OJIBWE WOMEN AND MAPLE SUGAR PRODUCTION IN ANISHINAABEWAKIING AND THE RED RIVER REGION, 1670-1873

by

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ABSTRACT

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Beginning with the origins of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 and ending when the Canadian government signed Treaty 3 in 1873 with the Ojibwe in the Lake of the Woods region, this study is placed at the intersection of gender, kinship, imperialism, and food studies. This dissertation takes place in Anishinaabewakiing and the region the Northern Ojibwe migrated into, the Red River region. The landscape that makes up Great Lakes and Red River regions include the gendered places Ojibwe women occupied such as the maple sugar groves.

Maple sugar played an important socio-economic role in Ojibwe culture. Food procurement in Ojibwe culture is gendered and it is Ojibwe women who produced maple sugar. Ojibwe women manufactured maple sugar for their communities and for the fur trade companies with whom the Ojibwe associated. The Ojibwe traded with other indigenous groups before European contact and they trade with other smaller fur trade companies and individuals, but the impact of trade can best be seen analyzing the records of three large companies that operated in the regions under investigation: the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), the North West Company (NWC), and the American Fur Company (AFC). Ojibwe women became increasingly instrumental in supplying food for the traders' survival. This increased demand occurred not only because traders needed maple sugar at their posts as provision but also because fur companies needed it to expand their enterprise further west. For the AFC in the Great Lakes region, maple sugar grew from a local to a regional commodity. This Indigenous produced sugar was auctioned in Detroit, and Buffalo and along the route of the Erie Canal. For the HBC, maple sugar in the

Red River region was shipped to various posts and helped the HBC reduce the overhead cost of cane sugar importation thus linking Indigenous women living in the interior of North America to the Atlantic trade economy.

The political structures of settler colonialism gradually displaced Ojibwe women from the maple sugar marketplace. Great Lakes Nations' land was taken over through the process of treaty making and settlement that was both gendered and patriarchal in nature. It was not just resources that were taken away, but also women-centered places where political activities, ceremonies, and teaching took place. In the United States, after treaty negotiations in the nineteenth century, cultural retention occurred in part because Ojibwe leaders negotiated for the rights to gather resources on ceded land also known as usufructuary rights. In the case of Indigenous nations in the numbered treaty regions, they had not ceded land or resources but fought against the Canadian government's objective of land surrender.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Now . . . where does one begin? I thank Indigenous women in maple nation past, present, and future. I acknowledge that I wrote, researched, and defended this dissertation in the homelands of many Indigenous people. My dissertation spanned the vast Anishinaabewakiing and Treaty 1, 2, and 3 lands, which include the traditional territories of the Anishinabe, Assiniboine, Cree, Dakota, Métis, and Oji-Cree, and Métis Nations. The university that awarded me my doctoral dissertation is in Milwaukee on traditional Potawatomi, Ho-Chunk, and Menominee homelands along the southwest shores of Michigami, part of North America's largest system of freshwater lakes, where the Milwaukee, Menominee, and Kinnickinnic rivers meet and the people of Wisconsin's sovereign Anishinaabe, Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Oneida, and Mohican nations remain present.

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Introduction

Introduction

Examining the trade of maple sugar between 1670 and 1873, I place this study at the intersection of gender, kinship, imperialism, and food studies. This dissertation examines the socio-economic place of *ziinzibaakwad,* or maple sugar in Ojibwe culture and the vital role maple sugar, produced by Ojibwe women, played during this two hundred years of fur trade history. Beginning with the origins of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 until the Ojibwe signed Treaty 3 in 1873, this study probes the impact of Indigenous sugar on white communities and economies, and how the political structures of settler colonialism gradually displaced Native people from the maple sugar marketplace. With the gendered nature of Ojibwe food procurement, this work also addresses Native women's manufacture of *ziinzibaakwad* and the changes they chose to make or were forced to endure as producers. Indigenous men became part of the Atlantic trade system with the animal peltry they traded, however, this dissertation demonstrates that Ojibwe women were also connected to this trade network as the Hudson's Bay Company used this sugar to reduce their overhead costs.

This study takes place in Anishinaabewakiing and the region the Northern Ojibwe migrated into the Red River region. Anishinaabewakiing is the land the Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe, Odawa and Potawatomi) inhabit around the western Great Lakes. The Red River region was and continues to be the homeland of the Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwe, and Métis Nations. The Ojibwe had trade relations with multiple Indigenous groups over an extensive geographic region. When the French arrived, the Ojibwe received this group - as it had new Indigenous groups the Ojibwe encountered - as potential trade partners or potential foes. The same occurred as the British and Americans entered both Anishinaabewakiing and the Red River region.

Ziinzibaakwad has deep cultural and social meaning for the Ojibwe. Food procurement in Ojibwe culture is gendered and it is Ojibwe women who produced maple sugar among other foodstuffs. While the focus of this dissertation is maple sugar, I highlight Ojibwe women, the main producers of this product, during the two centuries under investigation, 1670-1873. Because of the varied ecological zones in Anishinaabewakiing, the Ojibwe consumed a variety of foodstuff including maple sugar, fish, fowl, large and small game, berries, and wild rice. The Ojibwe practiced seasonal round subsistence of resource procurement. These resources were consumed within a variety of community venues such as family meals, celebrations, funerals, rituals, and rites of passage. Also important was trade between groups as a means to gain further variety and establishing ties to other groups. Ojibwe cultural norms included migration and building ties with other Indigenous groups such as Dakota and Cree. In this way if one type of foodstuff was affected by weather, blight, or war, there were other items that were available, and alliances forged, reducing the chances of starvation over long winters in the western Great Lakes and Red River regions. When fur traders established themselves in the region, they relied on food from Native peoples. It was more economical to fill canoes with as many trade goods as they could rather than food. Indigenous men traded items such as large and small game and fish. Women traded maple sugar, wild rice, dried berries, and small game and fish.

During the fur trade era in Canada and the United States maple sugar also became an important product to fur traders and settler societies. For much of the fur trade era under investigation in the western Great Lakes and Red River regions (1670-1873), large fur trade companies shipped this commodity east and helped fur trade companies reduce the cost of shipping costly cane sugar from England, thus linking Ojibwe women to an Atlantic trade economy. Around the Hudson's Bay and eastward to England or from the Port of Montreal and

east through the St. Lawrence to Great Britain, Indigenous women participated in the Atlantic trade. The participation occurred through the production and trade of maple sugar, through other foodstuff they produced, through the small pelts they traded, and through the processing the furs and hides that were the main focus of trade companies. Although not as lucrative as the furs of the larger animals their male counterparts traded, sugar was a political and social item for Europeans and a taste of home for the children of the upper echelons of the fur trade societies.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French and French Canadian fur traders, Jesuit missionaries, and military personal lived within Anishinaabewakiing and the Red River region. British and American fur traders also lived within Anishinaabewakiing until eventually the American and Canadian governments, military personal, and settlers changed land use in these regions. American settlement began in Ojibwe land in the 1820s. The Ojibwe in northern Lakes Huron and Superior signed the Robinson Treaties with the British government in 1850. In preparation for the influx of Euro-Canadian settlers into southern Manitoba and the need for land to create the transcontinental railroad, the Canadian government sent land surveyors to appraise the Red River region in the late 1860s. The Métis resisted this action, a disregard for their land rights. After the Red River Resistance negotiations between the Métis and Canadian government officials the federal government passed the Manitoba Act (1870) that created the province of Manitoba and recognized Métis land rights. Treaty negotiations between the Canadian government and Ojibwe in the Red River region began in 1870.

Definition of Terms

This study will focus on the Ojibwe. The Ojibwe are part of the Anishinaabeg or Three Fires Alliance. The other two members of this alliance are the Odawa and Potawatomi. Anishinaabemowin is the language spoken by the Anishinaabeg and is made of up several dialects. I use specific names for groups of Indigenous peoples living in the western Great Lakes

including the Assiniboine, Cree, and Métis. The term Indigenous woman denotes an individual who descended from original inhabitants of the Americas. This study also uses Native and First Nations.

Scholars have used the terms Métis/métis/Metis for many decades for individuals who descended from communities with roots in families formed by Indigenous women and European men. These identifiers in all their permutations are fraught with political connotations. Scholars also use these labels in relation to persons of French and African decent in French colonies. In Canada, Métis is a cultural and legal term denoting access to federal recognition. Researchers have waged a debate since the 1980s on what the term means in all its spellings. For some scholars the use of métis or Metis without the accent is acceptable to label non-federally recognized groups of mixed ancestry, for others the term is not acceptable as members of fur trade communities did not identify as such.[1] In this study I employ Chris Anderson's work and in

1. For metis/metissage utilized for people of African and European decent see Lorelle Semley, *To Be Free and French: Citizenship in France's Atlantic Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 7-8; For the use of Metis in North American Fur trade history see: Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, and Brenda Macdougall, *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012); Jacqueline Peterson, "Red River Redux: Métis Ethnogenesis and the Great Lakes Region," in St-Onge, Podruchny, and MacDougall *Contours of a People,* 22-58; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Contact in the Western Great Lakes (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001)*; Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles: French Indian Community on the Northern Borderlands, Prairie du Chien, 1750-1860 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)*; Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers, editors, *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 2010).

particular his study "Métis"[2] I use Métis for the Indigenous people in the Red River region who are today a Canadian federally recognized Indigenous population. I use fur trade communities for the multi-ethnic settlements in the Great Lakes region that consisted of Anishinaabeg, individuals of mixed ancestry, French, English, and Euro-Americans.

In the western Great Lakes, fur trade voyageurs who paddled large canoes with furs and goods between Montreal and the Great Lakes region were French Canadian men. A French Canadian is an individual born in New France, or Quebec, some of whom left New France and Quebec to work in the fur trade and subsequently lived wherever the fur trade took them. In fur trade accounts they are also called Canadians. An Euro-American and American is an individual who resided in the United States and whose ancestry was European. An Euro-Canadian or Canadian is an individual who resided in Eastern Canada and whose ancestry was European or American.

Although there were small independent traders and trade companies, this dissertation concentrates on the three large enterprises in Anishinaabewakiing and Red River region. These companies are: The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), the North West Company (NWC), and the American Fur Company (AFC). The HBC was a joint-stock company incorporated in 1670 and had its headquarters in London. In contrast, both the NWC and the AFC had their headquarters in North American. The NWC was headquartered in Montreal and was a coalition of smaller fur companies situated in Montreal initially formed in 1789. The AFC was headquartered in New

2. Chris Andersen, "Métis": *Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* (University of British Columbia Press, 2014).

York, with a major western office in Michilimackinac, founded in 1808 and owned by John Jacob Astor.[3]

The regions discussed in this work are: Anishinaabewakiing or the upper Great Lakes region, the Red River region, the Selkirk Settlement, and the old Northwest. Anishinaabewakiing is the land occupied by the Anishinaabeg and includes the western Great Lakes watershed. For the purposes of this study the Red River region encompasses the eastern portion of the Assiniboine River, the northern portion of the Red River, Lake Winnipeg, Winnipeg River, and Lake of the Woods. (see Map 1 below).

Map 1. Red River Region[4]

Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk, a shareholder of the Hudson's Bay Company, created the Red River Colony, or Selkirk Settlement, for Scottish immigrant farmers. The

3. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 477-479; David Lavender, *Fist in the Wilderness* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964).

4. Source: Canada National Defense Website: Military History http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no3/page57-eng.asp (accessed 05/30/2019).

settlement developed around the Forks at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Old Northwest was a territory formed by the United States government in 1787. The territorial boundaries included the Ohio River, the Mississippi River, and the Great Lakes and consisted of present-day Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and northeastern Minnesota.[5]

Through maps and through encounter, the Indigenous peoples I am writing about were part of the Atlantic world. They met, were changed by, and changed Europeans, and they were tied into an Atlantic trade network. As furs along the east coast of northern North America dwindled European fur traders moved westward in search of furs and came across rich fur bearing regions. These regions included the Great Lakes and north of the Red River region. Through ports of entry and exit - products both European and Indigenous-made flowed back and forth across the Atlantic. Indigenous peoples changed European items for their use and Indigenous peoples changed products for white markets. This is true of maple sugar. Whether from the sugar maple of the Great Lakes or the Manitoba maple from the Red River district the sweetener was filtered or purified to become whiter and described by contemporary Euro-Americans and Britain as rivaling white cane sugar. This whiter appearance made maple sugar an acceptable alternative to upper class Western people who desired the more expensive to process white cane sugar as a status symbol.

This study is in part a food history. Terms used in food studies include foodways. This is a culture's choice of food and comprises what food is eaten, how it is eaten, and how food is produced, prepared and disposed. Foodstuff is an item or items that humans consume in various forms and states, both sacred and non-sacred. The focus of this work is on maple sugar. The

5. Britannica, T. Editors of Encylopaedia, "Northwest Territory," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* https://www.britannica.com/place/Northwest-Territory, (accessed 06/23/2020).

main maple trees used for sap collection are the Sugar, the Rock, and the Manitoba. Maple products include various items made from maple sap, including different grades of syrup, hard cakes, maple gum or taffy, vinegar, and maple sugar.

Methodology

The Ojibwe lived and still live within Anishinaabewakiing or the land the Anishinaabeg call home. My own positionality is as a female Canadian, born and raised in Montreal, and of British descent. Having lived in Quebec, I understand the seasonal changes and cultural connections to the sugar bush and the creation of maple products. Currently, I live and work along the Great Lakes and several times a year make the journey back to Montreal.

Before this project my methodology was based almost exclusively on an ethnohistorical approach. This is the approach I took for my master's thesis "Indigenous Women and Maple Sugar Production in the Upper Midwest 1790 to 1848." Ethnohistory is a methodology for analyzing the past and implements interdisciplinary methods, both historical and anthropological. An ethnohistorical approach employs the analysis of archival documents, images, material culture, and origin stories with the intent to recover the "lost voices" of the past. With this approach the scholar scrutinizes documents within their cultural context and analyzes images, material culture, and origin stories with the same lens.

In my current study I employed traditional archival research when I analyzed the large fur companies under investigation in the western Great Lakes and the Red River regions: the Hudson's Bay Company, the Northwest Company, and the American Fur Company. I utilized archival analysis to discover the shift in maple sugar usage, increase or decrease in demand, the flow of the product to other markets, and who consumed the sugar. In addition, I have used archival resources from fur trade companies, mainly the Hudson's Bay Company for research on Métis families and fur trade communities. Including the Red River Métis is meaningful for this

project in investigating who was involved in the production as the Métis had relatives in the Ojibwe community.[6] I also looked at documents in investigating treaties and treaty negotiations. During treaty negotiations, interpreters who spoke Ojibwe and English were hired to facilitate communication between the two sides. However, interpretations and the written versions of these discussions are not literal; they come with misunderstanding, politics, and agendas. These translations tell us more about the people translating the stories than the purpose of the story for that culture. Linguistic anthropologist Bernard Perley described in his article "Remembering Ancestral Voices," "What was being preserved had less to do with the Maliseet and more to do with the preservation of the non-aboriginal imagination."[7] While I began this project with a particular methodological mindset, I determined that I would continue to employ the ethnohistorical method from a position of decolonization. Moreover, I also employed language analysis.

The nature of language is such that it is a repository for more than words that communicate ideas. It is also a repository for community, identity, and the diversity of experiences known through the narrative created through all aspects of the language, not just its vocabulary. Is the language verb centered? Does who is speaking determine what category of verb is selected? For example, Margaret Noodin states "words can represent worldview and identity. Language can shape narrative and leave traces of that shape long after it has been

6. Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015); Laura Peers, *The Ojibwe of Western Canada, 1780-1870* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1994).

7. Bernard C. Perley, "Remembering Ancestral Voices: Emergent Vitalities and the Future of Indigenous Languages," (2013): 187, 196.

translated." Furthermore, "to pretend there is one supreme interpretation is contrary to the spirit of the language itself."[8] The Anishinaabeg words I use in my dissertation will connote the importance of its meaning to the Anishinaabeg generally differs from the Euro-American translators and recorders of processes and events in Indigenous communities.

Understanding Anishinaabemowin leads to an understanding of the Anishinaabeg worldview. Culture is reflected in language. Words for items, actions, and thoughts cannot always be expressed in another language and still contain the same cultural meanings. Sometimes there are no English words to express specific Anishinaabeg thoughts, actions, or items. Therefore, as this is a Native centered study, Anishinaabemowin will play a role. Scholars such as Cary Miller, *Ogimaag* (2010), and Anton Treuer, *Assassination of Hole in the Day* (2011) built their studies on the importance of understanding Anishinaabeg culture through an analysis of specific words in Anishinaabemowin.[9] Treuer explains, "linguistic analysis is a relevant source useful in any balanced exploration of Ojibwe history."[10] For this study, Anishinaabemowin terms such as i*skigamizigan,* z*iinzibaakwadaaboo,* and z*iinzibaakwad*, are used and analyzed to understand the importance of the product in the Anishinaabeg culture.

8. Margaret Noodin, *Bawaajimo: A Dialect of Dreams in Anishinaabe Language and Literature* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2014): 4, xvii.

9. Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Anton Treuer, *The Assassination of Hole in the Day* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2011).

10. Treuer, T*he Assassination of Hole in the Day*, xv.

Furthermore, because Anishinaabemowin is a verb-centered language, the actions of producing sugar and the relationships of the people producing it are different than in English.[11]

Anishinaabeg terms for maple production include: i*skigamizigan* is the place where sap is boiled, the sugar bush, a large stand or grove of maple sugar trees or a section of this larger grove subdivided for use by small kin groups in the manufacture of maple products. *Ziinzibaakwadaaboo* is sugar water, or sap that runs in spring and fall through capillary action. Moving from the ground up to the branches in spring, and down the trunk or the tree to the ground in fall. *Ziinzibaakwad* is the sugar produced by boiling sap to remove much of the water content and stirring the resultant mixer until crystals form. It is necessary to learn the Indigenous language of the people represented in order to better understand present day cultures and communities while writing about events of the past that still affect these communities. With knowledge of Anishinaabemowin and the ability to experience Anishinaabeg storytelling in the language, I understand the importance of language, orality, and that the past has a voice in the present.

I wanted to write about an Indigenous perspective and go beyond what I had done in my master's thesis. I wanted to "de-link" but didn't know how exactly. Language analysis aids in delinking. I considered delinking as theorized by Walter Mignolo in his article "Delinking." In Mignolo's methodology of de-linking the western scholar shifts away from western thinking.

11. Margaret Noori (Noodin), "Beshaabiiag G'gikenmaaigowag, Comets of Knowledge," in Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark eds, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World Through Stories* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013): 35-57.

The scholar's method shifts perspective to writing about an Indigenous perspective.[12] In this article Mignolo explained "with and in each language comes different concepts of economy…political . . .theories. . . and different conceptions of life." The use of the Indigenous language in my research is the key to a delinking methodology; a shift from an exclusively Western worldview replaced by an Anishinaabeg worldview that will overarch my methodology. In Mignolo's strategy of de-linking, the western scholar shifts away from Western thinking. The scholar's method shifts from writing from a post-colonial perspective to writing about an indigenous perspective.[13]

I also read Walter Mignolo and Katherine Walsh book *On Decoloniality* (2018).[14] This book helped me to understand I am not removing the colonial from my text, but I am trying to personally delink and re-link to decoloniality. My goal is to de-link from the Colonial Matrix of Power (CMP) and view a pluriversality. According to Mignolo, "a pluriverse is not a world of independent units (cultural relativism) but a world entangled through and by the colonial matrix of power . . . [and] a way of thinking and understanding that dwells in the entanglement, in the borders."[15] In writing the first draft of Chapter 2, I mistakenly thought by discussing the European groups as they entered Anishinaabewakiing and creating a place-centered narrative, I would be writing about Anishinaabeg encounters with colonial powers, but the focus became

12. Walter Mignolo, (2007) "'Delinking'", *Cultural Studies*, 21:2, (449-514): quote page 456. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09502380601162647 (accessed September 10, 2016).

13. Walter D. Mignolo, "'Delinking.'"

14. Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics and Praxis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

15. Walter Mignolo, "On Pluriversality," October 20, 2013, webpage, http://waltermignolo.com/on-pluriversality/ (accessed 06/02/2019).

Euro-centered. As I started to write the next draft of chapter 2, I had to remember to begin from the Anishinaabeg land base and perspective and then bring in the colonizers be they French, British, American, or Canadian. Anishinaabewakiing is land that for Canadians and Americans and for the international community is split between to imperial nations. I look at Anishinaabewakiing as both the single land base of the Anishinaabeg and the bifurcated land and lakes claimed by the British (and later Canadian) and American governments. I also look at how these Indigenous and western groups thought about the land and each other. In addition, I investigate how the Anishinaabeg participate in a mercantilist economy and global capitalism and maintain their culture's economy of reciprocity and gendered production of resources as they engaged in the North Atlantic trade network. Having a better understanding of the Anishinaabeg worldview via learning the language was a necessary addition to my methodology. Using this method, I write about an Ojibwe perspective, and about the place that is Anishinaabewakiing and its pluriversal composition.

The Anishinaabeg had and still have an oral tradition. Oral tradition is the use of oral stories, both sacred and non-sacred to convey information, humor, and other cultural values to members of the group and to the next generation. In cultures that have oral traditions, origin stories pass on traditions, values, and the history of the group. Origin stories can be analyzed to discover the importance of the subject of the story as well as when a food or cultural trait began to be practiced or became significant to the group. Recognizing the importance of stories in Anishinaabeg culture a narrative analysis of stories is another tool in delinking. Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark states in the introduction to *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies*, (2013)

"Story is essential to understanding what it means to be Anishinaabeg."[16] Story is vital for humans. Stories connect us to the past, they build and strengthen communities in the present, and they allow us to dream toward a future. Communication is key to maintaining the web of connection within which we live, and it is through stories the Anishinaabeg maintain the interconnected meanings, love, and support, between and among humans and other that human beings. Stark declares, "It is in the etymology and rich meanings in specific words that stories are embedded." The history and cultural significance of events, objects, and ceremonies are discovered through analysis of the language, of the words used to tell the story, and through the transmission of the story between storyteller and audience.[17]

Within Indigenous gender studies, the focus is on the intersection of race, nation, and gender. Ojibwe women had control of maple sugar production and the distribution of this item to members of their community, as well as its use as a trade item during the fur trade era under investigation. Sylvia Van Kirk's pathbreaking work, *Many Tender Ties* (1980), began the scholarship of gender analysis of the fur trade. Subsequent scholars such as Susan Sleeper-Smith and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy continued this analysis. Ojibwe women and men had gendered roles and tasks that were equal and supportive of each other such as gendered procurement of foods. In Ojibwe culture, women controlled the distribution of food and owned, gathered, and harvested foodstuffs. They distributed these items to members of their community and traded the sugar with other native groups and, eventually, fur traders. With the ability and right to trade the

16. Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Bagijige, Making an Offereing," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories,* edited by Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, Editors, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), xxi.

17. Stark, "Bagijige," Doerfler, Sinclair, and Stark, eds., *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies*, xxi.

foodstuffs they harvested, women contributed to their family and community economies. An Indigenous, gendered approach reverses the notions of Western male centric views that trade and the family economy were male dominated and instead positions Indigenous women in their rightful place as co-equals to food procurement with rights to trade items they produced. In *Holding Our World Together*, (2012) Brenda Child creates a work that affirms Ojibwe women as builders and sustainers of community. Child draws on several sources such as oral history projects for the Works Progress Administration of the 1930s, analysis of pictures to discover changes in gendered production of wild rice, fur trade records, and interviews the author conducted as part of the Ojibwe Women Oral History Project. Child asserts "for the Ojibwe, colonial violence against people and the land during the reservation and assimilation era, which began in the nineteenth century, put in jeopardy their traditional economy. This had many repercussions for Ojibwe society, and men and women began to negotiate new labor roles within their communities."[18] Brittany Luby investigates the lives of Anishinaabeg in Treaty 3 territory. Using a multi-discipline approach, her work "highlights Anishinaabe perspectives, rather than a narrative of state growth."[19]

I use these methodologies to get at memory - the ideas and understandings individuals have of events in the past. These events might be experienced by the individual alone or within a group. I asked linguistic anthropologist Bernard Perley the question in a discussion in his book on the relationship between history and memory:

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18. Brenda J. Child, *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community* (New York: Viking Press, 2012): xv.

19. Brittany Luby, ""The Department is Going Back on These Promises": An Examination of Anishinaabe and Crown Understandings of Treaty," (203-228), *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, XXX, 2 (2010): 205.

> History is constructed meaning, a story of part of a timeline - how we as historians pick out and memorialize the moments on the grid or timeline. It is the event – not the artifacts of the meaningful event that is important. How do we get at the meaning of the event? All artifacts are incomplete, a snapshot. How do historians make the past meaningful? - by a focus on the event and not the artifact.[20]

For Dr. Perley it is the event and its meaning to the multiple generations present in the now that is important. As Perley described in *Defying Maliseet Language Death,* "It is the thread of meaning that I use to conceive of the affinity between not only the successive events of individual lives but also the event between lives."[21] All artifacts are reexamined and are interpreted by the participants of the present moment. History is this reexamination and reinterpretation, and the narrative created by these acts. Memory is faulty but a history can be developed, and a truth ascertained by analyzing different manifestations of memory. This study hopes to reveal a better supported, less biased, understanding of production and use of maple sugar by Ojibwe women, and the affect these women had on the settler communities that invaded and enveloped their land during the nineteenth century.

Brian McInnis writes about blood memory in *Sounding Thunder.*[22] It is about his great great grandfather Francis Pegahmagabow. McInnes teaches that the Anishinaabeg language holds the beliefs of the culture. This is blood memory and can be found in stories, both sacred and non-sacred. McInnes spoke with his great uncle and great aunt who told stories that revealed

20. Bernard Perley, in discussion with the author, December 2015.

21. Bernard C. Perley, *Defying Maliseet Language Death: Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011): 150.

22. Brian D. McInnis, *Sounding Thunder: The Stories of Francis Pegahmagabow* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016).

Francis Pegahmagabow. Sensorial memories are when a person can go back viscerally to a certain time and a certain place. Although not physically time traveling, the body is sensorially back to that place and time through an awakening of the senses. McInnes explains, "The concept of blood memory remains important to Ojibwe people. It is what connects us to our inherent spiritual legacy when the circumstances of our lives deny us such continuity . . . Blood memory is the inspiration and instinct unique to a people: the genetic memory, if you will. Stories too, it seems, are part of this unique remembrance."[23] The reverse can also happen when senses stimulated call up personal memories. Past and present could exist in the same plane (time) not the same place necessarily. Anishinaabeg would think experience - know that the time past and present can and do exist in the same plane. Oral stories create new memories of past events in the person listening to the narrator. The narrator and listener coexist in that time of past and present along with emotions and lessons learnt by that past event, now a new memory for the listener. What of memories retained by the land or memories of events taking place in a specific place? Then through stories the past and present exist in the same place as well.

Andie Diane Palmer discusses this land memory in *Maps of Experience*.[24] Her work with the Secwememc in British Colombia explained "how various kinds of talk, situated in particular places on the landscape, and in travel between them, allow that knowledge to be carried forward, reconstituted, reflected upon, enriched, and ultimately relocated, by and for new interlocutors, in new experiences, and sometimes new places."[25] Like language, place and culture are intertwined.

23. McInnis, *Sounding Thunder*, 5.

24. Andie Diane Palmer, *Maps of Experience: The Anchoring of Land to Story in Secwepemc Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

25. Palmer, *Maps of Experience*, 3.

Scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., Hunkpapa Lakota, explains it is not so much that chronological history is recorded in oral stories but that events live in the landscape, in the stories that are told in and about places.[26]

My study looks at Anishinaabewakiing as an Indigenous multi-epistemological place that eventual became a bordered land when British and American imperial governments competed for and claimed place through European international "right of conquest," and practiced settler colonialism. Historians Jeremy Adelman and Stephan Aron define a frontier as a "meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined." Further they state: "Borderlands [are] the contested boundaries between colonial domains," and which in time became bordered lands and "borderlanders became ethnics" issues.[27]

The fur trade companies were a mercantile colonial operation, but these companies did not have control of the land they perceived as part of their base of operation. While the British Crown granted Rupert's Land to Hudson's Bay Company, they did not have juridical control over the various Indigenous communities in the region. Settler colonialism is one of the engines used by an empire to expand and gain jurisdictional control over the land. As the United States was building (increasing its land) its empire by stealing the land of Native Americans it created survey maps which were inventories and attempted to impose empire by renaming places and taking stock of the resources and land it most valued. Land use consultant J. William Trygg utilized the surveys to create appraisals of land and resources for Native nations during the

26. Vine Deloria Jr., *God is Red, A Native View of Religion* (Golden, Colorado: North American Press, 1994): 98-113.

27. Jeremy Adleman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review,* 104, no. 3 (1999): 815-816, 841.

American Land Claims Commission. Today scholars use these maps to understand resources available to western Great Lakes Nations in the nineteenth century and to re-establish Anishinaabeg territory. But Trygg's maps do not take into consideration other spaces such as teaching and ceremonial spaces in Anishinaabewakiing as these were not considered important in the original surveys, instead land was categorized for agriculture, industry, settlement, and resources. Places where sugar bushes are indicated must be thought of as women centered places.[28]

Literature Review

Kinship is important to Anishinaabeg, and the success of a fur trader's venture depended on the kin network he developed, usually through marriage. As fur trade businesses such as the American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company grew, maple sugar became a commodity traded at first locally to settler populations and then regionally to eastern cities in the Great Lakes, and found its way to Britain. Gary Anderson introduced scholars to the significance of kinship in Great Lakes Indian culture in *Kinsman of Another Kind* (1997), his study of Dakota history from1650 to 1865.[29] Subsequently Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and

28. J. William Trygg, Composite maps, compiled by J. William Trygg using land surveyors' notes from the mid-nineteenth century detail land use by Native tribes and early settlers in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. J. William Trygg, Historical Collection, Ely, Minnesota.

29. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind: Dakota White Relations in Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1997).

Heidi Bohaker traced Indigenous and fur trade communities within the Great Lakes region.[30] This study builds upon their scholarship on kinship, and identity, and settler colonialism.

While these scholars discuss the effects of settler colonialism on Great Lakes Indigenous peoples, according to Scott Berthlette, the French authorities came to rely on "back country specialists" or French runaway soldiers and missionaries and French Canadian coureur du bois and voyageurs. These specialists provided information on the territory aiding in the expansion of trade into the western Great Lakes and beyond, "driving an imperial imagination."[31] The fur trade was mercantile colonialism. Frank Tough discusses the paternalistic mercantile domination of the Hudson's Bay Company in relation to Indigenous trade.[32] This study is situated within the mercantile economy and ends as the shift to an industrial economy and settler colonialism begins.

As a foodstuff Great Lakes Native people consumed maple sugar throughout the year as a seasoning, a beverage, and in ceremonies. It was produced by Native women, and in Anishinaabeg society, owned and traded by women. Food as commodity is another important aspect of this work. Thomas Vennum's *Wild Rice and the Ojibwe People* (1988) is a detailed and

30. Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers: Indians, Metis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*; Heidi Bohaker, "Nindoodemag: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, Volume 63 (1 Jan. 2006): 23-52.

31. Scott Berthelette, "New France and the Hudson Bay Watershed: Transatlantic Networks, Backcountry Specialists, and French Imperial Projects in Post-Utrecht North America, 1713–29," *The Canadian Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (2020): 4-5.

32. Frank Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail": Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870*-1930 (Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press, 1996): 5, 209.

focused food study. Vennum's investigation of this foodstuff is an example for my work because this author includes all Anishinaabewakiing in his discussion of the socio-cultural and economic impact of maple sugar to the Ojibwe. David Usner, in *Indian, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (1992), examines the "frontier exchange" economy of the lower Mississippi Valley to 1783 and the importance of food, cross-cultural sharing, and the economy developed in frontier, multicultural environments.[33] It is a regional study of the economic relationship between three diverse groups, and while regional in nature, Usner's investigation of the economic and social interaction between diverse cultural groups informs my research. Although Usner focused on Louisiana, his study is applicable to the upper Midwest. In particular, the chapter entitled "Food Marketing and the Evolution of Regional Foodways" illuminates aspects of ethnic food exchanges between different groups. Regional foodways are the food practices within a geographic and cultural space. Ethnic identity is in part defined by dietary practices and defined in contrast to the practices of other groups in the region. Cultural groups create and exchange not just foodstuffs in these face-to-face encounters but also cultural ideas. This exchange allowed various cultures to strengthen their own cultural attitudes as well as build "intercultural relations" and "networks of exchange". These intercultural relations and networks of exchange are also seen in the investigation of upper Midwest maple sugar production and its use as a provision at trading posts and as a foodstuff to Euro-American immigrants.

George Colpitt's *Pemmican Empire* (2014) reveals the significance of pemmican, dried and pounded meat mixed with fat, as a provision in the fur trade in Western Canada, its

33. Thomas Vennum, *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1988); Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

production by the Cree and Assiniboine, and trade relations these groups developed with British traders. The study addresses food history and the transnational border between North Dakota and Manitoba that Indigenous groups crossed to participate in this market, two significant elements for my work.[34] David Nichol's *Engines of Diplomacy* (2016), is a study of the American Factory system. Nichol's explains the Enlightenment philosophy of the time supported this type of program with the belief that "free and unfettered trade between nations would refine peoples manners," that "trade was an imperial enterprise" and political domination came after the economic influence of imperial force.[35] Indigenous people influenced the trade factories at the local level by determining what activities went on in these sites and what items were traded. The factory system intended to regulate the unfair trade practices of private fur trade companies, establish friendly relationships with Indigenous tribes on the American frontier, and stop the practice of trade in liquor.[36]

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34. Vennum, Jr., *Wild Rice and the Ojibwe People*; Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy;* George Colpitts, *Pemmican Empire: Food, Trade, and the Last Bison Hunts in the North American Plains, 1780-1882* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

35. David Andrew Nichols, *The Engines of Diplomacy: Indian Trading Factories and the Negotiation of American Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Caroline, 2016): 5-6.

36. Mark Wyman, *The Wisconsin Frontier*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998): 99-120; David Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1964), 43, 50, 266, 267; "1806: Wisconsin Traders and Agent," editor's note 48, in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XIX, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1910): 311; "Fur-Trade on the Upper Lakes 1778 – 1815," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* Vol XIX, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1910): 326-332; Susan Wade, "Indigenous Women and Maple Sugar in the Upper Midwest, 1760-1848," (master's thesis, University of

In Part II of Michael Witgen's *Infinity of Nations* entitled "The New World," the scholar focuses "on the Atlantic World of settler colonies and the Native New World that formed in the interior of North America."[37] In his work, Witgen "attempts to tell the story of the parallel development and eventual convergence of . . . the Atlantic New World and the Native New World."[38] The connection of the interior with the North Atlantic trade network created opportunities for Great Lakes Indigenous people, European traders, and government officials.[39] Historian Michel Hogue also discusses, in *Metis and the Medicine Line*, "the exchange of furs between Europeans and Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes and along the shores of Hudson Bay linked Indigenous hunting practices to the expanding transatlantic market for furs."[40] More

Wisconsin - Milwaukee, 2011): 67-69, 76, 82, 84, 87-88, 92; Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy,* 81, 104; Frontier Exchange Economy: David Usner, in *Indian, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (1992), examines the importance of food, cross-cultural sharing, and the economy developed in frontier, multicultural environments. In particular, the chapter entitled "Food Marketing and the Evolution of Regional Foodways" illuminated aspects of ethnic food exchanges between different groups. Regional foodways are the food practices within a geographic and cultural space. Ethnic identity is in part defined by dietary practices and defined in contrast to the practices of other groups in the region. Cultural groups create and exchange not just foodstuffs in these face-to-face encounters but also cultural ideas.

37. Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012): 16-17.

38. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 21.

39. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 54-55.

40. Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line*, 17.

than furs were exchanged; feathers, isinglass, and maple sugar were also traded.[41] As Daniel Richter explains it was more that trade, Indigenous peoples and European imperial powers were also involved in alliances that were important for the European continent and just as important to Indigenous territorial conflicts.[42]

In his article "Fur Production as a Specialized Activity in a World System" scholar P. Nick Karbulias describes Native participation in the fur trade with the French as "incorporation into the European world-economy" through "craft specialization."[43] Karbulias maintains that Indigenous groups had a "critical part to play in this world-economy by specializing in the procurement of furs."[44] Richard White discusses the term *bon marché*, a just price or fair exchange*,* in *The Middle Ground.* After the Iroquois Wars in the early eighteenth century a glut of furs in the markets in France caused the prices of furs to go down. It was with the need to establish of a *bon marché* that Native leaders began to recognize the larger economic system in which they were involved*.* For Indian traders the decrease in goods received for their furs was seen as an indication that the French were breaking the alliance. It did strain the alliance according to White and "the idea of *bon marché* was flexible enough to encompass both a French

41. "Moose Fort Journal 1808-1810," C099 (M7011) Folder III, McCord Museum Archives (here after MMA), discusses fish, feathers; "Moose Miscellaneous Items, 1810-1870," B135/z/1, Hudson's Bay Company Archives (here after HBCA), discusses isinglass, feathers; Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*: *A Native History of Early American* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001): 177.

42. Richter, *Facing East*, 155.

43. P. Nick Kardulias, "Fur Production as a Specialized Activity in a World System: Indians in the North American Fur Trade," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,* vol. 14, no. 1 (1990): 27.

44. Kardulias, "Fur Production," 27.

profit and the Algonquian notion of a father's generosity to his children, but the room to maneuver within it remained limited." In time this *bon marché* was also set up with the British.[45]

Arthur Ray collaborated with Donald Freeman on *'Give Us Good Measure,'* a study of the relationship between Native groups and the Hudson's Bay Company. These two scholars look at the first one hundred years of the company, from the Royal Charter of 1670 to 1763. In the introduction, Ray and Freeman discuss accommodation stating their research explores the nature of the trading system – a set of institutions which developed as a compromise between the customs and norms of traditional Indian exchange and those of European market trade."[46] The made beaver "became the "common unit of account by which all European goods . . . were measured." With this unit of account, scholars Ann Carlos and Frank Lewis created a "fur price index" for their study explained in *Commerce by a Frozen Sea*. Using this fur price index, the authors then measure Native American trade habits and consumerism at the York Factory trading post as fur prices rose and fell on the European market.[47] Carlos and Lewis also investigate the role that competition between the HBC and French traders played on the price of furs and trade items. The authors conclude that competition resulted in companies bringing in items desired by Native consumers and increasing the purchasing power, or raising the price of, one made

45. White, *The Middle Ground*, 115-119, 175, 206, 266; Cary Miller, personal communication.

46. Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman. '*Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and The Hudson's Bay Company before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) xv.

47. Ann Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, *Commerce by a Frozen Sea: Native Americans and the European Fur Trade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010): 8, 51-55.

beaver.[48] This dissertation builds upon the works of gender, kinship, and fur trade communities in the Great Lakes and Red River regions and offers an economic study of foodstuffs. This study not only analyses the role Indigenous women played in producing and trading this foodstuff to the Hudson's Bay Company, but also the ties Indigenous women had to the vast Atlantic trade network.

This investigation contributes to the field of North Atlantic history. The North Atlantic is defined as that part of the ocean north of the equator.[49] From Hudson's Bay to England or from the Port of Montreal and east through the St. Lawrence to Great Britain, Indigenous women participated in the Atlantic trade network not just through the processing of furs and hides but also through their production of maple sugar. Although not as lucrative as the furs their male counterparts traded, sugar was an economic, political, and social item for Europeans that Indigenous women produced. Cis-Atlantic history is national or regional history within an Atlantic context. This work is a Cis-Atlantic history with the regional histories of the Great Lakes and Red River regions involved in the Atlantic World.[50] As historian David Armitage defines the term, "'Cis-Atlantic' history studies particular places as unique locations within an Atlantic world and seeks to define that uniqueness as the result of the interaction between local

48. Carlos and Lewis, *Commerce,* 103-105; 125-129; Carlos, Ann Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, "Trade, Consumption and the Native Economy: Lessons from York Factory, Hudson Bay," *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 61, no. 4 (Dec. 2001): 1041.

49. Collins Dictionary Online, "The North Atlantic," https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/the-north-atlantic (accessed 6/23/2020).

50. David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 17, as Armitage defines cis-Atlantic history

particularity and a wider web of connections (and comparisons)."[51] Armitage further explains that this history is more than just a place. That even in the heart of North America, Atlantic history can be of a people for instance the Ojibwe, a state for example Britain, a region like the Great Lakes, or an institution such as the Hudson's Bay Company.[52] Although the Great Lakes and Red River regions were not joined to the Atlantic shores, the items Indigenous groups produced and the items for which they traded were shipped on the North Atlantic trade route. Traveling down the St. Lawrence River or traveling around the Hudson's Bay north to York Factory, these regions were connected to the Atlantic. European and especially British objects became Indigenous material culture, redefined and refashioned to the tastes of different cultures on different continents. Items such as wool blankets became coats, gun barrels into hide scrapers and brass kettles into ornaments.[53] In turn Native products became British material culture, furs fashioned into hats and trim for coats, feathers for writing quills, and food such as fish and maple sugar adorning their tables. Geographer Donald W. Meining explains:

> The Atlantic World was the scene of a vast interaction rather than merely the transfer of Europeans onto American Shores. Instead of a European discovery of a new world, we might better consider it a sudden and harsh

51. Armitage, "Three Concepts," 23.

52. Armitage, "Three Concepts," 24.

53. Carolyn Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet, The Great Lakes Fur Trade* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982): 89, 95.

> encounter between two old worlds that transformed both and integrated them into a single New World.[54]

Both Indigenous and European players affected trans-Atlantic trade by the items they produced, the objects they purchased, and the daily interactions in small places that translated to government and corporate policies. It is this aspect of Atlantic history I use in this study. Daniel Richter, declares:

> Facing eastward, the most remarkable characteristic of the early eighteenth century becomes neither conflict nor amity but instead the degree to which Indian and Euro-American – and particularly British-American-histories moved along parallel paths in a single, ever more consolidated, transatlantic imperial world.[55]

In this dissertation, the time frame for Atlantic history begins when the Ojibwe traded furs with Indigenous middlemen for European goods and the study ends with the treaty era in the late nineteenth century.[56] This history goes deep into the continent and involves the interaction and the building of relationships from multiple cultures in trade, diplomacy, and domestic spheres. Portuguese, Basque, and English fisherman began trading with First Nations off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland in the fifteenth century. In time exploration drove Europeans, mainly French, into the heart of the continent via the St. Lawrence River. Furs not fish became the driving force

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54. D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) https://search-ebscohostcom.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=nlebk&AN=52818&site=ehost-live&scope=site. (accessed 6/25/2020): 65; Also quoted in Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005): 55.

55. Richter, *Facing East,* 151.

56. McDonnell, Michael A., "Paths Not Yet Taken, Voices Not Yet Heard: Rethinking Atlantic History." in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake eds., *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Australian National University (ANU) Press, 2005): 53-61.

in New France's economy. As the regime changed from French to British and settlement expanded, other products were traded and shipped east of Anishinaabewakiing and the Red River region. These products included feathers for quills and bedding, fish and birds for food, and maple sugar as a sweetener. Although Quebec and the New England states produced quantities of maple sugar for local consumption there was still a market for maple sugar from the Great Lakes region and beyond.

Gender

Since the 1980s, scholarship on the fur trade has focused on women as cultural mediators and producers of items for fur traders. Two studies, Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties* (1980) and Jennifer S. H. Brown's *Strangers in Blood* (1980), began the shift in studying the role Native and Métis women played in the success of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) posts.[57] Van Kirk's study traces the shifting attitudes of HBC men toward their Native families and Brown's is a comparative evaluation of HBC and North West Company (NWC) changing attitudes to Native women and the families these unions created. Also in the early 1980s, Jacqueline Peterson began the examination of fur trade communities in the Great Lakes region. This study was influential in researching fur trade communities in the Old North West. The role of Native and Métis women in the economy of the fur trade is key to the gendered analysis of my research.

Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, in *A Gathering of Rivers* (2000), continued the investigation of Native women as cultural mediators and the development of fur trade communities. She centered her work in the Great Lakes region. Susan Sleeper-Smith's *Indian Women and French Men*

57. Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

(2001), also looks at women's roles as cultural mediators and the effects of colonization on different Native groups in the Great Lakes: the Potawatomi, the Illini, and the Miami. While Sleeper-Smith highlights Native women's economic role as they increased production of corn and wheat for traders and settlers, she does not discuss the distribution of these items after trade or the impact they had on settler societies. In 2014 Murphy published *Great Lakes Creoles* (2014), a community history of Prairie du Chien in the early nineteenth century.[58] Like Sleeper-Smith, Murphy's research investigates the effect of American settlement in the Great Lakes region and the strategies mixed heritage peoples utilized to combat the effects of colonization. This scholar discusses mixed heritage peoples moving from fur trade communities to live with native relatives. Whereas Murphy ends her story by pointing out westward migration my study continues the narrative after the Ojibwe arrived in the Red River region.

These works also touch upon mixed heritage peoples or those who some scholars have also labeled metis, Metis, Creole, or mixed ancestry. Van Kirk and Brown, as mentioned above, concentrate on HBC and NWC behavior toward Native populations in British North America, Murphy and Sleeper-Smith focus on the Indigenous and fur trade communities of the Great Lakes. Published in 2010, *Gathering Places* is a collection of essays, edited by Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers, presenting scholarship on First Nations, Métis, and the fur trade on both sides of the 49th parallel. One essay in the collection, "Border Identities: Métis, Halfbreeds and Mixed Blood," by Theresa Schenck examines the politics of identity on mixed ancestry peoples on the newly formed border between the imperial forces of America and Britain. This is

58 Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*; Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles*; Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*; Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Brown, *Strangers in Blood.*

the type of cross border study addressed in this dissertation.[59] Two years later in 2012, Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny and Brenda Macdougall edited a series of papers entitled *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History*.[60] The editors, scholars of Métis and fur trade history, declare that several questions have been prominent in Métis studies and still continue to be. These questions include definitions of Métis, geography, social, economic and political behaviors, and Métis rights. The editors conclude their introduction with another spelling of Métis. In this spelling there is not accent on the e - it is Metis. They declare it is "to show that Metis people should not be considered simply as descendant as French Canadian."[61] However, the editors are allowing the other "authors to use their own terminology."[62] Some essays are "case studies of a people who made physical mobility, economic entrepreneurship, and social and cultural exchange through family the cornerstones of their identity."[63] The topics of the chapters include labels used by scholars and Métis communities, expressions of Métis identity, research on specific communities in different regions and Métis rights and legal cases.

Anishinaabeg and Great Lakes centered narratives inform this dissertation. Rebecca Kugel's, *To be the Main Leaders of Their People* (1998) and Cary Miller's *Ogimaag* (2010) are two such focused works. Both are concerned with leadership within Anishinaabeg culture but whereas Miller documents gendered ownership of harvested products, neither document how the

59. Podruchny and Peers, eds., *Gathering Places*. Theresa Schenck, "Border Identities: Métis, Halfbreds and Mixed Blood," in Podruchny and Peers, eds., *Gathering Places,* 233-248.

60. St-Onge, Podruchny, and MacDougall, eds., *Contours of a People.*

61. St-Onge, Podruchny, and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People*, 6.

62. St-Onge, Podruchny, and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People*, 6.

63. St-Onge, Podruchny, and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People*, 14.

products of Anishinaabeg labor were traded beyond the local economy. Michael Witgen's (2012) *Infinity of Nations* situates Anishinaabewakiing in a Native New World. This occurred when the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes interacted with European and French Canadians in Anishinaabewakiing and held these newcomers to Indigenous social and political protocols.[64] Michael McDonnell's *Masters of Empire* (2015) is also Native-centered. The author places his study within Anishinaabewakiing on both sides of the United States and Great Britain transnational border. McDonnell includes the fur trade in his narrative, but he does not discuss the economic distribution of Anishinaabeg produced items including foodstuff.[65] This dissertation builds upon the importance of Anishinaabeg centered narratives and argues that the influence of Indigenous women's maple sugar expanded from the local to the Atlantic.

Summary of Chapter

This dissertation builds from an analysis of the environment of Anishinaabewakiing and Ojibwe maple sugar production toward the diminishment of gendered spaces and maple sugar production due to settler colonialism and changes in land use. I lay out the chapters in a more traditional western temporal accord. After a discussion of Anishinaabewakiing and Ojibwe maple sugar production practices, the narrative continues with Ojibwe trade of maple sugar with the French, British, and American fur trade companies in Anishinaabewakiing. Chapter three mirrors chapter two in time period and scope but takes place in the Red River region. In both regions women continued to increase production as demand by both fur trade companies and

64. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations.*

65. Miller, *Ogimaag;* Rebecca Kugel, *To be the Main Leaders of their People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998); Michael McDonnell, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2015).

settlers increased. My narrative continues with a discussion of the treaty era in both Anishinaabewakiing and the Red River region and the effects of settler colonialism on the gendered space of the sugarbush.

Introduction

This study demonstrates that not only were Ojibwe men involved with European trade but that Ojibwe women were connected to the North Atlantic trade network as Hudson's Bay Company officials substituted maple sugar for cane thereby decreasing the shipping costs. Besides the thesis statement, the introduction also includes a definition of terms used in the study to clarify the narrative to the reader, an explanation of the methodologies used to analyze sources, and a literature review stating where this work fits into fur trade scholarship.

Chapter 1. Anishinaabewakiing

This chapter concerns Anishinaabewakiing, the environmental and geopolitical makeup of the land the Anishinaabeg inhabited in a pluri-versal context. The sugar bush was a gendered place for teaching production of sugar, cultural lessons, and political affairs. Ojibwe woman were in charge of the sugar bush, organized the female labor to manufacture maple products, and controlled the use of sugar. Highlighted is the cultural significance of maple sugar, that beyond trading sugar to fur traders, sugar was medicine, food, ritual item, token of love, and diplomatic gift.

Chapter 2. Trade in Anishinaabewakiing

Beginning in the late seventeenth century European traders began to live in Anishinaabewakiing as French fur traders and missionaries took up residence in or around Native villages. However, this chapter concentrates on the relationship between the Ojibwe and the British, Scottish, and American owned fur trade companies that operated in

Anishinaabewakiing during the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Several factors increased demand for maple sugar by these fur trade companies including the need for more provisions and increased settlers in the region. Ojibwe women accommodated this need by increasing production, and in some cases changing production methods to include further clarification of the sap to produce a white sugar.

Chapter 3. Maple Sugar and The Red River Settlement.

This chapter discusses the trade in the Red River region. By the 1760s, the North West Company (NWC) began sending wintering partners, men who would stay in the region over the winter months in the Red River region, to amass thicker, higher quality furs. This region would later see the development of the Red River Settlement beginning in 1811. Competition developed between the stronger NWC coalition and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in what would become the Canadian west.[66] As in Anishinaabewakiing increased demand for maple sugar by the HBC and NWC included the need for more provisions, and for the HBC, a means of decreasing the cost of shipping cane sugar from England. Ojibwe women in the Red River region, as their kin in the Great Lakes region, also increased production of maple sugar for local and regional consumption.

Chapter 4. Politics and Treaties

After treaty negotiations in the nineteenth century in the United States, cultural retention occurred, in part, because leaders of these nations in the United States negotiated for the rights to gather resources on ceded land also known as usufructuary rights. In the case of Indigenous nations in the numbered treaty regions, they had not ceded land or resources but fought against

66 Douglas A.Birk, ed., *John Sayer's Snake River Journal, 1804-1805* (Minneapolis, Institute for Minnesota Archaeology 1989); Brown, *Strangers in Blood,* 34-35.

the Canadian government's objective of land surrender. With increased American migration land used changed. In what was to become the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba, the Canadian government entered treaty negotiations with the Ojibwe in anticipation of increased Euro-Canadian settlers into the region, and the need for land to build a transcontinental railroad, while Ojibwe entered these treaties to maintain relationships and share resources without surrender of their land.[67]

Conclusion

Maple sugar, produced and traded by Ojibwe women made its way east, south, west, and north of Anishinaabewakiing as fur trade companies moved this foodstuff to fur posts and settlements. When settlers came to the Great Lakes and Red River regions, they consumed it as a substitute for cane sugar which could be more expensive, difficult to find, and for some as an alternative to slave produced sugar. By the mid-nineteenth century Ojibwe signed treaties with the United States and fought for rights to collect sugar along with other usufructuary activities. Ojibwe negotiated treaties with the Canadian government as a continuation of the relationships forged during the fur trade era. Treaty disputes between Ojibwe and both the Canadian and American governments continue to this day. Today, Ojibwe women continue to practice sugaring, passing on their knowledge, and continuing the sacred ceremonies honoring this gift.

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67 Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Respect, Responsibility, and Renewal: The Foundations of Anishinaabe Treaty Making with the United States and Canada," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 34:2 (2010): 145-164, https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/politicalscience/assets/docs/faculty/stark/AICRJ-stark.pdf (accessed 01/06/2018); Government of Canada: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, "A History of Treaty-Making in Canada," https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1314977704533/1314977734895 (accessed 01/06/2018); The Encyclopedia of Canada "Numbered Treaties," http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/numbered-treaties/ (accessed 01/06/2018).

Chapter 1 Anishinaabewakiing

Introduction

This chapter highlights the landscape or environments that make up Anishinaabewakiing, the land the Anishinaabeg inhabited. The Anishinaabeg are the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi. The chapter also features the gendered places Ojibwe women occupied in this environment. Anishinaabewakiing shifted depending on who was brought into the web of mutual obligation, the connections between humans and other-than-human beings that fosters interdependency and respect. In the process of creating maple products, Ojibwe women, *Anishinaabe'ikwewag*, worked within this web. *Anishinaabe'ikwewag* also taught this knowledge to a younger generation of *ikwezensag* or young girls, within the gendered norms of the Ojibwe culture. *Anishinaabe'ikwewag* had the right to trade and gift the items, maple and otherwise, that they produced. In early contact with the French, already established trade routes widened to include these newcomers, as long as the French adhered to trade protocols of gifting, which established kin ties and placed the individual into a web of mutual obligation. Gifting is the exchange of items in the form of objects, or food, in order to establish kin ties, important in trade relations, to strengthen kinship ties, or to maintain a leadership role as this shows generosity and concern for the well-being of the entire tribe.

I am writing about Ojibwe women before and during the fur trade era in the Great Lakes and Red River regions, their geo-spatial relationship to their environment as well as their production of a valuable cultural and economic item. I investigate the relationship to environment that shifted, expanded, and contracted, as family members, traders, and plants and animals engaged in the relationship with Ojibwe, and, specifically for this study, the relationship of Ojibwe women and maple production. I will discuss Anishinaabewakiing, the environment the

Ojibwe inhabited, in what Walter Mignolo calls a pluriversal context and highlight the cultural significance of maple sugar production and consumption to the Ojibwe – that beyond trading sugar to fur traders, sugar was medicine, food, ritual item, token of love, and diplomatic gift, and that the sugar bush was a gendered place for teaching production of sugar, cultural lessons, and political affairs.

Methodology

I use critical border thinking to delink and to discuss the mosaic of epistemologies in Anishinaabewakiing. Furthermore, thinking in a pluriversal frame helps me to delink, to consider the story I am writing with a decolonial, dewesternized perspective. According to Walter Mignolo, epistemic delinking is an outcome of practicing a critical border thinking methodology. "Critical border thinking provides one method to enact a decolonial shift . . . it is the method that connects pluriversality (different colonial histories entangled with imperial modernity) into a universal project of delinking from modern rationality and building other possible worlds."[1] This method creates an awareness of where my locus of enunciation is when I read, research, and write this story. A pluri-verse frame considers the many ways an environment is constructed by the beings inhabiting it. By considering the mosaic of epistemologies, there is no one Western, universal experience of reality.[2] For example, Indigenous group in North America construct reality and their place in the world in different ways than Westerners do. The Ojibwe believe beings, human and non-human, have agency and believe everything within the environment,

1. Mignolo, "Delinking," 449 – 514. One of Mignolo's points is for the researcher to have an awareness of where is their locus of enunciation is when they read, research, and write about their research questions.

2. Bernd Reiter, ed., *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2018).

including humans, are connected. Anthropologist's term this as "animism," but it can also be explained as *Ganawendamaw*. The Ojibwe create webs of connections and obligation with humans and other-than human beings within their environment.

A pluri-versal frame allows one to recognize this web of mutual obligation as a legitimate experience of reality. Framing ones' environment, and humanity's relation to it, creates a culture's epistemology. The Ojibwe created an epistemology that defined their environment as relationship of webs of mutual obligation.[3] The environment and geopolitical makeup of the land the Ojibwe inhabited was determined by the extent of relationships between persons human and non-human - forged in a shared environment. The relationships between the Ojibwe and other groups of Indigenous peoples expanded and contracted, thus enlarging or reducing the land base. This expansion and reduction could occur by warfare and peace negotiations with other Indigenous groups in the region, and later through treaty negotiations for land with Western Empires from Britain, the United States, and Canada.[4] It was the web of interconnectedness that determined land base, or landbody, until treaties were negotiated with those Western governments segmenting the land and resources. Environment is not just a place the Ojibwe live in, they create their environment with other than human beings and tell stories to remember the sacred, understand their responsibilities to the web of obligation, and to find their way to places within their environment.[5]

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3. Heidi. "Nindoodemag," 23-52; Miller, *Ogimaag*, 28-29.

4. Donald L. Fixico, "The Alliance of the Three Fires in Trade and War, 1630-1812," *Michigan Historical Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, American Indians (Fall, 1994): 19; Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 32-33.

5. Melissa K. Nelson, "The Hydromythology of the Anishinaabeg: Will Mishipizhu Survive Climate Change, or Is He Creating It?" in editors Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark,

In the eighteenth century, Western cultures created an epistemology that defined Western men as the height of achievement; non-Western beings as non-human; and resources to be used, controlled, and owned. As there are multiple ways of viewing environment based on one's culture, I will be discussing the "mosaic of epistemologies" that occurred in Anishinaabewakiing.[6] Historian Richard White in *The Middle Ground*, (1991) discusses mutual misunderstandings between the Algonquin groups and the French in the Great Lakes region. These mutual misunderstandings occurred because there were multiple epistemologies engaged in Anishinaabewakiing. The Ojibwe, the French, and in time the British and Euro-Canadians, and the Americans all had their own understandings of environment and landscape.[7] For the Ojibwe it was a mutual web of obligation; for the French it was about forming alliances and obtaining money for the Royal coffers through trade and creating empire. For the British, Euro-Canadians, and Americans, it was about creating empire, and controlling resources.

The Ojibwe also see the totality of the environment they live in as the connections they establish between members of their own nation and other than human beings with whom they share an environment. Other than human beings are all other beings in the cosmos: plants, animals, the sun, spirit beings.[8] Therefore, Anishinaabewakiing is not only a land base, but also the web of mutual obligation the Ojibwe create within this land base, the environment or

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Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding The World Through Stories (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013): 213-233.

6. Reiter, ed., *Constructing the Pluriverse*, 2, 11.

7. White, *The Middle Ground.*

8. Cary Miller, "Dreams, Prophets, and Cultural Evolution," in Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013): 121.

landbody. It is about the life lived on the land, the connections between and among humans, animals, plants, other that human forces.[1] This relationship began when the Ojibwe entered the landscape with their language and therefore their culture. During the period I am examining, 1670-1870, Anishinaabewakiing was the totality of the Great Lakes watershed where groups found food growing on the water and stopped along the westward Great Migration in approximately the late 1300s.[1] Ojibwe history relates that many hundreds of years ago seven prophets told the Ojibwe, who at the time lived on the northeastern coast of Turtle Island, to migrate west to where the food lives on the water, or wild rice. Along the migration route, some smaller groups split off from the main procession as they found wild rice. Many felt that it was necessary to migrate further west and continued their search for the prophesied land. In time the main body of people who would eventually call themselves the Ojibwe, settled in the western or upper Great Lakes region (along the north and south coasts of Lakes Superior, and Huron and along the eastern and western shores of Lake Michigan.)[9] The people developed relationships with the land and all who dwelt within, above, and on top of the land, as they continue to do today. They retained many cultural customs but as with all dynamic cultures, practices change over time, especially if a group has migrated to a new region with a different environment and new food, landscapes, and weather patterns. This is especially true of the Ojibwe who have adaptation and change as an intrinsic part of their cultural norms.[10]

The Anishinaabeg consist of three Algonquin speaking groups: Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi. They formed an alliance of beneficial relationships pre-contact, and each nation had

9. Eddie Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 2010, First University of Minnesota Press Edition): 95-103.

10. Miller, *Ogimaag,* 31.

a different role to play in this alliance, to the mutual welfare of all. All three have a similar language and cultural practices but there is "separate tribal identity."[11] Each nation lived in close proximity to each other in the upper Great Lakes region of Anishinaabewakiing. The Anishinaabeg are a people rich in networks of mutual obligation. This mutual obligation is created through a person's kinship network and in establishing kin ties with outsiders.[12] The Ojibwe culture teaches respect for the web of obligation with beings, human and other than human, who are intertwined in relationships of balance in North America, this place the Ojibwe called Turtle Island.

Anishinaabewakiing and Environment

The Ojibwe view land and time differently than Western culture does. Time is circular, past, present, and future can exist in one place. Land is experienced differently and finding one's way around the environment is aided by stories told about events and people associated with that place. In *Maps of Experience* (2005) anthropologist Andie Diane Palmer explains: "how spaces become places through human action on the landscape, and how people come to know the land through personal experience."[13] This is also what Keith Basso relates in *Wisdom Sits in Places*. (1996)[14] Tim Ingold, in, *The Perception of the Environment* (2000), explains a different way to look at place. It is not about a bounded place, but how places become environments through personal experience and how human beings wayfind through regions by storytelling these

11. Fixico, "The Alliance of the Three Fires in Trade and War, 1630-1812."

12. Bohaker, "Nindoodemag: 23-52; Miller, *Ogimaag*, 29, 32, 38-39.

13. Palmer, *Maps of Experience*, 159.

14. Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

experiences. These key concepts of landscape, region, and environment for animistic hunter/gatherers, as Ingold surmises, are based on the ethnographic research of other anthropologists. Persons live in an environment that is in the past/present/future because it is never complete and always changing. Groups that practice seasonal migration view a region as a series of relationships and obligations through time, and that landscape is about time past and present contained in the stories told about them.[15] Wayfinding through the landscape is a series of vistas/places that a person moves through based on the stories he knows about these places. According to Ingold:

> In ordinary wayfinding, by contrast, every place holds within it memories of previous arrivals and departures, as well as expectation of how one may reach it, or reach other places from it … Thus do places enfold the passage of time they are neither of the past, present or future but all three rolled into one.[16]

Stories are pivotal to the Ojibwe. Stories pass on ways of behaving, information about why animals look the way they do. Stories create a blueprint for understanding a place and its significance for food, medicine, ceremonies, and the sacred, and how to navigate from place to place – or through the environment.

In *An Infinity of Nations* (2012), historian Michael Witgen also discusses Anishinaabewakiing as a "landscape of relationships."[17] This definition stresses the Ojibwe relationship to and confederation with the Odawa and Potawatomi, the relationships with the French and British traders. Later, Euro-American and British settlers confiscated much of the

15. Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (New York: Routledge, 2000): 20, 193.

16. Ingold, *The Perceptions*, 219, 237-238.

17. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 279.

Ojibwe homeland through processes within the colonial matrix of power including mapping, colonization, resource extraction, and treaties. Much of the land base was seized, sometimes through internationally recognized treaty processes. Presently while the Ojibwe still consider this land base as Anishinaabewakiing much of it is still internationally recognized as American and Canadian land within American and British-Canadian empires. Therefore, the land is bifurcated by two imperial forces, but is still considered one land of relations to the Ojibwe, relationships with human and other than human begins.

In the 1970s, J. William Trygg created composite maps of the American side of the Great Lakes and upper Midwest. Trygg was working for Native Nations petitioning the Indian Claims Commission, established by the Indian Claims Act of 1946.[18] One of the outcomes of Trygg's mapping project was the superimposition of Ojibwe environment over the cartography of the United State empire. Early officials and land speculators in the United States and Canada imagined that Ojibwe environment had become another piece of their respective empires through the act of mapping. It was only when settlers invaded native landscapes and imposed their own cultural concepts that it became a part of the United States and Canada. Trygg, in part using maps, as well as descriptions of the places by land surveyors, set out to detail how the United States monetarily cheated the Ojibwe. To that end, Trygg's maps shows regions where Indigenous groups had lived when American settlers first arrived, but also showed resources.

18. J. William Trygg: An Inventory of His Papers at the Minnesota Historical Society Manuscripts Collection," *Minnesota Historical Society*, http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00624.xml (accessed 06/02/2019); National Indian Law Library, "Research Guides, Indian Claims Commission Material," https://www.narf.org/nill/resources/icc.html (accessed 06/02/2019); J. William Trygg Composite Maps, American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Those resources can be used to show where other Native activities occurred such as wild ricing, and maple sugar production. Today non-Indigenous scholars should be working with Indigenous communities to look beyond the western monetary value of the resources and think Indigenously of place and cultural landscape as environment.

I will not be attempting to discuss the totality of Anishinaabewakiing of the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century in my dissertation. I will instead be concentrating on a section of Anishinaabewakiing to create my narrative of the relationships that were fostered between the Ojibwe and European others: French, British, American, and Canadian fur traders, settlers, and missionaries. However, I do not consider it as breaking off a section of Anishinaabewakiing to frame my narrative. I do not want, as Ingold remarks, to suppress "both the movements of people as they come and go between places."[19] One purpose for my research is to write from a decolonial perspective as it relates to the whole of Anishinaabewakiing and to the Ojibwe during the fur trade era. To acknowledge settler colonialism and its effects on scholarship and work to change Western hegemonic epistemology is a key to practice pluriversality. Many other stories need to be told about the lives of Indigenous women regarding more than settler colonialism and its affect upon their lives. The other purpose of my dissertation is to uncover the importance of Ojibwe women's maple sugar production during this time.

Maple Sugar

As discussed earlier, stories are valuable components in Ojibwe culture. *Dibaajimowinan* are one type of story in Ojibwe culture. These stories are more about news, and wayfinding through the environment, they are not considered sacred stories. *Aadizookaanag* are sacred stories and are important devices that impart meaning and pass on knowledge. One such story

19. Ingold, *The Perspectives*, 234.

concerns maple sugar. The Ojibwe *aadizookaan* for maple sugar involves a cultural hero and trickster, Wenebojo, who teaches the Ojibwe about being human and living in the world within the web of obligation. The story highlights the connection between Wenebojo and the Ojibwe and how Wenebojo has created a situation that further strengthens relationships among the Ojibwe. The story also demonstrates the importance of this foodstuff in Ojibwe culture. Maple sugar was not to be taken for granted; it was to be respected with offerings of tobacco and honored in the feast of first fruits.[20]

> One day Wenebojo was standing under a maple tree, and all of a sudden it began to rain thick maple syrup right on top of him. So Wenebojo got a birchbark cup and held it out until it was full. Then he said to himself. "Hmmm, I think this is too easy." So he threw the syrup away and added a lot of water to the sap that flowed through the trees. In order for the Ojibwe to get syrup, they would have to work for a little harder. He decided that first, the Ojibwe would have to give a feast, and offer tobacco. Next the people would put out some birch bark trays that the women had made, as many as they wanted filled, and an elder would speak to the Great Spirit. The Ojibwe women would have to tap the trees and collect a great amount of sap before they would have to boil and boil this sap. Then they would have syrup and if they wanted sugar they would have to boil it some.[21]

By making the process more complicated, more physically difficult, Wenebojo created a situation whereby the Ojibwe could deepen relationships in the web and also whereby the

20. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, eds., "Eko-niizh Bagijigan: Stories as Relationships," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understating the World Through Stories*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013): 59-60.

21. Victor Barnouw, *Wisconsin Chippewa Myths & Tales: and Their Relation to Chippewa Life,* collected by Robert Ritzenthaler at Court Oreilles I, 1942, Narrator: John Mink, Interpreter: Prosper Guibord (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 90-91; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 15.

Ojibwe would not take maple sugar for granted. "It was a labor-intensive activity that reinforced interpersonal connections and strengthened social ties."[22]

In *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, Helen Hornbeck Tanner explains the various subsistence patterns practiced by Indigenous groups around the Great Lakes region on the northern and southern shores. The four patterns included hunting big game such as buffalo, moose, and deer; harvesting wild rice; spearing sturgeon; and corn agriculture. Among these patterns included the harvesting of fruits, nuts, small game and maple sugar.[23] (See Map 2.) Maple trees grow in a large region of North America, but only certain regions produce the right environmental conditions to produce enough sap to create maple products such as sugar and syrup. Furthermore, the Great Lakes region has microclimates along the southern shores of Lake Superior and the northwestern shores of Lake Michigan that made agriculture possible with 140 to 160 growing days as opposed to the 90 to 100 days inland.[24] Native Elders, and in particular,

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22. Frances Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants for Food, Medicine and Crafts* (New York: Dover Publications, 1974): 313; Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1992): 52-53; Walter James Hoffman, *The Menomini Indians* (1896; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970): 290. Google Books: http://books.google.com/ (accessed 02/02/2010); Robert H. Keller, "America's Native Sweet: Chippewa Treaties and the Right to Harvest Maple Sugar," *American Indian Quarterly,* 13, no. 2 (Spring, 1989): 122-123; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 15.

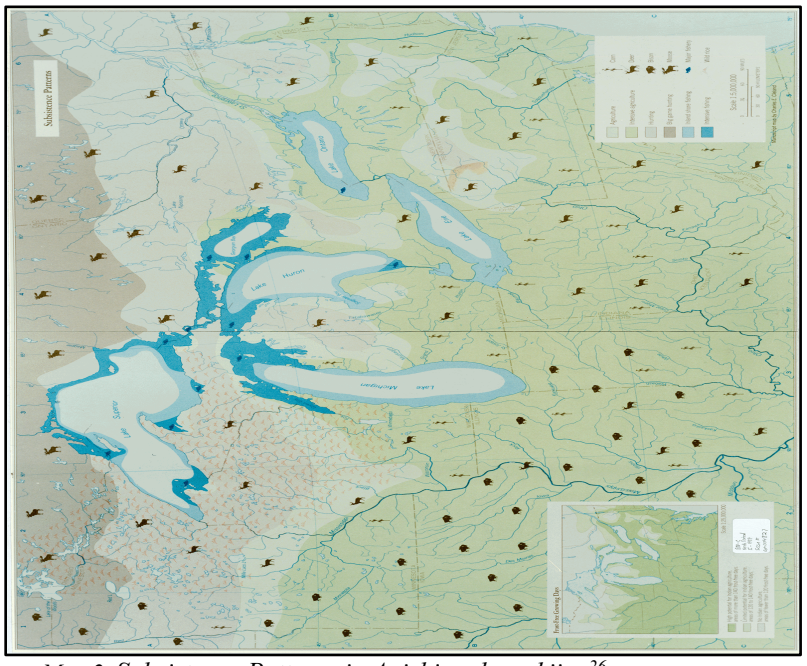
23. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

24. White, *The Middle Ground,* 43; Michigan State University, Department of Geography "Growing Season," http://geo.msu.edu/extra/geogmich/growseason&frost.html (accessed 06/18/2019); Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, "Length of Growing Season in Ontario," http://www.agr.gc.ca/eng/science-and-innovation/agricultural-practices/climate-change-and-agriculture/future-outlook/climate-change-scenarios/length-of-growing-season-in-ontario/?id=1363033977515 (accessed 06/18/2019).

Native women of the upper Great Lakes region were experts in understanding the sugar bush and maximizing the production of items made from maple sap. After generations of careful observation of the sugar maple tree, Ojibwe maintained healthy sugar bushes, or groves, by understanding the biology of the maple tree. Within Anishinaabewakiing, men and women maintained *Ziinzibaakwadaaboo ininaatig* or sugar bushes division of labor through gender and age. Elders were experts in weather and in determining when the flow of sap began each year. Women were experts in tapping, production of various maple items used in a variety of manner such as culinary, medicine, ceremony, and political and economic and taught young girls the techniques. Men would prepare the cooking bough for holding the pots of syrup, prepared some of the wood needed to keep the syrup boiling and fished and taught boys to fish when the rivers and lakes melted.

In seasonal subsistence, groups move to various places within their environment to hunt, fish, farm, harvest, collect, and process foods that are abundant during different times of the year. The Ojibwe practice seasonal subsistence and split into smaller family units in the winter, larger family groups in the spring, and villages in the summer. The harvesting cycle began in spring. Besides maple sugar, harvested by women, men fished for the first of the new year. In the early summer, women planted corn, beans, and squash in areas that had the proper growing season. Also, during the summer, women collected berries, nuts, and herbs. In the autumn, wild rice was harvested and throughout the year women trapped small game and fished. Men hunted and fished

throughout the year and aided women in preparing fields for planting and in the maple bush and wild rice beds.[25]



Map 2. Subsistence Patterns in Anishinaabewakiing[26]

25. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants;* Densmore, "Chippewa Customs" Bulletin 86, edited by Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929; Maude Kegg, *Gabekanaansing/At the End of the Trail: Memories of Chippewa* Childhood *in Minnesota with Text in Ojibwe and English,* John Nichols, ed. (Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1978, authorized reprint number 4 Linguistics Series, Occasional Publications in Anthropology, Musuem of Anthropology, University of Northern Colorado); Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life;* Huron H. Smith, "Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe" Indians," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee,* 4, no. 3 (1932); Vennum, *Wild Rice*; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 15, 16; Hudson's Bay Company journals, HBCA. For example, Big Point House Post Journal 1815-1816, B.122/a/1, Reel 1M74, October 7, 1815; Manitoba District Post Journal, 1818-1819, April 6, 1819, B. 122/a/2, Reel 1M74; Miller, *Ogimaag*, 47-48; Child, *Holding Our World Together,* 38-40.

26. Oriented as East. For North orientation see APPENDIX. Source: Charles E. Cleland map "Subsistence Patterns," from: Editor Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, pp, 20-21, http://www.greatlakesmaps.org/mobile/mmmh/24/description/index.html (accessed May 26, 2019)

To maintain maple sugar groves or *iskigamizigan*, to understand sap collection, and to maximize production, it is important to understand the biology of the sugar maple tree. *Ininaatig* or *Acer saccharum* (the sugar maple tree) grew in North America, in a specific region that maintained particular conditions. (See Map 3.) Both soil and climate limit the growing region and distribution of the sugar maple and its ability to produce sap. Although map 2 indicates a large growing range for sugar maple the ability of the trees to produce sap is specific to climate and weather conditions. Climate and geographic conditions have changed to some degree over the last two hundred years, but the sugar maple range has shifted only slightly. While today the range of maple distribution is similar to the nineteenth century, contemporary distribution, the number of *ininaatig* has declined. This decline was a result of colonialism: change in land uses, settlement, clearing the land for agriculture, and clear-cutting trees for the lumber industry.

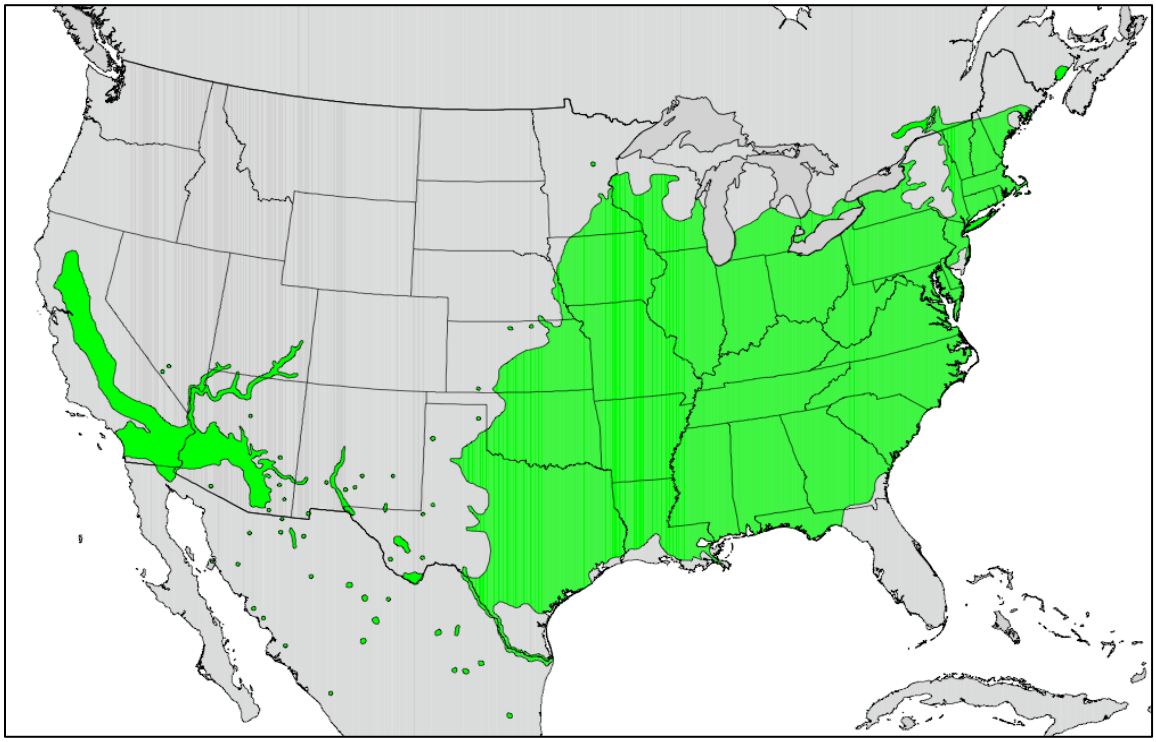
Before the early nineteenth century, the sugar groves in the western Great Lakes had not seen the effects of resource extraction from settlement, industrial agriculture, or the lumber industry. Not all *ininaatig*, however abundant, are available to be tapped. A maple tree considered healthy and mature for sap extraction should be at least forty years old. Both the root system and canopy should be large and extensive. The root system takes in water and the "crude" sap that is formed in the root system over the cold months.[27] A wide canopy exposed to the

27. Laura Peers and Theresa Schenck, eds., *Nelson, My First Years in the Fur Trade, The Journal of 1802-1804* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 2002): 153; Tanner, *Atlas*, 19-23; George Irving Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods: The Archaeology of the Historic Period in the Western Great Lakes Region* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970):173-175; David R. M. Beck, "Return to Namä' o Uskíwämît: The Importance of Sturgeon in Menominee Indian History," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 79, no. 1 (Autumn, 1995): 32-48; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 23.

sunlight, produces photosynthesis and the tree can receive carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. This promotes the health of the tree. At forty years, a healthy *ininaatig* will have a large, long trunk capable of storing sap in the sapwood layer. Each year within the tree, a complex chemical reaction and enzymes produce the sugar and moved it from the roots to the sapwood. The amount of snowfall during the winter also affects the quality and quantity of maple sugar. If there is minimal snow at the beginning of winter the ground will freeze to a greater depth. However, "if the snow accumulates later in the winter, conditions exist for maple trees to produce a sweeter sap, in a larger quantity, than in years when these environmental factors" do not occur.[28] The correct temperature is needed to help with the sugar development then as the temperatures fluctuate in the late winter or early spring the sap moves up the root system and into the sapwood layer. If the sapwood is kept at 40 degrees Fahrenheit or colder then starch remains in the sapwood cells; however, if the temperature rises above 40 degrees Fahrenheit, the

28. Robert A. Gregory, "Release of Sap Sugar, and Control of Sap Pressure," in *Sugar Maple Research: Sap Production, Processing, and Marketing of Maple Syrup,* General Technical Report NE-72, (United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, 1982): 1, 2, 4; Russel S. Walters and Harry W. Yawney, "Sugar Maple Tapholes" in *Sugar Maple Research: Sap Production, Processing, and Marketing of Maple Syrup,* General Technical Report NE-72, (United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, 1982): 8-9; Cornell Sugar Maple Research and Extension Program. http://maple.dnr.cornell.edu/FAQ.htm (accessed 03/20/2011); Wade, "Indigenous Women," 25.

starch is turned into sugar and flows through the sapwood. It is only during this small window of opportunity that maple sugar production can take place.[29]



Map 3. Natural Growing Range of the Sugar Maple Tree[30]

Sap begins to flow once temperatures reach that critical stage of above freezing in the day and below freezing at night. In the Great Lakes region in late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth

29. J. B. Spencer, "The Maple Sugar Industry in Canada*" Bulletin No. 2B* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1913): 15-16; Gregory, "Release of Sap Sugar,"; Bud Blumstock, "How to Tap Maple Trees and Make Maple Syrup," *Bulletin #7036* (The University of Maine Cooperative Extension, 1991), 2001 edition revised by Kathy Hopkins, 1 www.umext.maine.edu/onlinepubs/pdfpubs/7036.pdf (accessed 03/20/2011); Wade, "Indigenous Women," 25.

30. Source: Elbert L. Little, Jr., et al of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service. http://esp.cr.usgs.gov/data/atlas/little/.

century, this typically occurred in late February or early April.[31] When Ojibwe women pierced or tapped an *ininaatig*, sap flowed from the "severed vessels bordering the tap hole," to the outside. The women would know if the tree was healthy by the wood shavings from the tap hole. The lighter the color the healthier the sapwood. *Anishinaabe'ikwewag* would also know how many taps each tree could maintain. The number of tap holes each tree can support depends on the size of the tree trunk. A sugar maple that is less than ten inches in diameter should not be tapped. Typically, it takes forty years for a maple tree to reach at least ten inches in diameter. An additional tap can be inserted for each additional five inches of diameter. "For example, a tree that is between fifteen and twenty inches in diameter can support two taps."[32] A mature tree may be tapped each spring for as long as in remains healthy. "According to ethnographer Francis Densmore, an average sugar bush yielded up to 900 taps. Assuming an average of two taps per tree, each sugar bush had approximately 450 viable trees for tapping."[33]

Women gained experience tapping by first observing older tappers. Women elders knew how many taps to place on one tree, the correct angle to place the tap so the sap would flow

31. Sault Ste Marie, Post Journal 1824-25, March 3, 1825, B.194/a/1, Reel 1M131, HBCA; Sault Ste Marie Post Journals 1834-1835, B.194/a/8, March 28, 1835, Reel 1M131, HBCA.

32. Gregory, "Release of Sap Sugar," 1, 2, 4; Walters and Yawney, "Sugar Maple Tapholes," 8-9; Anni L. Davenport and Lewis J. Staats, "Maple Syrup Production for the Beginner," Penn State College of Agricultural Sciences Cooperative Extension (1998): 2 maplesyrup.cas.psu.edu/pdfs/maple_syrup_production.pdf (accessed 03/20/2011); Wade, "Indigenous Women," 25.

33. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants,* 309, 311; Smith, "Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe," 395; Hoffman, *The Menomini,* 288-289; Helen Nearing and Scott Nearing, *The Maple Sugar Book: Together with Remarks on Pioneering as a Way of Life* (Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 1950): 148-149; J. Edward Foster, 1835-1841, Ayer Manuscript Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 26.

down into the collection container. “Women experienced at tapping could put in, on average, 300 taps in ten hours, by placing one spile every two minutes.” For an average sugar bush of 900 taps, it would take three or four days to complete the tapping if done by one experienced woman tapper. “As some women tapped, other women in camp constructed and placed the collection containers below the spiles or maintained other elements of the sugar camp.”[34]

Once the sap is collected in sufficient quantity, it is boiled until the water content is reduced creating a thickened syrup. From this syrup other products can be made including maple vinegar, maple gum, and maple sugar. To produce granulated sugar, further boiling is required until the point of granulation or “sugaring off.” During the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Ojibwe women strained the thick syrup from impurities before sugaring off. A variety of materials were used for straining such as basswood, woven mats and trade goods such as white blankets. The strained thickened syrup was placed in a clean kettle and allowed to boil slowly until sugar granules started to form. “Once this stage was reached, Ojibwe women poured the mixture into a basswood trough and stirred until the substance was completely granulated.”[35]

Ojibwe knew these processes through native science also called Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). Native science includes more than what foods create nutritional balance, what plants have medicinal properties, the movement of stars, the behavior of animals; it is an

34. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants,* 309, 311; Smith, “Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe,” 395; Hoffman, *The Menomini,* 288-289; Nearing and Nearing, *The Maple Sugar Book*, 148-149; Wade, “Indigenous Women,” 26.

35. Densmore, How Indians Use Wild Plants, 311- 312; Kegg, Gabekanaansing, 10-12; Hoffman, The Menomini, 289-290; Smith, “Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe,” 395-396; Johann Georg Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway*, Trans. Lascelles Wraxall (1860; repr., St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1985): 323-324; Wade, “Indigenous Women,” 27.

epistemology of living within this world. In *Native Science* (2000), Gregory Cajete explains, "Native science is based on the perception gained from using the entire body of our senses in direct participation with the natural world . . . and is born of a lived and storied participation with the natural landscape."[36]

Gendered Food Production

The Ojibwe practiced gendered division of food production throughout the year. In Ojibwe culture, activities that required killing and the spilling of blood, such as hunting, were considered male tasks. The Ojibwe thought of the earth as female.[37] Therefore, "items that came from the earth such as fruit, birch bark, and lead were within the female realm. Female activities included, harvesting agricultural crops and wild rice, berries, nuts, and maple sap. Women organized labor and gathered and produced these resources in the Indigenous seasonal round of subsistence in the upper Great Lakes."[38]

In spring, maple sugar production was a family activity with gender-defined labor and took place in a women centered place. The ethnographic record from the early twentieth century, concerning maple sugar production, reflects the continued gendered division of labor seen in Anishinaabewakiing.[39] Work parties, comprised of women and children, completed the labor-intensive activities of maple sugar making. In addition to the gendered division of labor within the camp, there was also a gendered division during this time of the seasonal round of

36. Gregory Cajete, *Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Books, 2000): 2, 3, 4.

37 Child, *Holding Our World Together*, xiv.

38. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants*; Densmore,"Chippewa Customs,"; Kegg, *Gabekanaansing*; Hilger, *Chippewa Child*; Smith, "Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe," 327-525; Vennum, *Wild Rice*; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 15.

39. For example, Francis Densmore in "Chippewa Customs," 121-122.

subsistence, as men would fish and hunt for other food supplies during this season. While much of the activities surrounding the manufacture of maple products revolved around women, a few aspects involved men. These were heavier activities, such as building the beam or arch that supported the metal boiling pots of syrup and the carving and repairing of the large basswood troughs used in stirring the granulated syrup into sugar. The men also, on occasion, stirred the maple sugar during the last stages of granulation. The amount of work that men performed in the sugar camps depended on a number of factors such as the timing of the fish runs during spring thaw, the amount of sugar produced, and the needs of the group. Women continued to control the production and management of the sugar bush as men assisted them.[40] Women traded their products long before the French arrived. Trade with other Indigenous groups in the region built and strengthened relationships and secured a wider variety of foodstuffs. Anthropologist Bruce Trigger discusses these trade routes in *Children of the Aethensic*. Trade routes already existed between Indigenous groups; those that adjoined and those that were farther along a waterway. The Huron used established trade relations with the Nipissing and Odawa to trade furs and European goods. The Odawa used existing trade routes but also attempted to establish new ones

40. Elizabeth Baird, "Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island by Elizabeth Thèrése Baird," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XIV, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1898), 28; Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," 119-123; Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants*, 309-311; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Historical and statistica*l i*nformation respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States,* vol. II (Lippincott, Grambo & Company (successors to Grigg, Elliot & Co.), Philadelphia, 1851-1857)*;* Wade," Indigenous Women," 27-28.

with the Ho-Chunk and misunderstandings occurred which resulted in bloodshed.[41] Historian Cary Miller also discusses pre-fur trade era use of maple sugar as gifts given for diplomacy with other communities. The alliance created between the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi involved gifting to maintain diplomatic ties. These gifts included maple sugar as well as other staples mainly produced by women.[42]

Gendered Place

A gendered place is one where a particular gender not only organizes and manages the place, but also where it is occupied mainly by that gender. The managing gender teaches, partakes of spiritual and ritual practices, and creates in that place. Sometimes the other gender was found within that place, but the place is regarded as gendered to the managing one, such as women in the maple bush. Specific women-centered places for *Anishinaabe'ikwewag* would include menstruation or isolation lodges and birthing places. Co-gendered spaces included villages, lodges, and some ceremonial and ritual places. Food production places were for much of the time women centered places, for example, maple sugar camps, agricultural fields, and wild rice stands. For *Anishinaabe'ininiwag* or Ojibwe men, gendered places would include ritual places such as for a young man's first hunt, some hunting camps, and spearfishing.[43]

This women-centered place can be seen in Seth Eastman's landscape, *Indian Sugar Camp*. Eastman created this painting in the 1850s for the US federal government study, *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospect of the Indian Tribes of the United*

41. Bruce Trigger, *Children of the Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Carleton Library Series), (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987): 351-358.

42. Miller, *Ogimaag*, 46 and 47.

43. Hilger, *Chippewa Chile Life,* 42, 120, 170

States, (*see* ***Error! Reference source not found.***) and while this was created by a nineteenth century white male, there is much that can be gleaned about maple sugar production by Indigenous women. The image illustrates the maple camp as a women-centered place. Women dominate the scene: collecting sap, chopping wood, and tending the kettles of syrup suspended over the fire. Although a white male American composed, a more complete account of maple camps is ascertained if Eastman's watercolor is analyzed with oral histories and ethnographic account from contemporary and late nineteenth century sources. Along with the women driven activities, the picture also reveals the material culture associated with maple production.

Anishinaabe'ikwewag produced all the equipment needed to collect sap including collection baskets, the spiles, the ladles, and containers. A spile, or collection spout, is inserted into the pierced tree. The spile (*negwaakwaan*) could be made out of birch bark, sumac or any small branch with a pith center.[44] Collection baskets (*biskitenaagan*), ladles (*emikwaan*), and containers (*makak*) for storage were made from birch bark (w*iigwaas*). Birch bark has preservative properties found within the bark and this helped food in storage last longer. *Ziinzibaakwadaaboo*; *Ziinzibaakwad* is sugar and *waboo* is water, *Ziinzibaakwadaaboo-makak* is a birch bark container for storing the processed maple sugar. The image contains items created

44. For further discussions on women and organized work see Patricia Buffalohead, "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women," in *The American Indian, 3rd ed.* Ed. Roger L. Nichols (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986): 28-38; Rebecca Kugel, "Leadership within the Women's Community: Susie Bonga Wright of the Leach Lake Ojibwe," in *Midwestern Women Work, Community, and Leadership at the Crossroads*, edited by Lucy Eldersveld Murphy and Wendy Hamand Venet (Bloomington: Indiana University PRess, 1997): 166-200.Densmore, *How Indians use Wild Plants*, 311. Densmore noted that the Ojibwe band she studied in the 1930s used elm branches.

by women included wigwams, and *makaks* for storage, the cooking arbor – a male created item - and trade goods such as kettles, and axes.[45]

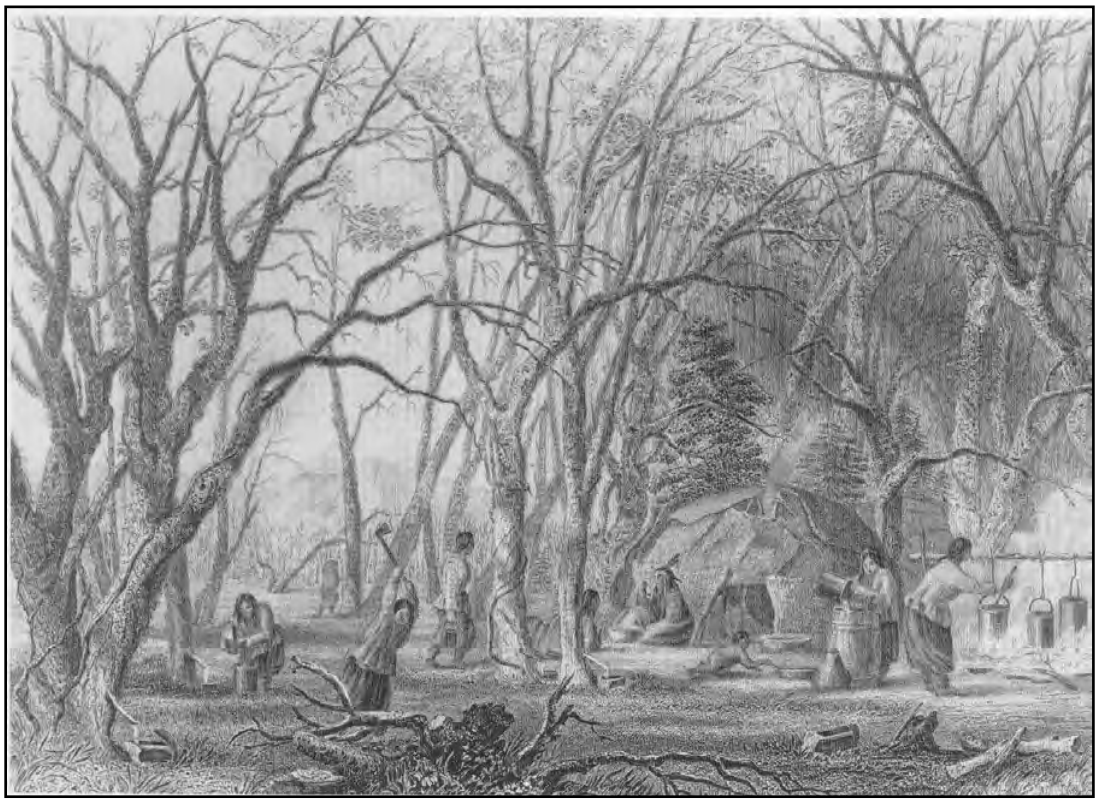


Figure 1. Seth Eastman, Indian Sugar Camp. [46]

In the maple sugar camps of Anishinaabewakiing, Ojibwe women repair and set up the camp, they organize the labor and create maple products, and they instruct younger generations on not only how to produce maple items, but also on how to become political and economic members of their culture by discussing issues of importance in these camps.[47] In other

45. Ojibwe People's Dictionary, http://Ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/

46. Original from Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Historical and statistical information respecting the history condition, and Prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States, Vol. I-VI, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851-1857): Vol. 2, p. 58. Library of Congress, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c15628 (accessed 06/17/2019).

47. Miller, *Ogimaag*, 66-70; Child, *Holding Our World*, 25.

environments within Anishinaabewakiing, it is men who organize, produce, and instruct. For example, a Hudson's Bay Company 1830s fur trade journal describes men going to hunt camp, and women to sugar bush at different times of the year. But also, there is mention of men going to help for a short time at the sugar bush.[48] While there was gender specific food procurement within a "taskscape," as defined earlier, there was also mutual support between men and women. At the sugar bush men aided women. Men would make the sturdy cooking bough and set it up in anticipation of the syrup that would be boiled over the fires. They would stir large quantities of syrup into granulated sugar and might also chop wood if needed.[49]

The discussion above indicates that during the fur trade era under investigation, the Ojibwe practiced gendered food procurement. Women were in charge of items that came from the ground, grew, or could be obtained without bloodshed. Agricultural products such as corn, beans, and squash, as well as lead, items harvested such as wild rice, nuts, and berries, items produced such as maple sugar, and small game that was snared or fish caught in nets were all the preview of women. At the HBC La Cloche Post, in the 1820s, there is mention of women snaring rabbits, small game not killed by bloodshed, but in snares.[50] It is safe to extrapolate that the women traded any surplus snared small game to traders as they did their surplus sugar, wild rice and dried berries.

Women oversaw maple sugar camps, and the female environment of the sugar camp fostered skills such as social leadership and created an environment for young girls to develop

48. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, April 2, 1836, B. 109/a/9, Reel 1M70, HBCA.

49. Child, *Holding Our World Together,* 46; Ingold, *The Perceptions*, "taskscape," 154, Wade, "Indigenous Women,".

50. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, February 12, 1836, B. 109/a/9, Reel 1M70, HBCA.

the ability to produce food and clothing. In Ojibwe society, it is the responsibility of elders, grandparents or *Gichi-aya'aa*, to teach children aspects of culture. *Gichi-aya'aa*- Gichi great or very, ayaa is a being verb.[51] "Elders are respected in upper Midwest Native cultures as women and men who have attained an age of maturity, have lived a productive life, have knowledge of cultural traditions, and their longevity is an example that they are favored by the spirits."[52] This is accomplished through oral traditions, through watching tasks being done, and then through the action of doing these tasks or applied training. "By living through all the stages of life and living out visions, men and women know something of human nature and of living. What they have come to know and abide by is wisdom."[53] Grandmothers or other elder women in a young girl's clan would teach these girls tasks they were expected to perform as adults. Young women would learn to make items for maple production in a female gendered place - the isolation lodge. Women who were on their moon time would enter the isolation lodge and engage in female pursuits. Some of the activities involved producing or repairing maple sugar equipment. As missionary Inez Hilgar explained "one informant under the direction of her mother mended birch bark cups used in gathering maple sugar by plugging cracks in the bark with pitch."[54]

Sugar camps were multi-generational female gendered spaces. From a young age, girls would watch the tasks being performed. "Girls also learned the stages of boiling, when to strain the syrup and learned about the different maple products made. It was important to know how

51. Ojibwe People's Dictionary, http://Ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/.

52. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

53. Basil Johnson, *Ojibway Heritage* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976): 118; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

54. Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life*, 58; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

the sugar looked at different stages. Sometimes descriptions defined how to know when to sugar-off." When it "made eyes,"[55] it was time to take the syrup out of the pot to make maple taffy or gum, or to make granular sugar by working the maple mixture with a paddle in a basswood trough."[56]

Next, through play and then through applied training, young girls would help in all stages of the maple process. Younger girls would watch to make sure the sap would not boil over and learn from older women when the sap was about to burn. Maude Kegg, an Ojibwe elder wrote of her experiences learning to make maple sugar from the women in her family. Kegg's stories recalled sugar camps in the early twentieth century, and while the equipment may have changed somewhat from the fur trade era, the women-centered production and techniques had not. "As a young girl one of Kegg's tasks was to stir the sap with a fir bough" when the sap was about to boiled over. The liquid is calmed by the action of stirring the sugar with a bough of fir. Kegg also helped her grandmother as the syrup was "sugared off" and Kegg would dip "in that little carved paddle called the *neyakokwaanens* to help stir the thickened syrup so it would

55. Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life,* Regarding "making eyes", an informant from White Earth described this stage of maple sugar production, p. 146. To make eyes, means the syrup is boiling at a desired rate and the syrup is at a particular consistency that an experienced sugar maker by sound and sight that the proper temperature had been reached. To make granulated sugar, the temperature of the syrup should reach between 252 degrees Fahrenheit and 257 degrees Fahrenheit, for maple wax the temperature is between 230 degrees Fahrenheit and 252 degrees Fahrenheit, see Randall B. Heiligmann, "Maple Candy and Other Confections," F-46-02, Ohio State University http://ohioline.osu.edu/for-fact/0046.html (accessed 03/20/2011); Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

56. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants,* 311; Kegg, *Gabekanaansing,*10-12; Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life*, 146; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

granulate."[57] Young girls used smaller version of the paddles women used to produce maple products to practice, and Kegg recalled her small paddles. Girls also helped with the washing of utensils and equipment so that the next batch of sugar would then be free of impurities and a particular color and the desired consistency would be achieved."[58] Sometimes young girls were allowed to use the washed kettles to practice the techniques they had seen their elders perform. Kegg used her own kind of sugar water when she recounted being allowed to create some "maple sugar" of her own "by using the sweet water left from washing the kettles,""[59] through the process of play, the next stage of learning, Kegg practiced the techniques of creating maple sugar.

These skills were passed down through successive generations of women. During the French fur trade era, traders understood the importance of native women and the items they produced: snowshoes, moccasins, and increased food production like maple sugar. The fur traders: bourgeois (partners), *commis* (clerks) and voyageurs (*engagé*) had different experiences and opinions. *Bourgeois* were considered upper class. They were partners in the North West Company. *Commis* were apprentices, learning the skills to be a partner and voyageurs were the unskilled labor hired to move goods and furs to and from the interior and Montreal.[60] Many knew the only way to survive and, in no small measure, succeed in the fur trade of the western

57. Kegg, *Gabekanaansing,* 3-23; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

58. Kegg, *Gabekanaansing,* 23. Kegg reminisces about being allowed to sugar off; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 30.

59. Kegg, *Gabekanaansing,* 3-23. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 31.

60. Carolyn Podruchny, "Unfair Masters and Rascally Servants: Labour Relations Among the Bourgeois, Clerks and Voyagers in the Montreal Fur Trade, 1780-1821," *Labour/Le Travail,* 43 (Spring 1999): 43-70; "Glossary of French and English Terms," http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/gloss.html (accessed 3/22/2020).

Great Lakes region meant "marring-in" to a family and the network of mutual obligation.[61] At the beginning of interaction and trade with the French, Indigenous women did not give up family, network, support, or culture. It was an extension of politics and diplomacy among different Indigenous groups in the Great Lakes region.[62] However, with the British bourgeoisie it was different, as both Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer S.H. Brown's path breaking studies testify.[63] In *Many Tender Ties*, (1980) Van Kirk discusses the connections created between British traders in the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and Indigenous women in the region. At first the HBC officers created families with Indigenous women, then with the Métis daughters of high-ranking officers of the company, and finally when George Simpson Governor of the HBC married and brought his British wife to Winnipeg in 1830, other officers followed suit.[64] As in other European colonies of this period, because the area was in the process of settlement by Europeans and Euro-Canadians, upper class European women were thought of as civilizing influences and necessary for getting or for maintaining status in Western society and businesses. In *Strangers in Blood (1080)*, Brown discusses a similar situation in her comparison of Montreal traders of the North West Company (NWC) and the British traders of the HBC. In 1821, the HBC subsumed the NWC, by this time HBC officers found wives in the Red River settlement usually of mixed heritage. However, Brown goes on to say that even if wives were of mixed-heritage they were not the helpmates of the past, they now were relegated to the British ideal of the helpless female.

61. Silvia Van Kirk, From "Marrying-in," to "Marrying-out": Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* vol. 23, no. 3 (2002): 1-11.

62. Miller, *Ogimaag*, 45, 62, 68-70.

63. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Brown, *Strangers in Blood.*

64. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties.*

Girls from higher-ranking officers had become Christianized and had an education similar to upper class white girls.[65]

According to Phillippa Levine in *Gender and Empire*, "the Eighteenth century British understanding of gender" was espoused by the Enlightenment scholars as they were coming to terms with the expanding and "modern world."[66] Further Levine explains that gender "emerged in the eighteenth century as both 'natural'- the product of the universal and discernible (if still divine) laws of human nature and society, akin to other phenomena in natural science-and acquired, moulded by environment and custom."[67] Dolores Janiewski discusses gender in colonial settlements in her article, "Gendered Colonialism: The "Women Question" in Settler Society."[68] Her study involves settlements in both the Anglo North and South United States. Like Sylvia Van Kirk's work with the Hudson's Bay Company in *Many Tender Ties*, the arrival of white women into a settlement, in the early nineteenth century, changed the dynamics of white male and Native women social interactions. Native women were no longer acceptable wives. To obtain or to maintain social status, white men had to marry white women. Indigenous women were thought of as other. However, white men had familial relations with these women because civilization was far away and the unfamiliar environment created situation whereby men were dependent on Native women for success and sometimes survival. Later, as Western culture and

65. Brown, *Strangers in Blood,* 215-216.

66. Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 16.

67. Levin, *Gender and Empire,* 17.

68. Dolores Janiewski, "Gendered Colonialism: The "Women Question," in Settler Society," in editors Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998): 57-76.

"civilization" invaded the environment, white men wanted white women as their wives for status.[69]

The Cultural Importance of Maple

Maple as Food

The Ojibwe used maple products throughout the year and in many different contexts such as food, medicine, in ceremonies, in trade and diplomacy. Mothers gave maple sugar as tokens of love to their children. Because it was a woman's product, the makers had the right to give to trade or to withhold the sugar, or any other product they made. Depending on the amount of time and temperature reached, sap could be rendered into syrup, gum, sugar, or vinegar and "each of these different products" "had specific uses."[70] Women made more maple sugar than any of the other maple products. This was the sugar traded and given as gifts in diplomacy, as well as in culinary, medicinal, and ceremonial spheres.[71] Culinarily, Indigenous groups in northeastern North America used maple sugar to season meat, fish, fruit, and vegetable dishes. "Small children sometimes ate a soft food of boiled wild rice and maple sugar. Also, pounding dried corn, adding maple sugar and then stirring this mixture in water created a 'soup' that served as a

69. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 152-173.

70. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants*, 312-313; K.C. Holgate, "Changes in the Composition of Maple Sap During the Tapping Season," *New York State Agricultural Experiment Station*, 742, June 1950, (Geneva, New York, 1950): 5, 13; Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," 123; Hoffman, *The Menomini* 290; Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, 323-324; Smith, *Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe,* 395, Wade, "Indigenous Women," 33.

71. Densmore, How Indians Use Wild Plants, 312-313; Holgate, "Changes in the Composition of Maple Sap, 5, 13; Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," 123; Hoffman, *The Menomini* 290; Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, 323-324; Smith, *Ethnobotony of the Ojibwe*, 395; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 33.

convenient food for travel. One cup of this mixture could sustain a traveler for the day."[72] A refreshing drink in hot weather: maple sugar diluted in water. When women preserved foods such as berries or meats, maple sugar could be added as a top layer to dried food.[73]

Maple as Medicine

Both maple sap and maple syrup have medicinal properties. Sap straight from the tree has diuretic properties, and syrup can be used to treat intestinal disorders. When herbal teas and decoctions were made, maple sugar sweetened the medicine. Sometimes healers placed the medicine directly into sugar cakes.[74] Wives and mothers used maple in medicine at "home" in treating minor ailments but sometimes sickness was more serious. When this occurred the Midewiwin, a religious group in Ojibwe culture, would perform ceremonies to cure the sick. The Midewiwin, continue to "study the healing properties of plants and use maple sugar in their medicines as well as a decoction of the inner bark of the maple tree."[75]

72. Schoolcraft, *Information,* Vol. I, 80; H. A. Schuette and Sybil C. Schuette, "Maple Sugar: A Bibliography of Early Records, I," in *Transaction of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, 29 (1935), document 36, 223; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 34.

73. Schoolcraft, *Information*, Vol. I, 80; Schuette and Schuette, "Maple Sugar, 223; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 34.

74. Hilger, *Chippewa Childs Life*, 31; Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants,* 313, 328; J.W. Hoffman, "The Midē'wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa," in *The Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1885-1886* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1891), Google Books: http://books.google.com/ (accessed 02/02/2010): 198; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 35.

75. Hoffman, "The Mide'wiwin," 156-157; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 36.

Maple in Ceremonies

While the Midewiwin use maple sugar and bark in healing ceremonies, maple products are also used in other ceremonies. For example, after childbirth, only maple sugar was eaten. These "ceremonies were held immediately after a difficult birth or the next day after a normal birth."[76] Also, a *Wabeno,* or spiritual healer, might use boiling maple sugar to illustrate his authority and power over magical knowledge. According to ethnologist Walter James Hoffman, "by the use of plants he [a Wabeno] 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 sirup."[77] If a hunter kills a bear, the hunter offers the bear both wild rice and maple sugar, to honor the bear and the life he has given.[78] Another ceremony that includes maple sugar is a meal for the deceased or *jibakwe* in Ojibwe. After the death of a loved one, the family held a ceremonial feast and community members aided the family of the deceased by preparing the body and performing specific rituals. Women in the community placed food, such as maple sugar, berries, and rice, as well as water, in the burial lodge so that food was available for the spirit during its four-day journey to the Land of Souls. Afterward, additional food was placed in the grave lodge periodically to feed the spirit, however, it was acceptable for travelers who were in need of sustenance to consume this food.[79]

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76. Vicki Dowd, personal communication, February 10, 2010; Cary Miller, *Ogimaag*; Hoffman, "The Midē'wiwin," 157, 197-198; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 36.

77. Hoffman, "The Mide'wiwin," 156-157; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 35-36.

78. Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," 124; Vennom, *Wild Rice,* 70; Miller, *Ogimaag*, 49, 50; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 36.

79. Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Ceremonies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 1982): 131-154; Vennom, *Wild Rice*, 75-80; Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 73-78; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 37, 38.

Further, maple was honored in the feast of first fruits. This is a ceremony partaken by Ojibwe when a food is harvested for the first time during its growing season. For example, strawberries are honored at harvest time around June, wild rice around September, and maple sugar in the spring.

Maple's Social and Political Importance

Native women gave gifts of maple sugar products to family and visitors. In most cultures, mothers create miniatures from the adult world for their children. This is one of the way mothers and children bond and how mothers pass along cultural knowledge to their children. Ojibwe mothers created small *makaks* or birchbark containers, sometimes with decorations, and filled these containers with the first-run, or the best sap of the season in the form of hard maple or cake sugar. Ojibwe women also filled bark cones and duck bills with cake sugar that would then harden and set into these containers. It was reserved for later in the year and was sometimes a treat for children or used for gifting. In the early 1840's J. Edward Foster, while working in the lead mines in Wisconsin, wrote a letter describing a feast to which he was invited by Chief Waukon Decorah, a Ho-Chunk leader, at which "domestic sugar was handed round enclosed in the skin of a ducks foot extended to the size of a goose egg." Foster might have been describing

maple sugar stored in duck feet, similar to wild rice stored in duck feet, or Foster might have been describing the hard sugar poured into duckbills to set and given as gifts.[80]

Maple in Trade

While Great Lakes native groups traded both food and non-food items to reaffirm ties, to create new ones, and to expand the variety of food in their diets, both groups saw this gifting as necessary and an established social ritual. When the French entered the region, Native and European epistemologies on the exchange of goods differed. Exchanging of items was still gifting, or establishing ties for the Great Lakes Indigenous peoples, but it was seen as trading or commerce for the French. Maple sugar became part of the trade network important for fur trade companies and in time western settlers in the region.[81] Ultimately, maple sugar was more than the sum of these parts, it was sacred, found not only in everyday meals and feasts, but also in rituals, and ceremonies, and in establishing diplomatic and trade ties.

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80. Densmore, *How Indians Use Wild Plants*, 312-313, 386-387; Densmore, "Chippewa Customs," 40, 122-132; Hilger, *Chippewa Childs Life*, 58 149-150, 171; Schoolcraft, *Information*, vol. II, 55; Hoffman, *The Menomini*, 290; J. Edward Foster, 1835-1941, Ayer Manuscript Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Vennom, *Wild Rice*, See sketch of rice in ducks feet, 139; Sean B. Dunham, "Cache Pits: Ethnohistory, Archaeology, and the Continuity of Tradition," in Michael S. Nassaney and Eric S. Hohnson, eds., *Interpretation of Native North American Life: Material Contributions to Ethnohistory* (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2000): 229-230; Tanner, *Atlas*, 19-23; Michel Curot, "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal 1803- 1804," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* Vol. XX, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1911): 411, 437; Peers and Schenck, *George Nelson*, 153; Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, 170-175; Beck, "Return to Namä' o Uskíwämît," 32-48; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 34-35.

81. White, *Middle Ground*.

Conclusion

The Ojibwe's connection to the land is based on respect for the web of interconnectedness, the responsibility of mutual obligation between humans and other-than-human beings. Within this web of mutual obligation, *Anishinaabe'ikwewag* produced food and medicine to nurture and heal their kin, they made utensils and items to clothe and aid in traveling. All the while, Ojibwe women could trade these items to other groups, Indigenous or European, as long as these "others" had followed the ritual of gifting to become kin. This act of gifting made strangers into kin. Within Ojibwe culture, food was procured based on gender. As such, women and men created gendered places for gendered production. In the women-centered maple sugar camps, women not only produced this foodstuff but also created an environment to teach younger generations sugaring techniques, and an environment to discuss political and social matters that concerned them. The French traders that entered into the kin trade network sometimes by marrying Ojibwe women. The next chapter will discuss what changes took place in 1760, when the British seized control of the Western Great Lakes from the French. The region continued to be Ojibwe, even though European international law changed invisible boundaries. Little changed as the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company had been trading in the region since the mid-eighteenth century. In time however, British and then American empire building brought Western settlement. There was not so much a shift in the mosaic of epistemology. The Ojibwe continued their cultural practice of *Ganawendamaw* and ties of mutual obligation. Westerners still had the idea that land could be owned, and that other than human beings were not entities with agency, but rather things to be owned, and resources to be used. As Western populations increased, western epistemology in the region increased, land became the prime resource for agriculture and lumbering. This in turn set up a system of land theft in the form of the treaty process whereby Anishinaabewakiing was slowly reduced, and the

British and American Indian policy of reservation and civilization sought to legitimize the process.

This study looks at the upper Great Lakes where the Ojibwe were living at the time of French connection. This chapter gave context to the Anishinaabewakiing and gendered procurement of food with a focus on *Anishinaabe'ikwewag* production of maple sugar and the foodstuffs' varied uses in Ojibwe culture. The next chapter will discuss the Ojibwe interactions with French and the British during the early fur trade in the late seventeenth and to mid eighteenth century. Later chapters will include Ojibwe interactions with American, and Canadian settler/colonists. The timeframe and geographic locality of these chapters will be within settler colonial boundaries of time and space.

Chapter 2. Trade in Anishinaabewakiing

In March of 1836, in the *iskigamiziganan* of northern Anishinaabewakiing, Ojibwe women began the annual production of maple sugar. Not far from these sugar bushes was the Hudson's Bay Company post La Cloche, on the northern shores of Lake Superior. The Chief Factor, John McBean, entered in the post journal the maple sugar production in the region for that year. By April 2nd he wrote the men had left the post to help their wives in the sugar bush. A few days later on April 6th the men had returned. A week later, McBean ordered two men from the post, Faille St. Cire and Regis Beaudin to secure the sugar produced by Indigenous women in the region. It took several weeks for the men to visit all the sugar bushes and then by May 19th the men returned to these *iskigamiziganan* to collect the maple sugar they had secured.[1] The sugar would then be redistributed around the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company's (HBC) Northern District, for use as provision and commodity. This collection and redistribution was not a new occurrence for the HBC but was one that had expanded since the beginning of the 1800s.

This chapter discusses the Ojibwe involvement with the fur trade, specifically the trade in maple sugar, beginning in the 1630s with the first forays of the French into the upper Great Lakes region and ending in the mid-nineteenth century. The chapter will concentrate on the relationship between the Ojibwe and the British, Scottish, and American owned fur trade companies that operated in Anishinaabewakiing during the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. The competition amongst the British owed Hudson's Bay Company and the Montreal based conglomerate of Scottish fur traders increased demand for maple sugar and other food commodities. As the companies competed, grew, and moved westward, demand increased for maple sugar. This increased demand occurred not only because traders needed maple sugar at

1. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, April 15, 1836 to May 21, 1836, B109/a/9, HBCA.

their post as provision but also because fur companies needed it to expand their enterprise, particularly when the Montreal fur companies moved farther west, away from their main supply line.

Maple sugar was also important as a commodity as settlers moved into the region. Indigenous women supplied newcomers with a sweetener when cane sugar was expensive to transport into the interior of the continent. The various fur trade companies in Anishinaabewakiing meant that the Ojibwe had more power than European traders in dictating protocols and in obtaining trade items they desired.[2] Relationships between Anishinaabeg and European and American traders changed over time; from one of a web of mutual obligation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; to one of increased resource extraction and debt creation in the mid-nineteenth century. This shift in trade relationships is reflected in the Ojibwe female production and trade of maple sugar from one of local use at the post to regional distribution for white consumption.

2. White, *The Middle Ground,* 115-119, 175, 206, 266. According to White a *bon marché* was a compromise between the Great Lakes Native groups and the French traders that "limited the range of French options in the trade." It was close in concept to the "European just price." Richard White discusses the term *bon marché* in *The Middle Ground*. After the Iroquois Wars in the early eighteenth century a glut of furs in the markets in French caused the prices of furs to go down. It is with the need to establish of a *bon marché* that Native leaders begin to recognize the larger economic system in which they are involved. For Indigenous traders the decrease in goods received for their furs was seen as an indication that the French were breaking the alliance. It did strain the alliance according to White and "the idea of *bon marché* was flexible enough to encompass both a French profit and the Algonquian notion of a father's generosity to his children, but the room to maneuver within it remained limited." In time this *bon marché* was also set up with the English.

Ojibwe women produced sustenance for their family including the production of maple sugar. These women also gave maple products as gifts and maple sugar was one such item given to other Native peoples as part of trade and diplomacy.[3] Gifting was an important aspect of trade. In fact, trade would not occur until the two sides established a kin relationship. Gifting protocols created kin ties, creating a symbolic mutual obligation - a relative or *inawemaagan*.[4] As historian Bruce White explains "gifts made credit relationships possible because they helped create good feelings and trust."[5] The Anishinaabeg expected the French to give gifts in order for trade to take place. Kin ties could also be formed through marriage or adoption to transform what might otherwise be a very temporary trade relationship into a long-term association. Establishing kin ties, meant becoming family, this entailed aiding each other in times of famine, war, and illness. The French traders soon came to understand its importance when they began trading in the upper Great Lakes. However, at the beginning of interaction with the French, upper Great Lakes Indigenous people traveled to New France for trade.

The Ojibwe and French Fur Traders

In the early 1600s when France began establishing its colonies along the St. Lawrence River. Native groups in the region traded furs with them. Later Indigenous groups from as far

3. Miller, *Ogimaag,* 69-70.

4. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations,* 31; Bruce M. White, ""Give Us a Little Milk": The Social and Cultural Meanings of Gift Giving in the Lake Superior Fur Trade," *Minnesota History* 48, no. 2 (1982): 60-71; White, *The Middle Ground,* 98. "A Second significant feature here was that both sides framed the exchange in terms of gifts rather than trade." (Cree and Ottawa).

5. Bruce M. White, "The Trade Assortment: The Meanings of Merchandise in the Ojibwa Fur Trade," in Sylvie Dépatie, et al eds., *Habitants et marchands, vingt ans après lectures de l'histoire des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles canadiens* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998): 124.

west as the Great Lakes canoed and portaged to New France to exchange European iron knifes, wool blankets, and other goods for their used and worn furs. After 1663, the French rapidly expanded fur trade operations into the upper Great Lakes. This French expansion westward to the upper Great Lakes occurred as the result of impediments from the Haudenosaunee south of the New France colonies.[6]

As the French set up their colonies in New France, other European nations founded colonies dividing up North America up on European maps. While not a concrete boarder, to European empires it was a political fact and appeared on the maps they created to further concretize their new reality. However, to Indigenous nations, such as the Haudenosaunee, their spatial reality was the same - they were autonomous political groups. (see Map 4) Haudenosaunee along with the British allying with the Haudenosaunee, limited French activities south of the St. Lawrence Seaway in Haudenosaunee territory and established British and Dutch colonies. By 1674 the British and their Indigenous allies ousted the Dutch for the last time from North America.[7] In order to expand trade past their colonies on the St. Lawrence, the French had to create kinship ties with Indigenous groups outside Haudenosaunee alliances.[8] The French moved further west to obtain furs and encountered other Indigenous groups in the upper Great

6. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 36.

7. Richard L. Kagan, "People and Places in the Americas: A Comparative Approach," in editors Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan, *The Oxford Handbook of The Atlantic World 1450-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 354.

8. White, *The Middle Ground*; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*.

Lakes including the Ojibwe, and the French established kin ties with Ojibwe bands that entailed trade and military alliances.[9]

French traders also moved north and established relations with groups such as the Cree and Northern Ojibwe and disrupted HBC trade.[10] In 1670, a royal charter from England's King Charles II, granted the HBC, based in London, the land draining to Hudson Bay. The HBC Indigenous middlemen, the Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibwe, traded between the HBC and other Indigenous groups further south. The Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibwe collected furs from groups farther south such as the Mandan and Blackfoot bringing with them HBC goods. These middlemen could just as easily trade with the French or travel to the HBC at York Factory in the western shores of Hudson's Bay, depending on what kind of goods they could obtain for their furs.[11] Historian Michael Witgen recounts the machinations of the French to control Hudson Bay fur Trade. This occurred because of kinship relations between "the ogimaa [leader] of a Cree band that descended the Hayes River" and trader Pierre-Esprit Radisson, who was then working for the French.[12] The Northern Ojibwe and Lowland Cree would not trade with a stranger or *mayagwewinini* (someone who speaks a strange language.) Coureurs de bois, or French fur traders without license in the north created bounds with Indigenous bands around Hudson Bay just as they had in the Great Lakes and Red River regions. These men learned the languages, customs, and policies of these trade partners. While they sometimes worked within France's

9. Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970): 44-45; McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 34.

10. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 175.

11. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 174-175; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 68-70; Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 48.

12. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 174-175.

imperial regime, they often times when against French policy and sided with their Indigenous kin. This led to breaches in peace between France and Britain as when HBC's Fort Albany in 1729 was attached by these coureur de bois.[13]

Radisson and his brother-in-law and trade partner Médard Chouart Des Grosseilliers knew control of the lower Hays River was important for access to interior trade furs. They also knew that Indigenous trade protocols were key to securing those furs. The brother's-in-law and their company proceeded to Hayes River. With knowledge of Lowland Cree and Northern Ojibwe language and accepted diplomatic conduct, the company then set up a post and began trade. Witgen explains, "Unlike the English, Radisson made no pretense of buying the land for his post, a meaningless gesture in the Native New World. Instead, following his speech he gave out tobacco and pipes, and smoked with the people he now claimed as relatives."[14] With alliances forged with the Northern Ojibwe and Lowland Cree, French affected trade and profits for the English company.

13. Berthelette, "New France and the Hudson Bay Watershed," 3, 4, 6, 18, 19, 23 -26.

14. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 175-176.

Map 4. "French and Dutch in the New World"[15]

The sophisticated trade routes of Indigenous groups introduced the Anishinaabeg to European trade goods before the French arrived in Anishinaabewakiing. Exchange networks spanned "across the lowland watersheds, and from the western interior."[16] Ojibwe bands were using items produced by Europeans, "in the early to mid-seventeenth century,"[17] before Europeans arrived in Anishinaabewakiing. Demand, among the Indigenous people of the Great Lakes, rose for European goods and the fur trade further expanded.[18] As with the Northern

15. French and Dutch in the New World map from http://apushcanvas.pbworks.com/w/page/85177117/French%20and%20Dutch%20in%20the%20New%20World (accessed 03/15/2020).

16. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 186.

17. White, "The Trade Assortment."

18. White, *The Middle Ground*, 99-100; Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 43-45.

Ojibwe and Lowland Cree, Ojibwe bands initiated French traders entering Anishinaabewakiing, on trade protocols. Besides gifts, it included speeches explaining their respective expectations, that variation in goods based on the seasons occurred, and who desired what specific goods on both sides of the trade equation.[19]

French fur traders began to build more posts in Anishinaabewakiing, and by 1678 were north of Lake Superior with a fort at Lake Nipigon.[20] In the beginning, fur traders were not able to "sustain a long-term stay,"[21] at these French posts. In time French traders could remain for longer periods in the west and traded near Native settlements because of the food provided by Indigenous people. When European traders entered Aninshinaabewakiing in the 16th century, women became increasingly instrumental in supplying food for the traders' survival. Dependent on provision from the region, the French made Michilimackinac a "gateway" to the Lake Superior region. Local food supplies, furnished mainly by Native men and women, supported posts farther west.[22] Men supplied fish and large game. Women provided maple sugar and wild rice, as well as fish and small game that allowed the fur trade to grow. The French depended on provisions from the region grown, harvested, and gathered mainly by Native women but also some supplied by traders themselves who kept small gardens. Food did not have to come from Montreal and its environs but closer to the source of the furs, reducing the size of returning canoes brigades and the cost of the enterprise. Many historians have noted that furs were the backbone of the Canadian economy, however I argue that it was the food that fueled the fur

19. White, "The Trade Assortment," 125.

20. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 49, 56-61; White, *The Middle Ground*.

21. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 52-57.

22. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 99.

traders and allowed trade to expand. French fur traders did not collect large quantities of maple sugar for a commodity but instead ate it as provision at the posts in the upper Great Lakes. While food obtained by the Indigenous populations around far-flung posts was necessary, fur was the consuming business of New France in the *pays d'en haut.*[23] Certainly, the habitants in New France learned from local Indigenous bands along the St. Lawrence Seaway and began producing their own supply.[24] While habitants in New France consumed maple sugar it seems the supply was produced locally and in small quantities. This is to state that maple sugar was a provision for French fur traders and Canadian voyageurs, but not an important commodity for the French fur trade. It was during the British and American fur trade eras that maple sugar was collected and shipped to regional markets.[25]

A crash in the European fur market in 1700 ended most trade in the Great Lakes for 15 years. Trade recovered by 1715 and French fur traders were able to reestablish old posts and construct new ones in the upper Great Lakes.[26] During the first half of the 18th century, the French continued to expand into and beyond Anishinaabewakiing. Ojibwe bands, while important trade partners supplying New France with food and furs, were also important

23. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 60.

24. Albert P. Sy, "History, Manufacture and Analysis of Maple Products," *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, CLXVI, no. 4, (Oct. 1908): 251-253.

25. On sugar consumption see Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985).

26. W. J. Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500-1783* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998): 133. Because French trade expanded but demand for furs decreased in Europe, a glut of furs in the market caused the French court to suspended trade licenses in the upper Great Lakes in 1698.

diplomatic and military allies and played a vital role in assisting France in maintaining the illusion of claim to empire in North America.

The Ojibwe and British Fur Traders

In the middle of the eighteenth-century trade was affected by war and smallpox. By the 1750s the British and French were in a battle for North America. Known as the Seven Years War (1756-1763), this was also an Indigenous war where Native groups in the upper and lower Great Lakes fought to repel the British from the region.[27] Many Ojibwe warriors fought to restore "the balance of power between the English and French."[28] Once the Ojibwe and French warriors returned from battles in the east in 1757, a smallpox epidemic ravaged villages, especially Michilimackinac and Green Bay. The communities in the upper Great Lakes suffered as a result of the loss of loved ones and the labor force needed to produce food. The posts as well were short on food and goods as a result of the British blockade of the St. Lawrence and crop failures in New France.[29] The French were unable to give presents or to "cover the dead," a practice that usually occurred with an accidental death. The person responsible presented the family with extensive gifts of food, clothing, and items to aid in the loss of the deceased's ability to provide for loved ones. This would make peace with the family and the spirit of the deceased."[30] McDonnell explains, "in the difficult circumstances, communities were torn. Former allies began

27. White, *The Middle Ground*, 242; McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 161, 187.

28. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 187.

29. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 188-190; White, *The Middle Ground*, 246.

30. Miller, *Ogimaag*, 91; Michael A. McDonnell, "Maintaining a Balance of Power: Michilimackinac, the Anishinaabe Odawas, and the Anglo-Indian War of 1763," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 13, no. 1 (2015): 41.

turning on the French, whom they now blamed for the deaths in their midst."[31] This is the situation the British traders and troops encountered when they entered Anishinaabewakiing in the early 1760s.

The British however, refused to cover the dead. The French lost the Seven Years War, and the Treaty of Paris (1763) ended the war officially. Viewed from a European lens, the treaty gave Britain control of Northeastern North America. However, in all practicality Britain did not govern or control Anishinaabewakiing. The Ojibwe and other Great Lakes Nations still controlled the region's resources and controlled the region politically and militarily. With the French gone, the Ojibwe began dealing with Britain as a new trade partner. The Ojibwe rightly expected the British to respect the diplomatic protocols practiced by Indigenous groups in the Great Lakes region and established with the French. Nonetheless, the British, fresh from victory against the French, looked upon the Ojibwe through the lens of European military practice as a defeated people who could now be expected to accept English trade terms and authority. However, as Ojibwe ogimaa Minavavana declared:

> Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none . . . the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes and on these woody mountains.[32]

Further in his speech, Minavavana also spelled out to Alexander Henry, the Englishman being addressed, that presents were required by the English King in order to cover the dead and

31. McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 190.

32. Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *Alexander Henry's Travels and adventures in the years 1760-1776* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons, 1880): 44, https://archive.org/details/alexanderhenryst01henr/page/n9/mode/2up (accessed 10/15/2020).

establish a relationship for trade and treaty making. While the Ojibwe and Odawa were still at war with the British, they did welcome Henry who had come to trade and followed Anishinaabeg trade protocols.[33]

The Ojibwe retaliated against the heavy-handed British officials refusing to act as kin. Pontiac and his multi-national forces in the Great Lakes region attacked British forts in the hopes of ousting the British and restoring the French to the region. Although short lived, the war helped to foster a new relationship between British and Native Nations in the upper Great Lakes region."[34] According to historian Richard White, Pontiac's War (1763-1764) was the result of "the failure of the Indians to create a confederacy that would prevent British occupation of the region, the failure of the British to act as either fathers or brothers, and the failure of *Onontio* to return."[35] The British knew they did not have a conquered population, and that they would have to follow Anishinaabeg norms in order to have trade and peaceful relations.

In the early 1760s, as the Seven Years War came to an end, Scottish fur merchants in Montreal began trading in the upper Great Lakes region recently vacated by the French-run trade outfits. French Canadian voyageurs and some French Canadian traders now managed operations for small Scottish fur trade companies. They continued living and trading with Anishinaabeg in the Great Lakes, as they had established kin ties. These smaller companies owned by Scottish entrepreneurs set up headquarters in Montreal and began repairing older French posts or building new ones in Anishinaabewakiing. Fur traders from these small businesses traveled to

33. Quaife, ed., *Alexander Henry,* 45; Keith R. Widder, "After the Conquest: Michilimackinac, a Borderland in Transition, 1760-1763," *Michigan Historical Review,* vol. 34, no. 1, Emerging Borderlands (Spring, 2008): 53.

34. White, *The Middle Ground*, 269-314; McDonnell, *Masters of Empire*, 211-239.

35. White, *The Middle Ground*, 271.

Anishinaabewakiing and also created kinship ties. At first these small companies competed with each other and tried to compete with the larger, more established Hudson's Bay Company run from London. As it was an expensive endeavor to trade so far from Montreal, many of these small houses decided to create an alliance. The North West Company, "a coalition of rivals,"[36] formed slowly as the Montreal fur merchants saw the advantages of combining forces, expanding financial equity, and increasing the ability to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company for furs in the Great Lakes region. The companies used French Canadian voyageurs and built posts in the Great Lakes region, but more importantly, followed Ojibwe trade protocols by establishing kin relations through gifts or marriage into a prominent Ojibwe family.[37] Finally, in 1784, Montreal fur trade companies reached an agreement that established the North West Company. By 1787 the North West Company (NWC) was able to assert its trading and exploration power and began to dominate the Great Lakes fur trade over other companies such as the HBC. Fur trader Michel Cadotte's relationship with Anishinaabeg led to a series of posts being built including Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, and La Point in southern Anishinaabewakiing.[38]

36. Nathanial Atcheson, *On the Origin and Progress of the North-West Company of Canada* (London: Cox, Son, and Baylis, 1811): 8 http://peel.libray.ualberta.ca/bibliography/74/reader.html#1 (accessed 3/4/2020).

37. White, *The Middle Ground*, 478; Carolyn Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

38. William H. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People* (St. Paul: The Minnesota Historical Press, 1894): 111, 288, 321; W. Stewart Wallace, *The Pedlers from Quebec and Other Papers on the Nor'Westers* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954): 18; W. Stewart Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company,* XXII (Toronto: The Publications of the Champlain Society, 1934): 8.

Also in the early 1760s, HBC officers at Moose Fort, (later called Moose Factory) on James Bay, "found their returns sharply diminished," by the Montreal merchants.[39] Yet even with this competition and "despite urgings from some of its officers in the Bay the Company did not establish permanent posts deep inland until the 1770s."[40] Meanwhile the NWC moved northwest into the North American continent in what are now the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan by the mid 1770s.[41] This exploration was in part to establish trade relations with other Indigenous bands and nations and also to find a river passage to the Pacific coast. In 1800, the NWC encroached on the HBC in James Bay and built a post on Carlton Island. This competition eventually led the HBC to move further south into southern Manitoba and Ontario, as well as to begin moving farther west from the shores of Hudson Bay and its tributary rivers.[42] Now both the NWC and HBC were in Anishinaabewakiing.

At the pleasure of the Ojibwe, the controlling partners of the NWC built Grand Portage, in 1784, a large post in Anishinaabewakiing, on the western edge of Lake Superior. Each summer the company stockholders, representatives from each of the fur trade companies that made up the NWC coalition, met to discuss the state of their affairs with the agents who wintered in the region. The NWC built this post the same year as the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1784, ending the War of Independence. Even though the treaty gave the Northwest Territory, also known as the Old Northwest, to the United States, Britain continued to trade and keep

39. Elaine Allan Mitchell, *Fort Timiskaming and the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977): 2.

40. Glyndwr Williams, "Hudson's Bay Company and Its Critics in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* vol. 20 (1970): 149-171,166.

41. Wallace, *The Pedlars*, 4-16.

42. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 154-156.

military forces in this region. The Ohio River, the Mississippi River, and the southern shores of the western Great Lakes bounded the Northwest Territory.

From 1796 to 1803, a fissure developed among the NWC stockholders. This grew out of a feud between Simon McTavish and Alexander Mackenzie, two prominent businessmen from Montreal. Eight businessmen from Montreal agreed to a co-partnership and formed The XY Company (XYC), with Mackenzie as one of the partners. The XYC set up trade and built a few posts in northern Anishinaabewakiing at Grand Portage, Lac la Pluie, and the Pic and also in the Red River region such as Upper Assiniboine House, Qu'appelle River and Fort Souris.[43] In Anishinaabewakiing, George Nelson was clerk for the XYC and later the NWC. A clerk was just below a partner in the North West Company hierarchy of positions.[44] In the years 1802-1804, his first two in the fur trade, Nelson discussed his encounters with Ojibwe and Ojibwe culture in his journal. He described the production of maple sugar and the sugaries, or maple sugar groves, in the Lake St. Croix region. Later Nelson recounted an incident he felt guilty about afterward – the theft of some maple sugar from a fur trader of a rival company. Nelson was asked to carry a keg of maple sugar for a Mr. Reaume whom Nelson described as a good man. Reaume worked for the NWC. Sometimes men from the two companies, in isolated posts, helped each other. Nelson

43. Wallace, *Documents*, "Agreement among the Partners of the XY Company, dated October 24, 1803" 125-134; "Fur Trade Stories, 1600-1867, Original map data provided by *The Atlas of Canada* (4th Ed, p.79-80), created by Energy Mines and Resource Canada, 1974 http://www.furtradestories.ca/details_content-id-362_cat-id-2_sub-cat-id-5.html (accessed 09/04/2020).

44. Hudsons' Bay Company Archives, "Hudson's Bay Company – Glossaries, Hudson's Bay Company Occupational Group," https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/glossaries.html (accessed 08/14/2020).

and a few of his men took 10 lbs. of the sugar. When everyone arrived at the post, Reaume reclaimed the rest of the sugar and had nothing further to do with them.

Nelson was also obliged to take sugar from an Ojibwe gravesite as he and his men were running out of food.[45] Nelson and his men were traveling to Grand Portage in 1804 and had little food with them. The men looked for food along the way, sometimes hunting or fishing. Nelson knew of the Ojibwe tradition of leaving food at gravesites as an offering and explained, "after much trouble & searching we found a bark box containing about 40pds of Sugar that one of the Deceased's women had hid for him lately as a sacrifice we took it." According to Ojibwe tradition those who were in need and hungry could eat food offerings.[46] Rations occasionally ran out as Nelson reported during the trading season of 1804. Nelson's men bought "a large fat dog from the NWPeople to eat whenever it shall be most necessary – for we have only a little sugar & a very few quarts of corn without Grease for our provisions."[47] Nelson's comments reflected not only the importance of maple sugar in the diet of fur traders, but also the importance of Indian food products to the survival of the fur trade in the upper Midwest.

45. Peers and Schenck eds., *George Nelson*, 84-86, 154, 160.

46. *Jibakwe*, Feast for the Dead, also, *Jiibenaakewin.* Vennum, *Wild Rice,* 58, 70-71; Peers and Schenck, eds., *George Nelson*, 159-160 see also note 59 editors' comments regarding food at grave sites, from Densmore [1929] 1979:75; Roy Hoover, "To Stand Alone in the Wilderness: Edmund F. Ely, Missionary," Minnesota History, (Fall 1985): 265-280; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 37.

47. Peers and Schenck, eds*., George Nelson,* 40, 168, see also footnote 27, editors' comments, quote from page 168; Schoolcraft, *Information,* 80. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 44.

Clerks at posts in the Great Lakes traded for meat, rice, corn, and maple sugar.[48] A typical invoice from posts in the Lac du Flambeau region from 1807 included 1000 lvs sugar. A lvs (*livre*) or pound is approximately 16oz or 1 pound.[49] The NWC and XYC in the late 1700s and early 1800s were accumulating and transporting thousands of pounds of sugar each year.[50] Fur companies shipped sugar to their respective posts for provisions and in at least one instance a trader used sugar medicinally. Food for clerks and food for the voyageur differed in quality, as the trader oversaw the trade post and supervised the voyageurs at his post. Voyageurs typically ate salt pork and corn, supplementing their rations by hunting and fishing. A clerk's rations also included tea and sugar that on occasion might have been cane sugar. However, fur trading posts relied on local food sources as much as possible and their survival often depended on Indigenous people providing food through trade. NWC partners rationed items such as sugar, tea, coffee and chocolate according to class and race. In the Great Lakes region, in the early 1800s, these

48. Francois Victor Maliot, "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal, 1804-1805," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* Vol. 19, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison, Wisconsin: Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1910): 168, 210, 220, quote from p. 168; Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur,* reprint edition ((St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 1955), first edition published: D. Appleton and Company, 1931); James H. Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* Vol. II, edited by Lyman Copeland Draper (Madison, Wisconsin: Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1903): 112,121; Samuel A. Matz, *The Chemistry and Technology of Cereals as Food and Feed,* 2nd ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold/AVA, 1991): 100-104; Schoolcraft, *Information, Part I*, 80; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 43.

49. "Fur-trade on Upper Lakes, 1807: A Typical Invoice, Account Book 22, Returns of Fredric Oliva Invoice," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. 19 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1910): 321.

50. Wade, "Indigenous Women."

foodstuffs were divided amongst proprietors, principal clerks (those in charge of the posts) and inferior clerks in differing amounts. According to Leslie Ritchie, “The “Clerks” referred to in the agreement, like its signatories, were largely of Scottish or English origin; the “Interpreters” and “Guides” to be “fed at the tables of their masters” were Canadian (French), native, or Métis.”[51] Similarly, in larger HBC posts, at least in the Canadian Interior Plateau region, meat and fish became a marker of class between officers and trade post laborer as well as between the British and the Native peoples most specifically in the. At these larger posts in the Plateau gentlemen dined in separate quarters and ate more splendid food when available.[52]

Two traders, Francois Malhiot and Michel Curot, made journal entries as the North West Company bought out the shares of the XY Company in 1804 and reintegrated the XYC traders to the NWC. In 1803, Curot discussed the use of maple sugar to revive a voyageur named Conner who could not carry any more cargo. “I had him take a little sugar and water, which somewhat revived him.”[53] This entry suggests that sugar was more than food but also given to boost energy, as a quick “first aid” remedy. Like Malhiot, Curot also traded maple sugar during the spring

51. Leslie Ritchie, ""Expectations of Grease & Provisions": The Circulation and Regulation of Fur Trade Foodstuffs," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23, no. 2 (1999): 124.

52. Elizabeth Vibert, “The Contours of Everyday Life: Food and Identity in the Plateau Fur Trade,” in Carolyn Podruchney and Laura Peers, eds., *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2010).

53. Peers and Schenck, eds., *George Nelson*, 40, 168, see also footnote 27, editors’ comments, quote from page 168; Schoolcraft, *Information*, 80, 107. When voyageurs *décharge* a canoe, the canoe is emptied of most of all of its contents. These contents are carried over land while the canoe is paddled upriver. Definition of *décharge,* note 22, p. 402, from Editor Rueben Gold Thwaites. Curot, “A Wisconsin Fur-Trader’s Journal 1803-1804,” 402-403; Wade, “Indigenous Women,” 44.

production and discussed some sugar gifted to him. Curot wrote on Saturday April 7th that he sent Savoyard to get sugar directly from the sugar bush lodges, as well as gum, which Curot paid for with two *brasses* of cloth, a sizeable amount as a *brasse* is 5.318 feet.[54] In 1804 and 1805, Malhiot at Lac du Flambeau frequently traded maple sugar for provisions and rum with the Ojibwe. On July 19, 1804, he traded a keg of sugar for a keg of gum* because he was a keg of sugar short with supplies at Kaministiquia on southern Anishiaabewakiing on the Montreal River. The following spring Malhiot traded 4 pots of rum for 12 lbs. sugar. This rum most likely came from either Nova Scotia or Lower Canada (now Quebec). Both regions imported molasses from the West Indies and distilled it into rum.*[55] In 1805, Malhiot obtained thirty pounds of sugar through trade in one season. Malhiot also included maple sugar in his provisions list for the 1804-1805 season at Lac du Flambeau. Furthermore, Malhiot described being "…supplied with as many French provisions as a proprietor might have wished for," including 2 kegs of sugar.[56] Bruce White explains, "Aboriginal beliefs about food and other objects were applied to the material goods of the fur trade. Thus, logically, alcohol and tobacco were incorporated into the food sphere of exchanged and treated as objects to be shared or traded for other objects of food.

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54. Curot, "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal 1803-1804," 449, 457, 460. (The definition of *brasse*: "*Brasse* is a French linear measure, equivalent to 5.318 English feet, something near a fathom." note 15, p. 216, from Thwaites, ed., in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* Vol. XIX, note 15, p.n216; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 44.

55. Kay Kendall and Sandi Bokji, "Distilling Industry," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia.* Historica Canada. Article published February 07, 2006; Last Edited January 28, 2014, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/distilling-industry. * Gum, most likely from spruce, to repair canoes.

56. "Malhiot, A Wisconsin Fur Trader's Journal," 174, 210, 220, 223.

While maple sugar was exchanged for liquor, there are instances as with Curot's remarks that maple sugar was also exchanged for cloth.[57]

In 1811, Nathaniel Atcheson, a British historian, declared that the North West Company was important to keep Americans and American influence out of the Northwest Territory, and to keep trade for Great Britain.[58] Lines drawn upon maps do not always mean lines upon the ground and do not always have walls built upon the land. This bordered land was foremost either still within Anishinaabewakiing or still within Indigenous borderlands depending on where the international border fell. After the American War of Independence, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1783), the British and Americans bifurcated Anishinaabewakiing and established the Anishinaabeg as subjects of either the British or the Americans, at least on the international stage. Jays' Treaty (1794) negotiated between the British and Americans attempted to resolve issues in the Treaty of Paris. The British "agreed to cede control of its interior posts south of the

57. Bruce White states "the food on which the trader depended, such as wild rice, game, and maple sugar, as in large part obtained with liquor," see Bruce M. White, "The Trade Assortment: The Meaning of Merchandise in the Ojibwa Fur Trade," In *Reading the History of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Canada*, (115-37), edited by Sylvie Depatie, et al (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998): 126, 129; see also endnote 48 (136), George Nelson's account referenced by White, who as an XY company trader wrote in his journal of the 1803-1804 season, "We don't pay provisions here with anything else than with rum sometimes tobacco, but seldom tho[ough], & ammunitions." It also appears to be the case with the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1820s when Peter Fiedler wrote "When the Indians after the season is over assemble at the Housed and they are willing to part with sugar form rum it may then be had for a cheap rate – for a roggon of about thirty pounds weight may be had for one pint of Seward Island Rum. They wish to trade cloth, blankets, then for sugar which we very seldom do as the price in those articles greatly exceeds the price in Liquor (HBCA B/51/e): 19.

58. Atcheson, *On the Origin*, 21-23.

1783 boundary line."[59] The North West Company and smaller independent fur traders as well as the British army had agreed to vacate the Northwest Territory by 1796 but still operated on the southern shores of the upper Great Lakes. With Grand Portage now in the United States, the North West Company decided to change its headquarters. It moved from Grand Portage to Fort Kaministiquia in northern Anishinaabewakiing, or on the British side, in 1803.[60] After the Treaty of Ghent (1814), that ended the War of 1812, British withdrew from American territory in a military capacity, but traders still conducted business throughout the upper Great Lakes. Finally in 1816 the United States Congress passed a law forbidding British and other foreigners from trading with Native nations within the United States.[61]

Ojibwe and Trade with Americans

Businessman John Jacob Astor lobbied for this law in congress.[62] These rulings paved the way for Astor's American Fur Company (AFC) to flourish and forced the NWC to sell them all its posts south of the border. The United States also built a series of forts in the upper Great Lakes region to establish its presence.[63] The United States constructed military posts such as Fort Howard (1816) and Fort Crawford in Wisconsin (1816), Fort Armstrong in Illinois (1816), and

59. Karl S. Hele, ed., *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurie University Press, 2008): 68.

60. Wallace, *The Pedlars*, 73.

61. Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness,* 243.

62. Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness,* 319.

63. Francis Paul Prucha, T*he Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians,* Volumes 1 and 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984): 82, 83; Royal B. Way, "The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Sept., 1919): 226.

Fort Snelling in Minnesota (1820) just after the War of 1812. These forts were an effort to bring American jurisdiction to the region, protect important water routes, and to protect American fur trade interests. The Americans were preparing to politically, militarily, and demographically enter southern Anishinaabewakiing for resource extraction and settler colonization.[64] However, while all British fur traders had to leave the area and move north of the international boundary, the HBC and NWC still had viable trade relations within Anishinaabewakiing. The Ojibwe still traded with whomever they wished to trade, and of course did not see Anishinaabewakiing as two halves of a former whole.[65] Ojibwe freely traveled through their territory even while a European/American borderland was superimposed upon it. This can also be seen later during the treaty era when Ojibwe sent representatives from both sides of the international border to negotiate and sign treaties with the United States or Canada.[66] For the Anishinaabeg there was no international border, there was Anishinaabewakiing.

As the Ojibwe came to grips with the new situations that presented themselves, they continued to trade with various trade companies, including the American Fur Company's increased presence in the region. The manager of the company and Chief Trader was Ramsey Crooks, stationed in Anishinaabewakiing at the gateway post Michilimackinac. Up until the mid-

64. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 42.

65. R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest Pioneer Period, 1815-1840*, Vol 1 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950): 399-402; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers,* 159-160; Grace Lee Nute, "Calendar of the American Fur Company's Papers, Part I: 1831-1840," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1944 in Three Volumes,* vol. II (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1945): 531; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 78, 80.

66. Phil Bellfy, "Cross-border Treaty-Signers: The Anishinaabeg of the Lake Huron Borderlands," Chapter 2, in Hele, ed., *Lines Drawn Upon the Water,* 21-41.

1820s, Crooks' policy for the American Fur Company was to continue, to some degree, the trade patterns customary in the region. He kept regional post clerks like Joseph Rolette who knew the importance of gifting to establish and maintain trade relations with the Ojibwe. Representatives of the AFC gave gifts and credit to hunters to maintain trade relations and prevent hunters from trading elsewhere. Crooks was unhappy with this custom but men like Rolette knew the significance of Ojibwe trade protocols and continued the practice.[67] This was a typical situation where management who had not developed relationships with the Ojibwe only saw the expense of gifts. Traders living in Indigenous space and living under Ojibwe trade protocols did understand the processes and value of respecting these social rules. At this time, only a few Americans had settled in the region and Ojibwe could travel to NWC or HBC posts to trade, so the AFC was forced to follow Native trade and political protocols. While the AFC may have had a virtual monopoly in the region, it did not stop some Ojibwe from trading at HBC posts if there was an HBC post in the region, as happened at Rainy Lake.[68] As Witgen relates, the killing of American traders by Ojibwe warriors in 1824 resulted in the American government being unable to punish the warriors under American jurisdiction. This was "a reflection of the fact that this [American] sovereignty did not yet exist in Anishinaabewaki."[69] Few local enterprises in the Western Great Lakes could compete with the American Fur Company not only because of its

67. Bradley J. Birzer, "Jean Baptiste Richardville: Miami Métis," in R. David Edmunds, ed., *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 94-108, 111; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 80, 81.

68. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations,* 6. Witgen relates that in the 1830s the Pillagers at Rainy Lake traded between AFC and HBC posts. McDonnell in *Masters of Empire,* 323. McDonnell describes a different situation at Green Bay where the AFC did have a monopoly in that region.

69. Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 350-352.

size but also because of the expense of building ships in Lake Superior to transport goods and furs. Because the American Fur Company had a virtual monopoly in the region, Astor actively lobbied for legislation that would eliminate competition, especially the federal factory system that ended in 1822.[70]

This factory system, in operation between 1796 and 1822, was a United States Federal Government program intended to regulate the unfair trade practices of private fur trade companies. Factories were trading stations maintained by factors usually in a foreign country as in the case of the Hudson's Bay Company factories. A factor was a person who transacted business on another's behalf.[71] Within the factory system, official U.S. government agents, or factors, set up trade posts near U.S. forts. After the War of 1812, factories were set up beside western frontier forts in places like Green Bay (Fort Howard), Chicago (Fort Dearborn), and Prairie du Chien (Fort Crawford). These factories were intended to establish friendly relationships with Native tribes on the American frontier, to set up fair trade transactions, and to stop the practice of trade in liquor. However, it was difficult for the government factories to compete with these businesses once organizations such as the American Fur Company had superior goods and their traders had built up relationships with the surrounding Native

70. Buley, *The Old Northwest*, 399-402; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*, 159-160; Nute, "Calendar of the American Fur Company's Papers, Part I: 1831-1840," 531; John D. Haeger, *John Jacob Astor: Business and Finance in the Early Republic* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991): 184; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 78, 80.

71. *The Collins English Dictionary,* second edition, Patrick Hanks Editor (London: William Collins Sons, 1986): 544.

community.[72] Historian David Nichol's *Engines of Diplomacy* is a study of the American Factory system. Nichol's explains the Enlightenment philosophy of the time supported this type of program with the belief that "free and unfettered trade between nations would refine peoples manners," that "trade was an imperial enterprise" and political domination came after the economic influence of imperial force.[73]

Native nations influenced the trade factories at the local level by determining what activities went on in these sites and what items were traded.[74] Trade in items other that furs had been taking place since the beginning of the fur trade. However, these items usually traded locally within the upper Great Lakes. Increasing amounts of non-fur items made it into the

72. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 80-82; Buley, *The Old Northwest Pioneer Period,* 399- 402; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*, 151; Nute, "Calendar of the American Fur Company's Papers, Part I: 1831-1840," 531; "American Fur Company Papers, 1818-21," in Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. XI, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (Madison: Democratic Printing Company, 1888): 375, 377; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers,* 159-160; Mark Wyman, *The Wisconsin Frontier* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998): 282-283; Wyman, *The Wisconsin Frontier*, 99-120; Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness*, 43, 50, 266, 267; "1806: Wisconsin Traders and Agent," editor's note 48, in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol XIX, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1910): 311; "Fur-Trade on the Upper Lakes 1778 – 1815," 326-332.

73. Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy, 5-6.*

74. Wyman, *The Wisconsin Frontier*, 99-120; Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness,* 43, 50, 266, 267; "1806: Wisconsin Traders and Agent"; "Fur-Trade on the Upper Lakes 1778 – 1815," 326-332; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 82.

inventory of trade posts in the early 1800s.[75] Like the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company, and the American Fur Company, the United States Government also collected maple sugar in large quantities and auctioned some of it in the Great Lakes region. Major Matthew Irwin, a United States factor at Green Bay in the early 1820s collected maple sugar. Irwin accepted maple sugar as payment for debt and accumulated many thousands of pounds from both Native women and members of fur trade communities around Green Bay. According to Green Bay resident Albert Ellis, when the factory system ended in 1822, Irwin shipped the inventory to Detroit where presumably it was redistributed to other factories or sold at auction.[76] Historian David Usner, in *Indian, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (1992), examined the importance of food, cross-cultural sharing, and the economy developed in frontier, multicultural environments. In particular, the chapter entitled "Food Marketing and the Evolution of Regional Foodways" illuminated aspects of ethnic food exchanges between different groups which he called a frontier exchange. Regional foodways are the food practices within a geographic and cultural space. Ethnic identity is in part defined by dietary practices and defined in contrast to the practices of other groups in the region. Cultural groups create and exchange not just foodstuffs in these face-to-face encounters but also cultural ideas. More than a 'frontier

75. Albert G. Ellis, "Fifty-Four Years' Recollections of Men and Events in Wisconsin by Albert G. Ellis," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. VII, edited by Lyman Copeland Draper (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1908): 222-223; "The Fur Trade in Wisconsin, 1812-1825," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XX, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin,1911): 300; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 82.

76. Ellis, "Fifty-Four Years'," 222-223, Wade, "Indigenous Women," 82.

exchange' item traded in local and regional markets, by the 1820s maple sugar was a commodity shipped beyond the frontier region to places like Chicago, Detroit, and Buffalo.[77]

Maple Sugar as Provision in Anishinaabewakiing

Depending on the region in which the fur trade post was located, each post factor would keep a journal that highlighted the procurement of foods from Indigenous groups living nearby. In Anishinaabewakiing spring was an important time to stock up on food, mainly maple sugar and fish. In northwestern Quebec and northeastern Ontario, it was geese and fish. For example, in Moose Fort women caught fish in nets as reported by the factor in 1808 and 1809.[78] These posts were above the maple sugar growing area and so factors did not mention sugar in their reports, however women were involved in procuring food after the lean winter months. No matter the food, spring usually ended the food scarcity of the winter months, and women were involved in obtaining these foodstuffs. In accounts from the early 1800s,[79] NWC men described women angling for trout and bringing in fish and rabbit. A journal account also discussed

77. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 67-69, 76, 84, 87-88, 92; Nichols, *Engines of Diplomacy*, 81, 104; Daniel H. Usner Jr., *Indian, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992). Usner examines the importance of food, cross-cultural sharing, and the economy developed in frontier, multicultural environments. In particular, the chapter entitled "Food Marketing and the Evolution of Regional Foodways" illuminated aspects of ethnic food exchanges between different groups. Regional foodways are the food practices within a geographic and cultural space. Ethnic identity is in part defined by dietary practices and defined in contrast to the practices of other groups in the region. Cultural groups create and exchange not just foodstuffs in these face-to-face encounters but also cultural ideas.

78. Moose Fort Journal, 1808-1809, C099 (M7011), Folder III, McCord Museum Archives (here after MMA).

79. Moose Fort Journal, 1808-1810, C099, Folder III, MMA; Eastmain District Journal Correspondence 1816-1817, Folder IV, C099 (M7012), MMA.

processing feathers and quills from three hundred geese.[80] This is another example of fur trade companies expanding resource extraction and collection beyond furs, and women's integral part in obtaining these resources. Exchange in items other than furs, such as maple sugar and fish, had been taking place since the beginning of the fur trade. However, increasing amounts of non-fur items made it into the inventory of posts in the early 1800s.[81]

In 1805 Michel Cadotte, a trader (known as Kechemeshane in Ojibwemowin) working for the NWC in Pointe Chaquamigon, de la Riviere des Sauteau, and de Lac des Courte Oreille region recorded "Le Sucre 15 sols la Livre," or maple sugar trading for 15 sols per pound.[82] A sol was a French coin and there were 20 sols per French *livre* in that period, this converts to 0.417 British pounds.[83] A NWC report from 1809, "Minutes of Deliberations and Transactions" explained that, "no more than One Years Supply of Corn, Grease and Gum, with about two thirds of a Years Supply of Flour and Sugar, shall be kept on hand."[84] The sugar is not specified as maple or cane, but the NWC relied mainly on Indigenous food sources. The NWC contracted

80. Moose Fort Journal, 1808-1810, C099, Folder III, MMA.

81. Buley, *The Old Northwest Pioneer Period,* 399- 402; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*, 151; Nute, "Calendar of the American Fur Company's Papers, Part I: 1831-1840," 531, Wade, "Indigenous Women," 80.

82. "Minutes of the Meetings of the North West Company at Grand Portage and Fort William, 1801-1807, with Supplementary agreements" in Wallace, *Documents,* 176-177.

83. I am converting this into British Pounds in order to compare to Hudson's Bay Company currency as they used the British monetary system. "Early 19th-Century French Currency," https://chanvrerie.net/history/general/currency/ (accessed 3/10/2020); 1 sou was 1/20 of a livre. (20 sou for 1 franc) One British pound was 25 livre. https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html = 1 French Franc was worth .0417 UK pounds in 1805

84. Wallace, *Documents,* 260- 263.

with agents in Detroit and Queenston, Upper Canada, to purchase high wines. This is concentrated liquor that needed to be "watered down" to be consumed and anywhere from 4 and as high as 9 quarts of High Wines could be diluted in nine gallons of water. High wines procured from Lower Canada would take preference.[85] This statement does reveal that the company had contracts with Detroit companies to provide some trade items and provisions to fur trade posts in the Great Lakes region.

The American Fur Company also shipped excess maple sugar inventory to other fur trade posts around southern Anishinaabewakiing. In the Green Bay settlement, Augustine Grignon remembered many goods and foodstuff either transported to Michilimackinac or bartered to traders setting up posts further west. Grignon recalled large amounts of deer's tallow as well as maple sugar produced locally by Great Lakes Indigenous people who then traded these items at fur posts. Maple sugar, along with other foodstuffs, was transported to trade posts in the region.[86]

85. McGill University Library, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/nwc/history/04.htm (accessed 11/29/2019); Wallace, *Documents*, 263.

86. Augustin Grignon, "Seventy-Two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. III, edited by Lyman Copeland Draper (Madison, Wisconsin: Calkins and Webb, Printers, 1857): 255; Baird, "Reminiscences," 28-33; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*, 66; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 48.

Sugar was important at Fort Howard, as at most frontier forts. It served as rations for enlisted men.[87] The garrisoned troops stationed in the upper Midwest valued maple sugar in the early nineteenth century. Following the War of 1812, the United States government made the ceded lands from treaties available to Euro-Americans. Further, the U.S. Army built forts in southern Anishinaabewakiing to establish the presence of United States jurisdiction in the region. The solders garrisoned at these forts grew some of their food in fort gardens. Sutlers (civilians contracted by the army to sell provisions to troops at a particular fort) and civilian owners of dry goods stores in nearby towns also supply food to officers and soldiers. In the 1816 season, Thomas Forsyth, an independent fur trader, reported that several Great Lakes Indigenous nations produced 75,000 pounds of maple sugar. The price for this commodity in Mackinac was 12 1/2 to 15 cents per pound, bringing him from $9,375 to $11,250 in revenue from sugar alone. At Fort Snelling in the late 1820s, a group of Ojibwe traded food with fort personnel. These Ojibwe from Sandy Lake, "brought "maple sugar, which they had gathered in the northern woods during the

87. Elisabeth Baird, *O-De-Jit-Wa-Win-Ning or Contes Du Temps Passe: The Memoirs of Elizabeth T. Baird* (Green Bay, Wisconsin: Heritage Hill Foundation, 1998): 51-52, 58; Francis Paul Prucha, B*roadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1860* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953): 200-222; Maria Eliza Rundell, *A New System of Domestic Cookery: Formed Upon Principles of Economy, and Adapted to the Use of Private Families,* facsimile edition (Youngstown, New York: Old Fort Niagara Association, Inc., 1998), first edition published, London, England: John Murray in cooperation with J. Harding, 1806); Eliza Leslie, *Miss Leslie's Directions for Cookery*, facsimile edition (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999, first edition published, Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, 1863); Wade, "Indigenous Women and Maple Sugar," 59, 60.

winter, and other articles to sell to the garrison."[88] Some of this sugar would have resembled white cane sugar. For example, in 1826, Thomas McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, toured the Great Lakes on his way to a treaty gathering at Fond du Lac, Minnesota, and described the importance of maple sugar to the economy of the Indians. He observed that the sugar produced was "as White as the Havanna sugar, and richer."[89] Consumers prized white sugar for its purity and for aesthetics but purifying cane juice into a white sugar required more effort and therefore was more expensive. It became a status symbol for the wealthy.[90]

Missionaries from the ABCFM reported their reliance on local sources for provisions and the expense of shipped food from the eastern United States in the upper Midwest in the early 1800s. Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) formed in 1810 with much evangelical zeal brought about as part of a movement called the Second Great Awakening. In part, the changes the United States encountered at the turn of the

88. Prucha, *Broadaxe and Bayonet*, 121-123, 149-171; Thomas Forsyth, "Copy of Memorandum of Exports and Imports, 1816," Draper Manuscript Collection, 4T:64, Wisconsin Historical Society; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*, 145; Marcus L Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918): 120 Project Gutenburg, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/22719 (accessed 01/05/2011); Wade, "Indigenous Women," 56.

89. Thomas McKenney, S*ketches of a Tour of the Great Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians and of Incidents Connected with The Treaty of Fond Du Lac* (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1959, facsimile of the first edition, Baltimore: 1827): 194; See also Hannah Glasse, T*he Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (Bedford, Massachusetts: Applewood Books 1997, facsimile edition, first edition published: Alexandria, Virginia: Cottom & Stewart, 1805): 140-141. Glasse has a recipe for making maple sugar and explains when it is refined it is comparable to the refined cane sugar from the West Indies.; Wade, "Indigenous Women," 50.

90. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 78, 87.

nineteenth century brought about this movement. To counter the rapid shift in American society, many turned to religion and reform movements.[91] It was not until 1812 that the commission had the funds to send a missionary, Samuel Mills to the American West. The letters Mills sent back east created support for the Board and its endeavors, giving the Board material with which to fundraise in earnest. In 1826 the ABCFM inherited the Mackinac mission from the United Foreign Missionary Society (UFMS) when the UFMS merged with the ABCFM. This was the first upper Midwest mission for the Board.[92]

The NWC and HBC also relied on food from Indigenous communities and also amassed maple sugar. Sometimes obtaining provisions was difficult. Nicholas Garry, Deputy Governor of HBC kept a diary from 1822-1835.[93] Garry discussed maple sugar production in the region and that maple sugar "is nice tasted, having a pleasant bitter and at the same time sweet taste and acts on some Constitutions medicinally."[94] While traveling through the Niagara Escarpment by way of the Straits of Michilimackinac, Garry and his traveling companions met a group of Indigenous

91. Mary Beth Norton et al, *A People and A Nation,* Seventh Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005): 272-273.

92. Charles A. Maxfield, "The Formation and Early History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." (2001) Originally in *The 'Reflex Influence' of Missions: The Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1850.* PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1995. https://web.archive.org/web/20120204211607/http://www.maxfieldbooks.com/ABCFM.html (accessed 04/26/2021); Wade, "Indigenous Women," 51.

93. Francis N. A. Garry, ed., *Diary of Nicholas Garry, deputy-governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-1835: A detailed narrative of his travels in the Northwest Territories of British North America in 1821* (s.l.: Royal Society of Canada, 1900), May 15, 1821, p. 82, Peel 142, Peels' Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/142.html (access 2/21/2020).

94. Garry, *Diary*, 95.

men, women, and children encamped on their way to Fort William. On the 21st of June, this group traded "Maple Sugar and Trout and received from Garry's group Tobacco, Rum and Biscuits."[95] On August 3rd Garry entered the Red River and stated, "The banks are now covered with high beautiful Trees, the Maple (from which they make a very nice Sugar), the Elm, Oak, &c." Garry passed Brandon House Upper Red River Department of the HBC, and then onto a village of Saulteaux (which he called an encampment of Chipeway), "cultivated Fields of Corn Indian." The group continued traveling and "on a Lake about 20 Miles distant there are large Woods of Maple which is the Country where they get their Supplies of Sugar from."[96] Garry is most likely referring to the Ojibwe. Garry's entries reflect that Indigenous women in the Great Lakes and Red River regions did not trade only to fur trade posts; sometimes women also traded to travelers with whom they met. Travelers needed food, including maple sugar and protein that in this instance was fish, as they journeyed. From Lake Superior to the Red River maple sugar Indigenous women continued to produce this in demand product.

Indigenous women used the increased desire for maple sugar by Europeans and Americans to develop an "industry." Three such examples of Native businesswomen are: Ozhaguscodaywayquay, Therese Schindler, and grandmother of Nodinen. Ozhaguscodaywayquay, was the daughter prominent Ojibwe ogimaa Waubojeeg, and married John Johnson, a wintering partner of the NWC. She owned and operated a maple sugar business on Sugar Island.[97] Therese Schindler, of Michilimackinac Island at the confluence of Lakes

95. Garry, *Diary*, 107.

96. Garry, *Diary,* 134-135.

97. Jeremy Mumford, "Mixed-Race Identity in a Nineteenth-Century Family: The Schoolcrafts of Sault Ste. Marie, 1824-27," *Michigan Historical Review,* vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring, 1999): 18.

Michigan and Huron. Shindler, descendent of Odawa chief Kewinaquot, was matriarch of the family's sugar bush on Bois Blanc Island east of Michilimackinac and hired men to work the sugar. "A thousand or more trees claimed our care, and three men and two women were employed to do the work."[98] Mille Lacs elder, Nodinen recollected her grandmother's sugar making in the mid nineteenth century during territorial and early statehood history of Minnesota. Nodinens demonstrates a persistence of women trading since her mother obtained the equipment needed for sugaring from American and British traders. Oral histories of maple sugar making by women such as Nodinen's describe a continuity of maple sugar making in which women organized and structured the work surrounding the manufacture of maple sugar, where gendered labor produced a variety of foodstuffs in the spring, and where women were viable traders. Despite the fact that more men may have been working the bush that in the past, women still controlled the manufacture and trade of the item.[99]

Further, Leonard Wheeler, an ABCFM missionary stationed at La Pointe, Wisconsin, in his missionary journal dated January 1844, described a mixed-heritage family and their production of white maple sugar. In Wheeler's chronicle it is the Wheeler's hired man, Robert, doing all the collection and production of maple sugar even though Robert was at camp with his

98. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 40; Elizabeth Baird ""Reminiscences of Early Days on Mackinac Island by Elizabeth Thérèse Baird," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* vol. XIV, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1989): 17-64; Baird, *O-de-jit-wa-win-ning*, 10-14; Ellis, "Fifty-Four Years'," 207-268; J. Edwards Foster Papers, 1835-1841, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Susan Sleeper-Smith, ""[A]n Unpleasant Transaction on This Frontier": Challenging Female Autonomy and Authority at Michilimackinac." *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 3 (2005): 420.

99. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 91; Densmore, *"Chippewa Customs."*

family and extended kin of 20. This production of maple sugar, although recounted by Wheeler as a one-man operation, would have required the participation of all individuals present. Whether it was gathering wood, collecting sap, tending boiling kettles, one individual could not have collected the amount Robert is purported to have produced. Wheeler explained Robert's camp as having "two rows of kettles 16 in number," "several barrels" of reserved sap, and kettles that "are kept boiling night and day." If Robert oversaw the maple sugar production in this camp, he probably learned the production from his mother or wife.[100]

By the 1830s, an extensive maple sugar trade existed in northern Anishinaabewakiing. Native women continued to manufacture this sweetener. The factor at the HBC La Cloche post was particularly interested in the product in the 1830s. At La Cloche, Chief Factor John McBean wrote to George Keith and declared, "We have failed in the Sugar trade – However I send to the Sault the good half of what we have so that you now [?] not feel the entire want of that article."[101] Also, at La Cloche in 1835 and 1836, McBean discussed the need to get to production sites in order to secure maple sugar provisions from women in various camps in the region.[102] In 1836, McBean sent two men to secure maple sugar from families around the post. Faille de St Cire and Regis Beaudin several times in a five-week period from April 15 to May 21, 1836, went "to visit all the Indian sugar makers and secure what they may have."[103] On April 20th St Cire

100. Wade, "Indigenous Women," 40-41; Wheeler, L.H. Missionary Journal. Jan. 1, 1844, Wheeler Family Papers, Diaries, Leonard H. Wheeler, 1835-1844, Box 3, Folder 4. Northland Miss 14, Wisconsin Historical Society.

101. La Cloche Outward Correspondence Book 1831-1832, John McBean, C. F. to George Keith Esquire, La Cloche 14th June 1831, p. 2 B109.b/4, HBCA.

102. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, April 15,1836, B109/a/9, HBCA.

103. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, April 15,1836, B109/a/9, HBCA.

went alone and "procured in furs for $28 ½ and 24 Macaks Sugar."[104] Then on April 25 St. Cire returned from another trip "where he got 1$ 4 ½ in furs and 25 Macaks sugar."[105] In May, St. Cire and Beaudin procured sugar on at least three separate occasions. In particular, the two secured a goodly amount, "at Point aux Erable and Sheshegasning to the South,"[106] In total the two men acquired at least 49 makaks and if on average each makak was at least 30 lb it amounted to 1445 lbs of sugar.[107] McBean's aggressive strategy to guarantee a supply of maple sugar before any other company or individual obtained it demonstrates the importance of this sweetener as a commodity to the HBC, and also its popularity as a sweetener to white traders and settlers.

The volume and extent of maple sugar production and distribution did not diminish mid-century. As late as the 1860s, traders at the Sault Ste. Marie post still collected and distributed maple sugar to La Cloche. Several letters in July of 1862 between Peter Bell, Clerk in charge of the Huron District in which the La Cloche post sat, and Robert Crawford (a clerk at La Cloche), described the movement of thousands of pounds of maple sugar.[108] Crawford declared, "I have therefore given Charles a load of sugar to take down to La Cloche Two thousand and Fifty Eight

104. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, April 20,1836, B109/a/9, HBCA.

105. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, April 25,1836, B109/a/9, HBCA.

106. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, May 19, and 21, 1836, B109/a/9, HBCA.

107. La Cloche Post Journal 1835-1836, p. 8, B109/a/9, HBCA.

108. Inward Correspondence Letters for La Cloche, B109/c/1, HBCA; "Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Biographical Sheets," https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/b/bell_peter.pdf; https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/biographical/c/crawford_robert.pdf (accessed 04/29/2020).

pounds/ say 2058,"[109] and "I retained at this Place about 1500 Lbs Sugar."[110] This place was Mississauganie, a post west of La Cloche. In late 1862 and 1863 Bell received several letters again discussing the movement of maple sugar from Wemyss Mackenzie. Mr. Simpson wrote to Mr. Bell in August 1862, regarding sugar for the Lake Superior District. Simpson was at Sault Ste Marie, part of the Lake Superior District and explained, "Mr. Mackenzie of Michipiciton has send (sic) an order for 30 Barrels Maple Sugar. I had only Eight on hand all of which I have sent him – If you have 25 or 30 Barrels you can send them up by the "ploughkeeper" and charge them to this depot."[111] A month later Simpson wrote to Bell again. "The Sugar was landed yesterday from the steamer Some of the Barrels bottom" open - much of the sugar taken out."[112] It is unclear if the sugar was stolen or if there was water damage and the sugar dissolved. Finally, in the spring of 1863, at the height of the sugaring season Simpson again wrote to Bell. "Dear Sir, I received a letter yesterday fro Cr C7 Wm Mackenzie in which he sends me an extra Indent for Maple Sugar on account of Outfit 1863 if you can furnish 10 Bll extra please do so."[113] The HBC distributed these barrels of sugar round the region to other posts. In the 1860s, Great Lakes Indigenous manufacturers of maple sugar had a viable product to sell. The La Cloche post was in the Algoma District on Canada West. The census of the Canadas (Upper and Lower Canada,

109. Inward Correspondence, Mississaugnie, 17th July 1862, To Mr. Bell from Robert Crawford, B/109/c/1, HBCA.

110. Inward Correspondence, Mississaugnie, 23rd July 1862, To Mr. Bell from Robert Crawford, B/109/c/1, HBCA.

111. "Inward Correspondence, Sault de Ste Marie, August 18, 1862, to Peter Bell (La Cloche) from Mr. Simpson, B/109/c/1, HBCA.

112. "Inward Correspondence, Sault, 1st September 1862, to Peter Bell from Wemyss Mackenzie Simpson, B/109/c/1, HBCA.

113. Inward Correspondence, Sault de Ste Marie, 31, March 1863, To W. Bell (at La Cloche) from Wemyss Simpson, B/109/c/1, HBCA.

now Ontario and Quebec respectively) for 1861 reveals that in the Algoma district there were 3273 inhabitants of Native extraction, 615 inhabitants of British extraction, and 109 Americans of unknown extraction. So, while some British or Americans may have made maple sugar, Native people were producing the bulk of the sugar. The amount of land contained in the Algoma District was 22,465 acres, only 1819 acres under cultivation, leaving 20,646 acres of so called wood and wild lands for large sugar bushes to still be viable for the manufacture of maple products.[114]

The Sault Ste Marie post gathered sugar for much the same time period as La Cloche. From 1820s to the 1860s, Indigenous women were trading sugar at Sault Ste Marie and the post stored the sugar inventory until redistribution to other posts. After its merger with the NWC, the HBC divided its trading territory into four departments: Northern, Southern, Montreal, Colombian.[115] The Northern Department comprised "what is now Northern and Northwestern Ontario, the Winnipeg River system, the Prairies, the Mackenzie River area, and the Rockies."[116]

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114. Census of the Canadas, 1860-1861, Personal Census, Vol. I (Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1863) - Algoma District - https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_01612/45?r=0&s=3 (accessed 10/13/2020): 76, 508; Canada. Board of Registration and Statistics; Census of the Canadas, 1860-61, Agricultural produce, mills, manufactories, houses, schools, public buildings, places of worship, &c. Personal census, Vol. II (Quebec: S.B. Foote, 1864) - Algoma District - https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_01613 (accessed 10/13/2020): 84.

115. Archives of Manitoba, "Hudson's Bay Company Archives: Terms found in Hudson's Bay Company Archives," https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/glossaries.html (accessed 08/17/2020).

116. Archives of Manitoba, "Hudson's Bay Company – Northern Department," http://pam.minisisinc.com/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/121751375/AUTHORITY_WEB/NAME/Northern~20Department?JUMP

(accessed 05/15/2021).

York Factory was both the headquarters and supply depot for the posts that comprised this department.[117] The Northern Department sent to the Sault 102 lbs. Then the Sault post would transport some sugar to York Factory as it did on May 13, 1839, supplies to "York Factory included 12 lbs. of Sugar."[118] This indicates that the HBC collected sugar at major sugar producing regions around Lake Superior and redistributed not just locally but regionally to other posts to other departments.

The Red River Postage account to Sault Ste Marie Depot only asked for small amounts each year in the 1850s. For example, in 1850, eight pounds, in 1852, one pound, and in 1853, six pounds were requested. The Northern Department General Charges to the Sault Ste Marie Outfit is 53 lbs. of Orleans Sugar and 1 keg of Crash or 2 gallons, and 21 lbs. of maple sugar for 1852; in 1855 it is 90 lbs. of maple sugar and 4 lb. of white sugar. In 1858 the transfers of Northern Department General Charges to Sault Ste. Marie Depot was 95 lbs. of maple sugar and 15 lbs. of white.[119] This suggests that the Red River district was producing most of its sugar needs for post personal and settlers, but still requireed supplements from other regions. Regions with larger maple sugar production supplied to those whose production did not meet demand.

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117. Archives of Manitoba, "Hudson's Bay Company – Northern Department," http://pam.minisisinc.com/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/121751375/AUTHORITY_WEB/NAME/Northern~20Department?JUMP (accessed 05/15/2021).

118. Sault St. Marie Miscellaneous Records 1823-1864, B194/z/1, HBCA.

119. RR Postage Account to St. Mary's Depot. Outfit 1849, B194/z/1, HBCA; RR Postage to the Soo, B194/z/1, HBCA; Northern Department General Chares to Sault St. Mary Outfit, B194/z/1, HBCA; Transfers Northern Department General Charges to Sault Ste. Mary's Depot, B194/z/1, HBCA.

Fort William became a settlement with "over three thousand persons" during the summer season.[120] While it was a fort with palisades and a powder magazine, it also had a dining hall, apartments, a kitchen, servants' quarters, post store, and garden.[121] Fort William was not the only post to have a garden. Other posts grew as much food as could be grown and relied on Native women food producers and male hunters.[122] Factors then used these supplies for the coming year as provisions to feed the wintering population and, in at least one case, officers in the British Navy report getting their supplies from Penetanguishene in the mid 1830s.[123] The post garden was a major concern for the factor at Fort William. Every day the journal keeper entered in which activities the "people" were engaged. Gardening was not recorded as gendered work. Men, boys and women planted, weeded, and harvested. It was a case of all able-bodied people tending to the collective subsistence needs of the post. However, some activities continued to follow Ojibwe gender norms as in the case of maple sugar production. The men harvested the hay and barley. Men created barrels and made canoes.[124] During the 1830s, there is some detail about the collection of sap and production of maple sugar in the factors' records at Fort William. Production spanned from mid-March through to the beginning of May.[125] The factors made note of when the sap was running and when the men went to the spring hunt. There are also

120. Wallace, *The Pedlars*, 74.

121. Wallace, *The Pedlars*, 75.

122. Wallace, *The Pedlars*, 84-86; Eastmain District Journal and Correspondence, 1816-1817, C099 (M7012) Folder V, MMA; Moose Fort Journal, 1808-1810, C099 (M7011), Folder III, MMA.

123. Wallace, *The Pedlars*, 96-97.

124. Fort William from June 1831-June 1832, B231/a/11, HBCA; A Journal of Occurrences at Fort William 1834/35, B231/a/14, HBCA.

125. Fort Williams Journals, B231/a/11; B231/a/13; B231/a/14; B231/a/15; B231/a/17, HBCA.

descriptions about when the families came back from the bush and whether it was a good year or a bad one for sugar production.[126]

In the 1830s, the factor at HBC's Fort William in present-day Ontario, wrote frequently of maple sugar. Although Fort William was no longer the hub it had been when owned by the NWC, it was still in use by the HBC. In 1832 "The people who was at Sugar Bush say the maple trees run a little."[127] Men take provisions to the sugar bush, and by April 15th "the women who are making sugar had pretty good success last week."[128] The following year's journal June 1, 1833, to June 1, 1834: "Michel Collin the freeman went to the Grand Portage for his Sugar Kettles, which he left there last spring."[129] The factor was again concerned with when the sap is running and that the weather would affect sugar production. "The sudden thaw and the little frost during the nights is unfavourable weather for making Sugar. In consequence of which there will be very little sugar made this Spring."[130] He later reiterated this and reported, "The mild weather came on so suddenly that the sap is too thick and clammy to make good Sugar now. It is the most unfavourable season for Sugar that we have had for many years back."[131] The factor was alarmed by the small amount the women had made and the sugar returns Michel Collins brought. "The women of the Fort who were making Sugar arrived there is not one of them that made more than a Capeaux of good Sugar. Michel Collin, the freeman, who used to make from 900 to 1000

126. Fort Williams Journals, B231/a/11; B231/a/13; B231/a/14; B231/a/15; B231/a/17, HBCA.

127. Fort William from June 1831-June 1832, Wednesday, March 14, 1832, p. 24, B231/a/11, HBCA.

128. Fort William from June 1831-June 1832, Sunday, April 15, 1832, p. 26, B231/a/11, HBCA.

129. Fort William from June 1831 - June 1832, Tuesday, May 15, 1832, p. 28, B231/a/11, HBCA.

130. Fort William from 1st June 1833 to the 1st June 1834, April 7th, 1834, p. 25, B231/a/13, HBCA.

131. Fort William from 1st June 1833 to the 1st June 1834, Wednesday, 15th April 1834, p. 26, B231/a/13, HBCA.

weight in former season has not made more that 150 this season."[132] This is one example of the details factors of the HBC reported regarding the state of conditions that would make for either a favorable or an unproductive maple sugar season. A document of experiences involving maple sugar output based on environmental conditions created a record benefiting other factors. It also alerted the HBC as to what posts would need supplemental maple sugar provisions depending on the winter's weather patterns of each region.

The following year, however, the factor reported that it was a good season that "Old Collin's arrived from the sugar Bush on April 29th with 300 lbs" of sugar. And on Wednesday May 6th Michel Collin, the Freeman and family arrived from making sugar they made 1000 W./lb of Sugar."[133] The production of maple sugar in this region was back to its regular output. In fact, it was reported Monday 25th "The Boitures old woman arrived from the Grand Portage. She brought nothing but Maple Sugar to pay her debts."[134] There was report of damage to a Keg of sugar on a boat from Michipiciton to Fort William in August of 1836. "With the exception of a Keg of Loaf Sugar that got wet which dissolved into Syrop therefore the greater part of it was lost."[135] Again, the factor reported the weather conditions being either favorable or too cold.[136]

132. Fort William from 1st June 1833 to the 1st June 1834, Saturday, 18th April 1834, p. 26, B231/a/13, HBCA.

133. A Journal of Occurrences at Fort William, 1834-35, Wednesday, April 29th 1835, p. 26; Wednesday May 6th, p. 27, 1835, B231/a/14, HBCA.

134. A Journal of Occurrences at Fort William, 1834-35, Monday May 25th 1835, p. 28, B231/a/14, HBCA.

135. A Journal of Transactions and Occurrences at Fort William, 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836, Tuesday, August 18th, 1835, p. 6, B231/a/15, HBCA.

136. A Journal of Transactions and Occurrences at Fort William, 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836, Wednesday 25th March 1836 to Tuesday 19th April 1836, pp 21- 23, B231/1/15, HBCA.

for the sap to run.[137] In the journal transactions for Fort William 1836 to 1837, the factor discussed the production of maple sugar for over a month from April 8th to May 13th that year. The writer was invested in whether the sap was running well, whether conditions for maximum sap flow was favorable, and whether the families "have made a good deal of Sugar. The spring has been favorable for that purpose."[138] The following year the factor reported that the weather was unseasonably cold but "the Servants & freemen families are all arrived from the Sugar making. Considering the cold weather, they experienced all that month, they made a good deal of Sugar among them."[139] All this detail on how much, and what favorable or unfavorable conditions existed for production of maple sugar provides ample evidence of the significance of and invested interest in maple sugar for consumption and trade. It was one of the notable provisions produced by native women, but the amount suggests it was salient for more than local consumption.

Batchewana was another HBC post that had a sugar trade, a separate account in the general account book of 1868 to 1869. Taken in inventory in late winter and early spring of 1869, the post received 430 and one-half pounds of sugar. Some traded maple sugar for items, and some traded items to get maple sugar. People traded a variety of items for sugar including soap, shoes, tea, pork, thread, and cloth. Specific entries allude to wives or women trading small

137. A Journal of Transactions and Occurrences at Fort William, 1st June 1835 to 1st June 1836, Saturday 7th May, 1836, p. 24, B231/a/15, HBCA.

138. A Journal of Transactions at Fort William from the 1st June 1836 to the 1st June 1837, Friday May 12th, p. 25, B231/a/16, HBCA.

139. A Journal of Transaction and Occurrences from the 1st June 1837 to the 1st June 1838, Saturday, 12th May, 1838, p. 28, B231/a/17, HBCA.

amounts of sugar such as one and a fourth pounds or three pounds for items they wanted. It is not known if these women were Indigenous or white. Smaller amounts as opposed to the many pounds the *macaks* would weight but significant nonetheless as women went go to the post when there was a surplus of sugar not needed by the community and traded for items they desired.[140] Provisions and allowances included moist and crash sugar. Muscovado is one example of moist sugar (cane sugar with molasses still present). Crash sugar is a term used in the Red River region denoting a hard maple sugar that is produced by stirring the maple syrup until it grains and then rolling the mixture. According to historian Margaret McLeod there were two types of maple sugar made in the Red River region: Hard and Crash. Crash was lowest in value and was the "granulated ends of the boilings mixed with the odds and ends of broken sugar all crushed together."[141] Bakers would recognize terms such as Crushed, Powdered, Groundcommon, and Loaf because "throughout the eighteenth century, as production and consumption increased hand-in-hand, cookery books were full of suggestions for sweet dishes."[142] The lower class, if they could afford it, purchased Pieces, Bastard, Muscovado, and Coarse. Crushed sugar is a

140. Batchewana General Account Book, 1868-1869, entries from February to May, 1869, B13/d/1, HBCA.

141. William, Reed. *The History of Sugar and Sugar Yielding Plants: Together with an Epitome of Every Notable Process of Sugar Extraction, and Manufacture, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (United Kingdom: Longmans, Green and Company, 1866): 83, 88, 93, 185; Margaret Arnett MacLeod Collection, Box 3, Files 26-40, MG9 A76, Archives of Manitoba; See also, Margaret Arnett MacLeod "Manitoba Maple Sugar" *The Beaver, Magazine of the North*, 10-13 (Spring 1955): 12 "Until 1860 and later, the sugar upon even festive tables at Red River was scraped maple sugar or the grainy type of crushed sugar, which, in the Red River dialect, was known as "crash sugar."

142. Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1991): 18.

refined cane sugar.[143] Officers' mess and servants' rations also included crash sugar for the officers and moist sugar for the servants. Hundreds of pounds were traded in the spring. Items such as shoes, tea and soap were exchanged in trade for maple sugar.[144] Entries in HBC journals and account books highlighted the importance of maple sugar in provision for employees of the company and soldiers.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the Ojibwe involvement with fur trade companies from various imperial countries: France, Britain, and the United States. More specifically the chapter revealed the changes in maple sugar production by Indigenous women. Ojibwe women began increasing amounts of maple sugar for traders' provisions and ended with the changed appearance of this product to resemble white cane sugar. The demographics shifted in the upper Great Lakes region throughout the early nineteenth century to include more white settlers, especially American settlers in southern Anishinaabewakiing. This shift was instrumental in changing Indigenous women's manufacturing of maple sugar from one not just of a cultural necessity but also a commodity for white consumption. Chapter 3 discusses the similarly manufactured and traded maple sugar by Northern Ojibwe of the Red River region, from the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

143. Feltoe, *Redpath,* 18.

144. Batchewana General Account Book, 1868-1869, entries from February to May, 1869, p. 52, B13/d/1, HBCA.

Chapter 3: Maple Sugar in the Red River Region

Introduction

In the spring of 1821, Ojibwe women in the Red River region journeyed to their *iskigamiziganan* to prepare the site to produce a valuable cultural item and trade commodity, maple sugar. One site was described in 1820 by Peter Fidler, a post manager at the Hudson's Bay Company Manitoba Lake House, as a place called Oo Ska Ba Can, near the source of the Assiniboine River. Maple sugar from the Manitoba maple sugar took a little more time to prepare but was as valuable as Great Lakes maple sugar. Settlers at the Selkirk settlement traded for this sugar and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) stockpiled and shipped it to various posts within their organization.[1]

This chapter discusses the Northern Ojibwe involvement with the fur trade. Through the lens of maple sugar, the chapter will concentrate on the relationship between the Northern Ojibwe and the fur trade companies that operated in the Red River region and more specifically with Indigenous women's production and trade of maple sugar. Direct trade with Europeans began with the French, in the 1630s but by the middle of the eighteenth century the British and Scottish were in the region as two trade organizations: the HBC and the North West Company (NWC). A new Indigenous culture developed out of the fur trade in this region, the Métis. The Anishinaabeg and Métis had kin ties, created alliances, and faced many challenges as the federal government in eastern Canada began to politically, militarily, and demographically take over the Red River region in what is now known as the province of Manitoba. The federal government

1. Peter Fidler, Manitoba District Report 1820, pp. 6-7, 18-19, 24, 34, B51/e, HBCA; Peter Fidler, Manitoba District Report 1821, p. 2, B51/e, HBCA.

treated with the Ojibwe and other Indigenous nations in anticipation of increased settlement and changes in land use.

Like the Great Lakes region, the rivalry among the British and Scottish fur trade companies increased demand for maple sugar and other food commodities. Unlike the Great Lakes region, competition was fiercer as companies horded provisions to prevent the opposition from surviving the winters in the region. Once again, the relationship between Anishinaabeg and European traders started as a web of mutual obligation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to one of increased resource extraction and debt creation in the late-nineteenth century. Like the Great Lakes region, this shift in trade relationships is reflected in Ojibwe women's production and trade of maple sugar from one of local use at the post to regional distribution for white consumption.

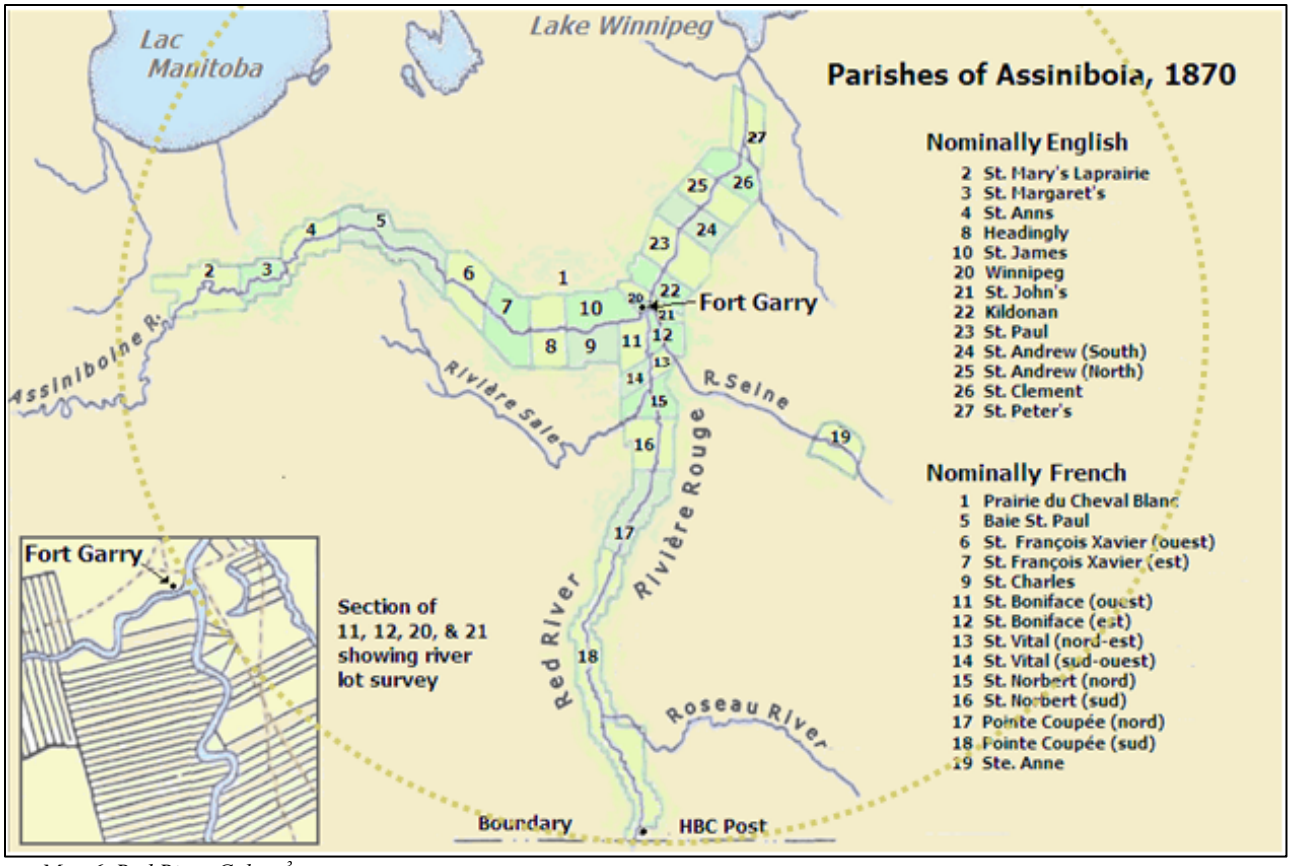
Ojibwe in the Red River Region

For the purposes of this study the Red River region includes the part of the Red River drainage basin contained in what is now the province of Manitoba. It also includes the southern shores of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba and the western shores of the Lake of the Woods. (See Map 5.)

Map 5. Red River Drainage Basin. [2]

Within the Red River Region was the Red River Colony also known as the Selkirk Settlement as seen in Map 6 below.

2. Public Domain: Karl Musser, created it based on USGS and Digital Chart of the World data. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Redrivernorthmap.png



Map 6. Red River Colony[3]

Some bands of Ojibwe who lived north of Lake Superior migrated north and west toward Lake Winnipeg in the last half of the eighteenth century. As historians Ann Carlos and Frank Lewis explain:

> The region from James Bay to the headwaters of the Churchill River was controlled by Algonquian-speaking Cree bands. Cree allies, the Siouan-speaking Assiniboine and the Anishinaabemowin-speaking Ojibwe controlled the lands along the southern and western boundaries. In the decades between the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, the hinterlands of the Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Western Cree shifted. The Ojibwa moved north and west around Lake Superior pushing up toward Lake Winnipeg. As the Ojibwa expanded their territory, the Assiniboine moved into the parkland

3. "The Red River Settlement, 1870," drawn by C.C.J. Bond and printed in The Birth of Western Canada: A history of the Riel Rebellions by George F.G. Stanley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961) Source: Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, http://www.legislativeassemblyofassiniboia.ca/en/page/129/home-country-assiniboia.

> and grassland areas farther to the south and west, while the western Cree moved into the Lake Athabasca region.[4]

In *The Ojibwa of Western Canada*, (1994) anthropologist Laura Peers explains the Northern Ojibwe resided in the Northern Lake Superior region and migrated to Manitoba due to two factors: a smallpox epidemic and the fur trade.[5] Historian William Warren explained that the several large bands around Lakes Winnipeg, Cass, and Red and the Pembina River were known collectively as the Northern Ojibwe.[6] During the early 1780s (1780-83) a smallpox epidemic swept the central region of North America from Montana to Manitoba and east to the Great Lakes region. This devastated the population of Indigenous nations in this area and Peers estimates 50 to 75 percent of the Northern Ojibwe was decimated.[7] Fifty years earlier, in the 1730s, fur trader Sieur de la Verandrye wrote that he encountered the Northern Ojibwe in the Red River region when a smallpox epidemic moved through the southern shores of the upper Great Lakes and into the Prairies.[8] Slowly migrating westward toward the Red River, the Ojibwe found an abundance of beaver and buffalo.[9]

Migration was part of the Ojibwe story as was building alliances with other bands such as the Dakota in the west and the Cree in the north. The Northern Ojibwe had formed alliances with

4. Carlos and Lewis, *Commerce by a Frozen Sea,* 71-72; see also R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada: From the Beginning to 1800*. Vol. I (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1987), Bay Side Trade; plates 40, 65.

5. Peers, *The Ojibwa*.

6. Warren, *History of the Ojibwe People*, 257.

7. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 20.

8. Paul Hackett, *A Very Remarkable Sickness: Epidemics in the Petit Nord, 1670 to 1846* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002): 65-69.

9. Warren, *History of the Ojibway*, 355-356.

the Cree (as we saw in Chapter 2) and settled in the parklands and around Lake Winnipeg. As the Saulteaux moved west into Prairie land, they changed some of their subsistence patterns, but some did not give up the production, consumption, or trade of maple sugar.[10] Some Northern Ojibwe transitioned from a woodland subsistence that included hunting and trapping small and large game and fishing, as well the production of agricultural products, maple sugar, wild rice and dried berries, to a subsistence that relied heavily on buffalo for much of the protein but still produced and consumed maple sugar. Warren described the Northern Ojibwe "standing one foot on the deep eastern forests, and the other on the broad western prairies."[11] Warren relates that maple sugar production must have followed the movement of the Ojibwe when they were in the Red River region, as maple trees grew around the shores of Lake Winnipeg.[12] The Northern Ojibwe that transitioned to buffalo subsistence are sometimes known as the Plains Ojibwe.

There were two avenues the Northern Ojibwe took to obtain the sugar they needed for cultural and economic needs. They moved eastward each spring to tap the sugar maple, or they tapped the Manitoba maple in the new environment into which they had migrated.[13] Like the Great Lakes Ojibwe, the Northern Ojibwe hunted, fished, gathered food, and traded at company posts. In time this trade in food was not only a supplement to provisions that were shipped or grown in and around the post, but also a commodity for company profit shipped outside the local economy.[14] Other items collected and exchanged at posts were isinglass, (the dried swim

10. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 28.

11. Warren, *History of the Ojibway*, 40.

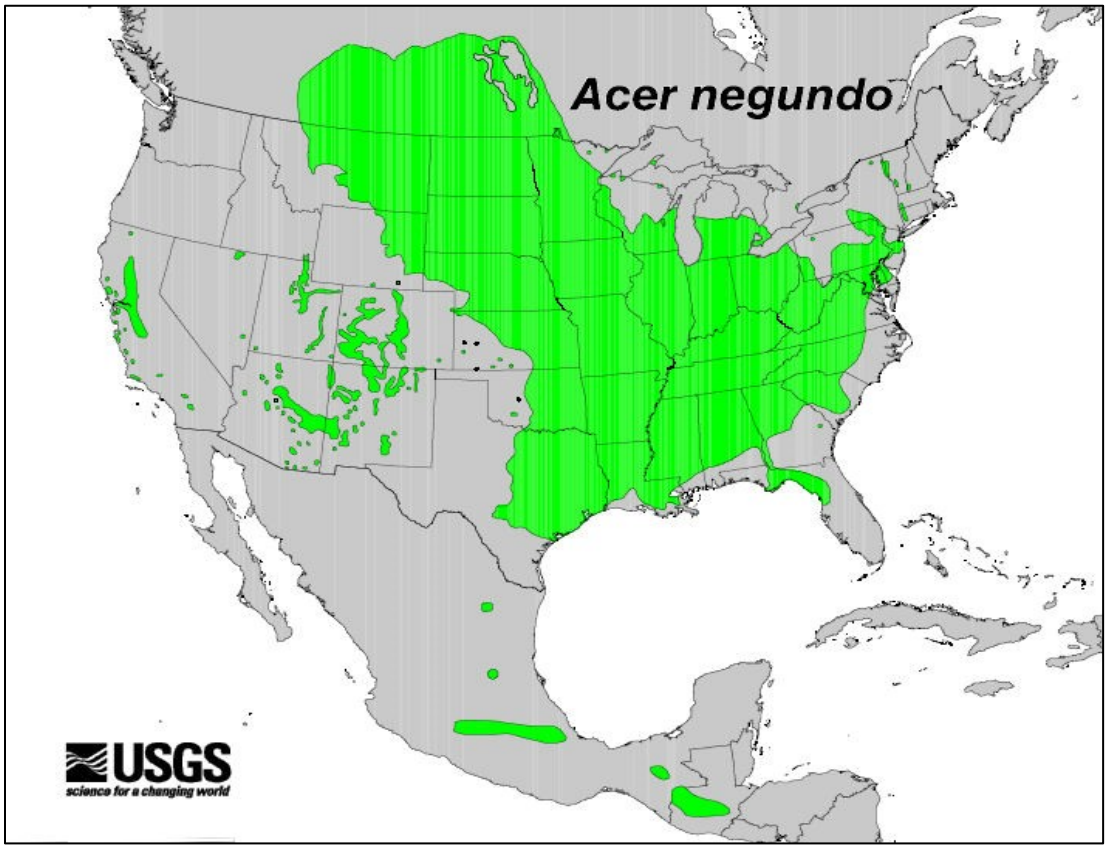
12. Warren, *History of the Ojibway*, 175.

13. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 28-29.

14. Wade, "Indigenous Women."

bladders of sturgeon) used as gelatin, in wine making and for making a thin adhesive, and goose feathers for making quills.[15]

In addition to sugar maple trees, the Northern Ojibwe also used Manitoba maple to produce maple products. This tree grows in the eastern half of the United States and into the southern regions of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. (See Map 7, page 124) However, the range to produce sap is much smaller. Like the sugar maple, the Manitoba maple needs the right environmental conditions to produce sufficient sap flow in the spring conducive to sugar manufacturing.



15. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 160; Matthew Wills, "Isinglass, Or the Many Miracles of Fish Glue," JStor Daily (Aug. 2020) https://daily.jstor.org/isinglass-or-the-many-miracles-of-fish-glue/ (assessed 10/07/2020); Moose Miscellaneous Items 1810-1870, p.197, B135/z/1, HBCA.

Map 7. Range of Acer Negundo [16]

Trade with European fur companies in the Red River region, began in the late seventeenth century with Indigenous middlemen working for the HBC and French coureur de bois. *Coureur de bois* were usually French-speaking fur traders who were not affiliated with fur trade companies or government sanctioned trade.[17] In the early eighteenth century, French trade and exploration in western Indigenous territory continued to expand, and in 1734, French explorer and fur trader La Verendrye and his sons reached the Red River region. French traders built forts soon after, such as Fort Maurepas and Fort Rouge.[18] Harold Innis states, "by the end of the French Regime in 1760, posts had been established in the Lake Winnipeg region to prevent Indians from going to Hudson Bay."[19] But contrary to Innis' statement, this was not prevention, forced or otherwise. Indigenous bands supplied much of the food to French posts far west of their main provisions source, Montreal. The French then had a supply of goods closer to the Indigenous groups with whom they wanted to trade. Just as the Great Lakes Anishinaabeg desired to stay in their homeland rather than canoe for several weeks to trade in Montreal, the

16. Virginia Tech Dendrology, "Box Elder, Range map has been reproduced from the USDA and the USGS or constructed from the USDA plants database and SEINet. http://dendro.cnre.vt.edu/dendrology/syllabus/factsheet.cfm?ID=3 and http://dendro.cnre.vt.edu/dendrology/images/Acer%20negundo/map.pdf. (accessed 04/10/2020).
17. Arthur Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Roles as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay*, 1660-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974): 73; John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy, and War 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1988): 5, 18.
18. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 92, 94.
19. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 49, 94, 99.

Northern Ojibwe also preferred to stay in their homeland to trade rather than travel north to the HBC posts or deal with Indigenous middlemen.[20]

The Red River Region: The Rivalry Between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company

Of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), established in 1670, much as been written. The following section will concentrate on the "Honourable Company's" rivalry with and expansion due to the North West Company's (NWC) success in Anishinaabewakiing and the Red River region. Fur trade companies collected maple sugar on a larger scale in the early nineteenth century, first by the NWC and then later by the HBC, therefore Anishinaabe women further increased production at this time. Maple sugar was an important provision for survival. Wild rice and maple sugar sustained traders through the winter months when game was scarce. Sugar was also used to make some foods more palatable. Further, trading established mutual obligation for survival. For example, the Fort Dauphin region received much sugar in trade, as did the Red Lake and Boundary Waters, which include the Assiniboine and Red Rivers and their tributaries.[21]

Men at posts kept journals of daily activities. Journal entries for the XY Company, the NWC and the HBC in the 1800s discussed the weather, the departure of women to the sugar

20. White, *The Middle Ground*, 111; Podruchny, *Making the Voyageur World*, 97-101.

21. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 28, 29, 54, 55 and endnote 6 on page 221: "Lauren Ritterbush "Culture Change and Continuity" 77, citing Henry Indians making sugar near Pembina post in 1801, 02, 03, 08; Tanner, p. 125; HBCA B.51/e/1, Fort Dauphin Region Report 1820, fo. 10."; Peers, *The Ojibwa*, endnote 133 on page 228 "Swarming": HBCA B.22/a/12, Brandon House Journal 1804-05, 25 April 1805. See also: Henry, p. 196, 4 May 1802, p. 244, 21 May 1804; Tanner, p. 76, p. 81, p. 94; HBCA B.235/a/1, Winnipeg Journal 1791-98, 27 April 1798."

bush, during maple season. Maple sugar was a preoccupation for the factors or post managers. Several journals of NWC men have survived. D. W. Harmon joined the NWC in 1800.[22] One of Harmon's later journals spoke of sugar made from the sap of maple, "not the true maple-but the "Negundo Aceroides" so well known to us all."[23] During his first trip into the *pays d'en haut,* he passed places like Sugar Point or Maple Point. Harmon also discussed in this journal of 1800, he and his traveling companions on May 12, "bartered with the Native receiving sugar biscuit, of which, as well as of pork, beef and spirits, they appear to be uncommonly fond."[24] A few days later, Wednesday May 21, Harmon again bartered for "a little sugar and a few wooden dishes and spoons, for which we gave them provisions."[25] Harmon explained that the NWC had canoes that carry 60 tons that travel to Detroit and Montreal.[26] Once they reached the Swan River Department, August 3rd, Harmon discussed the use of sugar or dried berries as an addition to pemmican to make the food more palatable. This sugar or dried berries they procured from Native producers.[27] When Harmon reached Swan River Fort, he exclaimed he reached the place where "our people make maple sugar . . . I have taken a ride on horseback, to a place where our

22. George Bryce, ed., *Notes and comments on Harmon's Journal, 1800-1820* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Daily Free Press, 1883): 2, Peel 125, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/117/reader.html#33 (accessed 3/9/2020).

23. Bryce, *Notes and Comments on Harmon's Journal*, 5.

24.Daniel Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interiour [sic] of North America* (Andover, Mass.: Andover Press, 1820): 30, Peel 117, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/117.html (accessed 2/21/2020).

25. Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, 32-33.

26. Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, 36-37.

27. Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, 48, Sunday, August 3, 1800.

people are making sugar."[28] Tuesday, March 25, 1806 "We have sent 4 men about a day's march to make maple sugar." Also, he noted that the Sauteaux from Lake of the Woods planted corn and potatoes: "The Saulteaux [Northern Ojibwe] who live back from Mackana, raise large quantities of Indian corn, beans, &c. and also make much sugar, from the maple tree, which they dispose of to the North West Company, for cloth and other articles."[29] These entries reiterate the importance of maple sugar as a provision for the Northwest Company at least as early as the 1800s.

George Nelson's journals and reminiscences of his time in the Winnipeg region, from 1804-1822, recalled some instances of maple sugar production, gifting, and trade. In 1807, Nelson a XYC and NWC trader also mentioned two Ojibwe men who went to the *suceries*, or sugarbush, each spring: Cu-Fessé and Bezzette.[30] "About noon La Bezzette arrives here with this wife & one of his Children. He brings me two beavers, a Bearskin & an otter do [ditto, i.e. skin]

28. Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, 74-75, Monday April 6, 1801.

29. Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, 333-334.

30. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 79-80 and endnote 74 and 75 on page 235, "Nelson, Sorel Journal, p, 167 and HBCA B.51/a/2, Fort Dauphin Journal 1819-20, 10 December 1819"; Peers, *The Ojibwa*, endnote 81, "HBCA B.51/a/2 Four Dauphin Post Journal 1819-1820, 19 May 1819 and endnote 82 HBCA B.51/e/1, Manitoba Journal 1820, fo.10b,"; Peers, *The Ojibwa*, endnote 79, "HBCA B/176/a/1, Red Deer River Journal 1812-13, 3 March 1813. and endnote 80 "1,000 rogans": HBCA B.51/e/1, Manitoba Region Report 1820, fo. 10; "Cache": HBCA B.122/e/1, fo 9b; Harold W. Duckworth, ed., *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804-1822* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press) "Journal at Dauphin River, 3 November1807-31 August 1808," pp. 58-104; "Journal at Dauphin River and Tete-au-Brochet, 1 April 1810- 1 May 1811," pp. 192-240; "with extract from Reminiscences," pp. 241-249.

besides a little new sugar. – He left Old Cu-Fesse in their sugar island."[31] The island where the women in Cu-Fesse's family made sugar was in Lake St. Martin in the Interlake region.[32] It appears Nelson was not as invested, as many other post managers were, in the production of sugar or the weather patterns that would affect output as other NWC traders.

In the early nineteenth century, the North West Company amassed large quantities of maple sugar produced by Indigenous groups in the Red River region as well pemmican, grease, and dried meat for provisions, and gum to make and repair canoes. As with the French, this accumulation of provisions was not only for trade in the regions but also more specifically for trade posts farther west away from the main supply line in Montreal.[33] NWC employees amassed these items at Fort Bas de la Rivière and Rainy Lake in the Red River region. Besides the Assiniboine and Plains Cree supplying the North West Company with provisions such as pemmican,[34] Ojibwe from the Lake Superior and Rainy Lake region and the Plains Ojibwe, Cree and Assiniboine (Nakota) from the Aspin woodlands in southern Manitoba and Northern North Dakota provided sugar.[35]

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31. Duckworth, *Friends, Foes, and Furs*, p. 156, from Saturday March 27, 1809, and p. 201, from Saturday April 28th 1810.

32. Duckworth, *Friends, Foes, and Furs,* 38.

33. Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 263; Elliot Coue, *New light on the early history of the greater Northwest. The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson* 1799-1814 (New York: F. P. Harper, 1897): 444 https://archive.org/details/newlightonearlyh01henr/page/444/mode/2up (accessed 10/01/2020).

34. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 126-135; Colpits, *Pemmican Empire*.

35. James K. Brown and Jane Kapler Smith eds., *Wildland Fire in Ecosystems: Effects of Fire on Flora*, The Rainbow Series, General Technical Report RMRS-GTR-42-Volume 2, (Ogden, UT: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station, December 2020): 35; Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 28-29.

The Cree and Assiniboine were part of a large Indigenous trade network situated in the central and northern plains. Trade occurred mainly with the Blackfoot and within the Mandan-Hidatsa trade network. In turn the Cree and Assiniboine traded with the HBC in the north and at first the French and later the NWC in the northern Lake Superior region. By the early nineteenth century relations between the Cree and Assiniboine and the Mandan-Hidatsa disintegrated.[36] Historian John Milloy explained the Woodland Cree occupied the region between the Eastmain River to the Winnipeg River by the early seventeenth century.[37] La Verendrye described the Red River Region and the Cree bands who occupied the Red River region in 1749 and that "the Sioux and Saulteaux waged war against the Monsoni, Cree, and Assiniboine" at this time.[38] These "Saulteaux" were more likely bands of Ojibwe from the south shores of Lake Superior who for a time formed an alliance with the Dakota. The Northern Ojibwe allied with the Cree. Fur Trader Edwin Denig discusses the Assiniboine producing maple sugar.[39] While the Northern Ojibwe were not the only producers of maple sugar in the region, they made much of the sugar for trade, as the Assiniboine eventually relied more heavily on plains subsistence like the Plains Ojibwe.

Alexander Henry the elder, an independent trader in 1800, described the process of maple sugar production in the Red River region that usually began at the end of March. "The small bastard maple trees begin to run. The sap of this tree makes a fine white sugar, but it is not so

36. Milloy, *The Plains Cree,* 17, 46, 50, 61-63

37. Milloy, *The Plains Cree*, 5.

38. Milloy, *The Plains Cree*, 42.

39. Edwin Thompson Denig, *The Assiniboine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), from his unpublished manuscript (1837-1854): 584.

sweet as that of the real maple and requires a greater amount of sap."[40] In the fall of 1804, Henry makes pickles with maple vinegar. "I gathered my cucumbers and made a nine-gallon keg of pickles, having plenty of excellent vinegar from maple sap, little inferior to that imported."[41] Henry only mentioned maple vinegar once, but as preserving food for winter consumption was a matter of staving off hunger or sometimes death it was probably not a one-time event. Returns of the Lower Red River Department from 1801-1808 described the collection of kegs of maple sugar. It started at 20 kegs in 1801 to 42 kegs in 1808 when Henry collected 3,159 pounds of maple sugar.[42]

There are no available written records in the HBC archives detailing posts trading maple sugar until the late eighteenth century. Before that they were in the north where no maple sugar could be produced, trading with Indigenous groups in the arctic and northern subarctic region. The Cree and Chipewyan middlemen could have brought sugar produced by other groups such as the Northern Ojibwe in exchange for goods, but the records do not reflect this transaction occurring. It is only after the NWC and HBC moved into the Red River region and set up posts in places where production of sugar occurred, that the collection of sugar began in earnest.

40. Charles Napier Bell, ed., *Henry's journal: Covering adventures and experiences in the fur trade on the Red River, 1799-1801" A paper read before the Society, May 4, 1888* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press Printers, 1888): 7-8, Peel 61, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/61.html (accessed 2/21/2020).

41. Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, 250.

42. Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, 198, 221, 245, 259, 281, 422, 440.

HBC's first permanent post near Lake Winnipeg was Portage La Prairie in 1794.[43] With competition from the NWC, and for a short time the XYC, the HBC, was forced to move south from its original posts around Hudson Bay and its tributary rivers. If they did not venture south, then the best furs would be funneled to the NWC. By moving farther south, the HBC needed local foodstuff such as wild rice, pemmican, and maple sugar traded by Indigenous peoples, as they too were moving farther away from their supply line at York Factory on the western shore of Hudson Bay.

A strategic place for setting up posts was "The Forks." Still known today as The Forks, it had been and still is an important gathering place for thousands of years. It is at the confluence between two major rivers, the Assiniboine and the Red. From these rivers there is access to Lake Superior, Lake Winnipeg, and the Mississippi River. Therefore, it was a hub for travel and transportation. As French traders continued to build kinship ties with the Cree, Assiniboine, Northern and Plains Ojibwe, and Métis in the Red River region, they were invited to set up trade. French explorers and traders Sr. Cartier and Pierre de La Vérandrye built Fort Maurepas in 1734.[44] At the end of the Seven Years War (1763), which shifted claims to the region from the French to the British, some French voyagers stayed on in the region. The French voyageurs and NWC men who lived among the Cree, Assiniboine, and Northern Ojibwe began to settle in and around the Forks. By the 1790s, NWC expanded its posts in the region to included forts on the

43.Archives of Manitoba, "Portage La Prairie, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_AUTHORITY/WEB_AUTH_DET_REP/HEADING%20%22Hudson's%20Bay%20Company.%20Portage%20la%20Prairie%22?SESSIONSEARCH (accessed 3/20/2020); Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 126- 128, 144; Innis, *The Fur Trade*, 160-165.

44. Innis, *The Fur Trade,* 91-92.

Upper Red River, Rainy River, and Lake Winnipeg, as well as Swan River House.[45] As with the French, Scottish fur traders maintained kin ties with the Cree, Assiniboine, and Northern Ojibwe. Kin ties could also be established through Indigenous marriage customs. The Northern Ojibwe in this study will subsequently be addresses as the Red River Ojibwe, and the Interlake Ojibwe.

The Beginning of the Selkirk Settlement in the Red River Region

In 1812, Lord Selkirk, a shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company, established a settlement of Scottish farmers at The Forks and along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The Selkirk Settlement was near several Indigenous villages. These settlers had difficulty establishing their colony. It was the Red River Ojibwe who helped the settlers survive these lean years.[46] Peers declares that "the Red River Ojibwa and their Cree, freeman, and Métis relative are generally credited with keeping the settlers alive through the first desperate years of the settlement's existence."[47] The Selkirk Settlement increased the demand for food in the region, including maple sugar, as the farmers had difficulty in establishing farms in the first few years.[48]

45. Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, *The North West Company* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1957); Wallace, ed, *Documents*; "Early Trade Networks," *Canadian Geographic*, Map: http://www.canadiangeographic.com/atlas/themes.aspx?id=earlytrade&sub=earlytrade_east_hudsons&lang=En (accessed 5/29/2020); Ernest Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930) http://www.enhaut.ca/voor1/voorhis.html#nwcompany (accessed 08/26/2020); Gordon Charles Davison, *The North West Company* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1918): 92.

46. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 91-92.

47. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 88.

48. Colpits, *Pemmican Empire*, 130, 134.

The Red River and Interlake Ojibwe traded maple sugar with the NWC and HBC, and to settlers in the Red River region.[49] Maple sugar could be refined to a white consistency as Alexander Henry asserted: "The sap yields a fine white sugar."[50] With an increase in settlers and therefore an increase in demand, Indigenous women would have increased production of maple products and other foodstuffs, in order that there would be plenty to have for cultural needs and to trade for items they desired. Along with increased production of maple products, women also increased the production and collection of wild rice, corn, and small game for trade.[51] Further north, in the subarctic region, in the spring, fish and game birds such as geese were the food collected and preserved for later use.[52] However, in maple sugar producing regions in the Red River region, spring meant maple sugaring for women.

The Cree, Assinboine, Plains Ojibwe, and Metis provided mainly pemmican for the trade companies and the Red River and Interlake Ojibwe provided maple sugar.[53] Pemmican was a

49. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 180, endnote 37 on page 242: "General trade with settlers in and around colony: HBCA B.235/a/8, Winnipeg Journal 1826-27 7January, 6 and 7 March 1827; HBCA B.235/a/12, Winnipeg Journal 1828-29, 24 January1829, HBCA B/235/e/3, Winnipeg (Red River) Region Report 1826-27, fo. 3. See also Klimko, *Fort Pelly I*, pp. 27-28. HBCA B.51/e/2, Manitoba Region Report 1821, fo.2 (source on quote re: 4 shillings per pound for sugar; compare with HBCA B.239/z/1 fo 35: usual price given was 9p. per pound); HBCA B235/a/8, Winnipeg Journal 1826-27, 6 March 1827; HBCA B.159/e/2, Swan River Region Report 1828-29, fo. 1."

50. Elliot Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, 172.

51. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties,* 60-61; Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 56.

52. Moose Fort Journal, 1808-1810, May 1809, C099 (M7011), Folder III, MMA; Eastmain Region Journal and Correspondence 1816-1817, July 7, 1817, C099 (M7012) Folder V, MMA.

53. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 125-134.

significant fur trade provision in Manitoba, North Dakota, and westward. Historian George Colpits discusses the finer details in his work, *Pemmican Empire*. This foodstuff was traditionally made as "fine or "sweet." Fine pemmican used good marrow fat together with the best cuts of meat. Sweet pemmican also contained berries and was used for special occasions such as gifting.[54] As settlement moved west another type was created: loaf pemmican. Cooks attempted to make pemmican more palatable, using various techniques and additives. Some cut up the pemmican and fried it (Rubaboo), some added berries, flour, onion, and maple sugar.[55] Daniel Williams Harmon, fur trader for the North West Company stated in his journal that maple sugar was added to the "very palatable, nourishing" pemmican.[56] Harmon also discusses the Mandan making "much sugar from the maple tree and disposing it to the North West Company for cloth and other articles."[57] Reinforcing the importance of maple products westward, beyond the Great Lakes region, and the ability of Indigenous groups to trade the product for more than just rum.

Along with increased trade of maple sugar came hording of this and other provision items by both the NWC and HBC. In 1813, John Pritchard related the hoarding of provisions in the Red River region, "received orders from Mr. John Wills to buy up all the provisions I possibly

54. Colpits *Pemmican Empire*, 273.

55. Colpits, *Pemmican Empire*, 272-277.

56. Daniel Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interiour [sic] of North America*, Bibliotheque et Archives Nationales du Quebec, p. 48, http://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3994128 (accessed 3/20/2020); W. Kaye Lamb, "Introduction to the 1957 edition," Harmon's *Journal, 1888-1819* (Surry, British Colombia: TouchWood Edition, 2006, orig. *Sixteen Years in the Indian country*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1957): xv-xxix.

57. Haskel, ed., *A Journal of Voyages*, 333-334.

could; I did so, giving an advanced price; by which means I procured one-third more than the quantity usually required for the use of the North-West Company."[58] Rivals horded food so the other company did not have access to it. This prevented an extension of the supply line further west to the Pacific coast.[59] Between 1810 and 1816 the "pemmican wars" resulted because of the competition between the HBC and the NWC. Both companies wanted control of this food source. It was essential to the growth of both companies in their expansion west.[60] In early 1814 the governor of the region, Captain Miles Macdonnell, "issued a proclamation prohibiting the export of more provisions than the different traders required for the use of the men employed to transport their merchandize to the respective places of the destination. This prohibition the North-West Company set at defiance."[61] A "pemmican treaty" attempted to consolidate the pemmican in the hands of the government of the Selkirk Settlement and then sell it at fair market value to the two rival fur trade companies. NWC men disregarded the arrangement as they began making pemmican and transporting it to their western posts. In 1816, at the height of the provisions dispute, HBC men and the new Selkirk Settlement Governor Robert Semple, confronted Métis attempting to deliver provisions to nearby NWC posts in Seven Oaks.[62] Twenty

58. Narratives of John Pritchard, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, and Frederick Damien Heurter, respecting the aggressions of the North-West Company, against the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon Red River, (London: John Murray, 1819): 6, University of Alberta Libraries, https://archive.org/stream/cihm_47219/cihm_47219_djvu.txt (access date 3/20/2020).

59. Colpits, *Pemmican Empire*, 128.

60. Colpits, *Pemmican Empire*, 126-127.

61. Pritchard, *Narratives*, 6; Colpits, *Pemmican Empire,* 136-138.

62. Colpits, *Pemmican Empire*, 100-101; Peers, *The Ojibwa, 90-91.*

of Governor Semple's party, and one youth from the Métis party died. This rivalry continued until both the HBC and NWC companies merged in 1821.

Lord Thomas Selkirk negotiated a treaty with the Ojibwe, Cree, and Assiniboine nations in 1817. The results from the negotiation and signing of the treaty were manifold and each party of the treaty had different reasons to sign. For the Ojibwe it meant a reaffirmation of the ties between themselves and the colony.[63] Sheldon Krasowski explains that the treaty was a reserve for the settlers along part of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. For the Cree and Red River Ojibwe, "the land outside of the reserve remained their sovereign territories."[64] For Selkirk, the "treaty was necessary to refute the North West Company's claim that the violence in the settlement was the result of Native dissatisfaction with colonists for not properly compensating them for their land."[65] However, contention between the Ojibwe and Cree developed. Ojibwe lived on Cree land, by either consent or invitation. The Cree maintained that the Ojibwe had no right to sign the Selkirk Treaty or receive payment.[66] Ojibwe ogimaa Peguis prevailed upon the Cree and "the leaders of the bands that frequented particular areas were responsible for signing for the transfer of their own lands."[67] In the end the colonists paid an annual quit-rent of tobacco for the use of the land.[68]

63. Peers, *The Ojibwa,* 93.

64. Krasowski, *No Surrender,* 15.

65. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 92-93.

66. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 92-93, 126; Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1971, Orig. 1862): 298-300.

67. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 93.

68. Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 17-20.

Much like a treaty with the British or US government, the treaty between Thomas Selkirk and the below signed leaders of the Ojibwe, Assiniboine, and Cree:

> Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the annual present or quitrent herein after mentioned, the said Chiefs, have given, granted and confirmed and do, by these present, give, grant and confirm unto our sovereign Lord the King all that tract of land adjacent to Red River and Ossiniboyne River, beginning at the mouth of Red River and extending along the same as far as Great Forks at the mouth of Red Lake River and along Ossiniboyne River as far as the Musk-rat River otherwise called Riviere des Champignons and extending to the distance of six miles, from Fort Douglas on every side, and likewise from Fort Daer, and also from the Great Forks, and in other parts extending in breadth to the distance of two English statute miles back from the banks of the said rivers, on each side, together with all the appurtenances whatsoever of the said tract of land, to have and to hold forever the said tract of land and appurtenances, to the like of the said Earl of Selkirk, and of the settlers being established thereon.[69]

69. "The Selkirk Treaty and Map, Spotlight: HBCA in words and images," Archives of Manitoba, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/spotlight/selkirk_treaty.html (accessed 7/6/2020).

Map 8. The Lord Selkirk Settlement at Red River Part 1[70]

In order to provide for the peaceful continuation of the settlement, Selkirk and his representatives negotiated with Indigenous leaders in the area for possession or use of the land extending in two-mile tracts along both sides of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in exchange for an annual payment or gift. On July 18, 1817, Selkirk signed the treaty with 5 leaders referred to in the document as "Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeaway or Saulteaux Nation, and the Killistine or Cree Nation." (see Map 8, page 138; Figure 2, page 139) It has become widely

70. Manitoba Historical Society, "The Lord Selkirk Settlement at Red River Part 1," the grant to Lord Selkirk in 1811, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/pageant/13/selkirksettlement1.shtml (accessed 3/25/2020).

known as the Selkirk Treaty. This is the first formal written agreement in what would become Western Canada recognizing Indigenous land rights. It was superseded by Treaty I in 1871,[71] discussed in a later chapter.

Figure 2. An Image of Part of The Selkirk Treaty[72]

Mixed-Ancestry and Emerging Métis Identity.

As in the Great Lakes region, clerks and voyageurs married Indigenous women in the "custom of the country," an Indigenous practice not based in western legal or religious

71. "The Selkirk Treaty and Map, Spotlight: HBCA in words and images" Archives of Manitoba, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/spotlight/selkirk_treaty.html (accessed 7/6/2020).

72. Archives of Manitoba, HBCA E.8/1 fo. 11 https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/spotlight/selkirk_treaty.html

sanctions.[73] These country marriages were sometimes fleeting but oft times long-term commitments. In time the children of these unions and the communities they created became the basis of the Métis people.[74] Métis fur traders are associated mainly with the North West Company. The first communities created around The Forks,[75] later expanded to include communities on the Plains. As with other Indigenous groups in the region, they produced provisions for fur trade companies. According to Brenda Macdougall the Métis do not have a singular identity but "have duality of parentage"[76] and the shifting identity reflects this reality. In addition, identity is "not ridged or singularly created but, rather, are constructed through multiple processes that are simultaneously intersecting, antagonistic and complementary,"[77] and she argues "that in the field of Metis Studies, Canadian scholars, like their American colleagues, have been overly and unproductively preoccupied with race at the expense of culture and the categories within each cultural ontology that establishes who and how people are real."[78]

How a community identifies is often different from how others, and in particular the dominant society, imposes identity on individuals and groups. While there were fur trade communities in the Great Lakes region, these communities, within Anishinaabewakiing, did not

73. See Van Kirk*, Many Tender Ties*; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*; St-Onge, Podruchny, and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People.*

74. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Brown, *Strangers in Blood*.

75. St-Onge, Podruchny, and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People.*

76. Brenda Macdougall, "The Myth of Metis Cultural Ambivalence," in Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, and Brenda Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People: Metis Family, Mobility, and History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012): 451.

77. Macdougall, "The Myth of Metis Cultural Ambivalence," 451.

78. Macdougall, "The Myth of Metis Cultural Ambivalence," 436.

have the political movements that the Red River Métis experienced beginning in the early 1800s. Several historians have written about Great Lakes multi-ethnic fur trade communities. Historians Susan Sleeper-Smith and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy have uncovered in their studies what they have termed respectively as Great Lakes mixed-ancestry in lower Lake Michigan and the creole community of Prairie du Chien. The type of colonization and strategies taken to combat this colonization were different. Sleeper-Smith focuses on the Potawatomi and Ilini experiences and the kin networks between Native and white and mixed-ancestry fur traders. These strategies created, as Sleeper-Smith contends, an erasure of or amalgamation with white communities or for Murphy a ghettoization of these communities. In terms of the erasure or amalgamation with whites, Sleeper-Smith explains some Indigenous communities "shielded themselves behind a façade of whiteness. Thus, they were able to avoid removal and sometimes these communities were so adept at this "façade of whiteness" they became "invisible."[79] Sleeper Smith also discusses "the malleable boundaries that characterized colonial society in the western Great Lakes." Malleable boundaries allowed Native, mixed-heritage, and white fur traders to live in a multi-ethnic communities.

Later white settlers used malleable boundaries to shift demographics to their advantage as the settlers set up juridical proceedings and enforcement of Western laws once white settlers were in the majority. As the practices of settler colonialism entered the region, Americans saw individuals in fur trade communities as either white or "Indian." Individuals in fur trade communities became white and assimilated into white settlements or became Indigenous and were segregated with the native population to live in the villages of their Native relatives. Another avenue was to adopt white dress, manners, and behavior. But Sleeper-Smith argues this

79. Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, 8-9.

"construction of whiteness" meant those individuals and communities who used this tactic to resist removal lost status as Indians because they were "behaving like white people." The final tactic Sleeper-Smith describes is the voluntary removal of communities to lands "less desirable" to settlers.[80] Communities remained in the region, but now occupied land less able to sustain family and kin. Through these various tactics to resist removal, communities and community members became racialized. They became racialized as white and accordingly lost status as Indigenous, or "became" Indigenous and their chances of being removed increased unless they "hide in plain view."[81]

Murphy uses demographics to highlight race as a category to explain the shifting influence of what she calls the creole population as American settlement increased and the neighborhoods in Prairie du Chien divided along ethnic lines. She illustrates the eventual ghettoization of fur trade communities with the division of neighborhoods in Prairie du Chien along ethnic lines. Murphy departs from Sleeper-Smith's conclusion in her discussion of how the creoles in Prairie du Chien in particular, and the Great Lakes region in general, did "not become a racialized outgroup."[82] The author concludes at the end of her study that the creoles of Prairie du Chien did not become racialized as Native but were able to maintain their creole identity. Creoles retained their identity because some creole community members were able to maintain a land base. Early Euro-American settlers in the region needed "white" land owning members of the community to implement American law. In addition, community members maintained their identity because they drew upon their creole adaptability. To the American settlers, however, this

80. Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, 116-140.

81. Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men*, 114.

82. Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles*, 11.

was a temporary amalgamation of mixed-heritage and American settlers. Murphy explains that once there was a settler majority these settlers no longer saw Great Lakes creoles as white but instead as "French Canadian" European, white but not quite white American. American settlers were able to segregate creole neighborhoods in Prairie du Chien, which demonstrates that Great Lakes creoles were racialized by the dominant white society.

In 2012, Brenda Child, published *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community.* In Chapter Two, "Madeline Island: Ojibwe Women in Fur Trade Society", Child concentrates on the role Ojibwe women played in fur trade communities. At first, the author explains that the Anishinaabeg ". . . along with a smaller number of relatives who were Métis, incorporated European trade and people into their economy and community." The act of incorporating individuals from other cultures into their own was a long-standing practice by the Ojibwe, who accepted fluidity of identity and the interconnected web of relationships. Later, Child reports, "new cultural relations were constructed" between Ojibwe and European traders. Child uses a capital M when discussing communities of the Great Lakes region. However, Child does not talk of a fur trade community or a Métis community but an Ojibwe community incorporating people of various ancestry.[83]

Child implies that there is no Métis culture within the community, but an Ojibwe community consisting of people within a kin network. Chris Anderson relates that in fact mixedness is a colonial construct.[84] The Ojibwe would have incorporated peoples of differing ancestries into their kin network. In the Red River region, the Métis are an Indigenous group with kin networks creating an Indigenous place. While the relationships forged with Europeans

83. Child, *Holding Our World Together*, especially "Madeline Island: Ojibwe Women in Fur Trade Society," 31-37.

84. Andersen,"Métis"

"created profound social changes in places like Madeline Island and the surrounding Chequamegon area of Gichigamiing by the early nineteenth century," it was still fundamentally, according to Child, an Ojibwe community.[85] At the end of the chapter, Child considers how mixed-ancestry people self-identified. The scholar concludes that those in the generation living in multi-ethnic fur trade communities:

> Many have constructed their own identity and community differently than did their mothers of grandparents, or even than their own children who settled at White Earth and other reservations. The generation before them had "participated in shaping an ethnically and culturally diverse world in the Great Lakes region and their own children would experience a difficult age when America's racial hierarchy became further entrenched through the establishment of the reservation system.[86]

The success of the fur trade depended on Native women, and the creation and viability of the Métis culture also depended on Native women and their continued acceptance of fluidity of identity and practice of creating kinship ties re-enforcing the web of relationships. While Plains Métis concentrated on producing pemmican for the North West Company, they had kin ties to Red River and Interlake Ojibwe.[87] The kinship ties between Métis and Ojibwe meant that some Métis whose kin produced maple sugar in both the Red River and Interlake regions, would also produce maple sugar. The fur trade journals do not specify if the Ojibwe or Métis kin produced the sugar. Sometimes the post factor describes Canadians and Indian women going to get birch to hold sap or traveling to the sugar bush.[88]

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85. Child, *Holding Our World*, 43.

86. Child, *Holding Our World*, 62.

87. Nicole St-Onge and Carolyn Podruchny, "Scuttling Along a Spider's Web: Mobility and Kinship in Metis Ethnogenesis," in St-Onge, Podruchny and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People*, 63.

88. Red Deer River (Swan River) Post Journal 1812-1813, p. 11, B176/a/1, HBCA; Big Point House Post Journals 1815-1816, p. 13, B122/a/1, HBCA.

Indigenous Economy in the Red River Region

There were some cultural differences between the Plains Ojibwe and the Ojibwe of the Interlake region. The Interlake region lies between lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba. Hunting and subsistence stratagem for the Prairie Ojibwe shifted to Cree hunting styles therefore there were differences in some of the material culture of Interlake Ojibwe and Plains Ojibwe. However, Plains Ojibwe still maintained kinship ties with the Interlake or forest/parkland Ojibwe. In addition, there were kin ties between the Ojibwe and Cree.[89] The Ojibwe who settled in the parkland regions, as well as the Red River region of Manitoba practiced maple sugaring in particular villages in the Interlake and Red River regions where Manitoba maple grew.[90] The interest in maple sugar increased with the expansion of settlers and the strategy that fur trade companies adopted at this time to diversify resource extraction beyond furs to quills, fish, and maple sugar.[91]

By the 1800s post journal entries mention freemen becoming involved in maple sugar production but completely within Ojibwe gender norms of food procurement. Freemen was a term Hudson's Bay Company officers used to describe former employees, typically French Canadian and Métis traders and voyageurs who had finished their contract with the HBC. They continued to work as casual laborers: working in the gardens, preparing salt fish, repairing building and canoes.[92] In 1812 Alexander Kennedy described maple production in the post

89. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 190-193.

90. Peers, *The Ojibwa,* 154.

91. Moose Fort Journal, 1808-1810,"C099 (M7011), Folder III, MMA: Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 160.

92. Manitoba Archives, Hudson's Bay Company Archives – Glossaries, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/glossaries.html (accessed 01/18/2021), HBCA Journals, for example, Red Deer River (Swan River) Post 1812-1813, Alexander Kennedy, B176/a/1, HBCA.

journal for Swan River. He had several men chop wood for sugar making and create a trough from a poplar tree for holding the sap. The maple trees they tapped were on the bank of the Red Deer River. By April 3, he noted, "Indian wives pitched off for sugar making and their husbands to take bark for canoe building."[93] A week later Kennedy reported that he went to a small point on the river to produce sugar. After surveying the area, he found it:

> but a very indifferent place for sugar making. The sticks being very small & old; but it is the only place near unoccupied by McDonald & his rascally Freemen, so that we must take it or have none. It is a circumstance perhaps not generally known, that tho' we have the best right, we are prevented from getting any quantity of sugar made, even if we could spare people to look after it, as the principal places are retained by them who make annually from twenty to thirty kegs of 80lbs each, & this is generally preformed in the course of three weeks. In conversation with an old freeman (Pluff?) a few days ago, he told me that he would spare one of his points of maple for a small considerations, as he was now getting too old to occupy all that he had![94]

Indigenous women were producing the sugar and the freemen they married helped with the heavier work, as Indigenous men would do. The Anishinaabe cultural constructs of gender food procurement and gender division of labor continued. Within this Ojibwe kin working relations, mixed-heritage children from these relations continued to produce food in this gendered manner.

According to Peter Fidler, the post factor at Fort Garry in 1820, "The OoSka Ba Can was a noted place where" Indigenous families "meet in the spring to make maple sugar."[95] Fidler also described the quality of maple sugar processed on some of the smaller islands in Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis "the whole becoming like pitch of an inferior quality," as well as the quantity

93 Red Deer River (Swan River) Post Journal 1812-1813, Alexander Kennedy, B176/a/1, HBCA.

94. Red Deer River (Swan River) Post Journal 1812-1813, Alexander Kennedy, B176/a/1, HBCA.

95. "Report on Region [Manitoba]," p. 6, B51/e, HBCA.

available, “from 800 to upwards of one thousand pound in good seasons might be purchased.”[96] Some trade journals suggested that at times the sugar was traded for whiskey that was not necessarily what Indigenous traders wanted. They preferred household goods such as blankets and cloth. Fidler explained in the Manitoba Region Report of 1820 “some Maple Sugar may be purchased from the Indians at reasonable rates especially in plentiful seasons - particularly when they purchase Rum, Cloth Blankets – they are unwilling to give the price for and will not Trade those articles under at least 4d per pound - which very seldom pay those articles – rather losing it than give that enormous price.”[97] Conversely, in the Manitoba region in the 1821, Fidler commented that the First Nations “make annually there a considerable quantity of Maple Sugar which they dispose of at the colony for cloth, blankets to the settlers at a very high price in several instance more than four shillings” per pound.[98] If the HBC would not trade desired items for the sugar, the Northern Ojibwe found a ready market at the Selkirk Settlement. In 1839, the Hudson’s Bay Company was concerned about the cost of shipping cane sugar to their posts. The minutes to council that year stated:

> As a means of reducing the consumption of Sugar in the Department which is now an article so much in demand as to occupy a considerable portion of the freight from

96. Peter Fidler, Manitoba Lake House Report on Region (1820), p. 7, B51/e, HBCA.

97. Peter Fidler, Manitoba Lake House Report on Region (1820), p. 24, B51/e, HBCA.

98. Peter Fidler, Report of the Manitoba Region by Peter Fidler (1821), p. 2, B51/e, HBCA.

> England, It is Resolved 62. That the requisition on England in that article be curtailed by 25 P. Cents & that the Sale prices be increased 25 p. Cent.[99]

While the HBC did import cane sugar for its officers and Chief Factors, it still amassed maple sugar to redistribute to its posts. Maple sugar became a signifier of status as HBC officers received white cane sugar, and the lower-class clerks consumed maple.

Maple Sugar and The Church Missionary Society in Manitoba

Besides the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk colonists, another organization the Saulteaux traded Red River maple sugar were the missionary societies in what would become Manitoba. The Church Missionary Society began in England in 1799. It came out of the Wesleyan and Methodist revival movement of the mid-eighteenth century. This movement included spreading the Gospel to places it had not been introduced to, such as Africa and parts of North America and "in 1822 CMS began its North-West America mission when two clergymen,

99. "Minutes of Council, 1839," in *Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830 to 1843: Being the transaction and enactment of the rulers of the country during that period, with accompanying documents* (Bismarck, North Dakota?: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1915?): 770, Peel 214, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/214.html (accessed 04/24/2021); "Minutes of Council, 1843, Appendix, Standing Rules and Regulations," in *Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830 to 1843*, 842-843, "Resolved 8. That all Country produce &c. subject to valuation or inventory or in Transfers be priced as follows - maple sugar to be priced at 1 pound, 4d." Peel 214, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/214.html (accessed 04/24/2021).

John West and David Jones, started work on the Red River in Rupert's Land."[100] In 1846 George Jehoshephat Mountain, Bishop of Montreal visited the Church Missionary Society's mission in Rupert's Land. He discussed poor provisions in the Red River region "in one instance, at a very remote post, our replenishment of provisions consisted of small wheaten cakes, made of very discoloured flour, a pair of fowls, which were a present, and a supply of maple sugar, for ourselves; with pemmican, or pounded buffalo-meat, for the men."[101] Mountain also described, "A very fine grove of oaks is remembered upon a now naked point, at the mouth of the Assiniboine, the site of what is called the Old Fort, near the modern structures that have supplied its place. Sugar-maples were also known in the neighbourhood."[102] The bishop is describing the Red River Settlement and the part of the Rivière Rouge that flowed through the settlement. he explained the area was "well wooded upon the banks of the river when the settlement was formed."[103] In other words, according to the bishop, there were ample trees to produce sugar in along the Rivière Rouge at the time of settlement.

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100. Rosemary Keen, Editorial Introduction, "Church Missionary Society Archives, Section V: Missions to the Americas, Part 2: North West Canada, 1821-1889," http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/cms_section_V_parts_2_to_4/Editorial-Introduction.aspx (accessed 5/15/2020).

101. George Jehoshaphat Mountain, *The journal of the Bishop of Montreal, during a visit to the Church Missionary Society's North-West America mission: To which is added, by the secretaries, an appendix, giving an account of the formation of the mission, and its progress to the present time (*London: Seeley, Burnside, & Seeley; Hatchard & Son; Nisbet & Co, 1845): 30, Peel 226, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/226.html (accessed 2/21/2020).

102. Mountain, *The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal*, 76, asterisk at the bottom of page.

103. Mountain, *The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal*, Page 75-76.

During the years between 1838 and 1854, missionary accounts at Hudson's Bay Company posts included maple sugar. In 1843, at Fort Alexander, the Wesleyan Missionary Society purchased 60 lbs. Maple Sugar.[104] At Red River in 1844, supplies for Mr. Steinharas' Journal for July 29 of that year, 9 lbs. Crash sugar; for Mr. Jacobs Journey to Lac La Pluie, 5 lbs. Crash Sugar.[105] In the 1850s, missions in the northern regions added maple sugar in various forms to their provisions purchases. The Lac La Ronge Church Mission in 1853, purchased but one pound of sugar of an indeterminate type. The Norway House Wesleyan Mission Station from the HBC sales shops, in 1854-1855, obtained 4 kegs of crash sugar that was approximately 25 gallons. The Pas Church Mission Station for 1855-1856 bought 9 pounds of maple sugar and 6 pounds of crash sugar. Reverend William Mason in 1857-1858 secured 22 pounds of crash sugar. The following year Reverend Mason supplemented his previous year's purchase with 6 pounds of crash sugar and Reverend. J. P. Gardiner bought 75 pounds of crash sugar.[106] In the course of 5 years missions or individuals associated with the missions paid for 9 pounds of maple sugar, 119 pounds of crash sugar and 25 gallons of crash sugar. Indigenous women manufactured maple sugar not only for fur traders but also for the missionaries who had come to the region to proselytize and to steer the Native population of the Red River region to the western ideal of single male owned farms and farming practices.

Northern Ojibwe, Assiniboine (Nakota), and Swampy Cree observed where they could make money as the environment and economy shifted and then created opportunities for themselves. Historian Arthur Ray reflects on the effects of resource depletion on the fur trade

104. Northern Department Missionary/Mission Statement Accounts, 1838-1854, fos. 179-275, B239/z/27, HBCA.

105. Northern Department Missionary/Mission Statement Accounts, 1838-1854, fos. 179-275, B239/z/27, HBCA.

106. Northern Department Missionary/Mission Statement Accounts, 1838-1854, fos. 179-275, B239/z/27, HBCA.

economy in the Red River region in southern Manitoba. "Woodland and Grassland Indians alike were forced to make economic adjustments."[107] Ray explains that by the 1820s the seasonal migration of woodlands Ojibwe to the parklands occurred only sporadically. Some of this depletion of bison occurred because Métis, Cree, and Plains Ojibwe hunted for the pemmican trade. With the scarcity of bison for the pemmican trade, many Native people came to the Red River colony for work or to receive food and other aid. George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, did not want this migration to occur, as he wanted Indigenous men to continue bringing in furs to his HBC posts. Some Ojibwe, and Métis worked seasonally as hired hands on farms, but when the opportunity arose would practice culturally appropriate food procurement that included agriculture.[108]

By the 1830s, once HBC had the monopoly on the trade in the region, the managers dictated prices and hiring practices. In Southern Manitoba, the HBC began hiring settlers as piece workers.[109] Historian Olive Dickason explains that by the 1830s, "As the "custom of the country" gave way to European mores, such chiefs as Peguis of the Saulteaux at Red River became actively aware that the treaty they had signed with Selkirk in 1817 had been with the white man's interests in mind, not those of the Amerindians."[110] In this context Dickason is using

107. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 217.

108. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 217, 219, Brenda Macdougall, Carolyn Podruchny, and Nicole St-Onge "Introduction: Cultural Mobility and the Contours of Difference," St-Onge, Podruchny, and Macdougall, eds., *Contours of a People*, 8-9.

109. Innis*, The Fur Trade*, 309.

110. Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 240.

"custom of the country" as the way of life created between Indigenous and fur traders who conducted business on Cree, Assiniboine, and Ojibwe land.

In April 1844, diarist Peter Garrioch, a resident of the Red River Settlement, remarked that a "sugar making trader was going to the Isle de Bois country to trade for sugar."[111] By the early 1850s, fur trader Alexander Ross described the self-sufficiency of the Red River settlement, and explained, "the people of Red River possess singular advantages and incitements to self-support. Their salt, their soap, their sugar, their leather, is supplied by the colony."[112] It appears by this time colonists were producing their own maple sugar. At the same time, fur trader Peter Fidler also recorded that the Northern Ojibwe were still producing maple sugar and using it in culturally significant ways such as pounding it with meat when there is no fat and consuming it during feasts.[113] However, native groups were still viable maple sugar producers in the Red River region even though the colonists may have been producing their own supply. There were still markets at mission houses and HBC posts.

111. Margaret Arnett Macleod, Notes for pamphlet "Red River's Festive Season," MG9 A76, Box 3, Files 26-40, Margaret Arnett MacLeod Collection, Archives of Manitoba; George Henry Gunn, "Peter Garrioch at St. Peter's 1837," *Minnesota History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (June 1939): 119-128.

112. Alexander Ross, *Red River Settlement: Its rise, progress and present state: With some account of the native races and its general history to the present day* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1856): 361, Peel 330, *Peel's Prairie Provinces*, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/330.html (access 5/21/2020).

113. Report on the Manitoba Region, 1820, Peter Fidler, p. 19, B51/e, HBCA.

In the 1869 the HBC negotiated the transfer and sale of Rupert's Land with the Canadian government.[114] Consequently, the Canadian government began treaty negotiations to prepare the region for an influx of settlers, specifically from Ontario.[115] It was becoming more difficult for Ojibwe in southern Manitoba to continue to rely on the fur trade for economic livelihood, and the Plains Ojibwe, Cree, and Metis were experiencing the decline of Buffalo. As much as Peguis fought for his people, for this way of life, the practice of accommodation became a tactic for his people for the long-term strategy of continuance and survivance. For the Northern Ojibwe it was the beginning of the shift of employment from one of mercantilist trade with the HBC to the pursuit of commercial farming.

Economic reasons spurred the Ojibwe into treaty negotiations.[116] The environment in southern Manitoba was no longer able to support the production of pemmican as the buffalo population decreased in the region. In addition, in the 1850s the HBC began to import goods from the United States.[117] Land for groups such as the Northern Ojibwe to hunt fur-bearing animals and to produce food such as pemmican, wild rice and maple sugar were all factors in the success of the fur trade. Frank Tough relates, "regional cultural patterns and the traditional economies had developed out of indigenous landscapes and some two hundred years of the mercantile fur trade."[118] The Canadian government and white settlers had a very different view

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114. Frank Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail": Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870*-1930 (Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press, 1996): 8.

115. J. R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 293

116. Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail,"* 5.

117. Ray, I*ndians in the Fur Trade*, 219, 225: Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail," 53, 57.*

118. Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail*," 5.

of ownership and economic success, and slowly, beginning the 1870s, land use and the economy changed from a mercantile economy, with mercantile colonialism with the Hudson's Bay Company to wage labor, agriculture and settler colonialism and a relationship with the Canadian government based on treaty and scrip.[119]

Ojibwe and Métis Strategies Against Settler Colonialism

Missionaries and settlers increased the demand for maple sugar. The Ojibwe worked toward maintaining their land and resources as European and Euro-Canadian missionaries and settlers arrived. The Ojibwe either restricted land use "or demanded payment for the land occupied by the mission buildings."[120] Peers states that in the Interlake region, "by the late 1860s, tensions between missionary James Settee and the Ojibwa and Cree at Scanterbury had focused on land and resource rights."[121]

As land surveyors entered the Red River region, the Ojibwe did not support Métis actions to stop the surveying and settlement of land.[122] The Ojibwe disagreed with their Métis kin for by this time there was a conflict of finite resources between Ojibwe, Métis, and white settlers. The Ojibwe had negotiated with white settlers and acted accordingly. Some Métis acted on their experiences of starvation and shortage of pemmican.[123] During the Pemmican Wars, Peers explains there was an "accord" between the Ojibwe and the settlers of the Selkirk colony. On the

119. Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, "Foreword," in Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail*," xii.

120. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 202.

121. Peers, *The Ojibwa,* 202.

122. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 91, 202-203.

123. Gerhard J. Ens, "The Battle of Seven Oaks and the Articulation of a Metis National Tradition, 1811-1849," in editors Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny, and Brenda Macdougall, *Contours of a People: Metis Family, Mobility, and History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012): 98.

other side the NWC had mainly French Canadian and Métis employees. The NWC felt threatened by the HBC and its new Selkirk colony. In 1816, after a harsh winter where many died of starvation, the Métis under Cuthbert Grant attacked an HBC brigade carrying pemmican. The Métis were taking pemmican to Red River when Red River Governor Robert Semple and 21 settlers met them. Semple and the settlers were killed, as was one Métis youth.[124] The Battle of Seven Oaks that took place on June 19, 1816.

Peers relates, the Ojibwe, a minority in the Red River population, feared increased Métis control of land and resources and therefore chose to side with the HBC. Peers states that "skillful, political maneuverings" needed to be employed by the Red River Ojibwe if they were to avoid dispossession. Therefore, Henry Prince, Peguis' son, supported the HBC and the colonial government. Prince also offered HBC officials at Lower Fort Garry assistance, participated in failed negotiations with Louis Riel and prevented his men from joining the Métis. When negotiations for Treaty Number 1 began, Prince reminded officials of the aid he and his men had given stating: "all last winter I worked for the Queen … My people had nothing to do with [the uprising]".[125]

As historian Nicole St-Onge explains, a person or a group's identity depends on the situation and is constantly being brokered depending on the situation. For the Metis, St-Onge declares that "prior to 1870, ethnic identities were fluid, relational and situational . . . a person

124. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 90, 99; Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Norman: University of Oklahoma: 1992): 262-263.

125. Peers, *The Ojibwe,* 202-203, Peers is quoting Jean Friesen, in "Grant Me Wherewith to Make my Living," unpublished research report for TARR Manitoba (1985): 65.

could and did wear several "ethnic" identities at once."[126] Although kinship ties played into identity, so too did geography, and economic and political opportunities.[127] Witgen similarly explains that "race at Red River, for example, had little to do with skin color and everything to do with a more concrete series of cultural associations … Identity formed as a result of lived relationships-*meyaagizid* (foreigner) and *inawemaagen* (relative) were the categories that imparted social meaning to a person's being, not the European construct of race."[128] Nor'Wester William McGillivray admitted in a letter of 14 March 1818 that the Métis were linked to the NWC by occupation and kinship. "Yet," he emphasized, "they one and all look upon themselves as members of an independent tribe of natives, entitled to a property in the soil, to a flag of their own, and to protection from the British government." Further, it was well proved "that the half-breeds under the denominations of *bois-brûlés* and *métifs* have formed a separate and distinct tribe of Indians for a considerable time back."[129] Near the Red River colony, the Ojibwe and Metis were in opposition to each other, despite kinship ties, during the Pemmican Wars.

126. Nicole St-Onge, "Uncertain Margins: Métis and Saulteaux Identities in St-Paul des Saulteaux, Red River 1821-1870," *Manitoba History* No. 53, (Oct. 2006): 2, 9.

127. Nicole St-Onge and Carolyn Podruchny, "Scuttling Along a Spider's Web," 4.

128. Witgen, *Infinity of Nations*, 366.

129. Gaudry, Adam, "Métis". In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published January 07, 2009; Last Edited September 11, 2019. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/metis; *Papers relating to the Red River settlement, viz., Return to an address from the Honourable House of Commons to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, dated 24th June, 1819, Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12 July 1819.* (London: Great Britain Colonial Office,1819?): 140, Peel 115, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/115.html (accessed 04/34/2021).

The Métis self-identified as a cultural and political entity. They did not go through the same process during settlement-colonization, as did the fur trade communities in Wisconsin and Michigan discussed previously. The Métis in the Red River region began coalescing politically in the 1814-1816 during the Pemmican Wars, and in particular the Battle of Seven Oaks. By the late 1860s, the Métis of the Red River region banned outsiders from their land and "seized control of essential stores at Upper Fort Garry."[130] Several Métis leaders, negotiated for Manitoba to be a province of Canada with self-government and protection of Métis land. The Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 occurred when the Canadian government broke its promises and surveyors entered the settlement effectively denying Métis rights to their land.[131] The Métis physically stopped the survey of land and set up a provisional government. This land contained Manitoba maple groves and other resource that would allow the Métis to participate in farming and the local food economy, as they could no longer count on the provisions economy of the Hudson's Bay Company. Canadian Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and many members of his government did all they could to cheat the Métis from not only their land but also the land promised them for their children. After much negotiation with representatives of the Métis the Canadian Government passed the Manitoba Act (1870). The Act created the province of Manitoba from Indigenous lands and provided recognition of Métis land rights.[132]

130. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, p. 203.

131. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* 268-269; D. N. Sprague, *Canada and the Metis, 1869-1885* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988): 37-52.

132. Sprague, *Canada and the Métis*, 3-6, 89-107, Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 271; Tough, "*As Their Resources Fail,*" 115.

While the Métis set up a provisional government and petitioned to negotiate with the Canadian government to enter confederation, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to trade for natural products such as maple sugar.[133] Even after the sale of Rupert's Land, the HBC records depict a desire to collect, trade and transport maple sugar within and out of the region, at least until the 1860s as indicated in the amount of crash sugar purchased by the missions and the shipment of crash sugar from Moose Factory to various outfits in the 1860s.[134] For example, at the Lower Fort Garry post in 1870-71, the Officer's Mess Book for the Second Battalion Quebec Rifles records various amounts of sugar each month. Prime Minister Macdonald ordered the Second Battalion Quebec Rifles, along with the First Ontario Riffles, to Fort Garry, Manitoba as part of the Colonel G. J. Wolseley expedition, to quash the Métis.[135] In the fall of 1870, the battalion ordered 438 pounds of sugar, and in the winter of 1871, 397 pounds. Therefore, over a seven-month period the battalion received 835 pounds. One individual, Sergeant Bedson, had 17 pounds of sugar on his account from November 1870 to February 1871.[136] Sergeant John Emslie was a member of the Number 3 Company, First Ontario Rifles. Enroute to Fort Garry to quell the Métis resistance, he commented in this journal that the men were allowed to "go on shore and secure a fresh, supply of maple sugar, a favourite luxury."[137] During the expedition to Manitoba,

133. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, p. 203.

134. Moose Miscellaneous Items 1812-1870, p. 210, fos. 1-83, B135/z/3, HBCA.

135. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 272; Manitoba Archives, Filename: Bedson, Samuel Lawrence (1842-1891) LMP 11/2002, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/_docs/hbca/biographical/b/bedson_samuel.pdf (accessed 10/07/2020).

136. Officer's Mess Book (for 2nd Battalion Quebec Rifles), Lower Fort Garry 1870-1871, B303/D/49, HBCA.

137. John Emslie, *Journal of Expedition to Fort Garry (*Winnipeg: s.n, 1870): 1-2, Peel 561, Peel's Prairie Provinces, University of Alberta http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/561.html (accessed 2/21/2020).

Emslie and his men used six boats, in his boat included "three barrels sugar" although no mention of what kind.[138] At Fort Garry, the HBC company store was only able to purchase tobacco and sugar and Emslie explained, "the charge for the latter article, dry crushed, was 1s. Gd stg. per pound."[139] This crash sugar, produced by Indigenous women, was sold to members of the Canadian Army dispatched to crush Indigenous rights.

Conclusion

Ojibwe women engaged in the Atlantic trade economy due to their role as producers of significant amounts of maple sugar that aided fur trade enterprises to expand their territory and to reduce their expenses. The Ojibwe in the Red River region brought fur traders into their trade network via the social protocols expected of newcomers. The North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company vied for furs and food. At first, fur trade companies utilized maple sugar and other local foods as provisions for traders who were far from their supply line in Montreal particularly as traders moved farther west. NWC men stockpiled supplies in an effort to prevent the HBC from surviving the winters in the Red River region and expanding west, a demonstration of the importance of provisions supplied by Indigenous people. The HBC shipped maple sugar produced by Native women in the Red River region, to various posts. This helped the HBC reduce the overhead cost of cane sugar importation thus linking Ojibwe women living in the interior of North America to the Atlantic trade economy. As mercantilist colonialism changed to settler colonialism, Ojibwe and Métis relatives had various responses to the erosion of their economic livelihood and their land rights.

138. Emslie, *Journal of Expedition*, 5.

139. Emslie, *Journal of Expedition*, 13.

Chapter 4: Treaties and Politics

Introduction

In the fall of 1873, many Anishinaabe *ogimaag*, leaders in Anishinaabemowin, met with Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and Joseph Provencher and Simon James Dawson, two other Canadian commissioners appointed to negotiate Treaty 3. One ogimaa, Mawedopenais, the main speaker for the Indigenous nations gathered to discuss terms of land use, spoke at the conclusion of the treaty negotiations: "Now in closing this council, I take off my glove, and in giving you my land I deliver over my birthright and lands and in taking your hand I hold fast all promises you have made, and I hope they will last long as the sun rises and the water flows, as you have said." Mawedopenais concluded with the phrase, "as you have said," highlighting the significance of the spoken word to the Anishinaabeg. Within in an oral culture, what is said is more important that what is written.[1]

This chapter highlights how Great Lakes and Red River nations kept hold of their culture despite losing much of their land base or environment. After treaty negotiations in the nineteenth century in the United States, cultural retention occurred, in part, because leaders of these nations negotiated for the rights to gather resources on ceded land also known as usufructuary rights in the United States. In negotiating with Canadian Treaty commissioners, Anishinaabeg did not cede land but instead negotiated for sharing the land and working with Euro-Canadians in taking care of natural resources. This, however, was not the intention of the Canadian government or

1. Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with The Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Facsimile: Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1971, originally published Toronto: P. R. Randall, 1862): 45-47.

her representatives whose aim was a surrender of lands.[2] Great Lakes Natives were able to keep some of their environment and resources. The takeover of Great Lakes Nations environment was through settlement that was gendered and patriarchal in nature. It was not just resources that were taken away, but also women-centered places where political activities, ceremonies, and teaching took place. It was a loss of women's roles in their environment. Today Anishinaabeg maple production is more multi-gendered, not the female centered activity and place it once was.[3] Examining the treaties and Indian policies Western empires used against the Great Lakes and Red River Nations to appropriate land and resources including maple sugar, reveals the strategies Indigenous people employed to counter land and resource theft. This discussion will illuminate one particular strategy of land and resource protection: the Anishinaabeg fight for maple sugar production in treaties entered into with British, American, and Canadian officials. Moreover, while Ojibwe women may not have talked at treaty negotiations, they were part of their nation's decision-making process. Therefore, while Ojibwe men talked at treaty negotiations and highlighted usufructuary rights both men and women fought for the natural resources used to produce food, utensils, clothing, and shelter and the resources they still are "charged" with taking care of, including water that flows through trees.[4]

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2. Krasowski, *No Surrender*.

3. See Winona LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005) In particular LaDuke discusses the community activism developed in communities like White Earth to harvest foods such as maple sugar. These foods are important to the community for health and economic reasons.

4. Kugel, *To be the Main Leader of Our People,* 71; Miller, *Ogimaag,* 65-112; Maple Nation, https://www.maplenation.org/, https://www.maplenation.org/interviews (accessed 03/20/2021).

Treaties and Indian policies shifted from alliance building and trade with the French and the British, to the destruction and theft of land with the United States, and Canada. To differing degrees, imperial forces invaded Anishinaabewakiing, and the Anishinaabeg enacted upon those forces to protect their resources and way of life, which included maple sugar production. Each successive Western empire wanted more resources and land from the Anishinaabeg and used various methods to employ power and empire. The French had a mutually beneficial relationship with the Anishinaabeg. They participated in Indigenous diplomacy and cultural norms, but the French also participated in empire building by claiming Indigenous land, and by performing rites recognized by other European countries and within the mercantile colonialism of the fur trade. The French interests lay in resources and not land, for they did not have the manpower to maintain any such claims.

When the British won the Seven Years War in 1763, they usurped power from the French in North America. The British thought of the Indigenous peoples as a conquered population and therefore did not see the need for building Anishinaabeg culturally acceptable relationships as the French had done. However, the Great Lakes Nations let their displeasure be known. Since the British did not have the manpower in the Great Lakes region, and because they wanted the wealth of the fur trade, the British established trade relations that were more culturally acceptable with the Anishinaabeg. The United States victory in the Revolutionary War, in 1783, created an international border bisecting Anishinaabewakiing. As the United States began expansion into and beyond the Great Lakes, treaties and policies, official and unofficial, were created to steal land and resources from all Indigenous peoples. By the late-nineteenth century, the British and Euro-Canadian population also expanded into the Great Lakes. Canadian Indian policy, like British and American Indian policy also became predatory. All the while, the

Anishinaabeg fought for, and continue to fight for, their land and the rights to resources including the food women collected, harvested, and manufacture and the resources women used to produce utensils, housing, and clothing.

French Treaties and Policies

When the French entered Anishinaabewakiing in the 1600s, they were an imperial force from their perspective but were, in reality vulnerable visitors. Few in number, French ambassadors, fur traders, and priests negotiated trade relations and social interactions on Indigenous terms. The French also learned from the Anishinaabeg and other Great Lakes Native groups how to live in this environment. By adopting rituals and ceremonies that the Anishinaabeg performed when encountering others, the French became part of the Anishinaabeg social sphere. The French fur traders wanted furs, and the government officials wanted to expand the French empire. In order to achieve their aims, the fur traders participated in Anishinaabeg trade relations. In order to expand the French empire, government officials participated in the rituals of empire.

Map 9. Lac Superieur et autres lieux ou sont les Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus comprises sous le nom D'outaouacs, 1670.[5]

One of these rituals occurred in 1671, one year after the establishment of the British Hudson's Bay Company. French representative Simon Francois Daumont Le Sieur de Saint Lusson arrived in Anishinaabewakiing and performed a European ritual to claim discovery and possession of this environment. French officials planted a cross, unfurled the king's coat of arms, and made a speech, all witnessed by Native groups of Algonquin speaking bands living in the "Western Interior." These bands were beginning to form into the groups later known as the Odawa and Ojibwe but were still amorphous to the French. Nicholas Perrot, a voyageur, who traded and lived among the Anishinaabeg asked them to attend the French ceremony. Jesuit missionaries living in the Sault Saint Marie region also served as witnesses. France declared its

5. Wisconsin Historical Society: https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM39791 (accessed: September 26, 2018)

"rights" over the land with this performance, which was then solidified when Jesuit priest Claude Dablon recorded the event, which included a map of the region, aimed at a European audience.

For the European audience, this map (see Map 9, page 164) refashioned Anishinaabeg space into French space. First, the French defined boundaries, in an attempt to exclude other European empires, especially the British, from claiming ownership. Second, the French redefined Great Lakes Indigenous groups on the world stage by confining, within a map, groups to a particular parcel of land.[6] By fixing Native identity to place, the French could assert sovereignty over the defined nations. However, Great Lakes identity was fluid, not so much tied to a fixed place but tied to the web of connection among people from within their territory. The French officials, with their imperial agenda performed a ceremony in Anishinaabewakiing that established rights to the land on the European world stage.[7]

This was not the way the Anishinaabeg, or other Great Lakes nations experienced it. They continued to live as they had done before in fluid movement and identity over their environment. While Great Lakes Indigenous groups moved through their environment, they build strong relationships of mutual obligation. These relationships created kinship ties. When a person was kin - either socially or biologically - they were *inawemaagen* or a relative and therefore entered a web of mutual responsibility within Anishinaabe epistomology. If a person was not *inawemaagen* then they were *eyaagizid* or a foreigner.[8] Heidi Bohaker explains, "The Anishinabek did not deploy a separate semantic category for ally, trading partner, or friend. You

6. Michael Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession: Native Identity and the Invention of Empire in Seventeenth-Century Western North America," *Ethnohistory* 54:4 (Fall 2007): 641, 646, 647, 649.

7. Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession."

8. Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession," 33, 279.

were either *inawemaagen* or you were not. If you were not *doodem* kin, you became *inawemaagen* through ceremony. Such alliances were the basis for all political relationships."[9]

The Anishinaabeg saw strangers as potential enemies but after the French participated in diplomatic rituals of gift giving, adoption or marriage, Anishinaabeg then saw those French participants as kin. These French individuals were then incorporated into the already existing trade network created and used by Indigenous groups. In the seventeenth century, Great Lakes Indigenous groups integrated the French into their system of interrelationships with outsiders. Gifting set up a web of mutual obligation whereby a person was connected to other kin by giving and/or receiving gifts, the value of which was not taken into consideration. That which was given did not have to equal that which had been received. A long-term kin status could be achieved through marriage or adoption with these same webs of obligations that were embedded in the Anishinaabeg culture.[10]

A person attained authority by building consensus, in civil matters or in war. To gain consensus a person needed to build strong relationships: being generous with food, objects, and time, to demonstrate *minobimadiziwin* or to live a good life, and to obtain a strong relationship with *manidoo* or spiritual power.[11] Ogimaag are leaders as defined within the Anishinaabeg

9. Heidi Bohaker, *Doodem and Council Fire: Anishinaabe Governance through Alliance* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2020): 84, iBooks, https://itunes.apple.com/WebObjects/MZStore.woa/wa/viewBook?id=3C08EBBA05464A273E97394BB9EE6789.

10. For the importance of Great Lakes Indian ceremonies in trade relations see, Bruce White, "The Woman Who Married a Beaver: Trade Patterns and Gender Roles in the Fur Trade," *Ethnohistory*, 46:1 (Winter 1999):109-147; White, *The Middle Ground*.

11. Miller, *Ogimaag,* 10-11

world. Ojibwe saw power manifested in the successes an individual had in living: providing food for loved ones, wooing a mate, healing individuals, bravery in battle. By far ogimaag gave more gifts and was one of the ways they maintained a leadership position. In Anishinaabeg culture men were ogimaag more often than women. However, women had rights of items they produced, including food. If maple sugar was given as a gift, it was at the indulgence of the woman who produced it. The wife of an ogimaag would extend gifts to those in her husband's network.[12]

These types of relationships were essential as Indigenous people in the Great Lakes were mobile groups who moved across the land and adopted alliances depending on the political and military situations in the region. Their individual identities were connected to their personal clan or *doodem* and to the established webs of connections, including trade ties and military alliances with other indigenous individuals. As Cary Miller explains, "*Doodemag* not only functioned to communicate identity but also served a variety of important functions within the village and through ties of kinship, bound villages together."[13] Therefore, a group of Anishinaabeg did not necessarily inhabit one bounded place, but rather a larger territorial place where families and individuals could and did reform and reorganize based on their web of connections through *doodemag*. Michael Witgen declares, "These groups existed not as distinct nations with distinct territories but as the enactment of a set of social connections or relationships at a particular place."[14] The place might be particular, but the assembly of people within that place was fluid. The French in order to claim the territory on the European stage, needed to fix these ever-changing groups to a particular place. The St. Lusson pageantry and Dablon's recording of the

12. Miller, *Ogimaag,* 70.

13. Miller, *Ogimaag,* 38-39.

14. Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession," 648.

event did many things besides claiming the interior of North America for France. For the French and European audience, it anchored the fluid identity of the Indigenous groups in the upper Great Lakes region within this region into specific groups in fixed places. In this way, Dablon's texts and maps were an important tool of empire by creating a version of "empire that the European audience could understand" and accept.[15]

The French accepted Anishinaabeg diplomatic protocols and became kin, thus allowing trade and political and military alliances to develop. Great Lakes Anishinaabeg gave the term Onontio, to the Governor General of New France. Onontio had a position of authority as the Governor was looked upon as a father. A father in Anishinaabeg culture should protect the people in his web of relations. A kin relationship developed between the Indigenous groups in the Great Lakes region and Onontio "based on a mutual obligation between the father and his children, or between the older generation to the younger one, to preserve and protect each other's welfare."[16] This relationship also worked for the French authorities who, culturally, looked upon this as a form of paternalism, the superior French male leaders taking care of, in their minds, the inferior, childlike Native groups. This relationship worked for each culture's interpretation of the role of Onontio.

French officials also needed fur traders like Nicolas Perrot and other French Canadian men, to navigate between the two cultural worldviews. Fur traders became kin, either by gifting in Indigenous spaces, or by marrying into a family and therefore a network. On an international level these traders also brought French empire into the space by occupying it. In the Great Lakes Indigenous context St. Lusson's ceremony was affirming the social relationships between them

15. Miller, *Ogimaag,* 38; Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession," 642, 648-651.

16. Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession," 641.

and the French. It was not about becoming subordinate in the French Empire.[17] France did not physically take the land from the Anishinaabeg. While the French were able to claim the land symbolically in an European empirical way, they were unable to do so in a direct and practical way with the Great Lakes Indigenous peoples.[18] The Anishinaabeg continued to live and love and move across the landscape as they saw fit to do. They created an alliance with the French to establish kin ties in order to have access to trade goods, to establish military alliances, and to superintend those who lived in their land base and how they lived within it.

For almost one hundred years after the St. Lusson pageant, the French and English fought for the North American continent and jockeyed for position with the Indigenous groups east of the Mississippi River. The French adopted Anishinaabeg ceremony and kin relationships to obtain the furs and to form alliances. The French ceremony was for recognition by European powered as rightful owners of this claimed land thereby expanding French empire in North American but the French needed alliances with Native groups to become players in the bid for North American supremacy. If not for Indigenous alliances, the French would not have been able to govern New France and Louisiana for as long as they did.

The Seven Years War (1756-1763) saw the end of French governance in North America. The Treaty of Paris (1763) ended the Seven Years War and removed Onontio from power. By 1763, the Ojibwe entered the treaty process with the British Crown, through his representatives on the North American continent. The French and English brokered the terms of peace; no

17. Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession," 653-657.

18. For a more nuanced description of the pageantry performed by Saint Lusson in 1671 see Michael Witgen, "The Rituals of Possession: Native Identity and the Invention of Empire in Seventeenth-Century Western North America," *Ethnohistory* 54:5 (Fall 2007): 639-668.

Ojibwe, or any Indigenous group, were present during these treaty negotiations, as Europeans did not consider Native North Americans their equal. Not only did Europeans think the Indigenous population was child-like and inferior but also that much of North America had already been claimed by Europe.

European governments recognized the Doctrine of Discovery and occupancy of that "discovered" land. Using European tactics of empire, including the European Doctrine of Discovery, a theoretical theft of land occurred on European maps. The Doctrine of Discovery concerns the fifteenth century papal bull *Inter caetera*. This papal decree became international law allowing European countries to claim rights over land and resources, and dominion of its inhabitants to territory considered newly discovered.[19] The British and then later the American and Canadian governments stole land through the perceived right of discovery and the transfer of this right to successive regime changes. In Europe the Doctrine of Discovery (*terra nullius*) established that native inhabitants first did not use the land as Europeans did. In other words, Indigenous peoples did not fence off portions of land and claim individual ownership; many groups did not practice widespread agriculture and many groups did not have single dwellings used year-round but instead had seasonal dwellings based on where food was procured. Therefore, according to European law, the land was virgin land and could be claimed by European explorers and military personnel on behalf of their sovereign. Secondly, *terra nullius* can also be used to imply that the land, while it may not have been empty of humans, was empty of Western governance.[20] The British used this doctrine as well as the ritual of treaty making and

19. Jennifer Reid, "The Doctrine of Discovery and Canadian Law," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies,* (2010): 335.

20. John Borrows, *Law's Indigenous Ethics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019): 103.

later the American and Canadian governments would use similar tactics. As John Borrows asserts "Crown power can be directly traced to discriminatory assumptions rooted in European sovereign assertions when the Crown "discovered" Canada."[21] Meanwhile the fur trade continued as French Canadian and mixed-heritage fur traders remain in the region and worked with British companies headquartered in Montreal. Those kinship ties continued, but new kinship ties had to be formed with British traders, soldiers and the Crown, through her representatives.[22]

British Treaties and Policies

As the British entered the Great Lakes region in the early 1760s, there was no agreement among the British officials, as to whether to follow official protocol or to put into practice the important kin ties, as the French had done. Many British officers and government representatives thought Great Lakes Nations were on the losing side of the Seven Years War. Representatives of the British Crown who governed the Great Lakes region after the Treaty of Paris did not want to negotiate within Ojibwe cultural norms, despite knowing the significance of gifting and familial relationships in creating alliances. British agents such as Sir William Johnson, and Lieutenant James Gorrell, however, did follow Ojibwe diplomacy to Great Lakes tribes in the early 1760s. Johnson was superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Gorrell stationed at Green Bay was advised by Johnson to continue diplomacy on Ojibwe terms.[23]

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21. Borrows, *Law's Indigenous Ethics*, 19.

22. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada,* 168-169; James Gorrell, "Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal, Commencing at Detroit, September 8th, 1761, and ending at Montreal, August 13th, 1763," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. I, edited by Lyman Copland Draper (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1855): 26; Borrows, *Law's Indigenous Ethics,* 34.

23. Alice B. Smith, *The History of Wisconsin, Volume 1: From Exploration to Statehood* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1973): 58-59.

With the British replacing the French in the region, and refusing to respect Native diplomacy, and with the end of the Seven Years War, the Nativist movement in the Great Lakes region reignited.[24] This iteration of nativism was an Indigenous movement to counteract the effects of Anglo-American expansion and influence.[25] This time the Delaware prophet Neolin addressed his followers on the importance of removing the British from the region. Neolin's message was not only to give up Western ways but also to fight the advancement of white settlers. Neolin took inspiration from the Nativist movement begun a generation ago in the late 1730s in the Susquehanna and Ohio valleys. Neolin's message was one of living as Native peoples had before the European's arrival. Within the faction, some more militant members planned armed resistance and used force to remove British and Euro-Americans from the lower Great Lakes and Ohio Valley. Neolin's nativist movement responded to two issues developing in the region. One was the result of Euro-Americans moving westward at an ever-increasing pace, taking land and resources. The second was General Amherst's Indian policies.

In 1763, Odawa warrior Pontiac, a follower of Neolin, along with Pontiac's army, made a series of attacks against forts in the Ohio Valley and the lower Great Lakes**.** For a brief period, it appeared that diplomacy had ended in the Great Lakes. The British eventually defeated Pontiac and his forces. With the end of Pontiac's War, however, multiple chains of friendship, and the diplomacy that occurred within Indigenous/British relationships were begun anew. British

24. Timothy D. Willig, *Restoring the Chain of Friendship: British Policy and the Indians of the Great Lakes, 1783-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008):3-4; Gorrell "Lieut. James Gorrell's Journal," 59.; Smith, *The History of Wisconsin*, 59.

25. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian* Struggle *for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992): 20.

official William Johnson extended to the Great Lakes nations, an alliance called the Covenant chain originally formed between Iroquois and British colonists. Johnson presented a wampum belt with three figures denoting the change in the chain to include the Haundesaunee, the British, and the Western Great Lakes groups. The British established an expansion of the Covenant Chain begun in the eastern coast between the British colonists and Iroquois Confederacy. The Covenant Chain was a relationship between the Iroquois and British. It denoted a more equal brotherly bond between the Iroquois and British. Negotiations would take place between coeval and the Iroquois maintained sovereignty over their land, and their people.[26] The covenant chain extended to the Anishinaabeg by Superintendent Johnson was a weaker version of both the Covenant Chain with the Iroquois and of the relationship the Anishinaabeg had established with the French.[27] However, this extension of the Covenant Chain took aspects of the father/son kin relationships important to the Anishinaabeg in building webs of interconnection with non-Anishinaabeg.[28] The wampum belt signified this reestablishment of ties of mutual obligation.

The British saw the benefits of following Indigenous protocol when British officials established ties of kinship with the Anishinaabeg, creating the obligations of a ceremonial British father to Anishinaabeg sons. Indigenous Nations' reactions to the turmoil of the end of the Seven Years War, Pontiac's War, and the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) led the British to write

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26. Francis Jennings. *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York: Norton 1984); Daniel K. Richter, and James H. Merrell, eds. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: the Iroquois and their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987).

27. Jon William Parmenter, "Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, 1758-1766," *Ethnohistory,* vol. 44, no. 4 (Fall 1997): 624-625.

28. Parmenter, "Pontiac's War, 617-654; McConnell, *Masters of Empire,* 233-236.

the Royal Proclamation Act (1763) and to negotiate the Treaty of Niagara (1764).[29] The Royal Proclamation or Proclamation Act of 1763 addressed Indigenous land and the conditions under which the British would acquire it. The English wording of the Proclamation Act is such that the British claimed Anishinaabeg land yet wrote into law the means to slow down white settler invasion of Anishinaabewakiing. The British Crown deemed white settler invasion acceptable, and ultimately inevitable, but settlement was to occur slowly so the Crown could legitimate the occupation of Indigenous land with treaties. Borrows explains that the boundaries around Indigenous land were codified in the Royal Proclamation.[30] With boundaries comes the ability to negotiate with the specific group within the set boundaries in which the group was now contained according to the machinations of the British officials.

A year later the Treaty of Niagara (1764) was signed. This treaty was an occasion to restore and extend the Chain of Friendship between Indigenous groups in northern North America and the British Crown.[31] The Treaty of Niagara was a second act to the Proclamation Act. At the Treaty of Niagara roughly 200 ogimaag and other leaders representing twenty-four

29. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance,*14, 20-35; Willig, *Restoring the Chain of Friendship*, 4, 6.

30. John Borrows, "Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government," in editor Michael Asch, *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference* (Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press, 1997): 160.

31. Brian Slattery, "The Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Aboriginal Constitution" in Terry Fenge and Jim Aldridge eds., *Keeping Promises: The Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal Rights, and Treaties in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015):19; Colin G. Calloway, "The Proclamation of 1763: Indian Country Origins and American Impacts," in Terry Fenge and Jim Aldridge, eds., *Keeping Promises: The Royal Proclamation of 1763, Aboriginal Rights, and Treaties in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015):40-41.

nations were present. Constitutional Law professor Brian Slattery declares, "The spirit of equality and fair dealing that informs this treaty is quite palpable."[32]

These two documents, The Proclamation Act of 1763 and the Treaty of Niagara (1764), are still, today, foundational documents between First Nations and Canadian political interactions. These warrants laid the basis for relations between the Anishinaabeg and the British. Slattery explains that the preamble of the Royal Proclamation describes British protection for First Nations, their land, and way of life. Further, "these nations are not conquered people nor are they subject to direct British rule. Rather their connections with the Crown take the form of treaties."[33] The British Crown established a legal procedure where the land could only become Crown land and only the Crown could control how the land was divided up and sold. Therefore, the British Crown controlled population movement and increased money for its coffers. By encoding this into law through the treaty process, the British acknowledged that the land was in use by First Nations, but it would ultimately become part of the extended British Empire. This process then ensured that the land would not be sold to individuals or other western nations. The British, through international law, saw the land as legally theirs but needed the formality of acquisition.

British interpretation of the Treaty of Niagara established who had the rights to survey and to purchase Indian land, including Anishinaabewakiing, thereby, "creating a process to take land away from First Nations."[34] The need for a formal transfer of land rights was already anticipated before the Royal Proclamation and provisions were written into the act. For example,

32. Slattery, "The Royal Proclamation," 25.

33. Slattery, "The Royal Proclamation," 22.

34. Borrows, "Wampum at Niagara," 160.

boundaries were created delineating Indigenous land to prevent whites from squatting on the land. As well, the use of language such as "dominion" implied British authority over Indigenous lands. However, according to historian John Borrows, it was not the way First Nations understood the treaty. Indigenous peoples' understanding of the Royal Proclamation Act (1763) and the Treaty of Niagara (1764) included, and still includes, more than the words on the pages of the documents. It also involved the gathering of the people, the speeches and ceremonies performed, and the gifts given during the negotiation process. Non-native understanding of these statements should also go beyond the printed page and include the oral recordings made by Native attendants.

Through speeches presented by Indigenous orators, and through material objects like the wampum belt, during the negotiations, Native nations present understood the Treaty of Niagara to be an agreement between themselves and the British Crown, in which each side would maintain sovereignty over their own "internal affairs." The wampum belt presented during the Treaty of Niagara is a symbol, to this day, of the covenant between the Indigenous peoples at those negotiations and the British and later Canadian governments. The wampum belt was originally an aspect of Haudenosaunee diplomacy and serve as a gift, as a means to open dialogue between the Haudenosaunee and strangers, and as a means to record negotiations. The Haudenosaunee originally gave the Dutch Traders the Two Row Wampum or Kaswentha, in 1613, representing a trade agreement and the principles of independence of each party. Later, in 1644, the Haudenosaunee negotiated with the British the same Kaswentha terms. The Haudenosaunee negotiated the treaty the Covenant Chain of Friendship in 1677, with the British

and an exchange of wampum belts occurred with the renewal of the Covenant Chain.[35] Later the British Crown treated with Great Lakes Indigenous groups and extended the Covenant Chain. Just as the Two Row Wampum and the Covenant Chain principles still represents an agreement between the descendants of the original negotiators the Haudenosaunee and currently the Canadian government, the wampum belt presented at the Treaty of Niagara should be a reminder to the Canadian government of the assurances made during these negotiations.[36]

The Hudson's Bay Company Treaties and Policies

The British Crown had won the Seven Years War and set up the means to systematically take native land for colonization and resource extraction. The British owned Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had its own laws and conduct between company employees and the Indigenous people whose land they occupied, whose resources they traded for, and whose labor they relied on for survival of both personnel and company. Originally, the HBC's charter included not only establishing trade in the far north of North American continent, but also finding the Northwest passage, and establishing territories on the region bounded within the royal charter. The charter gave the HBC the right to defend their forts and colonies with armed men.[37] Rupert's Land, so named by the charter holders after Prince Rupert, the company's first governor, remained a land

35. Susan Hill, *The Clay we are Made of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2017): 85, 98; Jon Parmenter, "The Meaning of Kaswentha and the Two Row Wampum Belt in Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) History: Can Indigenous Oral Tradition be Reconcile with the Documentary Record?" *Journal of Early American History*, 3 (2013): 90.

36. Hill, *The Clay,* 14, 97; J.R. Miller, Compact, *Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 39-41; Borrows, "Wampum at Niagara," 155, 156, 161.

37. "The Royal Charter for incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company, A.D. 1670." http://caid.ca/HubBatCha1670.pdf.

populated by many Native groups including the Northern Ojibwe who had migrated into the Red River region. Furthermore, employees from a rival fur trade company, the North West Company (NWC), began settling the region with their families, who included Native wives and their children. The HBC claimed sovereignty over its territory and emulated British colonial policies. It established its own colony, the Selkirk Settlement, within its chartered territory of Rupert's Land.[38]

Thomas Douglas, the Earl of Selkirk, established this settlement at the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, in 1811. The original intent of the settlement was as a place for HBC servants and their families to retire, and for Scottish families to immigrate to the region to establish farms. The Forks was a strategic place for the Cree and Assiniboine who used this region for transportation and trade. It was therefore tactical for fur trade companies to set up posts in this high traffic region. The rival NWC had established a trade post at this juncture. Now both companies had trading posts and small settlements at this confluence, making for a volatile situation. The subsequent years were characterized by minor conflicts between NWC men and the HBC men and the settlers at the Selkirk Colony. However, in 1816, the Seven Oaks Incident occurred, when HBC and NWC men confronted each other over trade and territorial rights. The next year, 1817, the HBC, under the leadership of Lord Selkirk, treated with the Ojibwa, Cree, and Assiniboine who ceded "two miles on each side the two rivers from Lake Winnipeg to Muskrat River above Portage de Prairies and up the Red River to the mouth of the River going to Red Lake," to Lord Selkirk. Treated is an intransitive verb, to discuss terms of accommodation or settlement or to negotiate. In exchange, each tribe received an annuity of 100 pounds of tobacco. The Indigenous negotiators saw this annuity as they did the presents from the traders: as

38. Peers, *The Ojibwa,* 90, 92.

gifting and the reaffirmation of trade relations and further the tobacco may have been a quit-rent for the use of the land.[39]

British-Canadian Treaties and Policies

While the Hudson's Bay Company continued its mercantile operations in Rupert's Land, the British Crown lost colonies and gain territory through treaties in North America. Settlement reached Anishinaabewakiing in the 1840s. During the Revolutionary War, and after the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1783) that ended the Revolutionary War, the British Crown continued to negotiate with the Ojibwe. Land that had originally been set-aside in the Royal Proclamation "reserved to them or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds,"[40] was now becoming British settlements through settler-squatters and treaty making. According to scholar Robert Surtee, the British Crown and its representatives treated with the Anishinaabeg from the Era of the Royal Proclamation. As Upper Canada was being carved out of Indian land, the Anishinaabeg "surrendered" land in a series of treaties. These treaties predate the Numbered Treaties negotiated between the descendants of First Nations and the Dominion of Canada from 1871 to 1921 discussed in the next section. Beginning in 1781 with the Michilimackinac Island Treaty, No. 1 and the Niagara Treaty of 1781, No. 381 and ending in 1862 with the Manitoulin Island Treaty - The treaties were negotiated between the Anishinaabeg and British Crown representatives. The Manitoulin Island Treaty (1862), No. 94 allotted:

> each Indian being the head of a family and residing on the said island, one hundred acres of land; to each single person over twenty-one years of age, residing as aforesaid, fifty acres of land;

39. Peers, *The Ojibwa,* 88-92; Aimée Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty: An Anishinabe Understanding of Treaty One* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2013); 37-38; Krasowski, *No Surrender,* 15-16.

40. Royal Proclamation, King George III of England Issued October 7, 1763." *Exhibits*, University of Toronto https://exhibits.library.utoronto.ca/items/show/2470 (accessed 04/25/2021).

> to each family of orphan children under twenty-one years of age containing two or more persons, one hundred acres of land and to each single orphan child under twenty-one years of age, fifty acres of land.[41]

There is no mention of the sex of heads of families, individuals, or orphans. The government allowed individuals to pick the plots of land they wanted, but the government wanted these plots contiguous, making it more of a reservation than allotment. Native peoples would be in one section, whites in another. First Nations represented in the treaty would enjoy the same use and privileges of waterways such as bays, rivers and creeks under the sixth article of agreement but no other usufructuary rights were written into the treaty. Usufructuary Rights is a "civil law term referring to the right of one individual to use and enjoy the property of another, provided its substance is neither impaired nor altered."[42]

As British, Canadian, and American settlers moved west into the interior of the continent, land and increased resource extraction beyond furs became the goal of government representatives, and trade with Great Lakes Indians was secondary to agriculture, lumbering, and

41. "Treaty Text – Upper Canada Land Surrenders." Government of Canada, Manitoulin Island Treaty (1863), No. 94, Second article of Agreement: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, Treaty Text - Upper Canada Land Surrenders www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1370372222012#ucls25 (accessed 11/25/2018).

42. James Morrison, "The Robinson Treaties of 1850: A Case Study" prepared for The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Treaty and Land Research Section, March 31,1993:1-8; Robert J. Surtee, "The Robinson Treaties (1850)," Treaties and Historical Research Centre Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1986, Government of Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028974/1100100028976 (accessed 07/04/2018): 2-3,7; "Treaty Text – Upper Canada Land Surrenders," Government of Canada www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1370372222012#ucls25 (accessed 11/25/2018); "Usufructuary Rights," West's Encyclopedia of American Law, edition 2. (The Gale Group, Inc., 2008) https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Usufructuary+Right (accessed 04/15/2021).

mining. Trade in furs moved west as settlers increased in the interior of the continent. Land was now the resource most desired by settlers. These settlers were larger in number, and the British and U.S. military made their presence felt by setting up forts in the region. Therefore, settlers, with the help of the army and local government, set up farms as well as villages and towns. While Indigenous groups protested and fought back both non-militarily, by sending envoys to Washington and militarily, by defending their land against settler encroachment, the British and American armies and settlers retaliated more effectively with both military might and increased settler populations until treaties were signed with Anishinaabeg for Anishinaabewakiing.[43]

Land and the materials upon the land are two intertwined factors of identity to the Anishinaabeg. The western Great Lakes, the land the Anishinaabeg inhabit defines them but so do the raw materials that the Anishinaabeg use to manufacture household articles, weapons, ceremonial items, medicines, and foodstuffs. One such raw material was the sap from the maple tree. With settlers not only squatting on land but also using the resources, the Anishinaabeg would lose the ability to sustain cultural practices. There were many materials important to the Anishinaabeg. To give up not just the land but also the culturally significant items fashioned within the landscape would be detrimental to their cultural practices. Usufructuary rights are an overriding condition of treaties. Whether the Anishinaabeg were treating with the British, Euro-Canadians, or Americans, usufructuary rights, the rights to gather materials on the land, were crucial to the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous groups.

As the Anishinaabeg ceded land in the northern section of Lakes Huron and Superior with the signing of the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior Treaties of 1850, they fought for the rights to materials gathered in their environment. The Ojibwe from Lake Superior and Lake

43. See Willig, *Restoring the Chain of Friendship*; Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant.*

Huron, usually referred to as the Northern Ojibwe, negotiated with Crown representative and provincial politician, William Benjamin Robinson, for land on the northern shores of Lakes Superior and Huron. Ogimaag such as Shingwakonce of the Garden River Ojibwe fought for fishing and hunting rights while negotiating these two treaties.

For years, mining companies had set up operations by squatting on the northern shores of Lake Superior. Shingwakonce figured prominently in the negotiations. He was not happy with the actions of the miners and local politicians, nor the Crown's lack of protection toward the Anishinaabeg. Miners were known to squat on land that the Crown had not yet negotiated for and obtained through treaty from the Anishinaabeg. Local government officials undermined Anishinaabeg claims to the land since the 1840s when the number of settlers and local government in the region increased. The ability of Euro-Canadians to control resources in the region increased as the white population increased, but still there was no treaty. Although treaties should have been negotiated before settlement or the extraction of resources many white squatters consumed land and resources before any talks between Native Nations and the Canadian government occurred.[44] This tactic helped the British Crown in subsequent negotiations with Indigenous peoples as the land had already been appropriated and Indigenous peoples knew they would have to treat, or they would end up with nothing.

While the two Robinson treaties were based on the precedence of British traditions established in the Proclamation Act (1763) and the Treaty of Niagara (1764), there were two differences from past treaties. First, individual band ogimaag chose the land for the reserves from land set aside by the British Crown. Past treaties did not have provisions for reserves. Second, the treaties specifically addressed the hunting and fishing rights of the Anishinaabeg in

44. Morrison, "The Robinson Treaties of 1850;" Surtee, "The Robinson Treaties (1850)."

negotiations. The treaties also addressed issues of mining rights for whites and the rights of mixed-heritage peoples. The treaties stated that Natives were to have "the full and free privilege to hunt over the territory now ceded by them and to fish in the waters thereof as they have heretofore been in the habit of doing" except in areas that would become private property."[45] In these treaty negotiations, the terms dictated that mixed-heritage people would not receive treaty annuities, even though they had kin ties to Indigenous groups in the region. Instead, mixed-heritage peoples were forced to choose to be either white and assimilate into settlements, or become Anishinaabeg, live on the reserve and get an annuity. The British government stated that if the Anishinaabeg wanted to give mixed-heritage people land it would come out of the reserved land provided in the treaty and not from external provisions.[46] Whites saw mixed-heritage peoples as neither native nor white, but in whatever form whites needed them to be in order to control the region. Sometimes whites needed groups of mixed-heritage peoples to be at least European. Consensus in local matters might then be swayed to the white population. Once whites became the majority however, mixed-heritage populations were no longer considered of European decent but native and therefore no longer welcome in town. This is the case in many early American towns in the Western Great Lakes.[47] Mixed-heritage individuals had to decide to either stay in the town they had helped form and become "white" or decide to live with their Native kin.

45. Morrison, "The Robinson Treaties of 1850," 91; Surtee, "The Robinson Treaties (1850)," 5-9.

46 Surtee, "The Robinson Treaties (1850)," 9

47 Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles*; 107, 149; Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men,* 114, 116-140.

American Treaties and Policies

While the British had set up their foundational documents for negotiations with Native groups with the Proclamation Act and the Treaty of Niagara, these documents irked the American colonists who eventually went to war with Britain for, among other things, the right to expand beyond the Proclamation line of 1763. With victory in the American Revolution in 1783, representatives of United States government viewed Indigenous peoples living within the New United States as a conquered people and were treated as such. U.S. officials did not wish to negotiate with Native groups as the British had**.** Less concerned about tribal distinctions and more with "Indianess," for the United States federal government it did not matter on which side of the revolutionary war Native groups fought. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 between the British and American governments, American officials developed their own Indian policy, American treaty negotiators "dictated" treaties terms for Native lands, and the United States set a boundary for settlement and relegated those Native groups beyond the boundary.

This lack of respect for treaty protocol angered Native groups in the Ohio valley where negotiations took place. For example, in the Treaties of Fort Stanwyx (1784), the treaty of Fort McIntoch (1785) and the Treaty with the Shawnee (1786), Native groups became more resistant to the dictatorial nature of United States officials at the treaty table. Hostility in the region was one of the ways Native groups challenged American policy.[48] In addition to acts of hostility toward squatters in lands without treaties, other Indigenous policies included continued talks with officials, and the rise of Nativism.

48. Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967): 5, 20-25. 42, 53-54; Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 90-94.

According to Colin Calloway, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act (1790) mimicked the Royal Proclamation Act of 1763, such as the provision that traders in Indian country must be officially licensed, and only the Federal government could treat for land with Indigenous representatives. Further, "as the United States ramped up the pressure on Indian lands and began the process of ethnic cleansing known as Indian removal, the provisions of the 1763 Proclamation Act that protected Indian Lands were long forgotten,"[49] deliberately erased, as the United States began removing anything British and anything that hindered national expansion. The United States adopted an Indian policy put forth by Henry Knox known as "Expansion with Honor."[50] The federal government used this policy, put in place in the 1780s, to obtain land in a peaceful means instead of the armed conflicts that occurred in regions where white settlers were squatting. Inexpensive compared to war, this policy created the illusion that the United States was dealing with Native group in good faith, gave legitimacy to the United States on the world stage, and attempted to leave a more humane legacy.

President George Washington and Secretary of the Interior Henry Knox advocated for a more "humane" Indian policy beginning in the late 1780s. They realized the importance of both the perception on the international stage and the legacy of history and fought for a strong federal government's control of Indian land sales and treaty making. In 1790, Congress passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act that made it illegal for individuals to purchase land and provided the means to punish individuals who committed crimes on Indian land.[51] With these

49. Calloway, "The Proclamation of 1763," 48.

50. Calloway, "The Proclamation of 1763," 45-46; Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 53-65.*

51. Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy,* 55-63.

policies in place Washington and Knox hoped for a historical legacy that would show the United States westward movement as expansion with honor.

With the principles of Expansion with Honor, the American government developed a treaty system based on the idea of tribal sovereignty. Individual Americans could not settle in Indian Country or dictate terms of settlement or any sale of land. Federal American Officials would be the only officials that could treat tribal leaders with perceived justice & honor. However, even though it was against congressional acts such as the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, squatters did settle on tribal lands and did take land and resource before representatives negotiated or signed treaties. This tactic, of settlers squatting unlawfully on unceded territory, was also used contemporaneously within British Crown policy in Upper Canada. This meant that not only were squatters settling the land but also consuming resources including maple trees. Squatters would produce their own sugar or cut down maple groves for use in construction or clearing land for agriculture.

The Indigenous groups in the region were justifiably angry that the government had not kept its promise of either denying access to their land or waiting until negotiations and terms had been established. As more and more settlers arrived in the upper Midwest, the United States government negotiated a series of treaties for land in the Wisconsin Territory. By the end of the War of 1812, the Anishinaabeg and other Great Lakes Indigenous people on the American side of Anishnaabewakiing, felt the pressure of settler colonialism as whites began to clear land for farms, build towns, and create extraction industries such as mining and lumber. The Anishinaabeg and United States government signed two treaties in the early half of the nineteenth century which set precedents for land use rights and in particular maple sugar production.

Treaty negotiations and the stipulations Native leaders demanded in these treaties illustrated the continued importance of maple sugar to the economy of the Anishinaabeg. The Treaty of the Maumee Rapids (1817) included ceding land in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana with the Chippewa, Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawanese, Potawatomi, and Ottawa. The Treaty with the Chippewa, 1819, involved land in Michigan.[52] Both these treaties discuss the rights of Native groups and maple production and have provisions clearly stating the importance of collection of maple sugar in the upper Midwest. Article 11 of The Maumee River treaty signed in 1817 states, "the stipulations contained in the Treaty of Greenville, relative to the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land hereby ceded, while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty; and the Indians shall, for the same term, enjoy the privilege of making sugar upon the same land committing no unnecessary waste upon the trees."[53] The Anishinaabeg ceded land with these treaties but retained the resources important for their seasonal subsistence economy.

The Treaty of Prairie du Chien 1825 was similar in intent to the pageantry of St. Lusson discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Here the United States government relegated Indigenous groups, in this case the Anishinaabeg, Dakota, Sac and Fox, Menominee, Iowa, and

52. "U.S. & Canadian federal treaties and agreements with Chippewa Indians", http://www.maquah.net/Historical/Chippewa_list.html (accessed 01/10/2011).

53. Kappler, Charles J. ed., "Treaty with the Wyandot, etc., 1817," in *Indian Affair: Laws and Treaties*, 5 Vols, Vol. II, Treaties, OSU Digital Collections, OKSTATE Libraries, https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers (accessed 04/25/2021); Robert Keller, "America's Native Sweet: Chippewa Treaties and the Right to Harvest Maple Sugar," *American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 13. No. 2 (Spring, 1989): 119; Kappler, "Treaty with the Chippewa, 1819," OSU Digital Collections, OKSTATE Libraries, https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers (accessed 04/25/2021).

Ho-Chunk each to a separate bounded piece of land, instead of the larger cohabitated environment. By doing so the United States then negotiated for the specific region with each group. The Federal government would discuss land cession with one nation for their bounded region. This division of land might have created a more efficient away for the federal government of the United States to systematically obtain land, however for the Anishinaabeg and Dakota it was a means of maintaining their sovereignty and political and cultural identity.[54]

Signed in Washington D. C. the Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa (1836) ceded large portions of what is now Michigan. Article 13th stipulated "the right of hunting on the lands ceded, with other usual privileges of occupancy, until the land is required for settlement."[55] This included the right to manufacture maple sugar. Negotiations for the 1837 Pine Treaty and the 1842 Copper Treaty illustrated the continued importance of maple sugar. Representatives of several Anishinaabeg villages stressed the need to make maple sugar as well as have access to other natural resources. Through negotiations and stipulations, the Anishinaabeg leaders demanded access to sugar groves, as maple sugar products were still important for the lives and continued *minobimaadiziwin* of the Anishinaabeg. Article five in the 1837 Pine Tree Treaty implies the significance of the collection of maple sugar and other land usage rights. Although Article five does not mention maple sugar, a discussion of the importance of the collection of sap and production of sugar took place during the treaty negotiations. Ojibwe Chief Ma-ghe-gabo (La Trappe) from Leech Lake declared, "we wish to hold on to a tree where we get our living." Furthermore, Ojibwe Chief Aish-ke-bo-ge-keshe (Flat Mouth) also from Leech Lake affirmed,

54. Prucha, *The Great Father,* 248, 249, 259; Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations,* 348-250.

55. Treaty of 1836 - Treaty with the Chippewa, 1836, Article thirteenth, http://www.tribalresourcecenter.org/ccfolder/grandtraverse_treaties.htm (accessed 03/09/2021).

"you know that without the lands, and the Rivers & Lakes, we could not live. We hunt, and make Sugar, & dig routs upon the former, while we fish, and obtain Rice, and drink from the latter."[56] These statements clearly demonstrate that the maple trees and the products Native women created from them were important to the economy of the Anishinaabeg. Maintaining usufructuary rights were essential whereby the Anishinaabeg could continue their seasonal round of subsistence economy. In addition, these sugar products, along with other foodstuffs such as fish and wild rice, were important in trade transactions. The Anishinaabeg continued to practice the seasonal round and they also continued to participate, as they had for generations, in the market economy by trading their products for European goods. However, the Anishinaabeg still operated within their own cultural norms of redistribution of resources to family and kin networks, an extended household economy.[57]

Close in nature to the Pine Treaty, the Anishinaabeg fought for usufructuary rights when negotiating the 1842 Copper Treaty. Article two of this treaty states that the Chippewa "stipulate for the right of hunting on the ceded territory, with the other usual privileges of occupancy."[58] The usual privileges of occupancy imply the right to use resources and produce items from these resources. In fact, in negotiations, Ojibwe Chief Martin declared, "we have no objection to the white mans (sic) working the mines, & the timber & making farms. But we reserve the Birch

56. Thomas Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights: The Reserved Rights of Wisconsin's Chippewa Indians in Historical Perspective," *Transactions,* Vol. 79, No. 1 (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1991), 28, 142, 147,156 (Quotes from Ma-ghe-ga-bo, p. 142 and Aish-ke-bo-gekeshe, p. 147, and 1837 Pine Tree Treaty in Satz, Appendix 2, 155-157); For discussion of implied maple sugar rights see Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 28 Keller, "America's Native Sweet."

57. Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers: Indians,* 140-145.

58. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 171 (1842 Copper Treaty in Satz, Appendix 4, 171-176).

bark & Ceder (sic), for canoes, the Rice & the Sugar tree and the privilege (sic) of hunting without being disturbed by the whites."[59] Again, treaty negotiations clearly include the importance of maple sugar production and the usufructuary rights of continuing to collect and produce items from this resource. These items were vital to the cultural, as well as the economic livelihood of the Anishinaabeg, with their expanded participation in the commercialization of natural products.

Usufructuary rights were also in jeopardy in the 1850s. It began in 1849, when Whig politicians in the Minnesota territory saw the Ojibwe bands in the new state of Wisconsin as a means to generate revenue. The politicians, and in particular Minnesota Territory governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alexander Ramsey petitioned to have the Ojibwe bands in Wisconsin removed to Minnesota territory so money could be made by contractors hired to secure provisions and remove Indigenous groups in order that annuity money could be spent in the new territory. That same year the Minnesota Territory legislature assembly "passed resolutions in favor of revoking the usufructuary rights" of the Ojibwe bands who had signed the 1837 and 1842 treaties. In February of 1850, President Zachery Taylor issued an executive order that both rescinded usufructuary rights and ordered the removal of the Ojibwe in Wisconsin, Minnesota Territory, and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to unceded land in the Minnesota Territory.[60]

Ojibwe ogimaag including Psheke (Chief Buffalo) of La Point discussed the situation in council and their strategies to counter this removal included sending a petition to Washington with a request to speak in Washington, and calling upon the support of allies - several white

59. Chief Martin (1842), quoted in Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 44; Murphy, *A Gathering of Rivers*, 140-145.

60. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 52, 53.

organization and individuals to lobby opposing removal. In the meantime, Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ewing and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown from President Taylor's administration and as well Minnesota Territorial Governor Ramsey and a Sub-Agent, John Watrous, schemed to change the annuity payments in 1850 from La Pointe to Sand Lake in the Minnesota Territory. Known as the Wisconsin Death March, food rations as part of the annuity were rancid and the annuity payments were not just delayed because when the subagent arrived six weeks late, he did not have the monies. This tragedy culminated with many dying at Sandy Lake due to the inedible rations and living condition. As well many who died on the trek back to La Point. The Lake Superior Ojibwe made an arduous trek on foot, through a Midwestern winter landscape - snow-covered and rivers frozen - to get to their winter hunting grounds in Wisconsin. The correct mortality is unknown, but it is estimated that 400 perished, 12 percent of Lake Superior Ojibwe band.[61]

In 1851 twenty-nine ogimaag led by Pesheke sent a petition to Indian Commissioner Luke Lea, reminding him of the 1842 promise that the Ojibwe "could remain on their land if they lived on friendly terms with the Whites."[62] A delegation led by Pesheke arrive in Washington D.C. in the spring of 1852 and talk with President Fillmore. In the meeting with the President Pesheke "reviewed all the outstanding grievances against the United States." President Fillmore

61. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 55-59; James A. Clifton, "Wisconsin Death March: Explaining the extremes in Old Northwest Indian Removal," (1-40) *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, Vol. 75(1987): 1-40, Clifton remarks: "The human loss was one thing: in addition the Chippewa also lost much capital equipment (their canoes), much critical subsistence work and other productive economic activity, and they went further into debt, when they were forced to encumber unpaid and future annuity funds for survival rations." p.25.

62. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 63.

ultimately cancels President Taylor's removal order and agreed that annuity payments would remain at La Pointe.[63] With the revocation of Taylor's executive order, the Ojibwe of Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota Territory had their usufructuary rights restored.

Wisconsin officials informed the Federal government in 1854, that the Ojibwe continued to exercise their culture and usufructuary rights by "hunting, fishing, manufacturing maple sugar and agricultural pursuits."[64] By this time George Manypenny was Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Manypenny's promoted the new policy of assimilation through concentration on reservations. The Ojibwe negotiated the 1854 Treaty, under this new policy and in fact they refused to sign the treaty until the federal agents guaranteed permanent reservations within their lands in Wisconsin. Four reservations were established: Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreilles and Lac du Flambeau. However, it took twenty years to survey and set boundaries and in this time lumbering interests, settlers and other business concerns seized property and resources. Two bands, the St Croix Chippewa and Sokaogon Chippewa did not receive reservation lands until 1934, eighty years after the treaty. Reservations often had inferior soil and were too small for practicing hunting, fishing, and gathering activities to support the community. Survival depended on a mixture of continued season round procurement of resources and wage labor as well as annuity payments.[65]

The Ojibwe signed two treaties in Minnesota in 1855 and 1866. The Treaty with the Chippewa, and the 1866 Treaty with the Chippewa – Bois Forte Band established reservations. The 1855 Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa reestablished fishing and encampment rights for

63. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 66-67.

64. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 68.

65. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 68-72.

the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa. In *Holding our World Together*, historian Brenda Child reports this treaty "failed to protect the rights of the Ojibwe to interests in their important Sault rapids fishery and also introduced a private property allotment scheme for Ojibwe and Ottawa descendants of participants in an earlier treaty of 1836."[66] The Treaty Era ended in March 1871. Historian Ronald Satz explains "Congress specifically recognized the validity of existing treaty obligations,"[67] including usufructuary rights in ceded territories but these rights were and still are continually eroded and disregarded.

Canadian Treaties and Policies

With the creation of Canada, after the signing of the British North America Act in 1867, Canadian officials continued to treat with Ojibwe in the same manner as the British had. However, in Upper Canada, in the early nineteenth century, British settlers would establish themselves in the region and local governments supported this settlement before British official had treated with the local Indigenous groups.[68] This was an effective means of taking Anishinaabeg territory that the British and American governments used. British settlers were also unwilling to establish kin ties and supported the advancement of squatter-settlers before creating a treaty with local Indigenous groups. They created Indian policies to remove the Anishinaabeg from the land in order to extract resources and set up farms and white settlements. But as with British and American negotiations Anishinaabeg fought for usufructurary rights to be included in treaties entered into with Canadian officials.

66. "Ojibwe Treaty Rights," Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, August 2016 also http://www.glifwc.org/publicaionsTreatyRightsFlipbook/index.html; Child, *Holding Our World Together,* 77-78.

67. Satz, "Chippewa Treaty Rights," 73, 74.

68. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant,* 110-113.

The British North American Act (1867) created the Dominion of Canada. This meant the Anishinaabeg now negotiated with the Canadian government, an authority likewise concerned with expansion. The Act has two clauses that affected treaty negotiations in Western Canada. One clause discussed the entry of new territories into the Dominion of Canada stating, "and whereas it is expedient that Provisions be made for the eventual admission to the Union of other Parts of British North America" and foreshadowed settler colonialism and empire building.[69] The other clause place "Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians" in the purview of the federal government.[70] Two years later, in 1869, the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada meant that the Anishinaabeg, along with many western Native groups, would no longer interact with the Hudson's Bay Company officials for land disputes. It also meant that the land was seen as a place to which white eastern populations would migrate and settle, establishing farms and commerce, and create a transcontinental railroad in the process.

Soon after the sale of Rupert's Land, the Canadian government intended to negotiate for the ceding of land with Indigenous groups. These treaties are known as the Numbered Treaties and were negotiated between 1871 and 1921. The first three numbered treaties Ojibwe brokered with the Canadian government occurred within the maple sugar producing regions of this study. According to historian Laura Peers, the Ojibwe entered into Treaty 1 (1871) when they realized "their interests would not otherwise be protected during the settlement of the West."[71] The desire to attract Euro-Canadian settlers and obtain land for the railway, led to treaty negotiations. As

69. British North America Act, www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1867/3/pdfs/ukpga_18670003_en.pdf (accessed, 08/18/2018): 9.

70. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant*, 129.

71. Peers, *The Ojibwa*, 203.

both lawyer Aimee Craft and historian Sheldon Krasowski demonstrate, the Ojibwe negotiated for a sharing of their land, they never discussed the sale or surrender of that land. The settlers were to share resources and to use land for agricultural purposes to the depth of the plow. These terms were in keeping with the Ojibwe system of law.[72] Combining the teachings of *ganawendamaw, bimaadiziwin* but most especially kinship and the mutual obligations that flow from kinship - *inaakonigewin* or the Ojibwe system of law is taught.[73] Through a respect for the web of mutual obligation, *ganawendamaw* and *bimaadiziwin* follow.

Treaty negotiations in Western Canada in the 1870s between the Ojibwe and Canadian government resulted from fears of American expansion, and the creation of the Dominion of Canada. First, white politicians supported westward expansion of Euro-Canadian farmers from Ontario. The creation of the Dominion of Canada, with the passing of the British North America Act in 1867, also spurred westward migration as one of the goals was to expand the new nation from "sea to sea." These politicians, especially the "Clear Grit" reformers, supported some of the Canadian residents in the Red River Colony who were afraid of American encroachment and lobbied for the Red River settlement to be annexed to Canada. Clear Grit reformers coalesced in Canada West in the 1850s and whose main constituents were farmers and supported a westward expansion of agricultural interests. By 1868, the British Parliament passed the Rupert's Land Act leading to the sale of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada in 1869. For Métis the fight for

72. Craft, *Breathing Life*, 107-108; Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 39-73, 95.

73. Craft, *Breathing Life*, 12-13, 69-71.

independence from further Euro-Canadian encroachment and particularly incorporation into the Canadian nation continued.[74]

The Anishinaabeg signed both Treaty 1 (the Stone Fort Treaty) and Treaty 2 (Manitoba Post Treaty) in 1871, just three weeks apart. The Anishinaabeg and Swampy Cree of southern Manitoba treated with the Canadian Government for Treaty 1; the Anishinaabeg of Southern Manitoba and the Canadian Government signed Treaty 2. As discussed in chapter one, the Anishinaabeg sought to protect their way of life, including part of their land base, their resources, and sacred spaces. They understood that white settlers were fast encroaching on their land but needed guarantees from the Canadian government that their identity in networks of obligations connected to land, foodways, medicine, and sacred spaces could be maintained. The Canadian officials used the treaties as a continuation of the British system of the orderly settlement of Western Canada by Euro-Canadians and the civilization of the descendants First Nations.[75] As Craft explains, the interpretation and implementation of Treaty 1 must be considered from perspective of both Ojibwe laws and Canadian laws. Ojibwe laws are not fixed but evolve with the circumstances and relationships involved.[76] Craft discusses the concept of eating on a plate together as explained by Elder Victor Courchene. Eating from the same plate or pot together

74. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant,* 126-131; J. M. S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1970): 220-221, 258, 260.

75. "Treaties Number 1 and 2, Between Her Majesty The Queen and The Chippewa and Cree Indians of Manitoba and Country Adjacent with Adhesions" Transcribed from: Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P. Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary Ottawa, 1957 http://www.trcm.ca/wp-content/uploads/PDFsTreaties/Treaties%201%20and%202%20text.pdf (accessed 07/26/2018); Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant,* 157, 162-165, 170, 189.

76. Craft, *Breathing Life,* 108-109.

means first a sharing of resources which leads to maintaining a relationship that will evolve over time, but Craft declares, "let us be clear that sharing did not mean giving up land and resources, but, rather, it meant using the land and resources together."[77]

In 1873, the Saulteaux band of Ojibwe, signed Treaty no. 3. For the Canadian government this treaty differed from Treaties 1 and 2 in four ways. First, the treaty contained First Nations' rights to resources. Explicitly written into the document. Second, for the Canadian Government and settler expansion, Treaty no. 3, opened up the Northwest for Settlement via the "Dawson Route". This passage began at "Prince Arthur's Landing on Lake Superior to the North-west angle. Of the Lake of the Woods."[78] Next, Métis interpreters played a role in negotiations, and finally, the Canadian government made larger concessions than they had in the past, especially in the size of reserves and annuity payments. For understanding Treaty 3, historian Brittany Luby reiterates the importance of understanding the Ojibwe perspective and that it is not just oral sources that can be used to gain this understanding.[79] Luby demonstrate "how federal action after treaty reflected Euro-Canadian understandings of treaty as a tool of colonization as opposed to Anishinaabe perspectives of treaty as a resource-sharing agreement in the Treaty #3 district."[80] In fact, Alexander Morris used the metaphor of eating from the same plate. Therefore, this treaty was similar to the Ojibwe as Treaty 1 and 2 in that it was about sharing resources and building relationships and not giving up land or sovereignty.

77. Craft, *Breathing Life*, 110.

78. Morris, *The Treaties with Canada,* 44.

79. Luby, "The Department is Going Back," 203.

80. Luby, "The Department is Going Back," 205, 207.

It took two years of negotiations to resolve the issues for Treaty 3 also known as the North-West Angle Treaty. At the beginning of treaty talks, the Ojibwe considered only giving Euro-Canadians rights to pass through their lands. During the opening of the negotiations in the fall of 1873, the Ojibwe drummed, danced, and presented the peace pipe, necessary actions in Ojibwe diplomacy. In return, the white negotiators gifted the Ojibwe with provisions, per Ojibwe customs. It took several days from the arrival of the first groups of Ojibwe on the twenty-third of September to the first of October before the many Native groups and the government negotiators had assembled to discuss the matters at hand.

Ojibwe and Canadian officials met in the fall of 1873 to negotiate Treaty 3. Ojibwe motives for the negotiation included the fear of increased settlement that would encroach on hunting, fishing, and the collection of resources such as maple sugar and as Krasowski explains, "the Chiefs also feared a decline in relations with the Canadian government that could occur without a treaty."[81] Many Ojibwe ogimaag, sat down at the treaty table with Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. In addition to Morris, there were two other commissioners, Joseph Provencher and Simon James Dawson. Commissioner Morris hired George MacPherson, a mixed-heritage trader to act as interpreter between Morris and the delegates of the Saulteaux and Lac Seul Anishinaabeg. The official government interpreter for these negotiations was Nicholas Chatelan, who interpreted at Fort Francis, a HBC post in Manitoba. The negotiating

81. Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 87-127.

Ojibwe bands had twenty-four representatives and documented the proceedings orally, in order to have a record of what transpired.[82]

Mawedopenais affirmed "I hold fast all promises you have made, and I hope they will last long as the sun rises and the water flows, as you have said."[83] In oral traditions, the group's history is embodied through the narrative, a string or *giboobijigan* in Anishinaabemowin that connects ancestors to future generations. *Aanikoobijigan* means grandparent or grandchild, depending on the context, and contains the word string in it. In this speech, Mawedopenais is building a relationship and seeking to maintain it. The creation of kinship ties and the maintenance of relationships is an important aspect of Ojibwe culture. Survival depended on reciprocity, creating kin relations, and a web of mutual obligation. The Ojibwe had reached consensus as to the acceptable terms of the treaty but there was no surrender of land, there was an agreement to share resources.[84] It was still *gaawiinganagebagidinangsiiaki* - land not surrendered.

Conclusion

From the 1760s to the 1870s, the Ojibwe and other Great Lakes Indian tribes dealt with the increasingly hostile takeover of their land and resources. While the French had more interest in furs, the lack of a large non-Indigenous population was the motivating factor in creating

82. Morris, The Treaties with Canada, 44, 47, 48; "Treaty Texts-Treaty No. 3 Treaty 3 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians at the Northwest Angle on the Lake of the Woods with Adhesions," "Our Legacy," University of Saskatchewan https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028675/1100100028679 (Accessed 11/4/2018); Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant,* 167-171.

83. Morris, *The Treaties of Canada,* 45-47.

84. Luby, "The Department is Going Back," 206; Krasowski, *No Surrender*, 87-127.

military alliances and a disincentive for developing the land for agriculture. For the French, furs were more economically lucrative, farming land far from New France and with a small population was not a viable option. Initially, the British wanted to maintain the trade relations the French had utilized in the Great Lakes region: furs and alliances. However, the settler population expanded into the Upper Great Lakes, as the British and then the Canadian government continued increasing their dominion. Treaties were America's, Britain's and Canada's way of expanding empire. Squatters helped and were a pivotal force in fracturing hold on the region. The Americans also wanted to expand to the Mississippi and beyond. At first the Americans approached Indigenous populations as a conquered people. With increased tensions and fighting, the Americans decided to adopt the treaty method to expand settlement westward. Squatters helped the American government achieve this goal. Policies such as "Expansion with Honor," were good will propaganda tools to maintain face on the international stage and create the myth of fair play to subsequent generations of Americans. Americans re-imagined the land, utilized for centuries by the Ojibwe, as agricultural land and a source of extractive wealth. A once thriving trade in maple sugar, produced and traded by Native women, was no longer possible due to large maple groves cut down by the lumber companies, and the replacement of maple sugar production by American male farmers. Some small groves did remain on privately owned American farms. White male spaces of tilling soil and lumbering replaced Ojibwe usufructuary rights and women's gendered space.

Conclusion

In this conclusion, I discuss usufructuary rights and land issues because it is the focus of this dissertation - not to discount the continued destruction of individual identity, vast cultural genocide, and the moral and political apathy perpetuated by the American and Canadian federal government, corporations, and much of the settler population toward North America's Indigenous nations.

United States Indian Policy After 1870

The United States congress ended formal treaty making in 1871. The Ojibwe continued to fight for the resources needed to sustain their way of being in the world including the ability to tap maple trees. In the late nineteenth century, in both Canada and the United States, Ojibwe continued to survive with a combination of seasonal round subsistence, wage labor, and annuity payments. Brenda Child explains in the United States, during this time, state and local governments created policies and passed laws to deny Ojibwe their treaty rights. "The Ojibwe began to carry a new burden, which grew with every denial of the right to use their essential resources – the wild rice, fish, game, maple sugar, and gathered fruits and medicinal plants that ensured their health and survival."[1]

By the late nineteenth century, cane and beet sugar became the dominant form of table and cooking sugar. Maple sugar production waned but maple syrup gained in popularity. Archaeologist Matthew Thomas explains what factors led to this shift. First, the mass production of tin containers during the Civil War eased the shipment of syrup. Second, an advertisement

1. Child, *Holding Our World Together*, 65.

campaign at the turn of the nineteenth century focusing on mothers, stressed the importance of pancakes in providing a good breakfast to her family.[2] This created a market for maple syrup.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in matters of maple syrup manufacturing, it was not just the decimation of maple groves and appropriation of land but the attack on gendered food procurement with the intent of imposing Western gender norms. The Allotment Act (1887) promoted the life of the yeoman farmer whereby a man worked his farmland. Government officials divided reservation land into single farms given to men of households or single men. Land left over was sold, reducing the land base. Despite this policy, Ojibwe women continued to practice manufacturing maple sugar, harvesting wild rice and collecting berries and other resources by using resources on and off reservations. These Indigenous women-produced items, sold locally, became part of the tourist trade, and added to the family economy. Child explains, "Women's seasonal ricing in early fall, maple sugar harvesting in spring, and berry picking in summer had even more significance to households once state game laws inhibited Ojibwe access to hunting and fishing."[3]

It was not until after the Great Depression in the 1930s, that Indigenous men began to take on the production of maple sugar. The seasonal round had a more widespread resurgence during this time and men continued to aid women in setting up seasonal camps for maple sugar and wild ricing as they had before. As is typical, and ironic, United States government officials mainly from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) "whitesplained" the process of maple

2. Matthew M. Thomas, "Where the Forest Meets the Farm: A Comparison of Spatial and Historical Change in the Euro-American and American Indian Maple Production Landscape" PhD. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004, pp. 56, 296, 330.

3. Child, *Holding Our World*, 83-84.

sugar to Ojibwe and the importance of working cooperatively to manufacture sugar and harvest other foodstuffs.[4] WPA officials established wild rice and maple sugar camps and stressed the place as male centered with women and children being allowed to participate in some of the process.[5] A shift in gendered food production meant maple sugar manufacturing and wild rice harvesting became male activities and these sites were no longer women centered. As an extension of the policy of civilization, the cult of domesticity demanded Indigenous women to conform to Western gender norms, disconnecting Native women from productive labor.

Canadian Indian Policy After 1873, in Northern Ontario and the Red River Region

During the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, in the Northern Ontario and the Red River regions, local and federal laws and federal Indian policies mirrored American ones that espoused a doctrine of civilization and the practice of patriarchy. These included men working family farms, women taking care of the house, and in many cases, children taken away to boarding schools. Using the Treaty 3 region as an example of federal Indian policy, the Canadian government did all it could to prohibit Ojibwe farms and the families

4. Child, *Holding Our World*, 111, 114, 116.

5. Thomas, "Where the Forest Meets the Farm" The work Thomas did on the shift in gender production included: Looking at photographs from the Minnesota Historical Society, the U.S. National Archives, and the Milwaukee Public Museum. He found "that of the photos that actually show work in progress, don't' simply depict individuals in the sugarbush, men unambiguously appeared only once prior to 1838, and in that situation, he was hauling sap. By the late 1930s and after, men appear more regularly, usually tending the fire and boiling kettles and making sugar. Today, nearly all of the actual operations in the sugarbush and boiling camps in American Indian maple production are either directed or carried out by men." p. 292.

that lived in the region from succeeding.[6] Treaty 3 included assurances by the Canadian government of assistance with farms including equipment and training to use the new equipment. Three factors stopped the development of these farms. The first component was the lack of necessary equipment and training; the second, restrictive laws; and third, white settlement and industrial development.[7] Waisberg and Holzkamm explain, "During the first fifteen years after 1873, many Ojibwa made large investments of labor at new reserve settlements. Substantial work was devoted to clearing fields, raising crops, building houses, barns, stables, sheds, and fencing."[8] The 1870s also saw the expansion of Ontario settlement westward, the federal political strategy of uniting the country from sea to sea to sea with a transcontinental railway, and the passing of the Indian Act (1876).[9] Local, provincial and federal agents destroyed the significant investment the Ojibwe put into establishing agriculture as an economic mainstay.

In the 1880s, a series of laws and policies further affected the success of Ojibwe farming in the Treaty 3 region. In 1881 the Canadian government passed an amendment in the Indian Act that regulated sale of crops and livestock of Ojibwe and other First Nations farmers. Increased white settlement in the region also hindered farms in particular the Navigation dam built in 1887.

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6. Anthropologists Leo G. Waisberg and Tim E. Hozkamm, working for the Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Research (TARR) and Grand Council Treaty 3, have documented treaty violations. Their work chronicles the aftermath of Indian policy in the Treaty 3 region. Ojibwe agricultural output increased during the fur trade, in order that Ojibwe could trade surplus produce to fur posts.

7. Leo G. Waisberg and Tim E. Holzkamm, ""A Tendency to Discourage Them From Cultivating": Ojibwa Agriculture and Indian Affairs Administration in Northwestern Ontario," *Ethnohistory*, vol. 40, no, 2 (Spring 1993): 175, 176, 179, 180, 185.

8. Waisberg and Holzkamm, "A Tendency to Discourage," 183.

9. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant,* 293.

Besides flooding rice fields, the dam also flooded hay and croplands.[10] Also in 1887, without any Ojibwe representation present, the Canadian federal and Ontario provincial governments litigated the St. Catherine's Milling Case. This case determined the Ojibwe had limited usufructuary rights to the Treaty 3 reserve land.[11] Soon after, the government changed the farming program from commercial to "peasant farming," which meant subsistence rather than commercial farming, limiting economic livelihood. Like the American allotment policy, the Canadian severalty system allotted farmland to individuals and reduced the land base of the original reserve. The government also implemented the pass system that hindered Native farmers from leaving their reserves to sell their produce off reservation.[12]

In the beginning of the twentieth century, not only was use of land redefined but also additionally the Ontario provincial government in conjunction with the federal government reduced reserves by cancelling or severely reducing them. In 1911, the Indian Act was amended to better "facilitate divestment of reserve lands."[13] In 1913 the Ojibwe lost 60000 acres when the Quetico Provincial Park was formed, and two years later more reserve land was lost in 1915 when the Rainy River Ojibwe surrendered 90% of their reserve lands. As historian Brittney Luby

10. Joan A. Lovisek, Leo G. Waisberg and Tim E. Holzkamm, ""Deprived of Part of their Living": Colonialism and Nineteenth-Century Flooding of Ojibwa Lands," Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Research (TARR) Grand Council Treaty #3, (1995): 226-239 https://ojs.library.carleton.ca/index.php/ALGQP/article/view/588/488 (accessed 04/19/2021).

11. Luby, ""The Department is Going Back," 208.

12. Miller, *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004): 186, 187; Waisberg and Holzkamm, "A Tendency to Discourage," 19.

13. Waisberg and Holzkamm, "A Tendency to Discourage," 195.

declares, “The provincial government of Ontario thus accomplished a nearly complete removal of Anishinaabeg reserves from the best farming land in the region.”[14]

By the late twentieth century, the “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969,” or “The White Paper,” sought to terminate all treaties, the Indian Act, and all other legal documents between First Nations and Canada. This abolition of legal obligation of the federal government to First Nations would eliminate Aboriginal status and thereby hoped to assimilate all First Nations people. Further this policy would “incorporate First Nations under provincial government responsibilities, and impose land decisions, notions of private property and economic agendas on Indigenous communities,”[15] thereby affecting the ability to manufacture maple products. Not only was the White Paper racist but also misogynistic with its opening lines “to be an Indian is to be a man, with all a man’s needs and abilities.”[16] In 2018 Regional Chief, Ontario, Assembly of First Nations, Isadore Day declared “the Spirit of the White paper is still alive and well from the colonial perspective and the way that the Federal Government deals with First Nations.”[17]

14. Luby, ““The Department is Going Back,” 209.

15. Naithan Lagace, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, “The White Paper, 1969,” The Canadian Encyclopedia, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-white-paper-1969 (accessed 03/16/2021).

16. “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy (The White Paper, 1969)” Government of Canada, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191 (accessed 03/16/2021).

17. Isadore Day, APTN National News, Nation to Nation, broadcast May 3, 2018, ‘Spirit of the White Paper’ behind Trudeau fast-tracking legislative framework | APTN Nation To Nation, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDp_7Nlifyo (accessed 03/16/2021).

Ojibwe Women and Maple Sugar Today

In the Great Lakes, maple sugar was one part of a vast foodshed system. The Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes regions in what is now the United States have usufructuary rights for hunting, and gathering food entrenched in treaties these "are now legally protected by Great Lakes Fish and Wildlife Commission agreements." In *Recovering the Sacred*, (2005) author and activist Winona LaDuke discusses activism developed in communities like White Earth to harvest foods such as maple sugar. LaDuke explains the issues involving the appropriation of intellectual property, bio-genetic resources, and the monopoly on plants by agribusinesses.[18] Bio-piracy is the theft of indigenous knowledge and biogenetic material and LaDuke affirms "this form of colonialism is based on the exploitation and extraction of traditional resources and knowledge through western conceptions of property ownership."[19] One organization that works in opposition to bio-colonial elements is the Indigenous Peoples Council on Bio-colonialism (IPCB). This council both advocates for and assists Indigenous people "in the protection of their genetic resources, indigenous knowledge, cultural and human rights from the negative effects of biotechnology, or the exploitation of biological processes or systems by industries and agribusinesses."[20]

Great Lakes foodstuff such as maple sugar is important to the community for health and economic reasons.[21] Foodways and food sovereignty are symbols of identity and economic self-

18. LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred,* 182-183.

19. Ashleigh Breske, Biocolonialism: Examining Biopiracy, Inequality, and Power, *SPECTRA Journal*, 6(2), 58 https://spectrajournal.org/articles/10.21061/spectra.v6i2.a.6/galley/113/download/ (accessed 03/13/2021).

20. Indigenous Peoples Council on Bioculturalism, http://www.ipcb.org/about_us/our_mission.html (accessed 03/10/2021).

21. LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred,* 206.

determination. Renewing Americas Food Traditions (RAFT) "estimate that 17% of Great Lakes at-risk foods (or 47 out of the 273 foods on the enclosed list)—particularly wild edible plants, fish and game—have historic and current ties to indigenous or First Nations communities."[22] While RAFT's "Place-based Foods at Risk in the Great Lakes" discusses Indigenous food sovereignty briefly it does not detail the current use of these foods by Great Lakes Indigenous peoples and does not mention maple trees, or the importance of sugar and syrup to the Indigenous peoples of this region. Maple Nation is a consortium of Indigenous women in the bioregion where sugar maple trees grow; as such it crosses local, regional, and international political boundaries.[23] Climate change has affected all aspects of maple production; from terroir or the taste of place, to a change in the time of year that maple sap runs, from early budding of trees to a shift in the region sugar maples now grow.[24] Today Indigenous women continue to protect foodways, the water, and the sugar water that flows through the maple trees.

Further Research: Maple Sugar, The Hudson's Bay Company and the North Atlantic Trade

The Hudson's Bay Company collected maple sugar from posts in the Red River region in the early 1820. This supply aided the voyageurs moving west to the Pacific fur trade region,

22. Place-Based Foods at Risk in the Great Lakes, *Renewing America's Food Traditions (RAFT)*: 2-3 https://www.albc-usa.org/RAFT/resources.html, (accessed 02/08/2021).

23. Voices from Maple Nation: Indigenous Women's Climate Summit, https://www.maplenation.org/, https://www.maplenation.org/interviews: Dr. Robin W. Kimmerer. see also, Video: https://www.maplenation.org/about Tsionathonwisen: : Ionkwanoronhkwa Ohneka + Six Nations Standing Proud, Copyright Kontiwennenhawi - Akwesasne Women Singers (accessed 03/10/2021).

24. Voices from Maple Nation: Indigenous Women's Climate Summit, Dr. Robin W. Kimmerer, https://www.maplenation.org/interviews (accessed 04/19/2021).

reduced the cost of importing cane sugar from England, and aided settlers in the Selkirk Colony.[25] Historian Erin Millions describes Métis children in Scottish boarding schools wrote to their parents asking for maple sugar to be sent in the next care package.[26] They missed it and wanted a taste of home. According to the newspapers from Scotland, ports such as Liverpool, and Greenock received imports of the occasional box of maple sugar for individuals or companies.[27] At this time, it is unclear how many pounds of sugar each box contained or if Ojibwe women produced it.

The British paper "Morning Advertiser" reported the conditions of maple importation into Britain in 1842. Tariffs for maple sugar were 1L 4s 0d per cwt or hundred weight if accompanied with a certificate of its being the produce of a B.P. (British Possession) they were 3L 3s 0d per cwt or hundredweight if not accompanied by this certificate. The article further explained, "Canadian, maple sugar, imported from Canada, admitted to entry as the produce of a

25. Michipicoten, Miscellaneous Items, 1828-1862, p. 17, B129/z/1, HBCA; R. Harvey Fleming and E. E. Rich, eds., *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31 Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940): 20.

26 Erin Millions, "By Education and Conduct': Educating Trans-Imperial Indigenous Fur-Trade Children in the Hudson's Bay Company Territories and the British Empire, 1820s to 1870s," PhD. Diss., (University of Manitoba, 2017): 213.

27. Greenock Advertiser - Friday 23 February 1844 BL_0000970_18440223_022_0003, British Newspaper Archives (here after BNA); Greenock Advertiser - Tuesday 11 March 1845 BL_0000970_18450311_029_0003, BNA; Greenock Advertiser – Tuesday, 7 July 1846 BL_0000970_18460707_048_0004, BNA; Greenock Advertiser – Tuesday, 1 December 1846 BL_0000970_18461201_042_0004, BNA; Greenock Advertiser – Friday, 31 August 1849 BL_0000970_18490831_029_0003; BNA.

British plantation, provided it shall be certified by the proper officers of the Customs, in the certificate of clearance, that such sugar is the produce of Canada, C.O. 15th March 1836."[28]

The article explained, "Canadian, maple sugar, imported from Canada, admitted to entry as the produce of a British plantation, provided it shall be certified by the proper officers of the Customs, in the certificate of clearance, that such sugar is the produce of Canada."[29] This confirms that maple sugar was being exported to England. However, it does not determine if Indigenous women produced it or if the Hudson's Bay Company shipped it. In 1955 historian Margaret MacLeod wrote an article in the *Beaver Magazine* for the Hudson's Bay Company, describing Indigenous produced sugar from the Red River region. In her notes, archived in Winnipeg Manitoba she described maple sugar crossing the Atlantic but does not give any citations. One of her sources Reverend Gunn explained, "The Hudson's Bay Company used to devote considerable attention to this trade." In her notes MacLeod lamented "it is disappointing that these statistics on the sugar trade still are unobtainable from the Hudson's Bay Company, owing to their Archives in London, England, being closed to inquiries during the war."[30] I also lament because the archival material that may answer these questions are not digitized, and I cannot go to the archives as they are lockdown due to Covid-19. Further research is needed at the Archives of Manitoba and the National Archives in Kew England to find the information and answer these questions. In addition, MacLeod noted there were four types of maple products made in the Red River region. Sugar-makers produced a small quantity of maple syrup but not much was made because of the difficulty in transporting the item; a small quantity of maple

28. *Morning Advertiser* - Wednesday 13 July 1842, p. 7, BL_0001427_18420713_034_0007, BNA.

[29] *Morning Advertiser* – Wednesday 13 July 1842, p. 7, BL_0001427_18420713_034_0007, BNA.

30. Margaret Arnett MacLeod Collection, EG-40, Box 3, Files 26-40. Archives of Manitoba.

cream; Hard sugar was the largest item produced but also a product made with "the granulated end of the boilings mixed with odds and ends of broken sugar all crushed together - the least valuable. This was the "crash" or crushed sugar."[31] There is some uncertainty if this crash sugar is maple in origin or cane as in a further note she remarks that crash sugar was the slang used in Manitoba for crushed sugar that was mostly cane sugar. By going back to the Archives of Manitoba I hope this question will be answered, as there are many entries in HBC journals that show the movement of crash sugar. If crash is slang for a Manitoba maple sugar product there was a great quantity of it moved about HBC departments.

Conclusion

Food is woven into the fabric of a culture. Foods specific to our culture nourish not just our body but also our identity. For the Anishinaabeg, maple sugar's cultural meaning extended to mothers who gave the sugar as tokens of love to their children, and wives of ogimaag who gifted sugar to politically important guests. Maple products served important roles in ceremonies and in healing. This sugar had other socio-economic connotations for white traders and settlers.

During the fur trade era in Canada and the United States, this sweetener also became important to fur traders, fur trade communities, and to settler societies. In response, Indigenous women increased maple sugar production, among other foods. After their own community's needs were met, women traded the excess amount to fur traders. Later fur trade companies gathered large quantities of maple sugar and shipped it to posts to local and regional markets.

When groups settle in a new region, they transformed local foods to resemble dishes of their own culture so they many have a reminded of home, of loved ones, of events in their lives. They reabsorb their culture back into themselves, replenish, and nourish not just their bodies but

31. MacLeod Collection, EG-40, Box 3, Files 26-40.

also their identity. One of these foods is maple sugar and other products made with maple sap: teas, cold drinks, flavorings for meats, medicines, gifts for loved ones, for ceremony, trade, and diplomacy. Some settlers who had migrated from the New England states had acquired a taste for maple sugar, some desired a sugar that was cheaper that cane sugar, some wanted to consume a sweetener that was not slave-produced. Maple sugar filled these ideological needs. In some regions of the continent such as the Great Lakes, maple sugar was also cheaper and more easily obtainable than cane sugar. Ojibwe women influenced their culture and economy and that of settler societies.

As settlement increased in Anishinaabewakiing, settlers gradually changed the landscape imprinting shifts in food procurement on the land through policy and practice. There was a change from shared land uses to deforestation and single-crop agriculture, seasonal round food procurement to individual land ownership and egalitarian villages to large settlements administered with Western laws, treaties, and social policies. The same patterns of settler colonialism occurred in the Red River Region with a fur trade economy, gradual Euro-Canadian and European settlement, changes in land use and western legislation superseding Indigenous policy.

This study examined the socio-economic place of ziinzibaakwad in Ojibwe culture and its role in the fur trade over a period of two hundred years from the origins of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1670 until the Ojibwe signed Treaty 3 in 1873 with the Canadian government. Further, this dissertation investigated the impact of Indigenous sugar on white communities and economies and how the political structures of settler colonialism gradually displaced Ojibwe women from the maple sugar marketplace. This dissertation reinterpreted the standard narrative the Ojibwe migrated west of the Great Lakes by the need for furs acquired

through men's labor. While previous research on the North American fur trade has reported the contribution of Indigenous men's furs to large western economies, my research demonstrated the impact of Ojibwe women to local, regional, and international economies. Ojibwe women influenced not only their culture and economy but also those of the settler societies invading their homeland. Further my study illustrated how settler colonialism with increased population, changes in land use, and American, British, and Canadian laws and treaties, suppressed the participation of Indigenous women in this commercial venue.

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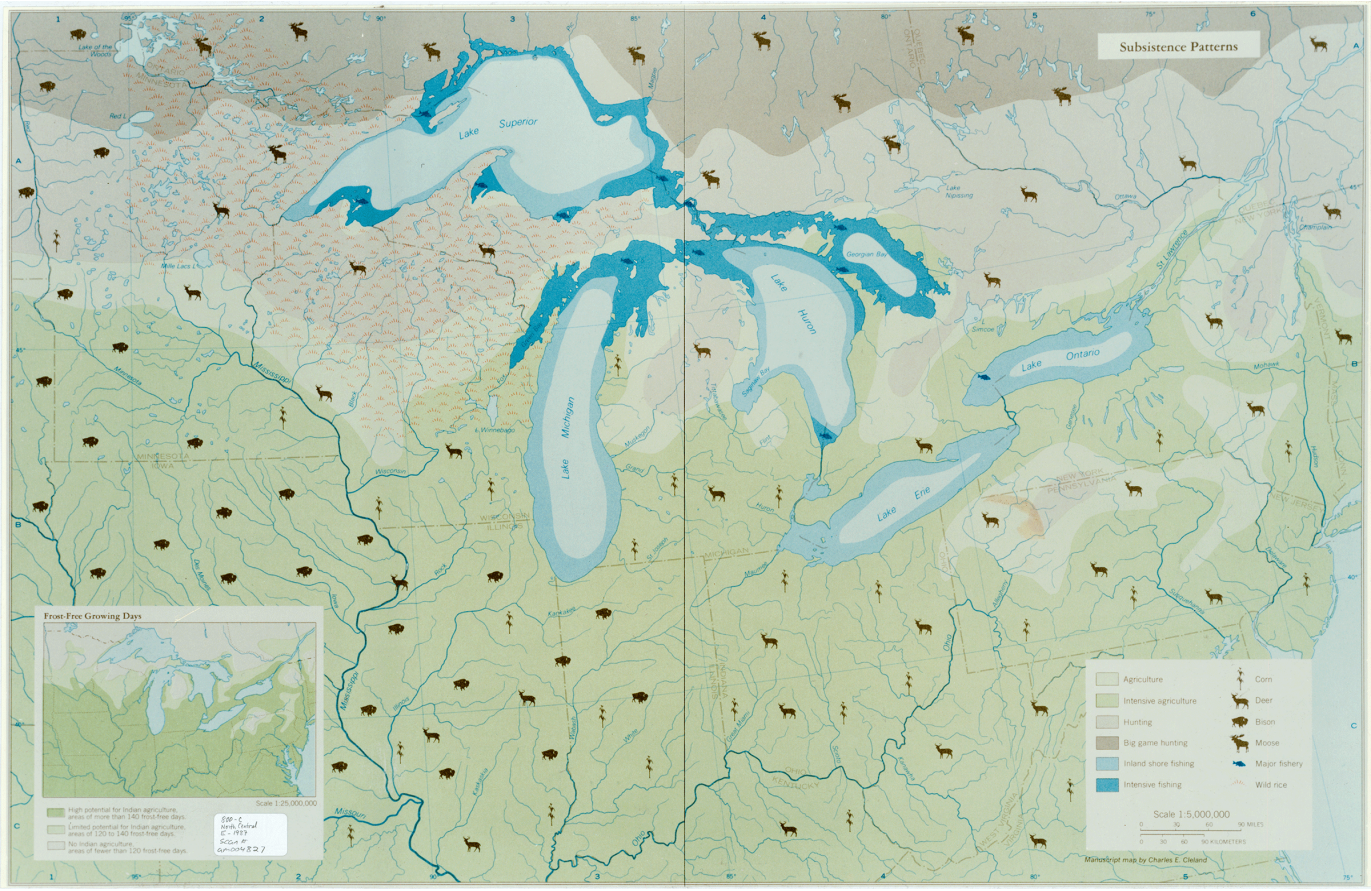
APPENDIX

Subsistence Map: Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History[1]



1. Source: Charles E. Cleland map "Subsistence Patterns," from: Editor Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, pp, 20-21, http://www.greatlakesmaps.org/mobile/mmmh/24/description/index.html (accessed May 26, 2019).

Curriculum Vitae
Susan Wade

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, History — August 2021
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee
Thesis Title: "Ojibwe Women and Maple Sugar Production in Anishinaabewakiing and the Red River Region, 1670-1873"

Master of Arts: History — May 2011
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee
Thesis Title: "Indigenous Women and Maple Sugar Production in the Upper Midwest, 1760-1848"

Bachelor of Arts: Anthropology — May 1989
McGill University, Montreal

APPOINTMENTS

Professional and Academic Development Coordinator — **January 2018 – August 2020**
Graduate School, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

- Designed and coordinated Preparing Future Faculty and Professionals Series events
- Planned Dissertation Boot Camp including development of advertising, event set-up, food ordering
- Developed and managed surveys through Qualtrics to make future improvements to events and courses
- Used live-streaming and MediaSite video recording and editing system
- Customized virtual version of Dissertation Boot Camp and Reboot events to be used during Covid-19 closures
- Teaching Assistant for GRAD 801. Established and presented course material in Canvas and Desire 2 Learn (D2L) platforms for 15-20 graduate students each semester. Course material included: preparing new grad students for higher education, funding options, financial considerations, succeeding in seminars, and pursuing academic and non-academic careers
- Advised students on University resources

Language Instructor — **September 2017 – December 2017**
Less Commonly Taught Languages, Michigan State University

- Instruction twice-weekly online course through Zoom: Anishinaabemowin, class of 5 undergraduates
- Designed exams
- Organized lesson plans
- Fostered an atmosphere to engage students in a new language acquisition with fellow classmates

- Assessed students verbal and written communication skills

Research Assistant **July 2016 – June 2017**

Ganawendamaw: Emerging Anishinaabeg Environmental Ideologies, a Research Growth Initiative Grant from University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

- Curriculum development for Anishinaabemowin language class
- Participated fully in data collection of interviews with Anishinaabe elders
- Translated interviews from Anishinaabemowin to English
- Transcribed audio file using InqScrib program
- Analyzed conversations of elders
- Drafted reports
- Mentored undergraduates in higher education

Teaching Assistant **September 2015- May 2016**

Department of History, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee

- Taught History of Vietnam to 15 undergraduates, 5 sections per week
- Evaluated exams and final essay
- Created rubric for final essay
- Instructed American History 1877 to the Present to 15 undergraduates, 5 sections per week
- Graded tests and discussion papers

Lecturer **September 2014 – May 2015**

Department of History, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee

- Educated American Indian History to 1887 to 40 undergraduates, twice per week
- Created tests assignments
- Evaluated students' knowledge
- Lectured Western Great Lakes American Indian Life of the Past to 45 undergraduates, twice per week
- Developed tests and assignments

HONORS AND AWARDS

The David and Diane Buck Dissertation Fellowship Award, 2019-2020
The Chancellor's Graduate Student Award, 2012
A.T. Brown Award for Best Graduate Thesis, 2011
"Indigenous Women and Maple Sugar Production in the Upper Midwest, 1760-1848"

PRESENTATIONS

"Writing Methodologies and Indigenous Perspective of Anshinaabewakiing"
Algonquian Conference, 2019, Montreal, Quebec
"Ezhi-Ganawendamang Gidakiimnaan" (How We Protect Our World)
A-Teg. -2018 Conference, Sault Ste Marie, Michigan
"Perspectives from Ganawandemaw: Protection of Language Revitalization and Language Ideologies in the Great Lakes Region" – Algonquin Conference, 2017, Montreal, Canada
"The Expansion of Maple Sugar in the American Midwest"
American Society for Ethnohistory, 2016 Conference, Nashville, TN

"J. William Trygg, The Wisconsin Land Survey, and the Indian Claims Commission" Conference of the Western History Association, 2016. St. Paul, Minnesota
"Indigenous Place Names and J. William Trygg Composite Maps" Algonquin Conference, 2016, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
"Maple Sugar and the "Family Economy": The Ojibwe from Bad River, Wisconsin" American Society for Ethnohistory, 2011 Conference, Pasadena, California
"Ojibwe Women as Producers of a Great Lakes Commodity, 1800-1842" American Society for Ethnohistory, 2010 Conference, Ottawa, Canada

PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP/DIGITAL HUMANITIES

Ojibwe.net. Baaweting Class with Leonard Kimewon, Content for page created for lesson plans:

Puppies for Sale, https://ojibwe.net/lessons/advanced/puppies-for-sale/
Three old men, https://ojibwe.net/lessons/advanced/three-old-men/
Two Little Boys, https://ojibwe.net/lessons/advanced/two-little-boys/

Milwaukee Public Museum Live Twitter Reenactment 2018: The Armistice Day blizzard of 1940

PUBLICATIONS

Introductions

"Introduction." *Way to Grow! A Guide to Exploring the Fields of Agriculture*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2020

Translations

Ogimaans (*The Little Prince*) Antoine De Saint-Exupery, Edition Tintenfab, 2020. Translated into Anishinaabemowin/Ojibwe by Angela Mesic, Margaret Noodin, Susan Wade and Michael Zimmerman Jr.

Public History/Museum

Delicious Memories - compiled and tested recipes from The Benares Museum collection and the Lawson family 's personal collection, dating from 1890 to 1918. Mississauga, Ontario: Barbara Sayers Larson, 2001

"Pasta In Ontario." In Culinary Historians of Ontario Newsletter. No. 39 (Winter, 2004)

Oshkosh Public Museum: The Muse: "Fruitcakes and Sweet Breads: Christmas Traditions." Winter, 2013

Dundurn National Historic Site: Dundurn Chronicles: "Isabella Beeton and the Book of Household Management." Vol. 3 No. 2, Spring, 2002

Museums of Mississauga: Benares Chronicle: "A Taste of Green Gables." Special Edition, Spring, 1999; Museum News and Views: "Archaeology at Benares." Winter, 1999