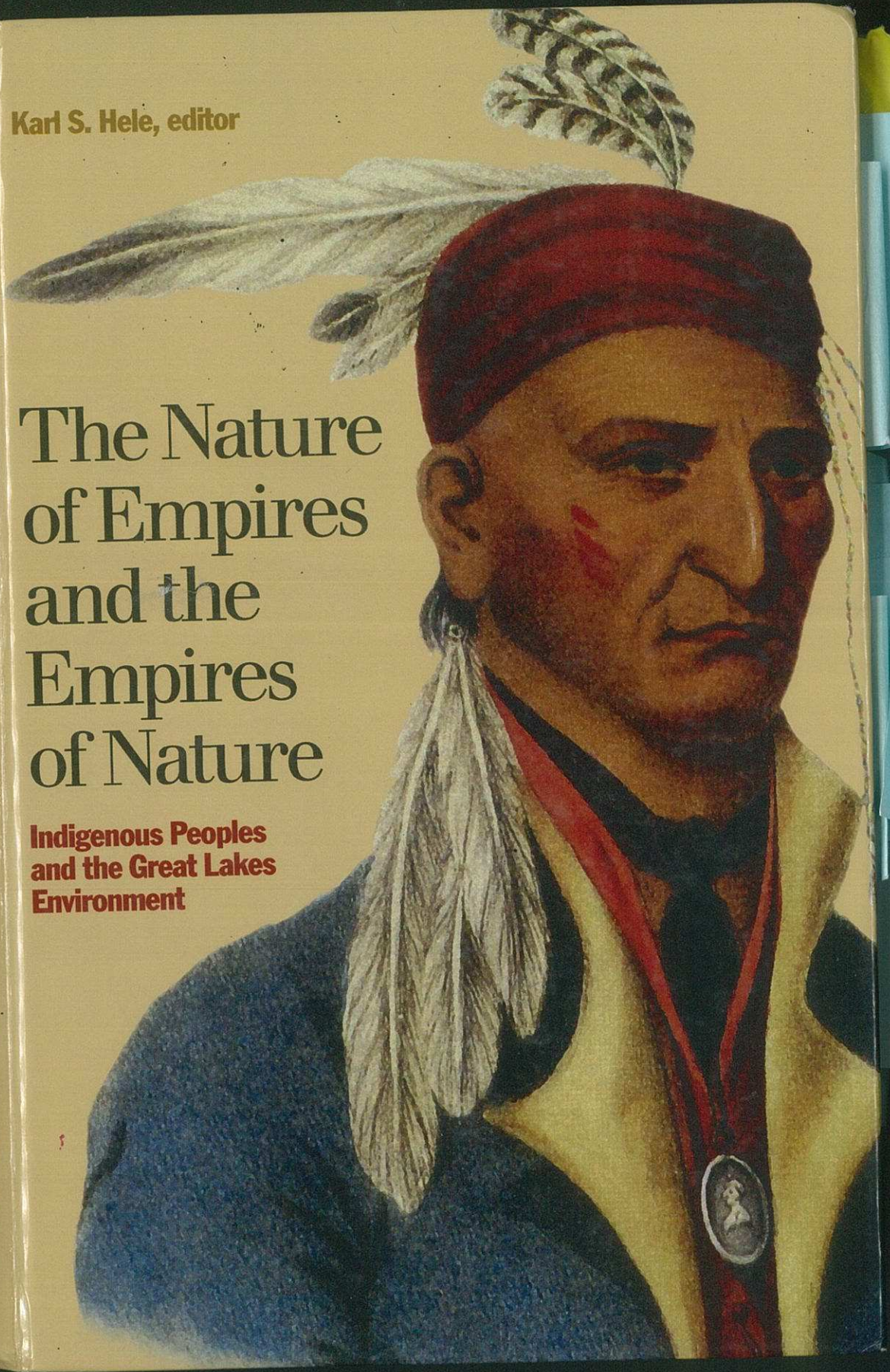
Karl S. Hele, editor

# The Nature of Empires and the Empires of Nature

## Indigenous Peoples and the Great Lakes Environment



**Indigenous Studies Series**

The Indigenous Studies Series builds on the successes of the past and is inspired by recent critical conversations about Indigenous epistemological frameworks. Recognizing the need to encourage burgeoning scholarship, the series welcomes manuscripts drawing upon Indigenous intellectual traditions and philosophies, particularly in discussions situated within the Humanities.



For more information, please contact:

Lisa Quinn
Acquisitions Editor
Wilfrid Laurier University Press
75 University Avenue West
Waterloo, ON N2L 3C5
Canada
Phone: 519-884-0710 ext. 2843
Fax: 519-725-1399
Email: quinn@press.wlu.ca

Wilfrid Laurier University Press acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for our publishing activities.

**Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication**

The nature of empires and the empires of nature : Indigenous peoples and the Great Lakes environment / Karl S. Hele, editor.

(Indigenous studies series)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Issued also in electronic formats.
ISBN 978-1-55458-328-7

1. Native peoples—Great Lakes Region (North America)—Historiography. 2. Great Lakes Region (North America)—Environmental conditions—History. 3. Human ecology—Great Lakes Region (North America)—History. 4. Native peoples—Land tenure—Great Lakes Region (North America)—History. 5. Native peoples—Colonization—Great Lakes Region (North America)—History. 6. Great Lakes Region (North America)—Historiography. I. Hele, Karl S. (Karl Scott), 1970– II. Series: Indigenous studies series

E78.G7N38 2013 971.3004'97 C2012-904308-7

———

Electronic monograph.
Issued also in print format.
ISBN 978-1-55458-422-2 (EPUB).—ISBN 978-1-55458-421-5 (PDF)

1. Native peoples—Great Lakes Region (North America)—Historiography. 2. Great Lakes Region (North America)—Environmental conditions—History. 3. Human ecology—Great Lakes Region (North America)—History. 4. Native peoples—Land tenure—Great Lakes Region (North America)—History. 5. Native peoples—Colonization—Great Lakes Region (North America)—History. 6. Great Lakes Region (North America)—Historiography. I. Hele, Karl S. (Karl Scott), 1970– II. Series: Indigenous studies series (Online)

E78.G7N38 2013 971.3004'97 C2012-904309-5

Cover design by Blakeley Words+Pictures. Cover image: *Shingaba W'Ossin*, by Charles Bird King (1785–1862). MPI /Getty Images photo from iStockphoto. Text design by Sandra Friesen.



Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

www.wlupress.wlu.ca

This book is printed on FSC recycled paper and is certified Ecologo. It is made from 100% post-consumer fibre, processed chlorine free, and manufactured using biogas energy.

Printed in Canada



## CONTENTS

**Preface | xi**
*Karl S. Hele*

**Acknowledgements | xxi**

**Chapter 1 | Introduction | 1**
A Meditation on Environmental History
*John MacKenzie*

**Chapter 2 | 23**
Tricky Medicine: Something Old for Something New
*Heather Marie Annis*

**Chapter 3 | 35**
Rediscovering Relationships
*Alesha Jane Breckenridge*

**Chapter 4 | 45**
Learning to Relate: Environmental and Place-Based Education in Northern Ontario
*Lori-Beth Hallock*

**Chapter 5 | 67**
Bridging Academia and Indigenous Environmental Science: Is It Too Late?
*Brian Rice*

**Chapter 6 | 85**
Empire Revisited: The Covenant Chain of Silver, Land Policy, and the Proclamation of 1763 in the Great Lakes Region, 1760–1800
*Karen J. Travers*

**Chapter 7 | 111**
Lines on the Land: Surveying Townships after the 1790 Treaty
*Rhonda Telford*

**Chapter 8 | 125**
Poisoning the Serpent: The Effects of the Uranium Industry on the Serpent River First Nation, 1953–1988
*Lianne C. Leddy*

**Chapter 9 | 149**
Divided Spaces, Divided Stories: Animal Control Programs in Canada's Indigenous Communities
*Maureen Riche*

**Chapter 10 | 163**
First Nations Diasporas in Canada: A Case of Recognition
*María Cristina Manzano-Munguía*

**Chapter 11 | 189**
Assessing Environmental Health Risks through Collaborative Research and Oral Histories: The Water Quality Issue at Walpole Island First Nation
*Christianne V. Stephens and Regna Darnell*

**Chapter 12 | 221**
Landscape and Mindscape Conjoined: The Empire of Nature and the Nature of Empire in the Journals of Ezhaaswe (William A. Elias) (c. 1848–1929)
*David T. McNab*

**Chapter 13 | 239**
A World of Beauty: The Spirits within Nature in the Writings of Louise Erdrich
*Ute Lischke*

**Chapter 14 | 259**
Settler Narrative and Indigenous Resistance in *The Baldoon Mystery*
*Rick Fehr*

**Chapter 15 | 279**
The Great Indian Bus Tour: Mapping Toronto's Urban First Nations Oral Tradition
*Jon Johnson*

th of the Sled Dog Killings," *Maclean's*,

o Embark on Truth Commission Hear-
homepage.mac.com/puggiq/V10N1/

Kashechewan for Emergency Evacua-
*lease*, 25 April 2006, http://www
006_apr25.html.
n Flying to Kashechewan First Nation
Additional Veterinary Services," *Media*
ntariospca.ca/press_releases/2006/

van Spay North 2006," *Animals' Voice*,

fied' with Dog Slaughter Report,"
2006-12/dec4_06dg.html.

CHAPTER 10

# First Nations Diasporas in Canada: A Case of Recognition

María Cristina Manzano-Munguía

Beginning with colonization, First Nations people in Canada experienced displacement from their homelands and were eventually confined to live "on-reserve."[1] Ward Churchill conceptualizes the displacement of Indigenous peoples from their original land and resources as an Indian diaspora; thus, they should be included in diaspora studies.[2] Moreover, James Clifford argues that tribal people possess diasporic identities through the experience of displacement and dispossession of their land.[3] One way to look at the nature of the British Empire is the forced displacement that Indigenous populations, including First Nations, have experienced from their original territories since colonization.

This chapter explores precisely this political mobilization with two intertwined goals: first, to define First Nations experience in Canada as *diasporic*; second, to propose that the concept of diaspora explains some First Nations experiences in urban centres. The locus for this study is First Nations people who experienced historic and contemporary displacement from different settlements or reserves to the city of London, Ontario. During the course of my fieldwork[4] in London, I built a rapport with its First Nations community. Archival research and interviews[5] with First Nations people formed the methodology employed for data collection. Drawing from my qualitative data, I will give force and saliency to my argument that First Nations are, indeed, diasporic. This is a qualitative study and as Regna Darnell suggests, data analysis will "explore the storied experience relevant to the domain of explanation."[6] It is the pattern of personal experiences that explains and cor-

roborates our theoretical concepts. The first part of this paper will provide a theoretical framework and historical background of First Nations people as diasporic. In the second section, theoretical constructs are tested against ethnographic examples in order to explain how First Nations experience urban areas as spaces of diaspora. This chapter contributes significantly to the ongoing discourse on First Nations urban experience.[7]

## First Nations Diasporas: Grounding Remarks

During the past few decades, social science and humanities scholars have failed to clarify what the "field" of diaspora or refugee studies means. Thus, one can argue that there is an epistemological inconsistency within it.[8] Importantly, Nicholas Van Hear argues that research on forced migration, the displaced, the uprooted and on refugee people must remain an "open" field, rather than one of narrow thinking and dead ends.[9] As such, this study is a vivid example of that "openness," in its call for the inclusion and conceptualization of First Nations peoples as *diasporas*. According to Clifford, diasporas are "dispersed networks of peoples who share common historical experiences of dispossession, displacement, adaptation and so forth.... United by similar claims to 'firstness' on the land and by common histories of decimation and marginality, these alliances often deploy diasporist visions of return to an original place."[10]

First Nations peoples "are unique: neither immigrants nor European founders, they were here first,"[11] and thus they share different historical processes of displacement. At the same time, they resist and negotiate social realities of poverty, violence, racism, lack of services, political isolation, and economic inequalities; it is feasible then to define them as diasporic communities.[12]

The state's ability to "*impose* boundaries, to *limit* who may come and go within specific areas" tends to enforce people's displacements, which may account for the "ongoing project of legibility ... that aims at manipulating society."[13] The conceptualization of a First Nations diaspora must include the fact that these peoples have been subject to states' projects of *legibility*, such as their historical experiences of forced displacement and enforced sedentarization.[14] The state "makes the general population legible to itself" through multiple techniques, such as monitoring, counting, assessing, managing categories, and imposing "simplifications" in order to treat people according to the state's "schemata."[15] If a state knows its legible society then it will increase the probability of implementing successful interventions and planning new social orders such as, changing health practices and employment standards.[16] Another good example is the reserve system created for First Nations in Canada.[17]

: first part of this paper will provide a
ıckground of First Nations people as
tical constructs are tested against eth-
ı how First Nations experience urban
: contributes significantly to the ongo-
perience.[7]

## Remarks

cience and humanities scholars have
ıpora or refugee studies means. Thus,
emological inconsistency within it.[8]
that research on forced migration, the
e people must remain an "open" field,
d dead ends.[9] As such, this study is a
call for the inclusion and conceptual-
*poras*. According to Clifford, diasporas
ɔ share common historical experiences
ation and so forth.... United by simi-
d by common histories of decimation
leploy diasporist visions of return to an

e: neither immigrants nor European
hus they share different historical pro-
time, they resist and negotiate social
ı, lack of services, political isolation,
ible then to define them as diasporic

daries, to *limit* who may come and go
ce people's displacements, which may
ibility ... that aims at manipulating soci-
: Nations diaspora must include the fact
ı states' projects of *legibility*, such as their
cement and enforced sedentarization,
tion legible to itself" through multipl
ınting, assessing, managing categorie
er to treat people according to the state
le society then it will increase the prob
ventions and planning new social orde
employment standards.[16] Another goa
for First Nations in Canada.[17]



If a state lacks knowledge about its legible population, then social engineering projects may have a devastating effect on targeted populations.[18] In other words, if the state incorporates "practical knowledge" about and needs of subaltern groups in its planning, then we will encounter an escalating trend in the successfulness of social engineering projects like health practices, employment and housing.[19] Michel-Rolph Trouillot suggests that the "legibility effect" is the knowledge and language needed for governance and the creation "of theoretical and empirical tools that classify and regulate collectivities."[20] There is also recent interest in how targeted populations experience the legibility effect.[21]

The British and Canadian states forced the displacement and sedentarization (through the reserve system) of First Nations people through policies and legislation.[22] Canadian Indian policy and legislation emerged from the state's interest in making the population legible to itself, as well as dominant group motives and values that historically intertwined with Indians, their families, and communities.[23] Alain Cunningham identifies the traditional era for studying the Indian policy-making in Canada, which included the assimilation and segregation of Indians that culminated with the creation of a Reserve system.[24] Moreover, the laws of a nation are a formal expression of policies that govern various areas of our lives. Early Indian legislation followed a top-down model, where non-Indian state officials and their advisors designed the legislation that, in principle, governed the lives of Indians who were "protected" and "subordinated" by these laws.[25] The legislation created by the British and Canadian authorities for governing "Indians" is multiple and contradictory.[26] In order to fully comprehend the historical displacement and dispossession of First Nations, we must look at the traditional Indian policy-making era in conjunction with the legislation that gave force and saliency to those policies.

## Indian Policy and Indian Displacement in the Traditional Indian-Policy Era

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 represents the basis of Britain's paternalistic Indian policy where Indians were treated as infants (children) in need of protection. This proclamation established a boundary line between "Indian" and European lands while establishing and legitimizing the Crown's right to purchase such lands. At the same time, the Crown legitimized the acquisition, sale, and purchase of First Nations lands by non-Natives, which reinforced a pervasive and "fraudulent" way of acquiring Indian lands that had taken place since the earliest encounters.[27] Thus, the Royal Proclamation created new avenues of fraud and frictions between the state, its representatives, Indians,

and settlers. These frauds were confirmed by the special Sub-Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, who clearly outlined in its 1839 report "the unjust and improvident manner in which the land of the Indians has been dealt with by us [British government],—their insecurity of title,—and their actual removal from it in late remarkable cases under an oppressive and fraudulent treaty,—and by unjust contract."[28]

In 1791, the British Parliament passed the Constitutional Act, which divided the territory known as New France into two regions: Upper Canada, located west of the Saint Lawrence River, currently known as the Province of Ontario; and Lower Canada, currently known as the Province of Quebec. The Indian Department also experienced administrative changes that pertained to those controlling the department's affairs in Upper and Lower Canada. Emphasis will be placed on Upper Canada given that the City of London falls within the limits of this geographical area. In Upper Canada, overall control was under the lieutenant governor, while the military secretary remained in charge of the Indian Department in Lower Canada.[29] Under these individuals were a series of superintendents who controlled and implemented state policies; the London region falls under the jurisdiction of the Western District.[30]

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, an advocacy group known as the Humanitarians supported activities (e.g., agriculture, Christianity) that protected and civilized Indigenous people in the new colonies.[31] This initiative was soon embraced by British governments that objected to the high costs of the annual "presents" to the Indigenous population to maintain relationships and more easily acquire their lands. By 1830, this British policy of "Indian Friendship" became a "Civilization policy." It was unofficially implemented by missionaries (Methodists, Anglicans, Baptists, Roman Catholics, and Moravians), teachers, instructors, and officially appointed agents who targeted Indigenous people in a project to make them "full members of the society" and wards of the government.[32]

In 1828, General Darling (Indian agent) reported to Earl Dalhousie, Secretary of State:

> The Mississaquas of Rice Lake, consisting of 317 souls and the Mohawks of Bay of Quinti, do not exceed 319 souls.—Of these the Mississaquas of Bay of Quinti and the rice Lake have recently been converted to Christianity by the Methodist society, who have introduced missionaries among the Indians here and in part of Upper Canada.... It is undoubted they have done some good, by influencing the Indians to embrace Christianity, and have inculcated the first

principles of civilization, particularly in the tribes now under consideration, which shows itself in the desire which they have recently expressed to be collected in a village, and have lands allotted them for cultivation.

Chippawas under the Chief Yellow Head—These Indians amount upon an average to 550 souls; they occupy the lands about Lake Simcoe, Holland River, and the unsettled county in the rear of York. They have expressed a strong desire to be admitted to Christianity, and to adopt the habits of civilized life...

Mohawks of the Six Nations.—Under 2,000 souls are settled on the banks the Ouse, or Grand River, a fine and fertile tract of country which was purchase from the Chippawas (the Aborigines) exclusively from them when they were brought to this country from the Mohawk River, in the state of New York, at the termination of the revolutionary American war.... Their knowledge of farming is exceedingly limited, being chiefly confined to the cultivation of Indian corn, beans and potatoes; but those of more industrious habits follow the example of their white neighbours, and have separate farms, on which they raise most kind of English grain.

Mississaquas of the Credit.—The present state of this tribe, amounting to 180 souls, who were lately notorious for drunkenness and debauchery, affords in my humble opinion the strongest encouragement to extend to the other tribes now exposed to Christianity and civilization the experiment that has been tried by his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland.... They are now settled in a delightful spot on the banks of the Credit [River], about 16 miles from York, in a village consisting of 20 substantial log huts, 18 feet by 24, having an upper story or garret to each. They have a school-house for the boys (in which is combined decent arrangement for the performance of the divine service, which is regularly attended,) and another for the girls.... They have two enclosures of about seven acres of wheat, and a field on the banks of the river, containing about 35 acres of Indian corn, in a promising state of cultivation.[33]

In Upper Canada, Lieutenant Governor Peregrine Maitland encouraged Methodist projects directing Indigenous settlements towards agriculture, where the people were "civilized" and Christianized. Thus, settled Indigenous people received instruction in agriculture, husbandry, and Christianity; they also received rations of seeds, agricultural tools, and assistance in building houses.[34] In 1830, Sir John Colborne, Indian agent, followed a similar course of action as he described in his report to Sir George Murray, Secretary of State: "I have directed houses to be built for them on detached lots, and they are now clearing ground sufficient to establish farms at each station for their immediate support ... experienced farmers have been engaged to instruct

them, and school masters appointed to educate their children."[35] He further mentions that in the area of the Thames and Lake St. Clair, "similar measures are on trial at the Indian stations."[36] These settlements became the basis of the reserve system in Canada and a "social laboratory where the Indian could be prepared for coping with the European," which in turn also meant that the First Nations population was in the process of becoming legible to its rulers.[37]

Despite the claims of Indian agents and superintendents about the success of Indian farming settlements and civilization programs, Sir Francis Bond Head, the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada from 1836 to 1838, was convinced of quite the opposite: the failure of the civilization policy.[38] He promoted his own program of "removal" and segregation of Indigenous peoples to specific and isolated territories, such as the Manitoulin Island chain along the North Shore of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay.[39] There Indigenous people, according to Head, were able to fish, hunt, shoot birds, and gather fruit without the presence of white people. Moreover, they had to surrender their "vast and fertile" lands that were greatly needed by the colonists and "hailed with joy by the whole Province."[40] Head arranged land cessions from Ojibwa and Ottawa leaders from Manitoulin Island, as well as from the Saugeen Ojibwas of the Bruce Peninsula, and other Ojibwa tribes who fell under his jurisdiction.[41] However, the findings of the Sub-Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society's stated that the First Nations people "accept the elements of civilization at our [British] hands, as well to be gradually incorporated with the colonists."[42] Thus, the British Parliament rejected Bond Head's scheme of removal but not the idea of land cessions through treaties.[43] Nevertheless, the allegedly successful Christianization, civilization, and settlement of the "Indians"[44] encountered resistance. Not only did First Nations people resist moving to the new territories but some colonists also expressed indifference, hostility, and obstruction.[45]

The policy of removal was not only a social engineering project forcing displacement of First Nations people from their original hunting and gathering territories to live on villages and later, reserves; but it was also a contributing factor in the development of assimilationist policies that continued throughout the twentieth century.[46] By the 1850s, a new version of "smaller reserves for individual bands located next to or near European–Canadian communities"[47] was enforced through legislation in Canada.

:o educate their children."[35] He further
es and Lake St. Clair, "similar measures
ıese settlements became the basis of the
l laboratory where the Indian could be
an," which in turn also meant that the
ocess of becoming legible to its rulers.[37]
and superintendents about the success
ivilization programs, Sir Francis Bond
ɔer Canada from 1836 to 1838, was con-
ıre of the civilization policy.[38] He pro-
and segregation of Indigenous peoples
:h as the Manitoulin Island chain along
Georgian Bay.[39] There Indigenous peo-
fish, hunt, shoot birds, and gather fruit
. Moreover, they had to surrender their
tly needed by the colonists and "hailed
:ad arranged land cessions from Ojibwa
sland, as well as from the Saugeen Ojib-
r Ojibwa tribes who fell under his juri
the Sub-Committee of the Aborigines
rst Nations people "accept the element
ıs well to be gradually incorporated with
rliament rejected Bond Head's schem
:ssions through treaties.[43] Neverthele
tion, civilization, and settlement of th
Not only did First Nations people resi
ne colonists also expressed indifferenc

r a social engineering project forcing d
ɔm their original hunting and gather
; reserves; but it was also a contribut
ıtionist policies that continued thro
.850s, a new version of "smaller reser
or near European–Canadian comm
on in Canada.

## Indian Legislation Pertaining to Land Displacement and Indian Civilization

In 1850, the *Act for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from imposition, and the property occupied or enjoyed by them from trespass and injury* was enacted to protect First Nations and their property. These acts not only "protected" their lands from scheming whites, but also prohibited taxation on the land occupied by "Indians" or persons married to them:

> No taxes shall be levied or assessed ... for or in respect of any of the said Indian lands, nor shall any taxes or assessments whatsoever be levied or imposed upon any Indian or any person inter-married with any Indian so long as he, she or they shall reside on Indian lands not ceded to the Crown, or which having been ceded may have been again set apart by the Crown for the occupation of Indians.[48]

Furthermore, the government undertook to encourage "civilizing pursuits" among First Nations peoples through multiple strategies such as the practice of agriculture.[49] The "civilization" of First Nations was specifically addressed and legislated in the 1857 legislation entitled the *Act to encourage the gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to amend the Laws respecting Indians*. The ultimate goal of "civilization" was to remove all legal distinctions between "Indians" and "non-Indians" and to integrate the former into mainstream society. The term "enfranchised" was introduced in this act:

> The Visiting Superintendent of each Tribe of Indians, for the time being, the Missionary to such Tribe for the time being, and such other person as the Governor shall appoint from time to time for that purpose, shall be Commissioners of examining Indians, being members of such Tribe, who may desire to avail themselves of this Act ... and such Commissioners shall meet for the said purposes at such places and times as the Superintendent General of Indian affairs shall from time to time to time direct, and shall have full power to make such examination and inquiry: and if such Commissioners shall report in writing to the Governor that any such Indian of the male sex, and not under twenty-one years of age, is able to speak, read and write either the [E]nglish or the [F]rench language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt, then it shall be competent to the Governor to cause notice to be given in the Official Gazette of the Province, that such *Indian is enfranchised* under this Act.[50]

Thus, First Nations men aged between twenty-one and forty, with good morals, free of debts, "of sober and industrious habits," and able to speak English or French were eligible to relinquish their Status Indian identity and to embrace their new "Christian" names and lands allotted to them. These pieces of legislation gave force and saliency to early Indian policy that pertained to protection, confinement, assimilation, and civilization of First Nations people.[51] However, as time progressed, not many chose to enfranchise, forcing the federal government to create other pieces of legislation that better ensured and enforced their enfranchisement.[52] With minor revisions, the concept of enfranchisement remained a key component of Indian policy until 1985, when Bill C-31 abolished it and many, but not all, First Nations people regained their Status and band membership, including the right to hold property and live on-reserve.[53]

Established in 1867, the Dominion of Canada included the following provinces Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The federal government of Canada continued the Indian policy inherited from Britain and its former colonies. In 1868 Canada enacted the first piece of National legislation: *An Act providing for the organisation of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordenance Lands*. This act "merely incorporated the earlier colonial legislation concerning Indian lands ... the only definitions of who was an Indian and the penalties imposed for trespass on Indian lands."[54]

In 1876, the first *Indian Act* consolidated previous legislation and served as the mechanism to distinguish between "Indians" and "non-Indians" and to make "Indians" become legible to the state by promoting and enforcing settlement.[55] The state agent, the minister of the Interior, controlled and managed everything pertaining to them and their lands. The task of defining who was and who was not an Indian (Status), land tenure, on-reserve governance, taxes, health, and government fiduciary responsibilities were consolidated across time through the various *Indian Acts*.[56]

Darnell, however, suggests that First Nations people in Canada have been neither sedentary nor assimilated.[57] Instead, they move from reserves to urban centres and vice-versa. It is questionable whether the "permanence of residence is an appropriate index of the strategies people actually use to decide where they will live at a given moment."[58] Simply put, some First Nations people who live in urban centres do not cease to be "Native" or "Indian," and it is precisely their decision-making strategies for subsistence (e.g., poverty, employment, education, health, skills development) that trigger the persistence of their diasporic culture regardless of the place in which

they dwell. Thus, my argument is that some contemporary First Nations people dwelling in the cities are "diasporas within the states."[59] One of Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin's major theoretical contributions to understanding diaspora is the inclusion of "cultural dynamics" and the persistence of "specific identities."[60] Thus, I argue that urban First Nations people not only carry a historical sense of displacement from their original territories, but these populations also identify themselves according to their First Nation, which might be a reserve near London or one across Canada. Moreover, they cherish the hope, or at least there is a desire, to return to their "home" or reserve at some point in time. It is the particulars of this argument that need to be further discussed by looking at the urban First Nations people dwelling in the City of London.

## The Faces of London

### The Urban Presence of First Nations People

The 2006 census data shows that 72.1% of the off-reserve Aboriginal population lives in urban centres, compared to 26.3% who live on reserves. Statistics Canada also reports a total of 12,028,895 inhabitants in the Province of Ontario; 2%, or 242,495 reported having at least some Aboriginal ancestry, an increase of 1.29% from the 2001 census.[61]

The research area is the City of London, which is an urban centre located in southwestern Ontario, midway between Toronto and Windsor, and the seat of the Middlesex County. This is the thirteenth-largest city in Canada and the fifth-largest in Ontario with a total population of 452,575 habitants; the Aboriginal population represents 1.37% (n=6,195) although this is dramatically underestimated since "historically, Aboriginal people have been reluctant participants in the census for a variety of reasons."[62] As Joseph stated, "we [referring to Natives] are more than that."[63]

London is one of the major cities to which First Nations people migrate from reserves and from other cities across Canada; their presence permeates different spaces within the urban spectrum, including, but not limited to, non-government Native organizations, shopping centres, coffee places, university, college, shelters, libraries, health centres, neighbourhoods, and parks. This city also represents a unique site for conducting research among the First Nations population given the proximity of First Nations communities like Walpole Island, the Oneida Nation of the Thames, Chippewas of Sarnia, Chippewas of Kettle and Stony Point, Moravian of the Thames, Six Nations of the Grand River, Chippewa of the Thames, Mississaugas of New Credit, Muncey, and Caldwell Nation. This is not to say that First Nations people liv-

ing in London exclusively belong to those reserves but rather to quantify the constant mobility occurring from reserves or settlements to urban centres, and vice versa.[64]

In a twelve-month period, 22% of Aboriginal people moved, compared with only 14% of the non-Aboriginal population.[65] The 2006 census emphasizes the high mobility of the Aboriginal population in Ontario: 50% First Nations people did not live at the same address 5 years prior to the census.[66] Thus, we cannot think of Aboriginal populations as residing "permanently" in London or any other city since their residential patterns are complex and may last from a couple of months to decades.[67]

The presence of First Nations peoples in London is not a recent social phenomenon. It is part of the social fabric of this place since before colonization. The continuing migration of First Nations people to urban areas is indeed, a "reality" documented and recognized by the Canadian government, the media, research firms, and scholars.[68] This is an important acknowledgement that First Nations people have neither been assimilated nor eliminated in spite of the myriad attempts exerted by the Canadian government through various policies, programs, projects, and institutions such as the disenfranchisement of Indians and the elimination of their political institutions.[69] This is London, a city of contrasts and extremes, the place where my research began in the summer of 2003.

## Encountering the City

The bus route along Richmond and Dundas was part of my journey for five years—the buildings, stores, houses, green areas, and parking lots seem familiar. The heart of London is the downtown area with its intersecting streets, like the corner of Dundas and Richmond or King and Dundas. These are places where people "hang around" and experience the city in a way that can be called the "art of straying."[70] In other words, people lose themselves and seem not "to find [their] way in the city" and, at the same time the conflicting fact is that the city discloses itself to us the "walkers."[71]

A similar experience accounted for my innermost thoughts during my first months of fieldwork in the downtown area, walking the streets back and forth, looking at the homeless, those stranded with drugs and alcohol, the drug dealers, and those who are, in increasing numbers, young smokers, parents, and loiterers with different cultural backgrounds and skin colours. Then I look again and there is the other scenery: the business or casual dress, the suit properly fitted, the expensive cars driving through, the look of success rather than hopelessness. This is the look from the street. My fieldwork notes

cannot reflect the full reality; this is just a partial view, a partial exploration of the city. What is a city? Perhaps it is a place where such extremes meet.

Michel de Certeau might have fruitful and illuminating responses to my query. He explored the practices of every day life and conceptualizes cities as "migrational or metaphorical" spatial practices.[72] The planned and readable city is a mere chimera, an imaginary totalization. The streets are places where the extremes collide: "extremes of ambition and degradation, brutal oppositions of races and styles, contrasts between yesterday's buildings, already transformed into trash cans, and today's urban irruptions that block out its space."[73]

My first exploration of London occurred in the summer of 2003. Since then, I have been conducting fieldwork and building rapport with the Aboriginal community while working as a research assistant for Dr. Regna Darnell in a project related to operationalizing the "accordion model of Algonquian social organization."[74] This research experience honed my interviewing skills in the field and proved to be fruitful and illuminating during my second phase of fieldwork in 2006.

### First Nations People and London

For the past two centuries, First Nations histories have been presented by academic authorities who did not have to give up their own land, ideals, dreams, culture, history, and freedom. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, Native and non-Native scholars' "battle for truth" remains central in presenting an ethnographic and historical account of the primitive or colonized from a questionable standpoint of cultural relativism.[75] It must be remembered that anthropological research "begins with immersion in local experience and local knowledge."[76] Ethnographic research is one way to achieve "face-to-face interaction with particular individuals and communities over a substantial period of time" and through this process the researcher might come to understand and interpret larger political economic and cultural contexts of "local" populations.[77]

Fieldwork encompasses "deep hanging out" and listening to the stories First Nations people tell about the people who are part of their lives, to gossip, and to tales of their experiences, places, surroundings.[78] The community experience provides a template for that of the individual.[79] From 2006 to 2007 I conducted open-ended interviews (n=20) with members of the Aboriginal community.[80] This section encompasses the interviews conducted with ten individuals from 2004 to 2007 (see Table 10.1). My interviews focused on First Nations peoples' experiences within the city, such as the rea-

sons they left their "home" place (or reserve) and moved to the city (n=10) their home base was a reserve), and their struggles to access the programs and services available to them through Native non-government organizations.[81] The collection and analysis of qualitative data is extremely complex and not convertible into standard measurable units of objects seen and heard.[82] Qualitative data vary at the level of abstraction, frequency of occurrence, and source.[83] For the goals envisioned in this case study, sampling was irrelevant to my qualitative research design. In addition to the qualitative data, my collaborators responded to some questions pertaining to demographics, such as age, gender, living arrangements, and dwelling accommodations. Table 10.1 summarizes the findings.

Fifty percent of the population fell between 45 and 60 years of age. Their gender is almost equally distributed, considering that 60% were women. Over half of the First Nations population interviewed is either single or divorced/separated (n=6). Another 40% reported to be either married or living in common-law relationships. Family size varies: 40% have one to two children; 20% reported three to four children; and 20% reported no children at all. Family composition in urban centres may include single parents with one or two children dwelling in the household. Almost half of the First Nations population lives alone. Only 20% live with extended family like aunts or cousins. These findings create a dialogue with the resonant discourse surrounding urban First Nations people, suggesting that they practise living arrangements and household composition like "back home" or "back on the rez" where "people tend to have more children than does the average mainstream society [which has 1–2]."[84] Future research needs to explore these new lines of inquiry. The challenge will be to identify and collect demographic data from First Nation families dwelling in urban centres.

The majority of Aboriginal people dwell in apartments (60%) compared to 40% who live in houses; only 20% are owners. Affordable housing is one of the major challenges that many residents in London face. The City of London has recognized this problem, and in 2005 launched an Affordable Housing Strategy for the City of London, targeting the main housing needs, including those of the Aboriginal population.[85] To date this problem remains: a good number of bureaucratic meetings have taken place but no action or solution has altered the status quo of Native housing or co-ops.

All of my collaborators emphasized their desire to go "home" or "back to the rez," despite their continued displacement to other cities, some of them outside the Province of Ontario. While some said that London represented the first city in which they lived off-reserve (n=3). For others London was

**Table 10.1 Demographics of First Nations People Interviewed in London**

| Study Variable (n=10) | Percent |
|---|---|
| Age | |
| Under 25 years of age | 10 |
| 25–45 years of age | 40 |
| 45–60 years of age | 50 |
| Female Gender | 60 |
| Current Marital Status | |
| Single/divorced/separated | 60 |
| Married | 20 |
| Common law | 20 |
| Number of Children | |
| None | 20 |
| One or two | 40 |
| Three or four | 20 |
| Five | 10 |
| Nine | 10 |
| Type of Dwelling | |
| House | 40 |
| Apartment | 60 |
| Own or Rent Dwelling | |
| Rent | 80 |
| Own | 20 |
| Living Arrangements | |
| Living by yourself | 50 |
| Living with your child or children | 30 |
| Living with your aunts/cousins | 20 |
| Return to your "home" (Reserve) | |
| Yes | 100 |

just another city added to their list (n=7). Additionally "neither the Reserve nor the city represents a permanent residence for Indians who struggle to subsist in both worlds."[86] What we are witnessing is a "reified nomadic pattern" that has been continuously practised by First Nations people despite their forced displacement and the sedentary policies in place by the Canadian government. Within this framework, I now turn to discuss the experiences of Aboriginal people residing temporarily in London.

## Neither from Here nor from There: Moving to the City

For some First Nations people, London represents their site of birth but was not their place of residence until they left their reserve, which is usually located a short distance from the city. Others may move from reserves located in other provinces or from the United States. In addition to First Nation people, Métis and Inuit also dwell in this city. There is no single factor that may trigger the migration of Aboriginal people to urban areas, but rather these are "moments of decision-making" where multiple, complex, and intertwined crises prompt individuals to leave their "home" and relocate.[87] Rene's account provides a glimpse of the kind of crises that First Nations people encounter at home:

> My Dad decided ... wanted me to leave ... because it was social and less healthy on reserve ... ahhh ... there was drinking ... lots of drinking involved and he knew there was going to be problem so he did not want me to be part of that. So just before Christmas, he told me to leave gave me some money and I left the reserve. I was about 16 maybe 17 at that time when I left and I left with my brother who was working in a small town.
>
> We didn't understand the reserve in my path. My Mom will go up to the trap line ... from the fall right to the winter and then in the spring. During the summer my Dad will guide the Americans ... the fishermen will come in the summer and then in the fall and they will come back to the reserve and buy the supplies for the winter. [He will] go back all over the trap line [and] we did that. But we were taken to residential school when I was seven so we were in residential school from the end of August to June. We will come back by the end of June we stayed for the summer and then go back again ... We did that through elementary school and then through high school ... and ... most of the summers we spent with my Mom and Dad and then most of the falls through the spring I was in residential school. And so while I was in residential school ... in grade ten when they all started dropping off ... my support system my brothers dropped out of school, my cousins dropped out of school, and then friends started dropping out of school and I was the only one that was left at the high school. I didn't make it after that ...
>
> So I left, it was spring so I guess it was my grade ten and then I went back up north with my Mother and Father and did a little trapping with them. And I went in the summer with them and did more trapping. That's when my Dad told me again he says: "you know trapping isn't a life anymore." Because I didn't have the skills perhaps in trapping ... because I was in school all this time. I didn't have the skills to survive on the wilderness. So I went back to

## Moving to the City

don represents their site of birth but
l they left their reserve, which is usu-
city. Others may move from reserves
he United States. In addition to First
vell in this city. There is no single factor
iginal people to urban areas, but rather
ıg" where multiple, complex, and inter-
ave their "home" and relocate.[87] Rene's
nd of crises that First Nations people

eave ... because it was social and less
as drinking ... lots of drinking involved
blem so he did not want me to be part of
me to leave gave me some money and I
17 at that time when I left and I left with
l town.
in my path. My Mom will go up to the
inter and then in the spring. During the
icans ... the fishermen will come in the
will come back to the reserve and buy
o back all over the trap line [and] we did
l school when I was seven so we were in
ıgust to June. We will come back by the
r and then go back again ... We did that
ı through high school ... and ... most
lom and Dad and then most of the falls
al school. And so while I was in residen-
y all started dropping off ... my support
chool, my cousins dropped out of school,
of school and I was the only one that was
after that ...
t was my grade ten and then I went back
ıer and did a little trapping with them.
ı and did more trapping. That's when my
ıw trapping isn't a life anymore." Because
ıpping ... because I was in school all this
ive on the wilderness. So I went back to

> school (in a city located in the northern part of Ontario) got my high school degree, then I went took a couple of courses. It was hard for me to go back ... I kind of adjust to. I got my grade 12 but then I decided to do something better. I went back to school and took more credits ... and went back again to get more credits to get a job in teaching.[88]

Rene's father envisioned the challenges and accommodations that his son and his people would need to make in order to survive in an off-reserve environment. Neither trapping nor any other traditional mode of subsistence meant "survival" in the first half of the twentieth century. This scenario has not changed on reserves in the present day: "there is nothing, there are no jobs the unemployment rate is sky high and with all the alcohol down there [referring to the reserve]."[89] In other words, the vast majority of reserves in Canada are poverty-stricken.[90]

Sami, a 2006 resident of London, moved from one place to another due to her parents' work and better living:

> I was born here in London, in Victoria Hospital. My family move out of the reserve in 1959 he and my Mom decided to live their life for God and he went to bible school in Minnesota for some years. We were out reserve for about 7 years maybe.... We were seven of us, we all move back in 1969 but then my two older brothers decided they didn't like it and move back to Canada. They were older 14 or 15 maybe. All my relatives live on reserve, except for my mom and my dad [both deceased]. I have two brothers and a younger sister living there.
>
> We lived in Wisconsin and North Dakota so my Dad moved around because of his job [preacher] ... we didn't lived on reserve we lived in a little town next to the reserves, right ... It was like one of the town because I didn't know that I was different, I didn't know I was brown, I didn't know that I was a living [name of reserve]. You know, because the people that we lived with, they all welcomed my parents and embraced my whole family. So I didn't know any colours, I did not know any differences in Aboriginals. I have no idea that I was one ... I didn't even know that.
>
> I was four when we moved [to her home reserve] and I didn't even know like nobody, not even my own family when we moved eh ... So coming back and moving forward was really, really different.[91]

When Sami returned to her reserve she felt alienated, but after a few years she identified with her community and people. Again, given the lack of opportunities and poverty after living ten years on-reserve she had to move to Lon-

don. "It is difficult to leave home and more difficult to find your way in the city," as Joe said while he ate his burger and fries at the Covent Market. Joe came by himself and the only person he knew was his cousin who was living in London at that time:

> She helped me ... you know, I didn't have a place to stay, no food, no clothes, no money ... just myself. Thinking that maybe I will make money here and there, perhaps meet someone and start a family. I didn't know what to do or where to go. I called her from the street ... someone gave me a ride [I mistakenly asked him if he took the bus].... Holy shit, there are no buses on reserve, you get your own car, pay for the trip or get a ride. I got a ride but that's it.
>
> Still remember the first time I called Lisa, it was over there [pointing to Dundas and Richmond] and it was really stressful but I did it.[92]

Many First Nations people need only "one contact" who will provide help and shelter while the newcomer gets used to the dynamics of the city. As Carol stated, "I lived with my auntie, I took the bus and get off Dundas. I walked to Nokee Kwe [Native Non-government organization providing employment and training services] for my training and I know a few people there."[93]

Some urban First Nations do not cease to be "Indians" and moving away from poverty (e.g., lack of employment, education, housing) and the revival of their Indian identity in urban centres is what actually triggers the persistence of their diasporic culture regardless of the place in which they dwell at any given moment.[94] Moreover, the majority of the First Nations people interviewed (n=10) expressed their desired to return to their "home" or reserve at some point in time. Thus Joe, who left his reserve ten years ago, cherishes the hope to go back to "home" and retire when "the time has come to go back."[95]

First Nations people dwelling in the cities are a diaspora not only because they carry a historical sense of displacement from their original territories but also because these populations find themselves separated from their on-reserve territories. Today being a member of the First Nations diaspora is primarily related to First Nations' claim as original peoples to land and territories that go "beyond" the national frontiers.

## Conclusion

This chapter represents an effort to stimulate a discussion that will lead to further rethinking of First Nations as a diaspora in Canada. The histories, complexities, realities, and premises posed in this paper about urban First Nations people are an example of how the academia should question and rethink

theoretical constructs closely intertwined with social practices. Social actors may challenge and/or contribute to our understanding of them, and I hope that this study will represent a major substantive contribution to the comparative study of diaspora in Canada, to the diversity of the First Nation experience in cities, and to the nature of empires.

First Nations people dwelling in urban centres are a diaspora because they carry a historical sense of displacement from their original territories and some continue to experience a continual dispersal from their on-reserve territories to urban areas across Canada. There is a strong desire to "go back home" or "back to the rez," even if this place might represent an imagined sense of community. Arjun Appadurai states that "displacement and exile, migration and terror create powerful attachments to ideas of homeland that seem more deeply territorial than ever"; thus the challenge will be for the nation-state to work with and tolerate this diversity and, at the same time, making this diverse population legible to the state.[96]

The present study has some limitations. Future studies need to explore the experiences of other First Nations people living in other urban centres. In addition, a longitudinal and comparative study of the experiences of on- and off-reserve First Nations peoples might bring fruitful contributions that will broaden our understanding of diaspora not only within Canada but across the borderland (with the United States and Mexico). As well, we need to examine the dynamics that are in place at the local and national level. Even though my study was mostly centred at the local level, a macro analysis of the economic, political, and cultural dynamics that are in place may suggest productive action paths for First Nations communities, government, and non-government stakeholders.

## Notes

An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Mobility and Insecurity: Diasporas, Democracy, and Canada Workshop, York Centre for International and Security Studies (YCISS), at York University, Toronto. Funding for this research was awarded by the Democracy, Diasporas, and Canadian Security in International Perspective Research Award (2007–2008) and the YCISS. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and Karl Hele for their insightful comments and recommendations. Needless to say, I am responsible for the views and interpretations expressed in this chapter.

1 The term *First Nations people* refers to registered band member "Indians"; see *Indian Act 1985*: c. I-5 s. 10; Ward Churchill, *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Elizabeth Colson, "Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11 (2003): 1–18;

Peter Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); John Steckley, *Full Circle Canada's First Nations* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2001).

2 Churchill, *Acts of Rebellion*, 141–42.

3 James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Transformation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 253.

4 This chapter encompasses a section of the findings related to my doctoral dissertation research. I conducted fieldwork in London, Ontario, Canada (2003–2007) and used three kinds of field methods for data collection: open-ended interviews and life histories with Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal leaders and Native non-government organizations (NNGOs) workers (twenty individuals); archival research; and participant observation within NNGOs and at community events. See María C. Manzano-Munguía, "Mediating Aboriginal–State Relations through Native Non-Governmental Organizations and Aboriginal Leaders: An Alternative Model," Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2009.

5 I conducted interviews in London, Ontario, with ten individuals from 2004 to 2007.

6 Regna Darnell, "Qualitative Demographics of Aboriginal Urban–Rural Migration: The Persistence of Nomadic Habits," Paper presented at the Canadian Anthropology Society, Halifax, 2003: 24–25.

7 For details on the diversity of First Nations experience in Canadian cities, see Environics Institute, *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study, 2010* (Scarborough: Environics Institute, 2010), http://uaps.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/UAPS-Main-Report_Dec.pdf, 2010; Heather Howard and Craig Proulx, eds., *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011); David Newhouse, "Urban Life: Reflections of a Middle-Class Indian," in *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities*, ed. Heather Howard and Craig Proulx (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), 23–38; Evelyn Peters. "Emerging Themes in Academic Research in Urban Aboriginal Identities in Canada 1996–2010," *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 78–105; Craig Proulx, *Reclaiming Aboriginal Justice, Identity and Community* (Saskatoon: Purich, 2003) and "Aboriginal Identification in North American Cities," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 26, no. 2 (2005): 405–38.

8 See for details Jana Evans Braziel and Manita Mannur, eds., *Theorizing Diaspora* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); Robin Cohen, "Diaspora and the nation-state," *International Affairs* 72.3 (1996): 507–20; Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8–9. For details on the "black Atlantic" diasporic paths see Paul Gilroy, "The

Black Atlantic as a Counterculture of Modernity," in *Theorizing Diaspora:* eds. Jana Evans Braziel and Manita Mannur (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 49–80.

9 Van Hear, Editorial Introduction, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Special Issue, 11 (1998): 341–49.

10 Clifford, *Routes*, 253.

11 Regna Darnell, "Canadian Anthropologists, the First Nations and Canada's Self-Image at the Millennium," *Anthropologica* 42 (2000): 165.

12 Clifford, *Routes*, 261.

13 James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 80.

14 Scott, *Seeing Like a State*; Michel-Rolph Trouillot,"The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization: Close Encounters of the Deceptive Kind," *Current Anthropology* 42, no. 1 (2001): 125–38; see also María C. Manzano-Munguía, "Indian Policy and Legislation: Aboriginal Identity Survival in Canada," *Journal of Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11, no. 3 (2011): 404–26.

15 Trouillot, "Anthropology of the State," 126; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 82.

16 Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 78.

17 John Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. Ian Getty and Antoine Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 39–55.

18 Scott, *Seeing Like a State.*

19 Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 78; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and transl. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International, 1971), 57.

20 Trouillot, "Anthropology of the State," 126.

21 Veena Das and Deborah Poole, "State and Its Margins: Comparative Ethnographies," in *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, ed. Veena Das and Deborah Poole (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2004), 16; and more generally the other papers in this edited collection.

22 See *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian affairs, and to extend the provisions of the Act 31st Victoria*, Statutes of Canada 1869, c. 6 (32 Vict.); *An Act to encourage the gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province*, 1857, 22 Vict., c. 26; Aborigines Protection Society, *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada* (London: William Ball, Arnold, 1839); and *Indian Act*, Statutes of Canada 1876, c. 18.

23 Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 80; see also Menno Boldt, *Surviving as Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Leroy Little Bear, Menno Boldt, and

J. Anthony Long, eds., *Pathways to Self-determination: Canadian Indians and the Canadian State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Rick Pointing and Roger Gibbins, *Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1980); and Sally Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968–1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

24 See also Alain Cunningham, *Canadian Indian Policy and Development Planning Theory* (New York: Garland, 1999), 3; 31. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 41.

25 See Menno Boldt and Anthony Long, "Native Indian Self-Government: Instrument of Autonomy or Assimilation?" in *Governments in Conflict? Provinces and Indian Nations in Canada*, ed. Anthony Long, Menno Boldt, and Leroy Little Bear (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 38–56; and Thomas Isaac, *Aboriginal Law: Commentary, Cases and Materials* (Saskatoon: Purich, 2004).

26 See Isaac, *Aboriginal Law*; Delia Opekokew, *The Political and Legal Inequities among Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1987); and Joe Sawchuk, "Negotiating an Identity: Métis Political Organizations, the Canadian Government, and Competing Concepts of Aboriginality," *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2001): 73–84.

27 Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 40.

28 Aborigines Protection Society, *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada*, 4.

29 Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation."

30 See George Stanley, "As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: An Historical Comment," in *As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. Ian Getty and Antoine Lussier (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 1–26.

31 Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 41.

32 Robert Surtees, "Canadian Indian Policies," in *Handbook of North American Indians: History of Indian–White Relations*, ed. William Sturtevant and Wilcomb Washburn (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 88; see also Stanley, "As Long the Sun Shines"; Edward Rogers, "The Algonquian Farmers of Southern Ontario, 1830–1945," in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, ed. Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Durdurn Press, 1994), 122–66; and Tobias "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation."

33 General Darling to Earl Dalhousie, in *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada*, Aborigines Protection Society, 6–7.

34 Rogers, "Algonquian Farmers," 125; and Surtees, "Canadian Indian Policies," 88.

35 Sir John Colborne to Sir George Murray, in *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada*, Aborigines Protection Society, 15.

36 John Colborne to Sir George Murray, in *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada,* Aborigines Protection Society, 15.

37 Surtees, "Canadian Indian Policies, 88; Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 41.

38 Rogers, "The Algonquian Farmers," 127; and Roger Nichols, *Indians in the United States and Canada: A Comparative History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 190.

39 Nichols, *Indians in the United States and Canada,* 190; and Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 213.

40 Sir Francis Bond Head to Lord Glenelg, in *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada,* Aborigines Protection Society, 17–18. Italics in original.

41 Rogers, "Algonquian Farmers."

42 Aborigines Protection Society, *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada,* 5

43 Rogers, "Algonquian Farmers," 128.

44 Aborigines Protection Society, *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada,* 19.

45 Aborigines Protection Society, *Report on the Indians of Upper Canada,* 47; Stanley, "As Long as the Sun Shines," 9; and Surtees, "Canadian Indian Policies," 88–89.

46 See Surtees, "Canadian Indian Policies."

47 Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 42.

48 *Act for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from imposition, and the property occupied or enjoyed by them from trespass and injury,* Statutes of the Province of Canada, 1850, c. 74, s. 4.

49 *Act for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada.*

50 *Act to encourage the gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to amend the Laws respecting Indians, Statutes of the Province of Canada,* 1857, c. 26 s. III. Emphasis added.

51 See Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 43; and Wayne Warry, *Ending Denial: Understanding Aboriginal Issues* (Toronto: Broadview, 2007).

52 See *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian affairs,* 1869; and *Indian Act,* 1876.

53 Bill C-31 retained the Euro-Canadian preference for male lineage as applied to Indian Status prior to 1985. The "second generation cut-off rule" applies one generation earlier for female Indians than their male counterparts who married and had children with non-Indians prior to 1985. This gender inequity was challenged by Sharon McIvor, a member of the Lower Nicola First Nation, in British Columbia's Supreme Court (see *McIvor v. Canada, Registrar of Indian and Northern Affairs,* 2007 BCSC 827). Bill C-3, *An Act to Promote Gender Equity*

*in Indian Registration* (short title: *Gender Equity in Indian Registration Act*) responded to the Court of Appeal for British Columbia decision in *McIvor v. Canada* and came into force on 5 April 2010. See for details Bill C-3, http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&DocId=4901865; Parliament of Canada, http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/LegislativeSummaries/bills_ls.asp?Language=E&ls=C3&Mode=1&Parl=40&Ses=3&source=library_prb; and the Canadian Bar Association, *Bill C-3: Gender Equity in Indian Registration Act,* http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/WEBSITES/201105-06/Bill%20C-3-eng1.pdf.

54 Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 4.

55 *Indian Act,* 1876.

56 The current legislation is the *Indian Act 1985*. See Dickason, *Canada's First Nations,* for details on the *Indian Act* and its numerous amendments.

57 For a recent study involving Aboriginal people dwelling in urban centres, see Environics Institute, *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study*.

58 Regna Darnell, "Qualitative Demographics of Aboriginal Urban–Rural Migration: The Persistence of Nomadic Habits," *Proceedings of the 35th Algonquian Conference,* ed. H. Wolfart (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2004), 7.

59 Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 22.

60 Boyarin and Boyarin, *Powers of Diaspora,* 23. In contrast, Ramirez's term Native diaspora refers to "landless Natives' imagining and maintaining connections with their tribal nations ... to the development of intertribal networks and connections within and across different nation-states"; see Renya Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (London: Duke University Press, 2007), 11.

61 Aboriginal people include Indian, Inuit, and Métis as defined by the *Constitution Act 1982,* s. 35, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982, s. 25, part 1. See Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Identity Population by Age Group, Median Age and Sex, 2006 counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories," 6 October 2010, www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-558/pages/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&Code=01&Table=1&Data=Count&Sex=1&Age=1&StartRec=1&Sort=2&Display=Page.

62 Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Identity"; Canadian Press, "Number of Aboriginal People Living in Toronto Continues to Grow," CBC *News,* 15 January 2008, www.cbc.ca/canada/toronto/story/2008/01/15/tto-census.html/

63 Personal communication, 2004.

64 Regna Darnell, "Rethinking Band and Tribe Community and Nation: An Accordion Model of Nomadic Native North American Social Organization," *Papers of the 29th Algonquian Conference*, ed. David Pentland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1998), 98–105.

65 Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Peoples of Canada in Census 2001," www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/abor/canada.cfm#2.

66 Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Identity," 2006.

67 Regna Darnell and María C. Manzano-Munguía, "Nomadic Legacies and Urban Algonquian Residence," *Papers of the 36th Algonquian Conference*, ed. H.C. Wolfart (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2005), 173–86.

68 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Urban Perspectives," in *Report*, vol. 4, *Perspectives and Realities* (Ottawa: Canada Communication, 1996): 519–612; Tara Brautigam, "2006 Census: Aboriginal Profile: Dying Too Young," *London Free Press*, 18 January 2008, A3; Canadian Press, "Number of Aboriginal People"; and, Jennifer O'Brien, "Aboriginal Numbers Grow Quickly," *London Free Press*, 18 January 2008, A1–A3; Ekos Research Associates and Anishinabek Consultants Incorporation, *Survey of First Nations People Living Off-reserve, Metis and Inuit: Final Report to the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada* (Ottawa: Ekos Research Associates Incorporation, 2006); Environics Institute, *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study*; Darnell, "Qualitative Demographics"; Darnell and Manzano-Munguía, "Nomadic Legacies"; Donald Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America* (Alburqueque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); Heather Howard and Craig Proulx, eds., *Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Cities: Transformations and Continuities*; Bonita Lawrence, *Real Indians and Others Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); David Newhouse, "Urban Life: Reflections of a Middle-Class Indian"; Evelyn Peters, "First Nations and Métis People and Diversity in Canadian Cities" (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy. 2006), http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/AOTS3/peters.pdf); and Craig Proulx, *Reclaiming Aboriginal Justice, Identity and Community*, and "Aboriginal Identification in North American Cities."

69 See *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians*, 1869; and Little Bear, Boldt, and Long, *Pathways to Self-determination*.

70 Walter Benjamin, "A Berlin Chronicle," in *Selected Writings: Walter Benjamin*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Belknap, 1996), 598.

71 Benjamin, "A Berlin Chronicle," 598; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984): 93.

72 de Certeau, Practice of Everyday Life, 93.

73 de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 91.

74 Darnell, "Rethinking Band and Tribe" and "Qualitative Demographics"; and Darnell and Manzano-Munguía, "Nomadic Legacies."

75 Michael Foucault, "An Interview with Michel Foucault, October 25th, 1982," in *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. L.H. Martin, H. Gutman, and P. Hutton (London: Tavistock, 1998), 531. See also Churchill, *Acts of Rebellion*; Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan, 1969); "Conclusion: Anthros, Indians and Planetary Reality," in *Indians and Anthropologists*, ed. Vine Deloria Jr. (Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 209–21; Arturo Escobar, "The Making and Unmaking of the Third World Through Development," in *The Post-Development Reader*, ed. Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (Halifax: Fernwood, 1997), 85–93; Gustavo Esteva, "Basta! Mexican Indians say 'Enough!'" in *The Post-Development Reader*, ed. Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (Halifax: Fernwood, 1997): 302–6.

76 Eric Wolf, *Pathways of Power: Building an Anthropology of the Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 51.

77 Darnell, "Qualitative Demographics"; Stephen Schensul, Jean Schensul, and Margaret LeCompte, *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires* (London: Altamira, 1999), 5. Some limitations to this method relate to time requirements for conducting the study and the process of "selecting" and conducting open-ended interviews (it could take months or years rather than a few hours or days); the impossibility to replicate ethnographic research given the conditions in which it is unfolded (natural setting and fieldwork connotations); and finally the small number of participants in a small-scale environment (for further details see James Clifford, "Notes on (Field)notes," in *Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology*, ed. Roger Sanjek (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 47–70; David Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step; Applied Social Research Methods*, vol. 17 (London: Sage, 1998); and Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

78 Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth* (Boston: Beacon, 1989).

79 Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); and Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

80 Manzano-Munguía, "Mediating Aboriginal–State Relations." Collaborators who attended, visited, worked, accessed services, and/ or volunteered at Native non-governmental organizations were invited to participate in the study.

81 See Maria Manzano-Munguía, "Conceptualizing Native Non-Government Organizations in Canada: An Ethnographic Approach," *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2007): 449–59.

82 Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 1994).

83 Katherine Marshall, and Gretchen Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 1995), 112.

84 Chester Langille, quoted in Jennifer O'Brien, "Aboriginal Numbers Grow Quickly," *London Free Press*, 18 January 2008, section A.

85 London, *An Affordable Housing Strategy for the City of London* (London: London City Hall, 2005), 35.

86 Darnell and Manzano-Munguía, "Nomadic Legacies," 185.

87 Darnell and Manzano-Munguía, "Nomadic Legacies," 181.

88 Manzano-Munguía, interview with Rene 2006.

89 Manzano-Munguía, interview with Liliana 2007.

90 See Canada, First Nations and Inuit Health. Health Canada, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/pubs/aborig-autoch/index-eng.php; Peter Kulchyski, Don McCaskill and David Newhouse, eds., *In the Words of Elders: Aboriginal Cultures in Transition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); and Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal Identity."

91 Manzano-Munguía, interview with Sami 2006.

92 Manzano-Munguía, interview with Joe 2007.

93 Manzano-Munguía, interview with Carol 2006.

94 See Manzano-Munguía, "Mediating Aboriginal–State Relations."

95 Manzano-Munguía, interview with Joe 2007.

96 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996): 176–77.

Drawing on themes from John MacKenzie's *Empires of Nature and the Nature of Empires* (1997), this book explores, from Indigenous or Indigenous-influenced perspectives, the power of nature and the attempts by empires (United States, Canada, and Britain) to control it. It examines contemporary threats to First Nations communities from ongoing political, environmental, and social issues, as well as the efforts to confront and eliminate these threats to peoples and the environment. Discussions are informed by MacKenzie's work and centre on the concept of the "civilized" attempting to control the "savage," and how the "savage" forces the "civilized" to alter its trajectory. It becomes apparent that empire, despite its manifestations of power, cannot control or discipline man and nature. Essays suggest new ways of looking at the Great Lakes watershed and the peoples and empires contained within it.

**Karl S. Hele,** a member of the Garden River First Nation community of Anishinaabeg, is an associate professor and the director of First Peoples Studies at Concordia University. He is the editor of *Lines Drawn upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands* (WLU Press, 2008).

ISBN 978-1-55458-328-7

WILFRID LAURIER
UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.wlupress.wlu.ca