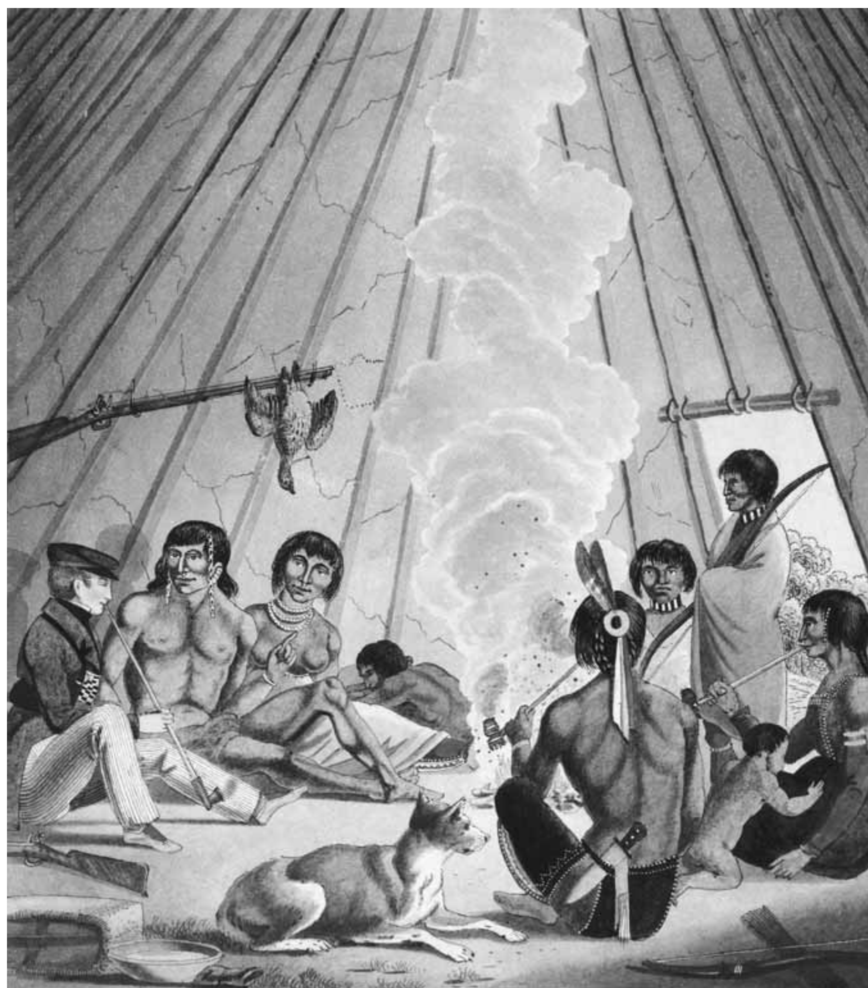
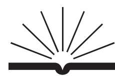
Gathering Places



"Inside of an Indian tent." Watercolour, pen and ink on paper, by Peter Rindisbacher, 1824. LAC, Acc. No. 1981-55-73, Bushnell Collection.

Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories

Edited by Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers



UBCPress · Vancouver · Toronto

© UBC Press 2010

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior written permission of the publisher, or, in Canada, in the case of photocopying or other reprographic copying, a licence from Access Copyright, www.accesscopyright.ca.

20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10   5 4 3 2 1

Printed in Canada on ancient-forest-free paper (100% post-consumer recycled) that is processed chlorine- and acid-free.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Gathering places: aboriginal and fur trade histories / edited by Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-7748-1843-8

1. Native peoples – Canada – History. 2. Métis – History. 3. Fur trade – Northwest, Canadian – History. I. Podruchny, Carolyn. II. Peers, Laura Lynn.

E78.C2G378 2010   971.004'97   C2010-903470-8

Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada (through the Canada Book Fund), the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Aid to Scholarly Publications Programme, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

UBC Press
The University of British Columbia
2029 West Mall
Vancouver, BC, V6T 1Z2
www.ubcpress.ca

To Jennifer S.H. Brown,
scholar and mentor,
with gratitude and great affection

Contents

Figures / ix

Preface and Acknowledgments / x

Map of Canada with Place Names / xii

Acronyms / xiv

1 Introduction: Complex Subjectivities, Multiple Ways of Knowing / 1
Laura Peers and Carolyn Podruchny

Part 1: Using Material Culture / 23

2 Putting Up Poles: Power, Navigation, and Cultural Mixing in the Fur Trade / 25
Carolyn Podruchny, Frederic W. Gleach, and Roger Roulette

3 Dressing for the Homeward Journey: Western Anishinaabe Leadership Roles Viewed through Two Nineteenth-Century Burials / 48
Cory Willmott and Kevin Brownlee

Part 2: Using Documents / 91

4 Anishinaabe Toodaims: Contexts for Politics, Kinship, and Identity in the Eastern Great Lakes / 93
Heidi Bohaker

5 The Contours of Everyday Life: Food and Identity in the Plateau Fur Trade / 119
Elizabeth Vibert

6 "Make it last forever as it is": John McDonald of Garth's Vision of a Native Kingdom in the Northwest / 149
Germaine Warkentin

Part 3: Ways of Knowing / 179

7 Being and Becoming Métis: A Personal Reflection / 181
Heather Devine

8 Historical Research and the Place of Oral History: Conversations from Berens River / 211
Susan Elaine Gray

Part 4: Ways of Representing / 231

9 Border Identities: Métis, Halfbreed, and Mixed-Blood / 233
Theresa Schenck

10 Edward Ahenakew's Tutelage by Paul Wallace: Reluctant Scholarship, Inadvertent Preservation / 249
David R. Miller

11 Aboriginal History and Historic Sites: The Shifting Ground / 274
Laura Peers and Robert Coutts

Afterword: Aaniskotaapaan – Generations and Successions / 295
Jennifer S.H. Brown

Contributors / 312

Index / 315

Figures

1.1 Jennifer S.H. Brown and Charlie Johnnie Moose, Poplar Hill / 8

2.1 Lopstick, Hayes River, ca. 1910 / 27

2.2 Lopstick, Separation Creek, ca. 1923 / 28

2.3 Logogram of "worship, medicine, pure" / 30

3.1 Two pieces of modified silver / 56

3.2 Wooden sugaring spoon and copper kettle / 56

3.3 Trade silver gorget with a bear motif / 57

3.4 Reconstruction of a horizontally oriented wampum belt / 58

3.5 Comparison of percentages of men's outerwear, 1804 vs. 1814-21 / 62

3.6 Percentage of chief's coats and capots by colour and type, 1813-21 / 65

3.7 Gauze textile at thirty-five times magnification / 69

3.8 *Dauphin Lake Youth,* by Terrakian WinterMoon / 70

3.9 Detail of Red Deer River youth's collar and metallic lace, by Terrakian WinterMoon / 72

3.10 *Red Deer River Youth,* by Elaine McIntosh / 73

4.1 Signature page and a detail of an 1806 sale of land by the Mississauga-Anishinaabeg to the British Crown / 95

6.1 The young John McDonald of Garth / 151

6.2 John McDonald of Garth, 1862 / 152

7.1 Heather Devine with her mother and sister / 184

7.2 Heather Devine's mother with her adoptive family, Saskatchewan, 1943 / 188

7.3 Heather Devine with her great-aunt Rachel in the 1990s / 191

7.4 Heather Devine's grandmothers / 199

10.1 Edward Ahenakew, 1959 / 250

10.2 Paul Wallace, 1950 / 253

11.1 Chief Charles Wastasecoot and councillors after signing Treaty 5 / 287

A.1 Wilson Brown and Jennifer S.H. Brown / 303

A.2 Jacob Owen and Jennifer S.H. Brown / 304

Preface and Acknowledgments

Gathering Places presents an innovative collection of essays that spans a wide range of approaches and methods of Aboriginal and fur trade history in northwestern North America. Whether discussing dietary practices on the Plateau, trees as cultural and geographical markers in the trade, the meanings of totemic signatures, issues of representation in public history, or the writings of Aboriginal anthropologists and historians, the authors link archival, archaeological, material, oral, and ethnographic evidence to offer novel explorations that extend beyond earlier scholarship centred on the archive. They draw on Aboriginal perspectives, material forms of evidence, and personal approaches to history to illuminate cross-cultural encounters and challenge paradigms of history writing.

The essays in this volume owe much to the scholarly example, leadership, mentoring, high standards, generosity, and encouragement that Jennifer S.H. Brown provided to the contributors during the course of her career. Many of us have shared either the privilege of being Jennifer's student or the experience of asking her for help only to realize her extraordinary generosity: our theses, papers, and book manuscripts have benefitted from her editorial eye and copious suggestions for further reading. These suggestions were often made while Jennifer and her husband, Wilson, fed us and put us up in their home for extended periods so that we could do research at the archives in Winnipeg. Jennifer's library has saved many of us from scholarly lapses, and her knowledge of theses, dissertations, and other unpublished work in progress has been crucial to developing conversations among budding scholars. Some of these scholars were influenced by her teaching at the University of Winnipeg, where she has for some time taught both undergraduate and graduate courses in Aboriginal history; others were graduate students whose theses she examined; some were postdoctoral fellows whom she supervised. This combination of knowledge and generosity led to the development of an important network of scholars that coalesced in the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies and its colloquia. Over time, and in various ways, Jennifer has fostered new ways of understanding and writing about the histories of the many peoples of Rupert's Land.

We also thank the contributors to the volume for their wonderful essays and assistance with plotting pesky places and tracking down citations for both obscure and obvious sources. Thanks are also due to Wilson Brown, Drew Davey, Mark Guertin, and Myra Rutherdale for a myriad of things too numerous to mention here. Jean Wilson and then Darcy Cullen at UBC Press shepherded this project along with grace and good humour. Thanks to Holly Keller for managing the production process and to Eric Leinberger for preparing the map.

A Note on Terminology: In this volume, the term "metis" refers to all descendants of European men and Aboriginal women, and the term "Metis" refers to members of the historic Metis Nation, which originated around the Red River settlement (exceptions are found in Chapters 7 and 9). Because of the inconsistencies and difficulties of naming indigenous peoples in North America, both broadly and at a local level, we opted to allow the authors of each chapter to determine their own usage rather than imposing terminology on the volume as a whole. We also decided to allow authors to use different spellings for Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe language) words because no standardized spelling exists, and spellings vary considerably by region.

Aulavik National Park
Banks Island
Tuktut Nogait National Park
Yukon River
Fort Selkirk
(Scented Grass Hills)
(Grizzly Bear Mountain)
Sahyoue/Edacho (National Historical Site, also known as Scented Grass Hills and Grizzly Bear Mountain)
Chilkoot Trail (National Historic Site)
Fall Caribou Crossing (National Historical Site)
Arctic Ocean drainage
Arvia'juaq and Qikiqtaarjuk (National Historical Site)
Athabasca River
Prince of Wales Fort
Lac la Biche
Hudson Bay drainage
Churchill
Lac Isle à la Crosse
York Factory
Jasper House
Nelson House
Nelson River
Fraser River
Beaver R
Hayes R
Vancouver Island
Forts des Prairies
Fort Edmonton (Edmonton)
Cumberland Lake
Oxford House
Ahtahkakoop
Rocky Mountain House
Pacific Ocean
Okanagan Valley
Saskatchewan R
Lake
Bow R
Columbia Plateau
Qu'Appelle Valley
Rupert's
Lebret
Assiniboine River
Winnipeg
Fort Vancouver
Regina
Spokane House
CANADA
USA
Lake of the Woods
Columbia River
Red River
Fort William
Red Lake
Leech L
La Pointe/Chequamagon
Wisconsin R
Mississippi River
St Peter's
Missouri River
Prairie du Chien
0 200 miles
0 200 kilometres
St. Louis

Saskatchewan River
Moose Lake
Norway House
Island Lake
Lac Bourbon (Cedar Lake)
Red Deer River Burial
Red Deer River
L Winnipegosis
Lake Winnipeg
Sandy Lake
Swan R
Berens River
Poplar R
Berens R
Pauingassi
Poplar Hill
Fort Dauphin
Dauphin Lake Burial
Dauphin Lake
White Horse Plains
Lake Manitoba
Lower Fort Garry
English River
Assiniboine River
Brandon House
Fort Garry, St Boniface (Winnipeg)
Red River settlement
Lake of the Woods
Pembina
Red River
Lac la Pluie/ Rainy Lake
Pembina River
Fort William
Lac la Croix
Grand Portage
0 50 miles
0 50 kilometres
Red Lake
Hudson Bay
ory
James Bay
Hudson Bay drainage
Land
Lake Mistassini
Lower Canada
Strait of Belle Isle
St. Lawrence River
ds
Fort William
Bawating/ Sault Ste Marie
Isle Royale
Manitoulin Island
Lake Superior
L Nipissing
French River
Montreal
gon
Cornwall
Georgian Bay
Michilimackinac
Lake Huron
Mnjikaning (Mnjikaning/Rama)
Wisconsin R
Credit R
Alderville
Great Lakes drainage
L Ontario
Plymouth Colony
Sarnia
Atlantic Ocean
Walpole Island
Louis

Acronyms

AGS	Alberta Genealogical Society
ANF	Archives nationales de France
AO	Archives of Ontario
APS	American Philosophical Society
COIA-LR	Correspondence of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received
FTC	Fur Trade Collection
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
HSMBC	Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
JAF	*Journal of American Folklore*
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MRBSC	McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections
MTRL	Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room
NAM	National Archives Microfilm
NWC	North West Company
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum
UBC	University of British Columbia
UCA	United Church Archives
VUL	Victoria University Library and Special Collections
XYC	XY Company

Gathering Places

1

Introduction: Complex Subjectivities, Multiple Ways of Knowing

Laura Peers and Carolyn Podruchny

The son of Methodist missionary parents who learned too much from his Cree nurse for his parents' comfort ... The children of European fathers and tribal mothers who became, variously, Indian, halfbreed, and metis – sometimes all in the same family ... Conversations with Ojibwe people about an anthropologist their parents and grandparents taught and about a medicine man the anthropologist knew ... The different cultural perspectives that English traders and Cree hunters had about the same landscapes ... The very different expectations that North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company fathers and traders had for their fur trade "country" families. These people and their complex identities and worldviews featured nowhere in Canadian academic history until the past few decades. One of the most significant changes in Canadian historiography since the 1970s has been the development of Aboriginal history as a vibrant and challenging part of the discipline. The emergence of a scholarly focus on Aboriginal peoples, their cultural and political histories, and their relations with newcomers has changed the emphases and narratives of Canadian history. Putting Aboriginal peoples at the centre of scholarly inquiry has challenged the traditional techniques of historical research, leading to increasingly sophisticated theoretical and methodological approaches to historical sources. Two aspects of this change have been especially significant, individually and in an entwined way. First, historians have become increasingly adept at interpreting the cultural and cross-cultural meanings recorded, often implicitly and in fragmentary ways, in the archival record: in other words, the reading (and nature) of historical sources have become increasingly nuanced and cross-culturally aware. Second, the reflexive, postcolonial turn in the social sciences – with its focus 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 – has had a profound effect. Recent Aboriginal history has moved far beyond older narratives in which actions by the Indian and the European were understood from scholarly perspectives that generally lacked an understanding of Aboriginal cultures.

The diverse chapters in this volume take this disciplinary history as their starting point and show the new directions in which Aboriginal history is moving. They highlight issues associated with the new methodology, especially the

close reading and use of disparate kinds of sources – archival, oral, material, and fieldwork data – in tandem. They explore cross-cultural and intracultural issues of power, both in the past and in the production of scholarly knowledge in the present. They focus on the fine-grained and local as well as the broader patterns into which such case studies fit. They are reflexive about scholarly perspective, both professional (especially the cross-disciplinary use of anthropological theory and historical data) and personal, including the knowledge and stance gained from family and cultural background and experience.

The chapters explore these themes with reference to the work of one scholar, Jennifer S.H. Brown, whose publications embody these themes and have been instrumental in producing major developments in Aboriginal historiography. All of the people and topics introduced at the beginning of this chapter have featured in her work, and all of the contributors to this volume have been influenced by Brown's work, as much by the impact of her publications as through her mentorship. In the following pages, we articulate the relationship between these broad disciplinary developments, Brown's work, and the essays presented here.

Gathering Momentum: Canadian Aboriginal History

Since the late 1970s, scholarship on Aboriginal history in Canada has increased by leaps and bounds. The 1980s and 1990s saw the production of fundamental works on the histories of particular communities and regions and socio-economic and political phenomena such as the numbered treaties, agricultural programs, reserve life, and residential schools.[1] The fur trade and the rise and dispersal of metis peoples became an especially important site to study Aboriginal peoples after Arthur Ray's *Indians in the Fur Trade* (1974), Sylvia Van Kirk's "*Many Tender Ties*" (1980), and Brown's *Strangers in Blood* (1980).[2] Brown's work on the children of fur traders and Aboriginal people led her to pay careful attention to Aboriginal people, kinship, and metis ethnogenesis (see her collection co-edited with Jacqueline Peterson, *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis*), and contact with Aboriginal students and scholars continues to profoundly shape her ongoing research agenda. As she explains in a recent article on metis historiography,

> Metis history keeps being made; it does not stand still. Metis scholars and family historians, in particular, are contributing to the retrieval and recognition of their historical identities. Such fine-grained and thoughtful historical work as theirs is essential in the quest for a grounded and nuanced Metis history, helping to elucidate a people's experiences, qualities, culture, and unique heritage. They also

> show us that there is no single Metis core identity but rather a range along a spectrum reaching from east to west, north to south. Their research is tracing not only cores but connections, the complex links that tie together many communities and individuals who may identify as Metis, Indian, or simply as of partly Aboriginal descent.[3]

Over the past thirty-year period, the techniques of studying and producing Aboriginal history were also refined, with concepts from anthropology and sophisticated methodologies for piecing together fragmentary references and dealing with evidential bias becoming established within the field.[4] Exciting developments have come from studies that use oral and material sources as evidentiary bases to open new lines of inquiry and establish new interpretive frameworks.[5] In addition, Aboriginal histories have been incorporated into the framework of regional, national, and international texts in ways that might be startling to earlier generations of Canadian historians. Aboriginal histories do not always fit easily into these texts, and there are questions to be asked about the manner in which Aboriginal perspectives and experiences are portrayed (or not) as part of the Canadian historical narrative, but it is clear that the past several decades of scholarship have added tremendously to our understanding of the histories of Aboriginal peoples and of their relationships with various newcomers.[6]

The most advanced work on Aboriginal history in Canada, represented in recent collections, has grown out of trends in ethnohistory and cultural history. *Reading beyond Words* (1996 and 2003), edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, brings together cutting-edge ethnohistorical case studies that provide creative tools and methods for interpreting old and new evidence about Canadian Aboriginal history. As the editors explain, "intensive case studies highlight major issues surrounding the use of texts ('original' and edited writings, oral documents, images, and artefacts), as sources embedded in ever-changing contexts."[7] The collection *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory* (1998), edited by David T. McNab for Nin.Da.Waab. Jig., also seeks to highlight the diversity and complexity of Aboriginal history and studies of it and to bring Aboriginal perspectives to the forefront.[8] A 2001 collection that honours the work of the late John Elgin Foster, *From Rupert's Land to Canada,* presents innovative essays on metis history, the imagined West, and Native history and the fur trade and contains studies of demographic reconstructions of Iroquois voyageurs, the genealogy of the Desjarlais family, mapping the Blackfoot world, and interrogating the authorship of Paul Kane's publications, to name a few.[9] Brown's essay "Partial Truths: A Closer Look at

Fur Trade Marriage" charts the instability of the concept of marriage in fur trade settings and underscores how fragmented evidence only lets us discover partial truths about relationships in the past.

In their introduction to *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past* (2005), Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale observe that "the history of colonization is a tense and difficult area to write about, but there are many vital and important stories, especially those of women, that need to be told."[10] Their collection includes essays on how women interacted with colonialism to improve their material circumstances, how colonial institutions regulated Aboriginal women's bodies, and how Aboriginal and white women staged their bodies in public settings. In *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (2006), editors Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock gather together essays that explore relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people when colonization was at its height in Canada, from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century.[11] Their focus on how social reformers and Aboriginal people tried to counter injustices makes very clear indeed the complicated knots of the colonial project.

The 2007 collection *New Histories for Old,* edited by Ted Binnema and Susan Neylan, traces the evolution of Arthur J. Ray's scholarship. The volume's essays focus on three themes related to Ray's work: indigenous people and European newcomers in the fur trade, at the treaty table, and in the Canadian judicial system. The collection explores indigenous struggles for land and resources under colonialism, Indian treaties and policies, mobility and migrations, and disease and well-being. Because the editors highlight the significance of academic research on "the present and future lives of Native peoples," they frame writing new histories for old topics as a highly charged undertaking.[12] Brown's essay "Rupert's Land, *Nituskeenan,* Our Land: Cree and English Naming and Claiming around the Dirty Sea" compares Aboriginal and English (and French) perspectives on the landscape around Hudson Bay before and after Rupert's Land was invented as a quasi colony. The fundamentally different, culturally shaped frames of reference expressed in gestures of possession and naming, which are visible in early archival sources and oral traditions, are still apparent today in language and thought.

Jennifer S.H. Brown and the Development of Aboriginal Historiography

Broad developments in the field of Aboriginal history have played out in – and have often been driven by – the work of Jennifer S.H. Brown. Examining one exemplary scholar's career – how her theoretical interests and research have developed across several decades and how her publications have challenged and inspired other scholars – helps us to understand how scholarship works as a

collective discussion. It also shows how scholars use examples and ideas from one another and from other disciplines and how their work feeds back into collective understandings to help produce knowledge.

Trained as an anthropologist and a historian, Jennifer S.H. Brown brought fresh perspectives and theoretical interests to her analysis of differing social patterns within country families of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and North West Company (NWC) employees, including cultural differences among the various British heritages of traders, patterns of trader mobility and ties to Aboriginal wives and children, and the influence of factors such as education, career opportunities, and fathers on the identities of children of fur trade marriages.[13] Brown's detailed biographical work on the careers and families of HBC and NWC fur traders, which was used as the basis for reconstructing larger patterns in cross-cultural fur trade life, has been the core of her wide-ranging research. Her major early publication, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (1980), remains today one of the most important works ever published on fur trade social history. Her research on fur trade families and their social networks and patterns drew her immediately into studies of the children of European traders and Aboriginal women. A second focus in Brown's work thus became metis history paired with First Nations history, for she also grappled with the history of Aboriginal involvement in the fur trade. She wrote biographical entries on many individuals of various heritages for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* co-edited the important volume *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis* (1985), and wrote several important papers on the fluidity of identities in fur trade settings, the most recent of which questioned whether there was such a thing as fur trade society.[14]

Brown's background in anthropology brought to her work a sensitivity to nuances of cultural patterns and identity in the fur trade; it also brought a willingness to engage with theoretical debates in archive-based ethnohistorical research. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Brown drew into her explorations of fur trade and Aboriginal history issues of voice and representation, relations of power, and gender that were surfacing as key concerns throughout the social sciences. Brown's early training in editing and experiences growing up in an academic family also led her into editing and publishing documentary and oral sources and a series of commentaries on the problems of such work when it concerned Aboriginal peoples, whose experiences and voices are still overlooked by both the authors and the editors of documentary texts. In several important presentations that questioned the processes of editing,[15] Brown reminded us that "documentary editing is not simply copying or transcribing a text; it is a highly complex procedure which is embedded in relationships that usually go unanalyzed."[16] A central concern in her work throughout her career has been

to ensure that the voices and perspectives of recorders and the recorded, of Aboriginal people and newcomers, are balanced in editing and in interpretation, that the quieter voices not be obscured by louder ones. This, she recognized, was an issue of power: "The editing of other than great men's compositions demands far more breadth and sensitivity than we have previously even imagined, as we begin to deal with texts and authors whose positioning in historical power relations is very different from that of personages whose fame, status, and education already establish their ranking and credibility among potential readers."[17] Brown has been concerned about the implications of these issues of voice, power, and representation within the production and reception of historical writing within the history profession. The dynamics of the field itself highlight, she has noted recently, issues of stereotyping, voice, mediation, representation, and appropriation that every teacher and scholar, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, must face:

> Who speaks for whom, in whose language, and with what evidence and authority? Asymmetries of power are endemic between and within communities (and not just along ethnic lines), often displacing local voices and local knowledge. Complex issues likewise surround language, translation, and material culture: the problems of recording, transcribing, and editing of texts from oral to written forms, the transforming and obscuring effects of translation and writing, the contesting claims that often swirl around texts and objects. Historians can neither avoid nor resolve all these issues, but we can play useful roles in the retrieval and repatriation of knowledge and texts that have often been alienated from their originating communities, in helping to counter the erosion of Aboriginal languages and oral memories, and in assisting cross-generational communications among students and elders both in universities and in communities.[18]

By the late 1980s, Brown's interest in documentary sources was leading her in several directions that have continued to play an important role in her career: Aboriginal history and documentary editing and publishing. An interest in the fur trader George Nelson, whose papers were important to her research, led her to write several papers on Nelson and his Ojibwe families and career and on the histories of Ojibwe communities around Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, where Nelson worked.[19] Brown has also worked with the writings of anthropologist A.I. Hallowell, whose classic work on the Berens River Ojibwe on Lake Winnipeg continues to be a source of inspiration. Brown has combined conversations along the Berens River with descendants of Ojibwe people who taught Hallowell with archival research on Hallowell's unpublished papers and notes

to reconstruct a unique consideration of Aboriginal and anthropological perspectives across several generations.[20] Her engagement with members of the Berens family has contributed on a personal level to learning how knowledge is mediated and constructed in cross-cultural contexts over time, and her sensitive publications and lectures on this body of work have contributed to the development of methodology in long-term cross-cultural research within Aboriginal historiography and historical anthropology (see Figure 1.1).

Senior academics foster scholarly work through many media, and working in a field requiring interdisciplinary research has necessitated innovation. In addition to her publications and being a Canada Research Chair in Aboriginal Peoples and Histories, Jennifer Brown has since 1996 been director of the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg, an organization that brings together her strengths in academic scholarship and documentary editing with her skills as a networker and mentor. Publishing has been an important part of the centre's work (the centre has published eleven volumes to date with McGill-Queen's University Press and several others on its own). In another form of publishing that links traditional knowledge with emerging technology, the centre has hosted projects with Omushkego elder Louis Bird to preserve his recordings and knowledge of Cree language and culture and developed a website that makes available many of his stories in audio and textual forms.[21] Perhaps the most important contribution Brown has made to the centre, however, has been to encourage a unique format of its biennial colloquia. Not only have many of these events been held at historic fur trade communities (Fort Edmonton, Norway House, Churchill and York Factory, and Fort Selkirk), but they have also incorporated substantial participation by community-based scholars, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, in areas such as genealogy and community history. And they have involved epic journeys (such as the 1988 trip by bush plane from Churchill to York Factory and the day-long bus trip from Winnipeg to Norway House in 1998), during which we finally had the opportunity to talk with one another in ways that seldom happen, drawing on expertise in the scholarly and community group together and with academics and community historians challenging one another with questions we could not always answer.

The community-based parts of the colloquia have also involved searching for the historic Rat Portage at Lake of the Woods in northwestern Ontario, jigging and fiddling at Fort Selkirk in the Yukon, and rowing York boats at Norway House in northern Manitoba, activities that were, again, prompts to make scholars think about topics that often get obscured by academic conventions and documentary lapses. Together, we thought hard about the legacies of the past and the frustrating limitations of academic perspectives and archival

Figure 1.1 Jennifer S.H. Brown and Charlie Johnnie Moose, June 1992, Poplar Hill on the upper Berens River, Ontario. Brown and Johnnie Moose are standing on the site of the pavilion where anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell, in the 1930s, met the drummers who were carrying on the drum ceremony that the medicine man Fair Wind (Naamiwan) had founded at Pauingassi some years before. Photo by Maureen Matthews.

sources. We experienced first-hand what Brown observed in a 2003 article: "Aboriginal history provides constant lessons in humility. It is always reminding us of how much we do not know, given the biases, scarcities, and losses of the sources – whether they be documents oral or written, languages, memories, or material culture – and the power that intrusive outsiders have exerted over the shaping and keeping of history."[22] Oral history became part of every gathering, just as it would have been in the historical communities we studied. So did the landscape. Sensory details began to teach us, to make us think about what we might have missed in the documents about life in the past. So did the new relationships – personal and professional – that we formed. The networks within Aboriginal and fur trade communities in the past were replicated within the colloquia. This was a new way of studying the past, one that was far more holistic than archival research alone.

Colloquia and experiential, subjective ways of learning have emerged as important aspects of academia that thrive on conversations and debates, private as well as public. However objective it sets out to be, scholarship involves both personal components and subjectivities. Subjectivity and personal involvement have been central to theoretical concerns in the social sciences and humanities since the 1980s. Jennifer Brown and Elizabeth Vibert remind us that

> objectivity, then, like the historian's heaven, is an illusion. Our sources, the texts we study, present us with complex subjectivities, multiple ways of knowing the world. This is part of their fascination. The voices of our documentary texts can be listened for, articulated, balanced with one another; but only through silencing or suppression can they be melded into a single voice or unquestioned truth. Nor can we ever silence our own voices as readers and scholars. None of us is free of the social and cultural contexts in which we are embedded – of the basic human condition which one historian of ideas [James Clifford] has called our "predicament of culture."[23]

Knowing the historical and social context of one's own cultural location is crucial to appreciating the multiple perspectives of events in the past and the multiple ways they survive in evidence and can be interpreted today. Scholarship involves personal relations among scholars, a conversation among us over time. Brown observes that

> historians of immigration speak of "chain migration," whereby series of relatives lead and follow one another to a new place. People may stumble or be stopped by various obstacles, but they also find helping hands; and remarkable new

> opportunities and connections may appear if they maintain a degree of faith, flexibility, patience, and an open, listening mind. Doing Aboriginal history, following the trails of others, and working with real, living people and their stories, is rather like moving along in one of those chains. It will lead somewhere interesting, but we cannot say exactly where, and the paths may wind and the destinations shift or recede. We may be favoured, however, by some good company and may do a lot of learning along the way ... Wherever the journey takes us, we can try, as academics of whatever background or homeland, to help mark out paths for the future and provide sustenance along the way for those who come after.[24]

The essays in this volume embrace this concept, weaving personal experience together with a breadth and depth of innovative methodology in ways inspired by Brown's publications, teachings, and mentoring.

The Essays Gathered Here

These essays are the fruits of interdisciplinary projects of ethnohistory and cultural history, but they also reveal new forms of scholarship and set new agendas. Ranging from dietary practices and their social implications on the plateau to fur trade customs that involved trees as cultural and geographical markers, from the unrealized dreams for a Native territory in the West to the meanings and implications of totemic signatures, from reflexive methodological concerns and issues of representation in public history to the writings of indigenous anthropologists and historians, the chapters in this volume demonstrate both individually and collectively an ability to draw on a broad sweep of local and contextual evidence to explore specific questions and issues. They bring together and integrate disparate sources and disciplinary perspectives in sometimes startling ways. They connect archival, archaeological, material, oral, and ethnographic evidence. Laura Peers and Robert Coutts, for instance, link public history practice and policy with theory on issues of representation and power, while Heidi Bohaker examines totemic drawings rather than simply the English words on treaty and other documents to understand the cultural significance and implications of signatures. Several of the chapters link personal and professional understandings of the past to show how each informs the other. Native studies, anthropology, cultural studies, and related disciplines are woven through these essays to answer theoretical and methodological concerns of historical scholarship. This interdisciplinarity goes beyond ethnohistory and cultural history, although it draws on these disciplines in particular. To have a group of authors who deploy these techniques and perspectives simply as part of their work suggests just how far the field has come since the 1970s.

Novel explorations of evidential sources are another strength of the volume, going far beyond earlier scholarship based almost exclusively on the archives. In this volume, material culture, totemic signatures, knowledge of Aboriginal languages, personal experience, and issues of identity and the personal journeys taken toward deeper understandings all take their place in sophisticated analyses alongside nuanced and culturally informed interpretations of archival evidence. These sometimes personal and reflexive sources mark a significant shift away from remnants of an older scholarly paradigm of history as an objective recounting of the past. They go beyond the established incorporation of anthropological concepts within ethnohistorical techniques and embrace recent concerns within anthropology (and other disciplines) about authorial bias, voice, processes of understanding, and power. The incorporation of specialized evidential sources such as material culture and language and visual evidence such as totemic signatures also begins to remedy the past inability of scholars to use sources that require an entire field of study, specialized vocabulary, or knowledge of specific technologies such as the history of manufacturing processes or museum collections. Difficult though the use of such sources has been, they are critical, for they draw in perspectives and information not otherwise recorded in archival sources. Dress, for instance, was historically a critical statement about identity, alliance, and agendas within multicultural environments; to ignore material culture in such situations is folly, but that has largely been the case until recently. The incorporation of these sources in these analyses marks a shift toward the reintegration and holistic understanding of historical moments and processes such as treaty events, the records of which – wampum belts, treaty documents, commissioners' notes, diplomatic gifts – have tended to be scattered throughout different museum and archival repositories.[25] The removal of, or academic blindness to, Aboriginal signatures and artifacts as part of these historical processes and events has been part of larger disciplinary processes that have often been bound by shallow ethnocentric interpretations, for it is literal and material signatures that act as reminders of and witnesses to Aboriginal perspectives in and on the past. The failure to incorporate this evidence has functioned as part of an unconscious process of cultural translation and inscription on historical memory that emphasizes Euro-Canadian understandings of and perspectives on the past, understandings that privilege a Western textual reading of the historical record and its interpretation. Removing the wampum and presentations from a treaty gathering leaves only a limited documentary understanding of the event; the enacting of exchange relationships, aspects of performance, and the significance and intended messages of material culture are lost. Equally, the loss of the oral history from a treaty negotiation obscures

the mutual understandings and meanings of the treaty; the voices of the treaty process are silenced. These chapters enable new ways of understanding integrated perspectives and forms of evidence and illustrate their implications for ongoing scholarship.

The stance that several of the contributors take in their relationships with Aboriginal peoples and in mediating broader historical dynamics through personal experience is another area of innovation in this volume. Heather Devine relates a personal journey that has led her scholarly career toward understanding her own metis identity and how that identity has placed her in relation to others over the years. Susan Elaine Gray writes about the profound ways that her understanding of northern Manitoba histories of missionization has been influenced by the process of developing relationships with people in the communities she studied: a process borrowed from anthropological fieldwork but seldom applied to historical research. The apparently simple but profoundly challenging concept that scholars should take seriously what community members tell them, that they should show respect for community members intellectually in the analysis and writing of Aboriginal histories and accredit Aboriginal intellectual property and authorship, has been discussed far more in anthropology than in Canadian history, but it has serious implications for the writing of Aboriginal histories.[26] A recent, successful experiment in collaborative research methodology in which volume editor Laura Peers was involved led to the sharing of authorship of the resulting book with members of the Kainai Nation to acknowledge the importance of the cultural knowledge they had contributed to the interpretation of historical photographs from their community. Although the text was actually written by Peers and Alison Brown, it was carefully reviewed and edited by their Kainai collaborators.[27] Other projects have made similar efforts to credit Aboriginal knowledge and facilitation of research.

Scholars are also beginning to formally acknowledge the non-institutional settings and forms of learning that affect their ability to recognize and interpret data, including ways of knowing and understanding that are personally, emotively, or bodily based.[28] Personal bases for knowledge also emerge in another underlying thread in the chapters that concerns the relationships that the authors have with Aboriginal people. Several of the authors are Aboriginal; all have had Aboriginal students, worked on reserves, or worked with Aboriginal colleagues and mentors to understand Aboriginal cultures and histories. This marks a significant change in the nature of historiography, in how historians are educated, and in the cultural politics of academia. Most historians are still non-Aboriginal, but we have had far more contact with Aboriginal people than our mentors. We no longer think that fieldwork or working with elders is confined

to the discipline of anthropology. Although "we" in academia are still mostly non-Aboriginal, a significant and growing number of Aboriginal colleagues and students are shaping disciplines and research agendas in important ways. All of us, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike, also have a very different understanding of the relevance of Aboriginal history than did most of our academic mentors. We know, from discussions over the years with Aboriginal students and teachers, that history matters to Aboriginal people at the immediate level of understanding reality and negotiating identity, that they play an active role in shaping and constructing history, and that they are key players in contemporary scholarly life. We have acquired an understanding of the political nature of Aboriginal history and the contestations that often occur around its construction and narrativization. We have also acquired an understanding of the implications of the past and the way it is written and interpreted for the lives of Aboriginal people today. Aboriginal history as an academic sub-discipline is a very different creature from earlier kinds of historiography, and the essays gathered in this volume exemplify the current and future nature of research in the field.

This book is divided into four parts, each of which focuses on a different aspect of new methodology. In Part 1, "Using Material Culture," two chapters on lopsticks and burials draw together a wide array of sources to interpret dramatically different objects and contexts. In "Putting Up Poles," Carolyn Podruchny, Frederic W. Gleach, and Roger Roulette draw together a disparate range of evidence from history, anthropology, linguistics, and cultural knowledge to interpret the embodied cultural practice of creating various forms of geographical and cultural markers. Their method displays the cross-cultural work necessary to understand multicultural acts and culturally hybrid objects within the fur trade. The chapter by Cory Willmott, a textile specialist and expert on Ojibwe clothing history, and Kevin Brownlee, a Cree archaeologist, "Dressing for the Homeward Journey," examines two early-nineteenth-century burials of young Aboriginal men in southern Manitoba by bringing together archaeological and material culture evidence with historical evidence from fur trade records, comparative collections, ethnographic data, and contemporary First Nations artists to help visualize reconstructions. Willmott and Brownlee link material and historical evidence to issues of identity by decoding grave goods as markers of status and identity, and they provide a detailed discussion of issues of material evidence that are often lacking in historical scholarship.

In Part 2, "Using Documents," three chapters provide dramatically different examples of how to use documentary evidence in new ways. Heidi Bohaker's "Anishinaabe Toodaims" connects Algonquian kinship systems to tribal and extra-tribal politics by using hitherto-untapped documentary evidence on

totemic signatures in careful and innovative ways. In "The Contours of Everyday Life," Elizabeth Vibert, using the focal point of food and culturally based expectations pertaining to it, provides a nuanced interpretation of historical evidence to think about cross-cultural perceptions. She suggests a sophisticated theoretical structure for analyzing changing perspectives of racialization that incorporates recent work on identity, nationalism, and the processes of colonialism. Germaine Warkentin's "Make it last forever as it is" is a careful study of the little-known correspondence of the fur trader John McDonald of Garth, in which he proposes unique geopolitical plans for the western part of North America that recognize the geographic coherence of the Prairies and Subarctic and that argue for Aboriginal sovereignty. Although McDonald's proposals fell on deaf ears, his imaginative visions reveal the fluidity of fur trade social worlds, and they remind us that colonization was never inevitable or inexorable.

Part 3, "Ways of Knowing," contains two chapters that tackle head on the issues of subjectivity and personal relationships in research. Heather Devine's "Being and Becoming Métis" is an autobiographical account of the discovery of personal identity and how this process has positioned her scholarship. In "Historical Research and the Place of Oral History," Susan Elaine Gray gives an impassioned account of the embodied learning of an important methodological practice, namely, the need to pay attention to both community members and documentary evidence. Community and culturally based perceptions in the present shed light on historical issues and the construction of historical documents and accounts, and the role of fieldworker can involve mediating between sometimes very different perspectives and sources of evidence. Both chapters show that the personal commitment of fieldworkers is part of the process of researching and writing.

Part 4, "Ways of Representing," contains three chapters that explore very different contexts of representing Aboriginal people: in personal and governmental identification, in ethnographic writings, and in public commemoration. Theresa Schenck's chapter "Border Identities" explores the tricky question of identity among metis people affected by dual heritage, the international border, and local politics. By focusing on the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi Ojibwe and their mixed-blood children, she examines how metis families south of the forty-ninth parallel struggled for recognition as Aboriginal people. In "Edward Ahenakew's Tutelage by Paul Wallace," David R. Miller describes the career and writings of Edward Ahenakew, a Cree from central Saskatchewan who went on to become an Anglican missionary and do fieldwork among the elders in his community. The chapter maps out how Paul Wallace, an English professor from Pennsylvania, shaped Ahenakew's work as an anthropologist and recorder of

Cree oral traditions by treating Ahenakew as both a student who needed guidance and as an exotic elder who demanded respect. Laura Peers and Robert Coutts' "Aboriginal History and Historic Sites" explores the interface of public history, scholarly history, and real cross-cultural politics as a backdrop against which interpretation of Aboriginal history at historic sites has developed.

Beyond their collective methodological emphasis, several cross-currents run throughout this collection. One of them involves a focus on identity and its negotiation in plural, fluid situations in which multiple cultures and languages were historically present (and on the identity of the author as it relates to the subject matter of the analysis). The meanings of lopsticks, clothing, and personal ornaments at cross-cultural boundaries; the transfer, adoption, or rejection of religious beliefs and practices; and the development of identities within Anishinaabe and metis peoples all came into being over time in response to local roots, external influences, and broader historical forces (see essays by Podruchny, Gleach, and Roulette; Willmott and Brownlee; Gray; Devine; Schenck; and Miller). Identity is especially interesting when it is considered within contexts and events that involve peoples of many cultural backgrounds making available to one another languages, beliefs, and material cultures. Writing about issues of identity throughout the British Empire during the long eighteenth century, Kathleen Wilson describes identity as a social process that often exists in the plural: it is "multiple and contingent, bound to a historical social order and both concretised and challenged through the practices of everyday life."[29] These dynamics have been true for Aboriginal histories throughout the contact period. Material culture and belief and their deployment within social contexts were crucial in the performance of identity, in creating and constantly reconstructing identity in relation to past traditions – and never more so than in cross-cultural and colonial situations faced by Aboriginal peoples.[30]

That identity processes occurred within relationships that ranged from the formal (for example, business) to the intimate and within dynamics of power between Europeans and Aboriginal peoples raises the second major set of themes in this book – cross-cultural accommodation and the shifting nature of cross-cultural relationships. Devine's thoughts on these relationships as they affected her own Metis identity, Schenck's comments on metis identity in American contexts, Bohaker's explication of diplomatic relations in Anishinaabe histories, Miller's analysis of identity issues in the relationship between Ahenakew and Wallace, and Gray's realization that the nature of relationships matters in fieldwork – all of these chapters explore the different and overlapping ways in which identities operate within cross-cultural relationships and broader colonial

identity politics. These issues are linked to a third theme: the nature of representations of historical experience, recent critiques of issues of representation, and attempts to construct alternative representations. These critiques suggest a new understanding of how relations of power in colonial situations have shaped the stories we have tended to tell about the past and how European cultural constructions of Aboriginal peoples – concepts with ancient historical roots – have affected, and continue to affect, cross-cultural relationships (see chapters by Vibert; Warkentin; Miller; and Peers and Coutts). Although most of the contributors strive to discern the voices of Aboriginal people, their essays remind us that these voices can often only be reached through European sources, and we need to be ever mindful to new ways to read beyond their words.

The concerns raised in these chapters echo, and most of these authors were inspired by, Jennifer S.H. Brown's work. Her primary concern with identity and its negotiation within complex multicultural contexts; her observation – cited from one work but present in many – that there were, in such situations, "complex subjectivities [and] multiple ways of knowing"; her careful sifting of many forms of evidence to reveal the details of lives and the sweep of social patterns; and her caution to understand patterns of power in the shaping of past lives and present scholarship continue to inspire all of us.[31]

Notes

1 For overviews of the historiography of Aboriginal people in Canada, see Brown, "Doing Aboriginal History"; Carlson, Jetté, and Matsui, "An Annotated Bibliography of Major Writings in Aboriginal History"; Coates, "Writing First Nations into Canadian History"; and Trigger, "The Historians' Indian."

2 We use the term "metis" to refer to all descendants of European men and Aboriginal women and the term "Metis" for members of the historic Metis Nation, which originated around the Red River settlement. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade;* Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties";* and Brown, *Strangers in Blood*. On recent trends in fur trade and metis history, see Brown, "Noms et métaphores"; Saler and Podruchny, "Glass Curtains and Storied Landscapes"; Payne, "Fur Trade Historiography"; Pannekoek, "Metis Studies"; and Barkwell, Dorion, and Préfontaine, eds., *Metis Legacy*.

3 Brown, "Noms et métaphores," 12. Author's translation. The original French is "L'histoire métissage n'est pas figée et se réinvente constamment. Les universitaires et les généalogistes métis contribuent, en particulier, à la reconquête et la reconnaissance de leurs identités historiques. Un travail aussi minutieux et consciencieux que le leur joue un rôle essentiel dans la recherche d'une histoire métisse solide et nuancée en contribuant à mettre en relief les expériences, les caractéristiques, la culture et l'héritage unique d'un peuple. Ces Métis nous montrent également qu'il n'y a pas une identité métisse pure, mais qu'il s'agit plutôt d'une gamme d'identités, qui va de l'Est à l'Ouest et du Nord au Sud. Leurs recherches visent à révéler non seulement le coeur de ces identités mais également les liens complexes qui relient entre eux nombre de communautés et d'individus susceptibles de se déclarer Métis, Indiens ou, tout simplement, en partie d'ascendance autochtone." Brown also explores this theme in "Cores and Boundaries."

4 For an example of using innovative evidence and analysis, see Brown and Vibert, eds., *Reading beyond Words*. For innovative theoretical approaches, see Shoemaker, ed., *Clearing a Path*.
5 For examples, see Bird, *The Spirit Lives in the Mind* and *Telling Our Stories;* Cruikshank et al., *Life Lived Like a Story;* Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories* and *Do Glaciers Listen?;* A.K. Brown and Peers, with members of the Kainai Nation, *Sinaakssiiksi aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa/"Pictures Bring Us Messages";* and Farrell Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together."
6 One of the most innovative additions of Aboriginal history to a national narrative is the first volume of the new History of the American West Series (directed by Richard W. Etulain): Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count*.
7 Brown and Vibert, Introduction to *Reading beyond Words,* 1st ed., ix.
8 McNab, editor for Nin.Da.Waab.Jig., *Earth, Water, Air and Fire*.
9 See essays by Jan Grabowski and Nicole St-Onge, Heather Devine, Theodore Binnema, and I.S. MacLaren in *From Rupert's Land to Canada,* edited by Binnema, Ens, and MacLeod.
10 Pickles and Rutherdale, Introduction to *Contact Zones,* 11.
11 Haig-Brown and Nock, eds., *With Good Intentions*.
12 Binnema and Neylan, eds., *New Histories for Old,* xi.
13 See Brown, "Fur Traders, Racial Categories, and Kinship Networks," and her doctoral research, which was published as *Strangers in Blood*.
14 See, for instance, "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories"; "Woman as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Metis Communities"; "Children of the Early Fur Trades"; "Diverging Identities"; and "Fur Trade as Centrifuge." Her more recent work looks at the lives and families of missionaries among indigenous peoples in northern Canada. See "Growing Up Algonquian."
15 See Brown, "Documentary Editing: Whose Voices?" and "The Blind Men and the Elephant."
16 Brown, "Documentary Editing: Whose Voices?" 3.
17 Ibid.
18 Brown, abstract for "Doing Aboriginal History," 708-9.
19 In 1988 Brown published, with Robert Brightman, a commentary by Nelson on northern Ojibwe ceremonialism: "*The Orders of the Dreamed.*" She also supported the publication by Peers and Schenck in 2002 of Nelson's earliest journals: *My First Years in the Fur Trade*.
20 See her article "A Place in Your Mind for Them All"; her Introduction and Afterword in Hallowell, *The Ojibwa of Berens River;* the article, written with Maureen Matthews, "Fair Wind"; and the critical edition of *Memories Myths, and Dreams* by William Berens, as told to Hallowell (co-edited with Susan Elaine Gray). She and Gray are currently editing a collection of Hallowell's essays, *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies,* which should be published by University of Nebraska Press in 2010.
21 See OurVoices – Omushkego Oral History Project, www.ourvoices.ca.
22 Brown, "Doing Aboriginal History," 614.
23 Brown and Vibert, Introduction to *Reading beyond Words,* xi.
24 Brown, "Doing Aboriginal History," 634-35.
25 Heidi Bohaker, personal communication with the authors, December 2006, has noted this scattering of historical evidence for events. For the Great Lakes region, Ruth Phillips' Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures (GRASAC) project is creating a database that will enable these materials to be digitally re-associated.

26 See Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies;* and Mihesuah, ed., *Natives and Academics*.
27 See Alison K. Brown, Peers, and members of the Kainai Nation, *Sinaakssiiksi aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa/"Pictures Bring Us Messages."*
28 For examples of embodied history, see the contributions to Pickles and Rutherdale, eds., *Contact Zones*.
29 Wilson, ed., *A New Imperial History,* 6.
30 The idea that culture, identity, and colonialism are performed – are called into being through social practices that often involve the use of material culture and dress – was developed by Judith Butler (see *Gender Trouble*) and has been examined for colonial situations by Wilson, *The Island Race,* 3; and Gosden and Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism*.
31 Brown and Vibert, Introduction to *Reading beyond Words,* xi.

Bibliography

Barkwell, Lawrence J., Leah Dorion, and Darren Préfontaine, eds. *Metis Legacy: A Metis Historiography and Annotated Bibliography*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 2001.

Berens, William, as told to A. Irving Hallowell. *Memories, Myths, and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader*. Edited with introductions by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press/Rupert's Land Record Society Series, 2009.

Binnema, Ted, and Susan Neylan, eds. *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.

Binnema, Theodore. "How Does a Map Mean? Old Swan's Map of 1801 and the Blackfeet World." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 201-24. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Bird, Louis. *The Spirit Lives in the Mind: Omushkego Stories, Lives, and Dreams*. Compiled and edited by Susan Elaine Gray. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.

–. *Telling Our Stories: Omushkego Lessons and Histories from Hudson Bay*. Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown, Paul DePasquale, and Mark Ruml. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005.

Brown, Alison K., and Laura Peers, with members of the Kainai Nation. *Sinaakssiiksi aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa/"Pictures Bring Us Messages": Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Brown, Jennifer S.H. "The Blind Men and the Elephant: Fur Trade History Revisited." In *Proceedings of the Fort Chipewyan and Fort Vermilion Bicentennial Conference,* edited by Patricia A. McCormack and R. Geoffrey Ironside, 15-19. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, University of Alberta, 1990.

–. "Children of the Early Fur Trades." In *Childhood and Family in Canadian History,* edited by Joy Parr, 44-68 and 195-98. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982. Reprinted in C.M. Wallace and R.M. Bray, eds. *Reappraisals in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1999.

–. "Cores and Boundaries: Metis Historiography across a Generation." *Native Studies Review* 17, 2 (2008): 1-18.

–. "Diverging Identities: The Presbyterian Metis of St. Gabriel Street, Montreal." In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America,* edited by Jacqueline Peterson

and Jennifer S.H. Brown, 195-206. Winnipeg/Lincoln: University of Manitoba Press/ University of Nebraska Press, 1985.
–. "Documentary Editing: Whose Voices?" *Occasional Papers of the Champlain Society* 1 (1992): 1-13. Text of invited plenary talk, Toronto, 1992.
–. "Doing Aboriginal History: A View from Winnipeg." *Canadian Historical Review* 84, 4 (2003): 613-35, 708-9.
–. "Fur Trade as Centrifuge: Familial Dispersal and Offspring Identity in Two Company Contexts." In *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Culture and Society,* edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz, 197-219. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
–. "Fur Traders, Racial Categories, and Kinship Networks." *National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, no. 23, and Papers of the 6th Algonquian Conference* (1975): 209-22.
–. "Growing Up Algonquian: A Missionary's Son in Cree-Ojibwe Country, 1869-1876." In *Papers of the 39th Algonquian Conference,* edited by Karl S. Hele and Regna Darnell, 72-93. London: University of Western Ontario, 2008.
–. "Linguistic Solitudes and Changing Social Categories." In *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference,* edited by Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray, 147-59. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
–. "Noms et métaphores dans l'historiographie métisse: Anciennes catégories et nouvelles perspectives." *Recherches Amerindiennes au Quebec* 37, 2-3 (2007): 7-14.
–. "Partial Truths: A Closer Look at Fur Trade Marriage." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 59-80. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.
–. "A Place in Your Mind for Them All: Chief William Berens." In *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographic Studies of North American Frontiers,* edited by James A. Clifton, 204-25. Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989. Reprinted by Waveland Press, 1993.
–. "Rupert's Land, *Nituskeenan,* Our Land: Cree and English Naming and Claiming around the Dirty Sea." In *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts,* edited by Ted Binnema and Susan Neylan, 18-40. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
–. *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. 1980; reprint, Norman/Vancouver: University of Oklahoma Press/ UBC Press, 1998.
–. "Woman as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Metis Communities." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, 1 (1983): 39-46.
Brown, Jennifer S.H., and Robert Brightman, eds. *"The Orders of the Dreamed": George Nelson on Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988.
Brown, Jennifer S.H., with Maureen Matthews. "Fair Wind: Medicine and Consolation on the Berens River." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association,* new series, 4 (1994): 55-74.
Brown, Jennifer S.H., and Elizabeth Vibert, eds. *Reading beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996. Second edition published in 2003.
Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
Calloway, Colin G. *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
Carlson, Keith Thor, Melinda Marie Jetté, and Kenichi Matsui. "An Annotated Bibliography of Major Writings in Aboriginal History, 1990-99." *Canadian Historical Review* 82, 1 (2001): 122-71.

Coates, Kenneth. "Writing First Nations into Canadian History: A Review of Recent Scholarly Works." *Canadian Historical Review* 81, 1 (2000): 99-114.

Cruikshank, Julie. *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.

–. *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998.

Cruikshank, Julie, in collaboration with Angela Smith, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned. *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992.

Devine, Heather. "Les Desjarlais: The Development and Dispersion of a Proto-Métis Hunting Band, 1785-1870." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 129-60. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Farrell Racette, Sherry. "Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Metis and Half Breed Identity." PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2004.

Gosden, Chris, and Chantal Knowles. *Collecting Colonialism: Material Culture and Colonial Change*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.

Grabowski, Jan, and Nicole St-Onge. "Montreal Iroquois *Engagés* in the Western Fur Trade, 1800-1821." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 23-58. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Haig-Brown, Celia, and David A. Nock, eds. *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.

Hallowell, A. Irving. *Contributions to Ojibwe Studies: Essays, 1934-1972*. Edited with Introductions by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Susan Elaine Gray. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

–. *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into History*. Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.

MacLaren, I.S. "Paul Kane and the Authorship of *Wanderings of an Artist*." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 225-48. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

McNab, David T., editor for Nin.Da.Waab.Jig. *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998.

Mihesuah, Devon A., ed. *Natives and Academics: Discussions on Researching and Writing about American Indians*. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Pannekoek, Frits. "Metis Studies: The Development of a Field and New Directions." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 111-28. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Payne, Michael. "Fur Trade Historiography: Past Conditions, Present Circumstances and a Hint of Future Prospects." In *From Rupert's Land to Canada: Essays in Honour of John E. Foster,* edited by Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. MacLeod, 3-22. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Peers, Laura, and Theresa Schenck, eds. *My First Years in the Fur Trade: The Journals of 1802-1804, George Nelson*. St. Paul/Kingston and Montreal: Minnesota Historical Society Press/McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

Peterson, Jacqueline, and Jennifer S.H. Brown, eds. *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*. Winnipeg/Lincoln: University of Manitoba Press/University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Pickles, Katie, and Myra Rutherdale, eds. *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Colonial Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.

Ray, Arthur J. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson's Bay 1660-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Saler, Bethel, and Carolyn Podruchny. "Glass Curtains and Storied Landscapes: Fur Trade Historiography in Canada and the United States." In *Bridging National Borders in North America: Transnational and Comparative Histories,* edited by Benjamin Johnson and Andrew Graybill, 275-302. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Shoemaker, Nancy, ed. *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books, 1999.

Trigger, Bruce G. "The Historians' Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present." In *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History,* edited by Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates, 19-44. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870*. Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980.

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

–, ed. *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Part 1
Using Material Culture

The two chapters in this section use material culture – the objects around us that are made and used in contexts of cultural meaning – as a key source of evidence to understand people's lives in fur trade and Anishinaabe history. Material culture has rarely been used as a source by historians. It is found in landscapes, recovered by archaeological digging, and stored in museums rather than found in collections of papers, recovered by historical detective work, and stored in archives. It often requires specialized knowledge of materials, techniques, and regional styles of decoration and technologies and how these changed over time to understand the messages it holds about the past. Museum curators have tended to emphasize a definition of authentic indigenous material culture that excludes evidence of European contact, such as manufactured materials like metal and glass, and have downplayed (and sometimes refused to exhibit) objects that document the changing lives of Aboriginal peoples after contact with Europeans. More recently, material culture has come to be seen as an extremely useful evidential source, as a product of historical and cultural influences that can tell us much about the lives of peoples in the past and about the relationships within which objects were made, used, collected, and transferred to museums.

Some material culture has not survived in collections for study, and this aspect of the past is the most challenging of all to analyze. If we regard the landscape itself as a form of material culture, shaped and understood within cultural perspectives, then markers such as lopsticks can be considered the products of cross-cultural relationships. "Putting Up Poles," by Carolyn Podruchny, Frederic W. Gleach, and Roger Roulette offers a pioneering analysis of these marking practices, through which men were initiated into new hybrid social and labour systems in the fur trade. Podruchny is a historian of voyageur, metis, and Aboriginal societies who was raised in Manitoba and supervised by Jennifer S.H. Brown

as a postdoctoral fellow and who now teaches history at York University in Toronto. Gleach is an anthropologist, archaeologist, and historian of Aboriginal societies and their interactions with Europeans in colonial Virginia, the Pacific Northwest, and the Spanish Caribbean; he is currently senior lecturer and curator of the Anthropology Collections at Cornell University. Roulette, raised in an Ojibwe family in southern Manitoba, is an Ojibwe oral historian and linguist who teaches at the University of Manitoba. Their chapter gathers Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge of relevant linguistic data with information on fur trade society, Aboriginal-European relations, and the ebb and flow of culture and identity, showing that culturally hybrid complexities can be seen only when as many diverse perspectives and sources as possible are examined.

"Dressing for the Homeward Journey" is co-authored by Cory Willmott, a textile expert and specialist in the history of Anishinaabe or Ojibwe clothing. She was trained at McMaster University in southern Ontario in anthropology and art history, studied with Jennifer S.H. Brown as a postdoctoral fellow, and currently teaches anthropology at Southern Illinois University – Edwardsville. The co-author is Kevin Brownlee, a Cree archaeologist from Norway House who was raised in a southern non-Native setting. His interest in reconnecting with his culture led him to a career in archaeology at The Manitoba Museum. By examining two early nineteenth-century burials of young Aboriginal men in southern Manitoba, Willmott and Brownlee bring together archaeological evidence from the burials with surviving comparative material from museum collections, historical records about objects in the fur trade, and ethnographic information on the meaning of dress practices to Ojibwe people. They have hired First Nations artists to create visual reconstructions of the young men to integrate all of these sources of evidence. Most importantly, by decoding grave goods as markers of status and identity, they link material and historical evidence to culture and thus tie material culture analysis to historical concerns about how the fur trade shaped the lives of Aboriginal peoples. Read in this way, the burials provide strong evidence that Anishinaabe people both adapted to new opportunities in terms of status and interpreted the new trade goods within much older cultural perspectives.