"You Know What I Heard?": The Historical Consciousnesses of The Contemporary Relationship Between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg

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Abstract

"You Know What I Heard?": The Historical Consciousnesses of The Contemporary Relationship Between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg
by

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This dissertation examines the contemporary relationship between Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples of southern Ontario and how, through their stories and words, they understand that relationship. This relationship exists at two levels: the formal relationship between the two nations and the lived relationship between the people of the nations who live it. Part of this work is to explore how the historical consciousnesses of this relationship have been affected by the entrenched historical British and French understandings of the relationship.

Twenty Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee research participants have been interviewed concerning their understandings and experiences with the contemporary relationships between the people of these nations. A narrative analysis/storytelling and relational methodology was used in this research.

It has been found that the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg is lived through historical consciousness and that there are enduring principles that provide its foundation. The principles of reciprocity, relationship, complementary difference and renewal are ones that have lasted through centuries and continue in the contemporary context. Focusing on these principles and maintaining the relationship through them has consistently allowed the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee to embrace their differences and work through disagreements. It is these principles that will ensure the longevity and depth of this relationship.

Keywords: Anishnaabeg, Haudenosaunee, historical consciousness, contemporary stories, relationships.

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Speaking of mentors, Lynne Davis has been instrumental in helping to hone my academic skills. She has opened her home and fed me numerous times; she has been blunt with me when I needed it; and she has shared many amazing stories with me.

I would like to thank all those people who spoke to me to give breath to this research. The title must be credited to Noelle Ewing. She was walking out of class one day after a discussion about the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the

Haudenosaunee. "You know what I heard?" she said to another classmate. It got me thinking deep about historical consciousness and how stuff is passed on. I would also like to thank Doug Williams and Shirley Williams (no relation) for the guidance and support they have given me over the years. In addition, I have to thank a couple of more Williams's, Andrea and Kienan, for their help and guidance.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> "Stories are not just entertainment. Stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how a people, a culture thinks."[1]

My dissertation concerns a relationship between two nations that has lasted through thousands of years. The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is filled with different events, some good and some bad.[2] The contemporary relationship has its deepest expressions in the stories each nation chooses to tell about the other. As such, I am going to tell you a number of stories to set the tone for what is to come.

One time, my parents were at work, and I wanted to go to my friend's house. He was Polish and lived down the street from me and we were together all the time. I was maybe six years old. Granny said I could not go and her eyes never left the TV program she was watching when she said it. I got all dressed up in my snowsuit;

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[1] Lenore Keeshig-Tobias in Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, "Telling Our Own Stories: The Role, Development, and Future of Aboriginal Communications", in Marlene Brant Castellano, Lynne Davis, and Louise Lahache, eds., *Aboriginal Education: Fulfilling the Promise*. Vancouver: UBC press, 2000:76.

[2] Throughout this relationship I refer to "the relationship" between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. This is somewhat of a misnomer or, more accurately, a necessary short hand. I am not able to fully represent "the relationship" and I do not believe that it is a monolithic creature. Instead, I am examining the understanding of the historical consciousness of the contemporary relationship held by the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee individuals that I interviewed. This is complex, as it represents the interplay between individual and collective stories, experience and identities. Though my analysis is based on a series of stories from individuals who do not represent their larger nations, per se, at the same time they are not divorced from the larger collectives either. I believe that echoes of the collective relationship reside in individuals, thickly layered with individual and family experiences and stories. Individual understandings of larger relationships are consistently influenced and affected by collective relationships and vice versa. All this to say that this research has been focused on the experiences and understandings of Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee individuals concerning the nation-to-nation relationship between the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee nations.

I was determined to go. I intended to leave out of the door closest to where she was sitting in order to prove to her that I could do what I wanted. I reached for the door handle, confident I had triumphed because she was still watching TV in the next room. All of a sudden I was thrown to the ground. I couldn't move. It slowly occurred to me that my granny had tackled me and was sitting on my back. She said that she was in charge when my parents were gone and she did not want me going over to my Polish friend's house. My parents may approve of such friendships, but she did not.

I have told and re-told this story to myself and others. This event made me deeply consider the present effects of history and how people carry history. These pieces of history are not in the past. There are no remnants of the relationship between the Polish and Ukrainian peoples, there are only stories and events that have come to represent the relationship. When your granny is sitting on your back at the side door, you realize pretty quickly that events in the past are not separate from today and still carry with them a great deal of emotion and pain. I tell you this story not necessarily to demonstrate my granny's capacity for racism but more so to demonstrate the deepness of her historical wounds. I have a thousand other stories like this one. I will not bore you with the details of the history of the relationship between Poland and Ukraine but it is long, bloody, deep and complex. It is a story of colonization, oppression and war between neighbours that have known each other for thousands of years. That relationship has had a direct bearing on my family's history and my reality. I began to wonder as a child, how is it that you move on from these things that happened so long ago? How do you begin to rebuild these

relationships?

There was this one story told by Dan Longboat. He said that he asked Tom Porter why the Anishnaabeg do their ceremony in the opposite way of the Haudenosaunee. He was referring to the fact that when you are in ceremony with the Anishnaabeg everything moves to the left and when you are in ceremony with the Haudenosaunee everything moves to the right. Tom Porter answered Dan that, "he understood that the way the Anishnaabeg moved reflected their highly spiritual nature and they moved in the same directions as the winds"[3]. When Dan said this he gestured above his head, his hand moving in a clockwise direction. Dan then said he was told by Tom that, "the Haudenosaunee move in the direction of the earth's rotation, which reflected the Haudenosaunee relationship with the earth and the planting cycle".[4]

I have another story. This one takes place at the re-naming of the Gathering Space at Trent University. It was also a welcoming back of the Native Studies alumni, as it was the 40th anniversary of the department. David Newhouse, the Chair of the department, brought greetings on behalf of the department and did a quick history of the program as it has moved through time. David spoke about the location of Trent and its location in both Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee territory. He said there was a line between the territories of the two nations that nobody could really locate, as it moved over time. Doug Williams, the director of the PhD program and Elder from Curve Lake, then stood up to welcome the people to Mississauga territory. He referenced David's words and stated that the Anishnaabeg knew

[3] Dan Longboat, personal communication, 2007. This is not a direct quote, as Dan was telling a story at the time and I am paraphrasing.
[4] Dan Longboat, personal communication, 2007. Once again, this has been paraphrased.

exactly where that line was, at which point there was laughter from the audience. He then welcomed the people to the territory, including his friends the Nadowe, which he said meant beautiful people.[5]

Just one more story. This one is about my first day of school at Trent. My parents, one of my best friends and her dad brought me to Peterborough. One day while I sat in my office trying to write this dissertation, I found myself instead staring out the window at the Otonabee River; I remembered the first time I saw it. And so I wrote these words about that day.

> You know, first there was this river. I had read about this river. It was told that it ran red with blood. That it was this artery that the Haudenosaunee went up into Anishnaabeg territory and it was through this artery that they were chased down back to the lake. I saw the river on a map. The major fights were here and there and further south even. So many people died that the river ran red with blood. Those are powerful words and I know only my rivers and creeks and not this one. I try to imagine the Humber red with blood. I can't. I start smaller. Etobicoke Creek. I have actually bled into it, I remember, so maybe that's easier. I can't. That time, my drops of blood swirled and mixed with the water till it was indistinguishable from the water itself. That's the only thing I can imagine.
>
> Then I came here and saw this river. And when I saw it, I looked at it. Really looked. It was different from the Humber. Different rhythms and smells. And my dad says, 'that's a nice river' and everyone looks at it and agrees. I say, 'did you know this river once ran red with blood?' They look at me. They did not. I tell one version of the story. And then I see the river turn red with blood. But it only lasts for an instant and the water claims the blood for its own and continues on its way. We go inside.
>
> Every river has its secrets, maybe some more than others. I think that water is like the relationship. From where I stand, it seems that you can't just take some and say you have it and that you hold it in your hands. It's always moving and changing. Though its rhythms have been affected by dams and build ups; locks and traffic, that water still flows like it knows where its going. 'Cause it does. The blood is still there. But it doesn't change the river. River looks the same. Why is that? It's older than the blood. It's older than the tears. Older than the tobacco that's been given so many times. This relationship is older than its challenges.

I was once told that you should begin with a joke, however, stories have their own way of organizing themselves. I have chosen to end this section, then, with a joke.

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[5] Doug Williams and David Newhouse, personal communication, 2009. These words have been paraphrased.

So, you've 17 Ojibways right? And they marry 17 Cree.
So what do you get? You get 34 Oji-Cree, right?
So what do you get when 17 Ojibways marry 17 Longhouse people?
(Pause, excitement builds...)
You get 34 Maracles!
(Moans and laughter)[6]

With these stories released, I am going to share with you what I have learned about the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Embedded in these four stories are the main threads that weave this dissertation. The first story shares a small window into my own awareness of historical consciousnesses and the heavy responsibilities of the past. The story from Dan represents the differences between the two nations and they way they live with and on the earth. This difference is continually noted by the two nations and can be a source of curiosity, humour, and stereotype. In this story, it is also illustrated that though both nations approach life differently, they remain complementary. Both Gerrard's joke and the exchange between Doug and David refer to the times in the relationship in which there were battles between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. Generally speaking, these battles ended by 1700, though there were sporadic skirmishes throughout the 18th century and European battles that engaged these nations on opposing sides. These occurrences form a subtle humour that hints at a longer and more complex relationship. When these stories are danced around publicly, in shared company, it allows those that are present to glimpse the vague outlines of the relationship between these two nations. Almost every time members of the two nations gather, formally or informally, it is chance to re-tell the stories of the relationship. However, all the stories are not always told, but they are hinted at

[6] Told by Gerrard Sagassige on March 18, 2005 at a Niijkiwendidaa social.

and it is up to people who want to know more to investigate. The drawback of this is that the humour and short stories do not always provide the context necessary to understand the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

The third piece is one that I was not expecting to include in my dissertation. It is one of those things you write alongside of your dissertation, inspired by the stories you have heard but are not to be shared. To me, what I wrote serves as a reminder that these stories, this relationship, is tied to the land from which they came. Tied is not the proper word, perhaps symbiosis is better. These stories are inscribed on the landscape and the landscape is embedded in the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people. Although in this dissertation I have not had the space to discuss the influence of the relationships with the land and its effect upon historical consciousness, the land has borne witness to every aspect of this relationship.

The last piece, by Gerrard, is a joke that requires historical and contemporary knowledge for one to find it funny. The term "Longhouse People" is referring to the Haudenosaunee peoples who are also known as "The People of the Longhouse". The punchline, "you get 34 Maracles" is a play on words. "Maracle" is a last name of many Haudenosaunee peoples but, when told, sounds close to the English word "miracle". The implication being that it is a miracle when an Anishnaabeg and a Haudenosaunee marry one another given their long and complex history. The contemporary relationship is rich with jokes like this, as the two nations use humour to work through old wounds and to remind one another of the relationship and its histories.

Research Problem

This dissertation examines the contemporary relationship between Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples of southern Ontario and how, through their stories and words, they understand that relationship. This relationship exists at two levels: the formal relationship between the two nations and the lived relationship between the people of the nations who action it out. Part of this work will be to explore how the historical consciousnesses[7] of this relationship have been affected by the entrenched historical British and French understandings of the relationship.

Personal Interest in the Research

I have one more story. And this one is important because it tells you a little something about who I am, where I come from and how I engage in this work. I am Ukrainian, Irish, English, Scottish and Welsh and I really identify with my Ukrainian side, though I do not dishonour my other ancestors. Ukrainian grandparents are known for having an extremely important role in raising grandchildren. When I was a baby, my Granny moved in with me and my parents and helped raise me until she passed on when I was 14. I spent a lot of time with my Granny. She taught me many things, both good and bad. She taught me something about being a Ukrainian woman in Toronto. The first thing you had to know was your history. And then you had to know everybody else's history and how it

[7] The concept of historical consciousness is complex and a source of some scholarly discussions. I believe that historical consciousness is both individual and collective in nature. In addition, there are many historical consciousnesses that are constantly interacting with one another. I have found that when scholars are discussing the concept of historical consciousness, it sounds as if there is only one historical consciousness and we all have one that is shared. This is not the case. When I use this term throughout the dissertation I am referring to wisps of Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee historical consciousness unless otherwise stated. I do not pretend to have represented the entirety of these historical consciousnesses in this work. Historical consciousness is a theme of this dissertation, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

intersected with yours. She was always telling me stories, but they were stories about betrayal, oppression, and war. But because we are Ukrainian she wouldn't tell me things outright, I continually had to work for the knowledge and piece things together. I was never taught anything before I was capable of handling the knowledge. She always made it clear that we were not Polish, we were Ukrainian. With our last name and family history, some people would make that mistake but Granny would get so angry that no one ever made it twice. I never fully understood, though, why Polish people and Russian people made her so angry. Were they not other Slavic people, like us?

These histories borne by my family have always taught me that history is never in the past. For better or for worse it stands with you in every interaction you have and behind you in every story you tell. The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is much different than the relationship between the Polish and Ukrainian peoples. Each relationship has within it, though, its own way of understanding the other nation, a way of communicating the vast amount of history and a pattern of interaction that has developed over time. Out of necessity, I found myself looking carefully at the historical consciousnesses of our relationships and how they impact present relationships. In this dissertation I find myself doing something similar, in order to try to reflect the understanding of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee of their relationship and its historical consciousnesses, for the purposes of understanding the impact of history on the present and the future of the relationship.

At Trent, during my Master's degree, I became interested in the "war" I had

read about between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. It seemed as though the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee had undertaken a large-scale conflict with each other in the late 17th century. It had taken place all over Southern Ontario, but little was written on it. This was primarily because it did not concern any Europeans. I went on to write my Master's thesis concerning this very subject, however, what interested me more was that I could see evidence of the long standing relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee played out in contemporary exchanges among people I encountered at Trent. I began to participate in these relationships. It was inconceivable to me that this deep relationship between these two nations existed and yet in the literature, was continually reduced to one of warring nations. I believe that wherever there is a long relationship, there are many interesting stories and the histories that I was told as a child bear that out.

While I was writing my Master's thesis, I realized it was incomplete without the oral histories that could be provided by the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee themselves. My thesis was an examination into the documentary evidence of the historical relationship between these nations and I see this dissertation as an extension of that work. During my defense, members of my committee stated that it was necessary to research the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. I promised my committee that I would continue this work, as it seemed to me that without the words of the people concerned, the story was only partly told.[8]

[8] The story is always partly told. I am limited by my ability to represent historical consciousnesses and the practical limitations of this work. As stated before, this work is not an attempt to represent

The stories of long relationships, such as the one between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, have always been of interest to me. I lived my life in stories and wove them for others. I realized early the power of stories because the stories Granny told me came to represent all of our ancient, human relationships and they were extremely negative. I saw how these stories came to represent the relationships in their totality and I saw how damaging this could be. But Granny only told me part of the stories of our relationships, there was and is much more to know. It is important to remember that just as some stories can tear apart, others can go a long way to building bridges, ending conflicts and creating enduring relationships. The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is one which has had too many negative stories shared about it, sometimes overshadowing the deep and intertwined relationship between these two nations.

I believe that knowledge about this relationship from the perspective of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg, both historical and contemporary, is key in understanding what now forms Ontario. This land cannot be understood without understanding this relationship that has been solidified and challenged on many rivers, the shores of its lakes and at the edge of its forests. Furthermore, I think exploring the historical consciousness of the contemporary relationship between these two nations helps the larger project of the deconstruction of faulty history on which present day assumptions are based. I am Ukrainian and I do not claim to present this relationship from an Indigenous perspective but it is clear that most discussions of this relationship that occur academically do so without input from

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the entirety of Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee historical consciousnesses. I do not believe such a thing is even possible.

members of either nation. This is unacceptable. Still, I am an outsider to this relationship. It surrounds me, it influences my daily social interactions and it defines the territory in which I was born and live. Being a non-Indigenous academic I understand the difficulties in outsiders representing stories as though it is their right. I am not representing the relationship. I do not even know if it is possible to take a relationship so deep and so old and say that there is only one meta-story to be told about it. I can only share with you the stories and understandings of the people I spoke to that were given to me. At the same time that I am an outsider to the relationship, many stories were shared with me because I was known in some way to those to whom I spoke. As will be discussed more in my methodology, good relationships are necessary for the sharing of stories.

I think it is important to understand aspects of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Through examining this relationship, European and Canadian policies of division are laid bare. In addition to understanding this history that drives current policy, understanding a little about the contemporary relationship defines what it means to live here, on this land.

Importance of Research

I place this research in the midst of a wider shift of scholars in Indigenous Studies towards Indigenous Knowledge. How the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee come to construct their relationship, through the sharing of knowledge and past experiences, is part of the relational aspect of Indigenous Knowledge.

This research is important because the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee has consistently been portrayed negatively throughout Canadian and Aboriginal history. The British, French and various Canadian governments have exploited this negative manifestation in written documents. It is imperative that the understandings of this relationship come from the people who are living it right now.

This work can be situated within the decolonizing and anti-colonizing projects. The decolonizing project is an important one and still necessary in Indigenous Studies and all scholarship. In retrospect, I see my Master's thesis as a small contribution to the decolonizing project, if only because it took established pieces of documentary history and tried to deconstruct the assumptions within them. In addition, it tried to establish the cultural foundations that are necessary in order to come to a fuller understanding of the actions of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in the 17th century. This dissertation continues to question the assumption of those historical documents and their accompanying contemporary interpretations.

Following Graham Smith, George Sefa Dei and Leanne Simpson[9], I also place this work in an anti-colonial framework. Dei has defined anti-colonial as,

> "...an approach to theorizing colonial and re-colonial relations and the implications of imperial structures on the processes of knowledge production and validation, the understanding of indigenity, and the pursuit of agency, resistance and subjective politics."[10]

Graham Smith uses the term anti-colonial to refer to the "proactive position of resistance that Indigenous peoples should adapt to these neocolonial formations."[11] Though there is a necessary space for decolonization, the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee has been engaged with primarily through these nations' relationships with the English, French and Dutch. Decolonizing this history assures a portrayal of some of the agency displayed by these nations, but does not focus on their own conceptions of this long relationship. In addition, decolonization can be an extremely negative assessment. I believe that if you focus too much on the way things are not, you cannot see the way things are.[12] Cora Weber-Pillwax states that

> "...when we are based in Indigenous reality and Indigenous ways of thinking, we start out with synthesis...as we move through the university system, we end up with deconstruction. Many Indigenous scholars are pushing the deconstruction approach to analysis, suggesting that we need to deconstruct all or most systems that affect our lives, and ultimately to deconstruct a particular way of looking at the world...unless we choose our thoughts, words, and actions carefully and deliberately,...we want to end up and stay in synthesis."[13]

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[9] Leanne Simpson, "Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge" v. 28, no. 3-4, *American Indian Quarterly*, 2004:373-384.
[10] George Sefa Dei, "Introduction: Mapping the Terrain – Towards a New Politics of Resistance" in George Sefa Dei and A. Kempf, eds. *Aniti-Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*, Rotterdam: Sense Publishing, 2006:2.
[11] Graham Smith, "Protecting and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge" in Marie Battiste ed. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000:215.
[12] Graham Smith, in Battiste, 2000:210.
[13] Cora Weber-Pillwax, "Principles of an Indigenous Research Methodology" in *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, v. 25, number 2, 2001:169.

She goes on to say that all ways of thinking and knowing are meaningful and useful. New knowledge should be sought and integrated into current ways of knowing, however, the key is to turn that knowledge into action. In this way, Weber-Pilwax, and scholars like her, is emphasizing the focus on community first, rather than colonizing institutions. It is through the relationships within the communities that strength will be found.

I aim to situate myself within this type of scholarship, where I focus on what the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is according to the people themselves. There is some scholarship concerning this relationship that reacts to the ways stories have been told and treated within the literature [14]. Although this scholarship is necessary to awaken people to different versions of history, it is not where I would put my research.

While this research will focus on the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, it is part of historical consciousness research. These relations were not created in a vacuum and are firmly based on a historical foundation. One that is told and re-told each time there is an encounter between an Anishnaabeg person and a Haudenosaunee person. History is contemporary, a project of the present, and its main contribution to our lives is that we take this knowledge, we receive and live it. For some scholars, this undertaking of history is named "historical consciousness". Seixas et al,

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[14] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibway of Southern Ontario*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; Leroy Eid, "The Ojibway-Iroquois War: The War the Five Nations did not Win", *Ethnohistory*, v.26, no. 4, 1979; Donald Smith, "Important Evidence: Nineteenth Century Anishnabeg Perspectives on the Algonquin-Iroquois Wars in the Seventeenth Century Southern Ontario" in *Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade: Proceedings of the 8th North American Fur Trade Conference; Akwesasne*, Louise Johnston, ed. Cornwall: Akwesasne Notes Publishing", 2002.

> "use the term historical consciousness to maintain collective memory's attention to broad popular understandings of the past, bringing to the forefront, nevertheless the problematic relationships between the distinctly modern, disciplinary practices of historiography and the memory practices of broader populations across different cultures and across different eras, including - but not limited to - our own."[15]

This also includes "individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors that shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future."[16]

Research Approach

My approach to this research is multi-disciplinary. Indigenous Studies has been multi-disciplinary since its inception, which Weaver attributes to the differences in the nations that inhabit Turtle Island.[17] The multi-disciplinary approach of Indigenous Studies is regarded as one of its strengths by many scholars such as Kovach(2009), Miheusah(2004), Smith(1999), Castellano(2000), Battiste and Henderson(2003).

In this research I have encountered historical documents that I have referenced to provide a deeper context to the relationship in some instances. This dissertation is not an historical exploration of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. However, I would be remiss if I omitted these sources where they are necessary or show continuity in the relationship. These sources must be encountered carefully, in that the majority of them were written with a European bias. With that knowledge, they have a limited role to play in this

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[15] Peter Seixas ed., *Theorizing Historical Consciousness,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004: 9-10.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Jace Weaver, "Native American Studies, Native American Literature, and Communitism" in *Ayaangwaamizin: The International Journal of Indigenous Philosophy*, v. 1, no. 2, 1997: 30.

dissertation but they have a small role nonetheless. In addition, these documents have had an impact on, and formed the basis of, the mainstream understanding of the relationship between these two nations. This understanding is one of enemies and has accompanying stereotypes and assumptions. In the exploration of the contemporary relationship, people I interviewed pointed to these documents as having a negative effect on the relationship and it is necessary to demonstrate those effects.

I have also used a narrative analysis/storytelling approach to my research. This will be discussed more in my methodology section. I have interviewed members of the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee nations concerning the contemporary relationship that exists between the people of these nations. One of the reasons that I chose to undertake this research is that I believe the stories that begin to explain the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are important to the formation of any history of these nations. These stories, a few of which I encountered through documents, are still passed on to many people as one can detect the shadow of these stories in encounters between people.

The Literature Review and the Methodology construct the first section of this dissertation. In these chapters, I review the literature concerning Aboriginal history, history and narrative, historical memory and Indigenous knowledge in an attempt to situate this work in a broader landscape of academics.

My methodology will detail historical consciousness and historical memory, narrative theory/storytelling and grounded theory. This chapter will present the lenses through which I analyzed the stories I heard and speak specifically about the gritty details of the project.

The next section of the dissertation involves a review of knowledge that is necessary to engage in understanding the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. One chapter provides a brief review of the cultural foundations of these two nations, giving the context in which this relationship should be understood. The following chapter concerns the impact of historical documents on the relationship. This requires a summary of how the relationship is encountered in the literature and an analysis of how these biases have become embedded in policy.

The third section of the dissertation is the analysis of the contemporary relationship. I have divided it into two chapters. One explores the humour, in positive and negative manifestations, as a representation of this relationship. The final chapter concerns the continuing principles of relationships that people have shared with me through this research.

Literature Review

This literature review provides the general academic landscape in which to place the discussion of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. Needless to say, there is very little written concerning the relationship itself. In order to capture the fields that have shaped this dissertation academically, I review the general trends in Aboriginal history, history concerning the Haudenosaunee, history concerning the Anishnaabeg, historical consciousness and historical memory and narrative. It may seem as though this is a very broad cross-section of literature, which it is, however all of these fields influence my dissertation in some way and they provide space within which my research will be situated.

The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee has not been a focus for scholarly literature. It has rarely been mentioned and when it has the relationship is placed into a historical context. This means that the majority of the literature that does mention the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is found in the realm of history. Aboriginal history, then, comprises a necessary section of this literature review because it is through this lens that this relationship has been examined.

The discipline of history has had an impact on the way Aboriginal people in general have had their stories told in Canada. The role of history in colonization has been one of the erasure of Aboriginal peoples, the creation of a peaceful national narrative and epistemic violence. In fact, it can be argued that it is the privileging of one part of the world's stories over another that has led to such efficient mechanisms

of colonization.[18] Linda Smith states,

> "The negation of indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly 'primitive' and 'incorrect' and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization."[19]

History, then, can be said to be about the legitimization of one's presence and mission in this world. The implication is that history legitimizes one's presence to someone and that someone is usually represented with the catch-all word of "other". History is inevitably tied up with questions of identity, truth and memory.

History has travelled through many incarnations, most of which continue to exist in one form or another. There is a positivist, objective, and empirical view of history, which is the one many people react against as it is a totalizing grand-narrative which excludes many peoples and glorifies nation states. Dipesh Chakrabarty sees this incarnation of history as still existing at the university level. He states,

> "'History' as a knowledge system is firmly embedded in institutional practices that invoke that nation state at every step - witness the organization and politics of teaching, recruitment, promotions, and publication in history departments, politics that survive the occasional brave and heroic attempts by individual historians to liberate 'history' from the meta-narrative of the nation state."[20]

It is this kind of history that is ascribed to Eurocentric thought. The construction of the 'grand narrative' is fraught with ideas of Europe being either more inventive than the rest of the world, or the location of all original ideas that

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[18] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader,* London: Routledge, 1995:355.
[19] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples,* Auckland: Zed Books Ltd., 1999:29.
[20] Dipesh Chakrabarty in Ashcroft, 1995:384.

diffused outward.[21] History has also been regarded as an inevitability from which one cannot escape and, like time, marches along with or without you.[22] Linda Smith sums this up with nine interconnected ideas of a Western paradigm of history:[23]

1. The idea that history is a totalizing discourse.
2. The idea that there is a universal history
3. The idea that history is one large chronology.
4. The idea that history is about development.
5. The idea that history is about a self-actualizing human subject.
6. The idea that the story of history can be told in one coherent narrative.
7. The idea that history as a discipline is innocent.
8. The idea that history is constructed around binary categories.
9. The idea that history is patriarchal.[24]

Presently we find ourselves in a "postcolonial moment", one that has brought many questions to the forefront of the grand narrative of history. Some of these are put forth by Ashcroft: "Does the past have a truth that can be recovered, or is such 'recover' always merely an invention? Is human experience a kind of chaos out of which the narrative of history tries to create some order, or do people actually experience events in temporal sequence?"[25]

Many peoples the world over have questioned the right of others to represent them in their past and their future. There is a large project of the re-writing of history underway, where historians (and others) are challenging the positivist versions of history. People are reclaiming history as their own by demanding that

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[21] J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History,* New York: Guilford Press, 1993:11.
[22] Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformations,* New York: Routledge, 2001:82.
[23] I feel it is important to point out that this assessment of "Western history" by no means represents all history that has been or will be done in "the West". Rather, I use Linda Smith's list to generally refer to unspoken and uninterrogated values that have been found in Eurocentric history.
[24] Smith, 1999:30-31.
[25] Ashcroft, 2001:85.

history reflect their understandings of the past, the present and the future.[26]

Aboriginal History

The historiography of Aboriginal history has been in itself an interesting evolution. This is beyond the scope of this literature review. The first writings that are classified under Aboriginal history have been penned by Europeans. They are travelogues, letters home and Jesuit diaries, among others. These first impressions of Aboriginal peoples by Europeans, seen through their cultural and religious lenses, have become part of the field of Aboriginal history.

More recently, Aboriginal history has been used as a vehicle for the promotion of a Canadian historical narrative, one that emphasizes nation building and promotes the status quo. Much of what has passed for Aboriginal history has concerned itself with Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal relations. These histories have little to do with Aboriginal peoples themselves and their stories are given short shrift or forced into interpretations that are not theirs. Fortunately, the field is constantly changing and creative approaches to history are being attempted. Many of the "important" written works, however, still belong to "Canadian" historians. There are vast amounts of writings that concern the histories of Aboriginal peoples; however, my literature review will be limited only to those works that are relevant to my dissertation.

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[26] J [illegible]rsen, Rü"What is Historical Consciousness? A Theoretical Approach to Empirical Evidence", Paper presented at Canadian Historical Consciousness in an International Context: Theoretical Frameworks, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 2001:1.

Earlier historical writings, such as those by George T. Hunt, have portrayed Aboriginal peoples as war-like and consumed with the Fur Trade. Hunt's thesis of the "Beaver Wars", representing the struggles between the Haudenosaunee, the Anishnaabeg and other nations, continues to dominate Canadian history as well as Aboriginal history.[27] With this thesis, Hunt has proffered that the fur trade was the raison d'être of many Indigenous nations in the northeast. The historians of this time have portrayed the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee as one that was solely influenced by the quest for beaver pelts that they would trade for European goods. Much of the literature from the period of time before the 1960's was fur-trade centred and Indigenous peoples were portrayed as the supporting cast to empire agendas.[28]

Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations came to dominate the field during the 1960's. It was in this period where the term "ethnohistory", a combination of anthropology and history, gained currency.[29] The popularity of ethnohistory, in both Canada and America, was due to scholars' need to trace the development of the chasm that existed between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal peoples. It began as a study devoted to "'general culture history and process, and the specific history of peoples on all levels of socio-cultural organization, emphasizing that of primitives and peasantries, in all world areas.'" This has now changed to a definition refined in the 1980's as the study of "'the past of cultures and societies in all areas of the world, emphasizing the use of documentary and field materials and

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[27] George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940:45.
[28] Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History,* 1930.
[29] Bruce Trigger, Natives and Newcomers. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985:166.

historiographic and anthropological approaches.'"[30]

Ethnohistory came to be intertwined with Aboriginal history and some of its more popular books became accepted as the prevalent understandings of particular nations and events. Ethnohistory is no longer a word that holds as much currency as it once did and now Aboriginal history incorporates a wide number of scholars using different methodologies.

Aboriginal history now includes a large number of works, most of which I cannot examine here. Within this section of the literature review, I have divided up the material between those works that concern the Haudenosaunee, those that concern the Anishnaabeg and the scholarly works about the relationship between the two nations.

The literature on the Haudenosaunee is quite extensive. They are one of the most well documented Aboriginal nations by Europeans.[31] Due to their pivotal role and location in the formation of Canada and America, the Haudenosaunee have fascinated European, American and Canadian historians and anthropologists for centuries. In this section, I will explore some of most relevant writings that concern the Haudenosaunee. Of particular interest to this dissertation, will be the work of Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers* (1985), José Brandão, *Your Fyre Will Burn*

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[30] James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Native America" in Donald Fixico ed., *Rethinking American Indian History,* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997:12.

[31] Susan Hill states, "The discipline of American Anthropology was built upon concepts developed by Lewis Henry Morgan and his research with the Haudenosaunee people (primarily of the Seneca Nation)...Historically, [Haudenosaunee] invited these researchers in and assisted them in their learning process, based upon the cultural principles of hospitality and friendship...[i]ronically, many of these researchers depicted Haudenosaunee culture as less than their own, creating and/or perpetuating ideas of Native inferiority within academia and the general public. Some of the more prominent of these scholars organized themselves into a group known as the *Iroquoianists*...this group declared themselves the experts of Haudenosaunee culture and became the academic police for anyone wishing to publish information about the Confederacy..." (Susan Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of: an examination of Haudenosaunee land tenure on the Grand River Territory,* Peterborough, ON: Trent University, unpublished PhD dissertation, 2005:16).

No More(1997), and Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*(1993).

The book *Natives and Newcomers* has had much influence in Aboriginal history, ethnohistory and understandings of Haudenosaunee relationships. Trigger's book has detailed the early relations between the burgeoning settlement of New France and the Iroquoian speaking Aboriginal inhabitants of the area. Trigger has stated that in order to dispel the ethnocentrism that exists within Canadian history, one must re-examine its framework and include Aboriginal peoples.

Trigger has argued that the early Aboriginal peoples who were involved in the fur trade were exhibiting "rationality". He believed that the Huron/Wendat, the "Iroquois", and the Abenaki jockeyed for the coveted position of "middlemen" and all wars and actions stemmed from this situation. Trigger maintained that the Haudenosaunee rationally perpetrated The "Beaver Wars" (a term coined by Hunt), as the struggles between the Iroquoian-speaking peoples surrounding Lakes Ontario, Erie and Simcoe are sometimes called, in their drive for the position of middlemen. Once the Haudenosaunee had hunted all the beaver in their territory, they began to cast their net wider, which brought them into conflict with various nations, in whose territories they were hunting.[32]

Trigger's has attempted to examine history from the perspective of "rationality" and economics has influenced some understandings of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. The perpetuation of the "Beaver Wars" argument has placed the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee within a European dominated, economic context. The quest for beavers, European goods and the power of being middle people have been

[32]Trigger, 1985:260ff.

understood by many historians as the determining factors in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Using this lens, the historic relationship appears to be one of continual warfare with periodic, unsustainable peace covenants negotiated by Europeans for mutual benefit.

Your Fyre Will Burn No More sought to contradict earlier theories, built by Trigger and other scholars, and constructed a Confederacy that was political, as well as social. Brandão succeeded in focusing solely on events as interpreted through his understanding of Haudenosaunee worldviews and aims. Whereas previous scholarship had analyzed perceived actions by the Haudenosaunee from an economic and/or Canadian perspective, Brandão sought to begin his analysis from his understanding of a Haudenosaunee thought world. This scholar did a detailed analysis of the Jesuit Relations and their reports of Haudenosaunee attacks in order to prove that much of the assumptions of then-current scholarship concerning Haudenosaunee warfare were the product of Eurocentrism and racism. Brandão tried to examine Haudenosaunee relationships with outsiders through Haudenosaunee perspectives and stated that the Haudenosaunee sought "to make 'but one people and but one land' with their foes, as they had done among themselves."[33]

Dennis, like Brandão, chose to regard specific historical occurrences through the worldview of the Haudenosaunee, as he understood it. As the Haudenosaunee sought to make all peoples part of the Longhouse, other nations they interacted with had different ideas. Though the French and the Dutch used terms of fictive kinship

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[33]José Brandão, *Your Fyre Will Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and its Native Allies to 1701,* Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1997:90.

when in meetings with the Haudenosaunee, they did not always see this as representative of two people becoming one. Dennis maintains that these relationships were constructed under the "illusions of cultural knowledge", whereas each claimed they understood the other.[34] The Haudenosaunee saw the physical landscape as a representation of the ideological landscape they used. Moving from autonomous, palisaded villages on high embankments to close kin groups whose relations surpassed village divisions, was the ultimate world. The landscape in between villages would be hospitable to the people and unused land on the outskirts of the villages would be, according to the Peace Maker, "'one dish, in which shall be placed one beaver tail, and we shall all have co-equal right to it.'"[35] Dennis has explored the relations the Haudenosaunee had with others with the underlying belief that the Haudenosaunee were destined to spread this message of peace to all peoples. War, then, is a breakdown, or rejection of this peace.[36] However, by capturing their enemies, the Haudenosaunee ultimately transformed other nations into members of the League of Peace.

There is very little written on Anishnaabeg history as compared to the Haudenosaunee. This is most likely due to the fact that the Anishnaabeg had deep alliances with the French, while the Haudenosaunee were allied with the English. The Haudenosaunee became a focus of political policies on this part of the continent and that continued into the historical tradition.

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[34] Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993:10.
[35] Dennis, 1993:64.
[36] Dennis, 1993:68.

Richard White's *The Middle Ground* studied the historical Anishnaabeg peoples in a similar way to Trigger. The title of this book has come from the position that White argues, in which the Great Lakes area becomes a place of meeting and negotiated interactions. "The Middle Ground" describes "...a place between cultures, peoples and empires."[37] According to White, two polarized peoples, the Algonquins (who White calls a "collection of refugees") and the French, created new symbols and meanings, such as "The Middle Ground", out of their interactions that were acceptable to both parties. These symbols and meanings were in a constant state of flux as nations lost and gained people through various means. Factionalism and resistance movements sprang up from the periphery of the Middle Ground where the quest to find mutually intelligible meanings was not as strong.

This book, like Trigger's text, has had an influence in the way Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people have been perceived historically. Throughout this text White has portrayed Anishnaabeg people as only loosely organized and their relationships with others were many times more reactionary than based on long-standing traditions. Once again, the Europeans are the main arbiters in all of the Aboriginal relationships.

One of the main history books in Ontario published on the Anishnaabeg is by Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibway of Southern Ontario.*[38] This book sought to do justice to Anishnaabeg historically by including much of the written oral history of the 19th century. Finding the Anishnaabeg conspicuously missing in many history books, Schmalz maintained that by 1701 the Anishnaabeg had "conquered" Southern

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[37] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991: x.
[38] Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibway of Southern Ontario,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Ontario. Schmalz consults the works of Anishnaabeg historians such as William Warren, George Copway, and Andrew Blackbird, among others.[39] The stories presented are those pushing the Haudenosaunee from Southern Ontario in epic battles waged for control of the fur trade but based upon ancient hatred. Schmalz states that the Anishnaabeg tried to maintain peace but Haudenosaunee treachery was so great that the decision to go to war was foreseeable. The "wars" were seen by Schmalz as an inevitable event due to the "failure of the Iroquois to respect the military capacity of the Ojibwa and to attempt diplomatic reconciliation with them" which, "...resulted in a shift in the power structure of the Great Lakes area."[40]

One of the few authors to discuss the historical relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee specifically is Leroy Eid.[41] Eid has written about the conflicts that took place in the late 17th century between these two nations. Schmalz and Eid have agreed that these conflicts were humiliating defeats for the Haudenosaunee, who dared not show their faces in Southern Ontario again.[42] Similarly, Donald Smith has come to the same conclusions as Eid and Schmalz.[43] These scholars have made a powerful case for the inclusion of oral history in any history that concerns Aboriginal peoples. Other than reading the Anishnaabeg historians themselves, these are some of the only works that include oral history of

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[39] Andrew Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A grammar of their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author*, Ypsilanti: Ypsilantian Job Printing House, 1887; George (Kahgegagabowh) Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1972(reprint); William Warren, *History of the Ojibways*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1885.
[40] Schmalz, 1991:18.
[41] Leroy Eid, "The Ojibway-Iroquois War" in *Ethnohistory*, Fall, 26:4, 1979:297-324.
[42] Eid, 1979:310.
[43] Donald Smith, "Important Evidence: Nineteenth Century Anishnaabeg Perspectives on the Algonquin-Iroquois Wars in the Seventeenth Century Southern Ontario" in *Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade: Proceedings of the 8th North American Fur Trade Conference, Akwesasne*, Louise Johnston, ed., Cornwall: Akwesasne Notes Publishing, 2001:124.

the 19th century in a substantial way. However, these scholars are less concerned with the relationships that exist between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee and more concerned with discrediting the myth of Haudenosaunee military superiority. They continued to emphasize the relationships that occurred between the Anishnaabeg and the French, as well as between the Haudenosaunee and the English, rather than the relationship that existed between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

In contrast, Victor Lytwyn published an article in 1997 entitled, "A Dish with One Spoon". This is a metaphor found in the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace and was used in treaties with the Anishnaabeg. His article is an excellent exploration into the metaphor and its representation of this relationship. Although he has not discussed the relationship per se, his examination of the metaphor has shed some light on the nature of the relationship.[44]

More recent references to the relationship include the scholars Paula Sherman (2007) and Leanne Simpson (2011). Sherman undertook her dissertation research on Mohawk-Algonquin relationships. She examined the historical literature and interviewed Elders, placing the relationships within a spiritual ecology and connecting them to the earth itself. Sherman has made the crucial point that these relationships cannot be understood through European historical sources but must be contextualized through Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee worldviews that are

[44] Victor P. Lytwyn, "A Dish with One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreement in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Valley Region" in *Proceedings of the 28th Algonquin Conference*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1997.

indivisible from the places they have been nurtured.[45]

Simpson has not written about the relationship exhaustively. However, in all of her recent work she has spoken about the "gdoo-naaganinaa" or "our dish".[46] She has centred herself in this relationship and has spoken about how this relationship, which needs to be consistently renewed, was not just about sharing the territory but about responsibilities for maintaining it. Simpson has stated that through the respect of this relationship, each nation was not a threat to the other, as they were connected but independent sovereignties.

The acceptance that there are many different ways of seeing, writing and experiencing the past is pivotal to Aboriginal history. Nabokov says, "...if we were to truly tell these stories 'in the round,' how could they not reflect contrasting or overlapping vested interests, differing modalities of accounting and interpreting, and culturally divergent senses of what it all meant?"[47] We must also remember that history is not seen by many Aboriginal nations as something as two-dimensional as words on a page. In fact, in every culture, the world over, "...the business of relating past and present for social ends has for most of the time been done orally; it is still so."[48] History is alive and is something that should be cared for and nurtured.

The relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg has not been mentioned much in the historical literature but it is one of the few places where it is discussed. This is not only related to their chosen European allies and the

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[45] Paula Sherman, *Indawendiwin: Spiritual Ecology as the Foundation of Omámiwinini Relations*, Peterborough: Trent University, unpublished PhD dissertation, 2007.
[46] Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence,* Winnipeg: Arbiter Publishing, 2011:112.
[47] Peter Nabakov, *A Forest of Time*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992:5-6.
[48] Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating our Past: The Social Construction of Oral History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992:3.

outcome of the struggles between England and France on this continent, but it is also related to the fact that the relationship was solely the business of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. No Europeans were involved and though they saw themselves constantly brokering peace between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, they did not have any knowledge, nor any real involvement in this relationship. In addition, this relationship is very much alive and the histories, written and oral, are part of the historical consciousness of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. A lived relationship cannot be understood through two-dimensional documents, but must be experienced through the stories of the people that still live it.

Narrative

The relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg is communicated through stories/narratives. It is through stories that people of these nations are made aware of their relationships, both historical and contemporary. Narrative scholarship will be considered in order to better understand ways in which stories are told and how they affect us.

In recent times, many disciplines of the social sciences have been examining narrative as a form of data and a method of understanding human thought, action and interaction. Bakhtin described this as the "'narrative turn'" and it coincided with the "'interpretive turn'" that was taking place in the social sciences.[49] There are reasons for the "turn", as narrative analysis always existed in formal theory but after the 1960's it began to gain much more currency. There have been movements

[49]Quoted in Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Analysis*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc., 1993: 1.

in the field of psychology, history, philosophy of history, literary studies, education and others to place narrative at the centre of their analyses. MacIntyre has stated, "'man is in his actions and practice, as well as in his fictions, essentially a story-telling animal.'"[50]

There are many different definitions of the terms "narrative" and "story", including the idea that "story" cannot be defined. Within these definitions, one will find that there are also different types of narratives that can be identified. These different kinds of narrative tend to be the property of linguists and I will be using these two terms in a much more general sense. Generally, a narrative "recounts a story, a series of events in a temporal sequence."[51] At its very basic, narrative means "to know". According to Victor Turner, "...narrative is knowledge...emerging from action, that is experiential knowledge."[52] Narrative gives expression to thoughts and feelings "within the framework of a story and its telling."[53]

However, Trinh T. Minh-ha states that, "'[t]he story never really begins nor ends, even though there is a beginning and an end to every story, just as there is a beginning and an end to every teller'".[54] The scholar Kevin Bradt chooses to use the term "storying" instead of "story", which emphasizes the natural verb-based essence of stories. Very similar to Jo-ann Archibald(2008), who uses the term "storywork", "storying" means,

"the making of stories together, the thinking together in story form, and the

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[50] James V. Wertsch, "Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates" in Seixas, 2004:49
[51] Steven Cohan and Linda M. Shires, *Telling Stories: A theoretical analysis of narrative fiction.* New York: Routledge, 1988:1.
[52] Victor Turner, "Social dramas and stories about them" in W. J. T. Mitchell ed., *On Narrative*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981:163.
[53] Hayden White, "The value of narrativity in the representation of reality" in Mitchell, 1981: 1.
[54] Trinh T. Minh-ha in Susan Brill de Ramirez, "Storytellers and Their Listener-Readers in Silko's 'Storytelling' and 'Storyteller'" in *American Indian Quarterly*, v. 21(3), Summer, 1997:352.

> cocreation of stories by tellers and listeners. I generally use the word 'storying' rather than the more conventional 'storytelling,' because the latter term locates the action in the one telling. This perpetuates the mistaken notion that the listeners are merely passive recipients of the word, who do not influence, shape, or affect in any way the teller, the telling, or the tale."[55]

In order to understand narrative better, I begin with the ideas that surround the stories we tell ourselves and move to understandings of narrative by Indigenous scholars.

The ideas of Kerby's book *Narrative and the Self* (1991), concerns the interplay between people and language, more specifically, how narratives give meaning to the self. Kerby says that, "...the self is given content, is delineated and embodied, primarily in narrative constructions or stories."[56] The way narratives facilitate the development of self is of key importance and a natural human act. The point of analyzing narrative is to further deconstruct and understand the human experience and how our lives gain meaning. Rather than understanding the self as a given existence before a story is narrated, the self needs to be regarded as constructed and produced by language itself. Kerby examines history, memory, time and how we construct and connect with events of the past while affecting the present. Kerby says,

> "...'there is no such thing as what [human beings] are, independently of how they understand themselves.' It is a question of what, in reflection, we make of our situation vis-à-vis the past, present, and future. Our conceptions (disclosed in stories) may even reveal a multiplicity of selves..."[57]

I find this text helpful in relation to my dissertation, as the relationship that I seek to understand between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg takes place

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[55]Kevin M. Bradt, *Story As a Way of Knowing,* Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1997:ix.
[56]Anthony Paul Kerby, *Narrative and the Self,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991:1.
[57] Kerby, 1991:53

between a number of different selves, interacting with their families, their communities, their nations and Creation. The way we tell stories to ourselves is a key component of this equation. I have found that the literature about stories and self cannot help but make links to how these stories affect other stories that people tell. The consideration of relationships, then, is a natural part of these discussions. In other scholarship concerning narratives, a discussion of the relationships between listener and teller is not always present. Roy Schafer states,

> "We are forever telling stories about ourselves. In telling these self-stories *to others* we may, for most purposes, be said to be performing straightforward narrative actions. In saying that we also tell them *to ourselves*, however, we are enclosing one story within another. This is the story that there is a self to tell something to, a someone else serving as audience who is oneself or one's self. When the stories we tell others about ourselves concern these other selves of ours, when we say, for example, 'I am not master of myself', we are again enclosing one story within another. On this view, the self is a telling. From time to time and from person to person, this telling varies in the degree to which it is unified, stable, and acceptable to informed observers as reliable and valid. Additionally, we are forever telling stories about others. These others, too, may be viewed as figures or other selves constituted by narrative actions. Other people are constructed in the telling about them; more exactly, we narrate others just as we narrate selves. The other person, like the self, is not something one has or encounters as such but an existence one tells. Consequently, telling 'others' about 'ourselves' is doubly narrative."[58]

As well, *Telling Stories: A theoretical analysis of narrative fiction* by Cohan and Shires (1988) is a pivotal text. This work concerns narrative as a foundation from which all cultures grow. Cohan and Shires recognize that, "the events making up a story are only available through a telling."[59] Narrative cannot be considered separate from language. It is imperative that individual meanings of words in language be taken into consideration when deconstructing a story. Each person

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[58] Roy Schafer, "Narration in the psychoanalytic dialogue", in Mitchell, 1981:31.
[59] Cohan and Shires, 1988:1.

imposes her or his own meaning on words in any given culture. A language can be used differently by everyone and it is these interactions, these translations, between people that create such complex experiences. By using a method of analysis referred to as narratology, Shires and Cohan divide narrative into story and narration. They believe that the story and its narration can be considered separately. However, there are other scholars, Roemer (1995), for instance, who believe that the story is over before it begins. This means that the storyteller already knows how the story ends and so the telling is completed in one's head before it is said aloud. Other scholars, such as Bradt (1997) or Archibald (2008) see story as a co-creation between the listener and the teller, who are in constant relationship.

Archibald's book, *Indigenous Storywork* (2008), is based upon her dissertation work. This book is an important text in the field of narrative literature and Indigenous storytelling, due to the self-reflective work she has undertaken surrounding stories, their meaning, their use, their architecture and the contexts in which they are told. Many scholars in the field of Indigenous Studies are using storytelling as a methodology. However, Archibald, who has committed to becoming a Sto:lo storyteller, has explored the deeper nature of stories and their contexts. As Archibald relates the her personal process of becoming a Sto:lo storyteller and integrating Sto:lo stories into educational contexts, she identifies seven important principles of working with stories. The principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy will be helpful for people seeking to work with and through Indigenous stories.[60] Of

[60] Jo-ann Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem), *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit,* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008:140.

particular interest was Archibald's emphasis on the relationship and connection between the storyteller and the listener and how this could affect the telling of the story.

In *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*, Fixico (2003), similarly, sees story as the foundation of Aboriginal oral tradition. He regards Aboriginal oral tradition as being representative of cyclical modes of thinking as opposed to the linear, chronologically based understandings of the Western world. He states that story "consists of at least five parts: time, place, charter(s), event, and purpose. Together, they are the sum of an 'experience'."[61] I particularly like his view of story as a powerful vehicle of transmission. He focuses mainly on the concept of story and not the relationship between story, listener and teller.

Similarly, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache* (1996) by Keith Basso is an interesting look at narrative. This book concerns the intersection of the Apache sense of place with narrative. Basso states, "[w]e *are*, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine".[62] Basso argues that the naming of Apache places constructs their moral world. The recording of these place names is a recording of Apache history as each spot has a story associated with it. In this sense, then, the when of history is unnecessary as it is the place that is important. Basso refers to the performance of these stories as "historical theatre" and it is always told in the present tense. The stories cannot be separated from the land itself. To do this would erase the context in the most literal sense.

Lastly, there is *'You're So Fat!': Exploring Ojibwe Discourse* by Roger

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[61] Donald Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World,* New York: Routledge, 2003:25.
[62] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996:7.

Spielmann(1998). This book concerns discourse analysis and the Anishnaabeg peoples. Spielmann believes that representation must be considered from the vantage point of discourse. Through talk, we come to know one another and ourselves. Spielmann analyzes his own interaction with Anishnaabeg communities to understand different ways of thinking and, hence, speaking. Of particular interest is Spielmann's analysis of everyday interactions and the performance of talk. He analyzes stories told in different ways: funny stories, teaching stories, stories that did not happen, and many others. Stories do not necessarily follow a linear trajectory; instead Anishnaabeg storytellers present stories that are quite complex and constantly unfolding. The interactional aspect of storytelling is emphasized, as it is incumbent upon the storyteller to take into consideration the listeners and modify the story for them.[63]

In conclusion, there is a great amount of scholarship in the field of narratives and stories. Some of the narrative theory research has a more linguistic tone to it, where researchers investigate different parts of a single story. In addition, I have found that this research will speak about an individual who is telling and/or an individual who is listening. Much of the research on storytelling in Indigenous Studies engages with the stories as whole beings and the changing contexts in which they are told. This scholarship might also investigate an individual storyteller but these stories are frequently engaged with collectively.[64] All of this research is valuable, as it seeks to understand the complexities of stories.

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[63] Roger Spielmann, *'You're So Fat!': Exploring Ojibwe Discourse*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

[64] Different nations have different responsibilities and rights to stories. In some nations, certain stories are the responsibility of one clan or family to tell.

Though this research examines a variety of different kinds of stories, told at different times and for different reasons, stories about relationships with other nations are not specifically dealt with in the literature. Certainly, stories that are told nurture peoples' identities and place them within a broader context of land, spirits and histories. This scholarship also emphasizes the importance of understanding relationships through stories. However, specific literature that emphasizes understanding nation-to-nation relationships through stories has not yet been published.

Historical Consciousness and Memory

The exploration of the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee involves an understanding of historical consciousness and historical memory. The study of memory, and its place in various parts of the collective and the individual, is part of disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, history and politics, to name a few. Historical memory is concerned with how history is lived in the present using the very powerful vehicle of memory. Interestingly, there are very few writings concerning Aboriginal history and historical memory or collective memory. One scholar has speculated that there is nothing particularly Eastern European about the pattern or concept of historical memory, however, he states,

> "...perhaps the specific local conditions consist in the demographic situation in the region where different ethnic or religious communities intermingled on the same territories on a much greater scale than anywhere else in contemporary Europe. This did not necessarily cause trouble in normal life so long as the political question of 'who is to rule and who is to obey' did not

arise."[65]

There have been recommendations from many scholars in this field for people to "cool" their memory or distance themselves from it, which is supposed to be the role of scholars. Memory can be dangerous as it can fuel nationalism, racism, hatred, revenge and pain. This leads to present disagreements based on past, unresolved issues and emotions become layered and resolutions are difficult and complex. Many of the debates concerning the use of memory in history and how memory is constructed mirror the debates concerning the presence of oral narratives or story in history. Collective memory, like story, can be construed as ahistorical for two reasons: first, there is no collective memory without the sharing of memories among people; second, within memory (when it is told or shared) it has no pastness, it is now. The listener is taken to a particular point in time and events are shared in a present tense. In memory, events occur and reoccur, continually present in our lives. Some scholars maintain that the break of memory and history originates in temporality. Historicity understands that events happened in the past and they do not exist in the present. History, for some, is defined by distance.[66]

There are a number of themes that can be deciphered in this field. Building on Halbwachs's *Social Framework of Memory* (1925), some regard history as a memory to which we have no organic or experiential relation. Halbwachs has made distinctions between autobiographical memory (which we experience ourselves) and historical memory (which reaches us only through historical records). Collective memory is then a past which we keep active and forms part of our identity. It is this

[65] Jerzy Jedlicki, "Historical Memory as a source of conflicts in Eastern Europe", in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v. 32, 1999:230.
[66]Mark Salber Phillips, "History, Memory and Historical Distance", in Seixas, 2004: 90-91.

phenomenon which becomes a focal point in the field. Halbwachs has stated it is only individuals who remember, though they may do so together. He states,

> "...memory depends on the social environment...It is in this sense that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that is capable of the act of recollection."[67]

In this sense, history becomes the objective search for truth while memory is connected to emotions.

Jan Assmann has written an insightful article (1995) concerning collective memory and cultural identity. It is helpful in understanding the bearing collective memory has on the cultural life of people. To this end, the author defines cultural memory as "...a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated social practice and initiation."[68] There are two aspects of collective memory: "'communicative'" or "'everyday memory'" which is relatively non-specialized, disorganized and is based on everyday communication; and cultural memory, which is different for its distance from the everyday. Cultural memory occurs on a steady horizon, which does not change with the passage of time. According to the author, it has the following characteristics:

> 1. The concretion of identity, which "preserves the store of knowledge form which a group derives an awareness of its unity...";
> 2. Its capacity to reconstruct, in that it "always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation;
> 3. Its formation and transmission through a "culturally instituted heritage of a society";
> 4. Its organization, which involves the formal institutionalizing of culture and the specialization of bearers of cultural memory;

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[67]Maurice Halbwachs, *Social Framework of Memory*, 1925:37-38.
[68] Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity" in *New German Critique,* no. 65, Spring-Summer, 1995:126.

5. It has obligation to transmit a system of values;
6. It is reflexive. It is reflexive in practice, as well as being self-reflexive.[69]

Gabrielle M. Spiegel has undertaken the application of collective memory and historical memory. In an excellent article concerning the relationship between memory and history in the field of Jewish history, Spiegel states that Jewish people have regarded memory and prophets as the true representation of historical experience. In this article, Spiegel shows how many of the writings of the Holocaust are written within the larger cycle of biblical writings. In fact, the name "Holocaust" means "burnt offering" which implies that this event is within the biblical cycle. She maintains that history is ahistorical and Jewish people place current events within a cycle of memory. She states,

> "[a]lthough the historical events of the biblical period remain unique and irreversible, psychologically they are experienced cyclically, repetitively, and hence atemporally. In liturgical commemoration, as in poetic oral recitation, the fundamental goal is, precisely, to revivify the past and make it live in the present, to fuse past and present, chanter and hearer, priest and observer, into a single collective entity."[70]

History, the discipline, exists only because of a perceived rupture with the past. Due to this, history and memory cannot necessarily be fused with one another.[71]

Another important book in the field of historical consciousness and historical memory is Peter Seixas's edited volume *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (2004). The book itself is very concerned with the way we "do" history and how we can begin to analyze collective memory. Seixas maintains that collective

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[69] Assmann, 1995:130-132.
[70]Gabrielle, M. Spiegel, "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time" in *History and Theory,* v.41(2), 2002: 152.
[71] Spiegel, 2002:160.

memory, among other things, feeds directly into historical identity, which in turn helps to define our contemporary identity.

One article that I found quite useful is "Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates" by James V. Wertsch. In this article, the author insists upon the inclusion of narrative in analysis of any historical consciousness. Although he resists a definition of narrative, he does state that his understanding of the term comes from his work in trying to understand "the role of states promulgating collective memory". To this end he has made a distinction between "specific narratives" which "are the focus of history instruction in schools and deal with 'mid-level' events that populate textbooks, examinations, and other textual forms found in that context" and "schematic narrative templates" which are more of an abstract representation and provide a framework for specific narratives.[72] Wertsch has found that it is only through distinctions between types of narrative, that we can begin to understand the complexities of collective memory. By discussing collective memory and narrative in history as one category, many of the subtleties can disappear.

Similarly, Jörn Rüsen's article "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development" seeks to divide up historical narratives into categories for ease of analysis. He states that the narrativity in historical consciousness "can be defined as the ability of human consciousness to carry out procedures that make sense of the past, effecting a temporal orientation in present practical life by means of the recollection of past actuality."[73] The author is

[72] Wertsch in Seixas, 2004:51.
[73] Rüsen in Seixas, 2004:69.

concerned with how past experiences embed themselves into the historical consciousness and constructs four categories for this: traditional, exemplary, critical, and genetic. These reside on a growing scale of complexity. I disagree with some of these categories, as I am unsure that the movement of historical experience into consciousness through narrative has moved from simple to complex over an imposed temporal sequence that we have created. The use of this article though, is in the discussion around how past experiences become collective memories through narratives.

Finally, another article concerning historical memory is entitled "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies" by Wulf Kansteiner (2002). The author believes that memory studies have become quite popular recently in many different disciplines. He has defined collective memory as,

> "...the result of the interaction among three types of historical factors: the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their own interests."[74]

He has found that collective memory studies still have trouble understanding the idea of the collective in relation to the idea of the individual memory. Memories in this vein can easily be misrepresented. The author also believes that collective memory studies are not methodologically advanced, in that scholars have not paid enough attention to the reception of memories. Scholars frequently assume that many people have the same way of receiving memories and converting them into

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[74] Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies", in *History and Theory,* v. 41(2), 2002:180.

individual memories. Kansteiner believes that these problems can be addressed through and examination of the media of memory.

The idea of memory is being used as a meta-historical term to subsume a variety of different ideas: such as oral history, trauma history, popular history, etc.[75] Klein has identified the problems inherent in memory studies as,

> "The reification of bourgeois subjectivity in the name of postmodernism; the revival of primordialism in the name of postcolonialism; the psychoanalytic slide from the hermeneutics of suspicion to therapeutic discourse; the privatization of history as global experiences splinter into isolate chunks of ethnoracial substance; the celebration of a new ritualism under the cover of historical skepticism...certainly, one of the reasons for memory's sudden rise is that it promises to let us have our essentialism and deconstruct it too."[76]

Beyond these possible dangers, though, I believe that historical memory has tools that can be utilized in Aboriginal history. Historical and collective memories are concerned with the way people live and share histories. The interesting discussion surrounding the temporality of memory and the centrality of relationship to its sharing, juxtaposed with the work on Aboriginal histories and narratives, makes for a partnership that can be quite productive. There is currently an exploration in memory studies, which is still relatively new, of the relationships between individuals and the collective. Some scholars have stated that individuals cannot share another's memories any more than they can share a cortex[77], which underscores the experiential nature of memory and draws a boundary between individual and collective. But others have stated that there is no such thing as

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[75] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse", in *Representations*, no. 69, Winter, 2000:128.
[76] Klein, 2000:144.
[77] quoted in Klein, 2000:135.

individual memory[78], as all memories of the individuals are placed within existing societal interpretative frameworks that we have learned from birth. Both of these statements are probably true. However, finding the balance between individual and the collective is also part of the work in Aboriginal histories.

The Nature of the Dissertation

I have been informed that my dissertation is unlike other social science dissertations. I have read numerous Indigenous Studies dissertations and I do not believe that my dissertation stands out in its format. However, for those readers who are more familiar with a standard social science dissertation, it is possible that this work may appear to be somewhat unorthodox in its layout. At the beginning of this writing process I endeavoured to have a chapter breakdown that looks something like this:

Introduction
Literature Review
Methodology
Foundations
Background to the contemporary relationship
Findings chapter 1
Findings chapter 2
Findings chapter 3
Conclusion

After a great deal of struggle to fit my interviews into neatly packed findings chapters, I came to terms with the understanding that the knowledges shared with me did not fit naturally into my first table of contents. I have found that stories tend to have a way they want to be told and in that telling take on their best form. It is not

[78] quoted in Kansteiner, 2002:185.

that stories cannot be told in a prescriptive fashion but I have always thought stories do their best work when they follow their own natural ebb and flow. From my own understandings of what was shared with me, both written and spoken, during the course of this research, I constructed my dissertation in a more integrated way. That is to say, many of the interviews are interwoven throughout almost every chapter. It was my instinct to write it this way and I think the stories come across best in this format.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research on the contemporary relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg is affected by the literature in the fields of Aboriginal history, narrative and historical consciousness.

In truth, I could have cast my literature net much wider to include the impressive scholarship, which has affected me as a scholar during my journey with this research. However, the majority of it is not directly pertinent to the understanding of the contemporary relationship between these two nations. Instead, I have attempted to place this relationship in those areas of scholarship that have discussed it up to this point and those areas that have had an impact upon my choice of methodology.

For a contemporary discussion, I realize, there is considerable engagement with historical literature. From my perspective, this has occurred for a variety of reasons. First, the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is assumed to be historical and frozen in time. It is of the past and has merited

discussion only when that relationship came to impact European agendas. Second, there is not great deal of discussion in the literature, be it historical or contemporary, about relationships between Aboriginal nations.[79] What does exist tends to be historical without a sense of continuity and fluidity within a changing world.

This is where I see a benefit to the use of story and historical consciousness. We are storied creatures. Our identity does not spontaneously occur to us, it has been shared with us over time and in particular places by people to whom we are connected. Relationships with other nations are told to us through stories and these stories are based on past events and teachings that form a solid foundation. These stories impact how people from other nations are encountered and the encounters between people of different nations affect the stories that are told. An examination of the contemporary relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg must take historical consciousness and the stories that are told about the past into consideration in order to attempt understand the complexities of the relationship.

[79] Anton Treuer, "Ojibwe- Dakota Relations: Diplomacy, War and Social Union, 1679-1862", unpublished MA Thesis, St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 1994.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter is about the methodological orientations with which I framed my research. In keeping with the recognition of the importance of relationships, the methodologies that I used are all relational in their scope. As I have come to understand, relationships in general are central to Indigenous knowledges. Many Elders discuss relationships and how the individual is seen at the heart of a spiral that includes family, community, clan, nation and the rest of Creation.[80] Any individual is constantly enmeshed in a series of relationships and their actions can have far reaching effects. As Meyer states, "[i]n relationships with people it is not simply *I* looking at *You* but *I-You* in constant rapport, experience, and dialogue."[81] Cajete reminds us that the purpose of Indigenous education is to learn about these relationships in their contexts.[82] Indigenous knowledges indicate that people are constantly connected and that these relationships occur in particular contexts that must be learned in order to understand them.

In addition, relationality is a central aspect of an Indigenous research paradigm. According to Shawn Wilson, the core pieces of any research paradigm are: ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology. A shared aspect of Indigenous ontology and epistemology is relationality, while a shared aspect of

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[80] I have heard Indigenous Elders and scholars alike refer to these nested circles. It is difficult to attribute this statement to just one person, published or oral. For a published reference for this, see Gregory Cajete, "Indigenous Knowledge: The Pueblo Metaphor of Indigenous Education" in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Marie Battiste, ed. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000: 181-191.

[81] Manu Aluli Meyer, "Acultural Assumptions of Empiricism: A Native Hawaiian Critique" in *Canadian Journal of Native Education,* 25(2), 2001:195.

[82] Gregory Cajete, "Indigenous Knowledge: The Pueblo Metaphor of Indigenous Education" in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Marie Battiste, ed. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000: 183.

Indigenous axiology and methodology is relational accountability.[83] This concerns the importance of relationships to Indigenous communities and recognizes the collective understanding and impact of events. The self-reflexivity of the researcher comes into play, when it is understood that as researchers we do not research in a vacuum but become embedded in relationships within different communities. In many Indigenous worldviews, all things are related and it is how these relationships are maintained that is integral to Creation. The centrality of relationships to this dissertation and in my own life has affected my methodological leanings. As a non-Indigenous researcher, I have realized that I am frequently an outsider in many kinds of communities. My nature has always been to nurture and build relationships, which I have always seen as important work. I realized, after my research was done, that the personal relationships I have built deeply affected my research. Most of the people I interviewed either knew me or knew people who knew me. This made for easy interviews, as people felt comfortable telling me things that were not to be included in my dissertation. This took me awhile to realize because I was raised to view myself as embedded in a web of relationships and took for granted my ability to navigate them. Wilson states,

> "This is how Indigenous communities work-a key to being included is not only the work that you have done in the past but how well you have connected with others in the community during the course of your work. Thus the strength of your bonds or relationships with the community is an equally valued component of your work."[84]

So relationships, then, impact my dissertation not only because relationality

[83] Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008:33 and 137.
[84] Wilson, 2008: 81.

is central to an Indigenous research paradigm but also because they are important to me, both as a person and a researcher. In addition to this, I keep in mind Manu Aluli Meyer who states that there is no self without other and that this relationship helps us define who we are.[85] This dissertation has relationships at its core, as it concerns the contemporary relationships between two peoples. Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee territories have always rubbed up against one another and overlapped. In many ways the edges of their territories cannot be defined outside of their relationship with one another. The business of relationships impacts every aspect of this work.

Placing the importance of relationships at the centre, the methodologies I have used to build this work are multi-disciplinary in nature. I have used the overall frame of historical consciousness as the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg grows out of events and stories that have occurred in the past. In addition, I have used grounded theory so that the information in the dissertation has grown from the people to whom I spoke. I have also used storytelling narrative theory to help me analyze the stories that people shared with me.

There are many understandings of historical consciousness. At its most basic, many scholars in North America understand it as being the awareness of history. [86] However, in Europe scholars have developed a more nuanced understanding of historical consciousness. Jörn Rüsen is one of the leading scholars in the field of historical consciousness in Europe. His definition of historical

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[85] Manu Aluli Meyer, "Acultural Assumptions of Empiricism: A Native Hawaiian Critique" in *Canadian Journal of Native Education,* 25(2), 2001:188-198.

[86]Lori L. Jervis, Janette Beals, Calvin D. Croy, Suzell A. Klein, Spero M. Manson, AI-SUPERPFP Team, "Historical Consciousness Among Two American Indian Tribes" in *American Behavioral Scientist*, v.50(4), 2006:527.

consciousness is that it, "...functions as a specific orientational mode in actual life situations in the present: it functions to aid us in comprehending past actuality in order to grasp present actuality."[87] Historical consciousness connects us from the past to the present but does so in a way that provides us with perspective on the future. Rüsen succinctly states, "...history is the mirror of past actuality into which the present peers in order to learn something about its future."[88] As stated previously, he has identified four different kinds of historical consciousness: Traditional, Exemplary, Critical and Genetic. Traditional historical consciousness is the understanding that historical narratives are accepted unquestioningly as they are pre-given.[89] The values are timeless and not to be questioned. History, in this category, is understood as emanating from an origin and then repeating in cycles. Exemplary historical consciousness maintains that the past exists in values that can be generalized for all times. The past is a series of examples that give lessons for the present. Time is experienced as change, but the changes follow timeless rules. Critical historical consciousness challenges traditional narratives and it uses exceptions to prove how timeless rules do not apply in every situation. Culture is relativized to time, which is experienced as subject to judgment. Genetic historical consciousness is quite different from the other three categories. Change is central to the past and is what gives history its meaning. Values are not fixed but are pluralized and change with time.[90] These four categories are set up in a pseudo-evolutionary framework, implying that the Genetic historical consciousness is the

[87] Seixas, 2004:66.
[88] Rüsen, in Seixas, 2004:67.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Seixas, 2004:72-79.

most developed and modern. Though Rüsen admits that all four historical consciousnesses exist at once and can intermingle, the implication of development is Eurocentric.

In North America, historical consciousness has been treated as synonymous with collective memory.[91] Seixas states,

> "Thus, we will use the term historical consciousness to maintain collective memory's attention to broad popular understandings of the past, bringing to the forefront, nevertheless, the problematic relationships between the distinctly modern, disciplinary practices of historiography and the memory practices of broader population across different cultures and across different eras, including – but not limited to – our own."[92]

Many North American scholars have used the term to mean simply how we understand the past.[93] The field is not as specific or nuanced as it is in Europe and exists as a very literal interpretation of the term historical consciousness. Seixas, though, maintains that there are three approaches to historical consciousness: traditional, modern and post-modern. The traditional understanding exists similarly to that outlined by Rüsen. The modern historical consciousness is more in line with the critical historical consciousness outlined by Rüsen and the post-modern historical consciousness is an attempt to return to the traditional historical consciousness yet with a critical eye.[94] Some scholars have implied that modern or genetic historical consciousness breaks with previous understandings of history. In the time period that we inhabit, they maintain that historical consciousness has surpassed the criticism of previous eras and employs, for the first time, reflexivity. Seixas disagrees with this, finding it to be Eurocentric. His definition of historical

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[91] Seixas, 2004:8.
[92] Seixas, 2004:9-10.
[93] Seixas, 2004:8; Jervis et al, 2006:527.
[94] Seixas, 2004:11.

consciousness, I find, to be very inclusive and open to different understandings of history and time.

Throughout the fields of anthropology, sociology and oral history one can find scholars who speak about historical consciousness without naming it as such. These scholars tend to use interdisciplinary approaches in their works and are interested in the social interactions between memory, history and current relationships and identities.[95]

The application of historical consciousness to Aboriginal history has been relatively minimal. Perhaps because it has been the darling of European historians or perhaps it is most important that Aboriginal histories come from Aboriginal understandings and worldviews. Explicitly, the only two studies that I have come across that explore historical consciousness in relation to Aboriginal history are Lori L. Jervis, Janette Beals, Calvin D. Croy, Suzell A. Klein, Spero M. Manson, AI-SUPERPFP Team, "Historical Consciousness Among Two American Indian Tribes" and Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century.* The first study is a qualitative study that tried to measure historical consciousness in two Native American communities. The authors understood that though there was considerable research being undertaken in the area of Native American history and, specifically, historical trauma, no one sought to understand the links made by Aboriginal peoples from their histories to their present day situations.[96]

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[95] Tonkin, 1992:4.
[96] Jervis, et al, 2006:527.

The study by Steven Conn concerns non-Aboriginal portrayal of Aboriginal peoples in the 19th century and how these images helped to construct an American historical consciousness. This scholar was not concerned with Aboriginal historical consciousnesses but, rather, the impact of Aboriginal peoples on American historical consciousness. Conn shows how the very existence of Aboriginal peoples challenged European and burgeoning American historical understandings. The growth of American historical consciousness depended upon interpretations of the origin, history and future of Aboriginal peoples. This study related this growth to that of the entrenchment of the historical method and the development of anthropology and ethnology.[97]

What intrigues me most about this approach is that history ceases to be something in the distance and becomes something in the present. Continuously shaping our actions, our understandings and even our landscape, history is inseparable from our understanding of it. These aspects of historical consciousness make it open to understandings learned from Indigenous Knowledges. Indigenous Knowledge has a number of characteristics that are agreed upon by many scholars and thinkers. Briefly, they state that it is: fluid, experiential, holistic, oral, personal, connected to the land and all of Creation, spiritual, informed by dreams and visions, part of the people, relational, expressed fully in Indigenous languages and it is alive.[98] Some of these characteristics, specifically the fluidity of knowledge, that

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[97] Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004:5-11.

[98] See for example: Marlene Brant Castellano, "Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge", in G. Sefa Dei, B. Hall, and D. Rosenberg, eds., *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000; Joseph E. Couture, "Explorations in Native Knowing" in John W. Friesen ed., *The Cultural Maze*, Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991; Marie Battiste, ed., *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000;

knowledge can be experiential, that it is oral, that it is personal, that it is not separate from the people, it is both collective and individual, that it is relational and that it is alive, are all compatible with historical consciousness. Some scholars of historical consciousness and historical memory have endeavoured to understand the connection between historical consciousness and spirituality.[99] I think that the other characteristics, which have been discussed by many Indigenous scholars in relation to Indigenous Knowledges, are not necessarily separate from the discussion in historical consciousness. In fact, given the flexibility of the field all aspects of Indigenous Knowledge could be used in conjunction with historical consciousness. There many historical consciousness scholars who have concerned themselves with the learning process of history at every level. History education and how it is done has become a burgeoning sub-field within historical consciousness. As a field, historical consciousness functions on the foundation that it is everyday people who build and pass on histories. Although academia may delve into specific questions or theories, it only somewhat informs history as understood by everyday people. The juncture of academia and everyday people usually exists in educational institutions. Many of these scholars see problems with the way history is taught presently, which has tended to disregard personal experiences and is counter-intuitive.[100] It is important to note, however, that historical consciousness is still a Western construct, though it is one which much flexibility and depth. The field of historical consciousness attracts scholars from a variety of different disciplines: such as

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Marie Battiste and James (Sa'k'ej) Henderson, *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage*, Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd., 2000.

[99] Spiegel, 2002.

[100] Peter Lee, "'Walking Backwards into Tomorrow': Historical Consciousness and Understanding History", in *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research,* 4(1), 2004:9.

sociology, psychology, history, anthropology and education.

Many Aboriginal historians already function in an arena that could be termed historical consciousness. Aboriginal histories, which come from Aboriginal understandings of history and knowledge, are automatically infused with Indigenous Knowledge. These scholars push the boundaries of conventional history in a way that is quite compatible with historical consciousness. Winona Wheeler maintains that one must go further than conventional oral historical methods as one must listen with mind, body, and spirit for a long time. She states,

> "Clearly there is a direct correlation between the depth and quality of knowledge a student acquires and the level of reciprocal trust and respect cultivated between teacher and student. This is why the practice of racing into Indian country with tape recorder in hand and taking data meets with little success...Books or papers do not mediate the Cree relationship to the past. It is a lived experience embodied in everyday social interaction. The teaching and learning of history-historical study-is a social process based entirely on human relationships, and relations between human begins and the creation around them."[101]

I have shown that historical consciousness fits within Aboriginal history and Indigenous knowledge, but how does it fit within Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee contexts? The use of historical consciousness promotes the analysis of the relationship from a starting point germane to the relationship itself. This relationship has been considered through historical documents and inferred historical motivations. However, as stated before, this relationship has continued beyond what scholars have said about it. The relationship is of its own origin (*sui generis*) and has its own historicity. The consciousness of all of the history that has occurred over

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[101] Winona Wheeler, "Reflections on the Social Relations of Indigenous Oral Histories" in Ute Lischke and David T. McNab, eds., *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and Their Representations*, Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2005:201.

time, including what has been written about the relationship itself, resides in the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people.

Historical consciousness fits with my personal understandings of history. It is in the sharing of stories between all elements of Creation, across complex relationships that construct history. There are many different ways to understand history and many different ways where it shows itself. As Wilson stated in the story of the Cree word for "couch", things are only understood by your relationship to it. Without the honouring of that relationship, disrespect will follow.[102] I see history the same way. It is about peoples' understandings of history, not about trying to construct a "true" grand narrative about all of human history. History is not a disembodied notion, though through historiography it can be seen that way. History lives in the people that remember it, use it and share it. It is these understandings of history that influence the way in which we see one another, for good or for ill, and it is at the personal relationship level where many historical understandings live. This dissertation uses historical consciousness to tease out those daily understandings of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Historical consciousness helps us to place relationships within the context of time and help us understand those influential connections.

While using historical consciousness as my overarching frame for the dissertation, I perceived narrative to be of great importance to answering my questions. As human beings, we spend most of our time speaking and listening, communicating and receiving communication. We depend upon communication,

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[102] Shawn Wilson, "What is an Indigenous Research Methodology?" in *The Canadian Journal of Native Education*, v. 25(1), 2001:177.

among other things, to survive, to entertain, and to create. It is no wonder that narrative, our primary means of communicating who we are and what we think, is a constant source of fascination for us. Narrative is the primary way through which historical identity is realized.[103] I came across a quote that read, "'[t]he past is myself, my own history, the seed of my present thoughts, the mould of my present disposition.'"[104] Laying aside the individualistic focus of this statement, the intersection of narrative and history lies within the profoundly social aspect of the communication of history and how it constructs our lives, identities and relationships. Historical consciousness is about the communication of history for social reasons and "the business of relating past and present for social ends has for most of the time been done orally; it is still so."[105]

As a result, storytelling-dialogical narrative analysis is a fitting methodology for my dissertation. It is through the communication that occurs between Anishnaabeg peoples about Haudenosaunee peoples and vice versa that this relationship is made known. It is only through stories/narratives that I have understood something about this relationship, as it is manifested in stories. How do I know about my relationship to Polish people? It did not begin with me. There were thousands of years of relationships that existed prior to my creation. We know of our relationships to others because of the stories we are told about them. Then, we have experiences with those others and we measure these against what we have been told.

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[103] Rüsen, 2004:69.
[104] R.L. Stevenson quoted in Tonkin, 1992:1.
[105] Tonkin, 1992:3.

It is difficult to properly name this methodology I used, as I have encountered it in many different forms. In Indigenous Studies, storytelling methodologies have been gaining in academic strength and are becoming more widely used in the discipline. In other social science and humanities disciplines, stories have also been shaping methodologies. I see stories as being the very foundation of many of these disciplines, as it is through story that we share, learn and relate to one another. The academy itself was created through people listening and sharing ideas and experiences with one another. Narrative and story are the basis for long-accepted methodologies in areas such as history, anthropology, psychology, education, nursing, social work, etc.

All cultures have stories and these stories provide the foundations from which identity, epistemology, ontology and axiology are built. Stories, in some form or another, have long been a part of research involving Indigenous peoples. The colonizing powers had a number of ways of encountering these stories. They have been assumed to be inferior to colonial stories and dismissed outright. They have also been treated as curiosities and recorded in that manner. In more recent times, Indigenous stories have been recorded and used out of context. Not only is this disrespectful but it removes the stories from their relationships with the land, the people and the spirits. Kovach states that, "these early qualitative studies were responsible for extractive research approaches that left those they studied disenfranchised from the knowledge they shared."[106] Stories are similar to other living beings: they cannot survive if they are not fed and watered. Using story as a

[106] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009:27.

method in a contemporary sense requires an axiology that reflects Archibald's understanding of storywork. As stated previously, storywork is built on the principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy.[107] Using these principles ensures attention is paid to the context into which a story is born and lives. Kovach states, "Story, as a method, is used differently from culture to culture, and so its application falters without full appreciation of the underlying epistemological assumptions that motivate its use."[108]

I cannot discount that many stories are given privilege over others and this privilege gives the illusion that non-sanctioned stories are silenced. However, it has been my experience that this is not always the case. There have been many stories that have been brutally silenced but others have continued to be told.

In the following discussion, I draw on the work done by narrative inquiry in addition to the more recent storytelling methodology explored by Indigenous scholars.[109] I find my work has a home and fine companions in the storytelling methodology field, as well as within dialogical narrative analysis. Kovach states, "Stories remind us of who we are and of our belonging. Stories hold within them knowledges while simultaneously signifying relationships."[110]

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[107] Archibald, 2008:ix.
[108] Kovach, 2009:96-97.
[109] According to Arthur W. Frank, the distinction between narrative and story can be a little convoluted. He is worth quoting here, as he states that he "...understands stories...as 'living, local, and specific'...Narratives...are templates that people use as resources to construct and understand stories. Harrington compares narratives to rules of grammar that are learned by constant exposure until reliance on them becomes second nature, even as a speaker continues to refine use of those resources...". Frank, Letting Stories Breathe: a socio-narratology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010: 121.
[110] Kovach, 2009:94.

A definition of narrative is that it "recounts a story, a series of events in a temporal sequence."[111] White states, "The words 'narrative', 'narration', 'to narrate' and so on derive via the Latin *gnārus* ('knowing, 'acquainted with', 'expert', 'skillful' and so forth) and *narrō* ('relate', 'tell') from the Sanskrit root *gnâ* ('know')."[112] Narrative gives expression to thoughts and feelings "within the framework of a story and its telling."[113] Kovach states that story is both method and meaning. From her perspective there are two general forms of story: those that have "...mythical elements, such as creation and teaching stories, and there are personal narratives of place, happenings, and experiences..."[114] In this dissertation, I will be reflecting on primarily personal stories, that were shared with me, of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg.

The scholars that have employed storytelling and narrative inquiry as their methodology fit into the constructivist paradigm. If reality (more likely, realities) is individual and constantly interpreted then it follows that objectivity is an impossibility and truth is highly suspect in this field of study. Kerby states,

> "... 'there is no such thing as what [human beings] are, independently of how they understand themselves.' It is a questions of what, in reflection, we make of our situation vis-à-vis the past, present, and future. Our conceptions (disclosed in stories) may even reveal a multiplicity of selves..."[115]

Foucault is important in this area for his discussions on the interplay between discourse, power, and knowledge. It is only by historicizing our perceptions of reality, through examining threads of knowledge and their adoption as "truths", that

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[111] Cohan and Shires, 1988: 1.
[112] White, in Mitchell, 1981: 1.
[113] ibid.
[114] Kovach, 2009:95.
[115] Kerby 1991:63.

we can begin to look at the power/knowledge dynamic. The results of these explorations must be treated as "results" and not "truths", otherwise the cyclical form of power is completed. [116] This involves not only questioning the dissemination of stories but the way in which they are disseminated.

This raises the question of validity. The concept of validity is something that has plagued the social sciences since their inception. In Indigenous Studies, acceptable forms of validity have been tied to Western epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies and those research methods that spring from Indigenous worldviews have been relegated to a lesser standing. Within an Indigenous paradigm a researcher is not only an individual entity, who is separate from the pursuit of knowledge and can then own it at the end of the day. The researcher is embedded in relationships and the knowledge that is generated and learned is shared with all of Creation.[117] If we recognize that our narratives about others' narratives originate with us and are subject to our interpretations, then 'truth' is slippery indeed. Many scholars subscribe to the notion that meaning is "fluid and contextual" and there is "no 'view from nowhere'".[118] Settee states of her work,

> "In using storytelling, the dissertation relies on subjective accounts and meaning, as it is constructed by people in everyday situations. Storytelling focuses on life as it is lived. It assumes a dynamic living past, a past open to interpretation and reinterpretation, to meaning-making in and for the present."[119]

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[116] Adrienne S. Chambon, "Foucault's Approach: Making the Familiar Visible" in A. Chambon, L. Epstein, and Irvin Allen, eds., *Reading Foucault for Social Work,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1999:78.
[117] Wilson, 2001:177.
[118] Riessman, 1993:15.
[119] Priscilla Settee, *Pimatisiwin: Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Our Time Has Come*, PhD dissertation, Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 2007:123.

Although in this quote Settee is describing storytelling, she manages to succinctly state the main principles of historical consciousness. In many ways, the lofty pursuit of 'truth' in historical consciousness and storytelling-based inquiry has only a small place. For it is the experiences people have and share that some of us are interested in. Scholars that undertake these methods are searching for the 'truth' as people understand it. Research of this nature is not measured against an externally devised notion of 'truth'.

Polkinghorne maintains that researchers can only aim for verisimilitude, which is the limit of all knowledge, by demonstrating the falsity of statements.[120] Some theorists (Labov) believe that language itself represents reality, in that the narrative clauses reflect experience in the same order in which an event was experienced. Others who have been influenced by phenomenology, "take the position that narrative constitutes reality: It is in the telling that we make real phenomena in the stream of consciousness."[121] Still other theorists examine the persuasiveness of language and argue that ideologies and values of the narrator are inscribed into their stories. Riessman belongs to the stream of thought that believes narratives, as interpretations, require interpretations. Narratives do not speak for themselves but, rather, aid us in our understanding of human actions.[122]

The validity of knowledge can be a contested site within the academy and, since stories and narratives are personal and prone to the humanity in which they nest, stories are not always seen as 'legitimate' research. In addition to our fallible

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[120] Donald E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences,* New York: State University of New York Press, 1988:176.
[121] Riessman, 1993:22.
[122] ibid.

memories and subjective shortcomings, scholars that use a storytelling methodology are also criticized for their relationships with the people who share the stories with them. As stated, relationships are important to every community because it is how people survive. In some Western-oriented academic research methodologies, research can be compromised by these relationships and the subjectivity of the researcher. In Indigenous methodologies, it is precisely these relationships that are the vehicle for stories that are shared. Kovach states, "For a story to surface, there must be trust."[123]

For scholars who use a storytelling/narrative-based method, the interview conversation is the primary way of obtaining information. As a result, there is much thinking and preparation that precedes the interview itself in order to best represent the words that people share. Riessman describes five levels of representation during the research process. First the researcher attends to the experience, where a person simply notices something based on his or her own thoughts and selection. Next, the experience is told/shared through interaction and dialogue. This level is where the self and experience are represented as part of an identity. Mishler has stated that,

> "First,...whatever else the story is about, it is also a form of self-presentation in which the teller is claiming a particular kind of self-identity...Second, because 'everything said functions to express, confirm, and validate this claimed identity', the narrative analyst can search for statements and references related to the teller's identity throughout the account."[124]

[123] Kovach, 2009:98.
[124] Polkinghorne, 1988:165-6

Throughout the literature, this level holds distinct fascination. In fact, Mikhail Bakhtin says, "[l]ife by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue."[125] The third level is the transcribing of the telling of the experience, where the previous actions become "fixed" in words. The fourth level of representation is the analyzing of experience, where a researcher analyzes the transcript of the previous level. This frequently involves much editing and perhaps the creation of a metastory or a hybrid story that includes the experience. The final level is the reading of experience, where the reader encounters the experience, in a particular form, and integrates it into their experience[126]. Each of these levels incorporates choice, voice and interpretation. By the time the first experience/interpretation reaches the reader, layers of interpretation have been added to it and are finally interpreted by the reader. All of this must be taken into consideration by scholars when performing their tasks.

I felt the open-ended interview was the best choice for this research. Although I had compiled a list of questions in my mind, which was a useful touchstone for people I knew less well, people wanted to share what they felt, knew and had experienced in the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg. Kovach states, "...an open-structured conversational method shows respect for the participant's story and allows research participants greater control over what they wish to share with respect to the research question."[127] This kind of research interaction fits with my methodology and historical consciousness in

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[125] quoted in , Robin Ridington, "Voice, Representation and Dialogue: The Poetics of Native American Spiritual Traditions", in *American Indian Quarterly*, v.20(4), Fall, 1996:467.
[126] Riessman, 1993: 10-15.
[127] Kovach, 2009: 124.

general. Through this kind of research conversation, people are allowed the space to share their understandings in an easy, more relaxed way. It prevents interruption and allows stories to flow organically. In addition, it places the interviewer in the role of listener, not extractor of information.

It is through this research conversation or interview that stories are shared, however this does not occur in a one-way trajectory. Many Indigenous scholars have stated that people are in constant connection with each other and the world around them. Whereas Bakhtin stated that life is a constant dialogue, in Indigenous thought life is more than a dialogue. There are many different voices, spirits and existences with which one is connected. Meyer has said that there is no self without the other, and vice versa. They are in a constant relationship.[128] Brill de Ramirez quotes Susan Pierce Lamb who states that,

> "...'the interaction between teller and listener is simultaneous': 'While 'unpacking' an image in his own mind, the narrator provides stimuli to generate one in the listener's mind. Simultaneously, the listener is responding to the perceived message which affects the way the teller communicates the image. All of the above goes on simultaneously and constitutes the process. The teller's and listener's interactions or synthesis generate the synergic event.'"[129]

Often, the study of narrative can be treated as though it is a monologue, the interaction between Teller and Listener is not of importance. As stated above, in many Western-oriented research paradigms, this relationship can actually be seen to skew or invalidate the research in some way. Too many times, the Listener becomes the privileged scholar and discounts their own participation in the relating of stories. In this situation the speaker is

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[128] Meyer, 2001:195.
[129] Susan Pierce Lamb quoted in Brill de Ramirez, 1997:353.

> "...unprepared to understand the spirituality of conversations that create a world that is alive with storied voices. Conversation is possible only when storyteller and listener respect and understand one another through shared knowledge and experience. It is possible only when every person can realize a place in every other person's story. It is possible only when the circle of stories includes all the relations of a world that is alive with meaning."[130]

Lived or experiential knowledge does not have a complete external existence. When you hear a story, you hear it from another. This other person has this knowledge living inside of them. When you receive it and experience it, then, it becomes a part of you. Blaeser says, "[i]ndeed, we become the stories we tell, don't we? We become the people and places of our past because our identity is created, our perspective formed, of their telling."[131] I have found this statement to be particularly relevant when I think about the applicability of a storytelling methodology to human relationships. When I consider my own relationships to other Slavic and Polish peoples, I realize that the stories I was told far preceded any substantial interactions I had with them. Though my best friend growing up was Polish, it took a long time to understand the differences, the histories, and what all of this meant. These stories Granny told me were part of what it meant to be Ukrainian, in this territory, and were part of my identity and responsibilities. This is who we are, this is who they are and this is what has passed between us. When I began to meet other Polish and Slavic people, many of the things I noticed were placed into a very rich context of pre-existing relationships. They either affirmed what Granny said or were an exception to the rule. When I think about these kinds of relationships, these stories form an unfinished basket that surrounds us. We do

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[130] Ridington, 1997:469.

[131] Kimberly Blaeser, "Writing Voices Speaking: Native Authors and an Oral Aesthetic" in L. Murray and K. Rice, eds., *Talking On the Page: Editing Aboriginal Oral Texts*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 54.

become the stories we tell and the stories we tell can become the relationships we have. I say unfinished basket because I feel as though these stories are tightly woven around us but that we are the ones who weave the next part of the basket.[132]

The human being cannot be separated from the knowledge. Much of the formal narrative theory is quite divorced from humans themselves. In order to be relevant in Indigenous theory, the personal, living and changing nature of narrative must be taken into consideration.

Randall Hill maintains that in order to keep the flux, the power and the context within narrative analysis of Indigenous narratives, performance must be a central aspect of the examination. Not only does a performance-centred study emphasize that Indigenous cultures are constantly changing, it also prevents narratives from being presented as lifeless objects.[133] The performance is the method and the object of inquiry. This embodies the significance of relationships that permeate all Indigenous societies. The dialectic of the Listener:Teller is one of equality. The listener affects the telling of the story, as they are co-creating it with the teller. Both the listener and teller, whose presence affects the outcome of the story, inhabit the story "present". In some ways, this thought infers that the story comes from outside of the person and, indeed, Archibald has said that the storyteller has been known to give breath to a story while the story takes on a life of its own.[134] This does not mean the story does not inhabit (after the telling) and encompass (during the telling) both Listener and Teller. Leslie Marmon Silko says that, "'[t]he

[132] Archibald (2008) in her work speaks of weaving a basket of stories in which to place her work. This metaphor is what entered my mind as I was thinking about stories and their influence on relationships.
[133] Randall Hill, "Methodological Approaches to Native American Narrative and the Role of Performance" in *American Indian Quarterly*, v. 21(1),Winter, 1997: 112
[134] Archibald, 2008:106.

storytelling always includes the audience and the listeners, and, in fact, a great deal of the story is believed to be inside the listener, and the storyteller's role is to draw the story out of the listeners.'"[135]

The majority of the interviews I did were long conversations that involved me as much as the person to whom I was speaking. As a non-Indigenous scholar, I realize that my presence and interest in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee influenced what was shared. I had many questions put to me during the course of these research conversations. How I answered those questions also influenced the stories that were told. I began to see a pattern; particularly in the older people I interviewed who did not know me too well, where I would be asked why I was taking Indigenous Studies or some other similar question. It would always occur as the conversation was coming to its natural end. The way I answered the question would always lead to another story and this one would involve the spiritual underpinnings of the relationship. Some of these stories I was allowed to use and some of them were shared with me but not to put into print.

It is important to note that in addition to stories that one hears from people, there are also those stories that one hears from the Earth or from Spirits. These stories are the bedrock of the human relationships with the earth and beings around them. These stories are related to human relationship stories, as the relationships between humans are lived out within a particular place and shaped by all other surrounding relationships. Keith Basso, in his book about Apache narratives and landscape, found that the Earth is a teacher and recorder of history. Most narrative analysts privilege the temporal sequence of events, but Basso points out that it is

[135] Leslie Marmon Silko, quoted in Brill de Ramirez,1997:337.

space that is the important thing, not time. For the Apache, place names record stories that are imbued with values and the people become the place-worlds they imagine.[136] Angela Sidney, an Elder that worked with Julie Cruikshank, articulated this understanding when she said that, "'[she has] tried to live [her] life right, just like a story.'" [137] Although I only briefly touch upon the relationships the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg have with the land and the rest of creation, it should be understood that their relationship did not form in a vacuum but in concert with the relationships the people of these nations have been embedded with through time. In many ways, I can look around the territories I grew up in and see parts of this relationship inscribed on the land.

As I have stated previously, I am an outsider to this relationship. All of the people I interviewed were aware that I am Ukrainian and this no doubt affected the stories that they told me. In the introduction to this chapter, I stated that the relationship that developed through the interview or was present prior to it was also a factor in what was shared with me. Simply because I have listened to these stories and used grounded theory to elucidate analysis does not change my outsider status. The listening through and analysis of these stories was still done by me, though the words came from the people to whom I spoke. There is no methodology that will magically alter my status. I can only state that throughout this work I have operated with this awareness and endeavoured to ensure that I did justice to all the stories that were shared with me.

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[136] Basso, 1996:7.

[137] Cruikshank in Phyllis Morrow and William Schneider, eds., *When Our Words Return: Writing, Hearing and Remembering Oral Traditions of Alaska and the Yukon*, Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995:73.

I see the formation and continuation of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg as being formed through stories. Not simply the stories that exist about each other, but those that are told about the people themselves. The relationships that exist between the people of these nations are deep and multi-faceted, and it is only through these stories that I can hope to glimpse them. I believe that using a storytelling methodology allows me to understand a little bit about the contemporary relationship while at the same time respecting its depth, breadth and fluidity.

Data Gathering Methods

In order to gather my information I accessed two different sources: textual and oral. This dissertation concerns the contemporary relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg that was shared with me; however, I did reference many historical documents to build part of a historical foundation of the relationship. This was a re-visitation of my Master's thesis, which dealt with this part of the relationship. I say part of a historical foundation because a full understanding of a historical relationship is incomplete without an oral component. This is particularly true if people who are only peripherally involved in the relationship write the majority of the historical documents.

The oral sources or interviews, have engaged with not only the contemporary understandings of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee but also the understandings of the foundations and influences of the relationship.

Textual sources

Historical documents: These sources refer to the early writings of European missionaries, explorers, and colonial representatives during the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. These have been read quite carefully because they are written by Europeans interpreting the actions of the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg from their particular worldviews and agendas. However, it is understood that these documents are a source of information regarding the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg during these time periods. Some of these historical documents have stories told by these nations concerning their relationship, as well as outlines of what happened during meetings of both nations. Included in these sources are writings by Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee scholars in the late nineteenth century about their people. Though these are few in number, they are taken as oral history, as the authors received their information from the older people in their communities.[138]

Contemporary: These sources include secondary sources concerning the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. In contemporary times, there are some sources that have hinted at this relationship and they have been explored.

Oral Sources

These sources are primarily from the open-ended research conversations I conducted with participants. There were twenty participants, 10 from each nation. Included in these sources were contemporary recorded oral histories and traditions by Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples. I also include my own experiences in

[138] Smith, 2001; Schmalz, 1991; Eid, 1979.

this part of the data.

Identifying Nature of Research Participants

Research participants have been selected based on their Aboriginal nation of origin (Anishnaabeg or Haudenosaunee), their experience with interactions of the other nation and their willingness to share their stories concerning these interactions with me. This applied to a wide range of people. As a result, I limited my research area to Southern Ontario or the borderland between the traditional lands of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. This fits well, as I was born and raised within these overlapping territories.

In keeping with the premises of historical consciousness, I have aimed to understand how the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is lived and understood by people themselves. I did not approach the leadership, traditional or otherwise, for a more formal, political approach to the relationship. I know that this level of relationship exists and constantly influences, and is influenced by the perception of the relationship held by the people themselves.

I have interviewed participants of different age sets, as I believe that how the stories of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg are passed down is quite relevant. Though older people may have oral histories of the nations and their relationships, they are not the only ones that interact with members of other nations. Adults and younger people also interact and form relationships with each other and it is important to understand how these stories affect these interactions. In fact, it is through the adults and younger peoples that the everyday business of the relationship is carried out and continued.

Mechanisms for Inclusion of Research Participants

The criterion for inclusion in this study is as follows:

> 1) The participants self-identify as either Anishnaabeg or Haudenosaunee. Status as defined under The Indian Act is not a factor in this study.
> 2) Participants fall into one of three age categories: (a) Older Adult 55+ (b) Adult 35-54 (c) Young Adult 18-34.
> 3) Participants have familiarity with the other nation. This includes working alongside members of the other nation; living in the other nation's territory; and/or hearing many stories/comments concerning the relationship between the two nations.

Primarily, participants were chosen based on personal contacts. In qualitative research this is referred to as the "snowball effect".[139] Through the people I knew, based on relationships I had already formed, other people were suggested to me as good sources for this work.

I spoke to people in person, when possible. When this was not possible, I contacted the participants by phone and/or email. I made the participants fully aware of the specifics of this study, along with the responsibilities I had to them and the university. These participants were found in the sampling region of Southern Ontario (mostly in the area of the north shore of Lake Ontario), with a few participants living in the upper peninsula of Michigan and New York State. Historically, this is the principal region of interaction and relationship building between these two nations. In recent times, Southern Ontario remains the area where the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee encounter each other most frequently, due to the proximity of their traditional territories.

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[139] The snowball effect is a term used in qualitative research that denotes gaining more participants through the social networks of the participants you have interviewed. See Alan Bryman, James S. Teevan and Edward Bell, *Social Research Methods, Second Canadian Edition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 198-99.

Participants belong to different age sets. I found older people have a vastly knowledgeable perspective on the relationship between these two nations and communicate their experiences, as well as those stories, that express this bond. However, it is understood that while older people hold this knowledge, experience and history they are not the only ones that participate and perpetuate this relationship. The knowledge they hold is communicated to adults and young adults, who in turn have experiences that interact with that knowledge. These adults and young adults, along with older adults, use this knowledge and experience in the perpetuation and participation of these relationships.

Nature and Size of Sample

Twenty participants were chosen by the researcher and deemed a manageable number for a sample size. The goal for this work was not to comment definitively on the nature of the relationship at a national level. Specifically, I explored how the relationship is lived, understood and experienced at a local and regional level. For though the role of the Chiefs and other political leaders are important in the understandings of this relationship, I believe that it is the small, frequent, and less glorified interactions that form the basis of this relationship. Twenty participants was a smaller number that allowed me a brief glimpse into the nature of these interactions, while still providing me with diversity.

Ten participants were chosen from each nation. I tried to keep an age balance in my selection. I interviewed youth, adults and older adults from each nation to try to seek different perspectives on the relationship. I also kept a relative

balance between the sexes in my chosen participants. Men and women construct different kinds of relationships in different situations and hence, and have different views on the relationship between the two nations. Though I did not explore the gendered differences in this relationship specifically, it is evident that there are some gendered variations of particular interactions.

The interviews were research conversations or open-ended interviews, guided by questions but not fully structured. I am most comfortable with an interview that emulates the easy flow of conversation, which tended to evoke many stories, and I tried to travel to wherever the participants preferred to be interviewed to ensure their comfort. I was not always able to travel to the homes of interviewees and conducted some telephone interviews. I asked the participants for an hour of time but the interviews frequently went over.

Code Data

To code the data that I receive from the interviews I used grounded theory. I found that the grounded theory approach meshed well with my storytelling methodology and historical consciousness. It provided, "a set of clear guidelines from which to build explanatory frameworks that specify relationships among concepts."[140]

I read about grounded theory in a methodology course, however, it was not until I used it in another research project I was involved in, which also concerned the intricacies of relationships, that I managed to understand it in action. I found that

[140] Kathy Charmaz, "Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods" in *Handbook of Qualitative Research, 2nd ed.*, Norman Denzin ed., London:Sage Publications, 2000:510.

grounded theory allowed an organic mining of themes spoken about by the people I interviewed. Using NVIVO software, the coding trees that are created are quite flexible and are expected to change the deeper the researcher goes into the process. The data and the theory are constantly informing each other, as concepts are refined. The questions that a researcher poses at the outset are bound to change, as the researcher codes the data during collection. Charmaz states that

> "...the strategies of grounded theory include (a)simultaneous collection and analysis of data, (b) a two-step data coding process, (c) comparative methods, (d) memo writing aimed at the construction of conceptual analyses, (e) sampling to refine the researcher's emerging theoretical ideas, and (f) integration of the theoretical framework."[141]

Though grounded theory allows for an empirical approach to organizing data, it can sometimes lead to data fracturing. I was concerned with this as one of my goals with this research is to communicate to the readers the stories that transmit the essence of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg that had been communicated with me. Some scholars who have employed narrative analysis as a methodology have found grounded theory to be insufficient for the representation of their participants' stories.[142] As well, there has been a criticism of grounded theory that it is still the researcher that chooses the coding categories. Grounded theory, it has been argued, is not as equitable as we may believe. Bishop states that the only way to truly allow the research participants to have control is to co-create the coding categories with them.[143] After much consideration and reading, I have found the field of grounded theory to be as diverse and contested as any other

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[141] Charmaz, 2000:51.1
[142] Riessman, 1990.
[143] Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research, Third Edition*, London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2005: 126.

qualitative methodological field. I felt for a long time that I was not necessarily an honest grounded theory researcher because I chose the research questions and I was the one who harvested the themes from the stories shared with me. However, grounded theory is constantly shifting and changing. Grounded theory scholars are consistently publishing their musings on deep and nuanced questions concerning their methods. I realize that my use of grounded theory follows Kathy Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory. In this version of grounded theory, the reflexivity of the research is necessary because it assumes that researching and writing are not neutral acts. Charmaz states,

> "We exist in a world that is acted upon and interpreted – by our research participants and by us – as well as being affected by other people and circumstances. Yet actions, interpretations, and influences may be unstated or go unrecognized. Our task is to make them explicit in our analyses."[144]

Using the constructivist grounded theory model, I am better able to situate myself relative to my analysis and be honest about my own role in the construction of this research. However, this method does not engage with the criticism that using themes can fracture the data. It states only that constructivist grounded theory is focused on experiences and being able to represent those experiences in the most honest way possible.[145] The best way I know how to combat the fracturing of data is by preserving and explaining the context of these stories as much as possible. In certain cases, the quotes from the people I spoke with are rather long which allows the participants' voices to speak more. As I was speaking to people, I did not hear the fracturing of information. I heard only the sounds of stories being woven

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[144] Kathy Charmaz, "Shifting Grounds: Constructivist Grounded Theory Methods" in *Developing Grounded Theory: The Second Generation*, Morse, Stern, Corbin, Bowers, Charmaz, and Clarke, eds., Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA, 2009: 131.
[145] Ibid.

together. Jim Dumont has stressed the importance of this way of understanding and has likened this to seeing the world with three hundred and sixty degree vision.[146]

Conclusion

In conclusion, my methodology focused on a multi-faceted, relational approach. First, I framed my research using historical consciousness. Historical consciousness seeks to understand how people live history and how it affects their understanding of the past, present and future. Secondly, I used a storytelling-dialogic narrative analysis methodology to best understand the contemporary relationship between Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people as it was shared with me. This relationship is best understood through stories, both personal and otherwise. In many ways, it has been built on stories and they have provided the framework through which Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples interact on a daily basis. Their experiences with one another are either pre-scripted by story or contrary to story but either way these experiences then become new stories that are told about the relationship. Finally, I used grounded theory to help analyze the research conversations I had with the participants. Constructivist grounded theory allowed me to identify the themes that came from the people I spoke with, while at the same time being aware of my own position and relationship to the people and the stories told.

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[146] Dumont 1976: 11.

Chapter 3: Foundations

In this chapter, I seek to briefly examine my understandings of the philosophical foundations of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. The philosophical understandings of any people, though they change through time, mould themselves to situations and are interpreted through different individuals, entirely shape the world in which they find themselves. This is not merely how people see the world but also, "...who they [are], [where] they come from, how they [fit] into the world around them, and how they [need] to behave in order to ensure a long life."[147] In addition, Frank reminds us that "people think *with* stories."[148]

I cannot delve into all of the complexities of the multi-faceted philosophies of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. I only have a very basic understanding of these vast philosophies and their movement through time and not all of what I heard needs to be recorded here. There has been criticism of researchers who work with issues concerning Indigenous peoples that attempt to present complex philosophical thoughts without having a complex understanding of them. As a non-Indigenous researcher I cannot claim to have a complex understanding of these philosophies, in my family I am regarded as too young to have a complex understanding of anything, but I cannot ignore the existence of these philosophies

[147] Michael Angel, *Preserving the Sacred: Historical Perspectives on the Ojibwa Midewiwin*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002:3.
[148] Frank, 2010:47.

either. I am of the belief that these philosophies have endured through time and a basic concept of them is imperative for the consideration of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. The best I can provide is an honest representation of all I have heard and read in a way that is consistent with my teachings of respect. In addition, I have tried to present these philosophies in a light that denotes their complexity, their diversity and their fluidity.

The philosophical tenets that are engaged with are those that establish a pattern of relationships with all of Creation. Needless to say they are much more complex than what I can present. However, I believe that it is in these foundational philosophies that I can become aware of the patterns of relationships, which will help me to understand the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee contemporary relationships as they have been shared with me.

Anishnaabeg

Creation and Migration

There are many different versions of the Anishnaabeg Creation Story. The following is a brief summary of the Creation of the Earth by Gzhe-Mnido,[149] Basil Johnston states,

> "According to Anishinaubae mythology, Kitchi-Manitou had a wondrous vision. In that instant a rattle began to sound in the everlasting darkness. At first the sound was faint and weak, for it was made by the tiniest seed of sound. Then it grew and exploded in a thunderous blast that shattered the everlasting stillness and darkness. The seed of sound was the seed of life. It

[149] The reader should note that there is diversity in the presentation of Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee languages in the written word. For Anishnaabeg languages many writers write in their own dialect within Ojibway, Pottawatomi, and Odawa. I was taught the double vowel writing system in Anishnaabemowin and so this the one with which I write. Quotes from writers have their spellings honoured as they were intended. For Haudenosaunee languages, many of the quotes are in Mohawk (Kanyen'keha) as it is the language of the authors. I intend no disrespect to speakers of Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca or Tuscarora.

> burst its casement and shot forth rock, fire, water and wind that became the sun, the moon, the stars, the planets and the earth that hung suspended in the skies. Then Kitchi-Manitou created Manitous and assigned them certain duties. After them, Kitchi-Manitiou made plants of every kind, insects, birds, animals, fish and last, humans. To each the Creator assigned a place, a time and a service to perform."[150]

Everything in Creation, then, is related and has a relationship to each other. All elements of Creation are comprised of the four elements, including humans. Humans are totally dependent upon all other aspects of Creation. However, each part of Creation has an important role in the maintenance of life and we all trust that each will carry out the duties assigned to us by the Creator.

Eddie Benton-Banai talks about the Creation of the Anishnaabeg on the Earth and states,

> "The Earth is said to be a woman. In this way it is understood that woman preceded man on the Earth. She is called Mother Earth because from her come all living things. Water is her life blood. It flows through her, nourishes her, and purifies her. On the surface of the Earth, all is given Four Sacred Directions – North, South, East, and West. Each of these directions contributes a vital part to the wholeness of the Earth. Each has physical powers as well as spiritual powers as do all things...Gitchie Manito then took four parts of Mother Earth and blew into them using a Sacred Shell. From the union of Four Sacred Elements and his breath, man was created." [151]

Original Man, according to Benton-Banai, set about the task of naming everything in Creation.[152] When he was lonely, the Creator sent Ma'iingan to be the brother and companion of Original Man.[153] A special relationship was created between the two of them. When they were each set upon their different paths, they

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[150] Basil Johnston, *Honour Earth Mother: Mino-aujaudauh Mizzu-kummik-Quae*, Cape Croker Reserve: Kegedonce Press, 2003: 1.
[151] Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book*, Saint Paul: Red School House, 1988: 2-3.
[152] Though Benton-Banai uses the term 'naming', it has been pointed out to me that this was actually more of a negotiation between Creation and Original Man.
[153] Ma'iingan means wolf in Anishnaabemowin.

were told that their existences mirror one another. Not only do both wolves and humans have clans and mate for life but also what happens to one happens to the other.[154]

After this, the Earth was covered with water in a massive flood.[155] Benton-Banai states this flood occurs due to people not living the manner that they should, which is evidenced by society degenerating into violence.[156] Other stories about this flood have spoken about Nanaboozho attempting to play a trick on the wolf. Nanaboozho thought that he was being shown up by the wolf who knew so much in comparison to Nanaboozho who knew so little. The trick involved crossing over ice flows with poles as bridges in between. The wolf fell into the river and disappeared. The wolf was taken by Mzhe-Biizhiw to her lair and never seen again. Nanaboozho set off to hunt Mzhe-Biizhiw but while he was doing this it began to rain. These rains flooded the Earth.[157]

The Creator had sent the waters in order to purify the Earth. Life began again when a series of animals sacrificed themselves in order to bring a piece of Earth to Nanaboozho. It was the little muskrat who was successful in this task and Nanaboozho placed the piece of earth on to the back of a turtle and it began to grow into the Earth we have today.[158] Johnston tells a similar story only the person who helps the Earth grow is Sky Woman, who comes from sky world after the

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[154] Benton-Banai, 1988:5-8.
[155] In many versions of the Creation Story, there are many adventures that befall Nanaboozho and the Original people before the Earth is covered with water (Angel, 2002:18).
[156] Benton-Banai, 1988:29.
[157] Basil Johnston, 2003:2-5. I have used Johnston's version here but there are many other variations on this story. I have heard it said that Nanaboozho found Mzhe-Biizhiw and the fight that ensued caused the flood. I have also heard other versions but it is always Nanaboozho acting contrary to how he should which results in the death of the Wolf and rising waters, which cover the Earth.
[158] ibid., 31-33.

destruction of her children to live on the back of a great turtle.[159] In both versions, without the help of the animals the world might still be covered in water. It is apparent in these understandings as well that humans are the last created and hence the least necessary for Creation to continue.

It is through this Creation Story, and its variations; the relationships with Creation and the role of the Anishnaabeg within it emerge. Sherman quotes Elder Edna Manitowabi who explains that because Original Man was lowered only after Creation had occurred, "'there is an incredible sense there of coming together in the Creation Story, and of respect and humility. A great sense of humbleness of knowing that you are only one small part of the whole.'"[160]

Eventually, the Anishnaabeg migrated west from the eastern shores of the Atlantic Ocean, where it is believed they were created. As foretold by the Seven prophets, "a great Megis shell" rose above the surface of the ocean, reflected the sun's rays and warmed the Anishnaabeg and gave them light.[161] The Anishnaabeg followed this shell to the west and stopped for awhile wherever it appeared. The Abenaki nation pledged to remain behind at the eastern doorway to care for the fire. The other nations followed the shell west to the first stopping place near what is now called Montreal, on the St. Lawrence River. The Great Megis shell continued westward and appeared at Kichi-ka-be-kong (Niagara Falls), the Detroit River, Manitoulin Island and Bow-e-ting (Sault Ste. Marie), where it is said it stayed for a

[159] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976:13-14
[160]Sherman, 2007:174.
[161] Warren, 1984: 78.

long time.[162]

From here the Anishnaabeg split into two groups: one followed the north shore of Lake Superior west and the other followed the south. The northern group came to settle at the sixth stopping place at Spirit Island (near present day Duluth). The southern group saw the Great Megis shell rise up for the last time and stopped at a place called Mo-ning-wun'-a-kawn-ing (now referred to by some as Madeline Island). It is estimated by Benton-Banai that the migration started around 900 B.C.E. and took nearly 500 years to complete.[163]

Relationships with one another

During the migration the three nations of the Anishnaabeg that remained with one another the longest were the Ojibway, the Odawa and the Pottawatomi, who formed the Three Fires Confederacy. The Odawa opted to remain around the French river area and were the traders of the nation. It was the Odawa who made frequent trips to other nations for the purposes of trade and were first of the Three Fires to meet the French. The Pottawatomi crossed over into the Michigan area, around Michilimackinac. They were the keepers of the Manido ish-ko-day or the Sacred Fire, which burned the entire migration. The Ojibway continued west and were the ones who stayed at Bow-e-ting for a long while. They were the faithkeepers of the nation and were "entrusted with the keeping of the sacred scrolls

[162]Benton-Banai, 1988:98-102. It should be noted that there are different understandings of where these stopping places are located. For instance, Sherman states, "Omamìwìnini oral tradition locates the second stopping place on Allumette Island or the community of Kijisippirini Omamìwìnini near present day Pembroke." (2007:177). She goes on to list many more stopping places in the migration along the general route from the Atlantic Ocean to Mo-ning-wun'-a-kawn-ing.
[163] Benton-Banai, 1988:94-102

and Waterdrum of the Midewiwin.[164]

In addition to this organization, the Anishnaabeg had been given a system of governance through which to organize themselves. This was the O-do-i-daym-i-wan' or the Clan system. According to Johnson, every person has five basic needs, which are leadership, protection, sustenance, learning and physical well-being. He states that each clan, "...represented one form or aspect of public duty which was symbolized by an emblem, known as a totem. The totem was probably the most important social unit taking precedence over the tribe, community, and the immediate family."[165] Each clan had a function for the people: The Crane (Ah-ji-jawk) and the Loon (Mahng) clans were the leaders of the people. Both clans served as a balance to the other. Between these two clans stood the Fish clan, who were the intellectuals of the nation and the turtle is usually recognized as the head. They would settle any disputes that occurred between the two chief clans. The Bear clan functioned as the police force of the people and because they spent much of their time close to nature they also became known for the medicinal skills. The Marten clan was the warrior clan, who protected the people from invaders and were also known as good hunters. The deer clan were known as the gentle people and the poets of the nation. In different regions, it is the moose or the caribou who is head of this clan. The Bird Clan represented the spiritual leaders of the people and, like the eagle who is seen as the head, they pursue higher elevations of the mind. This system was not just a system of governance, but also one that ensured the health of the people as one could not marry within one's clan. It is said that the Deer clan

[164] Benton-Banai, 1988: 98
[165] Johnston, 1976:59.

disobeyed this rule and, despite frequent warnings, were destroyed.[166]

Relationships with all of Creation

The Waterdrum and the Midewiwin lodge were two ways given to the Anishnaabeg to relate to one another and their spiritual needs. Before the Waterdrum and the Mide lodge came to the Anishnaabeg, the Seven Grandfathers who were "given the responsibility by the Creator to watch over the Earth's people" found a baby who could be taught how to live with Creation. The baby was taken by the Osh-ka-bay'-wis of the Seven Grandfathers and shown all of Creation. When the boy was seven, he returned to the lodge of the Seven Grandfathers. He was given seven gifts and sent back to his people with a huge bundle, accompanied by his friend N'gig (the otter). One of these gifts was made apparent to the boy on his journey back to his people. These were to become known as the Seven Grandfather teachings: Zaagidwin (Love), Mnaadendiwin (Respect), Aakde'win (Bravery), Gwekwaadsiwin (Honesty), Dbadendizwin (Humility), Debwewin (Truth), and Nbwaakaawin (Wisdom). [167] At each place the boy stopped to rest, a spirit came and explained to him the meaning of the seven gifts. The boy stopped seven times on his journey and at each stopping place there was a megis shell, that the N'gig explained was the shell used by Creator to breathe life into humans. Much later, the Anishnaabeg would follow this boy's path.

By the time this boy grew to be an old man he had given his people many gifts, including the Vision Quest (Bawajigaywin), an understanding of the Seven

[166] Benton-Banai, 1998:74-77.
[167] Shirley Williams, personal communication, 2005.

Grandfather teachings and their opposites, and an understanding of the connection between spiritual health and physical health.[168]

This old man developed a mentoring relationship with a young boy, who became quite ill. The old man instructed the women, as life givers of the community, to build a lodge so that he could perform a ceremony that would renew the child's life. They set about the preparations, the lodge was built following the path of the sun, using maple saplings. This took two days and on the third day the first Midewiwin ceremony was to occur but the old man still did not have a full ritual, he felt something was missing. As the sun was setting in the west, the old man turned east and saw a huge tree coming towards him. It changed into a vessel he recognized from the lodge of the Seven grandfathers. It was the Mitigwakik daywaygun, the Waterdrum. This embodied all of the teachings of the Seven Grandfathers, all of the elements that are necessary for life and the connection between the physical and spiritual. The old man then set about constructing the waterdrum. He made the body out of a hollowed out log that represented the plants who sustain the people. The head of the drum was made from deerhide, which represented the four-legged creatures and makes the drum soft, quick and gentle. The inside of the drum was filled with ni-bi, which represented the lifeblood of the Earth. The old man sprinkled a little bit of semaa into that water to remind people that Tobacco was given so that they could talk to the Creator. The hoop that attached the hide to the drum represented the Sacred Circle in which all things move. The old man then pulled a plug out of the hole in the side of the drum and breathed into it, to represent the breath Creator gave to life. He then made a day-way-ga-na-

[168] Benton-Banai, 1988:64-66.

tig out of a living root and carved it to resemble the neck of a crane or loon. To remind the people of the importance of the sacred breath of the Creator, the old man placed a megis shell at the doorway of the lodge. The Waterdrum was sounded four times to tell the people that the Midewiwin ceremony was beginning.[169]

The little boy was healed through the Midewiwin ceremony. Scholars such as Benton-Benai, Angel, and Sherman maintain that it is through the Midewiwin that much of the Anishnaabeg history is passed down. This history does not simply extend to the migration and creation but also to how the Anishnaabeg are supposed to live in the environments that surround them. It sets out a relational context in which to interact with all aspects of Creation that surround the Anishnaabeg, in addition to making clear the responsibilities that need to be fulfilled so that these necessary relationships can be maintained.

Haudenosaunee

Creation

As with the Anishnaabeg Creation story, there are different versions of the Haudenosaunee Creation story. Hill states,

> "...the story of how this world came to be has been recorded and maintained in many forms. Considering the over-arching themes of creation and belief that creation is constantly occurring and recurring rather than something that happened once in the long-ago past, it is understandable that the story of creation cannot be expressed in a single form."[170]

It is important that a brief version of the Haudenosaunee Creation story be presented here, though it should be pointed out that these stories are rich, detailed

[169] Benton-Banai, 1988:69-71.
[170] Hill, 2005:69.

and long. What follows is my summary of the story as it has been related by John Mohawk (Sotsisowah).

In the Skyworld there were two people, Mature Flowers (Awen'ha'I') and Earth Grasper (De'haonhwendjiawa'khon), who were to be married. After the marriage, Earth Grasper dreamt of uprooting a large tree that was under his care. He knew that this dream must be fulfilled. Due to its size, many came to aid in this uprooting and, when it was done, Earth Grasper pushed his pregnant wife into the hole, as he had dreamt. Mature Flowers drifted down to the water filled world below and waterfowl caught her and put her on the back of a large sea turtle. In order to try to re-create the Skyworld for Mature Flowers, many animals dove down to retrieve a handful of earth. Only the muskrat was successful and died in his attempt. When Skywoman took the earth and placed it upon the turtle's back, the earth began to grow as she walked. Eventually, Skywoman gave birth to her daughter, Zephyr (Gaende'so'k). When she grew to be a young woman, Zephyr was courted by many but Turtleman was selected for a union. When he visited their home he laid two arrows across Zephyr's abdomen and told her he would be back for them in the morning. After he came back for the arrows, she never saw him again but was pregnant with twins. The twins argued in the womb over who was to be born first. When Zephyr gave birth, her mother was away, and the twin who was in position to be born second became impatient. One twin was delivered through the birth canal, while his brother pushed himself out through his mother's armpit, killing her. When Mature Flowers returned and saw her daughter dead, she asked the twins who was responsible. The one who was responsible, Flint, stated that it was his

brother, Skyholder, who had killed their mother. This led to a consistent distrust of Skyholder by his grandmother. In some versions, when Zephyr was buried, Skywoman planted seeds of corn, beans, squash, tobacco and strawberries. In other versions, she was not buried but her body was kept and later used to create the sun and the moon.[171]

Skyholder spent much of his time creating living beings on this earth. He moulded their shapes in clay and breathed life into them. This is how humans came to live on the earth. At the same time, Flint set about creating living beings as well, but they were imperfect by nature. Mature Flowers challenged Skyholder to a game to determine who would control the earth, as they each had differing visions of how it should be. The Peach Stone Game was played for the first time, and six chickadees sacrificed their lives to be the stones with which they played. Skyholder won and his vision of life continues. Before he returned to the land of the Skyworld he left the humans with the Original Instructions, which concerned how the human beings were to live in this world.[172]

Relationship with land and all of Creation

Four Ceremonies

After Skyholder and his brother ascended into the Skyworld, Youngtree and Inseparable Flower began to have children and soon there were quite a few family lines. Skyholder had told them that he would return when there were many families. When he did return he noted that things in Creation were being neglected and the

[171] Hill, 2005:76.
[172] John Mohawk, *Iroquois Creation Story: John Arthur Gibson and J.N.B. Hewitt's Myth of the Earth Grasper*, Buffalo: Mohawk Publications, 2005.

humans were not following the Original Instructions. He stated, "'Now you must pay attention. All of you who live upon this earth share it equally. Now what I am about to give you I shall regard as an important matter. What I will leave here on the earth are the Four Ceremonies. You will observe these. From time to time you will assemble in order to give recognition to the things that grow and support your lives.'"[173] These ceremonies are referred to as "Johe'koh" or the sustainers of life.[174] The Four Ceremonies are: Ostowa'ko:wa (the Great Feather Dance); Kane:hon (Drum or Skin Dance); Aton:wah (the Men's Chant); and Kayentowa:nen (the Peach Stone and Bowl Game). Hill states,

> "...the Great Feather Dance is said to honour those first steps taken by Skywoman over the muskrat's dirt that had been placed upon the back of the giant sea turtle. The songs and dances recall and give thanks for Creation. The Drum Dance depicts the Thanksgiving Address and in so doing honours the gifts of Creation – all of the beings that exist in this world and the gifts they provide to humans. The Men's Chant is part of the process for naming babies and it is also said to be a death song – birth and death, probably the two ultimate reminders of life. Finally the Peach Stone Game recalls that great contest between Skyholder and Flint (or Mature Flowers) for control of the land, the struggle over whether life would exist on earth or not."[175]

These ceremonies are performed at different times throughout the year and are necessary to maintain that connection between Creation and humans. They also represent the covenant between the humans and Skyholder and a commitment to maintain his version of life over that of his brother's. These ceremonies orient the calendar around the acknowledgement and honouring of Creation. In the Thanksgiving Address, the Haudenosaunee thank each part of Creation, no matter how small the role, for helping to sustain life as Skyholder intended it and upon

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[173] Mohawk, 2005:76
[174] ibid, 74
[175] Hill, 2005:82

which humans are utterly dependent.

Relationships with one another

Clans are one of the principal ways through which people and families relate to one another. In times of strife and struggle, clans must turn to one another to help them see their way through difficult times.

At one time, many deaths befell the Haudenosaunee communities and people stopped attending the Four Ceremonies. These deaths weighed heavy on the people and it was difficult to do the work that needed to be done. The Elders called everyone together to discuss what remedy could be given. A young man came up with the idea for clans, based on the patterns seen in Creation. The people knew that all beings within Creation were very diverse within their own kind and had duties to perform. The young man stated,

> "'The clans should become the chief means we will employ in the matters befalling us now because we are separating ourselves from one another. When a death occurs among a Sisterhood – a clan – the minds of the opposite sisterhood will be clear and they (the second sisterhood) will arise as one and go to the place where one has been lost. It shall be the duty of the unaffected sisterhood to utter words which will repeatedly cheer up and encourage those who have suffered loss and to comfort those who have become enshrouded in darkness.'" [176]

In order to decide the clans, the young men led all of the people to a river and using a grapevine they began to cross over the river. The grapevine broke and there were families on both sides of the river. The young man said that the eldest woman of each family should go to the river to fetch water for cooking and when she does she should take care to notice that which is around her. The next morning, each woman had seen an animal of some kind when she was dipping for water. On one

[176] Mohawk, 2005:92.

side of the river, the eldest women and their families became the eel clan, the deer clan, the bear clan and the snipe clan. On the other side of the river the women and their families became the small bear clan, the wolf clan, the beaver clan, and the turtle clan. All of the families were then brought together and were seated according to their clans. Those on the same side of the river, now the fire, were brothers to one another while they addressed those across the fire as cousins. At this point, because there were two bear clans, the bear clan crossed the fire to join the bear cub clan. There was one family across the river, though, that the young man did not visit. He asked the eldest woman of this family what she had seen while dipping water. She replied that she had seen a hawk. The young man was given the name Ho'nigo(n)hewowa'ne(n), His-Mind-Is-Great, for creating the rules and organization of the people in such a durable way that there would be clans on both sides of the river forever.[177]

Great Law

The Great Law (Kayaneren'kowa) is one of the most familiar aspects of Haudenosaunee society to mainstream scholars. It is through the Great Law that the Haudenosaunee find many ways to relate to one another. It is important to note, that the Great Law is part of a continuum of Creation that reflects the Original Instructions. Haudenosaunee society is more than the Great Law and the Great Law must be seen in concert with the Four Ceremonies, the clan system, the Original Instructions, and many other important aspects that construct the foundation of Haudenosaunee society.

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[177] Mohawk, 2005:93-96.

It is said that Haudenosaunee society was peaceful for many generations but that eventually it sank into a dark time once again. In this dark time, there was much conflict, bloodshed and even cannibalism. The Original Instructions had been forgotten and so a messenger was sent to the Haudenosaunee: The Peacemaker. There are many different understandings about the Peacemaker and his nation of origin. Frequently he is said to have come from the Huron nation, on the north shore of Lake Ontario. It is said that before he was born, the Peacemaker's grandmother was told her grandson would help bring his people to a place of peace once again. When the Peacemaker became a young man, he felt that it was necessary to travel south and "remind the people there of his message of Skennen (Peace), Kasehstenhsera (Power), and Kanikonhriyo (the Good Mind)".[178]

After the Peacemaker landed on the south shore in his white stone canoe, he began to meet people who started to accept his message of peace. One of the first people to accept the message of Peace was Ayenwahtha. This man, a Mohawk who was a practicing cannibal, changed his ways after listening and accepting the message of Peace, Power, and the Good Mind. Later on, Ayenwahtha would experience extreme grief from the loss of his daughters and wife to sorcery. It is said that "he split the sky", meaning he went south, and lived in the woods for a time, his mind distraught with grief. During this period, some versions of the Great Law state that Ayenwahtha performed the first Condolence Ceremony. As Ayenwahtha sat apart from the people, his fire could be seen to be burning from the wood's edge. Every night he erected two crotched sticks in which hung two strings

[178] Hill, 2005:88

of wampum.[179] He said that if it were he approaching a person who was in his state of grief, he would take these wampum strings and use them to console the person. The Peacemaker overheard Ayenwahtha say this one night, as he approached, and with the wampum strings in hand he wiped away Ayenwahtha's tears and cleared his mind of grief so that they could turn to the business of making the laws of the Great Peace.

The Peacemaker approached every Haudenosaunee nation, who were fighting with one another, and appealed to them to accept his message. A powerful sorcerer, who it is said was also a chief of the Onondagas was a challenge to the Peacemaker and Ayenwahtha. Atatharo lived alone in a swamp and is portrayed as having a very crooked body and mind, and his hair was composed of snakes. After many attempts, the Peacemaker and Ayenwahtha finally convince Atatharo to accept the message of Peace, and he was given a special role within the new Confederacy.

It is not my place to relate all that happens at this time, suffice it to say there are many trials but people accept the Peacemaker's message and help him to construct the Great Law. Hill states,

> "...Tekarihoken and Ayenwahtha, who become the first and second Mohawk Royaner as established under the Law; Tsikonhsaseh, who, as the first person to accept the law, secured the right for women to hold the selection rights of the Grand Council members; and Atatarho, a powerful sorcerer whose mind and body were straightened out by the transformative power of the Great Law. With the support of the other leaders, these people assisted the Peacemaker in the formation of the Haudenosaunee and the creation of the original Grand council, consisting of representatives of the 50 clan families including a Royaner (Sachem or Chief), Yeya'takweniyo (Clanmother), a runner or assistant (sometimes referred to as a Sub-Chief or Deputy), and a male and female Faithkeeper. Each was given specific responsibilities to

[179] Wampum is made from the quahog shells and was used by nations throughout the east. It was very important in Indigenous diplomacy. The Dutch mistakenly equated it to money and began making it in large quantities in the 17th century.

> their families, to each other and to the Great Peace. The Peacemaker also established that the names of the original 50 Royaner were to be titles that would be carried on in their matrilineal families for perpetuity."[180]

The Great Law is an extremely long and complex system and one that I cannot truly summarize with any degree of synthesis. However, I can say that the Original Instructions and the systems through which they are carried out, ensure that the Haudenosaunee are accountable to all of Creation. The importance of these relationships which support and nurture the Haudenosaunee are evident. It is in this relational context that relationships with people of other nations are placed.

Conclusion – Relationships with others

The first relationships that existed for both the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg are their relationships with Creation and the Creator. Relationships between humans came later and, in fact, should mirror the relationships with Creation. For both nations, relationships as a whole are consistently and necessarily renewed in order to perpetuate Creation itself. Relationships are not self-sustaining and require work, time patience and love to be constantly fulfilling. For both nations, their internal political structure emerged from the world around them and emphasized the caretaking responsibilities each had toward Creation and to one another. As a result of this, relationships between nations reflect each nation's understanding of and responsibilities to Creation itself. There is a quote from Black Elk that embodies this, though he was of the Lakota nation and was speaking of the first peace between his nation and the Ree people. He states,

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[180] Hill, 2005:89.

> "The first peace, which is the most important, is that which comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness, with the universe and all its Powers, and when they realize that at the center of the universe dwells *Wakan Tanka*, and that this center is really everywhere, it is within each of us. This is the real Peace, and the others are but reflections of this. The second peace is that which is made between men. But above all you should understand that there can never be peace between nations until there is first known that true peace which, as I have often said, is within the souls of men."[181]

I believe this quote speaks of a larger business, which is that when nations and their relationships with Creation are disrupted, it is difficult to carry on relationships between nations that are supposed to be reflections of that first relationship. Colonization can be categorized as a multi-faceted disruption of the relationships that Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg peoples have with Creation. However, what is important to understand is that a disruption is not a break in the relationship; it is not a severing of a tie. The relationships the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg people have with Creation have been impacted by colonization but they have not been broken. These relationships with Creation continue and grow stronger each day and, as such, so do their relationships with one another. The relationships that Black Elk speaks of, the relationships between nations, are just as important, just as sustaining as those of Creation. Particularly in times of struggle, these relationships, based on the relationships with Creation, become part of a solid foundation upon which people stand.

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[181] Joseph Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953: 115.

Chapter 4: History?

This chapter is about the impact that written euro-centric historical documents have had on the perception of the relationship of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee people I interviewed. In order to do this, I give an account of the various ways the relationship between the two nations has been portrayed over time. Using documents such as the *Jesuit Relations* and other European writings, I analyze how from the arrival of the French, Europeans began to involve themselves in the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg.

When I listened to the people I interviewed, they spoke about the historical nature of this relationship. "Historical" in this sense meant not only temporal but also the way in which the relationship between the two nations has come to be historicized. The natural development of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee was viewed by all participants as increasing in conflict with the arrival of the Europeans. The participants all mentioned three areas where conflict between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg erupted. They were: Alliances with Europeans, the Fur trade and the wars[182] between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in the late 17th century. These three areas of conflict have

[182] Throughout the rest of this dissertation I will be using the term 'war' or 'wars'. The use of this term consistently denotes European style warfare and European goals of warfare. It is important to briefly note the differences between Indigenous warfare and European warfare. Generally speaking, Indigenous wars frequently involved fewer deaths, ambush style warfare, and ceremony. Assumptions of motivations and tactics of Indigenous warfare have been seen through the lens of 'savagery'. See for example: Ian Steele, *Warpaths*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*, New York: Madison Books, 1991.

been studied by historians before and have made frequent appearances in Canadian history textbooks. The exception to this would be the wars between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in the late 17th century, as these wars did not involve any European participation and most of the information about them has been communicated through oral histories.

The impacts of the alliances with Europeans and the Fur trade have continuing echoes in the relationship. The Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee became involved in European wars, just as the Europeans became involved in some of theirs. British and French historians have continually painted the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg as one of ancient enmity. This perceived reality was consistently utilized by both the French and the English to further their colonial agendas and became the foundation of Canada's Indian Policy. As a result of this, in addition to the embedding of historical stereotypes of Indigenous peoples, caricatures of the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg continue to surface and their relationship is understood by many as one of enmity and deadly competition. The people I spoke to saw these realities as having a far-reaching effect on the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

This chapter does not seek to exhaustively re-tell the story of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee with European and Indigenous documents. Rather, it seeks examine the historical intersections between relationships with European nations and peoples and the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. It should be noted that the majority of these

historical analyses are either done by early Europeans or based on early European perceptions and writings. These viewpoints saturate Canadian history and need to be considered while reading any of these pieces. However, it is necessary to examine these works and the stories they tell so as to understand their impact on the contemporary relationship. I think it is essential to keep in mind that it is not always the stories themselves but what the stories do that is important.

Alliances with the Newcomers

I have heard it said about marriage proposals that the way one proposes to their potential marriage partner is an indicator of the rest of the marriage. When reflecting on the patterns of relationships the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg had with the newcomers, I can see how this would be true. The early occurrences in these relationships speak volumes about their continuance. I cannot discuss the complexities of these relationships in their entirety. What follows is a summary of the basic beginnings of the relationships between the Haudenosaunee, the Anishnaabeg, the French and the English.

The Haudenosaunee and the French

A relationship of cultural missteps and battles, enmity and short, grudging peaces is a relationship nonetheless. This relationship and its negative aspects play a large role in Canadian history textbooks. It has give rise to many stereotypes of the Haudenosaunee, particularly the Mohawk, people.

The Haudenosaunee relationship with the French began in an unsavoury way, as the explorer Jacques Cartier[183] kidnapped two sons of Chief Donnacona to take back to France in hopes that they could become guides on future endeavours. The Chief could not rescue his sons and Cartier did not leave his sons in exchange, as was required to establish an alliance between the two peoples. When Cartier returned the next year, he established a camp close to Stadacona without asking or receiving permission to do so. In addition, Cartier made it known that his intention was to travel through Stadaconan territory to Hochelega without first entering into a treaty with Chief Donnacona. Cartier managed to travel up the St. Lawrence without a guide and met the people of Hochelega, who received him kindly. Cartier did not acknowledge or indulge this hospitality and, after determining that he could not travel with his boats past the Lachine Rapids, left the next day.[184]

This kind of beginning to a relationship did not bode well for its future. Cartier and his men continued to offend the St. Lawrence Iroquois with a series of cultural and criminal offenses, including kidnapping Chief Donnacona and other members of his community. The St. Lawrence peoples attacked the short-lived settlement at Cap Rouge in 1541, as the French once again established themselves without permission.[185]

When the French returned to the St. Lawrence area in 1608, they found the communities at Stadacona and Hochelega empty. There are many debates as to what happened to the St. Lawrence Iroquois. One of the more popular theories is that due

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[183] Jacques Cartier was a French explorer who was the first European to claim what is now Canada for France. He arrived in 1534 and undertook two successive voyages to the area of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the East Coast of Canada.
[184] Trigger 1985:131.
[185] Trigger 1985:134.

to warfare with the Haudenosaunee to the south, they may have been dispersed. Some may have taken shelter with the Wendats (Hurons) and some Weskarini Algonquins (Petit Nation Algonkins)[186] and this could have encouraged closer relations with these two nations.[187]

I believe that the stories of the gross missteps, violence and kidnappings that the French committed would have embedded themselves among the people of the area. It is worth stating that the people of Hochelega and Stadacona had established relationships with the surrounding Algonkian speaking peoples of the area, among whom their stories would have been shared. Stories like the difficult relationship with the French are rarely erased and are passed down through generations and across many nations.

The earliest written interaction between the Haudenosaunee and the French occurred in 1609, when the explorer Champlain[188] and some his men participated in a raid with the Innu (Montagnais), Wendat and Weskarini Algonquin people. Briefly, the party travelled to the south end of Lake Champlain. Champlain stated that this party met a group of two hundred Haudenosaunee warriors with three chiefs who were leading them. The Frenchmen were kept hidden until the Innu, the Wendat and the Algonquin made a path down their centre for Champlain's entrance. Champlain's countrymen were in the woods lying in wait. According to Champlain, he shot the three chiefs and killed two of them instantly. The Haudenosaunee, who

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[186] It should be noted that the names in the majority of European documents are not necessarily the names that these nations called themselves. In the following chapter I try my best to use the proper names of the nations as I understand them.

[187] Trigger, 1985: 148.

[188] Samuel de Champlain was a French explorer who arrived at Tadoussac in 1603. In 1608, Champlain founded the French colony of New France on the former site of Stadacona (later to become Quebec City.

had not encountered firearms before, were thrown into a state of fear and began to flee. Champlain gave chase and killed more Haudenosaunee people.[189]

These three pages from *The Voyages of Champlain* are very famous and often quoted. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that in the stories that create Canadian history, this story has primacy among them. According to Champlain, he was asked to participate in this raid. However, *The Jesuit Relations* say that Champlain had ulterior motives for his participation; they state that, "...Champlain, wishing to see the country of the Iroquois, to prevent the savages from seizing his Fort in his absence, persuaded them to go and make war against them..."[190]

It has been understood by most scholars that the Haudenosaunee who met with the Innu, the Wendat and the Algonquin that day were Mohawk[191] but, according to Sherman,

> "...in reality there is little physical evidence to suggest that they were actually members of the Confederacy or in fact Kenien'keha:ka People. Elder Ernie Benedict stated that they were more than likely leaders of a village of 'Iroquoian' people who were outside of the Confederacy. Likewise, Darren Bonaparte argues that the[re] were no villages of Confederacy Kenien'keha:ka people in that area at that time."[192]

In fact, sources disagree if Champlain killed two or three Mohawk men that day. He states that he killed two outright and the third died later but there is no oral record to support his claim.[193]

This story has been told in Canadian history in relatively the same way it was

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[189] H.P. Biggar, *The Works of Samuel De Champlain*, 6 vol., Toronto: The Champlain Society, University of Toronto Press, 1929:98-101.
[190] R.G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vol., Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901: vol. 1, 113.
[191] for example, William Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1998: 243.
[192] Sherman, 2007:89.
[193] Hill, 2005:172.

told by Champlain and the *Jesuit Relations*. There are other interpretations of the story. A person (interview #11) I interviewed put it like this,

> What are the chances of meeting anybody in that huge wilderness at all? Obviously, they had an appointment. Champlain's buddies stay in their canoes and the Mohawks stay on land and they tease each other all night, and sing to each other all night and they line up in the morning and they shoot a few arrows and spears at each other and they're just about to leave when Champlain steps out of the crowd and shoots three people dead, him and his two buddies, with their arquebuses. It strikes me that this wasn't war as Europeans understood it.[194]

Champlain and the French solidly inserted themselves into well-established relationships in the area by these actions. To be sure, this participation satisfied items on Champlain's agenda because he could ensure the safety of what constituted Québec at the time and satisfy his curiosity about the territory. In addition, whether he was asked or whether he persuaded his new allies to attack, this particular event would have solidified the relationship between them.[195] From this encounter, and others like it, the Petit Nation, the Innu and the Huron formed an alliance with the French. After Champlain and the French proved their strength in battle, the French were still not allowed to travel inland until they had participated in another raid on the Haudenosaunee. That raid occurred in 1610 and the Huron and the Anishnaabeg were victorious, the alliance was proven, and for the next five years there were no raids on the Haudenosaunee.[196]

It also helped to create a relationship between the French and the Haudenosaunee and, though this was not a positive encounter, the relationship was

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[194] One of the impacts of the Champlain story is that it assumes a similar understanding of war and its goals. In recent years, this assumption has been disproven and it is apparent that war was undertaken much differently on Turtle Island than it was in Europe.

[195] Heather Y. Shpuniarsky, *The Struggles for Peace Between the Nishnaabe and the Haudenosaunee in the Late 17th Century*, unpublished MA Thesis, Peterborough: Trent University, 2003:124.

[196] Steele, 1994:65.

created nonetheless. Although the encounter is generally understood to be the beginning of alliance between European nations and Indigenous nations, it can actually be seen as the French unwittingly participating in a well-established relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

Another event that is important to relate briefly is the first recorded peace between the French and the Haudenosaunee in 1624. It is significant in that it established how one of the main relational patterns of the European nations seemed to be to interfere in established relationships for the purposes of trade.

The Haudenosaunee had attacked Québec and a Haudenosaunee peace delegation was sent to the French in June of 1622. Around this same time, the Algonquin and the Haudenosaunee also concluded a peace treaty. Champlain recorded that the Haudenosaunee and the Algonquin were "'sick and tired of wars they had had which lasted over fifty years.'"[197] The Haudenosaunee were also negotiating with the Huron for a peace separate from the French, however the French were against this. Champlain sent Le Caron and Sagard, two Récollets who were new to the territory, to winter with the Huron and dissuade them from forming a separate peace for fear that already lucrative trade would move south to the Dutch. The Haudenosaunee relationship with the Dutch was new at this time. It formally began in 1613 when the Mohawk leadership negotiated a trading agreement known as Kaswentha or Two Row Wampum. The Kaswentha consists of,

> "...two parallel purple lines depict the Dutch on one side and the Haudenosaunee on the other. The entire belt represents an ever-flowing river in which the vessels of the two nations travel side-by-side. The parallel

[197] Robert A. Goldstein, *French-Iroquois Diplomatic and Military Relations, 1609-1701*, The Hague: Mouton, 1969:31.

> aspect of the two lines represents the idea that the two will never cross paths but will remain connected (by the three white rows of wampum that separate them) through the principles of peace, friendship and mutual respect. In essence they agreed to live as peaceful neighbours under a relationship of friendship predicated under an agreement to not interfere in the internal business of the other."[198]

The Dutch learned their lesson early on about physically meddling in Haudenosaunee affairs,[199] though they too were quick to encourage hostilities between nations based on their own hopes for trading relationships.

Champlain believed that the impetus to peace was to unmolested hunting and stated that the hunting grounds in question were common territory shared by both the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg nations. He said that peace would mean, "...safety for our savages who go in quest of beavers, but do not dare to go in certain parts where they abound, because they are afraid of their enemies, though hitherto they have always worked in those places".[200] Champlain insisted that the French were a part of this peace treaty and pushed for the concession of safe hunting to which the Haudenosaunee would not agree, though they eventually conceded in the interests of peace.[201] In the end, the 1624 peace was between the Haudenosaunee, the French, the Algonquin and the Innu.

The British eventually took over Fort Orange and renamed it Fort Albany. In 1664, the British entered into a formal treaty relationship with the Haudenosaunee

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[198] Hill, 2005:174

[199] The relationship between the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee became strained when a group of Dutch tried to aid their Mahican allies against the Haudenosaunee in 1623. **Error! Main Document Only.**A Mohawk chief "told a delegation from Fort Orange that they 'wished to excuse their act, on the plea that they had never set themselves against the whites, and asked the reason why the latter had meddled with them; otherwise they would not have shot them.'"(Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992:89)

[200] Biggar, 1929: vol.5:73.

[201] Shpuniarsky, 2003:134.

Confederacy and hoped to continue the relationship that the Dutch had enjoyed with the Haudenosaunee. This treaty, like the one before it, recognized the distinct status of both the Haudenosaunee and the British and pledged non-interference in internal matters. Thirteen years later this relationship developed into the Covenant Chain of Friendship, in later years made of silver, which came to define treaty discourse between the Haudenosaunee, as well as other Indigenous nations, and the British for a very long time.[202]

Europeans set up their camps on the outskirts of the Eastern door of Haudenosaunee territory; the Dutch on what is now Manhattan Island, in the territory of the Mahican; the English at Albany in Mohawk territory and the French situated themselves in Innu, Mi'kmaq, and Haudenosaunee territory at what is now Québec City and Trois-Rivières. If the Europeans wanted to meet and encourage trade with other nations, they would have to pass through some part of Haudenosaunee territory. The French and the English were consistently pushing west throughout the 17th and 18th century. They wanted to not only claim the land for their crown but also establish trading relationships with different Indigenous nations. When the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee were at peace, they went to trade at Albany with the English. This was something frowned upon by the French and encouraged by the English. The English were interested in pursuing a closer relationship with the Anishnaabeg because they believed they had better quality furs, more territory filled with beavers and relationships with nations further west. The French were interested in maintaining the close alliance with the Anishnaabeg and uninterested in sharing this trade. They had a rocky relationship with the

[202] Hill, 2005: 187-190.

Haudenosaunee and though they were interested in peace, the threat of attack from the Haudenosaunee served the purpose of keeping the Anishnaabeg, and other nations allied with the French, fairly close.[203] It is said that if the Haudenosaunee did not exist, the French would have had to invent them. When the French and English were in a tenuous peace, both of these nations would encourage their allies to attack the other. The French would encourage the Anishnaabeg to attack the Haudenosaunee while the English would encourage the French and make a separate peace with the Haudenosaunee.[204] Both nations were aware that their trusted allies could be unreliable and treacherously wed to their own agendas. The Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee were consistently trying to achieve peace with both European countries, as peace worked better for their nations.

Fur Trade

All of the people I spoke to identified the fur trade as one of the occurrences that drove a wedge between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. As stated above, Europeans began interfering in local relationships based on the promise of a lucrative trade. As the competition for furs increased in the 1620's and 1630's, European traders became more active in their relationships with the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

Trade is the foundation of all relationships. It spirals out of the basic idea that as humans we are dependent upon the Earth and one another. If one nation has less

[203] In addition, the Haudenosaunee frequently attacked trading parties of Anishnaabeg peoples for their furs in those times when they were not at peace with the French or the Anishnaabeg (Brandão, 1997).

[204] See for instance, Brandão, 1997; Richter, 1992; White, 1991; and Trigger, 1985.

corn but an abundance of deer meat, then it makes sense to trade with a nation that has more corn and less deer meat. The act of trading itself is more than simple reciprocity. Rather, it is a fundamental statement of human interdependence.

Trading relationships criss-crossed Turtle Island well before Europeans arrived. People had long established relationships with one another and traded for things they needed, as well as beautiful and sacred items from far away.

The Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee had an "old" trading relationship between them. This relationship is well known and many of the people I spoke to believed this to be part of the ancient relationship between the two nations. One participant (interview #19) stated,

> "I think originally they were very respectful to each other. They bartered each other, they traded with each other...Anishnaabeg used to come all the way down the river to New York State to barter for peaches and things like that and they would take them and dry them. And the Odawas would come back again and trade with Anishnaabeg and other people."

As discussed previously, the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg lived and participated in two different, yet related landscapes. As a result, the Haudenosaunee traded their corn to the Anishnaabeg for other things that they did not have. One Anishnaabeg participant (interview #15) stated,

> "...one was the corn because they were corn people. Anishnaabeg are not because they are more nomads...The corn is a very important staple and became an important staple for the Ojibway and Odawas as well. In there, barter for the corn, how to make bread out of corn, so they kept that skill, the Haudenosaunee kept that skill and taught it to other tribes and they in turn bartered for something else. Probably medicines. Because there are medicines that you can't get in the south and there are medicines you can get up north. When Jan comes here she talks about certain kinds of medicine and she says we had to get those trade off with the Ojibways."

One Anishnaabeg participant (interview #6) spoke about attending spring camp

as a child and the Haudenosaunee family that would always join them. He said,

> "We would exchange. They would bring corn. We loved their corn. Wood ash corn, you know where they lye it. We love that stuff. But they love our wild rice. We were wild rice people. We're also good berry pickers. What else would we give them? We used to get things together. I remember one old man was a good paddle carver and he would carve paddles and give it to them."

A Haudenosaunee participant (interview #7) stated,

> "The old relationship was a trading relationship and that is still very much active today...people still go back and forth up there: hunting, fishing, gathering, stuff like that. People will go more and more to get their walleye and [bring corn to] trade for fish, eh? So that relationship, the trading relationship is still there."

This trading relationship still continues and many people I spoke to see this trade as a way to both renew and remind one another of the importance of the relationship.

Trading relationships were also established with the newcomers. Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg people I spoke to believed that the way the French, English and other Europeans traded began to disrupt surrounding relationships. The participation of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg in the fur trade began as a solidification of their alliances with the newcomers, but this initial relationship gradually changed over time.

One participant (interview #13) stated,

> "...all of a sudden things seem to break down and we get to look at Anishnaabeg as competition and that forces you to paint them as the enemy...[they] polluted the minds of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg people towards each other so profoundly,...even their internal consciousness began to change. And...then the financial hostilities are so fierce it becomes...suppressed memories of happiness. And then all of a sudden you are not looking at that person as a [human], as someone we are related to, that we are one big extended family on Turtle Island everything is to be shared in the dish with one spoon, pretty soon people are saying hey that's our dish, that's our spot and our story then changed and they become bogeymen."

Some people told me that one of the issues with the fur trade was the way in which it began to disrupt the complex interdependent relationships they had not only with one another but also with the surrounding environment in general. Calvin Martin has referred to this as a "despiritualization" of the environment.[205] Martin's thesis is that Aboriginal history and its bias for regarding the fur trade in economic and diplomatic terms, obscures how Aboriginal peoples would have viewed the changes that occurred in the middle of the fur trade. He goes on to say that Aboriginal peoples saw themselves in an intimate relationship with the animals on which they depended and that the disruption of these relationships caused retaliation from the animals. The epidemics and massive death toll were a result of the broken taboos against the animals and the devastation that ensued paved the way for colonization to take root. According to Martin, the people became angry at the animals and suspected there was a conspiracy against the people and animals and people were locked in a struggle for control of the natural world.[206] The fur trade then provided the means with which to exact revenge on animal kind and was merely another symptom in what Martin sees as spiritual decay.[207] To interpret the relationship between humans and animals as one of struggle for dominance rather than interdependence and respect is a misrepresentation of worldviews. However, many participants mentioned the idea that an on-going relationship was disrupted by the over-hunting endemic of the fur trade. The principle of existing within a

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[205] Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships in the Fur Trade*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1978:130.
[206] Martin, 1978:148; 106-7.
[207] Martin, 1978:148.

complex web of interdependent relationships, of which the humans are the least necessary, was drastically affected by the fur trade.

Wars for Beavers, not By Beavers

The fur trade became the lens by which all activities were judged by the Europeans, the way through which they tried to understand the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. One of the reasons Europeans came to Turtle Island was for economic gain and this was one of the motivations to enter into relationships with Indigenous peoples.[208] The majority of European writings indicate a belief that Indigenous actions were pursued either for furs and material goods or due to their "nature". The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee has been continually viewed through the economic lens created by the fur trade. In contemporary terms, the understanding of the relationship as one fuelled by competition originating in the fur trade has been damaging, according to the people with whom I spoke. There are many past stories I could tell that illustrate how the fur trade has impacted the contemporary relationships between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. However, there is one that every single person I interviewed mentioned. That story concerns the "Beaver Wars".

By way of introduction, I will say that I am not going to re-state all of the historical research that has been done up until this point. I am going to relate an abridged version of my understanding of the "Beaver Wars" based on previous historical research. Then I will examine how this story, and others like it, is

[208] The other motivations behind early European alliances with Indigenous peoples were that they needed guides, they needed to survive and some Europeans were interested in seeking Indigenous conversion to Christianity.

understood, by the people I interviewed, to impact the contemporary relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg.

I will begin the story in 1634, though it should be said that many things happened before this year. By this time the French were increasing their presence on the St. Lawrence and would soon be building forts. They were struggling in their relationship with the Haudenosaunee but solidifying their relationship with the Huron and the Anishnaabeg. In this year also, epidemics ravaged the Huron and also rushed through the villages of the Haudenosaunee.[209] These epidemics had a huge impact on Indigenous lives emotionally, economically and spiritually.

The Haudenosaunee increased their attacks on the Huron while already fighting with the French. By 1641 the Haudenosaunee had sent a peace envoy to the French but refused to include the Anishnaabeg and the Innu in this peace. The Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, and presumable other Indigenous nations, preferred to negotiate their peaces separately. The French refused to allow this because they were scared that they would lose their trade with the Anishnaabeg. There were many raids back and forth but when the Anishnaabeg decided to spare a Haudenosaunee prisoner, the way was open for peace again. Montreal (1641) and Fort Richelieu (1642) were also constructed around this time and the Haudenosaunee increased attacks on these places as they were deemed to be within

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[209] Sioui also states that "microbes, not men, determined this continent's history..." (George Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory,* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992:40). By 1641, the Huron had lost almost half of their population (Conrad Heidenreich, *A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650,* Toronto: McClelland-Stewart Publishing, 1971:17). Regarding the 1634 outbreak among the Haudenosaunee, little is written but it is known they were infected and then re-infected from 1637 on (Brandão, 1997:146). The total devastation wreaked by these diseases is difficult to know with absolute certainty. However it can be said that the population estimates of Indigenous peoples in 1492 range anywhere from 50 to 200 million. Some of these nations had death rates that neared 90% (Blaut, 1993:184). Though exact numbers cannot be given, the degree of impact on communities cannot be argued.

Haudenosaunee territory and constructed without their permission.

In 1645, a solemn peace was concluded between the Haudenosaunee, the Anishnaabeg, the Innu and the French. Kiosaeten (Mohawk) who most likely only spoke for his nation and not the Confederacy, urged the Anishnaabeg and the Innu to come to Haudenosaunee territory and discuss peace further. In this peace, the nations swore that they would hunt together and share the hunting territories. As part of this peace, the French asked the Haudenosaunee to accept a Jesuit among them and sent Father Jogues to Ossenoue in 1646. Father Jogues left a box among the Haudenosaunee as a promise that he would return in a little while. When he left, worms infested the crops and an epidemic spread among the Haudenosaunee. The peace of 1645 was shattered and Father Jogues was killed upon his return.

The Haudenosaunee began to attack the Wendat in earnest in 1648. Trigger states that these attacks were led by the Wendat adopted into the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, who were upset at the destruction the Jesuits had released upon their communities. Two weeks later, the Huron abandoned and burned their villages, so the Haudenosaunee could not use them. Many Wendat were adopted into the Confederacy and many others went to live among the Petun and the Anishnaabeg.

The following year, in 1649, the Haudenosaunee attacked the Petun and by 1650 they abandoned their villages and went to live with the Anishnaabeg in Michigan and in the upper Lake Huron region. The Neutral were also attacked by the Haudenosaunee from 1647 to 1650. It has been stated that these attack were because a Haudenosaunee warrior was killed on Neutral territory and the Neutrals, who were supposed to be neutral in all disagreements between their allies, were held

responsible. *The Jesuit Relations* say that,

> "while returning, during the previous Winter, from a warlike incursion,-in which he had committed a murder on the frontier of the Tobacco Nation,-he was hotly pursued and caught by the Huron/Wendats at the gates of the Aondironnons[the Neutral], before he had time to enter any cabin. For that reason it was considered a fair capture; but, nevertheless, his death was avenged as we have stated."[210]

It is said that by 1651, Southern Ontario had no more permanent villages.[211] The Haudenosaunee had either adopted or dispersed everyone in the area, including the Anishnaabeg who were pushed back even further northwest.

That is my version of the story and to be sure there are many others. I place these interpretations into two camps. The first interpretation is the one that makes its way into history books, though I feel that this is changing. This is the interpretation that everyone I interviewed, including myself, learned in school. The second interpretation is from more recent scholars who have chosen to look at these events through a cultural lens.

The first interpretation is one that is most famously represented by George T. Hunt, Bruce Trigger, Harold Innis, William Fenton and their contemporaries. The belief of these scholars is that the Haudenosaunee were motivated by their insatiable quest for beaver pelts. By 1640, it is claimed that the beaver was growing scare in Haudenosaunee territory and that pelts from further north were in demand.[212]

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[210]Thwaites, *JR*, 1896-1901: vol. 33:81.

[211] This is not an assessment I agree with and it is one that is put forth by Trigger, White, Schmalz, and others. I believe that people moved out of the area but still had some kind of occupancy, albeit less permanent than before.

[212] It should be mentioned that this premise is faulty. Hunt made this viewpoint popular by citing a letter from 1640 written by the patroon of Fort Orange Killiaen van Rensseleaer. However, Brandão examined the original document and found Hunt's citation and translation faulty. The patroon indeed stated that there was a lack of furs but, if one continues to read the letter, this lack rested with the company and not the Haudenosaunee. Rensseleaer suggests this is due to the Haudenosaunee trading with the English because they paid more for furs and a greater selection of goods. Brandão, 1997:84.

Fenton states,

> "[The pelts] could be had by trade or by permission to hunt in Algonquian territories, both of which required peaceful alliances, or by warfare. The Iroquois scarcely measured up to the Hurons as traders, but they were diplomats, and they excelled as warriors. Indeed, the warpath was the way to move upward in Iroquois society."[213]

Many historians agree that the Haudenosaunee turned to raids in order to meet their need for European goods. This need, due to the increasing dependence upon European goods, combined with the collapse of the Dutch monopoly in 1639 which allowed for sales of guns to Indigenous peoples, were the events that led to the "Beaver Wars".

This interpretation of the "Beaver Wars" has its origins in economic history. At the time when these scholars put these theories forward, they were trying to counteract the belief that the Haudenosaunee were naturally inclined to warfare. Instead, they showed that the Haudenosaunee were actually acting in a rational way. The Haudenosaunee were trying to corner the market share on furs and increase their revenues. This was a language that many Canadians could understand, as it did not require them to engage with these issues any deeper.

The drawback of this interpretation is that it assumes that capitalism is the basis of action for every person, regardless of culture. In addition, this interpretation of the "Beaver Wars" makes the fur trade into the centre around which all other relationships occur. Following this line of argument, it then makes a great deal of sense to believe that the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee had a relationship that was mostly defined by fur trade competition.

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[213] Fenton, 1992:245.

The second interpretation of the "Beaver Wars" is only recently gaining more currency. Scholars such as Susan Hill, Paula Sherman, Jose Brandão, and Matthew Dennis have chosen to examine these attacks from a cultural standpoint. These scholars are convinced that the Haudenosaunee and all other nations concerned were following their own cultural goals and responding to a horrifying situation. Brandão, and others, believe that due to the massive impact of the epidemics the Haudenosaunee, who had a practice of adopting people, struck the Huron, the Petun, the Neutral and the Erie because they were Iroquoian speaking people and lived similarly. The Haudenosaunee were seeking to replace people they had lost and a similar practice was followed in war. When the Haudenosaunee lost someone in war, that person had to be replaced by another and so wars were continued until this goal was satisfied. Hill states,

> "The Haudenosaunee had experienced death at a scale not previously experienced, except possibly during the times immediately prior to the establishment of the Great Law. The grief of these losses must have crippled the survivors both emotionally and economically. When death is experienced on such a scale there is not time to grieve properly...the Haudenosaunee Condolence process is critical to the health and well-being of the people following the death of a relative, leader or other community member. As a result, they entered the fur trade era with injured economic and social structures. What some see as 'imperialism' might be better described as aggressive efforts to rebuild their communities in the wake of massive loss."[214]

Brandão performed a comprehensive study of *The Jesuit Relations* and other sources and detailed how many raids and skirmishes there were, how many people were killed, how many people were taken, and what, if any, material goods were stolen. According to Brandão, between 1638-1663 the Haudenosaunee removed just

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[214] Hill, 2005: 178

over 2,000 Huron people and at least 1500 of those people were captured rather than killed.[215] In most cases, the Haudenosaunee left members of other nations, French people and material goods. Brandão continues to say that the number of French people killed by the Haudenosaunee averages somewhere around 4 or 5 a year and that the fear and menace that the Haudenosaunee represented was largely invented.[216]

Another scholar, Georges Sioui, has a different theory. He also regards the "Beaver Wars" as a reaction to the massive epidemics, however, he states that the Haudenosaunee were chosen by the Creator to protect all the people from the European epidemics. He maintains that they could see the long-term effects of the relationship with the French and decided to bring the other Iroquoian nations under the Tree of Peace so that they could continue to exist.[217]

Similarly, Matthew Dennis and scholars like him, maintain that peace was the main motivation for everything the Haudenosaunee did. The "Beaver Wars", for these scholars, is more about the extension of the rafters of the longhouse and inviting all people to live under the Tree of Peace. The culturally motivated arguments make for a powerful second interpretation of the "Beaver Wars". Clearly, these scholars regard Indigenous peoples as whole and complex beings with their motivations being entirely their own, originating in their own territories, teachings and identities.

So what? Why have I chosen to tell you this particular story and its scholastic interpretations above others and what does it have to do with the

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[215] Brandão, 1997:77.
[216] Brandão, 1997:92.
[217] Sioui, 1992:44-46.

contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee?

I understand the "Beaver Wars" story as one lens through which the relationships between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are understood. It is a story of competition, of wars, of sickness and power. When I asked people their impression of the ancient relationship between the two nations, it was noticeable that this was one of the stories with which they began. As people spoke about this story, they used it as an example of the power of misinterpretation and its far-reaching impacts. Beginning with the impact of particular interpretations of events such as the "Beaver Wars", people discussed the divisiveness European alliances and historical stereotypes have had upon the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg.

The people that I interviewed have an understanding of the "Beaver Wars" that is a mixture of these views. There is no doubt that the Haudenosaunee worldview is founded upon Peace, first and foremost. But the majority of people I spoke to believed that the Haudenosaunee at this time were more concerned with adopting people into their nation than killing people, due to the impact of the epidemics. All the people I spoke to said that the Haudenosaunee at this time were strengthening their numbers with people who were very closely related to them. One person (interview #13) stated,

> "If the cultural premise is that your clan needs to be strong, how do you know if your clan is strong? It's got to be full. All the names have to be in use and that strong clan...becomes its own economic engine...if your clan becomes weak because of a loss of people to disease, famine, and war, rather than kind of the mourning war...where we're going out and getting replacement people, kind of like the Borg. Resistance is Futile to the Haudenosaunee. But when you look...at what we were doing by...bringing in people it wasn't always to transform them...you guys can live here, and

> you can keep your clan, keep your language...but you can't make political decisions about land without the Haudenosaunee. They become more like a protectorate."

Though this is generally understood by all the people I spoke to, the power of the historical images associated with the "Beaver Wars" were not soon forgotten. The stereotypes of the Mohawk warriors that emerged out of the *Jesuit Relations* and other French and English texts are severe. The dispersal and adoption of the Wendat (Huron) by the Haudenosaunee was emphasized in historical texts and in religious instruction. In residential school, particularly the Catholic ones, the martyring of the Jesuits in Huronia has become a powerful fable. One Anishnaabeg survivor (interview #15) of residential schools shared that,

> "From history we learned that they were a fierce tribe...we knew that they were different than us but they were just like us. But we became suspicious of them, after we read the books. They were fierce and strong. This was 1953-54 and we were able to watch movies and that had a play in it. We were always shown movies of the Ojibway helping the French and the British helping the Iroquois and the Iroquois helping the British. So that is what we learned I think that's why we became suspicious of them...They demonstrated that they used tomahawks to kill another person and we didn't think that was right. We already learned not to kill so we knew there was something there. And the same thing with our own people eh. And one of the things we learned about was the massacre at Midland...the massacre of the Jesuits. That was drilled into us. The Iroquois people that killed them, it was the Iroquois people that were there...and the Ojibways were living there."

Many Anishnaabeg people discussed these "Beaver War" stereotypes of Haudenosaunee people and how they impacted their views about the other nation. It was clear to many people that these stereotypes can become easily conflated with other aspects of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg. The stories told by the Jesuits in the *Jesuit Relations* have embedded themselves in

the mostly English-oriented history books. These stories have then become part of the 'old' history of the area, as the events occurred well before the English had a presence in this area.

Another participant (interview #8) stated,

> "And then through the church relationship, that's not from traditional but yet it is via church connection. What we would hear is we would hear about the story at the Huron village...and how all of those missionaries were killed. Again, that was a story we learned as children."

In Southern Ontario, this shared territory, Huronia is not only a story but an educational/tourist place children can visit. The physical aspect then, of Huronia and its 'devastation', can be seen and touched by visitors. This version of history has been preserved in the longhouses that stand at the top of Lake Simcoe today, in addition to its presence in history books, movies and television shows. One person (interview #4) stated,

> "It is so ingrained in us...how bad they were and how bad we were. It's all there. So I think it's still in today. You can see it here in the school. How Ojibways and Haudenosaunee had separated themselves. Because it's ingrained in us not to be friends with them...Only after the fur trade that they became enemies and also the massacre...The Haudenosaunee were angry at the Ojibway because of the fur trade and getting along with the French and taking more land...What I understand, mostly because the French were Catholic and the English were Anglicans...religious wars...there is boundaries."

One Anishnaabeg person (interview #5) stated,

> "Also my dad, growing up when I did there was also images that came through from the media, through school books...which tended to frame Haudenosaunee people in somewhat of a negative light. So that reinforced that perspective on the Haudenosaunee. That was imposed or part of the nature of non-Indian-Haudenosaunee relationship that was part of the meta-narrative of the day. That tended to separate again...whose side are you on? The good guys or the Iroquois? Particularly comes out of the Jesuit Relations, mis-history that so many of us internalized."

In the older history texts, the Haudenosaunee were always present and some Anishnaabeg felt that the Haudenosaunee were portrayed in a more favourable light. One Anishnaabeg person (interview #14) stated,

> "...we were pitted against the history in the history books that talked about how the Haudenosaunee were the warriors, they were the strong warriors, they were the steel climbers, I know a lot of young people my age when we came together in first year university, when we got together, people across the country, there was that...jealousy, among the youth that the people always in the history book were the Haudenosaunee people."

I have found that every person I talked to attributed early alliances with the French and the English as being a major disrupter to the contemporary relationship. Two things are generally understood: 1) that the participation in these alliances and subsequent wars between the French and the British did damage to the relationship; and 2) that disagreements between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are over emphasized in historical writings as a consequence of these alliances. One person (interview #11) stated,

> "I think that the traditional rivalry or conflicts between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are generally overstated because that history where they were frequently aligned with different colonial forces have been emphasized. What I have seen and heard was that there were trading relationships because the Haudenosaunee had stores of corn and beans and so on and as their territory required more extensive access to furs and hunting and so on, that there was an active trading network between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg which was mutually beneficial but there were these border conflicts."

These stories of conflict and furs are best exemplified through the story of the Beaver Wars, though there are many others. The stories from this time are rarely told from an Indigenous point of view, though I have great hope that this may change. Participants did not express that all irritants in the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee were due to the alliances with the English and the French but they all maintained that these relationships exacerbated any disagreements that they may have had.

I believe that the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee historically had their own protocols that needed to be followed within their relationship and ways of repairing the breach of those protocols. Elsewhere, I have examined the written historical sources and stated that if you look closely at the battles between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee they continually attempted to follow this protocol and frequently had separate meetings without their European allies present. The nuances of this historical relationship have been omitted from Canadian history, certainly, and this has had an impact on the relationship. It matters a great deal how the stories are told.

Politics

As I mentioned previously, some French and English politics benefitted from keeping the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee at odds with one another during the fur trade. For the French, it can be said that the Haudenosaunee were used to enforce a solid alliance with the Anishnaabeg. For the English, though they wanted closer relations with the Anishnaabeg, they benefitted from rocky relationship the

Haudenosaunee had with the French.

Keeping the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg apart also had political advantages. This was a strategy used by the English, from the late 18th century on, to ensure the nations did not unite to form strong opposition to policies. According to the people I spoke with, the active pursuit of division between the two nations is thought to continue in more subtle ways to this day.

After the American Revolution in 1783, approximately 2,000 Haudenosaunee and their allies came to live north of Lake Ontario[218]. The Anishnaabeg who had come to live in the area, the Mississauga, expressed concern about the Haudenosaunee living so close to them because it had not been too long since they had fought against one another. In the end these fears were overruled, as with the knowledge of more settlers coming into their territory, the Anishnaabeg would rather have the Haudenosaunee as close neighbours and allies against the tide of non-Indigenous peoples. For the government of Upper Canada, the settlement of Haudenosaunee along the Grand River provided them with a barrier of trusted allies between the bulk of the non-Indigenous settlers and the less trusted Anishnaabeg.

The politics of Upper Canada at the time were such that it was seeking to consolidate land along the border with the United States, along with seeking to

[218] The American Revolution was a divisive and destructive war for some Indigenous peoples. Its effects deserve more consideration than what I am able to provide here. The Haudenosaunee split their support between the Americans and the British. It is generally understood that the Oneida and Tuscarora supported the Americans while the remaining nations supported the British. The Anishnaabeg also supported the British in this war. The result of this war was increased population pressure on those Indigenous peoples who remained south of the new border. Additionally, the British government, to reward the Loyalists, purchased Indigenous land and there was movement west as the Loyalists came north at the end of the war.

create a self-sufficient colony.[219] The lynchpin of this plan was promoting settlement and acquiring land from the Mississauga.

Eventually, Joseph Brant acquired substantial influence in Upper Canada, not just among government officials, who were wary of angering him substantially, but also among the Mississaugas who were encouraged by his ability to acquire higher prices for the land he sold. John Simcoe, and after him Peter Russell, constantly looked for ways to undermine Joseph Brant's influence, particularly where the Mississauga were concerned. The closeness of the two nations, which had served the needs of Upper Canada a few years earlier, was now a source of fear. This fear became acute after the murder of Chief Wabakinine, a Mississauga Chief, and his wife at York. The Mississauga approached Six Nations for support of an attack and Joseph Brant dissuaded them from this course of action.[220] After this incident, and coupled with the dissatisfaction of both the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg with the behaviour of the new settlers and the government inaction to correct it, the Upper Canadian government became concerned as to what a very close alliance between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg might mean for them.

The answer for Peter Russell was to attempt to divide the two nations using some of the knowledge of previous disagreements and warfare in order to inflame past hurts. In 1797, a secret and confidential letter was sent from Lord Portland, the Colonial Secretary, to Russell approving the appointment of an Indian agent at York. This was done not so much because the Mississauga had asked for one but to

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[219] Leo A. Johnson, "The Mississauga-Lake Ontario Land Surrender of 1805", in *Ontario History*, vol. 83(3), September, 1990:233.
[220] Donald B. Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians: A Missing Chapter in the Early History of Upper Canada", in *Ontario History,* 73(2), 1981:27-32.

prevent the Mississauga from travelling to Niagara where they might cross paths with Brant and other Haudenosaunee. Portland wrote,

> "'The primary duty of the new appointee is fomenting the jealousy which subsists between them and the Six Nations, and of preventing, as far as possible, any junction or good understanding taking place between those two tribes. It appears to me that the best and safest line of Policy to be pursued in the Indian Department is to keep the Indians separate and unconnected with one another, as by this means they will be in proportion more dependent on the King's Government.'"[221]

The methods recommended by Portland to keep the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee separate were as follows:

> "Indian stations were to be kept separate and unconnected with each other; department officers were to keep the Indians 'fixed on their own particular concerns, and to prevent connections from being formed between them and other Nations'; and Indian presents were to be distributed 'in such manner, and with such suitable solemnities, and at such seasons, as to produce the most powerful effect on the Indians, and to leave the strongest impressions on their minds, of their dependence on His Majesty's bounty.'"[222]

Peter Russell completed all of these tasks, in addition to ensuring that there were a number of non-Indigenous settlers between the two Nations. It should be noted that the Upper Canadian government sought to divide not only the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg, but also the Mississauga from the Chippewa, or the Anishnaabeg who resided around the River Thames and the other Lakes.

According to Johnson, Peter Russell was trying to fragment the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg at the same time as trying to acquire Anishnaabeg lands for a very inexpensive price. He began a campaign to reassert government control over the Indigenous peoples and the situation in general. This meant that he needed to destroy the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg alliance,

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[221] quoted in Johnson, 1990:237.
[222] Johnson, 1990:238.

increase government influence among the Mississauga, and manage to appease Brant who was already suspicious of the government's intentions for Mississauga land.[223]

The government began lying to the Mississauga about a possible attack by the Kahnawake Mohawks on the Six Nations, stating that this attack would mean an attack on the Mississauga as well, due to their close alliance. It was not long before Brant found out about this lie and the government had to construct elaborate explanations, so that Brant did not suspect their motives.[224] There were many bitter letters exchanged between Givins, the Indian agent at York, Russell, and Brant. Finally Givins wrote to Brant,

> "'[I have] told the Mississagues several times that they acted very wrong to go to your Council, before they had consulted their Father [Russell] – that they must see the necessity of it as their chief is so drunken and ignorant – And that they might incur the displeasure of Government by such conduct and bring themselves into difficulties when they might avoid it by proper conduct and attention to what the King their father and benefactor might say to them.'"[225]

Brant was quite angry and offended by the smearing of the Chief's reputation and the assertion that the Indian Department had the ability or right to control the actions of either the Mississaugas or the Haudenosaunee. Brant replied, "'...[a]s you tell me you have spoke in this manner several times to the Mississagues...[s]hould this manner of speaking be continued it might tend to bad consequences by disuniting us, and depriving us of the liberty of enjoying our old customs.'"[226]

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[223] Johnson, 1990:241.
[224] ibid.
[225] Johnson, 1990:242.
[226] Ibid.

The beginning of this policy of division has its roots in the old fur trade diplomacy. Both the British and the French were constantly worried that the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg would ally themselves against one of the European nations. In addition to the seeds of distrust sown among the nations, the government of Upper Canada developed and cultivated different relationships and treatment towards them. Particularly, this was used with regard to the position for receiving gifts, where the Haudenosaunee could claim a right to the gifts for services rendered and a nation-to-nation relationship while the Anishnaabeg were put in the position of proving that they deserved any gifts at all.[227]

This story is quite a straightforward example of the divisiveness of relationships with Europeans. According to the people I spoke to, this policy continues to be a useful one for the government. This particular story of the late 18th century had a very real impact on the relationship of the two nations at the time, as it discouraged communities to contact one another when they needed help. As the quote from Joseph Brant alluded to earlier, this was an ancient practice between the two nations. It became a necessity for communities to part with their interest in the land, as the population pressures were very intense. Preventing the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg from working together meant that they could not as effectively unite over government actions, such as reduced payment for land acquisition.

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[227] Jonhson, 1990:247.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people I have interviewed perceive the impact of historical relationships with Europeans on their relationship with each other.

It was evident in the interviews that people ascribed some, but not all, of the difficulties in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee to the early alliances with Europeans, the fur trade and early Indian policy. They believed that it has continually been in the best interests of the Europeans and later the Canadians to drive wedges between the two nations.

As illustrated by the previous chapter, the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee had its own dynamics and its own methods of solving difficulties. When these became conflated with the challenges imposed by the fur trade alliances and intentional policies of keep the nations at odds with one another, disputes became harder to solve. Although the events of the 18th and 19th centuries are long gone, the impressions of them remain. Particularly when these stories are re-told as part of Canadian history, only the European understanding of the relationship is communicated. It is easily told as a relationship of enmity and placed in a similar context to that of the English and French relationship.

The danger here is that the English and French impression of the Anishnaabeg, the Haudenosaunee and their relationship has been taught to generations of people. What can happen is that the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg can access some of these stereotypes or use some of these stories against one another.

The existent mainstream stereotypes, at once evidence of racism and the silt of old colonial alliances, easily become tied up with the much older relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. They find their way into the pre-existing teasing discourse that the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee have with each other. Many of the people I spoke to believe that these stereotypes that originated from the colonial relationships were quite dangerous and served only drive a wedge between the two nations. It is thought that these stereotypes exist in the mainstream and should not be perpetuated by anyone, much less Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples. However, another way of viewing the perpetuation of these stereotypes, when done in a joking manner, is one more way the two nations can tease each other. I wonder if it does not matter so much what the tease or barb is actually about, only that it fits into the existing relationship. Through whatever twist of fate, the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, who are so different and complementary in their existences, developed different and complementary colonial relationships. The stereotypes that have resulted from the relationships with these colonial powers, though hurtful and harmful, have provided continual fodder in the teasing relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

Chapter 5: You know what's funny...?

This chapter concerns the ways in which the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg currently express their relationship. One of the main ways through which this is done, on a day-to-day basis, is through teasing and the expression of humour. Humour, which we frequently associate with positive feelings, has two sides: negative and positive. Without the appropriate context an intended witty remark can be seen as mean or hurtful. Humour is highly contextual and it is no different in this relationship.

The humour that is used between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee mobilizes the history of the relationship and it is used to remind one another, and anyone listening, of the long relationship between them. Not only do these teasing barbs and funny stories connect the past to the present, but they also indicate a close relationship between the two nations. It is a spirited historical consciousness as each nation playfully boasts and scratches up against one another. I have found that the teasing has two general topics: cultural differences and the wars between the nations at the end of the 17th century.

In this chapter, I will first explore the role humour plays in Indigenous communities and then move on to its role in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. I will examine how humour concerning cultural differences and the wars of the 17th century is expressed. The kind of humour used in the interactions between the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee and

in stories that they tell about one another speaks volumes about the longevity and depth of their relationship and expresses a playful way of encountering difference.

Role of Humour

Indigenous humour, and its importance, has been investigated by many scholars.[228] I find it interesting to note, though, humour as a whole has managed to resist much of the sociological investigation. Bakhtin stated, "laughter and its forms represent the least scrutinized sphere of the people's creation."[229] Recently, however, humour has been recognized as an excellent platform in areas such as counseling, healing and education.

Humour serves a broad function in Indigenous communities. It serves to bond people together, to teach the lesson of humility, to work through grief, and to remind people of the trickster presence. Spielmann discusses humour, especially teasing, as being a way of pointing out a cultural misstep. Teasing reminds people that they are out of step with the cultural norm and teaches humility.[230] Indigenous humour, according to Spielmann and others, is marked by teasing and self-deprecation. The goal is not always to teach others humility but to show others that you are humble by poking fun at yourself. Bruchac states that it is about the "...importance of humility and the affirmation that laughter leads to learning and survival."[231] Many scholars have also recognized the important role humour plays as a survival mechanism in communities that have been through sustained hardships

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[228] See Lincoln (1993), Bruchac(1987), and Ryan(1999), among others.
[229] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984:4.
[230] Spielman, 1998:110.
[231] Joseph Bruchac, *Survival This Way: Interviews with American Indian Poets*, Tuscon: Sun Tracks, 1987:26-9.

and struggles. Traditionally, Indigenous communities have always employed characters such as clowns or tricksters, who serve to remind people that if they can, "'survive the encounter with the non-order, then so too may all humans'...More important, through humour they can propose, 'an entirely new way of structuring human existence...[nothing less than]...another way of human *being*.'"[232] In addition, Lincoln states,

> "This bivalent fulcrum divides the tragic sense of end-stopped suffering from comic renewal; the denial of free will is reversed with alternatives, possibilities, re-creations. It's an argument between past and future, simplified, a historical determinism transcended by humanist futurity."[233]

Humour is not all fun and games, so to speak. As much as humour can help people cope with oppression, death and other various hardships, Max Eastman stated that "humor in its adult state is thus seen to be somewhat like electricity, and to possess two currents, a negative and a positive."[234] Humour, and jokes, can easily become a stagnant and fixed interpretation of a person, a community, or a nation.

As some point out, humour can be an extension of an authoritative discourse. Humour can be used to identify and vilify the marginalized people of society; those that are considered to be outsiders or different in some way from mainstream understandings. The construction of a joke or funny story implies that there is a person that tells the jokes and a person about whom the jokes are told.[235] Freud stated, "[a] joke will allow us to exploit something ridiculous in our enemy which we could not, on account of obstacles in the way, bring forward openly or

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[232] Arden King quoted in Allen Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art*, Vancouver, UBC Press 1999:11.
[233] Kenneth Lincoln, *Indi'n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993:62.
[234] quoted in Lincoln, 1993:309.
[235] Phong Kuoch, *Laughing for a Change: Racism, Humour, Identity and Social Change*, MA Thesis, Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 2005:14.

consciously; once again, then, the joke will evade restrictions and open sources of pleasure that have become inaccessible."[236]

I cannot disagree with this assessment of some forms of humour. Indeed, some people that I spoke with were quite concerned with how readily humour can turn negative and hurt others. Many were worried that children would overhear these jokes the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee tell about each other, take them out of context and choose to perpetuate them. In the context of an oppressive relationship, humour can serve to remind all who are listening the society-determined roles that people live by. Lincoln states that humour across any boundaries, between nations, ethnicities and genders, can be mean. Lines are drawn between us and them, but

> "...still, having fun with tribal disconnections makes their dissonance into something more than snarled warnings to the 'others'. In fact, such play or humour indulges the negative charge positively, reversing its field to include rather than exclude 'them'."[237]

I would argue that the identification of these boundaries, and the events that contextualize them, fall into the realm of history. Interestingly enough, history itself is not known for its humour, though past events can be quite funny. Further, when one shares a funny story or humourous event it is always something that has happened in the past. I have found that in Indigenous history, and history in general, the humour is only preserved when discussing oral histories or sharing traditional stories. Perhaps this is due to the fact that history is serious business, for everyone involved, and adding in (or preserving) humour may present some important aspect

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[236] Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1960: 103.
[237] Lincoln, 1993:312.

of history as a joke. I do not think that exploring or highlighting the humour in historical situations makes any event any less important. In fact, I believe it serves to bring out the humanity and lived-ness of an event.

In my research I found that Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people that I interviewed viewed much of their relationship through the lens of humour. Frequently, this humour is in reference to historical occurrences of long ago. There are a number of ways this occurs: it preserves and highlights the closeness of the relationship; at public gatherings it serves to remind people of the historicity of the relationship (and includes everyone in it); and it also serves a private function of reminding people of the historical relationship, while refreshing the contemporary one.

It is true that those who are recipients of teasing are not always in on the humour and this can be where tensions arise. Lincoln states, "teasing and whether or not people feel comfortable teasing each other tells us something about their relationship."[238] Any kind of teasing that people do to one another, especially ethnically, is an indicator of closeness in their relationship. I find that many Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people, even if they do not know one another, feel as though they can tease one another about the relationship. This could be seen as relatively risky behaviour, however it is not. Most Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee have a sense of the long and historical relationship between them, in addition to the shared territory that both nations now inhabit.

Humour is one way to deal with cultural difference between the two nations, while at the same time affirming identities. It is these cultural differences that can

[238] Lincoln, 1993:122.

be the source of humour as well as discord. Spielmann says, "understanding the differences can go a long way to building bridges of mutual respect and understanding..."[239] Playing upon these differences not only alerts people to their existence but can make these differences seem less threatening as well. Acknowledging the differences through humour can provide a base from which they can be worked through. When an acknowledgement of the differences is given humourously in public, identities and a relationship is reaffirmed. Lincoln states, "...we can see how culture-specific humourous themes and laughter positioning throw light on what are considered to be important cultural values: group solidarity, interpersonal harmony, patience and tolerance."[240]

In addition, humour about this relationship refers to a common past, a common experience. The re-telling and re-enforcing of this relationship references historical events and brings them into a contemporary atmosphere. Lincoln states,

> "We laugh at ourselves to 'play' with common ties. We survive a shared struggle and come together to laugh about it, to joke about what-was and where-we-have-come, even if the humor hurts. It is a kind of personal tribalism that begins with two people, configurates around families, composes itself in extended kin and clan, and ends up defining a culture."[241]

This has a very unifying purpose, as people are brought together under the shade of this relationship. The tree, though, is broad enough to incorporate two different nations who like to remind each other who is who. Douglas states that, "'a joke is a play upon form...where two sets of thoughts scratch up against each

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[239] Spielmann, 1998:111.
[240] Lincoln, 1993:122
[241] Lincoln, 1993:65

other'".[242] The Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee people that I spoke to acknowledge the play and fun in "scratch[ing] up against each other". This is made more complex by the insertion and play upon common historical stereotypes of each nation, used by history and the church.

What needs to be remembered is that what makes the humour around this relationship funny is not necessarily the words themselves but the interactions. It is the relationship that makes the jokes possible and it is the jokes that lend some play to the relationship. The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, as stated before, is deep and complex with many different facets. However, between Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people this humour can serve as a historical reminder and re-affirmation of a long and enduring friendship.

I think the beauty of humour that occurs within relationships is that it uniquely belongs to the relationship itself. It may be influenced by outside forces and participants may draw from current events to provide seeds for jokes, but it still belongs to the nature and history of that particular relationship. Its origin lies within the relationship and it cannot be understood without understanding the history of the relationship.

When I first encountered the living relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg it was clear that it was different than how it was presented in documents. It is the humour about past events and the relationship that I noticed immediately. This humour shows people who are not Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg that there is a depth and flow to this relationship that cannot be found in old European documents. The very existence of this humour contradicts most

[242] Lincoln, 1993:64.

previously accepted written analyses of this relationship.

I have analyzed this chapter in terms of the sources of the impressions of the Haudenosaunee, the Anishnaabeg and their relationship that continues to affect the contemporary interactions. They are, primarily, the wars and cultural difference.

Wars between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee

One of the main teasing points between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is the wars they have had between them. The Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee have had many little battles between them for as long as they have known one another. However, the wars that form the bedrock of this teasing are the ones that took place around the 1690's. These battles have only recently made their way into the history books, as these were battles in which no European was involved. The version that has been told comes from the Anishnaabeg oral history of the battles, which were written down in the 1800's. The Haudenosaunee do not talk about these wars too much, except to say that they happened but not to the extent told by some Anishnaabeg people. The reaction to the tales told of large numbers of Haudenosaunee warriors being killed or chased all the way out of southern Ontario are met with, "[o]f course I told them that was impossible (laughs)." (interview #2)

The primary documents written by Europeans are speckled with the origin stories of disagreements between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. There are a few I have chosen to re-tell here, as they tend to represent the stories the Europeans were told about the sources of disagreements.

Perrot related that the "Algonkin" [sic] and the "Irroquois" [sic] did not have an equal relationship, as the "Algonkins" [sic] had no respect for those that did not hunt. The "Irroquois" [sic] feared the prowess of the "Algonkins" [sic] and they submitted to their will. Despite this state of events, the two nations traded; one needed meat while the other needed corn, beans and squash. One winter, the "Algonkins" [sic] invited some "Irroquois" [sic] to winter with them, an invitation that was accepted. The "Algonkins" [sic] decided that six of their best hunters should go ahead of the people to kill game for the rest. The "Irroquois" [sic] decided to send their best along with the "Algonkin" [sic] hunters. Though there were signs of animals around, the hunters who had paired off, one "Algonkin" [sic] with one "Irroquois" [sic], were unable to kill anything. After two days of watching the "Algonkin" [sic] skills, the "Irrquois" [sic] demanded that they be allowed to hunt alone. The "Algonkins" [sic] ridiculed them and said, "that they were astounded the Irroquois [sic] should presume to expect that they could kill beasts, since the Algonkins [sic] themselves had not been able to do so."[243] The "Irroquois" [sic] left regardless and came back to their camp "laden with meat". The "Algonkins" [sic] had been unsuccessful that day and "saw that those whom they had despised now had the advantage". While the "Irroquois" [sic] slept, the "Algonkins" [sic] killed them. The "Algonkins" t[sic] ook the meat back to the main camp saying that the "Irroquois" [sic] hunters had fallen through the ice. This lie was not discovered until the snow began to melt in the spring. The "Irroquois" [sic] made appeals to the "Algonkins" [sic] but nothing was done to satisfy them or

[243] Emma Helen Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (ITUM), Cleveland: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969:45.

to rectify the situation. Instead, the "Irroquois" [sic] were threatened with being driven out of their country and extermination. They responded not with words, but with actions. They alerted their allies of the recent occurrences and attacked a group of "Algonkins" [sic]. This drew immediate consequences from the "Algonkins" [sic] and the "Irroquois" [sic], as a result, moved closer to Lake Ontario.[244]

There is another story concerning the beginning of the "Chippewa-Mohawk war" within the A.E.Williams papers and, similar to the information from Perrot, it also involves hunting. In the story that is given as the first incident between the two nations, a Chippewa and a Mohawk family were wintering together. A Mohawk man, who was the son of a Mohawk chief, had married the daughter of a Chippewa chief and they had all gone to hunt together. The Mohawk chief pretended to have a dream, many times, in which he ate the son of the Chippewa chief and danced with his head. This being a very disturbing dream, the Chippewa chief discussed matters with his wife and gave the Mohawk chief his son. He told his son to go hunt with the Mohawk chief, not telling him that he may die. The Mohawk chief killed his intended victim and fulfilled his dream.

The young Mohawk then returned to with his father-in-law to Ojibwa country and the nation was told what had passed over the winter. The Chippewa swore vengeance and prepared a feast. The young Mohawk was sent to invite all the Mohawks. When he returned he was helping in the preparation by fetching water when he was killed, cut and boiled. The Mohawks arrived and asked after the young Mohawk and they were told that he was out hunting and would be back soon. The meat was ready and the Mohawks sat on one side of the lodge, while the Chippewas

[244] Blair, *ITUM,* 1969:44-47.

sat on the other. The Chippewa chief said he had good luck since they parted and it was customary for the guest chief to eat first and dance with the head of the bear. When the Mohawk chief saw that the head was that of his son, he began to cry. The Chippewas got up and it is implied that a fight ensued.[245] These two stories involve similar themes that appear during discussions of the origins of the wars. It usually concerns a disruption in the peace that is the unstated pre-existing status of the relationship in all of these stories. If the peace is disrupted and reparations are not made then fighting usually ensued until the goals of each nation were satisfied.

Before we examine the teasing that is done around these wars, it is important to tell a few stories about the wars themselves. I cannot tell all of the stories surrounding the events leading up to the wars and the wars themselves. The stories I have chosen to tell are ones that are still told and re-told in the contemporary relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg.

After the Haudenosaunee had adopted and dispersed the Huron, Neutral and Petun nations, the interplay between the relationship the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg have with one another begins to become entangled with the relationships with Europeans.[246] Up until the 1650's, some of Haudenosaunee territory was buffered by other nations of Iroquoian-speaking peoples. After the 1650's, southern Ontario became a hunting territory of both nations and the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg encountered one another much more frequently. It has been said by participants in this research that peoples such as the

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[245] A.E.Williams, *United Indian Bands of the Chippewas and Mississaugas* Collection, Toronto: Ontario Archives, 1903-1912, F4331.

[246] Many of the Huron, Neutral and Petun people also went to live with the Anishnaabeg. This becomes a later source of tension, as some Haudenosaunee attributed Anishnaabeg attacks on the Haudenosaunee as being fuelled by Huron anger.

Huron could be regarded as the Northern door to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and it was their job to filter out the Anishnaabeg people. The Anishnaabeg and the Huron were firm allies, while the Huron and the Haudenosaunee had a less solid relationship.

George Copway, an Anishnaabeg writer, stated that the wars between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg began in the 1650's and the Haudenosaunee committed three major offences. After two of these offences, solemn peace treaties were concluded with the understanding that a breach of these peace treaties would be a declaration of war.[247]

The Haudenosaunee were known for travelling far from home in order to attack their enemies or adopt prisoners. There is an interesting story of the Haudenosaunee attacking Anishnaabeg people in 1653 near "Huron Island", now Washington Island, on Green Bay. This was an island formerly occupied by the Potawatomi. When news of the imminent Haudenosaunee attack reached the Anishnaabeg, they abandoned the island and retreated to "Mechinigan" where they built a fort and waited for the Haudenosaunee. The Haudenosaunee, who had many adopted Huron/Wendats in their army, placed the fort under siege, however they did not make any inroads and were without provisions. Eventually, the Haudenosaunee proposed peace and a peace treaty was concluded. One of the stipulations of this peace was that the Haudenosaunee give up the Huron/Wendats who were with them, to which they agreed. The Haudenosaunee, being without food, opted to remain at the fort for several days, as the Anishnaabeg and the Huron/Wendat fed them. Before the Haudenosaunee left, the Anishnaabeg, "sent word...that they wished to

[247] Copway, 1972:79-81.

present to each of their men a loaf of corn-bread; but they prepared a poison to mix with the bread."[248] A Huron/Wendat woman who was married to a Haudenosaunee man discovered this plot and she informed her husband about the bread. The Haudenosaunee decided to leave, without provisions. The retreating Haudenosaunee force divided into to two parties, both of which were defeated as well.

Similarly, in 1662, the Haudenosaunee

> "...decided to strike Sault Ste. Marie, the heart of Nishnaabe country. They came to"look for a village to eat" (*ITUM*, 175). One hundred Haudenosaunee warriors were resting above the Sault, when Nishnaabe scouts discovered them. The Nishnaabe scouts returned with an equal number of warriors and killed the Haudenosaunee just before sunrise. This was the last time the Haudenosaunee ever came to Nishnaabe territory (*ITUM*, 178ff)."[249]

These earlier battle stories live on and particularly the story of the attack on the Sault is re-told very often. This victory was attributed to the strong spiritual powers by some of the most educated people among the Anishnaabeg. One addition to this story states,

> "At last the Ojibwa, the Potawatomi, and the Ottawa all combined to attack [the Haudenosaunee]. They confined ten young boys and five girls in separate huts to fast...Every time one of the boys or girls had a dream he told the old man, who carefully weighed its meaning...So every morning the children narrated their dreams while the people waited. Finally one of the girls dreamed that a white man came to her and gave her two brooms, saying 'With one of these brooms you shall sweep away the snakes. With the other you shall sweep away the white people when they begin to oppress the Ojibway.' Then at last the United Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and the Ottawa attacked the Iroquois and drove them from the land. Many of the Iroquois changed to snakes and were unable to change back again. That is why there are many rattlesnakes today on Snake Island in Parry sound. (James

[248] Blair, *ITUM*, 1969:152-153.
[249] Shpuniarsky, 2003: 159.

Walker)"[250]

When I was a child, my parents and I used to travel to Thunder Bay, where my mum was from, every summer. One of my favourite places was a place called Agawa or Batchewana Bay, about an hour west of Sault Ste. Marie. In this place there are very old, very powerful pictographs. Some of these pictographs record successful battles against the Haudenosaunee and others indicate spiritual help that was solicited before battle with the Haudenosaunee. The former looks like four canoes, each being lead by the dodem animals of the leaders: the crane (who appears to be leading two canoes), the beaver and the thunderbird/eagle. The latter is a single panel with one canoe, which serves as a warning to potential Haudenosaunee invaders.[251] It has been said that these can be attributed to Myeengun of the Amikwa people, who lived at the northeast end of Lake Huron near the French and Whitefish rivers. A story passed down in Fred Pine's family states,

> "Singwauk and Myeengun made peace with the Iroquois somewhere around Wasaksing 'Beaver Stick Place'...That's where they gathered, the Iroquois and Ojibwa, to make their final peace after fighting for years. That's where the land would separate. 'It's no use killing one another,' Myeengun said. 'You want to live and we want to live too. So we want this land here (upper Great Lakes). You got Quebec. You got all kinds of water there...You got everything you want. What do you want to come up here for?...People went down to Parry Sound...to make peace...They lit their pipes and smoked together."

Around that time, Myeengun said to the other tribes, 'We might be invaded

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[250] Diamond Jenness, *The Ojibways of Parry Island: Their Social and Religious Life,* Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 78, Anthropological Series no. 17, 1935:101-102. This story is also a reference to the term "Nadowe", which is taken by many to mean snake or rattlesnake.
[251] Thor Conway and Julie Conway, *Spirits on Stone: The Agawa Pictographs,* Echo Bay: Heritage Discoveries, 1990:57-8.

again.'

In addition, Fred Pine stated,

> "Myeengun was with the first people that were attacked by the Naudoweg...They got caught on an island at the mouth of Wemitigosh Zibi...Myeengun escaped from there, but many people got killed, even woman and children. That's when the war between the Ojibway and the Iroquois started. People gathered up for protection. Myeengun and others came over to Lake Superior. The Ojibwa were waiting in ambush...near Sault Ste. Marie. The Naudoweg came up through Michigan...That's when they fought off of Agawa. The Ojibwa beat up the Naudoweg that time...Myeengun, predicted the Naudoweg arrival. All the Naudoweg were drowned in their canoes. Oh that Michipeshu, the big lynx with the horns. He's up north here...But Michipeshu and the giant serpents were here to protect their tribe. You see what happened there, when the Indians were invaded, it was the educated men...who asked those underwater creatures for help."[252]

Fred Pine also states that Shingwauk made some of these pictographs. He states that the Haudenosaunee came north looking for the best furs, as the fresh water made for better quality furs. He states,

> "They said, 'We'll go over to Lake Superior and take that country over. But that didn't happen. The Ojibwa knocked the Iroquois out of this area. That's when Ojibwa medicine men made the markings on the rock...the Iroquois couldn't understand it. The Iroquois have different signs too...Shingwauk went up to Agawa with the other Ojibwa tribes. They knew the Iroquois were going to come and attack Lake Superior...The Iroquois got here, but they didn't stay very long because old Shingwauk put the jinx on them...The medicine man said, 'There's something bad coming from the south.' Sure enough, that's where the Iroquois came from when they invaded the Ojibwa...Oh, they won. My people won...So Shingwauk said, 'When the Iroquois come in, I'll perform a fog on them.'...That's what he did. He fogged up all of Lake Superior...When the Ojibwa tribes went out, they went and met the Iroquois out on the lake. They never landed...They covered themselves with brush like hay...[they] wrapped their paddles with beaver hides....They didn't make any noise...and they ran the Iroquois out. In the big battle, the Ojibwa got the jump on the enemy...The Iroquois never landed here...After that, Shingwauk and the other powerful headmen painted those markings on the rock at Agawa. You see, those were a warning."[253]

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[252] Conway and Conway, 1990:59-61.
[253] Conway and Conway, 1990:65-68.

These markings continue to serve as warnings. Haudenosaunee people I spoke to that had been past or near the Sault, stated that they felt physically ill in that area.[254] These pictographs are said to still be working, as they remind the Haudenosaunee about the battles of the past.

The story of the attack on the Sault is still told today as one Anishnaabeg participant (interview #8) stated,

> "I remember my grandfather told a story to my sister...and he talked about one of the wars that happened, it was around Sault Ste. Marie...they were all killed off, the Haudenosaunee people were all killed off like the soldiers, the warriors...that's the version that I heard. In his own addition to the story he had said, of course we left one and by that point I was married to one (laughs)."

The key battles between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, as I have stated, involved no Europeans. These battles occurred around the waterways of Southern Ontario in the 1690's. I will briefly summarize the written versions of these battles, which come from the Anishnaabeg oral history.

One Anishnaabeg historian, Francis Assikinack, describes Ojibway forces meeting the Odawa forces from Manitoulin Island and proceeding to Blue Mountains. Spies at Rice Lake saw Haudenosaunee warriors coming and alerted the forces. Messengers then went to tell the Ojibways camped at the Saugeen River and at Owen Sound. The outnumbered Haudenosaunee were engaged and defeated. It is said that all the Haudenosaunee were killed except a few who were allowed to live and carry this message of defeat to their people. Assikinack adds that the triumphant chief was Sahgimah and, rather than wait for the Haudenosaunee at their coming out

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[254] "The Sault" is a colloquial version of Sault Ste. Marie. I grew up calling this place either "the Sault" or Baagwaating.

place, he went to meet them at Blue Mountains. While the Haudenosaunee were sleeping, the Anishnaabeg attacked and "the Odawahs cut off the heads of the slain, and fixed them on poles, with the faces turned towards the Lake." As well, Sahgimah, "declared his determination to fix in a similar manner, the head of every Mohawk that he might fall in with in that quarter."[255]

Another series of battles followed and it is said they involved the same groups of warriors. After the Anishnaabeg warriors regrouped they went victorious to Lake Simcoe or Shunyung from the Severn River. They stopped at Mjikaning, which is at the narrows between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching, to rest and get food. Here, reinforcements arrived and they divided into three parties. Before they left, a rock painting was made predicting the defeat of the Haudenosaunee.[256]

According to George Copway, the first party moved across the French river to the Ottawa River and defeated the Haudenosaunee they found living there.[257] Not much is said about this group of warriors, though there are records of battles along the Mattawa River.[258]

The second party travelled south towards the St. Clair River to meet a party of Huron/Wendats. On the Saugeen river there was a principal village of the Haudenosaunee and it is said the battle of Skull Mound was fought there. Many Haudenosaunee died in this battle and the skulls of the Haudenosaunee were piled high and artist Paul Kane could still see the mound that covered them in the 19th

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[255] Francis Assikinack, ``Legends and Traditions of the Odawah Indians``, *Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art,* vol. 3(14), March, 1858:309; Schmalz, 1991:25.
[256] Copway, 1972:87; Robert Paudash and Johnson Paudash,`` The Coming of the Mississaugas``, *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records,* 6:7, 1905:9.
[257] Copway, 1972:87.
[258] Schmalz, 1991:24.

century.[259]

A similar battle happened around this time on Georgian Bay. Peter Jones says that the Anishnaabeg, "fell upon a large body of Nahdoway, who had been dancing and feasting for several nights, and were so exhausted as to have sunk into a profound sleep the night on which they were killed. The island is called Pequakoondebaymenis, that is, skull island, from the number of skulls left on it.". Robert Paudash tells a similar story about "the Island of Skulls."[260] Though it is possible these descriptions could be of the same battle, the truth is many of the accounts of these battles end with mounds of Haudenosaunee bones. I have found that of all of the battles in this war, this story is re-told quite often.

Similarly, the account of the battle fought at Burlington Bay, "at the south end of the beach", also ends with a mound of bones, most of which were said to be Haudenosaunee.[261] This mound could also still be seen in the 19th century by Peter Jones, along with "traces of fortifications at short distances along the whole length of the beach, where holes had been dug into the sand and a breastwork thrown round them."[262]

One of the most compelling parts of this chain of stories told by the Anishnaabeg historians is the constant fighting and the consistent pushing of the Haudenosaunee back toward Lake Ontario. The way these stories are told, one cannot help but get a sense of that. At Lake Simcoe, warriors fought a three day siege near present day Orillia and the Haudenosaunee were pushed back through the

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[259] Copway, 1972:87; Eid, 1979:303; Schmalz, 1991:27.
[260] Reverend Peter (Kahkewaquonaby) Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians; with special reference to their Conversion to Christianity,* London: A. W. Benett, 1861:112; Paudash, 1905:8.
[261] Jones, 1861:113.
[262] ibid.

chain of lakes. They moved east to Pigeon Lake, where there was another battle. Here, the Haudenosaunee made a fort, the "remains of which are to be seen at this day", and the stories of the battles here are the only ones where it appears the Anishnaabeg might not win.

However, the fighting continued and eventually the fort was taken and few Haudenosaunee were spared. They travelled down the Otonabee valley where there were two battles fought near Nogojiwanong (Peterborough). The first battle was near Mud Lake, just north of Peterborough, and the second was on the village that stood on the sight of Peterborough. Many were killed here as "their blood dyed the water and their bodies filled the stream."[263]

After this, the Haudenosaunee were driven down to Rice Lake, after another battle on land and water near Onigon (the pulling-up of stakes) now known as Campbelltown.[264] They retreated further through the Trent River system, to what is known as Roche's point, where there was a Mohawk village.[265] The bodies were in "two heaps: One of which was the slain of the Iroquois, the other the Ojibways". The Haudenosaunee were routed and another stand took place at Quegeeging or Cameron's Point at the foot of Rice Lake for two days. The Haudenosaunee lost this battle as well and were forced down to Onigaming, where the Trent River flows into the Bay of Quinte. The second division of Nishnaabe and Huron/Wendat troops then joined the tired third division at Onigaming and forced the Haudenosaunee back

[263] Copway 1972:88-90; Paudash,1905: 9.
[264] Paudash, 1905:9.
[265]Paudash says, "in front of the former site [of this village]...is a mound in the shape of a serpent, and having four smaller mounds about its head and body in the forms of turtles. These mounds are a pictorial representation of Mohawk totems placed there by the Mississagas in memory of the occurrence and of the Mohawks. It has been supposed by some to mean more than this, but my father has so stated it."(Paudash, 1905:9).

into "their own country". As well, Paudash says "Before pursuing the main body of the Mohawks further, after the attack at Cameron's Point, a party of the Mississaugas went up country to a lake called Chuncall [Moira Lake], in Madoc, north of Trenton, where a party of Mohawks dwelt, and wiped them out."[266] According to Paudash, the tired warriors decided to agree to begin peace negotiations.[267]

This was the place where my grandfather shot the last Mohawk that came here...

The way the above stories are related, from the Anishnaabeg historians, is epic. They are stories that create visuals, which you begin to associate with the land around you. When I first set eyes on the Otonabee River, as I confessed earlier, I saw it run red with blood. I found myself re-telling these stories to my parents, my best friend and her dad as we all stared out at it.

Most of the time, these stories are not told again in their entirety. They are cropped for time and relevance. These stories are referred to off-hand or vaguely referenced, particularly by the Anishnaabeg as they playfully boast about claims to this area. As this is done, people present are reminded of the long history between these two nations and, because humour is used, any old tensions are alleviated.

The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is something that any person, whether they are familiar with the history or not, can easily ascertain. Public jokes that may sound a little harsh to the untrained ear are

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[266] Paudash, 1905:9-10.
[267] Copway, 1972:90-91; A.E. Williams papers, 1850:5; Paudash, 1905:9-10.

the cause of much laughter in a crowd and an opportunity for witty comebacks. In addition, people may be able to pick up other tensions or negative perceptions that can exist between people of the two nations. When this occurs, though, it is yet another opportunity to poke fun at the other nation, leading the unknowledgeable party to believe that any perceived tension is not very serious at all. One Haudenosaunee person (interview #4) stated,

> "I was asked long ago why is it that the Ojibways never liked you guys and I would say in joking well it's because we used to steal their women, and they used to get ticked off because sometimes their women didn't want to go back."

An amazing thing about this particular joke, which I have heard in various incarnations, is that it implies one of the cultural differences between the two nations. Contextualized, this joke will tell the listener that the women were happier in the Haudenosaunee societies because they were matrilineal and matrilocal. The implications were that the Anishnaabeg women liked the roles and responsibilities of women within Haudenosaunee society and opted to stay.

I also heard many stories of Haudenosaunee people who would visit an Anishnaabeg community and then be socialized into the local relationship of that particular community to the Haudenosaunee. One Haudenosaunee person (interview #13) said,

> "...the first time I got to White River, Birch Island the Chief made a point of taking me out back of his place and pointing across the bay and said see that rock? That's where my grandpa shot the last Mohawk who showed up here. I thought, why is he telling me this?"

This is a very specific sharing of the historical relationship, as these tellings always occur when there are one or two Haudenosaunee people in Anishnaabeg

territory. It always involves taking the Haudenosaunee people to a particular place on the landscape and re-stating an Anishnaabeg understanding of the wars. There is always a gesture to a particular part of the landscape (a mound, a rock, etc.) and a clear reference to the death of either the last Haudenosaunee person to come to that territory or a very large group of Haudenosaunee warriors. Interestingly, all of these stories I heard were told by men to men. One Haudenosaunee woman (interview #18) I spoke to, however, experienced a different version when she was on the north shore of Lake Superior, visiting Anishnaabeg communities there. Rather than referencing the wars, she was told a few times, "oh. We once had a Mohawk that lived here. He was a lawyer. His house burned down three times and so he left." This was a challenging situation for this woman, who lacked the context of the relationship in which to place this comment. She felt hurt and scared by this statement.

One Haudenosaunee person (interview #13) stated,

> "Because everybody's got these stories...So the idea is that then they referenced it, and they had a whole series of...they could actually point to a...here's where we fought your ancestors, and here's where we fought your ancestors, and here's the spot where we put their heads up on poles and said you can no longer come past that point. However, that would mean that there was a time when we could."

This person indicates a very important point: that the wars between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg in the 1690's, and all other skirmishes that existed before and after, were only one part of the relationship. There were also times during the relationship where the two nations were at peace with one another, traded with one another, and acknowledged each other's existence as friends and neighbours.

The Haudenosaunee, however, continue to challenge the Anishnaabeg description of the wars that were recorded and corroborated by French and Anishnaabeg historians. One person (interview #11) stated,

> "I'm not convinced that there was as much fighting...it's likely that at least some of the places that the Ojibways told the French that piles of bones from where they killed 300 Mohawk warriors and sent one survivor home to warn the others not to come back, a lot of those places are likely places of Huron ossuaries. I recognize modern Ojibway humour that the French essentially doesn't know the difference, telling a story. There are legends of battle sites at the mouth of the Saugeen River, at Parry Island at the foot of the Blue Mountains and somewhere in the Trent River system and each time the Ojibway say they were massive victories."

The historical impressions that originate in the wars between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg and are passed on through either private or public jokes are of a typical rivalry sort. The wars that occurred were heard about and mentioned in the *New York Colonial Documents* and other European/colonial sources about ten years after they happened. The details, however, were not mentioned. The colonial counterparts of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg were alerted to the movement of the Mississauga toward the northern part of Lake Ontario. Periodically, travelers and French historians would record that they heard that there had been a war of some kind between these two nations but it was not until the 19th century, when Anishnaabeg writers such as Peter Jones and William Warren, that details started to be written down. When these documentations were written, they told of the wars from an Anishnaabeg perspective. Many Anishnaabeg people I spoke to enjoy teasing the Haudenosaunee people they encounter about the accepted outcome of these wars. Frequently, one will hear references by the Anishnaabeg to when they pushed the Haudenosaunee back to their territory. The

Haudenosaunee frequently laugh these boasts off, while challenging the Anishnaabeg right to the territory in southern Ontario.

Funny to Suspicion is a Quick Ride

One of the consequences of the wars between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is that many Anishnaabeg people were raised with a fear of the Haudenosaunee. I heard many stories where parents and grandparents impressed upon children that they were to be quiet at night or the Haudenosaunee would come and take them. One person told me that this particular threat was a more potent one than any other as if you were told a bear would get you, you may still cry a little but if you were told the Haudenosaunee would come, "you shut up". I have heard these similar stories from all over Anishnaabeg territory, I heard of one woman raised with this fear who lived in southern Manitoba. One person (interview #15) told this story,

> "During the wars, I guess they needed human beings so if they saw babies they would steal them and brought them into their own tribe. She said her parents used that method of scaring people so they would conform or behave like not to make too much noise or they will come and get you. One time that did happen. They were out berry picking somewhere about 3 islands off Georgian Bay and they were told that was the route that they used to go back and forth and if they saw you they would kill you. So they were out picking berries and all of a sudden they were told to go and hide in the bush and they could see the boats going by and they didn't make any noise and it was the Iroquois people that were going by in the canoes...they were so scared, they prayed and they went back."

These fears that many older Anishnaabeg were raised with have given way to a general mistrust of Haudenosaunee people. I noticed that these fears were not as prevalent among younger people, though the distrust that it has given way to still is. One Anishnaabeg person (interview #6) stated,

> "That fear is still in me...we have our biases. You are always suspicious of them...you know, where are they going to be, are they going to be friends, or

> what are they? This bias that they talk too much, that they want everything for themselves, we could never trust them in any way shape or form, they don't keep promises, they think they're better, they're arrogant...they're just not friendly."

This person manages to articulate the extreme to which this kind of fear can grow in leaps and bounds to apply to every aspect of your neighbours, even if you know it is not true. I have to say that this statement reminds me very much of my Granny and the things she would say about Polish and Russian people (just to name a few). The fear that remains from the wars can be easily linked, then, to other stereotypes. The easiest pairings are those that result from cultural difference.

The wars in the late 17th century, then, are one of the main sources of both jokes and stereotypes in this relationship. As stated previously, jokes can have two charges, positive and negative. When teasing occurs about the wars in general, where the Anishnaabeg tease about winning these wars or the Haudenosaunee joke about the Anishnaabeg always being scared, this happens in a positive way. The potential for negativity is consistently present, particularly when the discussions are motivated by old fears that have parlayed themselves into stereotypes over time.

Cultural difference

Verbal plays upon cultural differences can be very funny or very hurtful. Stereotypes are often based upon noted cultural differences. The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is no different in this respect. The differences in the nations give rise to many jokes and stereotypes. Perceived cultural traits are assigned to each nation and people either live up to them or not. Both the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg have used their cultural differences for

humour, as well as judgment.

A prevalent one among the Anishnaabeg concerning the Haudenosaunee people plays upon the fact that many are trained as orators and are not shy about standing up and speaking their minds when necessary. These cultural traits can be interpreted negatively as being pushy or unnecessarily verbose. One person (interview #2) stated,

> "...in terms of the superiority perspective that I sense, that's a stereotype. I remember talking to this one Ojibway guy, this old guy and he says, Iroquois people are good workers but you need to put an Ojibway in charge (laughs)."

This statement was made by a Haudenosaunee person who joked about this stereotype and the Anishnaabeg presentation of it. Though this person acknowledged that there was a stereotype and he spoke of it being negative, in this case the humour was acknowledged. One person (interview #12) stated,

> "There were also stories too the Haudenosaunee were strongly spoken, they're loud, and they're pushy and I think whether you like to look past that or not I think you are always preparing yourself when interacting with someone who is Haudenosaunee that that person might gravitate towards acting a certain way which might be more direct than a Nishnaabeg person would. Anishnaabeg can sometimes be more quieter and don't always announce their presence as much and it might be the cultural tradition thing of being very humble and being very kind and always putting others before yourself. So we don't always announce our presence full on and not trying to I don't know...take over the room? I don't know how to say it without sounding bad."

Some people noted that these stereotypes were all acknowledged as such, however, the thought that these stereotypes may come to pass remain in their mind. People I spoke to were very much aware of the stereotypes, yet still told many stories of when they found these stereotypes were true. One Haudenosaunee person (interview #2) added,

> "...[Anishnaabeg people] call Mohawks very forward and pushy. (Laughs) Of course, I don't believe that, I noticed that a lot of Ojibway guys will say, well you guys are always pushing the envelope anyway, stuff like that..."

An Anishnaabeg person (interview #5) stated,

> "...on one level I see my home as the centre of the world. The Iroquois see their home as the centre of the universe (laughs). And I say that laughingly and I think that we should all feel that way that we are the centre of the universe but they seem to be a much more cultural-centric viewpoint of the Haudenosaunee that I think is a cultural trait. I heard for example that it was called the association of Iroquois and other Indians (laughs)."

The Anishnaabeg are not without their stereotype. Frequently, this is the stereotype of the "bush Indian". Anishnaabeg communities are generally speaking, farther away from urban centres and more isolated. Some of these communities are fly-in communities and many of them count on the food provided by hunting and fishing as part of their diet. The Haudenosaunee communities in Ontario sit close to large urban centres.

As stated previously, the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg have always had complementary existences. The Haudenosaunee farmed and the Anishnaabeg hunted and fished and the two nations would trade, still trade, for what each lacks. The Anishnaabeg, do play upon their stereotypes and use them to poke fun at the Haudenosaunee. A Haudenosaunee person (interview # 3) put it this way,

> "Everything from that Anishnaabeg perspective, the Haudenosaunee do everything backwards though to they were farmers and the Anishnaabeg were hunter/gatherer. Generalizations and stereotypes like that sort of notions of Nish being more mobile and Haudenosaunee trying to relate a sense of once you sort of "evolve" to this stage of domestic animals, being farmers, etc., a more highly developed sense, art, academia, etc. But of course nobody looks at how much time is actually devoted to being farmers."

One Haudenosaunee person (interview #4) poked fun at the difference between the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee ways of life,

> "Everybody knew they weren't alone...people are speaking Anishnaabeg, people are speaking Ojibway...but Haudenosaunee were not roaming...so they had their communities, they weren't nomadic, they were farming so they didn't have as much worry about territory. They would go off hunting but they were more clever, they're more like farming, look how much work is involved dragging carcasses, let them do it, we're just going to stay here and farm, it's easier..."

These cultural differences exist in many different, overlapping contexts. When mixed with the historical relationship, with all of its many occurrences, the divisiveness of colonization and mainstream stereotypes, cultural differences can take on new forms and weight.

Some of the more negative perceptions of one another are related to the perceived historical relationship with non-Indigenous peoples. One Haudenosaunee person (interview #4) talked about how she was made fun of because she was from the nation of Joseph Brant, who famously sold quite a bit of the Haldimand Tract to non-Indigenous peoples. She said,

> "A lot of it was directed at me personally because I was from Tyendinega and the Nish used to say to me, well you're from that sick nation. Because of Joseph Brant right? Thinking that he was the sell out and he just screwed you guys right over and you guys hang out with the Loyalists and the Anglicans and the really big thing was that you don't speak your language either. And that wasn't just from the Nish but from the Cree people from the north too."

I spoke to some Haudenosaunee people who, when travelling into Anishnaabeg territory in North Western Ontario, encountered this particular stereotype. One Haudenosaunee woman (interview #18) stated that some Oji-Cree

people referred to her as "dirty" because it was understood in that area that it was through the Haudenosaunee that the non-Indigenous peoples had gained such a foothold in the province. Although in this particular exchange, Joseph Brant was not mentioned, the selling of land to non-Indigenous peoples was alluded to.

These cultural differences, then, have positives and negatives. The best part about difference is that it is an opportunity to learn how to see and do things in a way that is much different than your own. The drawbacks are that people can reduce a nation of people to perceived cultural traits, even when a particular person may not have demonstrated them. Cultural differences, then, have to be navigated with respect and context. But difference is not necessarily something to be feared. It is a reality that cannot be changed but must be embraced. Embedded in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are ways of encountering and diffusing this difference. One person (interview #2) stated,

> "If you go into a community that has its own unwritten laws I guess and you can see, when I was chief we had a huge discussion on what if somebody wants to transfer in? And one of the councillors very adamantly said, well how can you make an Ojibway a Mohawk? And that led to quite a discussion. Historically, the Haudenosaunee adopted people but you overlay that with the contemporary and the influence of the British and the...I think that's where the barriers are created."

This statement is quite significant to me, as people of both nations marry into the other communities quite frequently. Yet it is also understood, by members of both nations, that one cannot become the other. But this person makes it clear that there is an understanding of significant cultural differences between the two nations that cannot always be smoothed over. In the past, there were ways around this tension but in the present some perceive these differences as insurmountable.

Nadowe

The Anishnaabeg sometimes use the word "Nadowe" to refer to the Haudenosaunee. Frequently, during interviews, this was the first thing people remembered about their introduction to the Haudenosaunee and the relationship with the Anishnaabeg. I would sit down with people and ask them my first question about the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Many of the Anishnaabeg people would say to me, "have you heard the term Nadowe?" In this section I explore the meanings of the term Nadowe as evidence of the complexity of the relationship the Anishnaabeg have to the Haudenosaunee. I have always found that words can be an excellent repository of historical consciousness, as through them and the various meanings and usages they gain and lose over time, I can understand different things about the people who used them.

The word itself, debated in scholarship, has a number of different interpretations. What came across in the interviews, however, was that despite interpretations and linguistic semantics, the word Nadowe conjures up a negative image and a negative feeling.

> "...through my grandmother, who talked about the Nadowes and...that in part, the terminology as I understand that...coloured my perspective over time with regards to the relationship with the Nadowe or Haudenosaunee. I characterize her words as being something to the effect of watch out for the Nadowes. Don't trust them...As far as I understand it, it has something to do with the snake. It has an ominous connotation or an ominous feeling associated with it." (interview #5)

> "The common every day understanding of it, snake in the grass...there's a lot of stories around it. There's one that took place in the 1920's, on a train and they were both speaking English and the Ojibway found out the other was Mohawk and the Ojibway stood up and said Nadowe and left....got off the

train." (interview #10)

As the above quote states, the common understanding of Nadowe is indeed some kind of snake, usually the rattlesnake or adder. The term Nadowessi was applied to the Sioux and is commonly translated to mean little snake or little rattle.[268] In an article about Algonquin linguistics by Chamberlain in 1901, it is stated that the word for snake is gnebig and the word for a big snake, defined as "a fabulous horned serpent" is mzhe-gnebig. Chamberlain states,

> "A large sort of serpent said to have been common in the Mackinaw region is called in Ojibwa nadowe, Nipissing natowe, perhaps 'the searcher.' In these two dialects this word signifies also 'Iroquois,' while in Cree the last meaning only attaches to it. From natowe are derived Nottoway, and (with the help of French) Sioux (truncated from a corrupt form of nadowessi)."[269]

Elder and respected linguist Shirley Williams states,

> "And nahdoway in Ojibway...we call Nadowe the snake, the rattlesnake. When I say the word, because I'm a fluent speaker, it means one who goes and gets something. Now I've been told that it means those people that go and get babies. But it doesn't translate to that either. Nadowe means it's those woods we had over our shoulder, with two pails to carry the water, that's how we would go and fetch the water. That's what the word means. Literal translation. When I hear Nadowe that means rattle snake, some people have said that's the name they gave to the Haudenosaunee people rattlesnakes. When I thought about it, one of the elders said it was the image due to their hair, long at the back shaped like a rattle. They may have used the word just for the shape of the haircut. I don't think they really meant rattlesnake, I'd like to think they didn't mean that. Call another human being a rattle snake."

A Haudenosaunee person (interview #13) stated about the term,

> "Because sometime when I went to visit the Cree in James Bay, they had a very interesting story in which they assumed we were all Mohawk, which is one thing, and then their word for us was Nadowe and I asked them what it

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[268] John Steckley, *Beyond Their Years: Five Native Women's Stories,* Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1999:63.

[269] Chamberlain, Alexander F., "Signification of Certain Algonquin Animal Names" in *American Anthropologist*, v.3, no. 4(Oct.-Dec.), 1901: 669-683, 680.

> meant and they said, they steal the women. And then I made the mistake of saying well apparently we took off with the good-looking ones. No (laughs)."

In addition to the interpretation of snakes, "the ones who come to take us" and the reference to the way the Haudenosaunee styled their hair, John Steckley has stated that when he was learning the Anishnaabemowin, Fred Wheatly told him it meant " 'the way they hold their heads up...'"[270] In many documents, Nadowe has also been stated to mean, "enemy". Donald Chaput has taken this interpretation to task, indicating that the Anishnaabeg used the term to refer to the Huron as well as the Haudenosaunee. I have found present day references to this, for instance on the Bruce Peninsula website, the section on Native History indicates that the Chippewas of the Saugeen referred to the Huron as "Ni'inaa-Nadowe, meaning Nadowe within our homeland"[271]. For Chaput, the term Nadowe simply means "foreigner" and refers to any nation that spoke different languages from the Anishnaabeg[272]. Chaput states that this term was used by the French to attribute attacks to the Haudenosaunee and to try and manipulate the Anishnaabeg to act in concert with the French agenda.[273]

As will be discussed in the following chapter, both nations have stories that indicate that at one time they were one people. Almost all of the Anishnaabeg stories of this kind that concern the Haudenosaunee frequently involve snakes and snake spirits. Another fluent Anishnaabemowin speaker (interview #6) stated,

> "The only thing I ever heard was Eddie Benton, chief of the Midewiwin Lodge standing up and talking about the Nadowe. And he said, you know,

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[270] Steckley, 1999:188.
[271] http://www.thebrucepeninsula.com/native.html
[272] Donald Chaput, ``The Semantics of the term Nadowa``, in *Names*, vol. 15, 1967:232.
[273] Chaput, 1967:230.

> we are the same people. This goes back a long way...we only use Nadowe as an adjective. The proper way to say it is Nadowenishnaabeg. He was going on about that...but that doesn't account for the difference in language, the different style living off the land...Our people believe that we are originally all one Nishnaabe. That somewhere along the line, there's a split and they decided one would live south of the other. Our people do say they were one. We call them Nishnaabe also...So they are a certain type of Nishnaabe. The adjective simply means the way they look. That's the way it was explained to me when I was a kid...Now that was so generic that in my mind I conjured up a kind of an individual with a sneer or a madman."

Many Anishnaabeg people I spoke to have an impression of the term Nadowe as being very negative. Although it is used sometimes with humour in interactions, it is generally understood as having bad feelings associated with it. One person told me he was at a meeting and a group of Haudenosaunee people walked in and he said, "oh. The Nadowes are here, prepare for a long meeting!" and everyone laughed. Another person (interview #17) told me this story:

> "When I was a kid, we made these moccasins for my grandfather's store, he would have everybody over and we would make moccasins. My grandfather's store had this old building and everyone would just sit around and make moccasins, like a little cottage industry. When you grow up on reserve, it's very insular...you know everybody and everybody's family and everybody's house. Anyways, these people came and they were Mohawk. They were talking and she says they were real boring. They asked if we had a word in Ojibway for Mohawk and this older woman, without missing a beat, just kept on sewing, said Mzhe-Mnido which means devil. We couldn't laugh because they were right there but as soon as they left we killed ourselves laughing. Nadowe was the word we were all expecting her to say. She was so cool about it, I was just really impressed with her. How quick she was in the face something. She could have said Nadowe that would be more proper. It means Mohawk...Nadowe's a real hard word...it doesn't evoke pleasantness. It has a negative connotation. That was what we always used. But it's like a racial slur, you're not supposed to use it to their face...but that was funny. But there must be something in her...I also thought how brave she was doing that. It was a very brave thing...very daring."

What is interesting for me about the term Nadowe is the way that language cannot necessarily be separated from feelings and historical understandings.

Embedded within this term are the many different emotions and the silt of historical occurrences. Its usage can change over time but it remains that many people understand this term is one with negative connotations, even though there are many that challenge this meaning. Overall, however, the word stands as an indicator of cultural difference. It is only one part of the river and I think that the interpretation of Nadowe as either negative or neutral can correspond to the persistence of historical memories. If those negative historical memories of the Haudenosaunee are taken as a frame of reference, rather than the relationship itself, and experiences within the Haudenosaunee are constantly related back to a war or disagreement then Nadowe will have a negative connotation. But it is possible that the term Nadowe was always used to represent the Haudenosaunee, in which case the reference point was not necessarily one of animosity but one of recognized and respected difference upon which a long relationship is based.

Political Differences

All of this history, all of these stereotypes, all of these different cultural understandings plays into the current political relationship between the two nations. Until this point, I have steered clear of speaking too much about the current nation to nation relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. I have done this on purpose, as I have aimed to illustrate that though there is a relationship between the two nations, on a formal level, it is the informal relationships and the people themselves that keep this relationship flowing every day.

The differences in political philosophies continue to be another source of

humour and stereotype between the two nations. I have heard members of each nation poke fun at the other's governing system, declaring the superiority of their own traditional system of governance. People I spoke to saw this difference in governing structure as being an intense source of stereotype for the two nations. The Anishnaabeg system was criticized as inefficient for decision-making and too disorganized. The traditional Anishnaabeg style of governing has also been called 'barbaric' and 'backwards' or they are teased for having no government at all. The Haudenosaunee system was criticized as inflexible and too centralized. The Anishnaabeg system has been criticized by the Haudenosaunee for its flexibility in that it is open to other political influences. One Haudenosaunee person (interview #11) stated the political difference as follows:

> "My sense is that Ojibway communities, being much smaller, never developed more government than they needed. Well, peoples have as much gov't as they need. The Haudenosaunee society being an agricultural society and communities of several thousand people developed more rigid structures that resisted colonization and assimilation because they stood strong. Nish resistance I tend to compare to...it's sort of like you punch a bowl of jello, it gives way and then the fist is withdrawn, and the person leaves and an hour later you'll never know the fist was there. It's a different kind of resistance. Indian Act people would show up and say you have to elect your chief, and the Haudenosaunee would say no we don't have elections, it's not our way and we will fight you all the way down the line on that. The Ojibways would say, oh ok, peter has been our chief for 30 years, let's elect him and now lets move on with life."

In the 19th century, this criticism meant that the Anishnaabeg were willing to accept and discuss particular political changes from Canada, whereas the Haudenosaunee were not. One example of where the differences in political philosophies have been challenging is the creation of political groups that involve both nations. This is not to say that the nations cannot work together politically,

however, many people I spoke to used the creation of the General Indian Council as an example of how difficult it can be to overcome the differences in political philosophies.

In 1867, Canada was granted a degree of independence from Britain. In the British North America Act, s. 91, Canada was given control over Indians and lands reserved for Indians. Indian Policy was beginning to be streamlined and amalgamated in accordance with 19th century understandings of Victorian morals, racial hierarchies, Christianity and nascent view of Canadian identity. As such, An Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians of 1869 amalgamated all previous acts concerning Indigenous peoples in Canada. This act sought to limit Indigenous autonomy and imposed blood quantum, elected band councils, and enfranchisement qualifications.

Clearly, the newly minted Canadian government had a different view of the relationships with Indigenous nations it inherited from the British Crown. The 1869 Act, and all acts preceding it, was done without consultation with Indigenous peoples. In response, the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee concluded that they should meet and discuss recent developments. In 1870, 89 people of both nations from 21 communities in both Ontario and Quebec met at Six Nations. It was proposed at this meeting that the two nations ally and form a political organization to challenge the actions of the Canadian government and the Grand General Indian Council of Ontario and Quebec was formed (GIC).[274]

The meeting took place at Six Nations and the speaker followed

[274] Yale Belanger, *Seeking a Seat at the Table: A brief History of Indian Political Organizing in Canada, 1870-1951,* 2005:59.

Haudenosaunee protocol before discussing the challenges that brought the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee together. At the beginning of these ceremonies, the Haudenosaunee reviewed the Wampums and the formation of the League. The treaties and solemn peace treaties that had occurred between the two nations were reviewed and unification was emphasized. Some Anishnaabeg felt as though the meeting was viewed as solely within the Haudenosaunee political domain.[275]

Before the week of ceremonies following this meeting was over, disagreements arose around the format of the organization. Some believed that one organization might not work because of the differing political philosophies of the two nations. The Haudenosaunee favoured a more centralized system while the Anishnaabeg were more comfortable with one that organized around particular situations. Despite these differences, an executive was eventually chosen, though the Anishnaabeg were in the majority due to population in attendance. The construction of the organization was hierarchical in nature, represented by a president, three vice presidents and a secretary. The Anishnaabeg had the majority of the votes in the GIC and, as a result, could better implement their political vision. Belanger states that the GIC,

> "...reflecting a time-honoured Anishinaabe political strategy of engaging neighbouring tribes and political entities such as the English and French in councils, decided to begin lobbying federal officials for a political assembly. Such an approach had historically resulted in the Anishinaabe signing treaties with the Crown and improving their economic conditions during the fur trade."[276]

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[275] Norman Shields, *Anishnabek Political Alliance in the post-Confederation period, The Grand General Indian Council of Ontario, 1870-1936,* MA Thesis, Kingston: Queen's University, 2001:31.
[276] Belanger, 2005:60.

Belanger also indicates that the Anishnaabeg were fine with sharing political ideologies with other nations but with the understanding that both must be willing to concede particular things in order for a political relationship to be successful. The Haudenosaunee, on the other hand, maintained their sovereign status and resisted any reinterpretation of the Royal Proclamation, which they saw as recognizing land ownership and establishing the framework for future relationships. These differences led to tension within the GIC, over issues such as the stance of the organization on the Act of 1869. Whereas the Anishnaabeg wanted to suggest changes to the Act in order to accommodate Indigenous political autonomy and Canada's "aspirations", the Haudenosaunee wanted the Act repealed.[277]

In order to construct an alliance such as the GIC, many historical tensions and political philosophies must be reconciled. Belanger states, "Within the GIC, the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee failed to renew past political relationships prior to their attempts to create what both sides believed could become an important conduit to government officials."[278] This overarching political alliance eventually failed and both nations were rather unsatisfied with the outcome. Almost immediately, government support and scrutiny of this organization made it relatively ineffectual. The Haudenosaunee never viewed this organization as something that could advance their political agenda or deliver an appropriate political response. They continued to send representatives to the meetings, until this organization ceased to exist in the 1930's. The differing political philosophies, in addition to the different visions of how the two nations would form a relationship with Canada, contributed to its

[277] Belanger, 2005:63.
[278] Belanger, 2005:91.

downfall.

Clearly, throughout their relationship it has been a challenge for the two nations to combine their political philosophies. Many people I spoke to highlighted the political relationship as being especially challenging. Some Anishnaabeg have an impression that the Band Council system favours the political philosophy of the Haudenosaunee. One person (interview #6) stated,

> "Fight over money, fight over the pieces of the pie that we get and they are some of those that we are fighting with. And they always win. And the gov't favours them because they seem to fit. They're the ones that are to the bigger system, like the Canadian gov't. The Nadowe are the better bureaucrats, they're better educated, they fit that kind of stuff though the same thing doesn't fit here..."

The current system under the Indian Act means that communities frequently find themselves competing for the same funds. Some people stated that this was part of the goal of the government: to keep the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee on different sides of the negotiating table. One person (interview #19) stated,

> "The economic will drive a political wedge between us. The politics are such that we are now enemies fighting over a diminishing resource, a diminishing federal dollar and so that keeps our people socially at odds."

Though these differences in political philosophies are fundamental, they have never prevented the two nations from coming together and trying to work on an issue. Moreover, when one nation needs another the support is always forthcoming. People I spoke to stated that in many respects the differing philosophies should not matter. The ways of governance cannot be seen to be better than one another, as they both come out of the environment, spiritual beliefs and experiences of the people that use them. There have always been ways to solve these differences in the

relationship and work together on particular issues. People stated,

> "It's good to have nation to nation meetings, as long as it isn't a showmanship kind of thing, I think mutual admiration of each other's culture is great but, not a were better than you kind of thing. I don't think we need to be there, I don't think we're in a fight over land anymore, maybe...(laughs)." (interview #8)

> "A lot of people...and here's the core difference, even though you have like the Grand Council of the Crees and the get together, most Nish people are territorial but don't have a unifying gov't like the Haudenosaunee do. You could argue well how effective is that gov't right now but what I'm getting at is you've got two different ways of arriving at decisions. And many of the Anishnaabeg people are still living on the land, their maintaining that pattern where we've become sedentary, you know, community reserve, we go to the Wal-Mart we shop in Hamilton, we have a different kind of life experience. Now it's going to be too hard to come up with one vision but you know this parallel thing? I believe that the understanding that there's a prior parallel worldview, vision...that we strengthen what that is...it co-existed for 30,000 years and at the same time you were able to cross that boundary occasionally and so we're adapting from them and crossing that more politically but maybe the next era is about the social cultural transition. I think that's going to create a renewed vision, the vision is already there..." (interview #13)

Politically, the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee have two different philosophies, which are the source of ridicule but have also thrown up some barriers for the two nations. Working together at the nation-to-nation level is always quite challenging, especially when two nations have had either a difficult history or an historical event, which needs to be overcome. At this level, the potential and reality of humour is still present, however leaders are more careful with their words and the atmosphere is less relaxed. Though it is individuals who carry a particular historical memory of relations with other nations that sit at the table, these individuals must proceed with the business of nations and deal with the relationship a different way. The political nature of the Anishnaabeg-Haudenosaunee relationship is presently carried out in a variety of ways, from including local community relationships to

representation in the Chiefs of Ontario to representation on boards that are issue driven.

Conclusion

When I began writing this chapter, I did not understand how much of the historical consciousness of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee embodied itself through humour, stereotypes and some mixture of the two. All of the jokes, the witty remarks and the hurtful assumptions are based on past interactions within the relationship, including the shifts that occurred with differing colonial alliances. The majority of the humour and stereotypes can be found referencing historical interactions, frequently the wars, and cultural differences.

All of these things impact the contemporary relationship in multiple ways. In the political spectrum, many of these differences were harder to manage in the early 19th century when the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg were seeking to form a political alliance to counteract Indian policy developments.

It is important that the jokes and teasing, which represent the historical consciousness of a particular relationship or event, are placed in context whenever practical. I realize the brevity of some social interactions may not allow for such long stories to be told but at the same time I cannot help but think that there is danger in passing along only the negativity. I mention this here because fear can be such a powerful motivator, such a powerful memory. It bears repeating that humour has both a negative and a positive charge.

It reminds me of dipping a sieve into a fast flowing river. When you take it out, the water drains through and returns to the river. In your sieve, however, you are left with a twig, some stones, and maybe a few other things the river happened to catch along its journey. But can you really say that this is the river you hold in your sieve? We cannot ever really hold the water, to keep it, because it belongs to everybody. These long-standing relationships can be enriched, I think, by knowing all about the river itself. Where it bends, where it diverges and where it comes back together. These long relationships are not meant to be represented by small things, as they are large and ever changing. After all, these are not only nation-to-nation relationships, but people to people relationships.

Chapter 6: Maintaining the Relationship

This chapter concerns the contemporary expression of ancient principles within the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. When I examined the principles behind the daily interactions between the two nations, I found a clear understanding of the relationship. This is the essence of historical consciousness: where history meets individual expressions, which in turn make history. In these contemporary expressions are found elements of the solid and everlasting relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. The principles articulated by the people I spoke to have their roots in the ancient relationship. These principles are: the principle of reciprocity; the principle of relations; the principle of complementary difference; and the principle of renewal. In this chapter I will examine each principle and their current manifestations.

Family Relations

A principle of the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee peoples, which has continued through time, is the principle of family relations. Intermarriage, historically and contemporarily, has forged ties in blood that are stronger than the neighbourly relationship. I have found that many people I spoke to shared both Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee ancestry or were involved in lifelong partnerships with a member of the other nation.

In the past, there was frequently intermarriage among the nations, which occurred because of adoption during times of war and re-affirmation of the relationship during times of peace. In fact, there are at least two stories in which

each nation tells of the origin of the other. In both these stories the nations begin as one nation and then, due to differences, they separate and become two nations.

Basil Johnston tells a story, which I have paraphrased here, concerning the origin of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee:

> A young woman was told not to go near a lake and for a while, she obeyed. Eventually her curiosity got the better of her and, while no one was around, she went to the place. When she arrived she saw a handsome man and she believed that this was the reason why she was not allowed to go to this place. After some time had passed, she conceived and when she began to show the people knew where she had been. "'Well, well,' they said to her, 'even though you were warned, you visited that spirit.' They say that spirit was a snake called 'adder'. A great huge snake."[279] She gave birth to a girl and a boy, however both children were "unusually cross" because, it was thought, they were spirits. The woman had to leave the village, along with her children. They survived and prospered and "in time they grew into greater numbers. These were the Iroquois, the little Iroquois. They were said to be more than unusually bad tempered. But what was expected? They were spirits.". [280]

Peter Klinck relates a story from the Onondagas that tells of the origin of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. They say,

> "...that before they lived at Onondaga, there was a large village at Salmon Creek, east of Oswego. Differences arose between the people and they agreed to leave the village and go their separate ways. When they were leaving in their canoes, a grandmother addressed them and stated that she was too old to leave, she could not bear leaving her native land or seeing the people separate. Therefore, she demanded that they lay her between the two lead canoes and let her fall into the lake as they went their separate ways. As they watched the grandmother disappear into the water, she turned into a sturgeon. Then the two groups of people went their different ways: one group went towards Cataraqui (Kingston) and another towards Oswego. The group that went towards Cataraqui, 'before...they got out of hearing of each

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[279] Basil Johnston, *Mermaids and Medicine Women*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1998:69.

[280] Johnston, 1998:71. A similar story was recorded from Parry Island. In this version, the Haudenosaunee originate from a relationship between a man, who is understood to be either the spirit of a snake or closely related to them, and a Anishnaabeg woman who resided near Collingwood. The couple had a boy and a girl, which the Anishnaabeg woman beseeched her parents to raise. " 'Take these children and raise them. When they grow up let them marry one another for whoever else marries either of them will die.'" From the marriage of this brother and sister came the "Nadowe", "who killed and ate the Ojibwa" (Jenness, 1935:101). Upon reading this story, I wondered if it could serve as a warning not to young Anishnaabeg not to intermarry with the Haudenosaunee.

> other, they had begun to speak a different language. From these, they say, have sprung the Nations of the Algonquin or Chippawa language, which the Five Nations call Dekanka.'[281]

These stories are not necessarily the only origin of the relationship between these two nations, but represent a long held understanding of the depth of the relationship. Believing that at one time everyone was part of the same nation and spoke the same language indicates recognition of common humanity and common origin. In the last chapter I shared a quote from an Anishnaabeg Elder (interview #6) about the term Nadowe. Part of it bears repeating here. He stated,

> "...we only use Nadowe as an adjective. The proper way to say it is Nadowenishnaabeg. He was going on about that...but that doesn't account for the difference in language, the different style living off the land....Our people believe that we are originally all one Nishnaabe. That somewhere along the line, there's a split and they decided one would live south of the other."

Even the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg has been characterized as one of family. The relationship is frequently described referring to the 'Gdoo-naaganinaa' (by the Anishnaabeg) or 'The dish with one spoon' (by the Haudenosaunee).[282] This relationship reflects and embodies responsibilities to the shared territory of the two nations. Southern Ontario was a territory to which both nations had responsibilities, in addition to the relationship they had with one another. The territory and all that lived within it was to be shared and no nation was to take more than they needed. The dish reflects the

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[281] Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, eds., *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Champlain Society, 1970:98

[282] Simpson, 2011. The dish with one spoon is also mentioned in the Kaienerekowa (Great Law) in which it states, "'We shall now do this: We shall only have one dish (or bowl) in which will be placed one beaver's tail and we shall all have coequal right to it, and there shall be no knife in it, for if there be a knife in it, there would be danger and that it might cut some one and blood would thereby be shed'" (A. C. Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations,* New York: Museum Bulletin184, 1916:103; 15-XV, TLL).

understanding that both the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg are to peaceably maintain shared responsibilities to this territory and, like family, they will continue to share in what the land provides for them. Peter Jones remarked that after the hostilities between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee,

> "a treaty of peace and friendship was then made with the Nahdoways...and both nations solemnly covenanted, by going through the usual forms of burying the tomahawk, smoking the pipe of peace, and locking their hands and arms together, agreeing in future to call each other BROTHERS."[283]

In addition, Wallace said that the battles ended in,

> "...a treaty by which the two peoples agreed to live as brothers, but apart. In symbol of this treaty, whenever men of the Five Nations and Ojibways met, they exchanged a special sign of greeting, linking arms in the crook of the elbow. It is said on the Six Nations Reserve that this unusual greeting was reserved exclusively for the Ojibways, and was a mark of peculiar respect."[284]

Horatio Hale says similarly that this peace "...was understood to make them not merely allies but brothers. As the symbol on one of the belts which is still preserved indicates, they were to be relatives who are so nearly akin that they eat from the same dish."[285]

In addition to ancient familial ties and treaty relationships, there was more recent practice of solidifying family ties between the two nations. Paudash speaks about long history of wars between the nations and tells the story of the series of battles through southern Ontario where the Anishnaabeg forced the Haudenosaunee from the north side of the lake. Eventually, he states,

"After a long time the Mohawks, who resisted with great bravery, sent two

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[283] Jones, 1861:113.
[284] Paul A. Wallace, *The White Roots of Peace,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946:44.
[285] Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites,* Philadelphia: Brinton's Library of Aboriginal Literature, 1883:91.

> old men to see if peace could not be made, it being a pity that brave enemies should fight till both were upon the point of extermination. It was evident, however, that there could be no certainty of peace for the future, since the Iroquois, as well as the Mississagas children, would surely take up the quarrel and continue it. It was decided by treaty, therefore, that the children of the Mohawk and the Mississagas warriors should be given and taken in intermarriage, and in this way peace was assured for the future."[286]

Paudash highlights the realities of these quarrels: that they will be handed down through the generations and the quarrels will continue. One of the most potent ways to counteract this reality, even if the foundation of the quarrel is not completely solved, is to make the other nation family. Through family bonds, historical hurts can be healed through the love that is created. This is not to say, however, the historical hurts are automatically erased upon marriage or birth of children. Intermarriage between the two nations has its challenges, as the differences and old wounds become obstacles to be overcome by the couples. One person (interview # 3) I interviewed told this story about his parents:

> "I know it indicates some of it, like my papa who was from Tyendinaga, when he would go courting at my grandmother's at curve lake, her father wouldn't be in the same house, like he would leave the house, he wouldn't be in the same house as a Mohawk, so that's pretty strong. Her parents they were opposed to the union and something so I think that tells you something about the power of love. I think there were some in terms of sense of family, they ended up moving to Detroit for two years, so they were away from both sides of the family, her mum came down and lived with them for awhile, I think part of it was to make sure they got married and then keep an eye on things. Eventually they ended up settling at T and I know talking to my grandmother, things were tough for her there because (a) she wasn't from Tyendinaga and (b) she was Ojibway. It took her a lot of years to be accepted as part of the community. Sense of distrust."

This is a story of one particular family that shares both Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg ancestry/nationhood. In every way this story is unique but yet

[286] Paudash, 1905:10.

representative of many family experiences that I have encountered. The sense of distrust, cultural differences and historical rememberings still remained when a couple first married. All of the stories I was told about intermarriage between a Haudenosaunee person and an Anishnaabeg person involved the couple enduring a tough time while their families adjusted to one another while working to adjust their historical understandings with the person standing in front of them. Many of these difficult adjustments referred to marriages that took place before the 1970's. More recently, these intermarriages are not plagued as much by negative historical memories. Although, as one person (interview #11) stated,

> "As we come into the new century, the 20th century, there became a lot of intermarriages. I remember one that happened with one our something from six nations with one of the natives from Walpole Island. Her grandmother said you can't trust the Haudenosaunee people and you should end this relationship and stuff like that. I still hear that amongst Nishnaabeg, I'm 65 now but there is still back home that talk about "those Ojibway" or "those Chippewa". But basically new credit is right next to six nations and there has been so much intermarriage between new credit and six nations that's it really hard to tell where the line ends now."

Intermarriages between the two nations do not always mean there is a guaranteed sense of distrust among the families. An Anishnaabeg person (interview #8) shared that when she married her Haudenosaunee (Mohawk) husband, in the early 1970's, she was more of a curiosity to his family than anything else. When they were married, she said, they endured a great deal of ribbing from both families. The teasing was rather relentless, though it was all in good fun. The people I spoke to that were partner to, or the product of, these marriages stated that they were frequently made fun of by their in-laws for being a member of the 'other' nation. As stated in the previous chapter, this good-natured humour reminds people about the

historical relationship and what side everyone falls on. The playful teasing embraces both difference and historical memory, continually creating and re-creating the relationship.

The children of these marriages are sometimes called Ojihawks or Jibberhawks. It can be challenging to have ancestry of both nations, particularly if you are in a place where tensions can run high. Sometimes children of these intermarriages can feel as though they need to choose between the two nations. I spoke to people that were told that they could not identify as both. One person was told, "you're in conflict with yourself". Although this comment may not have necessarily been said to this person with utmost seriousness, it was taken that way. In certain company, some people opted to introduce themselves as either or Haudenosaunee or Anishnaabeg but not both. One person (interview #2) made a statement that was referenced earlier but bears repeating,

> "When I was chief we had a huge discussion on what if somebody wants to transfer in? And one of the councillors very adamantly said, well how can you make an Ojibway a Mohawk? And that led to quite a discussion. Historically, the Haudenosaunee adopted people but you overlay that with the contemporary and the influence of the British and the...I think that's where the barriers are created."

It is well recognized that there are fundamental cultural differences between the two nations. These, along with the negative historical memories, can be overcome. However, for some there is a sense of incommensurability. This can cause difficulties for children, particularly if their mother is Anishnaabeg and their father is Haudenosaunee. One person (interview #5) stated,

> "In our area there's a river, Chippewa and Muncee and Oneida on the other side. A long history of the gulf between those communities but there's certainly been intermarriage over time. I think what it is for many people is

> an Ojibway mum and Iroquois father, what clan are you? Sometimes that's based on whose territory you're living on but not necessarily. So there are those kinds of adoption issues, adoption not only in terms of clans but also which way are you going to dance? Choices sometimes need to be made by the children because they are different ways."

The teasing that is endured by the couples and the families upon marriage is fairly consistent. This means that once the children are born they become part of this larger relationship. People I spoke to said that some of this could be easily internalized because the teasing occurs without the vast layers of context in which it is meant. Mixed with the stereotypes in mainstream society, children may feel that it is more advantageous to identify with one nation than the other. One person (interview #8) stated,

> "And in my own family, though my kids were brought up in a sense that one was superior to the other...it was a battle that I never really bothered to fight. It was just something that, oh well, the kids will figure it out. And I don't think it was meant as a malicious thing, that I think some of them certainly got it, you know one was more superior to the other."

In addition to this, some people discussed that as a child of both nations, you feel the need to carry on traditions and your histories but you have twice as much to know. One person (interview # 14) shared that when you learn only about one nation, it can sometimes feel as though you are dishonouring the other. These identity challenges are familiar to me. I think of the quote I heard that said, "I'm not half of anything. I'm whole."

In spite of these difficulties, family and intermarriage have always been and remain an important way to work through differences. In many ways, Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee people who intermarry can perform a similar role to that of the children who would be exchanged between the two nations to learn one another's

languages.

> "And they have intermarried. I know on my reserve. There were Haudenosaunee people that arrived for one reason or another because they were also being displaced. Those people ran away and came to wiki...there were at least three people that people talked about that they were Nadowe. Then they spoke Ojibway. I don't think they continued to speak Mohawk. There used to be young people traded back and forth to learn the languages." (interview #15)

Trading young people back and forth ensured that there was a continuing connection between the two nations and that there would be someone present who could interpret during meetings. This interpretation referred not only to language but cultural understandings as well.

People in contemporary marriages, and their children, can still perform the role of cultural broker. They cement the relationship between the two nations and serve as physical reminders as to its existence. Moreover, many times extended family gathers it is a time for celebration and storytelling. During these occasions, people will take the opportunity to tease one another about being Haudenosaunee or Anishnaabeg. These can be moments of historical awareness, as those that are younger begin to learn about the histories of the two nations. One person (interview #16) who was a member of both the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg members had trouble understanding the persistence of stereotypes. He asked, "...is it because they don't have close family members? Like they're intermarried but they don't have close family?"

Everyone I spoke to that was both Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee spoke of the honour they felt at being a part of both of these strong nations. Though there can be a pressure to choose, much of it has to do with your perception of your own

identity. One person (interview # 9) stated,

> "People that have problems with identity, if you have two really distinct cultures that are coming together, people in the past didn't have that problem. People spoke many different native languages, I think it's our construction of our own identity...and you feel pressure to conform to that identity, but really you're a mixture of things...One of my daughters, sees herself as the beneficiary of a number of different cultures rather than conflicted by multiple identities or multiple ancestries."

It is these multiple benefits that strengthen both nations. Many people discussed sharing their experiences with one another. The need to honour each other's culture, histories, and languages is immense but to also be able to share recent and contemporary experiences with colonization and strategies of survival would benefit both nations. In family situations, an almost disembodied nation, a creature of stories, is intensely humanized and caught in complex emotions of love, blood, and concrete relationships. These families create new experiences and new histories to add to the Anishnaabeg-Haudenosaunee relationship, "...and to me culture is about growth, if culture is going to do anything there has to be new stories added to the old stories." (interview #8)

The Principle of Reciprocity

Another principle of the contemporary relationship, which has continued from the ancient relationship, is the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity is discussed by many Indigenous scholars and is very recently becoming an important tenet in research that focuses on Indigenous issues.[287] Many of these scholars explain that reciprocity is a reflection of Indigenous worldviews and the understanding that

[287] See scholars such as Wilson (2009), Meyer (2006), Kuokkanen(2007), Smith(1999), etc.

humans are dependent upon an intricate web of relationships. Kuokkanen states,

> "...the gift is a reflection of a particular worldview, one characterized by the perception that the natural environment is a living entity which gives its gifts and abundance to people provided that they observe certain responsibilities and provided that those people treat it with respect and gratitude."[288]

The principle of reciprocity is one that has been cemented in treaty relationships between many Indigenous nations. These relationships are necessary to survive and the ethic of reciprocity within them demonstrates this respectfully. To acknowledge dependence on human relationships, a reflection of the relationship with all of Creation, is to acknowledge kinship and co-existence. Embedded within this is the understanding that these relationships require maintenance and nations have responsibilities to one another in order to successfully care-take them. Kuokkanen refers to this reciprocity as "...*response-ability* – that is, an ability to respond, to remain attuned to the world beyond oneself, as well as a willingness to recognize its existence through the giving of gifts."[289] This principle of reciprocity is one that exists at the nation-to-nation level but also exists at the community, family and individual level.

Within the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee there are many examples of reciprocity. In this section, I have chosen to briefly discuss the reciprocity that has occurred at a community level in times of need. People I interviewed discussed at length the relationships that developed between Haudenosaunee communities and Anishnaabeg communities during the tumultuous 19th century. These relationships, embedded in the over-

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[288] Rauna Kuokkanen, *Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift,* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007:32.
[289] Kuokkanen, 2007:39.

arching relationship between the nations, have embodied the principle of reciprocity. This does not mean, however, that these relationships are without challenge or without disputes. It does mean that the underlying relationship is continually acknowledged and acted upon in a reciprocal fashion. A great example of this is the relationship between the Haudenosaunee who settled at the Grand River in 1784 and the Anishnaabeg (Mississauga) who lived at New Credit and other nearby communities.

The Mississaugas had been living on the north shore of Lake Ontario since the early 18th century, as they had moved into the area after the Haudenosaunee had been called home. They lived in communities at the Western end of the Lake around the Etobicoke River, the Humber River, the Credit River, the 16 and 12 mile Creeks, and continuing to the Niagara Falls. Their hunting territory extended from Long Point on Lake Erie to the Rouge River, down to Niagara River.[290]

The British government entered into negotiations with the Mississaugas to purchase much of the land in southern Ontario to settle the Loyalists who had fought in the American Revolution. Joseph Brant (Tyendinaga) had been instrumental for the British, securing some Haudenosaunee participation in the American Revolution.[291] Brant demanded that the Haudenosaunee who were loyal to Britain should receive land grants like any other Loyalist.[292] The Haudenosaunee at this

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[290]Smith, 1987:21.

[291] It should be noted that the Oneida and Tuscarora fought alongside the Americans during this war. In addition, Brant's authority was given to him by the Confederacy for his close relations with the British (his sister married Sir William Johnson, an imperial representative to the Six Nations), his fluency in the English language and culture, and the respect the British had for his skills. Hill, 2005:243.

[292] In fact, the Haudenosaunee had been assured by Britain that if they fought for them much of the land that had been lost to encroaching American settlers would be returned. Brant suspected that this

time were under immense population pressure from the Americans as they spread west and many of the Haudenosaunee who were loyal to the British decided to move north.[293]

The Haudenosaunee chose the Grand River area, the furthest west of the three, so that they would be close to the Seneca who remained south of the lake.[294] This choice worked well for the British. Despite bringing the Anishnaabeg into the Covenant Chain and beginning a new formal relationship with the Treaty of Niagara in 1764, the British felt more secure having the Haudenosaunee living between the British settlers and the Anishnaabeg.[295]

The British purchased a swath of land, six miles on either side of the Grand River from its source to a relatively disputed northern boundary.[296] When the Mississauga were told that this land was to be set aside for the Haudenosaunee, there were some objections to allowing the Haudenosaunee to live so close. The wars the nations had fought were fresh in their minds and it was feared that disputes would be imminent. One of the concerns expressed by the Mississauga was that if there were disputes, they would result in one nation or the other leaving the country.[297]

After much discussion, the Mississauga decided that the long relationship with the Haudenosaunee, which requires mutual reciprocity, took precedence over the possibility of disputes. In addition, the Mississauga knew that a number of

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was a ploy but at the end of the war, fully intended that the Haudenosaunee should be compensated with secure land in British North America. Hill, 2005:244.

[293] Hill, 2005:242-243.

[294] Grand River was not the only choice for settlement. The Haudenosaunee also considered the Bay of Quinte and a tract of land near Cataraqui.

[295] Charles M. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations: A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River*, Toronto: The Champlain Society, University of Toronto Press, 1964:xxxvi

[296] Hill, 2005:262.

[297] Smith, 1981:80.

settlers were coming to live in their hunting grounds and though they had disagreements with the Haudenosaunee in the past, it would be easier to find common cause to unite against the settlers with the Haudenosaunee.[298] Chief Pokquan stated,

> "'your request...does not give us that trouble or concern, that you might imagine from the answer you received from some of our people the other day, that difficulty is entirely removed, we are Indians, and consider ourselves and the Six Nations to be one and the same people, and agreeable to a former, and mutual agreement, we are bound to help each other...we are happy to hear that you intend to settle at the River Oswego...and hope you will keep your men in good Order as we shall be in one Neighbourhood, and to live in friendship with each other as Bretheren ought to do.'"[299]

After the Haudenosaunee moved into the territory, non-Indigenous population pressure began to escalate. At the Grand River, Joseph Brant had invited a number of his non-Indigenous friends to live on the Haldimand Tract by 1798, 350,000 acres of the approximately 675,000 of land were formally disposed of in large blocks.[300] It has been stated that by the time the tract was surveyed there were already squatters living on the territory.[301]

This was in addition to the American settlers who came north and the settlers from Britain. Some of these settlers purchased land from the Crown and others squatted. Regardless, there were waves of settlers coming to the area who had a different understanding of land use. Fences were erected, more livestock introduced and the concept of private property was enforced. This meant that both the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg found themselves unable to cross certain parts of the territory, unable to access particular water sources, and challenged by the

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[298] ibid.
[299] Johnston, 1964:47.
[300] Johnston, 1964:lv.
[301] ibid.

numerous livestock animals and tree clearing.

These pressures were enhanced by the murder of a prominent Mississauga ogii-maa in 1796. This particular event became a powder keg in Ontario at the time and it became clear to both nations that they needed to protect one another. The murder of Wabakinine caused the Mississauga to approach Joseph Brant and the Haudenosaunee to see if they would support them in seeking satisfaction of this death.[302] Joseph Brant managed to convince the Mississauga that this was not the best course of action, as it could cause more problems than it solved.[303] Not long after this exchange, the Mississauga adopted Brant as their chief, "because he alone knows the value of Land."[304] Brant had an excellent command of English language, ways and laws and he began advising the Mississauga that they could receive more money for their land than they had previously. The Upper Canadian government would lose out in this situation, which was one of the contributing factors to the government policy of dividing the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg by playing upon past differences and stereotypes. Johnson states, "Mr. Justice William Dummer Powell, for example, laid the blame for the Mississaugas' new attitude directly to the fact that Brant had been allowed to sell Six Nations' land to private individuals for a high price, instead of being forced to sell to the government at the

[302] Wabakinine, a Credit River ogii-maa, had come to York with his wife and his sister in order to sell salmon. Before midnight, a queen's ranger and two of his friends came for Wabakinine's sister who had met up with the ranger earlier in the day. Wabakinine's wife awoke to see this taking place and shook her husband awake. The chief lunged at the ranger. The ranger's friends beat the ogii-maa, struck him with a rock and then turned on his wife. The rest of the band came running and took the women and Wabakinine to their camp site but he died the next day and his wife a few days later (Smith, 1987:28).
[303] Smith, 1987:29.
[304] Johnston, 1964:103.

old nominal rates."[305]

Brant took his advisor position to the Mississauga very seriously and encouraged the nation to retain some of their lands. This close relationship continued to evolve and in 1798, Chief Wabanip stated that, " 'In the future the [Six] Nations expect to see us every spring at their Council fire to consult with each other, & if any injury happen one or the other, they were not to do anything without first consulting each other in Council...'"[306]

Both the Mississauga and the Haudenosaunee at Six Nations knew that with the constant stream of non-Indigenous settlers arriving, the lack of government removal of squatters, and the policy of pursuit of Mississauga lands, it was important that they try to set aside their differences and watch out for one another. But by 1805, the Mississauga had sold the Mississauga Tract, around 80,000 acres of land, without consulting Joseph Brant.[307]

The population pressure continued to increase after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[308] The vast amounts of non-Indigenous settlers came into the area, acquired their land in suspicious ways, such as squatting or illegal purchases. As early as the 1820's these regular occurrences were recognized as a problem by the government. [309] This pressure became unbearable for many Indigenous peoples

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[305] Johnson, 1990:239.
[306] Johnson, 1990:240.
[307] Robert J. Surtees, ``Land Cessions, 1763-1830``, in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations,* Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith, eds., Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1994:110; Smith, 1981:80; Johnson, 1990:249.
[308] By the 1840's, the population of Upper Canada was some 450,000, while the corresponding population of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in this area at the time was roughly 10,000. It should be mentioned that the Indigenous population increased a little as well, due to relatives from across the border coming north to live (Smith 1987:174).
[309] At this time there was mounting petitions by both Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg peoples regarding the behaviour of the settlers. The Anishnaabeg, including Kahkewaquonaby or Rev. Peter Jones, managed to convince the Legislative Assembly to pass an act that protected Mississauga

and their lands, forcing them into decisions of selling their land and moving further from the growing non-Indigenous population.

For the Mississauga at Credit River, constant petitions were made of the government to protect their land and to give them a deed of title to the land they now occupied. The government consistently refused to give a deed, because they supposedly did not want the people to alienate their land. However, Peter Jones[310] and the Mississauga were not asking for a document in fee simple, merely a document that secured the land they occupied at Credit River to them and their children in perpetuity.[311] This became a more pressing issue, when Sir Francis Bond Head took over as the Super Intendant General of Indian Affairs in 1836.[312] The Mississauga and the other Anishnaabeg were concerned that without title, they would be removed from their territory and their land taken.

Peter Jones was not only half Mississauga but his father had remarried a Haudenosaunee woman and Peter had spent his teenage years at Six Nations with his half brothers and sisters. In fact, it was through his residence at the Head of the Lake and his participation in a Mohawk church that led to close relationships that

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hunting and fishing rights in 1825. Though there was jail time associated with the violations of this act, settler pressure and harassment continued (J. R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009: 103-104).

[310] Peter Jones, or Kahkewaquonaby, was a son of a Welsh surveyor and a Mississauga woman who was the daughter of Wahbononsay. By the 1820's, he was a Methodist minister and had been educated in the English language and ways. He created a mission at Credit River and it became known as a success for Indigenous peoples participating within the European society of Upper Canada. They farmed, had sawmills and other businesses, built a hospital, a port and many other establishments (Smith, 1987:157).

[311] Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987:178.

[312] Bond Head believed that Indigenous peoples could never adapt to agricultural life and that they were doomed to extinction. After only a few months in Upper Canada, he recommended that all Indigenous people be sent to live at Manitoulin Island, which would consequently open up lands previously occupied by Indigenous peoples for settlement by non-Indigenous peoples. (Smith, 1987:162).

Jones accessed throughout the remainder of his life. The brother, John Jones, of Peter Jones actually married Christina Brant, a granddaughter of Joseph Brant.[313] These family relationships not only served Jones but also helped to solidify the community relationships.

The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee was formally renewed every few years at this time. By 1845, the issue before the Credit River people was whether to move to Owen Sound, as the Anishnaabeg of that area had invited other Anishnaabeg people to come and settle what remained of the Saugeen Tract. The new Indian policy encouraged the amalgamation of smaller settlements of Anishnaabeg, when they did this they would receive documents that would secure this land for them and their descendants forever.[314] This land, however, was deemed unacceptable by the community as it was too rocky to grow anything. The community was gripped with disagreement over their course of action.

In April of 1847, Credit River received unsolicited help from the Six Nations.[315] The Haudenosaunee had been made aware of the situation facing their brethren at Credit River and recalled when the previous generation had come north and the Mississaugas had given them land. The Haudenosaunee "now felt 'a great pleasure in returning the compliment to their descendants.'"[316] After several days of discussion with the Haudenosaunee, the Mississauga of Credit moved to the

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[313] Smith, 1987:62.
[314] Smith, 1987:208.
[315] Most sources state that this offer was made without prompting. However, Susan Hill states that it was the Credit River Mississauga that approached the Haudenosaunee (2005:311). In addition to this, the Haudenosaunee people I spoke to from Six Nations also stated that they were approached for land. In many ways, this is a small detail for the important part of this event was that it reinforces that the relationship is one based on long standing reciprocity.
[316] Smith, 1987:212.

Southwest corner of the Six Nations reserve and founded New Credit. According to Susan Hill, this agreement and subsequent agreements did not surrender Haudenosaunee interests in these lands. Only that the Mississauga could make their home on Six Nations land, specifics concerning timber and maple sugar, and payment by the Mississauga to the Six Nations for improvements made on the land.[317]

The generosity shown to the Anishnaabeg by the Haudenosaunee is a reflection of the generosity shown to the Haudenosaunee sixty years previous. This long-standing principle of the relationship is accompanied by continued disputes and grumbling. Jones stated, "'there still is a smothered feeling of hatred and enmity between the two nations; so that when either of them comes within the haunts of the other, they are in constant fear.'"[318] Though Jones uses strong language here, it is important to remember that the last set of wars between the two nations was only 150 years before Jones made this statement.

At the end of the 19th century, disagreements arose between New Credit and Six Nations because the Indian Department did not process the transfer of funds required to fulfill the agreement between the two communities. Six Nations sought resolution of this matter and asked New Credit to discuss their concerns but after two years of avoidance, Six Nations threatened to remove the Mississauga from the land. Susan Hill states,

"In May of 1887, the Six Nations Council presented the Mississaugas with

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[317] Hill, 2005: 312 and 373. Six Nations was forced to pay for these improvements on the land given to the Mississauga in 1847. After the 1841 surrender and the establishment of the boundaries of Six Nations, some squatters had to be removed but the government forced the Six Nations to compensate them for their 'improvements' (Hill, 2005: 311).

[318] Schmalz, 1991:102.

five options:

1) Purchase the land from Six Nations and then amalgamate;
2) Amalgamate without any purchase;
3) Pay rent for the use of the land;
4) Purchase land from Six Nations and remain independent; or
5) Six Nations will pay for improvements and Mississaugas will leave."[319]

Eventually, three years later the two councils came to an understanding and the Mississaugas agreed to pay for the improvements, as per the original agreement. It took the Indian Department another three years to process this payment of $10,000.[320]

People I spoke to told me that the disagreements over money were still a point of teasing between the two communities. It is typically referred to in a humourous style, a kind of scratching post for both New Credit and Six Nations. One person (interview # 2) stated,

> "Interesting story...[with] the opening of the new band office [at New Credit]...Course there's always this banter going on between us and Chief LaForme says that welcoming to their territory [and] told everybody how nice their building was and that Six Nations was jealous of them...[I got up and said] it was a very nice building and there's still 10,000 dollars owing on their original purchase agreement that I would like collected sometime in the near future (laughs)."

The principle of reciprocity between the Six Nations and the Mississaugas of Credit River helped to manage both the fears and the complex history of the two nations. As highlighted in the previous chapter, humour remains one of the primary ways that fears and disagreements are managed.

The relationships between these Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg communities are both representative of the overarching relationship and different

[319] Hill, 2005: 372.
[320] Hill, 2005:373.

from it at the same time. The community relationships are predicated not only on a long, shared history but also a common challenging present. In addition, many family bonds have been struck between Six Nations, Credit River and other Mississauga communities. These family bonds have intensified and enhanced the connections between the two communities. Many people I spoke to attributed these close community relationships to family relationships, in addition to the long alliance between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Through these bonds the relationship has been cemented and though the differences between the nations are acknowledged and ridiculed, many people stated that New Credit and Six Nations are permanently intertwined. People stated,

> "But basically new credit is right next to six nations and there has been so much intermarriage between new credit and six nations that's it really hard to tell where the line ends now." (interview #11)

> "It's very close to family now. In fact, my nephew, he married a lady from new credit and our families get together once a year for a great big bash and everybody come out. And a number of families at six nations and new credit they interact back and forth...the gist of it is that there are liaisons with the government at new credit and the government at Six Nations." (interview #2)

> "...here the Mississaugas of the Credit if you follow their mother's line, they would almost all be Mohawks...and there's collaboration between the two communities between dozens of programs, dozens of political efforts..." (interview #3)

The offer for the Mississauga to come and live at Six Nations, regardless of whether it was solicited or not, did not come from nowhere. The principles of the relationship are ones that reflect both Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee concepts of balance. Sherman states,

> "This does not mean that the relationship was conflict free, only that agreements would have been conducted in a manner that was respectful...[t]hese protocols of respect and reciprocity would have guided

> the behaviour of individuals and communities in ways that promoted the continuity of the agreement and peace."[321]

Re-stating the words of the council in 1784, where the Mississauga invited the Haudenosaunee to live at the Grand River, Tekarihoga (John Brant) said in 1819, "'Since you have been so kind to us, we will divide our Presents with you.'"[322]

Though the relationship between New Credit and Six Nations is unique, the principle of reciprocity is evident throughout community relationships between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Communities such as Oneida and Wahta have, over the years, developed reciprocal community relationships with neighbouring Anishnaabeg communities. One person (interview #11) stated,

> "The Oneida on the Thames arrived in the 1840's and bought their own land. The Chippewas across the river had been there since at least the 1750's although they were and are a composite community made up at least 3 or 4 different and smaller communities that just got mucked together. But there's intermarriage between the two communities, and there's frequent collaboration between the two councils..."

Many people I spoke to indicated that every Haudenosaunee community that has a neighbouring Anishnaabeg community possesses these reciprocal relationships. The relationship between Oneida and Chippewa, for instance, is unique in itself yet based on the broader continuing principles within the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg.

In addition to this, many people mentioned different communities that continue ties with one another, though in a less formal sense. I heard a great number of stories that involved helping one another in difficult times. These stories usually involved a group of Haudenosaunee having been displaced and taking shelter in

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[321]Sherman, 2007:231.
[322] Johnston, 1964:67.

various Anishnaabeg communities: Nipissing, Wikwemikong, etc. Many of these stories were part of the vast displacement that occurred in many communities across Ontario, Quebec and New York state. The Haudenosaunee from Kahnestake and Kanawake were mentioned quite frequently as having been forced to leave their community and settling in various Anishnaabeg communities across Ontario. This integration of Haudenosaunee people into various Anishnaabeg communities at a particular point in history is one that is marked in the histories of these communities. It is known when these integrations occurred and with which families they were integrated. One person I interviewed who is Anishnaabeg told me that her family had intermarried with one of the Mohawk families that left Kahnestake and came to Dokis. In addition, many Haudenosaunee people are aware of these integrations and acknowledge them. One person (interview #11) stated,

> "...it looked like Cape Croker had more university graduates than any other community in Ontario other than Six (Nations). Though people around here would say that's because there's a bunch of Mohawks that settled there. And there were, there 10 families from Kanawake that settled at Owen Sound and some of them married into Cape Croker."

Once again, humour plays a role in these integration acknowledgements. On more than one occasion it was told to me in a joking manner by Haudenosaunee people I interviewed that an Anishnaabeg community was doing well in something because of the infusion of Mohawk blood that happened so long ago.

This relationship has clearly continued. Many people mentioned the support Anishnaabeg people had for Haudenosaunee people in 1990 during the Kahnestake crisis,

> "I know I went to speak at Nipissing first nation during that time to tell them that we were putting together a little caravan to go down to Oka over the

> weekend. And we had so much meat put into our hands people were saying come by my house, get stuff from the freezer...but you know there is a special relationship between Nipissing and Oka, that's talked about. Some of the people intermarried...so there is a strong tie there, a lot of generosity..." (interview #3)

It is evident that these historical instances of reciprocity are not instances at all but rather the foundation of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. There is a consistent understanding, despite disagreements, that the people of the two nations have been and will always be connected. When one community is called upon to help a community of the other nation, there is little question that it will be done. There is also little question that it will be returned when the time comes.

The Principle of Renewal

Another continuing principle of the contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is the principle of renewal. Relationships are living, breathing entities that must be constantly renewed in order to be maintained. I believe this is particularly important in those relationships that have a long duration and are multi-faceted. In the understanding of both the historical and the contemporary relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg, renewing the relationship is key to maintaining it. In this section, I will discuss one of many recent renewal ceremonies that have occurred recently between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee.

The principle of renewal is embedded in Indigenous relationships with Creation. The relationships between people are reflections and extensions of the relationships with the Creator. In order to have a solid relationship, it is necessary to

come together and discuss it. An example of the importance of the principle of renewal in relationships can be seen in the Covenant Chain. The Covenant Chain was an expansion of the Kaswentah relationship that the Haudenosaunee entered into with the Dutch. When the British came to the Haudenosaunee hoping for a similar relationship, the Haudenosaunee agreed under the principles of Kaswentah in 1664.[323] By 1677, this relationship was being described as a Covenant Chain which continued to develop from this point forward. Eventually, it became a chain of silver and these links continually needed to be cared for which was referred to as 'polishing the chain'. The importance of this renewal is well illustrated in a quote from William Johnson who in 1755 recalled the almost one hundred year history of the Chain. Johnson states,

> "'That upon our first acquaintance we shook hands & finding we should be useful to one another entered into a Covenant of Brotherly Love & mutual Friendship. And *tho' we were at first only tied together by a Rope, yet lest this Rope should grow rotten & break we tied ourselves together by an Iron Chain. Lest time or accidents might rust & destroy this Chain of Iron, we afterwards made one of Silver, the strength & brightness of which would subject it to no decay. The ends of this Silver Chain we fix't to the Immoveable Mountains, and this in so firm a manner that no mortal enemy might be able to remove it.*'"[324]

The principle of renewal was foundational in the strength of this relationship. When the Chain became tarnished, the Haudenosaunee and the British met and endeavoured to come to a mutual understanding of what had occurred. Then through the exchange of gifts, reparations, words of apology and reaffirmation, the Chain was polished and the relationship renewed.

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[323] The principles of Kaswentah can be briefly explained as principles of non-interference between two sovereign nations. Two rows of purple wampum running parallel on a bed of white wampum, between the two vessels, one is a canoe and the other a European boat, there are three rows of white wampum indicating a connection based on peace, friendship and mutual respect. Hill, 2005:174.
[324] NAC, RG 10, volume 1822, p. 22; as cited in Hill 2005:192.

The Gdo-naaganinaa or the Dish with One Spoon peace between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee needed renewal as well. In fact, the relationship had been renewed consistently since before and after the wars of the late 17th century. According to some, it had been renewed formally five times since 1700 and was renewed again in 1840 at Credit River.[325] At this time the two nations came together to talk about the unending waves of non-Indigenous settlers, squatters, the Upper Canadian government policy of removal to Manitoulin Island by the previous Super-intendant General, the influx of Indigenous peoples from America, and the news of the Trail of Tears and general American treatment of Indigenous peoples.[326] At this meeting the two nations discussed unity among them in order to combat the threat both faced from the non-Indigenous settlers and the government. John Buck mentioned the Dish with One Spoon, where both the Six Nations and the Anishnaabeg were to share in the bounty of the area together. An Anishnaabeg chief, Chief Yellowhead, spoke next and clarified the relationship as it was contained in the wampum.[327] In this speech Yellowhead refers to many

[325] Smith, 1987:173.
[326] Smith, 1987:174.
[327]This speech is worth quoting in its entirety. The minutes state, "Chief Yellowhead rose up and made a speech and exhibited the great Wampum belt of the Six Nations, and explained the talk contained in it. This Wampum was about 3 feet long and 4 inches wide. It had a row of White Wampum in the centre, running from one end to the other, and the representations of wigwams every now and then, and a large round wampum tied nearly the middle of the Belt, with a representation of the sun in the centre. Yellowhead stated that this Belt was given by the Nahdooways (Haudenosaunee) to the Ojebways (Anishnaabeg) many years ago - about the time the French first came to this country. That the great Council took place at Lake Superior - That the Nahdooways made the road or path and pointed out the different council fires which were to be kept lighted. The first marks on the Wampum represented that a council fire should be kept burning at the Sault St. Marie. The 2nd mark represented the Council fire at the Manitoulin Island, where a beautiful White fish was placed, who should watch the fire as long as the world stood. The 3rd Mark represents the Council fire placed on an Island opposite Penetanguishene Bay, on which was placed a Beaver to watch the fire. The 4th mark represents the Council fire lighted up at the Narrows of Lake Simcoe at which place was put a White Rein Deer. To him the Rein Deer was committed the keeping of this Wampum talk. At this place our fathers hung up the Sun, and said that the Sun should be a witness to all what had been done and that when any of their descendants saw the Sun they might remember the

different council fires that were to be continually lit. In addition, he states that the Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg must share in the bounty of the territory and that the Haudenosaunee should always come to renew their relationship with the Anishnaabeg when they come to hunt.

The principle of renewal is not only part of the historic relationship between these two nations. It is also part of the contemporary landscape of this relationship. Trent University in Nogojiwanong (Peterborough) is a place that draws many Indigenous peoples to it due to its Indigenous Studies program and exists on the shared territory between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Nogojiwanong itself has an interesting history with the two nations and though the town of Peterborough is surrounded by Anishnaabeg communities (Curve Lake, Alderville, Hiawatha and Scugog), the Haudenosaunee communities (Tyendenaga, Six Nations, etc.) are not far away. Peterborough occupies a territory that has long been shared by both nations.[328]

The Peterborough area, however, has another intimate connection to the

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acts of their forefathers. At the Narrows our fathers placed a dish with ladles around it, and a ladle for the Six Nations, who said to the Ojebways that the dish or bowl should never be emptied, but he (Yellowhead) was sorry to say that it had already been emptied, not by the Six Nations on the Grand River, but by the Caucanawaugas residing near Montreal. The 5th Mark represents the Council fire which was placed at this River Credit where a beautiful White headed Eagle was placed upon a very tall pine tree, in order to watch the Council fires and see if any ill winds blew upon the smoke of the Council fires. A dish was also placed at the Credit. That the right of hunting on the north side of the Lake was secured to the Ojebways, and that the Six Nations were not to hunt here only when they come to smoke the pipe of peace with their Ojebway brethren. The path on the Wampum went from the Credit over to the other side of the Lake the country of the Six Nations. Thus ended the talk of Yellowhead and his Wampum." Cited in the minutes of a General Council held at the Credit River, 21 January 1840, Council Minutes, 1835-48, p. 82-87, RG 10, 1011, PAC.

[328] The Anishnaabeg lived around the Peterborough area and after the peace treaty between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee around 1670 the Haudenosaunee established seven permanent villages on the north shore of Lake Ontario (ITUM, 219). They are: Grand River (Quinaouatoua), at the mouth of the Humber river (Teyaiagon), at the mouth of the Rouge River (Gaestiquiagon), on Rice Lake (Quintio), at the mouth of the Ganaraska River (Ganaraske), near Bay of Quinte (Quinté), and on Napanee Bay (Ganneious). This move was an extension of their homeland and they were in familiar territory (Victor Konrad, "Iroquois Frontier: the north shore of Lake Ontario during the late 17th century", in *Journal of Historical Geography,* vol. 7(2), 1981:129).

relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. It was in this area that one of the last battles of the famous wars between the two nations was fought. I have already mentioned these battles in this document and elsewhere.[329]

Trent University itself has had a long relationship with the surrounding Indigenous communities, which has seen the creation of what would eventually become the Indigenous Studies program and the first Indigenous Studies Phd program in Canada.[330]

Primarily the Indigenous students at Trent have been Haudenosaunee, Anishnaabeg or a mixture of both. Many people spoke about how in different years, the student population can have a different majority and this can cause some tension. Every nation wants to have space for their teachings, their dances at socials, and their languages. For the people that work in the Trent Indigenous Studies department, it falls to them to try to organize to the needs of the students.

> "It was always a tension if it was local we always deferred to, we let the local communities, it is Ojibway area. So sometimes it works that you use the Nishnaabe language but that doesn't mean you can't accommodate another group...It was a tension but it wasn't totally unhealthy it just needs attention. It's real." (interview #8)

Sometimes, however, the unsettlement in the student relationships is more than simply equal time at socials. Rather, there can be misunderstandings and the mobilization of stereotypes that occur. Although some of the students in the Indigenous studies department are older than the average undergraduate, many are

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[329] Shpuniarsky, 2003.

[330] Tom Symons, Trent University's first president, is fond of telling the story of the 'first day' of Trent. This included him sitting in an empty office at a card table in an old house in Peterborough, unsure of what to do. Some of the leadership at nearby Curve Lake walked into that office and stated, 'if you're going to be here we should have a relationship. We want to be a part of this.' 'They were my first visitors to my office', Tom Symons always says. I have heard this story told at least three times, most recently by Chief Knott from Curve Lake at the opening of the Indigenous Knowledge Conference at Trent University, June, 2010.

young and do not always know the entire history between the two nations. They may only know their parents' impressions, mainstream history's stereotypes and the other small pieces picked up around Trent or elsewhere. I do not mean to present these students as passive receptors of history, acting out only along the accepted lines. However, many students lack the contextual information in which to place their knowledge about the relationship and cannot always relate this to their own experience. One Anishnaabeg person (interview #5) stated,

> "Getting to know Iroquois people, particularly Oneida...I was welcomed and accepted which in a sense ran contrary to my grandmother's words. In part there was an expectation that there would be a feeling of antagonism but I never felt that on a personal basis with Iroquois, in fact we got along with Iroquois, with Oneida, Mohawk, etc....But I was thinking that those personal relationships dispel those myths that we learned at school and other places and in part those cautionary tales that my grandmother would present. But there still was that cautionary element...I integrated that into my personality to a large extent so that there was a wondering about the differences...because that was what the cautionary tales would say, there's differences be careful."

In 1996, the Indigenous Studies department organized a welcome ceremony, in which the Anishnaabeg welcomed the Haudenosaunee to the area. This ceremony, in addition to being termed a welcome ceremony, was also referred to as a ceremony to "renew friendship and relationship between the land of the Ojibway, the Mississauga and the Haudenosaunee". Dan Longboat organized it with the help of the cultural advisor, Paul Bourgeois, and many of the students. Respected Elders Tom Porter and Jake Swamp, among others, spoke for the Haudenosaunee and Doug Williams and Shirley Williams (as translator) spoke for the Anishnaabeg. Doug Williams stated,

> "It was a re-enactment of a ceremony we had with Haudenosaunee Mohawks from Eastern Ontario, with whom we got along for a long time. We sort of made this truce that we would have this peace ceremony every year, which

> we did until 1910, I don't know when it started, and it just kind of faded away. And it affirmed that we were friends. They seem to remember more of that than we did. And the words they spoke were unbelievably eloquent. Basically, what we say to groups and I think this is what our chiefs would have said in the 1700's when we were turning over the land to the Haudenosaunee, is many people we welcome them for they're our friends, in this case our friend, we treat them like they are one of us, and that we welcome them into our circle, we welcome them into our home. And I would talk to everybody else, everybody that's here, I want you to hear me, I want you to hear me say that these are our friends, you treat them like friends, you treat them better than you would treat anyone of your own. You affirm all of that. They would do that but in their own way. One of the things I remember them saying is that we come and we bring you peace and for those ones that are not here from our community that are over there, they also want to send their love and their peace and their friendship, and we feel so strongly about this. Even those yet unborn send...you know that kind of stuff. That's kind of beautifully eloquent. They were talking about eyes and ears..."

Many people I spoke to stated that the ceremony was Haudenosaunee in origin and involved parts of the Condolence ceremony. There was quite a bit of student involvement in this ceremony and the students made a video of this ceremony for people that came after them to watch. The first thing that happened in the ceremony was that the Haudenosaunee, who wanted to enter the territory, built a fire, which the Anishnaabeg runners went to investigate. Shirley Williams stated,

> "I was scared, so scared to misinterpret something because they did it in the language so I wanted to make sure I said things that were being demonstrated and what was being said in the correct way, that was my worst fear...We didn't really know how this was going to be done. It was for them to build a fire which always had happened, you know to ask permission. There were always runners in the village so if you saw a fire over there it would be the runners that would go and investigate. If there are people there they would ask permission, you know, so they would run back and forth from one village to the other village asking permission for them to return."

Once the Anishnaabeg people granted permission, the Haudenosaunee representatives came into the circle and they were formally welcomed. Doug told me that he was also extremely nervous about this event, as the Anishnaabeg did not

have any formal ceremony of which he knew, to welcome the Haudenosaunee. The Haudenosaunee participants in the ceremony I spoke to were less nervous about the ceremony. However, they spoke about the importance of maintaining this part of the relationship. One person stated that it was not simply about the ceremony itself, doing things the way they have always been done, but about both nations having the opportunity to remind one another how they are bound together.

After the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee spoke, Jake Thomas planted a Tree of Peace, a white pine, outside of Otonaabee College. The White pine still stands today.[331]

The other part of the video, after the ceremony and the planting of the Tree of Peace, consists of interviews with the participants of the ceremony speaking about what it meant to be part of the day. Everyone spoke about how beautiful the ceremony was and how they were deeply affected by it. One person mentioned that for awhile after the ceremony, tensions stilled between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee students. Another person (interview #8) stated,

> "That was my first experience with a greeting ceremony, when Tommy Porter came and did a greeting ceremony between the Anishnaabeg people and the Haudenosaunee people. I was really impressed by the ceremony in terms of what it contained...It was a one-sided ceremony by the way, it wasn't an Ojibway ceremony. It wasn't an adapted ceremony for both groups it was a welcoming ceremony, it's quite interesting because it was at Trent right? And it was wonderful to be part of it."

This is only one of many recent renewal ceremonies that have been taking place around Ontario between these two nations. These ceremonies are rarely publicized

[331] The White Pine is significant in both Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg traditions. It is also significant for the relationship as it was the Mississaugas, according to the wampum read by Yellowhead, represented by the eagle who sat on top of the White Pine and kept watch over the relationship between the two nations.

and they are not happening consistently yet. However, people I spoke to recognized the clear need of the two nations, of all nations, to connect at a ceremonial level. It is important to revitalize the foundational understandings of the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg, to appreciate the beauty and connections in one another's spiritualties, and to heal and move forward from the past. People stated,

> "I know talking to my friend...he talked about being invited down, with a number of other chiefs and pipe carriers, down to the longhouse at Six Nations to reaffirm or try to build again those alliances with each other, to help bring the people back together again. Basically said that we need to do that again...we need to continue to be reaffirm ancient promises that have been disrupted." (interview #3)

> "Well, I've been working on an idea that came from my dream and I do have a letter that I sent out to the Ojibway people in Minnesota one particular Elder leader, because everyone there told me he's the one that has to approve of it. The idea is that we meet at the Mississippi river and I know they're the caretakers of that where the Mississippi begins. And it's not that wide. The idea is that the western Indians and the southern Indians will stand together on one side of the river and then from the north and the east we will stand together on the other side and then we will pass back and forth condolences to talk about what happened in the past, to talk about everything that has happened to our people in the past 500 years. And to leave everything behind so that we can heal and so that we can work together for our common defense and our common future." (interview #7)

I relate the story of the Welcome ceremony at Trent not only because this is where I am at the moment, but because some of the Elders I interviewed directed me to watch the video of the ceremony. It is significant that the people I spoke to who were involved in this ceremony mentioned it right away when we spoke. What this tells me is that when discussing the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, the moments of renewal and connection stand out for people. These ceremonies represent the heart of the relationship and those that witness it cannot help but be affected.

The Principle of Complementary Difference

The final principle in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is the principle of complementary difference. A consistent theme in this relationship, both historical and contemporary, is the ways in which these two nations differ. It has been, and continues to be, a source of humour and a source of frustration. These differences, however, are not always seen as keeping the nations apart but rather bringing them together and maintaining their connection. This is not to say that working through these differences are without difficulty, but it is to say that these connections through difference are part of the core of the relationship.

Dr. Paula Sherman wrote her dissertation on the ecological foundations of the Omamìwìnini nation, which included their relationships with the Haudenosaunee peoples. While doing this important work, she had a dream that explained to her the relationship between the two nations. In this dream, she saw the Haudenosaunee people dancing across the earth, moving to the right. She also saw the Anishnaabeg people dancing across the earth, moving to the left. Though they were moving in different directions, they were both living their original instructions from the Creator and doing what needed to be done to play their role in the unfolding of Creation. Her dream implied that Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg foundations were complementary to one another, even though they seemed quite different. In her dissertation Sherman made the strong point that these two nations are spread out geographically and encompass a wide range of environments. On a whole, the environments they originated within are quite different and hence they have

developed different ways of living and being in the world.[332]

The different environments that nurtured the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee have given way to one of the most discussed complementary differences of the relationship. These two nations have always traded one another with food they had in abundance for food that was scarcer for them. Typically, this meant the Anishnaabeg trading meat and blueberries for Haudenosaunee corn, beans and squash.[333] This trade has existed historically and continues today. An example of this complementary difference providing sustenance for both Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabeg communities is evident in the relationship between the communities of Kitigan-Zibi (Anishnaabeg Algonquin) and Tuscarora (Haudenosaunee Tuscarora).

These two communities have a unique relationship and one that deserves scholarship devoted to it, however it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

These two communities have a relatively recent community-to-community relationship. Rather than trading food, the two communities trade people for joint economic prosperity. This part of the relationship started, according to Chief Clinton Rickard of the Tuscarora, at the funeral of Deskaheh in 1925. Chief Rickard and his struggles to secure free passage across the border, impacted Indigenous people from all over who came across to see family and gain employment. When people were prevented from crossing, it was Chief Rickard and the Indian Defense League, who would argue on their behalf. The relationship between Chief Rickard and Kitigan-Zibi was so close, that in 1926 he was asked to guard their wampum

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[332] Sherman, 2007.

[333] This is not to say that the Haudenosaunee had no meat or that the Anishnaabeg could not grow corn. However, it is recognized that the Haudenosaunee had more corn, beans and squash and the Anishnaabeg had more meat and blueberries for trade.

belts from the RCMP until it was safe for them to be called home. Chief Rickard was asked to use these wampum belts in his frequent talks educating non-Indigenous people about the relationship with Indigenous peoples.[334] I think there is much more to this interesting historical relationship between these two communities.[335]

Routinely, young men (and to a lesser extent women) come from Kitigan-Zibi to the Tuscarora community in the United States looking for work. Inevitably, these young men will marry young women from Tuscarora who are on the band lists. This pattern is recognized by community members and when these young men show up at Tuscarora they are teased quite a bit and referred to as "moose meat".

One respondent (interview #16) stated,

> "Work...you know I think what I'm seeing recently...it's shifting work patterns. In Maniwaki, there was not much, there still isn't much work up there so people go to areas where there's work, so they may go to an urban centre but you'll get a lot of people going to Tuscarora. The two women that are my dad's age married Tuscarora's and lived there, my dad was an iron worker, some of the women married Tuscarora's that were construction workers. So I think it was going to an area where they could work and I think that's kind of the driver. And you move there and you marry people."

Children of these relationships between Anishnaabeg men and Haudenosaunee women are members of both communities. Anishnaabeg women who marry in to Tuscarora usually do not get put on the band roll but they are still part of the

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[334] The Algonquins of Kitigan-Zibi lived at Kahnestake before they moved north. They formed a confederacy called the Seven Nations, which consisted of the Algonquin, Nipissing and Mohawk from Kanestake; Abenaki of St. Francis; Mohawk from Kahnewake; Huron of Lorette; and Cayuga and Onondaga of Oswegatchie. One of the wampums Chief Rickard was asked to guard was a belt that represented this union. The other was the Hudson's Bay belt. Barbara Graymont, ed., *The Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973.

[335] When asked, I was told this relationship was strengthened around the border crossing issue. The people from Kitigan-Zibi would make the long trek to Tuscarora in order to support the IDL in their work. Theresa Maness of Kitigan-Zibi made the regalia that Chief Rickard always wore. It was done in the Algonquin style but the beading incorporated statements made by Chief Rickard in a speech in Kitigan-Zibi about the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Graymont, 1973:70). This relationship evolved from one about border crossing issues to general support provided by Chief Rickard to Kitigan-Zibi in their various issues with the Canadian government.

community. This is not simply a one-way exodus from Kitigan-Zibi to Tuscarora. In recent times,

> "...some of the families of Tuscarora second generation are moving back to Maniwaki to work and what they're finding is that people are getting older we're really talking about the last 60-70 years, some of them are moving back and retiring. They may bring some of their kids and you may get marriage going the other way, so I think part of it's economic." (interview #16)

In addition to the economic dimension of this principle, people spoke at great length about the spiritual dimension. This reminded me of something Dan Longboat said to us in class. He said he asked his Elder, why do the Anishnaabeg dance in a different direction than the Haudenosaunee? His Elder had said that the Anishnaabeg were of the air and they moved in the direction of the four winds. The Haudenosaunee were of the earth and moved in the direction of the earth. His Elder said it was the Anishnaabeg connection to the Four Winds that made them so spiritual.[336] Like Paula Sherman's dream, Dan spoke about the two nations having different strengths and gifts, which, in a strong relationship benefit both nations.

The relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee was begun and sealed with ceremony. People I interviewed discussed the differences between Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee spiritualties but maintained that the connection of the two nations through ceremonies was of profound importance.

Differences, even between people that have known each other for years, can be difficult to overcome. They can be intimidating and off-putting. The complementary nature of difference between the two nations can only be revealed through listening and connection. If people focus too much on the animosity,

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[336] Dan Longboat, personal communication, 2007.

perceived or real, within the relationship then it is difficult to really listen to one another. One Elder (interview #15) stated,

> "One of the things the Haudenosaunee say about the Ojibways is that we have a beautiful prayer and Ojibways when we hear the Haudenosaunee prayer, say what a beautiful prayer you have. It's like complimenting the two because they never heard each other. I was at a language conference and we had the Haudenosaunee prayer and the Ojibway translation of the prayer and their translation. It really impacted a lot of people, even the ones that are suspicious. So it's re-educating our people."

One Haudenosaunee person shared his thoughts that Anishnaabeg existence was actually part of the Haudenosaunee spiritual belief system. There is no conceivable world, spiritual or otherwise, without the Anishnaabeg appearing around the edges of Haudenosaunee existence. He (interview #13) stated,

> "We talk about our territory, the clearing around the villages...our hunting woods and our transporting between nations and then we talk about the deep woods and the deep woods becomes a more dangerous place. The deep woods provides a different kind of environmental context, a different kind of spiritual association...what people talk about was going to that deep woods and entering into another realm, you go through a hole in cave and all of a sudden you are in another parallel world in which a lot of things happen. I've often wondered whether that parallel world was the transition world between Haudenosaunee space and Algonkian/Nishanaabe space. If we understand that this is a metaphorical buffer zone that would explain why we don't have a lot of stories about interaction... If we do need to go to your territory, we'll make a fire, traditional smoke rising, you'll send people over there and then you'll escort us into your territory. That was the protocol in place. So that those stories that come back and talk about that parallel universe maybe it's somebody that went and lived in a Nish community where they have a different way of doing things, call animal spirits and do other things, shaking tent and all those other things that go on."

Some understandings of the connection through these spiritual differences were also shared from an Anishnaabeg perspective. The Haudenosaunee are not foreign or spiritually inconceivable. Rather, they exist as part of the Anishnaabeg

spiritual world. It was stated,

> "What I heard talked about in the Midewiwin Lodge was that if you look at the Longhouse with the Mide lodge they are very similar in structure and for a long time they stood side by side and they were separated by the fire between them but also joined by the water drum. They have a small water drum and we have a larger grandfather drum. That's how it was talked about symbolically and then the belts were given from their side as something tangible to represent that treaty and the drum was sounded from our side and the pipe was smoked and tobacco and other gifts were given...It's more than just wampum belts, we have other very important symbols that haven't come out...Not to minimize the wampum belts, they are very important they're symbols but not those structures that we use for ceremony." (interview #10)

> "One of the images that was presented, there's the lodge, they described that the lodges were side by side, getting back to that bowl, at different times in history that bowl that it was so still, that relationship was so peaceful that you could look into it and see into the future with that ability also by working together these two lodges, both symbolically and in terms of the Mide and Longhouse we could change the course not only of weather but of history." (interview #5)

The use of the bowl or dish with one spoon in this discussion does not escape my attention. As mentioned previously, the bowl is a frequently used metaphor when discussing the treaty relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. The bowl has been interpreted as a metaphor for Southern Ontario, representing the sharing of land and resources between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. In this context, however, the bowl is mentioned not as representing the resources claimed by the people, but rather as a barometer for the health of the relationship. I understand this to mean that if both nations are fighting, in whatever context, then neither nation can look into that bowl to envision a future. The future of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee nations, then, are intimately tied to one another. Not only are they tied by marriage, treaty and land use but they are also

tied by something deeper and stronger.

Future

To conclude this chapter I will focus on the future of the relationship. The four continuing principles in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, the principle of reciprocity, the principle of relationships, the principle of renewal and the principle of complementary difference, are the foundation of this historical and contemporary relationship. But what is the future of the relationship? We are aware of the past and the promise and problem it holds. The people I spoke to stated that with the spectra of colonization it can be a challenge to move forward.

According to the people I spoke with, this relationship can be vastly improved by the resolution of past grief. Historically, this relationship has embedded in it ways to resolve grief but many feel as though that has been lost with the on-set of colonization. In addition to the inter-generational grief of colonization, residential schools, language loss, death and the loss of children, there are the remnants of loss and hard feelings that occurred between the two nations. People stated that it was important to work through all of this grief, in order to be whole within themselves and the relationship. One person (interview #4) stated,

> "It's almost like two brothers living side by side but there is a trap line in here that's a dump, and it's this dump that's causing this grief."

The Haudenosaunee were given the Condolence Ceremony as part of the Kaienerakowa to work through grief and help those who are grieving to come to a

good mind once again. The Condolence Ceremony has a role in many parts of Haudenosaunee ceremonial life and parts of it are implemented when creating and solidifying relationships with others as, "...the kinship ties established through the Great Law allow for the condolence process to achieve this restoration of peace."[337] Though it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore the Condolence Ceremony in any detail, it is important to discuss it in this context.

Many people I spoke to, both Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee, referred to grief at some point in the interview and the need to resolve past grief in order to move forward successfully in the relationship. In the Condolence Ceremony there is a process where the 'clear minded' moieties wipe away the tears, indeed they remove all blockages from the eyes, the ears, the throat, etc., from those who are experiencing loss. It is understood that grief can cloud judgment and actions, which in turn affects families and communities.[338] For example, Gibson states about the removal of "grief-caused obstruction" from the throat,

> "'Now we will remove the grief-caused obstruction from your throats, our uncles, you chiefs of the Four Brothers, and then you will rejoice again, then it will improve, your breathing; your bodies will get strong again and also your mind. Thereupon you shall speak calmly. Thereupon we will thank one another. Moreover, in the time ahead, for at least one day, you shall think peacefully again.'"[339]

This process helps people see past their grief and become 'clear-minded' once again.

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[337] Hill, 2005:107.

[338] This effect is evident when the speakers from the Elder Brother side(Mohawk and Seneca) refer to those on the Younger Brother side of the Longhouse (Cayuga, Oneida and now Tuscarora, Delaware, Nanticoke and Tutelo) as being "downstream" from them. According to Gibson, this denotes a family relationship (similar to saying 'off-spring) but it also indicates that if there is grief being experienced by one clan family, then the reverberations of this sadness is felt throughout the Confederacy. John Arthur Gibson and Hanni Woodbury, *Concerning the League: the Iroquois League tradition as dictated in Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson, newly elicited, edited and translated by Hanni Woodbury; in collaboration with Reg Henry and Harry Webster; on the basis of A.A. Goldenweiser's manuscript.* Winnipeg: Algonquin and Iroquoian Linguistics, 1992:431.

[339] Gibson, 1992:616-617.

Many people I spoke to indicated that this kind of acknowledgement, and removal of grief, needs to occur in the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee. I spoke to one Haudenosaunee Elder who discussed the importance of this process and shared a dream he had about performing this ceremony with all the nations on the east side of the Mississippi River. Removing the grief from these relationships would enable these nations to begin to rebuild the connections between them embedded in traditions and looking forward together.

People feel that a lapse in the importance and centrality of the relationship to both the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee has occurred. This can impede the passing of knowledge to younger generations, especially when they encounter only partialities of the relationship in various forums. One person (interview #11) stated,

> "So I just wonder, is it old animosities or is it always kind of like you know, you always look for greener pastures elsewhere and not realizing that your neighbours are your first allies, they would have had to have been your first ally."

For all the historical depictions of these two nations as mortal enemies that can only achieve a tense peace at best and for all of the double-edged humour that is used, the Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples I spoke to hold great hope for this relationship. People have been honest with me about the ways they have experienced this relationship, the good, the bad and the less than pretty. But when people started to speak about the future of the relationship there was an inevitable and long lasting beauty in their words. This relationship has an unspoken centrality in both the historical and contemporary lives of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. I have included some of the thoughts on the future of the relationship that were shared with me.

"it's important that Mohawks can be Mohawks and Nish can be Nish. Be respectful of each other at the same time...we need to be able to rely upon each other, give strength to each other and encourage each other and I think more and more we'll be doing that. There's subtle relationships there that we can't deny." (interview #14)

"I think it's one of mutual understandings of the land that we live on, I think it's founded in relationships and relationship building in a way, it's about family...that's how I kind of see the metaphor. Although we're different at times there is a lot more similarities. I think we all come from the same Creator in a way and like different siblings that were tossed out into the world to find out who we are that we would grow up and we would be different but we would somehow learn to work together." (interview #12)

"Unless we, we the Haundenosaunee, start rebuilding our relationships with Nish people, I don't want to overstate this but unless we really start doing this on a cultural level, all of the political things will fail. Because, you know, when you think about it in the last 60 years there's been a lot of political things, a lot of Anishnaabeg that come here for training or meetings or time when we come together and look each other over but a real alliance on a pro-cultural agenda and that agenda is what is going to steer our politics for the future." (interview #13)

"Just the fact that this conversation is happening right now, I think, says there's movement happening in the direction of co-operation and respectful relationship and peace is a better word for it. I have an idea but I don't know that it's shared, an idea of what peace means but mutual respect and cooperation. I think that is important to happen out of necessity Iroquois will not be able to survive in isolation of us and vice versa if we're going to survive as a larger group of Indigenous People. They have things to teach us and we have things to teach them." (interview #10)

"Together you can have a lot stronger voice. Maybe each of us we can pull maybe the strength and the vocality of the Haudenosaunee and the power that they have to speak up and from the Anishnaabeg, maybe the Haudenosaunee can get patience and perseverance and kindness in looking at everyone around them." (interview #17)

Chapter 7: The Conclusion

David Newhouse once told me that an expression of Western political philosophy is that everything moves out from the self, which is the centre. Indigenous political philosophy, he said, moves from the wider community and is soaked up by the self, who in turn lives a manifestation of this political truth.[340] This is historical consciousness. There are always larger historical forces and events, which are told to us. We internalize them and their residues are evident in our daily interactions with the world around us. The larger, more formalized, relational history between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is lived out every day by the people of those nations. Sometimes they think about it, sometimes they do not but it always lives within them, evident in contemporary interactions.

This is why it is so important to understand the perceptions held by Anishnaabeg and Haudenosaunee peoples in the early 21st century in Southern Ontario concerning their contemporary relationship. This relationship is lived through historical consciousness and if we examine this, we can see the enduring principles that provide its foundation. The principles of reciprocity, relationship, complementary difference and renewal are ones that have lasted through centuries and continue in the contemporary context. Focusing on these principles and maintaining the relationship through them has consistently allowed the Anishnaabeg

[340] David Newhouse, personal communication, 2010.

and the Haudenosaunee to embrace their differences and work through disagreements.

Historical consciousness can be a double-edged sword. Acknowledging that our past, and the pasts of others, continues to be central to our present and our future goes without saying. That it is our interpretation of the past, and the past of those around us, which determines how we move forward, interact with others and how we choose which stories to tell about who we are. Historical consciousness is a powerful force within the construction of our identities, built on our cultures, our lands, our ceremonies and our languages.

As beautiful and foundational as the sharing of stories across generations can be, we always must be aware that it is not only the great joys which build us but also the great trials. Some might argue that the great trials people face can go further in forming individuals, families, communities and nations.

When considering relationships between nations, the stories we tell of them have a direct impact on how we meet and interact with people. Long relationships have the benefit of time, changes in relations, and overcoming obstacles together. However, the challenges faced in these long relationships have a tendency to live on, particularly if there were occurrences that were never properly processed. By properly processed I mean that some historical wounds though buried deep within, are never able to fully heal, especially since I find the scabs on them are never particularly thick.

This can lead to assumptions and stereotypes, formed from a past historical event or events, which permeate future relations. Sometimes, it is only these

negative impressions of a nation that are bequeathed to us, even though we have impressions of a larger, more complex relationship which forms the context in which the negative impressions need to placed.

As stated throughout, I have understood historical consciousness in a very personal way. When my granny told me stories of all of the different Slavic nations and how they had injured us, she was telling me stories of our struggles. Through these stories I had a strong sense of who we were, and who we are, as a people. She told me that we never forget but through her actions I saw that she never forgave either. For me, the history of our people, and our relationships with other Slavic nations, was very negative and fraught with danger. I have come to realize that this is only part of the story. In recent times, the nations of Poland and the Ukraine have undertaken a formal process of reconciliation in order to engage with the grief of the past and build a positive relationship for the future.

The contemporary relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is more complex and nuanced then I initially understood, for the relationship between these two nations had its beginning and its initial challenges before the Europeans set foot on Turtle Island. When the Europeans arrived and began to form relationships with these two nations, they quickly found themselves mired in long standing relationships and alliances while trying to exercise their own European alliances and rivalries in this territory. It is generally understood that the Anishnaabeg-French alliance and the Haudenosaunee-Dutch, then English alliance had large impacts on the Anishnaabeg-Haudenosaunee relationship, as the French and English continued their disagreements in the 'arena' of the 'new world' and

engaged their Indigenous allies in them.

In this context, the fur trade had a lasting and negative effect on the relationship of the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. Capitalism and the hunting of animals for furs had wide ranging legacies. In addition to altering the foundational relationships between the Haudenosaunee, the Anishnaabeg and their environment, the fur trade became the motivation for many wars and skirmishes in the 17th century.

The wars fought between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee in the late 17th century have become a pivot point of sorts in the stories surrounding the relationship. I have found that in academic scholarship, these wars have been viewed as wars about territory, about beavers and about revenge. These wars for academics culminate in the Great Peace of 1701, a large peace conference with 40 nations present. The people I spoke to use these wars a reference point as well. In the stories people told me about the relationship, these wars have come to represent the challenges that exist between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. They also represent the nature of the complexities within the relationship that has been affected by the alliances with European nations.

Re-telling these stories in a contemporary context can also become an entry point into the familiar discourse between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee, referencing a common past. This is usually done with humour and some posturing. These interactions are always filled with gentle teasing about the differences between the two nations and claims about ownership of territory. Through humour, historical consciousness is easily shared and engaged with.

Although the wars are a frequent themes and historical reference point, they are only one of many occurrences within the relationship. But relationships between nations are not solely built through national narratives alone. Much of the relationship is forged between individuals, families and communities as well. Stories of larger events are frequently followed by stories in which evidence of this relationship is personalized in some way.

Historical consciousness, it has been said, concerns the way we perceive of the past in the present, facing toward the future. During the interviews, this partially sums up how many people regarded the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg. People of both nations are aware of the sometimes tumultuous past between them. Yet they are also acutely aware of the continuing and multitudinous effect that colonization has had on their nations and how this has affected their relationship.

Despite the acknowledged historical and contemporary challenges within the relationship, the future is filled with possibilities for re-strengthening the relationship. According to many people I spoke to, the future of the relationship lies in a strong cultural re-connection, in addition to mutual respect and understanding.

I believe that focusing on the relationship, both historically and contemporary, is an anti-colonial act and one, which must keep in mind when considering the past, present and the future. Anti-colonial theory comes from a place of positive motivation. Rather than focusing outwards and continually responding to the 'politics of distraction' put forth by colonizing forces, it turns inwards and focuses on the needs, cultural frameworks, and aspirations of the people

themselves.[341]

Anti-colonial research is necessary because of the "danger of a single story".[342] As stated previously, the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is represented as one of enmity in Canadian historical literature, if at all. As evidenced by the stories that people shared with me, a narrative of enmity is both inaccurate and simplistic. This is truly the danger of a single story. Many of the stories that I understand to be part of Canadian historical consciousness about Indigenous peoples are singular in nature. These single stories, many of which have been written without the authority, input or understanding of Indigenous peoples, are now imbued with power and entrenched in national consciousnesses. When we give in to the single story, we are saying that this event, this relationship or this person has only one dimension. If these single stories seep into our consciousnesses early enough, then it becomes difficult for us to resist those narratives and we may find ourselves comparing other experiences to them. This is why many Indigenous histories and experiences that do not fit the national narratives continue to be relegated to the periphery of Canadian historical consciousness. One of the most important parts of anti-colonial theory is the space it provides to tell many stories while urging us to resist the simplicity and totalization of grand narratives.

Anti-colonial theory also refers to the "discoursing on difference".[343] To me this means that one of the necessary components of anti-colonial discourse is about those differences between peoples, nations and cultures and how history,

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[341] Smith, in Battiste, 2000:215.
[342] Chimamanda Adichie, "The Danger of a Single Story." TED Talks. Posted October, 2009. Accessed March 2012. Web.
[343] Dei, 2006:9.

colonization and other events have affected them differently.

These aspects of anti-colonial theory intersect well with historical consciousness. Smith has alternatively referred to anti-colonial theory as 'conscientization' or 'consciousness-raising', emphasizing the need for the Indigenous peoples to grow their own consciousness and privileging their own understandings. Historical consciousness focuses upon the importance of the individual and the community's understanding of their own history and how these understandings affect their daily lives.

All of this together forms anti-colonial history.[344] I think there are a number of aspects to anti-colonial history that can be examined and explored. Historical consciousness is a critical aspect of anti-colonial history, as the lived-ness of past events may appear to be different from the original events but continue to be a reflection of them. These connections that thread their way through us, as well as time and space, make us who we are and support us in our contemporary lives. It is important that we do not ignore the contemporary in our quest to understand how history shapes us now. The stories we tell about our experiences in our own lives can become the way our children understand historical experiences. These are the stories that are passed down and rendered poignant because they have happened to people we know. They can diverge or converge with particular historical interpretations of events or relationships. Either way, these are the stories that shape us as young children and that we remember once we grow into adulthood. It is important that we do not forget about these stories and endeavour to, when possible,

[344] I have used this term in a collective way, so as to refer to all of the different kinds of anti-colonial histories from all over the world that have existed, exist currently and will exist in the future.

provide the necessary contexts. To be sure these contemporary stories are layered over the course of our lives. Sometimes we are able to connect them to historical events and sometimes these deeper contexts elude us or have been permanently silenced. These contemporary stories tell us about how it is survival was possible in the face of daily oppression. These contemporary stories do not take place in a vacuum and they certainly are not only self-referential. These stories are connected to hundreds and thousands of other stories that have gone before them and we must be mindful of these connections.

The understandings the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee have about their own relationship are ones that have stretched and contracted through time. In the historical literature, the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee are portrayed as ancient enemies whose hatreds for one another were played out in the colonial theatre. Indeed, their corresponding relationships with European ancient enemies continued and fuelled this impression.

This relationship is not without its challenges. If it was, it may not be as strong as it is today. It is clear that the solid foundation of the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishnaabeg remains intact. This is evidenced in the maintenance of the four principles. As I stated earlier, one of the negatives of historical consciousness is that our understandings of our histories can be coloured by our most negative perceptions of people or events. An anti-colonial historical consciousness could easily begin from there and grow a negative relationship with another nation. My experiences with my granny taught me that. I also learned that though our experiences shape our identity they do not necessarily define them. As

stated in the introduction, this research was an attempt to continue my Master's Thesis work which concerned the historical relationships between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee. These historical relationships are a necessary part in understanding the territory in which I was born and continue to live. I saw the contemporary relationship as important because of my belief in historical consciousness and that these relationships, both personal and political, continue to be part of the landscape of this territory. Over the course of this research many stories were shared with me, though not all of them could be included. One of the most persistent themes that kept returning to my mind was that this relationship is unbreakable. The continuation of the foundational principles ensures the continuity of this relationship through time. This inspires me as sometimes understanding, confronting and deconstructing colonization can weigh heavily on people. It is easy to encounter the negative and portray relationships in that way. Throughout this research, however, I noted that colonization, historical and continuing, does not take away from the joy found in the relationship. I think the humour that is embedded in so many interactions illustrates that well. But this laughter, I think, does not stem only from an ability to process colonization and grief but also stems from love and respect. This lesson is not lost on me. When you have known another nation for so long, and you have the implicit understanding that you will always be connected to them, it is imperative to engage with one another in a positive way that allows for the resolution of past grief. It is also imperative that the context of the relationship be shared with each other and those that remain unaware. There is constant positive reconnection between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee and this will

continue. The teasing that can be misconstrued by outsiders or those unaware of the relationship is made positive by deep context.

What is evident in this research is that the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee have an historical consciousness of their relationships, and histories, which are affected by mainstream historical understandings but not transformed by them. It is simplistic to regard stereotypes, stated in jest or hurled in hurtful ways, as originating from the wars or the fur trade. The relationship, in all of its complexities, existed long before these influential occurrences, has continued to exist long after and will exist for generations to come. Like the wars that occurred between them over three centuries ago, the lack of European presence has relegated the relationship to the margins of written history. However, the relationship is a dependable reality that ebbs and flows with individual and community experiences and interactions. Many of the stereotypes, no matter what they are or when they come from, fit within a larger pattern of interaction between the two nations. They tease each other. They hurt each other. In the past, they have killed one another. They always stand up for one another. They marry each other. They compete with one another. They are family. They are neighbours. They are frustrated by each other but the love they have for one another runs very deep.

The future of the relationship between the Anishnaabeg and the Haudenosaunee is built upon solid foundations and enduring stories. Through the maintenance and survivance of the principles of reciprocity, relationship, complementary difference and renewal it is clear that this relationship can resist any challenges that arise. The connections and re-connections that occur around these

principles will allow this relationship to grow and change by incorporating the different experiences of the people who live this relationship every day. If the relationship is taken care of, it will continue to protect the people who build it.

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