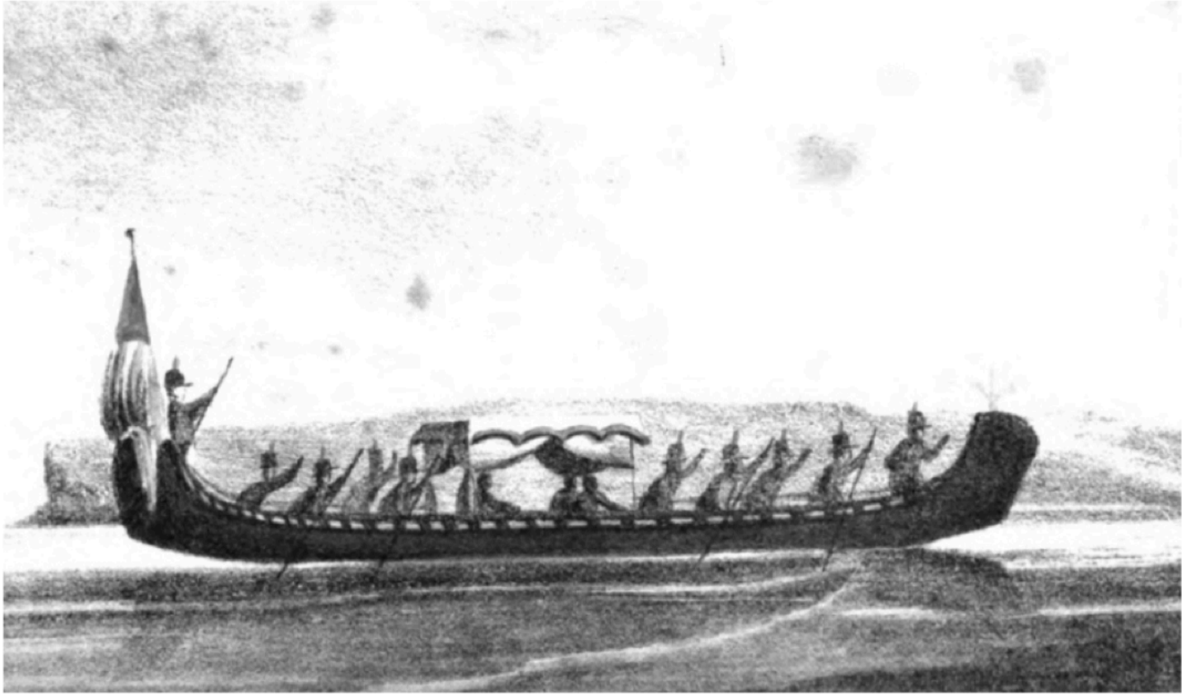
[751] See: "O-SHAU-GUSCODAY-WAY-GUA. now Mrs. Johnson",
Thomas Loraine McKenney "O-SHAU-GUSCODAY-WAY-GUA. now Mrs. Johnson" in *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes*, 185.



Thomas Loraine McKenny "Sketch of a Canoe on the St. Mary's River", in *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes, of the character and customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac,* (Baltimore, F. Lucas, 1827), 201.

The United States government was attempting to assert *rights* in this territory (*rights* which they believed came from the British in the forms of the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, and the Treaty of Ghent in 1814). The following year Henry Schoolcraft would publish a copy of his journal from this voyage including a description of the 1820 Treaty *negotiation* at Sault Ste. Marie. Schoolcraft described how, the Indigenous populations was prepared to meet these newcomers. He describes how Baawitigong's population, had formed: "a council of the chiefs of the Chippeway tribe was this morning summoned at the Governor's marque, and the views of the government explained to them."[755] Thomas McKenney's sketch of the Treaty of Fond du Lac in 1826, provides a visual approximation of this event at Baawitigong.[756]

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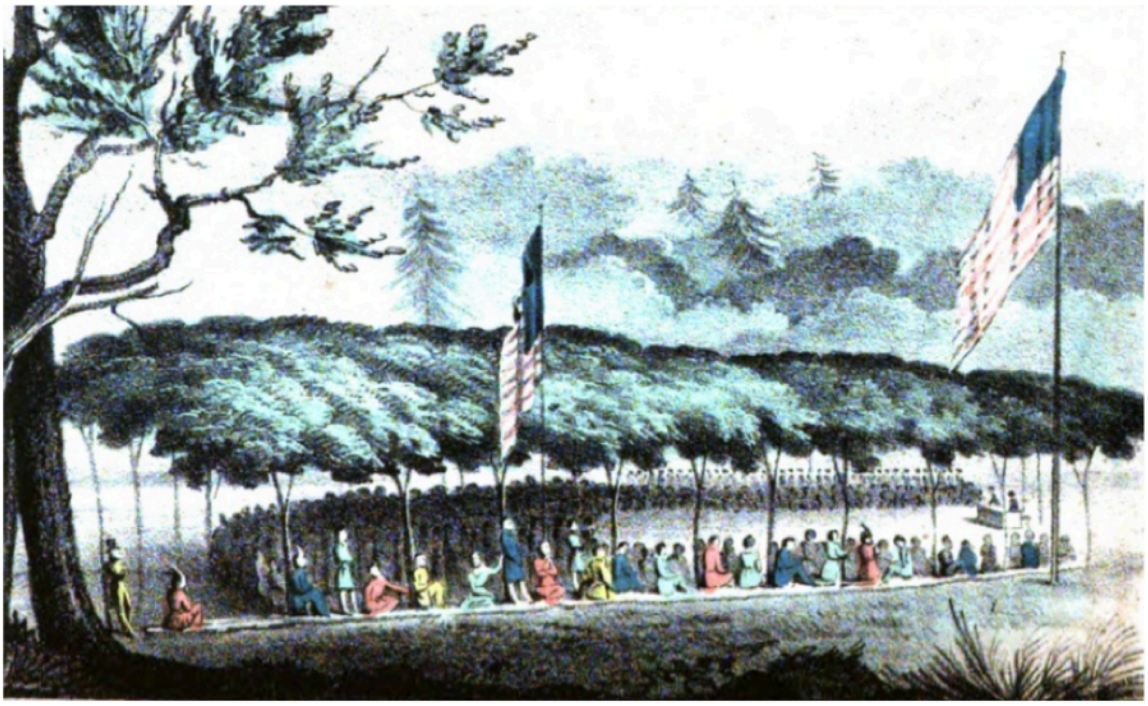
[752] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft*, Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*, 125.
[753] Ibid, 125-126.
[754] Ibid, 125-126.



Thomas Loraine McKenny "Grand Council Held at Fond Du Lac" (1826), in *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes, of the character and customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac,* (Baltimore, F. Lucas, 1827), 310.

The United States representatives explained that because there had been land granted to the French (for a military post), they were now entitled to this land by the terms of this 1795 treaty; and that they intended to leave a garrison of troops at this fort. The Anishinaabeg, who had never granted the French control of this territory (but had granted permission for certain individual to stay in the region), now had to defend their homeland from a new Euro-American force; one who would not abide by the customs of the country. The Anishinaabeg and Métis inhabitants, were at first nearly unanimously hostile to any United States force on the St. Mary's River; but some more so than others. Part of this distrust, was an overall distrust of the United States' intentions, coupled with the recent warfare against the United States (in the War of 1812). The establishment of this fort, was also the threat of a larger Euro-American presence on Baawitigong; and the beginning of enforceable United States legislation in the region.

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[755] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*, 135.
[756] "Grand Council Held at Fond Du Lac" (1826)
Thomas Loraine McKenney "Grand Council Held at Fond Du Lac" (1826), in *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes, of the character and customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac,* (Baltimore, F. Lucas, 1827), 310.

Whatever the claims of the United States' government about their right to Sault Ste. Marie, even those who were legally United States' citizens (Euro-Americans settled on *United States territory*) at Baawitigong, often rejected the authority of the United States government. For Anishinaabeg and Métis populations, this distrust of the United States government was even more pronounced. This was a government, who generally excluded them from the protection of their own laws, as explained by Frank Pommersheim "tribal sovereignty was (partially) recognized within the Constitution, but without sufficient national commitment, understanding, or adequate safeguard to vouchsafe it against the tides of national expansion and exploitation."[757] Like the British before them, the United States had never defeated the Ojibwa in a war, but were now trying to dictate terms on the Upper Great Lakes. The populations around the St. Mary's River was wary of the United States contingent, and the local leaders came together to meet these intruders.

Several important leaders on Baawitigong attended this council, particularly Ozhaguscodaywayquay, Shingwauk, and Sassabasa; all of three of whom, had aligned themselves with the British during the War of 1812. Henry Schoolcraft recorded how during this meeting, this Indigenous contingent, were:

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[757] Frank Pommersheim, Frank. *Broken Landscape: Indians, Indian Tribes, and the Constitution*. (Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.

> seated in their usual ceremonious manner, listened with attention, and several of the chiefs spoke in reply. They were evidently opposed to the proposition, and first endeavoured to evade it, by pretending to know nothing of the former grant, but this point being pressed home, was afterwards given up, --still they continued to speak in an evasive and desultory manner, which amounted to a negative refusal.[758]

Although they opposed United States' settlement on their banks, the Anishinaabeg were willing to negotiate. Schoolcraft recording that "observable that there was no great unanimity of opinion among them and some animated discussion, between themselves, took place. Some appeared in favour of settling the boundary, provided it was not intended to be occupied by a garrison," warning the Americans that "they were afraid in that case, their young men might prove unruly, and kill the cattle and hogs that should stray away from the garrison."[759] This insinuation that roaming American livestock (or United States soldiers, as the United States delegation interpreted it), might be killed by the local population, was quite poorly received.

After this "insidious threat", the United States officials quickly dropped the guise of attempting to negotiate, and began to make threatening demands.[760] Even Schoolcraft "was particularly struck with the reply of Gov. Cass," who told them:

> of a garrison at the Sault, they might give themselves no uneasiness, for that point was already settled, and so sure as the sun, which was then rising, would set, so sure would there be an American garrison sent to that place, whether they renewed the grant or not.[761]

For the United States to take such a heavy-handed approach, must have taken the chiefs aback. Hearing this, after they had been informed by another Euro-American officer, that the United States had no intention of settling the Garrison in the first place. Rather than negotiating a peaceful co-existence, it became increasingly clear the United States' government was here to make demands; and were willing to exert military force on the First Nations of the St. Mary's River to enforce these demands.

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[758] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern regions of the United States*, 137.
[759] Ibid, 136-137.
[760] Ibid, 137.
[761] Ibid, 137.

This was the worst fear for the populations on the St. Mary's River, that the Euro-Americans would not honour the customs of the country; and instead, would attempt to claim the region as their own. The United States representatives also grew frustrated as the council was "determined not to accede to our wishes" (and surrender their ancestral territory).[762] After reaching this stalemate, tensions began to further rise, Henry noted that:

> in seeing ourselves surrounded by a brilliant assembly of chiefs, dressed in costly broadcloths, feathers, epaulets, medals, and silver wares of British fabric, and armed from the manufactories of Birmingham, all gratuitously given, we could not mistake the influence by which they were actuated in this negociation.[763]

Despite the apparent stalemate, the conversations of the council continued on for several more hours "during the latter part of which the Indians employed a very animated language, and strong gesticulation, the council broke up, somewhat abruptly, without coming to any final decision, at least, without assenting to the proposition."[764] This was typical of Anishinaabeg councils, which functioned on open (and often lengthy) discussion/debate before a major political decision was made.

The anti-United States sentiment on the St. Mary's River was made clear, as the Anishinaabeg took their recess. Before breaking-up, a young chief named Sassabasa (with particularly strong anti-American sentiments), made his feelings known to the group. Furious with the behaviour and intentions of the United States, Sassabasa addressed the representatives directly. During "the course of his speech, drew his war-lance and stuck it furiously in the ground before him".[765] Sassabasa was dressed in his British military uniform, and made it clear that the St. Mary's River populations did not welcome the United States. When he left, the council he "kicked away the presents which had been laid before him."[766] Sassabasa went further in demonstrating his anti-American feelings, after making his exit. He returned to the village, and "hoisted the British flag in the midst of their encampment."[767] The message was clearly that, gifts and threats, would not force the Anishinaabeg to separate from their land; or to give up their allies.[768]

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[762] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*, 137.
[763] Ibid, 137.
[764] Ibid, 137.
[765] Ibid, 137.

Cass took serious offence to this action however, fearing an Anishinaabeg uprising (with British support). He "immediately ordered the expedition under arms, and calling the interpreter, proceeded, with no other escort, to the lodge of the chief, before whose door it had been erected, took down the insulting flag, and carried it back to our camp."[769] Going one step further, Cass then barged into "the lodge of the chief who had raised it, (the same who had before drawn his war-lance in council)".[770] With only Sassabasa, Cass, and the interpreter present, it is unknown exactly what was said during Cass's home invasion. But the events that would later transpire, suggests that this was not a friendly settling of differences between Sassabasa and Cass. Henry Schoolcraft recounts a paraphrased version of Cass's speech (acknowledging that this speech was his paraphrased account which had been relayed to him by the interpreter).[771]

Whether this account is accurate, or not, it does speak to the United States' general approach to negotiating with Indigenous populations. According to this account, Cass told Sassabasa that his actions were:

> an indignity they were not permitted to offer upon the American territories,-- that we were their natural guardians and friends, and were always studious to render them

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[766] Ibid, 137.

[767] Ibid, 137.

[768] McKenney's sketch of a wigwam again provides a visual approximation of Sassabasa'a home (with the exception of the United States' flag)
Thomas Loraine McKenney "Chippeway Indian Lodge", in *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes*, 288.

[769] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*,

[770] Ibid, 138.

[771] Ibid, 138.

> strict justice, and to promote their peace and happiness; but the flag was the distinguishing token of national power, connected with our honour and independence,--that two national standards could not fly in peace upon the same territory,--and that they were forbid to raise any but our own, and if they should again presume to attempt it, the United States would set a strong foot upon their necks, and crush them to the earth.[772]

If this really is what Cass said, it is hard to say whether he was trying to protect them from the more hawkish Calhoun; or, if he was simply having a temper-tantrum because these people would not surrender their ancestral homeland. This negotiation process however, was not going well for anyone.

Far from tempering emotions, or scaring the Indigenous populations into submission, Cass's speech had the opposite effect. Schoolcraft reports, how within "ten minutes from the Governor's return to our camp, the Indians cleared their lodges of every woman and child, covering the river with canoes, and expecting so decisive a step to be followed by a general attack of their camp."[773] Both sides were now at arms, and awaiting an attack from the other. The Indigenous force "was between seventy and eighty, being also well armed in the Indian manner."[774] It is likely that they would have easily handled the "sixty-six men, well armed and prepared;" of whom, only "about thirty of whom were United States soldiers."[775] Within this standoff on the St. Mary's River, held the future of the Ojibwa nation.

The population on the St. Mary's River now faced an impossible choice: cede to United States occupation, or risk fighting the forces of the American army. While this latter option would have been preferred by many, they would likely have had to engage in this war without significant support from their British allies (who had proved themselves less-than-effective against Euro-American forces anyways). Appropriately, the Ojibwa formed up on the higher ground being claimed by the United States ("formerly the site of the French fort," where the Cadots had resided), where a fire had forced British armed forces from the St. Mary's River, only sixty years earlier.[776] In this 1820 standoff, the vulnerable Euro-Americans' "encampment was regularly formed upon the green, near the banks of the river."[777] The forces stood, "at the distance of five or six hundred yards, and separated … by a small ravine."[778] It is quite likely that this Indigenous force would have won the day, but even if they won, fighting with this United States contingent threatened to plunge the Upper Great Lakes into another bloody war with the United States (less than a decade after the War of 1812).

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[772] Ibid, 137-138.
[773] Ibid, 139.
[774] Ibid, 139.
[775] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Narrative journal of travels through the northwestern*, 139.

Instead, Ozhaguscodaywayquay became a moderating force between the Anishinaabeg and United States representatives, summoning a smaller council in her residence during this stalemate. McKenney recounts how she then counselled the populations at Baawitigong to negotiate a deal:

> she, at this critical moment, sent for some of the principal chiefs, directing that they should, to avoid the observation of the great body of Indians, make a circuit, and meet her in an avenue at the back of her residence, and there, by her luminous exposition of their own weakness, and the power of the United States; and by assurances of the friendly disposition of the government towards them, and of their own mistaken views of the entire object of the commissioner, produced a change which resulted, on that same evening, in the conclusion of a treaty.[779]

As a result of this unexpected twist, Cass (who had worked to provoke the situation), now: "was made fully sensible of her power then- for, when every evidence was given that the then pending negociation would issue not only by a resistance on the part of the Indians to the propositions of the commissioner, but in a serious rupture".[780] Ozhaguscodaywayquay's council had helped the population on Baawitigong avoid a war against the United States government, but this peace came at a cost.

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[776] Ibid, 139.
[777] Ibid, 139.
[778] Ibid, 139.
[779] Thomas McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour of the Lakes*, 182-184.
[780] Ibid, 182-184.

Thanks to Ozhaguscodaywayquay's intervention, the Sault Bands reluctantly decided to grant the United States authority to establish a fort on the St. Mary's River. While Ozhaguscodaywayquay was able to pacify the American influence, she did what she believed was best for her people; attempting to find a working compromise with the United States government. She had first-hand experience in what a war with the United States could bring, and looked for a way to appease the United States in a way that allowed her people to retain their lifeways in the region.[781] As recorded by McKenney: "She has never been known in a single instance, to council her people but in accordance with her conceptions of what was best for them, and in opposition to the views of the government."[782] By speaking on behalf of the United States in 1820, Ozhaguscodaywayquay was also taking responsibility of acting as a diplomatic emissary between the populations of Sault Ste. Marie, and the United States government. Ozhaguscodaywayquay would play is a diplomatic role on the St. Mary's River for the next two decades, and prepared her daughters for similar roles in the political world of the Upper Great Lakes.

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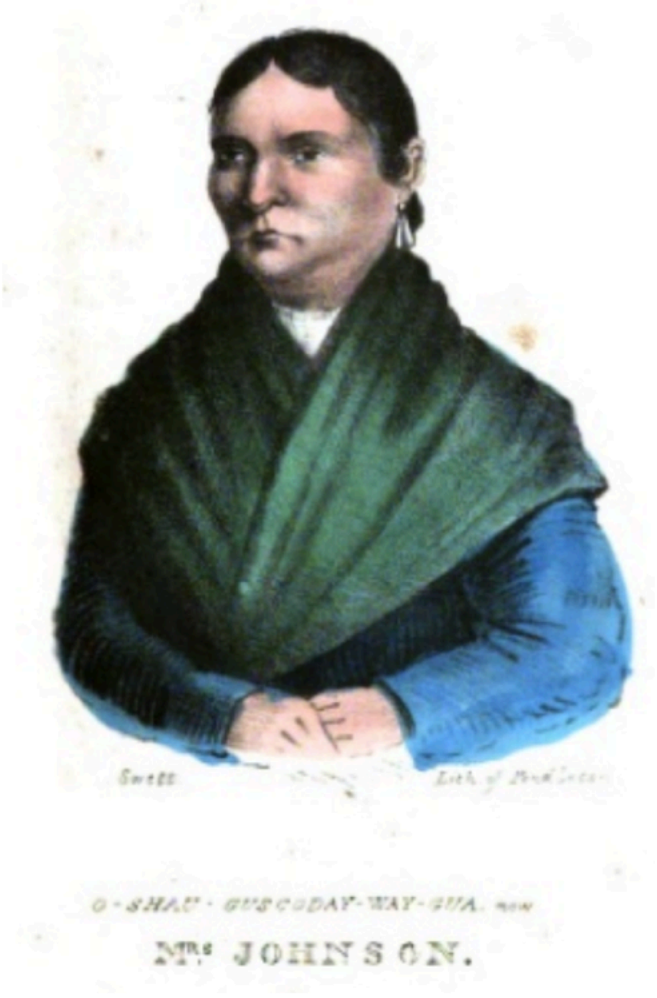
[781] Robert Dale Parker, "Introduction" in "The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky." *Ed. Robert Dale Parker.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 15-19.
[782] Ibid, 184.



Thomas Loraine McKenny "O-SHAU-GUSCODAY-WAY-GUA. now Mrs. Johnson" in *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes*, 185.

Despite the family's reasons to be distrustful towards the Americans (since the War of 1812), Ozhaguscodaywayquay (and her European husband John) had seen the necessity working with certain Americans after the war. By working with Astor, the Johnstons had been able to recoup some of their family's loses in the aftermath of the recent war, and built a new (albeit, much smaller) family house. The Johnston family however, had no love for the United States government, or its army. A force that only eight years previously, Ozhaguscodaywayquay had watched raid her possessions, and who burnt her house to the ground. In this war, John Johnston had helped lead the attack on Mackinac Island, and his daughter Jane accompanied him as a nurse (while only 12 years old). After their victory on

Mackinac Island they treated and released United States' soldiers. Before the United States army mistreated and maimed one of the children Johnston children captured fighting for the British in the southern Great Lakes. One way or another, the United States had placed the lives of every member of the Johnston family in serious jeopardy.

Yet despite these personal calamities (or perhaps became of them), Ozhaguscodaywayquay had now cautioned an entire community against agitating the force of the United States government. United States Indian Agent Thomas McKenney, would record this interesting section of history after having dinner at the Johnston house in 1826. McKenney wrote of her: "As to influence, there is not a chief in the Chippeway nation who exercises it, when necessary for her to do so, with equal success."[783] This influence was noticed by several government officials, and McKenney wrote that: "I have heard Governor Cass say he felt himself then [in 1820], and does yet [in 1826], under the greatest obligations to Mrs. J. for her cooperation at that critical moment; and that the United States are debtor to her, not only on account of that act, but on many others."[784] Thanks to her interventions, on June 16, 1820, a Treaty was concluded on the southern banks of the rapids of the St. Mary's River signed by fifteen Chippewa representatives, and Lewis Cass; seeing land allotted to the United States' use.

Importantly, this treaty also acknowledged the Chippewa's (a term used in the United States' equivalent to "Ojibwa") rights to stipulate fishing on the rapids.[785] For the Anishinaabeg, allowing a small fort to be established on the banks, was a compromise that was meant to assure their continued rights, lifeways, and territorial control on the region. For Cass and Schoolcraft, the signing of this Treaty helped to ascertain their continued role in the establishment of Michigan. According to this 1820 treaty:

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[783] Thomas McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour of the Lakes*, 184, 182-184.

[784] Ibid, 184.

[785] Donald Fixico (ed.), *Treaties with American Indians: An Encyclopaedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty [3 volumes]: An Encyclopaedia of Rights, Conflicts, and Sovereignty* (Abc-clio, 2007), 300.

> The right of soil to all that part of the peninsula of Michigan, not purchased by the United States, is divided between the Ogibwais and the Ottowais. The former claim all the shores and islands of Lake Huron, situated north of the Sagana purchase, except those in the vicinity of Michilimackinac, and the Saint Martin, or Gypsum Islands, which were ceded, by treaty, on the 6th of July, 1820. Their territories continue north, through the river St Mary's, embracing the country on both banks, and the islands in the river saving Drummond's Island which is garrisoned by the British, and the four-mile concession at the Sault, or falls now occupied by a detachment of the United States army. It is not deemed necessary to point out the limits of their territories with more precision, or to pursue them into the Canadas, where they are also very extensive.[786]

In his own account, Schoolcraft explained that: "By the treaty concluded at this post on the 16th of June 1820 the Ogibwai* Indians cede to the United States four miles square of territory bounded by the river St Mary's and including the portage around the falls."[787] Explaining its significance, as "This is the most northerly point to which the Indian title has been extinguished in the United States."[788]

Signing this treaty in 1820 at Baawitigong, likely worked to spare the St. Mary's River an attack by the United States military. If they had not agreed to the establishment of this fort, they would have likely faced another war, in which the British were unlikely to assist their cause. Ozhaguscodaywayquay perhaps made the case that a fort represented only a limited United States presence, and might take decades to complete and man (if at all). It was under her direction that the community leaders at St. Mary's River reluctantly accepted some of the United States' terms. Although Ozhaguscodaywayquay encouraged an agreement with the United States, she did not abandon her resistance to United States expansion onto the river. Instead, Ozhaguscodaywayquay relied on age-old diplomatic practices of the region, to adjust her negotiation approach with the United States' government.

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[786] Letter to John C. Calhoun Secretary of War, October 1, 1822, from Henry Schoolcraft US Indian Agent in Sault Ste. Marie", accessed in "Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting A Report of the Secretary of War, on the Number, Value, & Position, of the Copper Mines of the Southern Shore of Lake Superior". Printed by order of the Senate of the United States (Gales & Seaton; Washington, 1822), 9.

[787] Ibid, 8-9.

[788] Ibid, 8-9.

Bieder suggests that, at the urging of the trader families, such as the Johnstons, "Ingratiation became a major alternative to aggression in meeting American challenges to the social and economic affairs of Sault Ste. Marie."[789] He points to John Johnston as "The most adroit practitioner of this form of resistance" as he attempted to influence American policy, by introducing United States Officials to the local culture. This strategy, is the same reason why Ozhaguscodaywayquay's father (Waubojeeg meaning "the white fisher") granted John Johnston permission to marry his daughter. While John Johnston likely played some role in informing this strategy, Ozhaguscodaywayquay was by far its "most adroit practitioner" at Baawitigong. Ozhaguscodaywayquay not only taught John Johnston the cultural expectations (and language) of the region, but also informed his business and political decisions.

The Johnstons diplomatic position in Sault Ste. Marie, grew in the 1820s, after Ozhaguscodaywayquay's intervention in the 1820 Treaty at Sault Ste. Marie. In pursuing this policy, Ozhaguscodaywayquay (and her husband John Johnston), even boarded American Officers in the 1820s; and encouraged their daughter Jane to marry the first United States Indian Agent stationed at Baawitigong (Henry Rowe Schoolcraft). This was a practice which Ozhaguscodaywayquay would continue even after her husband's death (in 1828); when she encouraged her daughter (Charlotte) to marry a missionary from Upper Canada (in 1833).[790] By creating family connections with colonial agents, the Johnstons were able to shift their thinking, and inform governmental policies. Yet throughout Ozhaguscodaywayquay's resistance, and during her integration of colonial agents, she continued to live by traditional Anishinaabeg lifeways, and fight for her people.

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[789] Robert E. Bieder, "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812", 10.

[790] Ibid, 10.

Section III: Social, Economic, and Ecological Shifts at Baawitigong (1820-1830)

The four-mile land claim made by the United States' government in 1820, would however, have a wide range of consequences in the region.[791] These consequences were initially gradual, but began to accelerate after this 1820 Treaty. Although the border on the St. Mary's River was more clearly established, there would still be three decades of debate before the border across the St. Mary's River was firmly defined.[792] Historian on the region Victor Lytwyn, points to "visible proof at Sault Ste. Marie"" that lifeways continued with minimal United States' impact for "over a decade after the treaty."[793] This 1820 Treaty however, led both the governments of the United States and of British North America, to look to Baawitigong, as strategically important to their western-push into the continent. Although this shift was gradual, the radial-effects of these "lines drawn upon the water" began to accumulate, and worked to notably alter the banks, towns, and structure of the St. Mary's River by the middle of the nineteenth century. Changing land use policies in particular, marked the shift from the reliance on established economic staples (trade in furs, fish, and sugar), to industrialized efforts (timbering, farming, and mining); which worked to further undermine the established populations at Baawitigong.

This new population of United States settlers, now sought to change the local economy. Conflicting land-use patterns, and cultural differences, began to create conflict on the St. Mary's River; even amongst European-descended population. Historian Bieder has described how members of the American armies, and others including "government blacksmiths, saloon- and storekeepers, missionaries–[who] also rejected the customs and enjoyments of the old residents."[794] The French and British, were unable to achieve the established European-style village at the rapids that they had envisioned. Instead, their success in the region had come from relying on the established infrastructure, and trade routes, of the indigenous populations.

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[791] Hele, Karl Scott. "'By the Rapids': The Anishinabeg-missionary Encounter at Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie), C. 1821-1871." PhD diss., McGill University Libraries, 2002., 19.

[792] During the 1820 survey of the International Border, Major Delafield wrote in 1820 that:

> No map that I have seen has any truth as it respects the position of Drummond's or the other islands about the Saint Marys. We entered this bay [at the site of Fort Drummond] without a pilot, but we are told that we cannot proceed up the river without one.) (see: Bayliss. River of Destiny, 130).

[793] Victor P. Lytwyn, *New Histories for Old*, 47.

Into the 1820s-1830s, the government of the United States and Upper Canada, looked to shift this relationship. They now viewed the Upper Great Lakes as a potential source of income, and colonial settlements. Their legislation, land-use patterns, and economic pursuits, now directly threatened the relationship which the Anishinaabeg (and Métis) had established with the St. Mary's River. This interference, worked to further influence the establish Fur Trade, and after 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company took control of the reeling North West Company's holdings on the St. Mary's River; working to increase British interests on the rapids in the face of United States intervention.[795] At the same time, the American Fur Company grew in strength; creating a United States-Upper Canada competition for furs. This competition between fur trade outfitters (and colonial governments), led to the exploitation of Indigenous hunters; and limited their movements across the border. Added to these problems, was the fact that Sault Ste. Marie (Michigan) started to experience legislative, and economic, shifts as county and federal laws (as well as treaties), started to influence the cultural make-up of the community.

The establishment of Fort Brady and a United States Indian Agent (Henry Schoolcraft) on the St. Mary's River rapids, were meant to facilitate this white settlement, and negotiate resource extraction. But, as Magnaghi has argued: "As Americans and their government moved into former Native-French communities like Sault Ste. Marie and elsewhere, they brought social, political, and economic revolution to the local population."[796] Beyond missionary establishments, forts, and trade posts, the French and British had previously relied primarily on Indigenous technology and traditions in the Upper Great Lakes. The establishment of an American garrison at Sault Ste. Marie on July 6, 1822, marked a shift in colonial policy on the St. Mary's River.[797] This began with the arrival of soldiers, a doctor, and a priest to Fort Brady; alongside other colonial-populations at Sault Ste. Marie in the summer of 1822. Living in the Johnston house, Indian Agent Henry Schoolcraft, noticed this influx. Observing that: "There was not a nook in the scraggly-looking little antique village but what was sought for with avidity and thronged with occupants."[798] He described how "Besides this sudden influx of population, there were followers and hucksters of various hues who hoped to make their profits from the soldiery".[799] The immediate flood of white residents, were often Americans looking to gain riches in the fur trade; adding further competition over land, and resources, within the region.

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[794] Robert Bieder, "Sault Ste. Marie and the War of 1812", 9.
[795] Brian W. Stewart, *The Ermatingers: A 19th-century Ojibwa-Canadian Family*, 50.

This rapid increase in the Settler population, led to strains on the St. Mary's River. Schoolcraft pointed out initial negative aspects, including that "The enhanced price that everything bore was one of the results of this sudden influx of consumers and occupants."[800] But, it was not only competition for resources which worked to affect the Indigenous population on Baawitigong, as the 1820s-1830s also marked a social shift in the region. Although there was more visible colonial presence on the St. Mary's River into the 1820s, United States citizens were still in the minority; but into the 1830s, this population began having drastic effects in the region. This competition between Indigenous populations and colonial forces, makes the St. Mary's River an important point of colonial expansion, and a centre of Indigenous resistance throughout the nineteenth-century.

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[796] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 2.

[797] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, "Memoir of John Johnston," in *Personal memoirs of a residence*, 80.

[798] Ibid, 95.

[799] Ibid, 95.

[800] Ibid, 95.

The United States citizens arriving in the region, believed themselves racially superior to the Native Americans, while remaining completely ignorant of their belief, language, lifeways and culture. As Magnaghi explains: "The French population neither spoke English nor understood American customs. Socially there were tensions between the fun-loving French Canadians and the puritanical Americans."[801] Where the British had learned to honour the customs of the country, citizens of the United States held staunch-racial prejudices against Indigenous and Métis people (alongside this, they had a long history of prejudice towards Catholics).[802] The colonial village at Baawitigong had always been structured around religious tolerance, close relationships, and mutual respect.[803] Different tribes, and European groups, had been hosted by the resident Anishinaabeg groups along the St. Mary's River for centuries. This respect and tolerance, was not honoured by the Euro-Americans of the United States. This influx of United States citizens, influenced the attitudes of the established settlers at Baawitigong. Schoolcraft explained on September 1, 1822, that: "To me it seems that the whole old resident population of the frontiers, together with the new accessions to it, in the shape of petty dealers of all sorts, are determined to have the Indians' furs, at any rate, whether these poor red men live or die".[804]

The importance of the fur trade, allowed many Indigenous and Métis families to continue to practice their traditional lifeways around the St. Mary's River, despite these pressures. But by the end of the 1820s, the fur trade was no longer as profitable as it once had been. The end of the fur trade in the 1830s, subsequently marked a dramatic shift in social and economic practices, around Baawitigong; changes, which resulted in severe ecological alterations. Anthropologist and specialist on Shingwauk's leadership Janet Chute, has described the transformations at Sault Ste. Marie in the 1820s and 1830s as that of a "fur trade and mission station" shifting to "a bustling industrial centre".[805] At the same time as the decline of the fur trade, industrial efforts were pursued on the Lower Great Lakes. This saw the Erie Canal (established by 1825), which put greater colonial pressure on Baawitigong (as the last major impediment to this waterway).[806] This canal also allowed steamships to enter sections of the St. Mary's River, decreasing the reliance on birch-bark canoes by settler populations on Lake Huron and Lake Michigan.[807]

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[801] Russell M. Magnaghi, *Upper Peninsula of Michigan: A Michigan History*, Chapter 2.
[802] Ibid, Chapter 2.
[803] Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers, eds. *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (UBC Press, 2011), x.
[804] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes*, 117.

This shift towards an industrialized economy around Baawitigong would have a much clearer (and more rapid) effect on the regions ecology in two decades, than the fur trade had over two centuries. This makes Baawitigong an important case study in the destructive nature of European land use practices; allowing us to compare the effects of the fur trade, with shifts caused by an industrialized economy. The decline in the fur trade (in the 1820s-1830s), worked to stretch many indigenous families economically, and resulted in the institution of destructive colonial land-use practices around Baawitigong. This change occurred because Euro-Americans (in both the United States, and British North America), were no longer willing to learn (or abide by) the established customs on the St. Mary's River. Instead, they sought to reshape the land, customs, and legal structures of the St. Mary's River into their perceived ideal town. This would suggest that the fur trade was not the major cause of environmental decline on Baawitigong, and points to changes into the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[805] Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 4.

[806] Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: the Erie Canal and the paradox of progress, 1817-1862* (Macmillan, 1997, 1-6).

[807] Thomas Loraine McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the lakes,* 201-206.

While the fur trade on the Great Lakes had some noticeable ecological effects before the nineteenth century, these were minimal in most places around the Upper Great Lakes. As Jeanne Kay has highlighted: “Native Americans are generally acknowledged as the New World’s first and foremost environmentalists.”[808] She puts forward the question: “How then, could some of them have depleted wildlife for the fur trade, as occurred in the eastern United States and Canada by the mid-19th century?” ; the simple answer is, that they did not.[809] Tapper and Reynolds have written about the fur trade from an ecological perspective, they highlight that furs had been an important export out of the boreal region since prehistoric times.[810] However they argue that the mammal “populations were probably not over-exploited until the nineteenth century.”[811] The Great Lakes fur trade had been sustainably carried on for millennia, relying on complex animal management, and conservation practices; in order to supply their needs for fur, meat, and building materials. Even after the introduction of Europeans to the continent, the fur trade continued on the Upper Great Lakes for over two centuries. During this time, Métis families broadened Indigenous lifeways to include some European-styled agricultural practices, European technologies, and to establish log-cabins; but their subsistence practices were sustainable, and was generally more in-line with Anishinaabeg tradition practices than those of typical-Europeans.

While the fur trade had been destructive to animal populations further east, where European populations had been established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Around the Upper Great Lakes, the hunting of fur-bearing animals had been managed by the Anishinaabeg and Métis populations; who were able to continue to supply the demands of the fur trade well into the nineteenth-century (until the United States and British North American became established in this Great Lakes fur trade). Herbert has rightfully linked the fur trade to its role of placing different commercial value on different animals, because of the demands of provisioning the trade, and the market value of a given fur.[812] But this was truer of European hunters, than it is of Anishinaabeg hunters; for whom hunting, was a major part of their subsistence.

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[808] Jeanne Kay, "Native Americans in the Fur Trade and Wildlife Depletion." *Environmental Review*: ER 9, no. 2 (1985), 118.
[809] Ibid, 118.
[810] Stephen Tapper and Jonathan Reynolds, “The wild fur trade: historical and ecological perspectives”, 28.
[811] Ibid, 28.

Environmental Historian Karen Jones has explained how Europeans viewed animals very differently than Indigenous populations. Jones described how "in the nineteenth century [animals] struggled to survive the onslaught brought by westward expansionism... [animals' movements were] sharply curtailed by Euro-American forging nations by natural resource exploitation."[813] She explains that "colonizers often failed to recognize the validity of wolf ranges or trails in the landscape, and re-envisioned lupine rangers as trespassers."[814] Where Europeans established their static villages, regional extinction of certain species of animals followed. As Euro-Americans entered the region, they also began hunting fur-bearing animals themselves, as well as buying game from the locals; which put increased pressure on a vulnerable population of animals. This hunting (done by people who did not understand the local ecosystem), worked to place several species at risk into the middle of the nineteenth-century. Herbert points to beavers, foxes, muskrat, and lynx as being placed in peril, by the high demand amongst European traders.[815] Not only could the First Nations no longer move their camps as they would have traditionally, there were becoming increasingly fewer places free from white harassment, restricted access, or environmental destruction; all of which affected their food supply.

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[812] Laura Caroline Herbert, "In Search of Deer": A historical ecological perspective on caribou in northern Manitoba in the context of Cree use." (2015), 3.

[813] Karen Jones, *Wolf Mountains: A history of wolves along the Great Divide. No. 6.* (University of Calgary Press, 2002), 211-212.

[814] Ibid, 211.

[815] Laura Caroline Herbert, "In Search of Deer", 151.

For Europeans, these animals were seen as resources, entertainments, and as threats. Increasingly, European lifeways destroyed these animals' territories, and European Settlers hunted them indiscriminately. Overtime, European presence in North America, led to similar environmental problems in North America as Europe had been experiencing for centuries (destruction of animal homelands, the decrease in wild animal populations, the extinction of highly sought after/problem species, the introduction of invasive species, a lack of mature growth trees, etc.). For the Anishinaabeg, these animals and plants, were living beings with a manitou (spirit) who fulfilled a number of roles within their ecosystem. Harvesting these living beings came with a set of roles for conservation, ceremony at harvest time, and thanks. None of the animal was to be wasted, seeing the meat consumed, bones used for tools, and fur that could be traded, or used to make clothing. Plants were not to be over-exploited, and were to be harvested in a way that helped ensure continued growth for years to come.

These practices and epistemological approaches, were continued by the Anishinaabeg throughout Europeans' engagement in the Great Lakes fur trade. For the Anishinaabeg, these animals had always had a great place in their lifeways and trade network. It was not until these populations became more reliant on European goods (into the second-half of the nineteenth century), did these furs' commercial value became relevant to the Anishinaabeg. Not because their view of animals had changed, but because the European-styled economy instituted around them, forced them to trade with Europeans in order to help subsidize their subsistence (after European lifeways, legislation, and exploitation made traditional practices increasingly difficult to maintain). As John F. Richards has written, "Easily one of the most complicated and unresolved historiographical issues in North American history concerns the effects of the fur trade on those Indian groups caught up in it."[816] Concluding that "The rhythms of the fur trade powerfully redefined human relationships with wildlife, the forest, and the natural world in eastern North America."[817] On Baawitigong in the 1830s however, it was not that the Anishinaabeg's lifeways were changing, as much as that the ecosystem itself was being changed; by incoming Europeans and European lifeway patterns.

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[816] John F. Richards, The Unending Frontier: an environmental history of the early modern world. Vol. 1. (University of California Press, 2003), 502.

The European settlers on Baawitigong no longer adapted to the traditional lifeways of the region. Instead, this colonial population began to shape the river, so that it was conducive to supporting European land-use patterns. Where whites settled, they claimed theirs was *private property* and established farmland, logging, and mines, which rapidly changed the local ecology, customs, and economy. This forced many Anishinaabeg communities around Baawitigong to rely more heavily on the fur trade for their subsistence (c. 1820s-1830s), because they were no longer able to harvest the same quantity of food. At the same time as they began to rely more heavily on the fur trade for their subsistence, the demand for furs decreased across the continent; and other more ecologically destructive pursuits were adopted. This suggests that changing land use patterns on the Upper Great Lakes posed a much greater threat to the region than the fur trade. Further suggesting that, it was not until the nineteenth century influx of Europeans, that the ecosystem around Baawitigong began to change significantly. The institution of European land-use practices (instituted in the 1830s-1840s) at Baawitigong, therefore, posed a much greater threat to Natural Baselines of the river than did the demand for furs (prior to 1830).

Although the fur trade had been stressful on certain animal populations, the most detrimental environmental declines came from physical alterations of the ecosystem as a whole; which would begin to occur in the 1840s-1850s on the St. Mary's River. In many cases only a few generations of white presence in the nineteenth century, worked to do more damage to local human and animal populations, than had centuries of the fur trade. In the

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[817] Ibid, 515.

Upper Great Lakes, the decline of the fur trade led to other economic pursuits. Logging, static-farming, and mining became relied upon into the 1830-1840s around the St. Mary's River. These were occupations which the Indigenous populations on the Upper Great Lakes saw as harmful to the environment, and which they were unlikely to adopt. To make matters worse, these pursuits disturbed local plants and animals, and limited the Anishinaabeg's ability to move their camps (as they would have traditionally); because there were becoming fewer places free from harassment from Settlers, restricted access, or environmental destruction. In the face of this threat, Indigenous leaders became increasingly focused on protecting the land, and their peoples' rights, from this colonial encroachment. Accordingly, the period between 1830-1850 saw a wide range of Indigenous resistance strategies on the Great Lakes; movements, which influenced legal structures on both sides of the St. Mary's River.

Section IV: A Tale of Two Colonial Towns: the Shifting Resistance Strategies of Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Shingwauk, in the Face of a Growing Colonial Population at Baawitigong (1830-1836)

To respond to these threats at Baawitigong, both Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Shingwaukonse, looked to influence colonial agents on a personal level. Their approach was a continuation of thousands of years of social protocol on the Upper Great Lakes, but these leaders now catered their approaches specifically to balancing the rights of Indigenous populations, in the face of two distinct colonial threats to Baawitigong (the United States and Upper Canada). With a firmer grip on the fur trade in the Upper Great Lakes, the federal government of the United States under James Monroe, began to actively seek ways of pushing First Nations of the Upper Great Lakes off of their land by the 1820s. Increasingly, Upper Canada was influenced by their United States neighbours, and by echoing United States policy they worked to further under-cut their Indigenous allies; on both sides of the St. Mary’s River into the 1830s-1840s. These actions went beyond ignorance of the local customs, as the United States’ and Upper Canadian governments, worked to intentionally undermine the established political structures within these communities. The United States and Upper Canada now began to establish legal structures and land-use policies, which actively separated the Anishinaabeg from their territory and traditions. By the 1830s, the United States had demonstrated its inability to forge significant connections with the Indigenous populations on Baawitigong, which marked a shift towards Upper Canada.

Into the 1830s, Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Shingwauk looked to strengthen the Anishinaabeg -British/Canadian relationship on the St. Mary’s River, in order to help counteract the growing threat of the United States. Resisting these colonial influences, meant maintaining alliances with certain European-circles, and learning some European traits (English, writing, understanding their political structures); which many important Anishinaabeg leaders did during this time (although notably, neither Ozhaguscodaywayquay or Shingwauk spoke English, and both continued to live in a generally traditional manner). Indigenous leaders across the Great Lakes, now looked to different strategies, which allowed them to resist the destructive effects of colonial expansion. Many began to negotiate policy that would incorporate Europeans, while allowing Indigenous traditions to continue (if the treaty promises were honoured by the colonial governments).

On the St. Mary's River, Ozhaguscodaywayquay had helped to tap into this settler community, and had begun working with specific government representatives in the 1820s. By training Schoolcraft for life on the St. Mary's River, Ozhaguscodaywayquay helped directly influence United States' policy in the region. But, Henry Schoolcraft's ineffectiveness at protecting the Baawitigong population from harmful United States policies, worked to weaken Ozhaguscodaywayquay's political position within the community. Although the Johnstons suffered financially in the 1830s (as a result of their losses in the War of 1812 coupled with the end of the fur trade), Henry Schoolcraft was unquestionably a major part of the Johnston family's decline. Deeply ambitious and self-serving, Henry Schoolcraft not only had he failed to help the Johnstons seek meaningful reparations from the United States government (for the attack in 1814), he also failed to pay his brother in-law George Johnston for various services to the government (including as a guide, translator, and assistant). Rather than seeking government compensation for the Johnston's war damages, or simply paying George Johnston for his services, Schoolcraft instead gave his in-laws special treaty rights.

While in Henry Schoolcraft's mind, extra treaty protections likely helped his in-laws recoup their losses and cemented their political authority on the St. Mary's River. In reality, Schoolcraft's leadership style was also at odds with the diplomatic approach preferred by the Anishinaabeg. By giving special treatment to his in-laws, Schoolcraft was bucking notions of Anishinaabeg authority; which prided the sharing of wealth, over the wealth of a single family. Further than this, Schoolcraft broke many of his promises to Indigenous populations, and often took credit for their achievements, and work.[818] Even amongst the white populations, Henry Schoolcraft was better at making enemies than keeping friends; he was in an on-going (but very petty) dispute with other United States officials at Fort Brady (over mail rights), and even argued with Dr. Pitcher over paying for the doctor's services. His brother further hurt the family's reputation, and was known around town as a drinker, chronic-gambler, and the potential murderer of John Tanner. This shady character married Eliza Johnston (to the deep chagrin of both her mother Ozhaguscodaywayquay and sister Charlotte), and continued to cause trouble throughout town.[819]

Henry Schoolcraft's behaviour had generally worked to increase anti-United States sentiment at Baawitigong, rather than facilitate a strong nation-to-nation relationship. Subsequently, Ozhaguscodaywayquay was now linked politically (whether justly or not) to the actions of her son-in-law. Henry and Jane Schoolcraft's move to Mackinac in 1833, subsequently marked an important shift in the power-balance on the St. Mary's River.[820] Henry's decision to leave the river to pursue a promotion, was indicative of his general indifference towards the Indigenous populations at Baawitigong. As a consequence, Anishinaabeg groups began to consciously separate themselves from the United States' authority into the 1830s, in favour of negotiating a new relationship with the government of Upper Canada. Although Henry Schoolcraft had weakened their position at Baawitigong, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, her daughters (Jane and Charlotte), and son George, continued to help train colonial representatives (like McMurray), for a life in the Upper Great Lakes. Her daughter Charlotte Johnston quickly married McMurray after his arrival to the region, and the couple settled into a similar role to that played by her Jane and Henry Schoolcraft.

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[818] Colin Elder, "Changing Political and Cultural Realms in the Upper Great Lakes, 1826", 28-34.

[819] Robert Dale Parker, "Introduction" in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 40-45.

[820] After the death of Jane and Henry Schoolcraft's child "Willy" in 1827, the couple relocated to Mackinac in 1833. By the time of the move, Jane suffered greatly from depression, and struggled with an addiction to the prescribed medication (laudanum), dying in 1842.

Ojibwa scholar Brendan Child, has highlighted the particular importance of women in Anishinaabeg society and politics, she described them as "holding our world together"; this was certainly the case at Baawitigong in the early-1830s.[821] Together, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, and her daughters Jane and Charlotte, were amongst the most important diplomatic players within the Upper Great Lakes region. Ozhaguscodaywayquay's husband (John Johnston) died in 1828 after a long battle with illness, meaning that these three women were managing the Johnston holdings, economic endeavours, and diplomatic positions for years.[822] The women also directly influenced the public lives of their husbands (in European-political realms which directly excluded women). During the 1830s, many Anishinaabe leaders on the Great Lakes (including Shingwauk and Ozhaguscodaywayquay), began to look to certain church officials (over representatives of the government) as allies in this resistance. Into the 1830s Ozhaguscodaywayquay herself, seems to have gained more faith in the British than the United States; and she encouraged her daughter Charlotte to marry British North American missionary, William McMurray (1810-1894).

McMurray was one of the first Church of England Missionary from Upper Canada to be charged with the St. Mary's River (from 1832-1838), and initially he was looked to as a possible ally in resisting colonial rule.[823] McMurray was a well-connected, but pliable, representative of the government of Upper Canada; he arrived on the shores of the St. Mary's River in 1832 (at a time when distrust in the United States was palpable in the region). Like

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[821] Child explains that "Mindimooyenh" (term for a female elder) "literally refers to '*one who holds things together*' and is a category of distinction that honours the pivotal role occupied by fully mature women in the social order. (see: Brenda J. Child, *Holding our World Together: Ojibwe women and the survival of community*. (Penguin, 2012), 63).

[822] Although George Johnston also lived in the Johnston house, he spent much of this time as Henry Schoolcraft's assistant, and seems to have had less political say in the community. (see: "George Johnston Papers", *Burton Historical Collection*, Bayliss Library, Sault Ste. Marie Michigan).

[823] Karl Hele, ""How to Win Friends and Influence People': Missions to Bawating, 1830-1840." *Historical Papers* (1996), 157.

Henry Schoolcraft, William McMurray was an ambitious man looking to make a name for himself. Like Schoolcraft, he married a Johnston woman (Charlotte in 1833), and spent time living in the Johnston home.[824] But William and Charlotte McMurray, learned from some of the Schoolcrafts' mistakes, and (unlike the Schoolcrafts) they lived in close proximity with the tribe (now on Garden River); rather than building a lavish home in the colonial town (as the Schoolcrafts had at Baawitigong). Together, the McMurrays had a number of minor triumphs on the St. Mary's River.[825] During his time on the St. Mary's River, McMurray managed to form a relatively close relationship with Shingwauk; a task Schoolcraft had attempted and failed.[826]

This Shingwauk-McMurray relationship was important, because although Ozhaguscodaywayquay continued to be a well-respected figure in the community, the leadership of Shingwauk became clearer on the St. Mary's River into the 1830s; marking a distinct shift in resistance strategies employed at Baawitigong. Shingwauk knew Ozhaguscodaywayquay well, and used her experiences as an example of how to work with certain European individuals. It was perhaps the experiences of Ozhaguscodaywayquay, and his own relationship with McMurray, which informed Shingwauk's policies early in the 1830s. But after the McMurrays left the St. Mary's River (in 1838), Shingwauk shifted his own strategy away from a reliance on missionaries, and began to pursue a different approach. After over a decade and a half of negotiating with colonial representatives on the St. Mary's River, it had become clear that these officials were ineffective in protecting the Indigenous populations in the region. Neither the United States or Upper Canada governments (or their church officials), had provided a coherent policy for allowing Indigenous practices to continue on the Upper Great Lakes (on either side of the border); and by the late 1830s, both sides of the St. Mary’s River now housed growing colonial villages near Baawitigong.

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[824] Ibid, 160.

[825] These were recorded by Anna Jameson (see: Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 227-232.

[826] Shingwauk, Little Pine's Journal, 4.

“Chief Shingwauk at Robinson Huron Treaty Signing in 1850”, *Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre archives, Algoma University.*

Section V: Changing Demographic on Baawitigong: the decline of the fur trade, and the implementation of new legislation and economic practices at Baawitigong (1836-1848)

The leadership of Shingwaukonse came to the forefront in the middle of the 1830s when he became an Ogima of the "Sault Band".[827] Shingwauk's strategy built on Ozhaguscodaywayquay's approach in several important ways, but it was catered to the specific threats now facing the St. Mary's River in the 1830s-1840s.[828] Rather than continue the policy of assimilating colonial agents (employed by the Johnstons), Shingwaukonse, worked to separate Indigenous populations from colonial oversight. He then used the competition between the United States and British North America, to negotiate a better arrangement for the Ojibwa and Métis populations on the Upper Great Lakes. Shingwauk distrusted the United States government in general (and Henry Schoolcraft personally), instead he initially leaned heavily on the longer established Anishinaabeg-British relationship. In a later appeal for British support he explained: "I think it right that the Chippeways, who love the English nation and have fought under the English flag, should belong to the Church of England."[829] Chute has suggested that an early strategy of Shingwauk was "to establish linkages with the government agencies that were just beginning to exercise jurisdiction in the Upper Great Lakes region".[830] Under Shingwauk, the Anishinaabeg and Métis exploited the increasing tensions between the United States and Upper Canada, in order to negotiate the best deal for their people; land-use and a right to continued their traditions, increasingly became the rallying point of this resistance.

Despite the efforts of Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Shingwauk throughout the 1820s and early-1830s, colonial representatives (such as Schoolcraft and McMurray) were only marginally effective at representing the rights of the Baawitigong population to their respective colonial governments. During the tenures of Schoolcraft (1822-1833) and McMurray (1832-1838) on the St. Mary's River, settlers continued to arrive at Baawitigong, and increasingly sought to establish their own laws, land-use patterns, and cultural beliefs. In 1836, Schoolcraft lost any of his remaining creditability on the St. Mary's River, by helping the United States negotiate the Treaty of Washington.

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[827] "Chief Shingwauk at Robinson Huron Treaty Signing in 1850" (*Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre archives, Algoma University*).

[828] Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 4.

[829] Shingwauk, Little Pine's Journal, 4.

[830] Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 3.

Schoolcraft served as a diplomatic emissary, and cultural translator during this negotiation process with the Ojibwa and Odaawa tribes in Michigan. Rather than empathising with his wife's relatives, he worked to fulfil the government's dream of settling Michigan as a State. The Treaty of Washington was signed on March 28, 1836 in Washington D.C., and it saw these Indigenous representatives cede approximately 13,83,2000 acres (or 56,000 kilometres squared) of Upper Michigan, extending into the north western section of the Lower Peninsula (nearly 37% of the modern State of Michigan).[831] The Anishinaabeg delegation in Washington (which included Shingwauk), was coerced into signing this agreement, and the terms of the deal were not properly represented by Schoolcraft.[832] This legislation led to an even larger in-flux of Europeans onto the Upper Great Lakes, and St. Mary's River region.[833] This influx of white settlers was made even worse by the simultaneous decline of the fur trade; together, these factors worked to shift the local economy, and led colonial populations to introduce increasingly destructive lifeway patterns practices on the St. Mary's River.

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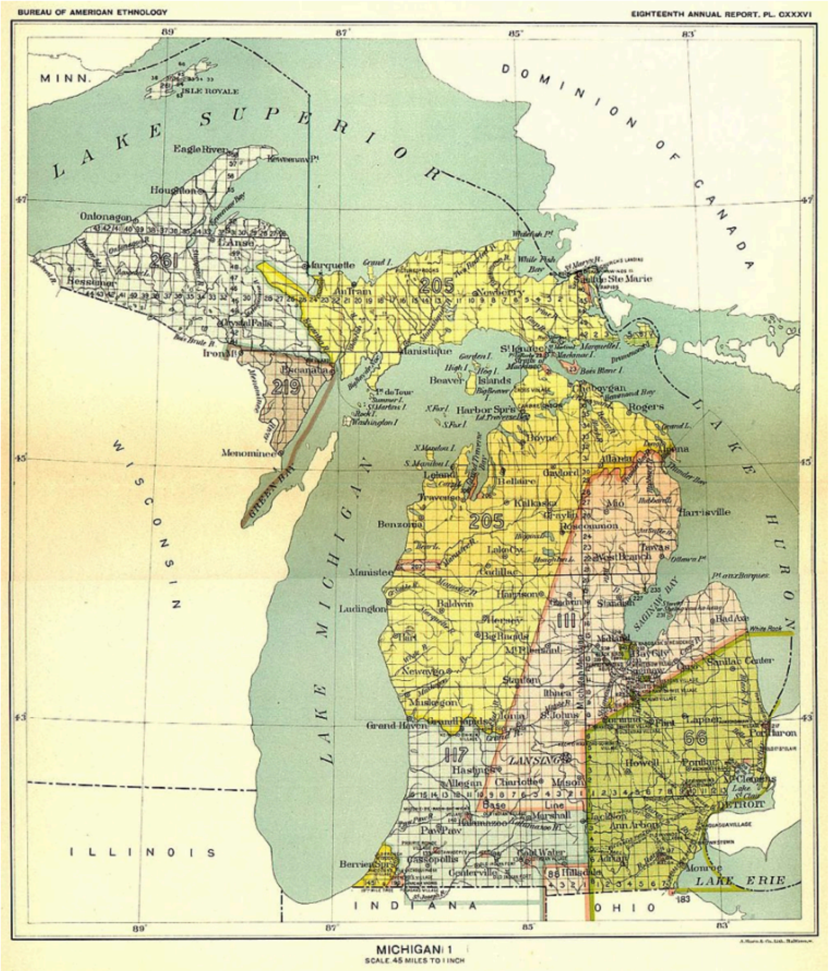
[831] *Ratified treaty no. 201, documents relating to the negotiation of the treaty of March 28, 1836, with the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, March 28, 1836), 1-27.

[832] James McClurken, , 29-31.

[833] Susan Gray, Limits and possibilities: White-Indian relations in western Michigan in the era of removal." *The Michigan Historical Review* (1994), 71-73.


BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, PL. CXXXVI
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ISLE ROYALE
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DOMINION OF CANADA
WISCONSIN
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
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Sault Ste Marie
Marquette
Manistique
St. Ignace
Menominee
Green Bay
Escanaba
Houghton
Ontonagon
Lansing
Grand Haven
Muskegon
Ludington
Manistee
Ann Arbor
Detroit
Monroe
Port Huron
Saginaw Bay
MICHIGAN 1
SCALE 45 MILES TO 1 INCH

Smithsonian Institution, "Map of Ceded Territories (ceded territories in yellow)", *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-1897*. Indian Land Cessions in the United States, 1784-1894 United States Serial Set, Number 4015.

In the midst of this shift, Shingwauk came to the forefront of Anishinaabeg resistance to colonial powers around the St. Mary's River. The first significant change made by Shingwauk at Baawitigong, was in response to the Treaty of Washington, and the shifting land-use patterns it helped facilitate. Changing economic practices at Baawitigong, led Shingwauk to separate his people from the growing colonial villages (the twin Sault Ste. Maries), and decreased his interaction with United States' officials. He moved with a following of Anishinaabeg/Métis people, further down the St. Mary's River to settle as *Kitigaun Seebee* (Garden River) in the 1830s; on the British North American bank of the river.[834] By moving his people to Garden River, Shingwauk allowed them to continue their way of life, while negotiating for new legal protections for his people.

Settling further down the St. Mary's River, and away from the settler communities, allowed the "Sault Band" to continue their traditional lifeways away from colonial interference; lifeways which were becoming less possible at Baawitigong because of interference by Europeans.[835] On the St. Mary's River, most of the European/European descended population who lived on its banks (prior to 1820) had been engaged in the fur trade; but generally lived according to the customs, and laws of the region. A shift from the fur trade towards industrialization at Baawitigong (in the 1830s-1840s), posed a serious threat to indigenous peoples, their traditional lifeways, and control of the St. Mary's River region. Knight and Chute have described this influx of white settlers on the St. Mary's River during the 1840s; explaining that: "A frontier confrontation between encroaching metropolitan interests and local Native interests seemed imminent".[836] After successfully defending this territory from French expansion and English rule, (for over two centuries) the Anishinaabeg were now being separated from their lands by legislation, mass immigration, and changing economic structures.[837] These shifts now seriously threatened the continuation of Indigenous lifeways on Baawitigong, into the middle of the nineteenth century.

Working tirelessly to protect his people from the transformations taking place at Sault Ste. Marie, Shingwauk travelled to both York and Washington to make deals with the respective colonial governments in the late-1830s; but was unsatisfied by the responses of both these colonial governments.[838] The Treaty of Washington (1836) had demonstrated that the United States was not willing to make concessions to Indigenous populations. Whilst the government of Upper Canada looked to harvest timber, and mine in the region. They increasingly pressured the populations around the St. Mary's River to move their communities to Manitoulin Island on the Georgian Bay. Despite the importance of the relationships he had forged with colonial agents from the United States and Upper Canada, the Indigenous inhabitants of the St. Mary's River continued to be separated from the local economy, while their lands were increasingly exploited into the 1840s.

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[834] Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 4.

[835] Ibid, 4.

[836] Alan Knight and Janet E. Chute "A Visionary on the Edge: Allan Macdonell and the Championing of Native Resource Rights" in *With good intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal relations in colonial Canada*. eds. Haig-Brown, Celia, and David A. Nock (UBC Press, 2006), 88.

[837] Roger L. Nichols, "The Canada–US Border and Indigenous Peoples in the Nineteenth Century." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 3 (2010), 416-420.

[838] Ibid, 4.

Shingwauk now adjusted his strategy, and became more openly vocal in his fight to defend the St. Mary's River and its people, from the exploitation of colonial governments. This exploitation came in the form of over hunting, logging, farming, mining, and government attempts to relocate Indigenous people in order to settler Europeans; which began to drastically affect the economy, geography, and ecology of Baawitigong in the second half of the nineteenth century. This situation was worsened by the fact that governments on both sides of the border, often failed to fulfil their side of treaty agreements as they shifted the local economy.[839] Historian Sylvia Van Kirk has described how previously, the fur trade, was "the most equitable footing that has ever characterized the meeting of 'civilized' and 'primitive' people."[840] She explains that the "fur traders did not seek to conquer the Indian, to take his land or to change his basic way of life or belief."[841] With the decline of the fur trade, Europeans no longer abided by these rules. On the St. Mary's River logging and farming became the economic staples of the region into the 1830s-1840s. Unlike the fur trade, these were endeavours which sought to conquer Indigenous lands, and change traditional lifeways.

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[839] Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Marked by Fire: Anishinaabe articulations of nationhood in treaty making with the United States and Canada." *American Indian quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2012), 138-143.

[840] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: women in fur-trade society, 1670-1870* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 9.

[841] Ibid, 9.

Completely clearing land (whether for timber or farming), was a new practice in the region, which worked to undermine virtually every-level of the ecosystem; and damaged the food sources of the Anishinaabeg. Removing trees worked to change the very structure of the river's banks. The cutting of live trees, destroyed important woodland habitats along the banks of Baawitigong; sacrificing the territories of several species. Even if the woodlands were allowed to regrow, removing large numbers of these old growth forests, worked to affect the structure of the forests in the region.[842] Without the deep-growing roots of old-growth trees, the hydrology and solar-dynamics of the banks was affected; influencing a wide-variety of flora and fauna.[843] Local fauna was further affected by European hunters and trappers, who sought to clear "problem animals" off of their fields; rather than, hunt in the nomadic (and sustainable) pattern of the Anishinaabeg. Europeans intentionally introduced foreign crops and domesticated livestock to the region; and also, unintentionally released a number of invasive plants, animals, and aquatic species, which have proved destructive to the St. Mary's River's indigenous ecosystem.[844]

The results were somewhat predictable, as these European land-use patterns were instituted on Baawitigong, the region's ecology began to resemble European ecology. Fur bearing animals (whose populations had been successfully managed by Anishinaabe hunters throughout the fur trade), were now trapped and killed indiscriminately by Europeans. No longer prized by European for their furs, these colonial populations continued to kill these animals for sport, and as nuisance animals. Just as it had in Europe, these land-use patterns began to wipe-out certain species from their traditional habitats. At the same time as these changes were occurring, the populations of beaver and caribou declined dramatically on the St. Mary's River, in a relatively short period of time. The beaver, martin, wolverine, and caribou populations around the St. Mary's River all experienced a serious decline in the region by the middle of the nineteenth-century; as a result of territorial destruction, and overhunting.

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[842] Lisa Schulte, David J. Mladenoff, Thomas R. Crow, Laura C. Merrick, and David T. Cleland. "Homogenization of northern US Great Lakes forests due to land use." *Landscape Ecology* 22, no. 7 (2007), 1089.

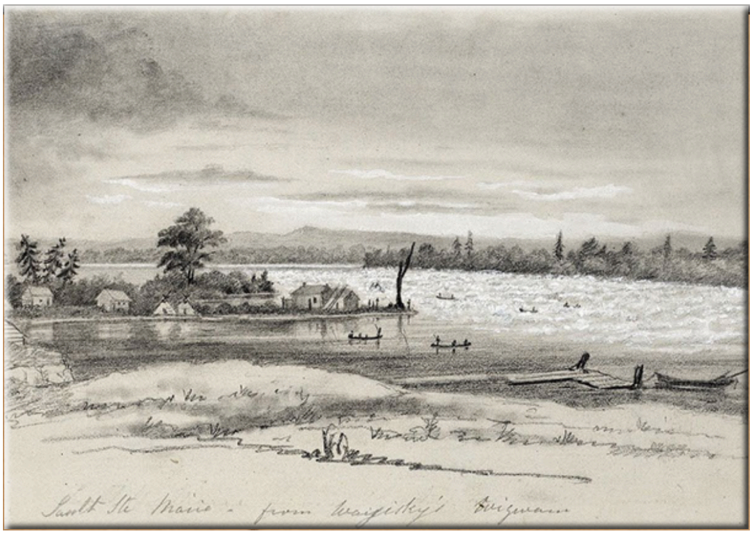
[843] Timothy R. Van Deelen, Kurt S. Pregitzer, and Jonathan B. Haufler. "A comparison of presettlement and present-day forests in two northern Michigan deer yards." *American Midland Naturalist* (1996), 182.

[844] J.H. Leach, "Non-indigenous species in the Great Lakes: were colonization and damage to ecosystem health predictable?." *Journal of Aquatic Ecosystem Health* 4, no. 2 (1995), 117-118.

Traveller to the region (and guest of the Johnston women) Anna Jameson, has provided an account of Baawitigong in the 1830s, which highlights that both beavers and caribou could still found in the region. She wrote of Baawitigong in 1837, that:

> To complete my sketch of the localities, I will only add that the whole of country around is in its primitive state, covered with the interminable swamp and forest, where the bear and the moose-deer roam—and lakes and living streams where the beaver builds his hut. The cariboo, or rein-deer, is still found on the norther shores.[845]

The beaver and caribou in particular, had been key-stone species of the region since the Pleistocene Epoch, and their removal from the St. Mary's River had serious effects on the region; and its Indigenous populations. The removal of the beaver and caribou (into the 1840s) physically changed the ecosystem, at an incredibly rapid pace into the end of the nineteenth century; as Europeans began to dictate the lifeway patterns in the region.


Sault Ste Marie - from Waisicky's Wigwam

Anna Jameson, "Sault Ste. Marie from Waisicky's Wigwan (c. 1837)."
Algoma District School Board.

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[845] Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 182-183.

The decline of these important species was catastrophic. For over 10,000 years, large herds of migrating caribou had been a staple for the population at Baawitigong. Caribou's importance to the woodlands people around the St. Mary's River, was probably comparable to the plains peoples' reliance on bison. Herbert highlights how caribou were "particularly vulnerable to human expansion and development projects as well as climatic variation."[846] Pointing to the first half of the nineteenth century, as the period when caribou populations underwent drastic decline; as a result of habitat destruction, pressure from hunters, and regular population cycles.[847] The shifts to animal populations necessitated greater reliance on other protein sources around Baawitigong, and in particular, increased reliance on fishing in the region. Luckily for the people around Baawitigong, there was another reliable source of protein, which also travelled in large groups, the whitefish.

Unfortunately, at the same time as caribou were forced from the region, the fisheries around Baawitigong were also placed at risk. The fish population of the St. Mary's River was hit twofold into the 1830s-1840s, by the loss of beaver marshes and an increase in industrialized fishing efforts.[848] As the architect of the forest, and a keystone species, the gradual removal of beavers had disastrous effects to the Upper Great Lakes ecology. Beaver dams are important to a healthy freshwater fishery, which work to flood areas and slow down currents, which creates an important breeding ground for fish, insects, and other species.[849] Without the beaver marshes, many fish species lost an important breeding location, and food source. Losing beaver marshes as a food site, also meant that the Indigenous populations around the St. Mary's River, now relied more heavily on the fishery at Baawitigong. The growing population European immigrants on the St. Mary's River, also began to rely on fishing as a food source, which put further pressure on the fishery, and on Indigenous people.

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[846] Ibid, 12.

[847] Laura Caroline Herbert, "In Search of Deer", 3.

[848] Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: an environmental history, 1783–1933*, 113-117.

[849] Sally L. Duncan, "Ecology: Leaving it to Beaver." *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 26, no. 3 (1984), 42-43.

The decline of beaver populations and northern migration of caribou, was therefore, tremendously important to the Upper Great Lakes population. Martin points to population decreases in the beaver, moose, and caribou, at this time. Commenting that: "The results was predictable: whereas hunger had previously been sporadic in Ojibwa society, by the early nineteenth century it had become a way of life."[850] These stressors were not caused by the fur trade, but rather, by a larger European population at Baawitigong; who did not know how to live sustainably in the region, and installed European lifeway patterns. Into the 1830s, a variety of species of fish were harvested at Baawitigong, for exportation; further stressing their populations. Jameson observed in 1837, that "besides subsisting the inhabitants, whites and Indians, during a greater part of the year, vast quantities [of fish] are cured and barrelled every fall, and sent down to the eastern states."[851] She explained that "Not less than eight thousand barrels were shipped last year."[852] Not only were more fish being harvested (and exported) than previously, the spawning grounds of the fish were being affected by the changing ecology around Baawitigong.[853]

This led to a dramatic decrease in populations of indigenous fish and animals in the region, which started in the middle of the nineteenth century, but was accelerated into the second half of the century.[854] The waters of the St. Mary's River would be further affected in the 1840s, as shifting land-use patterns became more pronounced on the banks of the St. Mary's River. Dickinson highlights how the copper rush of the 1840s led to dramatically different approaches to economic development on the St. Mary's River.[855] By 1845, at least fourteen companies were mining near Copper Harbor in the Upper Great Lakes.[856] As mining companies began to establish themselves on Lake Superior, they required water transportation for their employees, tools, and provisions.[857] These people could not (and would not), survive by the traditional practices of the country. Instead the colonial towns on Baawitigong grew in size, and further instituted European land use patterns. By the end of the year in 1845, the new briggs, schooner, and steamer on Lake Superior, now had combined a 635-ton shipping capacity.[858] The colonial towns at Baawitigong now housed: hotels, bars, houses, courthouses, and other European stylings.

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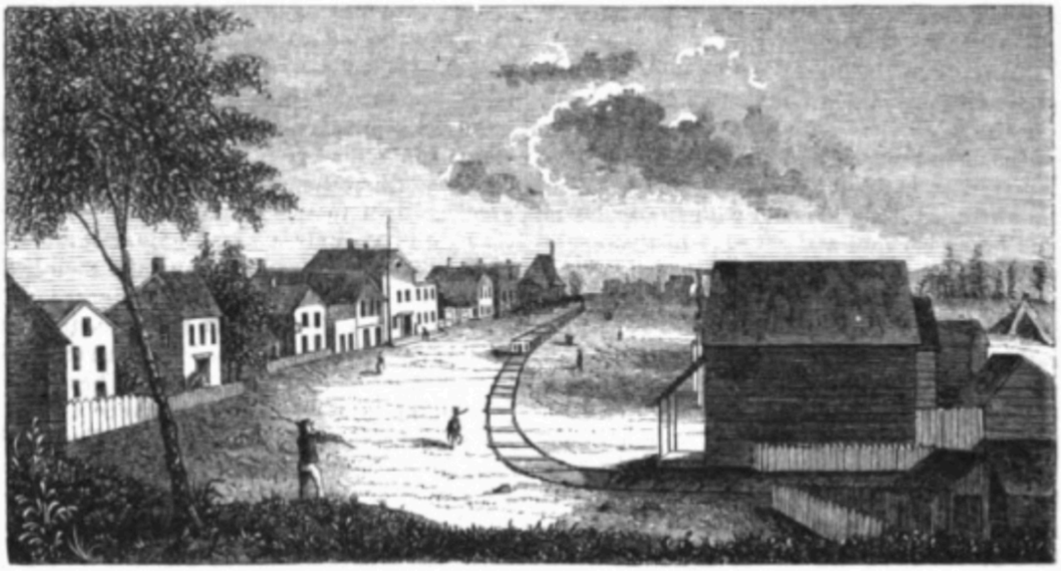
[850] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-animal relationships and the fur trade*, 103-104.

[851] Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 178-179.

[852] Ibid, 179.

[853] K.E. Bray, "Habitat models as tools for evaluating historic change in the St. Marys River, 83-88.

[854] John Goodier, "The Nineteenth-Century Fisheries of the Hudson's Bay Company Trading Posts on Lake Superior: a Biogeographical Study." *Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 28, no. 4 (1984) , 349-355.



PRINCIPAL STREET IN SAULT ST. MARIE.

"Principal Street in Sault Ste. Marie" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Volume 6, Issue 34 (March 1853), 438.

Anishinaabeg and Métis populations around Baawitigong had different response strategies to these changes. Historian Ronald Niezen has described this "indigenous activism”, explaining how Indigenous leaders changed how they interacted with “non-native society” in order to respond to these shits in the early-nineteenth century.[859] Niezen explains how the populations of the Upper Great Lakes now needed “to accommodate rapid social change with a sense of order and continuity.”[860] On Baawitigong, Anishinaabeg groups continued to produce maple sugar, and harvest fish, which they now traded to European markets. Métis families continued to play a predominant role in transportation, and also broadened their economic pursuits, to work as guides, fishermen, and (occasionally) as loggers or farmhands. Importantly, both of these groups (Anishinaabeg and Métis) generally continued to abide by their traditional lifeways; and were concerned about the changes occurring at Baawitigong.

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[855] John N. Dickinson, *To build a canal: Sault Ste. Marie, 1853-1854 and after* (Published for Miami University by The Ohio State University Press, 1981), 11.

[856] Two of these were manned by members of the fifth United States Infantry stationed at Fort Wilkins; with more companies making arrangements to begin operations. (John Dickinson, *To Build a Canal*, 11).

[857] Ibid, 10.

[858] Ibid, 11.

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[859] Ronald Niezean, *Defending the land: Sovereignty and forest life in James Bay Cree society* (Routledge, 2016), 11.

[860] Ibid, 11.

Section VI: New Forms of Resistance on the St. Mary's River: The Mica Bay Incidence (1849) and Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850)

In the late 1840s, the colonial towns on the rapids were also increasingly divided by loyalties to either the United States or to Upper Canada. In response to the growing population of United States citizens on the southern bank of the St. Mary's River, Upper Canada became further involved in this fray in 1846; when government official Alexander Vital began surveying areas within the Métis town at Baawitigong, and planning mining locations without Ojibwa or Métis permission.[861] This led to a shift in strategy by Shingwauk, Chute explains, how in order to retain traditional practices, Shingwauk fought "to preserve an environment in which Native cultural values and organizational structures could survive".[862] Where Ozhaguscodaywayquay (who died in 1843), had attempted to form personal relationships in order to influence colonial agents. Many groups (like Shingwauk's tribe), decided to separate themselves from the changes taking place at Baawitigong in the 1830s; in an effort to continue their traditional lifeways, in the face of the destructive changes at Baawitigong in the 1840s. The Mica Bay Resistance stemmed from these concerns, and was sparked by British intention to mine and log the Anishinaabeg's territory around the St. Mary's River; without permission from the Indigenous populations.

Keeping his people separated from colonial populations was no longer enough, and Shingwauk now looked back to how other Great Lakes leaders had managed similar colonial threats in the past. He built on the ideas of Obwandiyag, Tecumseh, and Ozhaguscodaywayquay, in order to form a more unified resistance to colonial governments. By the 1840s, Shingwauk realized that neither government could be trusted to fulfil their obligations to indigenous peoples, and he began to openly resist the governmental agendas that risked his people's ability to survive in traditional manners. Shingwauk argued for the need to bring together a number of Anishinaabeg and Métis groups, and worked to create practical governmental-structures in the face of these colonial threats; his efforts resulted in the important Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850), which helped place Anishinaabeg villages on colonial maps.

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[861] Alan Knight and Janet E. Chute "A Visionary on the Edge, 92.
[862] Janet Elizabeth Chute, *The legacy of Shingwaukonse*, 3.

In 1840s Shingwauk distanced himself from his connection to the Church of England, and began to openly take place in Midewiwin rituals. In addition to this, Shingwauk reached out to a number of Anishinaabeg and Métis leaders in the region (and Europeans who he trusted); in order to present a stronger resistance to colonial encroachment. A specialist on Shingwauk, Janet Chute explains that Shingwaukonse argued for the need to "devise new strategies that would promote the formation of band governments capable of assuming a degree of proprietorship over resources on First Nations lands."[863] In order to protect his people (and territory) from colonial land use patterns, Shingwauk now adapted a new strategy to resisting these colonial threats, one that embraced proven Anishinaabeg techniques and targeted specific aspects of colonial legislation. This led Shingwauk, his son Ogista, St. Mary's River headmen Nebenaigoching, and Métis Louis Cadotte (as translator) to travel from the St. Mary's River to meet with Lord Elgin in Montreal early in the Spring of 1848 (in response to Vidal's survey's in 1846).[864]

This St. Mary's River populations, expressed their concerns that mining endeavours in the northwest were hurting them economically; as well as restricted the Ojibwa's ability to hunt, collect firewood, or harvest timber in areas where mining was taking place.[865] At this meeting, Shingwauk argued that fires and blasts used to clear the region, also disturbed animal populations in the region.[866] After Elgin failed to take any significant action,

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[863] Ibid, 3.

[864] Alan Knight and Janet E. Chute "A Visionary on the Edge", 92.

[865] Ibid, 92.

[866] Ibid, 92.

Shingwaukonse adjusted his approach when he returned to Montreal during May in 1849.[867] This time Shingwauk approached the *Montreal Gazette*, in order to raise general awareness of the situation developing on the St. Mary's River. He also brought Allan Macdonell, as a friend who had demonstrated that he shared some of the Ojibwa's communities.[868]

In 1849 Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigoching, and Macdonell, would form an important alliance of colonial resistance on the St. Mary's River.[869] Knight and Chute describe how this Shingwaukonse-Macdonell alliance in particular, "stood as the most articulate and forceful campaign for Native resource rights ever raised in the Canadas."[870] Despite their articulate pleas to the government, and appeals to the general media, the mining activities around the St. Mary's River increased (rather than decreased) into 1849. This inaction by the government would spark the Mica Bay resistance, which highlights the struggle that Shingwauk faced while protecting the people, and land, around the St. Mary's River region. Tensions rose amongst the Indigenous communities, as their pleas continued to be ignored by the government, and white people moved about indigenous land with impunity. On the St. Mary's River, these tensions finally reached a boiling point in November 1849, in the "Mica Bay Incident".

With no other options, the Ojibwa and Métis groups began to overtly disrupt mining activities around the St. Mary's River, by removing gunpowder and other destructive explosives from the mining sights, and starting rumours of an impending Native American attack.[871] The resulting Mica Bay incident, works to highlight the level of exploitation and coercion used against the Anishinaabeg. The Ojibwa-Métis force departed for the mine on

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[867] Ibid, 92.

[868] Chute and Knight point to Allan Macdonell as an entrepreneur in this period, who was willing to live according to the customs of the country, and in line with the wishes of the Native American communities around the St. Mary's River and as operating "with good intentions" despite his background as a mine prospector (Ibid, 87-88).

[869] Macdonell had a knowledge of the mining-world, and a background in law, had lived on the St. Mary's River and knew the area. (Ibid, 93).

[870] Alan Knight and Janet E. Chute "A Visionary on the Edge", 93.

[871] Ibid, 93.

November 11, 1849, on two sailing vessels were Shingwaukonse, Nebenagoching, chief on the American-side Cassaquadung, twenty-five Ojibwa warriors, at least four Métis leaders, Macdonell and Metcalfe.[872] Mactavish reported that Shingwaukonse, Macdonell and others, planned to take control over the mining operations of the Quebec and Lake Superior Association at Mica Bay.[873] This got the attention of Upper Canada, and a contingent from the Second Rifle Brigade were sent from Toronto to Mica Bay (under Captain Ashley Copper) to quiet this resistance.

This Indigenous force took the mine, in what Knight and Chute describe as "a well-planned pressure tactic devised by a small ethnically diverse group of people."[874] A contingent of Métis also travelled by foot, setting misleading bonfires in view of the miners.[875] Together, the Ojibwa and Métis, once again proved their superiority on Lake Superior to the British forces, when the weather on the lake stalled the Upper Canadian army's progress on the St. Mary's River, and forced the Second Rifles to winter at the colonial town (Sault Ste. Marie).[876] This was an incredibly important moment of Indigenous resistance on the Upper Great Lakes, that is commonly passed over in the telling of North American history. Like Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Revolution, the Mica Bay Incident demonstrated to the British, that Indigenous powers maintained control on the Upper Great Lakes.

These Indigenous leaders did not wish for war with the British, but simply demanded an acknowledgement of their legal rights. Demonstrating that as citizens they were entitled to legal rights, on December 4, 1849 the major leaders of this resistance peacefully submitted to government custody, including: Shingwaukonse, Nebenaigoching, Pierre Boissoneau, Pierre

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[872] Ibid, 95.
[873] Ibid, 95.
[874] Ibid, 95.
[875] Ibid, 95.
[876] Ibid., 96.

LeSage, Eustace Lesage, as well as Allan Macdonell and his brother Angus.[877] Once incarcerated, they used their trial as an opportunity to draw attention to the political and economic situation that the British government was inflicting upon the people around the St. Mary's River. In a mixed-political/environmental protest that was very much ahead of its time, the Indigenous forces had demonstrated that they were more loyal to British laws, than the government of Upper Canada. This action, forced the government of Upper Canada to begin negotiating their existence in the Upper Great Lakes, with its indigenous residents; it led directly to the negotiation of the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850), which was meant to protect Indigenous lifeways and rights on the St. Mary's River.

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[877] Ibid, 96.

Conclusions: A Modern Ecocultural Biography of Whitefish Island (1850-2020): as a living portal to the past, a case study of the present, and a model for the future

Overview

Whitefish Island (on the rapids of the St. Mary's River) is a particularly important case study of Indigenous resistance to colonial forces at Baawitigong throughout the *colonial period*; and particularly, into the late nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. During this later period, Reservations (such as Whitefish Island) took on additional importance as territory separated from Europeans, places to continue their traditional lifeways, and locations to produce food. Whitefish Island during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, therefore, serves both as an example of government policy towards Indigenous people on Baawitigong, and as an example of resistance to this colonial rule. It is an important living relic of Baawitigong as it existed before industrialization. But in a single century this reserved island was taken from the Anishinaabeg, dramatically altered, and (at the end of the century) would become tied up in a significant 15-year negotiation between Batchewana First Nations and the Canadian Government. This same period saw the Anishinaabeg become separated from their lands in a variety of ways, culminating in the assimilation policies pursued by the governments of Canada and the United States in the twentieth century. In the face of these destructive policies, the histories of the Indigenous populations around Baawitigong, and Baawitigong itself, are inseparably intertwined. This is a history of destruction in the name of *progress,* managed by people who did not understand the cultural or ecological importance of the region. But it is also a history of resilience by the Indigenous populations and from Whitefish Island itself, both who continue to exist on the St. Mary's River, despite attempts to shape them to European ideals during this period. The success of this resistance on Whitefish Island has also helped kick-start larger nation-to-nation conversations on the river in the present day.

Section I: A River (and People) Wronged: Reshaping the St. Mary's River, its ecology, economy and demographics, through the example of Whitefish Island (1850-1859)

The actions at Mica Bay had demonstrated to the government of Upper Canada, that they needed to make concessions in the Upper Great Lakes; in a way that was reminiscent of the aftermath of Obwandiyag/Pontiac's Rebellion. This resistance would result in the signing of the Robinson-Huron Treaty on the banks of the St. Mary's River (in 1850), which plotted out seventeen Canadian Reservations throughout the Upper Great Lakes (including Whitefish Island on Baawitigong). The Robinson-Huron Treaty helped recognize Anishinaabeg territorial rights to the region, and guaranteed the continuation of traditional lifeways on the Upper Great Lakes; as well as, promised compensation for land that was used by Europeans.[878] This treaty worked to affirm Anishinaabeg control on the Upper Great Lakes, once again, making some space for Europeans in this balance. Yet not even two years later, the traditional lifeways on both sides of the St. Mary's River would be placed in jeopardy by the United States' government. Not only were Indigenous populations being intentionally separated from the local economies and laws, the local ecology now underwent drastic alterations (within a rapidly accelerating timeline) into the 1850s; which now saw the St. Mary's River irreversibly altered by a colonial government.

The first concession pushed for by the Indigenous population in the Robinson-Huron treaty, was the promise that their continued lifeways could continue. This was recognized by negotiator William Benjamin Robinson, who:

> on behalf of Her Majesty and the Government of this Province, hereby promises and agrees to make, or cause to be made, the payments as before mentioned; and further to allow the said Chiefs and their Tribes the full and free privilege to hunt over the Territory now ceded by them, and to fish in the waters thereof, as they have heretofore been in the habit of doing[.][879]

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[878] "Copy of the Robinson Treaty Made in the Year 1850 with the Ojibewa Indians of Lake Superior Conveying Certain Lands to the Crown" Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada (1850)).

[879] Ibid.

In addition to being able to fish and hunt as they had traditionally, this treaty also designated protected (or reserved) status to lands inhabited by Indigenous populations in Upper Canada. In particular:

> For Shinguacouse and his Band, a tract of land extending from Maskinongé Bay, inclusive, to Partridge Point, above Garden River on the front, and inland ten miles, throughout the whole distance; and also Squirrel Island.
> [And:]
> For Nebenaigoching and his Band, a tract of land extending from Wanabekineyunnung west of Gros Cap to the boundary lands ceded by the Chiefs of Lakes Superior, and inland ten miles throughout the whole distance, including Batchewanaung Bay; and also the small island at Sault Ste. Marie used by them as a fishing station.[880]

David Calverley has written of the Robinson's Treaty, that the Crown agreed to the continuation of the Anishinaabeg's hunting-practices (in part), because the British were now more concerned about timber and mineral rights than hunting.[881] Historian Edmund J. Danzinger, points to the middle of the nineteenth century as a turning point in the policy of the United States' and Upper Canadian governments, which embraced reservations; because, restricting the Anishinaabeg's movements, promised to open the Great Lakes to large scale industrialized activity.[882]

This Treaty placed restrictions on the Anishinaabeg's territory, stating that "they will not sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of any portion of their Reservations without the consent of the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, or other officer of like authority, being first had and obtained."[883] Robinson stipulated that the province had the ability for "saving and excepting such portions of the said Territory as may from time to time be sold or leased to individuals or companies of individuals, and occupied by them with the consent of the

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[880] "Copy of the Robinson Treaty: made in the year 1850 with the Ojibewa Indians of Lake Huron, conveying certain lands to the crown" (Upper Canada, 1850), *Canadiana Online*, (points 14 and 15), 5.

[881] Calverley, David. Who Controls the Hunt?: First Nations, Treaty Rights, and Wildlife Conservation in Ontario, 1783-1939. UBC Press, 2018., 5.

[882] Edmund Danzinger, *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance During the Early Reservation Years, 1850-1900* (University of Michigan Press, 2009)., 12-15.

[883] "Robinson Treaty Made in the Year 1850".

Provincial Government."[884] A clause, which worked to undercut the Anishinaabeg's sovereignty, and their ability to hunt and fish "as they have heretofore been in the habit of doing".[885] Robinson worked to ensure that the colonial government could continue to operate on Indigenous lands. Going further, to stipulate that the Indigenous populations could not "at any time hinder or prevent persons from exploring or searching for minerals, or other valuable productions, in any part of the Territory hereby ceded to Her Majesty, as before mentioned."[886]

Importantly however, this treaty protected some of their traditional lands, and sovereignty, throughout the Great Lakes region. This resistance and resulting treaty demands, demonstrate that these northern populations were not swayed by the colonial life-style into the middle of the nineteenth century. Resisting mining operations at Mica Bay had put Shingwauk's personal freedom in peril, but it had resulted in the guaranteed protection of Indigenous peoples' rights, control of their territories, and the promise that their traditional lifeways could continue on the St. Mary's River. It helps demonstrate that these lifeways were still possible in the middle of the nineteenth century (despite the effects of the fur trade on animal populations). Paul Kane's painting depictions of Sault Ste. Marie from this period, helps demonstrate this adherence to traditional lifeways.[887] Changing depictions of the St. Mary's River populations throughout the nineteenth century, helps to demonstrate how colonial fixtures effected Indigenous populations.

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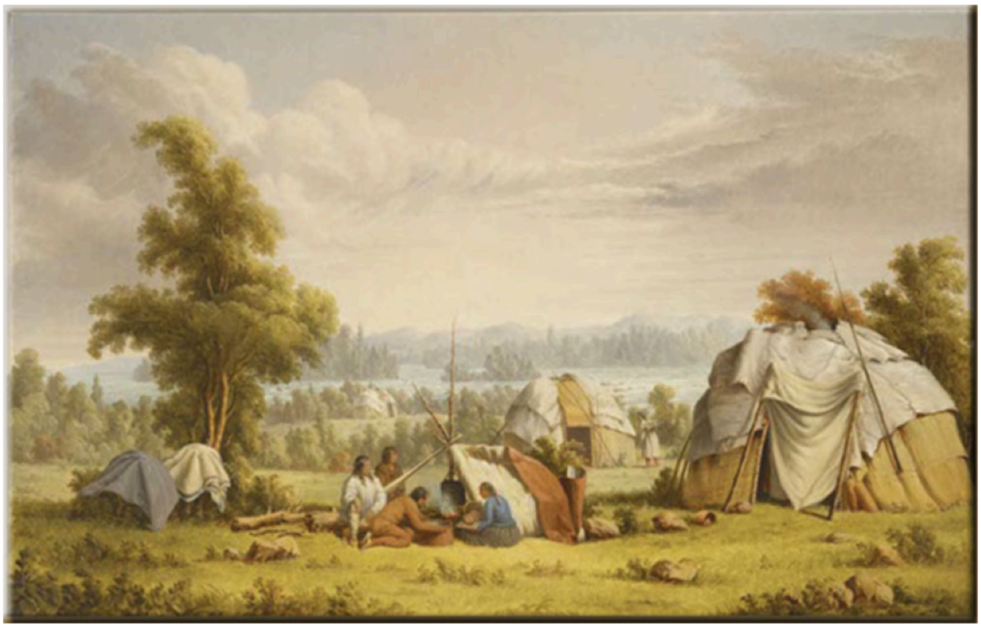
[884] Ibid.

[885] Ibid.

[886] Ibid.

[887] See: "Sault Ste. Marie", Chippewa/Southeastern Ojibwa", by Paul Kane (painted in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; 1849-1856). Rights held by the Royal Ontario Museum.



Paul Kane, "'Sault Ste. Marie,' Chippewa/Southeastern Ojibwa" (painted in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; 1849-1856). Rights held by the Royal Ontario Museum.

Reservations were meant to assure that traditional lifeways could continue on the St. Mary's River, and elsewhere on the Upper Great Lakes. Unfortunately, these Reservations were much smaller than they had been represented to the Indigenous populations (by Upper Canadian authorities); these smalls tracts of reserved territory, also allowed Europeans to settle in the region. The government included clauses which allowed them to open up large regions for further timbering and mining on non-reserved areas. The Robinson-Huron Treaty represented the Indigenous fight for political recognition of control in the Upper Great Lakes region, but this hard fought for recognition, would be undermined by both colonial governments. This is particularly true of the United States, whose congress sought to further mine the area and build a canal on the St. Mary's River; their example would be followed by the governments of Upper Canada and Canadian federal government.[888] Not only were the banks of the St. Mary's River being dangerously altered by colonial forces and their greed, now too, the river itself faced dramatic alteration.

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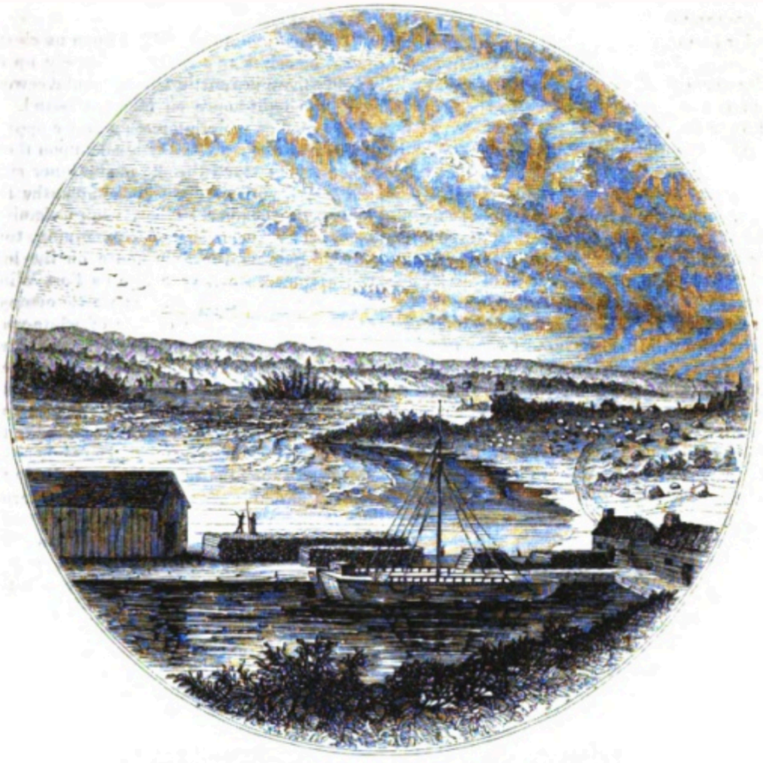
[888] Despite the failed-first attempts at building a canal, representatives from the state of Michigan continued to encourage Congress to contract a canal on the St. Mary's River into the 1850s. (see: Bayliss, Joseph E., and Mrs Estelle McLeod Bayliss, *River of Destiny: The Saint Marys* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955), 103.



THE SAULT—LOOKING DOWN FROM THE UPPER LANDING.

"The Sault—Looking Down from the Upper Landing." in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Volume 6, Issue 34 (March 1853), 439.

The drive to mine copper in the Upper Great Lakes eventually moved Congress on August 26, 1852, to pass an act which guaranteed the state right of way past Fort Brady, and granted the State 750 000 acres through which to finance the construction of the canal.[889] The United States government now claimed space on the southern banks of Baawitigong, which the Anishinabek and Métis populations saw (correctly) as their territory. These *improvements*, worked to further separate Anishinabek people from the banks of Baawitigong, by dredging and destroying reserved islands on both sides of the border. This canal also worked to increase the colonial population on the bank of the St. Mary's River, and ushered in a wave of new industrialized pursuits. Reshaping the St. Mary's River into the colonial ideal, worked to facilitate a larger colonial population at the rapids.

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[889] Bayliss, Joseph E., and Mrs Estelle McLeod Bayliss. *River of Destiny*, 103.

In accordance to the conditions set by the state, the work on the canal on the St. Mary's River needed to be built within two years; leading to rapid colonial developments on the river.[890] After only four decades of significant United States presence in the region, the St. Mary's River had been irreversibly altered; as the United States government dredged, dammed, and installed a canal on the St. Mary's River.[891] Building the canal, led to a rush of setters, seeing a shanty town established at Sault Ste. Marie, with over fifty cabins accommodating some 2000 employees.[892] The job site was equipped with various colonial fixtures, including its own hospital and medical staff.[893] These alterations would have long-term effects on the St. Mary's River, and its Indigenous populations.

"Old State Locks (built 1855)" in *Images of America: Sault Ste. Marie*, by Deidre Stevens (Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 28.

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[890] John Dickinson, *To build a Canal*, 5.
[891] Joseph Bayliss and Estelle McLeod Bayliss. *River of Destiny*, 115.
[892] Ibid, 105.
[893] Ibid, 105.

The project was seen as a major success by the United States, as Bayliss explains the *Harvey* canal and locks: "was the first ship canal in America, and its locks were the largest in the world."[894] The creation of a canal saw a wide-range of radial environmental changes on the St. Mary's River, including: the dredging of the St. Mary's River, destruction of its many islands, and the introduction of invasive species. Damming and dredging the river, worked to change the structure of its banks, and hydrology; dramatically altering the ecosystem in only two years. This canal on the St. Mary's River also led to more logging, mining, and farming in the region. Which then led to larger colonial populations established on the St. Mary's River, and placed the St. Mary's River, and its indigenous populations, in serious jeopardy. Added to these issues, were that industrialized efforts on the St. Mary's River began undermining the ecosystem, to the point where traditional lifeways on the St. Mary's River became nearly impossible.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, an Odaawa Chief on Mackinac Island named Macketebenessy (Andrew J. Blackbird), commented on how European land use patterns had changed this dynamic in the Upper Great Lakes in the span of his own life. Macketebenessy had been born during the hay-day of the Fur Trade, but the environmental and cultural destruction he had witnessed by the middle of the nineteenth-century, was noticeably worse. Writing:

> How sinks my heart, as I behold my inheritance all in ruins and desolation. Yes, desolation; to hunt, and build our council fires, is no more to behold. Where once so many brave Algonquins and the daughters of the forest danced with joy, danced with gratitude to the Great Spirit for their homes, they are no more seen. Our forests are gone, and our game is destroyed. Hills, groves and dales once clad in rich mantle of verdure are stripped. Where is this promised land which the Great Spirit had given to his red children as the perpetual inheritance of their posterity from generation to generation? Ah, the pale-faces who have left their fathers' land, far beyond the ocean, have now come and dispossessed us of our heritage with cruel deceit and force of arms. Still are they rolling on, and rolling on, like a might spray from the deep ocean, overwhelming the habitations of nature's children.[895]

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[894] Ibid, 105, 108.

[895] Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, 100.

The local effects of industrialization on the St. Mary's River were devastation to the local flora, fauna, animals, fish, and human populations. The accounts of Indigenous observers from the area, help to demonstrate that this ecological decline was visible within a single lifetime on the St. Mary's River (by the middle of the nineteenth-century).

But all of these warning signs were ignored by the United States and Upper Canada. As a result, the final six decades of the nineteenth century, saw more dramatic, permanent man-made changes, to the banks of the St. Mary's River, than the previous 200 years of European presence combined (and more than 15,000 of Indigenous land stewardship). Physical changes, which were compounded by legislative and economic changes, now placed the Indigenous populations in serious peril. This saw serious efforts by Indigenous leaders in the region (which fought to protect the ecology, and traditions of the region), undermined when colonial governments failed to fulfil their own treaty promises. This trend of industrialization on the river was worsened into the twentieth century. The effects of wholescale industrialization (and the western expansion of North America it helped to facilitate) are marked by a wave of human trauma, economic exploitation, and (increasingly by) weather anomalies in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.[896]

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[896] Valérie Touet (et. al.). "A 1500-year reconstruction of annual mean temperature",1.

Section II: Whitefish Island as a Living Portal to the Past: contextualizing the effect of Industrialization and Assimilation on the Upper Great Lakes (1859-1875)

Whitefish Island has witnessed (and influenced) the flow of history around Baawitigong for thousands of years; its geography, ecology, artefacts, and current physical structure speaks to the changing climate, geography, and human-nature relationship on the St. Mary's River's rapids over time. The deep history of the Anishinaabeg and Whitefish Island helps contextualize the destructive policies pursued by colonial governments on Baawitigong in the Modern Period. Linking this deep history to the modern history of this region (and its people), meanwhile, helps further connect the early history of Baawitigong (and the Anishinaabeg) to present concerns. The long tenure of this island's importance is initially demonstrated in the Anishinaabeg's creation story of Baawitigong. In this history, Whitefish Island is depicted as a part of the original giant beaver dam, which Nanabush broke, creating the St. Mary's River in the process.[897] To those familiar with this history, seeing the island's physical geography serves as a reminder of this important event, which occurred in the very distant past. But this ancient history also helps demonstrate the extent to which human activities have damaged this river in the Modern Period (in a relatively short time). Although physical alterations, climate changes, and shifting species are not new to the St. Mary's River, the history of Whitefish Island demonstrates the accelerated rate of these man-made changes in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries.

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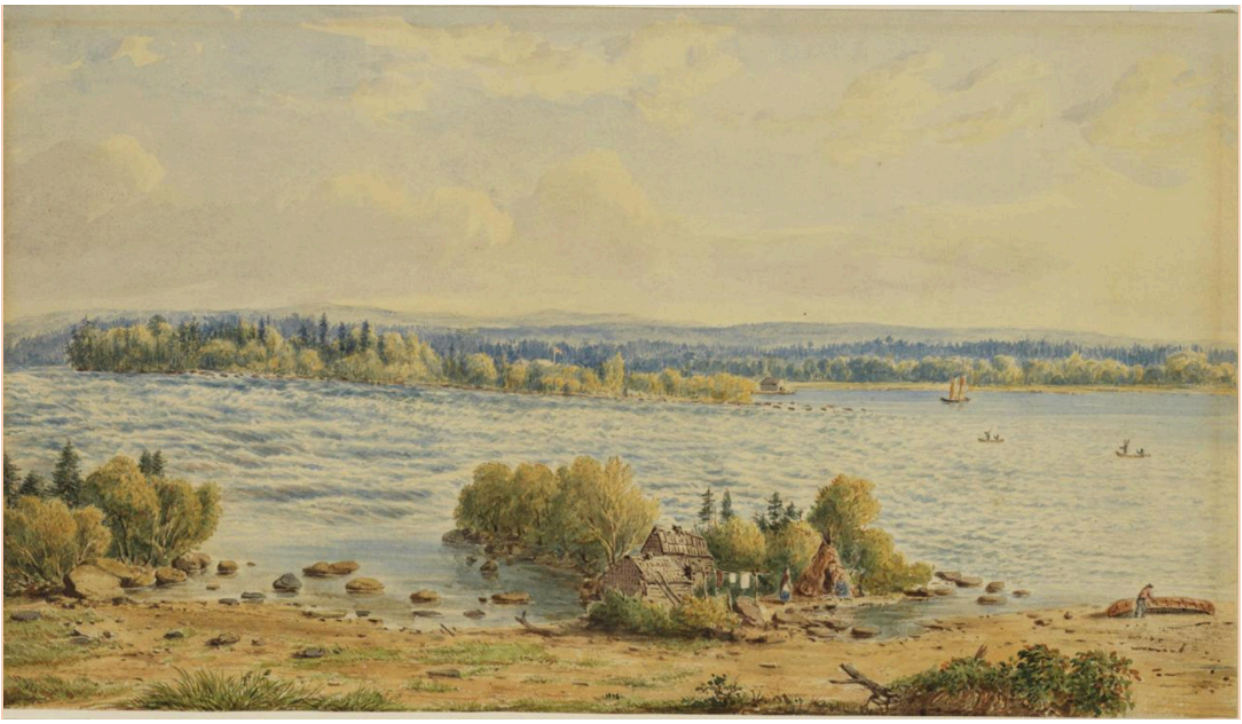
[897] Darrel Manitowabi and Alan Corbiere, "Anishinabek & Mushkegowuk The Indigenous Peoples of Northeastern Ontario", in *Come on Over!: Northeastern Ontario A to Z. by Dieter K. Buse and Graeme Stewart Mount* (Scrivener Press, 2011), 17.



John Herbert Caddy, "Sault Ste. Marie [and Whitefish Island] from the Canal (1842-1887)" in the Royal Ontario Museum.

The Oral Traditions of the Anishinaabeg are key to accessing the full scope of this information. However, some of this early historical information (preserved through the histories of the Anishinaabeg), is now also accessible by the use of more modern methods (e.g. climatology, carbon dating, archaeological investigations, and geographical simulations). Additionally, archaeological evidence from the region points to Whitefish Island as a centre of the Great Lakes trade network, since (at least) the "Early Copper Period" (c. 6,500-3,500 ybp.). Both archaeological and historical information demonstrates the importance of Baawitigong during the Seven Fires migration (c. 1000-1500AD) when it became an important centre of the Anishinaabeg world, (in part) because of its easy access to whitefish. During this time, it also became a particularly important summer camp for the Ojibwa, and a convenient meeting place for northern and southern tribes.

Throughout the more recent historical periods (which saw Europeans enter the continent), Whitefish Island continued to be used for these purposes, and also housed traders and Métis groups, who relied heavily upon this island at Baawitigong. This island's importance in the colonial period is further reflected by its inclusion in maps, documents, artwork, from the period, as well as the archaeological evidence it houses. As the Anishinaabeg acknowledge, the existing geography, flora, and fauna of Whitefish Island also provides a tangible link to the past. This evidence combined, demonstrates that for roughly ten thousand years Whitefish Island has served as an important meeting point, fishing location, and summer camp of the Indigenous groups who travelled regularly to the region. This model provides some historical continuity with which to evaluate cultural adaptations over time. Physical changes to Whitefish Island, therefore, serve as a historical record that can allow us to access the *deep time* of the St. Mary's River; and provides a model of how this information (from the past) is linked to contemporary events.

Whitefish Island was important enough for the Anishinaabeg and Métis that Chief Nebenaigoching (a.k.a. Joe Sayers) negotiated specifically for this area's protection in the terms of the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850).[898] Yet, despite this island's reserved status, it was directly (and indirectly) affected by the wide variety of alterations made to Baawitigong in the second half of the nineteenth century, and to an even greater extent throughout the twentieth century. Whilst the 1840s-1850s marked the beginning of Industrialization on the St. Mary's River, this trend of instituting destructive land-use patterns would only increase into the second half of the nineteenth century. Much like with the copper rush of the 1840s had, the increased shipping infrastructure in the 1850s, began to enact social changes to the St. Mary's River into the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1859 this situation worsened for the Batchewana First Nations, as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs R.T. Pennefather pressured the tribe to sell their reserved land and join the community at Garden River (without it seems, consulting the people living at Garden River). Batchewana First Nation's "Notice of Assertions" explains, that:

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[898] David T. McNab, *Circles of Time: Aboriginal land rights and resistance in Ontario*, 136-139.

> Canada's failure to have due regard for the interests of BFN in 1859, or even to the legality of its promises to BFN, left our membership without any land base except for islands comprising the small fishing station in the rapids. Their treaty reserve was being sold, they had no land tenure at Garden River and no other reserve lands to call their own. Over time, lands were purchased at Goulais Bay and at the Rankin location, using the First Nation's own funds. Governments did not recognize or protect BFN settlements at Batchewana Bay, at Agawa River or later at Gros Cap.[899]

Pressure to sell their territory above Baawitigong, on Batchewana Bay and Gros Cap (which were supposed to be protected by the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850)), put pressure on their other lands. This led the Batchewana First Nation to rely more heavily on Whitefish Island as an important fishery.

At the same time, the river around Whitefish Island witnessed a dramatic increase of shipping. In the first year of its existence (1855) the lock on the St. Mary's River saw 14,503 tons of shipping pass through its gates; by 1867 this annual tonnage had grown considerably to 325,357 tons per year.[900] This increase in shipping on the St. Mary's River, worked to further alter the natural baseline of the region, disrupting local populations of fish, terrestrial animals, birds, and plants. Various forests had been cut, islands destroyed, and narrow channels dredged, in creating this lock system. The remaining beaver and caribou populations were now forced from the St. Mary's River; which led to the decline in other animal populations. The Indigenous human populations who relied on the St. Mary's River, now had to navigate their canoes around these larger steamers when the fished; and were increasingly facing direct competition with colonial populations over: natural resources, territory allocations, and the government's use of assimilation policies.

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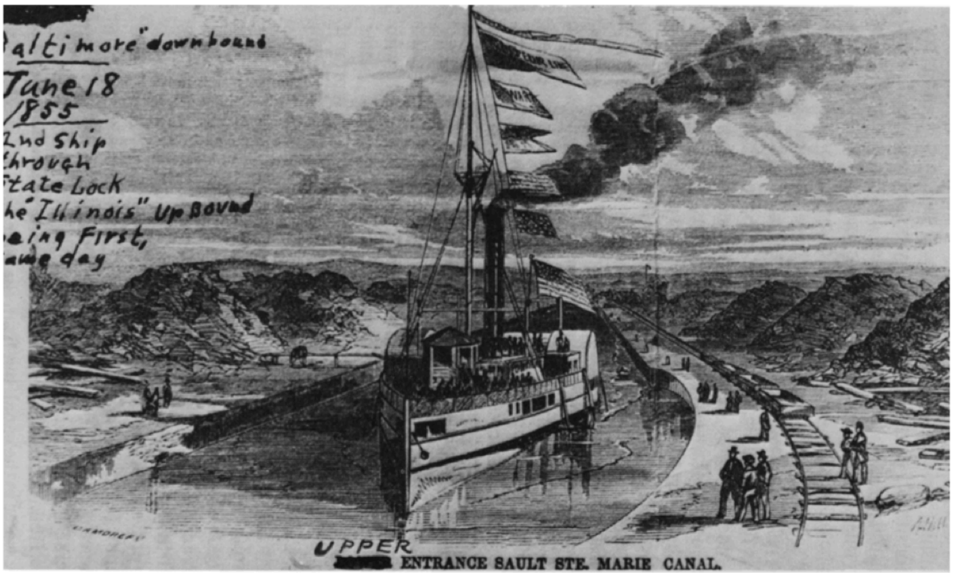
[899] "Batchewana First Nation Notice of Assertions": https://batchewana.ca/about/sovereignty/

[900] United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department*, (1905) 2263.



"Steamer *E. Ward* Leaving the Locks (1855)" Reproduced from the collections of the Michigan Department of State, State Archives, in John Dickinson, *To Build a Canal: Sault Ste. Marie, 1853-1854 and after*, 132.

Canada's confederation in 1867 further marked a shift in colonial policy towards Indigenous populations on the Upper Great Lakes. The accompanying *British North America Act* (1867) dictated that the government of Canada had an obligation to "Indians and Lands reserved for Indians", but this obligation was used to separate Indigenous people from their lands.[901] The Canadian government looked to gain new territories in the area to the northwest of the Great Lakes, in part, because their ships could now reach Lake Superior. In 1869, the Canadian government demonstrated this intention by claiming ownership of all territory formerly claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company. This land claim in 1869, helped to spark the Riel Rebellion (1869-1870); which saw individuals from the St. Mary's River (predominantly from Métis and Anishinaabeg communities) join this resistance to colonial rule to the northwest of Lake Superior. Historian Shirley Hoskins has explained that the Riel Rebellion affected the St. Mary's River socially and physically.

Not only did a number of Indigenous people from the St. Mary's River take part in this conflict, and many later settled on territory around Red River. The Canadian government also focused their attention directly on the St. Mary's River, when the Canadian ship (the Chicora), was denied entry to the United States' locks on the way to the Riel Rebellion. During this event, the Canadian government was shown that it relied on the United States' locks at Baawitigong to transport troops westward.[902] Hoskins argues that the Chicora Incident eventually led the Government of Canada to establish their own lock system on the St. Mary's River. Sketches of the incident at Sault Ste. Marie appeared in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1870 (painted by William Armstrong in 1913 from E.F. Wilson's first-hand sketch of the incident), which helps to highlight the condition of Whitefish Island, and northern banks the St. Mary's River

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[901] *British North America Act*, (Section 91(24)).

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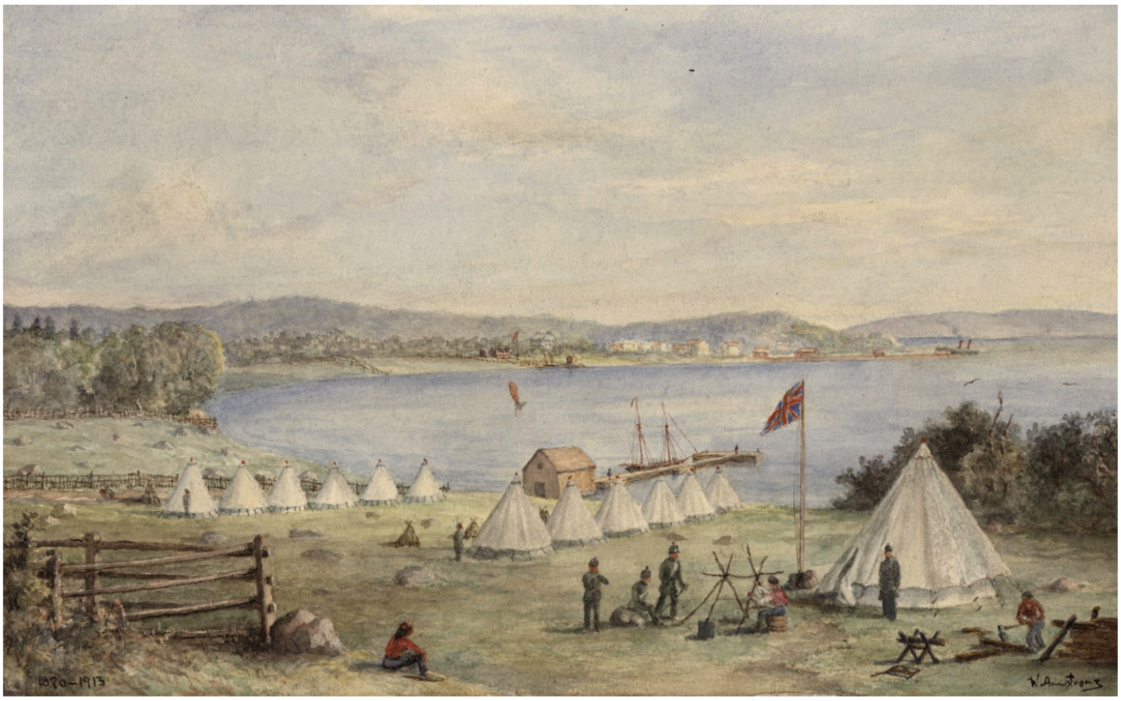
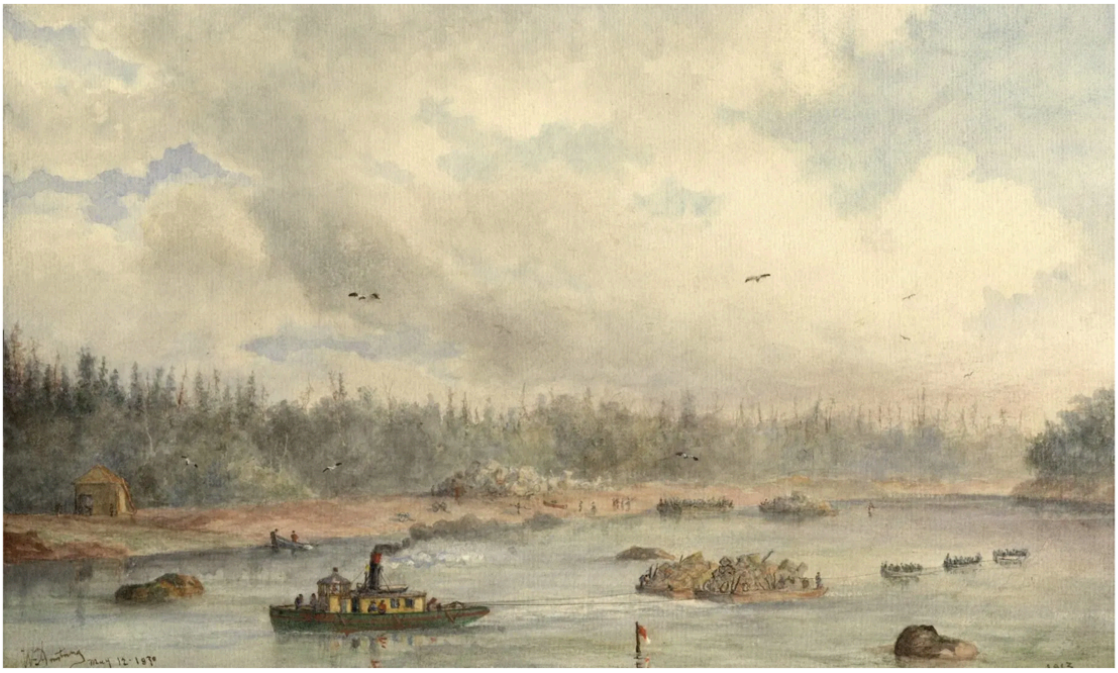
[902] Shirley Hoskins and Jan Joyce. *The Canal At Sault Ste Marie: The South Shore Quarry's Contribution to Canadian History*. Friesen Press (2014), 14-16.



William Armstrong, “Camp of Ontario Rifles at Sault Ste. Marie, Red River Expedition. (1870)” a sketch by Rev. Mr. W."[Edward Francis Wilson] in 'Canadian illustrated news', Montreal, 18 June 1870 (v.1, no. 33), 517. (painted by William Armstrong in 1913): *Toronto Public Library*: JRR 2421 Cab IV

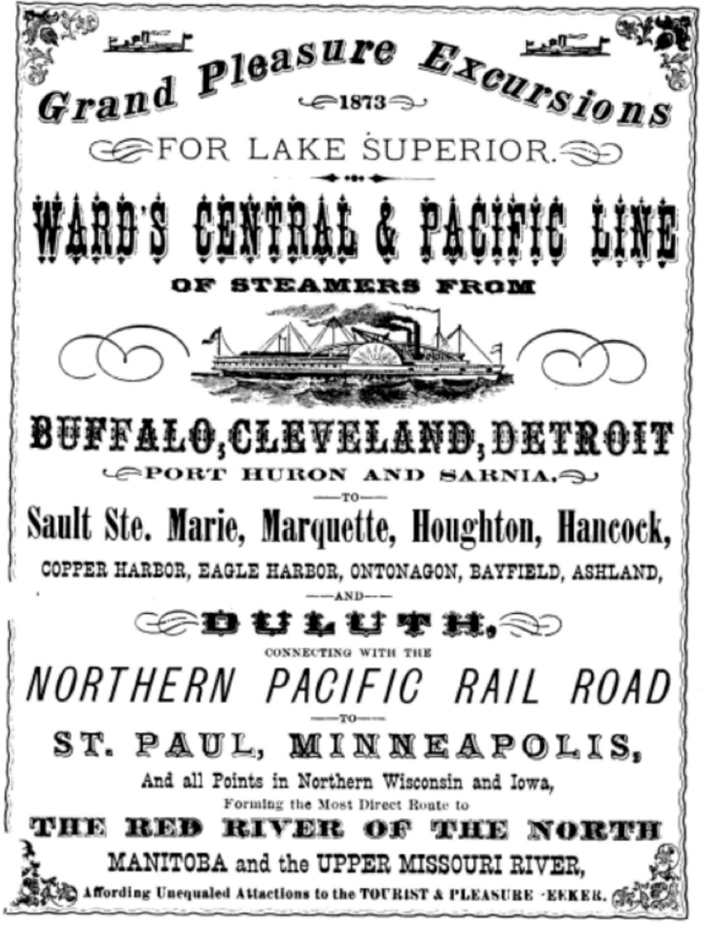


William Armstrong, “Landing at Sault Ste Marie, Red River Expedition” wood carving originally appeared *in Canadian Illustrated News*, Montreal 9 July 1870 (v.2, no.2) p.17; (painted by William Armstrong in 1913): *Toronto Public Library*: JRR 2423 Cab IV

Despite clear resistance to the Canadian government between 1868 and 1876, the government of Canada began to develop an official policy towards Indigenous people that would allow them to expand westward; this policy resulted in the first iteration of the *Indian Act* (1876). A major component of the Indian Act (1876), was the creation of treaties with Indigenous populations north and west of the Great Lakes. The resulting Numbered Treaties (1-7) were negotiated between 1871 and 1877, and were directly modelled after the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850. While these treaties afforded some protection to Indigenous populations, they also allowed the Canadian government to secure the prairies and west coast regions of modern Canada. The Euro-Canadian expansion westward (that these treaties facilitated), not only set out reserved lands, but this western expansion also increased Indigenous peoples' reliance on territories separated from European villages. Around the St. Mary's River however, these reserved lands were increasingly being sought after by European settlers. In order to accommodate to these changing demographics, many Anishinaabeg and Métis groups around Baawitigong began to spend more of their time on Reservations to avoid colonial populations. Some groups from the St. Mary's River region, began travelling north westward to the Red River Region in response to these changes.

By the 1870s, the colonial populations of North America no longer viewed the St. Mary's River as being on "the frontier" (a status it had maintained for nearly 300 years of Europeans' presence in North America). The St. Mary's River region, was now looked to as a bank of natural resources, that could help fuel the full-scale industrialization of North America. This industrial dream on the St. Mary's River was particularly important, because by the end of the nineteenth century, even land that was reserved for use by Indigenous populations (such as Whitefish Island) was not safe from colonial expansion. By the 1870s, Whitefish Island had already been affected by the damming of the rapids, dredging of the river, and the installation of a lock system. This lock system also increased the US and

Canadian governments' interest in the region, which led to governmental policies that were intended to force Indigenous people off their lands.



Grand Pleasure Excursions
1873
FOR LAKE SUPERIOR.
WARD'S CENTRAL & PACIFIC LINE
OF STEAMERS FROM
BUFFALO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT
PORT HURON AND SARNIA.
—TO—
Sault Ste. Marie, Marquette, Houghton, Hancock,
COPPER HARBOR, EAGLE HARBOR, ONTONAGON, BAYFIELD, ASHLAND,
—AND—
DULUTH,
CONNECTING WITH THE
NORTHERN PACIFIC RAIL ROAD
—TO—
ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS,
And all Points in Northern Wisconsin and Iowa,
Forming the Most Direct Route to
THE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH
MANITOBA and the UPPER MISSOURI RIVER,
Affording Unequaled Attactions to the TOURIST & PLEASURE SEEKER.

John Disturnell, "Advertisement" in *Lake Superior guide, giving a description of all the objects of interest and places of resort on this great inland sea with an account of the iron, copper & silver mines, also commercial statistics in regard to the product of the mines, fisheries, &c*, (Philadelphia: J. Disturnell, 1872), 55.

An example of this encroachment by settlers (onto reservations), is demonstrated clearly in the modern history of Whitefish Island (located in the middle of the St. Mary's River's rapids). Historians Edmund Danziger suggests that in response to a growing colonial population, many Anishinaabeg groups also began to adopt a greater reliance on agricultural pursuits into the twentieth century, supplemented by gathering, fishing and hunting (at locations such as Whitefish Island).[903] Historian Chantal Norrgard has described this shift ("from berries to orchards"), as a necessary adaptation, as their movements became increasingly limited by colonial populations.[904] This strategy allowed them to maintain political autonomy, and remain almost self-sufficient through food production. A greater reliance on agriculture however, meant that less time of the year was spent travelling to hunt, fish, and gather in traditional territories. For the Ojibwa, this strategy often meant settling in territories in the Lower Great Lakes which were well suited to agriculture, but which were also sought after by a growing colonial population in the region.

In the Upper Great Lakes, many of the traditional sites of food production (such as Baawitigong), were now inhabited by whites who also claimed ownership of these territories, further restricting Indigenous populations' ability to access these traditional resources. This increased reliance on reserved land around the St. Mary's River, was further influenced by a growing population of Europeans who settled logging and mining towns in the forests surrounding the river, and began to further effect local plant and animal populations.[905] The growing European population at Baawitigong, coupled with industrial activities (including mining, clear cutting, and large-scale farming) throughout the region, led to greater animal scarcities on the Upper Great Lakes by the end of the nineteenth century. For the Indigenous populations that remained in the St. Mary's River region, the beginning of the twentieth century marked a period of adaptations to a shifting economy, ecology, and the growing influence of government policy on their lives.

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[903] Edmund J. Danziger and Edmund Jefferson Danziger. *Great Lakes Indian Accommodation and Resistance During the Early Reservation Years, 1850-1900.* (University of Michigan Press, 2009), 32-34.

[904] Chantal Norrgard, "From berries to orchards: Tracing the history of berrying and economic transformation among Lake Superior Ojibwe." *American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (2009), 34-35.

[905] Douglas Baldwin and David Duke. ""A grey wee town": an environmental history of early silver mining at Cobalt, Ontario." *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 34, no. 1 (2005), 75-78.

Section III: Shaping the St. Mary’s River into an Industrial Hub: Separation, Assimilation, and Economic Exploitation (1876-1900)

The largely European-descended population who now inhabited the banks at the head of the St. Mary’s River (in the twin Sault Ste. Maries), now shaped the river to suit their life ways, rather than structure their life ways to suit the river. The governments of the United States and Canada now saw Indigenous people (and their traditional lifeways) as slowing the development of their respective countries; both governments pursued aggressive assimilation policies on Indigenous populations during the final decades of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. The introduction of the *Indian Act* (1876) further worsened the situation of Indigenous people in Canada: by allowing the government to consolidate regulations, it gave greater power to the Department of Indian Affairs. Historian John Leslie has linked the *Indian Act* of 1876 to the beginning of wide-scale assimilation efforts across Canada.[906] He points to the use of Residential Schools as becoming a Canadian policy shortly after the implementation of this legislation. Historian on United States’ policy, Andrea Smith, suggests that the United States also began to rely on schools to assimilate Indigenous populations after the Carlisle School was opened in 1879.[907] The writers of these assimilation policies attempted to justify their actions, by arguing that they were helping to address growing social concerns amongst Indigenous populations. In reality, they used these policies to separate indigenous populations from their traditional territories, and to attempt to shape Indigenous populations into a convenient labour force to help them pursue industrialized activities. In the process, these colonial policies have worked to harm the ecology of the region, and place the health of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in jeopardy.

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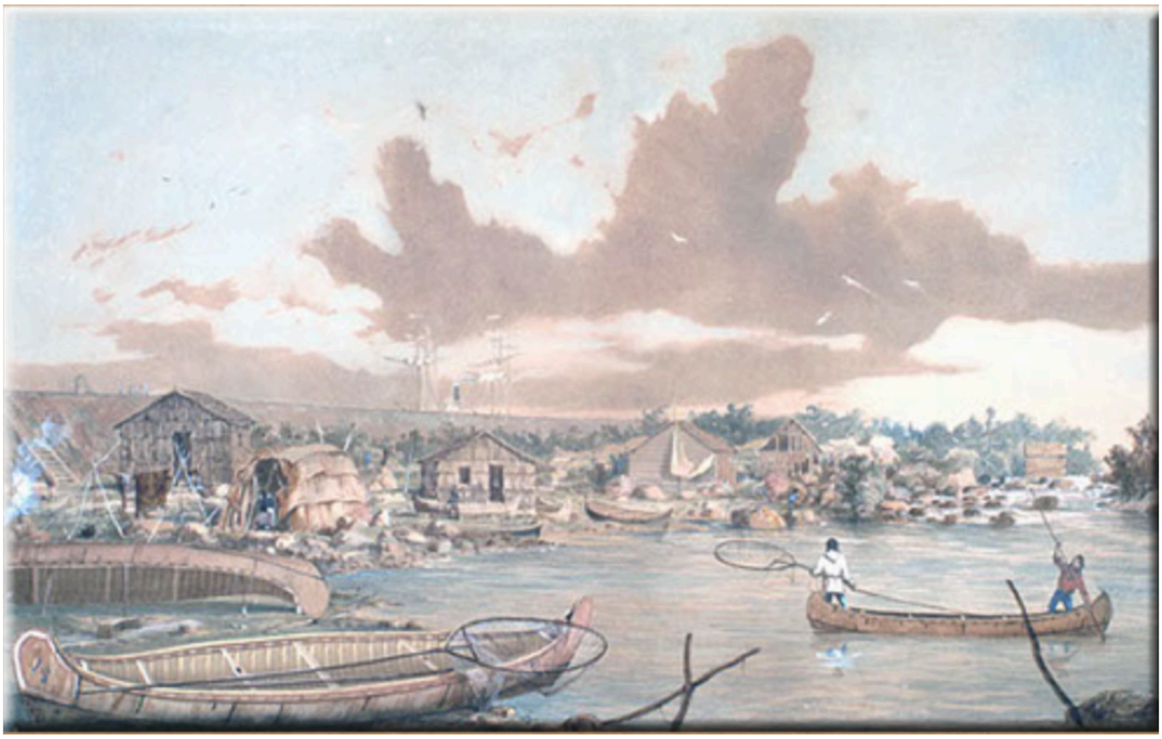
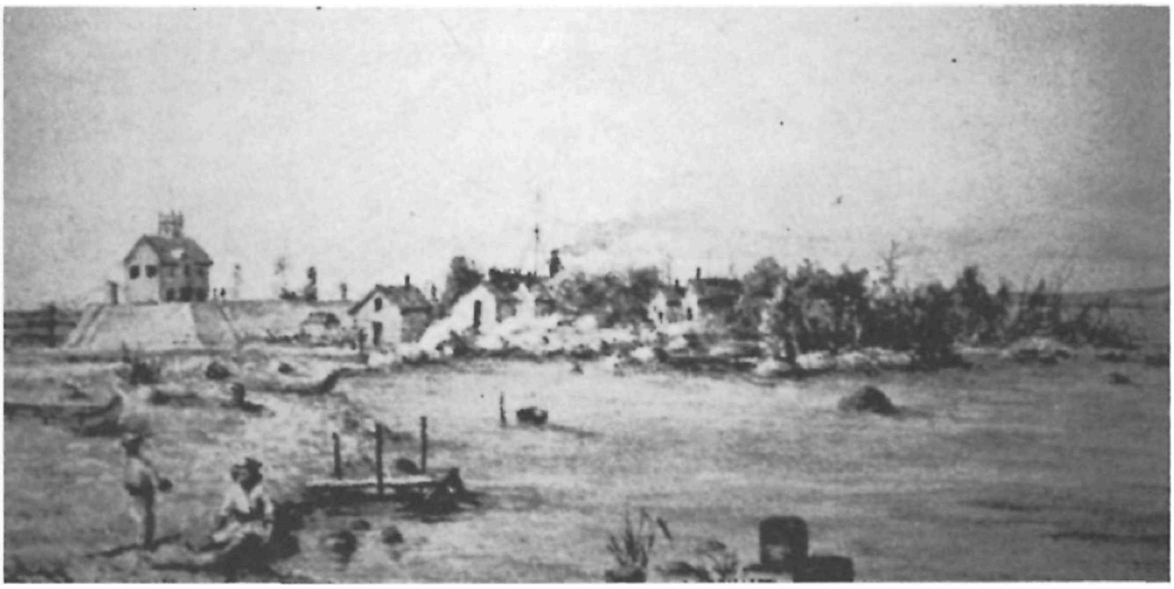
[906] John Leslie, "Indian Act: an historical perspective." *Canadian parliamentary review* 25, no. 2 (2002), 24-25.

[907] Andrea Smith, "Boarding school abuses, human rights, and reparations." *Social Justice* 31, no. 4 vol 98 (2004), 89.



William Armstrong, “An Indian Settlement at Sault Ste. Marie [and Whitefish Island], Ontario with the Canal in the Background. (c. 1870s).” *Algoma District School Board.*



William Armstrong, “American canal at Sault Ste. Marie (c. 1870s)” (Metropolitan Toronto Public Library) in Osborne, Brian S., and Donald Swainson. "The Sault Ste. Marie Canal: A Chapter in the History of Great Lakes Transport." *Studies in Archaeology, Architecture, and History* (Parks Canada, 1986), 27.

On the banks of the St. Mary's River, the first Residential School was established even before this legislation. The Shingwauk Industrial Home was originally opened in 1873, only to be destroyed six days later by fire, and reopened in 1875. This was followed by a temporary school for girls in 1877, and the Wawanosh Home (for girls) in 1879.[908] A sign of the times, the Shingwauk School was supported by Augustine Shingwauk, who saw the potential to train young Indigenous people in European lifeways. Importantly, Shingwauk believed this school could help teach Europeans how to conduct themselves in the Upper Great Lakes. James Rodger Miller's important work Residential Schools in Canada highlights how the European-descended managers of this School warped "Shingwauk's Vision" into something that was ugly, cruel, and damaging to a large population of Indigenous children.[909] The government underfunded these schools, attempting to destroy indigenous cultures, and replace them with colonial ideals. Rather than preparing Anishinaabeg children to understand law or politics (in order to allow them to represent their needs to Europeans), these schools often focused on training these children for labour positions.[910]

The labour positions these children were trained for were generally reserved for Europeans, and proved to be an unreliable way to support a family on the St. Mary's River throughout the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although the increase of shipping traffic through the St. Mary's River was so rapid that the United States' government looked to add another lock (by 1870), this shipping often did not contribute to the economy around the St. Mary's River. For the colonial governments, these constructions were seen as an incredible success. By the 1880s, this canal had become such an important transportation route for the federal government of the United States, that they took over control of the locks (from the State of Michigan), and dropped the toll for use of this locks in 1881. This move worked to encourage further shipping across the Great Lakes, but also meant that people living on the St. Mary's River were not compensated by the massive freighters travelling on their river. The federal government then decided to enlarge the original lock (built in 1855) in 1886, so that it could accommodate larger ships; this expansion, however, largely relied on outsourced labour from European settlers across the United States.

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[908] "Missionary Work Among the Ojebway Indians, part 1 of 2" (1886) [textual]. Edward F. Wilson fonds, Series: Wilson publication series, Box: 001, File: 039, ID: 2010-022-001-039. Sault Ste Marie, ON: Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University, 4-7.

[909] James Rodger Miller, Miller, James Rodger. *Shingwauk's Vision: A history of Native residential schools* (University of Toronto Press, 1996) , 65-68.

[910] David MacDonald and Graham Hudson. "The genocide question and Indian residential schools in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 45, no. 2 (2012), 431-432.

These new locks facilitated even more shipping on the St Mary's River by the end of the nineteenth century. The 325,357 tons of cargo that passed through the locks in 1867, rose to over 1,000,000 tons in 1876; around 11,000,000 tons of cargo passed through the locks in 1892, and by 1900 this annual cargo hit an incredible 25,500,000 tons.[911] Local historians Bernie Arbic and Nancy Steinhaus suggest that by the 1880s, Lake Superior was being looked to as "the largest millpond in the world", and was seen as a possible centre of industrial efforts in North America.[912] The importance of this lock systems to the growth of the United States was clear enough, that the government of Canada began to build their own lock on the rapids in the 1880s. Both Canada and the United States now saw Sault Ste. Marie as a potential capital for industrialized mining, factory production, and shipping. Believing that its access to transportation routes on the Great Lakes, surrounding natural resources, and central position in North America made the St. Mary's River an ideal location for an industrial capital.

Despite these *improvements* made to the St. Mary's River (in the second half of the nineteenth century), the local residents largely suffered from their effects to the region.

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[911] United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department*, (1905) 2263.

[912] Bernie Arbic and Nancy Steinhaus, "How the Soo Locks Were Made", *Lake Superior Magazine*, (July 27, 2015): https://www.lakesuperior.com/the-lake/maritime/how-the-soo-locks-were-made/.

Although the locks on the rapids helped to increase shipping on the Upper Great Lakes, they were destructive to the local economy, ecology, and threatened the traditional lifeways of its Indigenous populations. While the colonial populations saw these construction projects as improvements to the river, the beginning of the twentieth century generally saw Indigenous people facing difficult times around Baawitigong, in large part because of these changes to the river, and its surrounding regions. These effects became more pronounced on Whitefish Island between 1888-1895, as the Canadians dug a canal through this island and installed a lock system. They then cleared the land on the western side of the island (now technically two islands separated by a canal), effectively taking over a large portion of this reservation.

This trend was spurred further by the establishment of a rail line to the St. Mary's River in 1888, and by the rapid rise in the use of electricity. The dream of producing electricity from the powerful outflow at Baawitigong was picked up by Francis Clergue, who in 1895 finished this initial hydroelectric dam on the north shore of the St. Mary's River next to Whitefish Island.[913] This saw a canal cut through Whitefish Island before Clergue persuaded investors from Philadelphia to back a similar project on the Michigan bank of the river. The later project resulted in the cutting of a two-mile long canal from the rapids, which by 1902 powered the quarter-mile long brick-powerhouse on the southern bank of the St. Mary's River (both are still present, and in use today).[914] While hydroelectricity is generally considered a *greener* alternative to other forms of electricity production, establishing powerhouses on the banks of the St. Mary's River had considerable ecological effects on the rapids. The steady access to hydroelectricity at both Sault Ste. Maries, its proximity to a rail line, its central position on the Great Lakes shipping network, and the surrounding valuable minerals, now made the St. Mary's River region an even more attractive location to rich investors.[915]

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[913] Neil Forsyth, "McDowall, Steel at the Sault: Francis H. Clergue, Sir James Dunn, and the Algoma Steel Corporation, 1901–1956." *Archivaria* 21 (1985), 247.

[914] Brian S. Osborne and Donald Swainson. "The Sault Ste. Marie Canal: A Chapter in the History of Great Lakes Transport." *Studies in Archaeology, Architecture, and History* (Parks Canada, 1986)., 114-117.

Yet despite this incredible growth in shipping, and investments made in the region, the populations living on the St. Mary's River gained very little from these "improvements" into the twentieth century. The creation of a lock system meant that portaging the St. Mary's River's rapids was no longer necessary. This expansion now allowed steam ships and large sailboats to traverse the St. Mary's River into Lake Superior, meaning that these larger watercrafts were replacing the millennia long reliance on the birch bark canoes in the region.[916] Historian Ted Barris has highlighted a general trend during this shift (from canoes to steamships) in Canada: he highlights how the introduction of steamships directly affected Indigenous families who relied on canoe making and transporting goods as part of their subsistence.[917] Historian Troy Henderson highlights how this *developed* shipping infrastructure also worked to lessen European-settlers' reliance on local goods, which decreased demand for Indigenous and Métis skills (e.g. as guides, hunters, supplier of northern goods, etc.).[918] The locks and new watercraft ultimately led to a decline in local labour positions available around Baawitigong, which had been a particularly important economic staple of the Métis.

Now that boats did not have to portage around the rapids, there were fewer local positions for stevedores and canoe pilots, as well as, fewer visiting seaman and other travellers who would have previously made a stop at the rapids for supplies, refuge, and trade. Even in the face of these dramatic changes at Baawitigong, the Indigenous populations looked for ways to continue their traditional lifeways. Karl Hele, points to a number of strategies used by the Anishinaabeg and Métis populations from around Baawitigong, to adjust their economy while maintaining their traditional lifeways during this period. The indigenous populations at Baawitigong continued to fish the rapids, hunt, and gather local food, but, they now adapted these skills to the new markets around the river.[919] In 1885, a Fish and Fisheries Commissioner for the United States explained that "As late as 1865 crude smoking and drying frames, covered with cedar strips and hung with whitefish were not an uncommon sight along the bank of the river in the vicinity of the rapids."[920] Historians Laura Peers and Jennifer Brown have highlighted how many Ojibwa and Métis people on the rapids became involved with early tourism to the region at the turn of the century: using their traditional skills, to work as guides for travellers in the region, taking passengers on their canoes as they shot the rapids, and by selling their handmade goods and local delicacies, to both tourists and the established white communities.[921]

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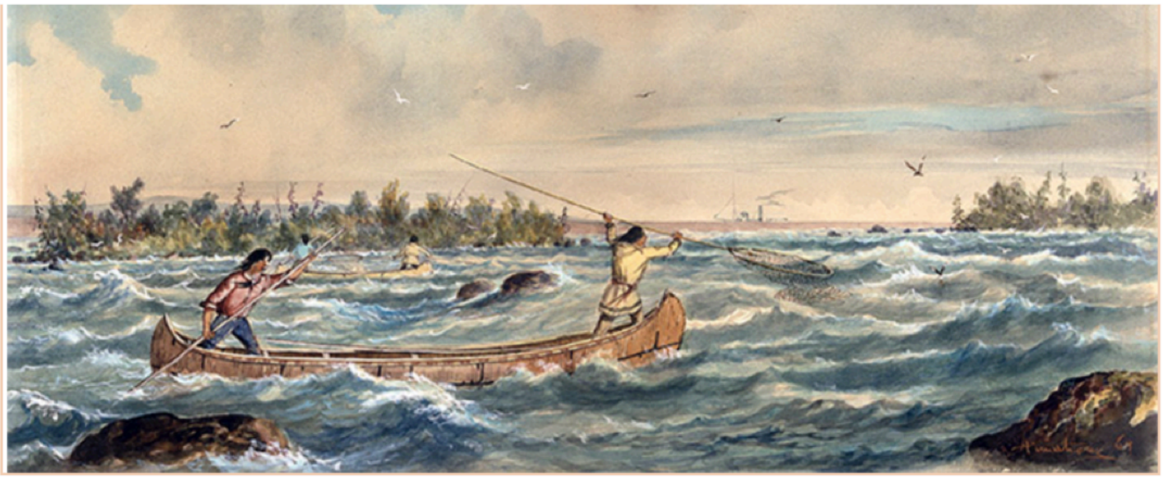
[915] T.R. Witcher, "Michigan's Upper Peninsula: A Nexus of Engineering Prowess." *Civil Engineering Magazine Archive* 86, no. 5 (2016).

[916] Troy Henderson, *Lake Superior Country: 19th Century Travel and Tourism*. Arcadia Publishing, (2002), 7.

[917] Ted Barris, *Fire Canoe: prairie steamboat days revisited*. Dundurn, (2015), 6-9.

[918] Troy Henderson, *Lake Superior Country: 19th Century Travel and Tourism*, 7-8.



"Fishing at Sault Ste. Marie", *Library and Archives Canada*, Acc. No. 1981-55-6, MIKAN no. 2833409.

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[919] Karl Hele, "The Anishinabeg and Métis in the Sault Ste. Marie Borderlands: Confronting a Line Drawn upon the Water" in Hele, Karl S., ed. *Lines drawn upon the water: First Nations and the Great Lakes borders and borderlands* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2008), 78.

[920] U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commission for 1887* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), Part 15, p. 68.

[921] Laura Peers and Jennifer Brown,""There is no end to relationship among the indians" Ojibwa Families and Kinship in Historical Perspective." *The History of the Family* 4, no. 4 (1999), 543-544.

These lifeways however, were increasingly being threatened by environmental decline on the St. Mary's River, which had noticeable spill-over effects on reserved land around Baawitigong by the end of the nineteenth century. Into the twentieth century, this environmental decline around the St. Mary's River became even more apparent, with infringements onto reserved territories, larger scale assimilation policies pursued by the government (of Canada and the United States), and by the use of unfair economic practices.[922] All of these threats worked together, to put the local Indigenous populations at serious risk. By the start of the twentieth century, game scarcities around reserved lands forced many Indigenous groups to trade more regularly with European communities in order to survive. These European communities, however, no longer respected the trade customs of the country and often exploited Indigenous populations on their traditional territories. Those Indigenous groups who lived in close proximity to white communities (such as the twin Sault Ste. Maries on Baawitigong), now risked having their children taken by government officials and sent to Residential/Boarding schools.

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[922] Robin Brownlie, *A fatherly eye: Indian agents, government power, and Aboriginal resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), 127-130.

Section IV: Removing the People to Change the Land, Whitefish Island During the Twentieth Century (1900-2009)

Recently, there has been a great deal of research done on the social and cultural effects of these changes in the twentieth century, including many studies which attempt to include Indigenous epistemological understandings in their evaluations of colonial policy. Many of these studies accurately identify the negative social and cultural effects of separating Indigenous populations from their traditional territories. There has been remarkably less consideration however, of the ecological effects of separating Indigenous populations from their traditional territories.[923] This separation (of Indigenous people from their traditional lands) not only had an impact on Indigenous human populations, but also on the health of the environment itself. Identifying how colonial policy influenced the environment, means going further than merely identifying negative aspects of colonial land-use patterns, and necessitates a better understanding of the conservation efforts of Indigenous populations. This is certainly true of Baawitigong, which has been rendered virtually unrecognizable since Europeans established villages on its banks in the middle of the nineteenth century. This came during a time, when the colonial governments on both sides of the St. Mary's River were pursuing assimilation policies, which sought to turn Indigenous people into a labour force for this expansion. A growing white presence, and industrial efforts on the St. Mary's River, put its Indigenous people, local plants, and native animals at even greater risk into the twentieth century then two centuries of Europeans' involvement in the fur trade.

For example, infringement on Whitefish Island went even further between 1902-1913, when the land was expropriated in order to install a rail line. Between 1905 and 1906, the population on Whitefish Island was pushed off this Island to allow for these construction projects; the traditional burial ground on Whitefish Island was moved to Sault Ste. Marie.[924] The Federal Department of Public Works took control of the land from these companies in 1913, before it was *given* to Parks Canada.[925] On Baawitigong, this construction worked to physically separate the Anishinaabeg from a very important fishery, and to change the very structure of the island and surrounding rapids. The expropriation this land limited the Anishinaabeg and Métis' access to what remained of the Baawitigong fishery at Whitefish Island. This was a devastating blow, coming at a vulnerable time for these Indigenous populations; and it would also have visible ramifications to Whitefish Island.

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[923] Sean Darcy, "Brownlie, A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939." *Archivaria* 57 (2004), 153.

This separation came at a time when reserved lands were becoming more heavily relied upon by nearby Indigenous groups; as game shortages became more pronounced, and indigenous plants were uprooted to build European-style houses and support large fields. This had a wave of social effects on Indigenous people, but one of the major unexplored effects of these assimilation policies, is the impact that this disruption of Indigenous practices has had on the ecology of North America. A clear example, of how industrialized has influenced the natural baselines of North America in the twentieth century, can be found on Whitefish Island and Baawitigong; whose twentieth century history is representative of shifts throughout North America. Whitefish Island therefore serves as an important modern example of both colonial land-use, and of Indigenous resistance/reclamation on the St. Mary's River.

After the construction of the rail line and Canadian canal, Whitefish Island was expropriated to Parks Canada, seemingly contradictory to the Robinson-Huron Treaty. Although Whitefish Island was generally protected by Parks Canada, it continued to be effected by the industrial endeavours on the St. Mary's River.[926] Parks Canada's control of

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[924] Krista McCracken, "Public Spaces and Indigenous Land: White-fish Island", *Active History* (April 20, 2015).
[925] Maureen Dunphy, *Great Lakes Island Escapes: Ferries and Bridges to Adventure*. Wayne State University Press (2016), 15-28.
[926] At various times, this island has seen workers who have maintained these constructions, and the island received special status during the World Wars.

Whitefish Island however, worked to separate the Indigenous populations from this important island; which was recognized as the Anishinaabeg's territory by the terms of the Robinson-Huron Treaty (1850). In the twentieth century, the Anishinabeg were no longer were they able to establish themselves on Whiteifsh Island, which has been an important location to them since the formation of the St. Mary's River. This same century, saw the St. Mary's River further altered by industrial activities, and *improvements* to the river's shipping infrastructure.

These industrial *improvements* to the infrastructure of this river, were largely completed in the twentieth century by the removal of several islands on the St. Mary's River, the dredging of a deeper shipping channel through its basin, the building of a steel bridge that spans the river, and the development of urban sprawls on both sides of the river.[927] These rapids were described by Anna Jameson before the construction of the locks as:

> About ten miles higher up, the great Ocean-lake narrows to a point; then, forcing a channel through the high lands, comes rushing along till it meets with a downward ledge, or Cliff, over which it throws itself in foam and fury, tearing a path for its billows through the rocks. The descent is about twenty-seven feet in three quarters of a mile, but the rush begins above, and the tumult continues below the fall, so that, on the whole the eye embraces an expanse of white foam measuring about a mile each way, the effect being exactly that of the ocean breaking on a rocky shore: not so terrific, nor on so large a scale, as the rapids of Niagara, but quite as beautiful—quite as animated.[928]

The outflow of Lake Superior into the St. Mary's River is now controlled by a man-made dam.[929] Meaning that, only about 4% of the water entering the St. Mary's River travels through the all-important rapids, around (and through) Whitefish Island.[930]

This controlled inflow has dramatically decreased the size of the geographic feature which the Anishinaabeg use to identify this region. The remaining 95/96% of this water is now diverted through one of the three active power canals, or through the locks, making the mighty rapids of Baawitigong, a small fraction of their former size.[931] These alterations to the rapids, and greater St. Mary's River, have dramatically decreased the size of its fisheries, floodplains, beaver marshes, and forests. This ecological destruction to Baawitigong is now visually apparent around Whitefish Island; which was only spared because it was protected by the terms of the Robinson-Huron Treaty (in theory, if not always in practise).

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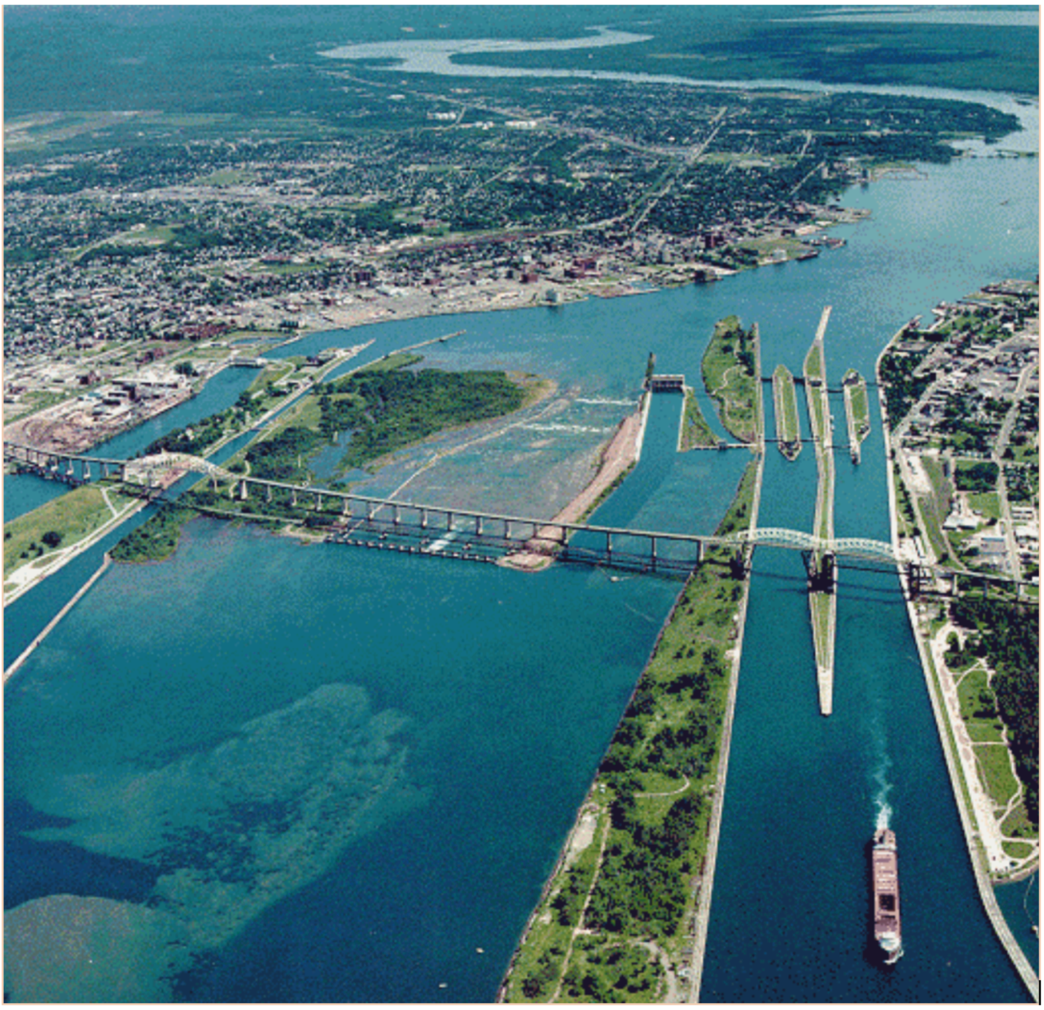
[927] US Army Corps of Engineers, "St. Marys River", *United States Army Corps of Engineers.*

[928] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, 215-216.

[929] US Army Corps of Engineers, *Great Lakes Update no. 145,* (US Army Corps of Engineers; October 5, 2001), 4-5.

[930] Bernie Arbic and Nancy Steinhaus, "How the Soo Locks Were Made".



United States Army Corps of Engineers, "Aerial picture of the Soo Locks (downriver view)", *United States Army Corps of Engineers* (August 15, 1992)

Although Parks Canada helped to protect Whitefish Island from the full scope of industrialized efforts that occurred elsewhere on Baawitigong. This island was not managed in the same way during the twentieth century, as Indigenous populations had done for thousands of years. The importance of this Indigenous land management to the North American ecology has recently been picked up on by ecologist Richard Schuster (et. al.), who explains that (prior to their study) there had not been a study which "quantified patterns of the biodiversity or conservation value of Indigenous lands in separate global regions, or estimated their contribution to global biodiversity conservation in the future."[932] This is important, as regionalised Indigenous conservation efforts have been demonstrated to be effective.

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[931] Michael Ripley, Bernard Arbic, and Gregory Zimmerman. "Environmental history of the St. Marys River." *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 37 (2011), 5.

Building on these regional studies, Schuster et. al. argue for the need to reinstate an indigenous model towards land-use practises across the globe, explaining that, worldwide, "Indigenous land tenure practices have in many cases led to higher native and rare species richness and less deforestation and land degradation than non-indigenous practices."[933] They found that Indigenous-managed lands often contained even more biodiversity than areas protected for conservation by European-descended cultures (e.g. National Parks).[934] This is significant because it suggests that industrialized efforts and urban sprawl are not the only negative aspects of colonial land management. The study by Schuster et.al. concludes that the "Removal of Indigenous peoples from their homelands led to negative consequences for the Indigenous societies and often for the ecosystems that conservationists aimed to 'protect'."[935] This certainly was the case on Whitefish Island, where European land management over the twentieth century has put a wide variety of species in danger, in a wide variety of ways.[936]

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[932] Ibid, 3.

[933] Richard Schuster, Ryan Germain, Joseph Bennett, Nicholas Reo, Dave Secord, and Peter Arcese. "Biodiversity on Indigenous lands equals that in protected areas." *bioRxiv* (2018), 3.

[934] Ibid, 11.

[935] Ibid, 11.

[936] Robyn Harris, Brad Kinder, Adrienne Marino, Tamatha Patterson, and Vanessa Parker-Geisman. "St. Marys River Watershed: Planning for Biodiversity Conservation." PhD diss., (2009), 15.

It is also worth noting, that despite the scope of the assimilation efforts pursued by the governments of Canada and the United States, the Indigenous inhabitants on the St. Mary's River never gave up on their efforts to reclaim their territory. The legal battle to reclaim Whitefish Island (by the Batchewana First Nation), was a part of larger Indigenous resistance efforts taking place on both sides of the border; and throughout the world. This push started in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, and became increasingly clear into the second half of the twentieth century.[937] In the United States the "Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975" helped acknowledge Indigenous peoples' right to self-governance, and helped to begin replacing the Indian Boarding School system with Indigenous-led education programs.[938] This legislation also led to the "Fox Decision of 1979", which was meant to re-affirm Indigenous peoples' right to regulate their own fisheries (a right guaranteed by the 1836 Treaty of Washington).[939] In 1980, hundreds of Indigenous people arrived in Ottawa to demonstrate their intent to create new governmental structures and govern themselves, where they signed the *Declaration of First Nations* in December of 1980. In 1980s, the National Indian Brotherhood established the Assembly of First Nations.[940]

It was the formation of these governmental structures, and legal precedents, which helped the Batchewana First Nation reclaim Whitefish Island. After being taken from Indigenous populations at the beginning of the twentieth century, Whitefish Island sat on the Parks Canada inventory list for almost seventy years, until it was declared a National Historic Site of Canada in 1981, a move that completely ignored the terms of the Robinson-Huron

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[937] Bradley Veile, "Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638) from 1975 to 1989: A look at educational aspects." (1989), 8-11.

[938] US Congress, "Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975." *Pub L* 93-638.

[939] Kathryn E. Fort, "Michigan's Emerging Tribal Economies: A Presentation to the Michigan House of Representatives." (2007), 11-13.

[940] "The Charter of the Assembly of First Nations" *Assembly of First Nations* (adopted in 1985 amended in 2003).

Treaty (1850). In response to this move, the Batchewana First Nations then launched an official land claim in 1982, which the government challenged until 1992. The case for Whitefish Island was only settled after Chief Edward James Sayers (a.k.a. Nebenaigoching) occupied the land for nine years (1989-1998).[941] Overall, it took fifteen years after filing their initial land claim, before (most of) Whitefish Island was returned to its rightful guardians.

In the settlement (over Whitefish Island ownership), Batchewana First Nations' claim on Whitefish Island was recognized by the government, the band was compensated 3.5 million dollars (Canadian) in damages, and the island's reserve status was officially recognized in 1997; but, this agreement also saw Parks Canada maintain control on the canal and the western section of Whitefish Island. Further than this, the legal battle for White Fish Island by the Batchewana First Nations (1982-1997) helped raise larger environmental concerns on the St. Mary's River and kick-start conversations about Indigenous Rights around the St. Mary's River.[942] Today, 22-acres of Whitefish Island is controlled by the Batchewana First Nation and serves as a sanctuary for a variety of species. In the (just over) two decades since this territory on Whitefish Island was recognized as reserved land, this island continues to serve as a living history of the St. Mary's River. Whitefish Island is the only section of Baawitigong that still resembles its formal natural glory.

On Whitefish Island, animals and fish are protected and are so abundant that one expects to view several species of animals during a short walk on this island, including indigenous species such as beavers, midland painted turtles, eastern chipmunks, and the occasional black bear. The Batchewana First Nations continue to allow a wide variety of visitors to Whitefish Island (free of charge) to enjoy the natural bounties of this small reservation on Baawitigong. Wigwam frames can often be found on the island, where the Batchewana First Nations and other Indigenous groups, continue to practice traditional ceremonies. Yet even this island shows signs of the seventy years it was managed by colonial authorities, and of the larger industrialized efforts surrounding the island since the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[941] Krista McCracken, "Public Spaces and Indigenous Land: White-fish Island".

[942] Jacqueline Phelan Hand, "Protecting the world's largest body of fresh water: The often overlooked role of Indian tribes' co-management of the Great Lakes." *Natural Resources Journal* (2007), 815-817.

Section V: Whitefish Island and the St. Mary's River: A Case Study of the Present

The spatial and temporal proof of the Anishinaabeg's ability to protect the complex ecosystems at Baawitigong is demonstrated by the contemporary condition of Whitefish Island (in comparison to other sections of the St. Mary's River's rapids that are managed by Europeans). Nestled in what remains of the (once mighty) rapids, Whitefish Island serves as a living portal to this past, crisscrossed by ponds, beaver dams, swampy rivers, grasslands, and mixed forests; its cycle of flooding and drying, freezing, and thawing are a living reminder of the once swampy floodplains (which have been replaced by the urban centres adjacent to the island (both Sault Ste. Maries)).[943] Whitefish Island is now the only section of the rapids that even vaguely resembles its natural baseline, and it too, has been affected by the dramatic changes to the rest of the rapids over the past 200 years. In order to access this island by foot, one must now pass a hydroelectric powerhouse and walk across the Canadian locks and canal. From this cleared section of Whitefish Island, a large steel plant is visible, sat on the banks immediately up channel of Whitefish Island. The steel plant continues to be operated with a special status which allows it to thwart environmental regulations.[944] It releases toxic substances, such as sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide, carbon monoxide, and benzene, into the air and water; much of which travels down the St. Mary's River.[945]

On the northern tip of the Reserved section of Whitefish Island are the foundations of the large steel bridge, a dam, and a concrete break wall meant to direct the remaining rapids of Baawitigong. Facing to the southeast, the massive United States lock system is visible, shuttling one of the 10,000 vessels (carrying some of the 80,000,000 tons of cargo) it now handles annually; it is now one of the busiest locks on the planet.[946] Harder to see, but becoming visibly apparent, are the effects of invasive species (such as the sea lamprey, zebra mussel, and carp).[947] Changes to the region, that were made in the late-nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries.

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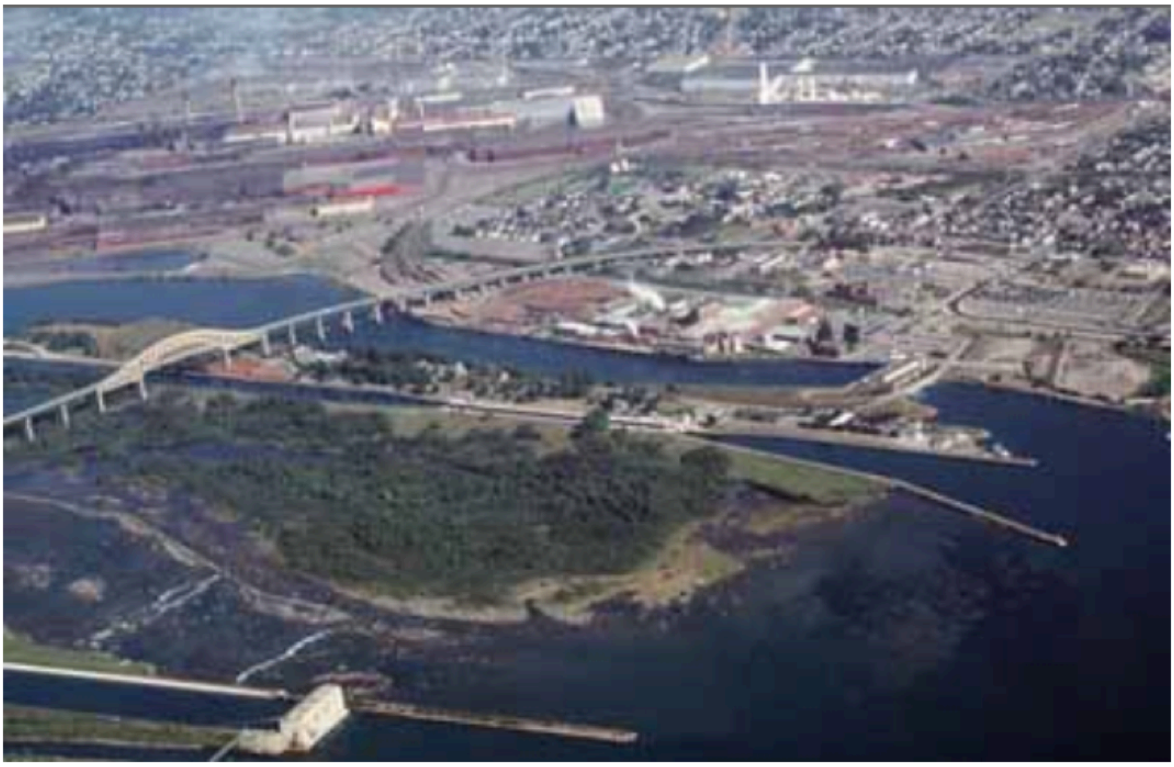
[943] K.E. Bray, "Habitat models as tools for evaluating historic change in the St. Marys River." *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences* 53, no. S1 (1996): 88-92.

[944] Ministry of the Environment and Climate Change, "Approval of a site-specific air standard - EPA reg. 419 (35)1, An order having regard to an approved site-specific air standard - EPA reg. 419 (35)14" (November 30, 2017), *Environmental Registry of Ontario*, November 30, 2017, http://www.ebr.gov.on.ca/ERS-WEB-External/displaynoticecontent.do?noticeId=MTI1NTQ3&statusId=MTkzNzU0

[945] Ling Liu, Lisa Marie Kauri, Mamun Mahmud, Scott Weichenthal, Sabit Cakmak, Robin Shutt, Hongyu You et al., "Exposure to air pollution near a steel plant and effects on cardiovascular physiology: a randomized crossover study." *International journal of hygiene and environmental health* 217, no. 2-3 (2014): 279.



Parks Canada, "Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (aerial view)" *Whitefish Island National Historic Site of Canada: Government of Canada* (2001)

Despite these nearby industrialized activities, and the introduction of various invasive species, Whitefish Island continues to house many native species. In fact, the rich flora and fauna of Whitefish Island, is an example of how Indigenous-managed land is vital in informing our modern conservation efforts.[948] The Batchewana First Nations highlight that, around Whitefish Island:

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[946] Ashley Moerke and Marshall Werner, "Ecological status of the St. Marys River: foreword." *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 37 (2011), 1.

[947] Michael Hansen, and Eddie Bernice Johnson. "The Asian carp threat to the Great Lakes." *Report to the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure* (2010). 5-8.

> The combination of development, filling and water allocation has greatly reduced the availability of quality spawning areas and fisheries habitat within the rapids. Their preservation is extremely important for maintaining or improving the existing fishery in the upper St. Mary's River.[949]

By allowing this island to flood, rather than controlling the of the rapids, this island is regularly fertilized by the rich waters of Lake Superior and its tributaries. Protecting animals on this island, has led to the preservation of a rich breeding ground for several species of fish, birds, reptiles, and mammals, which has had a positive radial effect on animal populations throughout the St. Mary's River region.

These industrial fixtures, and invasive species, were largely established during the same time as the governments of Canada and the United States attempted to assimilate Indigenous populations; and have worked to further alter the human-nature relationship on the St. Mary's River. Throughout their separation from Whitefish Island, and during the establishment of these industrial fixtures on the St. Mary's River, the Indigenous populations have continued to fight against these forms of land use policies, and to highlight their environmental impacts. These Indigenous resistance movements on the St. Mary's River have been centred around land-use patterns, environmental concerns, and by demonstrating that the colonial governments have attempted to systematically destroy their culture. On the St. Mary's River, Anishinaabeg and Métis populations continue to live in both reserved territories, and colonial communities.

These communities on Reservations include the descended of nineteenth century towns established by Shingwauk and Nebenaigoching, who had negotiated continued rights to their territories in the nineteenth century, including: the Garden River Fist Nation, Batchewana First Nation, Sault Ste. Marie Reservation, Bay Mills Indian Community and L'Anse/Keweenaw Bay Reserve. Many of these communities have continue the fight for recognition of their rights. On the St. Mary's River, there have been several important legal cases against the governments of Canada and the United States. Consistent throughout many of these Indigenous challenges (to colonial governments), are themes of land management, a desire to live according to their cultural traditions, and the assertion of their right to self-governance.

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[948] Jeffrey Schaeffer, David G. Fielder, Neal Godby, Anjanette Bowen, Lisa O'Connor, Josh Parrish, Susan Greenwood, Stephen Chong, and Greg Wright. "Long-term trends in the St. Marys River open water fish community." *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 37 (2011), 70.

[949] "Whitefish Island" *Batchewana First Nation website:* https://batchewana.ca/communities/whitefish-island/

On the Canadian bank of the St. Mary's River, the Métis have also worked to successfully challenge the federal government on several important points. Of particular importance to the Métis population on the St. Mary's River, was the landmark Powley Case, which began during the same time as the legal battle for White Fish Island (starting in 1993). This case began when two Métis men were arrested in Sault Ste. Marie (Canada), for hunting moose without a license from the Ontario Government. They argued, that their rights to hunt without a license was guaranteed by the Robinson-Huron Treaty. This case marks the first time that Métis people were able to successfully defend their Indigenous rights in a Canadian Court. The case made it all the way to the Supreme Court (2003), where Métis Rights around the St. Mary's River were acknowledged by the Canadian Court. This was a fight that had lasted over two centuries for the Métis and Anishinaabeg communities on the St. Mary's River, which finally acknowledged their status as an Indigenous group, with rights to continue their traditional lifeways on the St. Mary's River.

The Powley Case in particular, also led to other challenges, including: the *Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada* (2013), *R. v. Daniels* (2016), and in 2019 the Métis' right to self-governance was officially acknowledged by the Government of Canada. At the same time in Canada, the Assembly of First Nations (under Phil Fontaine) negotiated the *Indian*

Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (enacted in 2007) and the *Kelowna Accord* (enacted in 2008), which helped highlight past (and on-going) colonial traumas faced by the Indigenous populations of North America.[950] This Indigenous resistance at the end of the twentieth century, also saw important movements taking place in the United States.

On the southern banks of the St. Mary's River, the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians took part in a larger Indigenous "Self-Governance Demonstration Project" in 1996, which led to their recognition as a "self-governing tribe" by the Government of the United States.[951] This legislation was brought further by the "Inland Consent Agreement" in 2007, which further guaranteed Indigenous' populations right to regulate hunting, fishing, and gathering practices in the Unites States territories around the St. Mary's River.[952] These legal cases on both sides of the border, have helped to recognize that Indigenous legal rights were heavily infringed on throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These legal cases help demonstrate that the Indigenous populations around the St. Mary's River have never willing given up control of their territories, or traditions; despite attempts to separate them from their land, and assimilate them to colonial culture.

Although many of these legal cases dictated that control of land be returned to Indigenous communities, in practice, this has been a slow process on both sides of the border. The investments that colonial governments have made in region (developing the industrialized infrastructure), has made these governments and corporations, reluctant to recognize Indigenous peoples' rights to these territories. Both corporations and governments in North America, continue to look to reserved land as a possible site of resource extraction. In cases where Indigenous land-use rights are recognized, their lands have general suffered severely in the face of European land use practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this respect, Whitefish Island continues to serve as an important case study, of how European land-use practices continue to infringe on Indigenous rights; even in cases where the land is recognized as being under indigenous control.

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[950] Lisa Lynne Patterson, *Aboriginal roundtable to Kelowna Accord: Aboriginal policy negotiations, 2004-2005* (Ottawa: Parliamentary Information and Research Service, 2006), 15-18.

[951] Geoffrey D. Strommer and Stephen D. Osborne, "The History, Status, and Future of Tribal Self-Governance under the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act," American Indian Law Review 39, no. 1 (2014-2015), 27-28.
Courtney Jung, "Canada and the legacy of the Indian residential schools: Transitional justice for Indigenous Peoples in a non-transitional society." *Available at SSRN 1374950* (2009), 2-3.

[952] United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan Southern Division, "Bay Mills Indian Community, Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians, Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, Little River Band of Ottawa Indians, and Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians vs. State of Michigan, Rebecca Humphries Director, Department of Natural Resources, Chief, Fisheries Division, Department of Natural Resources, Chief Wildlife Division, Department of Natural Resources, Chief, Lake Enforcement Division, Department of Natural Resources, Resource Management Deputy Director, Department of Natural Resources, and the Michigan Natural Resources Commission", *United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan Southern Division* (The Department of Natural Resources; 2007).

Section VI: Current Indigenous Resistance Strategies on the St. Mary's River: Education, Awareness, and the Questioning of Colonial Ideals (2010-2020)

The legal battle for Whitefish Island, and other territorial disputes around the St. Mary's River, also fought for the end of assimilation policies in North America, and demanded that the governments (of Canada and the United States) fulfil their treaty obligations to Indigenous people. Another important point of Indigenous resistance on the St. Mary's River (which is linked to these Indigenous political movements), can now be found on the site of the former Shingwauk Residential School. The Residential School on this land was closed in 1970, and in 1971 it was converted to Algoma University College (in partnership with the Keewaitnung Institute). The Shingwauk Residential School Centre was established at Algoma University College in 1979, and the first Shingwauk Residential School Survivors Conference in 1981 marked an important shift on the St. Mary's River.[953] The Shingwauk Residential School Centre launched community engagement programs, designed educational resources, encouraged nation-to-nation conversations, and hosted regular conferences for residential school survivors. In short, after being used as an instrument of assimilation for nearly a century, Algoma University now consciously works towards achieving Shingwauk's initial intention for the school on the banks of the St. Mary's River. Algoma University now serves as a place of higher education for Indigenous and non-indigenous students, which offers Indigenous-specific courses and degrees, and a wide-host of other subjects. Since the beginning of Algoma University's shift (in the 1970s-1980s), Algoma University has become an important centre of Indigenous education, research, and resistance, to colonial threats.

In 2006 Algoma University promised to support the establishment of the Indigenous-led University: Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig. This University began offering specific

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[953] Krista McCracken, "Community archival practice: indigenous grassroots collaboration at the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre." *The American Archivist* 78, no. 1 (2015), 184-185.

Anishinaabeg-focused courses in 2008. During this same year, Algoma University professionalized the Shigwauk Residential School Centre. Understandings of the Residential School system were then accelerated nationally by the research of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015). Partially as a response to this Commission, the opening of the National Chiefs' Library & Archive at Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig in 2018 has helped to further culture reclamation, encourage the use of traditional languages, and bring Indigenous American concepts into academic studies.[954] Algoma University and Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig are amongst a growing number of universities in North America to offer courses in Indigenous languages. In addition to this, the universities seek to introduce non-Indigenous students to Indigenous culture through education, engagement in ceremonies, and participation in cultural experiences.

Algoma University and Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig are part of a larger cultural reclamation movement amongst the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous communities worldwide, representing one of the many groups fighting to preserve and reclaim indigenous languages and cultures. In the case of the Anishinaabeg, there are now several important resources, and education programs, which teach traditional languages, cultural traits, history, and legal rights. Although much work remains to be done, Anishinaabeg and Métis history is now better understood by academics. The work of the Native American Renaissance in particular, has inspired a number of important scholars (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to re-evaluate our understanding of North American History, and to use this history to challenge current human rights violations, health challenges, and environmental concerns, still faced by Indigenous people in North America. More than this, studies on Indigenous populations around the world have begun to shift popular concepts of the environment (and environmental protection).

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[954] Krista McCracken, "Community archival practice: indigenous grassroots collaboration", 85-90.

Social movements often tied to environmental concerns, have come to the forefront of environmental discourses around the Great Lakes. Ongoing Anishinaabeg/Metis examples from the Great Lakes include: the Idle No More Movement (beginning in 2012), the Bawating Water Protectors (beginning in 2016), and the inspirational young Anishinaabe-kwe environmental protector Autumn Peltier. Worldwide, Indigenous groups have highlighted how traditional land-use practises could help address failing animal populations, out of control forest fires, the poor ecological health of many waterways, and provide more sustainable models for harvesting food, transporting goods, and producing building materials. In the early twenty-first century, there have been some other promising signs on the St. Mary's River and throughout North America as these issues become more well known by the general public. The United Nation's Report (and subsequent condemnation) on the status of Indigenous people in Canada (in 2014), helped highlight that this was not only a moral responsibility for settler Canadians, but a legal obligation.[955] The publishing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (in 2015) helped highlight the need for nation-to-nation conversations and the need for a conscious effort at reconciliation between these nations.[956]

But, as these movements and documents demonstrate, there remains a great deal of work to be done in order to change colonial legal structure and address social inequality in North America (and throughout the colonial world). Common misconceptions about Indigenous people are still prevalent, which continues to fuel blatant racism in Canada and the United States. We (as settlers, or Europeans), need to roll-back corporations' ability to control of our land-use patterns and their ability to push onto reserved land without proper consent. Importantly, we must also begin to incorporate Indigenous understandings into our development of future education programs, legal structures, conservation policies, and land-use strategies and give Indigenous voices a platform where they can be heard.

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[955] James Anaya, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples: The situation of indigenous peoples in Canad*a (Human Rights Council, 2014), 1-2.

[956] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Canada's Residential Schools: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, Vol. 6. (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2015), 3-7.

Many of the challenges facing Indigenous North Americans today, continue to surround an inability to access resources due to legislation forced upon their ancestors, and these people continue to face challenges from the colonial governments when trying to secure their treaty rights. In both countries, large portions of the settler populations continue to believe racial stereotypes about Indigenous people and demonstrate these prejudices in a wide variety of ways; without properly understanding Indigenous culture, history, legal structures, or treaty structures. Reports on the history, and current status of many Indigenous populations in North America, demonstrate that the past damage caused by colonial policy (to both Indigenous People and to the indigenous ecology) may never be fully corrected. Only through education, open discussion, and a willingness (by the settler populations) to listen to Indigenous people, can we hope to begin to move in the right direction.

Section VII: Using the history of St. Mary's River (and Whitefish Island) to Inform Our Future

Indigenous Rights have become more visible in the twenty-first century, but they continue to be ignored (in practise) by both the Canadian and United States' governments (and corporations). In 2019, the Keystone Pipeline has leaked 383,000 gallons of oil into North Dakota, while Indigenous protesters of the XL Pipeline still face legal ramifications.[957] Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's public political message continues to be one of reconciliation, while his government's actions work to undercut Indigenous sovereignty and tie Indigenous people up in lengthy, expensive, (and often completely unnecessary) legal proceedings.[958] Neither country has done enough to address environmental destruction on reserved land, and elsewhere. In both countries, there is a general lack of education on Indigenous people in national curriculums. This is not just a moral and legal concern, but increasingly a global concern. Addressing these concerns needs to become the responsibility of every European-settler (and indeed, of Europeans). Indigenous people continue to be suppressed around the world, which is not just morally wrong, but increasingly threatens the health of the natural world. Further education, which includes representation of Indigenous peoples' history and ideas, is a necessary step in changing the prevailing views held by Settlers (towards Indigenous populations). This education must also include people in the government, police, and local community services. This involves acknowledging current colonial structures which inflict on the rights of indigenous people, but also a willingness to listen (and learn), what these communities have to say.[959]

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[957] Jacey Fortin, "2 Dakota Pipeline Protesters Face Federal Charges Over 2017 Damage", *News York Times* (October 2, 2019).
Jeff Brady, "2 Years After Standing Rock Protests, Tensions Remain But Oil Business Booms" *NPR* (November 29, 2018).

[958] Olivia Stefanovich, "Trudeau government seeks judicial review of tribunal decision to compensate First Nations kids", *CBC News* (October 5, 2019).

[959] Jeffrey Denis and Kerry A. Bailey. "'You Can't Have Reconciliation Without Justice': How Non-Indigenous Participants in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Process Understand Their Roles and Goals." In *The limits of settler colonial reconciliation*, pp. 137-158. Springer, Singapore, (2016), 148-150.

A more difficult, but equally necessary step, is that we as individuals (particularly Europeans or European-descended settlers) must look inwards to our own history, beliefs, and economic practices, and begin to seriously question the way that our current society continues to exploit vulnerable people, animals, and natural resources (at increasingly unsustainable rates). To enact policy which works to protect Indigenous people, and their territories, even when it is inconvenient to the plans of the respective colonial government or corporations. We must recognize that our society continues to use colonial practices to control and suppress Indigenous people and take serious action to ensure that we not only meet our treaty obligations, but work towards a future of Nation-to Nation cooperation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. It has become incredibly clear to many that the current version of globalized capitalism must be changed in order to address our current climate concerns, but less consensus exists, for how this system can be replaced. This is important, because whether we acknowledge it or not, the Anishinaabeg are right, our lives are controlled by the Great Laws of Nature.

If we (as humans) continue to push this natural balance too far askew, then there will be dire consequences. While modern science and technology may help us to make some important changes to how we live, a more important step might be utilizing the tried-and-tested Indigenous models in their corresponding ecosystems. This necessitates that non-Indigenous communities (and particularly *Westerners*) adjust our cultural priorities, affording nature much greater respect than we currently do. To redirect our focus from what nature can provide us, to question how we might live in harmony with the natural world. It is also necessary to adjust our current economic models, and to include Indigenous worldviews into modern discourses in the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Sciences. Finding balance with the natural world is a central theme of the early aadizookaanag of the Anishinaabeg (including the stories of the Great Flood, and the Domestication of Dog), which describe the dire consequences of not living according to these Natural Laws.[960] They may also provide clues for living a more sustainable future.

This theme is also picked up on by the tellers of the Seven Fires Prophecies, who predicted that the arrival of Europeans would lead to a period of ecological decline.[961] The Fourth prophecy warned the Anishinaabeg of Europeans, that:

> 'You will know the future of our people by what face the Light-skinned Race wears. If they come wearing the face of nee-kon′-nis-i-win′ (brotherhood), then there will come a time of wonderful change for generations to come. They will bring new knowledge and articles that can be joined with the knowledge of this country. In this way two nations will join to make a mighty nation'... The other prophet said, 'Beware if the Light-skinned Race comes wearing the face of ni-noo-win′(death). You must be careful because the face of brotherhood and the face of death look very much alike. If they come carrying a weapon...beware. If they come in suffering... they could fool you. Their hearts may be filled with greed for the riches of this land. If they are indeed your brother, let them prove it. Do not accept them in total trust. You shall know that the face they wear is the one of death if the rivers run with poison and fish become unfit to eat. You shall know them by these many things.[962]

Scientists have recently made their own similar predictions of a "Sixth Mass Extinction". A study by Gerardo Ceballoes et. al., in particular, has recently examined extinction levels over time. They point to "an exceptionally rapid loss of biodiversity over the last few centuries, indicating that a sixth mass extinction is already under way."[963] These warnings work to further demonstrate the necessity of adopting Indigenous land-use practices worldwide.

What is perhaps most important is allowing Indigenous voices to be heard and giving Indigenous leaders a seat at the table, not only at the governmental level, but also greater support at the grass-roots levels. An example of this could be relying on Indigenous models (and people) to manage our forests, for more diverse food production, and to help transition our economy. While there are various aspects of modern society that need to be adjusted, our current climate crisis is perhaps the most remarkable (and startling) warning sign. The Canadian government likes to advertise that Canada houses 347 million hectares of forests, which represents about 9 % of the world's forests, 24% of the world's boreal forests, and averages nearly ten hectares of forest to every person in Canada.[964] Around 65% of the forests in Canada are "managed forest", but these are so poorly managed by the Canadian Government (and exploited by corporations) that since 2001 its forests have become a net carbon dioxide source.[965] Canada also has about 7% of the Earth's renewable freshwater, and 20% of its total freshwater.[966] These important waterways have also been poorly managed and continue to be altered by humans: polluted, threatened by the presence of invasive species, commoditized, and affected by climate change.

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[960] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, 13-15 and 50-52.

[961] Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book: The Book of the Ojibway*, 94.

[962] Ibid, 89-90.

[963] Gerardo Ceballos, Paul R. Ehrlich, Anthony D. Barnosky, Andrés García, Robert M. Pringle, and Todd M. Palmer. "Accelerated modern human–induced species losses: Entering the sixth mass extinction." *Science advances* 1, no. 5 (2015): e1400253.

These negative effects of colonial land management are clear on the St. Mary's River into the 2020s. Baawitigong continues to be controlled by dams, canals, locks, with urban populations on its banks. The St. Mary's River continues to face threats from invasive species (with over 180 species now established in the Great Lakes), industrial activities on its banks, the cutting of nearby forests, and the (generally) unsustainable life ways of its human residents.[967] This river also faces future threats, as the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario is looking to install a Ferrochrome Plant on the banks of the St. Mary's River (a proposal which has already been opposed by the government of the Batchewana First Nation).[968] This

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[964] "How much forest does Canada have?", *Government of Canada* (September 12, 2019): https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/our-natural-resources/forests-forestry/state-canadas-forests-report/how-much-forest-does-canada-have/17601

[965] "Indicator: Carbon emissions and removals", Government of Canada (November 11, 2019): https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/our-natural-resources/forests-forestry/state-canadas-forests-report/how-does-disturbance-shape-canad/indicator-carbon-emissions-removals/16552

[966] "Environment", Statistics Canada (January 17, 2018): https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-402-x/2011000/chap/env/env-eng.htm

[967] Katie Paguncco, George A. Maynard, Shannon A. Fera, Norman D. Yan, Thomas F. Nalepa, and Anthony Ricciardi. "The future of species invasions in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River basin." *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 41 (2015), 96.

[968] Content Team, "Batchewana First Nation Asserts Jurisdiction, Oppose Ferrochrome Development", *Sault Online* (December 20, 2019): https://saultonline.com/2019/12/batchewana-first-nation-asserts-jurisdiction-oppose-ferrochrome-development/.

Ferrochrome Plant would join the established Steel Plant in the city, which is constantly looking to expand their own production. Elsewhere on the Great Lakes, pipelines threaten to dump oil into the Great Lakes, a drying Midwest is looking to divert water in the Upper Great Lakes for agricultural purposes, while growing quantities of this water is already bottled and sold around the world.[969] Both colonial governments continue to look to the region as an area ripe for mining, a storage site for waste, and an appropriate site to build industrialized production plants.

For those who would argue that continued industrialized endeavours are an economic necessity, it is worth nothing that despite the large-scale *improvements* to St. Mary's River, these endeavours have been largely unsuccessful in the Upper Great Lakes region. In their exploration of industrial efforts in Northern Ontario, Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson highlight that these pursuits have been generally unsuccessful over the past 150 years, marked by dramatic booms and busts.[970] Stephen McBride, Sharon McKay and Mary Ellen Hill have linked these endeavours to a wave of generational social, health, ecological, and economic problems for the Indigenous and settler populations on its banks.[971] The life ways we currently rely upon, are simply not sustainable, and need to change. As Anishinaabeg scholar and environmentalist, Winona LaDuke, has written: "Somewhere between the teachings of Western science and those of the Native community there is some agreement about the state of the world. Ecosystems are collapsing, species are going extinct, the polar icecaps are melting".[972] In this case, economic evaluations, scientific studies, and Indigenous knowledge, all tell us that current industrialized lifeways on the Upper Great Lakes are not only destructive to the environment, but are also economically unsustainable.

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[969] Brian Anderson, "Selling Great Lakes Water to a Thirsty World: Legal, Policy & Trade Considerations." *Buff. Envtl. LJ* 6 (1998), 238-245.

[970] Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson, "Introduction" in *At the End of the Shift: Mines and Single-Industry Towns in Northern Ontario*, xi-xii.

[971] Stephen McBride, Sharon McKay and Mary Ellen Hill, "Unemployment in a Northern Hinterland: The social impact of political neglect." *Journal of International & Comparative Social Welfare* 6, no. 1-2 (1990), 72.

[972] Winona LaDuke, "Foreword" in *Ojibwe: Waasa Inaabidaa, We Look in All Directions* edited by Thomas Peacock and Marlene Wisuri (Minnesota Historical Society, 2009)., 11.

Around the St. Mary's River, these lifeways are also not only immoral, but are often in direct violation of treaties signed with Indigenous populations. We (Europeans, or European-settlers) must consciously challenge this system of continuing colonisation, in order to address the growing social and environmental concerns within North America (and beyond). As a settler Canadian, this responsibility is not only a moral one, but required by the terms of treaties signed by the Canadian Government, treaty rights, which have been repeatedly infringed upon by the Canadian Government (and its citizens) since its Confederation in 1867. This is also true of Settlers living in the United States' territory on the St. Mary's River, whose communities, locks, and infrastructure, have seriously hindered the Indigenous populations' ability to live according to their traditional lifeways, in direct violation of their treaty rights. Similar situations can be found across the Great Lakes, North America, and throughout the colonial world. It is time for us (Europeans and European-descended settlers) to step back and listen to the knowledge kept by people whose ancestors successfully managed their respective regions for over ten thousand years.

This is not only an essential step in the reconciliation process with Indigenous populations, but on the St. Mary's River (and elsewhere around the globe), it has also proven necessary to avoiding a climate disaster; which as the Anishinaabeg have warned us repeatedly, now threatens to devastate the river, and its population of plants, animals, and humans, alike. Yet the histories of the Anishinaabeg also suggest hope for the future, if we can change these destructive lifeways. Edward Benton in particular, points to the importance of the Seventh prophecy. Benton explained that:

> 'If the New People will remain strong in their quest, the Waterdrum of the Midewiwin Lodge will again sound its voice. There will be a rebirth of the Anishinabe nation and a rekindling of old flames. The Sacred Dire will again be lit.'

> 'It is at this time that the Light-skinned Race will be given a choice between two roads. 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 top all the Earth's people.'
> Traditional Mide people of Ojibway and people of other nations have interpreted the 'two roads' that face the Light-skinned Race as the road to technology and road to spiritualism. They feel that the road to technology represents a continuation of the head-long rush to technological development. This is the road that has led modern society to a damaged and seared Earth. Could it be that the road to technology represents a rush to destruction? The road to spirituality represents the slower path that traditional Native people have travelled and are now seeking again. The Earth is not scorched on this trail. The grass is still growing there...If we natural people of the Earth could just wear the face of brotherhood, we might be able to deliver our society from the road to destruction.[973]

In the midst of this dramatic climate change, looking to Indigenous land-use patterns (such as the Anishinaabeg's) across the globe may be the key instating more sustainable lifeway patterns worldwide. A clear example of this Indigenous-led environmental protection on the St. Mary's River continues to be Whitefish Island, which not only serves as a record of the past, but should now also serve as a mode of environmental protection. A model, that should be echoed throughout the St. Mary's River region, and across the globe.

Now facing the threats of global climate change, flooding, mass extinctions, and the possibility of a *new world*, the Origin Story of the Anishinaabeg seems an appropriate final point. Not only does this history of a Great Flood warn us about the importance of living according to the Laws of Nature, it accurately describes the results of failing to achieve a bimaadiziwin (living a good life). It helps to remind us of the fact, that if we carry on this way, we as humans will once again face a dramatically changed global climate, which promises to flood the world, destroy the established flora, lead to the mass extinctions of a wide range of animals, and threaten the existence of humanity. This history of the Great Flood on the Great Lakes does, however, offer us some hope for the future. It contains important messages which reminds us to respect the Earth’s bounty, how non-authoritative leadership can function, the importance of women to society, and how to live with a collectivist focus (which includes other humans, plants, animals, and the Earth). All of these lessons could help inform our society moving forward, and may help us address the current climate crisis. It is time for us to listen to these lessons, because if we continue to disregard the Laws of Nature (and live as though we are separate from the natural world), a *new world* is going to emerge, and this new world may not accommodate human life.

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[973] Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book*, 93.

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