

gi-mi-ni-go-wi-ni-nan o-gi-ma-wi-win zhigo o-gi-ma-win
(The gifts of traditional leadership and governance)

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(Jerome Fontaine)

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ABSTRACT

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makwa ogimaa
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ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

gi-mi-ni-go-wi-ni-nan o-gi-ma-wi-win zhigo o-gi-ma-win *(The gifts of traditional leadership and traditional governance)* explores anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win *(traditional leadership and to be esteemed)* from the point of view of obwandiac (nigig) in 1763, tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-hawk) in 1812 and 1850 respectively. It also examines the political and social significance of anishinabe o-gi-ma-win *(traditional governance)* and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn *(Three Fires Confederacy)* during the time of these esteemed leaders.

The use of our ah-di-so-kah-nahg *(sacred and spiritual narratives)*, di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan *(stories of personal experience and reminiscences)* and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan *(moral stories)* provides the opportunity to show how anishinabe people used different narratives to ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan *(teach by telling stories)*. In listening to these personal and intimate stories we have an opportunity to understand and explore these concepts of o-gi-ma-wi-win *(traditional leadership and to be esteemed)* and o-gi-ma-win *(traditional governance)*.

The first layer to this distinct way of knowing embodies anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-wi-nan *(how we come to think this way about our reality and epistemology)* and is expressed to us within our gah-wi-zi-maw-ji-say-muh-guhk *(creation and stories)*

of origin) and miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*). It states explicitly that we have always known where we came from, who we are, and how we fit into this world.

anishinabe i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) lends voice to the second layer of anishinabe kayn-daw-so-win (*traditional knowledge*), which defines the responsibilities and expectations of anishinabe society, leadership and governance. Our ni-zhwa-sho gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*), ni-zhwa-sho o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) and the relationship of the do-daim-mahg (*clan system*) are described within anishinabemowin, the language of our ceremonies and of the jeeskahn (*shake tent*).

Harry Bone (2011)¹, an elder from *Keeseekoowenin First Nation* suggests that ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) represents a third layer that provides us with the ways and means to help us understand the essence of anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we come to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*). This represents the literal and metaphoric o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*) and traditional approach that provides this narrative with the means to explore the ideas of leadership and governance from within a traditional construct. He adds that our spirituality and manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*) will be clearly defined and shared within this o-dah-bah-ji-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*). It helps establish the spiritual core for this narrative. These anishinabe approaches to methodology (intimate conversations, family history and

¹ Bone, Harry (Personal Communication) 2011.

ceremony) are used to tell a story that mirrors the academic construct of interviews and document analysis.

Therefore, the o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*) provides the nay-nahn-do-jee-kayn-chi-gayd (*to dig around and research*) tools to have this discussion exploring the traditional construct of anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). Lastly, it is important to understand that this traditional approach shows how these narratives are in-and-of-themselves powerful strategies in understanding anishinabe ah-yah-win (*way of being and existence*) and gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*history*).

mii i'way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

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ni-zhwa-sho ni-gahn-nah-ji-mo-win
(Seven Fires Prophecy of the anishinabeg)
as shared by bawdwaywidun banaise (Eddie Benton-Banai)

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ja-gash-ki-ta-wad

(I SALUTE THEM)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiabun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiabun, tecumtha and shingwauk)

I wish to recognize my deceased father and mother who showed kindness and love throughout my life and were a source of inspiration during difficult periods of my life. I honour as well those generations who have passed and those yet to come. To my brother Vince (*Boogie*) who was a helpful friend and traveling companion during the vision quest, Sundance and the *big move* from *Ottawa* to *Sault Ste. Marie*, which graciously lent itself as another important segment of the journey. It is also important to acknowledge the “*circle*” that helped and sustained me during a very difficult period, without them all of this would not have been possible.

Throughout this journey, there have been many people who have given me considerable strength and guidance in keeping true to the story and vision. bawdwaywidun banaise (Edward Benton-Banai), Grand Chief of the Three Fires Midewiwin Society and Darrell Boissoneau, President, Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig were willing teachers and friends throughout this journey. Kitchi Meegwetch, as well to my older brother abitonse giisis (*Mike Nadjiwan*) and older sister Beatrice Menase Kwe Jackson who gently led me by the hand during my initiation into the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*). To my dear friend and sister Dr. Rainey Gaywish who has been helpful throughout and shown much kindness.

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Lastly, I would like to honour all of our leaders past and present and those yet to come. We recognize that we borrow these positions of leadership from the past and those yet to come therefore we must handle leadership with the utmost respect and care.

mii i'way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

Chapter 1
gah-wi-zhi maw-ji-say-muh-guhk
(Creation and stories of origin)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

makwa ogimaa n'di-zhi-ni-kawz *(My name is bear chief)*... makwa n' doodem *(I am of the bear clan)*... ojibway-anishinabe n'dow *(I am an anishinabe human being)*... sagkeeng doon-ji *(I am from "where the river widens")*

This introduction tells you who I am, my responsibility in life and where my ancestors rest. It also reminds me of what I was told at a very young age: kay-go-wah-ni-kayn andi-wayn-ji-ahn *(do not forget where you come from and positionality)*.

We begin this journey with an ah-se-ma-kay-wahd *(tobacco offering)* and calling upon the spirits and stories of obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk). We ask that we remain true to their visions and stories. We give thanks to the ah-di-so-kahn-i-ni-ni-wahg *(traditional storytellers)* for the ah-di-so-kah-nahg *(traditional and spiritual stories)* and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan *(stories of personal experience and reminiscences)*.

We're sharing these stories this fine, warm evening – it's still spring on the calendar but it feels like summer here. We're inside a lodge that we constructed. This lodge was constructed by many people who came over to help build it... nephews and friends and so on. It was initiated by our sweat lodge chief, James Roach. So this is where we are this evening. This is where we come to teach, where we come to learn, where we come to share, where we come to feast, where we come to do sweat lodge and bring families of the community together... What is important is that we started off in the sacred ceremony. First all tobacco was passed, then the pipe was lit and it was lifted. These are important anishinabe protocols that you must follow because in the past this is how we began our ceremony and conducted ourselves. Unfortunately, we've forgotten that this is an important step when you want to share stories. Many anthropologists, researchers and other people who want to acquire the knowledge of our people come in without using this part of the research, the protocol of sharing. They forget the offering of

gifts and the expression and importance of these ceremonies so that we can share them in a respectful and truthful way. So I think that starting off in this way is a good way... Starting off in such a sacred and important way, is again giving recognition to how we did things and that we continue to do this in the future. It tells us how we're different and how we do things differently from western society. This acknowledges and validates our own methods of research, our epistemology, our pedagogy because this is where our truth resides... within these lodges and the stories shared – from lifting the pipe and all the sacred symbols that belong to our people. Being inside this lodge is honourable and that we'll be guided by our ancestors and the spirits that you asked to be with us this evening, so that at all times we will speak the truth (Darrell Boissoneau Ceremony and Personal Communication June 15 2011).

This dissertation shares the stories of obwandiac² (nigig), tecumtha³ (mizhibizhi), shingwauk⁴ (ah-ji-jawk) and describes the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) historical reality and impact upon the anishinabe world. The visions of these three men are preserved within this narrative's metaphoric and literal o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*). The contents of which include *Indian methods*⁵ (uniquely anishinabe), which help us learn and understand the essence of

² In conversation with William Johnson, Curator at Ziibiwing Centre, Mount Pleasant, Michigan he shares that Isabel Ozawamik (Language Specialist) and Angus Pontiac (92 years old) suggest that there are two interpretations to the name obwandiac, the first being (man who travelled to many places) and the second (stopping at different places). They share that obwandiac was buried on Apple Island, Michigan

³ tecumtha (he walked across the southern star falling).

⁴ shingwauk (The white pine, boss of all the trees) and shingwaukonse (little pine).

⁵ manitou kay-wi-nan (ceremonies) that include the ma-dood-sahn (sweat lodge), jeeskahn (shake tent), ma-kah-day-kay-win (vision quest), o-bah-wah-dah-nan (dreams); anishinabe gah-i-zhi-way-bahg (oral history), gah-nah-wayn-ji-gay-win (history) anishinabe-i-zhi-chi-gay-win (traditional way and practice), ah-di-so-kah-nahg (sacred and spiritual narratives), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (reminiscences and stories of personal experience) ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (moral stories).

anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). anishinabe people have always known that our gah-wi-zi-maw-ji-say-muh-guhk (*creation and stories of origin*) and ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*) describe our identity and intimate relationship to the land in its purest form. This is what obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk sought to protect.

Their struggles reflected a commitment to a spiritual vision that would guide their direction in life to protect manitou aki (*Creator's land*). This commitment is firmly expressed in the concept of the *middle ground*, which John Borrows (2006) suggests, “*established a body of intercultural law*” that entrenched political, economic and military alliances between anishinabe and *Euroamerican* nations. This *idea* and practicality of the *middle ground* is referenced throughout this narrative and within the di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*). All of the stories were intimate accounts of experiences that took place in their life. These stories were accompanied by unwritten messages and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*), which were used to provide insight and education throughout.

Within the context of this dissertation, I drew heavily from the meanings and intent of the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) to discuss the significance of traditional o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). It is important as well to reiterate that our nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-wi-nan (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-wi-nan (*our way of being and ontology*) are uniquely anishinabe in thought and application.

There was a conscious effort to do things a little differently with respect to the placement of the mah-zhi-nay-i-gahn a-nah-mi-chi-gay-win (*a literature review and the books I have read*). You will note that the mah-zhi-nay-i-gahn a-nah-mi-chi-gay-win (*a literature review and the books I have read*) is placed in the appendix section of the dissertation rather than in the body of the paper primarily because of my focus on and use of the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*).

This narrative explores and speaks to our de-bwe-win-da-mo-win (*belief and faith*) in anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong hearts and ceremonial leaders*).

Tradition tells us that many generations ago the honour and respect shown o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong hearts and ceremonial leaders*) were the highest on manitou aki (*Creator's land*). To the grand families of the anishinabeg the legacies of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk were reflective of this and were long lived.

It is fundamentally important to this narrative to discuss obwandiac (nigig) and tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk's (ah-ji-jawk) impact within the context of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). Historically and traditionally ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn-ni-wahd (*hereditary leaders*), o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong hearts and ceremonial leaders*) had a definitive role within the structure of anishinabe society. In fact, any discussion concerning anishinabe sovereignty has to take into consideration the clearly defined parameters of anishinabe leadership and traditional

governance. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk reflected leadership in its most purest and organic form. They held no formal authority and power but yet were able to unite the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe and allied nations in a confederacy that had no parallel and challenge the colonial powers of the day.

We are told that we sometimes get the power of knowing from the spirit that comes to visit us within our stories and dreams. To understand ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*), we have to recognize that our *indian methods* have been used by anishinabeg since the beginning of time. This narrative's o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*) and our understanding of manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*), the ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*) let us hear and listen to the stories of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk and n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

di-bah-ji-mo-win o-nah-ko-nan
(To ceremonially call upon the story)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

It is important to draw attention to the fact that I do not know very much and that throughout this journey I have been guided by others who believe that they have little authority over the narrative per se. They are simply the means through which information

and knowledge are shared. In attempting to speak to what has been shown and shared with me, they have asked that I make every effort to remain true to the story and that I honour how I came to know the story. As we begin ceremony, we call upon our mi-zhi-ni-way-wahg (*spirit messengers*) and kitchi manitou to give our prayers i-nay-way-win (*voice*). We understand that through our ceremonies, prayers and songs we are able to communicate with other beings and spirit of the land.

This narrative and stories about obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk are grounded within manitou aki (*Creator's land*) by our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), which enable us to explore their visions and ideas. There are no elaborate theories to examine or analyze. These stories about obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk are embodied and shared within the context of nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we come to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*). Each layer helps us understand their story and the importance of our collective memory in remembering these men and what they accomplished.

We are shown in ceremony that our mi-zhi-ni-way-wahg (*spirit messengers*) come to us in many different ways, sometimes they reveal themselves in the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), bah-wah-ji-gay-wi-nan (*dreams*), ni-gahn-nah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*prophecies*), miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*) and other times in manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*). These spirit messengers also come to us from a very traditional place. We feel them, breath and see them as alive with their own spirit-life. They speak to the anishinabe natural and spiritual world, which provides us

with an unadulterated way of acquiring knowledge and information. Our only responsibility is to *listen*. Alexander Wolfe (2002) shared the importance of listening and learning, he expressed as much when he reminded us "*in times past Indians listened*".

This narrative explores the stories and visions of obwandiac (nigig), an ota'wa-anishinabe; tecumtha (mizhibizhi), a shawnee-anishinabe; and shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk), an ojibway-anishinabe; three important ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*). To be clear, it is not an attempt to provide a definitive answer as to the effectiveness or relevance of traditional leadership nor does it make an attempt to argue that this is the path we should follow in the contemporary world. Rather it simply articulates the idea that anishinabe leadership and governance is borne of the environment and our relationship with kitchi manitou.

Throughout this narrative, the stories of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's bah-wah-ji-gan-nan (*dreams*), nahg-wi-di-so-wi-nan (*visions*) and de-bwe-win (*truth*) are shared. It speaks also of neolin (*the enlightened*) (lenape-anishinabe) and lau-lau-we-see-kau (shawnee-anishinabe); two visionaries who helped establish the spiritual foundation and focus for obwandiac and tecumtha's political and military movements. Their bah-wah-ji-gan-nan (*dreams*) and nahg-wi-di-so-wi-nan (*visions*) helped move nations and leadership to action in 1763 and 1812. This narrative's o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*) enables us to ask the important and relevant questions to the ideals of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) within a more traditional anishinabe construct.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

nitam igo
(The beginning)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk

This section is intended to provide an introduction to the o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wahd (*hereditary leadership*) and ni-gah-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wag and o-gi-chi-dahg (*ceremonial and strong heart leadership*) from the perspective of their civil and war/military responsibilities. One of the primary responsibilities of those holding ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wahd (*hereditary leadership*) positions was to ensure the internal well-being of the communities and those who in times of war would serve and assume the position of ni-gah-no-say-wi-ni-ni and o-gi-chi-dah (*ceremonial and strong heart leader*) over several communities. Their authority was “often” contingent upon the consent of the communities and nation as a whole.

Despite its colonial and *Eurocentric* bias, Francis Parkman's (1898) observation of the responsibilities of the ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wahd (*hereditary leaders*) is apropos given the focus of this narrative. He wrote that: “*The sachem never sets himself in opposition to the popular will, which is the sovereign power of these savage democracies. His province is to advise, and not to dictate*” (Parkman 3). This observation is quite interesting on two fronts: firstly it recognizes the importance of *popular will* from within the position of a *sovereign power*, and secondly that one of the responsibilities of leadership was to advise and not dictate. Strangely, this unintended compliment is a rather accurate description and of the *organic* approach to anishinabe leadership.

Traditionally speaking, anishinabe society had many different types of leaders, for example there were *first* and *second rank civil* and *war leaders*, *pipe carriers* and *messengers*. It was an incredibly complex and highly organized community of people with systems of organization that were distinct in all aspects and were seemingly more *democratic* and transparent in application. Janet Chute (1998) provides an interesting reference to this notion of hereditary leadership, she emphasizes that the majority of anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) could trace their heritage to an "*apical ancestor, Gitchi-jee-de-bun, or Great Crane, who had been the Sault head chief*" (Chute 10). James Clifton, George Cornell and James McClurken (1986) also mention that these leaders would often participate in council, community and national assemblies, where all the heads of families had an opportunity to express their views and opinions as most decisions of national concern and import were decided by consensus at these gatherings.

Each family in the village was represented by a leader who was chosen by consent of all his family members. Responsible for expressing the opinions and protecting the interests of their families, leaders were chosen for the ability to deal with outsiders and for their generosity to family members and friends. When several families lived in a village, the leaders appointed a head speaker to represent them in dealings with other outside groups. In matters of importance, such as warfare with a neighbouring group, moving villages to new locations, or threats to peaceful relations within the village itself, the village leaders assembled in council to decide on a course of action. Decisions were not reached by majority vote, but by the agreement of all members of the council, and most often, by the agreement of the entire family who supported the leader (Clifton, Cornell and McClurken 5).

This was particularly significant to the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg as each citizen within the community saw each other in the context of family and clan. William Warren (1984) who became one of the first anishinabe academics to observe and document anishinabe life in *History of the Ojibway People* during the late 1800's

described the creation story and clan system as “*one of blood kindred*” (Warren 34). This description is particularly helpful in establishing some understanding of the clan system and provides some spiritual and practical context to this narrative.

Tug-waug-aun-ay, the head chief of the Crane family pointed toward the eastern skies, and exclaimed: ‘The Great Spirit once made a bird, and he sent it from the skies to make its abode on earth. The bird came, and when it reached half-way down, among the clouds, it sent forth a loud and far sounding cry, which was heard by all who resided on the earth again the bird sent forth its loud but solitary cry; and the No-kaig (Bear clan), A-waus-e-wug (Catfish), Ah-auh-wauh-ug (Loon), and Mous-o-neeg (Moose and Marten clan), gathered at his call. A large town was soon congregated and the Crane presided over all thence again it uttered a solitary cry the answering bird made its appearance in the wampum breasted Ah-auh-wauh-ug (Loon). I appoint thee to answer my voice in Council (Warren 87-88).

With respect to the practical approach to anishinabe leadership it is important to understand that within anishinabe society and structure of the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) the responsibilities of the o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wahd (*hereditary leaders*), ni-gah-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wag and o-gi-chi-dahg (*ceremonial and strong heart leaders*) were determined by the do-daim-mahg (*clan system*). This system effectively defined the responsibilities of each anishinabe person, do-daim (*clan*), o-day-nah (*community*) and ni’i-nah-win (*nation*). The clan system enabled anishinabe society and traditional leadership to exist and function in a responsible societal and political manner.

The opportunity of listening and talking to bawdwaywidun banaise (Eddie Benton-Banai), *Grand Chief* of the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) over a period of time provided me with valuable insight into nature of anishinabe traditional leadership and governance structures. There were opportunities as well to visit *Bad River (Wisconsin)*, *Mount Pleasant (Michigan)* and *Garden River (Ontario)*, anishinabe communities that

were of historical importance to the anishinabe people. The opportunity to listen to other elders and spiritual leaders provided other opportunities to sit quietly and learn. These exchanges often focused on the political, social and economic history of the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg nations and eventually became the spiritual and traditional foundation to this narrative.

In terms of this narrative and anishinabe history, I would be reminded from time-to-time that anishinabe de-bwe-win (*truth*) and de-bwe-mo-win (*to speak the truth*) were important to the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*), manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*), ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and ga-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*). *How else does one share stories that sacred and speak to our history?* These stories have to come from a place of truth and are the spiritual foundation for the stories concerning obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi), shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) and the n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) in his treatise regarding lawful polity argued that citizens came together for their continued existence and mutual benefit. This mah-wahn-ji-di-wag (*coming together*)⁶ in his view is what created a sovereign for the common good of the people. In his reflections on *indigenous* nations and the *indigenous* idea of government, he wrote: "*The first societies governed themselves aristocratically. The Indians of North America govern themselves this way even now, and their government is*

⁶ anishinabe term recognizing the importance of coming together for the mutual benefit of the people, community and nation.

admirable." (Rousseau, 46)⁷ For the most part he understood the hereditary character of the do-daim-mahg (*clan system*) however he had difficulty in describing its realities and responsibilities because he looked at all of it through a *Eurocentric* coloured lens. The clan system was grounded in the rhythm of the land and spirit. How could he relate to the anishinabe orators of the makwa, mahng and ah-ji-jawk do-daim-mahg (*clan systems*)?

Within this narrative, obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jahk) represent the human face of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wahd (*hereditary leadership*) and ni-gah-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wag and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leadership*). They considered anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and traditional o-gi-ma-win (*governance*) a gift from kitchi manitou. This reinforced their belief and trust in neolin⁸ (lenape-anishinabe) and lau-lau-we-see-kau's (shawnee-anishinabe) bah-wah-ji-gay-wi-nan (*dreams*). To obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk, i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) was seen as being home and having access to the land that was bequeathed to anishinabe people by kitchi manitou so that they might raise their children in harmony with the world around them.

Both neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau (*the rattle*) saw the dangers that *Euroamerican* and colonial hegemony presented to anishinabe people. They saw the attempted removal of anishinabe people from their traditional territory as a kind of spatial and spiritual exile (*a complete removal from our land*), which in turn would separate the anishinabe from the land, stories and languages. Their resolve to protect and strengthen anishinabe

⁷ Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract*. Houston: Halcyon Press Ltd. 2010. Print.

⁸ The enlightened.

society remains with us to this day. The *Royal Proclamation* issued in 1763, the treaty process and the existence of *Canada* itself are clearly indicative of this.

obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) understood the transition of the relationship between the anishinabe and *Euroamerican* nations as one focused on military, economic and political hegemony. They also saw the spread of the *Euroamerican* life-style and control throughout manitou aki (*Creator's land*) as a serious threat to anishinabe society. Further, they argued that the silence shown by anishinabe nations was actual support to this idea of colonialism, which was being passed off as the conventional wisdom of the day and perceived as acceptable. They sought to challenge this.

They felt the protection of their traditional lands and anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) was important to maintaining the integrity of anishinabe ah-do-win (*way of life*). obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) saw that a traditional military, economic, social and political federation of nations was necessary to protect our way of life. The ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*) and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*), the ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*): “*gi-kayn-daw-so-win (knowledge); zaw-gi-dwin (love); maw-naw-ji-win (respect); zoong-gi-day-win (bravery); gway-yaw-kaw-ji-win (honesty); duh-buh-say-ni-moowin (humility); and de-bwe-mo-win (truth)*” (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication 2007) and the ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) spoke to this. Shawn Wilson (2008) describes this as anishinabe ontology (*our way of being*), epistemology (*how we think about our reality*) and methodology (*how we will use our ways of thinking*).

Ontology or a belief in the nature of reality. Your way of being, what you believe is real in the world... Second is epistemology, which is how you think about that reality. Next, when we talk about research methodology, we are talking about how you are going to use your way of thinking (your epistemology) to gain more knowledge about your reality. Finally, a paradigm includes axiology, which is a set of morals or a set of ethics (Wilson 175).

obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's truth (*de-bwe-win*) and ki-je-wa-di-si-win (*kindness*) are often reflected in their stories and in the collective memory of our people. In fact, there is an appreciation for those elders and spiritual leaders who teach in a kind and nurturing way and remind us our experiences are all valid and "*all creation stories are true*" (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Conversation 2005). They tell us in no uncertain terms, that knowledge and experience we obtain from our di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*reminiscences and stories of personal experience*), manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*) and traditional ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) are really an anishinabe-grounded validation process and methodology.

Shortly after finishing the ma-kah-day-kay-win (*vision quest*) at Onegaming, Ontario with tobasonakwut kinew (deceased), Elmer Courchene, Fabian Morrisseau and Rene Spence (deceased), I found myself dreaming about the three leaders speaking at a gathering. This dream is important because it is one of the sacred articles used in this story's o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*).

I was living at waw-gaw-naw-ke-zee one of our principle villages, which spanned sixteen miles long, on the west shore of the peninsula near the straits. My friend mack-e-te-be-nessy and I had just returned from having visited his father in manitou abi who was living with his brother wa-ke-zoo in that part of the country. There was much excitement throughout the village as there was rumour obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk would be gracing us with a visit and words.

On our journey back, we came across this man John Tanner, who was taken captive by the Shawnee. He asks whether we have crossed paths with obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk who are travelling throughout Anishinabe territory. Tanner is beside himself as he attempts to describe what he has heard of their visions for our people and nations. He excitedly tells us tecumtha when attempting

to give an idea of the broad expanse of anishinabe territory simply states the 'sun rises and sets' on it. 'Can you imagine?' Tanner emphasizes, 'the sun rises and sets on our territory!'

As mack-e-te-be-nessy and I make our way through the huge throng of people, shingwauk one of our great mide and spiritual leaders is talking. He is both eloquent and gentle in his message. He tells us white people are threatening to move westward. 'We must protect the na-wai-ish-ko-day and our mide-wi-gan. Our people in wi-shoon-sing and gah-kah-bi-kahng are concerned, if the white people enter our territory at the wah-bah-nong ish-kahn-daim it will be a matter of time before we see them at manitou abi and the ning-gay-bay-ah-nung ish-kahn-daim...'

Obwandiac then rises, 'It is time for our great nations to tell the white people, 'no more!' They will take from us no more.' He smiles. 'The white people believe we cannot live without bread, pork and beef. They forget kitchi manitou provided food for us in these great Lake Hurons, in our forests and skies. We will never be in want of anything.'

Their message was one of strength and vision. Very gently, as older brothers to younger siblings would, they remind us kitchi manitou and the master of life gives to us mino bi-mah-di-so-win. However, as I sat and listened to these visionaries I had the impression I was living a dream with my eyes open.

It was an incredible time for our people! The n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn because of the sheer size of our territory has found it necessary to organize itself into three specific regions: the eastern doorway, michi-gami, wa-ba-nong michi mo-kah-mahn ah-keeng; the center fire, wi-shoon-sing and michi-gami; and the western doorway which protected and was responsible for the ning-gay-bi-a-nahng manitou abi gaie..."

As tecumtha takes to the centre of our circle, there is a hush. Everyone holds his or her breath. He begins. 'Other political leaders eshkebugecoshe, pizhiki, powasang, mawedopenais and o-gi-ma-wi-win-i-ni-ni stand at the ready. Each of these o-gi-chi-dahg recognize that our societies depend on our forceful resistance to the white-man's encroachment. We must meet this challenge head-on and in unity.'

I sit quietly deep in thought. I think of our communities and their ability to function with ease despite our complex social, political, economic and military realities. They are both fluid and structured. It is amazing to witness them at work in times of military and economic upheaval. We are not surprised the countries of France and Britain seek peace treaties with us. The colonies on the other hand are like spoiled children. Their greed never ceases to amaze us... (Dream and Personal Reflection).

We are taught to be mindful of and listen to what is told to us in dreams because we often gain knowledge and guidance from the spirit that comes to see us in our dreams. This spirit will often look at you and your conscience and find out who is working beside you.

Michael Angel (2002) mentions an elder from the *White Earth Reservation* in *Minnesota* who felt dreams were necessary for anishinabeg survival.

Moreover, as Ondinigun's story suggests, visions seen in dreams, and messages received therein, were regarded as 'blessings' from the manidoog, which gave them individually the power to survive in the world. The possibility of an ongoing communication with manidoog through visions and dreams ensured that the Anishinabe cosmology was an extremely flexible one (Angel 27).

One of the first things tobasonakwut shared with me as we readied the mi-gi-si wa-siss-wan (*eagle's nest*) for the vision quest was that experiences and visions might seem surreal and confusing at times. He suggested I listen to the trees as they talked to each other; pay close attention to the animals, insects and plants who would generously share their time with me. He pointed to the young eagle perched overhead and asked that I develop a close relationship with him.

This dream is shared and woven into the fabric of this narrative because it shows how dreams were traditionally used as a means to communicate and teach. We are told for example, that we have two souls, one of which travels at night and live the dreams. It is this soul, which dreams the dream and communicates with the spirits. In the dream, I came to see and listen to obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk as they spoke to their understanding of the world around them and the anishinabe way of life. I listened as they talked of the unity and its political and military importance to the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) in fulfilling their visions.

The dream became part of my reality.

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

mah-zhi-nay-bi'i-gay di-bah-ji-mo-win
(The story is told and written)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

This part of the narrative seeks to bring some clarity to obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk's (ah-ji-jawk) understanding of neolin (lenape-anishinabe) and lau-lau-we-see-kau's (shawnee-anishinabe) visions. To be clear, this narrative exploring anishinabe traditional leadership and governance is not an exercise to provide definitive answers to questions such as: *What are traditional leadership and governance? What are their virtues?* Rather, it seeks to explore the idea of traditional leadership, which in itself is a simple yet complex concept as expressed in obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's leadership styles, responsibilities and influence. In sharing this narrative, we seek to explore the ideas of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

This narrative also provides an appreciation for obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's understanding of their worlds as shared through their visions and beliefs. In some instances, when we speak of ceremony the written word can often remain mute depending upon who is reading. Sakej Henderson adds that anishinabe philosophers and thinkers believe unequivocally that the narrative was an intrinsic part of this process.

Gerald Vizenor, an Ojibway writer, states, 'academic evidence is a euphemism, for linguistic colonization of oral traditions and popular memories. Oral traditions, stories, and memories are a major part of Aboriginal teaching (Henderson 266).

It is therefore important to bear in mind that our nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and a-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of thinking, doing, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) can sometimes help in understanding the subtle underpinnings to what is shared and written. The focus of this narrative is a challenge at best because it is both ceremonial and academic. It creates a strange dichotomy to be sure.

The intimate and collective stories of obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) concentrate on their resistance to *Euroamerican* colonial hegemony and explores the complex relationships each had with the world around them. These relationships were often different from the one-dimensional stereotype (*blood-thirsty, stoic or noble-savage*) that anishinabe peoples have been portrayed in the literature and throughout history. This narrative paints a different picture of relationships, which were multi-layered and multi-dimensional (*spiritual, intellectual, emotional and political*).

anishinabemowin concepts and words are used throughout the text and are written phonetically. I have also taken the liberty of italicizing interpretations for anishinabe terms, Anglicized words of traditional anishinabe place names and terms such as *European, French, British and American*.

The use anishinabemowin throughout this narrative describes and gives context to the traditional concepts of anishinabe leadership, governance, ceremony and ethos. anishinabemowin speaks to anishinabe life and spirit and echoes the voices of our ancestors. I appreciate those anishinabemowin teachers and speakers who have taken a

position in support for the standardization of writing anishinabe phonetically and applying the principles of the double-vowel system. However, I have made a conscious effort to ignore the *old world Latin linguistic structures* and write phonetically. Vizenor writes that the “*anishinabe past was a visual memory and oratorical gesture of dreams and songs and tales incised as pictomyths on birch bark scrolls*” (Vizenor 10-11). In view of this, I make a conscious effort to ignore the rules of those who invented the written language, who invented the “*indian, renamed the tribes, allotted the land and divided ancestry by geometric degrees*” (Vizenor 13). In my mind and spirit I recognize that anishinabemowin is of the land and heart.

It was also difficult to apply *English* words and meanings to ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*), manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*), ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*spiritual and sacred narratives*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and the manitou wi-win (*the character of the spirit*) that are spiritual and sacred at their essence. Having said this, I have tried to remain true to the purity of the anishinabemowin language. I found Harry Bone’s description of anishinabemowin as a kind and caring language helpful because it provides me with the language of ceremony and allowed me to understand how it helps in our petitions and prayers. He believes anishinabemowin is rooted in the land and therefore has the natural ability to gift our dreams and visions with clarity and truth. He adds, anishinabemowin spiritually connects us because we feel it, we watch, we listen and we learn.⁹ Consider bawdwaywidun’s description of how manitou aki (*Creator’s land*) came to be.

When Mother Earth was young, she had a family and was very beautiful. She is called Mother because (all living things come from her.) Underground rivers are

⁹ I write/spell anishinabemowin as I hear and feel it because it is the voices of my mother and grandmother that I hear.

her veins and water is her blood. On her surface, there are four sacred directions north, south, east, and west. Gitchi Manito, the Creator, took four parts of Mother Earth, earth, wind, fire and water and blew into them using the Megis or Sacred Shell, making a man. The Great Spirit then lowered man to Mother Earth, as part of her, to live in brotherhood with everything that surrounded him. This man, in accordance with the Creator's instructions, walked Mother Earth and named all the animals, plants and land features. The Creator sent the wolf to provide company for the man as he traveled the earth, then told them to go their separate ways. From original man came the Anishinaabe and all other tribes. The Ojibwe and Nee-kon-nis (brothers) with other tribes. The only thing that separates these tribes are different languages (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication October 11 2006).

He describes how anishinabe *gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (oral history)*, *kayn-daw-so-win (traditional knowledge)* and *ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (traditions)* have been passed from father-to-son; mother-to-daughter; and from one generation-to-the-next. bawdwaywidun (1988) takes responsibility for sharing this story because he considers it important to helping the reader understand obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's relationship with space, land and territory. In one sense, it is this concept of space, land and territory, which anchors their stories and collective memories to this narrative.

The n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn envisioned at the time of the great migration as a political, economic, military and spiritual grand council to assert sovereignty over traditional territory. The confederacy was woven together by a highly complex and effective clan system and seven guiding principles: "gi-kayn-daw-so-win (knowledge); zaw-gi-dwin (love); maw-naw-ji-win (respect); zoong-gi-day-ay-win (bravery); gwu-yu-kaw-ji-win (honesty); duh-buh-say-ni-mo-win (humility); de-bwe-mo-win (truth)" (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2011).

In sharing this one particular story, I came to see bawdwaywidun in the role of waynaboozho, the elder who is seen as the both sage and advisor. He provides friendship and guidance during critical moments. Consoling in times of distress and tragedy, laughter and smiles during moments of happiness and good fortune.

Waynaboozho took the piece of Earth from the muskrat's paw. At that moment, Mi-zhee-kay' (the turtle) swam forward and said, 'Use my back to bear the weight of this piece of Earth. With the help of the Creator, we can make a new Earth.'

Waynaboozho put the piece of Earth on the turtle's back. All of a sudden the noo-di-noon' (winds) began to blow. The wind blew from each of the Four Directions. The tiny piece of Earth on the turtle's back began to grow. Larger and larger it became, until it formed a mi-ni-si' (island) in the water. Still the earth grew but still the turtle bore its weight on his back.

Waynaboozho began to sing a song. All the animals began to dance in a circle on the growing island. As he sang, they danced in an ever-widening circle. Finally the winds ceased to blow and the waters became still. A huge island sat in the middle of the great water (bawdwaywidun banaise 33).

This story echoes the generational experience of anishinabe people and our relationship with the land. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's leadership in challenging Euroamerican colonial hegemony gives context to this idea of the *middle ground*,¹⁰ which is firmly rooted within this relationship. Further, bawdwaywidun describes stories of who we are, how we came to these places and how we came to accept this way of life, which “*were preserved in many different places like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that has been scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific*” (Shomin 9). Walter Hoffman (2006) describes how our ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*traditions*) and ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*) are replete with the history of how we came to be, our migration stories, and how we see ourselves. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk spoke to this.

In all of their traditions pertaining to the early history of the tribe these people are termed A-nish'-in-â-bēg—original people—a term surviving also among the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Menomonie, indicating that the tradition of their westward migration was extant prior to the final separation of these tribes, which is supposed to have occurred at Sault Ste. Marie (Hoffman 166).

The ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*) describe the relationship we have always had with the dynamic and holistic soul of

¹⁰ The concept of the middle ground evolved naturally because of the political, economic, social and military relationships developed between the Euroamerican and anishinabe nations.

creation and the land. Basil Johnston (1976) also provides another story that describes the anishinabe genesis and beginning in powerful and descriptive terms. He suggests human beings and mankind have to be in balance with the universe and that *Creation* was the first teacher.

Kitchi Manitou created the world, plants, birds, animals, and fish, in fulfillment of a vision. This world was flooded. But while the earth was under water and life was coming to an end, a new life was beginning in the skies. Geezhigo-Quae (Sky Woman) was espoused to a Manitou in the skies and she conceived.

The surviving animals and birds observed the changes taking place in Sky Woman's condition as they clung to life on the surface of the floodwaters. They set aside whatever concerns they might have had about their own fates and asked one of their fellow survivors, the Giant Turtle, to offer his back as a place of rest for Sky Woman, who they invited to come down.

She then breathed the breath of life, growth, and abundance into the soil and infused into the soil and earth, the attributes of womanhood and motherhood, that of giving life, nourishment, shelter, instruction and inspiration for the heart, mind and spirit. Sky woman gave birth to twins, whose descendants took the name Anishinaubaek, meaning the Good Beings. In time, other nations labeled their fellow Anishinaubaek with other names, such as Ojibway, Ottawa, Pottawatomi, Algonquin and Mississauga (Johnston xv and xvi).

Dr. Rainey Gaywish (2013) makes an interesting observation regarding Johnston's ah-di-so-kahn (*traditional and spiritual story*) in terms of its origin. She points out that perhaps the story is a combination of ojibway, ota'wa, boodewaadamig and haudenosaunee-anishinabe creation stories, which is interesting given that these stories embodied the essence of our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality, our epistemology*).

They were encapsulated in the visions of neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau and obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's actions. They were also captured in their collective opposition to forced assimilation and relocation, land appropriation and genocide. The excitement they generated within our communities and nations was enormous and far-reaching. Had they not succeeded in addressing their views and plans, the results would have been

disastrous beyond comprehension. Even today we still revel in their successes and ask:

What if?

Rachel Buff (1995) shares how tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau's story is often romanticized in *"popular and official mythologies on the United States' national formation."* She adds many anishinabe family members still carry the memory of these brothers in story, song and ceremony. They speak of these men with vision and brilliant oratorical skills whose commitment and passion to anishinabe sovereignty and independence led them on this brilliant journey.

The stories of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk shared within this dissertation reestablish the importance of vision, leadership, solidarity and resistance. These stories are about the anishinabe collective history. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's strength of character, memory and presence remains with us to this day. In many of their grandchildren's homes their memory is invoked: *"What would our grandfather obwandiac do with this injustice committed against us?" "tecumtha, our mishom would never have let this happen!" "Grandpa (shingwauk) believed in the strength of vision!"*

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mi'i'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah
(*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

ah-way-chi-gay-win
(*To teach by telling a story*)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(*I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk*)

This narrative shares many different stories about obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

It also provides some context to anishinabe-focused nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we think about our reality and epistemology*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*). Each layer builds upon the other to enable us to gain some insight into the concepts of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). It examines their relevance today.

Dr. Gaywish (2008) describes the use of storytelling and its importance to the idea of education in her dissertation. She explains how stories are central to anishinabe people and communities because they speak to anishinabe gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*history*) and remind us of what is important.

In Anishinabe oral tradition, stories are a means of perpetuating the life of a community (Fixico, 2003, 24). In the worldview of the Anishinabe, oral tradition has always had this understanding at the heart, as its essential energy: sound, woven into story and song... Little Bear reflects that to Aboriginal peoples, 'storytelling is a very important part of the educational process. It is through stories that customs and values are taught and shared. In most Anishinabe societies, there are hundreds of stories of real-life experiences, spirits, creation, customs and values' (Gaywish 82).

Within these different layers of stories are a myriad of issues and events, which have shaped the anishinabe community and nation. This narrative uses ceremony and spirituality as an important focal point for a discussion concerning traditional leadership and governance. The voices of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk are heard throughout anishinabe gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*), reminiscences and stories of personal experience and teachings. Their voices are used to guide and sustain. Gaywish (2008) makes another interesting observation regarding the use of stories:

Stories draw on the energy of the spirit realms to enliven and empower the characters, the storyteller and the listeners, Burgess notes: Growing up I was taught that stories could house spirits... Stories can also heal. According to Benton-Banai, George Copway, and Ruth Landes, the Midewiwin was given as a medicine, and (its) stories are integral to the healing process (Gaywish 23).

Throughout this narrative, the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-ba-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*) describe how anishinabe society was highly structured and deeply responsible. anishinabe communities and nations believed society had to accept responsibility for those less fortunate and unable to provide for themselves. It was about showing humanity and empathy for orphans, elders and widows alike. This is shown and described to us in midewiwin (*people of the good heart*) ceremonies, the clan system and other specific societies within anishinabe culture. For the purpose of this discussion, there is relevance in looking at the highly structured and organized drum societies because they are characteristic of anishinabe society as a whole. Again, it is important to recognize anishinabe societies were highly structured because every citizen had a specific set of responsibilities. Hoffman (2006) shows us how the drum society was an effective and highly detailed process and responsibility; he describes this in *The Midē'wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa*:

Old John Mink told me that the drum was like a person and wanted to be unbundled once in awhile. I have heard John Stone say that frequently in the evening 'he would take tobacco and put it in the fire and talk to the Drum, which was left covered, asking, for help keeping sickness away from his family, also so that he could provide for them properly... '

De-way-i-guhn day-bayn-ni-mahd (Owner), Ogima (Chief); Ga-gi-gi-do-i-ni-ni (Head Speaker); Ni-mi i-di-wi-ga-mig gay-nah-wayn-dang (Sweeper); o-gi-chi-dahg (Warriors); Boss Ni-gahn-i-ni-ni-mi i-way-wi-ni-ni (Head Singer); West stake (singer); North stake; East stake; South stake...

O-pwa-ga-nan gay-nay-wayn-ni-mahd (Pipe tender) – Puts his gift on the blanket. He must fill the pipe four times during the day. After he fills it, he holds it above his head and turns it slowly four times. Then he passes it to the head singer

and lights it for him.

The head singer takes a few puffs and hands it to the singer at the next stake, and then it goes to the third and fourth singers. (This can be done any time during the day.) Then it goes to the four partners of the four singers, then to the head drum heater, then the other three drum heaters, and finally to the Drum owner, who finishes what tobacco is left and gives the pipe back to the pipe tender.

Gash-ki-bi-dah-gah-nahn gay-nah-way-ni-mahd (Tobacco pouch tender) – takes care of the pipe if the pipe tender is not there, but has no duties at the dance. His job is to keep fresh tobacco in the bag hanging on the drum while the drum is in the home.

Ni-gahn-nah-bi-gi-zhi-gay-wi-ni-ni (Head drum heater – his job is to heat the drumhead before it is used to make it tighter. Also, he puts a blanket on the pile of gifts.

Second drum heater – the second drum heater does the same, as do the Third drum heater and the Fourth drum heater – if they dance four days, the head drum heater heats the drum the first day, the second drum heater the second day and so on; osh-kah-bay-wis (Bull cook); drum women; and young warriors (Hoffman 269).

This reference points to the structured roles and responsibilities of one particular organization. It clearly describes specific roles, responsibilities and protocols. I think it is helpful in understanding the complexity of anishinabe knowledge and society at large and also gives some context to obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's very organized challenges to colonial hegemony.

bawdwaywidun tells us our teachings, creation and migration stories emphasized the need to treat our relatives and others with respect because this belief was fundamental to anishinabe *i-nah-di-zi-win (our way of being and way of life and ontology)*. anishinabe society was for the most part guided by these teachings. anishinabe society believed all decisions affecting the nation and society had to be determined by all citizens. This was one of our most basic and fundamental teachings. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk were familiar with this and it flowed deep within their *miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (blood memory and the act of flowing)*.

Responsibility for the survival and prosperity of anishinabe society depended in

large part on the individual, community and nation. These responsibilities were clearly defined. anishinabe i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) provided a framework for supporting and being supported by your clan, community and nation. Our stories describe how *sharing* was the social security and safety net of the day. The value of trading and gift giving was seen as central to this. By sharing, the clan and individual often gained more respect and prestige. Very simply, a person's wealth meant he had more to share. Such was the emphasis on sharing that almost no interaction could be carried on without it.

neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's visions also spoke of the interconnected relationship of the anishinabe people with the natural world. This was the soul of their spirituality and is an important layer to this narrative. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk saw cooperation not competition as the norm. For them a clan or person attempting to assume too much power or wealth was seen as a social, political and economic liability to the community and nation as a whole. They saw this in the numerous treaties negotiated and their opposition to what was taking place. The ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-ba-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*) illustrate how the complex organization of anishinabe society and clan relationships were defined by principles, which linked everyone to each other. This was one of the central pillars of the anishinabe community and nation.

Within the ota'wa¹¹-anishinabe nation for example, the use of the o-do-dem¹² (*I*

¹¹ "Finally I went to the Elders and inquired how to translate the word Ottawa. They just laughed and said, "We don't know!" Then they told me that we are Odawa, pronounced either with an 'A' or an 'O' at the beginning (O-da-wa). 'Ada' or 'Oda' means heart, and Wa means him or her. Odawa means 'heartland person', the land being omitted but understood. On the migration told about in our history, these were the

have him for my family mark) played an important role in the life of an ota'wa-anishinabe citizen. Membership within the same o-do-dem ensured an obligation to provide food, assistance, shelter and hospitality for one another. It is not surprising that marriage also came to serve as an important vehicle for establishing social, economic and political ties between the clans, other anishinabe and non-anishinabe nations. Interestingly as this practice increased, the ota'wa-anishinabe became aware of the importance of citizenship and adapted criteria for determining who was and who was not an ota'wa-anishinabe. In summary, this sovereign approach to society and citizenship ensured stability within an ever-changing scenario. Obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk felt this and appealed to the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn¹³ (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its allied nations to challenge the treaties and land cessions being negotiated. Also neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau provided the spiritual foundation and anchor to their political and military resistance. This much is certain.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win
(*The reasons why I have dug around*)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

This section of the narrative focuses on the significance of nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*reasons why I have dug around*) and anishinabe research. anishinabe

ones who took the duty of caring for the Sacred Medicine, or Sacred Bundles. It was at that time that all the Anishinaaybeg deposited their Sacred Bundles with the Odawa" (Pine Shomin 18-19). Print.

¹² ota'wa term.

¹³ "Our hearts are as one fire." (Dr. Rainey Gaywish Personal Communication). 2013.

nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*reasons why I have dug around*) involves focusing on anishinabe thought and spirituality to help describe how anishinabe lived in the past, how anishinabe live in the contemporary world and how anishinabe will continue to live into the future. Further, in order to be able to visualize and understand these traditional underpinnings of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) concepts we need to focus on understanding anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*), which grounds this narrative in our ah-zhay-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*) and experience.

This anishinabe-focused narrative on leadership and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) is an attempt to speak to our anishinabeness, which is really an expression of our anishinabewiwin (*the essence of our humanity*). We know by experience that our anishinabeness and humanity are anchored by our manitou kay (*spirituality*), anishinabemowin (*language*), ah-zhay-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*), manitou kay-win-nan (*ceremonies*); bah-wah-ji-gan-nan (*dreams*) and na-gwi-di-so-wi-nan (*visions*), which help us find answers to questions about life and humanity and to teach by telling a story. It is the spirit of this truth that sometimes can never be expressed in words.

In attempting to remain honest to the visions, di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories*) and manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*) that have been shared with me, I have struggled with the idea that western institutions must have the authority to determine the validity of anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*). We have been struggling with this process for quite some time. In fact, neolin¹⁴ and lau-lau-we-see-kau believed that *Euroamerican* authority and dominance would hasten the loss of our narrative because

¹⁴ The enlightened.

the dominant group always attempts to impose its own. The *Indian Act (1895)* for example made a blatant attempt to outlaw religious ceremonies.

Authority by definition implies the “*power to enforce obedience*” and the individual wielding this power controls the issue.¹⁵ Therefore the idea that a western academic institution has the “*final*” authority to validate anishinabe knowledge and truth is somewhat problematic for me. In fact, it has made me keenly aware of my duplicity in this exercise. I am mindful this narrative will be compared to and judged according to other perceived realities. As I have stated many times I am not any more an authority than an elder or traditional knowledge keeper on the subject of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). This includes both the narration and the written word, specifically the literary works that embody an authorial consciousness. Thus, the use of anishinabemowin throughout this narrative suggests a conscious choice through which I have expressed my own identity and attempted to provide a view to anishinabe history through the eyes of an anishinabe person.

anishinabe leadership and governance have been a passion of mine for as long as I can remember. Having grown-up in a very political anishinabe family, I came to realize very early the importance of leadership within the community. I was taught leadership was a heart-felt and spiritual commitment to the people. This idea was ingrained in each of us while growing up. I witnessed my father’s mother; my father himself and his brothers attempt to make contributions to the anishinabe community. They made an effort to challenge the *Indian Act, Department of Indian Affairs, Catholic Church* and

¹⁵ Giambattista Vico during the late 16th century wrote authority came from the root auctor, the original meaning meant “property.” According to Vico the idea of property is dependent upon human will and choice, language he adds preserves the traces of these choices.

provincial and federal government legislation that were largely responsible for our day-to-day oppression. They considered it their responsibility.

During this period, they pushed for changes in the area of local control in education, challenged the authority of the *Catholic Church* and the residential school system; and they pushed for changes in provincial and federal government legislation in areas of child-welfare; and universal suffrage (*until 1952 anishinabe women did not have the right to vote in Indian Act Chief and Council community elections*). They knew that for all of *Canada's* good intentions its government never comprehended the complexity of anishinabe needs and issues and that it simply refused to entertain any notion for real effective change. In a symbiotic way this narrative makes every effort to bring attention to Edward Said's (1997) who wrote that the "*truth has no need of words*"¹⁶ because the written word is at times mute. *How else would one share the experience of dreams, visions and ceremonies?*

This part of the discussion clarifies nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*why I have dug around*) in the stories of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk. This narrative's o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) within which our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*), ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*), ni-zhwa-sho-o-nish-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*), ga-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) are used to explore and describe the philosophy of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) both literally and metaphorically. The o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) spiritually embodies the collective memory of anishinabe peoples, which I have

¹⁶ Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. UK: Vintage Books. 1978. Print.

been told echo the *old* stories.

To reiterate, this narrative's o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) provides an anishinabe-approach and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) in helping describe nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*reasons why I have dug around*) in this way. This is fundamentally important to the stories shared because of the spiritual essence of time and place (*our beginning, ancestors and territories*) and language

The o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) helps us understand significant moments in anishinabe history that honour the achievements of obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) and reflects upon the influence of neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's visions. It also speaks to the influence of their visions on the anishinabe political, social, economic and military world. In summary, this narrative is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the relationship anishinabe peoples have had with foreign nations and subsequent *American* and *Canadian* governments. Rather it looks at the past and asks, *what if our stories were told and accepted as truth?*

The point should be made that a western-approach to research and narrative is embedded in the works of Gustave Flaubert (*Salammbô*)¹⁷, T.E. Lawrence (*Seven Pillars of Wisdom*)¹⁸ and Ernest Renan (*What is a Nation?*),¹⁹ all of whom helped create a discipline by which *European* culture was able to create the idea of the *Orient*. Flaubert,

¹⁷ An interesting history about Carthage exoticizing the "East" and the notion of Orientalism.

¹⁸ An autobiographical account of T.E. Lawrence's experience in the "Middle East."

¹⁹ Renan's definition of nationhood "avoir fait de grandes choses ensemble, vouloir en faire encore" (having done great things together and wishing to do more) is particularly insightful when one discusses the hypocrisy of western humanism and its inherent racism.

Lawrence and Renan produced writings and stories that were able to control and manipulate this idea.

Edward Said was able to harness the energy that the philosophies of Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci provided in challenging the *authority of Western knowledge* (Bayoumi and Rubin 64). Said, Foucault and Gramsci in their discourse on the relationship between knowledge, power and hegemony over the *Orient* speak to the “*tacit, unwritten agreement, which is passed off as conventional wisdom and common sense*” (Bayoumi and Rubin 64-65). This is the inherent challenge that students of *Indigenous (Aboriginal, Native) Studies* face when attempting to provide discourse and narrative different from the authority of *Western knowledge*.

This is an interesting conversation due to the duality of anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*) because it is both simple and complex. It is further complicated because o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) have evolved considerably. The discussion makes an attempt to describe obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk’s vision of the anishinabe peoples’ place in the wah-wi-yah-kah-mig (*universe*), which nurtured this idea of a distinct form of traditional ojibway, ota’wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*). True to this vision and universe, obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk’s influence within the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) remain with us to this day.

Anthony Hall’s (2003) reference to Peter Kulchyski is helpful in coming to some understanding regarding the notion of “*aboriginality*”. Kulchyski suggests: “*Prior occupation is the historical ground upon which Aboriginal rights rest.*” Kulchyski

argues, “*They were here first so that means that at one time, all this was theirs. They were rarely conquered by force of arms. Now all this land is ours. We must owe them something*” (Hall 33). This obviously reflects a common thread, which weaves its way throughout this narrative because it appreciates *our beginning, ancestors and territories*.

Within this narrative, we come to some understanding of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk’s commitment to establish this as fact and their resolve to honour their ancestors, their vision and the importance of ceremony. shingwauk himself was a jeeskahn-i-ni-ni (*shake tent man*) and one of the leading medicine people in the mi-de-wi-gun (*grand medicine lodge*) and wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*). Fabian Morrisseau shared how ceremony as an anishinabe-focused method is used to get answers and knowledge to questions and concerns one might have:

You can ask any question to the medicine man that shakes a tipi. But first you have to give him something for your question. When he shakes the tipi he will answer you. He will tell you when to come. Or maybe he will answer you right there, if he is able to, and if his tipi is built up (Fabian Morrisseau Personal Communication August 15 1995).

As well, Michael Angel’s (2002) description of obwandiac’s participation in a jeeskahn (*shake tent*) ceremony with Alexander Henry and William Johnston to ask for guidance as to whether he should participate in the treaty negotiations at *Niagara* in 1764 was particularly helpful in this narrative’s attempt to keep nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-jigay-win (*why I have dug around*) and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) spirit-directed through ceremony.

Further, any discussion concerning o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) has to be looked at from the

context of our ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*). Both after all, embody the spiritual relationship between all living things and the universe. This dream and vision is about our story from its beginning, which is spiritually, politically and psychologically exciting.

It is important to make mention of those that provided valuable insights and answers to questions during my tenure as *Indian Act* chief and throughout this journey. I should add however, this elected position provided an insider's view to the *blood and guts* issues, which confront anishinabe peoples daily. Sadly, there is no respite from poverty, treaty abuses, oppression and the day-to-day struggle to provide for children and grandchildren alike. As obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk were shown by neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau, anishinabe stability and survival depended upon our ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*) and taking responsibility for providing for the most vulnerable in our society.

Given that this dissertation process is an academic exercise, I am keenly sensitive as to how knowledge is shared regarding our gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*), ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*) and culture. In my view, it has to be done in a respectful way so as to protect the spirit of the narrative and acknowledge the spiritual essence of anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think about our reality and epistemology*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*). This dissertation also establishes a special relationship with the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*)

and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*) as each give substance to the three different layers of knowing.

It is important to be respectful as to what is shared and how it is shared. Sakej Henderson (2000) points to Gerald Vizenor, an ojibway-anishinabe who shares a similar concern, “*Academic evidence is a euphemism, for linguistic colonization of oral traditions and popular memories. Oral traditions, stories and memories are a major part of aboriginal teaching*” (Henderson 66). This research and academic exercise describes in detail how anishinabeg came to be and our deep interconnectedness to the world. Anishinabe-focused nah-nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*reasons why I have dug around*) helps us share our stories within the context of our place in this world.

Further each story and layer has its own specific meaning. They enable the reader to understand their significance and relevance in acquiring knowledge and education. In terms of the task at hand, this narrative attempts to discuss o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) from the perspective of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk’s place in the world.

The first layer of stories tell us how we came to think this way about our reality, our beginning and genesis and the second layer of stories speak to our way of being and manitou kay (*spirituality*). These two layers describe where we came from, how each of us come to know whom we are and how we fit into this world. The third layer explores how we use our ways of thinking and ceremony to find answers and understand our interconnectedness to the world around us. These three layers of knowing represent the literal and metaphoric o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) used within this narrative, which enable me to share the anishinabe concepts of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and*

to be esteemed) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and hopefully help the reader understand their place within the anishinabe world. I find it a mystery still but it is also a doorway to incredible knowledge that is shared within our manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*); ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*); and bah-wah-ji-gay-wi-nan (*dreams and visions*).

Having said this, we come to see and understand how the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual narratives*), di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*stories personal experience and reminiscences*), ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*), manitou-kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*), ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*), ni-zhwa-sho-o-nish-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) and bah-wah-ji-gan-nan (*dreams and visions*) enable us to participate, observe, feel, taste, touch and hear. They provide a different approach than what has been traditionally accepted as mainstream western academic research. The point is that we are all equal parts of the universe and our experiences are all subjective and intimate.

gi-mi-ni-go-wi-ni-nan o-gi-ma-wi-win zhigo o-gi-ma-win (*the gifts of traditional leadership and governance*) is about the experience and importance of having the opportunity to experience and understand the subtle nuance of each gift. The use of sacred articles to seek knowledge within this narrative's literal and metaphoric o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) is particularly helpful because the stories shared are deeply spiritual and interconnected on many levels. It is a truly a humbling and transformative approach.

We are taught the manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*) are important in describing the spiritual strength of our world. The jeeskahn (*shake tent*), mah-dood-sahn (*sweat lodge*),

our nah-gah-mo-nan (songs), o-paw-gun manitou kay-win (*sacred pipe ceremony*), mah kah-day-wi-nah-nan (*vision quests*), bah-wah-ji-gahn-nan (*dreams and visions*) and gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*teachings*) are tools for communicating, which enable us to observe and explore the expression of traditional leadership and governance within this dialogue.

It is an entirely different approach to learning. We are told that ah-way-chi-gay-win (*to teach by telling a story*) and the use of manitou-kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*) to speak of our gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*), anishinabe ah-do-win (*way of life*) and ah-yah-win (*way of being and existence*) is grounded in the earth itself. We come to see, understand and recognize this as we explore the strength of vision for both neolin²⁰ and lau-lau-we-see-kau.

Buff (1995) makes interesting commentary as well in her analysis of tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau's effect on the *romantic conception of the Early National Period*²¹. She examines the idea of anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and independence within the context of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) social, political, economic, military and spiritual structures. I appreciate the fact that she focuses on the idea of the *United States' romantic past* and Gramsci's national-popular treatise, which discusses the *organic relationship* between the colonial politics of the day and the vision of anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and national unity. I think this is one of the major contributions she makes to the discussion concerning obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-

²⁰ The enlightened.

²¹ Buff references Allan Eckert, *A Sorrow in Our Heart: The Life of Tecumshe*. New York, 1992; Glen Tucker, *Tecumseh: Vision of Glory*. New York, 1956; William Van Hoose, *Tecumseh: An Indian Moses* Canton OH. 1984 and David C. Cooke, *Tecumseh, Destiny's Warrior* New York, 1959.

kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). Additionally, she suggests the work of scholars and historians have deliberately undermined the anishinabe narrative and blood-memory. It is therefore timely to draw attention to the fact that this anishinabe-focused nay-nahn-do-ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*reasons why we dig around and research*) is about being respectful to the stories of both neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau as well.

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

Chapter 2

**ni-noon-dah-wah-min in-way-wahd gi-gay-tay-anishinabeg
on-ji-ning-gi-kayn-dah-so-min wayn-ji-da ji-ga-gway-dway-wi-nan**
*(We hear the voices of our ancestors because we know how to ask the most
basic questions)*

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

We are shown in ceremony that our mi-zhi-ni-way-wahg (*spirit messengers*) speak to us in the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*), miskew (*blood memory and the act of flowing*), in our bah-wah-ji-gay-wi-nan (*dreams*), ni-gahn-nah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*prophecies*) and the manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*). It really is an absolute way of acquiring knowledge and information.

More often than not, these experiences speak to the anishinabeness of our culture and place in the world. They gently guide and describe to us the importance of anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*) and the concept of anishinabe pedagogy. They also provide an opportunity to explain the idea of anishinabe ethos. We hear the voices of our ancestors in the seven teachings, the sacred, moral and personal experience stories, in our ceremonies and oral history, which also embody this narrative's o-dah-bah-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*). Our ancestors also speak to the emotional and spiritual aspect of being anishinabe and of obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

kay-go-wah-ni-kayn andi-wayn-ji-ahn zhigo andi-ay-i-ahn
(Do not forget where you come from and who you are)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

makwa ogimaa n'di-zhi-ni-kawz (*My name is bear chief*), makwa do-daim (*I am of the bear clan*), ojibway-anishinabe n'dow (*I am an anishinabe human being*), sagkeeng doon-ji (*I am from "where the river widens"*)

This is where I begin with this spiritual and emotional journey that began almost thirty years ago. It has been cathartic on many different levels because it has provided an opportunity to understand my anishinabeness and the interconnectedness of my relationships to the world around me. Along the way these amazing relationships have nurtured the important things in life and provided me the opportunity to explore our sacred, moral stories, the reminiscences of personal experiences and our ceremonies, which were shared by men and women who have accepted some responsibility for teaching and sharing with us their knowledge and experiences. In a simple yet complex way they taught me about our relationships with our past, present and future.

sagkeeng doon-ji (*I am from "where the river widens"*)... this is where my parents and ancestors rest. It is both incredibly beautiful and spiritual yet it can be one of the most difficult places to live. sagkeeng is an ojibway-anishinabe community situated at the mouth of *Lake Winnipeg* where the *Winnipeg River* empties into it. It is the largest ojibway-anishinabe community in manitou abi (*Manitoba*) with a population of approximately 7200 citizens and is signatory to *Treaty One* signed on August²² 3, 1871.

²² ma-noo-min gii-zhis (rice harvest moon-August).

The community is separated by the majestic *Winnipeg River*. This physical separation into north and south has created many problems financially, politically and socially for sagkeeng. It has made for interesting political dynamics given that many of the community's services and organizations are geographically situated on the south shore. Consequently, the community has had to address issues of north shore disconnect and separation throughout its history.

During my tenure as *indian act* chief from 1988-2000, sagkeeng sought to bridge the physical and political divide by decentralizing and relocating some of the community's essential services. In attempting to bridge this divide, the community voted in assembly to construct and relocate the high school and the child and family services agency to the north shore. Further, sagkeeng made the decision in assembly to secure financing for the reconstruction of the *north shore road*, which had been a source of concern for the citizens living on the north shore for as long as I can remember.

However, many citizens still questioned how this issue of division could best be handled? Being relatively young I was eager to do the right thing, as the "*shelf-life*" for most leaders at *sagkeeng* was often limited. I was told very early on "*the people would give me just enough rope to hang myself if I was not careful.*"

Upon my election in the spring of 1988, sagkeeng was rife with anger and mistrust. There was turmoil and division throughout. The community had been in receivership for two years. In fact, when we took office on March 1, 1988 the administration office was without electricity and there were no staff to speak of, as all had been *laid-off*. That same day, *Indian and Northern Affairs Canada* (INAC) decided against issuing the month's

welfare disbursements! People were obviously angry by what was taking place. This is certainly not what I envisioned election night.

Generally speaking, anishinabe communities burdened by debt and financial management regimes suffer painful restructuring and austerity programs. More often than not, the debt crisis leads to a growth crisis, which results in the plummeting of living standards, a decrease in services or they are simply non-existent and of course capital investment essential for economic development is not available. It is definitely not a pretty picture for those shouldering the burden of the debt. Very often financial management regimes and austerity programs are poorly designed with little input and participation from the citizenship. Quite often they are difficult to implement and place most of the responsibility on the very poor. It is obvious that cutting budgets will not develop infrastructure, build much needed housing units, shorten welfare lines and create employment. In sagkeeng's experience, to try and cut back costs was not an effective answer. People on low-income already living hand-to-mouth were asked to suffer further. Therefore, debt-retirement at sagkeeng was made at an immense social and human cost.

During my tenure as *indian act* chief the approach taken at sagkeeng was always one of citizen participation. The community and its *indian act* council recognized that fundamental and transformative change would take place only if the community-at-large was involved in the decision-making. This approach spoke to the traditional principles of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and notions of traditional governance. The citizenship also believed that a stable and predictable political system, which was both effective and honest, would enable citizen participation and economic progress to follow.

The sagkeeng experience was unique on many different levels because of its focus on improving the social conditions, creating employment and moving the community's self-determination ideals economically and politically. It should be noted from a community perspective, that there was always a positive correlation between the economic factors and improvement in social conditions. More importantly, the community saw that citizen participation necessary to achieve success in what was taking place. It also put the *indian act* council on-notice that a unilateral act of mutated *power* under the umbrella of the *indian act* would not define and encourage *mutual accountability* between leadership and citizens.

sagkeeng recognized that governments based on the values of its citizens engendered deeper loyalty and were most effective at responding to community needs. The principles of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) reminded the community of this and that our contemporary system of government under the *indian act* threatened the essence of our anishinabeness and survival as distinct peoples. *sagkeeng* citizenship also believed the principles of traditional anishinabe governance as reflected within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) embodied the freedom of meaningful traditional o-gi-ma-win (*governance*) and reiterated the belief that you cannot have serious government without serious discussion. It also highlighted the importance of collective will in embracing transformative change.

The community saw that serious government and transformative change would never take place under the umbrella of the *indian act*. In a series of women, men, youth and elder's council meetings and numerous assemblies the community set about

developing Tepwewin (*Truth*), sagkeeng's anishinabe law and guiding principles for o-gi-ma-win (*governance*), o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*self-determination*) and i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*). In its preamble, Tepwewin (*Truth*) stated:

Our people have always been guided by the seven teachings of the Anicinabe. This has been and continues to be the very basis of our understanding, way of life and our relationship to the world around us.

All peoples have the right to self-determination. This principle is now so commonly embraced by the global community that it is the founding premise for the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Today, the Anicinabe peoples on Turtle Island are effectively exercising control over their own destiny once again. The people of Sagkeeng Anicinabe Nation claim control over those matters that are regarded as internal and territorial to our people. Sagkeeng also claims effective control over those resources that belong to our people by virtue of inherent and sacred treaty rights. Furthermore, we declare that our relationship with other nations will be based on our inherent rights and other agreements with representatives of other nations...

Our history as a nation is unique in the sense that all groups of the Anicinabe people experienced sovereignty in practice. Our people were never subjugated to human central government as such, which determined the destiny of Anicinabe peoples...

As a nation of peoples with a history of covenants, wampums and treaties, we have always valued peaceful and reasonable relationships. The same holds true in the history of our relationship with the newcomers to our lands.

The fundamental reality underlying this Anicinabe Law is that Sagkeeng peoples are a nation. Our nation will join with other nations in a territorial structure, as it deems necessary and will exercise full political authority over its own territory. Our nation is sovereign in determining its future.

The treaty process and the recognition of our sovereignty. Implicitly, there were representatives of sovereign nations that deliberated and negotiated the treaties.

Therefore the sovereignty principle underpins this Anicinabe Law. Sagkeeng Anicinabe Nation is a sovereign entity that regulates its internal and territorial affairs. Our relationships with other peoples will therefore be based on a nation-to-nation principle²³ (Tepwewin 1995).

In developing a law-making process, sagkeeng's women, men, youth and elder's councils saw change as necessary and were wanting to move towards a future that respected our history and seven teachings, our right to self-determination and sovereignty and also preservation of our treaties instead of our reliance on *INAC*. These councils were the

²³ Tepwewin. Sagkeeng Law-Making Process. 1995.

architects of the law-making assembly process and Tepwewin, which were a set of laws binding the community together. This process was about sagkeeng i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*), o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and mah-wahn-ji-di-wag (*coming together in unity*). The process itself created a brilliant synergy that was interesting to witness.

Under this legislative process, sagkeeng passed two fundamentally important pieces of nation legislation using the authority and mandate of the *Sagkeeng Lawmakers Assembly*: the *Process Law* (providing authority to the community/nation to legislate the sagkeeng Nation *law-making process*) and the *Conservation Law* (legislating and mandating sagkeeng to enter into a *Sagkeeng Nation and Manitoba Hydro Accord*, which established a licensing process under sagkeeng *jurisdiction*). sagkeeng continued to adopt specific pieces of legislation that gave life and structure to sagkeeng i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*): the *Election Law, Financial and Administration Law, Land and Housing Management Law, Public Administration Law and the Citizenship Law* all of which had first and second reading at the *Sagkeeng Law-Makers Assembly*. sagkeeng maintained throughout this process that i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) encompassed the ability to establish its own agenda for self-determination. The ideas for sovereignty and traditional governance provided a foundation for nation renewal and enabled the community to begin its own healing.

In the past, sagkeeng had no retail industry to speak of. However, a number of significant business start-ups were initiated during the 1990's. The community's economic development commission for example, entered into a partnership arrangement

with the *Northwest Company* to own and manage a food, furniture and sporting goods store. An *Italian* restaurant began operation as well. All were located at the *Sagkeeng Arena Multiplex (an office, recreational and commercial complex)* financed entirely by *sagkeeng*. It was a small step forward!

Further a number of other small businesses (gas bars, cigarette retailers, convenience stores, beauty salons, outfitting and guiding contractors, pulp-cutting and construction contractors) provided employment and improved revenue flow opportunities for the community during this period as well. The community understood that it needed to support the entrepreneurial spirit of its small business entrepreneurs both in terms of capital start-up and new levers for economic change, which included more education, training and funding support. It also realized that regaining control of its economic and decision-making responsibilities provided opportunities for designing its own economic development programs, making its own investment decisions and being accountable to the community-at-large for managing these resources. *sagkeeng* reinforced its commitment to improved business services by providing access to loan and equity capital. I might add at this point that all these decisions were made *in-assembly* and by the *Community Economic Development Commission*.

It is important to note that *sagkeeng* was a major player in negotiations for an employee buy-out of the *Abitibi-Price Pulp and Paper Company* in the mid-1990. However, the community *decided by referendum* to remove itself from negotiations. It did provide opportunities for individual citizens to retain *sagkeeng*'s ten percent holding in the newly created *Pine Falls Paper Company*, which gave them a substantial voice in

the decisions affecting upstream contracts (pulp-cutting, trucking and reforestation contracts) and employment.

During this period of nation renewal and reclamation, sagkeeng made decisions on the premise that education and community economic development were the remedies that would cure the social ills of poverty and underdevelopment. John Kenneth Galbraith (1983)²⁴ spoke to this as well:

Education breaks the accommodation to the culture of poverty, as poverty has a culture all its own. If it has existed for a long period of time, people come to terms with it (Galbraith 17-18).

The community was attempting to break the accommodation to the culture of social assistance and poverty. The *indian act* council recognized that the community was often dealing with 2nd and 3rd generations of families on social assistance. This created an obvious problem because these families would stop struggling against what seemed fairly commonplace. There really is no alternative to a world without education. Our nations understood this and determined long ago that we would have responsible and self-sufficient societies. Cajete (2000) explains that learning was for life's sake and that education was meant to provide the necessary tools for survival. In reality, any *democracy* requires an enlightened (*literate and informed*) population because education eases the task of government. It allows and encourages self-determination and self-expression.

Traditionally, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) provided ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg with a stable political, economic, social, military and spiritual belief structure, one that afforded

²⁴ Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Voice of the Poor. Essays in Economic and Political Persuasion.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1983. Print.

personal security. Many noted economists; Galbraith²⁵ (1983) among them would argue and thus provide support for sagkeeng's belief that this is one of the first requisites for economic success. It is a well-known economic fact that there is no country with a stable, participatory and honest government that does not have satisfactory economic progress.

This correlation between the economic factors and stability in the social and political system was particularly noticeable at sagkeeng. The community as a whole understood that its citizens needed to be engaged in and have ownership of the process to ensure economic and social improvement. One of the first tasks of the economic development commission was to establish a *Commercial Advisory Board* (made up of members from the women, men, youth and elder's councils and senior executives from the Winnipeg and local business/banking community. CAB provided expert opinion and analysis regarding the commercial/economic viability of proposed economic projects); and the *First Peoples' Fund* (the idea and inspiration for the *First Peoples' Fund* were the *Grameen Bank of Bangladesh* (1979) and the *Calmeadow Foundation* (1983)).

The fund was operationalized by Sagkeeng and monies administered and allocated by CAB. The community and its *indian act* council sought to depoliticize the approval and allocation process. Decisions would thus be made on the strength of commercial and economic viability rather than political expediency. CAB assumed responsibility for administering the fund and working out the local operational details in terms of operationalizing the borrowing circle, fund disbursement and monitoring. CAB would also decide upon the financial/lending institution for establishing a line of credit and sagkeeng would provide 25% security for the line of credit. In the event of default, the 25% security provided by sagkeeng would be the first to be utilized.

²⁵ Galbraith 1983.

CAB would also guarantee 50% of the line of credit and the financial/lending institution would absorb the remaining 25%. Once the fund and line of credit were in place, CAB made decisions as to who received credit. The undertaking was as simple as providing loans for the purchase of a new chainsaw, a new set of tools, restaurant equipment, a new sewing machine and even buying paints and supplies for artists and carvers. Loans were offered at commercial rates of interest for a six-to-twelve month term and ranged from \$1000 to \$3000.

sagkeeng understood and believed in regaining control and taking responsibility for its own destiny. It recognized that anishinabe communities have been in the midst of a silent war, instead of soldiers dying, there were children suffering. Instead of thousands wounded, there was massive unemployment. Instead of the destruction of bridges and infrastructure, there was the deliberate abrogation of treaty and *primordial* rights. As sagkeeng attempted to deal with the poverty plunge: the less you have, the less you can do and so the less you have, poverty reared its ugly head time and again. It also saw that half the people being added to this list were children. It is never easy to explain why we allow children to go hungry and never do anything about it.

anishinabe citizens have come to see the position of *indian act* chief as seemingly more contemporary and parochial. Fortunately for myself, I was shown very early that many people were seeking to reestablish the close bond between leadership and themselves. For sagkeeng citizens, leadership was about humility and respect. It seemed I never understood why or how this relationship was severed but accepted the fact that any attempt to reconcile past differences would be undermined by government policies and a dysfunctional political process. Thomas Hueglin (1993) in his discussion of

contemporary leadership writes, “*Political stability was undermined by the divide-and-rule tactics of enforcing an elected council system parallel to the traditional authority*” (Hueglin 19).

There is one moment in particular that stands out because it encapsulated everything that this journey is about. At mid-winter ceremonies in *Mount Pleasant, Michigan* (February 2006) I listened as bawdwaywidun spoke about the political schism that existed between anishinabeg peoples and leadership in today’s volatile and sometimes confusing world. It became apparent that there needed to be clearer understanding of the past and its relationship with the present and future. I sat with bawdwaywidun and asked whether the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) could bridge this divide.

Is our task today to take from the past what has worked and give it a modern application?

Yes, but to educate our own people is a crucial first step.

Would the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy) have relevance today?

The spirit of Tecumtha, Pontiac through the Three Fires and the Midewiwin Lodge is alive and well.

Would it ‘renew and revitalize’ traditional teachings and allow for citizen participation at every opportunity?

To re-educate our people is to re-new, re-vitalize the original people of this part of the world (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication January 5 2007).

One of my first decisions at sagkeeng upon being elected *indian act* chief in 1988 was to host a jeeskahn (*shaking tent*) ceremony to ask for direction. Up until that point in my life I had neither witnessed nor participated in a jeeskahn (*shaking tent*) and I have to admit that it came to be a defining moment in my personal and political life.

The community was full of chatter leading up to the night of the jeeskahn (*shaking tent*). It seemed that the majority of people at sagkeeng were either questioning my motives and the political appropriateness of such a ceremony. There were some who were asking, “*What the hell is he doing?*” There were others I imagine who were eagerly anticipating my complete political collapse. In any event, when the night arrived for the jeeskahn (*shaking tent*) a major thunderstorm developed and it rained so hard that people were soaked after spending a short time outside. I thought, “*Oh, oh! Obviously not a good sign of things to come.*”

Jack Starr (deceased), the elder who was co-hosting the jeeskahn (*shaking tent*) ceremony asked that I go with him to talk to the jeeskahn i-ni-ni (*shaking tent man*). I was quite apprehensive. Upon entering the house, I saw the jeeskahn i-ni-ni (*shaking tent man*) sitting on an old armchair worn-out by years of use. He motioned me to take a chair and sit by him and asked whether I appreciated the significance of the ceremony, I shared that it was still not clear as to what would take place. He then began speaking to the history of the ceremony and reasons for it:

To get some answer you practice the indian methods. You believe in the Great Spirit's giving the power. Your spirit is there. If you want the Spirit of the Great Master, He gives it to you. If you don't want Him, He doesn't give you anything. If you believe in Him, He'll give it to you. That's the ways in life. Ya. You believe it, you fast, and you have to live a certain life for that. You can't be a fool (jeeskahn Ceremony June 1 1988).

He then asked whether the ceremony should take place? This was incredible! The jeeskahn i-ni-ni (*shaking tent man*) was asking me as to whether the ceremony should take place. *What was I going to say?* I looked to Jack Starr and other elders who were present they said nothing. My eyes returned to the jeeskahn i-ni-ni (*shaking tent man*), I

responded quietly and meekly, “*Can we have the ceremony tomorrow night because of the storm?*” He smiled and said, “Keen anish o-gi-ma-wi-win... (*You are the leader!*)”

The next day people came to Jack Starr’s for healing, out of idle curiosity or just to visit. The day was beautifully bright, hot and humid. Those that came for healing brought gifts and the osh-ka-bay-wis (*helper*) set them aside as the jeeskahn i-ni-ni (*shaking tent man*) quietly spoke to each. This preparation for the ceremony and sense of purpose was interesting to watch. As night fell, the ceremony began. The number of people who came to support sagkeeng and its young *indian act* chief was surprising. During the ceremony the makinak (*turtle*), mae-mae-gway-suk (*little people*) and the makwa (*bear*) presented themselves and explained certain things that the community and I were to do. The spirits spoke in a kind and thoughtful way to the rhythm of the chants and drum. Very gently and softly they advised:

As the seasons change you must offer food to the water spirit... this must be done. After this you will bring your people together and speak to the things the community must do. These meetings will last for four days and following this you must feast and dance. The people will speak to what needs to be done. They will be the bright stars that guide you (jeeskahn Ceremony and Personal Communication June 1 1988).

How do you respond to the words of the mi-zhi-ni-way-wahg (spirit messengers)? Your faith and beliefs are challenged because you are listening to a number of voices. However, you can feel their presence and warmth. You can also hear their songs. Their message was gentle yet profound and far-reaching, sagkeeng came together for that one fleeting moment, everyone setting aside years of political and personal animosities to further the common good of the community.

Angel (2002) also makes reference to obwandiac’s visit to the jeeskahn (*shaking tent*). He writes that both Alexander Henry and William Johnston witnessed the

ceremony and what actually took place during obwandiac's visit to the *Great Turtle* as he sought guidance as to whether he should participate and agree to the terms of the *Treaty of Niagara in 1764*:

As various bands of Ojibwa had recently joined Pontiac in opposing the English, wrote Henry, the 'occasion was of too much magnitude not to call for more than human knowledge and discretion; and preparations were accordingly made for solemnly invoking and consulting the GREAT TURTLE. The chief then took a quantity of tobacco and offered it to the spirit before he asked whether the English were preparing to make war on the Ojibway, Ottawa and Potawatomi... the Turtle had visited Fort Niagara, where he had seen no troops, but on proceeding further towards Montreal, the river was covered with boats full of soldiers on their way up the river to make war (Angel 32).

Angel (2002) sees ceremony as a traditional and spiritual method for gaining knowledge.

"The Jiisakiiwin was a form of 'divination' since the object was to gain insight into the future or the unknown through supernatural means" (Angel 32). Central to this was the fundamental understanding that any discussion regarding traditional leadership and governance has at its core spirituality. I think it is important to emphasize that our teachings and the *kitchi-i-nish-way-wi-nan (natural laws)* are rooted in this. You simply cannot have one without the other. Within this narrative we come to the realization that the traditional roles of leadership and governance are defined by these teachings and natural law. I might add that they also define the responsibilities of our citizenship in terms of the *do-daim-mahg (clan system)*. *bawdwaywidun* helps clarify this *idea of responsibility* within the clan system in a very concise way.

We decided that we were going to have a society of responsibility. In order to belong to this clan you would have to do certain things. You had to treat your relatives in a certain way; you had to treat society at large in a certain way. You had to feed the poor, you had to take care of the orphans and provide for the elders (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication September 25 2007).

The question as to how we determined the different layers of responsibilities for

anishinabe thought and ways of thinking is one of the more interesting challenges for this narrative. From the beginning of time, these different layers defined how we would view the world and think of our reality. They also provided us with an understanding as to how we would use our ways of thinking to benefit the well-being of the individual and that of the nation.

During midwinter ceremonies, bawdwaywidun continued sharing his thoughts about this divide and schism that existed in many of our communities. He pointed out that obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk grasped the understanding that we were placed here on this land and were given ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and ni-zhwa-sho-o-nish-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) to help guide our society. neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's bah-wah-ji-gan-nan (*dreams and visions*) and spirit also spoke to this and thus moved obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk to act. As I began to put the pieces of this narrative together and listen to the stories, I saw that these visions and spirit must have been both revealing and obfuscatory to obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk. On the one hand they seemed reliably vivid and real. On the other hand somewhat obscure.

One of the more interesting aspects to this journey was having the opportunity to participate in the planning and organization of two n'swi-ish-ko-day kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) gatherings at *Garden River, Ontario*. The first took place in 1990. This idea of a traditional system of government based on the principles of anishinabe philosophy and natural laws was one I saw as an effective alternative to the contemporary *indian act* council system. During this period, I came to recognize that the ceremonies that helped guide us were important to this. Therefore, how

we think of our reality and our way of being is often woven together by ceremonies, teachings and stories, which are inseparable from the challenges of traditional leadership and the task at hand.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

o-dah-bi-ji-gan
(*The literal and metaphoric sacred bundle*)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(*I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk*)

For the purpose of this dissertation, a literal and metaphoric o-dah-bi-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) is used “to get some answers practicing the indian methods” (jeeskahn-i-ni-ni Personal Communication 1988) and establishes some trust in our ability to o-bah-wah-dahn (*dream and have vision*), listen and learn from the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred stories*); di-ba-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*). It was also important to establish some understanding in how *indian methods*, miskew ah-zha-way-chi-wi-nan (*blood memory*), gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-win-nah-nan (*teachings*) and manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*)²⁶ are used in the transfer of knowledge within the context of this narrative. Therefore, much care was taken in terms of how these stories and ceremonies are shared because of their intimacy.

There are two layers to the literal and metaphoric o-dah-bi-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) and *indian method*. The first layer speaks to our creation, our sacred, personal and moral stories that describe our beginning, ideas and experiences. It describes how our teachings

²⁶ jeeskahn-nan (shake tents), mah-dood-sahn-nan (sweat lodges) and ma-kah-day-kay-wi-nan (vision quests).

and ceremonies help us understand and learn. This first layer was important in understanding neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's messages and spiritual bah-wah-ji-gah-nahn (*visions*). Both the message and vision had at their core the ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*), ni-zhwa-sho-i-nish-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) and anishinabe i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*).

The midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) and other ceremonies were helpful to me throughout this journey because they established a second layer of knowing, which focused on the spiritual expression of anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*). This spiritual way of learning and sharing helped define principles of traditional anishinabe leadership and governance and moved obwandiac (1763), tecumtha and shingwauk (1812) to *make things right*. They also provided the ceremonial and academic focus for this narrative, which enabled me to observe, look, see and witness the world in a certain way.

This second layer also established how we use these spiritual ways of thinking to gain insight and knowledge. The *sacred bundle* and *indian methods* help bring focus and clarity to the traditional concept of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*), which in bawdwaywidun's mind helps us "*understand and focus with both heart and mind to come to this anishinabe understanding*" (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication February 12 2006). In bringing heart and mind together, this spiritual centre helps draw a picture of how we lived, how we continue to live today and will live in the future and lets us know that both layers ground this story in our creation, our sacred and moral stories, ceremony,

tradition and experience. Simply stated, it speaks to our anishinabeness (an expression of our spirituality, language, songs, dreams and ceremonies) and shows how we can teach by telling a story!

In coming to see the relevance of the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and sacred stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*) we see that they are predicated on an experience specific to a particular place on earth and specific viewpoint. These stories are helpful in describing how a nation of people came to be and how they were situated in their landscape. This is embodied in the o-dah-bi-ji-gan (*sacred bundle*) in a very organic way.

neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's dream-fast experience and vision was a reality that moved people to challenge the colonial hegemony of the day. obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's political and military articulation of this spiritual experience and vision was transformative in and of itself. These five men changed the course of history on manitou aki (*Creator's land*).

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid
(How we use our way of thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk) (*I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk*)

Gregory Cajete (2000) provides interesting commentary regarding a-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of thinking and methodology*) and our *indian method*. He suggests that anishinabe-focused methodology is about our “*direct*

experience, interconnectedness, relationship, holism, quality and value. Its definition is based on its own merits, conceptual framework and practice.” (Cajete, 66) His concepts helped establish a framework for this narrative in terms of anishinabe *i-nah-di-zi-win* (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and *nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win* (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) both of which provided a unique ability to gain more knowledge and better understanding about our present reality and relationship with spirituality, which he describes:²⁷

(As) a set of core beliefs in the sanctity of personal and community relationships to the natural world, which are creatively acted upon and expressed at both the personal and communal levels (Cajete 14).

Cajete (2000) distinguished some very insightful approaches using spirituality for direction. I have taken a number of these approaches and made them my own using anishinabemowin concepts to clarify my personal observation and understanding of ceremonies, dream-time and importance in coming together. His analysis of education vis-à-vis community participation; traditional environmental knowledge; visions; dreams; traditions and spirituality were quite helpful. For me they are important in understanding a truly anishinabe-focused methodology. They also enabled me *to look, see and witness* my “*direct experiences, interconnectedness and relationship*” with the world around me.

*anishinabe-focused methodology begins with and is grounded by **gi-ki-nah-wah-bi** (to see and observation) of the healing processes and the ecology of nature, which helps us establish **i-ni-tah-go-si** (spiritual understanding and to sound good) and meaningful relationship of our responsibilities to the spirit of the earth; in developing this spiritual understanding, the importance of **mah-wahn-ji-di-wag** (coming together), on order and harmony and the acceptance of our diversity and chaos as creators of reality are shown us. Through all of this we come to some*

²⁷ Immanuel Kant for one in *Was Heisst Aufklärung* (1784) asked the most basic of questions with respect to present reality. He asked: *What is going on here? What is happening to us?* Similarly, Foucault questioned the soul of mankind’s reality: *What is this world, this period, this precise moment in which we are living? Both Kant and Foucault attempt to focus on understanding the true meaning of bi-mah-di-si-win (life).*

understanding that the transfer of knowledge is made in our gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-win-nan (teachings), manitou kay-win-nan (ceremonies) and i-nah-bayn-dam (dreaming and to think in a certain way), which are a natural and spiritual means for accessing knowledge and are communicated to us at many different levels. With the help of kitchi anishinabeg (elders) as carriers of anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (traditional knowledge), wisdom and experience, we are deliberate in our search to find mino bi-mah-di-si-win (good life), the predetermined activities of learning as a means for accessing knowledge and of learning as a means for finding the red road, our dream time and the o-paw-gun (pipe) way (Cajete 69-71).

NOTE: The anishinabe terms, midewiwin ceremonies and references applied to Cajete's methodological elements are mine.

Cajete (2000) believes that learning was for life's sake and that education was meant to provide the necessary tools for survival. Elmer Courchene in one of our personal conversations tells us, "*the earth teaches and shows us the way.*" Our manitou kay-win-nan (ceremonies) and gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-win-nan (teachings) open the door to be active participants in the natural processes of learning. It is important to remember that these anishinabe-focused approaches represent the spiritual articles of the o-dah-bi-ji-gan (sacred bundle) that are used throughout this narrative and in the sharing of these stories, which was not taken lightly.

Throughout this journey, there has been a commitment to honour and respect anishinabe protocols and *to do the right thing*. The ceremonies and personal visits provided an opportunity to establish relationships based on trust and friendship. Over the last several years, many stories have been shared and personal visits made with bawdwaywidun banaise (Lac Courte Oreilles, Wisconsin), Charlie Nelson (Roseau River, Manitoba), Chief Lyle Sayers (Garden River, Ontario), Darrell Boissoneau (Garden River), Betty-Lou and Lana Grawbarger, Doreen Lesage and Dan Pine Jr. (Garden River), Fred Kelly (Onegaming, Ontario), Patricia and Norman (deceased) Shawano (Kettle Point, Ontario), William Johnston (Mount Pleasant, Michigan), Beatrice

Menase’Kwe Jackson (*Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians, Michigan*) and other anishinabe knowledge keepers regarding the importance of leadership and governance within a traditional and contemporary context. Many of these stories have been about obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) others have focused on traditions, teachings, ceremonies and anishinabe gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*).

Fabian Morrisseau, Elmer Courchene, the late tobasonakwut kinew (*onegaming, Ontario*) and Rene Spence, (*sagkeeng, Manitoba*) also provided me the opportunity to experience and participate in numerous ceremonies during this period. The use of anishinabe-grounded ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers, our methodology*) to explore the traditional leadership of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk; traditional governance from the standpoint of the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) is an interesting first attempt to practice *indian methods* for learning and research. *How else does one explore the use of manitou-kay-wi-nan (ceremonies); ma-kah-day-kay-win-nan (vision quests); jeeskahn-nan (shaking tents); mah-dood-sahn-nan (sweat lodges) and traditional protocols in transferring knowledge about our creation stories, sacred, personal and moral experiences, our teachings and oral history in a respectful way?* They give order and substance to our reality and explain why we are here and how we came to look, see and witness our world from this place. “*To get some answer you practice the indian methods...*” (jeeskahn i-ni-ni personal communication June 1 1988).

This narrative uses the *indian methods* and anishinabe ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) to capture the stories of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk. For me this approach was introspective and helpful because it described the real meaning of nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and ontology*) from a truly anishinabe perspective. People might question its appropriateness and ask why it is important to apply this approach in understanding these terms and their relation to the stories shared. The challenge facing this narrative and approach used is the inclusion and acceptance of anishinabe cosmology and our ways of knowing within a western academic paradigm.

I had some concern using Francis Parkman (2012), Howard Peckham (1947) and other archival sources²⁸ such as letters, communiqués, written accounts, speeches of *military officers, colonial administrators, indian superintendents and agents*, letters and journals of *traders and captives* (*Stephen Ruddell, John Tanner among others*) because they were notorious for their *Eurocentric* bias and predisposition to *prehistoric myth*. However, there were times I was able to peel away their *Eurocentric* bias and thus found them helpful.

Also, Gregory Evans Dowd (2000) makes the point that Parkman and Peckham relied too heavily on George Croghan²⁹ for their commentary. He makes some reference to the belief that there were other forces and individuals responsible for the planning and organizing of the resistance movement in 1763, he writes that “*the two most prominent of*

²⁸ Newberry Library (Chicago).

²⁹ indian agent and father-in-law of Joseph Brant.

the Senecas who carried the war belt to Detroit, Kiashuta and Tahaiadoris... ” (Ibid 258).

Peckham, like Parkman, leans on evidence provided ultimately by an English trader, in this case George Croghan. Peckham also points to the Indian claim that symbolic “war belts” circulating among the tribes immediately before the outbreak of war, originated with the French in Illinois (Dowd 257).

For whatever the reason there is reluctance by historians to accept the role and commanding presence that obwandiac and the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) had in “*the origin of the plot*”. However, because of the chronology of events and the oral history shared it is obvious that obwandiac the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) were certainly the architects of what would take place.

Buff (1995) makes an important contribution to this discussion, by pointing out that “*The historian confronts an apparently insoluble dilemma: to analyze past struggles and avoid replicating the assumptions of colonial writing*” (Buff 280). Therefore, the *Eurocentric* notions about the sacred relationship between our nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we think about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) are often misconstrued or ignored. For the purpose of this narrative they help establish a spiritual foundation for the stories and ceremonies shared.

Gayatri Spivak and Ranajit Guha’s use of the term *subaltern* in Buff’s article (1995) is particularly helpful to this discussion because it speaks to some of the challenges experienced by those outside of the traditional colonial hegemonic power structure.³⁰

³⁰ The idea of subaltern speaks to Gramsci’s term for those outside of the structures for political representation and describes a “history told from below.”

As Gayatri Spivak and Ranajit Guha have noted historians cannot recover the past subaltern consciousness. The available sources reflect the perspective of colonialists whose writings inevitably sought to obliterate the existence and memory of oppositional consciousness; the latter can never be fully recreated in the narratives that emerge from even such rich sources as the Draper Manuscripts, the font from which most writings about Tecumseh and Tenskawatawa derive their source (Buff 280).

Written accounts and testimonies from *indian agents, military and colonial personnel* and other witnesses provide the viewpoint of colonial power and control. Their observations are about controlling the substance of the story as well as its outcome. *anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (how we think about our reality and epistemology)* on the other hand seeks to embody all of our truth and *anishinabe-way* of thinking.

This narrative uses *ah-di-so-kah-nahg (traditional and spiritual stories)*, *di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (stories of personal experience and reminiscences)*, *ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (moral stories)* and *gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (teachings)* to describe *anishinabe* reality from the beginning of time. When the stories of *obwandiac, tecumtha* and *shingwauk* are shared within this context, we tend to see them through a different lens in terms of who these men were and how they came to be.

Given Buff's earlier commentary it is not surprising that the historical accounts and interpretations provided by scholars and academics were often based on their own cultural and *Eurocentric* biases. Obviously, this perception affects much of the work done during different periods. Buff's reference to Susan Hegemon (1989) also helps us understand the dynamics that take place within this world. Hegemon points out that written history about the *anishinabe* people fall into two categories: the first of which embraces our uniqueness and the other, which deliberately minimizes our place in the world:

Critics of historiography (who) tend to fall into two groups... one that affirms the uniqueness of the Indian experience and a second that tends to minimize cultural differences between Euroamericans and American Indians, maintaining that even such nontraditional texts as “prehistoric myths” maybe considered as historical information, organized by interpretive schemas (Buff 280).

Buff (1995) writes, “*Hegemon describes historiography as caught between essentialism and humanism*” (Buff 281). This would suggest that the lack of communication and differences between the anishinabe and *Euroamerican* nations made the understanding of these cultural schisms next to impossible.³¹ This narrative on the other hand seeks to address these differences and put our history in its proper context.

The stories of obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and their influence within the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) told by their family are uniquely anishinabe. Their stories often describe the discursive and absolute power of the anishinabe nations during this period. In western terms political, cultural and military movements helped “*issues concerning subaltern consciousness*³² and *historiographical*³³ perceptions.”

All of these stories and correspondence during this period show that the colonial authorities were obviously concerned with the military strength of the anishinabe nations. In a letter to William Eustis, *Secretary of War (1807-1813)*, William Henry Harrison writes:

The mind of a savage is so constructed that he cannot be at rest, he cannot be happy unless it is acted upon by some strong stimulus that which is produced by war is the only one that is sufficiently powerful to fill up the intervals of the chase if he hunts in the winter he must go to war in the summer, and you may rest assured

³¹ This comes to light particularly with the notions of ownership, property and rights as referenced in the treaties.

³² Gramsci used it to describe colonized peoples who were politically, socially, culturally and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure.

³³ Historiography is organized chronologically; focused on a coherent story and is descriptive rather than analytical on people rather than abstract circumstances.

Sir, that the establishment of tranquility between the neighbouring tribes will always be a sure indication of war against us (William Henry Harrison Letter to William Eustis Secretary of War August 28 1810).³⁴

Harrison also sends letters to tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau attempting to establish some credibility for the *United States* in its dialogue and relationship building with anishinabe nations. In all of his correspondence, he makes several references to his role as a trusting intermediary between the council of the “*seventeen fires*” (*United States*) and n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

Your Father the president will be much pleased when he hears your determination to consider his protection and to shut your ears against the bad talks of the people on the other side of the great lakes and I shall take care to express to him my belief in your sincerity. But I must candidly inform you that it is his positive determination in any case of the Tribes who became his children at the Treaty of Greenville should lift up the Tomahawk against him then he will never again make peace as long as there is one of the Tribe on this side of the Lake (William Henry Harrison Letter to lau-lau-we-see-kau July 6 1808).

The tone of the relationship between the *United States*, *Great Britain* and the anishinabe nations begins to change considerably during this period. For example, Jacob de Marsac (*First Sergeant*) uses the term “*father*” for the first time while delivering *17 belts of wampum* to the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) at *Michilmackinac* on the 27th day of boo-poo-ga-may gii-zhis (*broken snowshoe moon-April 27*) in 1760. It is also the first time *Great Britain* suggests that it wished to adopt anishinabe peoples as children “*instead of brothers as they have hitherto been...*” The use of the term itself was an attempt by the *British* to take a superior position in its relationship with anishinabe communities and nations.

For anishinabe leadership the use of the term was contrary to the diplomatic traditions and nation-to-nation relationships established within the *middle ground* and

³⁴ The majority of Harrison’s letters are taken from Logan Esary, ed. *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1922), vol. II, p. 471.

treaty councils. Each saw the other in the context of family either as an *uncle* or *brother*. It should be emphasized that an *uncle* was not a dominating figure. A *brother* was seen as an equal and was obligated to help the other. Therefore, the use of the term *father* was certainly not indicative of what happened in the past, however it would establish new political and diplomatic parameters for what would take place in the future.

It was not surprising that o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) in attendance did not respond to the term. In fact, it was left to Captains Thomas Morris, Jonat Roger and Frank Tew, John Schau and Ensigns, Thomas Yeomans Elliot and James Howatson, of the 17th Regular Army to respond by letter to Charles Langlade accepting and acknowledging the use of the term “*father*”.

We thank you for the good news you bring us, and we accept the belt of our Father, whom we receive for our own true Father. We thank our new Father for the kindness he expresses towards us, so don't you forget to tell our Father at Detroit that we are obliged to him on account of the pity he shews towards us, our wives and children. We have already thanked our Father at Michilmackinac (Captains Thomas Morris, Jonat Roger and Frank Tew, John Schau and Ensigns, Thomas Yeomans Elliot and James Howatson Letter to Charles Langlade June 10 1763).

We see as well that colonial correspondence during this period was “*guided by Euroamerican notions of law, order and clarity,*”³⁵ which pointed to the obvious threat these *Euroamerican* nations posed to anishinabe territory, Further, these letters provided a detailed and accurate chronology of events and Buff (1995) adds that they were indicative of two things:

First, there was the fear of ‘seduction’ by the British, borne out by Tecumseh’s alliance with General Isaac Brock during the War of 1812... Second, Harrison, as the representative of an ascendant colonial power, needed to enforce American rule on the newly acquired Louisiana territory. Third, and most important in writing subaltern history, what were the Americans, led by Harrison, trying to control (Buff 287).

³⁵ Rachel Buff. Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa: Myth, Historiography and Popular Memory. Historical Reflections. Vol 21, No.2 1995.

Within this narrative, there is a conscious effort to address the biased inaccuracies of colonial administrators and historians alike by grounding its analysis in our sacred, moral and personal stories, ceremonies and unique perspective. These stories provide contrast and balance to the observations of *military, colonial administrators, indian superintendents, agents...* such as William Henry Harrison (*an enemy of tecumtha*), George Croghan and William Johnson³⁶ who provided some of the only written accounts of obwandiac and tecumtha's speeches. Further many of the gatherings; negotiations and battles that took place were described from the viewpoint of these same individuals. These stories were at times biased and murky.

Secondary sources (*eighteenth and nineteenth century biographies*) draw on these same references. Francis Jennings (2010) for example, challenges the notion of *American exceptionalism* in the literary and historical work of people like Gregory Evans Dowd, John Sugden, and Benjamin Drake³⁷ interesting and supportive. He suggests that Francis Parkman and Howard Peckham perpetuated this idea that the *United States* had a specific mission to spread liberty and democracy. Timothy Mitchell also characterized these writings as "*the colonial gaze.*"³⁸ Both Jennings and Mitchell certainly provided a different perspective and analysis of what had been written.

Regardless of the damage caused by the trauma of losing one's land and other historical injustices, the historical memory of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's

³⁶ A collection of 12 letters written by William Johnson, the military commander during the French-Indian Wars and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He played a significant role in the colonial history from New York westward. This correspondence relates to the French-Indian War; Indian Treaties and Conferences; the Conestoga Massacre (1763) and the appointment of Johnson's successor.

³⁷ Benjamin Drake was involved in William Henry Harrison's successful presidential campaign and the publication of his biography on tecumtha coincided with Harrison's run for the presidency of the United States. 1755-1773.

³⁸ Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*. New York. (3-17) 1988.

political, cultural and military movements remain firmly rooted within our history and stories. This is their legacy.

One of the more interesting aspects to this narrative is its use and confidence in the *indian methods* and our stories that challenge the biases of the colonial, post-colonial writings and “*social and economic forces of a positivist social science*” and also its belief in the idea of the anishinabe subaltern consciousness (Buff 282) I initially envisioned this dissertation as an opportunity to share our story and be able to describe the differences in our world-view and truth. Often this approach provides commentary that is contrary to the logic of western academic approaches.

obwandiac and neolin, tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau spoke of what they believed to be true within their geopolitical understanding and spiritual visions that challenged the *Euroamerican* community and colonial hegemonic structure. The idea of a federation of anishinabe nations was a powerful and moving concept. It was a re-imagination of what had been and could be again. Interestingly, because of the cultural and national differences, *Euroamerican* peoples could not even begin to comprehend the re-emergence of a national identity and movement. It made for interesting politics for sure.

Both leaders were able to articulate a political, military and economic position to neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau’s spiritual vision. The pan-anishinabe vision was their response and counter-narrative to the crisis caused by colonization. obwandiac and tecumtha knew that in spite of differences defined by politics, language, kinship and geography, anishinabe peoples were bound together by the same past and present.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse’s acknowledgement of the spiritual basis for political Indian resistance in the Ghost Dance, Tecumseh’s Indian federation, and Pontiac’s

*rebellion provides a good example of the historiographical use of strategic essentialism (Buff 284).*³⁹

More importantly, these stories still resonate with the families of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk. Therefore, obwandiac and neolin, tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau's re-imagining of the past and present was grounded by a truly unique anishinabe world-view perspective. Buff (1995) points out that lau-lau-we-see-kau suggested to William Henry Harrison in 1808 that *Euroamerican* and anishinabe nations had to respect the sovereign and cultural integrity of each other. This was the essence of the vision in 1763 and 1812.

That we ought to consider ourselves as one man; but we ought to live agreeable to our several customs, the red people after their mode, and the white people after theirs...those Indians were once different people; they are now but one; they are all determined to practice what I have communicated to them, that has come immediately from the Great Spirit through me (Buff 283).

neolin⁴⁰ and lau-lau-we-see-kau were able move freely between these two realities (material and spiritual). Their visions were embodied in the resistance movements of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk. They understood the necessity of protecting and maintaining the anishinabe world in which land and everything in creation was to be treated with respect. When they spoke of protecting and maintaining the anishinabe world, they were talking about the importance of anishinabe values and order of life. This world-view, our conception of reality and what is taught us is rooted in our "*direct experiences, interconnectedness and relationship*" with the world around us. The use of *indian methods* and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*How we use our way of thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) focuses on our families, communities, ceremonies, languages and the transmission of our nah-nah-

³⁹ Buff credits Pieterse with establishing the fundamental epistemological difference between anishinabe values and contemporary western concepts including differences between the spiritual and material. Pieterse also speaks of these differences in anishinabe history and consciousness.

⁴⁰ The enlightened.

gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we think about our reality and epistemology*) or world-view (*the conception of our reality and the unseen world of the spirit*) and quite often this approach provides commentary that is contrary to the logic of western academic approaches.

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win
(How we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

Epistemology from a western academic point of view looks at theories of knowledge to explain human reality. I have been shown in ceremony that knowledge is gifted through actual experience, stories, songs, ceremonies, dreams and observation. I have come to understand as well that anishinabe knowledge is often transformative in terms of personal catharsis, healing and renewal.

obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk were familiar with this because of what they believed the anishinabe core values and teachings to be. At many of the ceremonies, bawdwaywidun continues to speak to this idea of nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we think about our reality and epistemology*) and anishinabe society from within the traditional construct of our creation story:

When the earth was young, our ancestors knew that we must have a society of responsibility. In order to belong to this society, they knew we would have to accept responsibility for certain things. That we would have to treat our relatives and others within our nation with respect. That we would have to feed the poor, take

care of orphans and provide for the elders. This was our soul (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication September 25 2007).

The focus on our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*), di-ba-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*) and gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-win-nan (*teachings*) are important to what is shared about obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk within this narrative. This represents one layer of how we come to think about our reality, this way of being and how we use this way of thinking to understand our place in this world. The elders suggest as much. As Wilson (2008) writes, “*Indigenous epistemology is our cultures, our world-views, our times, our languages, our histories, our spiritualities and our places in the cosmos*” (Wilson 74).

neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau believed this truth.

mii i’i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii’iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

i-nah-di-zi-win
(Our way of being and way of life and ontology)

ni’ o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g’dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

a-si-go-min-o’ma a-keeng (*we were placed here on this land*)! This is how we have come to know who we are, where we originated and how we fit into this world. More importantly it describes how we should respect our relationship to all living things and manitou a-keeng (*Creator’s land*). This is our way of being and reality!

For example, kah-ge-ga-gah-boh (2002) suggests one’s actions were controlled to some extent by the threat of censorship of the community and nation in *The Traditional*

History and Characteristic Sketches of Ojibway Nation), he writes:

Among the Indians there have been no written laws. Customs handed down from generation to generation have been the only laws to guide them. Every one might act differently from what was considered right did he choose to do so, but such acts would bring upon him the censure of the Nation. This fear of the Nation's censure acted as a mighty band, binding all in one the social, honorable compact (Copway 1850).

This was continually shown to me throughout my journey and my time at *sagkeeng*. In fact, I am forever grateful to these three elders for taking time from their busy lives and families to look after me during for my vision quest at *Onegaming*. I am thankful to *tobasonakwut* (deceased) who travelled with me to *Crowdog's Paradise* at the *Rosebud Indian Reservation* in *South Dakota* to *sun dance*, to *pierce* and *suffer* in a sacred way. The sacred ceremonies of the sweat lodge, vision quest, sun dance and *midewigun* (*grand medicine lodge*) have connected us to each other, kept our families, communities and nations together and preserved a way of life.

Early one morning, Fabian Morrisseau, Elmer Courchene and the late Rene Spence came to visit and told me to meet them at onegaming, Ontario, which was a six-or-seven hour drive from sagkeeng. At the time, I thought the request was unreasonable given the fact we were preparing for our summer national assembly, there were citizens to meet, financial and reports to be reviewed and so on. Taking an overnight trip was definitely not something that I could easily do. In any event, they indicated that it was important that I meet them at tobasonakwut kinew's place by early evening. I asked what was so urgent that I drop everything to travel to Onegaming. They said nothing.

I asked my younger brother Vince if he would mind traveling with me for what I thought was a meeting with either the Onegaming or Treaty 3 leadership. I was happy that he agreed to travel and share the driving with me. We were accompanied on the ride by an incredibly blue sky with not a cloud in sight. The air and heat felt thick. We arrived at tobasonakwut's place in the late afternoon. Both Vince and I thought that we had missed the meeting as we noticed only Fabian, Elmer, Rene and tobasonakwut were there. We apologized for being late. They greeted us with hugs and tobasonakwut expressed gratitude for our visit.

*There was small talk and laughter during this time. tobasonakwut motioned for me to join him as he was preparing dinner. He asked whether I knew anything about *bah-wah-ji-gay-wi-nan* (dreams) and the *ma-kah-day-kay-win* (vision quest) ceremonies and whether I had a pipe. I indicated all I knew was what I had read*

and from what I learned from talking to some people who had completed their vision quest. I also indicated that I did not have a pipe. tobasonakwut then asked each of us to assist him with placing the food on a star blanket that lay on the floor. We gave thanks for our safe journey and the food we were about to share.

A pipe was then given me and it was explained that I would begin the ma-kah-day-kay-win (vision quest) ceremony at sunset. I was then shown how to prepare for prayers and the ceremony itself. The next few hours were spent talking about what would take place during the next few days. It was a humbling and emotional experience to be told that I was doing this in part for the citizens of sagkeeng⁴¹ (Ceremony and Personal Reflection 1988).

This ceremony was humbling because it took me to the most unusual places physically, emotionally and spiritually. At the end of it all, the *vision quest* and the experience I gained from it provided me a different understanding as to how we learn about truth. Although, much of this was at an unconscious level it did reinforce my own perceptions of reality. We have to recognize that these experiences and ceremonies are about our personal story and that our participation in ceremony enables us to acquire a different outlook, a *spiritual* direction so to speak. These same ceremonies also enable us to “*observe, understand, come together and dream in a certain way.*”

“*To get some answers practicing the indian methods*” and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*How we use our way of thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) also describes how the concept of blood-memory remains the center of the anishinabe world, a strong thread that ties us to our ancestors, to the earth and to our deep spiritual beliefs. Our elders tell us about our innate ability to understand and absorb anishinabe values that have been with us since the beginning of time and are often shared in ceremonies, songs and anishinabemowin. More importantly, teach us “*You do not know where you are going unless you know where you came from.*”

This discussion provides me the *indian methods* and focus to explore questions in

⁴¹ Vision quest and shared di-bah-ji-mo-win (stories of personal experience and reminiscences).

terms of *what is meaning of traditional leadership? What is the essence of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (Three Fires Confederacy) traditional structure and clan system in relation to traditional governance, self-determination and sovereignty?*

*mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (This is the anishinabe way)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (This is as much as I know and have heard)*

Chapter 3

**gah-o-mah-mah-wahn-dah-wi-zid gah-ki-nah-ge-goo
ji-gi-kayn-dah-so-a-keeng...**

(A prophet is someone who has a completed view of the world...)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiabun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiabun, tecumtha and shingwauk)

This chapter discusses the idea of traditional and hereditary leadership and describes how it traditionally ensured the well-being of all people rather than just a few. It was expected that men and women who had gained a reputation for looking out for the best interests of the people would assume and provide leadership. Traditionally, each extended clan would appoint a headman who would serve as a “civil or war” o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) depending on circumstance. To anishinabe people, the o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) was expected to be a father figure and protector. On a personal note, upon being elected to my first term as *indian act* chief, an elder quietly advised me:

You are father to many children and you must understand that you should treat each of your children equally. You will have spoiled children who are louder than others, quiet and shy children. There will be children that will be selfish, others that will be kind and generous. Remember to be gentle and stern when you need to be (sagkeeng elder Personal Communication May 10 1987).

In terms of this narrative and its focus on the concept of traditional leadership, I came to admire the fact that anishinabe society produced leaders who showed respect for their people and sought balance and harmony in the community. Traditional anishinabe society allowed and encouraged this. In the past, factional strife over any issue was a rarity as all matters of community and national concern were respectfully discussed in assembly. During these debates, the o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*)

were expected to listen and negotiate in the best interest of and on behalf of their people, they were expected to be fair-minded, respectful and have the ability to maintain a balance of power amongst the leading anishinabe leadership. This was the traditional nature of anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win and society.

Traditional leadership is an interesting and complex concept. However, obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's leadership styles help provide some understanding regarding the nature of traditional responsibilities. Michael Angel (2002) certainly put forward this subtle nuance of leadership and power:

While individuals received special powers, the communal nature of Ojibwa societies meant these powers would normally be used to contribute to the welfare of the band in general. Thus, it was natural that individuals who had received considerable power through Midewiwin ceremonies would also be seen as people with socio-political power. It is no surprise, then, that Ojibwa political leaders such as Eshkebugecoshe (Flat Mouth), Pizhiki (Buffalo), Shingwaukonse (Little Pine), Powasang (Powassan), Mawedopenais, and Ogimaakaaniwinini (Chief Man) were also high-ranking Mideg, since the survival of the community depended upon the ability of these leaders to deal with the environmental and political challenges that faced them (Angel 13).

The Grand Council Treaty Three (2001)⁴² that takes in *northwestern Ontario* and the southeast portion of *Manitoba (including the north shore of sagkeeng)* provides an interesting analysis and commentary regarding nittum⁴³ (*makwa*) because of his influence within the region and *Northwest Company*:

Uncommon man, great was his sagacity and conduct that he attained a reputation for bravery, activity and prudence in council, as well as for the decision of character evinced in all the vicissitudes of a busy and perilous career, which extended beyond the region of Rainy Lake, and elevated him above the surrounding warriors and politicians. So great was the veneration in which he was held that the agents of the Northwest Company took especial pains to conciliate his favour while living, and to honour his remains after death. The scaffold, upon which his body was deposited, was conspicuously elevated (Grand Council Treaty Three 5).

⁴² Waisberg, Leo and Holzkamm, Tim. *We Have One Mind and One Mouth; It is the Decision of All of Us Grand Council Treaty Three*. 2001. Print.

⁴³ nittum (the first or leading).

Traditional anishinabe leadership has always been guided by their spirituality and vision. In fact, tecumtha's advancement and vision of a sovereign anishinabe state based on a federal union of anishinabe nations was the outcome of at least two generations of persistent pan-anishinabe activism and resistance that drew upon traditions and networks of intertribal relations that had been vibrant throughout and reached back into the past beyond the time of neolin and obwandiac.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

o-gi-ma-wi-win
(*Traditional leadership and to be esteemed*)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)
(*I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk*)

Anton Treuer's (2011) interpretation of the term o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) helps this narrative explore the meaning and responsibilities of anishinabe leadership from the perspective of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk.

The Ojibway word for leadership-ogimaawiwini-literally means, 'to be esteemed' or 'held to high principle'. It comes from the morpheme ogi, meaning 'high' found in other Ojibwe words such as ogichidaa (warrior), ogidakamig (on top of the earth), and ogidaaki (hilltop)⁴⁴ (Treuer 14).

The idea of traditional leadership became very interesting to me during my tenure as *indian act* chief and I was also very fortunate to recognize that a political schism existed between the people of sagkeeng and their elected representatives. This separation was quite evident at sagkeeng as the relationship between the people and position of *indian*

⁴⁴ Treuer, Anton. *The Assassination of Hole in the Day*. St. Paul, Minnesota: Borealis Books. 2011. Print.

act chief was fraught with mistrust and lack of mutual accountability.

obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk understood that anishinabe survival was dependent upon being free from *Euroamerican* colonial influence. They saw this as central to reclaiming and restating political and anishinabe sovereignty. To achieve this they recognized that a highly organized n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nation (sac, fox, miami, menominee, seneca, lenape-anishinabeg) federation was essential. Henry Schoolcraft (1997) recognizes that the leadership of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk during these periods was unparalleled. They came to represent the essence of traditional leadership with respect to their resolve, vision and passion. Within the anishinabe universe, obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk were the stars, neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau were the moon.

bawdwaywidun tells us that the clan system was important to defining leadership and societal responsibilities in terms of treating society-at-large in a certain way. He describes how the clan system was really about having a responsible society. In his eyes, the do-daim-mag (*clan system*) was important because of its focus on respect and order. The “*ah-ji-jawk (crane), mahng (loon), gi-goon (fish), mu-kwa (bear), wa-bi-zha-shi (martin), wa-wa-shesh-she (deer) and be-nays (bird)*” (bawdwaywidun banaise, 74) served as figureheads for the original do-daim-mahg (*clan system*).

Traditional anishinabe leadership held no formal authority or power as such because they personified both parent and protector ideals. More importantly, they were expected to be fair-minded and generous in their relationship with the people. In political and external matters of the nation they were also expected to have the ability to maintain

a balance of power amongst leading ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn-nahg (*hereditary leaders*), o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) and ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*military leader*). mack-a-da-ming-giss-was (*Black Eagle*) (1990) makes an interesting distinction with respect to the peace and war an-o-gon-sit (*war leaders*):

A very long time ago there was darkness, and in this darkness there were good and bad spirits. There was an old Anishinaayba named A-nim-aki (Thunder) who started to gather the Good Spirits to fight the Bad Spirits. The fighting between good and bad went on, and goes on to this day-even within us. He then explained to me that 'War Chief' does not mean that I should take up a gun or rifle or hatchet. What it means is that I should try as hard as possible to do good things to counter the bad. 'This,' he said, 'is what Peace and War Chief means to us in our way of life' (Shomin 51).

As well, gender was not a factor in determining leadership responsibilities. Consider that women's councils also had input on decisions concerning warfare and other weighty decisions such as moving a village were made by the women's council alone. The women would enforce these decisions over the protests of the men. Further, the men would often consult with the women prior to council meetings. For example, men or women's councils could support the actions of small war parties. However, when war was of an international concern and undertaken by the nation, the deliberations were often more formal, balancing the advantages or inconveniences that would arise from the act of war.

For example, shortly after the war in 1812, as negotiations between the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn were being planned at *Sault Ste. Marie (Michigan)* it was o-zha-gash-ko-de-wi-kwe (*wife of John Johnston*), the daughter of wa-bo-jig (*a La Pointe o-gi-ma-wi-win*) who issued a call for the o-gi-ma-wi-win to meet in assembly to discuss peace provisions. Therefore, the role and advice of women was always of highest order and expected. As such, nothing could take place without their involvement and participation.

The Grandmother's Council within the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) was and is still responsible for specific teachings. It was expected for example that the Grandmother's Council detail the responsibilities of and describe the reasons for the existence of the clans and the roles of women and men within their society. The Grandmother's Council at one of their meetings at *Pshawbetown, Michigan* (2007) shares:

We are taught and shown that everything has a spirit. Is important to know that anishinabemowin is one of the most fundamental aspects of our spirituality. When you sound your anishinabe name, the spirit will recognize and identify you as such. The clan system is about life. The seventh-fire prophecy tells us that a new people would return and look for what was left for them. One of our responsibilities as anishinabe peoples is to prepare and put in place everything for the people of the eight-generation to follow. The spirits of the children will listen and remember, this will nourish them and give them strength to do their work.

This is a good time remember all our relatives. Nimindaywaymagedog aki. All of us are related and come from the earth. Autumn is the time our Mother puts on her most beautiful dress. She provides for all her children, relatives of every kind. Harvest is upon us (Beatrice Jackson Personal Communication June 15 2007).

From these teachings we come to an understanding that within this vast wah-wi-yah-kah-mig (*universe*), manitou aki (*Creator's land*) celebrates and shows us what to do. "*We are shown and taught that she dances before it is time to rest and that during this time we celebrate and give thanks; feast all our clans, relatives and ancestors*" (Beatrice Jackson Personal Communication, June 15 2007). These notions of family and relationship teach us that it is important to give and receive. The Women and Grandmother's Councils also provide leadership responsibilities for education and defining the economic needs of the communities and nations. These councils are also expected to interpret and keep balance within the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*).

The Grandmother's Council reminds us that our anishinabeness and humanity define our responsibilities to our clan family and that we must always honour the animal

that stood up and gave us our skills and knowledge. They also teach us that we must think of our relatives and clans as we eat and feast because they too receive and are nourished at this time. This is leadership in its most spiritual and simple form.

We hear this time and again in many of our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*reminiscences-stories of personal experience*) that certain leaders possessed special gifts. For example, tecumtha was seen as having a special spiritual and sacred power. To his credit, Sugden (1997) acknowledges that the “*Shawnees were impressed by Tecumseh’s bravery and skill, and from his success they deduced that his guardian spirits, or sacred power was strong*” (Sugden 65). People would often hear stories of this man sharing what little food he had with others.

One story that fascinated me after hearing it for the first time was one that was shared by Rufina Marie-Laws, mescalero apache-anishinabe (*great-granddaughter of geronimo*) and her mother during one of my visits to the mescalero apache reservation in *New Mexico*. It described an incident involving her great-grandfather geronimo (*goyathlay*) and the use of his medicine powers to help avoid capture by the *United States* cavalry. They told how geronimo was able to slow the coming of the morning’s light, which provided them with just enough darkness to avoid the *United States* cavalry.

Vine Deloria Jr. (2006) shares Rufina and her mother’s story. This struck me as intriguing given that we believe many of our medicine people have the ability to travel and transcend the physical realm as we know and see it. Deloria describes geronimo’s story as told to Morris Opler:

Since Morris Opler did his research about the Chiricahua Apaches, we can assume that members of Geronimo’s band exercised this power, since the incident was told to Opler while he was discussing Geronimo. The power was therefore present and being used in 1885, which makes it reasonably contemporary.

'One time they all saw the enemy coming, and the enemy saw them. The shaman said to the people, 'I am going to make them disappear, and we shall disappear from their view also.' Then he told the people to go behind a hill so they couldn't see the enemy. He alone stood on top of the hill. After about twenty minutes the shaman told them all to come up again. When they came up, there were only cattle grazing where the enemy had been. The shaman told the men to herd the cattle, drive them to the river, and shoot them and eat them there' (Deloria 186-187).

Don Daniels, an elder from the *Long Plain First Nation* in *Manitoba* describes his own personal journeys to other parts of the world and accepts his experiences as fact. Although he has never travelled to these places by conventional means he was able to describe intimate geographical and cultural details, which would be inaccessible to those who have not physically visited those specific locales.

Don Daniels, Morris Opler and Rufina Marie Law's stories are also similar to one shared by Dan Pine Jr. about shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) during one of his visits to the east. These stories challenge our reality, truth, as we perceive it and the world as we know, see, taste, feel and experience it. It is a totally different belief structure and way of looking at the world. *How else does one describe it?* Thor and Julie Conway (1990) in *Spirits on Stone: The Agawa Pictographs* describe the power of the medicine person in their description of shingwauk's first encounter with *Europeans* during one of his travels east. Shingwauk was said to have made the fog settle at the mouth of the *St. Lawrence River* so that the ship was not able to land. They said shingwauk performed a miracle.⁴⁵ These personal stories reflect certain closeness between family members. Moreover, they provide some context to the question: *What is traditional leadership?* In terms of this specific question, Janet Chute's (1998) understanding of the meaning of anishinabe leadership is somewhat revealing:

⁴⁵ Something that cannot be explained.

The Ogima (chief) was generous and fair-minded. Thus, the Ojibway followed them because they respected their judgment in civil and political matters. An Ogima would almost always prove himself as a war chief before assuming the higher status of a civil leader. The Ogima exercised his traditional powers that granted them prestige. As well, it should be noted that other leadership roles existed, but the role of civil chief being the most prominent.

All roles were achieved rather than ascribed. These included that of Kekedowenine (spokesman), an advocate who acted whenever disputes arose within the nation. Tebahkoonegawenene, (judge) in such disputes, and the Ani.ke.Ogima (sub-chief). Other status positions existed within the Grand Medicine Society or Midewiwin. Midewiwin ceremonies focused on the individual and the world. The Oskabewis (speaker and messenger); the Mishinowa (economic aide to the chief) who had the responsibility for the distribution of gifts and supplies (Chute 15).

Chute (1998) adds each extended clan had a headman, the “*ani.ke. Ogima (Sub-Chief)*” (Chute 15) who would at times serve as a *gi-ki-do-way-i-ni-ni (spokesman)*, *o-gi-chi-dah (strong-heart)* or *ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni (war leader)* during times of war. For whatever the reason, she points out that it was very difficult for a middle-aged man to rise above the position of *ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn (hereditary leader)*. Despite its *Eurocentric* verbosity, Howard Peckham (1947) provides a description of the transition from *warrior-to-chief* as being relatively seamless and necessary.

The political organization of the Ottawas was loose, simple, and rather fluid. There was no chief over all the Ottawas. Each village had its chiefs-not-one, but several – and the office had no particular tenure; neither was it necessarily hereditary. The son of a chief succeeded his father only if the village elders considered him capable. Any warrior could become a chief on his own abilities and if he persuaded other braves to follow his suggestions and directions. Especially was this true of war chiefs, who attained to leadership because they were hard fighters and superior tacticians. They maintained their position as war chiefs as long as they were successful in battle. A defeat or two would cause their followers to lose faith in their ability and to elect to follow another warrior who promised victory. A famous war chief might influence the braves of another village to combine under his generalship, as Pontiac did (Peckham 23).

The position of *indian act* chief has become an amalgam of leader, despot and politician.

The very idea of the position within anishinabe communities has created a very distorted

and oppressive picture of the position. However, traditional leadership positions and responsibilities continue to exist in some anishinabe communities today. For example, the ah-di-so-kahn-i-ni-ni-wahg (*traditional storytellers*); o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*); jeeskahn-i-ni-ni-wahg (*shake tent men*); mi-shi-naw-way-wahg (*aides to the leader*); mi-sho-naw-way-wahg (*economic aides to the leader*); o-paw-gun i-ni-ni-wahg (*pipe carriers*) continue to fulfill their obligations and honour their responsibilities.

During one of my visits with the Pine (*Shingwauk*) family at *Garden River, Ontario* they described how ogista and buh-kwuj-je-ne-ne (*sons of shingwauk*) campaigned against each other for the position of *indian act* chief in 1867. They add traditional leadership vis-à-vis elected leadership would become a point of contention for the majority of anishinabe communities from that point forward.

Darrell Boissoneau (2011) and I were having coffee one morning and we began talking about the divisions throughout anishinabe country. He remembered the same story told him regarding tagosh, ogista (*Methodist*) and buh-kwuj-je-ne-ne (*Anglican*). Darrell points out that because of the hereditary nature of clan responsibilities, it would have been tagosh (*the eldest son who was Roman Catholic*) who would have assumed the position of ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn (*hereditary leader*) had the *indian act* not been on colonial display. The *Canadian* government obviously considered the impact on family and the political and religious divisions it would create.

The *indian act* and religion often went hand-in-hand in manipulating and entrenching these much deeper divisions. shingwauk's own family sees the struggle between legislative and religious issues in many of communities. buh-kwuj-je-ne-ne for

example was (*Anglican*), ogista (*Methodist*) and tagosh (*Roman Catholic*). Members of the Pine family tell me that as shingwauk lay dying he passed his medals and title to buh-kwuj-je-ne-ne.

Chute's (1998) focus on different types of leadership is helpful to this discussion because of the suggestion that leaders often assumed other responsibilities during times of war and consensus-seeking debates. Given that decisions were always reached by consensus, factional strife over any issue was a rarity. However, leadership did have an important role during these consensus-seeking debates and assemblies because they were expected to understand and value everyone's privilege and worth.

James Clifton, George Cornell and James McClurken (1986) acknowledge that consensus seeking debates were expected for all decisions and matters of national concern and that the leadership, elders, men, women and youth councils would be involved. They also draw attention to the fact that once decisions were made they were almost always carried out because of the debates and discussions that took place.

For the ojibway, ota'wa, boodewaadamig-anishinabeg and allied nations, accountability and transparency were important at every instance because consensus and respect for each citizen embodied the guiding principles of each nation. Dr. Rainey Gaywish suggests that *"issues were probably much easier to debate and consensus reached when people held a similar world-view, cultural perspective and shared similar perspectives on decision-making, strategic planning, respect, protocols and so on"* (Dr. Rainey Gaywish Personal Conversation 2013). Unfortunately, as colonialism became more ubiquitous, division and political differences became more common. These

divisions and political differences were often contrary to the traditional notions of governance in which leaders were expected to act in the best interests of the people.

How any term used by the Indians in their own tongue for the chief man of a nation could be rendered king, I know not. The chief of a nation is neither a supreme ruler, monarch, nor potentate - he can not make war or peace, league or treaties – he cannot impress soldiers, nor dispose of magazines... with them there is no such thing as title of nobility even tallied of (Gordon Sayre American Captivity Narrative 339).

During my first term as *indian act* chief, an elder shared that I would be expected to assume a number of responsibilities, many of which would be different than what the *indian act* prescribed. The *Canadian* government knew full well that control of anishinabe peoples depended in large part on creating divisions within our communities. Consider the *United States Citizenship Act (1924)*, which unilaterally attempted to make all anishinabe citizens of the *United States* provided each individual freely accepted *American* citizenship and renounced their *American indian* citizenship and way of life, registered and voted in a democratic system. From this vantage point it was obvious that the *United States* government immediately set out to destroy the stability, which the clan system and anishinabe-focused ideals of leadership created.

The elder understood that a community divided would make moving forward next to impossible. As he quietly smoked his cigarette, he gazed beyond the people sitting in assembly and suggested the community focus on family and take a more traditional approach to leadership. His suggestion was both refreshing and politically astute. It would come to remind me of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's belief in the importance of ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*), nation stability and survival. He believed leadership had to retake control over the community's political structures and re-assert jurisdiction. To him this was an important first step.

From the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) historical and traditional perspective, family and kinship were woven into its political, economic, military and spiritual fabric. anishinabe gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) tells of the *anishinabe migration*, of how the confederacy and clan system made it possible for anishinabe society to assert sovereignty over a broad expanse of traditional territory. Sovereignty, this fantastic ability to make independent decisions and enter into treaty, economic, political and military relationships was described in brightly textured stories about the highly complex and effective clan system and seven guiding principles: “*gi-kayn-daw-so-win (knowledge); zaw-gi-di-win (love); maw-naw-ji-win (respect); zoong-gi-day-aywin (bravery); gwu-yu-kaw-jiwin (honesty); duh-buh-say-ni-moo-win (humility); de-bwe-mo-win (truth).*”⁴⁶ Further, Anton Treuer’s (2001) interpretation of the clan system, the traditional foundation to leadership, governance and community was particularly helpful to this narrative:

The Ojibway clan system was totemic, from the Ojibway word doodem, or clan. The word doodem comes from the morpheme de, meaning “heart or center.” The relationship between the words ode’ (his heart), oodena (village), doodem (clan), and dewe’igan (drum) has caused considerable confusion among some scholars, who have occasionally claimed that one of these words was derived from another when in fact they simply share the same root morpheme de. Ode’ (the heart) is the center of the body. Oodena (the village) is the center of the community, and doodem (the clan) is the centre of spiritual identity. Dewe’igun (the drum) is the center of the nation, or its heartbeat (Treuer 15).

Interestingly enough, this was a starting point towards a more traditionally focused leadership style, one expected to be democratic, transparent and fair-minded.

anishinabe gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) also tells us of stories that describe how ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) in times of war would assume leadership

⁴⁶ (bawdwaywidun, "the sound of the messenger" banaise Personal Conversation) 2005.

responsibilities over several communities. Often their influence and authority would depend in large part on the consent of their communities and other strong-heart people. Francis Parkman (2012) accepted the special relationship traditional leadership had with their nations and citizens because leadership never set itself apart from the will of the people. Howard Peckham (1947) provides interesting commentary regarding the difference in ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn (*hereditary leader*) and ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni (*war leader*) responsibilities:

Civil chiefs presided at local or intertribal councils and made broad decisions of peace or war, to move the village or not to move it, to admit white traders or exclude them, etc. as would be expected, the civil chiefs were older than the war chiefs and participated less in warfare. Probably they had been war chiefs in their younger days. They tried to control the war chiefs, but were not always successful in stopping them from committing hostilities. During a long war, indeed, the war chiefs might overshadow the civil chiefs in all decisions. One civil chief's wisdom might be respected above that of all others, and he would act as a kind of chairman in village councils. Consequently he would be regarded as head chief of the region (Peckham 23).

Attempts to create dysfunction and instability amongst leadership have been part of the colonial strategy since 1622. Peckham (1947) emphasizes that colonialism at its simplest and most arrogant self added to this instability:

If the white men found a village ruled by chiefs hostile to their advance, they attempted to entice a few villagers to friendship. Then the white men would decorate them with medals or gorgets and declare them to be chiefs in the eyes of the great white father across the Atlantic. This king making was an old game in European diplomacy, which is still played around the globe. It usually worked among the Indians and produced a crop of what contemptuously called 'medal chiefs' (Peckham 23).

This narrative asks two fundamental questions, which are important to the discourse regarding traditional leadership and n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*): *What does traditional leadership mean to anishinabeg? What is the relationship between the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-*

kawn's (Three Fires Confederacy) traditional structure and clan system and the concept of self-determination and sovereignty?

This specific focus on obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk as visionaries for change is essential because of their influence upon events that helped shape manitou aki (*Creator's land*). The importance and impact of the *Royal Proclamation 1763*; the *War of 1812*; and the influence of the *Robinson-Huron* and *Robinson-Superior* treaties signed in 1850. The latter part of the seventeenth century for example was a critical period for anishinabe people because the military and economic conflicts between *Britain* and *France* directly affected the communities, trade relationships and military alliances because anishinabe nations were drawn into these conflicts.

With the surrender of *Fort Ponchartrain (Detroit)* in the autumn of 1760, the anishinabe nations entered a period of transition and uncertainty. It would also come to mark the beginning of a new era for ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg and other allied nations. Consider that in one of his first acts as governor-general, Jeffery Amherst would set the tone for future diplomatic, military and economic relations between the *British* and n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) by implementing a policy prohibiting gift exchanges and limiting the amount of powder, lead and guns to be exchanged. The repercussion of this policy was far-reaching and would provide the backdrop to later events.

It is important to note obwandiac and tecumtha were influenced by neolin (lenape-anishinabe) and lau-lau-we-see-kau (shawnee-anishinabe), two very remarkable medicine people. Both would encourage obwandiac and tecumtha to reject anishinabe dependence on the *Euroamerican* lifestyle and return to traditional ways. Charles Hunter (1971)

writes that lau-lau-we-see-kau was incredibly passionate about having anishinabe people “live entirely in the original state”:

My brother was gone to Tus-ca-la-ways, about forty or fifty miles off, to see and hear a prophet that had just made his appearance amongst them; he was of the Delaware nation; I never saw nor heard him. It was said, by those who went to see him, that he had certain hieroglyphics marked on a piece of parchment, denoting the probation that human beings were subjected to whilst they were living on earth, and also, denoting something of a future state. They informed me, that he was almost constantly crying whilst he was exhorting them. I saw a copy of his hieroglyphics, as numbers [273] of them had got them copyed and undertook to preach, or instruct others. The first, (or principal doctrine,) they taught them, was to purify themselves from sin, which they taught they could do by the use of emetics, and abstinence from carnal knowledge of the different sexes; to quit the use of firearms, and to live entirely in the original state that they were in before the white people found out their country, nay, they taught that fire was not pure that was made by steel and flint, but that they should make it by rubbing two sticks together... (Hunter 275).

Because of the chronology of events taking place both “neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau counseled a visit to the midewigun (grand medicine lodge) to discuss the possibility of a political and military response” (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication January 5 2005) to British and United States colonial hegemony.⁴⁷ Ashley Neonta Bell (2005) adds that *prophets* have always been part of the anishinabe landscape because of the nature of colonialism and its impact:

Prophets appeared in Native American societies long before Europeans; however, as the traditional lifestyle deteriorated under the pressure of European expansion, numerous prophets appeared promising a return of the golden age if only Native Americans would reject European culture. Some prophets went so far as to suggest driving Europeans out of America (Bell 2).

Hunter (1971) writes further that neolin “taught them, or made them believe, that he had his instructions immediately from Keesh-she'-la-mil'-lang-up... and that by following his

⁴⁷ Gramsci argues hegemony in postcolonial thought is domination by consent, “the active participation of a dominated group in its own subjugation.” In some cases, the dominated group’s desire for self-determination will have been replaced by a discursively inculcated notion of a greater good, couched in such terms as social stability...and economic and cultural achievement (Moore 101) 2006.

instructions, they would... be able to drive the white people out of their country." Such was his influence that obwandiac was compelled to move in 1763 to challenge the colonial hierarchy.

As Bell (2005) mentioned, *manitou aki (Creator's land)* has been witness many influential anishinabe visionaries and medicine people from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. Their visions provided not only a spiritual foundation but also the politics for resistance. During the *Anglo-Powhatan* wars for example, the powhatan-anishinabeg were able to draw on the strategic heritage of their collective memory and experience of powhatan-anishinabe spiritual leader, nemattenow⁴⁸ who advised opechancanough in the planning of a series of coordinated attacks against the *British* in the *Anglo-Powhatan* wars; and of metacom (*King Phillip*), who led the wampanoag-anishinabeg in their resistance to *British* encroachment and expanded settlement on traditional territories in 1675-1678. Joel W. Martin (1993) makes reference to tecumtha's visit with the creek-anishinabeg and describes the influence of lau-lau-we-see-kau and other medicine people in creek-anishinabe society and of tecumtha's visit:

Central to Creek religious life were the native prophets, who appear to have gained increasing power in 1811 and 1812 based largely on the convergence of two remarkable events: first, the visit of Tecumseh (the persuasive leader of native American resistance movements), which generated a great deal of anti-American hostility among the Creeks; second, a series of tremendous earthquakes that shook much of North America and all of the Southeast. These two events Creek prophets claimed, were related. According to prophets, the prophets validated Tecumseh's anti-American message. Nature and the Creek god were clearly on the side of the Creeks. Confident in their new message, native prophets convinced their followers that a revolt against the Americans would succeed, and the Creeks emboldened by the message, came to believe themselves invincible (Martin 4).

⁴⁸ nemattenow was a noted spiritual advisor to opechancanough, a primary leader of the Powhatan Confederacy during the period 1611-22 who first came to prominence in the First Anglo-Powhatan War in 1611.

Martin's (1993) reference to the earthquake that shook the southeast is in keeping with the stories shared by the Shawano family and anishinabe oral history. Jim Dumont, chief of the eastern doorway of the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) also makes mention of the earthquake that shook the region following tecumtha's visit to the creek-anishinabe nation (Jim Dumont Personal Communication June 15 2012).

There are other stories concerning the influence and impact of medicine people. One particular story that stands out for me was Harrison's challenge to lau-lau-we-see-kau. Moses Dawson (2013) writes that Harrison had "*demand(ed) him to show proof of his being the messenger of the Deity... ask of him to cause the sun to stand still-the moon to alter its course*"⁴⁹ (Dawson 83-84). On the 16th day of ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*) in 1806, a few weeks after Harrison's challenge, the eclipse of the sun answered him. It was brilliant theatre!

However, historians Benjamin Drake (1999) and David Edmunds (1978) claim that astronomers travelling in the region told lau-lau-we-see-kau of the impending eclipse. Regardless, the eclipse provided to lau-lau-we-see-kau incredible presence within the anishinabe nations. Martin (1993) shares medicine people and visionaries had incredible power that often could not be explained:

According to the naturalist William Bartram, who traveled through Creek territory in 1773, the high seers, or shamans, enjoyed 'communion with powerful invisible spirits.' Their influence was so great, according to Bartram, 'that they have been known frequently to stop, and turn back an army, when within a day's journey of their enemy, after a march of several hundred miles.' Shamans were also known to 'pretend to bring rain at pleasure, cure diseases, and exercise witchcraft, invoke or expel evil spirits, and even assume the power of directing thunder and lightning' (Martin 8).

⁴⁹ Dawson, Moses. A Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Service of Major General William Henry Harrison. Reprint. Hong Kong: Forgotten Books. 2013. Print.

Medicine people and visionaries influential during different periods included peng-ah-she-ga (shawnee-anishinabe) who was quite influential for a brief period. It was said wang-o-mend (munsee-anishinabe) who lived in the *Susquehanna* and *Allegheny* territory from 1752 to 1775 also held considerable influence over lau-lau-we-see-kau; scat-ta-mek (delaware-anishinabe) was most active in 1771. beata (delaware-anishinabe) was baptized and raised *Christian* in *Moraviantown*. She began speaking of her visions in 1805. Many of her teachings had *Christian* undertones. She preached of a messiah either a child or delaware-anishinabe o-gi-chi-dah (*strong heart person and ceremonial person*) who would be sent to help the anishinabe. Buff (1995) writes medicine people were able to communicate the importance of resistance and were successful in speaking to the idea of strength in unity.

In the face of an expansive U.S. colonization that reached across the continent, pan-Indian religions like that of the Great Shawnee Prophet and the Ghost Dance became important for intertribal communication and unity... Calling for a return to 'traditional' ways, believes in these religions foresaw a time when the land would be free of colonial domination (Buff 296).

Sugden (1997) points out that lau-lau-we-see-kau's embrace of spirituality and tecumtha's belief in the potential of the anishinabe people's universe created an incredible synergy between the two minds. It was both effective and powerful, as events have shown us.

In 1805, Lalawethika told of a vision where he was on a journey on a path taken by the souls of the dead. He described coming to a fork in the road where one branched left and the other right. At one of the forks, three houses stood at the wayside. The first two houses saw sidetracks that led back to the right hand road offering travellers an opportunity to make amends. However, at the most traveled final house (eternity) he heard suffering and cries of agony. He decided to go no further and then quickly returned to the fork of the road and took the other path. It was on this path that he foresaw whites being removed spiritually (Sugden 116).

John Grim (1983) suggests that ceremony and spirituality “were an expression of his experience into the world of sacred power. Although there are collective types among

ojibway shamans such as the nanandawi, tcisaki or wabeno..." (Grimm 120). He also describes how medicine people used their personal power for the jeeskahn (*shake tent*), to nah-nahn-dah-wi-i'we (*cure by sucking*) and to interpret special visions and of "*wabeno shamans (who) chant their initiating dreams and manipulate fire to attempt a reversal of an existing situation*" (Grimm 129).

Leadership at its purest was about responsibility. It was a gift! The focus of this dissertation on obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and their view of the world are predicated on stories both authentic and true. They came to embody the spiritual representation of the cultural hero and messenger who accepts responsibility for the vision of the nation. neolin, lau-lau-we-see-kau and other spiritual leaders brought stability and hope to anishinabe nations during times of upheaval and uncertainty. In our stories we come to appreciate and recognize the cultural hero, messenger and prophet who has spiritual powers. This much is for certain. They have powers to introduce visions and have the ability speak to the conscience of the people. This is the truth and reality of the leader and prophet.

It is interesting that prior to 1762, anishinabe nations were already concerned with the increased colonization and land cessions taking place because of the incredible pressure placed on their social, political, economic and military structures. For obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk a unified political and military federation of anishinabe nations was the only answer. The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. 2nd Edition* for example, reports that anishinabe nations were drawn to obwandiac's charismatic appeal and his campaign for anishinabe independence.

In 1812 tecumtha would come to see support from the midewigun (*grand medicine*

lodge) and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) as critically important to any military and political action that would take place. As he travelled anishinabe territory, tecumtha continued speaking of the imbalance and inequity in the treaty process and negotiations that were taking place. In fact, Jim Dumont describes how tecumtha travelled throughout anishinabe territory for approximately ten years prior to 1812 planning and organizing for what was to take place (Jim Dumont Personal Communication June 2012).

The Shawano family also share that their grandfather's completed view of the world was important in their lobby efforts with other nations. tecumtha spoke to the ideals of the anishinabe collective and the importance of land and sovereignty. He urged ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-nag (*hereditary leaders*) and ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wag (*war leaders*) to seriously consider what was taking place. tecumtha saw anishinabe leadership involved in treaty negotiations as duplicitous because the anishinabe collective as a whole and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) were not involved in any of the negotiations taking place.

Patricia and Norman (deceased) Shawano add that he was somewhat surprised by little turtle's (mi-a-mi-anishinabe leader) participation in the negotiation of the *Treaty of Greenville* (1795) because of little turtle's profile as one of the leading ni-gahn-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*). In fact, it was little turtle that helped orchestrate the defeat of the colonial federal army in 1790 and 1791.

There is some belief that little turtle thought the *Treaty of Greenville* would enable the mi-a-mi-anishinabeg and *colonies* to share jurisdiction over the territory. Other ni-

gahn-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) specifically te-ta-boh-ske (*delaware-anishinabe*), new corn (boodewaadamig-anishinabe) and ca-ta-hes-ca⁵⁰ (*shawnee-anishinabe*) believed these *peace* and *friendship* treaties would come to represent the new *middle ground* politically, economically and diplomatically. However, the *Treaty of Greenville* (1795) would see anishinabe nations accept a subordinate position to the *United States* and come to represent the antithesis to anishinabe sovereignty and jurisdiction.

With its signing, it became readily apparent the *United States* was intent on developing and establishing a different type of political, economic and diplomatic relationship. These new relationships were often schizophrenic in character and were negotiated with *handpicked* anishinabe leaders who were more willing to accept the authority and legitimacy of the *United States*. Throughout the history of the world, this approach of indirect control was often seen as cost-effective and more politically, economically and diplomatically self-serving.

During the assembly at *Tuckabatchee* (*Alabama*) for example, tecumtha reminded the creek-anishinabeg that land surrenders and uncontrolled movement into their traditional territory would continue if military action was not taken. This resonated and struck a raw nerve with many of the creek-anishinabeg because the nation was still in a state of flux because the *Treaty of Greenville* (1795).

As opposition to newly negotiated treaties grew, tecumtha insisted the majority of the treaties, which had surrendered huge tracts of land were invalid because he believed no individual leader and/or community could surrender the sovereignty to lands that belonged collectively to all anishinabe peoples. Hall (2010) suggests that the *Northwest*

⁵⁰ black hoof.

Ordinance (1787) and the *Treaty of Greenville (1795)* attempted to accept the existence of *aboriginal* and treaty rights⁵¹ however minimal that might have been (Hall 295). He points to Jeremiah Evarts, a clergyman and lawyer who argued that *removal* would break every treaty it ever negotiated and would effectively “*tear out sheets from every volume of our national statute-book and scatter them to the winds...*”

(It) presented one of the most succinct and transparent accounts of the meaning of federal treaties with Indian nations ever directed at a wide US audience. In seeking to answer the question ‘What is a treaty?’ he responded: ‘it is a compact between independent communities, each party acting through the medium of its government. No instrument, which does not come within this definition, can be sent to the Senate of the United States, to be acted upon as within the scope of the treaty-making power (Hall 301).

tecumtha saw the complicity of some anishinabe leadership in treaties negotiated and land cessions that had taken place and the fact their actions were contrary to the traditional idea of the *collective*, nation protocols and ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*). At the time, this was a bold indictment of the leadership and negotiations that had taken place. As obwandiac and neolin before them, tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau sought to provide a spiritual foundation to the resistance and politics of decolonization, which strengthened the relationship between the ideas of pan-anishinabe sovereignty and the integrity of manitou aki (*Creator’s land*).

tecumtha continued to visit with other anishinabe nations at this time speaking to the ideas of a pan-anishinabe consciousness and multinational alliance, his efforts were well received particularly during his initial visit to the creek-anishinabeg. Joel Martin (1993)⁵² writes:

⁵¹ Hall, Anthony. *Earth Into Property (Colonization, Decolonization and Capitalism)* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2010. Print.

⁵² Martin, Joel. *Sacred Revolt (The Muskogees’ Struggle For A New World)*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press. 1993. Print.

Another unexpected factor greatly enhanced the northerners' chances for success: Benjamin Hawkins, Indian agent to the Creek nation, attended the conference and urged the Creeks to allow a federal road to cut across Creek territories. Several months earlier speaker of the Creek nation Hopoithle Miko had rejected that possibility, which responded strongly to President Thomas Jefferson's request.

'You ask for a path and I say no... what land we have left is but large enough to live on and walk on... I although' an Indian have a little sense yet – the great god made us and the lands for us to walk on... I hope [the road] will never be mentioned again.'

According to nineteenth historians who interviewed witnesses, Tecumseh reminded the Creeks of the 'usurpation of their lands by the whites, and painted in glowing colors their spirit of encroachment, and the consequent diminution, and probable extinction, of the race of Indians.' This aspect of Tecumseh's message resonated strongly with the Creeks, who had a vibrant oral tradition that delineated precisely which lands had been lost.

Tecumseh's warning to the Creeks struck a raw nerve. In addition, Tecumseh shamed the Creeks by contrasting 'their sedentary...occupations [spinning and farming] with the wild and fearless independence of their ancestors.' Calling for native American solidarity, he urged the Creeks to join in a grand movement to protect Indian lands from invasion (Martin 6).

Many creek-anishinabeg saw Hawkins' actions and bullish tactics as an affront to their sovereignty. As treaties were being negotiated we also see the emergence of the *indian agents* and *indian superintendents* who often disregarded anishinabe sovereignty and interests.

Thanks in part to Hawkins, the creek-anishinabe national assembly rallied to tecumtha. His visit was both timely and provocative. Oral history and eyewitness accounts describe tecumtha at his finest during this visit. His speeches reflected a revolutionary and bold approach describing this brilliant multinational alliance and pan-anishinabe consciousness, which resonated deep into the hearts of anishinabe people. He talked of the importance of maintaining and preserving "*the whole as their common property, to be hunted over by all; and any Indian could build his home and cultivate his*

*garden and fields wherever he liked...*⁵³ (Drake 279). Following tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau's visit, the southeastern *United States* was shaken by a series of earthquakes. Martin adds they were the largest to have taken place in this region during the last several centuries. This added to the spiritual significance of tecumtha's message.

In 1811-12 a series of violent earthquakes struck the southeastern United States, and support for Tecumseh's message increased dramatically. (Geologists refer to this event as the New Madrid earthquake and estimate that it would have measured 8.2 on the Richter scale, making it the largest such event to have occurred in North America in the last several centuries (Martin 8).

This idea of a political, social, economic and military multinational alliance and pan-anishinabe consciousness was both innovative and challenging. Logistically it seemed almost impossible because of the vast territory, differences in language and dialects, national focus and protocols. In retrospect, it was amazing that obwandiac and tecumtha were able to speak to the commonalities of the struggle and of the need to preserve and expand anishinabe sovereignty. This was the leadership and vision obwandiac and tecumtha embodied and was leadership at its finest. Henry Schoolcraft (1997) described their influence upon anishinabe society and their success in protecting anishinabe life as they saw it:

A single Pontiac and Tecumshe, has done more to preserve their original manners and customs and modes of thinking and acting, than all of the Sagards and Marquettes, or the Eliots and Brainards who have occupied the missionary field since the era of discovery (Schoolcraft 10).

shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) from 1812-1850 was also very much involved in anishinabe matters spiritually, militarily, politically and economically. He was also recognized for his influence during the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaty negotiations and was well

⁵³ Drake, Benjamin. *Life of Tecumseh and of His Brother the Prophet: With a Historical Sketch of the Shawanoe Indians*. Cincinnati: Anderson, Gates & Wright. 1999. Print.

regarded for his medicine powers and courage in battle. This provided him the profile to lead the opposition to pre-confederation treaties negotiated prior to 1850.

The discovery of rich mineral and metal deposits in the *Lake Huron* and *Superior* regions made it clear to shingwauk that there needed to be a different approach to the process of treaty negotiations. In fact, his resistance to what was taking place forced William B. Robinson to negotiate two parallel treaties, which resulted in the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaties in 1850 respectively. These treaties were fundamentally different from the previous land-surrenders in *southern Ontario*, which included one-time payments and few lasting obligations for the *federal crown*. The *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaties would come to represent a transition in how treaties were negotiated and would serve as template for the numbered treaties (1871-1920).

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)

zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

Chapter 4

obwandiac

(The man who travelled to many places)

(nigig)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

This chapter explores how obwandiac came to embody the traditional qualities of anishinabe leadership and what moved him to plan and organize the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations into one of the most effective and powerful federations that manitou aki has ever witnessed.

Michael Angel (2002) writes that neolin's vision had considerable influence upon obwandiac during the summer of 1762. Leading up to this period, obwandiac had been concerned with the increased immigration and land surrenders that had taken place because of the threat they posed to anishinabe society and the political, economic and military structures of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). To challenge this and oppose what was taking place, obwandiac understood that the success of any political or military opposition would depend in large part on a unified political and military federation of anishinabe nations.

After listening to neolin at one of the anishinabe gatherings, obwandiac became fascinated by neolin and his message. He was particularly intrigued by neolin's revelation that kitchi manitou had visited him and "*commanded him to exhort his people to cease the use of English goods, drunkenness, and wars*" (Angel 83). For obwandiac, neolin's vision spoke of a simpler time and the teachings of the ancestors. obwandiac saw the

people's reaction to neolin and was energized by the interest shown. neolin's vision would provide obwandiac's political and military movement a spiritual dimension the likes of which the *Europeans* had never seen.

As an introduction to this part of the narrative concerning obwandiac (nigig) it is important to establish how this one man came to advocate for a political and military federation of anishinabe nations, one that focused on independence and the traditional anishinabe lifestyle prior to 1763. To obwandiac, anishinabe sovereignty and independence was important. He is often compared to Patroclus (*Trojan War*) because his influence was never fully appreciated in the planning of events leading up to 1763 and *Alexander the Great* because of his success in creating one of the most successful alliances manitou aki (*Creator's land*) has ever witnessed.

At this meeting that took place on April 27, 1763 at the *Ecorse River (Lincoln Park, Michigan)*, obwandiac is described as lithe as a panther, a powerful and charismatic orator with intelligence keen and sharp, with incredible skill as a strategist. John R. Williams tells Francis Parkman that obwandiac's manner was "*absolute and preemptory and was greatly respected by his people. His authority was great.*" Later he would add how haughty and commanding he thought obwandiac had become. Francis Baby also described obwandiac as being "*of a very commanding and imperious bearing.*"

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, anishinabe nations were witness to increased military and economic global conflicts between *Britain* and *France* and the *French-Indian War* in 1754, which was precipitated in part by this global conflict. The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* makes it clear that obwandiac identified very clearly the need to challenge increased *British* incursion into ojibway, ota'wa and

boodewaadamig-anishinabe territory militarily in the period leading up to 1763.

Pontiac was chief only of the Ottawa, though the other tribes acknowledged his authority. He was at this time about 50 years of age, and though not above middle height, bore himself with wonderful dignity. No monarch ever trod the floor of his palace with a haughtier step than did this swarthy chieftain the green sward where the council sat. His features were not regular, but there was a boldness and sternness in their expression, which awed the beholder; and the dark eye had a strange fascination in its glances.

The tribes responded to Pontiac's call. Soon the fierce Ojibwas and Wyandot assembled at a place of rendezvous and took their seats on the grass in a circle. For a long time not a word was spoken in the council. At last Pontiac strode into its midst, plumed and painted for war. Casting his fierce glance around on the waiting group, he commenced denouncing the English and calling on the chiefs to rise in defense of their rights. His voice at time pealed like a bugle, and his gestures were sudden and violent. After arousing the chiefs by his eloquence he unfolded his plans.

He proposed that on the 2nd of May 1763 they should visit the fort under pretense of interchanging friendly and peaceful greetings; and then, when the garrison was suspecting no treachery, suddenly fall on them and massacre the whole. They all readily assented to the scheme...a few days later word was brought in by some Canadians that the warlike Ojibwas had joined Pontiac, swelling the number of warriors to 820... (Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 2nd Edition 639).

If any one human being can embody the feelings and aspirations of an entire people, obwandiac came to represent the essence of anishinabe i-na-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and independence.

In fact, the *Eurocentric* musings of his critics would be intrusive and culturally hegemonic. They seemed to be a concerted effort to give durability and strength to the misrepresentation of fact concerning obwandiac. Even his nationality and name has come into question. Francis Parkman for example writes in his journal obwandiac was adopted by the ota'wa-anishinabe.⁵⁴ Also, J.N. Nicollet writes that obwandiac was a nippising-anishinabe. The family and shared gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) tell us that he was certainly born of an ota'wa-anishinabe father and ojibway-anishinabe

⁵⁴ Parkman Papers. 27D p. 17 Print.

mother in an ota'wa-anishinabe community at the fork of the *Maumee* and *Auglaize Rivers* in 1720 and as Henry Schoolcraft (1997) shares was buried on *Apple Island* in 1846.

Oddly enough, there is even an attempt to confuse the meaning of the name “*Pontiac*” or “*Obwandiyag*” by *Euroamerican* historians and writers. In some odd way it seems foolish to have this discussion regarding obwandiac's heritage and meaning of his name. For example, Howard Peckham (1947) wrote:

The Ottawa tradition of the nineteenth century referred to him as Obwandiyag, and Andrew J. Blackbird said the name was pronounced in the Ottawa language Bwondiac. Bon or Bwon means “stopping” and Bwon would mean ‘his stopping’ or ‘stopping it’ or ‘stopping him.’ But no meaning has been discovered for ‘diyag’ or ‘diac’ (Peckham 19).

William Johnson curator at *Ziibiwing Centre* in *Mount Pleasant, Michigan* and family members settle this once and for all. In his discussion with Isabel Ozawamik and Angus Pontiac (92 years old) from *wikwemikong, Ontario* tells us obwandiac means the (*man who travelled to many places or stopping at many places*).

Despite the unnecessary confusion about obwandiac's name and nationality, it is clear his reputation as *ni-gah-no-say-i-ni-ni (war leader)* and *ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wid (hereditary leader)* is undeniable. His opposition to increased *European* movement into traditional anishinabe territory and the *European* diplomatic practice of *king making* is also considered one of the *n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (Three Fires Confederacy)* greatest political and military success.

There are many other questions concerning obwandiac's role in the events leading up to and during 1763. Many argue that his role was exaggerated and that he was merely

a minor character and “*local warrior*” (Peckham 1). Richard Middleton (2007)⁵⁵ also makes reference to a number of other authors who were who writing during this period: Randolph G. Adams (1935) for one, writes that obwandiac, “*was little more than the greatest local menace;*”⁵⁶ Howard Peckham (1947) offers “*there was no grand conspiracy or pre-conceived plan on his part embracing all the western tribes... In the beginning there was only a local conspiracy at Detroit directed by Pontiac;*” Michael McConnell (1992) also suggests, “*Pontiac was a person of no great significance... Rather than a concerted pan-Indian uprising orchestrated by one man, the 1763 war was actually several local conflicts.*”⁵⁷

There are also historians that include William Nester (2000)⁵⁸ and Gregory Evans Dowd (1990) who attempt to portray obwandiac as over-rated in the events leading up to and during the war in 1763. Ironically, Francis Parkman (2012) wades into this discussion by grudgingly acknowledging obwandiac’s effect as an influential *pan-indian* leader. Middleton (2007) shares that obwandiac:

Was born into a family of chiefs and was of mixed parentage, with an Ottawa father (probably from a village near Detroit) and an Ojibway mother (who is believed to have been from Saginaw). Pontiac’s parentage was to prove advantageous in the impending struggle, as it meant that he was related to two of the most powerful nations in the Great Lakes area, which gave him considerable influence (Middleton 10).

Regardless of the critics, obwandiac’s influence as leader and strategist was beyond reproach within the anishinabe wah-wi-yah-ka-mig (*universe*). For these critics it was

⁵⁵ Middleton, Richard. *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences*. Routledge: New York. 2007. Print.

⁵⁶ Adams, Randolph G. *Dictionary of American Biography*. Charles Scribner’s Sons: New York. 1935. Print.

⁵⁷ McConnell, Michael, N. *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Print.

⁵⁸ Nester, William R. *Haughty Conquerors’: Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group: 2000. Print.

simply inconceivable that an anishinabe leader could move freely between both societies and articulate a political position to what was taking place. This relationship showed a divide between the *Eurocentric* and anishinabe perspectives, which focused on power, of domination and varying degrees of complex hegemony.

One of more impressive aspects of obwandiac's impact was his ability to use the vision of neolin and add spiritual dimension to the political and cultural challenges taking place. obwandiac and the n'swi-ish-ko-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fire Confederacy*) in 1763 would in fact successfully lay siege to every *British* post west of the *Allegheny Mountains* with the exception of *Forts Pitt (Pennsylvania)* and *Detroit (Michigan)*. This discussion concerning obwandiac's influence on events leading up to and during the war in 1763 strikes to the heart of this dissertation in its analysis of traditional anishinabe leadership. It must be said that the memory of obwandiac is indelibly etched in the minds of most anishinabe peoples throughout manitou aki (*Creator's land*).

Middleton (2007) provides interesting and somewhat contradictory commentary as well regarding obwandiac's "*charisma, respect, personality, determination, oratorical ability, intellect, political judgment, organizational skill, or foresight*" (Middleton 5) and the influence of his leadership in the events leading up to 1763. He writes that the "*idea of liberating Native America from British domination west of the Allegheny Mountains did not originate with (obwandiac)*" (Middleton 5) He goes as far as to suggest that it was seneca-anishinabe war leaders genese tahaiadoris, mingo kiashuta and "*the Seneca (who) sent war belts not only to the immediate combatants but also as far as the Gaspe to the east and Illinois to west*" (Middleton 6) who first broached this idea on ode'imini gii-

zhis (*strawberry moon, June*) in 1761 and were therefore responsible for what would take place in 1763.

However, family members and gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) describe meetings that took place prior to this. At a gathering at the *Ecorse River (Michigan)* for example, obwandiac spoke of neolin's (*the enlightened*) o-bah-wah-dahn (*dream*) and ni-gahn-nah-ji-mo-win (*prophecy*) and of his grand plan for asserting anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and o-gi-ma-win (*governance*). With the red and purple wampum belt given him by the *French* king at his side, obwandiac discussed the details of what would take place. This is telling because anishinabe speakers rarely spoke without lengths of wampum, either strings or belts or both. Speakers would open councils by offering wampum strings to quiet anger and open the hearts of the listeners.

Military people like General Thomas Gage and Colonel John Campbell would argue and make the point that obwandiac was considerably more influential than what Adams (1935), Peckham (1947), Dowd (1990), McConnell (1992), Nester (2000), Middleton (2007) and others have written leading up to and during the n'swi-ish-ko-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fire Confederacy*) military campaign and the subsequent peace deliberations that took place.

obwandiac first listened to and became intrigued by neolin's (lenape-anishinabe) spiritual message during the summer of 1762 because of its simplicity. He felt neolin's vision was really about anishinabe survival and resilience. He agreed with neolin that the anishinabe dependence on trade goods was a threat to the anishinabe way of life and traditional lifestyle. obwandiac also saw the political, economic and military

underpinnings of neolin's message. The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. 2nd Edition points out that obwandiac's charismatic appeal and neolin's spiritual message struck a chord with many anishinabe communities and nations. This idea of returning to a more traditional lifestyle and reminding the *Europeans* of anishinabe independence and sovereignty created an excitement never felt before.

Many historians such as Francis Parkman (2012), Howard Peckham (1947) and Francis Jennings (2010) believed obwandiac was manipulated by the *French* to take to war in 1763. They were of the belief that anishinabe people were incapable of forming complex thoughts and strategy to deal with the continued encroachment on traditional territories. It was obvious however that obwandiac had a clear understanding of what was taking place elsewhere. For example, he had heard of the wars in *Prussia* and *Austria-Hungary* and recognized the serious repercussions they would have on anishinabe society. The *Eurocentric* bias of the views and attitudes expressed by Parkman (2012), Peckham (1947) and Jennings (2010) points to the misrepresentation of obwandiac's story itself.

To reiterate, obwandiac saw the spiritual relevance of neolin's vision because he saw the negative influences of colonialism in many of the communities first hand. He was surprised and encouraged by the response to neolin. After talking and listening to neolin, obwandiac came to see the *middle ground* and its long-established diplomatic and political protocols being blatantly ignored by *British* colonial arrogance. For o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wag (*war leaders*), ah-nah-kay-o-gi-ma-ka-ni-wahg (*hereditary leaders*) the *middle ground* was an important concept. Richard White (1991) describes the idea of the "*middle ground... (as)*

a system of harmonious cooperation, based on trade and mutual respect” (White 6). One of the more interesting practicalities to this notion of the *middle ground* was the practice of having *French* and *British* households accommodate anishinabe o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leadership*) on their return from military expeditions. Both obwandiac and neolin saw this being eliminated. obwandiac saw spiritual, political and military resistance to the uncontrolled immigration and colonial imposition taking place as important. To this, Dowd (1990) provides an interesting interpretation of neolin’s vision:

Neolin’s approach to the abandonment of trade was that of a gradualist, not an immediatist. This is implied in his suggestion that boys should be trained “to the use of the Bow and Arrow for Seven Years” and that the people were, “at the Extirpation of the Seven Years to quit all Commerce with the White People and Clothe themselves with Skins.” James Kenny, “The Journal of James Kenny,” ed. John W. Jordan, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 37 (1913)

Neolin, it appears, recognized from the start that Indians would need Western goods, including firearms, as long as they had armed enemies to contend with. This recognition may well have provided the necessary room for cooperation between the people surrounding Neolin and those surrounding Pontiac (Dowd 176).

Jeffery’s administration and colonial policies during this period sought to completely disregard the *middle ground* and its diplomatic protocol, which were essential to the long-established anishinabe-Euroamerican economic, political, social and military relationships. He believed that the *indians were conquered subjects of the English empire and that politics of the villages did not matter.*

It is important to understand that the protocols and relationships within the *middle ground* were clearly defined. For example, an ota’wa-anishinabe o-do-dem (*I have him for my family mark and clan*) would have its own trade route (a specific geographical route) and diplomatic protocols. These exchanges were so important that marriages were

often arranged to increase the number of trading partners into the o-do-dem (*I have him for my family mark and clan*) and thus extend diplomatic and economic relationships.

This was one example of the practicalities of the *middle ground* that Parkman (2012) felt compelled to point out that “*The French were assimilated to Indians as common victims destined to melt and vanish before the advancing waves of Anglo-American power.*”⁵⁹ As well, within this very well defined diplomatic reality, the mohegan-anishinabe carried on a 200-year responsibility for taking news of what was happening in the east to anishinabeg in the west. This news would often focus on the movement of the *Euroamericans*.

For anishinabe nations, the *middle ground* was as an effective political, military and diplomatic reality. They saw the *middle ground* as a place of *mediation, unity* and *reciprocity*. There was no need for republics because it was left to the brother and sister nations to maintain the ideal of the alliance. Both were raised together like brother and sister in one country. This was the strength of brotherhood that the “*French had almost become one people with them*” (George Croghan’s Journal Entry)⁶⁰. Although the *middle ground* would separate the brother and sister nations it would represent the *husk* of the relationship itself. Any attempt to disregard its importance would have threatened existing military and economic relationships.

As a backdrop to all that was taking place, Amherst continually tried to undermine and complicate *middle ground* protocols and diplomatic relations because he felt the political, economic and military power of the anishinabe nations clearly jeopardized the

⁵⁹ Parkman, Francis. *The Conspiracy of Pontiac (And the Indian War After the Conquest of Canada)* Vol 1. The Project Gutenberg EBook #39253. 2012.

⁶⁰ Croghan, George. *Journal Entry (April 1763 to September 1764)*. Washington, PA: The Monogahela Press. December 2008.

safety of the colonies. It seems he resented obwandiac's personal influence upon the economy and state of trade. Again the practicality of the *middle ground* was completely contrary to every colonial principle and practice he understood. obwandiac was putting down the colonial system and therefore had to be stopped no matter the cost. He was clearly alarmed by and envious of obwandiac's stature and influence during this period. Thomas McKenney (2010) describes obwandiac's sway upon and contribution to the economy.

The financial policy of this sagacious leader appears evidently to have been borrowed from the Europeans, and we may admire the ingenuity of the unlettered savage, who issued bills of credit with all the regularity and system of a British exchequer. Pontiac appointed a commissary, and raised funds to carry on the war, by pledging his royal credit. His bills were drawn on birch bark, and bore the figure of an otter, which was his coat of arms; under this was drawn the representation of the particular article for which the bill was valid, — as a gun, a bag of corn, a deer, &c. These bills passed current among the Indians, and were faithfully redeemed after the war. The 'Pontiac treasury notes,' we believe, were never below par (McKenney 215).

To the colonials this was unprecedented. It certainly spoke to the presence and ability of this man to understand the nuance of trade and finance.

From 1747 onwards, obwandiac's political and military profile as ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni (*war leader*) and o-gi-chi-dah (*strong heart person and ceremonial person*) is one of increasing presence. To many, his influence and stature throughout anishinabe country⁶¹ widens during the *French-Indian War (1754-1763)*. Up to this point, "*British*

⁶¹ Traditional anishinabe territory including wa-zhash-koon-sing (Wisconsin), a-shig-a-ning (land that has everything: rivers, hills, mountains, swamps, hardwoods/Michigan), shi-ga-gong (skunk area/Chicago/Illinois), saw-gown-ning (the land we loved/Saginaw), shi-bo-ga-ning (where the water narrows), bwaan-a-keeng (dakota-anishinabe country), kitchi gami (Great Lakes), Ohio.

America was merely a seaboard strip about a thousand miles long and one or two hundred miles deep"⁶² (Middleton 95).

obwandiac is first mentioned by name and in print in the documents and papers of William Johnston who references a speech made by '*Pontiague, Outava chief*' at *Fort Duquesne (Pennsylvania)* in 1757.

While the British imperial government briefly deviated from this courting of Indian favour, the militant stance taken by Pontiac and the Indian Confederacy impressed upon the crown the importance of cultivating good relations with the First Nations in North America's interior (Hall 201).

obwandiac finds neolin's suggestion that anishinabe peoples' reject their dependence on the *British and French* appealing because he is keenly sensitive to the threat of increased immigration and land surrenders are having on the social, political, economic and military structures of anishinabe society.

The land on which you are, I have made for you, not for others... Do not sell to the whites that which I have placed on the earth as food... Put off entirely from yourselves the customs which you have adopted since the white people came among us; you are to return to that former happy state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before these strangers came (Hall 102).

He is captivated by neolin's vision. Ironically, amidst all this activity there is certain tranquility. In fact, Anthony F.C. Wallace (1956)⁶³ makes an interesting and revealing comparison between neolin's vision and that of *Moses* and the *Ten Commandments*.

The prophet's vision was reminiscent of the story of Moses and the Ten Commandments. He dreamed that he went in search of the Creator, and after several strange adventures – taking two false trails which led only to fountains of fire, finding at last a mountain of glass, meeting there a beautiful woman in white, disrobing, washing and climbing the mountain using only his left hand and foot – he arrived in heaven. Here he found new wonders – a regularly built village,

⁶² Wright, Ronald. *What is America?* Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada. (Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia). 2008. Print.

⁶³ Wallace, Anthony F.C. *New Religions Among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1956. Print.

stockaded with a gate, and a handsome guide dressed in white, who guided him to the Master of Life... The prophet promised to do as he was bidden and returned silently to his village, speaking to no one until he had presented to 'the chief' the prayer and the laws that had been entrusted to his care by the Master of Life. In response to a subsequent vision the prophet drew on a piece of deerskin parchment, about fifteen or eighteen inches square, a map of the soul's progress in this world and the next. This map he called the Great Book of Writing (Wallace 117-119).

As obwandiac readied for war, he would approach the eastern and western doorways and central fire of the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) seeking sanction for what was to take place. This was the accepted protocol. More importantly he was able to stand outside of neolin's spiritual message because of his secular objectives. obwandiac saw this was a priority and necessary because he did not want to be seen as manipulating neolin's vision and message.

Following his arrival in 1755, General Edward Braddock became alarmed by the entire political and military strategic planning taking place. He is also bothered by the support shown by the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations to obwandiac. In fact, one of the first things he did was to dispatch Jacob de Marsac (*First Sergeant*) to meet and visit anishinabe nations at bawating (*Sault Ste. Marie*). His visit and meetings are detailed in his following journal entry at *Detroit* on (July 29TH, 1755):

Relation of the proceedings of Monsieur Marsac who was sent by order of Col. Braddock to the falls of St. Marie to speak to the upper nations agreeably to his instructions. Taken from his own mouth in presence of us the subscription officers in garrison at this place, by order Col. Campbell who was present when he was examined.

He set out last autumn on the 7th of November furnished with 17 belts of wampum & their assortment (rum, tobacco) in order to speak to the nations... In the spring he went Saganam where he found the Indians to whom he delivered four belts with their assortment and the speeches, which he had been ordered to make by his instructions. He sent four belts to the commandant at Michilmackinac with their assortment for the four nations of La Baie, which makes eight belts (Jacob de Marsac Journal Entry 1755).

John Borrows (2006) adds the *French* and *English* saw it necessary to enter into political, economic and military alliances “with aboriginal peoples of the northern Great Lake Hurons using ojibway, ota’wa and boodewaadamig ideas and ceremonies” (Borrows 1-2). There are other historical sources, which describe anishinabe protocol in significant detail. Braddock’s (1755) own journal entries for example described Marsac’s meeting with n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and ota’wa, chippewa and outaouais-anishinabe leadership from saganam, michilimakinak, hamohogamig, poanno, quilchinego, minosono, arbre croche, sinago and the *Falls of St. Marie* using traditional protocols and exchanging wampum belts:

He arrived at Michilimakinac the 27th of April & immediately gave the commandant an account of the belts, which he had delivered of the nine, which remained in his possession; the commandant ordered him to bring him those belts which he did immediately and after having examined them he gave them back to him telling him to distribute them himself to the nations. He gave four to the Chippewas of Michilimakinak, two the Ottawas of Arbre Croche and two others to the Indians of the Falls of St. Marie⁶⁴, the seventeenth belt remains in the hands of the commandant who thought proper to take it himself...⁶⁵ Ondacquoi and Echeouabem, Ota’wa Chiefs of Saganam; Manitou Abek and Quoikimiguen, Chippewa Chiefs of Saganam; Chippewa Chiefs of Michilimakinak, Hamohogamig, Poanno, Quilchinego and Minosono; for the Outaouais Quihokakakand at Arbre Croche and Outaouais at Sinago (2 belts were given) and the following Chippewa chiefs Tacoaganot, Cakehyache and Andeekouiasse from the Falls of St. Marie... (General Edward Braddock Journal Entry 1760-1765).

The political and trade protocols were often complex but appreciated by all nations.

Individuals were charged a toll (wampum, furs, grain or other trade goods) for using existing trade routes and trespassers could be killed for their disregard of these protocols and tolls. In fact, control of these trade routes provided a virtual monopoly over what took place economically. mack-e-te-be-nessy (2007) writes that n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn

⁶⁴ From the highlands of “Grand Cape” or “Frog Hills” can be obtained one of the grandest views to be had on the lakes. Twenty-three miles from these are the celebrated “Falls of St. Mary’s.”

⁶⁵ General Edward Braddock (1760/1765).

anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) economic base also enabled it to establish large communities and organizations:

The whole coast of Arbre Croche, or Waw-gaw-naw-ke-zee, where their principle village was situated, on the west shore of the peninsula near the Straits, which is said to have been a continuous village from fifteen to sixteen miles long (mack-e-te-be-nessy 10).

Amherst on his appointment as *governor-general* in 1758 seeks to address the burgeoning cost of administration by reducing goods, gifts and money while simultaneously increasing trade rates and prices. These actions immediately created problems for the *British* administration and added to the growing complexities. His actions were simply a refusal to accept the economic, social and diplomatic protocols of the *middle ground* and respect its anishinabe tradition. anishinabe nations on the other hand, saw this relationship and exchange of gifts as a "*form of rent for the occupancy of the posts and a necessary expression of esteem to brighten the chain of friendship*"(Middleton 8). In events leading up to 1763, Amherst's diplomatic and trade policy changes would continue along side obwandiac's organization of a sizeable military and multi-nation alliance.

In one of the most important meetings to take place on the 27th day of boo-poo-gamay gii-zhis (*broken snowshoe moon-April*) in 1762 ojibway, ota'wa, boodewaadamig and wyandot-anishinabeg o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*), ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-nahg (*hereditary leaders*) and ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) met to discuss their discontent and frustrations with Amherst's actions. The anishinabe leadership took the opportunity to use this discontent and frustration to organize a focused and united opposition to Amherst's proposed downsizing initiatives and blatant disregard for

traditional diplomatic and trade protocols. Although, the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) itself could not sanction war or hostilities because it was a place of peace and reconciliation, it did however honour the sacred and spiritual message of the neolin's vision. With the support of the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*), obwandiac took this opportunity to use the political and military wing of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) to contact ouiatenon, kickapoo, mi-a-mi (twightwee)-anishinabe nations east of and along the *Wabash River*.

As pointed out, one of the more surprising aspects to this discussion regarding obwandiac is the attempt by a number of scholars and historians to minimize his role in the development of strategy and n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) efforts to re-establish and maintain the political and military *middle ground*. There are some who believe that it was "*genese tahaiadoris and mingo kiashuta (seneca-anishinabeg) (who) put in motion this idea of the grand confederacy*" (Middleton 6). Others will point out that while both men might have nurtured a similar idea they simply did not have the charisma or character to facilitate this. Their political and military reach was simply not wide enough. It was also well known that both men were extremely disliked by the anishinabe leadership. We can argue further that neolin's vision and the possibility of military and political action to oppose what was taking place might have languished into eventual obscurity had obwandiac not arrived at the time he did.

Despite their reluctance to accept obwandiac's role in the development of the political and military strategy in 1763, anishinabe gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and*

reminiscences) provide detailed stories of his involvement in some of the most important battles, including the *Battle of the Monongahela* in which Braddock was routed and killed. Regardless of how scholars and historians view him, anishinabe gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) describe obwandiac as a charismatic, intelligent, skilled strategist and powerful orator. As a leader within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*), obwandiac commanded enormous respect. We know that as *war belts* were passed from nation-to-nation, obwandiac stepped into the role of o-gi-chi-dah (*strong heart and ceremonial leader*) and ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni (*war leader*) with relative ease.

In fact, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would receive a *war belt* during the month of the boo-poo-ga-may gii-zhis (*broken snowshoe moon-April*) in 1763 from the delaware-anishinabeg asking for assistance in avenging their defeat at kittaning (*Pennsylvania*) in 1756 and would therefore serve as one of the staging points for obwandiac during this period. Within one week of receiving the war belt, obwandiac would meet with his war council to advise them of his communication with the *French* king as well. David Edmunds (1978) describes this first meeting during which they discuss the war belt given them and obwandiac's political and military strategy.

On April 27 the Potawatomis, the Ottawas, and part of the Hurons met with the Ottawa leader on the Ecorse River about ten miles southwest of the British Fortress. Pontiac informed his audience that he had received war belts from the French king, who wanted the tribesmen to attack the British. Pontiac also reminded the Potawatomis and others of the hardships they had suffered at the hands of the British and expounded upon the visions of the Delaware prophet (Edmunds 80).

Approximately four hundred ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn-nag (*hereditary leaders*), ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) would listen to obwandiac speak of anishinabe o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*), o-gi-ma-win (*governance*) and neolin's vision. Having sat and participated in midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) ceremonies, the atmosphere must have been electric, full of anticipation and excitement.

The war council's initial plan was to "*put the belt under their Feet to be considered upon at leisure*" (Middleton 13). However, teedyuscung's (*king of the delaware-anishinabeg*) death on April 19, 1763 moved the war council, which included ni-ni-vay (*boodewadamig-anishinabe*), ta-kay (*wyandot-anishinabe*) and mack-a-te-pe-le-ci-te (*ota'wa-anishinabe*) and obwandiac to move quickly rather than later as was originally planned. Obwandiac understood that if they were to take to war and be successful militarily, boodewadamig and wyandot-anishinabe support was absolutely essential. Middleton writes that obwandiac recognized that reaching out to other leadership was necessary. obwandiac was also concerned with whether mohawk and oneida-anishinabeg would actually support the military action and some sources suggest that he was actually cautious of providing the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy with any kind of advance notice because he feared they might compromise the military effort. He recognized that the confederacy had the ability to disrupt the lines of communication between *Schenectady* and *Oswego (New York)*.

Accordingly, he dispatched emissaries with red and black wampum belts, the colours of war to his Ojibway relatives at Saginaw Bay, the Ojibway on the Thames River, and the Ottawa at Michilimakinac urging the recipients to come and join him (Middleton 14).

In terms of strategy, obwandiac's first objective was to destabilize the *British* militarily. He therefore focused on taking *British* forts in *Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania* and *Michigan*. mack-e-tay-be-nessy (2007) points out that the *Euroamerican* colonial efforts in these regions had become more entrenched and invasive.

Interestingly enough, the surrender of *Fort Ponchartrain (Detroit)* to the *British* on the 29th day of the month of the baash-kah-ko-din gii-zhis (*freezing moon, November 29*) in 1760 would begin a period of political, economic and military transition for the anishinabe and allied nations, and would serve as another staging point for obwandiac in 1763. These relationships inevitably became more salient and events leading up to the military campaign in 1763 showed how tenuous the *British* situation really was. Amidst all this political and military activity there is colonial unrest and fear.

A second council meeting would take place on the 5th day of na-may-bi-nay gii-zhis (*sucker moon, May*) in 1763 to discuss three points: the conestaga-anishinabe village massacre, avenge the loss of anishinabe life and to “drive off... those dogs clothed in red” (Middleton 14). obwandiac would use this council meeting to speak of his plan and military strategy⁶⁶ and discuss the capture of *Fort Detroit (Michigan)* and the possibility of addressing other issues that impacted anishinabe people on manitou aki (*Creator's land*).

Journal entries and first-hand accounts of this meeting describe how everyone sat and listened with interest as obwandiac spoke of the anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*anishinabe way*) and ni-tah-wi-gi-wi-nan (*birth rites*) as expressed within the anishinabe ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*); and of his understanding of mino bi-mah-di-zi-win (*good life*). His strategy was simple enough; the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn

⁶⁶ Mount Pleasant, Michigan.

anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations would attack *British* strongholds and re-establish control over the forts and territories in which they were situated. With reference to this meeting, Edmunds (1978) writes that obwandiac's oratorical skills and clarity of strategy enabled the meeting to go relatively well.

The council was a success. The Detroit Potawatomis and the Hurons led by Takay eagerly joined in the Ottawa's conspiracy. The Potawatomis near Detroit numbered about 150 warriors and were led by Ninivois, who admired the Ottawa chief and was willing to follow his leadership. On May 5 the Potawatomis again met with Pontiac and finalized their plans for an attack on the British Fort. The meeting took place in the Potawatomi village, and the women and children were sent away to insure security. Pontiac informed the Potawatomis and other Indians that he had sent belts to the Chippewas at Saginaw and to other villages of Ottawas in northern Michigan. The Indians decided that on May 7, Pontiac and sixty Ottawa warriors would enter the Fort and ask to meet with the British officers. The Indians planned to carry knives under their blankets, and they also plotted to hide sawed-off muskets under the blankets of some women who would accompany them. At a prearranged signal, the Ottawas intended to attack the garrison and seize control of the Fort. Meanwhile, the Potawatomis and Hurons would establish ambushes downstream from Detroit to prevent any reinforcements from reaching the Fort from Lake Huron Erie (Edmunds 80).

The war council decided within two days from the date of this meeting that they would go to war. As the military die was cast, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations moved quietly and quickly. With strength and military precision a number of forts are taken by anishinabe forces.

On the 7th day of na-may bi-nay gii-zhis (*sucker moon, May 7, 1763*) the siege at *Fort Detroit (Michigan)* begins. The siege would last until the middle of baash-kah-ko-din gii-zhis (*freezing moon, November 1763*) when obwandiac is told of the signing of the *Treaty of Paris* on the tenth day of makwa gii-zhis (*bear moon, February 10*) and the surrender of the *French*.

A general misconception during this period was the idea that *Fort Detroit (Michigan)* was impenetrable and able to withstand any military assault. Many *Euroamerican* scholars and historians perpetuate this idea and that obwandiac did not have the military capacity to take the fort. Middleton (2007) comes closest to providing an accurate description of obwandiac's forces at *Fort Detroit*, which suggested that it was just a matter of time before the garrison fell because of the size of the forces under obwandiac's direction.

Chief Sekahos of the Thames River Ojibwa, who arrived at Detroit on May 21 with 120 warriors. Then on May 31, 1763, Wasson, chief of the Ojibwa at Saginaw Bay, appeared with 200 men. As a result, by June 9, 1763, Pontiac had some 850 warriors, including 250 Ottawa under his own command; 150 Pottawatomi under Ninivois, who had returned from St. Joseph; 50 Detroit Wiandot under Takay, 250 Ojibwa under Wasson; and 170 Ojibwa under Sekahos. Although led by different chiefs, Navarre asserts that all of the warriors 'were under the authority of Pontiac, their over-chief (Middleton 19).

anishinabe gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) suggest that obwandiac's strategy was predicated on heeding the advice of the anishinabe ni'i-na-win-nan (*nations*), ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) involved, who advised against complete *British* annihilation.

Fort Sandusky (Ohio) on the south shore of *Lake Erie* was taken on the 16th day of na-may bi-nay gii-zhis (*sucker moon, May 16th, 1763*). On the twenty-fifth day of na-may bi-nay gii-zhis (*sucker moon, May 25, 1763*), *Fort St. Joseph (Ontario)* the *British's* most westerly post is taken by ni-ni-vais and his boodewadamig-anishinabe forces. *Fort Miami (Michigan)* overlooking *Lake Michigan* would surrender to the mi-a-mi (twilightwee)-anishinabe on the 27th day of na-may-bi-nay gii-zhis (*sucker moon, May 27, 1763*). Sensing their vulnerability, the *British* began to re-evaluate what was taking place.

As the *British* military situation became more tentative, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations military success continued during the month of the ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*). With similar success the kickapoo, piankashaw and wea-anishinabe forces moved quickly to capture *Fort Ouatanon (Indiana)* on the first day of ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June 1, 1763*); three days later (*June 4, 1763*) the ojibway and sac-anishinabe forces led by *mih-neh-weh-na*⁶⁷ (the one with silver tongue) captured *Fort Michilmackinac (Michigan)* located at the *Straits of Mackinac* and *Fort Venango (Pennsylvania)*. Alexander Henry would share that *mih-neh-weh-na* spared his life following the collapse of *Fort Michilimakinac*.

With strategically focused attacks, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) led by ojibway-anishinabe wasson and a force of approximately three hundred ota'wa, ojibway, boodewadamig, mingo, kiashuta, seneca and wyandot-anishinabe o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) would take *Forts Presque' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango* in (*Pennsylvania*) on the 15th and 20th days of ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June 1763*). Following the fall of *Fort Presqu'Isle*, there was a four-day lull in the fighting. The defeat of *Fort Presqu'Isle* would effectively cut communication with *Fort Pitt*.

On the 21st day of ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June 21, 1763*) ota'wa-anishinabe forces would attack the settlements at L'Arbe Croche in (*Michigan*) and Sault Ste. Marie (*Michigan and Ontario*). On the 22nd ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June 22, 1763*) n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires*

⁶⁷ An influential ojibway-anishinabe leader (1710-1770) from Mackinac Island who was an ardent supporter of obwandiac during the resistance.

Confederacy) and allied nation forces lay siege to *Fort Pitt (Ohio)* at the confluence of the *Allegheny* and *Monogahela Rivers (Ohio)*. The *British* would also find themselves in a more precarious situation after the failure of their surprise attack on *obwandiac's* encampment on the twenty-fourth day of *ode'imini gii-zhis (strawberry moon, June 24)*. Therefore, they made it a priority to explore other options to salvage what they could.

In a *Machiavellian* twist, the *British* gave *anishinabe* delegates two small pox infested blankets and handkerchief at *Fort Pitt (Ohio)* on the 24th day of *ode'imini gii-zhis (strawberry moon, June)*. In his journal, *William Trent*, a fur trader in (*Pennsylvania*) would discuss *British* fears and detail the use of small pox on June 24th, 1763:

June 24th [1763] The Turtles Heart a principal Warrior of the Delawares and Mamaltee a Chief came within a small distance of the Fort. Mr. McKee went out to them and they made a Speech letting us know that all our [POSTS] as Ligonier was destroyed, that great numbers of Indians [were coming and] that out of regard to us, they had prevailed on 6 Nations [not to] attack us but give us time to go down the Country and they desired we would set off immediately. The Commanding Officer thanked them, let them know that we had everything we wanted, that we could defend it against all the Indians in the Woods, that we had three large Armys marching to Chastise those Indians that had struck us, told them to take care of their Women and Children, but not to tell any other Natives, they said they would go and speak to their Chiefs and come and tell us what they said, they returned and said they would hold fast of the Chain of friendship. Out of our regard to them we gave them two Blankets and a Handkerchief out of the Small Pox Hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect. They then told us that Ligonier had been attacked, but that the Enemy was beat off (William Trent Journal Entry June 24th 1763).

The *British* saw the use of biological warfare (small pox) as a means to an end. *Pine Shomin* (1990) shares a similar story following a meeting in *Montreal*:

A-ni-sa-aki-wi-neng (down the hill) was the principal an-o-gon-sit of the odawas during bwondiac's time in 1763. A-ni-sa-aki-wi-neng is the one who ordered the English prisoners away from bwondiac and provided them safe passage to Montreal. He instructed e-go-ma-na (corn hanger) his war headman, how to speak to the English at Montreal. In return for the favour, this emissary was given a gift by the British and told not to open it until he arrived back home. This great gift was

smallpox. This story is preserved in both oral and written odawa history (Shomin 25-26).

The *British* plan is further detailed in a series of letters between Colonel Henry Bouquet and Amherst during the summer months, wherein they discuss the use of smallpox-infested blankets to infect anishinabe forces laying siege to *Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania)*.

In an attempt to justify themselves, Colonel Henry Bouquet writes: “*That vermine... have forfeited all claims to the rights of humanity*” (Bouquet Letter June 25 1763). Amherst responds with two letters to William Johnson discussing the idea of genocide on July 9, 1763 and another on August 27, 1763: “*Measures to be taken as would bring about the Total Extirpation of those Indian Nations...* (Amherst to Johnson Superintendent of Northern Indian Department July 9 1763) and “*Put a most Effectual Stop to their very being*” (Amherst to Johnson August 27 1763).⁶⁸

The planned use of small pox against obwandiac’s forces was indicative of two things: firstly, Amherst’s *racial hatred* for anishinabe peoples; and secondly the tenuous situation of the *British* at this time. Bouquet and Amherst would continue speaking of the use of smallpox-infested blankets in correspondence dated July 13, 1763 and July 16, 1763. Amherst would write: *Could it not be contrived to send the small pox among those disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them.* Bouquet responds in agreement, replying to Amherst on July 13: *I will try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets that may fall in their hands, taking care however not to get the disease myself*’ (Amherst Journal Entry June 29 1763).

On 16th day of mii’ni gii-zhis (berry moon, July 16) in 1763 he adds: *"You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as to try every other*

⁶⁸ Letters: June 25, 1763 (Bouquet); July 9, 1763 and August 27, 1763 (Amherst to Johnson).

method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race.”⁶⁹ The use of germ/biological warfare was really nothing new. The *Assyrians* for example used germ/biological warfare as a weapon and tactic in 6th century BC by poisoning the wells of their enemies, *Hannibal of Carthage* was said to have used poisonous snakes against the *Pergamene*. Further, the *Mongol* and *Turkish* armies used infected carcasses to infect the water supplies of their enemies.

In one of the last battles, the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its seneca-anishinabe allies would soundly defeat the *British* at *Devil’s Hole (Fort Niagara, New York)* on the 14th day of wah-tah-bah-gah gii-zhis (*bright leaves moon-September 14, 1763*). Edmonds (1978) writes that on October 29th, 1763, obwandiac and his forces would receive notice of *France’s* surrender.

On October 29... a message arrived from the French in Illinois informing the Indians that Britain and France had signed the Treaty of Paris. The French commander at Fort Chartres instructed all of the tribes to ‘lay down their arms’ and to cease spilling the blood of your brethren the English’ (Edmunds 89-90).

The *Treaty of Paris* signed on the tenth (10th) day of makwa gii-zhis (*bear moon, February*) officially ended the war between *Britain, France* and *Spain*. On October 7, 1763, King George III would issue the *Royal Proclamation* recognizing the *primordial* rights of anishinabe nations to lands and agreeing to a treaty process and framework for the sharing of these lands. The *Royal Proclamation* would indirectly acknowledge an anishinabe *Bill of Rights* as well. Middleton (2007) writes: “*Monsieur Dequindre, a French officer from Fort Chartres arrives with the news that the peace between France and Britain was official*” (Middleton 30). obwandiac ends his siege at *Fort Detroit*

⁶⁹ Letters: June 29, 1763; July 13, 1763 (Bouquet to Amherst) and July 16, 1763 (Amherst responds to Bouquet).

(Michigan) on the thirty-first (31st) day of b'naa-kwii gii-zhis (*falling leaves moon, October 31*) after learning the *Treaty of Paris*. He is heard to say to those around him: “*They can have their Fort... we have our lands*” (obwandiac October 31 1763).

The influence and leadership abilities of obwandiac were unparalleled. As noted earlier, some historians and scholars tried to minimize his influence and leadership in events leading up to and during the war of 1763. In fact, obwandiac believed anishinabe nations would eventually participate in the global military and economic conflicts manifesting themselves on manitou aki (*Creator's land*).

James Clifton, George Cornell and James McClurken (1986) describe the following military successes achieved by obwandiac from May-November in 1763. They point out that in less than six weeks *Fort Sandusky (Ohio)*, *Forts St. Joseph* and *Michilimakinak (Michigan)*, *Forts Ouiatenon* and *Miami (Indiana)* and *Forts Presque Isle, Venango* and *Leboeuf (Pennsylvania)* surrendered to the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). Only *Forts Pitt* and *Detroit* remained in *British* hands.

obwandiac forced the *British* to accept the fact there needed to be a clearer nation-to-nation understanding with the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its allied nations and that peaceful coexistence and commitment to land and resources sharing was essential. The *Royal Proclamation* in 1763 would be an attempt to provide the means through which peaceful coexistence would be maintained and inherent title to land recognized.

With Amherst's removal in the month of the baash-kah-ko-din gii-zhis (*freezing moon, November*) in 1763, the anishinabe nations saw a radical change in *British* policy

and attitude. Amherst's replacement, General Thomas Gage was seen as having a better understanding of the diplomatic relations between the *British* and anishinabe peoples. It helped that Gage had prior knowledge and understanding of the *middle ground's* diplomatic and economic protocols. More importantly, he knew obwandiac still had at his disposal approximately six hundred (600) ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*). Gage in fact spoke to this in his letter to William Johnson dated July 2, 1764:

This fellow should be gained to our Interest or knocked on the head. He has great Abilities, but his Savage Cruelty destroys the regard we should have for him. I hope you will see him at Niagara (Gage to Johnson Letter July 2 1764).

obwandiac and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) continued to push anishinabe sovereignty and independence. neolin's vision of sovereign anishinabe nations living in accordance to the anishinabe-i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*anishinabe way*) and ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) was still central to obwandiac's idea of mino bi-mah-di-si-win (*good life*).

mack-e-tay-be-nessy (2007) acknowledged that obwandiac's use of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fire Confederacy*) economic, political and military resources was both efficient and effective. From the outset of his campaign, obwandiac knew anishinabe military success would depend in large part upon the stealth and strategy of the confederacy. He also saw the political and military alliances the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fire Confederacy*) forged with other nations as critical to the campaign's success.

The *British* understood that negotiation and accommodation would bring an end to the hostilities and help avoid their complete defeat. Nothing else! Following the *Treaty of*

Paris (February 10, 1763) and the *Royal Proclamation (October 7, 1763)* an uneasy truce blanketed anishinabe country.

Twenty-four anishinabe nations including the wyandot, menominee, algonquin, nippising, ojibway, mississauga and the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy would meet in assembly on August 1, 1764 at *Niagara* and renew the *covenant chain*, effectively ending the *French-Indian Wars*. It also established the treaty process and framework with anishinabe nations.

In June 1774, the *Quebec Act* is enacted. *French* civil law and procedures for governance would be legislated for the first time and sets the wheels-in-motion for the creation of *Quebec*. This self-congratulatory portrait that *Britain* attempted to paint in 1763 blinded itself to its weakened position.

Britain would propose that it would adopt anishinabe people as its children “*instead of brothers as you have hitherto been.*”⁷⁰ *Britain's* idea of exceptionalism during this period exaggerated its place and authority on manitou aki (*Creator's land*). In my mind, obwandiac was actually quite successful in his military and political efforts. The *Royal Proclamation (1763)* was indicative of this. The attempt by *Britain* to adopt anishinabe peoples as its children was certainly an attempt to save face in light of its military defeat. In fact, anishinabe di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*) describe an entirely different story, one focusing on an equal nation-to-nation relationship.

⁷⁰ Jacob de Marsac (First Sergeant).

The political, economic and military transition was tentative at best. The *Fort McIntosh Treaty* (January⁷¹ 21, 1785) for example with the wyandot and delaware-anishinabe nations acknowledged *American* sovereignty for the first time despite attempting to re-establish the idea of the *middle ground* and its long-established diplomatic and political protocol.

Other treaties were entered into including the *Fort Harmar Treaty* (January 9, 1789), which effectively transferred all of *Ohio* to the *United States*. The *Treaty of Greenville* (August 3, 1795) choreographed by Joseph Brant, William Johnson and George Croghan would accept the *United States* as a sovereign power. The following year, the *Jay Treaty* (February 29, 1796) established an international boundary between *Canada* and the *United States*. It is interesting that in one generation, mindless manipulation and accomodationist leadership would tarnish the honour of these treaties and the spoken word. All of this would create uncertainty within anishinabe communities because of the focus on *United States* sovereignty and wholesale surrender of anishinabe territory. This would set the stage for tecumtha in 1812.

anishinabe sovereignty and nationhood were not seen as a practical reality during this period of transition. anishinabe nations however, saw sovereignty and nationhood as a vehicle through which treaties would be negotiated and anishinabe inherent title recognized. The *Royal Proclamation* would become fundamentally important to what is taking place during this period.

It was designed to provide protection to Anishinabe territory and it proclaimed that Anishinabe territory could be sold only to the Crown. And secondly, it was a declaratory recognition of Aboriginal rights by the Crown (Berger 61)

Further, it would define the nation-to-nation protocols and code of conduct between the

⁷¹ manitou gii-zhis (spirit moon, January).

Euroamericans and the anishinabe nations. It would also lay the foundation for legislation specific to the use of and sharing of anishinabe territory. This certainly continues to be worrisome to industry and federal/provincial levels of government today because anishinabe nations still challenge their right to extract natural resources from traditional anishinabe territories.

From a contemporary perspective, Hall (2003) suggests that anything *Canada* does as a nation must recognize and enforce *aboriginal* and *treaty rights*. Even though the 1763 *Royal Proclamation* acknowledged this and suggested that this be done in the “*shaping of Canadian laws, institutions and economic relationships, including Canadian trade treaties*” (Hall 29) there is much still to be done. Given its focus on *primordial* and *treaty rights*, an anishinabe *Bill of Rights* and the sharing of land, the *Royal Proclamation* became one of the mitigating factors for the *American colonies*’ fight for independence in 1783. As young and weak as it was during this period, the *United States* understood it could not risk going to war with the anishinabe nations.

The *Royal Proclamation* (1763) would mean different things to different people. However, for anishinabe nations it was important for two reasons. It was the first time territorial integrity and ancestral title to *manitou aki* (*Creator’s land*) was acknowledged. Secondly, it recognized the concept and practical application of anishinabe *nationhood* and *sovereignty*. Through the *Royal Proclamation*, *Britain* legally entrenched and institutionalized the treaty-making process and made the anishinabe peoples’ consent a prerequisite before anishinabe territory and resources could be shared.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not

*having been ceded or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds*⁷² (Royal Proclamation 1763).

The sovereignty of anishinabe nations was never in question; the preamble states as much and it also entrenched a treaty process acknowledging the need for anishinabe consent before land was exchanged. The *Royal Proclamation* was described by Mr. Justice Hall (*Supreme Court of Canada*) in 1973 as an “*Indian Bill of Rights with the force of Magna Carta.*”⁷³ In 1982, the *Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs*, Lord Denning would add:

To my mind the Royal Proclamation of 1763 was equivalent to an entrenched provision in the constitution of the colonies in North America. It was binding on the Crown-so long as the sun rises and the rivers flow (Lord Denning 1982).

The treaty process established in 1763 recognized the inherent powers of sovereign nations and was intended to respect and acknowledge the sovereign character of each of the treaty parties *so long as the sun rose and the rivers flowed and the grass grows.*

One of the more important reflections shared in this narrative is obwandiac’s participation in and use of ceremony to seek answers to what was taking place. Following his departure from *Fort Detroit (Michigan)* and being told of a gathering that is to take place to renew the *covenant chain* in August of the following year, obwandiac questions whether he should attend. He decides to take part in a jeeskahn (*shake tent*) ceremony to get his answer and direction. Both Alexander Henry and William Johnston are in attendance. It seems appropriate given this narrative’s approach to discussing *indian methods* and *ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid* (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) to find answers. This is the anishinabe way.

⁷² Great Britain. Parliament. Royal Proclamation (October 7, 1763).

⁷³ Calder v. The Queen (1973) S.C.R. 313 at 394.

Deloria's (2006) reference to the *shake tent* ceremony is interesting and I have included it despite the fact that it might seem out of place. His focus for the most part has always been on dakota, lakota and nakota-anishinabe traditional governance, treaties, ceremony and world-view. However he saw fit to provide commentary and this speaks volumes regarding the importance of ceremony and the quest for knowledge and answers.

In this ritual, a medicine man and his helpers build the framework for an extensive skin lodge. The lodge is sometimes as high as ten feet and composed of heavy timber poles, so that it usually takes several men to construct and put it into place. Once the framework of poles is complete, the helpers then cover it tightly with animal skins, leaving a little entrance at the bottom of the structure. The medicine man goes inside, and after blessing the enterprise by smoking a pipe, he begins singing sacred songs, summoning the spirits to the ceremony. Sometimes, people are allowed into the tent; most of the time, it is the medicine man alone that enters.

After a while, sometimes as long as half an hour, the edifice begins to shake, primarily at the top of the lodge, increasing in violence until the spirit enters it. Then strange voices are heard, usually easily distinguishable from the voice and language of the medicine man. The timbers used for the framework start to bend and vibrate back and forth, showing an amazing flexibility that did not exist when the poles were firmly planted in the ground. On occasion, the tent rocks back and forth so violently that it appears it will tip over on its side. Then the spirit begins to communicate through the medicine man, using language only he knows, but loud enough so that people outside can hear loudly (Deloria 100-112).⁷⁴

Michael Angel (2002) also provides description of obwandiac's participation in the jeeskahn (*shake tent*) ceremony to ask as to whether he should participate in the treaty negotiations at *Niagara* in 1764, and is actually quite compelling and supports the approach taken in this narrative. Despite the promise of gifts and their acceptance as friends, obwandiac is directed by the *Great Turtle* not to attend the gathering, it is agreed that mih-neh-weh-na who would lead the treaty negotiations at *Niagara*.

⁷⁴ Deloria Jr. Vine. *The World We Used to Live in: Remembering the Powers of the Medicine Men*. Wicazo Sa Review. Vol 23, No. 2 (Fall, 2008), pp. 100-112. University of Minnesota Press: St. Paul. Print.

Jon William Parmentier writes that Johnson advocated a treaty offensive and defensive alliance with each of the major anishinabe confederacies⁷⁵ (Parmentier 630). Obwandiac on the other hand knew and understood this and that any treaty or negotiation would have been a capitulation to and alliance with Johnson. In fact, Obwandiac was quite content keeping his distance from any of Johnson's attempts to broker a treaty process. Johnson's influence and legitimacy rested solely on the shoulders of Joseph Brant and would set the wheels in motion for what would take place in 1812.

There are obviously varying accounts and descriptions of what was witnessed. Alexander Henry's interpretations of the ceremony as shared by him are both respectful and impartial.

One of the most complete early descriptions among the Anishinaabeg is by fur trader Alexander Henry the Elder, who devotes a whole chapter of his 1764 Travels to a description of what he terms 'Consulting the Great Turtle.' His account is not only one of the earliest Euro-American accounts, but it also demonstrates many misconceptions Euro-Americans held regarding Aboriginal religious figures and ceremonies.

Henry was living with some Ojibwa who had just arrived at Sault Ste. Marie, shortly after the fall of Michilimakinac to Aboriginal followers of Pontiac in 1763. The occasion was an invitation by Sir William Johnson, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to all Aboriginal people who were peacefully disposed towards the British to meet with him at Fort Niagara. As various bands of Ojibwa had recently joined Pontiac in opposing the English, wrote Henry, 'the occasion was of too much magnitude not to call for more human knowledge and discretion; and preparations were accordingly made for solemnly invoking and consulting the GREAT TURTLE.' Turtle, or Mikinaak the Turtle (as he was named by the Anishinaabeg), acted as a messenger between the Jiisakiiwinini and the spirits or manidoog. Like Nanabozho, Mikinaak is often portrayed as a figure of some derision (an old gossip, according to Schoolcraft), but at the same time he possessed unique powers of translation, which were vital to the Ojibwa, enabling them to speak with the manidoog. Perhaps it was this power that sometimes led the Ojibwa to portray him as a sinister figure, since he might literally hold their lives in his control.

The ceremony began with the preparation of the tent: 'Five poles, or rather

⁷⁵ Parmentier, Jon William. (Autumn, 1997) Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain. 1758-1766. Ethnohistory, Vol. 44, No. 4. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

pillars, of five different species of timber, about ten feet in height, and eight inches in diameter were set in a circle of about four feet in diameter. The holes made to receive them were about two feet deep... the pillars were bound together by a circular hoop, or girder. Over this edifice were spread moose-skins... The ceremonies, Henry explained, did not begin until nightfall, when several fires were kindled around the tent. Once the village had assembled, the Jiisakiiwinini arms were bound and he crawled into the tent. The tent began to shake and there was a cacophony of animal sounds emanating from it, followed by a period of silence. The Turtle was heard, followed by a half-hour of songs. Next the Jiisakiiwinini addressed the multitude and declared the spirit's readiness to answer questions. The chief then took a quantity of tobacco and offered it to the spirit before he asked whether the English were preparing to make war on the Aboriginal people.

The tent instantly began to shake, and a terrible cry announced the departure of the Turtle. After a quarter of an hour of silence, the voice of Turtle was heard again, so the Jiisakiiwinini translated. He explained that Turtle had visited Fort Niagara, where he had seen no troops, but on proceeding further towards Montreal, the river was covered with boats full of soldiers on their way up the river to make war. The chief asked again if Sir William Johnson would receive the Aboriginal people who came to Fort Niagara as friends. The answer was that he would fill his canoes with gifts and every man would be able to return home safely... (Angel 31-32).

From 1764-1766, obwandiac would continue to lobby for *unity* within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and argue for *reciprocity* between the *British* and anishinabe nations.

George Croghan would point out that obwandiac's importance was not misplaced given he coordinated one of the most successful anishinabe alliances ever organized. "*Pontiac... commands more respect amongst those nations, than any Indian I ever saw could do amongst his own tribe.*"⁷⁶ Britain's abandonment of the notion of conquest and the *Royal Proclamation* in 1763 is a glaring manifestation of this because of obwandiac's military and political success.

⁷⁶ George Croghan to William Johnson, October 1765.

The vision of neolin and the idea of the political, economic, diplomatic and military *middle ground*⁷⁷ were still very much a reality for obwandiac. In fact, from 1763 until his death on April 20, 1769 at *Cahokia (St. Louis, Missouri)*, obwandiac would continue to express the importance of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) within a restored *middle ground*. The genius of obwandiac lay in his ability to articulate neolin's spiritual vision in a way that motivated anishinabeg. His genius also lay in his ability to bring together anishinabe cooperation and alliances to challenge *British* attempts to remove the shadow of anishinabe title. obwandiac was able to stand outside of the colonial rhetoric and harness neolin's spiritual message to achieve his political and military objectives. The genius of obwandiac's military strategy and political organization of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) is reflected in the surrender of nine of the twelve *British* forts.

obwandiac would never have an audience with a sitting or future president. He was also a person who was able to move between both societies with relative ease. He was a brilliant mediator who had the ability to maintain alliances, the likes of which were never seen. He began a series of geopolitical contests between the *French, British* and *Americans*. His success forced the *British* to abandon any notions or pretensions of conquest. Incredibly, few dramas and poems would ever be written about him with the exception of Robert Roger's "*Ponteach*".

⁷⁷ To reiterate, the "middle ground" was first reinforced within the Royal Proclamation in 1763 and as John Borrows (2006) suggests, "established a body of intercultural law" that entrenched political, economic and military alliances between anishinabe and Euroamerican nations, which in turn helped facilitate the idea of Canada. It focuses on what Dr. Gaywish defines as an "anishinabe grounded concept of respectful, harmonious co-habitation. She adds that the 'middle ground' is also implicit in ceremonial traditions such as the jeeskahn where an emissary communicates with the Great Turtle in the 'middle ground' between physical and spiritual realms" (Dr. Rainey Gaywish Personal Communication) 2013.

Lastly, obwandiac was born into this world in which sharing was seen as virtuous and practical. He saw the *middle ground* as a solemn commitment to anishinabe sovereignty and peaceful coexistence between independent nations. In his lifetime he would come to represent the face of resistance and vision.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

Chapter 5

tecumtha *(He walked across the southern star falling)* (mizhibizhi)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

Patricia and Norman (deceased) Shawano (descendants of tecumtha from *Kettle and Stoney Point, Ontario*) share that tecumtha's father was pukeshinwa n'wau⁷⁸ (mizhibizhi), a kispoko-anishinabe o-gi-chi-dah and his mother methoataaskee⁷⁹ (turtle) was pe-ko-wi-anishinabe and that from 1770-1780, the family lived at the shawnee-anishinabe community of *Piqua (Ohio)* on the banks of the *Miami River*. pukeshinwa n'wau was a "great war chief who was highly regarded both as a statesmen and warrior" who died fighting along side cornstalk (shawnee-anishinabe) at the *Battle of Point Pleasant (Lord Dunsmore's War)* in 1774. It was left to the eldest of the children, chee-see-kau or pep-quan-na-ke (*the gun*)⁸⁰ to assume responsibilities as the head of the family. In fact, Patricia and Norman tell us that it was chee-see-kau who supervised tecumtha's ma-kah-day-kay-win (*vision quest*) at the age of twelve years and also taught him "to look with contempt upon everything that was mean and instilled in him (the) 'correct, manly and honourable principles'" (Sugden 38).

tecumtha (*he walked across the southern star falling*) was born in 1764 during his family's return to their home community of *Piqua* in the traditional territory (*Ohio*) of the

⁷⁸ pukeshinwa n'wau (something that falls).

⁷⁹ me-tho-a-taas-kee (a turtle laying eggs in the sand).

⁸⁰ tecumtha's oldest brother.

chilicothe-anishinabe.⁸¹ He was killed at the *Battle of Moraviantown* on October 5, 1813 at the age of 49 years. His only sister me-ne-wau-laa-koo-see or te-cu-ma-pe-ase⁸² (*flying over water or wading bird*) was born on 1767 and is acknowledged by John Sugden (1997) as an extremely “*intelligent, a woman who had the command of all the women*” (Sugden 99). She was said to have considerable voice within the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) during and following the *War of 1812* and was said to have lived beyond the *Mississippi River* and died in 1825 at the age of 58 years.

Not much is known of two of the triplets born, sau-wa-see-kau (*jumping panther*) we know was killed in battle at the *Battle of Fallen Timbers* (*August 20, 1794*) and kumus-kau-kau (*star shooting in a straight line over great waters*) who passed in his first year. The last of the triplets, lau-lau-we-see-kau (*the rattle*) or tenskawatawa (*the open door*) is forever linked to tecumtha and the events leading up to and during the *War of 1812*. He was said to have had two wives, four sons and three daughters. One of his sons John Prophet married pe-ne-e-pe-es-ce, a daughter of spybuck (shawnee-anishinabe leader).⁸³ We know as fact that tecumtha had another sister and brother, ne-haa-ee-mo and weh-yah-pih-resh-n’wah (*bluejacket*) who was adopted in 1771.

Because of tecumtha’s respect for his mother and sister, he was deeply respectful of women and had compassion for those in need. Both me-tho-a-taas-kee (*a turtle laying eggs in the sand*) and te-cu-ma-pe-ase (*flying over water or wading bird*) would teach

⁸¹ He was said to have been one of the first people to live in zhi-gahg-gong present-day Chicago.

⁸² In events leading up to and during the War of 1812, her husband wah-si-ke-ga-bow (Stands Firm) would be a leading supporter of her brothers.

⁸³ Charles Tucker tells Draper on June 26 and August 16, 1887; tecumtha papers (3YY112, 1YY95); pene-e-pe-es-ce interviewed by Draper (1868); Draper notes (23s172) John Prophet’s family is mentioned in the records in the shawnee mission school in Kansas and in the 1857 census of the Kansas shawnees.

tecumtha that this was an expected and honourable thing to do. Family members share that he once reprimanded a shawnee-anishinabe man for beating his wife.⁸⁴ They share as well that his first wife moh-ne-toh-se was sent back to her family for neglecting their infant son, mah-yaw-we-kaw-pa-we. His second wife ma-ma-te who was somewhat older, died after giving birth to a son nay-tha-way-nah (*a panther seizing its prey*) or pau-kee-saa (*crouched cat stalking*) on 1796.⁸⁵

Despite the litany of stories, epic poems, verse romances, historical novels and biographies⁸⁶ about tecumtha, there is relatively little known about his emergence as leader. He was initially named sha-wa-lung (*southern star falling*) because of a star that fell across the southern sky when he was born. This was the name he used during treaty negotiations in 1795. It was during these negotiations that he was raised to a leadership position within the shawnee-anishinabe nation. tecumtha himself cannot be understood without specific reference to obwandiac. All of the successes and failures of the military campaign and treaty process that obwandiac orchestrated deeply impacted tecumtha emotionally and spiritually. Badly negotiated treaties ignoring traditional protocol and the collective rights of anishinabeg would be the starting for tecumtha in the period leading up to 1812. In this way they are inextricably linked.

He was described as being approximately 5ft. 10 in height, strongly built, a man of endurance with superior shrewdness and skill. Patricia and Norman share that *British* did not know what to make of this leader who could speak, read and write the English language but spoke only in anishinabemowin when in meetings with them. They knew as

⁸⁴ One of our most important teachings is to treat your wife and partner, as you would want your mother and sister to be treated.

⁸⁵ (Piqua Gazette. September 30, 1826: Tecumseh Papers).

⁸⁶ Sayre, Gordon M. *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero: Native Resistance and the Literatures of America, From Moctezuma to Tecumseh*. University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill. 2005. Print.

well that he was every bit superior to any *British* military leader. Judge James Hall provides an interesting description of tecumtha in Benjamin Drake's (1999) analysis as:

The Napoleon of the west, and so far as that title was deserved by splendid genius, unwavering courage, untiring perseverance, boldness of conception and promptitude of action it was fairly bestowed upon this accomplished savage. He rose from obscurity to the command of a tribe to which he was alien by birth. He was, by turns, the orator, the warrior, and the politician; and in each of these capacities, towered above all with whom he came into contact (Drake 1852).

He was stereotypically described as the *shawanese king*, a *noble and heroic savage* and *one of the greatest indian leaders* by *Euroamerican* historians and admirers. William Stanley Hatch for one (1995) in his physical description of tecumtha would *eroticize* his appearance:

The personal experience of this remarkable man was uncommonly fine. His height was about five feet nine inches, judging him by my own height when standing close to him... His face oval rather than angular, his nose handsome and straight; his mouth beautifully formed, like that of Napoleon I... his eyes clear, transparent hazel, with a mild, pleasant expression when in repose, or in conversation; but when excited in his orations, or by the enthusiasm of conflict, or when in anger, they appeared like balls of fire; his teeth beautifully white, and his complexion more of a light brown or tan than red; his whole tribe as well as their kindred, the Ottowas had light complexions; his arms and hands were finely formed; his limbs straight; he always stood very erect, and walked with a brisk, elastic, vigorous step...in his appearance and noble bearing one of the finest looking men I have ever seen (Buff 291).

Hatch's description of tecumtha as a *noble hero* with a "*mouth beautifully formed, like that of Napoleon 1st... his eyes clear, transparent, hazel*" was different from other characterizations and descriptions of anishinabe people. Hatch also sought to *Anglicize* the idea of tecumtha because it made it easier for *Euroamericans* to see and accept him as an effective orator and brilliant strategist.

There were attempts by numerous authors and historians to promote this *crazy* idea that both obwandiac and tecumtha were of mixed-blood because anishinabe people were

considered incapable of dealing with complex ideas of sovereignty, nationhood, military and political strategy. Buff (1995) suggests these descriptions were psychologically and racially motivated because they attempted to reinforce the idea of *Western* hegemony and exceptionalism:

Tecumseh transcends Indianess, becoming a fetish for European desire and admiration; Tenskwatawa, in contrast, represents the opposite of what is valued by the West and assumes responsibility for the degradation Euroamericans read into the Indian (Buff 294).

Hall (2003) describes tecumtha as one of manitou aki's (*Creator's land*) gifted visionaries who sought to challenge the very essence of colonial arrogance and *exceptionalism*. He also compares twentieth century leaders Gandhi and Mandela to him. One of the more significant factors controlling the political lobbying taking place during this period was tecumtha's thorough knowledge and understanding of how a political and military alliance could influence treaty and diplomatic discussions. Buff (1995) writes, "*Tecumseh is celebrated as one of the great patriot chiefs. These accounts treat him as a unique orator and brave warrior, an exemplary Indian...*" (Buff 277).

Hueglin (1993) adds that tecumtha raised the question of the authority of anishinabe leadership to enter into and agree to treaties "*since (Ojibway), (Ota'wa) and (Boodewaadamig) nations openly operated by consensual and limited delegation of authority, many of the chiefs and headmen negotiating treaties on behalf of their people did not have total authority*" (Hueglin 19). tecumtha recognized that only a federation of nations and communities would facilitate serious treaty negotiation and that leadership negotiating in isolation of the people was not acceptable. In his view, treaties could only be negotiated by this collective and not by individual leaders.

Tecumseh imagined the Aboriginal dominion as a flexible federation – as a

community of communities – that stressed the commonalities of shared Indian heritage. The key to his political program was to establish the principle that particular Indian groups lacked the authority to sell particular parcels of territory in ceding territories (Hall 391).

Both obwandiac and tecumtha understood the subtle nuance of the *colonial realpolitik*. In this way they mirrored each other. Further, their ability to express neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's spiritual visions politically and militarily moved the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations to action in 1763 and 1812.

Their success in establishing military alliances between *France*, *Britain* and other allied nations was evidence of their military and diplomatic brilliance. In fact, the strategic alliance between *Britain* and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) established by tecumtha would come to represent the first time an anishinabe leader and his forces would fight alongside and lead a colonial power against another, making for exciting theatre. In 1763, obwandiac fought independent of *France*, which makes his successes all the more fascinating.

John Richardson's *Wacousta* (1832), which is sometimes regarded as the first *Canadian* novel was an attempt to combine fiction and historical fact in describing events leading up to obwandiac and tecumtha's challenges to both *France* and *Britain*. His narrative had some merit because he knew tecumtha personally and affords him great respect. Sugden (1997) also reveals that Richardson had some knowledge of lau-lau-we-see-kau's conversations with artist George Caitlin, in which he described he and tecumtha's vision of a *mighty indian confederation*.

tecumtha understood the subtle intricacies of challenging the many complicated layers of resistance politically, militarily and diplomatically. Because of this and the

leadership qualities he embodied, the *Euroamerican* saw him as the “*Indian Napoleon*,” the “*Indian Bonaparte*.” William Henry Harrison upon meeting tecumtha for the first-time remarked: “*eyewitnesses were well aware of the phenomenon of the heroic Indian chief.*”⁸⁷ In terms of the events leading up to the military campaign, Buff (1995) describes the complexity of these negotiations and the planned organization and alliance between the confederacies. She considers it a truly amazing diplomatic and intellectual accomplishment. In her view it was an effective response to the impact of colonization:

Tecumseh and Tenskawatwa attempted to articulate a unified, intellectual response to Euroamerican colonization. This response and its popular appeal to diverse Indian nations from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, involved complex negotiations with existing indigenous ideas about racial formation and identity, land tenure and the ongoing syncretism of native and Christian religions (Buff 279).

As tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau began uniting the anishinabe nations, they spoke of past resistance movements. They heralded the success of past resistance movements led by obwandiac in 1763, and to the shawnee-anishinabe campaign led by cornstalk against *Lord John Dunmore*⁸⁸ at *Point Pleasant (New Jersey)* in 1774. They invoked the memory of mi-a-mi-anishinabe leader, little turtle’s defeat of General Arthur St. Clair and his loss of more than six hundred soldiers on the 4th day of baash-kah-ko-din gii-zhis (*freezing moon, November*) in 1791. tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau also referenced past diplomatic relationships and centuries old trade networks prior to the arrival of the *European*. They were also able to draw on the memory of metacom (*King Phillip*) who saw land exchanges and treaties as a threat to wampanoag and narraganset-anishinabe sovereignty in (1675-76).

⁸⁷ Sayre, Gordon M. *The Indian Chief as Tragic Hero: Native Resistance and the Literatures of America, from Moctezuma to Tecumseh*. University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill. 1964. Print.

⁸⁸ Last colonial governor of Virginia.

As tecumtha began to articulate the strategy of his challenge to the existing colonial hegemony and power structure, he spoke to the importance of the confederacy and alliance in challenging the land surrenders (*treaties*) taking place and the survival of the anishinabe way of life. The idea of multi-nation anishinabe alliances were always embedded in his consciousness. Hall (2003) points out that tecumtha accepted the importance of expanding upon the idea of shared heritage and the commonality between anishinabe nations. tecumtha believed anishinabe survival depended on this commitment to sovereignty and recognizing their oneness.

tecumtha believed that the strength of a united council exercising sovereign jurisdiction would be central to the success of any military intervention that he initiated.

Edmunds (1978) describes the manner in which the exercise of jurisdiction took place:

Tecumseh had called a multi-tribal conference to meet on the Mississinewa River in mid-May. At the Council, chiefs of the Shawnees, Potawatomi, Wyandots, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawa, Delawares, Kickapoos and Winnebagos tried to reconcile their differences over their relationships with the Americans (Edmonds 181).

Buff (1995) provides a generous overview of the conscious effort by oppressed people to seek freedom from oppression, she writes that insurgency “(Is) a motivated and conscious undertaking on the part of the rural masses” (Buff 280). She believes tecumtha was firm in his mind that the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) had to be united and firm in its political and military opposition to the existing colonial hierarchy. Hall (2003) adds that tecumtha was extremely focused in his efforts to unite the sovereign council and allied nations during this period.

tecumtha saw n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) military action against the *United States* as a vehicle for ending the

treaty violations and uncontrolled land cessions taking place. Prior to 1812, it was obvious the *British* were fearful of tecumtha's political and military planning. James W. Henry (April 30, 1799) would express this in a letter to Arthur St. Clair, *Governor of the Northwest Territory*⁸⁹ serving notice that tecumtha was organizing an assembly of anishinabe nations at the *Grand Glaize (Auglaize) River* in *northwestern Ohio*:

*Lieutenant Col. Hamtramich writes me under date of March*⁹⁰ *1st "I am informed that the Shawnese have been and are now working to have a representation from every nation to attend to a council next spring at one of their towns on Grand Glaize River in order to take into some consideration some articles of the Treaty of Greenville which they wish to have altered..." (James W. Henry Letter April 30 1799).*

tecumtha would travel throughout anishinabe country ten years prior to 1812 outlining his political and military strategy and rallying support. Mindful of the threat, William Henry Harrison sought to get ahead of the situation by extending an invitation to lau-lau-we-see-kau to visit with him in *Washington*. R. David Edmunds (1978) writes that lau-lau-we-see-kau did not see any point in travelling to *Washington*.

The Prophet refused his invitation, and instead of the holy man going to Washington, Tecumseh came to Vincennes. The Shawnee chief, accompanied by about seventy-five Shawnees, Potawatomis, Winnebagos, Kickapoos, and Ottawas, arrived in Vincennes on August 1, 1810. He remained with Harrison for ten days discussing Indian-white relations and vowing that the tribesmen would give up no more lands. On August 20 the conference almost erupted in violence when Tecumseh interrupted a speech by Harrison to call him a liar for stating that the United States was a friend to the Indians. Winamac had assisted Harrison at the conference and was sitting in the grass near the governor's feet. Tecumseh was well aware of the Potawatomi's fidelity to the Americans and had earlier threatened to kill him. Turning to Winmac, the Shawnee chief called him a "black dog" and denounced him in such terms that Winmac became frightened and

⁸⁹ The Northwest Territory (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota) was created on July 13, 1787 with the passing of the Northwest Ordinance by the Congress of the Confederation of the United States.

⁹⁰ nahb-din gii-zhis (snow crust moon, March).

recharged his pistol... The conference ended on August 22, and the Indians returned to Prophetstown (Edmunds 171).

Both brothers believed that returning to a traditional anishinabe lifestyle would better serve the sovereignty and jurisdiction of anishinabe peoples and would also protect the idea of the *middle ground*. To them, the land surrenders and hastily negotiated treaties were completely irresponsible and had to be stopped. The *Treaty of Fort Wayne* signed in 1809, which saw the transfer of three million acres to *American* control was a case in point. With respect to how this treaty was negotiated, tecumtha maintained that the consent of all the anishinabe nations was needed before any treaty or land cession could be ratified. This idea of the *middle ground* had to be reinforced to buffer further colonial expansion. In the planning leading up to the war in 1812, Sugden (1997) describes tecumtha's efforts to maintain peace during this period because organization and readiness was critical for n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) success.

Tecumseh spoke bluntly about his frustration with his impetuous and incompetent followers, who were dragging him into premature hostilities. Pointing to the Potawatomis present, he told Chainé that 'our younger brothers, the Putewatemis, in spite of repeated counsel to them to remain quiet and live in peace with the Big Knives, would not listen to us.' Their raids of 1810 and 1811 had brought up an army up the Wabash, and their new outrages were wrecking the fragile peace, which he, the Winnebagos, and the Kickapoos had patched up with Harrison...

In June, Tecumseh made his final canvass of the western tribes. In the name of the Prophet who still spoke for the Great Spirit, he sent parties of men, carefully chosen to represent the different tribes, which supported him. They went as far as the Ottawa Indians on the Platte River (Nebraska). At Lake Huron Peoria the messengers were described as carrying black wampum with carrots of tobacco painted red, a recognized invitation to war: A Sac reported how twenty-five of the envoys, including Shawnees, Winnebagos, Kickapoos, Potawatomis and Miamis, arrived at Saukenuk, the Sac capital on the Rock River; on June 26. Each of the soliciting tribes handed over wampum tied with red ribbons, and the envoys invited the tribes meeting there to smoke a pipe in solidarity... (Sugden 270-272).

As various allied nations rallied to tecumtha and lua-lau-we-see-kau, Harrison was becoming more alarmed by the respect shown towards the brother's contrasting presence and profiles. He saw that many of the anishinabe nations were encouraged by their genius and spiritual message. What was even more surprising to him was the fact their message and reach extended as far as manitou abi (*Manitoba*) in the northwest.

Still, north and west, on the shores and rivers of the Great Lake Hurons, were the villages of the populous peoples of the Three Fires, the Ojibwas, Ottawas, and Potawatomis, powerful tribes that had repulsed the incursions of the imperial Iroquois over a century before, and been the mainstay of the old French regime, while west toward the upper Mississippi dwelt Kickapoos, Potawatomis, Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagos and Menominees. It was to these Indians that the Prophet sent his messengers early in 1807, inviting them to hear him preach at Greenville (Sugden 143).

Harrison's concern with tecumtha's military genius and political reach moved him to act in 1810 (*Battle of Tippecanoe*). In one his letters, Harrison believed tecumtha's character was one that often produced transformative change and revolution. Harrison saw tecumtha as a leader not to be taken lightly.

The implicit obedience and respect, which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing, and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things (William Henry Harrison Personal Letter 1811).

President James Madison's declaration of war against Britain on June 18, 1812 is particularly problematic for tecumtha because he understands full-well that the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and allied nations have not completed their readiness for war and that anishinabe sovereignty and jurisdiction over traditional territories would be called into question at some point. Hall (2003) writes the "*Indian Confederacy that coalesced the western frontier*" (Hall 78) focused on entrenching the treaty process and the idea of sharing land and resources. For

tecumtha and other anishinabeg, the concept of sharing a *bowl with one spoon* was seen as a practical and generous aspect of anishinabe society. From the perspective of the anishinabeg, it made more sense to ensure the well-being of all people than just a few.

The 'bowl with one spoon' was a representation of the principle that certain hunting territories were to be shared in common. This concept of shared hunting territory became central to the sovereign strategy... it conveyed the idea that no one First Nation could cede and sell land without the consent of the entire council of federated First Nations (Hall 78).

The idea of the *bowl with spoon* and emphasis on sharing was so strong that almost no interaction could be carried on without it. This was one of anishinabe society's most fundamental teaching. Hall's reference to Locke's treatise on human kind's interconnectedness to all living things is particularly interesting because it speaks directly to the concept of the *bowl with one spoon* and the question of land. Ironically it also helped shape his idea of *capitalism* and the *enlightenment* in the *United States*. Locke makes reference to Jean Jacques Rousseau who saw the anishinabe practice of sharing and the concept of land stewardship as a precursor to communist ideology in *Russia* and *China*.

The *United States'* hunger for more land had become more transparent at this point. It also came to represent a pejorative indictment of the *1763 Royal Proclamation*. Edmund Burke adds to this argument, pointing out that *King George III* had overstepped his authority in defending the rights of anishinabe peoples within the *Royal Proclamation*. This is not surprising because in my mind the *Royal Proclamation* was *Britain's* admittance of defeat and the need do the right thing. In the period leading up to 1812, the political and diplomatic anxiety concerning the military-preparation taking place spans the territory. tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau were certainly aware of this,

as they themselves had been travelling throughout anishinabe country, lobbying for support and pointing out the need to mobilize militarily.

The *Northwest Ordinance* (1787), which established the *Northwest Territory* as the first organized territory of the *United States* was of particular concern to tecumtha because of its focus on *United States* commitment to political and military aggression.

As tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau continued to travel throughout anishinabe territory, they saw that survival of anishinabe society depended in large part upon spiritual renewal, the rejection of the *Euroamerican* way of life and the end of uncontrolled land cessions. William Bergmann (2005) writes that tecumtha believed that lau-lau-we-see-kau's "*spiritual voice against assimilation and for 'traditional practices'*" (Bergmann 227) would come to serve as a rallying point for the confederacy. In fact, it soon became obvious that tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau's planning and preparation was having a major impact throughout anishinabe territory. Angel (2002) suggests that lau-lau-we-see-kau's vision was comforting to tecumtha because it provided certain strength and resolve to him to right the wrongs. lau-lau-we-see-kau shared with tecumtha that his vision:

(Allowed) him a glimpse of paradise and set out to preach a doctrine that would renew ceremonies thus providing them with the strength to overcome the problems that beset them (Angel 84).

As tecumtha continued with visits to other anishinabe nations, he sought out midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) support and sanction for the military intervention that would take place. Patricia Shawano reiterates a fundamental point that the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) could not provide sanction to any planned military intervention. The midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) would however provide the spiritual support for lau-

lau-we-see-kau's vision for renewal of ceremony just as it did with obwandiac in 1763.

As political and diplomatic talks became more pronounced, Alexander Henry (1799) suggested that tecumtha's opposition to specific treaties such as the *Treaty of Greenville* was particularly unnerving to colonial administrators. This is evident in Shomin's (1990) description of tecumtha's participation in the events leading up to and during the signing of *Treaty of Greenville 1795*.

'Kaw-wi ni-shish-no-non Mi-shin-i-gun a-non, Ga shi-to-what Chi-mook mon, a-nin.' This saying applies to the *Treaty of 1795 (7 Stat 49)*, *Treaty of 1836 (7 Stat 491)*, *Treaty of 1855 (11 Stat 621)*, and *Treaty of 1855 (11 Stat 631)*. The saying is translated as follows: 'No, no good the paper they made. The ones you call Big Knives.'

The name for Europeans used to be A-yap-ski-wat (White Person) before 1795, when Mad Anthony Wayne pulled his sword out and made this line on the ground. From then on, the Anishinaaybeg called the white people Chi-mok-mon (Big Knives).

As one Elder told me, 'The young, educated fool takes these documents to be so. Don't believe it yourself. Kin-na Gi mood-na-wa-ada akim-na.' All. They stole our land. And they shake your hand, and pat you on the back and say you are a good man...

The 1795 Treaty of Greenville was also invalid, since all Fires of the Anishinaaybeg did not sanction it. Tecumseh refused to sign this treaty and that is how he acquired his name.

This story was related to me by Little Elk, a Headman from the Isabella Reservation in Mt. Pleasant. When the time came to sign this treaty, the Headmen were to sanction it by smoking the Sacred Pipe. When the pipe was offered to one Shawnee Chief, he refused it three times. He said, 'You must treaty with the whole, not with just part of the Anishinaaybeg.'

Anthony Wayne asked that he touch the pen, or feather, to signify assent. He refused. It is related that Anthony Wayne got violently mad. He took out his knife and stuck it through the treaty and demanded that this stubborn Indian sign it, hence he acquired the name 'Wild Anthony' Wayne. The original copy of the 1795 Treaty must have a knife hole or slash in it.

Wayne then took out his sword and made a scratch on the earth and proclaimed that the treaty would stand; the land on one side being his, and anyone who crossed over the line would get the sword run through him. That is when this brave Anishinaayba Chief got his name, Tecumseh (He Walked Across). He walked across the line and said, 'This treaty is no good, and the land is still ours.'

If the Twelve Fires (Tribes) present at that Council were not the whole (there should have been sixteen Anishinaayba Fires there), how can any alleged treaty made with only Two Fires (Ottawas and Chippewas) constitute a whole and be

valid? Anthony Wayne 'lost his cool' because it was his job to break up and divide the Anishinaaybeg to lay the groundwork for further piecemeal 'treaties' to take over the vast Northwest Territory, our homeland (Shomin 68-69).

Henry Schoolcraft shares in his memoirs that the texts of the treaties were often changed to reflect the *Euroamerican* perspective and ignore those of the anishinabeg. Shomin (1990) adds: “*The wording was altered so that the land, which was to be reserved for the Anishinaaybeg forever was only to be reserved for five years*” (Shomin 69). He points out as well that certain o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) ni-gahn-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) had difficulty in supporting tecumtha. In his journal, Alexander Henry makes reference to mi-a-mi-anishinabe little turtle as one influential leader who had difficulties with what was being planned and was therefore in direct opposition to tecumtha.

William Wells the Indian Agent and Interpreter writes me on the same subject dated Fort Wayne 'I was informed last October by the first chief of the Shawnee Nation that Col McKee had told the nation in a speech he had sent them that it would be necessary for them to get all the Indians of this country together and to take consideration such a part of the Treaty of Greenville – as was disagreeable to them and that it was determined by the nation that such proceedings would be good for the nation. But the Turtle and a large majority of other Indian chiefs of this country have assured me that nothing of the kind would take place (Alexander Henry Journal Entry 1799).

The *Treaty of Greenville* (1795) was simply unacceptable to tecumtha because he believed that no single village or nation leader could sign away sovereignty over lands that belonged collectively to all anishinabe peoples. This he repeated continually. Further, his strategy on reinforcing the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and expanding its political, economic, social and military relationships was equally important to the military and diplomatic initiatives taking place

at this time. Both tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau envisioned a movement that went beyond the colonial construct. Buff (1995) makes the point that the alliance and its efforts to protect land and resources held in common, struck a chord with many anishinabe nations.

In 1810, a Kickapoo chief, when allying his band with the Indian federation, said: 'My friends, although the Tribe I belong to are yet remote from any white settlement I came here with my band to join you in defending what is left of our common country around us, I may like to see the day when I will have to fight the intruders at my own home... Think you if all our vast inheritances should pass into the hands of the white man he would be satisfied? I say, No, arouse then and fight for your country (Buff 297).

tecumtha's vision of a *grand confederacy* and *alliance* provided a realistic alternative to the oppressive atmosphere of *United States* expansionism and attempts at colonial domination. The idea of a federation of anishinabe nations was incredibly bold because of the complexity of anishinabe protocols politically and culturally. This challenge was certainly not lost on tecumtha. In fact, political theorists and historians maintain that independence movements encounter similar difficulties and challenges with respect to differences in culture, protocols and so on. However, these same complex anishinabe protocols and traditional structures have at their centre a common thread, which is acknowledged by A.F.C. Wallace (1956) who writes, "*All revitalization movements, independent of local differences, supposedly share common structures and processes*" (Wallace, 264-281).⁹¹ For anishinabe people, these protocols and common structures are rooted in the land.

As tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau continued to push for a military and spiritual response to uncontrolled expansion into anishinabe territory, they repeatedly reference

⁹¹ Wallace, A.F.C. Revitalization Movements. *American Anthropologist*. Vol 58, Issue 2, pp. 264-281. April 1956.

the idea of the *middle ground* as a neutral place where social, political, military, economic and diplomatic issues were negotiated and where nation-to-nation relationships were realized. Buff (1995) emphasizes that tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau captured the essence of the anti-colonial sentiment and articulated an effective strategy focused on sovereignty and self-determination objectives:

The patriotism of a national-popular⁹² character and embody the emancipatory and diverse imaginings of a cultural politics struggling for local sovereignty and Tecumseh's understanding of colonial politics and his call for Indian self-determination and racial unity drew upon the cultural strategies of diverse Indian nations during the first hundred fifty years of Indian resistance to Euroamerican colonization (Buff 279).

As tecumtha continued to travel throughout anishinabe country he talked of lau-lau-we-see-kau's vision and the need for military intervention. He travelled continuously, lobbying and quietly cajoling other leaders. With amazing dignity and clarity he voiced opposition to and articulated a unique stand against treaties that ceded large tracts of anishinabe territory. He remained steadfast and focused in his opposition to what was unfolding. There was obviously some reluctance and unwillingness to accept the possibility of war and the planning for a grand alliance that obwandiac first broached in 1763. In view of this, Alexander Henry (1799) who was an interested observer to what was taking place wrote:

Although I do not think the Shawanese will be able to affect a general meeting of the Indians, parties to the Treaty of Greenville, yet their movements require to be attended to. Some of the Indian tribes have a strong objection to a part of the treaty line, which they wished altered – while others wrought upon by persons to whom they have made illegal sales of land, expect to have these sales confirmed if they can bring the United States to consent to a revision of the treaty. You will perceive from the answers to Indian chiefs on these several points, heretofore transmitted for your information, that the United States mean to adhere to the Treaty of Greenville, to confirm any of the sales made by individual tribes previous thereto and without

⁹² The term is Gramsci's used to denote "an organic relationship between Italian intellectuals and the broad national masses."

authority. You will bear this in mind and take such measures as to defeat any endeavours to force the United States to contravene this determination... (Alexander Henry Journal Entry 1799).

Henry believed the disconnect between those leaders who wanted the *Treaty of Greenville* re-negotiated and those who wanted the *United States* to adhere to its provisions created a political separation the *United States* could exploit. tecumtha was definitely intent in opposing this and its colonial hegemony. Buff (1995) also suggests tecumtha was committed to challenging Harrison's plan to dominate communication by being the "*apex of the colonial triangle*" (Buff 286).

More importantly, tecumtha explained and clarified his opposition to *United States'* efforts to deal with specific village leaders rather than the collective of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). tecumtha told representatives of the *United States*: "*You wish to prevent the Indians to do as we wish them to unite and let them consider their land as the common property of the whole... we do not accept your invitation to... visit the President.*"⁹³ The attempt by the *United States* to expand across and control anishinabe territory was seen by tecumtha as a departure from past diplomatic and political practices. In fact, he saw *United States* policy of the period morphing into something else. The ideas of *manifest destiny* and *American exceptionalism*⁹⁴ were now becoming rooted in the young country's relations with anishinabe nations. William Henry Harrison (*June 14, 1812*) would write in his journal at *Fort Vincennes (Indiana)* describing a *pact* that was diminishing the influence of the wampum belt that united the anishinabe nations.

⁹³ August 20, 1807.

⁹⁴ United States has a specific world mission to spread liberty and democracy, which emerged from the American War of Independence - the first new nation other than Iceland to become independent.

The circumstance in this affair, which has surprised me most, is the defection of the Hurons or Wyandots. This Tribe although inferior in number to most of the others have always had great influence on the Indian Councils.

The other Tribes call them their Uncles and venerate them for their superior wisdom, valor and intelligence, to them the custody of the Great Belt which was the Symbol of Union between the Tribes in their late war with the United States was committed-as it was the original duplicate of the Treaty of Greenville. The Prophet knowing the great advantage he would derive from gaining over this Tribe to his interests attempted it and has succeeded. It appears that some short time since he sent to them a deputation expressing his surprise that the Wynadotts who had directed the councils of the other Tribes in the War and to whom was committed the care of the Belt which had united all the Tribes as well as the Treaty with the White people should sit still and see the property of all the Indians usurped by a pact (William Henry Harrison Journal Entry 425).

Patricia and Norman were helpful in sharing some of tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau's experiences following the signing of the *Treaty of Greenville* in 1795. They add that both brothers remained unwavering in their opposition to *United States* colonial expansion:

Our grandfather understood the importance of having commitment to the vision because it was about respecting and honouring the seven generations of the past and future... this is why they travelled throughout Turtle Island for ten years planning and meeting with allied nations and others in preparation to what was to take place in 1812. This was the spiritual core of the vision (Patricia and Norman Shawano Personal Communication June 15 2012).

tecumtha appreciated and saw the value in the collective and the need to respect the *primordial* rights of anishinabe nations. Patricia and Norman smile at the thought of the excitement their grandfather created. *"It must have been electric... had our grandfather been able to unite all of the anishinabe nations our lives would have been vastly different"* (Patricia and Norman Shawano Personal Communication June 15 2012). They add that their grandfather and lau-lau-we-see-kau saw an interesting parallel to what was taking place in *indian country* and the enslavement of black people. Both brothers saw it as a stinging indictment of colonial policies of acculturation and removal.

Buff (1995) reiterates that tecumtha considered colonial politics a threat to anishinabe self-determination, sovereignty and the idea of the *middle ground* itself:

Tecumseh's understanding of colonial politics and his call for Indian self-determination and racial unity drew upon the cultural strategies of diverse Indian nations during the first hundred fifty years of Indian resistance to Euroamerican colonization (Buff 279).

Harrison also writes in his journal on June 14, 1810 that there was considerable movement within anishinabe territory. During this period he becomes alarmed with the number of o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) involved. He also sees tecumtha's opposition to *Britain's* administrative policies and its political position regarding the expansion of the *United States* into anishinabe territory as troubling.

This day a party of Iowas twenty in number arrived here-they parted between this and the Illinois River with a large number of Sac's, Foxes and Winnebago's amounting they say to eleven hundred-all going to the Prophet and to the British, they say also that the Marpac or (Main Poc) the Potawatomie chief of the Illinois River has taken the same direction with his people (William Henry Harrison Journal Entry 1810).

Harrison's fears mount when he learns of tecumtha's outrage with the *Fort Wayne Treaty (Indiana)* signed on the 30th day of wah-tah-bah-gah gii-zhis (*bright leaves moon-September*) in 1809, which saw the cession of three million acres in *southern Indiana*. To reiterate, tecumtha had trepidation with the large wholesale territorial cessions and negative economic repercussions it caused, which in his view created a serious inequality between the *United States* and anishinabe nations. Edmunds (1978) describes a meeting with tecumtha, which took place at *Fort Vincennes (Indiana)* in 1810 to discuss anishinabe-colonial political, economic, social and military relations on the first (1st) day of ma-noo-min gii-zhis (*rice harvest moon-August*).

The confrontation at Vincennes convinced Tecumseh that there could be no compromise with the Long Knives. In an attempt to strengthen his alliance among

the western tribes, the Shawnee chief spent the fall of 1810 visiting Indian villages in Illinois and Wisconsin. During September, Tecumseh rode west to Potawatomi villages scattered along the Illinois and Fox Rivers. In northern Illinois, the Shawnee chief was joined by several Potawatomis, including Billy Caldwell, or Sauganash (Englishman). Caldwell was the son of Indian woman and William Caldwell, a British officer of Irish descent who had led the Potawatomis at the Battle of the Blue Licks... Although he worked as a trader, Caldwell also was employed by the British Indian Service, and he later served the Crown throughout the war of 1812. Caldwell had visited Prophetstown in 1808, and he took an active interest in Tecumseh's plans. In turn the Shawnee chief occasionally relied upon the lanky mixed-blood to translate and send written communication...

Tecumseh first visited the Potawatomi and Kickapoo villages clustered along the northern shores of Lake Huron Peoria. Those towns were the staging areas for many of the raids against Missouri and southern Illinois, but Gomo, a village chief from the region, recently had visited William Clark in St. Louis... Tecumseh's party ascended the Illinois to the mouth of the Fox River and then turned north, traveling through villages of Potawatomis and Ottawas scattered along the river valley and among the groves of oaks and maples that dotted the prairie... In late October, Tecumseh returned to Indiana...

While Tecumseh was absent in Illinois and Wisconsin, the eastern Potawatomi attended two large intertribal conferences sponsored by the government and designed to undermine the Shawnee's influence. In September 1810 approximately two thousand Indians including Potawatomis from the Huron and upper Saint Joseph Rivers, gathered near Detroit, where Hull supplied them with provisions. Hull again advocated the American cause and warned the tribesmen that Tecumseh and the Prophet were trying to destroy the power of their chiefs and thereby gain influence over them. The older chiefs had reacted as Hull had envisioned, denouncing the Shawnees and vowing that they would remain neutral in any conflict between the British and Americans. In October a similar council was organized by Johnston at Fort Wayne. He also supplied the Potawatomis and other Indians in attendance with food and whiskey and reported, upon the conclusion of the meeting, that the Indians were "well disposed" towards the United States...

By the summer of 1811, Tecumseh's influence had spread throughout the Old Northwest. Anxious to enlarge his confederacy, the Shawnee chief decided to seek new converts in the south. In August 1811 Tecumseh and a small party of warriors passed through Vincennes en route to the Five Southern Tribes, Harrison envisioned Tecumseh's absence as an opportunity to destroy Prophetstown and to drive the Prophet from the Wabash. In preparation for such a campaign, the governor contracted several friendly chiefs, seeking information of the Prophet and his activities. He also attempted to keep the Potawatomis and Miamis from the British at Amherstburg, warning their chiefs that they must decide, once and for all, between the British and the Americans (Edmunds 171-174).

His skill as an orator and his reply to Governor Harrison at this gathering was one of *wonderful power and remarkable*. During this speech, tecumtha is described as *straight, athletic and dignified*. He is brilliant in his explanation of the relationship between the anishinabe nations and *colonials*, pointing to the wrongs and expressing the sovereign needs of the anishinabe nations. Patricia and Norman describe the exchange between tecumtha and Harrison as explosive and that tecumtha expressed defiance and bitterly challenged the *colonial grand design*, which in his eyes would lead to a final conflict focused on extermination of the anishinabe peoples.

tecumtha was fearless in his presentation. Some say his confidence was beyond refute in his response to Harrison: *“Tell him he lies! The whites will not cross the old boundary...”* Surprised by tecumtha’s apparent air of superiority, Harrison was somewhat taken aback and replied, *“The United States will enforce the treaty,⁹⁵ by sword if need be...”* For tecumtha this was enough! From his point of view there would be no further land cessions without the consent of all anishinabe nations. It was a stunning move. The gathering also convinced tecumtha that there was absolutely no possibility of compromise with the *United States*.

Bergmann (2005) makes reference to the *United States* policy of the day, which stipulated: *“(land sales) would not on any condition exceed two cents per acre, notwithstanding that the federal government attempted to sell the same land for as much as eight dollars per acre”* (Bergmann 234). This was colonial madness at its finest. Amidst the arrogance and insanity, tecumtha would continue to argue that all traditional ojibway, ota’wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe territory was held in common by all anishinabe and therefore could not be bartered or sold without the agreement and consent

⁹⁵ Treaty of Fort Wayne (1809).

of all. Hueglin (1993) emphasizes that many of the treaties negotiated during this period were done in isolation of the people affected, which tecumtha pointed out repeatedly:

Since (the) ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig nations openly operated by consensual and limited delegation of authority, many of the chiefs and headmen negotiating treaties on behalf of their people did not have total authority (Hueglin 19).

Hall (2003) also considers tecumtha's idea of a sovereign anishinabe state based on a confederacy of nations as representative of the reality and aspirations of the day because it focused on taking back anishinabe territory and returning to a traditional way of life. To tecumtha this was fundamental to the anti-colonial resistance that spanned centuries.

Gregory Evans Dowd demonstrated in 'A Spirited Resistance: The North American Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815,' Tecumseh's advancement of a sovereign Indian state based on a federal union of Indian nations was the outcome of at least two generations of persistent pan-Indian activism... 'Drew upon traditions of nativism and networks of intertribal relations that had been vibrant throughout... reaching back into the past beyond the time of Neolin and Pontiac' (Hall 381).

Buff (1995) explains tecumtha was strategic in his opposition to *United States* colonial expansion. She points out he was particularly effective at articulating a political and intellectual response to lau-lau-we-see-kau's spiritual vision grounded in the anishinabe gah-wi-zi-maw-ji-say-muh-guhk (*creation and stories of origin*), ni-zhwa-sho gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*), ni-zhwa-sho o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) and miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*). tecumtha was able to share the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*) from a secular place. In doing so, he voiced his opposition to colonization and idea of a separate anishinabe sovereign state.

The spiritual and political visions the brothers shared were firmly rooted and embodied in nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*), the first layer to our anishinabe way of knowing.

Responding to the racialized discourse of U.S expansion, this strategic use of essentialism functioned on two important levels. First, as Dowd points out, accepting the categories of 'red' and 'white' allowed Indians to 'awaken' and unite; at the same time they could draw upon traditional practices as well as the cultural and epistemological adaptations made as a response to colonialism. Second, public reinterpretations of race in speeches to mixed audiences of Indians and Euroamericans allowed Indians to have a voice in the realignment of power taking place after the Treaty of Paris (Buff 289).

This proved fertile ground for tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau as they continually dismissed William Henry Harrison's notion that he alone stood at the "*apex of the discursive triangle... hegemony and they destabilized his semiotic order at every opportunity*" (Buff 287). Edmunds (1978) continues with the same thought, adding many anishinabe nations were continually frustrated and angered with the land cessions being negotiated.

Frustration over land sales, annuities, and the whiskey trade made the Potawatomis ready recipients for the doctrines of Tenskawatawa, the Shawnee Prophet. A former alcoholic, in 1805 Tenskawatawa suffered an epileptic seizure in which he claimed to have visited the spirit world, and upon regaining consciousness, he asserted that the Great Spirit had chosen him to spread a new religion. The prophet expounded a nativistic doctrine, warning his followers against liquor, witchcraft and the ways of the white man. Interracial marriage was denounced, as was white clothing, private property, and other practices introduced by the Europeans. A native of Wapakoneta, Shawnee village on the Auglaize River, in 1806 Tenskawatawa and his brother Tecumseh began to spread their religion among the tribes to the west (Edmunds 165).

As well, it should be pointed out that young people were energized by lau-lau-we-see-kau because he reaffirmed their notions of *independence* and *sovereignty*. Further, the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*) that he shared

described how anishinabe peoples have always known where they came from, who they were, and how they fit into this world.

Throughout this period, tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau continued to challenge the colonial hegemonic structure of the *United States*. In doing so, they gave the ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wag (*war leaders*), ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-nahg (*hereditary leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) a voice in what was taking place. Edmonds (1978) adds that lau-lau-we-see-kau's vision and warning of a *great darkness* intrigued many young ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wag (*war leaders*) as well, who eagerly went to see and hear him at *Prophetstown*.

The Prophet's messianic evangelism found converts among many young Potawatomis. In the autumn of 1806, emissaries from the Prophet visited Potawatomis villages as far west as Chicago. The Shawnee messengers carried invitations to a series of intertribal councils to be held on Auglaize River during the following summer. The Potawatomis were warned that a great darkness would envelope the earth and that only the Prophet could save them from groping blindly in the forest. The means for such salvation would be given to them on the Auglaize. Most of the chiefs were skeptical, but many of the young warriors listened attentively, and in the spring of 1807 many of the Potawatomis left their villages to visit the Prophet in Ohio (Edmunds 165).

For tecumtha and other like-minded ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni-wag (*war leaders*), ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-nag (*hereditary leaders*), o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*), the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) represented a military, social, political, economic and spiritual reality. They had confidence in the confederacy as an influential and effective body. Each was able to harness its energy and power to their specific end. No doubt the success obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk achieved was in large part because of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its allied nations.

For whatever the reason, Sugden (1997) attempted to minimize tecumtha and the n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) role in the planning of the alliance and military intervention that took place in 1812. He writes that it was the iroquois-anishinabe confederacy and Joseph Brant who first broached the idea of opposing the *United States* at a meeting at *Lower Sandusky* (Ohio) near *Lake Huron* in 1783. Sugden suggests that the idea for this confederacy was first discussed at this meeting.

Some who have written of Tecumseh's later efforts to create a large-scale pan-Indian resistance movement have said there was something unusual or even original in the idea. That is nonsense. Tecumseh was distinguished by the new life he breathed into a strategy that was already tried and tired, indeed one that had already failed several times (Sugden 43).

While other written and oral accounts of tecumtha's role dismiss Sugden's suggestion almost entirely, there is some acknowledgement of other attempts to organize anishinabe confederacies and alliances. obwandiac's effort in 1763 is a case in point. Regardless, it is important to be mindful and respectful to what obwandiac and tecumtha's efforts and unique approach achieved.

anishinabe oral history and stories describe how anishinabe nations would have rejected Brant's proposal for a *pan-indian* resistance movement because of his role in the negotiations of the *Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768)*, which ceded territory within what is now *northern Ohio*. To his credit, Sugden does make an attempt to clarify the n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) influence suggesting that it was a formidable alliance others modeled:

This great confederacy, rather than vague traditions of the Indian rebellion of 1763 or the Shawnee diplomacy of his father's time, was the model for tecumseh's own confederacy in the early years of the next century (Sugden 81).

As tecumtha continued to address the issues of sovereignty, treaties, economic independence and political self-determination, he also described in detail the anishinabe concept of land and their responsibility for sharing its resources. tecumtha saw this as important to what was taking place. Appropriately, Buff (1995) explains tecumtha was certainly perceptive in recognizing the negative influences of colonial politics:

Tecumseh's perceptive call for unity among Indian nations during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries... and understanding of colonial politics and his call for Indian self-determination and racial unity drew upon the cultural strategies of diverse Indian nations during the first hundred fifty years of Indian resistance to Euroamerican colonization (Buff 279).

Edmunds (1978) is for the most part respectful of the efforts and political, economic and military strength of n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). In fact, he describes in detail boodewaadamig-anishinabe responsibility for protecting the sacred fire (*a symbol of sovereignty and independence*) and the migration of the boodewaadamig-anishinabe.

Potawatomi tradition states that the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatomis originally were one tribe, part of the great wave of Algonquian-speaking peoples who entered the Great Lake Hurons region from the north and east. Chippewa legends suggest that the three tribes separated at the Straits of Mackinac no later than the sixteenth century, the Ottawa's remaining at the strait, the Chippewas migrating to the north and west, and the Potawatomis moving down the eastern shore of Lake Huron Michigan. Since the Potawatomis continued to keep the council fire of the originally united tribes, they received their name as 'Keepers of the Fire,' or Fire Nation (Edmonds 3-4).

A number of western authors and anishinabe ah-di-so-kahn-i-ni-ni-wag (*traditional storytellers*) have also provided written and oral accounts concerning the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) influence. William Warren, Peter Jones and George Copway were the probably the most prolific and accurate because of their fluency in anishinabemowin and knowledge of the ah-di-so-

kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and importance of di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*) in the transfer of knowledge and history.

It should be emphasized that following the failure of *United States* to live up to certain *Treaty of Paris* provisions (*February*⁹⁶ *10, 1763*) a majority of anishinabe nations took responsibility for protecting the *Canadian* colonies and maintaining the fur trade. The *Treaty of Paris* for example promised, the *British* the right to retain territory at *Oswego (New York)*, *Niagara (New York)*, *Detroit (Michigan)* and *Michilmackinac (Michigan)* for approximately thirteen years. Hall (2003) acknowledges this by describing how the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was largely responsible for the defense of present-day *Canada*.

Where the United States army had 7,000 officers and men, there were fewer than 5,000 British regulars in North America... these comparisons highlight the strategic significance of the 10,000 anishinabe fighting men ready for military mobilization. About 8,000 of the Three Fires Confederacy fighting force lived in territory claimed by the United States... with these kinds of numbers, there can be no doubt about the pivotal importance of the Indian role in the war of 1812 (Hall 398).

There was definitely some confusion regarding the *haudensaunee-anishinabe confederacy's* role in opposing *obwandiac*, *tecumtha*, *shingwauk* and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) in 1763 and 1812. *Wallace (1972)* for one, acknowledges that *seneca-anishinabe* forces were involved at *Forts Presque' Isle (June 15, 1763)*, *Le Boeuf (June 18, 1763)* and *Venango (June 20, 1763)* and at *Devil's Hole (September 14, 1763)*. *Wallace* also makes the point that *handsome lake* might have been involved in the taking of *Fort Venango* because his uncle *guyasuta* was present and that he was definitely at the battle at *Devil's Hole*. In 1812,

⁹⁶ makwa gii-zhis (bear moon).

however he assumed the role of *peace prophet* and sought to maintain peace and the neutrality of the *haudensaunee-anishinabe confederacy*. Interestingly, during this period a number of Joseph Brant's people from *Grand River* did enlist to support the *British*.⁹⁷ This certainly made for daring politics because the *United States* was able to recruit some *iroquois-anishinabeg* from *New York* to fight on the side of the *Americans*.

Handsome Lake undertook the role of 'peace prophet' during the War of 1812... the New York chiefs unanimously opposed joining any such conspiracy, and in a council at Jenuchshadago in the summer of 1812 the chiefs of the Allegany band, including Cornplanter and Handsome Lake, specifically reassured the whites from Warren and Meadville of their intentions to remain at peace. But a number of Brant's Mohawks from Grand River did enlist in the British forces. This action prompted the United States to solicit 'volunteers' to the number of 150-200 warriors. The Six Nations Council tacitly permitted the recruitment. But Handsome Lake now intervened, organizing a council of the Iroquois of New York 'at their ancient council fire at Onondaga... By the summer of 1813 the two reservations under Handsome Lake's greatest personal influence – Allegheny and Tonawana – had still turned out a total of only seven warriors... The peace council at Onondaga did have another effect. It represented a temporary victory for Handsome Lake in his continuing effort to move the Six Nations council fire away from Buffalo Creek, far from the influence of his rival Blue Jacket (Wallace 195-196).

Dr. Paula Sherman raises an interesting question regarding the diplomatic relationship that would have existed between both confederacies during this period. Historians have always attempted to paint this relationship as strained, in which the confederacies were constantly at political, economic and military odds with one another. However, as bawdwaywidun has pointed out, there had always been a healthy respect for the integrity of each of the confederacies territorial jurisdiction and quite often their relationships were formalized in alliances, speeches and *written talks* (wampum belts, birch-bark scrolls).

George Copway (2002) also references a "*Council of Peace (that) was called by the Ojibways, according to tradition, below Sault St. Marie... This council received the deputies of the Iroquois, who concluded a treaty*" (Copway 83). The respect for what had

⁹⁷ It is estimated that approximately 13,000 fought on the side of the British.

taken place was deeply profound; so much so that ojibway and iroquois-anishinabe hunters would often spend their evening's together sharing stories of the hunt and so on. This agreement and treaty would remain unbroken for approximately three winters until a small group of ojibway-anishinabe would be attacked by an iroquois-anishinabe hunting party.

Military hostilities would continue until the *Great Peace of Montréal* was negotiated in August 4, 1701 by thirty-nine nations, who saw it as an opportunity “to bury the hatchet deep in the earth” and thus begin a new era of resource sharing. A new diplomatic relationship between the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn and haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy was also heralded:

An important Indigenous-to-Indigenous treaty that occurred between the Haudenosaunee and the Anishinabek in 1701 near Sault Ste Marie. The agreement was orally transacted and is recorded on a wampum belt. The 1701 belt has an image of a 'bowl with one spoon.' It references the fact that both nations would share their hunting grounds in order to obtain food. The single wooden spoon in the bowl meant that no knives or sharp edges would be allowed in the land (Borrows 130).

Reference is made to this 1701 treaty because it represents the first recorded⁹⁸ treaty (*granting hunting and fishing privileges*). It would also agree to the principle that manitou aki (*Creator's land*) would be open for all to use and that the “*Chase be everywhere free; that landmarks and boundaries of all those great countries be raised; and that each one should find himself everywhere in his country*”⁹⁹ (Hart and Holmes 2000). This was one of tecumtha's starting points to what would take place in 1812.

⁹⁸ wampum belt.

⁹⁹ Hart, Jonathan and Holmes, Joan. “We Have Never Parted with Such a Power” – Assertions of First Nations' Sovereignty and the Right to Trade and Travel in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth- Century Great Lakes Region. Akwesasne: Annual Fur Trade Conference. 2000.

tecumtha's focus on diplomacy and economic relationship was always important because it spoke to a number of things. For example, it spoke to the establishment of nation-to-nation relationships and the anishinabe concept of i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (sovereignty). bawdwaywidun shares that many generations ago the haudenosaunee – anishinabe longhouse (*the great tree*) in the east stood side-by-side with the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*) to the west respecting each other's ceremonies and protocols. This acknowledgement of and respect for jurisdiction is also rooted in the concept of bin-di-go-da-di-win, which will be discussed later in the text. This is a much as I have heard and know.

Further, the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy's reluctance to participate in the *War of 1812* is interesting and has to be understood from the teachings of deganawidah's (*Great Peacemaker*) and aienhwatha's visions and teachings. The *condoling ceremony*, according to haudenosaunee-anishinabe oral history, was the result of an act of divine intervention in human affairs. There is some relevance in speaking to it because the ceremony serves as a starting point for understanding why the confederacy was reluctant to participate in the war. It is important to be respectful in terms of how these stories are shared.

I am told and have heard that this was when the Great League itself was created. It described Deganawidah's (Great Peacemaker) visit to Aienhwatha, the four sacred ceremonies (Great Feather Dance, Drum Dance, Thanksgiving Song and the Peach Stone Game) and the Karihwi: io (Code of Handsome Lake).

I am told and have heard that Deganawidah's' teachings determined that the haudenosaunee longhouse would have five council fires but would represent one family. Deganawidah also revealed that the wampum belt would be the symbol used to convey messages of war and of peace.¹⁰⁰ A Tree of Peace was then planted in the center of the chiefs with an eagle perched, which was to be vigilant of threats and dangers to the confederacy. Deganawidah shared that the white roots of the Tree of

¹⁰⁰ Neal Salisbury (1987) describes anishinabe nations "Used wampum words to cement social and political relations both among the First Nations and with outside allies" (Salisbury 61).

Peace would then span its reach across the land. He instructed that it was here the haudensaunee confederacy would bury their weapons of war under the tree. They would then bind five arrows together and a council fire kindled. These would come to symbolize the power and unity that comes from peace.

I am told and have heard that following the adoption of the Great Law of Peace, the condolence ceremony would replace blood revenge. Any crimes and injustices committed from that place in time would be remedied by payment of wampum, usually strings or belts. I understand that these reparations were similar to the levying of fines and/or jail terms.

I am told and have heard that amongst the haudenosaunee-anishinabe, ten strings of wampum atoned for the loss of a man and twenty for the loss of a woman. The punishment was doubled for a woman because she could bear life. The great law of peace is the story of all 'human beings.' It is about being inclusive and respectful of the difference between 'human beings.'''¹⁰¹

I am told and have heard that despite Deganawidah's teaching of neutrality in the Great Law of Peace, Aienhwatha's (He Who Seeks the Wampum Belt) Condoling Ceremony and the Gai Wiiio (Good Word) and/or Karihwi: io (Code of Handsome Lake) expressed the haudenosaunee confederacy's commitment to peace and neutrality. This was the message of Deganawidah as I was told and have heard. This is as much as I know (Ceremony and Personal Communication June 13 2012).

It should be pointed out Brant's relationship with key individuals during treaty negotiations were also problematic for the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). He was married to Catherine Croghan, a daughter of George Croghan (*indian agent*); and his sister Molly Brant was one of William Johnson's (*indian superintendent*) and (*New York's Agent to the iroquois-anishinabeg*) many wives. This has a definite bearing on how treaty and diplomatic relations unfolded during this period, because the *indian agents* and *indian superintendents* had considerable power and latitude in dealing with anishinabe nations.

We see for example that Joseph Brant, William Johnston and George Croghan would be instrumental in the treaty negotiations at *Fort Stanwix... New York (November 5, 1768)*, *Fort McIntosh... Pennsylvania (January 21, 1785)*, *Fort Finney... Ohio (January 31, 1786)* and *Fort Harmar... Ohio (January 9, 1789)*. One of the more

¹⁰¹ The "Great Law is a law of peace and love" (Porter 316).

interesting and disturbing points to these to these treaties was the fact that the iroquois-anishinabeg were ceding jurisdiction to lands not theirs and were accepting of *United States* sovereignty. Not surprisingly, during the period leading up to the *War of 1812*, tecumtha would make repeated reference to these treaties.

It comes of no surprise to the anishinabeg that men like Brant, Johnson and Croghan were often willing participants and complicit in the duplicity that took place during treaty negotiations.

The duties required from Indian Agents are of a nature occasioned it, to be enjoyed upon them, to reside within the nations, affairs and improvements they are appointed to superintend, and they can only, be properly and well executed by actual and resident agents, and not by any means be persons residing elsewhere, it is not therefore contemplated, to call off your attention from the important affairs of your government, or to require you to make journeys into several Indian nations, or mingle in any of the business with which resident agents are specifically charged.

As it will happen that Indians particularly those nearest your settlements, will from time to time visit you, to require advice relative to their affairs and grievances, it is proper that the experience you may incur by furnishing them with provisions and the pay of an interpreter during such visits should be reimbursed and should be indispensable to make some ? presents to any of them on particular and urgent occasions that the amount of such presents be also reimbursed... the goods for the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots and Delawares have been sometime since forwarded to Detroit – those for all the others entitled to stipends under the Greenville Treaty have also been forwarded to Fort Wayne... I will order one hundred and thirty six strings of blue and ? strings of white wampum to be sent to you... If General Wilkinson actually did promise compensation or payment for horses stolen from the Delawares, of which I do not recollect his having informed me, but which should be evident to you – I suppose to preserve a good understanding they must be paid for (Alexander Henry Journal Entry 1799).

William Johnson would be involved in negotiations at the *Treaty of Niagara* (August 1, 1764) and *Treaty of Fort Stanwix* (November 5, 1768), which saw the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy capitulate to the *American* idea of *conquest*. Despite not having any authority to speak of, Brant on behalf of the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy would set up a *line of property*, which extended the earlier proclamation line of the

Alleghenies (the divide between the Ohio and coastal watersheds) farther to the west. The *Treaty of Fort Stanwix* would also effectively transfer ownership and control of *Kentucky, West Virginia and Pennsylvania* to the *United States*. Not surprisingly, Lenape and Shawnee-Anishinabe leadership in attendance during the treaty negotiations refused to endorse the treaty.

More importantly, Johnson and George Croghan's involvement in the treaty negotiation of *Fort Stanwix* (1768), *Treaty of Fort McIntosh* (1785) and the *Treaty of Fort Finney* (1786), which saw *Iroquois-Anishinabe* cede millions of acres of land between the *Appalachian divide* and the *Ohio River*, would set the wheels-in-motion for what would take place in 1812 and move Tecumtha to act. These specific treaties made it fairly clear that the *United States* was moving drunkenly and in haste towards a confrontation with the *n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn Anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy)* and allied nations.

Johnson and Croghan's deliberations with Joseph Brant and the resulting *conquest treaties* negotiated were an attempt to obtain concessions and create divisions. Hall writes that there were people like J.D. Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan and Andrew Carnegie's who:

... Assumed 'special right' of God's elect to extinguish and absorb Indian Country, these major transnational figures in the evolution of manifest destiny undertook many of the mergers and banking innovations that laid the groundwork for the rise of a newer generation of global corporations (Hall 84).

In response, Tecumtha would advance the understanding that land and *primordial* rights were the central issue in conflicts between the *Euroamericans* and *Ojibway, Ota'wa* and *Boodewaadamig-Anishinabeg* peoples. For Tecumtha, it was necessary for the *n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn Anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy)* and allied nations to establish a unified presence to prevent further encroachment into traditional

anishinabe territory. He reiterated this throughout his travels. It was absolutely necessary for the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its allies (including the creek and choctaw-anishinabeg to the south) to take military action against the *U.S.* in order to stop the continued violation of treaties and theft of traditional territories. This much he knew for certain.

Everything written and shared about tecumtha suggests that he grasped the strategic importance of a united anishinabe council under their sovereign jurisdiction recognized in international law. Hall (2003) further makes the point that tecumtha understood the principles of sovereignty under international law, which focused on nationhood and respectful nation-to-nation relations founded on anishinabe protocols. For tecumtha, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) embodied and represented these principles. William Bergmann (2005) adds that tecumtha believed entirely in lau-lau-we-see-kau's "*spiritual voice against assimilation*" (Bergmann 227). mack-e-te-be-nessy (2007) adds that tecumtha believed ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations had to "*abandon everything which the white-man had introduced into the tribes, he taught them that Great Spirit was angry with them because they conformed to the habits of the white-man*" (mack-e-te-be-nessy 29).

To this point, tecumtha demanded an end to land surrenders taking place. He maintained traditional territories held in common by all anishinabe people could not be bartered or sold without agreement and consent of all. tecumtha was also outraged with the *Treaty of Fort Wayne* (September 30, 1809), which saw the surrender of three million acres in southern *Indiana*. Warren (1984) adds that tecumtha saw *United States'* expansion into traditional anishinabe territories as the ultimate disrespect to the principles

of the *middle ground* and the 1763 *Royal Proclamation*. From his position, the continued invasion and assimilation policies of the *British* and expansion of the *United States* colonies had to be challenged.

It was through (lau-lau-we-see-kau's) prophecy, by which Te-cum-she and his brother, the celebrated Show-a-no prophet succeeded so well in forming a coalition among the Algonic and other tribes, the main and secret object of which, was the final extermination of the white man from America. It was prophesied that the consequence of the white man's appearance would be, to the An-ish-in-aub-ag, an 'ending of the world' (Warren 117-118).

anishinabe leadership was always guided by spirituality and vision, which was and still is personal and sacred in nature. As well, the clan system determined the responsibilities of its leadership. anishinabe people were certainly aware of these responsibilities because they grew up learning their obligations at every stage in life from those who went before them. Deloria (1995) writes:

You're born into this society and you're the beneficiary of the concerns of everybody who is older than you. As you age and go through that society you have different responsibilities... (Deloria Jr. 41).

To the brothers, the *middle ground* was still a reality. For tecumtha and lau-lau-we-see-kau it represented a geographical and physical place with “*a system of harmonious cooperation, based on trade and mutual respect*” (Middleton 6) and *intercultural law*” (Borrows 8). Therefore, the integrity of the *middle ground* had to be respected. This was one layer to their political and military agenda. Establishing an alliance with the *British* was simply another means to defending and protecting the homeland of the anishinabe.

Both men were strategic and politically astute in advancing the concept of the *middle ground*. To their credit, the *British* tried to secure an ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe *buffer state* in 1814. However, as with everything else we have witnessed thus far, this attempt fell well short of the mark. Despite the fact the

n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) were never defeated or vanquished in war, the attitude towards the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe began to change. We begin to see a definite shift in attitude. Deloria (1988) for example describes this act of betrayal and subsequent refusal to enforce federal law as being indicative of this change:

The early dream of the Indian nations to achieve some type of peaceful compromise and enter the United States as an equal was brutally betrayed a generation later when, after winning the Supreme Court case Worcester v. Georgia, the President of the United States refused to enforce federal law and allowed the state of Georgia to overrun the Cherokee Nation (Deloria 34).

tecumtha's leadership responsibilities and style as described by family and historical narratives help provide some insight regarding tecumtha the man and the importance of his accomplishments and legacy. We come to see tecumtha's world-view as being uniquely kispoko-pe-ko-wi-anishinabe.

As obwandiac before him, tecumtha was known for his kindness, a leader committed to the well-being of his people, a man who fasted for the ability to make the right decisions accordingly. tecumtha embodied the purity of traditional o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*). His importance within the traditional leadership construct speaks volumes when one considers that *civil leaders*: ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn-ni-wahd (*hereditary leaders*), o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and *war chiefs*: o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) had a definitive role within the structure of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). This was clearly evident in their opposition to the social, economic and political changes threatening the anishinabe way of life at different periods.

The *War of 1812*¹⁰² threatened the very identity of anishinabe people and was a battle long fought. tecumtha saw the war as an opportunity to combine anishinabe and *British* forces to protect anishinabe nationhood and maintain the constitutional and political alliance with the *British Crown* that was underscored with the *1763 Royal Proclamation*.

No white man knows, or ever will know, where we took the body of our beloved tecumtha and buried him. tecumtha will come again...

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

¹⁰² The War of 1812 officially ended with the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. Although, the war itself was an important event in the history of Canada, I made a conscious effort to avoid discussing it directly because the purpose of this dissertation was to share an anishinabe-focused narrative. I would add historians and Academics alike often misinterpret anishinabe participation in the War of 1812. Many people believe tecumtha and shingwauk intervened in this war simply to support the British and abide by their wishes.

Chapter 6

shingwauk *(The white pine, boss of all the trees)* **(ah-ji-jahk)**

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

On a bright sunny day in June we are sitting and talking with the great-grand daughters of shingwauk, Betty Lou Grawbarger, Doreen Pine Lesage and other members of the shingwauk family. Both have graciously agreed to share their stories of their grandfather. There is a lot of playful banter, gentle teasing and so on taking place as we sit ourselves down and Betty Lou and Doreen ready themselves to share their stories. From a personal perspective, this long journey is about to conclude another chapter. It seems ironic that the journey transitions where it all began. The hot sun is shining through the kitchen window. It seemed calming and surreal. Betty Lou begins:

Shingwauk was born on Mackinac Island. This is the story we listened to; like you know, as children... he was born on Mackinac Island. And his mother was the daughter of Loonfoot. There were British ships anchored there; this is where Jean Baptiste Bart (who) was shingwauk's father met his mother. When Shingwauk was 3 or 4 years old, he took Loonfoot's daughter as a mistress. So anyway, let me see, I have to tell the truth, that's why I have to tell the truth... Jean Baptiste Bart took the only daughter of Loonfoot as his mistress, lover, and housekeeper... But when shingwauk was the age of three of four years old, his father wanted to take him back to England. They dressed him - took his buckskins off of him - they dressed him with this burgundy velvet suit... I might have been about four or five years old when my aunt Charlotte, my dad's sister, she was the one who used to come and she would undo the wooden chest, shingwauk's chest. And there were a lot of things, and stories were told as items were brought out... this little burgundy velvet suit was there in that chest, and we seen it. It was wrapped in tissue and she would unwrap it, (and) as she's taking things out, she's telling stories. And the epaulets of General Brock were in that chest also. Because when he took seven hundred warriors and went to fight with-join with-General Brock. When General Brock fell, he handed his epaulets to shingwauk to lead his men and his warriors. Apparently

he had quite a history-he ended up a champion. Because that General Brock took them and he handed them to shingwauk, he's the leader he said-of General Brock's men and his own warriors.¹⁰³ So that's the story, just because they're taking his chest out, all these stories come out. And if you're a good listener and your language is the native language then you know what's being talked about (Betty Lou Grawbarger Personal Communication June 15 2011).

shingwauk was born in 1773 to ogimaa-kway¹⁰⁴ (mother) and Jean-Baptiste Bart (father).

"His original home was near present-day Munising, Michigan" (Darrell Boissoneau Personal Communication June 15 2011). His grandfather, mahng-ah-sid (*loon foot*) was a well-known ojibway-anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*). Dan Pine (2009), grandson to shingwauk describes the meaning of the shingwauk (*white pine*):

The white pine was the boss (chief) of all trees in co-operation with the sun and the moons. Some other trees wanted to be bigger. Many of the small trees have a lot of power. If they became bigger, the small trees would harm the world. The white pine could control its power (Conway and Conway 71-72).

During the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, shingwauk (ah-ji-jawk) had already achieved a respected place and was considered one of the leading o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). It is important to take note that during this period the transition in the established nation-to-nation relationship is proving problematic for anishinabe leadership and n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). There are a number of things to keep in mind. It seems that the colonial governments were becoming more contemptuous in their political relationship with the anishinabe nations. Despite efforts by the colonial

¹⁰³ *The British and anishinabe joint forces experienced serious casualties during this period in the war beginning with the death of General Isaac Brock who was killed on the thirteenth day of b'naa-kwi gii-zhis (October) 1812 at the Battle of Queenston Heights (Ontario).*

¹⁰⁴ *ogima-kway (leading woman).*

governments to undermine traditional leadership and create division, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) remains relatively strong and focused. Lastly, it has become obvious that the treaty process represents a new battlefield. shingwauk is certainly astute enough to recognize this and thus makes certain that the *Robinson-Huron* and *Robinson-Superior* treaty negotiations in 1850 take on a different hue.

Throughout this journey, shingwauk has been one of the more helpful *messengers* and guides. His leadership and commitment to vision remains in the hearts and miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*) of his family. Lana Grawbarger shares another story of her grandfather's relationship with the creator and his commitment to his people.

He knew his work in life – his work was his life – it had to be – it was a lot of work but it wasn't something you could turn away from. You had to do it in order to fulfill the trust that was placed in you by the Great Spirit. You were given this work and you can't away from it or get tired of it, you know you have to continue for you to be worthy even of being given that gift, that vision. Apparently he fasted for the first time when he was ten years old. That's what my grandpa said; he was a small boy the first time he fasted (Lana Grawbarger Personal Communication June 15 2011).

shingwauk went out and fasted for his people so that he could be gifted with the right decision-making power. This would help him in making the right decisions. He also fasted for the gift of teaching because he saw the anishinabe world changing and that our people would have to have a new set of skills to deal with colonization, oppression and the forced assimilation being thrust upon us. In fact, his presence is still very much alive within the family and he continues to help and guide the family. In asking the family to explain shingwauk's overwhelming presence, Lana adds he “*always had a very immediate presence to us... and I think that's part of our culture. They're ever present in*

our lives and help us” (Lana Grawbarger Personal Conversation 2011). The spirit of his leadership remains with the family to this day. shingwauk thought it was important for his children to take responsibility for the gifts he left them and when people came to them in time of need it was important for his children to help them.

Betty Lou, Doreen and Dan Pine Jr., add that their great-grandfather had a tremendous library of books, medicines, scrolls and other mysteries of his life. Henry Schoolcraft describes one of the scrolls shingwauk kept with him, one recorded in pictograph.

Shingwauk a Meday of the Chippewas, and one of the chiefs of the St. Mary’s band, informs me, that the sun was formerly worshipped by the northern Indians. They regarded it, as a symbol of the deity – not as the deity himself, and by the divergence of its rays, it was deemed to diffuse intelligence, as well as light, through the world... In examining some pictured scrolls, of this nation, the sun is depicted, in several places, to represent the Great Spirit. The pictograph is uniformly drawn as a human head, with heavy rays, surrounding it, resembling a rude halo (Schoolcraft 86).

For anishinabeg in the west and throughout the numbered treaty territories, we owe shingwauk respect and gratitude. The numbered treaties were just one of his legacies that he left.

Lana tells us that shingwauk had three wives and when he converted to and was baptized into the *Anglican Church* in 1830, the church suggested he take just one wife. So he married the most recent one. He would however continue to look after and provide for his other two wives. She suggests that; *“the Anglican Church didn’t want him to have anything to do with them anymore. Even McCurry’s wife said, ‘How can you expect him to that. Those are the mothers of his children”* (Lana Grawbarger Personal Communication June 2011).

shingwauk would become the principle negotiator and policy-maker during the

Robinson-Huron and *Superior* treaty negotiations in 1850. In fact, many consider him the architect of a more refined treaty process—one that focused on and provided for education, shelter, health and economic opportunities. He envisioned the treaty process as a vehicle to protect the traditional ways and quality of life. In fact, because of shingwauk's influence, the ojibway-anishinabe nations during *Treaty One* negotiations would come to see the treaty as a tool for planning their economic future and as a means for ensuring the continued access and sharing of the natural and economic resources. Hueglin (1993) writes that anishinabe leadership had a fairly clear idea and estimate of the value of the land they were sharing because they initially wanted two-thirds of the traditional territory of manitou abi (*Manitoba*) protected under *Treaty One*.

Treaties certainly were first and foremost tools to establish and maintain peace and therefore meant to be the basis for a lasting relationship, but they did not establish some superior authority, which could no longer be resisted (Hueglin 11).

shingwauk saw education as a means for adapting to the changes taking place in the anishinabe world. Education and the concept of a kinoomage gamig (*teaching wigwam*) was the new *middle ground*. This was his vision. Education did not mean assimilation and the surrender of anishinabe identity. It also did not mean the surrender of anishinabemowin, ceremonies, culture and lifestyle. For shingwauk, education and the *teaching wigwam* was an opportunity to adapt to the changes taking place.

He accepted his leadership role with commitment and compassion. Lana offers, “*I think that shingwauk exemplified the whole idea of service leadership. He looked after his people... he lobbied for permanent housing and the right to fish and hunt because he knew how important it was to sustain ourselves*” (Lana Grawbarger Personal

Communication June 15 2011). He bequeathed his family with this incredible memory and sense of community obligation.

His personal story is forever linked to those of obwandiac and tecumtha. When the *United States* declared war on the 8th day of ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*) in 1812, shingwauk is promised an ojibway homeland if he would lead six-seven hundred (600-700) of his o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) to fight along side tecumtha and other anishinabe leaders and General Isaac Brock to defend what would become the *Canadian* border. For tecumtha and General Brock, shingwauk's involvement was important because of his military and political abilities and spiritual powers.

With the surrender of *Fort Dearborn (Illinois)* on the fifteenth day of mii'ni-gii-zhis (July 15) to mack-e-tay-be-nessy and his boodewaadamig-anishinabe forces and the fall of *Fort Michilimackinac (Michigan)* two days later on seventeenth day of mii'ni gii-zhis (*berry moon, July*). *Fort Detroit (Michigan)* would fall to n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and *British* forces led by tecumtha, shingwauk and General Isaac Brock on August 16 1812. Johann Kohl describes the battle that took place during the siege of *Fort Detroit*:

When the time came to attack this American fort in the most effectual manner, the general even asked Shinguakongse for his advice. 'I will dream about it tonight, general,' Shinguakongse said in the evening, when the question was proposed to him, and the following morning he said: 'I,' Shinguakongse said, 'dreamed that a thick fog came two hours before sunrise the next day, so that nothing could be seen on the lake round Fort Mackinaw or on the island. Further, I dreamed that thou, general preparedst, with drum-beating and great noise, to attack the fortress in front, while I and my Indians, concealed by the fog, paddled out in our canoes, went round the island, climbed the heights, unnoticed and unopposed, and then made an unexpected and fresh attack on the rear of the Americans. Thou hadst drawn them all to the front, so I dreamed I climbed the undefended walls in the rear, fired on them and they surrendered, filled with terror. I saw their great star-

spangled banner fall down (Kohl 378).

shingwauk's skill in developing military strategy is quite evident in all of these victories and would establish his place as one of the greatest anishinabe strategists and "generals" manitou aki (*Creator's land*) has ever seen.

The military success of the anishinabe and *British* coalition would continue with a succession of victories beginning on the nineteenth day of ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*) in 1813 during which the *British* would recapture *Fort Erie (Ontario)*. Within one week of that victory the ojibway and haudenosaunee-anishinabeg would accept the surrender of the *Americans* surrender at the *Battle of Beaver Dams (Ontario)* on the 24th day ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*). The *Americans* however would force the *British* to evacuate *Forts Detroit (Michigan)* and *Fort Malden (Ontario)* on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh day of wah-tah-bah-gah gii-zhis (*bright leaves moon-September*). In retaliation, shingwauk would lead ojibway-anishinabe forces and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) during the fall of *Forts Michilimakinak and Malden* and at the *Battle of Moraviantown (Fairfield)* in *Ontario*. ode'imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*)

Sault Ste. Marie was raided and burned on the fourteenth (14th) day of mii'ni gii-zhis (*berry moon, July*) in 1814 by the *Americans*. The n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and *British* forces would capture *Forts Shelby and Prairie du Chien (Wisconsin)* one week later. The *Americans* would destroy what was left of *Fort St. Joseph* on the twenty-third (23rd) day of mii'ni gii-zhis (*berry moon, July*). Shortly after, the n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and *British* forces would successfully defend

Fort Mackinac (Michigan) on the fourth (4th) day of ma-noo-min gii-zhis (*rice harvest moon-August*).

This military back and forth would continue until the signing of the *Treaty of Ghent* on the 24th day of manitou gii-zhoonsh (*little spirit moon-December 24, 1814*), which would establish a new set nation-to-nation protocols between the *British* and anishinabe nations. The *British* would begin exploring treaty, diplomatic and military options with anishinabe nations during this period because of its weak military position.

As his nephew (tecumtha) before him, shingwauk was concerned with the treaties and land transfers being negotiated because of the millions of acres of land being treated and transferred for a single payment and the promise of goods and annuities. It becomes apparent to shingwauk that the *British* are being duplicitous during the treaty negotiations. It moves shingwauk to question the commitment of the *British Crown* to live up to its treaty obligations. The *Kettle and Stony Point, Walpole Island and Sarnia* treaties in 1827 for example, were of concern to him because they reflected the political and diplomatic atmosphere in which the negotiations took place. The *Bond Head* treaty¹⁰⁵ in 1836 also gave shingwauk serious doubts about the *Crown's* ability to honour its commitments.

In light of what was taking place, shingwauk saw the process of providing payment and promises of goods and annuities for large areas of traditional lands decidedly slanted in favour of the *British*. It was during these negotiations that shingwauk decided to petition the *Lieutenant Governor, Archibald Acheson, the Earl of Gosford* for shelter and housing on 15th day of manitou gii-zhoonsh (*little spirit moon-December 15, 1838*). It moves him as well to begin developing a political and military strategy because of his

¹⁰⁵ Established Manitoulin Island in 1836 for displaced anishinabeg following the War of 1812.

doubts regarding the treaty negotiations. Darrell Boissoneau (2011) suggests the discovery of precious metals and resources throughout anishinabe territory sets the stage for a new kind confrontation.

There was a lot of activity that was happening in the territory that was claimed by shingwauk. The settler people were after precious metals and were after other resources. They were coming in and cutting down trees-timber and they were asking people about the discovery of copper and other precious metals and they did so without the consent of the ojibway people. And again, shingwauk knew quite well that in order for anybody to come into our territory, they required our consent...

There was mining activity up at Mica Bay and shingwauk took some of his people up with him, some people from Garden River and some Metis people and he went up there. What he did before left: he took a cannon and he went up there and when he got there he rang out a shot. A shot across the bow, if you will... just to let people know: 'Hey look it, you people cannot do anything on our land without out permission.' So that sort of instigated the discussion and the negotiations for the Robinson treaties in 1850 (Darrell Boissoneau Personal Communication June 15 2011).

As part of his political strategy shingwauk, na-bah-nay-go-jing, ogista and ka-bah-o-sa would travel to *Montreal* on the 9th day of na-may-bi-nay gii-zhis (*May*) in 1849 to begin discussions regarding the issue of mineral exploration and natural resource extraction. Following their arrival in July, they immediately drafted and issued a political statement in the *Montreal Gazette*, which detailed their claim to all of the minerals and natural resources within their traditional territory.

This proves to be brilliant strategy as shingwauk, na-ba-nay-go-jing and naw-qua-gah-bow's use of the print media to highlight their issues and demands to mineral exploration and natural resource extraction within anishinabe traditional territory was unprecedented.

shingwauk, na-ba-nay-go-jing and naw-qua-gah-bow were certainly aware that the *British* had fewer than 5,000 British regulars in *North America*. shingwauk, na-ba-nay-go-jing and naw-qua-gah-bow were quick to point out that they had 10,000 o-gi-chi-dahg

(*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) at the battle ready and that 8,000 of the n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) who lived in the territory claimed by the *United States* were at their beck and call. There is certainly no doubt about their strategy at this point.

shingwauk and tah-gay-i-ni-ni would be presented with medals on the 13th day of wah-tah-bah-gah gii-zhis (*bright leaves moon-September*) in 1849, to honour their service during the *War of 1812*. Shortly after, shingwauk, na-ba-nay-go-jing and naw-qua-gah-bow would take over the *Mica Mine* on *Lake Superior* on the 14th day of baash-kah-kodin gii-zhis (*freezing moon-November*). Despite the *Britain's* fear of the n'swi-ish-ko-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn, shingwauk, na-ba-nay-go-jing and naw-qua-gah-bow would turn themselves in on the 4th day of manitou gii-zhoonsh (*little spirit moon-December*). Proving that they had made their point, which would set the stage for the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaties being signed in September 1850.

After all of this, the *British Crown* recognized the need to establish a new set of political and economic parameters for treaty negotiations just as they had done following the *War of 1812*.

shingwauk's influence leading up to and during the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior Treaties* in 1850 is interesting. Chute (1998) writes that shingwauk believed the *British* had to "*recognize the existence of native territorial prerogatives*" (Chute 2). She adds that this was understandable because, "*head chiefs (who) exercised regulatory and protective jurisdiction over lands used as hunting and fishing grounds flanking major water routes into the interior*" (Chute 2).

Amidst all of the political rhetoric, shingwauk was able to articulate a unified and intellectual response to development taking place within anishinabe traditional territory. He points to the *Fort Stanwix* (1768), *Fort McIntosh* (1785) and *Fort Finney* (1786)¹⁰⁶ treaties as a case in point and the lack of a cohesive front within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). shingwauk recognized that reaching consensus would be difficult because of the political climate within the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) provide a rather accurate description of what this traditional decision-making process might have looked like.

In matters of importance, such as warfare with a neighbouring group, moving villages to new locations, or threats to peaceful relations within the village itself, the village leaders assembled in council to decide on a course of action. Decisions were not reached by majority vote, but by the agreement of all members of the council, and most often, by the agreement of the entire family who supported the leader (Clifton, Cornell and McClurken 5).

Following shingwauk's opposition to mining development at the *Mica Mine*, William B. Robinson agreed to negotiate two separate and distinct treaties: the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaties in 1850. During the treaty negotiations, shingwauk challenged the existing treaty process and pushed for a new type of framework, one that ensured permanent *federal crown* obligations to anishinabe nations. Therefore, the resulting treaties were fundamentally different from the ones previously negotiated in *southern Ontario*, which had few lasting obligations and were essentially land-surrenders with a simple one-time payment.

¹⁰⁶ Conquest treaties (The Iroquois ceded land they claimed between the Appalachian divide and Ohio River. The treaties moved the eastern boundary of anishinabe territory west to the Ohio River in order to legalize the land titles of 30,000 settlers already west of the proclamation line).

These treaties would provide for permanent government obligations, lump-sum payments, annuities to be paid in-perpetuity and reserved lands. Throughout these negotiations, shingwauk continually pushed the anishinabe and *primordial* rights agenda. He remained resolute and focused throughout. He argued: “*We want pay for every pound of mineral that has been taken off our lands, as well as that which may hereafter be carried away*” (Hall 451).

shingwauk was also successful in having the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaties recognize the freedom of anishinabe people to hunt and fish on unoccupied territories. The *Ipperwash Inquiry (Volume 2)*; in its final report, suggested the *Robinson-Huron* and *Superior* treaties were a turning point in the treaty-making process.

In negotiating them, the aim of the Crown was not to secure land for settlement, but rather to open up Northern Ontario for mining. The treaties were prompted by the Ojibwes’ resistance to mining licenses issued for locations on Lake Huron and Lake Superior. Second, the Robinson Treaties (one for Lake Superior and the other for Lake Huron) were much more detailed documents than the earlier land cession agreements had been in addition to identifying the reserves which the Ojibwe would have for their exclusive use, also specifically promised continued hunting and fishing rights in the ceded territories (Report of the Ipperwash Inquiry 56).

Chute (1998) reiterates that shingwauk sought to obtain a number of concessions and establish certain protocols during these treaty negotiations. shingwauk believed treaties would come to represent three newer levels of the anishinabe-*Euroamerican* nation-to-nation reality and help re-establish the idea of the *middle ground*.

In the period leading up to the treaty negotiations, Chute (1998) describes shingwauk as one of the more important anishinabe “*policy makers and political negotiators*” (Chute, 1) and one who sought to:

Establish linkages with government agencies, just beginning to exercise jurisdiction in the Upper Great Lakes area; second, to preserve an environment in which Native cultural values and organizational structures could survive; and finally, to

devise new strategies conducive to formation of band governments capable of assuming a degree of proprietorship over resources on Indian lands (Chute 1).

These three linkages would be clearly established in future treaty and governance negotiations. For shingwauk it was important that they focus specifically on the issue of traditional governance and the concept of revenue sharing. Chute (1998) maintains that shingwauk continued to push the treaty agenda and force the British to “*recognize the existence of native territorial prerogatives*” (Chute 2). In fact, the *Robinson-Huron* treaty clearly stipulated that anishinabe peoples could “*continue hunting and fishing on lands not yet ceded and/or leased by the crown, the rights of half-breeds would be addressed and an annuity of approximately two pounds per-capita and revenue from ceded lands would be paid*” (Robinson-Huron Treaty 1850).

Chute (1998) makes the point that: “*head chiefs exercised regulatory and protective jurisdiction over lands used as hunting and fishing grounds flanking major water routes into the interior*” (Chute 2). The Grand Council Treaty Three would also describe anishinabe leadership during this period as being bold, eloquent and visionary.

Although leadership was considered to be hereditary and often associated with particular clans, in practice the right to succession depended upon successful performance. High chieftainship was sometimes achieved by those with no hereditary claim to the office, and then inherited through the father’s line. Effective leadership required validation through performance. Warren, speaking of ‘Sharpened Stone,’ hereditary chief of the Cranes, claimed that “Keesh-ke’mun was not only chief by hereditary descent, but he made himself truly such, through the wisdom and firmness of his conduct.”⁸ The Leech Lake Chief Yellow Hair owed his rise to prominence to knowledge of medicine rather than hereditary right. His son, Flat Mouth, Eshki-bog-ecoshe, was a prominent chief during the mid-19th century, with marriage connections to Lake of the Woods Chief Powawassin’s family and also kin connections to the Grand Chief Premier. Yellow Hair’s grandson, Flatmouth II, was also civil chief at Leech Lake and helped Powawassin burn the American fishing station at Oak Island, and played a prominent role in ending conflict with the American army at the Bear Island War (Grand Council Treaty Three 5).

shingwauk's status within the *mi-de-wi-gun* (*grand medicine lodge*) and *wa-ba-no-wi-win* (*people of the dawn medicine society*) is absolute and is also reflected in Thor and Julie Conway's (1990) story told them by Fred Pine, a nephew of Dan Pine Sr. He describes how the names *shingwauk* and *shingwaukonse* were used interchangeably and that he was called *shingwauk* *from noon to early evening* and *shingwaukonse* *from early evening to sunset* to acknowledge the sun's waning power.

Shingwauk's exploits remain alive in the oral history of the Garden River Ojibwa. The following stories, told by Fred Pine, help us appreciate this man and his powers.

You see this man; Shingwaukonse was a medicine man. He was one of the strongest medicine men on the north shore. All the Ojibwa Indians were originally from Lake Huron Superior. That's what they call Dji-Gwaybs-Chi-kih-May. 'The Big Ojibwa Lake Huron.'

The old chief Shingwaukonse was my (great) grandfather. He controlled everything. They put him in as honorary chief. He could see all of the Ojibwa people around Lake Huron Superior. So when the trouble started when the white man first moved in, some (Ojibwa) moved south. He fought the copper miners.

Shingwaukonse was hired to contact the Indians because he had the power. He could fly over someplace. And you know he could go any place by turning himself into a bird.

Oh my, I could tell stories about Shingwaukonse from now until next July. I picked this knowledge up when I was young. The woman that raised me was one of Shingwauk's granddaughters. She said old Shingwauk used to lock himself up in a loft. He had a home partitioned off. I know the place. I've been in it. The house is lived in yet. A fellow bought that house and moved it to Squirrel Island.

The house is partitioned off where the stairway is. Shingwaukonse stayed behind that partition. He locked the doors up. He just came out sometimes. Someday they didn't know where he was. He's gone. But his body was still there. A long journey. California. Nothing could stop that man.

It's kind of dangerous. When somebody like that leaves their body. You can't disturb the body that's there. Oh, Shinwaukonse's family knew that he'd go in that room to turn into a soul. Dan Pine also remembers many stories about his grandfather.

My grandfather fasted ten times to receive ten gifts. The medals, I hold belong to Shingwauk. He got them fighting in the War of 1812. A white pine will never die. Shingwauk could turn into anything. Any animal. He wore buckskins full of bullet holes from the war; but the bullets would not penetrate his skin. He was protected (Conway and Conway 72-73).

His other name, sah-kah-odjew-wahg-sah (*sun rising over the mountain*) was an expression of wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*) teachings, which described how the wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*) got their power from the sun and its position in the sky. Conway and Conway (1990) explain the power of the wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*) came from “*the natural order on earth, fertility, and the reincarnation of souls by studying the stars, the moon and the sun*” (Conway and Conway 70).

It is understood that a medicine person gains power from the sun; and the sun's position in the sky affects the strength of this cosmic power. Shingwauk was a Wabano shaman. A Wabano specialized in the regulation of the natural order on earth, fertility, and the reincarnation of souls by studying the stars, the moon and the sun. shingwauk's personal name was Sah-Kah-Odjew-Wahg-Sah or 'Sun Rising Over The Mountain'. This shamanic name conveys the power of the moment of sunrise to a person... Dan Pine continues to observe the ancient Ojibwa rituals, which offer respect to the great powers in nature. He carefully explained our relationship to the sun... Respect everything in nature. Like the sun. Rise with the sun. Work with the sun. Work like the sun works. The sun will walk with you (provide protective powers). The sun will respect you. Take care of you. Give you light (Conway and Conway, 70-71).

Lana shares that her grandfather was given this name sah-kah-odjew-wahg-sah (sun rising over the mountain) after his first fast at the age of ten years old. “*He had a dream... there were so many spirits and they were all giving him a quality that he would need to be a good leader*” (Lana Grawbarger Personal Conversation 2011).

Johann Georg Kohl (1985) describes that shingwauk fasted “*not to obtain a great name and respect among his people, but because he always wished to have fine dreams – that is, wished to keep his head and thoughts clear*” (Kohl 374). Kohl writes that shingwauk “*at an early age distinguished himself by his abstinence, and in his tenth year fasted ten days in succession*” (Kohl 374). Kohl himself would come to see fasting as

truly virtuous. Lana adds that in the last twenty years of shingwauk's life, he ate just enough to keep his body strong.

My grandpa always emphasized the point that shingwauk fasted ten times and he received a lot of his instruction during those fasts, from his spirit helpers and from the Great Spirit of course. He was almost like a monk in his later years. He used to meditate daily. For a person who couldn't read, he studied a lot through his meditations and what other people shared with him and stuff. He was very impressed with certain things that really spoke to him. In his later years you could see and feel shingwauk's philosophy! Truth-how important it was and your relationship with the Great Spirit. There can be nothing hiding, no screens up. The second talks of commitment. And the third speaks of his relationship with the creator (Lana Grawbarger Personal Communication June 15 2011).

Darrell Boissoneau (2011) also mentions shingwauk's deep knowledge of medicines and prominence within the wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*), who John Grim (1983) described as men who could manipulate fire to interpret dreams and heal the sick.

What a young man sees and experiences during these dreams and fasts is adopted by him as a truth, and it becomes a principle to regulate his future life. He relies for success on these revelations. If he has been much favored in his fasts, and the people believe that he has the art of looking into futurity, the path is open to the highest honors. The shaman begins to try his power in secret, with only one assistant, whose testimony is necessary should he succeed. As he goes on, he puts down the figures of his dreams or revelations, by symbols, on bark or other material 'til a whole winter is sometimes past in pursuing the subject and he thus has a record of his principal revelations (Grim 125-126).

Being a mide (*person of the good heart*) and wa-ba-no (*person of the dawn medicine society*) medicine person was an important point in and of itself because it was through ceremonies that our people were able to communicate with spiritual beings and the powers within the land. shingwauk saw the significance of spirituality and ceremony, which helped him understand the mental, physical, social and cultural/historical realities provided him. He understood as well that the anishinabe collective memory and traditions were rooted in the land and that any attempt to alienate anishinabe peoples from it was

seen a spatial and spiritual exile. Hoffman (2006) in his description of the wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*), midewiwin (*people of the good heart*), the mi-de-wi-gun (*grand medicine lodge*) and jeeskahn (*shake tent*) speaks of *hidden truths, communion with the turtle and the notion of spiritual history*, which challenge the western notion and construction of linear time.

The wabano or 'men of the dawn sky,' manipulated fire in order to interpret dreams, guide novices through spirit contact, and heal the sick. They use a herbal preparation to protect themselves from the fire. This allows them to briefly seize coals without being affected by the burning. They heal the sick by manipulating the fire near the patient's body. The wabano act as mediators of the power, which they contact in a trance and which they manifest in their manipulation of fire. They also interpret dreams by entering into the trance state, which often is induced by singing special chants and staring fixedly into the coals of a fire. The wabano at one time formed a society a society similar to the Midewiwin... Chingawouk, described the intricate task of developing a shamanic ritual and emphasized the revelatory quality of dreams in fostering a shamanic vocation:

The Jēs'sakkīd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a 'juggler,' the Indians define him as a 'revealer of hidden truths.' There is no association whatever between the members of this profession, and each practices his art singly and alone whenever a demand is made and the fee presented. As there is no association, so there is no initiation by means of which one may become a Jēs'sakkīd'. The gift is believed to be given by the thunder god, or Animiki', and then only at long intervals and to a chosen few. The gift is received during youth, when the fast is undertaken and when visions appear to the individual. His renown depends upon his own audacity and the opinion of the tribe. He is said to possess the power to look into futurity; to become acquainted with the affairs and intentions of men; to prognosticate the success or misfortune of hunters and warriors, as well as other affairs of various individuals, and to call from any living human being the soul, or, more strictly speaking, the shadow, thus depriving the victim of reason, and even of life. His power consists in invoking, and causing evil, while that of the Midē' is to avert it; he attempts at times to injure the Midē' but the latter, by the aid of his superior man'idos, becomes aware of, and averts such premeditated injury. It sometimes happens that the demon possessing a patient is discovered, but the Midē' alone has the power to expel him. The exorcism of demons is one of the chief pretensions of this personage, and evil spirits are sometimes removed by sucking them through tubes, and startling tales are told how the Jēs'sakkīd' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc. The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful

man'idō of the Jēs'sakkīd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunderbird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming. In his notice of the Jēs'sakkīd', Schoolcraft affirms that 'while he thus exercises the functions of a prophet, he is also a member of the highest class of the fraternity of the Midâwin—a society of men who exercise the medical art on the principles of magic and incantations.' The fact is that there is not the slightest connection between the practice of the Jēs'sakkīd' and that of the Midē'wiwin, and it is seldom, if at all, that a Midē' becomes a Jēs'sakkīd', although the latter sometimes gains admission into the Midē'wiwin, chiefly with the intention of strengthening his power with his tribe.

The number of individuals of this class who are not members of the Midē'wiwin is limited, though greater than that of the Wabano'. An idea of the proportion of numbers of the respective classes may be formed by taking the case of Menomonee Indians, who are in this respect upon the same plane as the Ojibwa. That tribe numbers about fifteen hundred, the Midē' Society consisting, in round numbers, of one hundred members, and among the entire population there are but two Wabano' and five Jēs'sakkīd'.

It is evident that neither the Wâbĕnō' nor the Jēs'sakkīd' confine themselves to the mnemonic songs, which are employed during their ceremonial performances, or even prepare them to any extent. Such bark records as have been observed or recorded, even after most careful research and examination extending over the field seasons of three years, prove to have been the property of Wâbĕnō' and Jēs'sakkīd', who were also Midē'. It is probable that those who practice either of the first two forms of ceremonies and nothing else are familiar with and may employ for their own information certain mnemonic records; but they are limited to the characteristic formula of exorcism, as their practice varies and is subject to changes according to circumstances and the requirements and wants of the applicant when words are chanted to accord therewith. Some examples of songs used by Jēs'sakkīd', after they have become Midē', will be given in the description of the several degrees of the Midē'wiwin.

There is still another class of persons termed Mashkī'kīkē'winīnī, or herbalists, who are generally denominated "medicine men," as the Ojibwa word implies. Their calling is a simple one, and consists in knowing the mysterious properties of a variety of plants, herbs, roots, and berries, which are revealed upon application and for a fee. When there is an administration of a remedy for a given complaint, based upon true scientific principles, it is only in consequence of such practice having been acquired from the whites, as it has usually been the custom of the Catholic Fathers to utilize all ordinary and available remedies for the treatment of the common disorders of life. Although these herbalists are aware that certain plants or roots will produce a specified effect upon the human system, they attribute the benefit to the fact that such remedies are distasteful and injurious to the demons who are present in the system and to whom the disease is attributed. Many of these

herbalists are found among women, also; and these, too, are generally members of the Midē'wiwin (Hoffman 159).

shingwauk's story speaks of his special gifts, kindness, love for his people and his *truth*. His special gifts shared with him during his sacred and spiritual journey enabled him to see the world from a different place. He put his life before kitchi manitou and creation without fear and compromise. Again, Hoffman (2006) provides rather interesting commentary regarding the relationship between the wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*) and mide-wi-gun (*grand medicine lodge*):

*Their profession is not thoroughly understood, and their number is so extremely limited that but little information respecting them can be obtained. Schoolcraft, in referring to the several classes of Shamans, says 'there is a third form or rather modification of the medawin, ***the Wabano'; a term denoting a kind of midnight orgies, which is regarded as a corruption of the Midē.' This writer furthermore remarks that 'it is stated by judicious persons among themselves to be of modern origin. They regard it as a degraded form of the mysteries of the Midē.'*

From personal investigation it has been ascertained that a Wabano' does not affiliate with others of his class so as to constitute a society, but indulges his pretensions individually. A Wabano' is primarily prompted by dreams or visions, which may occur during his youth, for which purpose he leaves his village to fast for an indefinite number of days. It is positively affirmed that evil man'idōs favor his desires, and apart from his general routine of furnishing 'hunting medicine,' 'love powders,' etc., he pretends also to practice medical magic. When a hunter has been successful through the supposed assistance of the Wabano', he supplies the latter with part of the game, when, in giving a feast to his tutelary daimon, the Wabano' will invite a number of friends, but all who desire to come are welcome. This feast is given at night; singing and dancing are boisterously indulged in, and the Wabano', to sustain his reputation, entertains his visitors with a further exhibition of his skill. By the use of plants he is alleged to be enabled to take up and handle with impunity red-hot stones and burning brands, and without evincing the slightest discomfort it is said that he will bathe his hands in boiling water, or even boiling maple syrup. On account of such performances the general impression prevails among the Indians that the Wabano' is a 'dealer in fire,' or 'fire-handler.' Such exhibitions always terminate at the approach of day. The number of these pretenders, who are not members of the Midewiwin, is very limited; for instance, there are at present but two or three at White Earth Reservation and none at Leech Lake Huron.

As a general rule, however, the Wabano' will seek entrance into the Midewiwin when he becomes more of a specialist in the practice of medical magic,

incantations, and the exorcism of malevolent man'idōs, especially such as cause disease (Hoffman 157).

All of these stories speak to specific sacred relationships in which the storyteller has a relationship with those who listen. In this respect, all of the stories shared up until now, in Kohl and Schoolcraft's written work, Dan and Fred Pine's oral reflections are important in terms of how they are shared and what is shared. The idea of place and community are intimately connected to the stories of shingwauk. Hoffman (2006) references the stories; prayers and songs anchored in the land and are shared within anishinabemowin and the language of the ancient ones.

In the Me-da-we rite is incorporated most that is ancient amongst them—songs and traditions that have descended not orally, but in hieroglyphs, for at least a long time of generations. In this rite is also perpetuated the purest and most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common everyday use (Hoffman 162).

midewiwin (*people of the good heart*) and wa-ba-no-wi-win (*people of the dawn medicine society*) stories, prayers and songs are deeply spiritual, political and psychologically revealing. It is through these stories, prayers and songs that we are able to maintain our connection to the ancient memory of places. The miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*) we share with our ancestors enables us to experience and share in their experiences. Their history is our history. This is who we are. In coming to some understanding regarding this, we also come realize shingwauk's influence and presence within the midewigun (*grand medicine lodge*), which is witnessed and shared by his son-in-law, Schoolcraft (1962):

The master of ceremonies, Shingwauk came forward and seated himself near me, laying his inscribed music-board, on my table and commenced his songs, agreeably to the order of the notation figure-by-figure. As these songs proceeded, he went through with the necromantic tricks, alluded to, by the words of the song. Thus small shells were swallowed and re-gorged and various transformations of

legerdemain attempted. This series of operations was some- times adroitly performed, but generally, it required no little amount of endurance and patience to sit through the initiation honors. I was minute, however, in noting down the original words and translations of each song, with its pictographic signs. There was a flow in the song, which sometimes, reminded me of the poetic-prose of Gessner; but however this was varied, the choruses, appeared to be permanent and regular, and the recurrence of certain syllables, supposed to have a sacred or hieratic meaning, was very remarkable (Schoolcraft 36).

shingwauk was able to embrace the spirituality of this knowledge. The sacred symbols of our existence: anishinabemowin (our ability to communicate with each other in the spiritual and physical world), our gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-win-nan (teachings), the o-paw-gun (pipe way), i-nah-bayn-dam (dream time, which enables us to dream and to think in a certain way) and the manitou kay-win-nan (ceremonies), which are all a natural and spiritual means for accessing knowledge. All of this is communicated to us at many different levels. For shingwauk, these special gifts showed him that anishinabe people would never abandon themselves. They gave him the ability to find answers. Michael Angel (2002) describes the subtle differences between these special and socio-political powers:

While individuals received special powers, the communal nature of Ojibwa societies meant these powers would normally be used to contribute to the welfare of the band in general. Thus, it was natural that individuals who had received considerable power through Midewiwin ceremonies would also be seen as people with socio-political power. It is no surprise, then, that Ojibwa political leaders such as Eshkebugecoshe (Flat Mouth), Pizhiki (Buffalo), Shingwaukonse (Little Pine), Powasang (Powassan), Mawedopenais, and Ogimaakaanuwinini (Chief Man) were also high-ranking Mideg, since the survival of the community depended upon the ability of these leaders to deal with the environmental and political challenges that faced them (Angel 13).

It is important to recognize that any discussion concerning anishinabe leadership and governance must be spoken of from the context of our traditional teachings and ceremonies. Both embody the spiritual relationship between anishinabe leadership, living things and universe. Their dreams and visions are about our story from its beginning.

obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk were able to communicate with other spiritual beings and powers of the land around them. Many of their family members and those that knew them intimately share stories of their dream helpers (*bears/hummingbirds*)... of their knowledge of medicines for healing... of their knowledge of the pipe stem, which tapped into the power of the land and is and was used to conclude political, social, economic and treaty agreements. For obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk it was the anishinabe way of making and affirming their relationship with the land and of honouring the spiritual powers of those who dwelt in the lands. Conway and Conway (1990) provide an interesting description of shingwauk's meeting with the people who first landed on manitou aki (*Creator's land*).

Myeengun, Shingwauk, and the other educated men dreamed about people, that they never saw before, coming to Canada. White People. Sure enough, a few years after that, Shingwauk dreamed about a boat full of strange people. Ojibwa men went down the Lake Hurons until they hit the St. Lawrence River. At the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, they went to these big rocks. Shingwauk placed his men up on steep rocks. Its pretty well flat country down there with an occasional bluff. And that's where they signaled to each other. They watched for the ship. When the Indians knew it was near, Shingwauk performed a miracle. He made the fog settle down so the boat could not land.

Shingwauk saw the boat before the fog before the fog settled down to the Lake Huron. And they could hear the people on the boat. They could hear the anchor dropping into the water. Boh-Kuhn-Djigun. Boh-Kuhn-Dji-Gay-wigis. 'An Anchor'. The anchor was thrown out and the Indians could hear the cogs letting down the chain. "Okay," Shingwauk said.

'Let's go.' That's when the Indians climbed on top of the boat and started banging the fellows on the head. I don't know how the Indians knew what was in those kegs. They never seen guns or gunpowder before. Shingwauk said, 'Load up all the kegs and throw the rest of it into the water.' 'Then these strangers will not be able to use their guns,' he explained to the Ojibwa warriors. The Indian leaders knew the Europeans had some kind of weapon that could be used to take over the land.

That time the white man did not land. More than half were killed. The Ojibwa leaders said, "Go back." Well, the people in the boat could not understand the Indian language, but they understood the warning. So the white people's ship went back across the ocean. But the medicine man predicted they would return. "This ocean is a big Lake Huron," he said. "It'll take them two years to return. We must

prepare.” And that boat just left. But another boat landed on the St. Lawrence a few years later (Conway and Conway 64-65).

Dr. Rainey Gaywish (2013) provides interesting commentary regarding the timing of shingwauk’s first encounter with the *European* given that he was born in 1773. Conway and Conway (1990) raise a similar question regarding Fred Pine’s story as to whether there was an ancestor named shingwauk who lived in the seventeenth century.

Because of shingwauk’s spiritual, medicine, shape-shifting powers and paintings it also raises the possibility of time travel. It begs the question as well as to whether transformations and shape shifting are possible. If we are to accept the anishinabe world-view, we have to accept its way of seeing the world and its unfolding events. We have to appreciate a person who sees the world in this way, who participates in such a reality of the dream or vision, who regards his/her own personal life and history as the mysterious compliment of ordinary and “*non-ordinary*” reality. Willie Ermine (1995) adds that, “*we have from the mists of unremembered time a character in our traditional narratives...the trickster-transformer that continues to guide our experiences...*” (Ermine 89).¹⁰⁷

Leroy Little Bear¹⁰⁸ describes how quantum physics is similar to anishinabe science, because of the relational networks that are relevant to both. He writes that time and space are always similar because *coyote*, *raven*, and *waynaboozho* create havoc wherever they go and that this is similar to the chaos theory. Little Bear defines how people accept the way knowledge is obtained, which enables them to see the world though their eyes, taste the world with their taste, feel what they feel and hear what they hear as the nature of culture. It is anishinabe culture, traditions, teachings and ceremonies

¹⁰⁷ Ermine, Willie. “‘Aboriginal Epistemology’ in First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds” Edited by Battiste, Marie and Barmann, Jean. Vancouver: UBC Press. 1995.

¹⁰⁸ Littlebear, Leroy. *Jagged Worlds Colliding*. pp. 77-85. Battiste, Marie, ed. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2000.

that bring order to the anishinabe world. This particular story also describes shingwauk's experience during the ojibway-iroquois-anishinabe wars and highlights his reputation as a *picturegraph*¹⁰⁹ writer.

Shingwauk made some of the paintings at Agawa. What Shingwauk was scared of? It was the Iroquois coming up into Ojibwa country on Lake Huron Superior. The Iroquois did not have the fears that we have here. You see we have the best climate in Canada, in Ontario for good furs. There's too much salt water to make perfect fur in Quebec. It's surrounded by salt water. Where the Iroquois came from, they didn't have the country for fur animals... Shingwauk made the markings for the other Ojibwa headmen. The big leaders of the Ojibwa. They were coming along the shore looking for a place where they would see the markings. That's the reason Shingwauk put that mark on the rock. It's just like writing a letter to somebody. When the other Ojibwa medicine men came by Agawa, they would see the paintings. That's why Shingwauk did that. The Iroquois couldn't understand it. The Iroquois have different signs too. But the Iroquois are not explorers like the Ojibwa...

The Iroquois knew about that route and they came over to Lake Huron Superior. My people could have stopped them at the Soo, but the Iroquois went around behind to get in Lake Huron Superior. The Iroquois got here, but they didn't stay long because old Shingwauk put the jinx on them.

Shingwauk was a powerful medicine man. He knew somebody was coming to Lake Huron Superior. He had a dream (vision) and he saw the Iroquois canoes. The south star appeared to him. There's something about Shawanung, 'The South Star' that means fear. There is a bad thing about the south. The South Star causes trouble. Nothing rises in the south. Not the sun, the moon or the stars.¹¹⁰

The medicine man said, "There's something bad coming from the south." Sure enough, that is where the Iroquois came from when they invaded the Ojibwa. South. They all came from the south.

This story is hard to translate. When the Iroquois came into this area, the Ojibwa asked for help across Lake Huron Superior. The Ojibwa did not have radio. How did they get the message from one side of the Lake Huron to the other? Well you know what? They had that medicine man fly over there.

He flew over there, across Lake Huron Superior. It would not take very long to get over to the south shore. The medicine man could use any fast bird he could get a hold of. He even used that Nah-Noh-Kah-Say. It will fly across the ocean. That's the hummingbird. He was sent for messages.

Oh, they won. My people won. Well, at Agawa, that's where the old chiefs met. So Shingwauk said, "When the Iroquois come in, I'll perform a fog on them." He made a heavy fog. Shingwauk opened up the fog. He lifted the fog so he could see a long ways. That's what he did. He fogged up all of Lake Huron Superior.

¹⁰⁹ Shomin, Pine (Mack-a-da Ming-giss-was). *The Sacred Fire of the Odawa*. 1990. Print.

¹¹⁰ Dr. Rainey Gaywish points out that this is different from the teachings about zeegwun, which brings spring and life to the land (Dr. Rainey Gaywish Personal Communication) 2013.

Shingwauk made a large fire, and his people danced around the fire and put tobacco in it. Then he performed the miracle. He had the power to affect the atmosphere and lift the fog.

When the Ojibwa tribes went out, they went and met the Iroquois out on the Lake Huron. They never landed. The Iroquois never landed here on the north shore of Lake Huron Superior. Shingwauk told the warriors to watch for the Iroquois. He placed his men on top of the cliffs around the Lake Huron to watch. They covered themselves with brush like hay. And put hay all over the ground so they could not be seen. It was a camouflage.

Then the Ojibwa wrapped their paddles with beaver hides to soften the sounds. Some kind of hide. They didn't make any noise with the canoes. The Ojibwa warriors went in there just as quiet as could be. And they ran the Iroquois out. In the big battle, the Ojibwa got the jump on the enemy. They grabbed them and killed the Iroquois with wooden clubs. There were no guns in those days.

After that, Shingwauk and the other powerful headmen painted those markings on the rock at Agawa. You see those were a warning.

Shingwauk knew everything. He was the fellow that took the Lake Huron Superior Ojibwa down to the St. Lawrence when the first white man's boats landed in North America. All of the headmen gathered at Soo, Michigan. They had big birch bark canoes thirty feet long (Conway and Conway 65-68).

The haudenosaunee-anishinabeg were seeking to upset the established trade relationships by attacking ojibway-anishinabe communities, which was brought to a head in 1653, when ojibway-anishinabeg o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) defeated an iroquois-anishinabe war party at the site of present day *Iroquois Point* on *Lake Superior*. Peter Schmalz (1991) writes that this battle stopped future iroquois-anishinabe aggression dead in its tracks.

An example of their might was chronicled by Bacqueville de Potherie in the 1690s. He wrote, that 100 Iroquois warriors came to take possession of one of the villages near Sault Ste. Marie. With a force of only 50 fighting men and using only arrows and tomahawks against muskets, they defeated the Iroquois war party (Schmalz 18-19).

Jim Dumont (1976) also describes the abilities of anishinabe medicine-people to shape-shift in one particular story. Dumont writes that the ojibway-anishinabeg were noted for their bravery and ferocity, which he attributes to their songs and medicine power, which

were called upon during sweat lodge ceremonies. He shares one particular incident where the ability of medicine people to engage in impossible transformations was witnessed.

*Nibakom isolates two men by means of a special pipe ceremony to carry out an important mission. He sends them to spy on the American camp. To do this:
They became bats so they could fly around over there. They did not appear over there as men: they worked some magic. This was a critical event leading up to the surprise attack that followed, where the camp was totally defeated and a strategic fort taken (Dumont 15).*

This story raises the question as to whether transformations and shape shifting are possible. Our personal reflections, ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*), and di-ba-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) describe many instances where these transformations took place because of our way of seeing the world and quite often events unfolded in this manner.

shingwauk also saw anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and the *primordial* right to i-nah-ko-ni-gay (*govern*) as coming from the anishinabe relationship to kitchi manitou (*Creator*) and the land. shingwauk believed kitchi manitou (*Creator*) gave anishinabe nations the ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) and the right to i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*). He was shown this in ceremony and was guided by this spiritual way of life.

His teachings and beliefs in anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) would also provide direction to him when he petitioned the *British Crown* to live up to its *War of 1812* promises. Even today the reality of anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) are shown us in ceremony and teachings and continue to remain a point of contention in our relationship with *Canada*. In time, shingwauk's vision of a *teaching wigwam*, a place where young anishinabe people would be educated would come to embody our place in

this new world. He would also continue to push *Britain* on the issues of anishinabe nationhood and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). He argued for example that special recognition should be given to ketegaunseebee (*Garden River*) and the descendants for their participation in the *War of 1812*.

For shingwauk, the existing treaties and promises made were still binding. He spoke continually of anishinabe sovereignty, the importance of treaty, economic independence and political self-determination. He also gave great importance to the status of anishinabe land and resources because he believed honouring treaties was about taking responsibility for the shared history of the anishinabe-*Euroamerican* nation-to-nation relationship and establishing our own rule of law. This was the nature of anishinabe reality, shingwauk's reality. Betty-Lou shares:

He was 18 when his dad¹¹¹ died, about that age. Because he was the one that... his dad was visiting Charley Pine's dad, that would have been the last hereditary chief, that was his youngest brother. He was the second youngest and his cousin George was the chief. They did it all together – he was like an advisor to his brother. Anyway, he was visiting with the brother, probably talking – maybe there was a meeting coming up, who knows. So anyway, they sent for my dad to come up, and he carried him home, sat him in the rocking chair. There was two and those two rocking chairs, when I was a kid, was still in front of the cook-stove in the kitchen, and you could tell that those two rocking chairs probably never moved from that place. But one rocking chair was his and one was my Grandma's. And they sat him in his rocking chair but as soon as he sat in there – then he's gone. I guess my dad was pretty heart broken and he had a hard time getting over that. Even when he told stories about his dad he used to get tears (Betty-Lou Grawbarger Personal Communication June 15 2011).

In all of what took place from 1763-1812, we realize that obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk sought to protect manitou aki (*Creator's land*) and all that we derived from the kitchi manitou (*Creator*) and the land. tecumtha would sacrifice his life in doing so.

¹¹¹ shingwauk was mishom to Dan Pine. Fred Pine was a nephew of Dan Pine. (His father was Jacob Pine, a ½ brother to Dan) Their father was John Askin was one of shingwauk's sons.

All three leaders left a social, political, economic and military legacy that we continue to benefit from to this day.

shingwauk would pass in 1854. Fred Pine, a fantastic storyteller in his own right tells us: *Old Shingwauk is coming back (from the dead)... He's coming back. I believe that too.* His stories and shingwauk's stories have been passed from one generation-to-the-next. These stories are clear and concise with no ambiguity whatsoever. They spoke and shared the truth in their stories of shingwauk, his gifts of power, of kindness and his love for his people.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)

zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

Chapter 7

o-gi-ma-win zhigo n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Traditional governance and the Three Fires Confederacy)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

The history of the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg must be placed in its proper perspective when exploring the impact of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) on manitou aki (*Creator's land*). bawdwaywidun states "*a long time ago may-wi-zhuh our people, the original first peoples of this part of the world were organized in many different ways*" (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Conversation 2005).

anishinabe ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), gi-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (*oral history*) and wi-gwas o-zhi-bi-i-gay-nan (*birch-bark scrolls*) tell us that the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was established during the time of the *great migration* (800 CE). This social, political, economic, military and spiritual alliance, which manifested itself in the body of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) provided ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg with this fantastic ability to control and protect our territory and make independent decisions.

The legacy of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) is also shared within our miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory*)

and the act of flowing), which is a strong thread connecting us to our ancestors, to the earth and to our deep spiritual beliefs. It teaches us about our innate ability to understand and absorb values that have been with our people since the beginning of time. They are grounded within the land, our ceremonies, and anishinabemowin.

Neal McLeod's ¹¹²(2007) suggestion that the articulation of anishinabe stories and languages are important because they have been ignored and marginalized far too long is helpful in coming to some understanding of the anishinabe world-view. Shomin (1990) also suggests the anishinabe world-view is entrenched in the origin and history of anishinabe peoples, which are shared in the *ah-di-so-kah-nahg (traditional and spiritual stories)* and *di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (stories of personal experience and reminiscences)*. I found this particular story that Shomin (1990) shares about his relationship with his *ga-sha (mother)* and her knowledge and memory of the spiritual history and responsibility of the ojibway-anishinabeg as "*picturegraph writers*" and "*keepers of the faith*" also helpful in coming to this understanding.

My Ga-sha told me many times that Chippewa, the English way of pronouncing Ojibwa, was not the right word to use when describing these Anishinaaybeg. The correct word is O-jib-i-on, pronounced O-shib'-i-on. To those who belong to the Three Sacred Fires, this word means 'Picturegraph Writers.' This is the duty they took while on our migration. They kept these writings on sacred scrolls of birchbark and deer hides. The scrolls were stored in a hollowed out Ma-no-na (Ironwood log), and then lowered with a rope made of Wi-ga-beesh (Basswood bark) over the side of a cliff to be hidden. Our history relates that a prophet came to them and said that strange people would come here and try to destroy our way of life. It also says that when we are able to practice our way of life freely again, there will be a young boy who has had a vision quest and he will lead us to these sacred scrolls.

O-ji-ba-wa is another story. At the time when the Anishinaaybeg migrated from the east coast to the area of the Apostle Islands in Lake Superior (Northern Wisconsin), they went too far west at first-somewhere into what is now called lower Wisconsin. A boy dreamt that they must go back to the area where Walpole Island

¹¹² McLeod, Neal. *Cree Narrative Memory (From Treaties to Contemporary Times)*. Saskatoon, Sask.: Purich Publishing Ltd., 2007. Print.

is today. At that time, lower Michigan was all swamps, marshes and big rivers. Some of the Anishinaaybeg left the migration, not wanting to cross these watery places. These Anishinaaybeg were called Oji-ba-wa, meaning they left the migration.

After the migration was completed, some of the young men were inquisitive, and wanted to see the land around them. The story is told that they made their way across the wooded area, the plains, the desert and mountain country, and finally arrived at the Big Water (Pacific Ocean).

While they were there, they encountered the Ma-mi-uk (Little People), and the (Giant People). They also saw the giant trees, which they named Mi-squa-a-atik (Sequoia, or Giant Redwood Tree). The story goes on to say that one of these big trees must have blown over in a severe storm. The Ma-mi-uk chipped and burned little rooms in this big fallen tree.

Finally, it is said that (the earth shook greatly). There was a huge earthquake and a violent storm came. The lightening and thunder and rains came. The young men were frightened and ran away from the storm, this battle between the mountain and the sky. On arriving back home and telling the story of their adventure, they were also called O-ji-ba-wa, meaning those who left, or ran away from the violent storm. I have learned that many Anishinaaybeg known as O-ji-ba-wa are actually Odawa (Shomin 19-20).

The ojibway-anishinabeg established themselves in the *Upper and Lower Peninsula* of *kitchi gumi (Great Lakes)*; the *ota'wa-anishinabeg* along the shore of *Lake Michigan* and in *southeastern Michigan*; and the *boodewaadamig-anishinabeg* in the *southern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan*. Our *di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (stories of personal experience and reminiscences)* and *ga-ki-do-gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-ma-guhk (oral history)* tell us the *n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy)* met regularly at *Madeline Island, kichikabekong (Niagara Falls), Spirit Island, Manitoulin Island, michilimakanak, animiikii wahjiw (thunder mountain/Mount McKay)* and *bawating (Garden River)* following the great migration.

The “*sun rose and set on anishinabe territory*” such was the broad expanse of the *n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy)*.

The eastern doorway (ota'wa-anishinabeg) included parts of modern-day eastern Ontario, Lower Peninsula in Michigan, eastern Canada and the United States; center fire (boodewaadamig-anishinabeg) took in areas of modern-day Wisconsin,

Upper Peninsula in Michigan, mid-western Canada and the United States; and the western doorway (ojibway-anishinabeg), which protected and was responsible for north-western Ontario, most of western Canada, Minnesota, North and South Dakota... (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2006).

John Tanner (2007) having lived with the anishinabeg for a period of time had a detailed knowledge of how vast the anishinabe territory really was and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) ability to control such a huge area.

By 1701, the Ojibway, Ottawa and Potawatomi controlled most of Lower Michigan. By the 1800's, they were living in Ontario, Saskatchewan, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. No other nations have ever controlled such a vast area of land as the Confederacy did at this time in history. They were the largest and the most powerful tribe in the Great Lakes area (Tanner 14-15).

Political philosophers have attempted to measure greatness and strength of empires and nations in many different ways. It was known that the anishinabeg were sufficiently powerful enough to close the route of communication between lake Superior and Lower Fort Garry. Jean Jacques Rousseau (2003) writes, "*A body politic may be measured in two ways – either by the extent of its territory or the number of its people a right relation which makes the state really great*" (Rousseau 11).

For the eldest brother, the keepers of the faith (*ojibway-anishinabeg*), the clan system provided the foundation on which their political, economic, social, military and spiritual strength rested. The clan system provided a sense of place, belonging and knowledge for all ojibway-anishinabe citizens.

At the height of ojibway-anishinabe power, its political, economic and military reach extended deep into the financial heart of *central Europe*. For the *French, British and Dutch*, economic and trade relationships were reasons enough to be allied with them. During this period, *stadacona (Quebec City)* and *hochelaga (Montreal)* had become two

important trade-centres. The haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy sought to upset the economic and military relationship between the ojibway-anishinabeg and *French* by attacking ojibway-anishinabe communities at every opportunity. This was brought to a head in 1653 at *Iroquois Point* on *Lake Superior*.

As immigration to the west continued, *British* involvement in the lucrative fur trade increased dramatically. Not surprisingly, this period saw an increase in the number of a trade skirmishes between the *French* and *British* as well, which also intensified the conflict between the ojibway and iroquois-anishinabeg. In 1851, *kah-ge-ga-gah-bow* (George Copway) (2002) provides a detailed description of the hostilities between the ojibway and iroquois-anishinabeg:

The Ojibway annually sent some of their number to trade with the French at either Quebec or Montreal. A party of these was waylaid and killed by the Iroquois. Threats of reprisals were treated by the Iroquois with scorn. After a second party had been similarly attacked and slain, a council of the nation was held, resulting in some of their chiefs being sent to confer with the Iroquois. The meeting was held at Saugeen (Southampton), and resulted in the Iroquois agreeing to pay a bale of furs for each man that had been killed and in addition granted permission to the Ojibway to pass peacefully on trade trips to Montreal. This treaty held good for three years when bands of Iroquois waylaid simultaneously several parties of Ojibway returning from a trading journey. This happened in the fall of that year. In the meantime runners were sent to the various allies in the coming war. In the month of May following, the combined forces gathered in two parties, one at Lake St. Clair and the other at Sault Ste. Marie, seven hundred canoes being there assembled. This latter party divided into two bands. One advanced on the enemy by way of the Ottawa valley, while the other proceeded to Penetanguishene. The Lake St. Clair division at the same time came up the east- coast of Lake Huron to the mouth of the Saugeen River, where a fierce battle was fought with the Iroquois, who ultimately gave way and fled before the onslaught of the Ojibway (Copway 21-22).

The *Great Peace of Montreal* (1701) a gathering to which thirty-nine (39) nations came to *Montréal* to bury the hatchet deep in the earth. This treaty was an attempt to end the *Beaver Wars* and hostilities between the ojibway and iroquois-anishinabeg. Peter

Schmalz (1991) tells us that in return for peace and friendship, the five haudenosaunee-anishinabe nations extracted promises of protection and security from the *British*, particularly with respect to their territory around *Lakes Erie, Huron and Ontario*.

By 1702, the Ojibway were located at two of the most important trade locations, Toronto and Fort Frontenac. By 1720, they were firmly established throughout southern Ontario. The Ojibway could be found at Kente, the Toronto River, and Matchedach, St. Clair and at the head of Lake Ontario by 1736. Southern Ontario was designated in a map in 1755 as 'Country of the Missesagues.' In 1784, the British had to pay the Ojibway 1180 pounds for land on the Grand River in order to settle the Iroquois who had been displaced by the American Revolution (Schmalz 32).

Despite the 1701 treaty signed in *Montreal*, the ojibway-anishinabeg continued to wage war with the iroquois-anishinabeg in order to keep the trade routes to the *United States* open and to further entrench themselves in *southern Ontario*. It is not surprising that as the strength and wealth of the ojibway-anishinabeg increased so too did its territory.

It was obvious the military strength of the ojibway-anishinabeg was such that nothing could take place without their involvement and agreement. Further, the ojibway-anishinabeg had a complex continent-wide mesh-kah-do-ni-gay (*trade*) network that firmly entrenched alliances with other ota'wa, boodewaadamig-anishinabeg and allied nations.

As trade relations between the ojibway-anishinabeg and *British* increased, a unique and odd relationship developed. For example, we see the creation of the position of *trading captain* and the adoption of customs such as the wearing of the special coats (*with brass buttons*) and hats (*top-hats with trade-silver bands*) by men who were appointed by the *British* rather than their own people.

To reiterate, each nation within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) saw each other in the family context. "*The Ojibway*

being the eldest brother, the ota'wa the next oldest and the boodewaadamig the younger brother” (Confederacy of Three Fires *A History of the Anishinabek Nation* 4). As in any family, brothers often speak the same language or have similar dialects of anishinabemowin, share similar beliefs and culture. Quite often their territories would overlap each other. Within ojibway-anishinabe society, the “*ah-ji-jawk (crane), mahng (loon) gi-goon (fish), mukwa (bear), wa-bi-zha-shi (marten), wa-wa-shesh-she (deer) and be-nays (bird)*” (bawdwaywidun banaise 74-75) served as figureheads for the original families. Even today, many ojibway-anishinabeg peoples can still trace their ancestry back to these original families. William Warren (1984) writes that foreign nations thought it necessary to understand the importance of clans:

The French understood their division into clans, and treated each clan according to the order of its ascendancy in the tribe. They also conformed to their system of polity, of which the totemic division formed the principal ingredient they were careful in bestowing medals on chiefs these acts were never done unless being in accordance with their civil polity (Warren 155).

anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) structures within ojibway-anishinabe society provided interesting revelations about accepting responsibility for the well-being of others and the idea about personal achievement. Chute (1998) for example discusses the *English* terms *boss* and *master* from an anishinabe point of view.

An Ojibway root, 'debenima', has been variously translated as 'boss,' 'master,' 'the one in charge,' or 'the one in control.' But the favoured translations of a sensitive bilingual was 'those I am responsible for.' The idea of bossing is generally rejected, as is the idea of competition, yet both must occur at times. It can be seen that the areas of social control, of leadership and political structure, of the various cooperating social units necessary to kinship organization and subsistence activities – all these must be balanced somehow to accord with the rules of the system about power (Chute 17-18).

Hueglin (1993) attempts to expand upon this by suggesting that, “*A clan leader does not derive his authority from his hereditary status but also from his ability to contribute to a process of mutual communication*” (Hueglin 29). As an individual who considers himself somewhat of a purist, renewing the guiding principles and traditional system of anishinabe governance would be in the interest of our people. Dr. Gaywish points to obwandiac (nigig) and tecumtha (mizhibizhi) who assumed responsibilities within the *war council* and as o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) and ni-gahn-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wag (*war leaders*) because of their do-daim (*clan*), which was wa-bi-zha-shi (*marten*).

Decision-making within ojibway-anishinabe society and traditional o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) framework was always consensus-based rather than by authoritative action. Factional strife over any issue was therefore a rarity. James Clifton, George Cornell and James McClurken (1986) write that that when it came to matters of the nation, a decision-making apparatus was always quickly mobilized.

A Great Council meeting was called. All of the Potawatomi communities came together to debate this potentially damaging controversy. The Wkamek (leaders) assembled and debated the issue with Nicholas Perrot, a French diplomat. Behind each “Wkama” (leader) sat his clan members, who were there to show support and monitor the “Wkama”'s behavior in Council. Throughout the debate many different positions were discussed, in the end, however, they reached the consensus. One that was acceptable to all of the communities and all of its citizens. “Wkamek”, elders and youth alike...

Once the decision was reached, a Speaker was selected to chant the words of the new agreement. Then, one by one, from eldest to youngest in turn, all the leaders stood to sing out their acceptance of the Speaker's proclamation. A consensus was reached and publicly accepted by all those in attendance. There would be no dissenting minority and no opposition was tolerated thereafter (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 44).

In fact, Hueglin (1993) suggests, “*the goal (was) reached when the council (spoke) with one mind, sovereignty only exists when the process of consensus building works*”

(Hueglin 29). In contrast, Taiaiake Alfred describes factionalism as the very heart of haudenosaunee-anishinabe politics in *Hearing the Voices of our Ancestors* and the *Great Law* provided a means to manage it.

The middle brother (*ota'wa-anishinabeg-keepers of the trade*) was also guided in principle by the *ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan* (*seven teachings*) and *ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan* (*seven sacred laws*). Shomin (1990) shares a rather interesting story regarding the meaning of the term *ota'wa*, which is somewhat different than the one shared by Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986).

The Odawa, known as the Peacekeepers, had the duty of keeping all the Sacred Bundles (Sacred Peace pipes) here at Tchingabeng, and bringing them out for the Sacred Fire Councils. When a matter was settled at the Council, the Sacred Pipes were filled with tobacco and lighted from the Sacred Fire. They were smoked as a vow or promise to Gi-is-shi Min-ni-do (The Great Spirit) that we would do what we had agreed upon. This ceremony is sacred, and has been a part of our spiritual beliefs since the olden days when the Great Spirit came down to our people at the place now known as Pipestone, Minnesota, and fashioned the first pipe of peace there.

Our Osh-ti-a-tig (Crossed Sticks) are a symbol of the Sacred Fire and the sign of a Fourth Mida-wi-win (Holy Man at the Fourth Level). Our Osh-ti-a-tig stood in this Village long before the Chi-mok-mon (Big Knives or White People) arrived. When the Jesuits came to our Village, our people learned that the Crossed Sticks were also a sacred symbol to the Chi-mok-mon. A large wooden cross was erected on our bluff, and our Village-called L'Arbre. Croche by French fur traders-was also called La Croix. Eventually, it became known as Cross Village (Shomin 7-8).

This story speaks to the anishinabe peoples' collective memory and connection to the land, which are blanketed by anishinabemowin, the language of the people. I am further intrigued by this story because it is part of a larger collective memory, which also enables us to understand the anishinabe historical experience. Shomin (1990) again shares important *ota'wa ah-di-so-kah-nahg* (*sacred and spiritual narratives*), which provide an interpretation to the meaning of the people we call the *ota'wa*.

We are Odawa, pronounced with either an 'A' or an 'O' at the beginning (O-da'-wa). 'Ada', or 'Oda' means heart, and Wa means him or her. Odawa means 'Heartland Person', the land being omitted but understood.

On the migration told about in our history, these were the ones who took the duty of caring for the Sacred Medicine, or Sacred Bundles. It was at that time that all the Anishinaaybeg deposited their Sacred Bundles with the Odawa (Shomin 19).

For the ota'wa, *respect* was very important because it was understood that no one individual could determine the fate of another. Therefore, decisions affecting the entire nation were always made by consensus. Despite each community being a separate political unit within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) they could quickly come together when matters of the entire nation were in question and in time of conflict.

More importantly, ota'wa-anishinabe ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn-ni-wad (*hereditary leaders*), ni-gahn-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wahg (*war leaders*) and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) would never initiate any commands or directives. This was *respect* at its purest.

Secondly, ota'wa-anishinabe society valued the importance of *sharing* because the survival of the nation depended in large part on the support by members of the ododem¹¹³ (*I have him for my family mark*). Sharing was considered the *social security* and *safety net* of the day. It was understood individuals and the clan could gain more kindness of spirits, respect and prestige by sharing more of what they had. To the ota'wa, a person's wealth meant he/she simply had more to share; therefore he/she was expected to give more of what he/she had. This emphasis on sharing was so strong that almost no relationship or interaction could be carried on without it.

¹¹³ ota'wa term (clan).

As well an individual who was seeking too much power or wealth was seen as upsetting the intricate balance between the interconnected relationships with the natural world including other individuals, clans, communities and nations. Cooperation and survival was therefore inextricably linked. ota'wa-anishinabe society saw competition as unnecessary and counterproductive. Simply stated, an individual could not survive independent of the ododem because the clan system was the most important social and political unit.

In the case of the Ottawa, the families living in each large village could have been loosely linked into clans. Two of the four major villages which formed the Ottawa Confederacy – the Kiskakon, or cuttails, a name, which refers to the bear, and the Sinago or black squirrels – were identified by the animals from which their inhabitants claimed descent. Other family groups took their names from a geographic feature of their home territory. The name Sable, for example, meant sand, and Nausaukeuton meant river fork, a reference perhaps to a river fork near their major village or to a homeland along Green Bay (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 8).

Its four major ododem (*I have him for my family mark*) governed every aspect of ota'wa-anishinabe life. For example, one of the ododem's main responsibilities was to maintain close relationships with other clans, communities and nations in matters of the economy (trade), political (treaties) and military (alliances) relationships and ceremonial matters. Membership in the same ododem (*I have him for my family mark*) also ensured an obligation and responsibility to provide for food, shelter and hospitality to other members of the same ododem and citizens of the same clan from other nations. The ododem was also an important vehicle for establishing kinship and nationality because it essentially determined *who was and who was not* ota'wa-anishinabe.

The entrenchment of clan ties and sharing of resources was so fundamental to ota'wa-anishinabe society that survival of the nation was predicated on having a highly

functional and organized ododem (*I have him for my family mark*) system. For example, within each of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) nations, the clan would often control hunting territories or ceremonial knowledge and also have considerable influence on the essential day-to-day tasks in life. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) provide the following observation concerning the ota'wa-anishinabeg ododem (*I have him for my family mark*) system and its influence on community composition:

The Ottawa system depended on cooperation, not competition... Indian groups in the Great Lakes traced their clan relationships and descent in two ways - through the mother (matrilineal) or through the father (patrilineal). Matrilineal kinship systems usually operated in agricultural societies like that of the Ottawa's southern neighbors, the Huron... The Chippewa peoples to the north were a patrilineal society. Men were the important food producers in a hunting and fishing economy... (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 6 and 7).

Generally speaking, the clan system was an integral part of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its day-to-day affairs.

Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) write that Samuel de Champlain established a settlement near the iroquoian-anishinabe village of stadacona (*Quebec City*) in 1608, thus beginning a trade relationship with the huron-anishinabeg and other anishinabe nations that would last until the late eighteenth century.

Trading relationships were essential to the Ottawa way of life. The word 'Ottawa' as was noted earlier means either 'to buy' or 'to trade,' Ottawa men travelled throughout the Great Lakes acting as middlemen for the Chippewa to the north and the Huron to the south. The Ottawa supplied the Chippewa with their own and the Huron's surplus corn and received in return the furs that they traded to the Huron. Each Ottawa family had its own trade route, which was both a geographical path or waterway and a set of relationships with trading partners along the way. So important were these trade relationships that marriages were often arranged to turn trading partners into family members and so extend kinship ties. The trade routes could only be used by the family who pioneered them and who maintained the gift exchange and kinship ties which assured safe passage for the traders and the supply of goods when they reached their destination. Members of the kin group

who owned the trade route used it only with the permission of the family leader, usually the same man who represented them in council and was respected for his personal powers. Trespassers along the trade route could be charged a toll of furs; grain or other native trade goods or they might be killed for their trespass (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 11-12).

Shomin's interpretation and understanding of the term "*ota-wa*" is fundamentally different from the one previously shared by Clifton, Cornell and McClurken. Shomin suggests one of the responsibilities of the ota'wa-anishinabe nation during the *great migration* was to safeguard and care for the sacred medicine and bundles. He explains that the term *oda* (*heart*) and *wa* (*him or her*) as *heartland person* was often used to describe them. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken's interpretation of "*ota'wa*" on the other hand means, "*to trade*". Both the interpretation of the term *ota'wa* and responsibilities of the nation within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) seem appropriate given that the ota'wa-anishinabeg were often seen as intermediaries in trade and economics relationships and as keepers of the sacred medicines and bundles.

The levying of a toll-charge for use of their waterways was also significant because no one could reach the vast and rich fur-producing territories without first travelling through ota'wa-anishinabe territory. During this period, the economic wealth of the ota'wa-anishinabeg was unprecedented. The nation enjoyed tremendous benefits because of the relatively successful trade relationships it established with both the *French* and *huron-anishinabe* nations. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) also make the point that the *Beaver Wars*¹¹⁴ (mid 1600's-1701), smallpox epidemics and the missionaries had some impact on the *huron-anishinabeg* and their established trade network, which benefitted the ota'wa-anishinabeg.

¹¹⁴ The Great Peace of Montreal (1701) would signal the end of the Beaver Wars.

Between 1650 and 1700, the Ottawa became the best-known and most successful traders in the Great Lakes region possessing greater wealth and prestige than they'd ever had before... The flexibility of their political organization allowed the Ottawa to live in small groups or large villages... the Ottawa adapted to a variety of new locations without sacrificing their cultural identity or losing their strength (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 13).

From 1700 through 1800, the nations of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would continue to expand their trade, political and military relationships and their prestige and wealth with *Euroamerican* nations increased exponentially because of this. Often *Euroamerican* political and military conflicts being waged elsewhere would find their way onto manitou aki (*Creator's land*) and impact established economic relationships. These *Euroamerican* nations found it necessary to establish economic, military and political alliances with the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) because of their fragile existence. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) write that prior to and immediately following 1763, numerous political and economic compacts and treaties were entered into in rapid succession, all of which impacted the ota'wa-anishinabe nation politically, economically, socially and militarily.

Throughout the late 1600's and well into the 1700's, the European powers were locked in a struggle for empire and for political control of North America. The French and Indian Wars is the general name for this 80 year conflict which included a series of skirmishes in the 1680's; King William's War from 1689 to 1697; Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713; King George's War, 1740-1748; and the French and Indian War, 1754-1763 (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 16).

For the youngest brother (*boodewaadamig-anishinabeg-keepers of the fire*), the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was an important element of its social, political, economic and spiritual fabric. Shomin (1990) provides interesting commentary regarding the confusion surrounding the use of

anishinabe terms and names. The use of the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) show that only the sacred names have changed because they have become something the we-mi-ti-go-zhi (*white man*) has named. In his view, the sacred names do not lie.

A similar confusion concerns the word Pottawatomi. On the migration mentioned above, some Anishinaaybeg took the duty of taking care of the Sacred Fire and were known as the Ish-ko-da-wa-tami (The Sacred Fire Keepers). Later on, the Chi-mok-mon confused this word with Bo-da-wa-da-mik (Lonesome Looking People).

The story goes that some Odawas from the north country of A-shig-a-ning, were on a hunting and gathering expedition. When they came to the area near where Benton Harbor and St. Joseph are today, they saw Anishinaayba sitting alone on a bank near the shore. They did not stop to talk to him at this time, but went on their journey as far as Shi-ga-gong (Skunk Area, known as Chicago today).

On their return trip, the Anishinaayba still seemed to be in the same place where they had noticed him earlier. He was very lonesome looking. One of the Odawa Headmen (Chiefs) went to inquire from where he hailed. He said that he came from the other side of the lake. He said there was great mischief and fighting going on there, and that he had gathered his people and run away from that area; now they had no land to live on.

He took the Odawa Headman to a gully where his people were hiding. The Odawas held Council, and it turned out that they gave this Anishinaayba all the land from the St. Joseph area to where Kalamazoo is today. The Odawa called them Bo-da-wa-da-mi-Ilk (Lonesome Looking People).

After arriving at the Apostle Islands, the Anishinaaybeg held Council after Council. My Ga-sha told me that she did not really know the exact area in the woods, but to show how they would live in that wooded area, the Bo-da-wa-da-mi-uk braided three little maple trees together-each one about the size of a little finger. This meant that each Fire (Tribe) would gather its sustenance from the earth, while the braided part above the ground, signified that they would uphold each other, or Gi-nod-mad-wuk (they helped each other).

Other names and interpretations also resulted from confusion generated by the French, English and American writings of earlier times. The original Anishinaayba word for "Wyandotte" is Wi-a-an-dot, meaning simply, "Someone lives there." The people referred to were not Anishinaaybeg in full, but were also of French descent, and came to be called Hurons, or Urons. Miami is the Odawa word Mi-a-mi. When asked how this group of Anishinaaybeg was doing the answer was 'Mi-a-mi,' or 'Okay.' Shawnee Anishinaayba simply means "Southern Indian." Saw-gown-ing is "The land that we loved," or Saginaw, today¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Rainey Gaywish tells us that bawdwaywidun banaise and Jim Dumont share teachings within the midewigun about the oda'wa (keepers of the sacred bundle); ish-ko-oda-wa-tami (keepers of the sacred

Bwa-a-nuk (Those who speak deep from their throats) are today called Sioux. A long time ago a Bwan woman had a vision about a peace drum. The people listened to her and made the drum as she described it, and presented it to the O-jib-ion, who accepted it: The Bwa-a-nuk and O-jib-ion played this drum together. At one time I was going to Minnesota to inquire if a certain person would attend our Sacred Fire Council at Tchingabeng. I asked the Elders here what I should inquire about when I arrived in Minnesota. They told me to inquire about a Bwan-kuk or Bwan-da-wa-gun, this drum made by the Bwa-a-nuk. I found where they keep the drum. I will not write where (Shomin 21-22).

Shomin as storyteller has strung together a number of ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), which challenge the listener to discover himself/herself within the story.

From an economic and trade standpoint, the boodewaadamig-anishinabe nation's canoe technology enabled the nation to establish local and long-distance trade relationships with *Euroamerican* and other anishinabe nations. As its population increased, the boodewaadamig-anishinabe nation acquired more control over the major avenues of water transportation, which were the major links in the development of trade and *Euroamerican* and anishinabe economies.

Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) also offer interesting analysis of the boodewaadamig-anishinabe nation's unique understanding of the physical geography. As is the case with any military power, an increase in population also meant more human resources for trade and military action, which of course contributed to an increase in the standard of living and military power.

We can see, therefore, that a combination of technological, economic, political, geographic and demographic advantages led to Potawatomi ascendancy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fusion of canoe technology with the mastery of key geographic locations was intrinsic to increased Potawatomi influence... Strong alliances with the French, another essential ingredient in the Potawatomi rise to influence were promoted by effective Potawatomi political

fire); and od'ji-bwe (keepers of the faith) as being one with the heart of the people (Dr. Rainey Gaywish Personal Communication) 2013.

institutions (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 43).

These institutions provided a sense of identity and purpose. They also served as a vehicle for the mobilization and utilization of resources. Because of the strength and resilience of these institutions the boodewaadamig-anishinabeg were able to establish a common front and unify the separate communities. Therefore they were able to withstand any challenge and threat that the ever-changing political, social, economic and military environment offered.

The boodewaadamig-anishinabeg developed social and political organizations that encouraged expansion. Its structure also allowed for each community within the boodewaadamig-anishinabe nation to be inherently independent and have the flexibility to make decisions in most areas. However, when it came to matters of the nation, a decision-making apparatus was quickly mobilized. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) point out that community councils and consensus-seeking public debates were held regularly at the community level concerning issues of community and national importance.

Once a decision had been made, a Speaker was selected to rise and eloquently chant the words of the new agreement. Then, one by one, from eldest to youngest in turn, all the leaders stood to sing out their acceptance of the Speaker's proclamation. A consensus had been reached and publicly accepted by all concerned. There would be no dissenting minority and no opposition was tolerated thereafter (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 44).

This emphasis on public debate, consensus and sharing was also indicative of the boodewaadamig-anishinabe commitment to equality in its political decision-making process and distribution of economic resources.

The boodewaadamig-anishinabeg had at their centre the ototeman¹¹⁶ (*clan*), which

¹¹⁶ boodewaadamig-anishinabe term for (clan).

established the identity and responsibility for each boodewaadamig-anishinabe citizen.

Clifton, Cornell & McClurken (1986) acknowledge that the importance of the ototeman (*clan*) to boodewaadamig-anishinabe society was deep-rooted and essential.

Clan descent was always patrilineal... Some forty-two different Potawatomi Ototeman, or clans, have been identified, although there were certainly more whose names were never recorded.

Before the great refugee migrations of the 1640's the Potawatomi clans in western Michigan probably numbered few more than a dozen, and each clan formed a separate (community)... it was a strictly enforced law that members of one clan had to marry others born into others. When the women born into this clan village married, they moved away to live with their husband's people but they never lost their clan identity... within the large Golden Sucker Ototeman resulted in the creation of two smaller sub-clans - the Red Suckers and Black Suckers.... The sub-clans still retained their loyalty to their original clan.

The forty-two clans were organized into six larger divisions called phratries. These were named the Great Lake (or Great Sea), Thunderbird (or Sky), Man (or Human), and Bear, Buffalo and Wolf divisions. Each of the phratries contained two to eleven clans who often cooperated in arranging and conducting (ceremonies). The clans within each phatry had names and emblems that indicated their affiliation. The Great Lake phatry, for instance, included the Kitchigumi (Great Lake), Gigo (Fish), Wasi (Bullhead), Name (Sturgeon), Mshike (Turtle) and Nmapena (clans) as well as others called Frog, Crab, Golden Sucker, Black Sucker and Red Sucker (Clifton Cornell & McClurken 44-45).

Each ototeman (*clan*) had in their possession a sacred bundle, which was given to the ototeman (*clan*) by wi'saka.¹¹⁷ Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) suggest the boodewaadamig-anishinabe ototeman (*clan*) was a *corporation* in the truest sense because each ototeman (*clan*) had certain responsibilities and own distinctive set of personal names. For example, only the great sea ototeman (*clan*) members had the right to build canoes and only members of the buffalo ototeman (*clan*) could claim responsibility for organizing the buffalo hunt.

Obviously, the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations were independently sovereign nations who had the ability make independent decisions and

¹¹⁷ boodewaadamig-anishinabe hero.

enter into separate political, economic and military compacts and treaties. Deloria (1988) writes that Justice John Marshall once described anishinabe¹¹⁸ governance “*like no other in the world*” (Deloria 239). The nation-to-nation protocols governing the relationship between the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and *Euroamerican* nations were evidence of the sovereign nature of anishinabe governments under the rule of international law. The same could be said of the treaties and trade compacts negotiated at this time.

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 (indians) of the United States Constitution recognized as much: In order to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among several states, and with *indian* nations, Chief Justice John Marshall delivered his landmark ruling in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831)* using the third article of the constitution to make his decision regarding (“*controversies*” *between a state or citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects...*)

My view of the plaintiffs being a sovereign independent nation or foreign state, within the meaning of the constitution, applies to all the tribes with whom the United States have held treaties; for if one is a foreign nation or state, all others, in like condition, must be so, in their aggregate capacity; and each of their subjects or citizens, aliens, capable of suing in the circuit courts. This case, then, is the case of the countless tribes, who occupy tracts of our vast domain; who, in their collective and individual characters, as states or aliens, will rush to the federal courts, in endless controversies, growing out of the laws of the states or of congress (Cherokee Nation v. Georgia 1831).

Although seen as acknowledging the *inherent sovereignty* of anishinabe nations it did lead to other issues insofar as economic, political and military relationships were concerned because competition becomes more intense during this period. The n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would soon

¹¹⁸ The term “anishinabe” is used in place of “indigenous”, “native”, “North American Indian”, “Native”, “Native American”, “aboriginal”... The list is long and I mean no disrespect to the other anishinabe nations.

find itself embroiled in a number of political and military disputes. With increased *European* immigration, n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) witnesses the re-emergence of centuries old animosities manifesting themselves on manitou aki (*Creator's land*). These were often the precursors to war. Because of its military and political power, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would find itself involved in all of the four major conflicts (*French and Indian Wars*) from 1698 through 1763.

Throughout each of the conflicts that took place; obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk saw the importance of unity in the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) political, economic, military and spiritual struggle for freedom and resistance to colonization. Both neolin and lau-lau-we-see-kau's visions would also create a spiritual identity, which united the anishinabeg politically for these tasks. This idea of an anishinabe identity firmly rooted within the structure of a political, economic, military and spiritual confederacy was in direct contrast to the racial and colonial hierarchy of the *Euroamericans*.

One of the first questions posed to bawdwaywidun in many of our discussions focused on the relevance and effectiveness of anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). We had been involved in these discussions for quite sometime and were exploring how the traditional concept of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) could have practical relevance and modern-day application. We sat in the ceremonial arbor on the grounds of *Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig* at *Garden River* traditional territory and talked of the political and educational challenges facing many of

our communities. It seemed appropriate to ask him what he thought of the relevance of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) today.

Are traditional governance systems more relevant to ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg and how are they relevant?

To some, yes. Not all. The Seven Prophecies are slowly but certainly coming into reality. ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg are in revival, which means healing, mind, body and spirit (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2006).¹¹⁹

In bawdwaywidun's opinion, the healing of the individual, community and nation in mind, body and spirit is a necessary first step in reclaiming the anishinabe right to sovereignty and independence. He remains steadfast in his conviction that the ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*). "gi-kayn-daw-so-win (*knowledge*); zaw-gi-dwin (*love*); maw-naw-ji-win (*respect*); zoong-gi-day-win (*bravery*); gway-yaw-kaw-ji-win (*honesty*); duh-buh-say-ni-moowin (*humility*); de-bwe-mo-win (*truth*)" (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Conversation May 25 2006) must ground the movement in the land and teachings. He made it quite clear that there is no alternative to the teachings because they embody the soul of anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*governance*) and di-bayn-di-zo-win (*sovereignty*).

What are the alternatives to government involvement in ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations?

Sovereignty is the only alternative. Nationhood through self-determination. The clan system is a complete system and equal to other systems of governance. But the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe must be re-educated to be native in today's world.

Do we look toward replacing government bureaucracy with another that is more representative and responsive to ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations' needs and concerns?

Sovereignty is the only way.

¹¹⁹ Appendix 8.

Do we create processes and institutions that are separate from government and accountable to ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations?

It is possible, but the vision before reality includes at least three succeeding generations (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2006).

To anishinabe peoples the right to governance and sovereignty is *Creator-given* and therefore a *primordial* right. This was expressed as well by an elder who was not shy about sharing his confusion with *sagkeeng's* focus on the *Canadian* notion of self-government. At the time, I wondered why any anishinabe person would be in opposition to such a noble concept. This discussion I had with him was animated and at times very emotional and took place during a brief lull at one of *sagkeeng's* quarterly national assemblies.

People were milling about visiting, laughing and generally enjoying the brief respite from a cold January day and discussions concerning *sagkeeng* national affairs. He approached and asked if could talk to me as I was sitting apart from the activities taking place. I nodded and smiled. He began by telling me this motion directing *sagkeeng* to pursue the federal government's policy to self-government was a big mistake. I was somewhat surprised by his comment given the fact citizens of *sagkeeng* were suggesting we take back control of our lives through meaningful and participatory government. Our conversation continued...

'I thought that this is what the elder, youth, women and men's councils asked chief and council to do?' I asked him somewhat taken aback.

'NO! NO! This is not what we asked you to do!!' He responded with surprise.

'What did the elder, youth, women and men's councils want us to do?' I challenged.

He laughed and said... 'Boy, you just don't get it. The people are not telling to you to push for 'self-government.' They are telling you to recognize our relationship with the Creator. It is the Creator who placed us here 'o-maa a-keeng!' It is the

Creator who gave us life and gave us the animals, the forests, the birds, the fish.... All that is good in our lives, he gave us.'

My frustration was becoming more obvious as I tried to steer the discussion to a place where I was more comfortable, 'Don't you think that we can negotiate a good arrangement and self-government agreement?'

'The Creator put us here and gave us certain responsibilities. One of the first responsibilities was to care for mother earth. The others were to grow spiritually and to take care of our society, do-daim (clan) system and future generations. Only kitchi-manitou can take away our right to care for ourselves because he is the only one who gave us this right.' He was clearly frustrated as well.

'What about the Canadian government?' I asked.

The Canadian government says it wants us to give us self-government.' 'It can't because government is not the Creator. It has no right to say that it can give us self-government or even take away our right to be self-governing.' He responded in his opposition (sagkeeng Quarterly Assembly Personal Communication January 14 1990).

What became clear as we talked was his understanding of and lack of faith in the Canadian government's policy of *self-government* and this idea of *delegated authority*. He believed the Canadian government was not really interested in recognizing traditional anishinabe governance and sovereignty per se; because its political and legal position implied its prior powers and control. He was firm that the issue of prior powers and control had nothing to do with the notion of traditional governance. He was of the opinion that *delegated powers* based on pseudo-sovereign rights ignored the essence of anishinabe sovereignty. Again, he was adamant that we have always had these rights. In his view, there was no value or promise in Canada's sleight of hand approach to *self-government*. After some personal reflection, I came to understand that our starting point should have been about the ability to make decisions based on our inherent and *primordial* rights all along.

Although it might seem out of context at this point of the dissertation, I would like to make some reference to Hall's (2003) analysis of Edmund Burke's treatise on

“hereditary property” and “hereditary distinction” because of its subtle similarity to the do-daim-mahg (*clan*) system. Burke believed there was a point of convergence where titles, rights and interests of society met. He saw the *British* crown as this point of convergence. To some extent, anishinabe societies place similar importance on the traditional clan system. The clans provided security and well-being; one’s wealth was seen as a practical and generous aspect of anishinabe society. In this context it made more sense to ensure the well being of all people rather than just a few.

Shomin’s (1990) analysis of anishinabe di-bayn-di-zo-win (*sovereignty*) is interesting and thought provoking. It goes to the heart of this discussion. His story describes how the leadership of the day approached a treaty-making meeting. The process was deliberate, thoughtful and mindful of the traditional protocols. It suggests that we have always respected our commitment to society and our responsibility to each other.

At this time I will explain the Wa-wa-na (real or traditional) Anishinaaybeg way of making a Sacred Legal Treaty, as described in a statement of Tradition by Sa-mi-yen Ki-way-quom, Thunder Clan, through A-soo-ka (Odawa History).

Sa-mi-yen Ki-way-quom explained that the Traditional method of title Anishinaaybeg is as follows: There was, at the beginning, a Sacred Fire built for the purpose of the council. The Anishinaaybeg held council and discussed the issue thoroughly around the Sacred Fire. The Second Principal-An-o-gon-sit always stood to the left of the Principal-An-o-gon-sit. After four days of discussion, and after all the Principal-Headmen and Second Principal-Headmen, Clan Mothers and the Holy Man had had their say about the issue, a vote was taken. Sa-mi-yen Ki-way-quom then stressed that if one Headman voted no, the law was not passed or assented to, that was final. Decisions were made based on consensus.

The decision was then sanctioned by the smoking of the Tchi-twa-pwa-gun (Sacred Pipe made of the Red Pipestone, or Red Pipe), which are known today as the Sacred Bundles.

Many Anishinaaybeg took part in these Grand Sacred Fire Councils of the Odawa. In the region from Mackinaw City to Muskegon to the Looking Glass River in East Lansing there were sixty Principal-An-o-gon-sit, sixty Second-Principal An-o-gon-sit, sixty Clan Mothers, one Head-An-o-gon-sit, Little Thunder from the Thunder Clan and one Holy Man who must be of the Turtle Clan. In addition to the An-o-gon-sit and Clan Mothers from all these communities, all Anishinaaybeg from each community who were able to do so, attended the Council Those who stayed

home to care for their communities told their Headmen and Clan Mothers their views on the issue. In other words, no one was left out. All had their say (Shomin 55-56).

The lack of respect shown to the anishinabe protocols and *due process* at many of the treaty negotiations forced leaders such as Obwandiac, Tecumtha and Shingwauk to take issue with how these negotiations took place. The *Treaty of Paris* in 1783, for example, was a case in point because our leaders were not involved in any of the deliberations and it effectively ignored the rights of the *undefeated* anishinabe nations. This issue becomes more pronounced when one considers that this treaty gave formal recognition to the *United States*, established its boundaries, secured fishing rights, addressed problems between creditors and provided fair treatment for those who wished to remain loyal to *Britain*. It also opened the *Mississippi River* to navigation by both nations.

Dan Pine also tries to come to some understanding regarding the rights provided to *Quebec* vis-à-vis the rights given to anishinabe nations. In his mind there was no rationale to what took place:

It is difficult to understand how Canada has treated Quebec and First Nations in a contradictory way. Quebec was given self-government, a partnership in Confederation when it was defeated. In comparison, Garden River First Nation, who was an ally of the British and brought about the creation of Canada, is not given recognition as a nation with the right of self-determination and the right of self-government (Shomin 93).

This treaty also transferred the sovereignty of territory south of the *Great Lakes* and east of the *Mississippi* to the *United States*. Not surprisingly, the *United States* would move quickly to assert its “*limited*” sovereignty by negotiating a series of treaties and annexing territories north of the *Ohio* and east of the *Miami River*.

The *Fort Stanwix Treaty* (1784) was another example of the disregard shown towards anishinabe protocol and sovereignty during the negotiations. The n’swi-ish-ko-

day anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was completely perplexed with the treatment of the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy who were required to negotiate the treaty under *American* jurisdiction and sovereignty during these negotiations. Wallace (2003) writes that the *Fort Stanwix Treaty* was principally negotiated by the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy to ensure peace between the haudenosaunee-anishinabeg and *Americans*. However, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) argued that the *Fort Stanwix Treaty* ceded parts of its traditional territory and that the treaty was perpetuating this false idea of *conquest*.

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784 was ostensibly to have been the peace treaty with the whole Iroquoian confederacy, led by the Six Nations and including the Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, Chippewa, and other western allies and dependents (Wallace 151).

Wallace (2003) questions whether the treaty and land cessions were legally valid given that negotiations literally took place at gunpoint and the *Americans* refused to recognize the sovereignty of the haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy. This was the position taken and expressed at this time by the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) because the *Treaty of Fort Stanwix* made it perfectly clear treaty negotiations were taking a different turn. Wallace adds:

The tone of the Continental commissioners was insulting, arbitrary and demanding and two Indians given up by the Senecas to be punished according by white law were lynched by a mob shortly after the treaty (Wallace 152).

It becomes apparent the *Treaty of Fort Stanwix* negotiated at *New York* is also a stinging indictment of seneca-anishinabe leader, cornplanter and other leaders and *warriors* who negotiated the treaty. It was a colossal failure. Cornplanter and many of the same leaders who negotiated the *Treaty of Fort Stanwix* would capitulate to the state of *Pennsylvania*

in 1789 effectively ceding the “*Erie Triangle in exchange for Seneca-occupied lands east of the Conewango Creek and Chautauqua Lake Huron (which Cornplanter and white officials alike mistakenly believed to be west of the line sold earlier)*” (Wallace 159).

The n’swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was taken aback by the humiliation inflicted upon the haudenosaunee-anishinabeg during the *Treaty of Fort Stanwix* negotiations and pointed out the *Americans* negotiated “*under the guise of the ‘conquest’ theory*” (Wallace 154). In fact, the n’swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would come to the conclusion that only an organized political and military opposition to the *Americans* would stop this piece-meal selling off of traditional territory.

The focus on diplomacy and economics was always central in the minds of the n’swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o’dish-ko-day kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) when the questions of the nation-to-nation relations and sovereignty were brought into the mix. There was a long-held understanding and respect for the territorial jurisdiction between anishinabe nations. In my view, Treuer (2001) provides a reasonable interpretation concerning this diplomatic practice between the dakota and ojbibway-anishinabeg.

A surprising aspect of ongoing hostilities between the Dakota and Ojibwe was the practice the Ojibwe called ‘biindigodaadiwin.’ The word literally means ‘to enter one another’s lodges.’ The practice amounted to temporary truces in order to hunt, arising largely out of economic need, but also out of the desire for peace. Even in the most heated periods of conflict, ‘biindigodaadiwin’ was a common practice... People would literally enter one another’s lodge, sleep in the same buildings, smoke the same pipes, frequently adopt one another, form friendships and even marriages, and then be at war again the next spring (Treuer 32-33).

Throughout the diplomatic and political wrangling taking place, the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-kay-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would demand that the *United States* negotiate treaties with a federation of nations rather than individual tribes.

This would become obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's position and strategy throughout.

In the fall of 1786, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would issue a four-point declaration within which it would deny the notion of *conquest*; secondly, that the *Fort Stanwix* (1768), *Fort McIntosh* (1785) and *Fort Finney* (1786) treaties were invalid; thirdly, that the *Ohio River* would serve as a boundary separating the anishinabe nations from the *United States*; and that a new treaty between the *United States* and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was needed.

In response, the *United States* would legislate a number of laws including the *1787 Northwest Ordinance*, which would create the *Norwest Territory* (*Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota*) and attempt to recognize the existence of aboriginal and treaty rights. The *Northwest Ordinance* was interesting in and of itself because of the *United States'* duplicity in attempting to resolve the question of land and property. It really was a deliberate and disingenuous piece of legislation.

The n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would respond quickly, limiting *United States* movement into territories northwest of the *Ohio River*. The *United States* came to the realization that the treaties of *Fort Stanwix* (*New York*) in 1784, *Fort Finney* (*Ohio*) in 1786 and the *Fort McIntosh* (*Ohio*) in 1785 would not be enough to maintain peace. Because of n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) opposition, the *United States* realized that any treaty negotiated from 1785 onwards would have to address the anishinabe nations' control of land and resources. In a somewhat perverse manner, the

United States valued the integrity of n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) to honour negotiated treaties politically and militarily. It also accepted its place and authority during these negotiations.

anishinabe opposition and resistance to what was taking place revealed two things: the first showed anishinabe diplomacy to be far superior and better organized than that of the *British*; and secondly, anishinabe military superiority and unity made for interesting dynamics in the debate regarding the validity of the treaties and land cessions.

Wallace (2003) writes that the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) saw *United States'* policy during the *Fort Harmar (Ohio)* treaty negotiations in 1789 to be weak and motivated by the:

Fear of conceding too much and fear of conceding too little... If too much was conceded, the United States would lose what little color of right it still had to the Ohio lands. If too little were conceded, a cruel and costly Indian war was inevitable (Wallace 157).

By January 1788, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was tiring of *United States'* duplicity and hesitancy in the treaty negotiations. In fact, the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) would begin to advocate for decisive action rather than half-measures and compromise. The *United States* in response masks its clear intention during the treaty negotiations at *Fort Harmar (Ohio)* by deliberately ignoring the question of land cessions. Wallace (2003) argues that the council at *Fort Harmar* saw “*only Detroit-area Indians appeared and a few straggling Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Potawatomi and Chippewa, together with some misplaced Sac refugees*” (Wallace, 158) in attendance. He adds: “*only four were chiefs of any sort: two Potawatomi, one Delaware, and one*

Chippewa; and none of these were 'great chiefs' qualified to transact any business'' (Wallace 158).

Regardless of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn's (*Three Fires Confederacy*) opposition to the treaty of *Fort Stanwix (New York)*, this rag-tag council would ratify the treaties of *Fort McIntosh (Pennsylvania)* and *Fort Finney (Ohio)* in short order. John Sugden (1997) suggests most of the anishinabe nations boycotted the treaty negotiations because of the lack of sincerity on the part of the *United States*.

In one of the more comedic acts during this period, the *Fort Harmar* treaty negotiations in 1789 were conducted in *French* with a *Canadian* interpreter who could neither speak nor write in *French*. In fact, anishinabe representatives in attendance during these negotiations indicated he had to guess at what was said. Wallace (2003) writes the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) publicly condemned the *Fort Harmar* treaty and admonished the anishinabe representatives responsible for its ratification. In retaliation, little turtle (miami-anishinabe) and bluejacket (shawnee-anishinabe) would rout General Arthur St. Clair decisively in one of the *United States'* worst military defeats.

In 1790 the Americans lost about 190 and the Indians about 120 casualties in an engagement on the Maumee. And in 1791 a serious defeat was inflicted on an American army. Sickly General St. Clair - an officer of minimal foresight even in health - allowed his combined force of regulars and militiamen to be surrounded and ambushed in Indian country. The surviving militiamen and camp followers fled all the way to Pittsburg; the regulars, who stood their ground, suffered some 600 fatal casualties, amounting to two-thirds of the entire regular army of the United States (Wallace 160).

aupaumut (ojibway-anishinabe) provides commentary on *United States'* problems with respect to civil disobedience during the treaty council meeting. He suggests that the

anishinabe nations will constantly be at war with the *United States* because its citizens *have run away from their own country* and he sees them as less than honourable.

If the great men of the United States have the like principal or disposition as the Big Knives (i.e. frontiersmen, not merely Virginians) had, My nation and other Indians in the east would have been long ago annihilated. But they are not to, especially since they have liberty-they begin with new things, and now they endeavour to lift us up the Indians from the ground, that we may stand and walk ourselves... (But) the United States, could not govern the hostile Big knives, and ... the Big knives, will always have war with the Indians. The Big knives are independent, and if we have peace with them they would make slaves of us...

The reason the Big knives are so bad, is this because they have run away from their own country of different States, because they were very mischievous, such as thieves and robbers, and murderers and their laws are so strict these people could not live there without being punished; therefore they run off in this country and become lawless. They have lived such a distance from the United States that in these several years the Law could not reach them because they would run into the woods... But at length the people of the United States settle among them (Wallace 157).

To be sure, there are different aspects to this narrative. One focuses on the traditional system of responsibilities, which describes the specific responsibilities of each anishinabe citizen and clan.

There were those for example who belonged to the ah-ji-jawk (crane) and mahng (loon) clans and were therefore expected to assume leadership responsibilities; there were those of the makwa (bear) clan who had responsibilities for healing and protection; gi-goo (fish) clan members who were seen as the philosophers and mediators of the community and nation; wa-bi-zha-shi (martin) had responsibility as hunters and providers and o-gi-chi-dahg (strong-heart people); the wa-wash-kay-shi (deer) clan members had reconciliation responsibilities; and banaise (bird) clan members who had spiritual responsibilities (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2012).

From these clearly defined roles and responsibilities, it is obvious that clans were part of an effective system of social order and structure for the anishinabe community and nation. The clan was important in terms of promoting the cooperative and integrative nature of anishinabe society. The traditional governance process simply could not function in any other way given its traditional, integrated, interdependent nature and the

fact that it was rooted in the land.

The other layer focuses on the principles of unity and strength. This was one of the primary objectives of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and reasons for its prominence in anishinabe society. It might be said that the objective of any traditionally focused governance system was to speak with one voice. For anishinabe peoples it was this collective nature of the clan system and its relationship with other layers of anishinabe society.

mii i'i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

Chapter 8

beeduhbuhn

(The new dawn)

meegwetch bi-zhin-dah-wi-yeg

(Thank you for listening to me)

ni' o-nah-ko-nah ah-di-so-kah-nahg zhigo di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan g'dah mi-kwe-ni-mah-nahn obwandiacbun (nigig), tecumthabun (mizhibizhi), miinwaa shingwaukbun (ah-ji-jawk)

(I ceremonially call upon the stories, the sacred and spiritual narratives and stories of personal experience... In the spirit of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk)

anishinabe nations in *Canada* believe that history has been on the side of the *Canadian-body politic* for far too long. We understand that in order to change laws, our political, social, economic and national aspirations must be anchored in the land by our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*). These stories connect us to our ancestors and history. These personal and intimate stories provide us the opportunity to show how anishinabe people used narratives to ah-way-chi-gay-win (*teach by telling stories*). Within the context of this narrative, they also afforded an opportunity to understand and explore the concepts of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) from the place of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk.

The first layer to this unique way of knowing embodies our anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we come to think this way about our reality and epistemology*), which is expressed to us within our gah-wi-zi-maw-ji-say-muh-guhk (*creation and stories of origin*) and miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*). It states explicitly that we have always known where we came from, who we are, and how we fit into this world.

anishinabe i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) lends voice to a second layer of knowing and anishinabe kayn-daw-so-win (*traditional knowledge*), which helps define the responsibilities and expectations of anishinabe society, leadership and governance. Within this second layer, our ni-zhwa-sho gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and ni-zhwa-sho o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*) are found within the language of our ceremonies, spirit and land.

Truth and history are truly powerful tools. Bruce D’Arcus (2003) writes that anishinabe peoples have always understood the meaning of sovereignty and recognized that the *Euroamerican* process of law making and the use of force have been drenched with the manifestation of violence.

Law making is power making and is an immediate manifestation of violence, power always involves dialectic between visible and invisible, latent and active violence. As a crystallization of power, law itself embodies this dialectic (D’Arcus 723).

The *Canadian* government’s violence and injustice against anishinabeg has been well documented. From termination policies and initiatives such as residential schools; the *1969 White Paper*; *Bill C-31* and the more recent suite of legislation that includes *Bills C-38 through C-45*, its intent has always been consistent. anishinabe nations have withstood this relentless attack on treaty rights and the lack of recognition of the *primordial* right to governance, sovereignty and self-determination. It is a story that is all too common.

This is vastly different from the principles of anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*), which are based on mutual respect and balance. anishinabe people believe that the task today is not to create something entirely different and new, but rather to take from the past what has worked and give it a modern-day application. The n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn

anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) is organic and allows for citizen participation at every opportunity. Being inclusive and transparent speaks to the heart of the anishinabe of anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) because it ensured trust and political stability.

To understand the participatory nature of anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) one has to understand the fundamental principles of the do-daim (*clan*) system. bawdwaywidun (1988) writes:

The Creator remembered how the earth's people had suffered in the past. He decided that the Earth's second people needed a system and framework of government to give them strength and order. To do this he gave them the o-do-i-daym-i-wan (Clan System) (bawdwaywidun banaise 74).

This economic, social, political, military and spiritual system finds its essence in our nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we think about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) because they nurture the essence of anishinabe world-view, philosophy and ideals of society. They speak to the interconnectedness and balance between generations of the past and present. From this we find an orderly system of responsibility, as every anishinabe citizen belonged to a clan and each had a specific role. The ah-ji-jahk (*crane*) and mahng (*loon*) clans for example had responsibilities for leadership; those who were of the makwa (*bear*) clan had responsibilities for healing and protection; the gi-goo (*fish*) were seen as the philosophers and mediators; and the wa-bi-zha-shi (*martin*) clan members had responsibility for hunting, providing for and protecting the community as military strategists. Further, we are taught that before man came to manitou aki (*Creator's land*) the martin clan was sent to see what would be needed. The wa-wash-kay-shi (*deer*) and banaise (*bird*) were entrusted with responsibilities for reconciliation and spiritual matters. This original

system was seen as one of the first laws of the anishinabe peoples and in turn provided an effective system of social order and structure for governance.

It is important to understand how each clan had a specific place within the traditional structure and society of the anishinabeg. The same was true for the leadership and strong-heart people. These clans promoted the cooperative and integrative organization of anishinabe society. The governing body therefore, could not by its inner dynamics function in any other way, other than in an integrated, interdependent and supportive manner. Survival depended on supporting and being supported by your clan, as sharing was seen as the social security and safety net of the day. The value of trading and gift giving was also seen as important within this context. It was taken for granted that sharing provided individuals and the clans respect and prestige. Very often, a person's wealth meant that he/she had more to share; therefore he simply gave more of what he had. The emphasis on sharing was so strong that almost no interaction could be carried on without it.

The clan system also provided unity, strength, social order and voice to anishinabe peoples. bawdwaywidun states, *“in the clan system, with its leadership and representation of all the people, lay the basis of anishinabe truth, peace, brotherhood, honour, strength, unity and social order”* (bawdwaywidun banaise, Personal Conversation October 12, 2007). The *Roseau River Anishinabe Nation* (1992) government for example is one of the few anishinabe nations with a traditional clan structure within a contemporary context:

To the Fish Clan is given the responsibility of ensuring that the leadership is acting in TRUTH, for the people – guaranteeing a right balance and integration of the need for self-government and the pursuit of beneficial outward cooperation and relationship... The FAITH of the people is entrusted to Loon Chief – to maintain

their beliefs and guarantee their effective translation toward the community's well-being... The Crane Leader is the upholder of the foundation of BELIEFS of the people and their relationship to all outer forces (Roseau River Anishinabe Nation Government Constitution).

With understandable pragmatism, anishinabe society always attempted to speak with one voice and sought to reach consensus on a number of issues of national importance. bawdwaywidun and Hueglin suggest that from this practice, i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) only became reality when consensus was reached.

The ideas of sovereignty and self-determination vis-à-vis anishinabe-*Euroamerican* relations are somewhat dubious because of the *United States* and *Canada's* unwillingness to enter into serious discussion concerning their true meaning and application. *Canada* for the most part attempted to continue to extend the principles of the 1763 *Royal Proclamation* in its negotiation of the pre-confederation and numbered treaties (1-11) respectively. Hall (2003) points out the *United States* on the other hand, “*through an Act of Congress in 1871 unilaterally renounce(d) its adherence to the international law of Aboriginal and treaty rights*” (Hall, 29) Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) also draw attention to the rider attached to the *Appropriations Act* in 1871, which dismissed the idea of anishinabe sovereignty.

By virtue of the United States Constitution, the President under the advice and approval of the Senate enters into treaties. In 1871, a rider was attached to the Appropriations Act. This essentially had the effect of domesticating the treaties. It specified, 'that Indians would no longer be acknowledged or recognized as an independent tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by Treaty (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 29).

Further any discussion and debate concerning anishinabe sovereignty and self-determination must take into consideration the international sovereignty and nation-state club. Despite the fact the *United Nations* has made several attempts to address and

remedy injustices against anishinabe (*indigenous*) peoples throughout the world the fact remains that many of these issues will have to be addressed within our own backyards. The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, for example, was heralded as a beacon of hope. Unfortunately, it has had little impact on improving the lives of our people throughout the world. This is our reality.

To use force unilaterally is to violate international law and undermine world order. Yet to respect sovereignty all the time is to be complicit in human rights violations sometimes. To argue that the U.N. Security Council must give its consent to humanitarian war is to risk policy paralysis by handing over the agenda to the most egregious and obstreperous... The bottom line question for us is this: Faced with another Holocaust or Rwanda-type genocide on the one hand, and a Security Council veto on the other, what would we do?¹²⁰ (Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention 1999).

Hall (2003) references other transformative leaders of independence movements such as Gandhi who declared: *“I am bent on freeing India from any yolk whatsoever. Hence for me the movement of swaraj is a movement of self-purification”* (Hall 236). Gandhi understood that seeking independence and freedom from within was a prerequisite for success. Franz Fanon also encouraged freedom movements to develop plans and working models that would avoid duplicating the nation-states that oppressed them.

Let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions and societies, which draw their inspiration from her. Humanity is waiting for something from us other than such an initiation, which would be almost an obscene caricature (Fanon 236).

This fantastic journey has provided many profound and sometimes unexplainable experiences. A fundamental point woven into the very fabric of traditional governance is our *“miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (the act of flowing and blood memory)”* which is shared with our ancestors and enables us to share in their experiences (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Conversation 2005). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes as well that what is

¹²⁰ "Kosovo and The Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention" (United Nations University). 1999.

going on now and what has happened to anishinabe peoples in the past is mostly about power and controlling our own stories and narratives.

History is about power. In fact history is mostly about power, it is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful and how they use their power to dominate others (Smith 34).

This is what this narrative is about and why it was shared in this way. It is about telling our own stories, which help reclaim what is truly ours and reaffirms our own power through sharing our history. The history of our ancestors is our history. It is an amazing place from which to talk of traditional governance and leadership.

Our *gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (oral history)*; *anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (traditional knowledge)* and *ah-zhay-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (traditions)* have a specific influence and importance because of what is passed from one generation to the next. These spiritual elements have been handed down from father-to-son, mother-to-daughter and from generation-to-generation since the beginning of time. They flow in our blood.

This history and responsibility weighed heavily on my mind upon being elected to the position of *indian act* chief at *sagkeeng*, as the term itself lent to a more distorted and bastardized representation of leadership. The position is still largely parochial. Fortunately, I was shown very early and understood from discussions with my father that many of our people were seeking to re-establish the close bond between leadership and the people. I was certain that any attempt to reconcile past differences would be distracted by government policies and a dysfunctional political process.

As stated earlier in the text of this dissertation, political stability was and still remains important. Hueglin (1993) states as much in his exploration of the dysfunctional

spirit of contemporary leadership and determines, “*Political stability was undermined by the divide-and-rule tactics of enforcing an elected council system parallel to the traditional authority*” (Hueglin 19).

We have to be respectful of elders, academics and researchers who speak to the issues of anishinabe-focused nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we think about our reality and epistemology*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and a-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers/methodology*) and we also have to be supportive. It is also important to acknowledge all of the stories and narratives because they help reinforce our notion of the interconnectedness of all living things and the sacredness of ceremony and spirituality.

In the context of this specific discussion concerning o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’ dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*), we have to understand the relationship between the significant elements of our manitou kay-win-nan (*ceremonies*); anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*); gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*) and our gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-win-nan (*teachings*). They represent the idea of treating nay-nahn-do-jee-kayn-chi-gayd (*how we use our way of thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers/methodology*) as ceremony. This was the challenge of this narrative.

bawdwaywidun and the late Vine Deloria Jr. suggest that we have always used our ways of being and our anishinabeness to come together and understand our differences. Paulo Friere (1970) echoes this sentiment that the oppressed must use their own

pedagogy to restore their humanity as individuals or as peoples. Freire adds that by simply fighting for the restoration of their humanity, they seek to restore their true generosity, which strikes to the heart of traditional leadership and governance.

Who is better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffers the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who then can better understand the necessity of liberation” (Freire 45)?

This narrative was also about our direct experience with our cosmology. In all our ceremonies and teachings we are all active participants in the natural processes of the universe. Anishinabe leaders such as Obwandiac, Tecumtha and Shingwauk were guided by their spirituality and personal responsibilities. Traditionally, we as Anishinabe peoples have always been aware of our responsibilities because we grew up learning from those who went before us. As Deloria pointed out during a speech at the spring forum at the University of Colorado, *“... When you have memorial in any of your communities you don't need to set up a committee. People talk to each other, everybody immediately falls in line to do what is needed”* (Deloria Jr. 1997).

To reiterate, the purpose of this narrative was to explore and clarify some of the responsibilities of Anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) within an o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) structure. Great civil and war leaders such as Obwandiac (Nigig), Tecumtha (Mizhibizhi), and Shingwauk (Ah-ji-jawk) had definitive responsibilities within the structure of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn Anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) as was seen in their organization of a unified opposition to the social, economic and political changes threatening the Anishinabe way of life.

ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg communities have traditionally chosen leaders from their respective clans. However, there were times when leaders were chosen by being the best able to represent the nations in times war. Deloria (1997) summarized, "*That's how traditional governments really functioned. The people who could serve the community best then became the leaders*" (Deloria Jr. 41). We also know that obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk gained prestige and renown for their medicine powers and courage.

Our teachings and natural law determined long ago that we would have a society of responsibility. The ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gah-nan (*moral stories*) shared as much. mino bi-mah-di-zi-win (*the good life*) was the anishinabe peoples' starting point for all of this.

A traditional system of governance based on nationhood is important to the idea of anishinabe sovereignty and independence as a whole. This idea is certainly supported by *Section 35(1) Constitution Act (1982)*, which affirms this as fact and recognizes that an anishinabe order of government already exists in *Canada*. Although the affirmation and recognition of existing rights were considered a substantial step forward, the question remains as to who has responsibility for defining these rights.

When anishinabe sovereignty and rights recognition are discussed, the word *existing* has always caused and created confusion within the anishinabe community. It seems the word itself is politically and judicially ambiguous because it places the onus and the burden of proof on anishinabe nations to prove that whatever treaty and *primordial* rights we claim, continue to exist.

This supports the strategy taken by the *Canadian* government in its application of self-government initiatives, which tend to focus on an incremental approach of recognition and is often based on confrontational and antagonistic principles. This is particularly troublesome for the majority of anishinabe nations because of the political climate in contemporary *Canada*. The support for transformative change in terms of how things are done is simply not there because every policy *Canada* has ever developed and implemented has done little to support the anishinabe notion of independence.

anishinabe leadership continually reminds *Canada* that anishinabe nations never surrendered sovereignty, traditional governance and *primordial* rights. Borrows argues as well:

Canadians were able to settle parts of Canada without fear of war, etc. They have also inherited treaty rights there is even a law and economics literature on this point, arguing that it was more efficient to work with Indigenous peoples rather than fight against them (Borrows 6).

Of course we acknowledge and point to obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk as a case in point and maintain that anishinabe governments have always argued for full legislative and policy-making capacity. anishinabe governments must also have the power to establish economic development initiatives; land and resource policies; have the power to initiate social development renewal; effective child and family welfare, justice and be able to support life-long education systems; and health and financial infrastructure that are respectful of anishinabe traditions and have the capacity to address future needs. This is our contemporary dilemma.

In terms of the practical application and implementation of these ideals, it remains to be seen whether this can be done under *Sec. 91(24), Constitution Act (1867)* and/or *Sec. 35(1), Constitution Act (1982)* or perhaps within an independent and sovereign

anishinabe state. It is possible that anishinabe governments could demand and negotiate funding agreements similar to *European* independent protectorates and principalities or have funding provided that is similar to the *Canadian* constitutionally entrenched formula of transfer payments. Regardless of the path we chose, the authority to allocate these dollars should be under the purview of an anishinabe government within a new fiscal relationship. *Is this a case of having your cake and eating it too?*

To reiterate, an anishinabe system of government already exists that represents a community of people, who share similar communal sentiments and languages and are united through a shared history and culture. It is important to note that one nation cannot be subjugated by other nations, as each nation is a contrasting web of people, values and historical experiences. An underlying theme to this narrative was obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's commitment to the preservation of anishinabe *natural* and *primordial* rights. Their spirit cloaks everything written and shared within this narrative.

In view of the traditional principles of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its governance system, anishinabe people know only too well that no citizen can be prevented from stating his/her opinions. This free communication of ideas and opinions was always considered one of the anishinabe citizens' most basic rights. Clifton, Cornell and McClurken (1986) describe the emphasis on consensus-seeking debates was indicative of this.

Soon a great tribal council meeting representing all Potawatomi villages was called, and the Wkamek (leaders) assembled and debated the matter long and hard with the French diplomatic agent Nicholas Perrot. Behind each Wkama (leader) sat the kinsmen he represented checking on his behaviour in council. Various alternative positions were discussed until, in the end, a consensus was reached, one fully acceptable to all villages and Wkamek, elder and younger alike (Clifton Cornell and McClurken 44).

To reiterate, this narrative is not an attempt to provide a definitive answer as to the effectiveness or relevance of traditional leadership, rather it seeks to create an open dialogue that would explore two practical options for traditional governance: the first would be to reclaim traditional law-making abilities and secondly, we could revisit constitutional discussions with *Canada* with the established goal of entrenching the notion of anishinabe governance, sovereignty and self-determination. Several *Supreme Court* judgments would support this. *R. v. Delgamuuk (1997)*, for example, wherein the Supreme Court decided *aboriginal* title existed in *Canada* and was accepted by common law and by *Sec. 35 (1), Constitution Act (1982)*, which affirmed and recognized existing *aboriginal* and treaty rights would be helpful to this process. It also specified only the federal government had the authority to deal with *aboriginal* land rights pursuant to *Sec. 91(24) Constitution Act (1867)*. Regardless of the political climate in *Canada* and the country's *constitutional fatigue*, this dialogue should take place at some point.

For *Treaty One* people, this has been the general understanding since 1871, which provides some context for this discussion regarding the importance of treaties. Borrows writes that the *United States, Canada, Central and South America* are looking at:

Redefining the legal character of the northern portion of North America. (However) treaties can build our nations on the footing of consent rather than the violence of presumed military or cultural conquest. They establish ground-rules for future interactions with the land and people. Treaties provide a stronger normative base for creating and re-creating Canada (Borrows 5).

Further, in *R. v. Guerin (1984)*, the *Supreme Court* held that the *Canadian* government had a fiduciary-like duty towards anishinabe nations and *aboriginal* title and that the duty itself was a *sui generis (of its own kind/genus or distinct in its characteristics)* right. Unfortunately, the status quo has not worked and is no longer acceptable. Therefore, we

have to be all the more vigilant in the defense of our treaty and *primordial* rights,
Borrows adds:

Without Treaties we might be like the people of Guatemala in principle not circumstance they have no shared body of intercultural law to allow 'indigenous' peoples to flourish this maybe one reason why two (2) million 'indigenous' peoples were displaced or disappeared through the past two (2) decades (Borrows 8).

The question of citizenship and political autonomy within the *Canadian* framework has always been intriguing, primarily because anishinabe peoples were never considered citizens of the *Canadian* state until 1960, and it has been difficult ever since.
bawdwaywidun helps bring some focus to this discussion.

One fundamental question that must be asked of anishinabe peoples is whether they see themselves as Canadian citizens or as independent and sovereign peoples? The First Peoples National Party of Canada in its policy paper states that ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig have been a free and independent since the beginning of time. It is a right that is inherent as described by our creation stories, ah-di-so-kah-nahg and di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan. The First Peoples National Party (FPNP) also recognizes that anishinabe peoples did not surrender sovereignty or their right to governance.

Absolutely correct, but who knows and who cares.

In light of this, the FPNP supports a referendum that would raise the question as to whether anishinabe peoples would continue to participate in the Canadian political process or continue to build on a 'two-row' wampum process. This declaration of sovereignty would support the development of a constituent and/or constitutional assembly process. This is not an overwhelming or daunting task as there is an organizational and operational infrastructure in the regional, national and territorial treaty organizations. (Assembly of First Nations, Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, Grand Council of Treaty Three)

Would you agree with this and would it be a practical response?

In the 1970's a gathering took place on the Stoney reservation in Alberta. There were huge differences of opinions between the Christian natives and the traditionals. This seemed like a "two roads" reality among native peoples, which sounds like white Christians trying to convert the natives. A select meeting with the all the traditionals re: Midewiwin, Sundance, waubeeno's, Aztecs and others were held. The Sami, the Arctic Circle natives, joined us. Among respected Elders who came were: Albert Lightning, Ernest Tootosis, John Snow and Jack Starr from Ft. Alex and others mainly from the United States, Dakotas, Lakotas and Navahos.

As being of the American Indian Movement, but identifiable as an Ojibwe Midewiwin I was asked to chair or facilitate the long, long discussion. The first one ended after sunrise the next morning. When we passed tobacco, we announced that all pipes should be present according to the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn code and protocol. The response was immediate without question. Members of the Native American church, the peyote religion and christian Indians refused to participate. But they sat and watched. I asked Philip Deere and Albert Lightening to speak after I had finished passing tobacco and initially speaking to the spirit, explaining why we were gathered.

The result was to energize and bring the traditional ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig circle together, which in turn gave the elders, men, women and young people a sense of unity. This prevailed throughout the conference and brought forward that: 'we are ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig first (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2006).

The question as to citizenship needs to be discussed because it is central to any discussion concerning traditional governance, sovereignty and self-determination. anishinabe people must ask whether they see themselves as *Canadian* citizens or as independent and sovereign anishinabe people. It was a question raised by obwandiac in 1763, tecumtha in 1812 and shingwauk in 1850. In fact, we still see this question being asked by independence movements throughout the world. Citizenship, independence and sovereignty are necessary first steps to freedom. Hall (2003) makes reference to Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere who saw political independence as a prerequisite for sovereignty:

Political independence was not the coming of the Messiah; rather it was only the beginning of the struggle for economic and social self-sufficiency. Political independence gave them the tools of sovereignty with which to build the nation (Hall 239).

The degree of sovereignty in many former colonies, protectorates and principalities has varied in its degree of governance and sovereignty. In another discussion with bawdwaywidun concerning the use of *European* models, he talked about the spirit of anishinabe sovereignty and its endless possibilities. I asked him what he thought of the *European* experience. He was quick to respond the *European* experience was good for

the *Europeans* and was adamant anishinabe governance be rooted in anishinabe tradition, spirituality and the land.

Must ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nations reclaim sovereignty and assume stature similar to the principalities of Liechtenstein, Andorra and Gibraltar?

No. Absolutely not! To pattern ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig sovereignty upon euro-systems is not sovereignty.

What is self-determination?

The importance of self-determination from an ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig reality is reflected in the principles of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn. It speaks to the right of ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig to determine our own economic, social and cultural development. The concept of self-determination is based upon the principles of the seven teachings and living accordingly.

Is constitutional reform possible within the Canadian framework?

We could return to the constitutional table to press for fundamental change in terms of how anishinabe nations govern themselves and the degree of sovereignty they exercise are treated. Are these practical alternatives utilizing existing political and judicial processes to and re-define the anishinabe relationship with the federal and provincial levels of government? Obviously! This process question is an issue of moral, ethical and political importance to Canada because it would enable the country to "complete the circle of confederation" as the Inuit have referred to it (bawdwaywidun banaise Personal Communication May 25 2006).

This discussion gave food for thought because there a number of other alternatives that seemed viable given the existing *Canadian* constitutional framework and its parameters.

One of the first alternatives would be to continue to press and lobby for fundamental change within *Canadian* confederation. David Hawkes and Brad Morse (1991) make this point and suggest:

Revisit (Section 37, Constitution Act, 1982) and engage the First Ministers in a constitutional dialogue affecting Aboriginal rights. This discussion would include a public consultation process that would seek genuine participation and consultation with Aboriginal peoples. A joint parliamentary task force (Aboriginal/federal/provincial) would direct it. (A vehicle jointly designed and comprised of by The Kelowna process was an example of how Aboriginal/federal/provincial governments could work effectively to achieve a meaningful end)

(Section 16), the non-derogation clause be reviewed. The Supreme Court has suggested that the honour of the Crown place the special historic relationship with Aboriginal peoples above the interests of other Canadians. The recent success Aboriginal peoples have seen in the Supreme Court is encouraging, however litigation does have certain drawbacks, as it is both costly and timely. And quite often, Aboriginal Nations do not have the financial resources to finance the basic “blood and guts” necessities much less the ability to sustain financial support for an expensive court challenge. Litigation is a lengthy process and is seen as a last recourse for Aboriginal Nations (Hawkes and Morse 163-187).

anishinabe nations have been at war. Traditional territories have been attacked by federal and provincial government policies that continually undermine anishinabe national security in such critical areas as education; child and family welfare; gaming; natural resources and our communities themselves. In 1969, for example, the *Liberal* government of the day believed our anishinabe ethnicity and unique status was the major cause for our inequality and isolation. Chrétien and Trudeau, in their infinite wisdom, believed that equality and liberty was fundamental for positive change and moved to implement the *1969 White Paper*. This federal piece of legislation was dressed-up and proposed as an opportunity to promote individual equality leading to full and equal participation by anishinabe peoples in mainstream society, even though the underlying reason was an attempt by *Canada* to rid itself of the *indian problem*.

Funding for the *Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP)* has been capped since 1989 despite the consistent and significant increase in the number of eligible anishinabe post-secondary students and tuition. The abysmal state of the *First Nation Child Welfare* program also remains a concern when one considers that half of our population (750,000) is under the age of 23 years and approximately 27,000 children are presently in care and have been removed from their families either because of neglect or

poverty. The system claims to protect our children by taking them away from our families and communities but it is doing exactly what the residential school has done.

The second option might see anishinabe nations issuing a declaration of sovereignty. *How can this be done?* It is easy enough to declare one's sovereignty, the real challenge and debate however, occurs in obtaining political recognition from other states and then translating this official statement into a practical political reality.

A declaration of sovereignty might support the concept and facilitate the establishment of a constituent assembly and begin a constitutional convention, which would be a logical and practical first step to beginning a constitutional building process. Consider that the *United States* held its own constitutional assembly in 1787 when it developed its constitution. As well, a constituent assembly might allow for the creation of an anishinabe parliament should our citizens express the need for one. Hawkes and Morse (1991) describe the *sami* parliament as found in *Norway*, *Sweden* and *Finland* as one model that might be used:

The Sámi Parliament in Norway is in large part the result of the Norwegian Sámi Rights Committee, which was formed in 1980. The committee has 18 members, representing different interests and settlements, and was given the mandate of assessing the political, economic and cultural needs of the Sámi. It allowed for a Sámi parliament. Each of 13 constituencies returns three members, elected directly by those on the Sámi electoral register. In Finland, the Finnish Sámi Parliament has 20 members elected from four Sámi constituencies, and two each from four Sámi local councils (Hawkes and Morse 163).

Despite having limited powers, the *sami* parliament does have some relevance because of its practical application. anishinabe nations using this scenario could theoretically elect its representatives to a national decision-making forum that would include participation in the development and drafting of a constitution. Universal suffrage would allow for each anishinabe citizen to have a vote, parliamentary representation could be allocated

proportionally and perhaps the constituent assembly/parliament could then be organized along confederacy, treaty and /or nation boundaries.

The metaphor that is often used to describe this relationship is that of two canoes traveling the river of time together. In this peaceful coexistence; any interference with the other's sovereignty, freedom and unique status was forbidden. This is conveyed on a belt of two parallel purple lines (representing power) on a background of white beads (representing peace) (William Commanda Personal Communication November 5 2005).

In closing, from the anishinabe world-view, the concept of anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) is reflected in our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*). They tell us in no uncertain terms that anishinabe o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*), and anishinabe laws are based upon equality and consensus. gi-mi-ni-go-wi-ni-nan o-gi-ma-wi-win zhigo o-gi-ma-win (*the gifts of traditional leadership and governance*). This is what the *Creator* bequeathed us.

The n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and its principles might have modern-day application, or we could witness the creation of a constituent assembly and parliament. The challenge however, is to keep these fundamental principles true to their origin.

In closing, obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jahk) came to represent the human face of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), ah-na-kay-o-gi-mah-kah-ni-wahd (*hereditary leadership*) and ni-gah-no-say-wi-ni-ni-wag and o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*). obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk transformed anishinabe leadership during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because of their vision and focus on anishinabe-Euroamerican nation relations. These relationships would go against the traditional *Euroamerican*

understanding of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). Under their traditional leadership profound changes took place within the anishinabe-*Euroamerican* colonial construct because they redefined the nation-to-nation relationship to include treaties and sovereignty. To obwandiac (nigig), tecumtha (mizhibizhi) and shingwauk (ah-ji-jahk) I make my tobacco offering and give thanks.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

mii i'iw (*That is all*)

Mah-zi-nay-i-gahn a-nah-mi-chi-gay-win
(The books I have read)

I. anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win
(How anishinabe came to think this way about our reality, our epistemology); i-nah-di-zi-win (anishinabe way of being and way of life and ontology), ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (how anishinabe people use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology) zhigo i-nah-dah-mo-win (thinking)

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ah-ni-ka-no-tah-gay-win (*Interpretation and glossary*)

A

a-haw mii-iw (*that's it*)

ah-ba-ji-bahd (*wake up in spirit*)

ah-bi-tah-o-go-zhi-zhan (*half-breed, métis*)

ah-goh-mi-zin (*to be careful and aware of your surroundings*)

ah-kway-ni-mohk (*be fierce, be strong*)

ah-ni-ji-si-too-min (*we are changing it*)

ah-bayn-dah-mo-goon-dah-go-yahn (*to have trust in us*)

ah-goy'i-di-win, ah-goy-'i-ding (*treaty among two parties*)

ah-goy-i-di-wi-nan (*treaties*)

ah-ji-jahk (*crane*)

ah-bi-ta-bi-boon (*midwinter ceremony*)

ah-di-so-kay-wahd (*they are telling traditional stories*)

ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual narratives*)

ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*)

ah-di-so-kah-wi-ni-ni (*traditional storyteller*)

ah-di-so-kahn-i-ni-ni-wahg (*traditional storytellers*)

ah-ni-ka-no-tah-gay-win (*glossary and interpretation*)

ah-ni-kay-o-gi-mah-kahn-ni-wid (*hereditary leader*)

ah-ni-moosh (*white dog ceremony*)

ah-se-ma-kay-wahd (*tobacco offering*)

ah-sho-da-mah-gay-wi-o-zhi-bi`i-gan (*undertaking*)

ah-way-chi-gay-win (*teach by telling a story*)

ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*)

ah-zhay-di-bah-ji-mo-win (*tradition*)

ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*traditions*)

animiikii wahjiw (*thunder mountain*)

anishinabe (*human being*)

anishinabe ah-do-win (*way of life*)

anishinabe-ah-yah-win (*way of being*)

anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*)
anishinabe-i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*traditional way and practice*)
anishinabe-i-zhi-tah-win (*custom, praxis*)
anishinabe-o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*law*)
anishinabe-wah-di-zi-win (*principles*)
anishinabe-wi-win (*humanity*)
ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*)

B

b'naa-kwii gii-zhis (*falling leaves moon, October*)
baash-kah-ko-din (*freezing moon, November*)
bah-gi-di-ni-gay-win-nan (*death rites*)
banaise (*bird*)
bawating (*Sault Ste. Marie*)
bah-wah-ji-gan-nan (*dreams*)
bi-dah-buhn-a-nung-gog (*Altair constellation and stars*)
bi-zhin-dah-wi-yeg (*listening to me*)
bi-zhi-ki-shi-mong (*buffalo dance*)
boo-poo-ga-may gii-zhis (*broken snowshoe moon, April*)

C

chi-o-gi-ma-a-nung (*the star Vega*)

D

de-bwe-win (*truth*)
di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*)
di-bayn-di-zo-win (*sovereignty*)
duh-buh-say-ni-mo-win (*humility*)
do-daim (*clan*)
do-daim-mahg (*clan system*)

G

gah-gah-ginh, gah-gah-gi-shi-inh (*raven festival*)
gah-gi-bi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*history*)

gah-gi-gay-bi-mah-di-zi-win (*eternal life*)
gah-gi-gay-mi-no-a-yah-win (*eternal well-being*)
gah-gi-gay-o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*eternal law*)
gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*)
gah-kah-bi-kahng (*Minneapolis*)
gah-nah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*history*)
gay-bay-yah-zha-gaw-med (*waynaboozo's name when describing his journey along the shores*)
gi-goon (*fish*)
gi-ki-do-way-ni-ni (*Indian Act councilor*)
gi-zhig-a-nung (*north star, Sirius*)
gi-zhi-igo-a-nung, ni-gah-bi-a-nung (*Venus or western star*)
gi-kayn-dah-so-win (*knowledge*)
gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*teachings*)
gi-ki-nah-wah-bi (*observation*)
gi-ki-naw'a-mah-gay-wi-ni-ni (*teacher*)
gi-ki-naw'a-mah-wah-gan (*student, disciple*)
gi-manido-mi-nan (*our creator*)
gi-zhay-ma-ni-do (*loving spirit*)
gi-zhay-ma-ni-do-wi-win (*divinity*)
gwayk-i-zhi-way-bi-zi-win, mi-no-i-zhi-way-bi-zi-win (*virtue*)
gway-yaw-kaw-ji-win (*honesty*)

I

i-chi-tah-win (*sacred*)
i-nah-bayn-dam (*dream in a certain way*)
i-nah-di-zi (*have such a way of life*)
i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*)
i-nah-ko-ni-gayd (*to govern and be sovereign*)
i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*)
i-nah-tah-go-si (*understanding*)
i-nay-way-win (*voice*)

i-nayn-day-mo-win, naw-naw-gah-dah-wayn-day-mo-win (*thinking*)

ish-kahn-daim (*doorway*)

i-wa-pii (*at that time*)

i-zhi-ni-kah-zo-win (*name, how you are called*)

i-zhi-tah-win (*custom, praxis*)

J

jeeskahn (*shake tent*)

jeeskahn-i-ni-ni (*shake tent man*)

ji-bi-i-nah-kay-win, ji-bi-nah-kay-win (*feast of the dead*)

K

ka-na-way-n-ci-kay-i-ni-ni (*preserve man/historian*)

kayn-daw-so-win (*knowledge*)

kay-go-wah-ni-kayn andi-wayn-ji-ahn (*do not forget where you come from and
positionality*)

kitchi anishinabeg (*elders*)

kitchi gami (*Great Lake*)

kitchi-manitou (*the Creator who is pitying, charitable and merciful*)

kitchi -mo-ko-man-i-aki, gi-chi-mo-ko-man-aki (*United States of America*)

kitchi-o-nish-way-win-nan (*natural laws*)

kitchi-o-nish-way-win (*natural law*)

M

ma-dood-sahn (*sweat lodge*)

ma-zi-nah-kiz (*photograph*)

ma-kah-day-kay-win (*vision quest*)

makwa gii-zhiz (*bear moon, February*)

manitou (*creator, spirit*)

manitou-gah-gi-a-bid, manitou-abi (*where god sat and lived, Manitoba*)

manitou gii-zhis (*spirit moon, January*)

manitou gii-zhoonhs (*little spirit moon, December*)

manitou-kay (*have spiritual power and spirituality*)

manitou kay-win (*ceremony*)

manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*)
manitou-wah-bi-win (*revealed knowledge*)
ma-noo-min gii-zhis (*rice harvest moon-August*)
mahng (*loon*)
mah-naw-ji-win (*respect*)
mah-wahn-ji-di-wag (*coming together*)
mah-wi-nay-zi-win (*remembrance dance*)
mah-zi-nay-i-gan a-nah-mi-chi-gay-win (*literature review*)
mah-zhi-ni-bi'i-gay di-bah-ji-mo-win (*description of proposed dissertation*)
makwa (*bear*)
may-mi'n-nah-ko-ni-gay (*waynaboozhoo's 3rd name, when making spiritual laws*)
mesh-kah-do-ni-gay (*trade*)
mide nah-gah-mo-nan (*songs*)
mi-de-wa-tik (*cedar post and tree of life*)
mi-de-wi-gun (*grand medicine lodge*)
midewiwin (*people of the good heart*)
mi-de-wi-yawn (*medicine bundle*)
mi-de migwas (*birch bark scrolls*)
mii i' i-way anishinabe-i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*this is the anishinabe way*)
mii'ni gii-zhis (*berry moon, July*)
mino bi-mah-di-zi-win (*the good life*)
mi-ki-nah-kong mi-nis, mi-ki-nak-mi-nis (*manitou aki, North America*)
mi-na-wah (*and*)
mi-skaw-wi-zi-bing, ga-o-ko-sing, wi-ni-bi-gong (*Winnipeg*)
mi-shi-naw-way (*aide to chief*)
mi-shi-naw-way (*economic aide to chief*)
miskew ah-zha-way-chi-win (*blood memory and the act of flowing*)
mishom (*grandfather*)
mish-tah-di-mo-shi-mog (*horse dance*)
mizhibizhi (*panther*)

N

na-may-bi-nay gii-zhis (*sucker moon, May*)

na-wai-ish-ko-day (*nation fire*)

nahb-din gii-zhis (*snow crust moon, March*)

nah-nahn-dah-way ji-kayn-ji-gay-win (*areas of research*)

nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*)

nah-gwi-di-so-wi-nan (*visions*)

nah-wajh (*more*)

nay-nahn-do-jee-kayn-chi-gayd (*research*)

ni-bah-gway-shi-mong-ni-mi-di-win (*Sundance*)

ni-bah-kah-win (*understanding, intelligence*)

ni-gahn-nah-ji-mo-win (*prophecy*)

ni-gahn-no-say-wi-ni-ni (*war leader*)

ni`i-nah-i-ki-do-win (*words of our nation and people*)

ni`i-nah-win (*nation*)

nigig (*otter*)

ni-mi-ding (*dance*)

ning-gay-bay-ah-nung (*west*)

ni-tah-wi-gi-win-nan (*birth rites*)

ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*)

ni-zhwa-sho-o-na-sho-way-wi-nan (*seven sacred laws*)

n`swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o`dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*)

O

o-bah-wah-dahn (*dream and have a vision*)

o-dah-bah-ji-gahn (*sacred bundle*)

o-day-nah (*community*)

ode`imini gii-zhis (*strawberry moon, June*)

o-di-zhi-chi-gay-win (*his way of life*)

o-do-i-day-i-man (*clan system*)

o-gi-bi-i-zhi-ni-sah-naw-bay o-way a-keeng (*a male was lowered onto this earth, original*)

term for anishinabe)

o-gi-chi-dah (strong heart and ceremonial leader)

o-gi-chi-dahg (strong heart and ceremonial leaders)

o-gi-ma (leader, boss)

o-gi-ma-kahn (indian act chief)

o-gi-ma-kahn-da-win, o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (sovereignty)

o-gi-ma-wi-win (traditional leadership and to be esteemed)

o-gi-ma-win (traditional governance)

o-ji-chah-go-mah (soul, spirit)

o-jig-a-nung (Ursa Major constellation)

o-jig-a-nung-goons (Ursa Minor constellation)

o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (law)

o-ni-ga-mi-zig (leader, one who is ahead)

o-paw-gun (pipe)

osh-ki-ni-tah-gay-win (first-kill rites)

W

wa-ba-no-wi-win (people of the dawn medicine society)

wah-tah-bah-gah gii-zhis (bright leaves moon-September)

wah-bah-nong (east)

wah-bahng-a-nung (morning or west star)

wa-bi-zha-shi (marten)

wa-wash-kay-shi (deer)

waynaboozho (nanabush's 1st name, in human relations)

wi-gwas o-zhi-bi-i-gay-nan (birch-bark scrolls)

wah-wi-yah-kah-mig (universe)

we-mi-ti-go-zhi (white man)

ween-dah-mah-gay-win (make known by words)

wi-di-gay-di-win-nan (marriage rites)

wi-kwan-di-win (seasonal ceremonial feast)

wiis-kay-jahk (waynaboozhoo's 2nd name, when in communication with animals)

Z

zah-gi-di-win (*love*)

zoong-gi-day-win (*bravery*)

zah-zah-gi-wi-chi-gahn (*painted pole festival*)

zha-gah-nah-shi-wah-king (*Canada*)

zha-wahn-a-nung (*Jupiter or southern star*)

zha-wah-no-gay-win (*southern door society*)

zhi-mah-gah-a-nish (*soldier, police officer*)

zhi-bah-skah'i-gah-nah-go-day-ni-mi-win (*jingle dress dance*)

zhi-gahg-gong (*Chicago*)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

MAH-ZHI-NAY-I-GAHN A-NAH-MI-CHI-GAY-WIN (A LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE BOOKS I HAVE READ)

I initially had concerns about preparing a literature review because of what I thought was a lack of historical and contemporary literature available. However, I was continually reminded that our peoples possessed histories and written accounts spanning thousands of years.

Ziibiwing Centre (*Mt. Pleasant, Michigan*) was quite helpful in directing me to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection*: specifically historical journals (William Johnson among them); minutes of meetings, assemblies and conferences; letters and other historical documents, all of which spoke to and provided significant references to obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n'swi ish ko day kawn anishinabeg o'dish ko day kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

Government publications referencing public policy and inquiries affecting anishinabe peoples provided an understanding of the federal government's intent and priorities during different periods. The use of treaty, *Royal Commission* and constitutional documents such as the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)* (1994), the *Ipperwash Inquiry* (2007) and failed *Charlottetown* (1992) and *Meech Lake* (1999) accords helped in establishing a contemporary framework. The use of *Supreme Court* judgments provided a glimpse into the *United States* and *Canadian* legal system's paranoia and dysfunction insofar as the question of anishinabe inherent and *primordial* rights to land and traditional governance are concerned.

In most of the literature detailing the anishinabe narrative spanning generations and

exploring the relationship between the anishinabe, *European, American and Canadian* people, there was a serious attempt to explain the political, economic, military and spiritual importance of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and the role of its leadership. Researchers and observers such as Janet Chute (1998), William Warren (1984), James Clifton, George Cornell and James McClurken (1986), Dave Edmonds (1978), Anthony Hall (2003), Johann Kohl (1985), Francis Parkman (2012), Peter Schamalz (1991) and John Sugden (1997) each make significant contributions in their analysis of historical events as they relate to obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

Anthony Hall (2003) suggests the pan-anishinabe approach advocated by tecumtha was visionary in concept, a legacy anishinabe nations still aspire to. In all of the stories and teachings shared, we come to recognize the importance of ceremonies to the principles and philosophy of anishinabe leadership and governance. References to obwandiac (1762-1763), tecumtha (1805-1812) and shingwauk in (1812-1850) speak to their honour and genius.

In terms of the bibliography, there is focus on period and contemporary literature, manuscript sources (*political and government documents and legislation; historical collections; Ph.D. dissertations; anishinabe declarations*) and *Supreme Court* judgments. At the end of the day, this wealth of information and resources helped in developing an anishinabe-focused narrative and understanding, which Michaly Dror Segal (2000) describes as a “*story which explains, justifies and even creates reality - (which has been) is a powerful tool in the hands of the dominant society*” (Segal xii).

Dr. Rainey Gaywish's doctoral dissertation (2008) was helpful in showing how "stories draw on the energy of the spirit realms to enliven and empower the characters, the storyteller and the listeners" (Gaywish 2). The ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) shared within the context of this dissertation also help us understand the subtle nuance of ah-way-chi-gay-win (*teaching by telling a story*).

One of the first tasks of this literature review was to describe the common thread and various themes interwoven into the historical thought and writings of anishinabe philosophers concerning anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*). This theme focused on anishinabe-grounded nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and a-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of thinking and methodology*), which have at their foundation the land, anishinabemowin and manitou kay-win (*ceremony*).

bawdwaywidun banaise (*Eddie Benton-Banai*) (1988) and Basil Johnston (1976) discuss all of this within the context of anishinabe stories of origin, philosophy, gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*), ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and ni-zhwa-sho-i-nish-way-wi-nan (*seven laws*). Both sages express the relationship between anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) from their spiritual foundation. All of this focuses on the origin of the anishinabeg and how we came to this idea of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win

(traditional governance) that weaves this sacred and spiritual thread between the teachings and what Shawn Wilson (2001) describes as ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology.

Both bawdwaywidun (1988) and Johnston (1976) write about our creation story and the role of spirituality and ceremony in the sharing of our ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*sacred and spiritual narratives*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) and ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*). We recognize that these stories are deeply spiritual because they describe how anishinabe peoples came to be and more importantly how they provide a spiritual context to our understanding of *creation*, history, ways of thinking and deep interconnectedness to the wah-wi-yah-ka-mig (universe). Anne Waters (2003) shares that: “*our stories held understandings of Indigenous human science, technology, relations, and our sacred place in the world*” (Waters 103). Shawn Wilson (2001) also describes how we think of our reality, how we use this way of thinking, set of morals and teachings that essentially describe our anishinabe world-view.

The second theme focuses on the historical works of anishinabe and *Euroamerican* writers such as John Tanner (2007), Henry Schoolcraft (1962), George Copway (2002), William Warren (1984), Peter Jones (2012) and chief mack-e-tay-be-nessy (2007) who wrote books framed as histories of the ojibway, ota’wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe nation; and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (1800-1842) “*who was recognized as the first Native American literary writer, the first known Indian poet, the first known poet to write poems in a Native American language, and the first known American Indian to write out traditional Indian stories*” (Parker 2008).

Each of these historians and writers assumed the responsibility of traditional storyteller because each sought to teach by telling a story. kah-ge-ga-gah-boh (*George Copway*) an ojibway-anishinabe *Methodist* minister and Warren were particularly effective at describing anishinabe life during the period in which they wrote because they were both fluent in anishinabemowin. Their numerous in-depth journals and books, historical and oral reflections provided a rich texture to the anishinabe world.

Although, kah-ge-ga-gah-boh (*George Copway*) might have been religiously biased in his journals he did provide interesting observations regarding anishinabe life. In fact, kah-ge-ga-gah-boh (*George Copway*) and Peter Jones (2012), another ojibway-anishinabe missionary became prominent through their writings during the 19th and early 20th centuries. In spite of their propensity to overstate their religious zeal both men provided incredible descriptions of anishinabe gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) and beliefs.

kah-ge-ga-gah-boh (*George Copway*) also provides one of the more detailed and expansive reflection regarding the conflict between the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and haudenosaunee-anishinabeg during the *Beaver Wars* (1642-1701). William Warren's (1984) work is also based upon the oral history of ojibway, ota'wa and boodewadamig-anishinabeg and is considered one of the more accurate historical accounts of the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewadamig-anishinabe nations during the period in which it was written. Warren, whose mother was an ojibway-anishinabe kway (*woman*) was a fluent anishinabemowin speaker, which enabled him to understand and describe accurately the subtle nuances of

manitou kay-win (*ceremony*), anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*), o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and anishinabemowin. It also helped him establish deep relationships with a number of ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe clans because he was able to articulate the essence of what was being experienced and said.

Warren wrote anishinabe stories that were purely anishinabe and based on anishinabe truth as they saw, felt and experienced it. He was able to effectively utilize anishinabemowin to describe the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*), di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*), ah-way-chi-gay-wi-nan (*moral stories*), manitou kay-wi-nan (*ceremonies*), anishinabe gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*) and anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*). This enabled Warren (1984) to write and make significant contributions to oral history and anishinabe tradition as he experienced it. He writes, that the *French* had a deep understanding of the clan system and the responsibilities of traditional leadership, which enabled them to establish social, economic and military alliances based on mutual benefit and obligation that were often more respectful of protocol than any other *Euroamerican* nation.

In the early to mid-eighteenth century, Peter Jones (2012), an ordained *Methodist* minister was very instrumental in translating gospels into anishinabemowin while doing missionary work throughout a number of ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe communities. Although his observations were somewhat coloured by religion, he did provide valuable and accurate insight into the day-to-day life of the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg during this period.

John Tanner (2007) was captured by the shawnee-anishinabeg in 1789 and then taken to *Michigan* and *Wisconsin*. During his captivity, he provided first-hand observations and details concerning the hunting and trading expeditions into manitou abi (*Manitoba*), gah-kah-bi-kahng (*Minneapolis and area*), zhi-gahg-gong (*Chicago*) and bawating (*Sault Ste. Marie*). His observations provided rare insight into ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabe life during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Tanner makes reference to the fact that the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg controlled *Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio* and most of the *western Canadian* provinces. He points out that no other nation ever controlled such a vast area. These details are further described by mack-e-te-be-nessy (2007), a well-known and powerful ojibway-anishinabe leader in his own right, who provides narratives and references that describe the significant reach of the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) politically, economically, socially and territorially. It is incredible gah-gi-gi-do-gah-gi-pi-i-zhi-say-mah-guhk (*oral history*). He tells of his father who “*stayed about twenty years in the country of Manitoba with his brother wa-ke-zoo, among other tribes of Indians and white fur-traders in that section of the country*” (mack-e-te-be-nessy 27).

There are other authors who wrote similar historic narratives and recorded important events such as George Croghan (1763-1764) (*Journal of George Croghan: Reference to Pontiac*); William Johnston (1766); *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (1779-1905); and Johann Georg Kohl (1985), who provided detailed historical account of changes taking place in anishinabe society during this period.

Contemporary anishinabe philosophers and thinkers such as John Borrows (2006

and 2010), Gregory Cajete (2000), Vine Deloria Jr. (1988), Anton Treuer (2001), Shawn Wilson (2008) and Gerald Vizenor (1972) contemporize the role of the traditional anishinabe storyteller.

They write of lakota, tewa and cree-anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*), i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*), ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*), ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*), gah-nah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*history*), anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and o-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*law*). They describe the use of sharing and talking circles as anishinabe-focused nay-nahn-do-ji-kayn-ji-gayd (*research*) tools and the interconnectedness of all living things, to gather knowledge and guidance.

In doing this, they provide a contemporary focus, understanding and foundation to their belief in the importance of having a society of responsibility and the visions that anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and ni'i-nah-wi-nan (*nations*) determined long ago were important to the survival of anishinabeg. These were deeply personal, community and nation responsibilities. Each writer describes the contemporary anishinabe world-view and its relationship with manitou-kay (*have spiritual power and spirituality*) and de-bwe-win (*truth*). Imagine a profoundly caring world that believes, “*education (is) achieved through praise, reward, recognition and renewal ceremonies and by example, actual experience and story telling*” (Little Bear 81).

They provide a picture as to how anishinabe peoples came to think about reality, their ways of being and ways of thinking and ceremony to gain knowledge. They ask whether anishinabeg can look forward without looking to the past. To some extent, Borrows (2006 and 2010), Cajete (2000), Deloria (1988 and 2006), Treuer (2001), Wilson (2001), Vizenor (2000) and others provide an opportunity to explore future possibilities using an anishinabe *ontological, epistemological* and *methodological* blueprint.

A third theme focuses on anishinabe history as told by anishinabe and *Eurocanadian* traditional storytellers and historians. The narratives and overviews provided by Michael Angel (2002), Thomas Berger (1991), Menno Boldt (1993), George Copway (2002), Vine Deloria Jr. (1988 and 2006) and Johann Georg Kohl (1985) are particularly important within the context of this story because anishinabe and *Eurocentric* world-views are often at opposite sides of the anishinabe historical and academic spectrum.

Michael Angel (2002) provides interesting insight with respect to the “*Aaddizookanaag*’ (*sacred narratives*) and ‘*Dibaajimowin*’ (*anecdotes*)” (Angel 3-4) and their importance in establishing the basis of anishinabe nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-jigay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*). They speak to the anishinabe world-view.

The ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) are used as messengers to speak to us in many different ways and on many different levels because you feel them, you breath them, you see them as alive and having their own spirit life. Further, they speak to the

anishinabe natural and vibrant world, complete with answers as to how anishinabeg reframe, reclaim and rename. The notion of anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*) is an interesting concept because it has been distorted beyond understanding at different periods.

anishinabe kayn-dah-so-win (*traditional knowledge*) has always provided anishinabeg with the necessary survival skills. It may vary from nation-to-nation, but they explain more than just a neat story to amuse children around a campfire. It explains complex relationships between man and his creator, the animals and plants, the universe and its creation. The “west” as an ideal has vigorously attempted to discredit anishinabe reality and history. However, anishinabeg have always known that the “west” has been about the control of people, their minds and cultures. It is about arrogance and exceptionalism, both intellectual and spiritual. Our approach seeks to reframe and reclaim our stories and truth.

The fourth theme explores the ideals of the n’swi ish-ko-day kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) as seen through the exploits and visions of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk. R. David Edmunds (1978), James Clifton, George Cornell and James McClurken (1986), Peter Schamalz (1991), Janet Chute (1998) and Michael Angel (2002) provide detailed descriptions of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*).

R. David Edmunds (1978) writes that the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was an essential element in the boodewaadamig-anishinabe social fabric; he adds that its major responsibility was to

protect the *sacred fire*, which was representative of ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig anishinabe i-nah-ko-ni-gay-win (*sovereignty*) and independence.

As well, the boodewaadamig-anishinabe society and nation structure allowed for the establishment of larger communities and more complex social institutions because of the nation's economic strength. The boodewaadamig-anishinabe communities and nation enjoyed this economic success largely because of their highly developed canoe technology. This economic success also provided opportunities to organize into larger communities with highly complex and centralized societal, political and social structures.

As the boodewaadamig-anishinabe society and nation increased in population and influence, they were able to control the major avenues of water transportation. These trade routes would become the major links in the development of trade, which stretched from manitou aki (*Creator's land*) to Europe. Further, this also manifested itself in terms of military power, which meant more opportunities to increase one's land base and human resources for economic (trade) wealth. Obviously, this contributed to a higher standard of living, military power and prestige within boodewaadamig-anishinabe society.

Edmonds adds boodewaadamig-anishinabe institutions often served as vehicles for the mobilization and utilization of resources. Because of their strength they were able to unify the separate communities and withstand any challenge or threat from the ever-changing social, physical and political environment. This was interesting because each community was inherently independent and had the flexibility to make decisions in most areas; however, when it came to matters of the nation, a decision-making apparatus would be quickly mobilized.

Peter Schamalz (1991) writes that territorial acquisition was often seen the result of conquest. He points out that the ojibway-iroquois-anishinabe trade wars were no exception. The *Great Peace of Montréal* (1701) was intended to bring an end to approximately one hundred years of conflict and was seen as an opportunity by the thirty-nine (39) nations of both the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) and haudenosaunee-anishinabe confederacy “to bury the hatchet deep in the earth” using ojibway and iroquois-anishinabe protocol and diplomacy. However, the ojibway-anishinabeg would continue to wage war in order to keep trade routes open to the *United States* and to further entrench themselves in *southern Ontario*. Schamalz adds that the economic and military strength of the ojibway-anishinabeg was such that nothing could take place without their involvement and agreement. Helen Tanner Hornbeck (1989) also writes that the economic and military success that the ojibway-anishinabe nation enjoyed was made possible because they were able to live and govern themselves in an effective manner.

The fifth theme focuses on the idea of anishinabe o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) from the actions of obwandiac, tecumtha and shingwauk's and their influence within the n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*). For many, their leadership was transformative and visionary. It is important to recognize that this story is not an attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the relationship anishinabe peoples have had with foreign nations throughout history, rather its intent is to draw lessons about o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and o-gi-ma-win (*traditional governance*) and how they were self-sufficient and had nothing to prove.

The decision-making apparatus used by the n'swi-swi-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*) was interesting because of the independence and flexibility of each community and nation. Thomas Hueglin (1993) writes that, "*the purpose of the Councils is the organization of like-mindedness, not the allocation of final powers of decision making*" (Hueglin 29).

We have to bear in mind that although o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) held no formal authority or power, they were expected to have the ability to maintain a balance of power amongst the leading leadership and be fair-minded. Janet Chute (1998) provides descriptions of the various positions and responsibilities of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) within anishinabe communities and confederacy, which shows a society that is both well organized and cognizant of the political, social, economic and military realities and needs of its people.

The sixth theme focuses on nay-nahn-do-gee-kayn-chi-gayd (*the reasons why I have dug around*) from a purely anishinabe-focused research method perspective. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), D'Arcy Rheault (1999), Gregory Cajete (2000), Shawn Wilson (2008), Manu Aluli Meyer (2001) and Sakej Henderson (1994)) describe the importance of doing anishinabe-focused academic research from the perspective of the anishinabe world-view.

I have always had difficulties with the notion of purely *western-academic* research and methodology because of the abuses, mis-appropriation of knowledge and ceremony that have taken place. I am particularly grateful to academic o-gi-chi-dahg (*strong heart and ceremonial leaders*) like Graham and Linda Smith, Cajete, Meyer, Borrows among numerous others who have shown the importance of taking back this power and

responsibility for telling “*our*” story.

There is the realization these ideas of anishinabe-grounded nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) and i-nah-di-zi-win (*our way of being and way of life and ontology*) provide anishinabe peoples with an ability to gain more knowledge about their present reality using their own ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) and world-view. This is central to the story being shared.

In most of the new literature written by anishinabe authors and philosophers, there is a serious attempt to share anishinabe-grounded stories using anishinabe world-views and understanding. These stories often span many generations and attempt to explain our relationship with the *European, American and Canadian* people. Smith’s notion of history is important to the discussion of the role of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional leadership and to be esteemed*) and the historic and practical truth concerning the political, economic, military and spiritual importance of o-gi-ma-wi-win (*traditional governance*). Our story then becomes one of reclaiming and empowerment.

Manu Aluli Meyer (2001) raises a number of interesting points with respect to the stories about who *indigenous* peoples are, how they think, what they know and about nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) mediocrity. She questions why *indigenous* peoples would want to be like *non-indigenous* peoples. She writes that hawaiian-anishinabeg were never like the people who colonized them, they were and still are distinctive, with a separate culture, understanding and empirical relationship that was fundamentally different from *non-*

indigenous peoples. In fact, the same could be said of *indigenous* peoples throughout the world. Because of politics, nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) has become a hotbed for academic discourse; it is the sword against anthropological arrogance and the shield against philosophical universalism. Meyer's observations are particularly pointed and true, as they encapsulate issues that *indigenous* people struggle with each and every day.

Leroy Little Bear (2000) writes that the anishinabe way is about the restoration of good feelings. He suggests quantum physics is similar to anishinabe science, because there are relational networks that are important to both because time and space is always similar. Coyote, raven, and waynaboozho create havoc wherever they go; he suggests that this is similar to science's *chaos theory*. He also defines the real meaning of culture, which is important to this discussion because it determines how anishinabeg accept the way knowledge is obtained. This enables anishinabeg to see the world through anishinabe eyes, taste the world with anishinabe taste, feel what anishinabe feel and hear what anishinabe hear. He writes "*colonization created a fragmentary worldview among Aboriginal peoples, by force, terror, and educational policy, it attempted to destroy the Aboriginal worldview*" (Little Bear 84).

anishinabeg have always known it was the ah-zhi-di-bah-ji-mo-win-nan (*traditions*), the ni-zhwa-sho-gi-ki-nah-mah-gay-wi-nan (*seven teachings*) and manitou kay-win-nan (*ceremonies*) that brought order to the anishinabe world. Nothing else! This is the anishinabe reality. This lies at the heart of the anishinabe struggle with the notion of *Canada* and *confederation*. Sakej Henderson (2000) elaborates, "*to acquire freedom in*

the decolonized and delineated order, the colonized must break their silence and struggle to retake possession of their humanity and identity” (Henderson 249).

The spiritual teaching shared in the ah-di-so-kah-nahg (*traditional and spiritual stories*) and di-bah-ji-mo-wi-nan (*stories of personal experience and reminiscences*) are central to the anishinabe struggle, which is simply about reclaiming humanity. We are told a new people will emerge. bawdwaywidun teaches us this. This new people will be able to hear the voices of the ancestors because they will know how to ask the most basic of questions: *What is my anishinabe name? What is my clan? What are my songs?* This is about reframing and reclaiming anishinabe reality and stories. This will free anishinabeg from western thinking and empower us to rename our relationship with the world around us and to recognize creation as our first teacher.

Lastly, the final theme focuses on the *Royal Proclamation (1763)*, *pre-confederation, numbered and modern-day treaties*; *Supreme Court* judgments in both the *United States* and *Canada*; *government “acts of compassion”* and the *Canadian world-view*; and the similarities and differences in *American-international* legislation. Anthony Hall (2003), John Borrows (2006), Charles Wilkinson (2005), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Lester-Irabinna Rigney (1999) all focus on the relationship between anishinabe law, our *primordial* rights and the understanding of treaties and the *United States* and *Canadian* legal challenges.

Canadian law takes a very narrow view in its understanding of the differences between international and anishinabe treaties. One major question immediately comes to mind is whether or not other rules regarding international treaties can be applied to anishinabe treaties. This question remains largely unresolved in *Canadian* law to this day.

Despite this, John Borrows (2006 and 2010), Thomas Berger (1991), Sakej Henderson (1994 and 2000), Thomas Hueglin (1993) and others believe that, “*each First Nation began its relationship as an independent power in international law. Treaties explicitly recognized the supreme power of First Nations*” (Hueglin 251). anishinabe nations continue to argue this point. Borrows (2006 and 2010) argues that treaties should be about taking responsibility. However, we continue to experience and observe where the original “*spirit and intent*” of treaties have been disrespected and undermined.

Government publications and inquiries affecting anishinabeg provide an interesting analysis of the government’s historical and contemporary intent and priorities. To reiterate, the use of treaty, *Royal Commission* and constitutional documents: the failed *Meech Lake* (1990) and *Charlottetown Accords* (1994), the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)* (1994) and the *Ipperwash Inquiry* (2007) help establish a contemporary framework. Further, the *Supreme Court* judgments (1895-1999) offer a glimpse into the *United States* and *Canadian* legal system’s understanding of the anishinabe peoples’ inherent and *primordial* rights to land, traditional governance, self-determination and sovereignty. In fact, the political and legal intent of both the *United States* and *Canada* are laid bare in these government policies and *Supreme Court* judgments as shown in these publications and inquiries.

Charles Wilkinson (2005) addresses *American* policies of termination and genocide. He provides a rather alarming and descriptive process for the planned termination and genocide of anishinabeg in the *United States* and *Canada*. For example, he writes on August 1, 1953 that the *United States Congress* attempted to move forward on some of its genocidal policies by implementing *Resolution 108*, which essentially

focused on the termination of the anishinabeg. The final solution was implicit in its approach as it would lead to a “*fire sale*” of anishinabe lands, the withdrawal of federal support and the gradual assimilation of anishinabe peoples into the *United States* mainstream. Further, in 1954 Congress’ termination of the former menominee-anishinabe reservation was indicative of the *United States*’ commitment to *American* manifest destiny and the application of *Resolution 108*. This essentially confirmed a long-held belief the *United States* was hell-bent on termination as seen in the *Supreme Court’s Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903) decision, which gave *Congress* the power to abrogate treaties. The result was economic and social devastation throughout anishinabe country!

anishinabe leaders in the *United States* responded in kind. They argued that the *Supreme Court* decision had to be challenged head-on. There would be no second chance. Their objectives were simple: reverse the termination policy; enforce treaty rights to land, water, fishing and hunting; achieve economic progress; preserve traditions; end the *Bureau of Indian Affairs*’ stranglehold and re-establish tribal laws. Wilkinson (2005) considers the success of these objectives as being one of the watershed moments in *United States* history. He pointed to similarities between the tribal sovereignty movement and the abolitionist, suffragist, civil rights, women and environmentalists’ movement because of their focus on freedom and survival. He adds the fight for anishinabe sovereignty within a larger powerful sovereignty remains a “*blood struggle*.”

John Borrows (2006 and 2010) writes that the *French* and *English* often found it necessary to enter into political, economic and military alliances and “*treaties with aboriginal peoples of the northern Great Lakes using ojibway, ota’wa and boodewaadamig ideas and ceremonies*” (Borrows 1-2). Due to their fragile existence at

different moments in time, *Britain, France* and the *United States* saw the necessity of entering into substantial alliances and treaties with the ojibway, ota'wa and boodewaadamig-anishinabeg nations to ensure survival. Borrows (2006 and 2010) determines it was clear all parties had faith in the substance of the treaty process they initiated. He writes that the *Royal Proclamation (1763)* and the treaty process that followed built upon the *nation-to-nation* relationship between anishinabe nations and the *British Crown*, which exists to this day although in some dysfunctional and distorted way.

Notwithstanding the argument regarding the *Royal Proclamation (1763)* and whether it was the ultimate ruse and betrayal, both Thomas Berger (1991) and John Borrows (2006 and 2010) argue it was intrinsically important to *anishinabe* and *crown relations* because of the process introduced through which treaties would be negotiated and the *inherent* and *primordial* title to manitou aki (*Creator's land*) recognized.

Further, Borrows (2006 and 2010) maintains anishinabe nations have continually argued "*the Supreme Court of the United States recognized in the United States v, Winans (1905) that treaty rights are a grant of rights from the Indians, not to the Indians*" (Borrows 13). For the anishinabeg, there is no arguing this point. There is no question in the minds of anishinabe leaders that this fundamental point has always been misinterpreted. This has been the starting point for these misunderstandings and misinterpretations and it still weighs heavily on negotiations concerning treaty provisions.

Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) argues imperialism and colonialism still continue to impact *indigenous* peoples throughout the world and reestablishing and reaffirming anishinabe

indigenous grounded nah-nah-gah-dah-wayn-ji-gay-win (*how we came to think this way about our reality and epistemology*) and ah-zhi-kay-ni-mo-nahd-a-di-sid bay-mah-di-sid (*how we use our way of doing, thinking, ceremony and spirituality to find answers and methodology*) provide the impetus for liberation from all that imperialism and colonialism stifles. Lester-Irabinna Rigney (1999) notes that *indigenous* peoples must first “*understand this colonial history and its impact on the indigenous peoples and their struggles to be free from colonialism*” (Rigney 1999). In this discussion, he notes that “*racism*” has always been one of the major obstacles to the idea of self-determination and personal freedom. He adds racism was nurtured by three activities, “*the rapid growth of imperialism; the spiritual drive to promote the visions of God; and the quest for power*” (Rigney 1999).

Adam Smith (1817) has also been fundamentally important to this idea of “*discovery*” because he suggests “*Columbus’ discovery of the new world, and the passage to East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope is one of the most important events*” the world has ever witnessed. Smith wrote of the injustices and tragedy committed against *indigenous* peoples should have been stopped at the earliest opportunity. Unfortunately, many countries gave little attention to or did not understand the meaning of *aboriginal rights, titles, cultures, sovereignty, history and interests*. As Hall (2003) points out that in *Australia* the doctrine of “*terra nullius*” ruled the day.

The High Court of Australia addressed the obscenity of this negation when it announced in 1992, in the case of Torres Strait Islander Eddie Mabo, that the doctrine of terra nullius represents blight on the history of western civilization as abhorrent as the legacy of slavery (Hall, 2003).

Rigney provided another interesting and different understanding on *race* and *racism*, with respect to his view on *racism* in its most pure form. He saw it as a social movement in a

weird sort of way, because it sought to organize people into a hierarchical structure. The *Ku Klux Klan (KKK)* immediately comes to mind. *What was this organization's original intent? Oppression? Jim Crow? How did the KKK come to see itself as "legitimate"?* Consider that *South Africa* and its apartheid regime were certainly political and were intended to keep the "kaffir" in his place. From this position, *racism* was certainly about power. In fact, it was all about power and control because the stench permeates throughout the colonial political apparatus, the education, health and judicial systems.

In countries such as *Canada, Aotearoa (New Zealand), Australia, United States, Russia, Middle East* and so on, Rigney's concept of race is obviously entrenched in these nations' political, social, judicial, economic and education structures. This concept of race and its underpinnings permeates everything seen, felt, heard and touched. Not surprisingly, *indigenous* peoples throughout the world still continue to push for political, socio-economic and race emancipation.

Contemporary freedom fighters such as Linda (1999) and Graham Smith (2000), Gerald Vizenor (2000), Gregory Cajete (2000), bawdwaywidun banaise (Eddie Benton-Banai) (1998) and Neal McLeod (2007), suggest that as anishinabe peoples move towards freedom and emancipation they must "*rediscover and/or reaffirm our knowledge and culture*" (Rigney 1999). For anishinabe people, it is important that an anishinabe grounded approach be at the foundation of this movement. It is all about *reframing, reclaiming* and *renaming* our thoughts, places and identity.

Rigney sees mainstream resistance to *indigenous* self-determination and argues that *indigenous* peoples must continue pursuing control of the political agenda to ensure that movement towards political freedom appreciates the diversity of the *indigenous* peoples,

their ba-wa-ji-gay-win-nan (*dreams*), manitou kay-win-nan (*ceremonies*) and political aspirations. The clarity of this blueprint is not lost on me.

Lastly, the *D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies, Newberry Library*, was a fantastic source for archival sources such as personal letters, communiqués, written accounts, speeches of military officers, *British and United States army personnel (officers and non-commissioned officers)*, colonial administrators, indian superintendents and agents, letters and journals of traders and captives (*Stephen Ruddell, John Tanner among others*). I give thanks and offer a chi meegwetch to all who helped make my stay at this fantastic resource and library a pleasant and memorable one.

mii i' i-way anishinabe i-zhi-chi-gay-win (*This is the anishinabe way*)
zhigo mii'iw eta-go o-way neen-gi-kayn-dahn zhigo ni-gi-noon-dah-wah (*This is as much as I know and have heard*)

APPENDIX 2
ah-di-so-kah-nahg anishinabeg
(TRADITIONAL STORYTELLERS)

Over the last several years, many discussions have taken place and visits had with bawd-way wi-dun banaise (*Lac Courte Oreilles, Wisconsin*), Charlie Nelson (*Roseau River, Manitoba*), Chief Lyle Sayers (*Garden River, Ontario*), Darrell Boissoneau (*Garden River*), Doreen Lesage (*Garden River*), Fabian Morrisseau (*sagkeeng, Manitoba*), Fred Kelly (*Onegaming, Ontario*), Patricia Shawano (*Kettle Point, Ontario*), William Johnston (*Mount Pleasant, Michigan*), Beatrice Menase’Kwe Jackson (*Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians, Michigan*), Steve Pego (*Mount Pleasant, Michigan*) and Jake Swamp (*Akwesasne, New York*) and other kitchi anishinabeg concerning the traditional and contemporary essence of leadership and governance. These discussions have focused on traditions, teachings, ceremonies and oral history specific to obwandiac, tecumtha, shingwauk and the n’swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o’dish-ko-day-kawn (*Three Fires Confederacy*).

APPENDIX 3

ni-zhwa-sho ni-gahn-nah-ji-mo-win
(SEVEN FIRES PROPHECY OF THE ANISHINABEG)
as told by
bawdwaywidun banaise
(EDDIE BENTON-BANAI)

Seven prophets came to the Anishinabe. They came at a time when the people were living a full and peaceful life on the North Eastern coast of North America. These prophets left the people with seven predictions of what the future would bring. Each of the prophecies was called a fire and each fire referred to a particular era of time that would come in the future. Thus, the teachings of the seven prophets are now called the "Seven Fires."

The first prophet said to the people:

In the time of the First Fire, the Anishinabe nation will rise up and follow the sacred shell of the Midewiwin Lodge. The Midewiwin Lodge will serve as a rallying point for the people and its traditional ways will be the source of much strength. The Sacred Megis will lead the way to the chosen ground of the Anishinabe. You are to look for a turtle shaped island that is linked to the purification of the earth. You will find such an island at the beginning and at the end of your journey. There will be seven stopping places along the way. You will know the chosen ground has been reached when you come to a land where food grows on water. If you do not move you will be destroyed.

The second prophet told the people:

You will know the Second Fire because at this time the nation will be camped by a large body of water. In this time the direction of the Sacred Shell will be lost. The Midewiwin will diminish in strength; a boy will be born to point the way back to the traditional ways. He will show the direction to the stepping-stones to the future of the Anishinabe people.

The third prophet said to the people.

In the Third Fire, the Anishinabe will find the path to their chosen ground, a land in the west to which they must move their families. This will be the land where food grows on water.

Two prophets originally gave the Fourth Fire to the people. They come as one. They told of the coming of the Light Skinned race. One of the prophets said:

You will know the future of our people by the face the Light Skinned race wears. If they come wearing the face of brotherhood then there will come a time of

wonderful change for generations to come. They will bring new knowledge and articles that can be joined with the knowledge of this country, in this way, two nations will join to make a mighty nation.

This new nation will be joined by two more so that four will form the mightiest nation of all. You will know the face of the brotherhood if the light skinned race comes carrying no weapons. If they come bearing only their knowledge and a handshake.

The other prophet said:

Beware if the Light Skinned race comes wearing the face of death. You must be careful because the face of brotherhood and the face of death look very much alike. If they come carrying a weapon...beware. If they come in suffering... They could fool you. Their hearts may be filled with greed for the riches of this land. If they are indeed your brothers, let them prove it. Do not accept them in total trust. You shall know that the face they wear is one of death if the rivers run with poison and the fish become unfit to eat. You shall know them by these many things.

The Fifth Prophet said:

In the time of the Fifth Fire there will come a time of great struggle that will grip the lives of all Native people. At the warning of this Fire there will come among the people one who holds a promise of great joy and salvation. If the people accept this promise of a new way and abandon the old teachings, then the struggle of the Fifth Fire will be with the people for many generations. The promise that comes will prove to be a false promise. All those who accept this promise will cause the near destruction of the people.

The prophet of the Sixth Fire said:

In the time of the Sixth Fire it will be evident that the promise of the Fifth Fire came in a false way. Those deceived by this promise will take their children away from the teachings of the Elders, grandsons and grand-daughters will turn against the Elders. In this way, the Elders will lose their reason for living... they will lose their purpose in life. At this time a new sickness will come among the people. The balance of many people will be disturbed. The cup of life will almost be spilled. The cup of life will almost become the cup of grief.

At the time of these predictions, many people scoffed at the prophets. They then had medicines to keep away sickness. They were then healthy and happy as a people. These were the people who chose to stay behind in the great migration of the Anishinabe. These people were the first to have contact with the Light Skinned race. They would suffer the most.

When the Fifth Fire came to pass, a great struggle did indeed grip the lives of all

Native people. The Light Skinned race launched a military attack on the Indian people throughout the country aimed at taking away their land and their independence as a free and sovereign people. It is now felt that the false promise that came at the end of the Fifth Fire was the materials and riches embodied in the way of life of the light skinned race. Those who abandoned the ancient ways and accepted this new promise were a big factor in causing the near destruction of the Native people of this land.

When the Sixth Fire came to be, the words of the prophet rang true as the children were taken away from the teachings of the Elders. The boarding school era of "*civilizing*" Indian Children had begun. The Indian language and religion were taken from the children. The people started dying at an early age... they had lost their will to live and their purpose in living.

In the confusing times of the Sixth Fire, it is said that a group of visionaries came among the Anishinabe. They gathered all the priests of the Midewiwin Lodge. They told the priests that the Midewiwin Way was in danger of being destroyed. They gathered all the sacred bundles. They gathered all the scrolls that recorded the ceremonies. All these things were placed in a hollowed out log from the ironwood tree. Men were lowered over a cliff by long ropes. They dug a hole in the cliff and buried the log where no one could find it. Thus the teachings of the Elders were hidden out of sight but not out of memory. It was said that when the time came that the Indian people could practice their religion without fear that a little boy would dream where the Ironwood log, full of the Sacred Bundles and Scrolls were buried. He would lead his people to the place.

The Seventh Prophet that came to the people long ago was said to be different from the other prophets. He was young and had a strange light in his eyes. He said:

In the time of the Seventh Fire, New People will emerge. They will retrace their steps to find what was left by the trail. Their steps will take them to the Elders who they will ask to guide them on their journey. But many of the Elders will have fallen asleep. They will awaken to this new time with nothing to offer. Some of the Elders will be silent out of fear. Some of the Elders will be silent because no one will ask anything of them. The New People will have to be careful in how they approach the Elders. The task of the New People will not be easy.

If the New People will remain strong in their Quest, the Water Drum of the Midewiwin Lodge will again sound its voice. There will be a Rebirth of the Anishinabe Nation and a rekindling of old flames. The Sacred Fire will again be lit.

It is at this time that the Light Skinned race will be given a choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and final Fire, an eternal Fire of peace, love, brotherhood and sisterhood. If the light skinned race makes the wrong choice of roads, the destruction, which they brought with them in coming to this country will come back at them and cause much suffering and death to all the Earth's people.

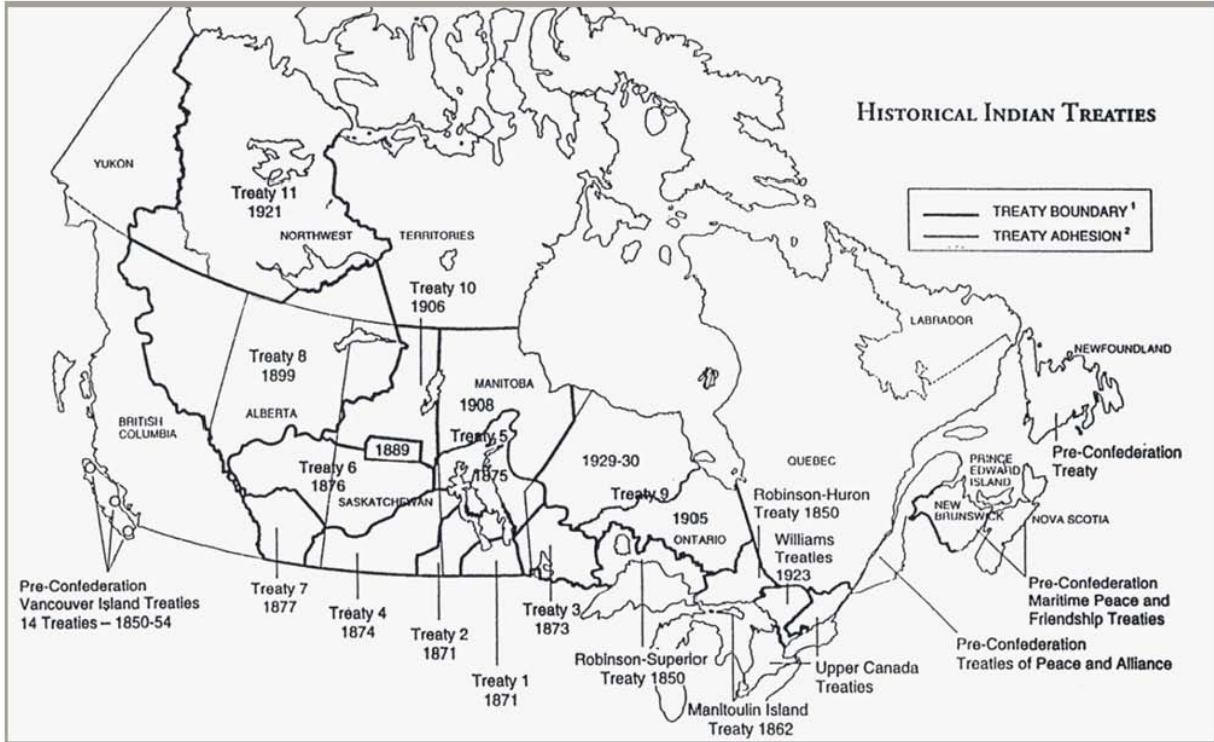
Traditional Mide people from other Nations have interpreted the two roads that face the Light Skinned race as the road to technology and the other to spiritualism. They feel that the road to technology represents a continuation of Headlong rush to technological development. This is the road that has lead to modern society, to a damaged and seared Earth. Could it be that the road to technology represents a rush to destruction? The road to Spirituality represents the slower path that traditional Native People have traveled and are now seeking again. The Earth is not scorched on this trail. The grass is still growing there.

The prophet of the Fourth Fire spoke of a time when *"two Nations will join to make a Mighty Nation"*. He was speaking of the coming of the Light Skinned race and the face of brotherhood that the Light Skinned Brother could be wearing. It is obvious from the history of this country that this was not the face worn by the Light Skinned race as a whole. That the Mighty Nation spoken of in the Fourth Fire has never been formed.

If the Natural People of the Earth could just wear the face of brotherhood, we might be able to deliver our society from the road to destruction. *Could we make the two roads that today represents two clashing worldviews come together to form a mighty Nation?*

Could a Nation be formed that is guided by respect for all living things? Are we the New People of the Seventh Fire?

MAP 3 (1850)



obwandiac

1653	1747	1754	1755	1757	1758	1760	1762	1763	1768	1774	1785	1786	1789	1790	1791
Ojibway-anishinaabe defeated an iroquois-anishinaabe war party at the site of present day Iroquois Point on Lake Superior.	Obwandiac's political and military profile as ni-gahn-no-say-i-ni-ni (<i>war leader</i>) and o-gi-chi-dah (<i>strong heart person and ceremonial person</i>) is one of increasing presence.	November 7: Jacob de Marsac departs to bawating by order of Col. Braddock.	April 27: Jacob de Marsac (First Sergeant arrives at <i>Michilimackinac</i> with 17 wampum belts)	July 9: General Edward Braddock is defeated at the Battle of the Monongahela. One of the most disastrous defeats for the British.	Obwandiac is first mentioned by name and in print by William Johnston at Fort Duquesne, Pennsylvania.	Jeffery Amherst is appointed governor-general.	November 29: Fort Ponchartrain, Detroit surrenders to the British.	<p>April 27: Ojibwe, Ota'wa, Boodewaadamig and Wyandot-anishinaabe ogimaawiwin (traditional leadership), ogichidaag (strong heart and ceremonial leaders), anike-ogimaakanag (hereditary leaders), and niiganosewewiniwag (war leaders) met to discuss their discontent and frustrations with Amherst's actions.</p> <p>February: Treaty of Paris is signed.</p> <p>April 19: Teedyuscung's (King of Delaware-anishinaabeg) death moves the war council which included Niniyay (Boodewadamig-anishinaabe) Ta-ke (Wyandot-anishinaabe), and Mack-a-te-pe-le-ci-te (Ota'wa-anishinaabe) and Obwandiac to move quickly rather than later was originally planned.</p> <p>April 21: N'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinaabe o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy) would receive a war belt from the Delaware-anishinaabeg asking for assistance to avenge their defeat at Kittanning (Pennsylvania) in 1756.</p> <p>April 27: 400 Boodewaadamig, Ota'wa and part of the Hurons meet with Obwandiac on the Ecorse River. He informs them that he had received war belts from the French King.</p> <p>May 5: Second council meeting take place to discuss three points - the Conestoga-anishinaage village massacre, avenge the loss of Anishinaabe life, and to "drive off...those dogs clothed in red". The War council decides that on May 7th they would take to war.</p> <p>May 7: the siege of Fort Detroit, Michigan begins.</p> <p>May 16: Fort Sandusky, Ohio is taken.</p> <p>May 25: Fort St. Joseph, Ontario falls.</p> <p>May 27: Fort Miami, Michigan surrenders.</p> <p>June 1: Fort Ouatanon, Indiana is captured.</p> <p>June 4: Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan surrenders.</p> <p>June 15: Fort Presque Isle, Pennsylvania falls.</p> <p>June 18: Fort Le Boeuf, Pennsylvania is taken.</p> <p>June 20: Fort Venago, Pennsylvania is captured.</p> <p>June 21: Settlements of L'Arbe Croche, Michigan, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario are attacked by Ota'wa-anishinaabe forces.</p> <p>June 24: The British fail in their surprise attack on Obwandiac's encampment.</p> <p>September 14: At Devil's Hole (Fort Niagara, New York) the British are soundly defeated.</p> <p>October 7: King George III issues the Royal Proclamation</p> <p>October 29: Obwandiac receives notice of France's surrender at the signing of the Treaty of Paris.</p> <p>November: Seige at Fort Detroit, Michigan ends.</p> <p>November 5: Treaty of Fort Stanwix, New York.</p> <p>June 22: the Quebec Act is legislated.</p> <p>January 21: Treaty of Fort McIntosh, Pennsylvania acknowledges American sovereignty.</p> <p>January 31: Treaty of Fort Finney, Ohio where parts of Ohio are ceded.</p> <p>January 9: Treaty of Fort Harmar, Ohio transfers most of Ohio.</p> <p>Harmar Campaign, the United States suffers a major defeat.</p> <p>November 4: St. Claire defeated by Little Turtle (Miami-anishinaabe) and Cornstalk (Shawnee-anishinaabe).</p>	November 5: Treaty of Fort Stanwix, New York.	June 22: the Quebec Act is legislated.	January 21: Treaty of Fort McIntosh, Pennsylvania acknowledges American sovereignty.	January 31: Treaty of Fort Finney, Ohio where parts of Ohio are ceded.	January 9: Treaty of Fort Harmar, Ohio transfers most of Ohio.	Harmar Campaign, the United States suffers a major defeat.	November 4: St. Claire defeated by Little Turtle (Miami-anishinaabe) and Cornstalk (Shawnee-anishinaabe).
British America was merely a seaboard strip about a thousand miles long and one or two hundred miles deep											Little Turtle's War				

APPENDIX 5
(TIMELINE)

		tecumtha										shingwauk																				
1794	1795	1796	1774	1794	1795	1802	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1827	1836	1838	1849	1850															
August 20: At the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Ohio Tecumtha's brother Sau-wa-see-kau (jumping panther) is killed.	August 3: Treaty of Greenville, Ohio negotiated by Joseph Brant, William Johnson, and George Croghan would accept the United States as a sovereign power.	February 29: Jay Treaty establishes the international boundary between Canada and the United States.	October 10, Pukeshinwa n'wau (something that drops), Tecumtha's father killed while fighting with Wy-ne-pu-ech-sika (cornstalk) at the Battle of Point Pleasant, West Virginia	August 20, Battle of Fallen Timbers [Northwest Indian Wars], Ohio	August 3, Treaty of Greenville, Ohio. Tecumtha negotiates treaty using the name Sha-wa-lung (southern star falling). The treaty established the Greenville Treaty Line, which would serve as the 'middle ground' and boundary between Anishinaabe territory and lands open for settlers. Treaty of Greenville was unacceptable because in his opinion no single village or nation leader could sign away sovereignty over lands that belonged collectively to all Anishinaabe peoples.	Tecumtha begins his lobbying with other anishinabe nations	September 29, Fort Wayne Treaty, Indiana and Illinois. William Henry Harrison negotiated the treaty.	August, Tecumtha meets with William Henry Harrison at Fort Vincennes to challenge the Fort Wayne Treaty	November 7, Battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana. William Henry Harrison and Lau-lau-we-see-kau battle. Tecumtha is not present as he is still organizing the confederacy.	June 18, The colonies declare war on the British	July 15, Mack-e-tay-be-nessy and his boodewaadamig-anishinabe forces would take Fort Dearborn, Illinois	July 17, Fort Michilimackinac surrenders cementing Shingwauk's place as one of the greatest 'generals' of the anishinabe who would be celebrated throughout manitou aki (Creator's land)	August 16, the Americans surrender Fort Detroit, Michigan. The fort would fall to n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy) and British forces led by Tecumtha, Shingwauk and General Isaac Brock	October 3, Battle of Queenston Heights, Ontario. General Isaac Brock is killed.	May, a multi-nation conference meets on Mississinewa River	June 24, Battle of Beaver Dams, Ontario, Americans surrender to ojibway and haudenosaunee-anishinabeg	June 19, Fort Erie, Ontario is recaptured by the British	September 26 and 27, the British would evacuate Fort Detroit, Michigan and Fort Malden, Ontario	October 5, Tecumtha is killed in battle at Moraviantown	July 14, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario was raided and burned by the Americans	July 21, In retaliation n'swi-ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish-ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy) and British forces would capture Fort Shelby and Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin	July 23, Americans would destroy what was left of Fort St. Joseph, Ontario	August 4, The n'swi ish-ko-day-kawn anishinabeg o'dish ko-day-kawn (Three Fires Confederacy) and British forces successfully defend Fort Mackinac, Michigan	December 24, the Treaty of Ghent signed ending the War of 1812	Kettle and Stoney Point, Walpole Island and Sarina treaties signed	Bond Head treaty	December 15, Shingwauk petitions the Lieutenant Governor, Archibald Acheson, Earl of Gosford	May 9, Shingwauk, Na-ba-nay-go-jing, Ogista, and Ka-bah-o-sa leave for Montreal	September 13, Shingwauk and Tah-gay-i-ni-ni are presented with medals to honour their service during the War of 1812	November 14, Shingwauk, Na-bay-na-go-jing, and Naw-qua-gah-bow take over the Mica Mine on Lake Superior	December 4, Shingwauk, Na-bay-na-go-jing, and Naw-qua-gah-bow turn themselves in to the British	September 7 and 9, Robinson-Superior and Robinson-Huron treaties signed