

Anishinaabewaaajimodaa Sa: Re-siting our Selves Home through Narrative

by

Helen Olsen Agger

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Abstract

This thesis examines the processes of discursive erasure, denial, and displacement of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* historical presence on and connection to the *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake homelands as their heritage. Four major themes that emerge from the narratives of eight *Namegosibiing* community member participants clearly articulate *Anishinaabe* identity. These are *Anishinaabemowin*, *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, and the *noopimakamig aki* boreal traditional territories. Participants' *dadibaaajimowin* narrative explains how the ingression of *wemitigoozhi* European (descended) settlers and the forces of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* colonialism affected the ability of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* to maintain ancestral practices. Spanning several generational groups, these *dadibaaajimowin* narratives demonstrate the need to revitalize *Anishinaabe* knowledge about how the *aanikoobidaaganag* ancestors expressed self-identity through life in the homeland territories. A critical Indigenous methodological component of this research is the extensive use of *Anishinaabemowin* throughout the text. Four sources of archival material, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) records, treaty annuity pay lists (1876-1897, 1910), Canada's 1901 census, and the Butikofer Papers (2009), provide historical information about names, dates, and events that is not always a part of the *Anishinaabe dadibaaajimowin* identity narrative. With the need for written documentation as supporting evidence, this thesis provides the kind of information that clearly demonstrates the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's claim to their history, identity, and inherent entitlement to the care, use, and occupation of the *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake homelands.

Dedication

Giin, Nimaamaa.

To you, my Mother.

Miigwech e'

Thank you for

Wiji'ishiyan indanokiiwining, e'

Supporting my work, for

Miinishiyan gigikendaasowin, e'

Entrusting me with your knowledge, for

Gikinô'amawishiyan wenji

Teaching me the

Ishpendaagwak i'i

Value of that

Gikendaasowin.

Knowledge.

Gidinin,

To you,

Gichi miigwech.

My deepest gratitude.

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Nomegosibii Anishinaabemowin

Use of *Anishinaabemowin* plays a critical role in my research because it helps to center the language of my mother and her ancestors and the world that gave them life. Hence, it requires some clarification. As a listener of my mother's *Anishinaabemowin* speech since birth, I learned about the importance of understanding the contexts in which its meanings are embedded. I also studied *Anishinaabemowin* textualization under the mentorship of language expert Roger Roulette. In this research, I rely on the work of Nichols and Nyholm (1995) to show *Anishinaabemowin*'s function in explaining and foregrounding *Anishinaabe* ways of knowing and being that English erases in translation. I also use Nichols and Nyholm's format as a model for two pronunciation tables (below) and include a glossary (p. 227) for the terms I use in this thesis.

Anishinaabemowin sounds somewhat similar to the English language and as a result, its representation typically uses Roman orthography. In Pronunciation Table 1 (below), English words indicate the approximately equivalent sounds of *Anishinaabemowin*'s short and long vowels. There are differences, however. One lies in the long vowel, *e*. More drawn out than the English short vowel *e*, it sounds similar to the first part of the diphthong (defined as the sound formed by a combination of two vowels in a single syllable in which the sound starts with one vowel and ends with another) *a* in the English word *ate*. Unlike English, however, *Anishinaabemowin* always pronounces the *e* at the end of a word. *Name* (sturgeon), for example, is a two-syllable word and sounds somewhat like nu-meh with the accent on the second syllable. In terms of *o*, I use *ô* to represent the sound that is similar to the first half of the *o* diphthong in the word *vote*.

However, *Anishinaabe* speakers may also pronounce *ô* as *waa* or *wô*. In such cases, *Gichi Jôj* (Big George) would be pronounced and spelled as *Gichi Jwaaj* or *Gichi Jwôj*. While elder-participant *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses all three pronunciations, others of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community tend to favour one over the others.

A nasalized vowel is pronounced before *ns*, *nz* and *nzh* in *Anishinaabemowin* (Nichols & Nyholm, 1995). Examples are the second *e* in *ikwezens* (girl), the *oo* in *moonz* (moose), and the *ii* in *agaashiinzh* (small). Hence, the *n* in these types of words is not pronounced as it is in words with non-nasalized vowels such as the *n* in *enigok* (with energy) and *giinawaa* (you all) and the English *into*. Many *Anishinaabemowin* writers do not include the nasalized *n* in their writings and would spell *moonz* (moose) as *mooz*.

The pronunciations of *Anishinaabemowin* consonants appear in Pronunciation Table 2 (below) with *Anishinaabemowin* and English examples. According to Nichols and Nyholm (1995) the consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, *j*, and the *zh* consonant cluster are often voiced (xxv). They occur at the beginning or in the middle of words (with the exception of *zh* which becomes *sh*) and are considered to be “hard.” By contrast, the corresponding “strong” consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *s*, and the *ch* / *sh* consonant clusters are voiceless and do not generally occur at the beginning of words. An example of an exception occurs when speakers in regions to the south of *Namegosibiing* say *chi miigwech* (thank you so much) rather than *gichi miigwech*. In *Anishinaabemowin*, the *b* sounds very similar to *p*; the *d*, to *t*; the *g*, to *k*; and the *j*, to *ch*. For example, the *b* in *Bejii* (Betsy) sounds half way between a *b* and a *p*. However, the *b* sound in *imBejiim* (my Betsy) is a definite *b*. To illustrate further, when the word *diindiinsi* (blue jay) becomes *indiindiinsim* (my blue jay), the first *d* is closer to a *d* sound than a *t*. Therefore, the letters *b*, *d*, *g* and *j* are used instead of *p*, *t*,

k and *ch* at the beginning of words. This convention maintains consistency in spelling and avoids confusion, according to *Anishinaabemowin* authority Patricia Ningewance (2004).

Many words contain both the hard and strong consonants, serving to illustrate pronunciation differences. The *d* and the *t* in *Detaginang* (Frank Keesick), the *b* and the *p* in *bepegwajizhaagigamiiwan* (the ice on the lake is open here and there), and the *g* and each *k* in *gakiwekana* (portage trail) are examples. Incidentally, some consonant sounds are aspirated, that is, their pronunciation is preceded by a slight expiration of air. The *p* in *aapiji* (quite) is an example of an aspirated consonant. The letter *h*, used to show aspiration, however, is omitted when spelling words with this feature.

The glottal stop, indicated by an apostrophe (’), serves at least three functions in *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin*. It shows the possessive case for certain words ending in a vowel, such as in *oniijaanisa’* (his/her children). It is a means for separating vowel sounds within a word, as in *ma’iingan* (wolf) and *dewe’igan* (drum). This avoids the need to insert a *w* or *y* between the vowels. Among some speakers, the glottal stop affirms past tense, such as in *gii’ maajaa* (she/he left) or *gii’ nigamowag* (they sang).

These are the basic *Anishinaabemowin* elements of pronunciation and spelling, although there are characteristic ways of speech. Some *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* tend to speak the language with little inflection and a slower, more even rate of speech. Today’s language learners often use the same intonation and rate with which they speak English as a first language. Another variation among *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* speakers is the use of certain verb endings. Some say *gaa-nigamod* (the one who is singing) with a *d* while others, including my mother, *Dedibaayaanimoook*, would say *gaa-nigamoj*, with a *j*. Often, these speech distinctions are immediately evident only among fluent speakers.

Pronunciation Tables

Pronunciation Table 1.

Eight Vowels of Anishinaabemowin

Short vowels	<i>Anishinaabemowin</i>	English equivalency
a	a semaa (tobacco)	u p
i	<i>n</i> isin (three)	pin
o	o pin (potato)	full
Long vowels	<i>Anishinaabemowin</i>	English equivalency
aa	a aniin! (hello!)	far
e	<i>na</i> megos (trout)	e re
ii	<i>g</i> iiwe (goes home)	s eem
oo	o odenaang (in town)	move
ô	<i>G</i> ichi Jôj (Big George)	order

Pronunciation Table 2.

Consonants of Anishinaabemowin

Consonant	<i>Anishinaabemowin</i>	English equivalency
b	b iboon (winter)	b acon
ch	g ich i (large)	ch ild
d	d ebinaak (carelessly)	d ebt
g	g aawiin (no)	g irl
h	en h a' (yes)	h at
j	maamaka j (amazing)	j est
k	ma k wa (bear)	ck
m	m iinan (blueberries)	m ilk
n	n igig (otter)	n o
p	aap p iji (very)	p en
s	as s in (rock)	S oft
t	aab i ta (half)	t ab
w	w iinge (very)	w ent
y	w iiyaas (meat)	y es
z	z iibiins (creek)	z ebra
zh	mewin zh a (a long time ago)	m ea s ure

Bezhig: Nitamibii'igewin

**Chapter 1: What is written first
(introduction)**

1.1 Introduction

Nestled against the barrier of *Oshedinaa* in the *oshekamigaa* regions of the boreal forests is a lake with numerous islands. It seems typical of the many others in the area because its special characteristics remain largely invisible to visitors. Trees and tall grasses, for example, conceal vestiges of what was at one time a sturdy log cabin (Figure 1.1). Toward the northern main shore, remnants of another structure have all but faded into the flora (Figure 1.2). A third feature consists of a headstone, its crib collapsed, 1916 engraved on its face (Figure 1.3). Who built these cabins and what caused their abandonment? Who are the people now at rest in the cemetery? Do they have living descendants? Indeed, are these questions of importance and, if so, for whom?

Although visitors and guests enjoy pristine surroundings and reliable guides when they come to *Namegosibiing*, they are largely unaware of the complete history of the lake and its surrounding area. Mainstream discourse continues to leave little space for *Anishinaabe* voices to articulate the identity of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* ancestors and explain the *nametwaawin* in the photographs. This study addresses such questions about historical identity by naming the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag*; delineating the homelands; and speaking to experiences of physical removal, displacement from homes and homelands, and their tacit denial. Recognizing the need for a more balanced record of the region's history, I regard this type of research to be of

relevance for all settler-nation citizens with the responsibility of interrogating the colonial myths on which their societies are founded.

The *dadibaajimowin* of eight participants highlights contexts of the *wemitigoozh*'s arrival into the region and is the basis of this *aweneniwiyeeng* research. It creates *dawisijigewin* spaces to foreground *Anishinaabe* voices by paying special attention to *Anishinaabemowin* terms and concepts. To illustrate, I have already used several *Anishinaabemowin* words as a way of drawing in and reminding us of *Anishinaabe* ontological perspectives. Hence, the process of conducting this work contributes to the advancement of language use in ways that recognize and contribute toward the current trend in *Anishinaabe* scholarship.

With the lake itself playing so crucial a role in this investigation, an explanation of the name *Namegosibiing* helps to clarify one of its many remarkable features. The noun *nibi* is generic for water, but *sib* specifies a clear, pure quality. *Namegos* being the word for trout, *namegosib* is literally clear trout water. *Dadibaajimowin* confirms that with only streams and creeks flowing into *Namegosibiing*, it is a spring-fed lake with sufficient depths to sustain the cooler temperatures that *namegosag* prefer (Agger, 2008). Although the standard word for a lake is *zaaga'igan*, the *aanikoobidaaganag* deemed *Namegosibiing* to be more accurate and descriptive.

A set of four maps (Figures 1.4 to 1.7) introduces the homelands, showing where *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identities are rooted. *Namegosibiing* is itself located northwest of Thunder Bay, northeast of Winnipeg, and east of Red Lake. Figure 1.4 shows Red Lake (3) to be a six-hour drive from Winnipeg (1), at the northern terminus of Highway 105, which begins at Vermillion Bay (2), east of Kenora on Highway 17. *Obizhigokaang*

(5) and Sioux Lookout (6) are southeast of *Nomegosibiing*. Figure 1.5 illustrates *Nomegosibiing*'s proximity to *Wanamani Zaa'iganing* Red Lake (4) and the route that *aanikoobidaaganag* took for their two and one half days of travel from *Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag* (1). They spent their first night on the western shore (2) of the lake and their second at East Bay (3) on the shores of Red Lake. The purple line delineates their approximate course across *Nomegosibiing* and over the northern edge of *Oshedinaang*, the Trout Lake Ridge.

The red line in Figure 1.6 shows *Oshedinaang* extending in an approximate north-south direction along the west side of *Nomegosibiing*. In the densest regions of the ridge just south of *aanikoobidaaganag*'s route are three large indentations known as *Binesiwajiing* (7), the nesting places of *binesiwag*. *Aanikoobidaaganag* embarked on this trek only in winter, after the lake was frozen and the snow had fallen. By contrast, today's descendants can travel these distances at any time of the year in less than 30 minutes with a Cessna 180.

Other places of significance for *Nomegosibii Anishinaabeg* appear in Figure 1.6. *Dedibaayaanimanook*, her mother, and nephew *Gichi Jôj* often spent several days alone at *Jiibayi Zaagiing* (1) while her father and brother, *Jiins* Charlie, trapped and hunted at *Memegweshi Zaa'igan* toward the north. The location (2) of another winter cabin (Figure 1.2) was where *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s first child, Alice, was born in 1945. Awaiting the arrival of spring, the *Giizhig* family spent time at *Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag* (3), *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s own place of birth. A component of great significance in their canoe journey to and from *Obizhigokaang* – in their lives as *Nomegosibii Anishinaabeg* – was *ezhibimishinowaaj* (4), where they attended to the cemetery (Figure 1.3) and visited

the *aanikoobidaaganag*. It should be noted that accessibility was an important consideration when siting a cemetery. Locating *ezhi bimishinowaaj* directly along the *Obizhigokaang* Lac Seul route, for example, made it possible for the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* to commune with *aanikoobidaaganag* at least twice every year.

Important to mention at this point is that the meaning of *aanikoobidaagan* extended to either ancestors or descendants. When people spoke of a great-grandchild, great-great-grandchild, etc., they used *aanikoobidaagan* due to the derivation of its meaning, the act of tying together. As a concept, it describes the genealogical nexus that exists between a patriarch or matriarch and his or her set of descendants. A woman discussing either her great-great-grandchild or her great-great-grandmotherhood would therefore use the phrase *niinzhwaa indaanikoobijige*, which literally means, I tie together twice.

Included among *aanikoobidaaganag* were *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s paternal grandparents, *Giizhig* and *Nookomiban Moonzhoniikwe*.¹ Although vital statistics records tell us that *Moonzhoniikwe*'s English name was Mary, *Dedibaayaanimanook* always refers to her paternal grandmother as *Nookomiban* (my late grandmother) in her *dadibaajimowin*, not *Moonzhoniikwe* and never Mary. The source of *Namegosi Ziibi* (6) is at the southeast basin of *Namegosibii Shishiing* (5), where travelers also stopped to rest.

Figure 1.7 shows the same region extending south to places where the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* journeyed. Continuing past the narrow passageway at *ezhjbimishinowaaj* *Gojijiwaawangaang* (1) and across *Namegosibii Shishiing* (2) to *Namegosi Ziibi*, they canoed through a series of rapids toward *Apisaabiko Maadaawaang* (3). Relatives from

¹ The name *Moonzhoniikwe* derives from her moose *odoodem*.

Ikwewi Zaa'igan occasionally met them at this location and together they proceeded to a tight bend in the river appropriately named *Gaa-wodooskwanigamaag* (4). With aquatic plants in abundance, *Gaa-wodooskwanigamaag* was a favorite site for migrating waterfowl in early autumn. *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins* (5), now Bruce Lake, was the location of a small community cemetery.

Figure 1.7 also shows *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'igan* (6), a large, shallow lake where the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people gathered medicine plants for the winter as they journeyed back to *Namegosibiing*. The construction of a dam on the English River, however, resulted in the destruction of the lake's natural features and these and other floral species perished. The *Anishinaabeg* also gathered *manoomin* at *Gaa-minisiwang* (7), a small lake with one island. *Gojijiing* (9), Goldpines, is at the source of the English River in the northern basin of *Obizhigokaawi Zaa'igan* (10). From there, they proceeded to *Obizhigokaang* (11) where they saw friends and kin and collected their annual treaty payments after the treaty adhesion was signed in the spring of 1874. Important to note, when the construction of the *Otawagi Baawitig* dam flooded *Obizhigokaawi Zaa'igan*, numerous of the travelers' customary landmarks disappeared. During a recent visit to *Gojijiing*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* learned that the island where her family often stopped to rest no longer exists. These descriptions of the traditional use homelands of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* are the backdrop to their *dadibaajimowin*.

1.2 Objective, Rationale

The objective of my thesis is to explore the notion of *aweneniwiweng* as *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* from the point of view of the *Anishinaabeg* themselves. This undertaking would have seemed odd to *aanikoobidaaganag*, whose *odoodemiwin* system ensured that all understood who they were and remained conversant with their ancestral lines of descent. However, portions of *Anishinaabe* histories are no longer intact. With information lost, destroyed, or fragmented, moreover, the lack of conscious awareness of *Anishinaabe* absence in dominant discourse acts to prevent *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* physical presence in the *noopimakamig aki* homelands. This research investigates the identity narratives of *aanikoobidaaganag* within the context of on-going *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* permeation across the landscape. For those who wish to restore their family histories, learn about their progenitors and the lives they lived, and gain a better understanding about their own identity, this type of work is essential.

Interesting to note at this point is the name with which community members commonly associate themselves. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* is a designation that connects them to not only the lake itself but also to the territories of its outflowing river, *Namegosi Ziibi*. *Dadibaajimowin* also tells us that the *Obizhigokaang* Lac Seul community referred to them as the *Anishinaabeg* of *Oshekamigaa*, as well as the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* (Agger, 2008). Both names reflect the essential association of the *Anishinaabeg* with their *noopimakamig aki* and the *noopimakamig aki* with its people.

Noopimakamig is the term that *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses to describe the boreal places of home from which the originary cultural identity of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* derives (see Section 4.5). It includes the regions of *Namegosibiing*, *Namegosi Ziibi*, and

both the land and water routes for hunting, trapping, gathering, and conducting ceremony. Both land and water comprising a boreal region, *Namegosibii dadibaaqimowin* suggests that both elements were important to how the *Anishinaabe* people framed their sense of self and places of home. Together, they were foundational to their survival as *Anishinaabeg*.

Today, the existence and identity of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* as the community for whom the homelands are a rightful inheritance remain in a state of erasure. With this study focusing on the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, I draw from the notion of erasure as much as I do from denial. Erasure implies recognition of what was once in place but denial suggests that nothing existed. *Namegosibii dadibaaqimowin*, however, speaks unambiguously about *Anishinaabe* identity and the deeply rooted relationship that the *aanikoobidaaganag* ancestors had with *noopimakamig aki*. The senior participant of this research, *Dedibaayaanimanook*, for example, often refers to the *Anishinaabe* people's appreciation for the aesthetic qualities; healthy food, water, and air; and invigorating lifestyle that the boreal homelands afforded them. In her *dadibaaqimowin*, she explains that even brushing against the bough of a tree released medicinal fragrances (Agger, 2008). By foregrounding *dadibaaqimowin*, this work contributes toward reversing the historical erasure and denial of *Anishinaabe* existence that are still the norm throughout much of what now constitutes the psychic landscape of the homeland territories.

My research recognizes that these forms of discursive deletions and suppressions are within the purview of *dadibaaqimowin* – the *debwewin*² experiential truths of the *Anishinaabe* community – to address by explicating not only the systems of philosophy

² Gehl (2012) uses the term *debwewin* for truth story.

that *aanikoobidaaganag* taught but also the practices that embody them. According to *Anishinaabe* theorist Basil Johnston (2011), the *debwewin* concept comes about in the following manner: “When a man or a woman is said to be speaking to the ends of knowledge and to the ends of language, they are said to be speaking the truth” (p. 39). Importantly, Johnston clarifies that *w’daeb-awe* is not an assertion of “absolute truth;” it is about the “highest degree of accuracy” that a speaker seeks to achieve (p. 78). *Dedibaayaaninanook* also illustrates the *debwewin* concept when she tells us, using *Anishinaabemowin* and English, “that’s why it’s so *debwemagak gakina gegoon*” (002BD2011, 3). *Anishinaabe* people understood that the combined elements of the natural environment, not humans, set the standard for the highest order of truth. The profoundest truths ultimately reveal themselves to those who have the same kind of harmonious relationship with the natural world that *aanikoobidaaganag* cultivated throughout their lives on the land. *Dadibaajimowin* speaks to those truths.

Understanding that the veracity and accuracy of *dadibaajimowin* originate from its ability to speak directly to *Anishinaabe debwewin*, this thesis regards *dadibaajimowin* to be a solid basis for the production of knowledge and a primary source of information for research. The *dadibaajimowin* of participants thus adds to and becomes a part of our body of knowledge. At the same time, however, it is important to note that such a compendium had long existed before the disruptions of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. The pursuit of *Anishinaabe* ways of knowing through *dadibaajimowin* is part of re-acquiring the *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*-based identity that *Anishinaabe* people themselves once defined, without the distortions of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*.

Another objective of this research is to gather the narratives of the eight individuals as a demonstration of how we might think about a return to *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*, our ancestors' ideological places of home. This process can take various forms and occur on many levels of engagement. Community-based Cree elder, speaker, and historian, Louis Bird (2011), for example, teaches through example that Indigenous people can document their histories and narratives without becoming accredited historians, anthropologists, ethnographers, or other type of academic professional. The senior *dadibaajimowin* narrators of my research acquired their credentials from years of living their lives, knowledge, insights, and experiences in such ways as gathering berries, lecturing and teaching, sewing and beadwork, being politically aware, engaging in the creativity of birch bark biting, and maintaining their *Anishinaabemowin* speech. All are ways for returning to the ontologies of *aanikoobidaaganag* and expressing *aweneniwiyyeng* as *Anishinaabeg*.

This research is about power. Seeking inter-ontological meanings can contribute to the larger project of expanding knowledge about and accommodation for a variety of knowledge systems. In the telling of the histories of nations, inclusivity allows for greater depth, richness, and accuracy because histories consist of many threads and perspectives. Nicholas (2006) tells us that inclusivity replaces what has controlled, regulated, and distorted the national narrative for too long, suggesting that reasons for historical misrepresentations reside where power imbalances originate. To erase the erasures and denials of *Anishinaabe* presences wherever they exist by including *dadibaajimowin* is therefore to speak to and engage with forms and expressions of power.

1.3 Thesis Organization, Scope, Historical Context

1.3.1 Thesis organization.

This study begins with a set of maps to visually introduce the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* places of home. I describe the objectives and rationale and explain the organization, scope, and historical contexts of my thesis. A review of relevant scholarly literature indicates where this study locates itself. I then clarify my theoretical framework, briefly discussing subjectivity, positionality, the researcher's frame of reference, identity and critical theories, and how *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people themselves theorize. In Chapter 3, I describe my Indigenous research methodology, provide brief biographies of each participant, and explain the criteria for their selection. I then explain the findings based on four themes that arise from the *dadibaajimowin* of the participants. First is *dadibaajimowin* itself, a longstanding *Anishinaabe* cultural institution. Functioning as lineage narratives, *dadibaajimowin* transmitted identity knowledge and preserved *Anishinaabe* positioning across time, place, and the generations. *Dadibaajimowin* substantiated the homelands as the source of life for *Anishinaabeg* by describing their interactions with *aki* and explaining their relationships. The second theme, *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*, is a concept that frames identity *dadibaajimowin* while providing its context. *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* embodies the traditional beliefs, spirituality, principles, practices, and physical experiences of the *Anishinaabeg* in a manner that is similar to how *Néhiyawiwon* is the Creeness of the *Néhiyawak* (McLeod, 2000). The third theme, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* colonialism, follows as the counterpoint to *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*. Finally, I illustrate the many ways

by which *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* relationships with the *noopimakamig aki* homelands constitute a critical component of their identity.

I base Chapter 5 on samples of the written record that refer specifically to the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. After a brief critique of the text from an *Anishinaabe* perspective, I assess a sample of Hudson's Bay Company records that mention "Trout Lake Indians" and sometimes itemize individual names. I also examine treaty annuity pay lists and the 1901 Canada census in combination with *dadibaaajimowin* to trace familial lines of descent. Lastly, I survey the Butikofer Papers records of the *Waabachaanish* (Gerald Bannatyne) *dadibaaajimowin* about *Anishinaabe* individuals who were of, or related to, the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag* lineages. The oral *Anishinaabe dadibaaajimowin* narratives of Chapter 4 contrasts with the archival, linear, and episodic text of the *wemitigoozhi* etic that has had the effect of erasing / denying *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity. Chapter 6 summarizes and concludes my observations and findings.

1.3.2 Scope, historical context.

Dadibaaajimowin of the elders, with information from the written record, establishes the genealogical framework of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* that delineates the scope and context of my research. *Dedibaayaanimanook* Olsen and *Oo'oons* Kejick both speak of *Jiimaan*, who was born in the late 18th or early 19th century. Based on the oral narratives of two senior participants, therefore, the historical span of this study is approximately two hundred years. Lineage narratives thread themselves throughout the *dadibaaajimowin* of the elders, animating the homeland territories where the

aanikoobidaaganag lived and traveled.

One of the earliest textually recorded references described “Geean” as trading at the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) Lac Seul post in 1846 (B.107/d/1, HBC Archives, Winnipeg, MB, pp. 9-20). Furthermore, *Jiyyaan*’s name appears as the father of *Giizhig* (spelled Keejick) on *Giizhig*’s death certificate (Figure 5.26). *Jiyyaan*, as I will demonstrate, was *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s paternal great-grandfather, hence, my great-great-grandfather.

In terms of political context, much of the elders’ *dadibaajimowin* relates to a time when *wemitigoozhi* institutions were still relatively nonintrusive in the everyday affairs and way of life of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Within their homeland territories, *Anishinaabe* people were able largely to choose the extent to which they participated in the latecomers’ capitalist political economy and retained traditional ontological thought. During the time when *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s elder paternal uncles (*Giizhig*’s sons) were born, *Anishinaabe* historical homelands were still Rupert’s Land and the North-Western Territory according to *wemitigoozhi* reckoning. They were incorporated into the 55,000 square miles of crown territory with the advent of Treaty 3 (Figure 1.8). Although the treaty was finalized in the autumn of 1873 at Northwest Angle, the *Obizhigokaang Anishinaabeg*, including the *Namegosibiing* community, did not participate (as they had already returned home for the winter) until representatives signed an adhesion on June 9th, 1874 (Daugherty, 1986).

The early years of the twentieth century was a time of economic and political flux, with jurisdictional overlaps in need of resolution. The 1912 establishment of the current boundaries of Ontario, in concert with the inflow of *wemitigoozhiwag* and the discovery

and mining of gold in the *Wanamani Zaa'iganing* area during the mid-1920s, had direct and immediate impacts on the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community³ and homeland territories. Although the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* themselves were a part of the Lac Seul band and carried treaty status, their places of home lay beyond the formal boundaries of the reserve. Hence, the *Anishinaabeg* were now on “crown” provincial territory where the Ontario governments and bureaucracies conceptualized and organized Indigenous lands in terms of political control, ownership, and the principles of a capitalistic market-driven economy. But the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* never thought of their homelands in those terms.

Treaty-negotiated “permission” notwithstanding, the ability of the *Anishinaabeg* to continue with the longstanding land-based activities of fishing, gathering, hunting, trapping, and pursuing ceremony in accordance with their way of life was in jeopardy. Ontario was eager to regulate and collect taxes from the homelands in accordance with its economic and political imperatives. Consequently, commercial fishers and tourist lodge entrepreneurs acquired licenses beginning in 1939 and the early 1940s to exploit and occupy *Namegosibiing*. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s the homelands were transitioning into conservation and nature reserves with a host of regulations. One set of Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) rules forbade tree cutting or engaging in any form of construction on the land without provincial permits. Game wardens regularly appeared on the landscape, seeking proof of legitimate presence. An atmosphere of uncertainty and fear prevailed, with rules and regulations seemingly designed to remove

³ See the article The Northwest Territories (1870) at <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/canadian-confederation/Pages/northwest-territories-1870.aspx>.

the *Anishinaabe* people from their homelands. Living the traditional lifestyle of *aanikoobidaaganag* became impossible. Concomitantly, *Anishinaabe* experience asserts that the federal department of Indian Affairs continued with their own acts of aggression by refusing to protect the principles of *Anishinaabe* entitlement. Under these circumstances, the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community dispersed.

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Introduction.

The *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* have remained virtually invisible in the written record. This review locates places where my research can contribute toward *Anishinaabe* visibility by examining how the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community appears or does not appear in the literature that is pertinent to this subject. Determining factors of relevancy include references or allusions to *Anishinaabe* and Trout Lake identity, *Namegosibiing* homelands, knowledges, and language-culture as well as the expression of *Anishinaabe* voices and frames of reference.

As a responsible Indigenous researcher (Absolon, 2008) and in view of the role both orality and text play in my study, however, I begin with literature that describes historical colonial uses of text vis-à-vis Indigenous peoples. I follow this with an examination of canonical conceptualization, categorization, and mapping of *Anishinaabe* communities. Next, I appraise potential ethical issues from an *Anishinaabe* frame of reference. I review how pertinent literature portrays the ontological bases of an Indigenous lifeway, including the relationships of land, language, values, beliefs, and practices with identity.

The final section investigates whether, how, and to what degree the literature presents, and speaks with, *Anishinaabe* voice.

1.4.2 Decolonization.

Literature that critically examines the historical use of text as a coercive implement against Indigenous peoples is of relevance to this project. In *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, Walter Mignolo (1995) explains that “[t]oward the end of the fifteenth century, a philosophy of language based on the celebration of the letter and of vernacular languages began to emerge in Europe” (p. 29). According to Damián Baca (2009), the arrival of Europeans on the shores of the Americas was accompanied by a modernity that “presumed ... universal hegemony over political ideology, cultural meanings, and historical narrative” (pp. 1–2). Text was a manifestation of coloniality, which Mignolo (2007) refers to as the “invisible and constitutive hand of ‘modernity’” (p. 451). Discussing the “political economy of the distribution of texts,” Margaret Bender (2010) notes that language as text “connects to ... power structures ... such as those involved in colonial administration [that] necessitate[s] graphic representation” in her paper, “Reflections on What Writing Means, Beyond What it ‘Says’” (p. 177). She further asserts that “[a]ccess to powerful texts, be they political, economic, or sacred, is controlled both through the physical control of those texts and through educational access” (p. 178). In “New Media Scholarship and Teaching,” Ellen Cushman (2011) refers to the continuing “hierarchy of signs” and speaks of “the dominance of the letter, writing, and the book” as a part of her argument that English as an academic discipline is in need of modernization (p. 65). Cushman urges readers to be aware of other forms of

knowledge transmission, reminding us that the text is a human construction and is neither natural nor neutral.

Michael Angel (1997), in *Discordant Voices, Conflicting Visions*, indicates that Indigenous peoples learned early on that European inscription was the voice of authority with the European subjugators, settlers, and their descendants. The written text worked together with “the blade, the bludgeon, and the bullet,” to use the words of preeminent *Anishinaabe* scholar Basil Johnston (1990, p. 14). In his paper, “Reconciling Epistemological Orientations,” *Anishinaabe* historian Alan Ojiig Corbiere (2000) asserts that text was written in Indigenous languages, including *Anishinaabemowin*, using Roman orthography to more effectively destabilize Indigenous spirituality and cultural content.⁴ These writers indicate that text was a tool that colonizers used to spread and maintain domination throughout Indigenous places and populations. They also remind Indigenous scholars to redirect the use of text toward the decolonizing act of returning to Indigenous epistemological spaces.

1.4.3 Geography.

The use of geographical regions facilitates the study of Indigenous peoples. However, the system has limited use and applicability for the realities of *Anishinaabe* communities and projects. This review draws attention to shortcomings that contribute toward *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* invisibility and literal marginalization. One example is evident in “History of Ethnological Research in the Subarctic Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands” where anthropologist E.S. Rogers (1981) surveys the literature about

⁴ The term cultural genocide is increasingly in use today.

“Indian” peoples residing in the areas he terms the Subarctic Shield of North America. Scholars, according to his study, were attempting to describe and record characteristics of *Anishinaabe* peoples within what he and Taylor (1981) delineate as Northern Ojibwa country. Although the map in Rogers’ (1981) study portrays and identifies Trout Lake (*Namegosibiing*), the borderline of his research area lies just to the east of, thus technically excludes, *Namegosibiing* (p. 232). Steinbring’s (1981) “Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg” similarly discusses those to whom he refers as the Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg, but his map does not show or identify *Namegosibiing* (p. 245). Even when the lake is on a map, the document usually fails to describe it and its *Anishinaabe* occupants.

Whenever Trout Lake is cited by name, moreover, it is necessary for the literature to identify it clearly due to the existence of another Trout Lake within the northern regions of what is now Ontario. Rogers and Taylor (1981), for example, state that treaties were negotiated and signed “in 1929 and 1930 ... with the people of Trout Lake and Caribou Lake” (p. 237) in their article, “Northern Ojibwa.” Their statement is in fact a reference to Big Trout Lake of the Hudson Bay drainage basin, now self-identifying as *Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug*. Although the *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake community members, those of the *Giizhigoog* house, desired and continue to express an interest in band status, they associated themselves with Lac Seul continuously throughout the fur trade and treaty periods. To this day, they remain as members of Lac Seul First Nation.

Studies that design investigations of Indigenous peoples based on constructions of geographical designations provide several identifying characteristics. These descriptions are essentially similar to how *dadibaaajimowin* presents *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* traditional practices. Steinbring (1981), for example, highlights elements that are

common among *Anishinaabe* people, including birch bark canoes and storage containers, a distinctive snowshoe pattern, use of spruce roots, beadwork artistry, unique ceremonial pipe designs, and forms of bloodletting. One of the most significant of the commonalities about which Steinbring writes is the vision quest practice. Although these characteristics largely describe the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, the research fails to identify the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community.

Some studies specify places within the *Namegosibiing* regions such as Pikangikum and Lac Seul, drawing attention to what appear to be shared cultural customs. Anthropologist Charles A. Bishop (1976), for example, discussed the Lac Seul *Anishinaabeg* of the nineteenth century in “The Emergence of the Northern Ojibwa: Social and Economic Consequences.” He noted that populations were “evenly dispersed throughout the area in family units” as a strategic response to prevailing scarcities (p. 48). Segmentation and dispersal were his terms for clarifying his understanding of how *Anishinaabe* people organized and managed their travels and resource usage throughout the region. American anthropologist A.I. Hallowell (1926) surveyed the information others had collected of Indigenous peoples’ special relationship with the bear in *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere*. Subsuming Lac Seul in the northern Saulteaux of the eastern North American “woodlands,” he examined their ceremonial practices and described a custom wherein bear bones were protected from dogs. Hallowell also quoted Skinner’s 1911 description of bear poles along a journey that took the traveler from Lac Seul to Lac St. Joseph and an encounter with a Lac Seul man who insisted on keeping his sacred pole. However, Hallowell seemed oblivious to the existence of the *Anishinaabe* community of *Namegosibiing*.

Later, Hallowell (1934) reviewed the spirituality (“religion”) of *Anishinaabeg* in the Pigeon River areas east of Lake Winnipeg, referring to two of three Pikangikum band settlements in his “Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Saulteaux Religion.” Given the relational ties among the communities, it is not surprising for him to have mentioned a number of features strikingly similar to those of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Fisher pelts, for example, were of great value, and individuals could become spiritual leaders only if they had undergone a dream quest journey before puberty. Hallowell further reported that an unidentifiable *wemitigoozhi* sometimes participated in spiritual events and that loud sounds and violent movement accompanied the shaking tent ceremony. He also noted that the two terms *Gizhe Manidoo* and *Gichi Manidoo* had become a part of the *Anishinaabe* vocabulary to indicate Christianity’s proliferation.

In his 1938 study, “The Incidence, Character, and Decline of Polygyny Among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Saulteaux,” Hallowell referred to other signs of Christianity that included coffins, the notion of a *Gizhe Manidoo-Maji Manidoo* dichotomy, use of Jesus’s name in conjunction with spiritual thought, and the decline of polygyny. In regard to the last item, he asserted “the decline observable in our sample thus represents a continuation of this process of extinction, under conditions of acculturation that were spreading to the bands previously unaffected” (p. 253). Two years later, under the intriguing title, “The spirits of the dead in Saulteaux life and thought,” Hallowell (1940) investigated practices related to death, the deceased, and the afterlife, mentioning aspects that are in *Namegosibii dadibaajimowin*. Among these were sharing food and tobacco when visiting with the deceased at burial sites; crossing a river to achieve the afterlife; safeguarding the spiritual signification of the shoulder blade; and returning to the family after death.

Hallowell identified them to be customs of Berens River and Lac Seul, without mention of the *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake people. What he did observe was that the ritual of putting food in an open fire as an offering was still practiced “up the River” (p. 37). This remark strongly suggests that the further east he traveled along Berens River toward Pikangikum and beyond, the more likely communities were free from proselytism, obliquely confirming that *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* were still relatively unscathed in their traditional spirituality.

Research on communities east of Lake Winnipeg began to proliferate after Hallowell, with some overlapping his work. In their biographical paper, “Fair Wind: Medicine and Consolation on the Berens River,” Brown and Matthews (1993) allude to the Mennonites’ Christianizing efforts among *Anishinaabe* people of the Red Lake district beginning in the 1950s.⁵ Other studies directed their attention toward the southwest regions of northwest Ontario. American cultural anthropologist Ruth Landes (1938), to illustrate, investigated traditional *Anishinaabe* lifeway from a female perspective, basing *The Ojibwa Woman* on seven months of fieldwork with an informant from Emo, ON (south of Kenora). Her depiction of marriage and divorce among the *Anishinaabe* people whom she examined aligns with certain customs of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Laura Peers (1999), in “There is no End to Relationship Among the Indians,” discusses colonial disruptions to land access and the coping strategies of *Anishinaabe* families in the Rainy River regions south of Kenora. She makes several references to, overlaps, and corroborates Landes’ (1938) general findings. Although the

⁵ Such activities included occasional Sunday visits to *Namegosibiing*, where abbreviated services provided my siblings and me with religious enlightenment.

Namegosibii Anishinaabe people historically, linguistically, and genealogically connect to those whom the existing literature recognizes, names, studies, and describes, neither they themselves nor their *Namegosib* homelands receive mention by name. The literature provides information about the communities of Lac Seul, Rainy River, Pikangikum, and the Berens River but not *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake.

At the same time these studies construct portrayals of *Anishinaabe* customs, *dadibaajimowin* speaks to variations in how *Anishinaabe* people conceptualize and depict themselves (Agger, 2008). Steinbring's (1981) description of the vision quest practice suggests that only boys participated in the ceremonial. The *andobawaajigewin* of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, however, is inclusive of both boys and girls. Similarly, Shawn Smallman's (2010) description of the *wiindigo* concept in "Spirit Beings, Mental Illness, and Murder" is a subject to which the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* participants in my research do not speak or even allude.⁶ Without careful consideration, geographically demarcated research can give the false impression that those who fall within researcher-defined boundaries must all be alike in all aspects. These studies identify what they regard as commonalities but exclude variations among individual *Anishinaabe* communities, thus overlooking the wealth in diversity.

There are few exceptions to the norm of referring only indirectly to the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people of northwest Ontario. One such exception is anthropologist Robert Dunning's (1959) study of Red Lake *Anishinaabeg*, of which some were *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* who customarily frequented the Red Lake area (Agger,

⁶ Their silences are examples of *waawiimbaajimowin*, indicating that the subject is appropriate only within a community discussion.

2008). In his description of social relations in *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa*, Dunning (1959) notes, for example, the characteristically minimal interaction between great-grandparents and great-grandchildren.

Archivist John Richthammer's study is another departure from the literature norm of the *Namegosibiing* community's ambiguous treatment. Although Richthammer (2007) frames his work, *Memento mori: An archival strategy for documenting mortality on the Canadian frontier at Red Lake, Ontario, before 1950*, from the settler-pioneer perspective, he also speaks from firsthand experience of the region's social historical contexts that is clearly mindful of the presence of the local *Anishinaabe* people. He discusses, for example, the importance of land to the identity, lives, and wellbeing of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* by noting that "[t]he Anishinaape, with their great reverence for the land and its animals, were distraught at the denuding of both the land and its wild game" throughout the twentieth century (p. 75). Although this observation may seem understated, Richthammer, unlike Dunning, was born and raised in Red Lake where he spent his childhood and youth. As a result of personal interactions, encounters, and friendships with *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, his contribution to the literature draws in a firsthand awareness of how colonial forces affected *Anishinaabeg* and their lives and self-identities.

1.4.4 Ethics.

Power relations are evident in the literature. Peers and Podruchny (2010), for example, note that the "postcolonial turn in the social sciences ... focus[es] on issues of power, both in the past and in the present, including the cultural and racial politics of

scholarship and the production of knowledge” (p. 1). Generally, the earlier the research, the more visibly power imbalances appear. Jenness (1921), in “The “Blond” Eskimos,” to illustrate, was in the position to help perpetuate pejorative notions about Indigenous peoples that included their apparent objectness. He described his own active participation in examinations and anthropometric measurements on over one hundred men and women living in the far north, gathering data about their eyes, hair, skull and face shapes, proportions, heights, and other physical features. Similarly, Brown & Peers (2005) tell us, Beatrice Blackwood visited several Indigenous communities in her quest for the same type of statistical data during the 1920s.

Literature based on such anthropological expeditions too often reflected, used, and enabled state assimilationist objectives and coercive power (Brown & Peers, 2005). Even when researchers themselves were critical of the state, their findings frequently resulted in enabling efforts toward cultural genocide due to structural linkages between research and the state (Kulchyski, 1993). Given the overt negativity toward Indigenous peoples at the time of Hallowell’s (1940) activities, on the other hand, it is noteworthy that he appears especially fastidious with detailing the *Anishinaabe* lifeway in non-judgemental and non-paternalistic ways, although he uses the problematic term “pagan” in his references to traditional spirituality.

Power structures and hierarchies that typify colonialism were thus manifest in the processes from which studies about *Anishinaabe* people emerged. They are visible in the advantages that a Western education or Christian conversion afforded even Indigenous individuals themselves. The ability of Western-trained *Dakóta* physician Charles Eastman (1916) to publish *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* and the undivided

attention *Anishinaabe* convert William Berens received from a prominent, prolific anthropologist (Hallowell) are evidence of such comparative privilege. The hegemonic contexts in which most studies about Indigenous peoples took place display blatant forms of inequity. These disparities are evident in one of research's central preoccupations, the investigation of traditional ("pagan") customs and practices. Eastman (1916) intimated that communities in southwestern *Anishinaabe* territories adhered to certain strict protocols, including a restriction against allowing *wemitigoozhiwag* to even look at certain objects. To do so was to defile, desecrate, and endanger the integrity of their sacredness. Given the power imbalances of Indigenous suppression, this suggests traditional people grappled with decisions about resistance, cooperation, and what information they might either relinquish or conceal.

When American anthropologist A.I. Hallowell appeared among the relatively remote communities of the Berens River in the middle years of the 20th century, *Anishinaabe* access to traditional territories and natural resources was rapidly diminishing. Hallowell's principal informant, Chief William Berens, suggests it to have been a time when the self-determination of a traditional way of life was in jeopardy (Brown & Grey, 2009). With signs of economic, cultural, and spiritual distress in plain view everywhere, the visiting anthropologist must have noticed the conditions of powerlessness and vulnerability just as community members would have recognized the status, influence, and power permeating the *wemitigoozhi* from the dominant world. Given the unlikelihood that *wemitigoozhiwag* would abandon their activities and return to Europe, it is understandable that the "pagans" would feel compelled to, at the very least,

appear cooperative in hopes of deriving some form of benefit – the ability to re-gain a degree of self-sufficiency, perhaps – in exchange for their real or apparent collaboration.

Benefitting from the disadvantaged circumstances of the *Anishinaabe* people as they advanced their careers, researchers largely failed to consider the moral and ethical repercussions of their scholarly activities. It was reasonable to presume that the rest of the community would more likely participate when researchers strategically – often blatantly coercively, as with anthropologist Beatrice Blackwood – recruited community leaders to act as intermediaries in their projects. Missionaries seemed to have followed the same logic, with leaders often becoming Christian converts. Such conditions and circumstances appear to have been the case with Hallowell’s investigation of the Berens River *Anishinaabeg*.⁷ Although Chief Berens was a Christian believer, he too experienced the uneasiness of compromising customary taboos when he decided to disclose traditional *aadasookaanan* during summer, the time of year that was most suitable for Hallowell’s academic schedule (Brown & Grey, 2009). Hallowell returned each summer for several years to continue his research despite awareness of his mentor’s moral dilemma. By its lack of respect for community belief systems, spirituality, and sensibilities, research that places expediency before principle is, at the very least, shrouded in ethical dubiety.

Aside from the timing of Hallowell’s visits, much of his research subject matter was the exclusive concern of the community as internal *babaamiziwin*, hence, inappropriate for external examination. Even today, there are senior *Anishinaabe* elders who are uncomfortable discussing certain topics with those who do not have experiential and contextual understanding of their meaning or spiritual significance. Knowledge of

⁷ In later years Hallowell directed his gaze toward the “informant” himself, William Berens.

internal *babaamiziwin* and the processes of its acquisition extend to what *Anishinaabe* people refer to as *gikendamaawiziwin*, a kind of sixth sense that intuitively perceives effects and conditions in the immediate environment. It is reasonable that *Anishinaabeg* would regard their knowledge to be an inalienable extension of their personal spirituality and part of the intellectual domain of the community. It is also logical that they would want to exercise their autonomy, following their own criteria, guidelines, and discretion about what to release and what to withhold.

Wemitigoozhi researchers and what they represented (power, wealth, privilege, etc.) as “outsiders” inevitably affected the behaviour of studied groups, “informants,” and even ceremonials themselves. The circumstances under which such researchers seem to have acquired free access to sacred *dadibaajimowin* including *aadasookaanan* require thoughtful reflection and are of special concern for Indigenous scholars who seek to establish a distinct *Anishinaabe* scholarship. The perspective of an *Anishinaabe* study is to not only interrogate the ethical principles that provide projects with guidance but also scrutinize researchers’ professional and personal motives and funding arrangements. Lack of transparency, for example, about the identity of those who define best interests and agendas is of concern. Data from “outsider” studies are unquestionably useful for Indigenous people who seek to create literature that emerges from more ethical methodologies and destabilizes power imbalances. Hence, research and literature that derive from contexts of Indigenous peoples’ colonial conditions and seek to maintain the nation-state’s self-narrative need rigorous scrutiny for both product and process integrity.

The standard for *Anishinaabe* scholarship, on the other hand, develops from an ethical approach to information gathering that shows appreciation and respect for the

customs and sensibilities of its mentors. George Copway for example, was a member of the Mississauga *Anishinaabe* band who spent his childhood learning the hunting and trapping ways of his ancestors. Combining conversations with community male elders and his own personal experiences in *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, Copway (1851) avoided common derogatory terms despite his Christian conversion. Instead, he regarded participants as “wise men” (p. 128). In his discussion about belief systems, to further illustrate, he applied the term “ridiculous” only to how ceremonies may have appeared through the colonial eyes of the European.

William W. Warren (1885/2009), in a similar manner, wrote the autoethnographic *History of the Ojibway People* using information from visits among *Anishinaabe* communities throughout Michigan and Minnesota. Born in Minnesota of *Anishinaabe*-European heritage, Warren achieved his goals with guidance he considered to be “true and perfectly reliable ... which he w[ould] ... relate in the words of his old Indian informants” (p. 71). *Anishinaabe* heritage, kinship relationships with participant communities, and a respectful attitude toward their customs are factors that directed Copway and Warren toward an ethical scholarship. Their type of work requires a different kind of critical reading from that of an “outsider” research, considering the contexts of *Anishinaabe* acquisition of Western learning, Christian influences, and colonial structures of power.

1.4.5 Theory.

Much of the scholarship in this section concurs with the concept that Indigenous languages, knowledge systems, worldviews, and self-identities are grounded in the

realities of earth-land relationships. This notion of a land-based aggregation of language, narrative, knowledge, culture, and identity, furthermore, indicates the connections among these elements to be their ontological foundations. Johnsen, Hlebowicz, and H. Schöler (2012), in “Land and Language,” conclude that culture and language flourish within homeland communities. Referring to the Oneidas, they note that “as among so many Indian groups, the fragmentation of their people, the loss of their land base, and the destruction of indigenous community life hastened” their loss of language (p. 134). Restoule, Gruner, and Metatawabin’s (2013) community work confirms the land itself to be an optimal venue for acquiring experiential knowledge from the elders.

Noting that identity arises from language, Patricia Shaw’s (2001) “Language and Identity, Language and the Land” asserts that the land plays a critical role in the formation of identity among Indigenous people through the relationship of land and language. At the same time, however, Shaw acknowledges the language-identity relationship among all language users. Patrick Moore (2003), giving attention to the role of elders in a community, similarly argues in “Lessons on the Land” that language functions best in the preservation of culture and identity when community members use it on the land where cultural activities have historically taken place. The context for cultural anthropologist Anna Willow’s (2010) *Asubpeeschoseewagong Netum Anishinabek* is the road blockade of the Grassy Narrows community. Describing the role land plays in cultural identity, she argues that the process of taking back the homelands is in fact a process of cultural revitalization.

Other examples of literature that recognizes land as particularly vital for Indigenous people include Mark Aquash’s (2008) argument for a return to the homeland

spaces where knowledges originate, where people were born, learned, and became educated as Indigenous peoples. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) concur with the idea that land is of critical importance, affirming that the context for Indigenous identity formation is the physical land because for all peoples, place and home community form the cultural contexts for knowledge production and transmission. Nicholas Biddle and Hannah Swee's (2012) quantitative approach examines the interconnections of homelands, language, and culture while taking into account the effects of confounding factors such as a western education on identity formation. Their study suggests the importance of the homelands, language, and culture to the maintenance of a positive sense of identity. Although based in Australia, their findings are equally applicable here.

In general, all people have a certain sense of attachment to place (Schreyer, 2009), but the "organic" connection of Indigenous peoples to the land lies beyond its economic usefulness, according to Lerma (2012, p. 77). He defines their attachment as "based on language, sacred history, and ceremony cycle" (p. 75). Another aspect of this "organic" quality is evident in Okanagan writer Jeanette Armstrong's (1998) observation in *Land Speaking* that "Rez English from any part of the country ... display[s] the sound and syntax patterns of the indigenous language of that area and subsequently the sounds that the landscape speaks" (p. 193). The same characteristic relationship between language and land is apparent in what Copway (1851) described as *Anishinaabemowin* "pronunciation of the names of animals, birds and trees...[as] the very sounds these produce" (p. 125). A *Namegosibiing* example is the term for a blue jay, *diindiinsi*.

For Rachel Olson (2013), the close connection between Indigenous people and land begins at birth. She intimates in "Bodies of Water" that the identity of a person and his or

her place of birth affect and interact with each other to produce a unique interconnected (id)entity. Pomedli's (2002) research on relationships calls attention to the multifarious affiliations *Anishinaabe* people had with the faunal inhabitants of the land. To illustrate, certain species of owls were harbingers of dire events. John Borrows' (2005) "Crown and Aboriginal Occupations of Land" reiterates the importance of land to Indigenous identity, culture, and ultimately, survival itself.

Concentrating on knowledge and its creation as components of Indigenous identity, *Anishinaabe* scholar Kathy Absolon (2010) uses a set of concentric circles with the four wind directions to visually elaborate the concept of an Indigenous land-based framework. She organizes her ideas of interdependency around *ishkode* (fire), indicating that both the central elements of an Indigenous ontologically framed identity and the energies of fire stem from the earth-land. Continuing the same argument, Absolon's (2011) work, *Kaandossiwin*, points to the essentialness of land, from which the earth-nourished petal flower unfurls as a metaphor of "Indigenous worldviews and methodologies" (p. 48).

Some scholars focus on the subject of language as a means for understanding cultural practices. In her doctoral study of *Anishinaabe* spirituality, *Repatriating Agency*, Maureen Matthews (2009) works closely with Roger Roulette and other elders with proficiency in *Anishinaabemowin* and knowledge of *Anishinaabe* spirituality. Matthews uses the language extensively in text to illustrate how meanings emerge from language in particular ways. For example, she describes the seemingly inexplicable return of a drum to his/her home museum in terms of a "volitional metaphor" (p. 317) as a means for showcasing the *Anishinaabemowin* ability to explain certain events by suggesting an object's agency. In this case, a drum "decided" to return to the museum to which he/she

had originally retired from a lifetime of community work. Matthews discusses the *Anishinaabemowin* speaker's understanding about how each community uses the language in metaphoric ways to form a unique set of idiomatic expressions.

1.4.6. *Anishinaabe*.

When George Copway wrote *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* in 1852 and William Warren published *History of the Ojibway People* in 1885, Indigenous scholarship was barely in its infancy. Today, the literature includes an expanding branch of research that uses Indigenous languages; expounds Indigenous knowledges and worldviews; and expresses Indigenous voice, subjectivity, and thought. Written from an Indigenous perspective that conveys an experiential understanding of the connections that exist with language, views of the world, and places of origin in which ancestral identities are embedded, Indigenous literature enunciates notions of self-determination. Lisa Wexler (2009) believes this kind of progression to be evidence of decolonization at work.

Of particular importance to my work is scholarship that uses Indigenous terminologies in text to articulate land-centered worldviews. Cree educator Belinda Daniels-Fiss (2008), for example, explains that *nêhiyawêwin* (the Cree language) words ground her identity as *nêhiyaw* and that *nêhiyawêwin* roots itself in the land. *Secwepemc* scholar Janice Billy (2009) asserts that teaching about the customs of the Indigenous ancestors through use of language in ways that are relevant today must continue to take place on the land to be most effective. Underscoring the innate intelligence of language, Myrle Ballard (2012) states that when a community loses its language it also loses a vast

system of knowledge about the land, the ecosystem, and the self and its responsibilities and obligations to that natural environment. Cree language expert Freda Ahenakew (1987) indicates a similar belief in the value of language in *Stories of the House People*, stating that narratives must remain within the context of their linguistic origins to protect their inherent wisdom.

The remainder of this review concentrates specifically on the development of an *Anishinaabe* scholarship that focuses on the role of land, the production of knowledge and identity, and the importance of language and the oral tradition. Wendy Makoons Geniusz's (2009) *Our Knowledge is not Primitive*, for example, speaks to the subject of land-rooted research. Working closely with her mother, whose expertise lies in the use of plants to preserve and restore health and wellbeing, Geniusz stresses awareness of the real dangers that inhere with haphazard, incomplete information. She explains that traditional practitioners took formal training to learn where to find plants, when to gather them, what parts to use, and how to combine them with other ingredients. As with Indigenous knowledge in any of its various forms, Geniusz argues, traditional botanical science is a highly complex discipline that demands years of land-based learning.

Other *Anishinaabe* literature examines the applicability of *dadibaajimowin* teachings in today's contexts. In "Indian Agency," John Borrows (2001) demonstrates how the *Anishinaabe* oral tradition has legitimate application in the legal system of dominant society, maintaining that its purported shortcomings often indicate an inadequate assessment. He suggests the oral tradition's call to think beyond the constraints of dominant conception and sees the narrative as a source of inspiration in times of duress. Borrows' father's story about forgetting the location of an important

archaeological discovery, for example, becomes a reminder that “a range of choice in structuring thoughts, behaviour, and relationships” (p. 18) exists for *Anishinaabe* people. The land itself provides us with the ability to re-think what is truly important, because, as my participant *Dedibaayaanimanook* teaches, that is where the truth lies.

Anishinaabe literature also discusses various aspects and applications of language. According to Niigon James Sinclair (2013), language, words, and *dadibaajimowin* in the form of literature are expressions, relationships, intellectually creative activity, and life itself. He uses the *Anishinaabemowin* term *bagijiganan*, offerings or gifts, to represent this notion. Borrows’ (2010) *Drawing out Law* demonstrates the flexibility of *dadibaajimowin*. Conducting his discussions about principles, character traits, and the dynamics of relationships in English, Borrows uses the narrative as a form of language in a similar way that others employ beading, fashioning birch bark containers, gathering blueberries, etc. as a language for the expression and conveyance of meaning.

Scholars and academics who do not speak fluent *Anishinaabemowin* mimic the language by how they tell a narrative in English. Borrows (2010), for example, uses an uncomplicated English as though he had translated literally from *Anishinaabemowin*. Literal *Anishinaabemowin*-to-English translations, however, can present *Anishinaabe* ontological expression and thought as almost child-like in their simplicity because English terms rarely convey the deeper, more complex understandings embedded in *Anishinaabemowin* contexts. This, incidentally, is one reason why *Anishinaabe* narratives written in English are often mistaken for children stories when, in fact, they are historical, political, cultural, and spiritual records that are of prime significance to self-identity survival. In Borrows’ narrative, Mishomis’s grandmother “laughed when she saw people

trying to escape life's cycles and eliminate their conflicts" (p. 103). The English word laugh fails to convey an *ookom*'s underlying compassion implicit in the *Anishinaabe* phrase *gii' baapi* (s/he laughed) that it is embedded in the context of a grandmother speaking to her grandson. When *dadibaajimowin* stays within the framework of its own language and ontologies, it remains intact and its true meaning becomes self-explanatory. Hence, the complexities of Borrows' narratives re-emerge when they return to their *Anishinaabemowin* places of origin. These are critical reasons for *Anishinaabemowin* use.

Some scholars analyze language structures to bring attention to the land-language relationship. In "Name'," Heidi Erdrich (2013) presents *name*' as a concept of signs and presences that our predecessors left for us, extending its application from physical to literary, scholarly, and intellectual landscapes. Erdrich also notes *Anishinaabemowin*'s onomatopoeia, agreeing with Jeanette Armstrong (1998) that Indigenous languages quite literally echo the land.

Others highlight the primacy of *Anishinaabemowin* by choosing specific *Anishinaabemowin* words as central concepts in which to ground their work. By using the term *mino-bimaadiziwin* (life well lived), for instance, Debassige (2010) illustrates the many functions of language and culture in *Anishinaabe* research. Debassige (2013) also hyphenates the word *oshkabaywis*, ceremonial helper, with the English term academic to symbolically articulate the role of *Anishinaabe* scholars who must concomitantly navigate both community protective protocols and academic imperatives. Also using *Anishinaabemowin* in text, educator and scholar Mary Young (2003) concurs that language use is the most effective means to capture its spirit and understand the worldview it carries. She furthermore asserts that *Anishinaabemowin* use invigorates and

substantiates identity at the same time it acts as a form of decolonization by overcoming the hegemony of the English language.

Young's assertions are an affirmation of *Anishinaabe* scholar Basil Johnston (1990) who states in "One Generation from Extinction" the following:

[W]ithout knowledge of the language scholars can never take for granted the accuracy of an interpretation or translation of a passage, let alone a single word ... to validate their studies, their theories, their theses about the values, ideals or institutions or any other aspect of tribal life. (pp. 11–13)

Johnston states that scholars without the language must rely on others to provide them with meaning. Issuing an instructive message to Indigenous people generally, he notes that when they lose their language they lose their ability to "understand the ideas, concepts, insights, attitudes, rituals, ceremonies, institutions brought into being by their ancestors; and having lost the power to understand, cannot sustain, enrich, or pass on their heritage" (p. 10). Perhaps most sobering is his forewarning that "[t]hey will have lost their identity which no amount of reading can ever restore" (p. 10). In *Think Indian*, Johnston (2011) explicates *Anishinaabe* thought by detailing the meaning of key concepts such as truthfulness, which he terms *w'daeb-awae*. He uses the word to illustrate how we must rely on – and trust – his way of understanding *w'daeb-awae* if we are non-speakers. Importantly, Johnston points out, these essential meanings will be lost along with *Anishinaabe* ontological contexts when *Anishinaabemowin* falls into disuse.

In her PhD dissertation, *The Construction of Traditional Ecological Knowledge*, *Anishinaabe* scholar Leanne Simpson (1999) calls attention to the value of orality in preserving and protecting *Anishinaabe* knowledge from loss of control, meaning, and

contexts that comes with textualization. She explains that she herself does not publish oral narratives because she does not have the right to appropriate that responsibility. She explains, “[T]he responsibility for and ownership of Indigenous Knowledge lies with ... the people who have the knowledge” (p. 7). She also stresses the importance of Indigenous languages for re-vitalizing Indigenous thought and relationship to the land in the education of younger generations. Arguing, furthermore, for a lengthier exposure to Indigenous content, Simpson (2014) states, “In order to foster expertise within Nishinaabeg intelligence, we need people engaged with land as curriculum and engaged in our languages for decades, not weeks” (p. 23). As with Borrows (2010) and other non-speakers who utilize the narrative as a form of language, Simpson does not use *Anishinaabemowin* in text to the same extent as heritage language speaker-scholars such as Johnston. As I note above, Johnston argues that non-speakers must rely on others for *Anishinaabemowin* meaning. Therefore, Simpson continues to spend considerable time on the land, learning and working under the close mentorship of *Anishinaabe* elder-instructors and bilingualists such as Gdigaa Migizi Doug Williams.

In *Anishinaabemodaa Pane Oodenang*, Brock Petawanakwat (2009) speaks of his concern for language revitalization, maintaining that the ability to use *Anishinaabemowin* or other Indigenous languages is a form of power. The value of *Anishinaabemowin*, he contends, is rooted in history, identity, spirituality, ceremony, and land. Hence, language connects with philosophies to ground users in *Anishinaabe* worldviews. At the same time, there is a sense of confidence and optimism in Petawanakwat’s suggestion that we can be *Anishinaabe* whether or not we know the language.

Anishinaabe scholar and language speaker, Anton Treuer (2001), edits the

Anishinaabemowin-English anthology, *Living our Language*. In this publication of over 50 narratives, elders illustrate how they have lived the language by speaking to the role of language and its relationship with land, self-identity, and the colonial experience.

Miskwaanakwad Melvin Eagle (2001), for example, explains why the spirit beings gave *Anishinaabe* people responsibility for, rather than ownership of, *aki* in his narrative, “*Wenji-ganawendamang Gidakiiminaan*.” Through the use of *Anishinaabemowin*, *Naawi-giizis* Jim Clark (2001) explains the importance of *mawadishiwewin*,⁸ the customary practice *Anishinaabe* people used to maintain community cohesion across homeland distances. Treuer, unlike Simpson (1999), indicates his choice to textualize *Anishinaabe* oral narratives in his compilation.

Treuer (2006) expresses grave concern for the preservation of *Anishinaabemowin* in “*Ge-onji-aabadak Anishinaabe-inwewinan*.” Calling for nothing less than language fluency, he explicates his rationale by framing the value of language in terms of its power to impart *Anishinaabe* identity and a sense of self-determination. Treuer illustrates the argument by writing entirely in *Anishinaabemowin* as follows:

*Anishinaabeg igaye wiinawaa oadaa-ayaanaawaan odakiimiwaan miinawaa
odinwewiniwaan giishpin waa-anishinaabewiwaad miinawaa waa-bimaadiziwaad
daabish-koo go anishinaabeg ogimaataazowaa. (p. 88)*

Treuer asserts that understanding self-identity (*ezhi-nanda-gikenindizowaad*) as *Anishinaabe* people (*waa-izhi-gashkitooyang geget ji-anishinaabewiyang*), self-determination (*ogimaataazowaa*), *Anishinaabe* expertise and knowledge (*anishinaabe-gikendaasowin*), the homelands (*odakiimiwaan*), and the power that inheres within

⁸ I discuss *mawadishiwewin* in Chapter 3.

Anishinaabemowin usage ([g]iishpin gii-anishinaabewidooban gaa-izhichigebang apii nawaj daa-mashkawiziimagad noongom) are all at stake. Seeing *Anishinaabe* identity anchored in the ability to maintain spiritual connections, he states, “*Giishpin wanitooyang gemaa gaye aabajitoosiwang, manidoog gaawiin oga-nisidotawasii-waawaan anishinaaben*” (p. 87). He warns of the inability of the spirit beings to hear or recognize us without our *Anishinaabemowin* speech.

In *Ezhichigeyang: Ojibwe Word List*, Treuer (2011) expresses profound appreciation for *Anishinaabemowin*. He argues that the ability to conceptualize and put forward various *Anishinaabe* philosophies in *Anishinaabemowin* rather than in English is the ability to understand, value, and engage in the deeper subtleties and nuances of *Anishinaabe* meaning. In a recorded interview in Minnesota in 1999, Treuer repeatedly uses the term *Anishinaabewisidoon* (literally, put it down in textual *Anishinaabemowin*) in reference to the translation of English terms into *Anishinaabemowin* meaning. The ability to capture the essence of an English word and translate it into understandable *Anishinaabemowin* that fits coherently into its ontological system of thought – and to dream in *Anishinaabemowin* – is how he summarizes the ultimate test of fluency.

1.4.7 Conclusion.

This review of relevant literature has noted that both the product and production processes of non-Indigenous academics and researchers in the early and mid-twentieth century were ethically and factually problematic. Literally and experientially marginalizing, the ambiguous treatment of *Anishinaabeg* resulted from how the canonic literature conceptualized, categorized, and mapped Indigenous people from a myth-based,

Eurocentric frame of reference. However, the literature has considerable value for scholarship seeking to explore the notion of knowledge production in terms of its impacts on Indigenous peoples and potential usefulness in reversing its historical effects. Biddle and Swee's (2012) survey, for example, provides information about the complexities of how physical location affects the relationship Indigenous people have with the homelands, language, and sense of self.

Not all of the literature has the capacity or intent to capture an Indigenous perspective and articulate Indigenous identity. Its usefulness stems from its ability to generate theory and analysis and to describe Indigenous principles, ideas, cultures, and historical data. In other cases, academe's presence, dominant languages, Western epistemologies, and scholarly imperatives and processes may diminish the expression of ancestral, land-based identity by muting *Anishinaabe* voices and suppressing original languages, identities, and knowledges. Indigenous researchers, academics, and scholars, however, engage with knowledge production by visiting the land and learning the language of the elders for themselves, as *Anishinaabe* scholar Leanne Simpson (2004) intimates in "Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge." Treuer (2006), Johnston (1976, 2011), Borrows (2001, 2005), and Simpson (1999, 2004, 2014) are examples of scholarship that privileges *Anishinaabe* self-identity, orality, narrative, language, and land-centered perspectives. They manifest the growing movement within *Anishinaabe* scholarship in which *dawisijigewin* processes are creating spaces from which emergent projects are able to contribute to both the *Anishinaabe* community and academic research and knowledge production.

Niinzhin: Inenjigewin

**Chapter 2: The practice of thought
(frame of reference, theoretical
framework)**

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a discussion about subjectivity and positionality that includes an abbreviated explanation of spirituality. I explain factors relevant to the formation of my frame of reference that have allowed me to move between, draw from, and articulate divergent ontological systems of thought throughout this research. Next, comments about identity theory clarify the reasons and contextual bases for my research. A short discussion about critical theory concepts, including Vizenor's survivance, and trauma suggests why some topics, such as certain effects of the latecomer phenomenon, may not be appropriate for this thesis. Lastly, I explain *Anishinaabe* theory and how the notion of theory fits within an *Anishinaabe* ontological system of thought.

2.2 Subjectivity, Positionality, Frame of Reference

Subjectivity and self-location are important components of this research, for, as Hopkins (2012) explains, "Research is never a disembodied process" (p. 177). Whether qualitative or quantitative, all research projects contain subjectivities, even though they do not always come with their acknowledgement (Kovach, 2009; Cruikshank, 1997). Eigenbrod (2005) refers to self-acknowledgment and a clear presentation of identity as "scholarly integrity" that is essential for transparency (p. 44). Similarly, Kulchyski (2015) notes that "scholarly work in ... indigenous studies demand[s] what is now almost a

proforma acknowledgement of positionality” (p. 321). LaCapra (1994) regards acknowledgment of the self in research to be contextual honesty, while Kovach (2009) explains its function in helping to stave off an unnecessarily “pan-Indigenous” inclination (p. 56). In speaking of her own research work, Absolon (2011) states that her acknowledgement of presence acts to “make my allegiances visible and myself accountable for my own writing” (p. 20). This practice, Absolon continues, demonstrates research’s engagement with methodologies that are “just as much about who is doing the searching as the how of the search” (p. 50).

Other aspects of subjectivity and positionality in research include Genuisz’s (2009) argument that speaking to subjectivity is acknowledging the many relationships between a person’s self and her/his sources of knowledge. According to Kovach (2009), those who employ Indigenous research methodologies are not so different from others because they are less objective but because, by making a specific point of declaring their positionality openly, they are more transparent about their subjectivity and identity. She further posits that community grounded research is identity-embedded when it follows Indigenous methodologies in accordance with Indigenous epistemologies. Eigenbrod (2005) states that a conscious expression of subjectivity controls identity discourse and thus becomes a form of self-empowerment. The entirety of any project is ultimately a narrative about the researcher’s positionality and, as the product of its creator, a reflection and extension of the researcher’s personal and community identity (Absolon, 2011).

A description of the several places in which researchers self-situate is a part of the subjectivity narrative. Being a great-great-grandchild of *Jiiyaan*, the historical figure of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe dadibaaqimowin* (Chapters 4 and 5), is a part of what

constitutes my personal narrative. Hence, I secure my identity with *Jiiyaan*'s numerous other descendants and locate my self within the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community where my concerns and interests lie.⁹ These preoccupations manifest themselves in various ways. When, for example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* spoke of my grandmother making *makakoshkwemagoon* for food storage, I attempted versions of my own (Figure 2.9). Another indication of such interests is our *wiikenzh* expeditions each time my family and I return to *Namegosibiing* (Figure 2.10). These and other enactments of ancestral customs give us some experience in the ways of our *aanikoobidaaganag*, symbolizing our interest in following, in even the smallest of ways, their footsteps. Bowers (2010) suggests we use these activities to confirm to ourselves who we are as individuals. Situated within the context of aspirations to pursue our heritage, objects such as *makakoshkwemagoon* and *wiikenzh* are material manifestations of our *Anishinaabe* subjectivities.

Spirituality as a means to express subjectivity is often complicated and at times contentious. Kovach (2009) indicates that it is an identity related factor that frequently plays a significant role in the processes of Indigenous research. At the same time others of my community engage with *anama'ewin*, for example, I personally subscribe to the cultural practice of *aanikoobidaaganag* that included few material symbols or overt performances of ceremony. Not all Indigenous people today are versed in the spirituality of ceremony, and colonial topics such as forced religion continue to carry uncomfortable connotations. Hence, Johnston's (2011) term "reverential" (p. 58) can be more accommodating than "spiritual" or "religious." Innumerable other ways for

⁹ These are not, of course, the only means by which I locate my sense of identity.

communicating identity and subjectivity exist, including community membership, cultural activities, parentage, *odoodemiwin*, and language.

How a researcher perceives (/) participants' perceptions about him or her throughout processes of interaction; whether a researcher is an insider, outsider, or a little of both; and meanings researchers draw from scholarly writings in English and *dadibaajimowin* in an Indigenous language, are relevant influencers affecting the researcher's understanding. In my situation, I am undoubtedly an outsider to the extent our conversations focus on my work in academic terms. I may be an insider when we discuss our ancestors, but then an outsider when the elders discuss their intuitive knowledge. Hence, the situational and relative nature of positionality is interconnected with both perception and context (Eigenbrod, 2005).

Absolon (2010) describes a particular set of places as an ontological point around which our realities and experiences of the world revolve. These locations emerge in tangible ways from our own lives and how we think and talk about the ancestors and their histories, stories, and customs. One way I experience the land is to stand on the island of my home and look out toward *waabanong*, knowing from *dadibaajimowin* that that is the direction where *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* and *Bizhiwi Zaa'igan* kin historically resided.

Similarly, I perceive our *Biigaanjigamiing* relations' homelands to lie beyond *Jiibayi Zaagiing* in the *giiwedinong* direction, *namanjiniking*. The homelands of our *Obizhigokaang* kin, on the other hand, are located *ingichiniking*, past *Gojiijiwaawangaang* toward *zhaawanong*. This is one way I experience the literal specificities of place that provide me with land-derived subjectivity, even when I only imagine standing on *neyaabikaang*. Being able to think about and describe the land of our ancestral home by

using *Anishinaabemowin* terms, moreover, reflects a certain dimension of cultural subjectivity that heritage language speakers share in common.

Land-rooted subjectivities and expressions of identity are malleable in the contexts of changing conditions (Eigenbrod (2005). Even the homelands present themselves in markedly different ways from how the ancestors encountered and negotiated *noopimakamig*. For *aanikoobidaaganag*, the distance between *Namesosibiing* and *Obizhigokaang* was approximately four days of canoeing, gathering medicines, trapping, and fishing. Contrastively in today's terms, that distance is a mere five to six hours' drive. *Anishinaabe* people think of themselves as members of the community and conceptualize themselves in unique but constantly changing ways. Hence, the *aweneniwiyeng* investigation recognizes contexts of shifting experiences, circumstances, situations, conditions, and landscapes.

2.3 Researcher Frame of Reference

Numerous events and circumstances contribute to the formation of a person's frame of reference and beliefs and judgments about the world. Those located in the densest regions of our selves are the contexts of birth, childhood, and upbringing. A brief discussion about my familial and community circumstances helps to explain why I began this work and how I frame it.

Both the mundane features of a more mainstream household and circumstances less commonplace comprised my family's state of affairs to influence my thoughts and perceptions. My mother, for example, was able to retain *Anishinaabemowin* as her first language because her parents succeeded in protecting her from the destructive forces of

boarding school attendance. My mother spoke only *Anishinaabemowin* to my siblings and me from birth. In accordance with the dominant notions of the day, on the other hand, our Norwegian father used only English. He discouraged the use of my mother's language, implying *Anishinaabemowin* lacked status, relevance, and even intelligence outside of an *Anishinaabe* land-based lifestyle. Similarly, my father did not teach us his native Norwegian, ostensibly because it too would be of little use in a world of *zhaaganaashiimowin* domination. My siblings and I thus learned that English was the only appropriate and acceptable medium of communication. Two perspectives, each representing a parent and carrying its own set of values and judgments, were a part of everyday life throughout the early years of my childhood.

Notwithstanding my father's authority, however, my *Anishinaabe* cultural heritage was able to speak in several ways. One was the traditional mechanism of *aadasookewin*, the practice of telling special narratives. Rooted in *Anishinaabe* ontology and the use of *Anishinaabemowin*, it was a form of learning that stimulated our intellect, inspired our imaginings, and laid the groundwork for the *Anishinaabe* component of our sense of self. These conclaves were opportunities to spend time with our mother as purveyor of *Anishinaabe* thought. Although we needed to wait until our father had gone to *oodenaang*,¹⁰ his outings were sufficiently frequent for my mother's *aadasookewin* to become a part of how my siblings and I thought about the world.

Another example of how my frame of reference and positionality, as they are relevant to this research, evolved was also connected to my father's excursions into town. His absences provided opportunities for my aunt *Gweyesh* and other *Anishinaabe*

¹⁰ In accordance with the teachings governing *aadasookewin*, we also needed to wait for winter.

relatives to engage with the practice of *mawadishiwewin* (Figure 2.11). These informal gatherings were an important means for preserving a sense of belonging with community members who sought to include us among them. *Mawadishiwewin* made it possible to interact with cousins at the same time it helped my mother to combat her sense of isolation from having married a *wemitigoozhi*. Due to the infrequencies of these social occasions, I experienced them as a notable part of my childhood remembrances that stood in contrast to the everyday routine.

The day-to-day realities of living in the *noopimakamig* homelands where *Anishinaabe* relatives also lived with similar material circumstances contributed to my frame of reference. For example, without the conveniences of running water, electrical power, and the accompanying appliances, I developed a deep sense of appreciation for the boreal outdoors and its aesthetic qualities, physical activities, freedoms, and challenges similar to our relatives. Experiences in common gave us relationships, connections, and belongingness with our shared homelands that helped to shape my frame of reference. Other contributing factors include the importance that both¹¹ of my parents placed on a Western education; their sacrifices and risk taking for our benefit; and the acts of generosity, acceptance, and friendship of our *Anishinaabe* kin.

Although it may seem that living *noopimakamig* on the ancestral homelands would have isolated us from the of dominant society of the 1950s, we were not free from the influences of what Australian Indigenous scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2011) refers to as patriarchal white sovereignty. They reached into our lives through radio, books,

¹¹ My mother was as keenly aware of the value of *gikinô'amaagoziwin* as she was of the means by which it was acquired.

magazines, comic books, visiting townspeople, and schooling. Our father's presumptions continued to minimize the value of my mother's teachings and ways of doing and learning. It seemed, for example, quite natural for our European-born settler father to inherently possess the right to assert his will over and above any of our *Anishinaabe* mother's expressions about what was in our best interest. Having to wait for my father's absence was itself a means by which the dominance of Western culture spoke to me. That cautiousness with *aadasookewin* and *mawadishiwewin* was symbolic of the competing forces that existed throughout my childhood.

As I grew older, I began to notice the lack of moral justice in my mother's treatment, noting, for example, that her expertise was routinely relegated to the minutiae in ways that trampled over her considerable knowledges. I rarely protested, however, because to do so seemed to deny that I loved and cared deeply for my father. Born in 1899 in Kristiania,¹² Norway, he too was affected by the notions of patriarchy, disciplinarity, and the able-bodied male Anglo-Saxon ideal on which the Canadian psyche was so firmly fixated. He himself needed to fit into a mold that required him to be even "whiter" than the shade of "whiteness" with which he had arrived.

In her discussion, Moreton-Robinson (2004) explains that "[w]hiteness as an epistemological *a priori* provides for a way of knowing and being that is predicated on superiority, which becomes normalized and forms part of one's taken-for-granted knowledge" (pp. 75-76). My siblings and I, as young people, came into contact with the dominant system of social structuring and valuing about which Moreton-Robinson (2011) speaks. We were witness to how most others experienced these stridently normalizing

¹² This is now known as Oslo.

phenomena as though they never existed. Moreton-Robinson, however, suggests that what she terms patriarchal white epistemic violence is at the root of why internalized colonialism exists. Given these divergent legacies and contrasting epistemologies, our challenge is to devise ontological formulations that will fit into the realities of mainstream-ism in ways that provide us with meaning.

Ironically, what I learned through Western education became the motivation for forging a better-informed self-identity. Characterized with ambiguity and hybridity with notions of essentialism, traditionalism, and authenticity, the challenges of creating a balance with coherence and contradiction are somewhat similar to how Moore (2003) describes the contested identity formation of Aboriginal people in Tasmania. Aspects of identity-establishing processes often take place subconsciously over the span of many years before we are able to recognize and speak them consciously. These processes, forms of consciousness, and descriptions of them constitute Indigenous decolonization (Puxley, 1977; Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Hart, 2010). They were my *dawisijigewin* activities, creating the basis from which to navigate two distinct ontologies, encouraging me to claim my mother's *Anishinaabe* heritage for my own.

Recovering the knowledges of *aanikoobidaaganag* and understanding who we are as *Anishinaabe* people are an epistemological recognition of our place within ancestral ontologies. They require a continuous engagement with meta-knowledges about which mainstream society does not seem generally to concern itself. Not having that personal sense of exemption from having constantly to interrogate ontological schemata explains why we as Indigenous people may introduce ourselves in terms of *odoodemiwin* ancestry, place of origin, and, in some cases, our heritage language rather than professional status

or recitation of accomplishments. We frame our selves in terms of this on-going process of establishing, re-establishing, and confirming our identity because we are aware of the interrelated and often contradictory *Anishinaabe*–Western forces in our lives.

I was gifted with *Anishinaabemowin* proficiency as a part of my *Anishinaabe* heritage. This has allowed me to travel between two ontologically variant frames of reference to – for example – think about, understand, and explicate *dadibaaJimowin* in English. I acknowledge these complex, competing, yet converging, childhood influences and circumstances as ancestral legacies that cast the *Anishinaabe*-European positionality of my work.

2.4 Identity Theory

A brief discussion about identity itself helps to clarify how the concept of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aweneniwiyeeng* takes shape from the contexts of participants' oral narrative processes, their *dadibaaJimowin*. Generally, there are innumerable descriptors of identity formation, including responsive, creative, and relational; individual and collective; experience-based, self-directed and/or externally imposed; dichotomized as either authentic / pure / traditional to the extent they are located in pre-colonial traditions, or counterfeit / modern; and a basis for resistance to colonial forces. Other characterizations of identity are selectively constructive and de-constructive; politicized and contested as on-going political statements; reflective of contexts; informed by culture while expressing and creating culture, hence, emerging from multiple realities; community specific with colonially shaped pan-Indigenous commonalities; linked to homeland associations; and a mirror of Indigenous philosophies (Green, 2009). Although

this lengthy list of features is not complete, it corresponds to what participants' *dadibaajimowin* suggests.

Providing further elaboration on the notion of identity, Weaver (2001) discusses the multilayered nature of a person's self-representation that includes relevance of the situation at hand and the consequences of variances between "self-identification and perceptions of others" (p. 243). He notes that identity "is always based on power and exclusion" (p. 244). These, too, are elements that appear throughout participants' narrative content (Chapter 4).

The authenticity of *Anishinaabe* identity is a common topic for discussion. It may seem to be authentic in that it is the product of its many contexts. When, for example, female relatives from the 1920s to the early 1960s wore folded black kerchiefs as a distinctive form of headwear (Figure 2.12), it could have been regarded as the habit of a "real" *Anishinaabekwe* because it was the custom at the time. Wearing the same style today might actually be a political statement. If, however, a woman wore a tam in the 1940s rather than a headscarf she might have jeopardized her *Anishinaabe* identity in the estimation of her peers. In the eyes of an outsider *wemitigoozhiikwe*, she would appear fashionable and modern. This same line of inquiry can also apply to my great-grandfather, who wore manufactured clothing (Figure 2.13). An externally constructed identity would need to investigate the material nature of *Giizhig's* clothing along with that of his domicile, which he fashioned from spruce poles and birch bark in the customary *madogaan* architectural design. These instances of my great-grandfather's syncretic uses are not only examples of hybridity but also a form of *Anishinaabe* ways that reflect the processes of constant adaptation and flux. Green (2009) suggests that such

conversations are about how people identify individuals or groups and the contexts in which both the identifier and identified locate socially and culturally across time. This research examines *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people in terms of how they identify themselves and the contexts in which they do so as they speak *dadibaajimowin*.

2.5 Critical Theory

Within the contexts of Indigenous research, critical theories including the notion of survivance (Vizenor, 1999) begin by challenging supremacy myths and expressing expectations of their eventual ideological demise (Alfred, 1999). Indigenous research projects, McLeod (2009) suggests, seek to encourage a return to Indigenous forms of thought. However, this study acknowledges that a psychological or ceremonial/spiritual return does not substitute for a physical and literal repatriation to ancestral homelands. But it is also cognizant of the challenges facing those whose refugee experiences span great distances, many years, and several generations. When people who have lived in urban centers without a connection to their home communities devise new ways of preserving their Indigenous identity, they are practicing principles of survivance.

Survivance also addresses potential hazards associated with theories about resilience and healing. Episkenew (2009), for example, critiques the stereotypical ways in which mainstream society has viewed and dealt with colonial effects on Indigenous peoples. She states that colonial structures, hierarchies, institutions, administrative bodies, etc., along with racism, sexism, and ageism are pathological. Henderson and Wakeham (2009) note that resilience potentially “produces value out of oppression” and therefore becomes “charged with a number of tensions” (p. 17). These authors present the

notion of healing as an acknowledgement of “Indigenous lifeway...affirm[ing] the importance of Indigenous epistemologies and communal practices of healing” that avoids the “potential to pathologize Aboriginal peoples” (p. 16).

Trauma (as critical) theories are useful in decolonizing ways. Atkinson’s (2002) argument that colonial violence is a human-created series of events affecting the human psyche in more destructive ways than natural disasters, for example, provides a theoretical means for understanding and, to a limited extent, analyzing such events. Ethical principles of respect for confidences and avoidance of potentially causing harm, however, direct this thesis not to engage in detail with trauma theories. Instead, that understanding directs the formation of *dawisijigewin* spaces where the *dadibaaJimowin* of participants can speak from the various places of trauma’s displacements.

The purpose of this brief discussion about trauma is to note that my study refrains from directly discussing the effects of residential school attendance and other similar topics, in accordance with what participants’ *dadibaaJimowin* indicates. Concomitantly, their narratives underscore the importance of historical contexts and suggest people can and do work through the traumata of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. Being the survivance principle at work, this kind of research is itself a part of decolonizing theory in practice.

2.6 *Anishinaabe* Theory

There are several aspects to the conceptualization of an *Anishinaabe* theoretical framework. To begin with, it is important to note the existence of *Anishinaabe* theory, in the same way that *Anishinaabe* institutions such as law (Borrows, 2002), teachings (Bird, 2011), forms of learning, and principles governing relationships (Johnston, 2011) exist as

components of an *Anishinaabe* identity narrative. Such an assertion is important for this project because it legitimizes the humanness of *Anishinaabe* people in a dominant society where types of cognition relating to concepts of law, teaching, learning, governing, and theorizing are still heavily weighted.

Leanne Simpson (2014) clarifies the notion of *Anishinaabe* theory as “an explanation of a phenomenon” (p. 7). Arguing that it is a re-evolving process in which every member of society engages not only intellectually, but spiritually, emotionally, and relationally, Simpson explains it as the *Anishinaabe* people’s way of “finding and generating meaning within their own lives” (p. 7). Hence, the development of *Anishinaabe* theory is an on-going process over the course of a person’s lifetime. Bowers’ (2010) description of Indigenous theory and knowledge production as “always linked to local and regional ecology” (p. 215) indicates its usefulness and everyday applicability. *Anishinaabe* theory is therefore a flexible process, adapting to its environment. To illustrate, *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* needed to devise ways for theorizing about *wemitigoozhiwag* and their characteristics as they proliferated. Based on their observations and experiences, people developed theories about the latecomers’ behaviors, methodologies, and apparent theories and ways of thought in order to help them navigate the new relational landscape. One of the critical functions of *mawadishiwewin* was to create spaces in which people could share and compare various theories and insights about the arrivals.

An example of how people theorized relates to what appeared to be an inordinate compulsion to acquire *zhooniyaa* among most *wemitigoozhiwag* (Agger, 2008). *Anishinaabe* people experienced multiple and ever-changing ways by which the

actualities of the *zhooniyaa* theory of *wemitigoozhiwag* began to unfold and impose themselves directly into their individual and community lives. When, for example, *Anishinaabeg* needed to acquire greater quantities of their own *zhooniyaa* in order to survive, they noted the correlation between *zhooniyaa* and *mashkawiziwin*. People also knew from experiential evidence that although the drive for money was a prime feature in the world of *wemitigoozhiwag*, it did not dominate everyone to the same degree.

Furthermore, how *Anishinaabeg* theorized relates to the political impositions with which they now lived. Conceptualizing the strangeness of the *wemitigoozhi* band council form of leadership, *Anishinaabe* people affixed the suffix *-kaan* to *ogimaa* to signify its fundamental falseness and illegitimate basis from an *Anishinaabe* historical perspective. They may have voted a chief into office, but their theories about the alienness of the governance system itself is manifest to this day in their term for a chief, *ogamaakaan*, the replication or simulation of a leader. Once a theory proved experientially true it became a guide for how to conduct their lives, unless further observations and experiences proved otherwise. In such cases *Anishinaabe* people expanded upon, refined, or re-configured existing theories. Consequentially, they did not generally theorize to pursue knowledge for its own sake but to generate a useful and practicable way of thinking about and explaining the world. The creation and existence of an *Anishinaabe* theoretical framework is an on-going process that becomes evident when we listen to the *Anishinaabemowin dadibaajimowin* of research participants.

2.7 Conclusion

Subjectivity and positionality are components of a frame of reference, with particular circumstances and events in life informing views and beliefs about the world. In my own situation, growing up in *Namegosibiing* among *Anishinaabe* relatives, knowledge of *Anishinaabemowin* and *zhaaganaashiimowin*, and both *dadibaajimowin* and Western learning presented diverse ontological systems of thought that combined and interacted to influence how I formed my understanding about the world.

One of those understandings is that *Anishinaabe* people do indeed engage with theory. Unlike the Western practice, however, *Anishinaabe* theory is more than “just an intellectual pursuit – it is woven within ... spiritual presence and emotion, it is contextual and relational” (Simpson, 2014, p. 7). Survivance is an example of how *Anishinaabe* people theorize about themselves in the contexts of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. And as Simpson observes, the foremost theorists of any community are its language speakers and knowledge keepers, the elders and grandparents.

Nisin: Aaniin dezhiikigaadeg

**Chapter 3: How it is being done
(methodology)**

3.1 Introduction

My investigative journey into *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity uses a methodological approach that relies on two ontologies for creating understanding and meaning. I use *Anishinaabemowin* to explain the concepts of *dawisijigewin*, *dadibaajimowin*, and *mawadishiwewin* as a means for organizing this chapter and guiding the discussion about my methodology. Of these, *dadibaajimowin* emerges thematically from the narratives. Along with *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, and *noopimakamig aki*, *dadibaajimowin* forms the basis of my research.

In this chapter, I discuss the notion of an *Anishinaabe* customary code of ethics, clarifying traditional protocols that extend to *dadibaajimowin*'s interpersonal interactions and are applicable to the entire research process. By privileging *Anishinaabemowin* and showing how translation can uphold these protocols, I demonstrate the importance of language. I also clarify the selection process, introduce the participants, discuss a genealogical chart of the relationships that underlie the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community, and describe my method for indexing the recordings and citing the narratives. To indicate that the sense of attachment with the homelands extends beyond this study's mentors, I recognize the work of other community members toward re-establishment of a homeland-based identity by presenting examples of activities such as effortful meetings with provincial officials and use of social media.

3.2 Implementing an Indigenous Methodology

Four *Anishinaabe* terms are central to my methodology. The first, *dawisijigewin*, is the process of clearing away spaces for carrying out our work as *Anishinaabe* researchers. From my own childhood experiences, the word evokes vivid memories of what precipitated and transpired upon my mother's standard pre-meal iteration, "*Daga sa dawisijigedaa!*" The kitchen table was the only available place for schoolwork, reading, writing, studying, doing art projects, sewing, and other activities. Hence, when it was time to eat, the situation called for *dawisijigewin*. I use the term as a metaphor for research work, from design, literature perusal, and participant consultation to knowledge discovery and analysis that clears away *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*¹³ myths from our minds, beliefs, and emotions to create spaces for revitalizing *Anishinaabe* thought and narrative practice.

Dawisijigewin is a creative process that operates simultaneously along several dimensions. When participants allocated time and energy and showed an interest in this project and willingness to share their *dadibaaJimowin*, they engaged with *dawisijigewin*. When *Gwiishkwa'oo* agreed to speak her *dadibaaJimowin*, she created *dawisijigewin* spaces by choosing which subjects to discuss, rearranging her schedule of activities, and locating physical spaces for our visit. My mother and I enacted spatial *dawisijigewin* by removing or repositioning various objects on her kitchen table so that she, *Oo'oons*, and I could have a place in which to converse. In this study, *dawisijigewin* positions knowledges, *debwewin* truths, experiences, and self-identities emerging from

¹³ See Chapter 4 for my discussion about *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, *wemitigoozhi(wag)*, and the "white man."

Anishinaabe research into the central regions of our thinking. This study also places the voices of *dadibaaqjimowin* ahead of the *izhibii'igewin* findings of the written records, with pay lists and census data appearing as tabulated material at the end of the main text.

Although Nath (2011) voices her admonition¹⁴ to “expand ... focus beyond presence to interrogate the meaning of absence” (p.18) from a political science perspective, it applies to the objective of *dawisijigewin* to return *Anishinaabe* identity and subjectivity emerging from *dadibaaqjimowin* to places of visibility and primacy within our consciousness.

As a device of oral narration, *dadibaaqjimowin* communicates meaning and knowledge. As a discursive genre, it comprises and enables the listener-speaker relationship of which I as researcher emphasize the listener’s responsibilities. Recognizing that participants articulate unfiltered subjectivity through their narratives, for example, I the listener-learner have the responsibility to identify and safeguard the context of each *dadibaaqjimowin* narrative to retain its proper meaning. My obligation, furthermore, is to understand *Anishinaabe* nuance by being aware of what is of special significance with each speaker’s *dadibaaqjimowin*.

The concept of *dadibaaqjimowin* is most meaningfully applicable for this research within a discussion about *mawadishiwewin*. A discursive venue concerned with subjectivity, relationship, and community, *mawadishiwewin* was the means by which people came together to discuss and share their various thoughts and theories, socialize and keep informed about events, share material goods (food, etc.), and generally look after one another. To illustrate the practice from my own childhood experiences, it was a

¹⁴ Nath seeks to encourage the discipline of political science to “expand the bounds of the political” (p. 18) with this statement.

significant event to have a visitor arrive at our door, particularly during winter when *mawadishiwewin* often required a lengthy journey. When my aunt *Gweyesh* came over to see us, my mother would spread a blanket near the stove for an extended session of cards, conversation, and *Anishinaabe* cuisine into the late hours. A *mawadishiwewin* host customarily offered the most comfortable seat in the house (which was usually her own), served tea, bannock, or a full meal, and even proffered an invitation to stay the night. Elder *Naawi-giizis* Jim Clark's (2001) insightful description of the custom compares the old way with how people engage with *mawadishiwewin* today. He states, "When we visit one another today, it's maybe one hour or two that we visit someone. That's it. And maybe we don't even talk to him. We just watch that television set" (p. 75).

Having organized and characterized the interview component of my research in accordance with the *mawadishiwewin* custom, I did not supply a list of explicit questions to direct conversations into specific areas. Rather, I began by explaining the project as a discussion about our sense of relationship with *Namegosibiing*. Hence, narratives did not always proceed along a course that was immediately evident to me. At times, they seemed to continue at length, taking varying paths and digressing before returning to the main topic. In other cases, the speaker never re-visited the first point, or the original subject morphed into what seemed to be something entirely different. Some participants used words sparingly. As a methodology for research, true *mawadishiwewin* may not always present itself as a straightforward exercise because the speaker sets *dadibaaqimowin*'s direction. The elders establish the tone for their *dadibaaqimowin* sessions in accordance with traditional protocols that govern *mawadishiwewin*. Their use of these customary practices to guide *dadibaaqimowin* interactions is possible because

they understand the contexts of what is helpful for the community and in its best interest, not formal agendas. A qualitative Indigenous methodology adopts these guiding principles by accepting that what is important to participants is important for the research, similar to Guédon's (1994) and Kovach's (2010) observations of the elders' interactional style.

While *mawadishiwewin* as *Anishinaabe* research methodology by no means precludes questions and comments, their use requires skill to know how, when, and whether to insert them into the conversation. Minimal involvement in participants' discussions avoids potential for distortions or interferences with the *dadibaaajimowin* process. For example, a question or comment can make it difficult to hear the participant's response over the researcher's voice on the recording. One elder indicated his intent to answer later or not at all by continuing to speak despite my question. Only after listening to the recording did it become evident that the answers to my queries emerged as the elder intended, over the course of the entire *dadibaaajimowin*. Misplaced comments become lessons about a need for greater trust in the *dadibaaajimowin* protocols that direct us to the elders for guidance in how to proceed. That code does not push for answers or clarification but obliges the listener-learner researcher to earn the right to an elder's knowledge and to seek permission before sharing it with others. It teaches us to respect elder-speakers' prerogative to decide whether and to what extent they will engage in a particular discussion.

My study, furthermore, acknowledges that the elders' *dadibaaajimowin* is best understood in *Anishinaabemowin*. As with all languages, it too has evolved to accommodate current conditions. Younger speakers of today, particularly those who live

in an urban setting, may consequently be unfamiliar with aspects of the elders' land-rooted meanings. In this research I use what I learned from my mother, the language that elder-specialist Roger Roulette refers to as old *Anishinaabemowin*. A brief morphological analysis of the three terms, *dawisijigewin*, *dadibaajimowin*, and *mawadishiwewin* helps to clarify the language. When a term begins as a verb, for example, the suffix *win* transforms it into a noun, that is, an idea or concept. *Dawisijige*, she/he is clearing away space, becomes *dawisijigewin*, the act or practice of clearing spaces. Similarly, *dadibaajimo*, she/he is telling a narrative, becomes *dadibaajimowin*, the practice, act, or content of narration. The verb *mawadishiwe*, she/he is visiting, converts to the noun *mawadishiwewin*, the practice or act of going for a visit. In theory, every *Anishinaabemowin* verb has the capacity to become an abstraction.

It is also important to note that certain nouns cannot stand alone as they do in English. To illustrate, the word *oninj* translates to English as her/his/its hand; *nininj* is my hand, and *gininj* is your hand. However, no discrete word exists for “hand” itself because *Anishinaabemowin* conceptualizes certain words by embedding them within a relationship rather than by placing them in isolation. The English word “hand” becomes *oninjiimaa*,¹⁵ the state of (being) a hand, or hand-ness, thus referring to the concept rather than the physical object. These examples help to explain why use of *Anishinaabemowin* itself is the most effective way to understand its ontological contexts and become familiar with its subtle, easily missed layers of meaning.

Understanding the structural characteristics of *Anishinaabemowin* clarifies its role in explicating *Anishinaabe* thought. Erdrich (2003), for example, observes that “[t]wo-

¹⁵ *Dedibaayaanimanook* provided me with this form of *oninj* (personal conversation, June, 2016).

thirds of the words are verbs, and for *each verb*, there can be as many as six thousand forms” (p. 82), making it possible to combine a multiplicity of relationships in one word. Matthews (2009) discusses singular pronouns as animate or inanimate, rather than gender based. This feature enables the researcher to gain insight into how concepts and concrete realities about personhood, gender, and identity present themselves in distinctive ways for those who speak and think in *Anishinaabemowin* or other similar language (Eigenbrod, 2005). Thus, the use of *Anishinaabemowin* is a form of engagement with *Anishinaabe* ontological thought.

Anishinaabemowin use also upholds *Anishinaabe* ethical principles. Proceeding beyond the minimal guidelines of academia for research with human subjects, this study accommodates *Anishinaabemowin*. It is a means for respecting the ontological contexts of *Anishinaabe dadibaaajimowin* that are often lost in translation (Erdrich, 2003).

Although, for example, an approximate version of *Ojoozhiminaa* as Parallel Nephewhood¹⁶ is awkward and sounds odd for a name, no such problem exists within an *Anishinaabemowin* context where various concepts can blend seamlessly and meaningfully. Names are best in their original *Anishinaabemowin* form, particularly when an English rendition counters the ethical principle of respect by sounding absurd or undignified.

Anishinaabe principles of ethical methodology apply to translation in other ways. To illustrate, I purposely avoid “bush” for *noopimakamig aki* due to its historically negative connotations (backwards, rough, uncultivated, wild, etc.) within Canada’s settler self-narrative. Instead, I draw in boreal forests and trees to reflect the *dadibaaajimowin*

¹⁶ Researcher Gary Butikofer (2009) translates *Ojoozhimimaa* as Everyone’s Nephew (see Chapter 5).

association of *noopimakamig aki* with positive characteristics that include dignity and strength, wisdom and generosity. However, I acknowledge Kulchyski's (1996) assertion that "bush" can also hold many of the affirmative meanings of *noopimakamig aki*. My objective as an *Anishinaabe* researcher in this project is to uphold and encourage the use of *Anishinaabemowin* rather than attempt to rehabilitate English words whose meanings have gone awry.

While context provides all forms of communication with meaning, ethical principles promote accurate and complete translation of *Anishinaabemowin* words. To illustrate, the *noopimakamig aki* phrase I use above includes aquatic, terrestrial, and celestial features of a boreal world. Water, land, and day and night skies all have significance for *Anishinaabe* people who observe and experience these elements from the unique vantage point of their *noopimakamig aki* places of home. The full meaning of the phrase *noopimakamig aki* embraces all of these concepts (Chapter 4). As a methodology that is attentive of *Anishinaabe* sensibilities, meanings, and understandings, the use of *Anishinaabemowin* terms can present a host of concepts that an English counterpart omits. Hence, I particularly prefer *Anishinaabemowin* when translations cannot respectfully, accurately, or completely convey the concepts embedded within a term. For the benefit of non-speakers, I include a glossary of *Anishinaabemowin* words and phrases that I do not explain in the text. These are some examples of how my methodology helps to preserve mindfulness of *Anishinaabe* perspectives in a sea of *zhaaganaashiimowin*.

How I negotiate formatting issues is another means for giving preferential treatment to my heritage language. For example, I place the chapter numbers and titles in *Anishinaabemowin* first, then follow with English translations. The strategy functions as a

reminder of this project's *Anishinaabe* ancestry and represents the spirit of my intent to honor the language. Similarly, I bring in *Anishinaabemowin* place names when participants provide them for the maps I use. Retaining original names is of importance because they reflect the ontological perspectives of *aanikoobidaaganag* and indicate their relations with *noopimakamig aki*. Unlike Trout Lake, for example, the name *Namegosibiing* is an immediate reminder of the unique characteristics that people valued so highly about the lake. Maps can become a useful device to help restore and preserve the *dadibaajimowin* of *aanikoobidaaganag* memories about places that have either disappeared from our consciousness or, in some cases, literally ceased to exist.

The *Anishinaabemowin* chapter titles I use indicate reasons behind the challenges of translating English concepts into *Anishinaabemowin*. For example, my use of *aaniin dezhiikigaadeg*, “how it is being worked on,” for the term methodology suggests why the language of *aanikoobidaaganag* required no counterparts for English research-related words. Within *Anishinaabe* epistemological systems, knowledge creation was seamless and ongoing, never disaggregating into discrete compartments such as research objectives, rationale, methodology, theoretical framework, and findings. The elders themselves and their vast array of empirical knowledge embodied these production processes and products. When I mentioned to elder *Dedibaayaanimanook* that I was still working on my thesis, she observed, “*Geyaabi gidoozhibii’ige*” (you are still writing). My mother’s expression did not question where I was in my work or even refer to the PhD program of knowledge generation. Speaking from the orality of *Anishinaabe* epistemological tradition wherein knowledge building takes place within the learning institution of life’s journeyings, *Dedibaayaanimanook* went directly to the essence of the

matter, my preoccupation with the production of *text*. *Anishinaabe* linguist Roger Roulette's suggestions for how to include *Anishinaabemowin* thought in my chapter titles demonstrate the difficulties of working with variant ontologies.

The *Anishinaabemowin* of *aanikoobidaaganag* shows how they thought about their identity. To illustrate, the expression for lineal descendancy reflects an intimate sense of affiliation with *noopimakamig aki*, the boreal land. *Dedibaayaanimanook* relates the following:

[M]ii' iwe gaa inaakwadabiigishing	[T]hat was the patterning of her
... mitigoog gii maajiiyaakwadabiig-	descendants ...similar to how trees'
ishinowaaj anaamakamiing... "[B]bez-	roots spread out under the ground ...
igwan ezhiseyaang," ako gii' ikidooban	My mom would say, "It is the same
my mom. (014BD2010, 8)	with us."

Namegosibii Anishinaabeg spoke of their progeny using the intransitive verb *maajiiyaakwadabiigishinowag* of which *wadabiig* refers to the roots of a spruce tree. Articulating themselves and their descendant generations in terms of tree roots through a language-land aggregate indicates how strongly they identified with their boreal homelands. In other *dadibaajimowin*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* has used the slight variation, *gichiwaakwadabiigishin*, in which *gichiwaak* imparts the notion of holding tightly. So long as the boreal trees and roots of *noopimakamig aki* thrived, so too did *Anishinaabe* populations, and when people are using their language, they are safeguarding their *noopimakamig*-centered identity. For us today, such ancient expressions illustrate how

the language of the *aanikoobidaaganag* embeds a person's self in the homelands, presenting a compelling argument for why language use is so critical.

In terms of research's use of the language, Matthews' (2009) work suggests that *Anishinaabemowin* allows for the investigation of specific English terms and their origins and ontological contexts. Goulet's (2004) method for determining the contextual accuracy of certain expressions illustrates this notion. For example, he examines the phrase "Mother Earth" for its derivation in order to determine whether or not the popular pan-Indian expression has a history of use in his particular Cree community. In my own research, two elders discuss common phrases such as "Turtle Island," deciding on their beginnings and suggesting how *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag* conceived or did not conceive of themselves in relation to *noopimakamig aki*.

Use of *Anishinaabemowin* (or other Indigenous language), moreover, has a wider value by not only retaining *dadibaaajimowin* contexts but by simultaneously becoming a counter-force against *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, a concept I discuss later (Chapter 4). In a recent meeting where English legalese was the dominant language, for example, the elders decided to switch to Cree. Bemused lawyers, taken aback by their sudden inability to participate, lost control of the conversation and fell uncharacteristically silent. My daughter's *dadibaaajimowin* explains how strategic use of language becomes a form of power. It suggests the possibility of different results when negotiators must conduct their discussions entirely in *Anishinaabemowin* or other Indigenous language because it draws their thinking into an ontological system that is quite different from English.

The narratives of senior participants who are fluent in *Anishinaabemowin* and know the teachings of *aanikoobidaaganag* on an experiential basis are of particular

significance. The spoken narrative, Kovach (2009) argues, contributes to meaning by explaining, “In considering story as both method and meaning, it is presented as a culturally nuanced way of knowing” (p. 94). The value of *dadibaajimowin* lies in its processes, content, and ability to embody relational, experiential, and contextual principles of an *Anishinaabe* epistemological framework. The assistance of language specialists such as instructor-elder Roger Roulette, whose expertise incorporates a wide range of *Anishinaabemowin* contexts, is therefore especially valuable for Indigenous methodology-based research where *Anishinaabemowin dadibaajimowin* creates its own *dawisijigewin* spaces.

3.3 Research Participants

The selection of research participants began with an initial list of criteria (Appendix A). While such an instrument is methodologically ideal for a project seeking to explore *Anishinaabe* meanings and ontological contexts, few individuals today possess all six qualifications. Of the eight participants, in fact, *Dedibaayaanimanook* alone meets all the criteria. To limit the research to only *Anishinaabemowin* speakers was not practical because few available speakers exist among the younger *Nomegosibii Anishinaabe* generations. Hence, it would not have been possible to hear a multi-generational *dadibaajimowin* that included only language speakers. For similar reasons, it was necessary to forego the original requirement of residency within the ancestral homelands and an uninterrupted practice of a land based, traditional *Anishinaabe* way of life. The first and third criteria were absolutely necessary while the others were a matter of degrees. Also important to note, these particular individuals were available and interested

in participating.

In order to explain the different ways in which shifting circumstances across time have had an inter-generational effect on the sense of identity of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community, this study places each participant in one of three generational groups. The first, with an average age of approximately 84, consists of individuals who receive wide recognition as community elders. They still remember the *dadibaajimowin* of their *aanikoobidaaganag* elders and retain the ability to speak of them from the culturally embedded perspective of *Anishinaabemowin* usage.

Dedibaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick Olsen (Figure 3.14) is the eldest participant. Over the years, *Dedibaayaanimanook* has shared some of her knowledge with various individuals, including representatives of the OMNR and academic institutions as well as the Lac Seul First Nation, private organizations, and those who pursue research on an individual basis. She retains *Anishinaabemowin* as her first language and is proficient in the use of *Anishinaabe* syllabic writing and reading because no formal Western schooling interfered with her education. As *Giizhig*'s granddaughter, *Dedibaayaanimanook* lived her learning through a lifestyle that included annual canoe journeys to the Lac Seul region where *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community members participated in *diba'amaadim*. She was born in *Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag* in *Namegosibiing* circa 1922, and despite being in her 9th decade, she continues to share vivid and powerful memories of the life she once lived. As my mother, *Dedibaayaanimanook* remains my link to the ontologies of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag*.

Oo'oons John Paul Kejick (Figure 3.15), also an elder in the community, is the second eldest of the three participants in this group. Although he attended boarding

school and grew up in the Red Lake area rather than the immediate homelands of *Namegosibiing*, he speaks *Anishinaabemowin* and retains some of the *dadibaajimowin* of *aanikoobidaaganag*. *Oo'oons* leads an active life in Red Lake where he lives and visits the homelands whenever the opportunity arises. He is *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s first cousin once removed, a grandson of *Jiimaan* Donald Keesick, great-grandson of *Giizhig*, and great-great-grandson of *Jiimaan* Cheean. *Oo'oons* is my second cousin.

The third participant of the first group, *Gwiishkwa'oo* Eliza Angecone (Figure 3.16), is *Giizhig*'s great-granddaughter. Also a community elder, she speaks *Anishinaabemowin* fluently, and, as with *Oo'oons*, boarding school attendance interrupted her *Anishinaabe* learning. Her knowledge about *noopimakamig* and life on the land derives from the *dadibaajimowin* of her elders, observations of others' activities, and her own firsthand experiences. She accompanied family members and relatives on lengthy journeys during autumn and winter throughout the *Namegosibiing* and Red Lake regions. *Gwiishkwa'oo* and *Dedibaayaanimanook* both continue to have a residence in *Namegosibiing* where they return to visit as frequently as every year. All three elders clearly articulate their sense of connection to *Namegosibiing*.

The second group of participants consists of three individuals with an average age of approximately 62. Martha Angecone Fiddler (Figure 3.17) is the youngest of the three. Born in *Namegosibiing* where she spent time with her paternal grandmother, *Gweyesh* Annie Angecone, she learned *Anishinaabemowin* and its embedded ontologies while her parents worked at a tourist camp. She attended residential school from an early age and speaks both *Anishinaabemowin* and English. Martha has spent much of her adulthood in the community of Sandy Lake First Nation, the homeland territory of her

mother's people and her children's father. Although she refers to Sandy Lake as her home, she grounds her identity in *Namegosibiing*. Martha is *Giizhig's* great-great-granddaughter, *Dedibaayaanimanook's* great-niece, and my first cousin once removed.

William King and *Niinzhooode* Wilfred Kejick (Figures 3.18 and 3.19), the second and third individuals of this group, both live in Red Lake but worked in *Namegosibiing* as tourist guides for many years. Although they went to residential school, they still speak *Anishinaabemowin* and remember some of the grandfathers' *dadibaajimowin*. For both *Niinzhooode* and William, their silences speak volumes. *Niinzhooode* Wilfred is *Oo'oons* Kejick's younger sibling. As *Gweyesh* Angecone's grandson, William is *Giizhig's* great-great-grandson. These three individuals also indicate their preference to be in *Namegosibiing*, but various logistical, age, financial, and health-related reasons stand as barriers.

Two individuals comprise the third group of participants. With an average age of 34 they are generationally furthest removed from the ancestral *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag*. Although they are not fluent in *Anishinaabemowin*, they both have a basic understanding of the language and are able to speak a few sentences. The younger of the two, Janae Fiddler (Figure 3.20) is Martha's daughter. Not having had many opportunities to visit *Namegosibiing*, she articulates her identity from a more distant relational location. Janae spends a great deal of time in Sandy Lake First Nation, her father and maternal grandmother's home community. Although she traces a lineage to the *aanikoobidaaganag* of *Namegosibiing* through her mother and maternal grandfather, her sense of attachment to these ancestors is comparatively remote.

Riel Olsen (Figure 3.21), the second participant in the third category, is

Dadibaayaanimanook's grandson, hence, *Giizhig*'s great-great-grandson. Having attended public school, Riel had few opportunities to hear the *dadibaajimowin* of his maternal *aanikoobidaaganag*, either in *Anishinaabemowin* or English. He nonetheless continues to spend considerable time in *Namegosibiing* as a tourist guide. Although he expresses a desire to live in the homelands on a more permanent basis, Riel also reports that it is practically impossible to find a partner who is willing and able to stay where life exists without electricity and running water. He explains that "everyone wants ... hair dryers ... soap operas" (008BR2013, 2).

By including their ceremonial names, participants confirm that the *ogwiimenziwin* practice was still in place at the time of their birth. My mother was gifted with three such names, with one from her father, another from her uncle *Jiiyaan* Donald, and the third, *Dedibaayaanimanook*, from her grandfather *Giizhig*. It is a feminized form of her father's name, *Dedibayaash*.¹⁷ *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin* indicates that name givers were especially beloved members of the family. In the same way people regarded the *odaapinaawasowin* role, they esteemed *ogwiimenziwin* for the lifelong bond it created between the giver and recipient. To illustrate the dynamics of such a relationship, *Dedibaayaanimanook* continues to draw on the energizing force her grandfather's love during times of duress long after his physical passing. As a language-embedded *aide-mémoire* of identity, a ceremonial name was often the gift of a family member two or even three generations removed. It served as an enduring connection that anchored a person's relationship to the community of her origin, guiding a child to her future role in

¹⁷ *Ogwiimenz* name givers were also female members of the community. *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s name giver, for example, was her great-aunt, *Gibichigiizhigook* Eliza.

life.

I include participants' *Anishinaabe* names if they share them, but, in accordance with protocols calling for respect for the sacredness of an individual's personal information, I did not ask for their meanings. The social structures and values of dominant society have largely replaced the *Anishinaabe* community's customs, altering the sense of sanctity with which people negotiated their relationships and engagement with *ogwiimenziwin* and its ceremonies, symbolism, and teachings. Despite dominant erasures, participants were generally pleased to share their special names as a confirmation of ancestral customs, ontological systems, and *Anishinaabe* identity.

A genealogical chart (Table 15) illustrates how the eight participants are related as *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people. However, it does not include the hundreds who descended from *Jiimaan* and *Giizhig*. As well, *dadibaajimowin* does not state who of *Jiimaan*'s six wives was the mother of which and how many of the individuals in the second row. Their correct chronological ordering is not clearly evident from *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin*. Judging from the fact that *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s father, *Dedibayaash* (third row, fourth column), spoke of having many elderly relatives, *Giizhig* may have been among the younger of *Jiimaan*'s children. *Dedibaayaanimanook* herself remembers being a small child when she saw *Jakaabesh* (Table 10). The other relatives were apparently long deceased by that time (Agger, 2008). *Jiimaan*, the Che(e)an in both the Hudson's Bay Company and Indian Affairs records, left a widow whom the 1883 treaty pay list mentioned as M deceased. Despite the ambiguities associated with the table, however, knowledge of these names in itself confirms a sense of genealogical and community belonging.

This project, working with only a fraction of all who express their identity in terms of *Namegosibiing*, recognizes how other relatives communicate their attachment to ancestral homelands. For example, a working group dedicates itself to advocacy. One project seeks ways to protect *Gichi Baawitig* on *Namegosi Ziibi* from plans for a hydroelectric facility. These efforts are of particular significance because they draw attention to the fact that the homelands consist of not only *Namegosibiing* itself but all of the areas in which *aanikoobidaaganag* lived and traveled. Also, a group of *Anishinaabe* relatives continues to explore the possibility of a reserve in Red Lake's immediate vicinity. Recently, a family acquired a cabin near *Jiibayi Zaagiing* in *Namegosibiing* where family members revitalize their relationships with ancestral places of home.

Most of the eight participants of this project have taken part in these and other efforts to re-establish and strengthen *Anishinaabe* presence in *Namegosibiing*. Over the years, many have also attended meetings with the OMNR to advocate for greater input in the development of relevant policies. All participants who wish to advance the wellbeing of *Anishinaabe* people throughout the region recognize and acknowledge these examples of how *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* continue to reaffirm their identity.

3.4 Participants and Indigenous Methodology

My methodology looks to the guidance of *Anishinaabe* protocols, principles of ethics, and their underlying concepts for how to proceed. This research is therefore concerned with the experiences, practicalities, concepts, theories, and narrative contexts that underlie the *dadibaaqjimowin* of each participant. Having experienced life lived in accordance with these protocols, the elders have a special understanding of their

significance. For example, certain principles makes it possible for the narrator in the following *dadibaaJimowin* to speak in non-racist, non-racialized terms that indicate the fundamentals of *Anishinaabe* thought:

<i>Wegonen gewonji izhiwebak? ...</i>	Why is the weather like this? ... “It
<i>“Wemitigoozhi osha gaa izhichigej,”</i>	is clearly the setter from Europe who
<i>osha gii’ikidowag ... mitigoo’ maa-</i>	does this,” is what they would say ...
<i>waj gii’ nisaawaaj. (014AD2010, 8)</i>	especially when they killed the trees.

Conduct is the subject under discussion. The narrator, senior elder *Dedibaayaanimanook*, alludes to its destructive effects on both the natural environment and *Anishinaabe* people, something about which *aanikoobidaaganag* often spoke. While the narrative critiques an attitude and its consequences rather than the ethnicity of a group, there is no doubt that *Anishinaabe* people observed and experienced *wemitigoozhi* ways of doing and being as markedly typical. This project refers to the behavioral phenomena people experienced as *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, recognizing and condemning its monumental impacts in their lives rather than focusing on the group.

These principles apply to the sociolinguistic dynamics of an *Anishinaabemowin* conversation. For example, there are particular methods of interaction in the epistemological context of seeking, exchanging, sharing, confirming, and adopting knowledge. *Oo’oons* (O) describes a drum in one of his photographs to *Dedibaayaanimanook* (D), the more senior of the two elders as follows:

O: [refers to a photograph of someone	O: [F]irst powwow they held ... Now
holding a large drum to a fire] ... first	what is it called, when someone ...

powwow *gaa-gii' ayaawaad* ... *Aant-* [laughter] throws into the fire ... Burns
agiin ... [laughter] *majote'* ... *Ojiigizôn.* its edges ... [laughter]
D: *Oziinjiigizôn!* [laughter] D: Tightens it by heating it! [laughter]
O: *Oziinjiigizôn...* (009A3DO2013,1) O: Tightens it by heating it ...

With subdued laughter, *Oo'oons* recognizes that his choice in terminology, *ojiigizôn*, actually suggests that the drum hide is on fire and is therefore inaccurate. At the same time, his turn of phrase, *aantagiin*, is an indirect suggestion that *Dedibaayaanimanook* might provide him with the correct wording. Mindful of the protocol by which knowledge formation and transference are put forth in a respectful manner by not posing a direct request, *Oo'oons* exemplifies deference to not only *Dedibaayaanimanook's* linguistic expertise but also her position as a senior elder. *Dedibaayaanimanook* acknowledges his request and provides him with a more accurate term. She shares in his laughter, however, because there is humor in the word he uses. Humility, humor, laughter, and respect all play a role in how *Anishinaabe* people have sought to conduct their relationships and interactions.¹⁸

At this point, it may be useful to explain my understanding of the notion of respect from an *Anishinaabe* perspective. *Oo'oons's* following *dadibaajimowin* about his grandfather *Jiimaan* and how he demonstrated his belief in the soundness of a respectful practice by the manner in which he prepared for Treaty Time illustrates this concept:

[N]ishoomisiban *Jiimaan*, *mii'iwe e'* [M]y late grandfather, *Jiimaan*, when

¹⁸ This exchange illustrates how laughter and humor can be a means for what Ruth Dean (2003) describes as “enabling communication, fostering relationships, easing tension, and managing emotions” (p. 62).

... *diba'amaading* ... *gaa' izhi wawe-* it was ... going to be Treaty Time ...
zhiid. Minziweshkigan ogii'ako bizikaan he began to prepare. He would put on a
... suit, tie ... *Mii e' wawezhiid ewii'* ...suit, tie... That was how he made
diba'amaading. (011BDO2012, 3) preparations for Treaty Time.

Although community members understood the lack of honour in how the treaty was administered, *Oo'oons* intimates that his grandfather wore a suit and tie, clothing not normally part of the *Anishinaabe* world, for *diba'amaadim*. It was *Jiyyaan's* way of enacting the thinking of *aanikoobidaaganag* about their participation in events that they deemed to be important for the community. Their customary comportment of ceremony and dignity for commemorative events such as treaties was the embodiment of respect.

Attention to what participants voice and silence is a part of understanding and respecting the narrative process. Although I re-visit the next *dadibaajimowin* segment to highlight another signification, I use it here to show how silences function.

Dedibaayaanimanook describes a journey she once took to *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* with her siblings as follows:

[I]nsayenziban ... *madaabiibatoo-* [M]y late elder brother was ...
pan, "Wemitigoozhiwag i'ima running down toward us, saying,
ayaawag," indigonaan. Ezhi gichi zegiz- "There are European settler men over
iyaang, Gweyesh. Anishaa e' ikidoj." there." *Gweyesh* and I were overcome
(001AD2012, 3) with fear. But he was only joking.

The two sisters' immediate reaction of fear may seem curious. At this juncture in the

narrative proceedings, a researcher's imperative would require the participant to explain why the young *Anishinaabe* women reacted as they did at the thought of encountering *wemitgoozhiwag*. *Anishinaabe* protocol, however, considers the historical context of an event that took place during the 1930s. It was a time when racism and sexism were the norm, particularly in the *noopimakamig* hinterland regions of northwest Ontario where a "wild west" frontier mentality was part of how *wemitgoozhiwag* often presented themselves (Richthammer, 2007). *Anishinaabe* protocol refrains from probing for information when the participant provides none. Anticipating situations of potential angst or painful memories and being cognizant of historical impacts upon the lives of Indigenous peoples individually and collectively are in keeping with *Anishinaabe* ethical principles.

Anishinaabe principles for ethical research also require the researcher to have an understanding about the importance of respecting confidences. Participants regard these matters to be the community's exclusive *babaamiziwin*, outside the domain of researchers unless they indicate otherwise. These include issues relating to the effects of historical forces such as *minikwewin* and details of boarding school attendance. Use of the term *onjinewin* and silences are strategies to thwart, deflect, or otherwise discourage discussion when sensitive or confidential topics arise.

Guiding principles for ethical research include being mindful of narrative contexts, *Anishinaabe* realities, and the spirit in which participants speak. They help to avoid distorting or otherwise misrepresenting *dadibaajimowin* content and the temptation to fit *dadibaajimowin* into the study's purposes at the expense of accurate reporting. An example of being mindful of social, cultural, and political sensibilities is recognition and

awareness of the sense of loss when the ancestral language of a community is no longer in use. It is important to know the reasons for non-use of *Anishinaabemowin* and other aftereffects of ongoing domination.

In accordance with *Anishinaabe* protocols, this research also recognizes that experiential evidence underpins *dadibaaajimowin*, hence, the research findings. One participant, for example, speaks about the fear he and others experienced in the face of law enforcement as follows:

<p>[A]miish geyaabi o'owe apii jigii' izhichigewaapan iwe aaniin gaagii' izhi gikinô'amawindô Anishinaabew- ichigewin, jigii' doodamowaapan ... Gaawiin idash ... Mii'iwe gotaajiwin. Zegiziwin. Ji ongi dibaakonigooyan.</p>	<p>[T]o this day, they ought to have been practicing the <i>Anishinaabe</i> way of life in accordance with how they were taught ... but that was not the case ... It is fear. Being afraid. That you will be charged and arrested for it.</p>
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(001BD&O2012, 4)

In this narrative, elder *Oo'oons* Kejick subjectively describes the personal experiences he and his family lived through, thus explaining why fear became so powerful a force in discouraging him from living on the land as the *aanikoobidaaganag* had taught (Chapter 4). This study neither requires nor requests supportive evidence in order to respect, honor, and accept *Oo'oons's* *dadibaaajimowin* – and each of the others' – as a valuable contribution to my research. It is a further example of an approach that is mindful of *dadibaaajimowin* contexts.

I now discuss the specifics of how I implemented these protocols and principles of

ethics in the *dadibaajimowin* sessions themselves. Our first visit began with the consent agreement, followed by a brief review of the project, an explanation of the audio recorder, and an offer of tobacco. Generating memories and interesting discussions, old photographs were important and of great interest to the elders. To illustrate, when I met with my mother, *Dedibaayaanimanook*, at her home in Red Lake, *Oo'oons* joined us for three of our six visits together, each time bringing photographs with him. Some of these dated back several years, adding valuable information to the *dadibaajimowin* exchange. *Oo'oons*'s photograph of the drum ceremony that I mentioned earlier is an example.

Another gathering at my mother's apartment included my cousin, *Gwiishkwa'oo* Eliza, although our main visit was at a picnic table along the Red River in St. Boniface, Winnipeg, in early summer. *Gwiishkwa'oo*, ever an aficionado of the riparian outdoors, chose the site herself. My visit with Martha Fiddler Angecone also took place in Winnipeg. Several weeks later, I met with Martha and her daughter Janae Fiddler at my daughter's home in Winnipeg where we visited over a light meal. As well, my nephew, Riel Olsen, shared his *dadibaajimowin* while we ate lunch at my daughter's home in Winnipeg. William King, *Niinzhoode* Wilfred Kejick, and I met on two occasions at the Red Lake Indian Friendship Center where we had coffee, compliments of the Center. All sessions were less than two hours in length with never more than three individuals at a time due to venue availability and scheduling. My method for staying in contact with participants included personal visits whenever possible, phone conversations, and regular post. I sent a hard copy of each participant's *dadibaajimowin* transcripts by Canada Post mail. I will also make the final results of this study available to each participant.

I transcribed all audio recordings but translated only the segments I use in the text. I

do not make direct references to *dadibaaJimowin* content of a personal or sensitive nature. Each tape fits into a numerical order starting from 001, with each side either A or B. I title the transcripts in accordance with the tape number and side, participant's name, meeting place, and date. I give each new topic of discussion a subtitle. Also, I parenthesize the citation of each conversation in the text according to the tape number and side, first initial of the narrator's first name (*Anishinaabe*, where one exists), date of the conversation, and the transcript page number. For example, (008ABR2013, 2) indicates that the tape number is 008, both sides of the tape contain *dadibaaJimowin*, the participant is Riel Olsen, the meeting date is 2013, and the transcript page number is 2. Similarly, a transcription index enumerates the tape number and side, narrator's name, and location and date of each conversation with subject headings in either *Anishinaabemowin* or English for each new topic. I include a sample of the index to indicate the various subjects that participants discussed during each session (Appendix C). In accordance with Section 2.5 of the research agreement (Appendix B), the tapes remain in my safekeeping and I may not release them for others to hear without participant consent.

In terms of the *dadibaaJimowin* passages that I cite in the text, ellipses represent words and phrases that are not part of the main point of the quotation. They also denote moments of silence, incomplete sentences, or an aside unrelated to the topic. While elder-participants indicated their tolerance for audio rather than video recording, the obvious limitation of the former is its inability to capture non-verbal communication that nonetheless conveys meaning. Therefore, ellipses also represent non-verbal cues that accompany speech pauses or indicate contemplation, weariness, joy, or other affect. The

use of so many ellipses of this type suggests the importance of non-verbal communication. I also use question marks in square brackets to designate where parts of the narrator's words are muffled due to extraneous sounds or a malfunction in the audio recording device. I use Matthews' (2009) method of formatting the text by placing each *Anishinaabemowin* quote to the left of the English translation as a means for privileging the language.

Even though *dadibaaqjimowin* is the foundation of this research, I also use *izhibii'igewin*, the written record, for certain reasons. It carries considerable weight within the wider context of today's dominant society where written documentation is often still necessary for validation. To illustrate, dates were not a requirement in the recording system of our *Anishinaabe* ancestors, but the time and date of births, deaths, noteworthy events, etc. is now an essential feature in how we record our identity. The written record contains some of this information. Another reason relates to losses in content, comprehensiveness, and continuity that the cultural practice of *dadibaaqjimowin* incurred with the arrival of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. Requiring searches through *izhibii'igewin*, the work of reclaiming and re-connecting with our identity requires us to re-assemble *aweneniwiyeng dadibaaqjimowin*, that body of knowledge with the authority to validate identity. This study also critiques the written record to draw attention to its role in Indigenous colonial experience. Paying attention to that role is a part of my responsibility as an *Anishinaabe* researcher to promote knowledge about our histories and experiences (Absolon, 2008).

3.5 Conclusion

I frame my methodology with the principles that underpin *dawisijigewin*, *mawadishiwewin*, *dadibaajimowin*, and *Anishinaabemowin* use. This research is therefore concerned for the concepts, experiences, practicalities, and ethical principles that give *dadibaajimowin* power to articulate identity. In the same way that they directed the proceedings and processes of traditional *mawadishiwewin* and *dadibaajimowin*, these principles and protocols provide my research with ethical guidance. They make possible the application of Indigenous methodologies that include use of *Anishinaabemowin* while remaining within a Western academic framework of knowledge production. They are a part of Indigenous methodology.

This study privileges *Anishinaabemowin* for methodologically critical reasons. While it illustrates the difficulties of translation – whether from English to *Anishinaabemowin*, *Anishinaabemowin* to English, or English to *Anishinaabemowin* and back to English – its use can avoid perpetuating misrepresentations. The appearance and presence of *Anishinaabemowin* are a reminder of the concepts the language holds, grounding this work in its ontological thought. As often as possible throughout my research, *Anishinaabemowin* takes its rightful place to the left of its English counterpart, to where we first turn our attention when we begin to read. *Anishinaabemowin* thus positions itself within the center spaces of our intellectual *dawisijigewin*.

4.1 Introduction

The elders witnessed a different landscape from what we see today. What they remember and talk about in their *dadibaaJimowin* constituted a once commonly known body of knowledge that, for the most part, no longer exists among younger generations. By being mindful of the frame of reference from which the elders speak, this chapter seeks to re-vitalize the formerly prevalent understandings that informed the knowledges of *aanikoobidaaganag*. Some narratives are specific and clear in their meaning, but others are more obscure. Some use *Anishinaabemowin* and others speak *zhaaganaashiimowin*, or both. Senior participant narratives refer to conditions and events that have long ceased, while the younger participants discuss the effects of today's circumstances in their lives.

Mawadishiwewin is the venue that promotes variations in how each *dadibaaJimowin* session takes place and narrators express themselves. Lengthy accounts often provide greater context and illustrate the spontaneity of *mawadishiwewin*. For those that are brief, silences abound with meaning. Whether they are the words of the senior-most elder or those of the younger participants and whether abundant or few, they are the most accurate and genuine representation of the speakers as members of the community. Each *dadibaaJimowin* contributes in its own way toward a clearer, more comprehensive understanding about *aweneniiwiyeeng* as *Anishinaabe* people and demonstrates that *mawadishiwewin* is itself an enactment of cultural identity.

The narratives indicate four broad areas from which *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity expresses itself, allowing for an organized study. This chapter first examines how *dadibaaqimowin* acts as the means by which an *Anishinaabe* cultural frame of reference is manifest. Next, an explanation of the term *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* advances the investigation of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity in terms of how people think about their relationship and positioning among fellow Indigenous peoples throughout the world. The presence of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* on the landscapes of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* physical and identity discourse is the third theme. Lastly, *dadibaaqimowin* about *aweneniwiyeeng* speaks from within the ontological contexts and frames of reference of *noopimakamig aki*.

4.2 *Dadibaaqimowin*: Culturally Embedded Identity

Dadibaaqimowin is a purveyor of cultural identity. *Aweneniwiyeeng* as *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people emerges from participants' *dadibaaqimowin* of relationships and interactions, values and practices, beliefs and symbolisms, and activities and experiences as facets of cultural self-expression and identity. In the same manner that *dadibaaqimowin* was a means for intergenerational transmission of culture during the era of the *aanikoobidaaganag*, it provides a way for re-vitalizing the ability to self-articulate *Anishinaabe* identity today. Participants' use of *Anishinaabemowin*, moreover, reinforces the role of *dadibaaqimowin* as a transmitter of culture.

This section focuses on the *dadibaaqimowin* custom, demonstrating how it fulfilled certain functions in cultural identity by and through the fact of its use. One of these roles was to engage in speaker-listener relationships when narrators first told a *dadibaaqimowin*

and again when they remembered and re-experienced it through re-telling. In senior elder *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s oral presentation, "*Gii' Ishkô Gimiwang*" (when it finished raining), for example, the original narrative expresses a mother's affection for her child. The appealing quality of this interchange is evident in the tone of delight—which the text fails to fully capture—with which *Dedibaayaanimanook* herself narrates it in the following:

<i>Egii' ishkô gimiwang, e baashkiney-</i>	When it stopped raining, and steam
<i>aag idash... "Omagakiig osha igi gaa-</i>	was wafting up ... Then my mom would
<i>baashkinawewaaj," ako egii' izhipan</i>	tell me, "Those are the frogs creating the
my mom... " <i>Gonige agwaawewag</i>	smoke" ... "I wonder if they are smoking
<i>wiiyaas," ako egii inenimagwaa...</i>	meat," I used to think ... I would
<i>"Ambesh izhaayaan," ishako ingii'</i>	imagine, "I wish I could go over there so
<i>inendam ewii' awi bagoshi' agwô</i>	I can beg for some of their smoked
<i>iya'iin, odagwaawaaniwaan [laughs]...</i>	meat" [laughs] ... "So I can eat some of
<i>"Ewii' mijjiwag ogaaskiiwagomiwaa,"</i>	their dried smoked meat," I used to
<i>ako ingii' inendam. (014AD2010, 2)</i>	think.

Dedibaayaanimanook's use of *ako* signifies the recurring nature of her mother's *omagakii* (frog) narrative. Drawing from natural phenomena and arising from the experiences of everyday life, each telling of *dadibaaajimowin* was a cultural mechanism to reinforce the close mother-child-land relationship. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaaajimowin* about these land-rooted events, the telling of the story, the rain and its mists, and the presence of *omagakii* becomes her own re-enactment of her mother's

narrative. Although she is no longer able to experience these particular facets of *Anishinaabe* cultural identity, she preserves, renews, and perpetuates remembrances of the human-nature relationships into the next generations.

In the same way that *dadibaaajimowin* use enacts and helps to safeguard cultural identity, the narrative content describes and explains its various aspects. A closer examination of “*Gii’ Ishkô Gimiwang*,” for example, reveals that young children learned to pay attention to natural occurrences as everyday experiences of life, thus becoming familiarized with their associations and connections. Frogs, furthermore, were never only an interesting subject matter for a children’s tale. They were persons whose affairs paralleled those of human people with whom they interacted. In fact, *omagakiig* were a benevolent and timely presence in the landscape of *Anishinaabe* culture, responsible for helping to safeguard *aadasookewin*, a special kind of *dadibaaajimowin* (Agger, 2008).

The role of *dadibaaajimowin* in cultural identity formation, preservation, and protection is further illustrated in *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s narrative “*E, Sii, Dii, Dii*.” It was her mother’s means for bringing the children’s attention to another presence across the landscape, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, helping to prepare them for its inevitable effects on their *Anishinaabe* cultural sense of self. *Dedibaayaanimanook* narrates as follows:

[A], b, c, d ... <i>Bizhishig ako ingii’</i>	[A], b, c, d ... She would always teach
<i>gikinô’amaagonaan ... ji’ ikidoyaang</i>	them to us ... to recite them, me and
<i>Gichi Jôj e’ ani jibikang ako...E’gaw-</i>	<i>Gichi Jôj</i> , when it would ... get dark ...
<i>ishimoyaang oshako ... Amiish i’i gaa’</i>	When we were going to bed ...
<i>izhi noonde gawingwashiyaang ...</i>	However, we would fall asleep before
Jackfish Bay <i>goda i’imaa gii waan[?]</i>	too long ... over there at Jackfish Bay

naawangaang. (002B2D2012, 4) where there is a beach in the bay.

This *dadibaaJimowin* juxtaposes a powerful colonial tool – as the building blocks of the written text – and an *Anishinaabe* cultural device. Embodying the reality of contrasting ontologies, it suggests the ABCs and its writing system to have had little usefulness in *Anishinaabe* oral culture beyond putting children to sleep. At the same time, however, *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s mother was well aware of the importance of the English alphabet, having learned it at some point in her own childhood. *Dedibaayaanimanook* herself uses this *dadibaaJimowin* to maintain her cultural identity and confirm her attachment to specific places of home by evoking its constituent parts. The frozen bay, with the sand beneath, and early evenings in *Jiibayi Zaagiing* were particular segments denoting that the protection and freedom of the *Anishinaabe* lifeway were still essentially intact. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaaJimowin* is a record of a mother's competencies, assuring the children's safety, warmth, nutrition, training, and education throughout the severest months of the year.

With *dadibaaJimowin* taking on the role of preserving details about *Anishinaabe* land-based practices, the next narrative, "*E'michi Nisiyaang*" (with only the three of us), also originates from *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s childhood and gives an example of the kind of traditional ecological knowledge that helped to supply her family with fresh wild meat on a daily basis. Her narrative is as follows:

[A]siniin e'odakikowaaj... my mom [T]hey had stone pails ... my mom
e'inasookepan ... egii' nitaa dadibaa- would ... tell us special stories ...
jimotawinangij ako ... Gichi Jôj e'aya- when Gichi Jôj and I were small ... my

gaashiinzhiyaang...indede egii' maaj- father, they would leave
aawaaj noopimakamig e'izhaawaaj ... for the forests ...
Jiins...ningodôsogoniwaaj ... gaa'min- Jiins ... for six days ... we ate very
owiisiniyaang ... waaboozoog wiinge well ... the rabbits were very fat ...
egii' wawiininowaaj ... gookooko'oo- the owls would ... steal
gshgaye...gimoodagwewaaj...Indede from the snares ... My father would
ako binamaa... gaa' ô'gichi okik[a']. cut down large jack pines first.
 (016BD2010, 12)

Dedibaayaanimanook begins with the term *inasookepan*, alluding to a specific kind of *dadibaajimowin* and signaling that the narrative event took place during the winter.¹⁹ *Aadasookewin*, moreover, was part of a child's cultural training, instilling the concept of co-existence with other beings. The stone pails, for example, belong with the non-human people whose practices revolve around rocks, cliffs, water, avoidance of *Anishinaabeg*, and an apparent ability to defy the natural laws that govern human mortals. With the terms *ako* and *nitaa* (would, used to), *Dedibaayaanimanook* tells us that her mother repeated these narratives on an ongoing basis, underscoring the importance of instilling cultural teachings early. The *dadibaajimowin* also indicates that *Anishinaabe* ecological knowledge included the food chain and the preferences and eating habits of certain animals, that all were part of how *Anishinaabe* people were able to survive and eat well on the land.

¹⁹ This brief description about *aadasookewin* is not itself *aadasookewin* and therefore not a violation of the cultural proscription.

“*Jibwaa Baatiinowaaj*” (before there were so many) is the next *dadibaajimowin*. It demonstrates how people conceptualized and reacted to the arrival of *wemitigoozhiwag* and their way of thinking. Alluding to details of life during the late 1920s and early 1930s when she was a child, *Dedibaayaanimanook* narrates the following:

<i>Jibwaa baatiinowaaj ... Gii'wanii'</i>	Before there were so many ... They
<i>igewag isago...Ya'...Gaawnshwiin nii-</i>	continued to trap ... Yes [even in
<i>biwa'gii'ondizisiiwag...Aanshinaa gaa-</i>	summer] ... But they did not receive
<i>wiin wiin gegoon ogii'andawendanziin-</i>	much ... but then ... they did not really
<i>aawaa...Bakwezhiganan...waabishkib-</i>	need for anything ... Flour ... lard ...
<i>imide...eta ogii' miiijinaawaa...I don't</i>	was all that they ate [of <i>wemititgoozhi</i>
<i>know about ziinzibaakwad...dii sago;</i>	food] ... I don't know about sugar ...
<i>maawaj...asemaan. Miiwosha'i... Maa-</i>	tea, of course ... tobacco. That was all
<i>wajigo gaa'izhi zaagichigewaagwen me-</i>	... <i>Anishinaabe</i> people valued most a
<i>winzha Anishinaabeg...gaagii' onji izh-</i>	long time ago ... That was why they did
<i>ichigewaaj, ewii'onji ayaawaaj dii, ase-</i>	that, to obtain tea, tobacco ... Also
<i>maan...Gaawn gaye gegoon niibiwa' gii'</i>	because things were not too costly ... is
<i>inagindesinoon...gaye gaa' onji...wan-</i>	why they ... trapped
<i>nii'igewaaj e'niibininig gaye...more and</i>	during the summer as well ...
<i>more, biinish...gii'ani ayaawag...gegoon</i>	more and more, until ... they
<i>ogii'ani ayaanaawaan...Aazha maawiin</i>	began ... to acquire ... [many] things ...
<i>gakina apaneg...Anishinaabewitoowaaj,</i>	They are probably all gone now... the
<i>o'omaa godawiin giinawindinake gaa'</i>	practioners of <i>Anishinaabe</i> ways, at least
<i>izhi ayaayeng. (014AD2010, 22)</i>	here where we are.

When *wemitigoozhiwag* first arrived in large numbers, this *dadibaajimowin* demonstrates, families lived mainly as they had done in the past, trapping even when fur prices were low and seeking only a few *wemitigoozhi* goods. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* preferred to use what the land provided and to avoid the market economy because they helped to preserve their autonomy and self-sufficiency. However, this *dadibaajimowin* is also about a time of transition, as *wemitigoozhi* systems were rapidly supplanting the old ways. The more consumer goods that *Anishinaabe* people acquired, the more they seemed to need until they eventually displaced much of the customary ways of conceptualizing and producing life's necessities. Today, little is left of the ancestral traditions, and in the face of her solitude, *Dedibaayaanimanook* grieves for the old ways.

“*Egii’ Nigamoj*” reaches into the spiritual²⁰ dimension of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* thought. Recalling how her father explained his journey songs, *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses this *dadibaajimowin* to discuss the nature of a hunter's interactions with animal beings as follows:

[N]igamoj...egii’ inootawaaj ma’ii-	[H]e sang ... to honor the wolves ...
ngana’...Aya’ aawisha’... minising gii	The animals ... when he slept on an
nibaaj ... gaye, nimishoomis onigam-	island ... also my grandfather's songs
onan ... ogii’ miinigoon ji nigamoj...	... the ones he gave him to sing ...
indaadii gii maaajaaj...mii iniweniwan	whenever my father left ... he had those
nigamonan nimishoomis gaagii’ ayaa-	songs of my grandfather [?] ... “When
[?]... “Bizaanigo nishike ayaayan; in-	you are alone you are welcome to sing

²⁰ I am unaware of a *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* equivalent for the English word spiritual.

<i>goji ayizhidaay[?], bizaanigo giga ni-</i>	them; wherever you are on your
<i>gam ingoding.” ...[E] giizhiganinig</i>	journeys[?], go ahead and sing
<i>shgo gaye gii’ nigamo...[D]ew e’iga-</i>	sometimes.” ... [E]ven during the
<i>nan, gaagii’ ayaawaaj... gaa’ aabaj-</i>	daytime he would sing ... [T]he drum
<i>i’aaj e’ nigamoj e’ giizhiganinig...</i>	... That was the one he used when he
<i>Ingoding e’ babimaakoshing [gii]’</i>	sang during the day... Sometimes he
<i>nigamo...Aaniish wiin gaawn aad-</i>	sang while he was lying down ... as it
<i>asookewin. (012BD2011, 3-4)</i>	was not of the special narrative type.

Dedibaayaanimanook indicates that her father received a repertoire of songs with which to honor the animals. From his father *Jiimaan*, they had come with instructions to use with discretion and respect whenever he was on a journey alone. These *nigamonan* fulfilled several functions. Alone at night, perhaps on an island, he would be assured of protection whenever he sang them. Their spiritual power guided him through the animals’ domain and mediated his relationships with them. *Dedibaayaanimanook* contrasts the sacred songs with those he used as a form of relaxation, accompanying himself on a small drum (Figure 4.23). These were recreational in nature, with no restrictions as to who heard them or when their owner sang them. However, *Anishinaabe* protocol insisted no other person could perform them without permission.

Although they indicate incrementally larger caesurae in cultural content with each generation after *Dedibaayaanimanook*, the remaining narratives continue to enact the role of *dadibaaqimowin* to describe *Anishinaabe* traditional customs. They also express the speaker’s desire to mitigate cultural losses. *Gwiishkwa’oo* Eliza Angecone, eldest

surviving child of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s brother *Jiins* Charlie Angecone, uses her *dadibaaajimowin* to describe how she lived certain of the *Anishinaabe* traditional ways. Being a generation younger than her aunt, she alludes to the gaps in her learning that came as a result of boarding school attendance. *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s *dadibaaajimowin* is also a description of how she and her family adjusted to the circumstances that brought them increasing contact with *wemitigoozhiwag* as follows:

<i>Jiibayi Zaagiing ... gaa-izhi manoo-</i>	At <i>Jiibayi Zaagiing ...</i> where wild
<i>minikaagiban. Jiibayi Zaagiing odizh-</i>	rice once grew. They call it Ghost Bay
<i>inikaadaanaawaa ... Jackfish Bay...</i>	... Jackfish Bay ... We lived there a
<i>Mewinzha i'imaa ingii' izhidaamin...</i>	long time ago ...
<i>Gweyesh, Aayizag, Bejii Betsy King,</i>	<i>Gweyesh, Aayizag, Bejii Betsy King,</i>
<i>Jôjens, Ogin-gakina...gaa'abinoonjii-</i>	<i>Jôjens, Ogin – all</i>
<i>zhiwiyang...etago gaa' amwangidôko</i>	of us ... children ...
<i>maangwag, giigooy...wazhashwag.</i>	we ate only ... loon, fish ... muskrat.
<i>Gaawn niin wiikaa ingii'amôsii</i>	I never ate any myself [subdued
[laughs softly]... <i>Ogii' baaswôwaa' ...</i>	laughter] ... They would dry them ...
<i>amiish ezhi biindaabika'ôwaad...bag-</i>	and then cook them in the oven ... We
<i>ida'ômin...gaye maangwag niinawind</i>	set nets ... also loon,
<i>ako, Jennie Giizhig ... [B]abaamaakw-</i>	we, Jennie <i>Giizhig ...</i> [W]e went
<i>agomoyaang...Jôjens ako e'[/?]maang-</i>	canoeing ... when <i>Jôjens</i> would [?]
<i>wa'...gii'ani ziigwang...ani biboong...</i>	loons ... during early spring ... toward
<i>dibi miina gaagii'izhaawaang[/?]...</i>	late fall ... I'm not sure where else we
<i>Gaawn ingikendanziin aapiji i'iwe ...</i>	went[/?] ... I do not know much about

we were about 8 years old <i>indinendam</i>	that ... I think we were about 8 years
... <i>Gaawn ingii'gikendanziimin ji nitaa</i>	old ... We did not know how to
<i>bimaakogomoyaang</i> ...[gestures] <i>ingii'</i>	paddle... [gestures] we swung it
<i>izhiweba'aamin</i> [laughter]... <i>Amiish</i>	around this way [laughter] ... And
<i>ganabaj i'iwedi gii'ani izhaayaang,</i>	then, I think, we made our way to
Vermilion Bay... <i>Jôjens, gaa'baatiino-</i>	Vermilion Bay ... <i>Jôjens</i> , the ones with
<i>wag... onjiiyaang Namegosibiing.</i>	the large family...we came from Trout
<i>Ingii' bimaakogomomin</i> ...Red Lake...	Lake. We canoed ... until ... Red Lake
Vermilion Bay... <i>Jiims James Keesick</i>	...Vermilion Bay... <i>Jiims James</i>
... <i>Gabe biboon gii' wanii'igewaad</i>	Keesick ... they trapped all winter ...
... <i>Ingii' nitaa wijiwwa ako Ja'iinsi</i>	I used to accompany <i>Ja'iinsi</i> ... to set
... <i>e'agoodood[?]naadagood...izhi</i>	rabbit snares ... where they spent the
<i>biboonishiwaad.</i> (013AG2013, 2)	winter.

Recollections of travel with family and relatives throughout the *Namegosibiing-Wanamani Zaa'iganing* (Trout Lake-Red Lake) regions begin where they customarily inaugurated the winter trapping and hunting season, *Jiibayi Zaagiing*. By using the ancestral name instead of Jackfish Bay, she maintains the record of *Anishinaabe* presence in *Namegosibiing*. Original place names function to retain memory about the significant historical events associated with those locations. *Gwiishkwa'oo's manoominikaagiban* remark is probably a reference to the wild rice that a Pikangikum friend planted during the 1980s. Important for genealogical purposes are the names she provides of family

members and relatives, most of whom are now deceased.²¹ *Gweyesh* was her aunt and *Aayizag*, *Bejii* Betsy King, *Jôjens*, *Ja'iinsi*, *Ogin*, and *Minôte* were her first and second cousins.

This *dadibaaJimowin* indicates that families were still one another's neighbours, fellow hunters and fishers, traveling and dining companions, co-workers, and friends who supported and assisted each other. *Gwiishkwa'oo* explains, for example, that she learned how to snare rabbits from her cousin *Ja'iinsi* during their stay in Vermilion Bay. The two families continued to travel, hunt, and trap synchronously with the seasons. However, they found it necessary to modify the routes of *Namegosibii aanikoobidaaganag* and their schedules and activities to circumvent *wemitigoozhiwag*. To illustrate, they spent at least one winter in the regions southwest of *Namegosibiing*, as far away as Vermilion Bay where Highway 105 of today meets the Trans Canada Highway, rather than in *Namegosibiing* and areas to the north as the *Giizhig* ancestors had done. These alterations coincided with the travel routes of *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s paternal grandmother's people, the Otcheechackkeepetangs of the late 19th century treaty pay lists who had relocated from *Biingaaanjigamiing* to the Gullrock regions south of Red Lake (see Chapter 5). Her father may have wished make the most of less than ideal circumstances by re-tracing portions of his maternal ancestors' voyages across the homelands.

Important to note is the fragmentary nature of *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s recollections. She may not have had the opportunity to re-visit and re-live the events and places of her childhood experiences either conversationally or through visits due to the disruptions of residential schooling and other *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* impacts. The journey she

²¹ As of this date (April, 2016), *Minôte* and *Ogin* are both living.

discusses may have taken place only once, or perhaps other events in her life suppressed or diminished her memories. One of my own childhood recollections of *Gwiishkwa'oo* and her family was their abrupt departure each autumn when the shorelines had turned to ice and *mitigoog's* branches were bare. Having no experience of my own with the seasonal travels of *aanikoobidaaganag*, I failed to understand that my cousin and her family were following one of the most culturally defining, physically demanding of the ancestral customs.

Gwiishkwa'oo's dadibaaJimowin contains indirect references to *wemitogoozhiiyaadiziwin*. She mentions, for example, that it was *Ja'iinsi* who taught her how to catch and skin rabbits. In more traditional times she would have learned the skill from her mother, aunt, or grandmother rather than a second cousin. It is also worth noting that the latecomers' intrusions into the homelands and interference with traditional activities included provincial game wardens who monitored the *Anishinaabe* people's activities across the ancestral landscape. It was a time when customary economies were becoming increasingly unsustainable and irrelevant in the face of market economics. When *Anishinaabe* people persisted with the cultural ways of *aanikoobidaaganag* wherever and however they could, local members of dominant society disparaged them as the underprivileged and destitute.

Gwiishkwa'oo's next *dadibaaJimowin* describes several customs related to the work, implements, spiritual principles, and values associated with a successful moose hunt. Although she was able to watch her mother working, she herself had little opportunity to participate directly in many of the activities for reasons she does not directly define. Her *dadibaaJimowin* is as follows:

It's a big bone...*Gaasha'igaade dash* It's a big bone ... And it was
... *izhi agonjimaawaad nibiing...agon-* sharpened ... they would soak it in
jimaawaa...Nimaamaa gii' nitaa izhi- water ... it is called ... My mother used
chige. Ingii' ganawaabamaa... [?]/wii- to do that. I would watch her ... [?]
yaas gaa onjiig...amii' imaa gaa' onji where the meat came from ... and that
ashamaawaaj animosha'–gegoon isa- was where they got what they fed the
go ogii' atoonaawaa[?]/ wiisagiman- dogs – they would add something [?]
oomin...wiiyaas ...gaawn gegoon ogii' rolled oats ... meat ... *Anishinaabe*
webinanziinaawaa Anishinaabeg. Wii- people did not throw anything away.
ngesago gakina gegoon ogii' aabajit- They used absolutely everything ...
oonaawaan...Egii' agoodoowaad gaye And they also hung ... something... on
...*mitigong gegoo... jiigew...Makwa* a tree ... by the water's edge ... And
gaye gii nisaawaad...Gaawn gegoon also when they killed a bear ... They did
ogii' webinanzhiinaawaa...Namanjisa not throw anything away ... I do not
wiin gaa' doodamowaagwen wiiyaas know what they did with the meat ...
...*Ribbons ...ogii' agoonaawaa' jii-* They hung ribbons ... along the
gew, gaa izhi neyaashiiwang ... blue, shoreline on
black, yellow – *gakina sago...mitigong* a point of land ... blue, black, yellow –
...*wegodogwen i' imaa ogii' atoonaaw-* all colors ... on a tree ... they placed
aa...makwa...gaagii' agoodoowaaj. something there ... for a bear ... what
Ingii' anoonigoomin goda ji izhichi- they hung. We were requested, of
geyaang. Amiish iko gaawn ingii' gag- course, to do the same thing. I would
wedwesii...gaawonji izhichiged ... not ask ... why people did

Anishinaabeg. (013AG2013, 5) that.

Gwiishkwa'oo remembers seeing the implement her mother used for animal skins. Winter being the best season for such work, her mother submerged the moose hide beneath the ice, a procedure she refers to as *agwanjimaawaa* (soaks it in water). Preparing a moose hide using the old technique was extremely laborious, requiring strength and the ability to work in frigid conditions for best results. *Gwiishkwa'oo* suggests that people kept certain parts of a carcass for the dogs to symbolically recognize their role in the family's wellbeing. Her *dadibaajimowin* demonstrates the regard people had for an animal's gift and the care with which they used it. For example, they placed specific parts, such as a moose's dewlap, near the shoreline as a type of offering. They also displayed ribbons from tree branches to signify (the location of) a successful hunt and what it represented.

Gwiishkwa'oo's dadibaajimowin tells us that parents instructed their children to always follow these practices. However, when she was absent, either attending boarding school or working for wages, she lost learning opportunities that normally constituted a child's acquisition of cultural values, principles, practices, and sense of belonging.

Gwiishkwa'oo was unable to gain certain knowledge for herself, but she understood and respected the teaching that prohibited her from asking certain questions.

In her final narrative, *Gwiishkwa'oo* uses *dadibaajimowin* to show how strongly motivated she was to make amends for the cultural losses of her youth. Her narrative about returning to the ancestral homelands itself becomes a means of reinforcement in her pursuit of cultural identity. *Gwiishkwa'oo* describes her visit as follows:

Baamaash...bimaajaayaan...1997... It was later ... in 1997 ... I went to

Trout Lake... <i>ingii' wijiwaa i'iwedi</i>	Trout Lake ... with Charlie when he
Charlie <i>wanii' iged</i> ...four years... <i>Am-</i>	trapped ... four years ... That was where
<i>ii' imaa baangii gaa' onji gikendamaan</i>	I started to learn a few things ... I never
<i>gegoon...Gaawn...wiikaa ingii' waa-</i>	actually saw my father
<i>bamaasii indede ji wanii' iged...Bakw-</i>	trapping ... Skinning an
<i>anaad...Ingikenimaa gaye ge inzhag</i>	animal ... And [now] I know how to
<i>amik. Gaawn wiikaa indede ingii' izh-</i>	skin a beaver. My father never took me
<i>iwinigosis ji wanii' igeyaan...gii' ikido-</i>	with him to trap ... <i>Anishinaabe</i> people
<i>wag i' iwe, Anishinaabeg...gii' gichi ik-</i>	said ... that ... when a girl became a
<i>wewid ikwe...gaawiin i' iwe ji izhich-</i>	young woman ... they should not take
<i>igesig...Bakaan gewiinawaa... ingii'</i>	part in those activities ... There were
<i>izhi bagidinigoosiimin ji izhichigey-</i>	other things for them ... we were not
<i>aang. (013AG2013, 4)</i>	allowed to do those things.

When *Gwiishkwa'oo* mentions that she was never on a trap line with either her father or male siblings, she alludes to a particular set of teachings. *Anishinaabe* customs required certain members of the family to refrain from specific activities and situations once a young girl reached puberty. Instead, girls learned skills that prepared them for adulthood from their mothers, aunts, grandmothers, etc. If their female mentors had knowledge associated with trapping and hunting – as they often did – it was they who taught them. However, *Gwiishkwa'oo* intimates, *wemitigoozhi* activities interfered with the traditional teachings that were her birthright. Evident from this narrative, families found individualized ways of responding to evolving and shifting circumstances. In

Gwiishkwa'oo's case, it was much later in life when she learned to prepare a beaver pelt. Had people of *Gwiishkwa'oo's* generation been able to live in accordance with the teachings of *aanikoobidaaganag*, they too would have had opportunities to achieve advanced levels of learning in any number of disciplines, as one relative, *Baswewe* (Figure 2.12), had done in the field of medicine (Agger, 2008). With the community intact, they would have acquired the skills and knowledge necessary to contribute toward its wellbeing.

Oo'oons John Paul Kejick's *dadibaajimowin* draws our attention to the erasures of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's physical presence in the homelands. Of the same generation as *Gwiishkwa'oo*, he indicates that his memories of firsthand experiences living in *Namegosibiing* in accordance with the ancestors' customs are, in fact, non-existent. His parents, *Naakojiiz* and *Gikinô'amaagewinini*, had already left *Namegosibiing* before his birth. *Oo'oons* remembers the modifications in how family members living in the outskirts of Red Lake – referred to by the latecomers of the day as Tomahawk Village – engaged with certain of the ancestors' land-based way of life.

<i>[M]oonzoon egii' nisaawaad...</i>	<i>[W]hen they killed a moose ...cut up</i>
<i>baanizhaawed...Biindig...ogii' michi</i>	<i>the meat ... She just hung it indoors ...</i>
<i>agoodoon...ji baatenig...mashkimo-</i>	<i>to dry ... Then ... in a bag ... I think, in</i>
<i>ding...pillow case ganabaj...baabii-</i>	<i>a pillow case ... she put it ... then she</i>
<i>na'ang...gaa' izhi anoozhid...michi-</i>	<i>would ask me ... when</i>
<i>sag gii' atood [stamping his foot]...</i>	<i>she put it on the floor [stamping his</i>
<i>[laughter]...wiinge gii'bigishkaa ba-</i>	<i>foot] ... [laughter] ... it was in tiny bits</i>
<i>kite'amowaad...ezhi maamikawiy-</i>	<i>...when they pounded it...as I recall ...</i>

aan...ozhitoowaad bimide.

when they made rendered fat.

(004ADO2012, 2)

Although the events about which *Oo'oons* speaks occurred when his parents had already moved to Red Lake, his family continued to eat moose meat. However, with limited outdoor spaces, people needed to improvise by drying the meat indoors and using a pillowcase to make *nooka'igan* (pounded dried meat). This *dadibaaJimowin* indicates the *Anishinaabe* people's ongoing preference for maintaining their *Anishinaabe* cultural identity by what they ate. *Oo'oons*'s chuckle is about recalling his *nooka'igan* dance, but it also seems to allude to what the latecomers must have thought of his family and their unconventional ways of living.

Another *dadibaaJimowin* relates to how people persisted with a longstanding practice that played a crucial and prominent role in the landscape of identity discourse. Discussing the *odoodemiwin* custom, *Oo'oons* provides a glimpse of how *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people conceptualized their identity as members of the *Anishinaabe* nation. *Oo'oons*'s mother had explained *odoodemiwin* to him, but he is still left with questions. His *dadibaaJimowin* is as follows:

<i>[?]shimaa gaagii' onjisemagak iniwe-</i>	<i>[?]where it originated ... those ...</i>
<i>niwan ... Anishinaabewaya'iin... mew-</i>	<i>Anishinaabe practices ... of a long time</i>
<i>inzhago ...gaagii'omaamaayaan...Naa-</i>	<i>ago ... my mother ...</i>
<i>kojiiz ... ingii' dadibaaJimogoo...Anish-</i>	<i>Naakojiiz, used to tell me about ...</i>
<i>inaabe ichigewin...odoodem...bebakaan</i>	<i>Anishinaabe customs ... odoodem ...</i>
<i>aaniish...aya'aawishan...Gonigesh gak-</i>	<i>obviously, there were different ...</i>

<i>ina awiya Anishinaabeg...od oodemiw-</i>	animals ...I wonder if all <i>Anishinaabe</i>
<i>ag...gaagii' onjiiwaad... bebakaan ish-</i>	people ...have an <i>odoodem</i> ... those
<i>koniganing? Gonigesh wiinawaa inakey</i>	from various places ...various reserves?
<i>ikidowag...e' odoodemiwaad aya'-</i>	Do they too speak in those terms ... that
<i>aawishan? (001BDO2012, 3)</i>	their totem is an animal?

Reflecting on the fundamental gaps in his knowledge, *Oo'oons* ponders the nature and origins of *odoodemiwin* and whether all *Anishinaabe* communities including other reserves still have such traditions. His specific mention of reserves indicates the point of view of an off-reserve treaty *Anishinaabe*, intimating awareness of the differential effects of the treaty on each community. Whether animals represented other people and whether totems were in fact restricted to certain animal species may seem like rhetorical questions, but they are basic and fundamental for *Oo'oons*. As with *Gwiishkwa'oo* and many others, *Oo'oons* would have had this kind of knowledge and been able to pass it on to the next generations if the community and its cultural practices had remained intact. This *dadibaaqimowin* is not only about the discontinuities resulting from external disruptions, it is also about a strong desire to retrieve lost knowledges.

There are times when *dadibaaqimowin* alludes to certain details about relationships and roles within the family unit. Martha Angecone Fiddler, daughter of *Aayizag* Isaac Angecone, for example, indicates that she enjoyed a close, affectionate affiliation with her paternal grandmother. Approximately half a generation younger than *Gwiishkwa'oo* and *Oo'oons*, Martha was born and spent much of her early childhood in *Namegosibiing*. She did not participate in *Anishinaabe* cultural practices such as travels across the

homelands that are the contexts of *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s childhood *dadibaaJimowin*, however. Being of the same cohort as *Gwiishkwa'oo*, Martha's parents worked at a tourist camp in *Namegosibiing* throughout her infancy and early childhood. The dominant economic system had forced them to set aside the travel customs of *aanikoobidaaganag*. In the following *dadibaaJimowin*, we learn how people continued with certain cultural practices, such as nurturing the close grandchild-grandparent relationship that typified the family dynamic:

<i>Ingii' zaagi'ig ... Wiin ... ingii' ...</i>	She loved me ... she ... was the
<i>dakobidaawas[?]on ... ingii' odaapinig</i>	one who ... cradleboard [?] ... she
<i>... Eshkam i'iwedi ingii' nibaa ... Gii'-</i>	delivered me ... I would sleep there at
<i>nitaa giizhidebooni[?] ... cake ... amiish</i>	times ... She would bake [?] ... cake
<i>i'iwedi aapiji wii' izhaayaan, onzaam e'</i>	...and that is where I would especially
<i>nitaa giizhide[?] sweet stuff [laughter]</i>	want to go, because she baked[?]
<i>... Ingii' wiipemaa gaye ... moonzhag ...</i>	sweet stuff [laughter] ... I also slept at
<i>[E]' ... bimaakoshinoyaang... agwajjing</i>	her place ... often... [W]hen ... we
<i>... gewiin osha ... ogii' waabandaan ...</i>	were laying in bed ... outside ... she
She covered me up ... She went and	too ... saw it ... She covered me up
locked the doors. (007AM2012, 1)	... She went and locked the doors.

In accordance with the roles and responsibilities that *Anishinaabe* grandmothers fulfilled within the family, Martha's grandmother *Gweyesh* delivered her and placed her in a *dakinaagan*. *Gweyesh*'s care included provision of the cultural teachings, values, and beliefs in which she herself was so well grounded. Foremost of these was the

Anishinaabemowin language. Martha clearly enjoyed being with her grandmother while her parents worked, frequently staying the night. Important to note is the minimality of her words, “*agwajiing ... gewiin osha ... ogii’ waabandaan*,” to describe what she and her grandmother had experienced one evening. *Amanisowin* is a strong feature of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* cultural thought and practice, and consistent with traditional protocol, Martha provides no detailed information about the experience in order to avoid the risk of its recurrence.

Also significant is Martha’s use of both *Anishinaabemowin* and English. The ease with which she is able to code switch and move between two ontological systems of thought is indicative of the efficacy of her grandmother’s influence over and above boarding school’s impositions. Many *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* of her parents’ generation who attended school returned with an acquired belief in the irrelevance of *Anishinaabe* cultural traditions. Hence, it was often grandparents who taught children to value and learn heritage languages and teachings.

Born in the mid-1970s, Riel Olsen is much younger than *Gwiishkwa’oo* and *Oo’oons* and almost half a generation younger than Martha. He had little or no exposure to *Anishinaabemowin* usage during his childhood and youth, unlike Martha. He therefore speaks his *dadibaajimowin* only in English, describing the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* customs he came to know as one of *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s urban raised grandchildren. Although he spent brief periods of his childhood in the ancestral homelands, his comments suggest a sense of regret in not having the language proficiency that equips speakers with an in-depth understanding of *Anishinaabe* cultural thought. Riel discusses his relationship with *Namegosibiing* and his *Anishinaabe* relatives as follows:

For awhile ... me and him [his uncle, Harald] worked ... together as guides in the summer ... in the winter ... we'd spend a lot of the time in Trout Lake ... It's not like we had ... any specific ... plans out there ... We just ... subsisted off the land ... [he] taught me how to set a net ... fishes ... did a little bit of hunting ... Unfortunately now he's gone. I wished I learned a lot more ... We went all over the place ... He did tell me a lot about that stuff [place names, significances of places] ... Over the years ... Now that I look back on it, it seems like ... I either didn't ask enough questions or just simply wasn't taught a lot about ... the land ... and my connection to it and stuff like that. (001AR2013, 1)

When Riel lived with his maternal uncle, Harald, and learned about the land, he was a youth barely into his 20s. His sole language being English, he speaks of the dearth of cultural content in his *dadibaajimowin* that may have been partly due to the fact that conversations with his uncle were in English. Also, several years have gone by since the events of Harald's passing. With many senior members no longer among us, diminishing numbers are *Anishinaabemowin* speakers. Hence, Riel has had few opportunities to continue from where his uncle's mentorship ceased.

Equally as apparent, however, is Riel's profound appreciation for his *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* heritage. Although he believes he did not secure sufficient cultural content during his internship with Harald, the time he spent learning about hunting and fishing is a part of his cultural inheritance. The traditional responsibility of providing a younger member of the family with guidance was a means for preserving cultural identity across the generations that made it possible for Riel to acquire a measure of experiential

knowledge and to deepen his relationship with the homelands. His uncle's companionship and willingness to engage in the custom with Riel underpin his *dadibaaqimowin* that becomes an essential component of his *Anishinaabe* identity.

These shared narratives function through their use and content, bringing several aspects of cultural identity into this study. *Dadibaaqimowin* suggests, for example, that relationships and interactions grounded in personal and spiritual relatedness were key components of that identity and were centered around the land-based circumstances and situations of *wanii'igewin*, hunting, and traveling. However, this portrayal of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* cultural identity is by no means complete. There are no male participants, for example, who were lifelong practitioners of the trapping tradition to speak directly and specifically from a trap line frame of reference. We may never hear *Namegosibii Anishinaabe dadibaaqimowin* based on such experiences because, as *Dedibaayaanimanook* has frequently noted, those individuals have all passed.

Participants discuss other important elements of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* cultural lifeway. For example, seasonal travels that took entire families across vast distances of the homeland territories were re-enactments of a land-based sense of identity that *Anishinaabe* people performed in regular and cyclical patterns. From an outsider's perspective, they may have appeared nomadic and random, but *dadibaaqimowin* suggests considerable consistency in how they organized their travels. The narratives also intimate the notion of travel itself to have been fundamental to *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* cultural thought, in contrast to settlement and its tendencies toward (over-)consumption and material accumulation. In addition, *dadibaaqimowin* shows these customs to have served more than one function. Hanging a dewlap, for example, honoured the animal's gift at the

same time it communicated the hunter's presence in the vicinity and the nature of his/her activities in a manner that did not deface the environment. It was a suitable form of *gikinawaajichigewin*.²²

Although *dadibaaajimowin* across each generation indicates decreasing ability among *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* to continue with ancestral practices, some narratives do not directly specify the underlying reasons for these shifts. There are those that identify the growing dependence on *wemitigoozhi* foods and other basics that diminished their land-based identity. Others allude to the political-economic contexts of increasing *wemitigoozhi* permeation into the homelands. Individual and family roles and ways of everyday living began increasingly to resemble those of the *wemitigoozhi*, as Martha's *dadibaaajimowin* suggests with her parents' pursuit of wage labour and the consequent settlement effect that permanency of their residence.

However, *dadibaaajimowin* also speaks of continuities. *Anishinaabe* people to this day, for example, persist with the use of traditional foods such as moose meat and fish whenever possible, and when they feast they offer food to *aanikoobidaaganag*. As well, senior elders are still among us whose narrative voices speak from firsthand experience about protocols for proper relationships with the animal beings and about the special songs hunters and trappers sang to maintain these affiliations. Some speakers know and understand the symbolic meaning of names and remember the actual places where *aanikoobidaaganag* lived and journeyed. To illustrate, elders continue to refer to the Cat Island of today's younger generations as *Bizhiwi Minis* (Lynx Island) and see no logic in naming a place after a domesticated species when *bizhiw* was a stridently independent

²² I am grateful to *Anishinaabemowin* expert Roger Roulette for explaining this term.

animal who played an important role in the *Anishinaabe* cultural, spiritual, and physical landscape. The enactment of *dadibaaqimowin* as a practice continues to be a powerful way to understand, facilitate, and generationally transmit *Anishinaabe* cultural identity. This is especially true when *dadibaaqimowin* speaks from *Anishinaabemowin* ontologies.

The final narration that illustrates key components of cultural identity focuses on the characteristics of *dadibaaqimowin* itself. Alluding to how it contrasts with textuality, *Dedibaayaanimanook* contemplates the oral tradition as a fundamentality of *Anishinaabe* thought, suggesting the reasons for its exceptionality. Her observations are as follows:

<i>Gii'michi maamikawiwag. Gaawn</i>	They only remembered. No one ever
<i>wiikaa awiya ogii'ozhibii'anziin ...</i>	wrote things down ... what was said ...
<i>aaniin ekidong ... Nashke gaa-gii' dib-</i>	Take for example, my story I told, I did
<i>aajimoyaan my story, gaawn gegoon</i>	not write anything
<i>ingii' ozhibii'anziin ... miigo yetago ni</i>	down ... I relied only on my
<i>maamikawi[?]ziwin gaagii' ozhitoo-</i>	memory[?] for my work ... The old
<i>yaan ... Wiinge gichi inendaagwan gete</i>	narratives are still held in very high
<i>dibaaqimowin. (018AD2010, 2)</i>	regard.

Expressing her understanding as a senior elder of the community, *Dedibaayaanimanook* compares the orality of her role in a biographical work in the *izhibii'igewin* custom. The written system and its underlying structures, she muses, produce and reinforce dependence on text for information acquisition, retention, and transmission. Use of *dadibaaqimowin*, in contrast, necessitates the cultivation and maintenance of memory. Depending on an active and immediate speaker-listener relationship for functionality,

Dedibaayaanimanook intimates, the value of *dadibaajimowin* in *Anishinaabe* cultural survival lies not only in its content but also in its demand for and reproduction of relationship, proximity (that is, within hearing distance), and community. She suggests that *gete dadibaajimowin* represents the highest order of knowledge in the oral tradition and is of the greatest value. Each enactment of *dadibaajimowin* reinvigorates the honoured practice of gathering and celebrating the lifelong remembrances of the community's elders. With every *Anishinaabe* community having a unique set of customary narratives, *dadibaajimowin* is foundational to its identity as a cultural entity.

4.3 *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*: *Anishinaabe*-Embedded Identity

In this research, I use the term *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* as the essence of *Anishinaabe* thinking, acting, and being, in the same way McLeod (2000) uses the term *Nēhiyēwiwin* for Creeness. As a concept, it shows how *Anishinaabe* people define and characterize themselves. Examining the *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* notion linguistically, the root *aadizi* refers to being a certain way. Addition of the *-win* suffix forms the noun segment *(in)aadiziwin*, a state of being a particular way. Hence, *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* refers the state of being *Anishinaabe* and becomes a useful device for organizing the investigation of *aweneniwiweng* as *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Furthermore, *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* lends itself to an investigation of the contrastive *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, thus becoming a means for examining colonialism and its effects on *Anishinaabe* identity from an *Anishinaabe* frame of reference.

Dadibaajimowin shows how people conceptualize and portray who they are as *Anishinaabeg*. When, for example, *wemitigoozhiwag* began to arrive in greater numbers

in the homelands, people increasingly consciously saw themselves as the *Anishinaabeg*, people with customs, philosophies, principles, cultural values, and spirituality – not to mention appearances – that were distinct to themselves. People also regarded themselves to be of *Namegosibiing*, kin of neighboring communities, members of the greater *Anishinaabe* nation, and associates of Indigenous peoples throughout the world. The contexts and conditions of these groupings are what influence how people understand, conceptualize, and articulate their *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*, that is, their identity as *Anishinaabeg*.

Namegosibii dadibaajimowin suggests a strict, locally derived meaning for *Anishinaabe* as the people of the *Namegosibiing* territory who trace their lineage to *Giizhig*. Elder-participant *Oo'oons* John Paul Kejick, for example, refers to his relatives by the term “*gakina Giizhigoog*,” all of the *Giizhig*-descended people. In a conversation with *Dedibaayaanimanook*, he comments as follows:

<i>Mii maawiin i'i bezhigwan ... Jiiyaan,</i>	That is perhaps the same...totem
<i>iniweniwan gaagii' odoodemid adikwan.</i>	that <i>Jiiyaan</i> had, the caribou. And that
<i>Amiish i'ima' gakina Giizhigoog gaa-</i>	is where all the <i>Giizhig</i> -descended
<i>gii' onji odoodemiwaad adikwan.</i>	people acquired the caribou totem.

(011BDO2012, 1)

Oo'oons's understanding is that he shares totemic kinship relationships with other *Giizhigoog* as a result of being descended from *Giizhig*. This commonality is the basis of the *Giizhig-Namegosibiing*, community-land, connection to which *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin* frequently refers (Agger, 2008). Hence, one

interpretation of *Anishinaabe* defines the *Anishinaabe* people to be those who share the *Giizhig* genetic factor of the *Namegosibiing* patriarch. Signifying the ability to speak from an *Anishinaabe* ontological frame of reference, furthermore, the use of *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* becomes an important, although not exclusive, feature of what it means to be *Anishinaabe*. *Oo'oons* fortifies his own *Anishinaabe* identity through his ability to express *Anishinaabe* thought in the *Anishinaabemowin* language.

Oo'oons's younger sibling *Niinzhoode* Wilfred immediately and unequivocally speaks his *Anishinaabe* identity by introducing himself with his *Anishinaabe* name and identifying it as such. As with *Oo'oons*, *Gwiishkwa'oo*, *Dedibaayaanimanook*, and Martha Fiddler Angecone, *Niinzhoode* speaks from an *Anishinaabe* perspective through the use of his heritage language. He states the following:

<i>Niinzhoode ... Anishinaabe</i>	<i>Niinzhoode ... is my Anishinaabe</i>
[winikaaz] ... Gaawn wiin aapiji ingii'	[name] ... I was not [in
ayaasii [Namegosibiing] ... [?]onji	<i>Namegosibiing</i>] for very long... I was
intaawig[?] Sioux Lookout ... [?]Sandy	born ... Sioux Lookout ... there is,
Beach [?] i'imaate ... [?] a long time	over there near (?) Sandy Beach ...
ago ... gete ya'ii ... [amii' imaa ayaa]	long ago ... an old place ... my late
indedeban, nimaamaaban ... Paul ...	father, my late mother ... Paul ...
<i>Gikinô'amaagewinini ... Naakojiiz.</i>	<i>Gikinô'amaagewinini ... Naakojiiz.</i>

(003A2012, 2)

Niinzhoode Wilfred, too, confirms his *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity when he states that his father was *Gikinô'amaagewinini* Paul Kejick, whom *dadibaajimowin* testifies to

have been a grandson of patriarch *Giizhig*, and that his mother was *Naakojiiz*. By affirming his ancestral connection to *Namegosibiing* and speaking in *Anishinaabemowin*, he anchors his identity to the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community and homelands. He also uses the phrase *gete ya 'ii* to indicate his knowledge about the old *Namegosibiing* narratives (and) about places and their associated events that are of physical, spiritual, ceremonial, and social significance for him as a member of the community. Undoubtedly he acquired this *gete ya 'ii* knowledge from parents, grandparents, and personal experiences as a guide working²³ in *Namegosibiing* and through conversations with fellow *Anishinaabeg*. *Niinzhooode*'s knowledge about sacred places, therefore, includes the traditional cemetery of the *aanikoobidaaganag*, close to where a tourist camp is now situated (see Figures 1.6 and 1.7). *Niinzhooode* affirms that his *Anishinaabe* identity is grounded in *Namegosibiing*.

William King expresses his *Anishinaabe* identity by mentioning *Namegosibiing* to be the place where he spent time trapping with his family. Although proficient with *Anishinaabemowin*, he uses it sparingly in the following:

William King ... <i>gaawn</i> ...	William King ... do not ...
Balmertown ... <i>ganabaj</i> ... seven or	Balmertown ... [I was] perhaps around
eight ... Mackintosh ... <i>gaawn aapiji</i>	seven or eight ... [at] Mackintosh ... [I
[<i>nimaami kawisii</i>] ... once in awhile	do not remember] very much ... once
[<i>wanii'ige Namegosibiing</i>] ...	in awhile [we trapped in Trout Lake]

²³ Over the past 70 years, many *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* men and women worked as guides, dock hands, waiters, cook's helpers and dish washers, laundry and maintenance staff, etc., along with *Anishinaabe* people from other communities, at the hunting and fishing lodges in *Namegosibiing*.

ingoding ... Trout Lake Lodge

... at times ... Trout Lake Lodge.

(003AKK2012, 1)

By stating his last name, William indicates that he derives his *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* lineage through his mother *Bejii* Betsy King, *Giizhig*'s great-granddaughter who married *Bezhigoobines* Frank King of *Biigaanjigamiing* (Pikangikum). His memories about life in *Namegosibiing* are fragmented, as *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s and *Oo'oons*'s often are. Despite all of the *wemitigoozhi* interruptions, including residential schooling and prolonged periods of socio-economic hardship, his parents continued to trap, hunt, and fish in *Namegosibiing* when he was a child. William alludes to knowledge about the homelands that he acquired from his parents, his childhood years, and having spent many summers on the lake as a fishing and hunting guide. Evident is that he regards himself to be *Anishinaabe* and specifically a *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* by virtue of his lineage, experiential knowledge, and choice of work location, although he points out that he only has an English name.

It is important to note that if William's *dadibaaJimowin* does not seem to establish his *Namegosibii* heritage as forthrightly as the others, the silence may have to do with the ramifications of how Treaty 3 demarcated and defined each community. William's father became a part of the *Giizhigoog* community when he married *Bejii* and moved to *Namegosibiing*. However, the state differentiated him as a member of Treaty 5 territory, insisting he still belonged to *Biigaanjigamiing*. That reasoning carried over to William and his siblings, with the result that they could not gain access to their land-based inheritance, the right to hunt, fish, and live in *Namegosibiing*. Members of the King

family had to adjust to the longstanding unjustness of how bureaucratic decisions render identities ambiguous. It is understandable that William neither explicitly proclaims his connections to *Namgosibiing* nor denies his *Giizhig* heritage.

Dadibaaqimowin thus intimates that at the first and most basic level, the term *Anishinaabe* applies to the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community. By indicating their connection to *Namegosibiing* through their *Anishinaabe* ancestor *Giizhig*, articulating certain *Anishinaabe* customs that identify traditional names, describing their visits and activities in *Namegosibiing*, and using *Anishinaabemowin* wherever possible, narrators demonstrate that they themselves are *Anishinaabe* people.

Participant narratives also show that *Anishinaabe* expands to the *Anishinaabe* people's sense of identity with neighboring communities that derives from historical and ongoing interactions. William King's *dadibaaqimowin* (above) alludes to such a relationship. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* also maintained a close association with the *Obizhigokaang* community of Lac Seul. Although she is from *Namegosibiing*, for example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* states the following:

<i>Nashke niinawind, gaa-gii'</i>	Take us, for example, in terms of our
<i>onjiyaang ... Obizhigokaaw</i>	place of origin [Trout Lake] ... We
<i>Anishinaabeg ingii' izhinikaazomin.</i>	were known as <i>Obizhigokaang</i> Lac
(009AD2013, 3)	Seul people.

Dedibaayaanimanook's phrase *ingii' izhinikaazomin* is a reference to the manner in which Treaty 3 pay lists subsumed the *Namegosibiing* community within Lac Seul, reflecting the historical ties between the two communities. Through the treaty

mechanism, Canada regarded *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* to be part of Lac Seul, as it did the *Anishinaabeg* of Sturgeon Lake, although this is not to suggest that Canada spent much time contemplating *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* herself attended Treaty Time in *Obizhigokaang* with her parents and relatives to collect treaty payments. She states the following:

<i>Obizhigokaang gii' dazhi diba'</i>	Treaty Time took place in Lac Seul
<i>amaadim treaty ... "Zooniyaa ogimaa</i>	... that is what they meant when they
<i>gii' dagoshin," gaa' idamowaaj.</i>	said, "The money boss has arrived."
(011BDO2012, 3)	

The time frame for the elders' *dadibaajimowin*, however, pre-dates the 1874 adhesion to Treaty No. 3. Based on *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* knowledge of the physical characteristics that included the directional flow of rivers and creeks across the homeland regions, in addition to the travel customs of *aanikoobidaaganag* that both Butikofer (2009) and the Hudson's Bay Company records mention/allude to, it becomes evident that their practice of seasonal journeys to *Obizhigokaang* already existed in 1874.²⁴ The temporal context of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* *dadibaajimowin* about the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's association with *Obizhigokaang* thus extends beyond the *wemitigoozhi* treaty.

Interestingly, *Dedibaayaanimanook's* *dadibaajimowin* clearly shows that *Obizhigokaang* and other communities identified the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* as a

²⁴ Chapter 4 explains the precise means by which the people's knowledge about the land relates to the treaty's terms.

unique and separate group in the following:

<i>Oshekamigaawinini ... niinzhwayag</i>	The Man from the Height of Land ...
<i>geyaabi ... Gaawn nimaamikawisii</i>	there were two more [names] ... I do
<i>gaa' daswewaanaginikaazoj</i>	not recall the different names my
<i>nimishoomis ... Mii' iwe wewonjiig,</i>	grandfather was given ... The name
<i>Gaa-bimadinaag.</i> (011BDO2012, 4)	derives from the Trout Lake Ridge.

When people of *Obizhigokaang* referred to *Giizhig* as *Oshekamigaawinini*, the Man from the Height of Land, they confirmed that the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's identity anchored itself to two of the distinguishing features of the homelands, its elevation and *Gaa-bimadinaag*, the Trout Lake Ridge.

It is logical, however, to presume that the manner in which *zhooniyaa ogimaag* administered Treaty 3 affected the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's sense of identity in terms of their longstanding relationship with Lac Seul. As had always been the case, they desired to maintain their distinction, and, as so often happens, it was the women and girls who played a prominent role in this regard. *Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin* explains that they sewed ribbons of varying colors on the sleeves and hems of their clothing as a decorative means of identity that distinguished them and, by extension, the entire community from fellow *Anishinaabeg* (Agger, 2008). *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains that the patterns derived from the directive of her grandfather, *Giizhig* (personal conversation, November, 2015). As a member of the Lac Seul band council until at least 1910,²⁵ *Giizhig* understood the importance of maintaining a discrete identity, particularly

²⁵ See http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c7139/1563?r=0&s=3 for mention of this role.

when *Anishinaabeg* saw the treaty's acknowledgement of *Namegosibiing* in its wording²⁶ to be possible grounds to petition for a separate reserve status. These *dadibaaqjimowin* passages thus indicate that the term *Anishinaabe* includes the community of *Obizhigokaang*, where *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* visited and renewed relationships with relatives, friends, and distant regions of the homeland while maintaining a sense of their own selves.

Also evident from participants' *dadibaaqjimowin*, the *Anishinaabe* identity is inclusive of other groups such as *Onamebinishiig*, the Oji-Cree people of *Nengawi Zaa'igan* (Sandy Lake) north of *Namegosibiing*. The people of Sandy Lake, as with other communities, have their own way of speaking *Anishinaabemowin*. Participant Martha Angecone Fiddler discusses language as a characteristic that *Anishinaabe* communities have in common, with variations that become more noticeable toward bordering regions such as *Nengawi Zaa'igan*. Martha relates the following in both *Anishinaabemowin* and English, explaining why she stopped speaking *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* in Sandy Lake:

[I]n <i>Sandy Lake</i> , <i>gaawn ingii'</i>	[I]n Sandy Lake I did not speak
<i>Anishinaabemosii</i> ... because ...	<i>Anishinaabemowin</i> ... because ...
making fun of me all the time ...	making fun of me all the time ...
" <i>Ambe,</i> " <i>e' ikidoyaan</i> , " <i>Ambe!</i> " ...	When I said, "Come," they said,
<i>'Biizhaan,</i> <i>' osha gidaa ikid"</i>	" <i>Ambe!</i> " ... You should say,
[laughter]. (007AMJ2012, 2)	<i>'Biizhaan"</i> [laughter].

position in the band council.

²⁶ See <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028675/1100100028679> for the text of the treaty.

Martha married into the Fiddler family of Sandy Lake, her mother's home community. Indicating that enough differences existed in her speech that people took notice,²⁷ she explains that she was teased for using the *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* of her *Namegosibiing* grandmother, *Gweyesh*. Variations in pronunciation and terms exist even among *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people themselves. Of the participants, for example, some pronounce phrases such as "that they left" as *egii' maajaawaaj* (with a *j*) while others say *egii' maajaawaad* (with a *d*). Some speakers blend English with *Anishinaabemowin* in varying ways. Although these indications of differential experiences across the generations and throughout the homelands and communities exist with people, they are all *Anishinaabeg*.

From a vast purview spanning several generations and decades, *Dedibaayaanimanook* shares her understanding about the term *Anishinaabe* as follows:

<p><i>Anishinaabeg</i>, Sandy Lake <i>gaa-onjiiwaaj ... Onamebinish[ii] ...</i> <i>that's the same thing, Indians ...</i> <i>Michi bebakaan izhinikaazowag ...</i> <i>Idinowiwaaj ... izhinikaade ... Amiish</i> <i>bezhigwan. Anishinaabeg ... michi</i> <i>bebakaan izhinikaazowag.</i></p>	<p>The <i>Anishinaabe</i> people of Sandy Lake ... <i>Onamebinishii ...</i> that's the same thing, Indians...The only difference is ... their different names ...The kind of people they are ... They are the same ... <i>Anishinaabeg</i> ... they are only called by a different name.</p>
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²⁷ M. Fiddler of the Sandy Lake Band office indicates that the community's Oji-Cree language is a combination of Cree and *Anishinaabemowin* and is referred to by the Sandy Lake people as *Anishiniimowin* (personal communication, June 2013).

(009A1D2013, 3)

Dedibaayaanimanook alludes to factors of difference (in ways of doing and ways of speaking, for example) as the reason why groups acquire their own identities and given names. Yet, to illustrate, *Onamebinishiig* are *Anishinaabe* people, a point *Dedibaayaanimanook* underscores by code switching to the English colonial all-encompassing misnomer “Indians.” These examples of participant *dadibaajimowin* indicate that the term *Anishinaabe* is applicable to such communities as Lac Seul and Sandy Lake, those with whom *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* have historically shared familial and social connections. They demonstrate that the meaning of *Anishinaabe* relates to communities’ culturally common ways of being, including language and speech. They also indicate that allowances for and recognition of variations and distinctions are important. *Dadibaajimowin*, however, suggests that there are additional ways to understand the term *Anishinaabe*.

Illustrating a more expanded application of the term *Anishinaabe* is the case of the *Dakotas*. It is important to remember that the frame of reference from which these narrated identities emerge is that of an *Anishinaabe* community situated in the boreal regions of northwest Ontario, adjacent to the historical borderland places between the two nations. In the following, *Dedibaayaanimanook* states that the *Dakotas* undoubtedly stood out from the *Anishinaabe* people:

<i>Bwaanag, bakaan wiin igi ganabaj ...</i>	<i>Dakotas</i> are probably different
<i>Bashkodeng egii’ onjiwaaj ... [G]aa</i>	...being from the prairies ... they are
<i>izhi dazhiikewaaj, amii’</i>	named according to the places where

ezhinikaazowaaj. (009A1D2013, 3) they pursue their activities.

Residing in *bashkodeng* of the Great Plains, the *Dakóta* people held to customs dissimilar to those of *Anishinaabeg*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* alludes to the vastly contrastive nature of the *Dakóta* prairie places of home with the *noopimakamig aki* boreal homelands, attaching cultural distinctiveness with the characteristics of the nation's territories. The narratives indicate that *Anishinaabeg* and *Dakótas* enacted and preserved their respective cultural identities in ways that reflected the diverseness of their homelands. These instances of differentiation became historically evident in the *Anishinaabe-Dakóta* rivalries about which *Anishinaabe* people tell fascinating *dadibaajimowin* narratives as components of identity.

Citing the *Inuit* as his example, *Oo'oons* too observes that people exhibit many differences but are all *Anishinaabeg*. His comments are as follows:

<i>Anishinaabewiwag. Bebakaan</i>	They are <i>Anishinaabe</i> people. But
<i>idash ... [?] izhigiizhwewag ...</i>	all are different ... [?] in their language
<i>bebakaan inaadiziwig [?]</i>	... in how they think and
<i>bimaadiziwaad</i> . (011BDO2012, 4)	live.

People may speak, live, and think differently from one another, but, *Oo'oons* states, their underlying commonality ensures their *Anishinaabe*-ness. Living harmoniously, respectfully, and circumspectly with their places of home where their cultural roots are embedded makes them all *Anishinaabeg*.

The broadest, most inclusive application of the term *Anishinaabe* encircles

Indigenous peoples the world over. This line of reasoning begins with the spatially unrestricted directive that *mitigoog* as a species of living beings received in the original cosmological ordering of *Anishinaabe* ontology. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s discussion in which she uses *akiwan*, the plural form of *aki*, conveys the global nature of the mission *mitigoog* received as follows:

<i>Gegii'dabinooshkamowaapan o'owe</i>	They would have served to protect
<i>aki aa[?]inigokwaagin akiwan ...Gaa-</i>	this earth[?] whatever size it may all
<i>wiin idash awiya mitig...Mii'iidog igi</i>	be ... But the forests no longer exist
<i>mayaa debinooshkigewaagobanen o'o</i>	... As we know, they were specifically
<i>aki gaa-inigokwôg. Mitigoog. Trees ...</i>	tasked to protect this entire earth.
<i>Anishinaabesh gaye ... Gewiin daagii'</i>	Trees. Trees ... And <i>Anishinaabe</i>
<i>wiidookaazo i'ima</i> ... <i>Anishinaabe.</i>	peoples, too ... They were to have
(014AD2010, 8) (014AD2010, 8)	helped there ... the <i>Anishinaabeg</i> .

Comprising all types of forests, trees had the task of protecting the entirety of the planet in a state of safety, wellness, and balance. Importantly, *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates that *Anishinaabe* people were a part of this relational order. Their accountability as inhabitants of the earth included, although was not limited to, the role of facilitators who ensured these responsibilities by presiding over the wellbeing of the lands on which they lived. Based on *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin*, the term *Anishinaabe* expands to include all Indigenous peoples across the world, despite the many and seemingly vast differences among them.

While *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin* necessarily speaks from the

noopimakamig boreal perspective of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, the point of her narrative is that *Anishinaabe* people are all those who follow a principle of responsible use of their *aki*, no matter its physical characteristics. Indigenous people everywhere do indeed share this fundamental idea about their responsibility to safeguard the earth's wellbeing in how they conduct their affairs. All abide by the teaching that in order for human people to survive well, so too must *aki*.

Any of the above categories of meaning for *Anishinaabe*, from the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* to Indigenous peoples everywhere, can be the basis of a discussion about the meaning and use of *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*. According to its most inclusive meaning, to illustrate, *Dedibaayaanimanook's mawadishiwewin* to Hawai'i was a visit among fellow *Anishinaabeg*.²⁸ The intended meaning for the terms *Anishinaabe* and *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* therefore depends on the context of their use.

Based on how *Namegosibii Anishinaabe dadibaajimowin* has spoken over the years, *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* is a concept that includes the philosophies, beliefs, values, and aspirations of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people. The old ways of the ancestors, such as the spiritual beliefs and practices they performed through ceremony and everyday life, embodied their *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*. Thus *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* is also about how people translated certain ways of thought into everyday life. Their sense of responsibility is an example of how they thought about their place on global *aki* as its stewards.

Personal and traditional *dadibaajimowin*, moreover, communicates the

²⁸ When a local Hawaiian mistook *Dedibaayaanimanook* for a fellow Hawaiian and asked which island she was from, her Camp Island (in *Namegosibiing*) response seemed to leave the inquirer somewhat bemused (Agger, 2008). It would seem that place of origin is also an important identity descriptor in common with Indigenous peoples of far-flung places.

Anishinaabewaadiziwin concept most effectively through the use of *Anishinaabemowin*.

To summarize, the term *Anishinaabe* is applicable along at least three general levels, local, regional, and global according to *dadibaaajimowin*. By combining *Anishinaabe* and *-aadiziwin*, the meaning of the term *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* emerges as a reference to the *Anishinaabe* people's guiding values, ideas, ways of thought, and ways of being. These relate to the responsibilities of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* as fellow members of the worldwide community of Indigenous peoples. Ultimately, this community is inclusive of all human beings and extends to every being, human and otherwise, because we share a common origin (Atleo, 2004). The next section examines what participants' *dadibaaajimowin* says about the *wemitigoozhi* and *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* concepts and how they as a phenomenon interacted with *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people and affected their self-identity.

4.4 *Wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*: Colonially Embedded Identity

The *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* phenomenon is clearly evident in *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity discourse. This section opens *dawisijigewin* spaces for *dadibaaajimowin* that speaks to how *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people have thought about, named, and experienced effects of the colonial forces associated with *wemitigoozhi* and *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*'s arrival. These experiences contribute additional layers to how participants present the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's expression of who they are.

As with the term *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* requires explanation. I use this word rather than *zhaaganaashiiyaadizi*, the Seven Generations Education Institute elders' (2012) word for colonization. Attaching *-aadiziwin*, the state

of being a certain way, to *wemitigoozhi* creates *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, the term I use as a *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* language speaker for the characteristic behaviors and attitudes of colonization and colonialism that participant *dadibaajimowin* describes. Critically important to emphasize, however, there were exceptions to and varying degrees of the phenomenon, of which *dadibaajimowin* provides several examples.

Interestingly, the elders of the Seven Generations Education Institute express the notion of decolonization as *gego zhaaganaashiiyaadizisiidaa*, a phrase that literally urges us to refrain from thinking and living “as a white person at the expense of being *Anishinaabe*” (p. 3). I base my approach to the English phrase “white man” on the on-line Oxford dictionary discussion which states that “[t]he term white has been used to refer to the skin colour of Europeans or people of European extraction since the early 17th century. Unlike other labels for skin colour such as red ... white has not been generally used in a derogatory way.”²⁹ The Europeans themselves appear to have constructed “white man” in reference to how they saw who they were as they came upon Indigenous peoples. It is not an *Anishinaabe* invention. *Wemitigoozhiwag*, the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* word for the arrivals and their descendants, does not translate literally to white men or white people. Hence, I use European settler people, European settler descendants, etc., instead of “white man,” even though it is somewhat cumbersome. *Wiiyaabishkiijewj*, on the other hand, is a direct reference to the pale complexion of the European, but it was generally not the word *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* used.

Dedibaayaanimanook explains how she understands the term *wemitigoozhiwag* that

²⁹ The site for this citation is <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/white>. It appears under the section Usage.

Namegosibii Anishinaabeg used when referring to the European settler people and their descendants. Her comments are as follows:

<i>[W]emitigoozhiwag ... gaa'</i>	[T]he European settler people ...
<i>izhinikaanaawaaj ... Aaliz gaa-izhi</i>	they called them <i>zhaaganaashiwag</i> ...
<i>ayaaaj, zhaaganaashiwag odizhinikaa-naawaa' ...</i>	where Alice lives ... that's the same
<i>that's the same thing,</i>	thing, <i>zhaaganaashiwag</i>
<i>zhaaganaashiwag and wemitigoozhi</i>	and <i>wemitigoozhi[wag]</i> ... Perhaps it
<i>[wag] ... Mii bezhiwan maawiin</i>	is the same with European settler
<i>izhinaagoziwag wemitigoozhiwag,</i>	people, that they too look like one
<i>gewiinawaa. (009AD2013, 3)</i>	another.

Dedibaayaanimanook notes that in the southern Curve Lake regions of *Anishinaabe* territory where her eldest child, Alice Williams, resides, people know the European settler people as *zhaaganaashiwag*. In a similar manner, she states, *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* refer to them as *wemitigoozhiwag*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* also suggests that *wemitigoozhiwag* probably share aspects of physical appearance in common with each other in the same way that *Anishinaabe* people often still do. This and other statements to follow were not intended as racial slights. Rather, they were accounts of how *Anishinaabe* people voiced their observations based on what they saw and the attitudes and behaviors they encountered with the arrivals.

As the latecomers' numbers increased, it became evident that various other types of *wemitigoozhiwag* existed besides those whom they first encountered, the English. One of the obvious ways by which people noted these differences was how they spoke

zhaaganaashiimowin. In the following *dadibaajimowin*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains:

<i>Agwingosii-wemitigoozhi. Mii inidino</i>	A Swedish European settler man.
<i>Njôy gaa-gii' onaabemij... Agwingosii-</i>	That was the type <i>Njôy</i> married ... they
<i>wemitigoozhiwag gii'izhinikaazowag ...</i>	were called <i>Agwingosii</i> -
<i>Baakwaayshag ...Gaawn osha niinaw-</i>	<i>wemitigoozhiwag</i> ... French ... We did
<i>ind ingii' gikenimaasiwaanaanig...end-</i>	not know them [Italians] ... nor all the
<i>aswewaanagiziwaaj ... miiwag eta igi</i>	other different types ... we only
<i>gaa'gikenimangidô, agwingosag ...</i>	knew the Swedes ... and we did not
<i>gaawiin gaye... ingii'gikenimaasiwaa-</i>	know [the Norwegians] ... They
<i>naanig... Gaamayagwewaaj ogii'izhin-</i>	referred to them as the ones who sound
<i>ikaanaawaa' nitam gii dagoshinowaaj</i>	foreign when they first arrived ... But
<i>... Gaawinshwiinigidino... Germany...</i>	not them ... [from] Germany ... The
<i>Gamayagwewaaj gaaizhinikaazowaaj</i>	foreign sounding ones, as they are
<i>...Miish i'i gaa'izhinikaanaawaaj</i>	called ... my older brothers called them
<i>nisayenzag nitam giidagoshinowaaj.</i>	[Norwegians] when they first arrived.

(009AD2013, 3)

Dedibaayaanimanook's discussion is about the process by which the names of various groups of Europeans came about. When people became familiarized with them, *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* applied various descriptors that reflected their observations. At first, the latecomers were hyphenated *wemitigoozhiwag*. French, for example, were *Baakwaayshii-wemitigoozhiwag*. The Swedes, with whom people first came into contact when a close family friend, *Injôy*, married one, were *Agwingosii-wemitigoozhiwag*. Over

time, people dispensed with the –*wemitigoozhi* add-on and the French, for example, became simply *Baakwaayshag*.³⁰ *Dedibaayaanimanook* refers to a time when people had no previously acquired information about the Norwegians and Germans when they first arrived into the area. Immediately evident to *Anishinaabe* people was the strongly accented English with which non-English Europeans spoke *zhaaganaashiimowin*, causing them to sound markedly different from the English *wemitigoozhiwag*. They were simply *gaa-mayagwewaaj*, the ones who sound foreign. For Italians, people had no *Anishinaabemowin* name because most arrived much later, after the war.

Important to point out is that sounds such as *r*, *l*, and *f* are difficult to pronounce among traditional *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* speakers. Hence, they find various ways by which to express what they mean, which *Dedibaayaanimanook* does when she uses the phrase, *Jónii*³¹ *dino* (the Jonny kind), in place of the word Italian. To illustrate further, *Dedibaayaanimanook* says Irene *ogozisan* (Irene's son) rather than attempt to verbalize her grandson's name, Riel, which, having both *r*³² and *l*, is especially difficult for her to pronounce. Many of today's generations, of course, simply articulate the English words themselves because *Anishinaabemowin* is no longer the first language among most of the younger *Anishinaabeg*. In a similar manner, a non-*Anishinaabemowin* speaker would have difficulty with the pronunciation of certain *Anishinaabemowin* words. How elders refer to people who are not *Anishinaabeg* is sometimes a matter of how facilely they can pronounce their names.

Participants' *dadibaajimowin* explains how people experienced *wemitigoozhii-*

³⁰ *Dedibaayaanimanook*, however, did not mention the meaning of *Baakwaaysh*.

³¹ This is in reference to a close family friend.

³² *R* is especially difficult to pronounce when it is the first letter of a word.

aadiziwin. The first example is embedded in the context of the events arising from the late 1920s' discovery and mining of gold, which themselves were forms of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* was a small child of perhaps four or five when she witnessed the dam construction at *Otawagi Baawitig* on the English River. She speaks as follows:

<i>[N]amanj baakaj gaa' dashiwaag-</i>	I have no idea at all how many
<i>wen...anokiiwaaj...Gii' ayinaakwago-</i>	workers ... logs were floating ... at
<i>njinoogsh mitigoog...wedi wagijaya'ii</i>	the top ... [?]of the falls over there ...
<i>... [?]baawitig...namanjisa gaa' izhi-</i>	– I do not know how it was
<i>chigaadegwen ... Niwaabamaabaneg</i>	done ...
<i>isa wiin ako e' inaakwagonjinowaaj</i>	But I used to see the logs floating
<i>mitigoog. (016AD2010, 8)</i>	together.

Dedibaayaanimanook's memories and impressions about *wemitigoozhi* activities invoke the word *baakaj*, conveying incredulity and dismay. The sight of so many workers straining to prevent the natural flow of the river while balancing on logs floating above the falls was unsettling in the profoundest of ways for the *Anishinaabe* eyewitnesses. With her use of *inaakwagonjinowaaj*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* describes the trees prone and lifeless in the water, stripped of their dignity and power, suggesting a strange submission to a perverse violation. Rivers and falls and forests and trees were sacred entities that required respectful treatment in *Anishinaabe* ontological thought and ordering. Hence, the spectacle of a dam under construction was a particularly unsettling form of

wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin for *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, whose innermost reactions seemed nonexistent for *wemitigoozhi*.

Being a small child at the time of the *Otawagi Baawitig* damming, *Dedibaayaanimanook* did not herself participate in conversations about the events and the inevitable flooding of *Obizhigokaawi Zaa'igan*. However, she recalls her cousin *Omooday* Paul discussing the matter with others of the community on more than one occasion. She states that no officials directly informed or consulted with the people of *Namegosibiing*, those who used the *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'igan*-English River-*Obizhigokaawi Zaa'igan* water route (Figure 1.7) for biannual travels. *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates this in the following:

No, I don't think so ... “ <i>Da mooshka</i>	No, I don't think so ... “It will
<i>'an,</i> ” <i>isawiin igo ... Anishinaabeg wiin</i>	flood,” is indeed how ... my mom
<i>i'i gii' ikidowag ako ikidooban my</i>	used to quote <i>Anishinaabeg</i> to say ...
mom ... “ <i>Wii' mooshka'oojigaade</i>	“Lac Seul Lake will be
<i>Obizhigokaawi Zaa'igan,</i> ” <i>maawiin</i>	flooded,” is perhaps what they said ...
<i>gii' ikidowag ... ako gaye ingii'</i>	And I also used to hear the one known
<i>noondawaa e' dazhindang, Omooday</i>	as <i>Omooday</i> discussing it.
<i>gaa-gii'ininj.</i> (016AD2010, 8)	

Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin is a firsthand account about a large construction project built on a key location along one of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg's* traditional travel routes. With no consultations, discussions, or request for permission in place, it has taken almost a century of legal challenges, debates, and negotiations among the Lac Seul

First Nation, two levels of government, and the hydroelectric power company to determine compensation. From an *Anishinaabe* point of view, the dam construction, the circumstances of how *wemitigoozhiwag* built it, and the lack of proper compensation all index the colonial mindset of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*.

Another example, a *dadibaajimowin* I quoted earlier, illustrates how people who still lived *noopimakamig* at the time conceptualized and emotively responded to the notions of *wemitigoozhi* and *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains that her brother's intent was to play a practical joke during a journey to *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* in the 1930s. She recounts the event in the following:

<p><i>Nimaamikaw insayenziban ...</i></p> <p><i>madaabiibatoopan, "Wemitigoozhiwag</i></p> <p><i>i'ima ayaawag," indigonaan. Ezhi</i></p> <p><i>gichi zegiziyaang, Gweyesh. Anishaa e'</i></p> <p><i>ikidoj. (001AD2012, 3)</i></p>	<p>I recall my elder brother ... running</p> <p>down from the woods, telling us,</p> <p>"There are some European settler men</p> <p>over there." <i>Gweyesh</i> and I were struck</p> <p>with fear. He was only joking.</p>
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The idea of coming face to face with *wemitigoozhiwag* filled the young women with terror, although *Dedibaayaanimanook* does not specify the reasons. Despite individual friendships, the first responses of *Anishinaabe* people to the prospect of encountering *wemitigoozhiwag* were often stress, uncertainty, fear, and dread. This *dadibaajimowin* suggests that the sisters knew about the dangerous nature of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, particularly in ways that were specific to young women. *Wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* was historically a destructive force against *Anishinaabe* people and their customs, homelands, and sense of identity. This included schooling and proselytizing, logging and mining,

damming, commercial fishing, and tourism.

A somewhat lengthy but important narrative epitomizes the profundity of how *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* affected *Anishinaabeg* by describing the measures that certain members of the community were willing to take in order to protect their survival as a people. In conversations that took place in 2010, 2011, and 2013, *Dedibaayaanimanook* describes the events of *gichi dewe'igan*'s sojourn in *Namegosibiing*. Her elder sister *Gweyesh* and other family members brought the drum into *Namegosibiing* and held a ceremony at some point during the late 1930s or early 1940s. Two significant elements suggest the degree to which the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* experienced the negative impacts of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* and how they conceptualized themselves as a spiritual people. One was *aanikoobidaaganag*'s instruction not to bring *gichi dewe'igan* into the homelands. The other was the effort people put forth in order to do just that. *Dedibaayaanimanook* begins with details about this remarkable event as she knew of them on a firsthand basis, describing how her own involvement came about and contextualizing it as follows:

[B]ig dewe'igan ... insayenziban	[T]he large ceremonial drum ... my
iidog ogii' ayaawaa[?] – Gweyesh ...	late elder brother had it[?] – Gweyesh
Namegosibiing ... [niimiwaaj in a	... in Trout Lake ... [danced in a circle]
circle] ... Gweyesh ... gii' niingaanii	... Gweyesh ... led ... That type is
aaniish ... Ogichidaakwe izhinikaazo	called ogichidaakwe ... when someone
a'a dino ... gii niingaanii awiya gichi	leads with that kind of great drum ...
dewe'iganan ... Miish i'i geniin ... gaa	and I, too ... was to have been
wii' izhi'igooyaan. (010ADG2011, 3)	taught.

Dedibaayaanimanook stresses the identity of the large ceremonial drum that came to *Namegosibiing* to differentiate it from the smaller, hand-held drum that *Anishinaabe* people used for recreational purposes. As the agency through which the organization of the ceremony was possible, *gichi dewe'igan* and its active participation constituted the focal point of the event. *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains that it was her elder sister *Gweyesh* and her brother who made the arrangements. Providing *Dedibaayaanimanook* with guidance in her secondary position within the procession, *Gweyesh* herself had obviously received extensive training in the various components of the ceremony. *Dedibaayaanimanook's* use of the term *ogichidaakwe* suggests that the drum and its function were prominent enough among the communities to have merited a specific name. She thus points to the reasons why *aanikoobidaaganag* regarded their familiarity with *ogichidaakwe* to have been troubling. Recognizing the reach of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, the elders foresaw *ogichidaakwe's* enactment to symbolize the passing of the set of spiritual traditions that had preserved *Namegosibiii Anishinaabeg* in unity and safeguarded their identity as a community over many generations.

Important to note in the next segment of the *dewe'igan dadibaaajimowin* are details about the structure itself, which *Dedibaayaanimanook* refers to as *niimi'idiiwigamigong* (the dance building). She also alludes to the other key element of the narrative, *aanikoobidaaganag's* instruction not to bring *gichi dewe'igan* into *Namegosibiing*. Her *dadibaaajimowin* continues as follows:

*Niingaan...ikwewag... Gweyesh gii' At the front ... the women ... Gweyesh
niingaanii...niin...odaanaang Gweyesh... led ... I ... behind Gweyesh
indede, gaawn ogii minwendanziin...gi- ... my father did not like ... the*

chi dewe'iganan...gaawn...wiikaa gii' ceremonial ... or the drum ... he never
biindigesii ... agwajiing eta gii' ayaa went inside ...
e'ganawaabij ...Aanshinaa boodawewag he only watched from outside ... Because
... gii dibikak ... Ogii'minwendaan wiin they built a fire ... when it grew dark ...
e' ganawaabamaaj gaa-niiminij ... Nii- He did, however, enjoy watching the
mi'idiwigamigong...waabanongshizhi dancers ... The ... structure's entrance is
ishkwôndemiwan ... mitigoonshwaakaa- toward the east... wooden poles ...
kidewan ... Amiish i'ima zhinoodaag- upright ... in a circle...
anan...waakaay[?]gaade... shi'ima da ropes ... encircle it ... [?] that was where
niingaanii ... [my mom] gii' biindige head dancer led ...[my mom] entered .
gii' niimi. (021AD2013, 1) ... she danced.

Dedibaayaanimanook's description of *niimi'idiwigamigong* includes its shape, construction material, and direction of entry. In fact, her detailed account suggests that she may have assisted in its construction. Alluding to the fundamental contradictions the event presented for the families, *Dedibaayaanimanook* states that her mother entered the lodge and joined the dancers but that her father watched from outdoors where the ceremonial fire burned.

The next piece of the *dadibaajimowin* mentions the reason why *Dedibaayaanimanook* discontinued her sister's mentorship. In reference to the *Anishinaabe* people's concerns for their cultural and physical survival, she states the following:

Indede shgaawn gii' minwendanziin... [M]y father did not like that ... kind
niimi'idiwin gaa-izhinikaadeg, dewe'i- of thing, what is known as the great
gan gaamindidoj...nimishoomis gaye drum dance ... nor did my grandfather

gaawiin ... ogii' minwendaanaawaan, ... [but others] agreed with it, as a
gaa-onji bimaadiziweya 'ii...izhichige[?] means to survive [?]. ... Other people in
Awiyag igo. (010ADG2011, 3) general.

Dedibaayaanimanook mentions her father's disapproval of the ceremony and explains that the proscription originated with her grandfather. Furthermore, it is evident that *Giizhig* was no longer living by that time. Had he still been among his people, it is unlikely they would have felt compelled to turn to *gichi dewe'igan* for help as they had complete confidence in his leadership. *Giizhig* was their source of inspiration and their determination to maintain their *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity, despite *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. Yet others, this narrative indicates, saw the great drum ceremony as a means for their survival, suggesting it to have been part of a larger spiritual movement among *Anishinaabe* communities throughout the region. The ceremonial thus went ahead.

In the following segments, *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains that many relatives from various neighboring communities were in attendance:

Baabiizhaawaaj awiyag e' biniimiwaaj People were coming to participate in
... Biigaanjigamiing [?] ... *Ikwewi* the ceremonial dance...from Pikangi-
Zaa'iganiing ... Anziko Zaa'iganing. kum [?] ... Woman Lake ... Otter Lake.
(019AD2010, 2-3)

[G]aye, Nishki'aa wiinawaa ... Ininiwag Also *Nishki'aa* and his family ... Only
eta. Gaawn wiin ikwewag ... Onjida dash the men. Not the women ... Nonetheless
wiin igo gii' baatiinowag. many were in attendance.
(019AD2013, 3)

Although the women were welcome, they remained home to be with the children, according to *Dedibaayaanimanook* (personal communication, 2014). Nonetheless, a sizeable number came to *Namegosibiing*. This *dadibaajimowin* hints at the logistical demands of such an event, particularly in winter. For travelers from *Biigaanjigamiing*, to illustrate, this was at least a two days' journey and both *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* and *Anziko Zaa'igan* are a long day's travel. Meals and accommodations, the venue for the event, and the accouterments of the ceremonial itself all had to be planned and organized by both the participants from the other regions and the host community. In order for *Gweyesh* and her family to acquire the loan of *dewe'igan*, they needed to have known whom to contact and to negotiate terms with the owner (possibly *Oziigaakigan* of Lac Seul). Given that a great drum was both sacred and valuable, the organizers had to have agreed to certain conditions regarding its transportation, use, safekeeping, return, etc. It is reasonable to presume that the decision for the event and its planning and organizing were conducted months in advance, perhaps when the *Namegosibiing* people were in Lac Seul and in contact with other *Anishinaabeg*. Even prior to those arrangements, the *Gweyeshes* likely had discussions about the matter with community members and kinfolk in *Biigaanjigamiing*, *Ikwewi Zaa'igan*, *Anziko Zaa'igan*, and elsewhere. It is highly probable, in fact, that the subject was common knowledge in the region, even though it may not have received a great deal of reporting.

As a final note, *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates the larger context in which the contradictions of this event were embedded. In the following passage she states:

Wiinge egii' minwendamowaaj Some people were very gratified, saying
aaninda, da onji bimaadizi Anishinaabe that it was the means through which

i'iwe izhichigej gii' ikidowag ... Anishinaabe people would live on.

(014AD2010, 10)

Her comment that “*da onji bimaadizi Anishinaabe i'iwe izhichigej gii' ikidowag*” (they said that it was the avenue to survival for *Anishinaabeg*) is a direct reference to the spiritual movement among *Anishinaabe* people around the time of the 1930s in which the great drum was the lead protagonist (Matthews, 2009). Given the passing of *Giizhig*, *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* and their kin were turning to *gichi dewe'igan*, the symbolic manifestation of what other communities believed to be a means for their continued existence.

This *dadibaajimowin* provides a glimpse into the gravity of what confronted the *Anishinaabe* community. Occurring during a particularly disquieting time when *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* was increasingly encroaching into the communities, these events are a crucial component in the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aweneniwiyeeng* narrative. They speak to concerns about *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* effects in the lives, homelands, and future generations of *Anishinaabe* people. Although *Gweyesh's* role in the arrival of *gichi dewe'igan* and *Dedibaayaanimanook's* personal mentoring seems to portray her as having abandoned the *aanikoobidaaganag* teachings, she was a traditional *Anishinaabekwe* who esteemed her elders, particularly her grandfather, *Giizhig*. Her apparent dissent was in fact resistance against *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* intrusions into the *Anishinaabe* landscape when few other options were available. The *dadibaajimowin* thus indicates that, considering *Gweyesh's* devotion to the grandfathers and the effort people expended in the event, her decision was far from trivial. Likely, she had given it considerable thought.

These narratives show that *wemitigoozhiwag* did not often distinguish themselves with a positive reputation among the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. In fact, *dadibaajimowin* alludes to the loss of freedom to continue practicing the land-based teachings of *aanikoobidaaganag*. At the same time, however, *dadibaajimowin* suggests that *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* was not a uniform phenomenon across all *wemitigoozhi* populations. Not only were not all *wemitigoozhiwag* completely entrenched in attitudes of superiority, racism, hostility, condescension, etc., toward *Anishinaabe* people; they exhibited these characteristics to varying degrees. In a narrative contextualized in the events of the hydroelectric dam construction at *Otawagi Baawitig*, for example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* shares the following *dadibaajimowin* about how her mother managed something as seemingly straightforward as purchasing a loaf of bread:

[A]ako ... gii' adaawena' ... bezhig	S[]he used to buy one ... by asking
... ogii ... anoonaan ji	an old European settler man to buy a
adaawetamaagoj, bakwezhiganan ...	loaf of bread, to go in her place and do
akiwenzii wemitigoozhiwan ... indede	the transaction for her ... my father
sago ogii' wijiwaan ... Miiwiin	worked with him ... That was where
i'ima gaa' ayaawaaj igi	they stayed, those European settler
wemitigoozhiwag gii ano[?]kaadeg i'i	men who were working[?] on the
baawitig. (016AD2010, 8)	construction project at that falls.

Instead of going herself, *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s mother asked an elderly *wemitigoozhi*, who frequently worked with *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s father, to go into the store on her behalf. This may appear to be a commonplace incident of no special significance but it

does show that a certain degree of trust and friendship was possible among individuals. This *dadibaajimowin* concomitantly suggests that there were reasons why an *Anishinaabe* woman did not feel free to go into the store and make a purchase for herself, reasons emanating from the historical forces of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* and its racism and sexist dogmas. This narrative also has to do with the efficacy of an astute woman who knew not only how to survive well in the *noopimakamig* homelands but also how best to navigate the potential dangers that *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* posed in all situations.

Another portrayal of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* colonial attitudes, occurring shortly after the above *dadibaajimowin*, emerges from a conversation in which elder-participant *Oo'oons* Kejick discusses what happened to *Anishinaabe* people living in Red Lake during the 1950s. By this time no longer able to support themselves in *Namegosibiing* as the ancestors had done, community members began to settle in Red Lake where they found various types of low wage employment. *Oo'oons's* *dadibaajimowin* alludes to one of the many bitter ironies of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* as follows:

[D]doodawindô Anishinaabeg	How <i>Anishinaabe</i> people were
...aana gii ayaawaad, ingoji gii'	treated ... when they sought only to
izhinizha'windô ... ganabaj igiwe-	live in peace, they would be sent away
niwag ... gaagii' andawenimaawaad	... probably they ... who did not want
Anishinaaben o'omaa ji ayaasininij ...	<i>Anishinaabe</i> people to be here ...
They wanted to put the camp there ...	They wanted to put the camp there ...
Mennonites osha odibendaanaawaan	the Mennonites are the owners of them
iniweniwan...airplane hangar... Nashke	... the airplane hangar ... Take, for
i'iwedi gaagii' izhaawaad, nimishoo-	example, over there where those

misiban ... Amiishi'i bezhigwan i'ima including my grand-father went ...
gaa' doodawindô; ingoji i'ima gii' There they were treated the same way;
izhinizha' [?]ô. (001BDO2012, 5-6) they were sent away from there [?].

Oo'oons tells us that he and his family, including his aged and ailing grandfather, *Jiyyaan* (one of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* paternal uncles), and other relatives were forced from their homes where they lived together in the outskirts of Red Lake. In the minds of many latecomers, *Anishinaabe* people were needlessly occupying spaces that could be put to better use. This *miwishkaagewin*³³ notion was what led to the *ishkoniganan* system in which leftover spaces that settlers had little use for provisionally became *Anishinaabe* “reserve” lands. Among *Anishinaabe* traditional customs was to live close to the water, but *wemitigoozhiwag* desired shoreline property. *Oo'oons* refers to the hangars that the missionaries used for their floatplanes to pursue theological-humanitarian work among *Anishinaabe* communities.³⁴ Ironically, as was often the case in such pursuits, the activities of the missionaries only compounded the losses of those to whom they had ostensibly come to aid and comfort.

Oo'oons's dadibaajimowin states that as *wemitigoozhiwag* arrived, they evicted people and demolished their houses wherever their quest for real estate led them. He

³³ Language expert Roger Roulette provided me with this *Anishinaabe* term.

³⁴ This information is common knowledge among members of the *Anishinaabe* community in Red Lake, ON. Similar information about the Mennonite mission in the Red Lake region appears in <https://ontariomennonitehistory.org/tag/northern-light-gospel-mission/>.

details the circumstances of how these disposessions came about and how they affected family members as follows:

[I]ngoji i'imaa gii'izhinizha'indô ...	[T]hey were sent away from there ...
Maagii Keesick...Ingii' ayaanaaban	Maagii Keesick ... I was over there. I
wedi. Nimaamikaw...gaagii' bi ganoo-	remember ... when they came to tell
nindô Maagii ingoji i'imaa ji onji izh-	Maagii and others to leave ...
aawaad...Gaaskaabooz gii' izhidaaban	Gaaskaabooz was living over there ...
i'iwedi...gii' biigwa'igaade [?]owaak-	her house was demolished[?] ... What
aa'igan ... Mii'iwe gaagii' ikidowaad,	they had said was, "I [we?] will not
"Gaawn ingoji [?] ninonji (?) izhaa-	move away [?] from here [?]. We want
siiy[?]. Miigo omaa waa' ayaayaang,"	to stay right here," is what they told
ogii'inaawaan. (001BDO2012, 6)	them.

Oo'oons was present when the authorities arrived at the residence of family and kinfolk that included his elderly grandmother *Maagii*. Not only do the people appear not to have received preliminary notice of plans to appropriate their land, *Oo'oons's dadibaaJimowin* never alludes to any compensation for their losses. The phrase *ingoji i'imaa gii'izhinizha'indô* is appropriate for addressing a recalcitrant dog, but *Oo'oons* uses it here as a particularly effective means for portraying the harshness of their treatment in the hands of the *wemitigoozhiwag*. Important for this study in terms of its usefulness in helping to identify individuals, *Oo'oons* includes the name of his aunt, *Gaaskaabooz*.

The result of this episode in the *Anishinaabewaadiziwin-wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* interface is a part of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity *dadibaaJimowin* that needs

telling. *Oo'oons* therefore continues by explaining what happened when the protests of family members placed them in a situation of non-compliance as follows:

<p><i>[N]aagaj miinawaa dakoniwewinini- wag gaagii' biinaawaad. Ingii'ayaa aaniish geniin...Mii[?]aa gaa' ikidow- aad gaagii' inaawaad...ingoji imaa ji onji izhaayaang. "[J]imikameg aandi ingoji gabeshiyaa[?] izhidaayeg." Miish i'iwe gaa-gii' ikidowaad wemiti- goozhiwag, "Giga mikaanan geyizhid- aayan apartments." Amiish i'i...wemit- igoozhi gaagii' biizhaad i'iwedi.</i></p> <p>(001BDO2012, 6)</p>	<p>After awhile they returned with police. I was there, too, after all ... And that is what they said and what they were told ... that we should remove ourselves from there. "That you find yourselves somewhere else to [?] live." And that is what the European settler men said, "You can find apartments to live in." And that is ... the manner in which <i>wemitigoozhi</i> arrived over there.</p>
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This account indicates that authorities returned with enforcement officers to ensure that people obeyed the eviction orders. *Oo'oons* uses the expression *aaniish* to underscore the veracity of the events from his perspective as an eyewitness. It alludes to the new arrangements town officials presented them with, rental units and the challenges of dealing with rules, regulations, by-laws, rent payment, landlords, janitors, and various other complications that come with apartment living. Interestingly, *Oo'oons's* *dadibaaJimowin* does not mention letters or other documented records about the procedures of their forced relocation. These instances of racism and lack of justness are typical of how *Anishinaabe* people experienced the realities of the *wemitigoozhi-*

aadiziwin mindset.

In summary, this section has examined the meaning of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, exploring aspects of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity as they emerge from descriptions of how people experienced and responded to its historical forces. Both senior elders, *Dedibaayaanimanook* and *Oo'oons*, speak to the fear and avoidance of *wemitigoozhiwag*, their *dadibaajimowin* a testimony of such experiences. *Dedibaayaanimanook's* great drum *dadibaajimowin* about circumvention of ancestral teachings suggests the inner turmoil that becomes a recurring theme when people must turn to the unfamiliar for survivance. Having themselves lived the traditional customs of *aanikoobidaaganag*, the elders speak from a place where they experientially understand the contrasts arising from a *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin–Anishinaabewaadiziwin* juxtaposition.

Allusions to *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* and *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*-rooted conditions are present throughout all of the participants' *dadibaajimowin*, both voiced and unspoken. Riel, for example, says that there are no young members of the community living in *Namegosibiing* today. This situation is due to the *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* system of laws and regulations that focus on notions of rights, possession, ownership, and control. In the following *dadibaajimowin*, Riel explains that the ability to live on the land has been largely lost:

[W]e just simply didn't have the so-called right ... to build houses on our land ... I heard something about some three-person committee ... who decides the right for people who deserve to live out there ... It's funny ... Is that thing still going on? ... Like, this possession thing ... I never really understood that ... that's a total white man thing ... (008ABR2013, 2)

Riel's remark about a committee is in reference to the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources responses to court rulings of more recent times. Their meetings with members of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community did little to inform members of the true extent of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* political-bureaucratic power. Rather, they led to greater harm in community relations that has taken several years to mend. An undertone of frustration is evident in Riel's suggestion that the forces of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* – for which he uses the phrase “a total white man thing” – lie behind the discontinuities in what were once seamless connections to the homelands and knowledge about the people's identity as *Anishinaabeg*. Contrastively, he implies, the ways of *aanikoobidaaganag* ensure *Anishinaabe* presence on the land as a natural inheritance.

4.5 Noopimakamig Aki: Homeland-Embedded Identity

The elders speak of *Anishinaabe* culturally mediated landscapes that no longer exist. Examining *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* self-identity from a *noopimakamig aki* frame of reference under varying conditions and degrees of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, this section shows that it is the elders whose positionality allows them to speak most clearly about, and from the viewpoint of, *aanikoobidaaganag*. Voices of *dadibaajimowin* can emerge unexpectedly from seemingly nowhere in even the briefest of narratives to extend our understanding about the degree to which *Anishinaabe* people and the boreal homelands remained connected. *Noopimakamig aki*-anchored identity, for example, is evident when the senior elder of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community,

Dedibaayaanimanook, speaks of how her elders understood the role of *miishijiimin* in teaching children about respect (Agger, 2008).

Dedibaayaanimanook reflects on her understandings and perceptions about what it meant to live in *noopimakamig aki*, basing her comments on remembrances, personal observations, and firsthand experiences that span almost a century.³⁵ However, she explains, the conditions and ways of thought that ensured the *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* centered life she enjoyed in her childhood no longer exist. With shifting values and priorities acting as a distraction from a return to the ancestors' lifeway, the old ways are now virtually impossible to fully achieve. Her *dadibaajimowin* is as follows:

<i>Gaa-gii' izhichigewaaj...mewinzha</i>	What <i>Anishinaabe</i> people did a long
<i>... aaniish gaawin da izhichigesiiwag</i>	time ago ... they can no longer do that
<i>... wemitigoozhi aaniish owanash-</i>	... European settlers, of course,
<i>kwe'aan Anishinaaben ... Miiyeta</i>	disrupted <i>Anishinaabeg</i> ... If they
<i>gegikendangiban ... gaawn ganabaj</i>	[learners] knew only that way of life
<i>awiya noongom daa doodanziin noo-</i>	... but probably no one today can live
<i>pimiing ji izhidaaj ... noopimiing etago</i>	in the boreal land ... only if a person
<i>awiya izhidaaj, wiikaa waabandazig</i>	lived exclusively in the land, never
<i>oodenaang aapiji, maa'ang eta, wedi</i>	seeing a urban environment except to
<i>dash dazhi onijjaanisiwaaaj noopimiing</i>	acquire goods, and raised his children
<i>– owiiwan – imbebiinsan ayaawaawaaj.</i>	... in the land, when he and his wife
<i>Miiyeta ge izhichigepan...Anishinaabeg</i>	had a child. That would be the only
<i>gaa-gii'bi izhichigewaaj ... Aaniish</i>	way ... to pursue <i>Anishinaabe</i> ways

³⁵ *Dedibaayaanimanook* was born in *Nomegosibiing* in 1922.

<i>inaa indebwe ... Gaa-bi izhi</i>	throughout the ages ... obviously I am
<i>gikendamaan geniin ... bi</i>	correct ... based on what I have come
<i>nitaawigiyaan, en ... Mii' gaawonji</i>	to understand from the time of my
<i>gikendamaan. (001AD2012, 1)</i>	own birth ... that is how I know.

Dedibaayaanimanook's understanding derives from having been born and lived all of her younger years within the ancestral homelands among family and relatives. It was a time when the community of relationships and *noopimakamig* places of home still formed the socio-cultural infrastructures necessary to support *Anishinaabe* ontologies and lifeways. Today, *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates, conditions are vastly different. She surmises that a complete return to the former ways of *aanikoobidaaganag* would require a complete avoidance of urban influences and distractions. Given the current inaccessibility of *noopimakamig*, the many changes it has undergone, and the entrenchment of Western values in the lives of *Anishinaabeg* today, this would be a difficult – if not impossible – task, *Dedibaayaanimanook* submits.

Dedibaayaanimanook also discusses the situation with today's younger *Anishinaabeg*, alluding to competencies that no longer exist. With life in the homelands requiring a specific kind of knowledge and skill set, learning about the fundamentality of the role of *noopimakamig* in the lives of *Anishinaabe* people must begin at birth. She states the following:

<i>Gaa-oshkaya'aawiwaaj ... Gaawiin</i>	Young people ... Probably none of
<i>osha ganabaj awiya Anishinaabemosii</i>	them there [in Red Lake] today speak
<i>noongom iwedi ... Noopimiing etago</i>	any <i>Anishinaabemowin</i> ... Only if he

<i>dazhi ... izhidaaj ... [with] his wife ...</i>	lived on the land ... with his wife ...
<i>amiidash i'iwedi dazhi oniijanisiij a'a</i>	and if she birthed their children on the
<i>ikwe noopimiing ... Ininiwag ... gii' ...</i>	land ... Men helped with births a long
<i>odaapinaawasowag mewinzha.</i>	time ago. <i>Omooday</i> often helped in the
<i>Omooday gii' nitaadaapinaawaso.</i>	delivery of children.

(001AD2012, 1)

Dedibaayaanimanook notes that most (off-reserve) youth today do not speak *Anishinaabemowin* and, consequently, do not entirely understand what an *Anishinaabe* ontological perspective is. At the center of her comments lies the significance of birthplace and birth itself to living on the land as the ancestors had done. The *Anishinaabe* term for born is *nitaawig*, the same intransitive verb for grow, as in a plant that begins to grow. Due to how *Anishinaabemowin* structures itself and makes meaning, *nita-* also becomes associated with the notion of first. The language encourages users to conceptualize birth in the same way that a plant sprout first indicates its life by extending roots into the earth. Drawing from the vitality of *noopimakamig aki* in a similar manner, *Anishinaabe* people began a personalized relationship with their place of birth from their beginning moments of life. Roles that required a wide range of skills to deal with life's many contingencies characterized these self-land connections. *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses her cousin *Omooday*, for example, to illustrate *Anishinaabe* value for male midwifery. She suggests, however, that the inter-generational infrastructures that include *dadibaajimowin* spoken in *Anishinaabemowin* are no longer in place to support the ancestral way of life because *Anishinaabeg* no longer live in *noopimakamig aki*.

Aanikoobidaaganag developed relationships along several dimensions that characterized their land-based identity as *noopimakamig aki* residents. In the next *dadibaajimowin*, for example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* talks about interactions with prominent dwellers of the night sky. She was present during her uncle's final visit to *Namegosibiing* when he conducted a ceremony to honor one such personage, *Makoshkizh*, describing how *Naadowe*'s tribute included a song that he followed with a request for a special blessing for her as his young niece. The *dadibaajimowin* is as follows:

<i>Nimishoomenzhiban Naadowe ishkôj</i>	When my late uncle, <i>Naadowe</i> , visited
<i>gii bi giiyoodepan Namegosibiing ...</i>	Trout Lake for the last time ... [1939].
<i>shkôj gii biizhaaj [1939]...Jiimis, Jôj-</i>	<i>Jiimis</i> and <i>Jôjens</i> ... brought their father
<i>ens ... gii bi giiyoode'aawaaj odede-</i>	home to visit ... my mom asked me to
<i>waan ... my mom gaagii' ganoozh-</i>	make a small amount of ... wine ...
<i>ipan ji ozhitooyaan bangijj ... onaab-</i>	I poured some in a small cup and gave it
<i>ookaanens ... atooyaambaan minikw-</i>	to him ... he
<i>aaganens egii' miinag ... binamaa egii'</i>	sang first ... he directed his attention
<i>nigamopan ... Miish i'iwedi gaa' izhi</i>	toward the heavens ...
<i>inootamaawizij ishpiming...wanag-</i>	the stars ... He referred to something up
<i>oshag...Makoshkizh ogii'izhinikaad-</i>	there in the heavens as <i>Makoshkizh</i> ...
<i>aan...Ji onji zhawendaagoziyaan...Gii'</i>	So that I would be loved and cared for
<i>nigamo sa wiin igo. (002B1D2012, 2)</i>	... Certainly, he did sing.

This *dadibaaqimowin* indicates that *Anishinaabe* people maintained special relationships with the stars and constellations of the night places *ishpiming*, high above the *noopimakamig* homelands. This close sense of association is evident from the fact that the beings had *Anishinaabe* names and from the deferential manner with which *Anishinaabeg* conducted their affairs with them. Also apparent is that *Anishinaabe* people used *onaabookaan* sparingly as a sacred component of ceremony to convey honor and respect toward those with whom they enjoyed special relationships. Mentioning *Jiimis* and *Jôjens*'s role in the event, moreover, this *dadibaaqimowin* speaks to the care, maintenance, and wellbeing of the *Anishinaabe* elders' spiritual, familial, and land relationships by, in this case, bringing them over long distances across the homelands in midwinter. At the same time, the sons' gesture demonstrates how an elder's final visit home became the final physical reenactment of his land-identity relationship.

A closer examination of *Anishinaabe* relationships among *wanangoshag* helps to further clarify how such non-humans featured in the landscape of the *Namegosibii* *Anishinaabe* identity narrative. *Dedibaayaanimanook* tells us that people benefitted in many ways from their familiarity with the various stellar-constellational patterns across *ishpiming*. Her *dadibaaqimowin* is as follows:

<i>Wiinge sa go ogii' aabajitoonaawaa</i> <i>odinaabanjiganiwaa ishpiming ...wan-</i> <i>angosha' ... gikendaanaawaa ... geni</i> <i>ayizhiwebak...Gaa-aanzigoodeg. Okwa-</i> <i>goojinoog wanangoshag ...indede gaa-</i>	They fully used what they calculated from studies and observations of the heavens ... of the stars ... what the weather would be ... <i>Gaa-aanzigoodeg.</i> ... is a group of stars strung together ...
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gii' nitaa wiindang...Bezhi idash mii- my father always talked about it ...
na gii' agaasin i'idino e'okwagoojino- there was a small cluster of them ...
waaj ...Ojiiganang ogii'izhinikaadaa- They called that one *Ojiiganang* ...
naawaa mii'iweni... Niibiwa' osha ogii' They were able to accomplish many
doodaanaawaa ... Niibiwa' ... ogii' things ... They used the stars in many
aabaji'aawaa' wanangosha' ... Aaniin different ways ... [such as] future
i'i geni izhiwebak. (002B1D2012, 3) weather conditions.

Attention to the heavenly beings helped *Anishinaabeg* extend their understanding and navigate through the various landscapes of their *noopimakamig* places of home. To illustrate, they understood their relationships with *wanangoshag* to be reciprocal, as *Naadowe's* special ceremony to *Makoshkizh* shows. The term that *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses, *odinaabanjiganiwaa'*, tells us that they observed the stars carefully, tapping into the nature of these relationship-based meanings. Evident from the *-aabanjigan* of the *odinaabanjiganiwaa'* expression, dreaming was a critical component in this form of knowledge production. *Anishinaabe* practitioners were thus able to arrive at accurate and precise calculations about weather patterns and conditions. Their acquired knowledge guided travel plans and assured safe journeys throughout all seasons of the year. This form of knowledge production required the ability and willingness to be outdoors and active during the nighttime hours when stars were visible, whether it was summer or winter. Rooted in relationship with *noopimakamig*, *Anishinaabe* sense of self required constant awareness of events in all directions and from all aspects of the homelands.

An interesting feature of the *dadibaajimowin* is its differentiation of stars and

constellations. *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses the verb *wiindang* (inanimate) rather than *wiinaaj* (animate) for the constellation *Gaa-aanzigoodeg*, a name which itself alludes to what is as opposed to who is. With the verb phrase *ogii'izhinikaadaanaawaa* (they called it), as opposed to *ogii'izhinikaanaawaan* (they called her/him), in reference to *Ojiiganang*, the Fisher constellation, *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates its inanimacy. *Anishinaabe* people familiarized themselves with the identities of stars and constellations, their areas of influence, and the means by which to access their power.³⁶ Largely concurring with how *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* saw the relationships between celestial bodies and terrestrial events and phenomena are the teachings of *Anishinaabe* cultural astronomer Michael Wassegijig Price.³⁷

The theme of identity formation embedded in an *Anishinaabe* global and geographical, stellar and constellational, historical, and relational system of positioning draws on the role of heavenly bodies that extends to *dibiki giizis*, the moon. Similar to the stars, *dibiki giizis* (literally, the night sun) and its positions and phases throughout the seasons were important sources of information. *Dedibaayaanimanook* specifies how *aanikoobidaaganag* used their knowledge about the moon for organizing time. Her observations are as follows:

[A]yinishkaaj...dibiki giizis...maam-	[H]ow ... the moon ... changes its
akaadendamaan noongom e'izhimikaw-	shape ... when I think about it today, I
iyaan...Gaawn wiikaa gegoon egii' ay-	am amazed ... [T]hey never used one [a

³⁶ For another description of *Anishinaabe* astronomy, see

<http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/edu/ViewLoitDa.do?method=preview&lang=EN&id=5186>

³⁷ Michael Wassegijig Price's web site is <http://www.michaelwassegijig.com/star-knowledge.html>

<i>aasigô</i> [calendar]... <i>egii' gikendamow-</i>	calendar] ... yet they knew when it was
<i>aaj aaniin i'i...e' gichi anama'egiizh-</i>	Christmas[?] ... it was as though... they
<i>iga[?]...daabishkoo...gii' ikidowag...</i>	said ... it positioned itself
<i>gii izhisej gii gichi anama'egiizhigak ...</i>	for Christmas ... They never lost track
<i>Gaawn wiikaa gii' wanisesiiwag...gaa-</i>	of time ... with the method they
<i>izhi giiziswewaaj. (005AD2012, 1)</i>	used.

The role of *dibiki giizis* was to track and record the passages of time. Therefore, *Anishinaabe* proficiencies included the skill to look at the moon as though it were a calendar and recognize its unique orientations any time of the year. This, *Dedibaayaanimanook* mused in retrospect, was remarkable because people had to recognize and remember the complex set of patterns by which *dibiki giizis* positioned itself in each of its numerous sub-phases of travel across the seasons. In the next *dadibaajimowin*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* specifies the associations of each full moon of the year with a particular terrestrial phenomenon.

The system for identifying and naming the major annual phases of the moon was based on the most significant seasonal developments of the boreal homelands. Consisting of a specific number of lunar alignments, *Dedibaayaanimanook* now explains that each name captures a corresponding earthly event in the following:

<i>Migiziwi Giizis wa'a noongom gaa-</i>	[T]his is the new moon of Bald Eagle
<i>oshagoojing ... [?] ge agoojing, Niki</i>	Moon ... [?] that will be next, Canada
<i>Giizis ... miinawaash awasa'a ...</i>	Goose Moon ... and then the next one
<i>mii'awedi Maango Giizis ... Miinawaa</i>	... is Loon Moon ... and the next after

<i>awasa'a, Omagakiwi Giizis ... Gaa-</i>	that, Frog Moon ... The One Who
<i>dakwaasigej wiin izhinikaazo wa'a-</i>	Shines Briefly is the one now
<i>wedi noongom gaaizhisej [February]</i>	[February] ...
... my mom, <i>Animikodaadiwi Giizis</i>	my mom, <i>Animikodaadiwi Giizis</i> ... she
... <i>Gaaginôsiges gaye ogii' izhini-</i>	also called it The One Who Shines for a
<i>kaanaan [January]. (002BD2012, 2)</i>	Long Time [January].

The singular positioning of the full moon when *migiziwig* were returning in February-March, for example, was *Migiziwi Giizis*. This was followed by its next appearance as *Niki Giizis* when *nikag*, the Canada geese, arrived and so on over the course of the year. Important to note from this *dadibaajimowin* is the interference of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* in the lives of *Anishinaabe* people that is made evident in *Dedibaayaanimanook's* mother's name for February. Becoming *Gaa-dakwaasigej* (The One Who Shines Briefly), it is a direct reference to the *wemitigoozhi* convention of characterizing the month that immediately precedes *Migiziwi Giizis* as short. The duration of that lunar phase is, of course, no shorter than any of the others. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* carried out their observations from the unique perspective of the latitudes and longitudes of their *noopimakamig* homelands. Although she does not say so directly, however, *Dedibaayaanimanook* suggests that *Anishinaabe* people who no longer live in the ancestral homelands do not experience the return of *migiziwig* (bald eagles) and *nikag* (Canada geese) or even hear the voices of *maangwag* (loons) and *omagakiig*³⁸ (frogs/toads) in the same way that the ancestors had done because they are no longer in

³⁸ The months that follow *Migiziwi Giizis* and *Niki Giizis* are *Maangi Giizis* and *Omagakiwi Giizis*.

noopimakamig.

In addition to their knowledge about the use of celestial clocks and calendars, the people of *Namegosibiing* were well acquainted with weather related and environmental conditions. This knowledge, especially crucial when planning to travel across open stretches of water or a frozen lake, was the result of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* familiarity with the activities and events of *Zhaawan*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* alludes to *Zhaawan*'s role as follows:

<i>Nashkesh ... giwedionong gii izhi</i>	[F]or example, a red sky toward the
<i>miskwakwak ... izhi maajii miskwak-</i>	north ... they said that the red color-
<i>wan gii' ikidowag ... zhaawanong in-</i>	ation begins in ... the south ... where
<i>ake ... gii izhi maaji miskwakwak ...</i>	the red first starts to appear ... That
<i>Mii' iwe e' giba 'iganiwij Zhaawan ...</i>	is where it catches and stops <i>Zhaa-</i>
<i>miinawaa gwek inakeya 'ii gii' izhi</i>	<i>wan</i> ... then it would begin to get red
<i>maajii miskwakwak ... giizhoowayaa</i>	in the opposite direction ... it will be
<i>gii' ikidowag ... Niibiwa' ... gii' inô-</i>	warm, they would say ... they had a
<i>jige... Miish i' i debwe gaa-gii' izhiw-</i>	lot of knowledge ... That was what
<i>ebak ... Debwe sago wiinge bigo gii'</i>	the weather was ... It was a very
<i>izhiweban gegoon. (002B1D2012, 3)</i>	accurate method for predictions.

An understanding of how *Zhaawan* affected the skies throughout the day in combination with knowledge of the *ishpiming* beings comprised a portion of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* traditional system of knowledge. It was the basis for *Anishinaabe* ability to read and accurately predict various conditions and to interpret their effects. The efficacy

of that knowledge system is evident in the lack of *dadibaaJimowin* about *Anishinaabe* persons becoming lost, not knowing their directions, or dying from being caught in an unforeseen predicament. Rather, *dadibaaJimowin* about their knowledge indicates how closely attuned they were to the physical and spiritual characteristics of *noopimakamig*. This knowledge, however, was attainable only experientially by maintaining a continuous presence in the homelands, optimally from birth, as *Dedibaayaanimanook* states in the first *dadibaaJimowin* of this section.

Dedibaayaanimanook alludes to one of the most fundamental components of *Anishinaabe* thought, having to do with certain responsibilities people had to fulfill in order to acquire their knowledge. Speaking on a broader level and alluding to the original cosmological ordering of *Anishinaabe* ontology and to *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, she states the following:

<p><i>Aaniish weweni gaye ogii' ganawen- daan Anishinaabe odakii ...that's why its so debwemagak gakina gegoon... Gaawn gegoon ogii' gagwe nishiwanaajitoosiin odakiim.</i></p> <p>(002B1D2012, 3)</p>	<p>Indeed, <i>Anishinaabe</i> people also took great care of their responsibility toward their land ... that's why its so true, all of it ... They never knowingly destroyed any part of their homelands.</p>
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The *Namesosibii Anishinaabe* ancestors, as *noopimakamig aki* inhabitants, nurtured a respectful relationship with celestial and terrestrial dwellers alike and in return they were gifted with special knowledge and abilities. But, as *dadibaaJimowin* also intimates, the forces of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* disrupted these finely balanced relationships.

Dedibaayaanimanook, for example, did not herself spend sufficient time on the land with fellow *Anishinaabeg* to acquire or remember the same level of knowledge about natural phenomena such as the activities of *Zhaawan* as her parents and grandparents before her. With the arrival of *wemitigoozhiwag*, these land-rooted relationships became chaotic and largely meaningless, replaced by others. Even though *Dedibaayaanimanook* and those of her generation use *wemitigoozhi* inventions such as watches and calendars, the notion of abandoning the *noopimakamig*-based knowledge system of the ancestors is no less unsettling for her as an *Anishinaabe* thinker as it was for *aanikoobidaaganag*. When she alludes to comparisons at the end of her narration, *Dedibaayaanimanook* wishes only to remind us of the veracity of the old ways, not simply disparage the modern ways of today.

Younger generations have experienced disconnections with their ancestral homeland and its knowledges, but their *dadibaajimowin* conveys a desire to self-identify from a homeland-*noopimakamig aki* frame of reference. Elder *Oo'oons* Kejick, to illustrate, discusses the barriers that have kept him from acquiring a place for himself in *Namegosibiing* as follows:

<p>[O]nzaam ogoweniwag wenitigoo- zhiwag...wiiyaasikewininiwag... MNR ... Ingosaag. Ingotaaj wedi ji izhaay- aan, ji bi andawaabamiwaad ... aandi ezhi...waakaa'igan ji ozhitooyaan ... ji ... izhiwaad ... "Gaawn omaa gidaa ayaasii!" ... Daabishkoo ji ... manaa</p>	<p>Because of these European settler people ... game wardens ... MNR ... I am afraid of them. I am afraid to go there, that they will come looking for me ... if I build a house ... that they will say ... to me ... "You should not be here!" It is as though ... no one must be</p>
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ayaad awiya i'ima. (001BDO2012, 4) there.

The fears *Oo'oons* expresses are in regard to the events surrounding the eviction of his family from their homes in Red Lake by *wemitigoozhiwag*. Adding to his anxieties has been his awareness of the OMNR use of game wardens to impose provincial policies throughout the homelands. *Oo'oons* thus identifies fear as the most fundamental of the obstacles preventing him (and others) from living in *noopimakamig* where the practices of *aanikoobidaaganag* were attainable. His disclosure, moreover, accurately identifies fear and terror as the longstanding *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* tools for eliciting compliance.

Despite these deterrents, however, *Oo'oons* has been able to spend brief periods of time visiting *Nomegosibiing* over the years, thus revitalizing his sense of connection with the homeland places of *aanikoobidaaganag*. In the following narrative, for example, he describes a canoe trip down *Nomegosi Ziibi* that he and other community members took in the recent past:

[G]wanabisewaad ...Gagwe	[T]heir canoe tipped over ... We
bagwaanegamigokeyaang ... Four	were trying to set up the tents ... It
days <i>ingii' dazhiikaamin</i> [the canoe	[the canoe trip] took us four days ...
trip] ... <i>Anishinaabeg</i> ... <i>mewinzha</i>	<i>Anishinaabe</i> people ... the place
<i>gaa-gii' izhi gabeshiwaagobaneg</i> ... <i>e'</i>	where they had camped a long time
<i>bimi ayaawaad</i> . (009ADO2013, 2)	ago ... when they were traveling.

Oo'oons holds the memory of *odaanikoobidaagana'* in the highest regard. It is not surprising that his underlying sentiments about the journey are satisfaction and gratitude,

even despite the rainy weather and having a canoe capsize. In fact, the inclement weather may have added to his sense of appreciation for the grandfathers and their lifeways. The memory of briefly retracing a portion of the ancestral journeys serves to reinvigorate a profoundly meaningful connection to *noopimakamig* for *Oo'oons*. There is, however, an intimation of sadness in his words, *gaa-gii' izhi gabeshiwaagobaneg ... e' bimi ayaawaad* that the English translation does not quite capture. His canoe trip *dadibaajimowin* seems to suggest, in a bittersweet tone, that for many of us, the ancestors, their travels, campsites, and related activities can only ever be memories.

Other participants also speak about *Namegosibiing* from recollections of parents and grandparents. *Niinzhoode* Wilfred Kejick, younger sibling of *Oo'oons*, for example, refers to his parents and grandfather by name as he relates the following:

Sandy Beach [?] <i>i' imaa ate ... a</i>	Sandy Beach [Lodge] ... is a place
long time ago ... <i>gete ya'ii ...</i>	there ... a long time ago ... the old
<i>indedeban, nimaamaaban ... Paul,</i>	... my late father, my late mother ...
<i>Gikinô'amaagewinini ... Nakojiiz ...</i>	Paul, <i>Gikinô'amaagewinini ... Naa-</i>
<i>Indaa minwendaan ... Anishinaaben-</i>	<i>kojiiz ... I would be happy ... his</i>
<i>ikaazod ... Jiiyaan ... indaana sa maa-</i>	<i>Anishinaabe name ... Jiiyaan ...</i>
<i>mikaw ... Trout Lake ... Gaawn aapiji</i>	I can still remember ... Trout Lake
<i>ingikendanziin Trout Lake ... indaa</i>	... I am not very familiar with Trout
<i>gikendanziin. (003AKK2012, 2)</i>	Lake ... I would not know.

The phrase, “*indaana sa maamikaw*” (nonetheless, I do still remember), that *Niinzhoode* uses is an allusion to much more than the passage of time and the advancing years that

tend to diminish memory. The obstacles that prevented him from having the same strong connection to and relationship with *Namegosibiing* as his *aanikoobidaaganag* are the impositions of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* and its underlying beliefs and value systems. These included boarding school and the necessity of engaging in the wage labor economies that replaced the self-determination of a traditional *Anishinaabe* way of life. Despite these hindrances and his fragmented knowledge, however, *Niinzhooode* names his mother, father, and grandfather *Jiyyaan* (Donald Keesick), thus indicating his on-going interest in and sense of affiliation with those from whom his *Namegosibiing* heritage derives.

Another example of this sense of relationship with *Namegosibiing* is evident in the briefly spoken *dadibaajimowin* of William King, great-great-grandson of *Giizhig*. He speaks the following in both *Anishinaabemowin* and English:

[G]aawn ... Once in awhile [ingii'	No [I have no <i>Anishinaabe</i> name] ...
wanii'ige <i>Namegosibiing</i>] ... ingoding	once in a while [I trapped in Trout
... Trout Lake	Lake] ... occasionally ... [when we
Lodge [gii izhidaayeng] ... [gaye]	lived at] Trout Lake Lodge ... [with]
inshiimenzhag. (003AKK2012, 1)	my younger siblings.

William, a great-nephew of *Dedibaayaanimanook*, lived in various places that included *Namegosibiing* throughout his life. Born in Balmertown and currently residing in Red Lake, he states that he lived in *Namegosibiing* where he and his younger siblings trapped together during his youth. For William to refrain from overtly expressing an interest in *Namegosibiing* does not suggest that he lacks a sense of connection with the homeland of

his maternal ancestors. Rather, the *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* impacts in his life and in the lives of his family members occurred in *Namegosibiing* as well as in Red Lake. The same kind of hindrances to which *Niinzhoode* refers also influences how William speaks. It is often impossible to discuss deeply felt losses in the knowledge about the ancestors, the *dadibaaJimowin* they told, and the choice to live freely on the ancestral homelands.

Martha Angeconeb Fiddler gives voice to land-based self-images from the reference point of a re-visit to her birthplace. Other than brief visits, she never returned to *Namegosibiing* after leaving for school, but she still speaks in terms of wanting to return. Her description of the current state of the house in which she once lived suggests a desire to protect her relationship with the ancestral homelands from a similar fate. Indicating that her sense of identity remains rooted in *Namegosibiing*, she states the following:

<i>In[?]endaan osha geniin [?] gezhaa ji</i>	I too think[?] about [?] building one
<i>ozhitooyaan i'iwedi ... niin, e' gikend-</i>	over there ... as I know ... that I too
<i>amaan ... ji ozhitooyaan ... waakaa'i-</i>	build a house ... The last time I was
<i>gan, geniin ... The last time I was there,</i>	there, my house was still standing ...
<i>geyaabish gii' badakide ni waakaa'igan</i>	the porch...a tree in the middle...Yes
<i>... the porch ... a tree right in the</i>	... over there where I was born there.
<i>middle ... Enha' ... i'iwedi egii' izhi</i>	
<i>nitaawigiyaan. (007AM2012, 1)</i>	

Recalling her place of birth, Martha thinks about building a home of her own in *Namegosibiing* where she was born, learned to speak *Anishinaabemowin*, spent time with her grandmother, and shared experiences with siblings and cousins. To be sure, the notion

of a home in *Namegosibiing* is less than realistic, given the financial, logistical, familial, and other imperatives. Similar to *Gwiishka'oo*, *Oo'oons*, *Niinzhooode*, and William, Martha nonetheless maintains a strong sense of connection to the ancestral *Namegosibiing*. *Dadibaaajimowin* suggests that the place of her birth and its memories continue to be the basis of her true identity, with the declining state of where she once lived with her family seeming to reinforce her yearning to return.

Younger than Martha, Riel Olsen acknowledges *Namegosibiing* as home. Although he has a basic understanding of his *Anishinaabe* lineage and familial ties, the *dadibaaajimowin* he voices reflects a desire for greater knowledge about the history of his people and their relationship with the homelands as follows:

Of course, I pretty much consider it my home ... my earliest memories are from out there ... I haven't heard too much specifics in stories. I heard ...people's names...a general idea of how we ended up out there...and a little...history of...our family...going back to...Sam...Keesick... my great-great grandfather...It's not only my mom; I've been out there and spent lots of time with ... assorted aunts and one uncle ... Harald. (008A2013, 1)

Riel intimates that it was primarily the influence of his mother, who was born in *Namegosibiing*, and other family members that helped him develop a distinct relationship with the place of his maternal ancestors. There is, however, a hint of regret in the tone of his narrative when he alludes to the *Namegosibiing* stories he has yet to hear. Keenly aware that *Anishinaabemowin* remains to be learned, Riel speaks English as his first language and mentions the name by which he came to know about his great-great-grandfather *Giizhig*, Sam Keesick. Moreover, Riel regards *Namegosibiing* as having the

power to draw family members together where they can visit, learn, and renew relationships.

In the next segment of his *dadibaajimowin*, Riel elaborates on the activities he and his uncle pursued. He acknowledges the information he gained from his experiences living on the land with his uncle and learning about names and places of cultural significance as follows:

[I]n the winter ... we'd spend a lot of the time in Trout Lake ... We ... subsisted off the land ... taught me how to set a net ... did a little bit of hunting ... We went all over the place ... He did tell me a lot about that stuff [place names, significance of places] ... it's ... home to me ... It always has been and always will be and so it's not that I always think about it ... I keep in touch with ... relatives ... It's not too many of us left, so it's good to keep in touch ... working ... living out there, there's very few of us ... A lot of the family, that's the only place I run into them, when they come out to visit ... for a few days or a week ... once a year ... Actually our branch of the family is probably the only ones that are out there fairly steady throughout winter and summer ... Keesicks, Olsen-Keesicks, whatever ... it's [the diminishing number of *Giizhig's* descendants in Trout Lake] been going on for a long time ... Charlie [*Jiins Angeconeb*] and [*N*]ookom, I think, were ... pretty much the only ones that actually lived out there for most of the year ... the last ones to ... The way I see making money, you're always taking ... or using the land somehow, in a way that it shouldn't ... Current society is at odds

with the way we live ... The two ways ... are almost not compatible anymore. (008AR2013, 1)

Here, Riel reiterates the identity of *Namegosibiing* as his home and draws attention to the importance of continuing homeland-based associations with relatives. Spending each summer in *Namegosibiing* as a guide is a means for pursuing and preserving his ancestral connections. In his critique of a value system that prioritizes the pursuit of money without regard for its environmental consequences, Riel suggests that those who seek a land-based identity through wage labor actually become a part of that value system.

Participation in the system is in fact the quandary for most of us. While *aanikoobidaaganag* had the ability to live on and care for the homelands, *Anishinaabeg* today remain close to the land as best they can. Often, however, we must pursue a professional career that is more monetarily rewarding and unarguably more socially acceptable in mainstream society. In its allusions to professional and life choices, this *dadibaajimowin* demonstrates Riel's particular commitment to a *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity. Interesting to note, incidentally, a modernized version of *dadibaajimowin* that members of today's *Anishinaabe* communities are more frequently using is Facebook. It is a means for Riel to share thoughts and comments as they occur to him during his work of ushering guests across the waterscapes of *Namegosibiing*.

Dadibaajimowin about efforts to retain relationship with the *Namegosibiing* homelands reveals other types of circumstances. Martha's daughter Janae Fiddler was born in Thunder Bay, ON. Her comments intimate a more indirect and distanced sense of connection to the traditional home of her mother and maternal grandfather when she says,

“I have never been to Trout Lake ... Just that my mom grew up there” (007AMJ2013, 2).

With these statements she suggests that her ideas of home and relationships with *noopimakamig* lie in places other than *Namegosibiing*. The briefness, rather than explicitness, of her remarks is indicative of where she sees herself situated regarding *Namegosibiing*. Martha adds her own sentiments about her daughter’s place of home and cultural sense of identity in the following:

I thought about them [her children], coming to visit ... and having a place there. I don’t know if they’d want to stay there or live there because they’re so used to that technology that we have today ... when there’s nothing like that out there, just bush. (007AMJ2013, 2)

If she had had a place of her own, Martha surmises, she would have had somewhere to bring her children and grandchildren. Even though they were born and raised elsewhere, they may have had opportunities to develop a degree of the closeness she maintains for *Namegosibiing*. Her comments thus suggest that today’s young people have a greater affinity for other places and lifeways due to the circumstances of their parentage, birth, and upbringing.

Foremost, the means by which *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people demonstrated their identity from a homeland-*noopimakamig aki* frame of reference was their relationship with the elements of the land in which they lived and the embedded knowledge they acquired. *Dadibaaqjimowin* reveals aspects of how identity emerged from the interactions of *Anishinaabeg* with *noopimakamig* throughout the processes of travel. To illustrate, *Dedibaayaanimanook* describes these relationships during return voyages on the river in late summer. Her *dadibaaqjimowin* shows that *Anishinaabe* people approached

manoominikewin (gathering wild rice) with meticulousness and deference, working only when the weather was suitable and taking only what each family needed for the winter.

She speaks as follows:

<i>Nitam...gii'wiikongewaaaj... Ji mino</i>	[T]hey held a ceremonial feast ... So
<i>izhiwebaninig ewii manoomanikewaaaj</i>	the proper conditions for harvesting ...
<i>...Bawaasin...manoomin gii gichinoo-</i>	The kernels blow off if it is too windy
<i>ding...Biinish gaawiin gii'ani ayaasii-</i>	... Until eventually there were none of
<i>wag...Gii ani baatiinowaaaj wemitigoo-</i>	them left ... When European settler
<i>zhiwag...Gii'minochigewag...Debwe-</i>	people increased in number ... They did
<i>shi'i gaa'izhi andawendamowaaaj ji</i>	things correctly ... They were granted
<i>izhiwebaninig mii' igo gaa'izhiweba-</i>	that what they requested of the weather
<i>ninig...Ji onji gaye gimiwanzinog ...</i>	conditions ... And also that it would not
<i>gaawn gii' onizhishinzinoon manoom-</i>	rain ... because it was not good for the
<i>in...maawiin ombishkaa...Gaawn gin-</i>	wild rice ... perhaps it fermented ...
<i>wenzh...gaa' manoominikewaaaj... nii-</i>	They did not take long to gather the
<i>wogon, naanogon...Gii debisewaaaj be-</i>	wild rice ... four, five days ... One bag
<i>bezhig mashkimodan...Gii'manaa dip-</i>	each was sufficient ... it could not get
<i>aabaawe...Wiinge...gii' ayaangwaam-</i>	wet ... They were extremely careful
<i>ichigewag gegoon jiizhisesinog...Gii-</i>	with everything they did ... If it became
<i>shpin bangi dipaabaaweg gaawn gii'</i>	the least bit damp, they were not
<i>minwendanziiwag. (015AD2013, 1)</i>	happy.

Underscoring the care with which *Anishinaabeg* carried out *manoominikewin*,

Dedibaayaanimanook reiterates the gatherers' responsibilities. If the rice was even slightly damp, for example, they were disappointed for specific reasons. The rice crop was compromised and would spoil, but more importantly, a dampened crop signified that they had not read the conditions accurately.

This *dadibaaJimowin* demonstrates that *manoominikewin* was an exchange based on the ability of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people to cultivate a careful relationship with *noopimakamig aki* and its associated beings that included the winds, rain, water, humidity, and constituent elements and characteristics of *manoomin* itself. Fully appreciative of the fact that their lives depended on the largesse of *noopimakamig aki*, *Anishinaabeg* enacted ceremony as a symbol of their intent to conduct their affairs with respect. The arrival of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, however, disrupted the existing order and led to the rapid disappearance of *Anishinaabe* knowledge systems, skills, relationships, and even *manoomin*. Interesting to note, *Dedibaayaanimanook* uses the phrase *bebezhig mashkimodan*, indicating that the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* wild rice gathering was a community effort in which all its members participated. With the phrase *gii debisewaaq*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* also says that people stopped gathering as soon as they secured the total estimated quantity for their winter needs. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* followed the principle of avoiding surplus and the possibility of waste, dividing the crop equally among member families.

DadibaaJimowin suggests other ways by which *Anishinaabe-noopimakamig* relationships were apparent as people traveled throughout the places of home. Perhaps one of the most memorable and meaningful was *Giizhig*'s last journey when he was 100 years old and *Dedibaayaanimanook* was a small child of approximately seven. His final

passage along the portage trails of *Namegosi Ziibi* symbolized a series of closures in the historical affairs of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Upon *Giizhig*'s passing and burial *ezhi bimishinowaaj*, the community mourned the loss of their beloved mentor, teacher, advisor, and leader. In the following *dadibaajimowin*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* describes a segment of their journey as the *Giizhig* era drew to a close:

<p>I don't remember ... <i>gaa-gii' ani gag-aakiwe – amii' ishkôj gii' gopa' aang-iban. Ingii' ani gagaakiwe wijiwaaban ako e' gabadoonaaniwang ... ni mishoomis ... sagini[?]kenishij ... Amii-shi'ishkôj gii' gopa'angiban ... Jibi wiin Gookomiban gaa' ayizhisheshiwigobanen [laughter]... Amiishii' gewiin baamaa miinawaa e' ani dagwaagininig, amiish i'i gewiin gii' ishkwa ayaaj Nookomiban. (016AD2010, 3)</i></p>	<p>I don't remember which way the portage trail went—it was his last portage journey. I would go with him as we made our way along the trails ... my grandfather ... he would [?] hold onto my arm ... That was his last journey up the river ... I wonder which way my late grandmother went [laughter] ... And then during the following autumn she too passed, my late grandmother.</p>
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This *dadibaajimowin* invokes the image of *Dedibaayaanimanook* as a little girl assisting her aged grandfather to negotiate a familiar course for the last time. It is one of life's recurring ironies that the same small child is 94 years old and she herself now requires assistance with walking. This *dadibaajimowin* is also a testimony of longevity.

Significant to the community-land relationship, both *Giizhig* and *Nookomiban* spent their final days in *Namegosibiing* and are buried at the traditional cemetery of the *Namegosibii*

Anishinaabe people (Agger, 2008). The trails along *Namegosi Ziibi* where the *Anishinaabe* people's patriarch made his final journey with his young granddaughter are some of the places with which *Dedibaayaanimanook* and other community and family members hold enduring relationships as a component of their *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aweneniwiyeng dadibaajimowin* identity narrative. *Dadibaajimowin* thus indicates that the essence of relationship and identity is as much about the events and the *noopimakamig* in which they occurred as it is about the memories people hold and share.

Although *Dedibaayaanimanook* has not been on the ancestral routes in over seven decades, she remembers place names and several of their associated events. These recollections suggest that her attachment with the *noopimakamig* places of home will always be a part of how she sees herself in the world. Importantly, they speak to the extent of the *Anishinaabe* people's gained knowledge about the physical and spiritual characteristics of the homelands. As the last remaining *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* elder to live and experience life across much of the traditional lands in accordance with the customary practices of *aanikoobidaaganag*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* includes valuable insights in her *dadibaajimowin* that are critical to this search for *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity. Her narratives are foundational to my objective to explore *aweneniwiyeng* from a land-based *Anishinaabe* perspective.

In the first of this group of narratives, *Dedibaayaanimanook* mentions the names of four locations where her family traveled. Beginning with a discussion about the places from which *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* launched their winter activities, she explains as follows:

[G]aagii' izhi waasawang...Memegwe- Memegweshiwi Zaa'iganing was a

<i>shiwi Zaa'iganing...</i>	Jackfish Bay, <i>zaag-</i>	faraway place ... Jackfish Bay, small
<i>a'iganiinsan–mewinzha...</i>	<i>Ogii'waaw-</i>	lakes – a long time ago ... My father
<i>iindaanan shako indede gaa'izhi nikaad</i>		used to say the names by which they
<i>[?]amowaaj...wanii' igewaaj...</i>	Jackfish	were referred when they were trapping
<i>Baykaang...maawaj Gaaminitigwashk-</i>		... at Jackfish Bay ... especially <i>Gaa-</i>
<i>iigaag...indedeke niwiiiwaaban e'wa-</i>	<i>minitigwashkiigaag</i>	... I used to go
<i>zhakwanii'igej...ninitaa ando zhiigwan-</i>		with my father, muskrat trapping ...
<i>ishiyaang e'akawaatoowaapan, Gichi</i>		we would spend early spring there at
<i>Onigamiing... Jiibayi Zaagiing</i>		<i>Gichi Onigamiing</i> while waiting ... it
<i>izhinikaade. (005AD2012, 2-3)</i>		is called <i>Jiibayi Zaagiing</i> .

Dedibaayaanimanook speaks of the distant *Memegweshiwi Zaa'igan* northeast of *Namegosibiing* where she became inexplicably ill in her infancy (Agger, 2008). Although she herself never went to many of her father's favorite places for trapping, she heard him speak their names frequently. *Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag*, where the *Giizhig* families stayed during early spring to trap for muskrats, was her place of birth. As its name implies, *Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag* is low lying and marshy, a preferred habitat for *wazhashkwag*. Importantly, she explains that Jackfish Bay was actually *Jiibayi Zaagiing*. This and other name changes were part of the erasure of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* cultural identity and denial of their historical presence in the homelands. Hence, this project's search for and use of *Anishinaabe* place names are a key component in the restoration of *Anishinaabe* self-identity.

Gichi Onigam, so small that it is barely a speck on the map we use for this

dadibaaqimowin, was a tiny body of water along the journey to *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* and Swain Post. In search of *Gichi Onigam*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* attempts to peruse the map but is clearly more conversant with the land itself than a map that does not show the details that remain so familiar to her. She alludes to the location and size of the lake in the following segment:

<i>Zaaga'iganiins ate gaa-gii' ayizhaay-</i>	There is a small lake where we used
<i>aang ... Ikwewi Zaa'igan e' izhaayaang</i>	to go ... on our way to <i>Ikwewi</i>
<i>... George Swain...e bimaakogomoy-</i>	<i>Zaa'igan</i> (Woman Lake) ... George
<i>aang ... akawaatoonaawaa ji</i>	Swain ... when we canoed [?] while
<i>zhaagigamiwang Namegosib ...</i>	waiting for Trout Lake to open
<i>ingoding[?] Gichi Onigamiing ...</i>	...sometimes at <i>Gichi Onigam</i> ... It is
<i>Gaawn wiin waasa. Namegosibiing</i>	not very far. It is actually a part of
<i>osha bigo ... (001AD2012, 2)</i>	Trout Lake itself ...

Dedibaayaanimanook explains that people traveled to Swain's post to sell muskrat furs and purchase basic supplies before spring breakup. She also indicates that they at times waited at *Gichi Onigam*, pointing out that it is actually so close to *Namegosibiing* and so small that it hardly merits a name of its own.

Continuing with her *dadibaaqimowin* and demonstrating extensive knowledge of and familiarity with the land, *Dedibaayaanimanook* talks about the place where they once stopped for the night. She expresses the joy of their appreciation for the aesthetic quality of their surroundings and embeds *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity in their familiarity with the places in which their travels took them as follows:

Migiziwaabiko Ziibiing ingii' nibaa- We slept at Bald Eagle Rock Creek.
minaaban. Edadawe maawiin wenizh- A truly beautiful location ... There was
ishing!... wawiinge bashkwaa...gichi a clearing ... edged with large
mitigoog gaabadakizowaa ...gaaizhi trees ... where we slept ... Woman
nibaayaangiban... Ikwewi' Zaa'igan. Lake.

(001AD2012, 3)

Migiziwaabiko Ziibiing, the name *Dedibaayaanimanook* mentions, evokes images of the bald eagle, a large slab of rock, and one of the creeks that flows into *Namegosibiing*. Her narrative, however, does not explain the name, leaving listeners to wonder whether a nearby rock resembled a bald eagle or whether it was where eagles ate fish. When *Anishinaabeg* named a place, they often chose its most distinguishing qualities and wove them into a descriptor that reflected these elements. It was a way of honoring the land and ensuring that its most distinctive characteristics were not forgotten. Place names reveal *Anishinaabe* views about the land in terms of what they valued and appreciated and how they expressed their assessment. Rarely, if ever, did *Anishinaabe* people name places after themselves. Activities within *noopimakamig*, its features, and the *dadibaajimowin* that gives them voice are examples of how *Anishinaabeg* enacted a land-based sense of who they were.

Another part of this *dadibaajimowin* includes a discussion about water flow directions across the land, substantiating *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s extensive knowledge. This was the kind of knowledge that was vital for treaty negotiators, as the fact that rivers and watersheds were the basis on which Treaty 3 demarcated the boundaries of

“surrendered” lands indicates. *Dedibaayaanimanook* outlines the flow patterns as follows:

<i>[G]ichi ziibi, gaawn gegoon biizhaa-</i>	[N]o large river ... into
<i>magasinoon Namegosibiing...amiigo</i>	<i>Namegosibiing ... only Namegosib</i>
<i>etago'i Namegosib...gaa maajijiwang</i>	itself ... that flows off into ...
<i>inakeya'ii Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiing</i>	Pakwash Lake ... only small
<i>...ziibiinsensan etago...bi zaagidawiji-</i>	creeks ... come flowing in ...
<i>wan...gaye...bezhigwan...Waabamiko</i>	also, one ... they called <i>Waabamiko</i>
<i>Ziibi ogii' izhinikaadaanaawaa...Jack-</i>	<i>Ziibi</i> [a small creek]... someplace in
<i>fish Bay someplace...ziibiinsan. Gaa-</i>	Jackfish Bay ... the small creeks.
<i>wn wiin michaasinoonan maawiin...</i>	Probably not large ... <i>Waabamiko</i>
<i>Waabamiko Ziibi gaagii' izhinikaad-</i>	<i>Ziibi</i> , my father called it ... Jackfish
<i>ang indede... Jiibayi Zaagiing...Mii</i>	Bay ... <i>Jiibayi Zaagiing</i> ... is its
<i>mayaa ezhinikaadeg. Gaawn wiin</i>	correct name ... not Jackfish
<i>Jackfish Bay izhinikaadesinoon ...</i>	Bay ... Those little
<i>Bayizhi maamawijiwangin ini zii-</i>	creeks come flowing in
<i>iinsan i'ima. (006BD2013, 2-3)</i>	together there.

By noting that only small creeks flow into *Namegosibiing*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates an understanding that it is a spring-fed lake. She calls attention to nearby places where her father frequently trapped, speaking of *Waabamiko Ziibi*, a creek that flows into *Namegosibiing* in the vicinity of *Jiibayi Zaagiing*. Importantly, *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s allusion to the lower elevations of *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'igan* (Figure 1.7, number 6)

suggests the scope of her knowledge about the physical characteristics of the entire region. As well, she directly addresses the inaccuracy of using the English name Jackfish Bay rather than *Jiibayi Zaagiing*. The original name tells us that a creek empties into the lake (*zaagiing*) at the same time it is a reminder of critical events in the lives and history of the *Nomegosibii Anishinaabeg* (Agger, 2008).

Dedibaayaanimanook adds further information about the creek from *Gichi Onigamiing* and Bald Eagle Rock Lake. Her *dadibaajimowin* not only confirms how knowledgeable people were, it explains why their identity as *Anishinaabe* people was rooted in the homelands. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s narrative is as follows:

<i>Gii madaawa 'amowaaj wedi Anish-</i>	When the <i>Anishinaabe</i> people from
<i>inaabeg gaagii' ayaawaaj...[?]saabiko</i>	over there came down the river ...
<i>Maadaawaang...ingoding gaagii' izhi</i>	[?]saabiko <i>Maadaawaang</i> ... where
<i>nagishkawangidô e 'madaawa' amow-</i>	we a times met up with them on their
<i>aaj gewiin...ezhi maadaawijiwang...</i>	down-river journey ... where the river
<i>Bizhiwiniinjii Baawitig...izhinikaade</i>	merges ... a set of rapids called Lynx
<i>baawitig...amiish i 'imaa bayizhi maa-</i>	Paw Rapids ...and that is where the
<i>mawijiwang...ziibiins, bezhigwan...Gi-</i>	one creek merges ...
<i>chi Onigamiing...Gaawn aapiji mangi-</i>	<i>Gichi Onigam</i> ... is not very large ...
<i>gamaasinoon...I don't know! [laughter]</i>	I don't know! [laughter] ... Perhaps
<i>...maawiin, e 'gichi gakiiwemog miikana</i>	because of the long portage trail ...
<i>...e gabadoong Gichi Onigamiing...</i>	around <i>Gichi Onigam</i> ...the kind of
<i>baawitigong gaagakiiwemogin dino...</i>	trail that portages around rapids ... that
<i>mii' iwe wenji izhinikaadeg Gichi Oni-</i>	is why it is called <i>Gichi Onigam</i> ,

gam onzaam...aabita zaaga'iganiins. because the lake is only half the length
(006BD2013, 3) of the portage trail.

This discussion is somewhat difficult to follow, indicating that the map³⁹ is often more confusing than helpful for *Dedibaayaanimanook*. Her main point reiterates that only creeks flow into *Namegosibiing*. One is from *Gichi Onigamiing* and another, from *Migiziwaabiko Zaa'igan*. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s comment about a small river from *Ikwewi Zaa'iganiing* that merges into *Namegosi Ziibi* at *Apisaabiko Maadaawaang* is also significant to the story of the historical activities and relationships of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. It was where they often met kinfolk from the east who were similarly journeying to *Obizhigokaang* Lac Seul. These reunions and gatherings harked back to and confirmed the common origins of the communities as descendants of *Jiyyaan* and occupier-users of the homelands.

Additionally, *Dedibaayaanimanook* mentions one of the rapids, *Bizhiwininjiwi Baawitig*, located close to *Apisaabiko Maadaawaang* (Figure 1.7, number 3). Although there are specific reasons for the name, she does not mention the special *dadibaajimowin* associated with the rapids. My inquiry, however, about the apparent contradiction between the name, *Gichi Onigam* (literally, Big Lake), and its small size is a source of amusement for *Dedibaayaanimanook*. She explains that it was due to the long portage trail, which was apparently twice as long as the lake itself. Describing the direction in which various rivers and creeks flow, she clearly shows familiarity with the physical features and contours of the land, including how the entire region tilts toward the south

³⁹ My unfamiliarity with the land, however, requires our use of *akii mazina'igan*.

and west of *Namegosibiing*.

Important for the *aweneniwiyeeng* discussion about the identity of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people, *Dedibaayaanimanook* names some of the families and individuals whom they met at the *Maadaawaang*. She incorporates interesting and significant details, such as the size of a particular family, as she winds her way through the *dadibaaJimowin* as follows:

<p><i>[W]edi...maadaabiimon, Gaawaaw- aagaabikaag izhinikaade...Gaawn maa- wn wiin niibiwa' bii izhijiwanzinoon... Apisaabiko Maadaawaang...gaagii' izhi nitaa nagishkawangidô Ikwewi Zaa'iganiing, Anishinaabeg. Ingoding ingii' nagishkawaanaanig e'madaawa'- amaang...Gebiyaaniman...Giiwegaab- aw...Oojiwasawaan...Miiwag igiwen- iwag...bebaatiinowaa' onii aanisiw- aa'...ezhijiwang i'i nibi...Manidoo Baawitigong...Migiziwag niisaya'ii gaa'ayaawaaj...gabadooyaangiban ako e' ando manooninikenaaniwang.</i></p>	<p>It starts from over there ... at <i>Gaa- waawaagaabikaag</i> ... Probably not a lot of water flows in ... at <i>Apisaabiko Maadaawaang</i> ... where we used to meet the <i>Anishinaabe</i> people from Woman Lake. We would meet them only sometimes on our voyage down the river ... <i>Gebiyaaniman</i>...and also <i>Giiwegaabaw...Oojiwasawaan</i> ... They ... had many children... that water flows, I think ... to Manitou Falls ... where the bald eagles gather beneath ... We used to portage there when we went to gather wild rice.</p>
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(006BD2013, 3)

Their ancestral origins tracing back to *Jiyyaan* and his six wives (Chapter 5), the relatives

from the *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* regions east of *Namegosibiing* were *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* cousins of various degrees. *Gebiyaaniman* had two granddaughters, one of whom, *Maagii*, married *Niiyoo*, *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s nephew. A member of the *Oojiiwasawaan* family, *Soons* later married *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s cousin's widow and visited in *Namegosibiing*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains that *Gaa-waawaagaabikaag*, a name suggesting smoothly curving rock surfaces, was the source of the water. Although *Dedibaayaanimanook* does not mention it here, *Manidoo Baawitig*, north of *Gaa-minisiwang* (Figure 1.7, number 7), was where *wemitigoozhiwag* built a hydroelectric dam. After so many years, she is still able to visualize the bald eagles that gathered to catch fish beneath the falls.

In the next segment, *Dedibaayaanimanook* mentions other place names on the way to *Obizhigokaang* (Lac Seul). She begins at the source of *Namegosi Ziibi*, *Namegosibiishishiing*, proceeding to where the waters of *Namegosibiing* disappear toward the west and ultimately into the Arctic Ocean. The number of name changes in this *dadibaajimowin* is very important to note because each alteration acted to deny *Anishinaabe* land-based identity and purge the land of *Anishinaabe* historical presence. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin* is as follows:

<i>Namegosibiishishiing...Namegosi Zii-</i>	Little Trout Lake ... Trout Lake
<i>bi...Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins...Gichi</i>	River ... Bruce Lake ... Pakwash Lake
<i>Baagwaashiwi Zaa'igan [onzaam] Baa-</i>	... named [because] there is the small
<i>gwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins e'ayaag...Gaa-</i>	version, Bruce Lake ... Has an Island
<i>minisiwang...bezhigwan...minis...izhi</i>	... there is only one ... island ... where
<i>nitaa manoominikewaaj...Otwawagi Baa-</i>	they used to gather wild rice ... Ear

<i>witig...Gojijiing...Obizhigokaawi Zaa'-</i>	Falls ... Goldpines ... Lac Seul Lake
<i>igan...[?]kaadesinoon mewinzha...Gak-</i>	...[?]it was not called a long time ago
<i>ina osha gegoon noongom bakaan odi-</i>	... Today there are different names for
<i>zhinikaadaanaawaan. (001AD2012, 2)</i>	everything.
<i>Zaagidawaang izhijiwan, ikidowag...</i>	<i>Zaagidawaang</i> ... to the [Arctic] ocean
[the Arctic] ocean... <i>Gojijiing e'bi ojiji-</i>	... the water that flows from Goldpines
<i>wang nibi...I don't know about Biigaan-</i>	... I don't know about Pikangikum ...
<i>jigamiin[?]...bakaan ina wiin i'iwe?</i>	that is different?
(005AD2012, 3)	

The water arrives from north and east, merges at *Manidoo Baawitig* and then traces a circuitous route along the Winnipeg River to eventually empty into Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean. This *Dedibaayaanimanook* refers to as *Zaagidawaang*. There are several place names in this *dadibaajimowin* of which some are English translations of the original *Anishinaabe* terms. Others, including Bruce Lake that was once *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins*, reflect an outsider frame of reference and have little to do with their former names. Showing further familiarity with the region, *Dedibaayaanimanook* indicates that the community of *Biigaanjigamiing* (Pikangikum) is a part of another water system (Figure 1.8, number 1). Located in a watershed that includes the Berens River, it was subsumed into Treaty 5 territory.

To clarify *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins*, now Bruce Lake, *dadibaajimowin* states that it was the location of a small cemetery where some of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* cousins, uncles, and aunts were buried (Agger, 2014). Its natural characteristics, however,

were altered and the cemeteries disturbed when a mining company began to extract iron in the immediate vicinity during the late 1960s. The *Namegosi Ziibi* empties into *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'igan* (Lake Pakwash), a lake replete with several species of medicine plants that *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people customarily gathered. Although many of these places were destroyed by the flooding that resulted from the dams, *Dedibaayaanimanook* does not mention these examples of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* activities in this *dadibaaqjimowin*. Rather, she identifies the lake where the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people stopped to gather *manoomin* and partake in ceremony as *Gaa-minisiwang*.

The final portion of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* *dadibaaqjimowin* about the homelands is an interesting observation that her mother shared with her as a small child. It is another indication of how closely attuned *Anishinaabe* people were to the details of their physical environment. She relates as follows:

<i>Adikamegwaaminikaaning ... i' imaa,</i>	Where the Whitefish Spawn ... there,
<i>wagijaya 'ii...Mii' imaa eko bakaaninaa-</i>	at the top ... That was where the water
<i>gwakiban ako nibi...wiinge e' waasega-</i>	had a different appearance ... it was
<i>mig; amiish i' iwe Namegosibii waabo</i>	very bright; that was Trout Lake water
<i>...Wiinge maawiin mewinzha gii' nan-</i>	... I suppose it disappeared a long time
<i>ingosedog... "Mii' iwe Namegosibii</i>	ago ... "That is <i>Namegosib</i> water!" my
<i>waabo!" ako my mom indigoban...ba-</i>	mom would say ... right there as you
<i>kaaninaagwak megwaa go e' bimaakwo-</i>	were canoeing along, the water would
<i>gomoyan mii' imaa onji bakaaninaagw-</i>	suddenly change ... It was
<i>ak nibi...Maamakaazinaagwan... Miish</i>	most amazing to see ... and that

i'iwe Namegosib. (010ADO2013, 1) was Trout Lake.

Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaaJimowin includes her knowledge about the discharge of clear water down *Namegosi Ziibi*, past *Gaawodooskwanigamaag* to *Adikamegwaaminikaaning*. She explains that at precisely that location an abrupt change was evident in the water's quality and clarity. For those returning from Lac Seul, it was a welcome sign because it was literally a part of home, or, to use the words *Dedibaayaanimanook's* mother spoke as she pointed to the water, "*Miish i'iwe Namegosib*" (that is Trout Water). Given that *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* taught respectfulness toward the natural environment, these examples of land-embedded *dadibaaJimowin* demonstrate *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* appreciation for each detail of *noopimakamig's* remarkable characteristics. There is an obvious sadness in *Dedibaayaanimanook's* use of *gii' naningosedog*, as though she were saying that this feature too could not have possibly escaped the inevitable and far-reaching effects of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*.

Gwiishkwa'oo Eliza Angeconeb's *dadibaaJimowin* is also about the homelands. Although she expresses her longing to return to *Namegosibiing*, she also indicates her understanding that living alone on the land could never be truly feasible. She implies, in fact, that it is an illusion to think that four sisters could live the ways of *aanikoobidaaganag* in the absence of community. She speaks as follows:

<i>Moonzhag ninaanaagadawendaan,</i>	I often think, I wish I could still
<i>ambesh geyaabi izhidaayaan wedi ...</i>	live over there ... However, I cannot
<i>Gaawnsha awiya nimikawaasii ji</i>	ever find anyone to live with me over

<i>wiijidaamishij wedi ... Aazha gakina</i>	there ... All... my younger [male]
<i>... nishiimenzhag... egii 'maajaawaad</i>	siblings ... have gone ... We women,
<i>... Ikwewag shwiin geyaabi bimaad-</i>	however, are still alive ... someone
<i>iziwag ... awiya ji manised ...Bangii</i>	to get the firewood ... I would be
<i>shwiin indaa gashkitoon ji maniseyaan</i>	able to get a little wood myself ...
<i>... Aaniish moonzhag gaa' izhichige-</i>	That was what I often did ...up until
<i>yaan...biinish 11 years old gii'dasob-</i>	I was 11 years old ... I would pull it
<i>iboonweyaan... maniseyaan ako...eg-</i>	home on a
<i>ii'naanaajidaabiyaan. (013A2013, 1)</i>	sled.

Gwiishkwa'oo mentions gathering firewood in her phrases “*awiya ji manised*,” “*ji maniseyaan*,” and “*maniseyaan ako*,” alluding to its criticality in the ancestral way of life. Mundane yet vital, firewood is known as *misan* / *manisaanan*; the verb for the activity of gathering firewood is *manise*. *Gwiishkwa'oo* is clearly well apprised of bringing wood home, having had the task as a child. She additionally intimates that living well on the land is not possible without the several types of competencies a complete community offers its members. To function as the ancestors had done, a community must consist of men, women, and children, not solely four grandmothers, her *dadibaajimowin* suggests. Despite awareness of these logistical realities, *Gwiishkwa'oo* expresses an abiding desire to be in the *Namegosibiing* homelands – even if only for brief visits.

4.6 Conclusion

Most participants express their desire to live in the homelands but they also speak

of the challenges of doing so. Among these are fear, factors related to age and health, and a lack of companions willing and able to not only share the necessary work of living on the land but also forego the modern comforts and conveniences of an urban-based, grid-dependent lifestyle. As *Dedibaayaanimanook* points out, a group of individuals – for such a venture demands a group effort – would need to have been born and raised on the land with minimal exposure to urban influences to have the necessary means and motivation to live the way *aanikoobidaaganag* once did. That, moreover, would presume access to a healthy and robust, sustainable *noopimakamig aki*.

Through *dadibaajimowin*, participants outline their relationships, expressing who they are and were, not only as individuals but as a community. Senior participants speak of their knowledge about the land and its characteristic features including its contours, rivers and water flow, water quality, portage trails, rapids and falls, lakes and islands, distances and directions, and its many resources. Always embedded within their *dadibaajimowin* is the sacredness of their relationship with the *aki* of their homelands.

Although women were not primarily trappers/hunters, they spent considerable time in land-based activities. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s detailed *dadibaajimowin* about topographical features clearly demonstrates that women and children – all – acquired and contributed toward an in-depth body of knowledge about the land as they experienced it. All community members provided for this *Anishinaabe* traditional ecological knowledge (“TEK”), having learned it from birth. Interestingly, this *dadibaajimowin*-derived understanding contradicts today's land-knowledge mapping methodologies that purposely, in some cases, exclude women's knowledges in their design.

Other participant narratives allude to influences on responsible *Anishinaabe* use of

resources that include wild rice and animal remains. The most vital of these determinants was how respectfully people thought about and used the gifts of the land. Moreover, *dadibaajimowin* was crucial to the cultural survival of *Anishinaabe* people because its performance relied on the existence of listeners who were interested in engaging in a relationship of mutual trust in and respect for the land and the narrator. However, *dadibaajimowin* also suggests a diminishing sense of relationship and identity with and understanding about the ancestral places that correlates with increased cultural, generational, and geographical/physical distancing from the *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* heritage. As *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s observations reveal, the place and time of a *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* person's birth and the circumstances of his/her upbringing, including degree of language proficiency and use, *dadibaajimowin* exposure, and *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* contact all have an effect on how people relate to their homelands. Inter-generational factors, for example, explain why the youngest participant expresses a closer affinity to the homelands of her father and maternal grandmother and to the urbanness of her birthplace than to the *Namegosibiing* of her mother and maternal grandfather.

Dadibaajimowin also suggests that conceptualization and sense of affiliation with the homelands do not diminish over time among the senior participants, even with increasingly limited access to the land. Furthermore, the elders appear to retain the entirety of the traditional use territories as the homelands, not only *Namegosibiing*. All passages of *dadibaajimowin* ultimately reflect the nature of the speakers' relationships and interactions with *noopimakamig aki* under varying conditions and forms of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* in their lives.

Naanan: Mekigaadeg ezhibii'igaazoyeng **Chapter 5: What is found when we are written about**

5.1 Introduction

Genealogies, relational lines, identities, names, and dates of events in the lives of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* and their ancestors appear throughout samples of the written record. *Izhibii'igewin* sources include corporate documentation from Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) reports that are kept in the HBC Archives (HBCA) in Winnipeg, Manitoba; treaty annuity pay lists and census data; and the field notes of private citizen, Gary Butikofer. First, a critical examination of the text itself explains some of the historical effects of *izhibii'igewin* upon *Anishinaabe* people. The HBC records then identify *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag* by name and link them to the homelands. Next, a search through treaty annuity pay lists from 1876 to 1897 (with added information from 1910) and the 1901 Canada census produces information about the genealogical progression of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* families. Lastly, Gary Butikofer's notes and interview transcriptions contribute details about *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* lines of descent and names of various individuals.

In this research, *dadibaajimowin* usually provides *Anishinaabe* names while *izhibii'igewin* supplies their Anglicized versions,⁴⁰ English names, and information about calendar dates of births, deaths, marriages, and so on. Wherever discrepancies exist, this study accepts *dadibaajimowin* as the greater authority. I continue to use italicization and double vowel orthography for *Anishinaabemowin* names to differentiate those that

⁴⁰ An exception is *Dedibaayaanimoook's* *dadibaajimowin* explaining that her uncle's English name was William.

originate from *Anishinaabe dadibaaajimowin* from the ones that appear in the written text. I also privilege *dadibaaajimowin*-derived names by placing them first. Although not comprehensive, the genealogical charts in Tables 1 to 15 are useful throughout the chapter. To reiterate, this study regards the participant elders' *dadibaaajimowin* as the most complete knowledge about ancestors because it alone speaks contextually from their subjective voices. Also important to note, *Dedibaayaanimanook* frequently reminds listeners that her *dadibaaajimowin* is her family's component of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aweneniwiyeeng* narrative, that other families are able to make their contributions.

5.2 *Izhibii'igaade, Izhibii'igewin*: The Colonial Text

The active verb form of the noun *izhibii'igewin* is *izhibii'ige*; its passive form is *izhibii'igaade*. My objective is to present aspects of what these *Anishinaabemowin* terms represent from an *Anishinaabe* ontological perspective based on the oral system of thought conveyance. Although *izhibii'igewin* can assist with the *aweneniwiyeeng* search by providing missing historical information, its use must remain within an *Anishinaabe dadibaaajimowin* frame of reference. This is particularly important for *Anishinaabe* readers because the insightful, inspirational words of the elders' *dadibaaajimowin* are a source of moral encouragement when *izhibii'igewin*'s erroneous notions about Indigenous peoples can be so profoundly disturbing.

Izhibii'igewin is useful for providing historical contexts that *dadibaaajimowin* may not make available. Its use of certain expressions is an example. To illustrate, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* crept into *izhibii'igewin* in a May 1830 HBC Lac Seul post

journal report in which manager Charles Cameron wrote to Governor Simpson. He explained that “[t]hree families [?] 14 men entirely failed in their hunts. They spent the winter doing nothing” (B.107/d/1, HBCA). While many would agree that a land-based lifestyle was a good way to live, they would undoubtedly also concur that it was not easy. It certainly would not allow people to survive by doing “nothing,” particularly during a severe winter. Cameron’s choice of words may have had a corporate meaning, but it also echoed and perpetuated colonial myths and false premises about Indigenous and Europeans peoples. It reflected a fundamental ideological characteristic of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* about beliefs in superiority. Had they the opportunity to do so, *Anishinaabe* people would certainly have told a different *dadibaaqjimowin*, describing how hunters, trappers, and their families actually spent the winter. In another example, E.K. Beeston’s 1886 HBC report characterized *Anishinaabe* people as “quiet, very industrious, and generally well off” (D.25/1 fo. 158, HBCA, p. 21). The tone of this *izhibii’igewin* sounds more accepting. Nonetheless, a sense of entitlement to pronounce judgments about a people’s character implies the author’s perceived moral superiority.

Control of access to the means of *izhibii’igewin* production is a form of power. By excluding an *Anishinaabe* version of events, Cameron’s 1830 report (above) tended to depict the people as passive, helpless, or indolent. Beeston’s 1886 statement, on the other hand, inclined to characterize them as obedient, compliant servants eager to please the boss. Generally, historical *izhibii’igewin*, including corporate records, pay lists, census documents, and Indian agency reports about *Anishinaabe* people, comes across as statements of power and control, superiority and entitlement. Corporate, state, and private *izhibii’igewin* frequently contain unacknowledged practices and unspoken beliefs, values,

behaviours, and frames of reference that necessitate a careful read.

When *aanikoobidaaganag* were living predominantly in an oral society, they experienced certain texts as more than the appearance of interesting visuals on a surface. Behind the physical *izhibii'igewin* lay an incomprehensible, ever-evolving tangle of codes, laws, regulations, orders, policies, and administrative functions. The text was a reminder of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* and represented the countless intrusions into the lives of *Anishinaabe* people. After Ontario established its provincial borders, *izhibii'igewin* symbolized greater control in the form of trapping, hunting, and fishing licenses and eventually even tree cutting and building permits. Control over traditional *Anishinaabe* means of survival was embodied in *wiyyaasikewininiwag*, the uniformed game wardens to whom *Oo'oons* refers in his *dadibaaajimowin*.

Particularly among *gete Anishinaabeg*, the senior people who were skilled in orality rather than versed in reading, writing, or speaking the English language, these texts represented foreign, invariably threatening concepts. They did not fit the predominantly oral way of communicating meaning and relating to the homelands. Understandably, (roman orthographic) text on licenses and regulations were reminders of possible or actual loss of or restrictions in land use, travel, spirituality and ceremony, and the sense of autonomy and self that comprise *Anishinaabewaadiziwin*. An example of how *izhibii'igewin* symbolized and evoked memories of losses in land use and living spaces is the description that *Oo'oons* provides of a visit he made to places where *Anishinaabe* relatives once resided at the outer edges of the Red Lake municipality. He relates as follows:

[I] 'iwedi...babaa...izhidaa[?]aawag [O]ver there... all around there ...they

...apartment ... <i>izhi owaakaa 'igan[?]</i>	were told to live in... apartment[s] ...
... <i>Gaawiin</i> [log cabins]... <i>Anishinaab-</i>	Not [in log cabins] ... <i>Anishinaabeg</i>
<i>eg i' imaa gii' anokiiwag...ji waakaa' -</i>	worked there ... making the homes ...
<i>igewaad...Miish i' iwe naanaagaj i' i-</i>	And ... further over there ... as I was
<i>wedi...ina 'adooyaan</i> , there's a no tres-	walking along the road, there's a no
passing sign, private property, there's	trespassing sign, private property,
that big house... <i>Miish emendamaan i' imaa</i> ...	there's that big house ... And that is
<i>mewinzha gaagii' gwiiwizensiw-</i>	what I thought there ... those who were
<i>wiwaad...ani akiwenzii-nashkesh noon-</i>	young boys at that time ... who are now
<i>gom...gwenawii izhidaawag aaninda</i>	old ... some have nowhere to live.

(004ADO2012, 1)

Oo'oons ponders the events and circumstances in which *Anishinaabe* families with young children and old people alike had to move out of their homes and into apartments. He speaks of a recent walk along the road, his thoughts on places where relatives once worked, building houses for others to live in and on young boys who grew up to become old and homeless in Red Lake. *Oo'oons's dadibaajimowin* is about the many losses that seemed to converge on the *izhibii'igewin* road sign, warning him not to trespass, reminding him of displacement and seeming forfeiture.

From the viewpoint of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* oral heritage and more recent lived experiences, language ideology discourse mediates the terms *izhibii'igaade* and *izhibii'igewin* as symbols of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. When we use *izhibii'igewin's* information in our search for *aweneniwiyyeng* as *Anishinaabe* people, it is important to

acknowledge its historical use as a form of power that dominated, terrorized, and suppressed Indigenous populations.

5.3 Hudson's Bay Company Records

The investigation of *aweneniwiyyeng* commences with a search through documentation in the HBC Archives (HBCA) in Winnipeg, Manitoba. In addition to descriptions of corporate assets and liabilities, the files contain reports on characteristics of the homelands, weather and climatic conditions, and the *aanikoobidaaganag* themselves. There is, for example, mention of Geean as an *Anishinaabe* trapper who traded with the HBC. According to Lac Seul post clerk Charles McKenzie, Geean acquired a gun and a blanket, two capotes, a pair of horn combs, and some thread in the autumn of 1846. He also obtained an axe, a crooked knife, a quantity of tobacco, and a file. Seven and a half months later, he returned to the post for two needles, tobacco, and a pair of “leggings,” as well as other items. He and his party again traveled to the trading post after several weeks (B.107/d/1, HBCA, pp. 9-20). As will become evident from other *izhibii'igewin* sources, Geean was *Jiyyaan*, the father of *Giizhig*, the patriarch of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* (Figure 2.13). *Jiyyaan* Geean was *Dedibaayaanimanook's* paternal great-grandfather, hence, my maternal great great-grandfather.

Interestingly, *Dedibaayaanimanook* and other descendants followed in *Jiyyaan's* footsteps approximately a century later by visiting *maamawichigewigamigong*, the HBC store at Lac Seul. *Dedibaayaanimanook's* description is as follows:

E'diba'amaadingiban...ako e'izhaa- At Treaty Time ... we all went to the
yaang...adaawewigamigong, ni maa- store together ...

<p><i>mawimin[?]naaban ...Niingaanaa-</i> <i>shiik, niin idash, Moshish, Ginôkoben,</i> <i>Shkwe ... maamawichigewigamig ...</i> <i>e'diba'amaang. (014BD2010, 6)</i></p>	<p><i>Niingaanaashiik, and I, Moshish, the</i> <i>late Ginôk, Shkwe ... to ... the Hud-</i> <i>son's Bay store ... when we were given</i> <i>our treaty payments.</i></p>
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Dedibaayaanimanook and four of her cousin-siblings were teenagers when they window-shopped at the HBC store during their visit to Lac Seul for Treaty Time in the 1930s.

Although descendant families had the convenience of treaty money to acquire HBC goods, the important difference with *aanikoobidaaganag* was that they had the autonomy and self-determination to travel, hunt, trap, barter, and purchase as they chose.

Information about the merchandise *Anishinaabeg* procured suggests the extent and nature of their participation in the emergent system of capitalism and consumerism as well as their preferences and activities throughout the generations. In her autobiographical *dadibaajimowin*, for example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* mentions the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* preference for plaid (Figure 5.25). Their special name for the fabric, *skaajimaniigin*, is an *Anishinaabemowin*-ization of the Scotchman's cloth (Agger, 2008). Presumably, the greater their use of *wemitigoozhi* manufactured goods, the less their engagement with traditional land-based ways of living.

At this point, the *Anishinaabemowin* noun *giizhig* requires comment. When it serves as a name, the word stem lends itself well to various prefixes and suffixes. Examples from the HBC records indicate it was popularly combined with other word stems. It was spelled in Roman orthography as Nanah e Kejick Waish Kung, Show on ee Kijick, Mawbin wai wai Kijick, Kaw Kai Kijick waish Kong, Kijick O, and Na na Kijick

(B.105/e/9, HBCA). The spelling of these names does not appear to follow a standardized system and without hearing their pronunciation it is difficult to decipher their correct meaning. The name Show on ee Kijick, for example, may have to do with the southern sky. Both Waish Kung and waish Kong could refer to deer, caribou, or moose antlers, in which case, it was undoubtedly a reference to *odoodemiwin*. According to the written record, these individuals were contemporaries of *Jiyyaan* who also traded at the HBC Lac La Pluie district post in Lac Seul throughout the 19th century.

The name *Giizhig*, regardless of its spelling, is of significance for this study. After the signing of Treaty 3 in 1873 and with the state increasingly requiring *Anishinaabe* people to adopt the convention of using last names, *Giizhig* became the surname of *Giizhig*'s sons and their descendants. It became a symbol of their shared *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* heritage and identity even as they retained their *adik* (caribou) *odoodem*. In accordance with the oral custom, *Giizhig* would have had the same pronunciation among all members of the *Namegosibiing* community. Today, his descendants give meaning to, conceptualize,⁴¹ and spell *Giizhig* in varying ways that include Kejick, Kesick, Keesick, Keesic, etc., due to the prevalent system of textual rather than oral record keeping.

Other HBC documents make direct references to *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake. In his inspection report of 1890, E.K. Beeston mentioned the death of the "Trout Lake Chief" as an associated reason for the Lac Seul region's decreased profits. Neither *dadibaaJimowin* nor the Company's report, however, specified who this individual was. Under the heading "General," the regional report referred to *Namegosibiing* as "Trout Lake, about a 2 days canoe journey to the North up the Trout River from Mattawan" (B.107/e/7, fo.2, HBCA,

⁴¹ This is similar to way that bell hooks is conceptually different from Bell Hooks.

p. 7). Beeston provided a precise description of the lake's location that unequivocally identified *Namegosibiing*. With the existence of an HBC post in Big Trout Lake of the Severn River region of what is now northern Ontario, the context of each Trout Lake report is important to note. As I have stated in Section 1.4 of Chapter 1, any mention of Trout Lake as simply Trout Lake must connect in some way to the Lac La Pluie district and/or the Lac Seul post to confirm its *Namegosibiing* identity. As well, Beeston's 1899 summary report indicated that "the trade with the Trout Lake Indians to the North" was a part of the regional activities, describing it to be "good Beaver and Otter Country" (B.107/e/8, HBCA, p. 9). It is evident that these records identify Trout Lake to be *Namegosibiing* because their description matches *dadibaaJimowin* in terms of canoe travels along the *Namegosi Ziibi* Trout River to *Maadaawaang* and Lac Seul. Hence, HBC records and *dadibaaJimowin* also affirm the expansiveness of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's travels and traditional use territories. While *Namegosibiing* was the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* base, their use and travel territories stretched from *Obizhigokaang* in the south to *Memegweshi Zaa'igan* toward the northeast.

Also of importance for the *aweneniwiyyeng* project is the manner in which Beeston's 1890 report organized the HBC financial records. Regional report listed the debts of the entire Lac Seul community together as "Lac Seul Indian Debts" but placed the names of the *Namegosibiing* ancestors in a separate subsection with the heading "Trout Lake, Indian Debts" (B.107/e/7, HBCA, p. 16). Recording *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* trappers as a group distinct from the others of the Lac Seul post is an implicit acknowledgement that they were a community in their own right.

The Hudson's Bay Company maintained meticulous records of each individual's

debts, advances, and payments, thus preserving the name of each trapper in the record. The accounts receivables sheet titled “Trout Lake, Indian Debts” in Beeston’s 1890 summary included the names of several of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag*. Akanakijik, George Angeconeb, John Angeconeb, Kysick, Naterway Kysick, Maskeshegan, Skandaga with Alex and Donald, and Peask were some of those names (B.107/e/7, HBCA, p. 16). *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s *dadibaaajimowin* states that these men were among the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* ancestral grandfathers.

A number of the *gete Anishinaabeg* lived long enough for the three eldest participants to have known them personally. Both *Gwiishkwa’oo* Eliza Angeconeb and *Oo’oons* John Paul Kejick, for example, knew *Naadowe* Naterway Kysick and the two brothers, *Maashkizhiigan* Maskeshegan George Ashen and *Oshkaandagaa* Skandaga Charlie Ashen. *Dedibaayaanimanook*, of course, knew these individuals well, but she alone knew *Giizhig* Kysick personally, being approximately seven years old when her grandfather passed. The other individuals on Beeston’s 1890 list, including *Gichimookomaan* George Angeconeb and *Gaa-dadaakogaadej*, had already passed before any of the participants of this research were born. *Namegosibii dadibaaajimowin* tells us that Akanakijik and Peask were *Eginegiizhig* and *Beshk* respectively and were also among the kinfolk who spent their lives traveling throughout the homelands (Table 15).

E.K. Beeston’s 1899 regional report stated that the “Trout Lake Indians to the North” traded at the Mattawan outpost (B.107/e/8, HBCA, p. 9). His report mentioned that “[a] few goods are sent there in charge of an Indian” without indicating the individual’s name. Twenty-one years later, L.A. Romanet wrote in his regional report

under the subheading “Trout Lake: New outpost of Pine Ridge” that “we have an Indian, Chean Keesic, who is trading for the Company” (A.92/19/11, HBCA, p. 21). Romanet’s hand-drawn map of the region included a mark with the caption “H.B.C. trader” on the upper right region of *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake (A.92/19/11, HBCA, pp. 9-10).

Dadibaaqjimowin tells us that this is *Jiibayi Zaagiing* Jackfish Bay, where the families of both *Jiimaan* (*Oo’oons*’s paternal grandfather) and *Dedibayaash* (*Dedibaayaanimanook*’s father) frequently lived together during the winter. It is where *Dedibaayaanimanook*, her nephew, *Gichi Jôj* George Trout, and her mother stayed alone for up to a week at a time while her father and brother trapped.

Romanet further noted that “[t]he trader is not successful by any means,” although “Swain’s man established in the southern part of Trout Lake is making good” (A.92/19/11, HBCA, p. 21). We may surmise, based on what *dadibaaqjimowin* tells us, that the Cheen to whom Romanet referred was *Jiimaan*, *Oo’oons* Kejick’s paternal grandfather. With performance evaluation based on corporate values, it is understandable that *Jiimaan* was “not successful by any means” (p. 21) when the trappers from whose furs the HBC expected him to be “making good” were siblings, cousins, nephews, and other kin. His loyalties were with *Anishinaabe* kin, not a foreign entity.

Dedibaayaanimanook stated that she never heard of an arrangement between *Jiimaan* and the HBC. This may have been due to the fact that she was born in 1922, too young to have formed memories of such conversations. Also, the contract may have been of so short a duration that it was not discussed.

Romanet’s 1920 district report also stated that *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake was the most strategic location from which to counter the activities of independent trader Swain.

Judging from his comments that a “small fur trader like Swain can upset the spirit of the old Company,” it is evident that the *Anishinaabe* trappers preferred Swain to the “old Company” (A.92/19/11, HBCA, p. 21). Situated east of *Namegosibiing*, *baamadaawe*’s trading post in the *Ikwewi Zaa’igan* Woman Lake vicinity was where *Dedibaayaanimanook* and members of her family traveled during the late 1920s and early 1930s. She describes a visit in the following:

<i>Minitgwashkiigaag ... Manoomini</i>	<i>Minitgwashkiigaag ... Rice Lake... the</i>
<i>Zaa’igan ...Gichi Onigamiing gaa izh-</i>	one called <i>Gichi Onigamiing ... There</i>
<i>inikaadeg ... Zaaga'iganiins ate gaa-</i>	is a small lake where we would go ...
<i>gii'ayizhaayaang ... Ikwewi Zaa'igan</i>	on our way to Woman Lake ... the one
<i>e' izhaayaang...George Swain gaagii’</i>	named George Swain ... I can hardly
<i>izhinikaazoj...Agaawaa ingikendaan e-</i>	remember that we went ... my father ...
<i>gii' izhaayaangiban...indede...e' agaa-</i>	when <i>Gichi Jôj</i> and I were small ... that
<i>shiinzhiyaang, Gichi Jôj...e' bimaakog-</i>	we would paddle ...
<i>omoyaang ...ingii' abinoonjiizhiwimin.</i>	we were young children.
(001ADO2012, 2)	.

A young child at the time, *Dedibaayaanimanook* was crestfallen to discover that Swain’s merchandise was not nearly as eye appealing as she had anticipated (Agger, 2008). She herself visited the trading post no more than once or twice, but her father, brother, and other male relatives frequently journeyed to Swain’s post to replenish supplies and sell furs. With the *Giizhig* family living in *Gaa-minitgwashkiigaag*, the post was a shorter distance than the HBC at Post Narrows on Red Lake. Swain, moreover, was friendlier

and more approachable toward the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, according to *Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin* (Agger, 2008).

In summary, this section has noted that HBC recorders recognized the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* as a distinct group of *Anishinaabe* people. Furthermore, they clearly identified the trappers' traditional use territories, distinguishing *Namegosibiing* as the subject of reports that discussed strategic locations for an outpost and distances and direction of travel from Lac Seul. This Trout Lake was not the *Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug* of the company's Severn district. Moreover, *dadibaajimowin* provides *Anishinaabe* names of the individuals listed in the HBC records, affirming their identity as the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag*.

5.4 Treaty Annuity Pay Lists (1876 – 1897, 1910); Canada Census, 1901

As a corporate entity with profit-driven objectives, the HBC espoused goals that were best served by recognizing and referring to the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* as discrete, even when the community became a member of the Lac Seul band after the signing of the 1874 adhesion. Indian Affairs treaty pay lists, however, did not make a special point of differentiating *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* from band members living in Lac Seul and elsewhere.⁴² Nor could they, of course, specify individuals' exact ages and dates of birth during the earlier years of record keeping. The main concerns of Indian Affairs were the politically driven directives arising from the treaty terms and the

⁴² This information is located at the Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, on reels C-7135 to C-7137, volumes 9351 to 9368 and volumes 9370 to 9373 of the RG10 series and online at http://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_mikan_133552.

formation itself of Confederation. Catherine Butler, a reference archivist at Library and Archives Canada, explains that “[l]ists were created in order to record the fulfillment of a Treaty obligation and to ensure that the amount of payment made to each household was accurate ... [but] full nominal lists did not become common practice until the 1930s” (personal communication, June 25, 2015). While treaty payment records can provide sufficient information to map identities, places of origin, and relationships, it is *dadibaajimowin* that makes the recognition of these connections possible. This research examines both genders’ lines of descent where they are available even though *Anishinaabe* people traced their kinships through male family members.

The English, often biblical, names appearing with greater frequency in the records indicate the emergence of a Christianized dimension to *Anishinaabe* identity by the turn of the 20th century. Beeston’s 1899 report mentioned that the church mission was located close to both Treaty Point and the HBC post (see above). These close proximities created a corporate-church-state zone of influence that became forms of control in the lives of the *Anishinaabe* people. *Dedibaayaanimanook* and *Oo’oons* discuss the processes of how schools and churches effectuated changes in *Anishinaabe* names and identities by means of *wemitigoozhiiwinikaazowin* (European settler naming practices) as follows:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>O: [O]’omaa ... <i>wemitigoozhi owiin-zowin ogii’ ayaasiin. Bizhishig Anishinaabe</i> ... “Oo’oons.” <i>Baamaash i’iwedi gaa-gii’ ganoonigooyaan[?]</i>.</p> <p>D: “Ziiga’andaazo” <i>gaa-izhinik-aadeg</i> ... [?] <i>gii wemitigoozhiiwin-</i></p> | <p>O: [H]ere ...no one had a European settler’s name. Only <i>Anishinaabe</i> names, “Oo’oons” ... Only after, over there, I was spoken to[?].</p> <p>D: What is known as water baptism ... [?]when a child was given a European</p> |
|---|--|

ikaazoj abinoonjiizh “ziiga’andaa- settler’s name ... it is called
so” izhinikaade. (011BDO2012, 4) baptism.

Oo’oons comments that there was a time when no one in the community where he and his family lived was without an *Anishinaabe* name. He knew himself only by his *Anishinaabe* name, *Oo’oons*. However, as soon as he went to boarding⁴³ school he learned his “legitimate” identity to be John Paul. Together with *Dedibaayaananimanook’s* comment that children received European names during church baptismal ceremonies, his remarks indicate that schools and churches were prominent actors in a massive effort to erase *Anishinaabe* names and alter their identities. Pay lists and census records reinforced these changes.

The information about *Giizhigoog* from the pay lists, census records, and *dadibaajimowin* appears in Tables B1 to B15. These records being too early to contain the names of all *Giizhig’s* grandchildren, *dadibaajimowin* provides them for us. Where possible I cross-reference (the often barely legible) names on treaty pay lists and the census record with *Anishinaabe* names, about which *dadibaajimowin* often speaks. Thus, *Anishinaabe* and English names and identities along with approximate dates of birth begin to form a coherent description of the *Nomegosibii Anishinaabeg*. The census record, for example, listed the father of John Keewassin to be Keewassin “South Wind.”

⁴³ It is my experience that the senior members of the *Nomegosibii Anishinaabe* community have consistently used the phrase boarding school as opposed to residential school. Beginning with *r*, the latter is particularly difficult to pronounce for those whose first language is *Anishinaabemowin* whereas boarding can be pronounced without the *r*. There are probably other reasons for the elders’ choice in terminology, but I take their lead and use the same phrase wherever appropriate.

Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin has always maintained that Keewassin "South Wind" was her paternal uncle *Giiweyaas(h)in*. Interestingly, it was through *dadibaajimowin* that I first learned of his Christian name, William, and that the *Anishinaabe* name for his (eldest) son, John Keewassin, was *Aat(ch)ayaa*, born in approximately 1887 (Table 3). Although he had passed before I was born, *Aat(ch)ayaa* was a frequent feature in my mother's *dadibaajimowin*, often in humorous ways. Hence, I first knew him as *Aachayaa*. My confusion in his identity change could not possibly compare to *Oo'oons's* experience of learning that he was not the person he always thought himself to be.

By searching through the pay lists and 1901 census records for the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag*, I was able to recognize, identify, and confirm the identities of five individuals through *dadibaajimowin*. The first four were *Giizhig* Keejick, Angeconeb Ayangeequonabe, Otcheechackkeepetang's mother (and Otcheechackkeepetang himself, upon his mother's passing), and *Gaagige Abinoonjiizh* Kahkeekaiabinoochee. The fifth, to whom the Indian agents referred as Geean's widow, was either *Giizhig's* mother or stepmother, hence, a lead protagonist in the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's identity narrative. Four of these persons were among the 68 men, 82 women, 199 children plus 10 others at the Lac Seul Treaty Time of 1876. Otcheechackkeepetang (also spelled Otcheechawkoopatung) and his mother first collected their payments at Mattawan on the English River, then at Wabauskang, both in Treaty 3 territory.

Table 1 is the pay list data of *Giizhig* and *Moonzhoniikwe Nookomiban's* children. Identifying her as Okeemahcway (Chief Woman), the census record of 1901 accurately

depicted her position in the community as the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe grande dame*. Contrastively, her death certificate referred to her as a housewife named Mary (Figure 5.25), effectively recasting aspects of her *Anishinaabe* identity in the documented record. This study uses her *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* name(s) *Moonzhoniikwe / Nookomiban* to honour her memory as our matriarch and express her identity in terms of the *dadibaajimowin* of her granddaughter, *Dedibaayaanimanook*.

The record shows *Giizhig*'s only daughter to be in attendance until 1884. *Dedibaayaanimanook* has always maintained that her grandparents' only daughter passed in early infancy. Hence, the written record seems to differ from the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community's oral *dadibaajimowin* by approximately six years. Of interest, the pay lists indicate *Moonzhoniikwe* was not in attendance for at least eight payment gatherings. There are several possible reasons for her absence, including illness, but whatever they were, her nonattendance potentially diminished the family's total income for that period by the considerable sum of 40 dollars.

The pay lists also show that *Giizhig* became a councillor upon the passing of his relation, *Angecone*, in 1890, thus increasing his annual pay. His office would have allowed his participation in band council business and ability to keep the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community informed of developments having potential repercussions in their affairs. These included issues relating to treaty administration, Indian Act rulings, plans to cut timber, and even discussions about the damming of rivers and flooding of lakes across *Anishinaabe* territories.

The 1901 Canada census is useful for establishing English and even, in a few

instances, *Anishinaabe* names. In the case of *Giiweyaas(h)in* Keewassin “South Wind”⁴⁴ and *Gibichigiizhigook* Eliza, the record refers to *Jigoozhi* as Paul (Table 3).

Dedibaayaanimanook has always spoken of her cousin’s English name as Pat and his full name, Pat Keesick *Giiweyaas(h)in*. Her *dadibaajimowin* also states that at least two children passed and that the *Anishinaabe* name of *Giiweyaas(h)in* and *Gibichigiizhigook*’s one son remains unspoken in accordance with *waawiimbaajimowin* customs.

The census record lists each individual’s religion, suggesting the degree to which Christianity became a force in *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people’s lives by the turn of the twentieth century. As *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s narrative shows, *Namegosibii dadibaajimowin* recognizes the link between English names and Christianity. An interesting point relates to the repetitive nature of some *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people’s English names. To illustrate, *Giizhig* was Sam Keesick, his son *Dedibayaash* was William (“Bill,” to some) Sam Keesick, and his grandson *Minzhinawebines* was Sam William Keesick. *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s partner (my father) resorted to calling *Naadowe* and *Omaskiigookwe*’s second child, *Nishki’aa* Isaac, “Big Isaac” to differentiate him from another of *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s cousins, *Gwiiwish* Isaac Keesick, who was smaller in stature. At the very least, these externally created name choices and changes were confusing. Data about religion appear in Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Of political pertinence, Ackewence, who had been a councillor when the treaty was signed, replaced the deceased Chief John Cromarty, a signatory of the Lac Seul Treaty No. 3 adhesion, during the year 1892-1893. It was during this period that *Namegosibii*

⁴⁴ This was how the census record inscribed his name, using quotation marks.

Anishinaabeg heard about the chief who had apparently consented to the harvesting of large tracts of reserve forest, according to *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin*.

People mentioned his name in their conversations so frequently that

Dedibaayaanimanook and her playmates included him in their pretend games, ironically naming trees after him (Agger, 2008). Information about political leaders helps us to understand the larger contexts in which the *aanikoobidaaganag* were living.

Pay lists and census records contain further information about ancestral roots.

Giizhigs' son *Naadowe* Robert, to illustrate, married *Omashkiigookwe* Sarah Goodwin, "Ossinaburg Indian" Pat Goodwin's daughter. Table 4 is the census information about the family, but *dadibaajimowin* provides the names of the rest of *Naadowe* and *Omashkiigookwe*'s children. Later, the *Naadowe* family moved to *Oshkaandagaawi Zaa'igan* Nungesser Lake, an approximate two-days' journey northwest of *Namegosibiing*. *Izhibii'igewin* and *dadibaajimowin* together inform the descendants and kin of *aanikoobidaaganag* that ancestral places of origin reached from *Oshkaandagaawi Zaa'igan* Nungesser Lake to Osnaburgh.

Dadibaajimowin specifies that Mary Ann, the first wife of *Giizhigs*' fourth son, *Dedibayaash* (*Dedibaayaanimanook*'s father), and three⁴⁵ of their children died under unusual circumstances. In accordance with *Anishinaabe* convention, however, details about the tragic circumstances cannot be discussed outside of the community. Canada's 1901 census record and *dadibaajimowin* list the children of *Dedibayaash*'s second wife, *Gaa-madweyaashiik* Emma, and her first husband, *Gichimookomaan* George Angecone. *Dedibaayaanimanook* was the only surviving child of *Gaa-madweyaashiik* and her

⁴⁵ This number was either two or three but I did not wish to ask *Dedibaayaanimanook* for clarification.

second husband, *Dedibayaash*. While these relationships may seem complicated, it is necessary for descendants to keep them in order to understand the various kinships.

The census showed *Jiimaan* Donald, another of *Giizhig*'s sons, and his first wife Sarah Jeanne to have had no children at the time of the 1901 census. *Dadibaajimowin*, however, tells us of their daughter *Moshish* Mary, who was one of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s closest childhood companions. *Giizhig*'s sons, *Netawibiitam* John and *Jiimis* James, were the two youngest children and are not in the 1901 census. Only *dadibaajimowin* records their children. The children of *Netawibiitam* and his wife, *Minogaabawiik* (or, as her grandchildren, great-nieces, and great-nephews all called her, "Gookomens") included *Detaginang* Frank and *Mazinigiizhig* James. They remained in *Namegosibiing* for most of their lives. The *Giizhigs*' youngest son, *Jiimis* James and his family did not return from Lac Seul and most of their children attended the nearby boarding school.

The pay lists and census records of that period did not usually have birth dates, although they frequently included individual ages. As I previously note, the year, month, day, or hour of an event were not part of *dadibaajimowin* because *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people adhered to a system that demarcated time and events by using contextual information. When people reported the birth of a child, for example, they included details that made it possible to infer the season of his or her birth. *Dadibaajimowin* tells us that *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s sister *Gweyesh* gave birth during their travel up the river to *Namegosibiing*. This indicates that *Aayizag* was born in late August or early September. An even closer attention to the specifics of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin* reveals information about the location of

Gweyesh's child's birthplace when it mentions the portage trail family members assisted her to navigate.

In other cases, an unusual or rare event might have coincided with a birth.

Giiweyaas(h)in's grandson, *Babiikwaakojaab*, as an example, was born during an eclipse, hence, during that particular part of the day. It is sometimes possible to research and situate precise dates through these kinds of details. Most births took place within the community with the assistance of midwives rather than in hospitals where the recording of an event depends on clocks, calendars, and other devices. Even in my own family, four siblings were born in *Nomegosibiing*, with our maternal grandmother, aunts, or cousins acting as midwives. People, of course, had watches and calendars by then and my father was able to provide a "legitimate" report of my siblings' births. On the other hand, as I noted previously, Indian agents and the 1901 census enumerators were unable to obtain such specificities from their *Anishinaabe* participants.

Indian Affairs *izhibii'igewin* indicates that Ayangeequonabe was a contemporary of *Giizhig* (Table 6). Given polygyny was still relatively common at the time, all three women who accompanied him for the first eight payments were quite conceivably his wives. The pay lists show that Ayangeequonabe became an employee with the Indian agency from 1879 to 1884 after which he became a band councillor. Upon his death in the winter of 1889-1890, his son inherited #4 on the pay list, and in 1892-1893 another son, *Gichimookomaan* George Angecone, married the daughter of Otcheechackeepetang, #21 of Wabauskang. She was *Gaa-madweyaashiik* Emma (*Zhashagi odoodem*, pelican totem), *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s mother, hence, my maternal and *Gwiishkwa'oo* Eliza's paternal grandmother.

The treaty pay lists, census record, and *dadibaajimowin* also help to track *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's maternal ancestry through *Gaa-madweyaashiik*. In 1876 Otcheechackeepetang's mother, the mother of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s maternal grandfather (Table 7), attended *diba'amaadim* at *Maadaawaang* Mattawan. Situated at the convergence of the English and Chukuni Rivers, approximately 60 miles northwest of *Obizhigokaang*, *Maadaawaang* Mattawan was the location of the HBC's Lac Seul outpost where *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* trappers frequently traded. It was also a convenient place for treaty payments.

Namegosibii dadibaajimowin states that *Gaa-madweyaashiik* Emma and her family originated in the *Biigaanjigamiing* community on the Berens River in Treaty 5 territory but that they later relocated to Gull Rock and Two Island Lakes, immediately south of Red Lake. Hence, *Gaa-madweyaashiik*'s family collected their payments at *Maadaawaang*, then at Wabauskang First Nation upon its acquisition of reserve status. When *Gaa-madweyaashiik* married her first husband, *Gichimookomaan* George Angeconeb, in 1892-1893, she became a member of the Lac Seul band. In the late summer of 1896, Otcheechackeepetang's daughter (*Dedibaayaanimanook*'s aunt) drowned, according to *dadibaajimowin*. What may have caused the other changes in the family structure is unknown, although *dadibaajimowin* tells of pandemics that affected the communities. In *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin*, for example, *Giiweyaas(h)in*'s fifth son caught a virus while at Post Narrows on Red Lake. By not returning home, he prevented the illness from spreading and causing other deaths. *Dadibaajimowin* suggests that losses were sometimes due "bad medicine" or *onjinewin*. Once again, however, these types of events are *waawiimbaajimowin* topics, details about

which must remain within the community of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* in accordance with the teachings of *aanikoobidaaganag*.

DadibaaJimowin also informs us that *Gichimookomaan* George Angecone and *Gaa-madweyaashiik* Emma's daughter Annie had a daughter, *Gwejech* (hence, *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s niece), who married the *Giizhigs*' grandson, *Maashkizhiigan*. The son of the *Gichimookomaans*' daughter Agnes was *Jiimisens*, *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s nephew who assisted her in locating her parents after she flew to Sioux Lookout for the birth of her second child. Summers in the *Obizhigokaang* Lac Seul region were still the custom for *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s parents in 1946.

Also on the Lac Seul pay lists (Table 9) was *Kahkeekaiabinoochee* (Child Forever), Lac Seul #57, although no information exists to explain why he and his family were absent for three consecutive years. Of relevance to the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community, *Kahkeekaiabinoochee*'s daughter married *Giizhig*'s eldest son, *Mooneyaans* Thomas (#165) in 1891. Her English name was Mary, but *dadibaaJimowin* states that *Giizhig* named her *Maajigiizhigook* to symbolize her adoption into the *Giizhigoog* family. It was *Maajigiizhigook* who, just hours before her passing, blessed *Dedibaayaanimanook* (Agger, 2008). It is of relevance to descendants who wish to research their ancestry that her place of burial at *Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins* Bruce Lake was disfigured when an iron mine began operating in the late 1960s.

Pay lists continued from 1876 to refer to a particular individual as Cheean's widow until 1882 when the record more specifically identified her as #22 Cheean's widow, Meequeneke. This manner of recording her identity is of particular interest. Despite the strongly patriarchal traditions of Euro-Canadians of the day that arguably bordering

misogyny in Indigenous cases, Meequeneke received her own treaty number and the mention of her *Anishinaabe* name. Whether or not she was *Giizhig*'s mother, and for whatever the reasons she was able to retain her own personhood in *wemitigoozhi* annals, she was a member of the *Jiyyaan* household, hence, of significance in the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity narrative.

In summary, *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* was evident in how the Hudson's Bay Company, Indian Affairs treaty annuity pay lists, and 1901 census documented information about *Anishinaabe* people. Arguably, it was the treaty's annuity pay lists and its ideologies and administrative systems that had the greatest impact on the lives of *Anishinaabeg*. How *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* conceptualized the notion of treaty is therefore of interest in this identity research. *Dedibaayaanimanook* shares the following observations:

<p>[O]nzaam bangii egii' miininj Anish- inaabe zhooniyaan, mewinzha ...Wiinge osha ogii'majendaanaawaa ...ogii'dazh- indaanaawaa ... Gaawn misawaa daa gii' debwetawaasiiwag aana andoosh- kamowaapan ... e'izhichigaadeg...Ogii' gikendaanaawaa ...egii' makamindô odakiimiwaa. (018AD2010, 1)</p>	<p>[B]ecause they did not give enough money to <i>Anishinaabeg</i> right from the start ... They had no confidence in it at all ... they would discuss it ... Besides, no one would have listened had they asked ... They knew that their homelands had been taken from them by force.</p>
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Dedibaayaanimanook was a child when she heard her elders discussing what was in their estimation the travesty of the treaty's implementation. Some of the most senior elders of

her childhood, including her grandfather *Giizhig*, *Nookomiban Moonzhoniikwe*, and some of her great-uncles all attended Treaty Time from 1876, giving them first-hand experience with how the agents conducted treaty business. Furthermore, *Giizhig*'s councillorship made it possible for the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community to keep informed of issues as they arose. In their view, the *Anishinaabemowin* term *diba'amaadim* was an ersatz version of its true meaning. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* were well aware of the inadequacies of *diba'amaadim* as compensation for loss – through theft, deception, and duplicity – of homelands, autonomy, self-sufficiency, and self-identity. *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s use of the term *makamindô* is a precise and clearly defined characterization of the violent nature of these losses. From the perspective of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* experiences, Treaty Time was but another example of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. *Dedibaayaanimanook* also points out that *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people lived through these losses, knowing that their protests would go unheeded because another *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* reality was that it rarely gave consideration to *Anishinaabe* voices.

In a different conversation, *Dedibaayaanimanook* and *Oo'oons* Kejick delve more deeply into the notion of *diba'amaadim* and its payments. Although both elders suggest bemusement regarding the reasons for the practice, it is evident that they are critiquing the fundamental irrationality of the *wemitigoozhi* treaty-making custom. Their comments are as follows:

<p>O: [Noon]daagesii aaniin mayaa gaa- gii' izhichigaaniwang i'iwe treaty ... Amiish etago gaa' izhi noondamaan,</p>	<p>O: [I never] heard the precise rationale for that treaty ... The only thing I ever heard was, "Treaty Time payments are</p>
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- “*Aazha wii’ diba’ amaadim.*” going to take place.”
- D: *Obizhigokaang gii’ dazhi diba’* D: The treaty payments took place at
amaadim treaty ... “*Zooniyaa ogimaa* Lac Seul ... That was what they meant
gii’ dagoshin,” *gaa’ idamowaaj.* by, “The money chief arrived.”
- O: *Noongom gaa-izhinikaadamow[?]* O: What they refer to today [?]. ... over
wedi baamaa [?] ...[?]diba’amaad[?] there ... getting pay[?] ...
- D: *Gaawn ingii’noondawaasiig ...* D: I did not hear them [explain them]
- O: *Wegoda [?]etago naanwaabik gaa-* O: Over there where...
gii’ onji miinin[?] ... [?] for giving only five dollars [?] ...
- D: *Namanj gaa’ inanokiiyaan ...* D: I wonder what work I did ...
- O: *Amii maawiin i’iwe awegwen iidog* O: Perhaps that is it, for the work,
mayaa gaagii’ inanokiigwen, gaagii’ whoever exactly did it, and because of
ikidogwen gaye, ini Anishinaabeg ji what someone said should be done
doodawindô. Ji miinindwaa zhooniyaa with *Anishinaabe* people. That they be
... naanwaabik [?]dibi gaa’onji dood- given cash ... five dollars[?] where did
awindô[?]...Gaawn [?] ingii’ noon- the reason originate for that treatment?
dawaasii. Miishiko geyaabi wa’a apii ... I [?] never hear him. And even now
niinzhwaaso [?] niishtanashi bezhigo when I am 71 years old, I am still
biboon eyaan, geyaabi ... naanwaabik being given[?]
[?] nimiinigoo. (011BDO2012, 3) five[?] dollars.

With these remarks, *Oo’oons* gives voice to an observation that comes from a lifetime of experience with the *diba’amaadim* phenomenon. No one ever provided him an

explanation for the payments he received. When *Dedibaayaanimanook* asks what work she could possibly have done to earn the amount, he suggests that the term *diba'amaadim* belies their experiences. Wondering who performed whatever the work may have been, *Oo'oons* comments that he himself never worked specifically for the money. He also questions the reasoning behind the amount itself, noting that for each of his seventy-one years he has received the same five-dollar amount. Without having heard a reasonable explanation for the historical arrangement, *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people regarded the *diba'amaadim* practice to be founded on dishonour, deceit, and duplicity. Evident from their experiences, *wemitigoozhi* treaty ideas defy logic because *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* is neither rational nor generous.

Spoken in *Anishinaabemowin*, the thoughtful and probing comments of *Dedibaayaanimanook* and *Oo'oons* are a figurative treatment of a complex historical phenomenon. *Oo'oons*'s succinctly worded interrogation of the nature of treaty is from an *Anishinaabe* frame of reference that strikes at the fundamental issues of intent, interpretation, and implementation. His line of questioning leads to the conclusion that *diba'amaadim* payments are not a reimbursement at all. However, *Dedibaayaanimanook* does not engage extensively with the narrative stream, not because she has nothing to contribute, but precisely because there is so much to be said. Although people like *Oo'oons* and *Dedibaayaanimanook* are not fixated on treaty, they understand the true meaning of the *diba'amaadim* phenomenon as *Anishinaabe* people experienced it. It is another case of the *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* mindset.

While the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* population was expanding, the community's access to homeland spaces was shrinking as a consequence of ever-increasing

wemitigoozhi populations and regulations across the landscape. *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* had sought reserve status but their requests met with silence.⁴⁶ Without formal recognition, resources for research to demonstrate their growth needs were unavailable. Hence, wage labour and relocation became the only options. Eventually, those who chose to remain in the ancestral homelands and work for the lodges in *Namegosibiing* were faced with either the illegality of remaining in their own homes on “crown” land or living on lodge property and having rent payments deducted from their wages. These circumstances were among the *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*-generated hardships and uncertainties confronting the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* as they moved into the twentieth century.

5.5 The Butikofer Papers

Gary Butikofer worked with the Mennonite Northern Lights Gospel Mission of Red Lake from 1970 to 1990. During that 20-year period, he learned *Anishinaabemowin* and conducted numerous interviews with local *Anishinaabe* community members, including *Waabachaanish* Gerald Bannatyne, a *wiisaakodewinini* relative of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Before proceeding further, it is important to point out that mixed heritage was a significant factor in how *Anishinaabe* people experienced and were able to navigate *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. They usually associated with their *Anishinaabe* kin who accepted them as members. As well, they seemed generally better positioned to interact with *wemitigoozhiwag*, often enacting a range of intercessory roles. To illustrate,

⁴⁶ The 1874 adhesion to Treaty 3 itself specifies Trout Lake in its wording. See <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028675/1100100028679>

Morris (1880) dispatched *wiisaakodewinini* Charles Nolin and other Métis to the *Anishinaabe* chiefs to “give them friendly advice” because as “men of their own blood” (p. 49) they could use “the influence which their relationships to the Indians gave them, to impress them with the necessity of their entering into the treaty” (p. 51).

Waabachaanish Gerald’s work with Gary Butikofer was that of a *wiisaakodewinini* who acts as an intermediary or liaison between the *wemitigoozhi* interviewer and his *Anishinaabe* respondents. Having learned *Anishinaabemowin* himself, Gary Butikofer did not need *Waabachaanish* to translate or interpret for him.

My expression of appreciation for Butikofer’s contribution toward the search for *Anishinaabe* identity is at the same time recognition that, from a *Namegosibii* *Anishinaabe* perspective, the Papers are those of an “outsider” who comes from the *wemitigoozhi* culture and belief systems. Another irony in the affairs of *Anishinaabe* people is that the *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* working to eradicate their spirituality was concomitantly interested in its documentation. Nonetheless, the *dadibaaajimowin* of all of Butikofer’s interviewees, including *Waabachaanish* Gerald, contributes toward the larger *Namegosibii* *Anishinaabe* narrative with its added details. I make note of any contradictions that exist between the content of the Papers and the facts of *Namegosibii* *dadibaaajimowin*.

Waabachaanish Gerald’s niece, *Gichi Jii* Agnes, was married to *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s cousin *Jiimis* James (Table 14). As close friends, *Gichi Jii* Agnes and *Dedibaayaanimanook* enjoyed *Anishinaabemowin* discussions about the knowledges of *Namegosibii* *dadibaaajimowin*. *Gichi Jii* mentioned that her uncle *Waabachaanish* Gerald was in the habit of writing reams of notes about *Anishinaabe* *dadibaaajimowin* and

regional historical events as he had heard of them. Unfortunately a house fire destroyed all of his notes (*Dedibaayaanimanook*, personal conversation, 2013).

Butikofer (2009) writes of *Waabachaanish* Gerald as having known *Jiimaan*'s son *Giizhig* personally. Importantly, he explains that the HBC "appointed old Chiian as chief trapper or head trapper" (p. 77). His account describes the protocols surrounding the fur traders' exchange with Chiian and his entourage as follows:

They would make a big feast for Chiian. The H.B.C. gave him a silk hat and a sword and a coat and a flag. They would expect Chiian any day, but they didn't know when. They would all wait with the feast until Chiian came. That was before the treaty. All the Indian people gathered at the H.B.C. store for this feast. When Chiian arrived all dressed up with his sword hanging down, they would go to meet him and then open up their storehouse of goods to trade with him. After the trading was over, the H.B.C. would treat everyone to a big feast. Nothing would happen until Chiian arrived. (I suppose Gerald means the H.B.C. would not begin trading with anyone until after Chiian arrived.)
(Butikofer, 2007)

Acknowledging and seeking to exploit his position of influence across the homeland territories, the HBC's designation of Chiian as head trapper was undoubtedly based on his pre-existing leadership role as the head of a family of six wives. Butikofer specifies that these events occurred before the treaties, when *Anishinaabe* people were autonomous and free to make choices about their activities, including where and when to travel and trade. *Anishinaabe* fur production knowledge and labour were critical to the Company's

operations, compelling traders to show a certain measure of respect and to treat them as colleagues rather than employee-subordinates.

Butikofer adds other details about Chiian's identity and his association with the HBC. Importantly, he specifies that Chiian was *Giizhig* Kiishik's father as follows:

Gerald heard a lot about Chiian from his son Kiishik. Kiishik still had a big metal medallion that the H.B.C. had given Chiian to wear around his neck. I think Gerald saw it. The coat Chiian was given was dark with big shiny buttons. It was not a red coat. (Butikofer, p. 79)

This passage is a glimpse into the *Jiyyaan* Chiian-HBC arrangement, with the Company's coat and medallion symbolically expressing its perceived value in cultivating a friendly relationship with not only Chiian but also the community he represented. For his part, a territorial lead trapper would have been well acquainted with the meaning and significance of trade agreements and the role of goods and gifts as trade incentives and a means for providing for his people. These arrangements constituted the context of the HBC's "institutional practices" for encouraging loyalty (Promislow, 2008, p. 69) and, with *Jiyyaan*'s understanding of such customs, they indicate that some balance was still possible in how the two parties interacted.

In her *dadibaajimowin*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* speaks of having seen a medal on more than one occasion during her childhood and youth, stating it belonged to her grandfather *Giizhig* (Agger, 2008). It hung on a red ribbon and was kept in a special box. Both *Dedibaayaanimanook* and *Gwiishkwa'oo* concur that it remained in the possession of the *Dedibayaash Giizhig* family and that *Gwiishkwa'oo*'s parents then kept it briefly

after *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s parents had passed.

Butikofer also contributes to this *aweneniwiweg* research by clarifying the identity of some relatives and ancestral lines. He states, for example, that the English name of *Ojoozhimimaa* Ochoshimimaa ("Everyone's Nephew," *adik odoodem*) was John Animal Sr., although he also seems to indicate that the same individual was William Spence of Lac Seul. Butikofer adds that *Ojoozhimimaa* Ochoshimimaa's father was *Gichi Inini* Kihchi Inini, without specifying the identity of the latter's father. *Namegosibii dadibaajimowin* is silent on *Ojoozhimimaa*'s English name(s), but we know that he was either a first or second-degree cousin of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s father, *Dedibayaash*. If *Gichi Inini* Kihchi Inini was one of *Jiyyaan*'s sons, then *Dedibaayaanimanook* would have been *Ojoozhimimaa* Ochoshimimaa's first cousin once removed. This research considers it likely that *Gichi Inini* Kihchi Inini's father was *Jiyyaan* (Table 15), based on how *dadibaajimowin* speaks of the ancestors (Agger, 2008).

Butikofer suggests that "old Angecomb," as one of *Jiyyaan*'s sons, was the original Angecone. If this is accurate then today's Angeconebs trace their ancestry to *Jiyyaan*. *Gwiishka'oo* Eliza, to illustrate, would be a *Jiyyaan* descendant through her paternal grandfather, *Gichi Mookomaan* George Angecone. However, she is also a descendant through her father's stepfather, *Dedibayaash*. Butikofer further states that *Jakaabesh* Chakaapes's father was "old Angecomb" and his mother was *Goome* Koome, a wife of "old Angecomb" (Table 10). Apparently, *Goome* Koome had only two children, *Jakaabesh* Chakaapes and his sister, whose name *Waabachaanish* Gerald did not know. *Jakaabesh* Chakaapes, who never married, was a cousin of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s father, but possibly not a full cousin considering his grandfather *Jiyyaan* had six wives.

Of particular relevance to the description of the long-lasting relationship between *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* and their homelands, Butikofer notes that *Jakaabesh* lived in *Namegosibiing* and *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* during the winter and in *Obizhigokaang* during the summer. In one of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* narratives, she mentions that people occasionally referred to *Jakaabesh* in their conversations (Agger, 2008).

Adding another layer to the identity of the *Namegosibii aanikoobidaaganag* is Butikofer's account about *Dedibaayaanimanook's* maternal ancestry. He includes a 1982 interview with *Dedibaayaanimanook's* brother, *Jiins Charlie Angecone*, who informed him that the mother of their mother, *Gaa-madweyaashiik Kamatweyaashiik*, was *Gaachim Kaachim* (Table 8). *Jiins Charlie* translated her name as Crying all the Time and clarified the English meaning of *Angecone* to be Changing Feathers of a Bird. Butikofer further informs us that the maternal uncle of *Gaa-madweyaashiik Kamatweyaashiik* was *Waasekamigigaabaw Waasekamikikaapaw*,⁴⁷ #39 of the *Wabauskang* band, hence, *Dedibaayaanimanook's* great-uncle (Table 11). In Butikofer's interview with *Dedibaayaanimanook* in 1981, he quoted her as stating that her mother's name, *Gaa-madweyaashiik Kamatweyaashiik*, meant Sound of Trees in the Wind. *Dedibaayaanimanook's* own *dadibaajimowin* notes that the name *Gaa-madweyaashiik* was her paternal grandfather *Giizhig's* gift.

Looking at the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg's* *Angecone* branch of their ancestry,

⁴⁷ Butikofer offers Bright Land to Stand On as its translation. It can also be Stands on Bright Land. The name *Waasekamigigaabaw* may be the reason why *Gaa-madweyaashiik Kamatweyaashiik's* surname is alternately identified as Bright. *Dedibaayaanimanook* knew her to be a Strang (Agger, 2008). These types of discrepancies and confusion are traceable to church and state impositions.

Butikofer states that *Gaa-dadaakogaadej* Kahtakatokaate⁴⁸ (“Short Legs”) was first married to a Thomas (Table 12). Several years ago, *Dedibaayaanimanook*, *Gwiishkwa’oo*, and I visited *Jiimis* James Angecone’s son, *Zaasibimaan* James (Table 13, third column), in Winnipeg where he spent his final years. Butikofer’s information may be of interest to those who know Garnet Angecone,⁴⁹ whose his ancestry derives from this line.

Butikofer’s list of *Gaa-dadaakogaadej* Kahtakatokaate’s children with his second wife, *Mooska’osi* Mooska’awisi (bittern), appears in Table 14. *Nomegosibii dadibaajimowin* confirms Kwesens was *Gichi Jii*’s mother, *Gichi Ikwezens*. *Gichi Jii*, the last of *Dedibaayaanimanook*’s close friends of the same generation, had a deeply grounded understanding of the historical content of *Nomegosibii Anishinaabe dadibaajimowin* and undoubtedly understood the importance of her uncle’s work.

Of interest for this research is Butikofer’s inclusion of certain phrases he and his *Anishinaabe* interviewees express as “*ingii’ waabamaa(ban)*” (I saw her/him/it), “*gaawiin ingii’ waabamaasii*” (I did not see her/him/it) or some similar phrase. For example, he writes, “Gerald never saw Moowinini” (p. 78) and “Gerald never saw Wawiye ... but he did see Amo and Kichi Miskwe” (p. 80). In a similar manner, *Dedibaayaanimanook* speaks in terms of having seen or not seen someone or something. In one part of her *dadibaajimowin*, for example, she mentions having seen a relative of

⁴⁸ The misspelling of Kahtakatokaate can be corrected by interchanging the second k with the second t. Otherwise, it does not mean the one with short legs or anything else.

⁴⁹ Garnet, who lives in Sioux Lookout, ON, received an Order of Canada award for his work in promoting cultural understanding.

her father's, thus testifying that the individual was still living during that time in her childhood (Agger, 2008). This customary form of *Anishinaabe* speech indicated the speaker's role as an eyewitness who gave a firsthand account about an event. As a method of substantiation, the custom was necessarily based on the reliability of an individual's word. *Anishinaabeg* were an oral society, hence, fastidious in establishing and maintaining a reputation for trustworthiness in order for the community to accept their *dadibaaJimowin* as part of their body of knowledge. Once an individual was discovered to fabricate stories, she or he was ascribed a standing in the community with the phrase "*nitaa giwanimoo*" (habitually speaks untruths) and not perceived as wholly trustworthy.

In summary, Butikofer's work contributes *Anishinaabemowin* and English names and their meanings, information about who were the children of whom, details of events, and forms of expression. He did not, however, have the means by which to arrange the information he gathered into a genealogically coherent whole. Access to *dadibaaJimowin*, however, makes it possible to integrate the information from Butikofer, the HBC archives, and state records into a more accurate and comprehensive outline of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* genealogies and identities.

5.6 Conclusion

My use of *izhibii'igewin* does not suggest that the *dadibaaJimowin* oral system of record keeping and information retrieval, including *odoodemiwin* and *aadasookewin*, was deficient within *Anishinaabe* cultural contexts. *DadibaaJimowin* fits perfectly with a travel-based lifestyle that works optimally with few rather than many physical

possessions. The essential tools of orality are thought, memory, and recall. Illustrating how this system kept events in chronological order, *Dedibaayaanimanook* refers to a time when they were living in a particular place in *Namegosibiing*. As the *dadibaajimowin* progresses, its details become prompting devices for further information as follows:

<i>Amiish i'i wedi gaa'izhi ani goziy-</i>	And then we moved over there while
<i>aangiban e'giigooyikewaaaj ... Jiins ...</i>	they ... <i>Jiins ...</i> were fishing... that was
<i>amiish i'ima gaa' izhidaayaangiban ...</i>	where we lived ... That's the same time
<i>That's the same time ... gewiinawaa</i>	... they too
<i>i'iwedi gii' ... izhidaabaneg ... gii'</i>	were ... living over there ...
<i>bijigoziibaneg Oshkaandagaawi</i>	they had moved from <i>Oshkaandagaawi</i>
<i>Zaa'iganiing...Gichi Jii ... Minôtesh gii'</i>	<i>Zaa'iganiing ... Gichi Jii ... Minôte</i>
<i>dakobizo i'i apii. (016BD2010, 15)</i>	was in a cradleboard that time.

The *dadibaajimowin* flows spontaneously, picking up additional facts as it moves along. Of interest, *Dedibaayaanimanook* never attempts to recall dates, but explains the time element by associating an event with an incident or situation through her use of the term *apii*, at the time when. In this *dadibaajimowin*, for example, a set of recollections triggers a particular image, *Minôte* in her *dakinaagan*. *Dadibaajimowin* establishes the relative time frame of an event in terms that are meaningful for the community, such as an addition to its population.

Similarly in the next example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains the time frame of an event by using two key components that function together to explain when it took place. Her *dadibaajimowin* segment is as follows:

I [was] really young that time ...	I [was] really young that time ... why
<i>Ya'iish gaa-gii' onji wiiijiwiwaaj –</i>	they had me come with them – you
<i>Aayizag osha dakobizooban.</i>	see, Isaac was in a cradleboard.
(001AD2012, 3)	

Her description of a journey with family members uses the same method, cross-referencing a time in her youth with the particular spring when her nephew *Aayizag* was still in a cradleboard. Record keeping in which an event becomes linked with an especially cold or snowy winter, someone's birth or passing, an important visit, etc. indicates that oral communities developed systems that did not depend on the writing practices or implements of literate societies. A physical object such as *dakinaagan* not only served to cradle an infant, it enacted a symbolic role in how *Anishinaabe* people conceptualized and organized events for *dadibaajimowin*. Foundational to *Anishinaabe* oral society, *dadibaajimowin* functioned most effectively through constant use, reinforcing and refreshing memory and maintaining the speaker-listener relationship. But it depended on the ethic of *debwewin* truthfulness.

Namegosibii Anishinaabeg did not associate the English word treaty with notions of *debwetamowin-inaakonigewin*, belief in the truthfulness of and agreement with how to fulfill an accord. They understood early on that Treaty 3 was not honourable in either its *izhibii'igewin* content or its administration because a true balance of power did not exist between the two parties. Being neither naïve nor gullible, *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* focused on the heart of the matter, compensation for the theft of their homelands, resources, and self-determination. The notion of payment was a source of deep scepticism

as *Anishinaabe* historical experiences contradicted the confidence and trust-based ideals implicit in the *debwetamowin-inaakonigewin* of ethical treaty making that is conducted in good faith.

My use of HBC records, Indian Affairs pay lists, the national census, and Butikofer's writings to recover information about identities by re-tracing recorded genealogies reflects the need for substantiation by documentation. Yet the reliability of *izhibii'igewin* information itself was only as accurate as the soundness of the recorder's listening and recording skills, processes, and procedures. Library and Archives Canada reference archivist W. Russell stated that an Indian agent was responsible for up to three copies of data, one being his to update on an on-going basis throughout the year (personal communication, March, 2006). Information varied when inconsistencies arose from clerical errors, an agent's working copy did not agree with that of Treaty Time information, and agents did not accurately hear and/or spell out what *Anishinaabe* people were saying. Particularly given the use of roman orthography and lack of a standardized spelling system, *dadibaaqjimowin* must play a lead role in searches through *izhibii'igewin* for information about *Anishinaabe* identity.

Butikofer's (2009) record adds details lost to *dadibaaqjimowin* due to *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* disruptions. He states, for example, that "Mayinkaan and Moosonihiikwe were brother [and] sister" (p. 84), indicating that Mayinkaan (*Ma'iingan*, wolf) was *Dedibaayaanimanook's* father's maternal uncle, that is, *Nookomiban's* brother. Similarly, knowledge about how names translate into English enhances our understanding of the ways in which our foreparents saw themselves and how they lived their lives. Importantly, this investigation has determined that the Chean of the *izhibii'igewin* written

record was *Jiyyaan* of *dadibaajimowin*, father of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* community's patriarch, *Giizhig*. *Waabachaanish*'s description of *Jiyyaan*'s visits to the HBC suggests the value that fur traders placed in maintaining productive relations with *Jiyyaan*, his family, and community of *Anishinaabeg*. The Company's recognition of his influence and its desire to retain his goodwill served to validate the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* and their work ethic, reputation, integrity, identity, and homelands. Butikofer's work is also valuable for having included information about individuals' *odoodemiwin*.

Namegosibii Anishinaabeg were a discrete group of *Anishinaabeg*, the "Trout Lake Indians" whose roots extended to *Biigaanjigamiing* in the north, *Obizhigokaang* and *Maadaawaang* to the south and southwest, and Osnaburgh to the east. Their patriarch, *Giizhig*, was born in *Namegosibiing* (approximately 1830), as was his father *Jiyyaan*, probably at some time in the late 18th century. The *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*'s summer visits to the Lac Seul region usually lasting less than two months, they lived in *Namegosibiing* for most of the year. During the early to mid-20th century, some individuals decided to remain in *Obizhigokaang* while others relocated to the Red Lake area. The *Dedibaayaashes*, *Netawibiitams*, and *Jiyyaan* Donalds, however, retained *Namegosibiing* as their home.

Today's descendants of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe aanikoobidaaganag* are scattered. They live in Victoria, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Red Lake and Balmertown, Sandy Lake, Dryden, Thunder Bay, Curve Lake, Toronto, Ottawa, and elsewhere. With each succeeding generation further removed from their *Namegosibiing* roots, descendants become affiliates of other communities, places, and ancestral lineages. An example is

participant Janae Fiddler, who is five generations from *Giizhig* and expresses her ancestry in terms of her father's Sandy Lake community. Taking on other identities, she is less likely to be familiar with her *Namegosibiing aanikoobidaaganag*. Nonetheless, she shares the *Giizhigoog* lineage and the option to claim *Namegosibiing* as her homeland.

***Ingodôso: Zagakibii'igaadeg mekigaadeg* Chapter 6: What is found is gathered
into an organized text (conclusion)**

This study provides answers to questions about the identity of the *Nomegosibii Anishinaabe* people. It examines the realities of their physical removal from their homes and displacement from their homelands. It thus interrogates the denial of *Anishinaabe* experiences that erases their identity and prevents their return to the ancestral places of home. Through their *dadibaajimowin*, participants describe the relationships among community members and homeland territories, historical events, and circumstances of loss and adjustment that shape how people understand themselves as the *Nomegosibii Anishinaabeg*. Demonstrating her extensive experience with the homelands, for example, *Dedibaayaanimanook* explains the height of land across hundreds of square miles. As the *Nomegosibii Anishinaabe* senior elder, she also speaks to temporal expanses that span generations. Her *dadibaajimowin* reaches back no less than two hundred winters to the late 18th or early 19th century when her great-grandfather *Jiyyaan* was born. Perhaps most remarkable about the *Nomegosibii aweneniwiyeng* narrative is that the same lineage has occupied the same geographical spaces for so long a period.

Participants' *dadibaajimowin* indicates that the forces of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* affected people's ability to maintain their sense of relationship with the *Nomegosibiing* homelands in differing ways for various reasons. Generationally closest to *aanikoobidaaganag*, the senior elders express a strong affiliation with *Nomegosibiing*. Their *dadibaajimowin* refers directly to the effects of the increasing proliferation of *wemitigoozhiwag* during the early to mid 20th century. Placing their narratives in the

contexts of rapidly changing social, economic, and political circumstances and related uncertainties, they describe responses and appraisals of prospects for survival as

Namegosibii Anishinaabeg.

The next generational group continues to use *Anishinaabemowin*, its cultural grounding helping to maintain a *Namegosibiing*-attached identity. They focus on the possibility of returning home to the lands of their *aanikoobidaaganag*. The youngest participants' *dadibaaqjimowin* suggests that the original upheavals in the lives of the older generations have dissipated. Born and raised in Western society's dominant contexts, they experience a *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* that has taken on other shapes and presents a different set of challenges. Their familiarity with *Anishinaabemowin* is limited. For all participants, factors relating to age, place of birth and childhood, parentage and family lifestyle, use of and exposure to *Anishinaabemowin*, schooling, and accessibility to and time spent within the ancestral lands influence their ability to communicate from a *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* ontological location.

The value of *dadibaaqjimowin* is evident to all *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* who are concerned for the world in which we are now living. It explains how *Anishinaabe* people managed to treat the natural environment well and still survive successfully as human populations. It is evident from *dadibaaqjimowin* that participants possess valuable knowledge, no matter their place in the hierarchical scheme of the dominant milieu. Their insights do not often find their way into mainstream *dawisijigewin* spaces. For those of us who navigate the various disciplines of Western knowledge production and often look only to privileged groups as our authority and source of legitimacy, *dadibaaqjimowin* is a reminder that knowledge exists in unexpected places. Respect for all *debwewin*, which

Johnston (2011) terms *w'daeb-awe*, no matter its origin, is a fundamental teaching that emerges with particular clarity when participants communicate *dadibaaajimowin* from *Anishinaabemowin*'s ontological frame of reference.

Accurate depiction of *Anishinaabemowin*-spoken *dadibaaajimowin* and its contexts and processes is the purview of often challenging, inter-ontological work. To illustrate, I once used *zhaaganaashiimowin* to ask my mother what I thought was a straightforward question about plants. When *Dedibaayaanimanook* asked for clarification and I switched to *Anishinaabemowin*, I soon discovered my inability to describe what I meant by even the word plant. Simply re-phrasing myself was not helpful. Instead, I had to re-orient my approach to the whole notion of what is a logical question, realizing that my query must have suggested the lack of a sound mind to my mother! This unsatisfactory attempt to find an *Anishinaabemowin* term that corresponds with Western classificatory systems of knowledge construction demonstrates the difficulties of working from two contrasting ontologies.

As *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, our response to *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* is to re-discover, recover, re-claim, re-establish, and return to the *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* homelands about which *Naamegosibii dadibaaajimowin* has spoken so clearly.

Dadibaaajimowin, particularly when using *Anishinaabemowin*, affords *Anishinaabe* people direction for returning home, spiritually, culturally, and in due course, literally. *Anishinaabemowin dadibaaajimowin*, in particular, explains how conditions across the homelands became impossible for the presence of one group, the *Anishinaabeg*, and accommodating for another, the *wemitigoozhiwag*. By describing *Anishinaabe* philosophies that ensured *noopimakamig aki* would continue in the state of healthiness

that the European (descended) latecomers found so desirable, *dadibaajimowin* effectively contests the contexts of historical mythologies in which homelands were empty spaces of “wilderness” devoid of *Anishinaabe* populations. The *Anishinaabe* voices of *dadibaajimowin* answer the questions about dilapidated cabins and collapsing cemetery cribs. They explain the identity of tourist guides and their relationship with those who rest at *ezhi bimishinowaaj*. With its contents and contexts, *dadibaajimowin* is a process that erases the erasures of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*, re-vitalizes *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* subjectivity, and specifies the ancestral homelands. Its engagement, moreover, is in accordance with the growing movement of *Anishinaabe* scholarship.

Izhibii'igewin sources for this thesis have various objectives, each providing pieces of information that *dadibaajimowin* indicates either to have been nonessential to the record-keeping system of *aanikoobidaaganag* or has disappeared in the wake of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin*. The HBC, for example, had to recognize the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* in terms of the land in which they lived and worked to maintain accurate financial records. The company's *izhibii'igewin* therefore included details about names, travels, activities, places, and dates. Indian Affairs, on the other hand, had little use for maintaining a record of each band's separate communities and did not appear to document those distinctions. It did, on the other hand, show tacit acknowledgement of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people by recognizing *Giizhig* as a band councillor. Important to note, with no official historical data existing to calculate the number of individuals who comprised the *Namegosibiing* community over time, establishing population numbers was not possible. The *dadibaajimowin* of *aanikoobidaaganag* preserved information that was different from what today's systems of documentation require. That

information was relevant and directly tied to the people's relationship with the land on which they lived and traveled and the beings who presided over it.

How the people of *Nomegosibiing* have conceptualized the notion of selves as a community of *Anishinaabeg* has changed over time. During the earlier years of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* life, her *dadibaajimowin* suggests, the core community held to its identity as *Giizhig's* descendants.⁵⁰ This, of course, included the individuals who married into the families, such as the wives of *Giizhig's* sons. With their places of origin usually within negotiable distances, the community's *Anishinaabe* composition remained largely intact. Hence, the notion of community identity was rooted in the families of the patriarch's descendants and those who lived and traveled with them in a manner similar to groups comprising the southern regions of the *Anishinaabe* nation (Doerfler, 2015). However, the onset of *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* increased the number of out-marriages and changed the old ways of conceptualizing community and individual self-definition.

Today, there are siblings, cousins, and other family members and relatives who articulate a self-defining *dadibaajimowin* that fits with this narration. Emphasizing what is important for them, they use a variety of genres and formats. One, for example, wrote and published her experiences, memories, and reflections as poetry. But not everyone uses text. Each of the eight participants chose *dadibaajimowin*, oral communication, allowing me to textualize their narratives. Some *Nomegosibii Anishinaabeg* use forms of art such as beadwork or sewing as their response to the call to *Anishinaabewaaajimodaa sa*, to narrate our *Anishinaabe* selves. My mother has beaded for most of her life while

⁵⁰ An example of one type of exception was the marriage of *Dedibaayaanimanook's* uncle to *Omaskiigookwe*, who was from a Swampy Cree community.

my eldest sister speaks about who she is through quilting. As a community, *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* are still in a state of physical dispersal and have yet to re-unite with the homelands. However, no matter where it currently takes place, the work of producing a readily visible, cohesive, and coherent auto-documentation of our *Anishinaabe* identity is a critical step toward realizing *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* repatriation.

This thesis formally documents the *aweneniwiyeeng* narrative of the participants as they articulate the experiential *debwewin* of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* elders. Their information-knowledge clearly establishes the identity of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* and their relationship with the homelands. The content of their identity *dadibaajimowin* unquestionably – often in great detail – defines and delineates the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* homelands and unequivocally demonstrates the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* people's historical and inherent right to those lands as their inheritance.

On a personal level, this thesis explains why my *dadibaajimowin* journey into the identity of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* is necessary. Coming from the spaces that emerge from my parents' ontologies, I continually negotiate my positionality while pondering dominant society's on-going attempts to eradicate, erase, and deny the value and worth of my mother's land-based heritage. I imagine how differently *Anishinaabe* people would experience life had the latecomers and their descendants chosen appreciation, respectfulness, and gratitude – not *wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin* – toward the legitimate titleholders of *aanikoobidaaganag's aki*. Foremost, my thoughts are of the *noopimakamig aki* where my mother, siblings, *Anishinaabe* relatives, *aanikoobidaaganag*, and I were born/grew up, the originary places of our *Anishinaabe* selves, and the *aki* where my *Norsk* father came when he left his own ancestral land

nearly a century ago. The presence of my voice throughout this study engenders an emic record of the *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* identity narrative, a counterpoint to its episodic treatment within the archival and canonic etc.

Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin Glossary

Note: Throughout my thesis, I use terms such as *oshekamigaa* (it is the height of land) as nouns and adjectives for convenience even though they are often complete sentences within the *Anishinaabemowin* context. This wordlist is specific to how *Dedibaayaanimanook* and her generation use the language.

aadasookewin. act or practice of telling special narratives (spoken only in winter).

aadasookaan(an). special narrative(s) attached with certain prohibitions and relating to the non-physical realm.

-aadizi. is/thinks a certain way.

aanikoobidaaganag. lit. those to whom there are ties. The ancestors; forefathers. This term also refers to descendants, however, I use it in this thesis for the ancestors, unless I specify otherwise. *Dedibaayaanimanook* recently confirmed that *aanikoobidaaganag* is understood to include both genders (personal communication, January, 2017).

aapiji. quite; very.

adik. caribou.

agaashiinzh. small.

agwanjimaawaa. submerge (her/him/it) in water. *Gwiishkwa'oo's* use of *-maawaa* signifies animacy.

aki. the earth; soil; land.

amanisowin. premonition, often in the form of an unnatural event, that serves to warn of something ominous. As a practice, it is used to frighten and warn, and can become associated with “bad medicine.”

anama'ewin. (the practice or organization of a) religion; prayer. Among *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg*, this term is used in reference to Western religions, never to *Anishinaabe* ceremony.

Anishinaabeg. a particular nation of Indigenous people, sometimes still referred to as the Ojibwe, Ojibwa, or Ojibway. *Dadibaajimowin* also uses this term for all Indigenous peoples.

Anishinaabemowin. the language of the *Anishinaabe* people.

Anishinaabewaadiziwin. thinking as an *Anishinaabe*; *Anishinaabe*-ness; the essence of being *Anishinaabe*.

Anishinaabewaaajimodaa sa. Let us narrate in our language.

Anishinaabewiziwin. practices, affairs, etc. of *Anishinaabe* people.

Anziko Zaa'igan. This is now known as Otter Lake.

apii. at the time when; then.

apisaabik. a type of rock or mineral.

asiniipôgan. lit. stone pipe. A ceremonial pipe.

Asubpeeschoseewagong. Grassy Narrows First Nation.

aweneniwieng. (who) we are; our identity.

aweneniwieng e'Anishinaabewiyeng. who we are as *Anishinaabe* people.

Baagwaashiwi Zaa'iganiins. lit. Little Shallow Lake. This is now Bruce Lake.

Baagwaashiwi Zaa'igan. lit. Shallow Lake. Now known as Pakwash Lake.

baamadaawe. lit. he/she travels around, buying. An independent trader, such as Swain.

baawitig. rapids; falls. Although people used the term *gichi baawitig* to refer to a falls, *baawitig* is also used for both falls and rapids. *Dedibaayaanimanook*, when referring in general terms to a falls, has also used the term *bimidaabikijiwang*, which evokes the concept of water that comes flowing over rocks.

babaamiziwin. (personal) affairs; (private) business.

bakwezhigan. bannock; bread; flour.

bepegwajizhaagigamiiwan. the ice on the lake is open here and there.

biboon. winter.

biboonwagaag. be a winter; a year occurs.

Biigaanjigam(iing). the *Anishinaabe* community to the north of *Namegosibiing*, now referred to as the Pikangikum First Nation.

binesiwag. the thunderers; thunderbirds. When we use the word thunder, we are thinking in English, that is, we think in terms of the insentient forces of compression, shock waves, etc., but the term *binesiwag* defines animate beings who express their presence through rumbles, lightning bolts and strikes, dark clouds, etc.

bizhiw. lynx.

Bizhiwi Zaa'igan. lit. Lynx Lake. In English, *Bizhiwi Zaa'igan* is called Cat Lake.

dadibaajimowin. oral narrative; narrative content; practice or process of narration. This term evokes the on-going nature of *Anishinaabe* narration across the generations, based on a *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* understanding. *Dibaajimowin* is a narration of a more limited duration and specific subject matter.

dagasa dawisijigedaa. let us clear away the clutter.

dakinaagan. cradleboard.

dawisijigewin. act, process, or practice of clearing things away.

debwemagak gakina gegoon. (that) everything (in the natural world) speaks truthfully.

debwetamowin. act of agreeing; belief.

debwewin. knowledge as truth, usually based on a person's experiences and observations. Johnston (2011) uses the term *w'daeb-awe*.

dewe'igan. drum.

diba'amaadim. lit. people are getting paid. Treaty Time was when each person received a treaty annuity payment of five dollars.

dibiki giizis. lit. night sun. The moon.

diindiinsi. blue jay.

doozis. aunt.

enigok. with effort.

eshkan. antler; bar.

ezhi bimishinowaaj. lit. where they lay at rest. A cemetery.

Gaa-dakwaasigej. lit. the one who shines briefly. February.

gaa-nigamoj. the one who is singing.

Gaa-minisiwang. lit. that has an island.

Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag. A marshy region along the eastern edge of *Namegosibiing* where muskrats abound. This is the birthplace of *Namegosib's* elder, *Dedibaayaanimanook* Olsen.

gaawaandag. spruce tree; spruce branch.

gaawiin ingii' waabamaasii. I did not see him / her.

Gaa-wodooskwanigamaag. lit. the elbow shaped body of water. This was where *Anishinaabe* travelers found waterfowl in abundance along *Namegosi Ziibi*.

gakiwekana. portage trail.

gego. do not.

gego zhaaganaashiiyaadizisiidaa. let us not be like the white people at the expense of being *Anishinaabeg*.

gete Anishinaabeg. the senior people; the elders.

gete ya'ii. the old things, teachings, customs, etc.

geyaabi gidoozhibii'ige. you are still writing.

gichi. large, big, grand.

gichi dewe'igan. the great ceremonial drum.

Gichi Baawitig. Big Falls on Trout Lake River where *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* used a portage trail.

Gichi Manidoo. the Great Spirit.

gichi ogimaakwe. queen. This was in reference to Victoria of the English people. Of note, the *dadibaajimowin* of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* never referred to Victoria as their grandmother.

gidinawemaaganinaanig. our relations; our relatives.

gii'dagoshin. has arrived. An *Anishinaabe* custom, it was somewhat similar to the reincarnation concept.

giinawaa. you all.

giishkaatig. cedar.

giiwanimoo. she/he is telling an untruth.

giiwedinong. north; toward the north.

giiwewin. act or process of returning (home).

giizhig. day; sky.

Giizhigoog. the descendants of *Giizhig*, a term used by *Oo'oons* Kejick.

gikendaasowin. knowledge.

gikinawaajichigan. a marker; signpost. To mark the location of a moose kill, a hunter would bend branches of nearby trees as a form of *gikinawaajichigan* (*Dedibaayaananimanook*, personal conversation, 2014).

gikinô'amaagoziwin. schooling; education.

gimishoomisinaanig. lit. our grandfathers. Our ancestors.

Ginebigo Baawitig. Snake Falls, ON.

Gizhe Manidoo. kind / loving spirit.

gojjiing. the source of a river.

Gojjiwaawangaang. lit. a sandy location where water flows through.

gookom. your grandmother.

gookomens. lit. your dear/little grandmother. *Gookomens* was apparently small but energetic.

gozaabanjigan. a “shaking tent.”

gwiishkwa'oo. robin.

ikwe. a woman.

ikwezens. girl.

Ikwewi Zaa'igan. Woman Lake.

inaakonigewin. act of making a judgment; a law; an agreement.

inasookepan. she/he used to tell *aadasookaan* narratives.

indiindiinsim. my blue jay.

ingichiniking. to my right.

ingii' waabamaa. I saw her / him / it.

ingiiwemin. we are returning home.

izhibii'igewin. writing; text; the writing practice; the written record.

izhitwaawin. cultural practices; cultural activity; culturality.

izhibii'igaade. it is written.

jiibay. ghost.

Jiibayi Zaagiing. now known as Jackfish Bay, where a creek empties into a bay in the northeastern region of *Nomegosibiing*.

ji mawishig. so she/he will not cry. The more correct pronunciation is *ji mawisig*. Use of *sh* in the place of *s* is a grammatical device for conveying the concept of cuteness or charm that may include a measure of pathos.

Jónii dino. the same kind as Johnny. Johnny, of Italian descent, is a friend of *Dedibaayaanimanook*.

-kaan. a replica of; not real, genuine, or original. An elected chief, for example, is not an *ogimaa* or leader, but an *ogimaakaan*, a replica of a leader in the same way that natural teeth are *wiibidan*, but a set of dentures is *wiibidikaanan*.

gikendamaawiziwin. the ability to sense something pervasive, such as an attitude, atmosphere, undercurrent, character, etc.

maadaawaang. (place) where two rivers converge.

Maadaawaang. location of the English and Chukuni Rivers' convergence. Fur traders referred to it as Mattawa, where a Hudson's Bay outpost was located.

maajaa. she/he is leaving.

maamawichigewigamig(ong). lit. (at) the building where everything is done. The Hudson's Bay store, where *Anishinaabeg* were able to purchase a variety of goods.

maang(wag). loon(s).

madaawa'am. down river travel (i.e., with the current).

madogaan. lodge with a pointed top; a tipi.

madoodswaan. sweat lodge.

magwôgonagaabi. he peers through the dusting of snow on his face. This was *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s comment as she passed a lawn elf barely visible in the snow bank in front of her granddaughter's house.

ma'iingan. wolf.

Maji Manidoo. Evil Spirit.

makakoshkwemagoon. (birch) bark containers.

Makoshkizh. the Bear Muzzle of the night sky.

makamindô. taken from them by force, deception, etc.; stolen from them.

manoomin. wild rice.

manoominikewin. the practice or process of gathering wild rice.

mashkawiziwin. power; strength; influence.

mawadishiwewin. act, process, or practice of visiting.

mekadewokonaye(g). lit. who is (are) dressed in black. The priest(s).

Memegweshiwi Zaa'igan. Mamakwash Lake (on the Berens River).

mewinza. a long time ago; time before memory.

migizi(wag). bald eagle(s).

Migiziwi Giizis. Bald Eagle Moon (February/March).

miishijiimin. skunk currant. The English name for this perennial creeper draws attention to the odor it produces when disturbed, thus tending toward negative connotations. *Miishijiimin*, however, is a neutral term that refers to the edible fruit's bristly surface.

One of the first berries of the boreal forest to appear after the snow has melted, *miishijiimin*'s lesson for children, conveyed in the expression, "*Baamaa giin, miishijiimin*," is to respect their elders by refraining from pushing ahead of them (Agger, 2014, unpublished paper).

miiwishkaagewin. notion of being in the way of, or being a hindrance to (in the case of Red Lake) settlement, progress, development, etc. Belief in this idea was one factor that drove the Red Lake "frontier" mentality against *Anishinaabe* populations after the discovery of gold in the 1920s. I thank Roger Roulette for bringing this term to my attention.

minik. (however) many; some amount; a certain number.

minikwewin. alcoholism; alcohol. One of *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s *dadibaajimowin* narratives states that many lost their treaty status when they were found with alcoholic beverages or drinking at the local bars.

minobimaadiziwin. (the practice of living) a healthy, balanced life.

mitigoog. trees.

moonz. moose.

moonzowiiyaas. moose meat.

namanjiniking. on/to my left.

name(g). sturgeon. There are no sturgeon in Trout Lake.

namegos. lake trout.

Nomegosi Ziibi. Trout (Lake) River.

Nomegosib(iing). lit. trout water. Trout Lake, ON.

Nomegosibii Shishiing. This lake is now Little Trout Lake.

nametwaawin. evidence of presence / activity. In addition to its spiritual significance, a dewlap hung on a tree branch is a form of communication among *Anishinaabe* people to indicate *ezhidazhiikewaaj*, the places where they conduct their activities. The skeletal part of a domed *waaginogaan* structure served a similar communicative function (Roger Roulette, personal communication, 2014).

Nengawi Zaa'igan. Sandy Lake, ON.

neyaabikaang. lit. where a solid slab of rock forms a point along the shoreline. The island where my siblings and I grew up contains a prominent point that faces toward the east.

nigamonan. songs.

nikag. Canada geese.

Niki Giizis. Canada Goose Moon.

nitaa. usually; in the habit of; good at.

nitaa giowanimo. he/she is in the habit of not speaking truthfully.

nitam. first.

nitamibii'igewin. lit. what is written first. Introduction.

Nookomiban. my late grandmother.

noopimakamig. the boreal forest; the lands and regions of the boreal forest.

Obizhigokaang. the Lac Seul community; Lac Seul First Nation.

Obizhigokaawi Zaa'igan. Lac Seul Lake.

odaanikoobidaagana'. his or her ancestors or descendants.

odaapinaawasowin. the *Anishinaabe* traditional health profession, somewhat similar to obstetrics, that focuses on midwifery.

odinaabanjiganiwaa. information and knowledge they acquire(d) through dreams, contemplation, and study of the spirit beings.

odoodem. her/his totem.

odoodemiwin. clan system of organizing kinships; practice of the clan system.

odooskwan. her/his elbow.

ogichidaakwe. a ceremonial dance accompanying the great drum's performance.

ogozisan. her/his son.

ogwiimenziwin. the practice of ceremonial naming.

Ojiiganang. one of the constellational beings with whom *Anishinaabe* people interacted.

omagakii(g) frog(s); toad(s).

Omaskiigookwe. Swampy Cree Woman.

omishoomisa'. his/her ancestors.

onaabookaan. homemade wine.

oniijaanisa'. his/her children.

onjinewin. a karma-like event; getting what is deserved.

oodenaa. town.

oodenaang. to, in, into town. In certain contexts, this term becomes a metaphor for colonialism.

Oshedinaa(ng). (at) the Trout Lake Ridge (terminal moraine).

oshekamigaa. (it is the) height of land.

Oshekamigaawinini. Man of the Height of Land.

otawag. ear.

Otawagi Baawitig. Ear Falls, ON.

skaajimaniigin. lit. Scotch man's fabric. A tartan.

waabanong. the east.

waaboos(oog). rabbit(s).

waakaa'igan. house, dwelling, residence, building.

Waaninaawangaang. Sioux Lookout, ON.

waawiimbaajimowin. obfuscation in speech; discreet speech. This is not a *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* term. I am grateful to elder Roger Roulette for explaining its concept.

wanamani. red ochre.

Wanamani Zaa'igan. Red Lake, ON.

wanangosh(ag). star(s).

wanii'igewin. the practice or profession of trapping.

wazhashk. muskrat.

wemitigoozhii-aadiziwin. lit. thinking and acting as a European settler or descendant at the expense of *Anishinaabewaadiziwin* (Geniusz, 2012). Colonialism; colonial thought.

Wemitigoozhi(wag). European settler man (men), person(s). The negative connotations of this term came into being as *Anishinaabeg* began to experience the foreigners' attitudes and behaviors. Another meaning refers to a person-being who made brief appearances at certain types of ceremonials, not to a European.

wiikenzh. sweet flag rhizomes, used as medicine.

Wiikwedining. Thunder Bay, ON.

wiin. a contrastive particle (Nichols & Nyholm, 1995).

wiisaakode. a person of mixed heritage. *Dedibaayaanimanook* was unsure of its literal *Namegosibii Anishinaabemowin* meaning.

wiiaabishkiiwej. lit. the person who has white/pale skin (indicating the once highly distinctive physical feature of the Europeans as seen from the viewpoint of *Anishinaabeg*).

wiiaasikewiniwag. lit. the men who deal with/in meat. Game wardens.

zhaaganaashiimowin. the English language.

Zhaawan. the Being of the South.

zhaawanong. the south; in the south direction.

zhooniyaa ogimaa. lit. money chief, money boss. Indian agent.

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Tables

Table 1

Lac Seul Treaty Pay List Records of *Giizhig Keesick* and *Moonzhoniikwe Mary's* Children (1876-1897)

Date	Daughters	Sons	Total
1876			6
1877	1	5	6
1878			8
1879	1	7	8
1880	1	7	8
1881	1	7	8
1882	1	8	9
1883	1	8	9
1884	1	8	9
1885		8	8
1886		8	8
1887		7 ^a	7
1888		7	7
1889		7	7
1890		7	7
1891		6 ^b	6
1892		6	6
1893		6	6
1894		6	6
1895		6	6
1896		5 ^c	5
1897		5	5

Note. *Dedibaayaanmanook's* *dadibaajimowin* states that the *Giizhigs'* only daughter passed in early infancy.

^a The *Giizhigs'* son *Giweyaas(h)* in William Southwind married *Gibichigiizhigook Eliza* and left the family.

^b *Moonyyaans* Thomas left the family to marry *Maajigiizhigook Mary*.

^c *Naadowe* Robert married *Omaskiigookwe Sarah* Goodwin.

Table 2

1901 Census Record of *Moonyyaans* Thomas and *Maajigiizhigook Mary's* Children

Daughters	Sons	Date of birth	Religion
	<i>Omooday</i> Paul	1893-1894	Anglican
<i>Midaasogiizhigook</i> Maud or Edith (?)		1894	Anglican
<i>Naansii</i> Nancy		?	Anglican

Note. Both *Moonyyaans* Thomas and *Maajigiizhigook Mary* were listed as "pagan." These were not their only children, according to *Naamegosibii dadibaajimowin* (Agger, 2008).

Table 3

1901 Census Record of *Giiweyaas(h)in* Keewassin “South Wind” and *Gibichigiizhigook* Eliza’s Children

Daughters	Sons	Date of birth	Religion
	<i>Aat(ch)ayaa</i> John	1887-1888	Anglican
	<i>Anama’egaabaw</i> James Ashen	1891	Anglican
	<i>Oshkaandagaa</i> Charlie Ashen	1893	Anglican
	<i>Jigoozhi</i> Paul (?)	?	Anglican

Note. *Giiweyaas(h)in* Keewassin “South Wind” and *Gibichigiizhigook* Petshay Keesheekook Eliza were both “pagan.” *Dedibaayaananimanook’s* *dadibaajimowin* provides the names of the rest of the *Giiweyaas(h)ins’* children.

Table 4

1901 Census Record of *Naadowe* Robert and *Omaskkiigookwe* Sarah’s Children

Daughters	Sons	Date of birth	Religion
	<i>Namesosibiwinini</i> Sam	1897	Anglican
	<i>Nishki’aa</i> Isaac	?	Anglican

Note. Both *Naadowe* Robert and *Omaskkiigookwe* Sarah were identified as Anglicans. *Dedibaayaananimanook’s* *dadibaajimowin* provides the names of the rest of the *Naadowes’* children.

Table 5

1901 Census Record of *Dedibayaash* William and Mary Ann’s Children

Sons	Daughters	Date of birth	Religion
<i>Waasegiizhig</i> Donald		?	CC
	“Lizza”	?	CC

Note. Both *Dedibayaash* and Mary Ann were identified as members of the “CC” church. Not in this record is their daughter *Gweyesh* Annie. *Dedibaayaananimanook’s* *dadibaajimowin* explains how *Dedibayaash’s* family developed after the passing of Mary Ann (Agger, 2008).

Table 6

Lac Seul Treaty Pay List Records of Ayangeequanabe's Family (1876-1897)

Date	Women	Sons	Daughters	Total children	Total attendance
1876	3			10	14
1877	3	7	3	10	14
1878	3	7	3	10	14
1879	3	9	3	12	16
1880	3	9	3	12	16
1881	3	8	3	11	15
1882	3	6	3	9	13
1883	3	6	4	10	14
1884	3	4 ^a	4	8	12
1885	2	3	3	6	9
1886	2	3	3	6	9
1887	2	4	3	7	10
1888	2	4	2	6	9
1889	2	4	2	6	9
1890	2	4	1 ^b	5	7 ^c
1891	2	4	1	5	7
1892	2	4 ^d	1	5	7
1893	2	3 ^e	1	4	6
1894	2	3	1	4	6
1895	2	3	1	4	6
1896	2	3	1	4	6
1897	1	2 ^f	1	3	4

Note. The spelling of Ayangeequanabe suggests that the original name in *Anishinaabemowin* is *Aayaanjigwanaabe*, the on-going process of a bird's changing feathers. This individual is in all probability Butikofer's (2009) "Old Angecomb."

^a A son, referred to as "Menwagujiqueb(?)" married and left the family to become #110 on the Mattawan pay list of 1884.

^b A daughter left the family to marry #14 of Wabuskang.

^c Ayangeequanabe passed in the winter of 1889-1890.

^d The eldest son, referred to as "Ayangeequanabe's son," replaced his deceased father as #4 and became recognized in the record as head of the family.

^e A son left the family to marry the daughter of #21 and become #169. He was *Gichimookomaan* George Angecone, *Gwiishkwa'oo's* paternal grandfather.

^f Ayangeequanabe's son "W" was deceased.

Table 7

Mattawan Treaty Pay List Records of Otcheechackkeepetang's Mother and Otcheechackkeepetang (1876-1897)

Date	Men	Women	Sons	Daughters	Total children	Other	Total present
1876	1	1			1	1 ^a	4
1877	1	1		1	1		3
1878	1	1		1	1		3
1879	1	1		1	1		3
1880	1	1	1	1	2		4
1881	1	1	1	1	2		4
1882	1	1	1	1	2		4
1883	1	1	1	2	2		4
1884	1	1		2	2		4
1885	1	1		3	3		5
1886	1	1		3	3		5
1887	1	1		2	2		4
1888	1	1		3	3		5
1889	1	1	1	3	4		6
1890	1	1	2	3	5		7
1891	1	1	1	3	4		6
1892	1	1	1	4	5		7
1893	1	1		1 ^b	1		3
1894	1			1	1		2
1895	1			1	1		2
1896	1			1	1		2
1897	1						1

Note. Indian Affairs did not provide Otcheechackkeepetang's mother's name.

^a The "other" was probably Otcheechackkeepetang's mother. If so, it is unclear why the record identified her as the head the family in 1876. She disappeared from the record thereafter and was replaced by her son, Otcheechackkeepetang.

^b Two female children were deceased during the winter of 1892-1893 and a daughter left the family to marry Ayangeequanabe's son, who subsequently became #169 of Lac Seul (Table 6). She was my maternal grandmother, *Gaa-madweyaashiik* Emma.

Table 8

The Otcheechackkeepetang line of descent based on treaty pay lists (1876-1897), Butikofer (2009), and *Dedibaayaaninanook's dadibaajimowin* (Agger, 2008).

Otcheechackkeepetang's mother ↓	
Otcheechackkeepetang ↓	
Waasekamigigaabaw Waasekamikikaapaw	Gaachim Kaachim ^a ↓
Gaa-madweyaashiik Emma ↓	
Dedibaayaaninanook	Jiins Charlie

Note. According to this interpretation of the pay list information, Otcheechackkeepetang's mother was my great-great-great-grandmother.

^a Both *dadibaajimowin* and Butikofer (2009) provide Gaachim Kaachim's name.

Table 9

Lac Seul Treaty Pay List Records of Kahkeekaiabinoochee's Family (1876-1897)

Date	Women	Sons	Daughters	Total children	Total attendance
1876	1			5	7
1877					^a
1878					^a
1879					^a
1880	1	2	5	7	9
1881	1	2	4	6	8
1882	1	1	5	6	8
1883	1	1	5	6	8
1884		1	5	6	7
1885		2	4	6	7
1886		2	3	5	6
1887		2	3	5	6
1888		2	4	6	7
1889		2	4	6	7
1890		2	5	7	8
1891		2	4	6	7
1892	1	2	4	6	8
1893		2	4	6	7
1894		2	4	6	7
1895		2	3	5	6
1896		2	2	4	5
1897	1	2	2	4	5

^a The family appears not to have attended *diba'amaadim* for these three years. Whether they ever received payment for this time is unclear.

Table 10

Relationship of *Dedibayaash* and *Jakaabesh* Chakaapes based on Butikofer's (2009) findings.

<i>Jiyyaan</i> Chiian and Six wives ↓	
<i>Giizhig</i> Kiishik ↓	"Old Angecomb" and Goome Koome ↓
<i>Dedibayaash</i> ↓	<i>Jakaabesh</i> Chakaapes
<i>Dedibaayaanimanook</i>	

Note. *Namegosibii dadibaajimowin* does not speak directly to the relationships in the right column. In her *dadibaajimowin*, *Dedibaayaanimanook* states that her father, *Dedibayaash*, referred to Goome Koome as *indoozis* (my aunt).

Table 11

Dedibaayaanimanook's maternal grandmother and great-uncle, according to treaty pay lists (1876-1897), Butikofer (2009), and *Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin* (Agger, 2008).

<i>Otcheechackeepetang</i> ↓		
<i>Waasekamigigaabaw</i> <i>Waasekamikikaapaw</i>	<i>Gaachim</i> <i>Kaachim</i> ↓	
	<i>Gaa-madweyaashiik</i> <i>Kamatweyaashiik</i> ↓	↓
	<i>Jiins</i> Charlie	<i>Dedibaayaanimanook</i>

Note. *Dedibaayaanimanook* recently confirmed that her maternal great-uncle was *Waasekamigigaabaw* *Waasekamikikaapaw* (personal communication, 2015).

Table 12

Gaa-dadaakogaadej's descendants with his first wife based on Butikofer's (2009) findings.

Gaa-dadaakogaadej Kahtakatokaate ("Short Legs") and Ms. Thomas

<i>Majoojshwanaawagan</i> <i>Maahtotoswan-aawikan</i> John Angecone (married <i>Gojaanjii</i> Capay)	Clara	<i>Minjimooye</i> Mintimowiye (married Alex Capay)	<i>Jiimis</i> James Angecone (first married Mary Bull, then Mary Quoquat)
--	-------	--	--

Note. *Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin* frequently refers to *Minjimooye*.

Table 13

Jiimis James Angeconeb's descendants with his first wife, Mary Bull, and with his second wife, Mary Quoquat, based on Butikofer's (2009) findings.

<i>Jiimis</i> James Angeconeb							
George (married Siiya Morris)	<i>Amanisoo- kaan</i> David	<i>Zaasibi- maan</i> Sasipinan James	Andrew	Wiit (Vida)	Lawson	Clara (married D. Carroll, a European settler)	Albert

Note. *Amanisookaan* David was the father of Garnet Angeconeb of Sioux Lookout, ON.

Table 14

Gaa-dadaakogaadej's children with his second wife based on Butikofer's (2009) findings.

<i>Gaa-dadaakogaadej</i> Kahtakatokaate ("Short Legs") and <i>Mooska'osi</i> Mooska'awisi ("Bittern")			
Nanakowanakwepiik (married Anchikwaan)	<i>Gichi Ikwezens</i> Kwesens (married Charlie Bannatyne ^a)	Wekimaa	<i>Gaagizhii</i> Kakishii

^a*Dedibaayaanimanook's* *dadibaajimowin* states that Butikofer's (2009) interviewee *Waabachaanish* Gerald Bannatyne and *Gichi Jiī*'s father Charlie Bannatyne were brothers.

Table 15

Namegosibii Anishinaabe ancestral identity based on Namegosibii dadibaajimowin and ozhibii'igewin records

Jiiyaan and his six Wives						
↓						
Aazhide-giizhig ("Gitige-winini") ^a	"Old Ange-comb"	Egine-giizhig	Giizhig (circa 1830)	Gichi Inini	Beshk	Ojiigaa-kigan James
↓						
Mooniyaans Thomas Keesick	Naadowe Robert Keesick	Giieweas(h)in William Southwind	Dedibayaash William Sam Keesick (circa 1864)	Netawibiitam John Keesick	Jiiyaan Donald Keesick	Jiimis James Keesick
			↓			
Dedibaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick Olsen		Gweyesh Annie Angecone	Jiins Angecone	Gikinô'amaagewinini Paul		
↓		↓	↓	↓		
H. Agger	I. Olsen	Bejii Betsy King	Isaac Angecone	Gwiishkwa'oo Eliza Angecone	Oo'oons John Paul Kejick	Niinzhooode Wilfred Kejick (deceased in 2017)
	↓	↓	↓			
Riel Olsen		William King	Martha Angecone Fiddler			
			↓			
			Janae Fiddler			

Figure 3.22. Jiiyaan and his wives' lines of descent. Several unknowns are associated with this table. For example, it is highly unlikely that the second row includes all of Jiiyaan and his six wives' offspring. Some may have even been his siblings. Also, their correct chronological ordering is not known. Giizhig's seven surviving sons (row three) are in the chronological order from left to right that is indicated by Dedibaayaanimanook's dadibaajimowin. Participants' names are in red.

^a This individual is listed in the 1894 Lac Seul pay list as #8 Ashtaikeejick.

Figures



Figure 1.1. The *Bejii* Betsy and *Bezhigoobines* Frank King family residence. *Anishinaabe* families lived on the east side of one of the islands in the northeast quadrant of *Namegosibiing*.



Figure 1.2. The *Dedibayaash* family's winter residence. The spruce *mitigoog* of this house sheltered the *Dedibayaash* family in mid-winter; it was where *Dedibaayaanimanook*'s first child was born in 1945.



Figure 1.3. *Ezhi bimishinowaaj Namegosibiing*. Still in use today, the traditional cemetery is an example of *Namegosibii Anishinaabe izhitwaawin*, although European religious influences are also in evidence.

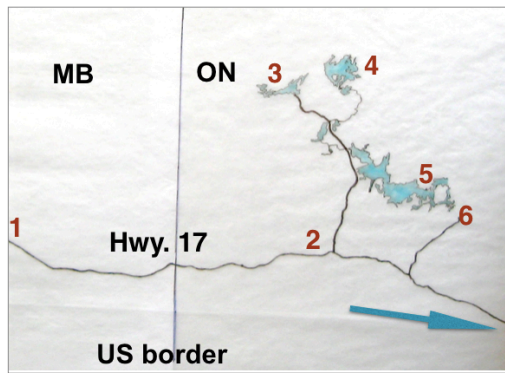


Figure 1.4. Location of Namegosibiing. Namegosibiing is northwest of Waaninaawangaang Sioux Lookout and northeast of Winnipeg. The numbers indicate the following places: 1, Winnipeg; 2, Vermilion Bay; 3, Wanamani Zaa'igan Red Lake; 4, Namegosibiing; 5, Obizhigokaang Lac Seul community; 6, Waaninaawangaang Sioux Lookout. The blue arrow indicates the direction of Wiikwedonong Thunder Bay.

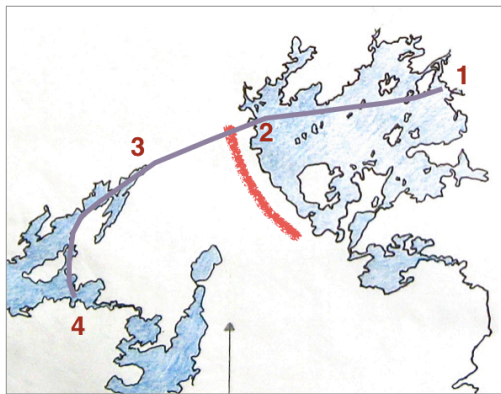


Figure 1.5. The Giizhigs' route to Red Lake. The purple line represents *aanikoobidaaganag's* route from Namegosibiing to Wanamani Zaa'igan Red Lake. The red line represents *Oshedinaang*, the Trout Lake Ridge. *Dedibaayaanimanook* stated that *Oshedinaa* manifested its presence as far away as *Otawagi Baawitig* (number 8 in Figure 1.7 below). The arrow points north.

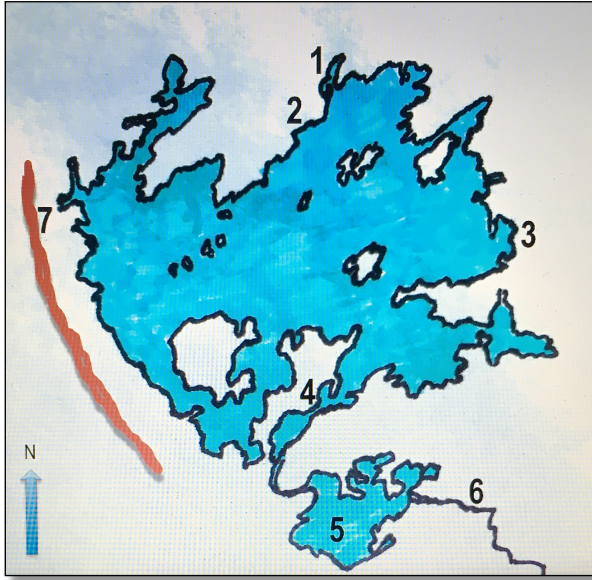


Figure 1.6. Namegosibiing. Places of significance in the lives of *Namegosibii Anishinaabeg* are as follows: the red line, *Oshedinaang*, the Trout Lake Ridge terminal moraine; 1, *Jiibayi Zaagiing*; 2, *Dedibaayaanimanook's* family's alternate winter residence; 3, *Gaa-minitigwashkiigaag*, now known as Keesick Bay; 4, *Ezibimishinowaaj*, traditional cemetery; 5, *Namegosibii Shishiing*, Little Trout Lake; 6, *Namegosi Ziibi*, Trout Lake River; 7, *Binesiwajiiing*, home of *Binesiwag*.



Figure 1.7. Namegosibii Anishinaabe canoe route to Obizhigokaang Lac Seul. The distance of this travel is approximately 250 miles (Agger, 2008).

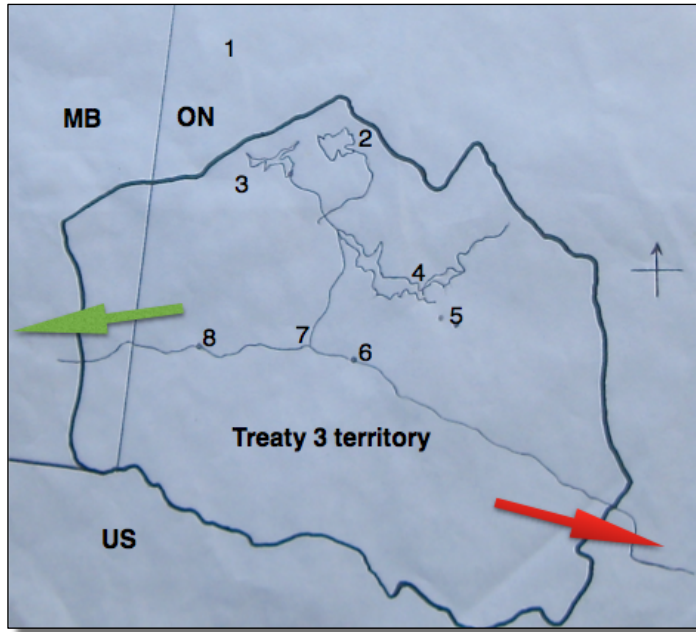


Figure 1.8. Treaty 3 territory. The treaty area is approximately 55,000 square miles. Key: 1, *Biigaanjiigam* Pikangikum First Nation; 2, *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake; 3, *Wanamani Zaa'igan* Red Lake; 4, *Obizhigokaang* Lac Seul First Nation; 5, *Waaninaawangaang* Sioux Lookout; 6, Dryden; 7, Vermilion Bay; 8, *Wazhashkonigamiing* Kenora. The green arrow points to Winnipeg, MB; the red arrow points to *Wiikwediniing* Thunder Bay, ON.



Figure 2.9. Makakoshkwemagoon as identity expression. I used birch bark, available in abundance in boreal *noopimakamig*, and braided sweet grass (not a traditional ingredient in *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* practice) for my version of what my maternal grandmother, *Gaa-madweyaashiik* Emma, made for storing food items that included dried whitefish.



Figure 2.10. Gathering *wiikenzh* (sweet flag) in Namegosibiing, 2009. Canoeing to a specific location for *wiikenzh* is an enactment of our identity as members of the Namegosibii Anishinaabe community.



Figure 2.11. Namegosibii Anishinaabe *mawadishiwewin*. My aunt Gweyesh is the woman seated and wearing a tam with a small child on the ground in front of her. Immediately to her left is her son, Jôj (George); her son Roy is standing behind her while her son, Ed, attempts to feed the moose calf. The *moonzoons*, however, is interested in the apple that Gweyesh's young nephew, Harald (my brother), has in his hand, during the mid-1950s. Courtesy of Dedibaayaanimanook S.K. Olsen.



Figure 2.12. Baswewe. Baswewe wore a black silk headscarf that she folded it into a triangle and tied at the top with a small knot. Courtesy of *Dedibaayaaninook* S.K. Olsen.



Figure 2.13. Giizhig's dress, circa 1928. The fabric for *Giizhig's* choice of clothing and the birch bark and spruce poles for his residence express his identity as an *Anishinaabe* of that time period and place. Courtesy of *Dedibaayaaninook* S.K. Olsen.



Figure 3.14. Elder Dedibaayaanimanook Sarah Keesick Olsen. *Dedibaayaanimanook* has lived in her Red Lake residence for nearly forty years. Each summer she visits *Namegosibiing* Trout Lake, the place of her birth, childhood, and much of her adult life.



Figure 3.15. Oo'oons John Paul Kejick. *Namegosibii Anishinaabe* elder, Oo'oons John Paul Kejick, lives in Red Lake, ON. He is *Dedibaayaanimanook's* first cousin once removed.



Figure 3.16. Gwiishkwa'oo Eliza Angecone. *Gwiishkwa'oo*, *Dedibaayaanimanook's* niece, has lived most of her adult life in Winnipeg, where she remains in close proximity to her progeny.



Figure 3.17. Martha Angecone Fiddler. Martha, who now makes her home in Sandy Lake, ON, holds many memories of life in *Namegosibiing* as a small child, particularly with her maternal grandmother, *Gweyesh Annie Angecone*.



Figure 3.18. William King. William “Spider” King grew up in *Namegosibiing*, living with his parents and siblings on Trout Lake Lodge island.



Figure 3.19. Niinzhoode Wilfred Kejick. *Niinzhoode* Kejick is *Oo’oons* Kejick’s younger sibling. Having retired from guiding in *Namegosibiing*, he resides in Red Lake, ON.



Figure 3.20. Janae Fiddler. Janae is the youngest of the eight participants in this research. Her perspectives of homeland reflect the lineage of her father's Sandy Lake people.



Figure 3.21. Riel Olsen. Riel, a grandson of *Dedibaayaanimanook* Olsen, spent sufficient time in Namegosibiing Trout Lake during his childhood to develop a strongly felt attachment to the homelands.



Figure 4.22. *Dedibaayaanimanook's* father's *dewe'igan*. *Dedibayaash* crafted his 15-inch drum from *giishkaatig*. Threaded on cotton twine, eagle quills create subtle changes in timbre.



Figure 4.23. Dedibayaash's asiniipôgan. Dedibayaash's sacred pipe is currently (February, 2017) in close communion with *Dedibaayaanimanook* in Winnipeg, where she now lives.



Figure 5.24. Use of *skaajimaniigin*, Namegosibiing, 1930s. On a warm spring day in, *Dedibaayaanimanook* (r.) wore a tartan skirt; *Ginôk Eliza's* (c.) blouse was tartan. Courtesy of *Dedibaayaanimanook Olsen*.

This form if placed in an envelope, marked "Dominion Statistics—Free, penalty for improper use, \$300," and properly addressed will pass through the Mail "FREE".

FORM 6 PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF DEATH 145

1. PLACE OF DEATH County of District of Kenora Township of _____
If in City, Town or Village Kenora, Ontario Street _____ House No. _____
If in hospital or institution, give name _____

2. NAME OF DECEASED Kaejick (Surname) Mary (Given name or names)
Residence Lac Seul Reserve (Usual place of abode)

3. Sex F. 4. Racial origin Indian 5. Single, Married, Widowed or Divorced (Write the word) Widowed

6. BIRTHPLACE Ontario (Province or country)

7. DATE OF BIRTH _____ 1834 _____ (Month) (Day) (Year)

8. AGE OF DECEASED 96 Years Months _____ Days _____ If less than one day old _____ hrs. or _____ min.

9. OCCUPATION OF DECEASED—
(a) Home Maker (Trade or occupation or kind of work)
(b) _____ (Kind of industry)

10. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (in years and months)
(a) At place of death _____ (b) In province 96 Yrs.
(c) In Canada (if an immigrant) _____

11. Name of father Unknown
12. Birthplace of father _____ (Province or country)
13. Maiden name of mother Unknown
14. Birthplace of mother _____ (Province or country)

15. Name of Informant Chief Tuckooahagan
Address C/O Indian Agent, Kenora
Relation to Deceased None

16. DATE OF DEATH October, 10th 1930 (Month) (Day) (Year)
17. I HEREBY CERTIFY that I attended deceased from _____ to _____ and last saw h. _____ alive on _____
The CAUSE OF DEATH was as follows:
Old age
(duration of) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ days
CONTRIBUTORY CAUSE (Secondary)
(duration of) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ days

18. Where was disease contracted if not at place of death? _____
Did an operation precede death? _____ Date of _____
Reason for operation _____
Was there an autopsy? _____
(Signed) _____ M.D.
Address _____
Date _____ (Month) (Day) (Year)
State the Disease causing death, or its death from Venereal Disease, state (1) Manner and Nature of Injury, (2) whether Accidental, Suicide or Homicide. In case of stillbirth write "born dead".

19. Place of Burial Lac Seul Reserve Date of Burial October, 12th, 1930
20. Name of Undertaker _____ Address _____
Filed at _____ on this _____ day of _____ 19 _____
BURLAL PERMIT was issued by—
Name Frank Edwards Address Indian Agent, Kenora Date _____

THIS FORM MUST BE FILED FORTHWITH WITH THE DIVISION REGISTAR OF THE DIVISION IN WHICH THE DEATH OCCURRED. WHITE PLAINLY WITH UNFADING INK. THIS IS A PERMANENT RECORD.
Every item of information should be carefully supplied.
AGE should be stated EXACTLY. Informants should state CAUSE OF DEATH in plain terms so that it may be properly classified. Informants should state whether English, Irish, Scotch, French, German, etc. The term "American" or "Canadian" should not be used, as they apply to citizenship but not to race or people.

Figure 5.25. Moonzhoniikwe Nookomiban's death certificate. Dedibaayaanimanook's paternal grandmother's Anishinaabe name was Moonzhoniikwe. I thank archivist John Richthammer for providing this copy of the *izhibii'igewin* document.

This form if placed in an envelope, marked "Dominion Statistics—Free, penalty for improper use, \$300," and properly addressed will pass through the Mail "FREE".

FORM 6 PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF DEATH 155

1. PLACE OF DEATH County of District of Kenora Township of _____
If in City, Town or Village _____ Street _____ House No. _____
If in hospital or institution, give name _____

2. NAME OF DECEASED Kaejick (Surname) _____ (Given name or names)
Residence Lac Seul Indian Reserve (Usual place of abode)

3. Sex male 4. Racial origin Indian 5. Single, Married, Widowed or Divorced (Write the word) Married

6. BIRTHPLACE Reserve (Province or country)

7. DATE OF BIRTH _____ 1830 _____ (Month) (Day) (Year)

8. AGE OF DECEASED 100 Years Months _____ Days _____ If less than one day old _____ hrs. or _____ min.

9. OCCUPATION OF DECEASED—
(a) trapper (Trade or occupation or kind of work)
(b) _____ (Kind of industry)

10. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (in years and months)
(a) At place of death 100 Yrs. (b) In province _____
(c) In Canada (if an immigrant) _____

11. Name of father Chee an
12. Birthplace of father Lac Seul Reserve (Province or country)
13. Maiden name of mother UNKNOWN
14. Birthplace of mother _____ (Province or country)

15. Name of Informant Chee chee Gandon
Address Lac Seul Reserve
Relation to Deceased None

16. DATE OF DEATH October 10th 1929 (Month) (Day) (Year)
17. I HEREBY CERTIFY that I attended deceased from _____ to _____ and last saw h. _____ alive on _____
The CAUSE OF DEATH was as follows:
old age
(duration of) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ days
CONTRIBUTORY CAUSE (Secondary)
(duration of) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ days

18. Where was disease contracted if not at place of death? _____
Did an operation precede death? _____ Date of _____
Reason for operation _____
Was there an autopsy? _____
(Signed) _____ M.D.
Address _____
Date _____ (Month) (Day) (Year)
State the Disease causing death, or its death from Venereal Disease, state (1) Manner and Nature of Injury, (2) whether Accidental, Suicide or Homicide. In case of stillbirth write "born dead".

19. Place of Burial Lac Seul Reserve Date of Burial October 12th 1929
20. Name of Undertaker _____ Address _____
Filed at _____ on this _____ day of _____ 19 _____
BURLAL PERMIT was issued by—
Name Frank Edwards Address Indian Agent, Kenora Date _____

THIS FORM MUST BE FILED FORTHWITH WITH THE DIVISION REGISTAR OF THE DIVISION IN WHICH THE DEATH OCCURRED. WHITE PLAINLY WITH UNFADING INK. THIS IS A PERMANENT RECORD.
Every item of information should be carefully supplied.
AGE should be stated EXACTLY. Informants should state CAUSE OF DEATH in plain terms so that it may be properly classified. Informants should state whether English, Irish, Scotch, French, German, etc. The term "American" or "Canadian" should not be used, as they apply to citizenship but not to race or people.

Figure 5.26. Giizhig's death certificate. This *izhibii'igewin* incorrectly identifies both Giizhig's place of birth and place of burial as a "reserve." In fact, he was born and buried in Namegosibiing Trout Lake, that was not a reserve. Namegosibi dadibaajimowin tells us that there was exactly one year between the deaths of Giizhig and Moonzhoniikwe. *Izhibii'igewin* was correct in this regard. Archivist John Richthammer also provided this copy of the document.

Appendix A

Criteria for Participant Selection

1. Descended from *Giizhig* (a *Giizhigoog*)
2. Speaks *Anishinaabemowin*
3. Maintains a trustworthy reputation in the community
4. Has experienced living in *Giizhigoog* traditional homelands
5. Retains or understands ancestral ontologies
6. Did not attend residential schooling

Note. The first and third criteria were essential for participation; the second was desirable but optional. The fourth and fifth points were variable and the sixth was an ideal qualification making the second and fifth more probable.

Appendix B

Research Consent Form, Section 2.5

I will ensure no one will access audio recordings and not share the sound of your voice with anyone without your approval. Upon completion of the project, I will erase these audio digital recordings as you request by putting your initial here: _____.

Appendix C

Sample of Transcription Index, Tape 001, Side A

001A *Dedibaayaanimanook* S.K. Olsen, Winnipeg, MB, Oct. 2012

001A1 *Noongom Wanamani Zaa'iganing* (Red Lake today); *noopimiing eta izhidaaj*

(only by living on the boreal land); my cousin's wife

001A2 *Izhichigewaaj mewinzha* (customs of long ago); *wemitigoozhi owanashkwe'aan*

(European settler interferes)

001A3 *Ingii' agaashiinzh* (I was a child)

001A4 *Madaawa'aman* (journey down the river); *Waabizhingwaakokaang* (Lac Seul)

001A5 *Mazinichigewaaj* (rock markings)

001A6 *Gichi Onigamiing*

001A7 *Ikwewi Zaa'igan* (Woman Lake); *Gichi zegiziyaang* (we were terrified).