

**Canada and the History Without A People:
Identity, Tradition and Struggle in a Non-Status Aboriginal Community.**

by

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A thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology in conformity with the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Megwetch.

Dedication

For Carolyn Hamilton, Robert Thornton, Elliot Leyton and Edwin Wilmsen.

Four anthropologists whose passion was contagious.

Abstract

This thesis addresses a number of questions that non-status Aboriginal people in general, and the Ardoch Algonquins in particular, face on a day-to-day basis: What does it mean to be Indian? Who defines this? Are there differing concepts of 'Indian-ness'? Why are Aboriginal identity and status of importance? How, if at all, do people express their Indian-ness? What are the reasons behind the wide, yet often splintered, front of opposition that non-status Indians face? What implications does the Ardoch Algonquin political struggle have for future negotiations with the federal and provincial governments and how might this effect other Aboriginal groups - both status and non-status? An introduction covering the process of ethnography is followed in Chapter 2 by an historical overview of the region, its people and local politics. Chapter 3 discusses the legislation surrounding the issue of Aboriginal status, after which there is an ethnographic analysis of Ardoch Algonquin identity in Chapter 4. The Conclusion addresses local polarization and tries to account for this in terms of Aboriginal non-compliance with the demands 20th century late capitalism. The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out during the spring, summer and fall of 1997.

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Chapter 1
Introduction
Background and research preparation

While issues pertaining to 'race', ethnicity and social inequality have always been an area of deep personal interest, the decision to carry out this particular research project was initially prompted by the content of an undergraduate essay which I marked while registered at Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, in early 1996. The topic for this paper was, broadly, social inequality and in his conclusion the student remarked that

Indians live in squalid, slum-like conditions. In the residential areas all we can see are old refrigerators, junked automobiles, and houses stripped of their siding for firewood. I know this is true because I live next to a reserve¹.

I found these remarks both disturbing and fascinating - disturbing because I felt that they showed incredible ignorance about the plight of First Nations peoples and the sociological explanations for this condition, and fascinating because the sentiments expressed seemed to be adhered to by many 'European'² Canadians that I met and spoke with - such stereotyping was, I found, a fairly common thread throughout broader Canadian society. Thus, after relocating to south-eastern Ontario and registering in the Department of Sociology, Queen's University, I had a very rough

¹ This is not a direct quotation but if not verbatim, it is very close to the actual statement made.

² For the purposes of this document, 'Canadians' and 'settlers' will hereafter be used to refer to people of non-Aboriginal (predominantly, but not exclusively, European) ancestry and extract. The terms: 'Aboriginal', 'First Nations', 'indigenous', Native, Métis and 'Indian' will be used to refer to the original inhabitants of continental North America. It is important to note that my informants, almost without exception, refer to themselves as Algonquins first, and Canadians (if at all) second, hence the distinction in this thesis.

idea of the direction that my Master's research would take. That is to say, I wished to come to some understanding of the contentious and heated debates surrounding Aboriginal socio-political issues.

Having decided on a fieldwork-based research project the first hurdle I had to overcome was finding a community that would not only be suitable for, but receptive to 'yet another' interfering and intrusive social scientist. I certainly had no illusions of exploring 'virgin' territory³. Due to personal and financial considerations I had to find a community within reasonable travelling distance of Kingston, Ontario yet I had no wish to conduct the research in either a 'suburban' environment (such as the Tyendinaga Mohawk Reserve) or the nearby correctional institutions that have a significant Indian inmate population. In early February, 1997, I attended a lunchtime seminar hosted by the Political Studies Department at Queen's University. The topic was, broadly, the political struggle of non-status Indians and the speaker was Robert (Bob) Lovelace, student counsellor at the Four Directions Aboriginal Student Centre, Queen's University. Mr. Lovelace is also a negotiator and spokesperson for the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies (AAFNA).

The inequitable situation of non-status Aboriginal peoples was forcefully - and for the first time - brought to my attention and following the seminar I approached Mr

³ There is a rather depressing 'in-joke' in ethnographic circles to the effect that, in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea a family consists of a man, a woman, their children - and an anthropologist.

Lovelace, arranging a meeting later in the week at the Four Directions Centre. At this meeting we informally discussed my background, research interests and the impact that the seminar had on me, and he suggested that I attend the regular AAFNA band-council meeting in Ardoch on March 8th 1997 where I would present a tentative research proposal to the council. Bob Lovelace informed me that there was a good chance that the council would be receptive to my proposal as the community had prior (pleasant) experience of working with researchers at the graduate level.

On Saturday, March 8th I duly arrived at Bob's home in Sharbot Lake (approximately 20 kilometres south-east of Ardoch) and followed him to the home of Harold Perry in Ardoch (44°55'N 76°59'W) where the meeting was to be held. Harold is one of the founders of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and he was to become my principle informant for this project. Seven men were present at this meeting including two elders and the elected chief of AAFNA, Bob Crawford⁴. I explained to the council that I had no firm research agenda as yet but that I was broadly concerned with what I saw to be a conundrum. That is, the Ardoch Algonquins do not have Indian status, are not recognized by the state as Aboriginal people - let alone **an** Aboriginal People, and do not have their own territory as a distinct First Nation. Yet at the same time the Ardoch Algonquins identify

⁴ Due to considerations of confidentiality, only 'key-players' are identified by name in this thesis. This is explained in detail under the methodology section of this chapter.

themselves with a specific area of land that they claim is unceded and unsundered Algonquin territory which they have used since 'time immemorial' - and this notwithstanding the fact that very few members of the band actually reside in Ardoch or the surrounding countryside. I explained that, to me, it seemed as though the Ardoch Algonquins are a community 'without a community'. They cannot be identified by a 'real' physical presence on the land yet spiritually the land is at the core of their existence. They are scattered throughout Canada (although mainly Ontario) yet they present themselves as a united People. I suggested that, in effect, the Ardoch Algonquins resemble a stateless People in their own country⁵.

Drawing comparisons with the *apartheid* regime in pre-democracy South Africa, I explained that I was interested in looking at the concept of Canadian 'separate development' and political struggles against institutionalized oppression on the basis of 'race'. Here too, I emphasised my (subjective) interest in the recreation and maintenance of 'traditional'⁶ Aboriginal ways of life and practices, and how these have been analysed elsewhere as not only affirmations of identity, but also powerful sites of struggle, and how these would be incorporated into the thesis (Erlmann 1990 and Drewel 1991). I went into great detail about using participant observation

⁵ On numerous occasions during the fieldwork it was pointed out to me that it is in fact the settlers (Canadians) who are 'stateless' as, by right, Aboriginal Peoples are the original sovereign inhabitants of Canada.

⁶ Note well that I use this term with extreme caution and there is no suggestion - implicit or explicit - of it referring to unchanging and timeless existence on behalf of any group. This is explained in great detail at a later stage.

as the primary methodological approach to the subject matter, this to be supported by secondary literature, government documents and court records. I explained that while it was quite possible to construct a thesis solely from secondary sources, it would be of great value to observe and analyse 'real' cultural behaviour and relate it to this material. Further, it was necessary to state that I would not be restricting my research to the Algonquin position alone and would be interviewing members of the settler community, local politicians, property developers and any other concerned individuals and groups in order to get a balanced perspective on the sensitivity of the issues involved⁷.

The council discussed the proposal and with one or two minor reservations agreed to participate in the project. The sole major objection was to the possibility of carrying out a comparative study in conjunction with the nearby Golden Lake Algonquin band (a status Indian community) and this was due to a distinct conflict of interest between the two groups. It was felt that privileged information might be at risk in such a study and that AAFNA's current legal and political struggles would be compromised to an unacceptable extent. In the light of data gathered during the fieldwork AAFNA's rejection of this suggestion is completely justifiable and this is explicated at a later point in the thesis⁸.

⁷ Relevant excerpts from the text of the Research Proposal submitted to the Ethics Review Committee appear under 'the research methodology' in this chapter. A copy of the complete Proposal was, as agreed with Bob Lovelace, presented to AAFNA for perusal and comment.

⁸ In retrospect, such a study would have been, logistically, far beyond the limited scope of this project.

It was finally agreed that the research would commence in the spring of 1997 and the council of the Ardoch Algonquin First Nation And Allies offered every reasonable assistance to the researcher - this included access to sensitive historical data and permission to attend council meetings, spiritual ceremonies and other cultural events. Although I was generously offered the use of privately owned land as a campsite, I decided to use the facilities of a commercial campground in the village of Ardoch. This was for a number of reasons but chiefly in order for my informants to have some respite from constant scrutiny and surveillance⁹. I had no doubt that my presence would have a certain degree of nuisance value and although my proximity might well disturb the delicate nuances of everyday interaction - which of course has to be included as a facet of the ethnography - I had no desire to become an unwelcome and annoying 'house guest'.

The research methodology

During the fieldwork stage of the research I employed a traditional ethnographic approach to the subject matter: that is, participant observation. As far as possible I immersed myself in the Ardoch community for much of the duration of the late spring, summer and early fall of 1997, living in the community and participating in the daily life of the village in order to carry out in-depth-sampling and collect as much data as possible as events occurred. For example, I joined in with informants

⁹ Admittedly, and having read Bronislaw Malinowski's Diary, this was not entirely altruistic. I found it necessary to have private time and space for reflexion away from my informants.

who were engaged with their gardens, assisted with brush clearing, spent time fishing with members of the community, assisted at bake- and yard-sales, and accompanied people while they were gathering wild rice. I also spent a great deal of time socializing with informants, sharing meals and so on, and where possible (that is, when I was in the right place at the right time) participated in the ceremonial life of the community.

But this methodological approach is not without its problems and restrictions - particularly when applied to a relatively short-term research project. In this particular case, and due to the personal (thus secret) nature of some of the data gathered, the most daunting hurdle was establishing trust with my informants. AAFNA are merely one faction of a multiplicity involved in a complex cultural, political and economic battle for ascendancy in the immediate region. Thus, it was crucial for me as the researcher to establish if not complete neutrality, then at least faith in my integrity and intentions with all factions.

The 'ideal' research project is based on trusting relations between researcher and subjects but this is never simple. For trust to develop (and indeed, it does develop and is never dispensed gratuitously) it is vital for those being studied to fully understand what the research process involves. Informed consent is thus far more than merely that: it really means that open communication (dialogue) should be engaged in by **all** participants - after all, 'participation' is not the sole domain of the

researcher in the participant-observation process - respecting both autonomy and lifestyle and providing comprehensive, constantly updated (that is, transcended and contained¹⁰) feedback to all informants.

In terms of potential dangers posed by the research to both individuals and community, risk assessment should be comprehensively explored before the project begins, and discussed with the group or community under study - and this should be an ongoing dialogue (or conversation) throughout the project. Indeed, as everyday human interaction is **itself** dialogical by nature there is nothing unreasonable in this expectation (Tan 1995: 2).

But here 'risk' is not merely restricted to any possible physical, emotional, economic or social harm to informants and perhaps the most critical risk is that of 'misunderstanding' concrete reality at the abstract level, thus misrepresenting human behaviour as something which it is not. Of course, the 'abstract' level refers to the subjectivity that both researcher **and** subjects apply to the concrete, or "the dynamics of intersubjectivity" (ibid). Here, reflexive 'dialogue' and purification of thought are exposed as indispensable components of the researcher's heuristic tool-box as Sixel (in his interpretive commentary on Marx' "Introduction" to the *Grundrisse*) illustrates:

¹⁰ Here I merely mean that 'old' knowledge is superseded **yet contained** (and thus not discarded) within the new.

...as long as we do not know the constitutive aspects of phenomena...these phenomena remain abstractions for the theoretical mind, no matter how real and concrete they may appear to our senses (1995: 72).

Thus for Marx,

It seems to be correct to begin with the real and the concrete...e.g. the population, which is the foundation and the subject of the entire social act of production. However, on closer examination this proves false. The population is an **abstraction** if I leave out, for example, the classes of which it is composed. These classes in turn are an empty phrase if I am not familiar with the elements on which they rest...Thus, if I were to begin with the population, this would be a chaotic conception of the whole...(Marx, cited in Sixel, *ibid*: 69, emphasis added).

That is to say, "population" is a 'thing', or something that we **think** is real, but it is in 'reality' the "abstractly concrete" (or "imagined concrete") which, in order to make sense of it, we have to transform into a "concrete abstraction" (*ibid*: 72). What Sixel is suggesting here is that human behaviour can only be understood through the dialectical (and dialogical) process of examining an 'event' or 'thing', and, through mediation of both subjects' and researcher's subjective interpretation of that event or thing, building up **layers** of knowledge about that event or thing.

Therefore, the dialogical aspect of the process is one that must be constantly revisited through "emancipatory self reflection" in order to **build** an understanding that is finally recognizable and acceptable to both researcher and researched (Tan 1997: 41). Thus, "the abstractly concrete...has become a concrete abstraction" and one that may be understood (Sixel *op.cit*: 73). On this, Marx states that:

...the journey would have to be retraced again until I had finally arrived at the population again, but this time not as the chaotic conception of a whole, but as a rich totality of many determinations and relations (ibid: 69, 73).

A concept such as 'population', then, has now revealed and made concrete its elusive and ethereal qualities, becoming something that we can reasonably 'know' (ibid).

Throughout both fieldwork and writing-up processes I have attempted to follow this doctrine, constantly engaging in reflexion and repeatedly revisiting the data in order to build - through transcendence and containment - on my knowledge of what I observed. In the field, the dialogical nature of research became clear to me on many occasions when I observed, or discussed with informants, human behaviour that was, on the surface, confusing and even 'alien' to me. It was usually the case that 'meaning' was only derived through a process of negotiation of the data with informants and this during repeated discussions of what both they, and I, thought was taking place. To put it very simply (yet accurately), we **talked** about 'things' and **thought** about 'things' until we reached some sort of **agreement** or common ground about 'things'. A particular example that comes to mind is the sweat-lodge ceremony (discussed in chapter 4) which initially seemed to be nothing more than a visible expression of Indian culture. The complexities of the ceremony had to be extracted during repeated discussions with AAFNA informants and hours of reflexive contemplation in order to find out what the sweat actually **means** for the

Ardoch Algonquins.

In order to resolve some personal ethical dilemmas¹¹ I decided that it was desirable for the respondents to become involved in planning the research methods and actively seeking any possible threats which might arise - again, the observed were invited to be participants in the process. To this end, at my initial meeting with the band council I laid great emphasis on the issue of confidentiality and pointed out that band members were welcome to come forward with any ideas that might lead to interesting subjects of inquiry. Again, the subject of possible topics was addressed in a dialogical manner and I found that ideas were constantly revised throughout the fieldwork. I might begin researching a particular subject - such as the environmental impact of tourist activity on the wild rice beds at Mud Lake (an analysis of the wild rice harvest appears in Chapter 2) - and end up examining the historical policy of interring Aborigines in a separate 'Indian section' of one of the local graveyards. I can give every assurance that the intellectual road from bass-fishing to burial-ground is a complex and intersubjective one that has to be reflected upon at each step.

It was stressed that all informants would have the right to anonymity if they so desired and that all data pertaining to interviews would be temporarily encoded (in

¹¹ Particularly that of reducing informants to merely something that is 'academically interesting' and objectified.

terms of concealing identities and grouping similar data together) by the researcher. This was accomplished by assigning random three-digit numbers to each informant and entering all data gathered into a data-base using this system. Further, it was made very clear that no one would have access to transcripts of interviews or field notes - including members of the council, my academic supervisor, representatives of federal and provincial bureaux, or any other parties or individuals who might express an interest in the material. The only publicly available document would be the thesis. Individuals would, however, be encouraged to examine transcripts of their own interviews which they would have the inherent right to selectively edit¹². The purpose of this measure was two-fold: firstly to allow informants to check their own transcripts for accuracy, and secondly to allow them to withdraw some or even all of the material should they feel this necessary. However, during the fieldwork I found that it was necessary to supply an interview transcript on only one occasion - that being an interview with the local Reeve - and this was to protect myself from possible litigation as much as it was to protect my informant.

With regard to the finished thesis, the band council expressed initial concern that it might not truly reflect the aims of AAFNA and after consultation it was agreed that, should there be conflict between my narrative and their own, that they would be permitted to add an addendum to the thesis in their own words. This would be

¹² The term 'edit' does not imply any alteration of data other than the right to excise verbatim material that might be felt to pose a threat to the informant should it become public knowledge.

attached to the thesis document following a successful defence (initially, this prospect was poorly received by the Ethics Review Committee of the Sociology Department at Queen's University but after negotiation it was accepted as a strategy). Finally on this point, it was agreed that, should sensitive¹³ material emerge during interviews, any transcripts, audio-tapes, and field notes might have to be destroyed.

This is the stage where questions concerning what the subject community¹⁴ want to do with the research material may be raised. That is, what is their political agenda and how much control do they want over the data? In this regard the AAFNA band-council expressed the hope that they might be able to 'use' the thesis material - perhaps as a resource for legal issues - but agreed that they should not exert undue influence on the content of the thesis.

With any research project that involves human subjects one has to take into account the possible political implications inherent in any research hypothesis. For example, Sieber (1993) draws our attention to a major problematic that arises from a current sociological question - one that is asked with a specific agenda in mind. That is, why do women tend to stay with male partners who abuse them? But

¹³ The 'sensitivity' of data was to be decided upon by the informants concerned. That is, at the locally abstract level.

¹⁴ And here I include **all** constituent groups.

posing the question in this way immediately establishes the problem of partner-abuse in terms of the behaviour of women, and women who remain with their abusive partners are seen as deviant. The environment for blaming the victim is thus created by the formulation of the research hypothesis (Sieber 1993: 27, 28). We could rephrase this and ask why Jewish holocaust victims protested so little in the death-camps? Or, and pertinent to this study, we could ask why there has been so little organised and effective political protest from Aboriginal Peoples who have been subjected to hundreds of years of systematic, institutionalized oppression¹⁵? The latter two questions pose exactly the same problem as the first: instead of querying the concrete conditions of social reality we are according blame to the victims of oppression by unwittingly labelling them as active - through their own apathy - participants in their own demise. Of course regarding this issue we have to acknowledge that such 'apathy' is itself an ethnocentric label which may have a completely different meaning to the Other. That is, a lack of any visible response to oppression may well **be** the appropriate response for societies with attitudes that differ from our own. Indeed, this type of response may (but does not necessarily have to - it could have some completely different meaning that has nothing at all to do with resistance) in fact constitute a passive form of rebellion or protest against oppression.

¹⁵ Naturally, there are numerous exceptions to this - such as Oka, and Ipperwash - but it is fair to say that these have been rare. There have also, since contact, been occasional outbursts of warfare between Aboriginals and colonials. However, I am referring to **organized** protest from a united People - this has never occurred.

Establishing trust involves getting close to informants and gaining initial entry is possibly the key stage. Further, access must be sustained somehow over the long-term. Here, Lee *et al* (1993) make a number of suggestions: firstly, the researcher has the obligation to spontaneously (and thus honestly) disagree with informants and to stress his/her role as a 'removed' social scientist rather than a member¹⁶, and here the authors emphasize that any other approach would be misleading and sycophantic. But on this point Lee *et al* have lost sight of the fact that, in order to **spontaneously** disagree, the researcher cannot be under **any** obligation. Spontaneity is nothing more or less than a natural urge or desire that must be satisfied - it forbids conscious thought and purpose and any obligation is therefore a restriction of this.

Secondly, by establishing a unique role or "special category of membership" such as "fringe devotee" or "political convert", the researcher can create an environment of credibility (1993: 102), and thirdly, the researcher can form reciprocal, or dyadic, relationships with informants (*ibid*). But at this point researchers open themselves up to possible co-option¹⁷ in order to give the subject group some form of legitimacy

¹⁶ Of, course, and even in the context of this particular project, such an approach poses hazards for informants as well as the researcher. The reader is directed to Robben and Nordstrom's Fieldwork Under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival (1995) for a superb analysis of this problem.

¹⁷ And, of course, there is a risk to the subjects of **their** co-option under the political agenda of the researcher. That is to say, it should not be inferred that the researcher has no way of maximizing 'negative' aspects of the relationship with informants. For instance, researchers are often encapsulated in stereotypical roles which are designated by their subjects and which may enable access to data that otherwise might be restricted, partially obscured or distorted. This applies especially in situations where the researcher has established an identity of harmlessness (*ibid*: 102).

and it is crucial to keep in mind that, often, people restrict thought and action to the constraints of their own ideological and cultural motivation (ibid: 157).

These two aspects - 'membershopping' and dyadicism - are highly problematic for any researcher. For example, it is quite possible for a researcher's position as the representative of a respected academic institution, and thus as an authority figure, to be used by the subject group to claim legitimacy for their demands (whatever they may be). It is also not unheard of for the researcher to abuse his/her own position as an authority figure in order to coerce informants into releasing data. Even more problematic (academically at least) is the tendency for group members to start setting specific research agendas and political goals - this is why research methods, wherever possible, should be discussed openly before the project is actually underway, and even if this is (as it should be) open to later renegotiation, it should be established in **some** form *apriori*¹⁸ in order to avoid co-option.

Thus, the researcher can be manipulated or changed, transcended and contained, just as his/her presence manipulates, or changes, the social setting and data that are gathered. But of course this is absolutely unavoidable and, for the most part, not undesirable. Indeed, and returning to the dialogical/dialectical nature of the research process, Tan tells us that "'self' and 'other' influence each other

¹⁸ A cynic might (quite correctly) argue that this is merely deception insofar as the strategy allows the rules of the researcher to become acceptable to the researched.

reciprocally, [and] in the course of everyday social interaction, 'self' and 'other' transform each other" (1995 op.cit: 5). The difference, then, is that between co-option and mediation: the first is founded on a hierarchical relationship and the abuse (by either party) of power; the second is based on dynamic cooperation. **Negotiation** of research goals is therefore **dissimilar** to co-option.

I was extremely fortunate to make first contact with AAFNA through Bob Lovelace who is, through his work with students at Queen's University, familiar with research protocols and the grounded praxis of research. As my gate-keeper, he not only eased my introduction to the band, he also allayed some of the minor concerns of council members regarding confidentiality and exploitation by the researcher. During the initial meeting with the band council Bob was instrumental in communicating to other members that despite AAFNA's desire to participate in research that might be of some use to them, and despite the fact that the research would be subject to a constant and evolving process of intersubjective negotiation, it would predominantly be the researcher's responsibility to design the **initial** guidelines and goals.

Of course, at this point the researcher has to balance the dynamics of research aims (implying constant movement and change) with ethical constraints. With regard to the fieldwork carried out for this project, all of the issues and obstacles discussed above came into play to a greater or lesser degree but through

negotiation and mutual compromise these were overcome. While I had little difficulty in getting initial access to the community (in the form of the original meeting with the band council) it was indeed crucial to create an environment of credibility - particularly since I felt obliged (the spontaneous 'urge' in reality) to make it very clear that I might not necessarily agree with AAFNA on either politics or policy. I believe that this was accomplished by explaining my background, including a discussion of previous research that I had conducted during 1993 in South Africa. While I made it clear that I would be completely impartial in my choice of informants and draw data from individuals who might be actively opposed to AAFNA, it was also obvious to the council that we shared fundamental beliefs concerning human rights and dignity, and it was implicit that this would be evident in my presentation of the data. With regard to co-option of the research, the council expressed a hope that the thesis might be of use to them in their various political and legal struggles - if only because it emanates from a respected academic institution¹⁹. Despite my desire to maintain an air of neutrality I did not have any cause to object to this. Indeed, it is sincerely hoped that the thesis is of some use to its 'co-authors'.

Human society is in essence diverse, contradictory, and rife with layers of 'voices' which serve to disguise various levels of private and less-than-public information that insiders would prefer to conceal from the prying eyes of outsiders (following

¹⁹ This partially resonates with an earlier comment regarding academic institutions and authority figures (p. 12).

Goffman 1971 and Rapport 1993). But the mandate of the researcher is, through dialogue and reflexion, to penetrate these fronts and discover the momentary 'truth' about society. Here, it has to be noted that the dialectical and dialogical nature of the ethnographic process produces a body of knowledge that is neither final nor absolute because intersubjectivity is a constant, and perfectly 'normal' attribute of human interaction. All knowledge (or data) that is gathered during the ethnographic process has to be constantly revisited in order to come to some understanding of any particular aspect of social behaviour. But even when an understanding is reached, this does not imply that a 'final' truth has been found as the intersubjective dialogue is a continuing one. By this I mean that the relationships between researcher, subjects and society are relationships based on **constant** negotiation and renegotiation rather than static or lifeless. All knowledge (quite naturally) is transcended and contained by **new** knowledge in a process that has no end. Thus, the data, or 'knowledge', or 'truth' presented in this thesis can be no more than a description and analysis of particular events and relationships that I observed and participated in during the fieldwork. That is, the material in the thesis merely applies to a particular moment in time and should not be seen to be representative of anything more than that. While this document is finite, the natural, dialogical process of negotiation continues.

Ethnographers, because of the close relations they form with their subjects, tend to

have access to more 'sensitive'²⁰ data than those practising other forms of social research. In fact the ethnographer often has the opportunity to see informants with their guard down - to see the darker side in some cases - and this is indeed a privilege. But the result of this is that self-censorship is nearly always practised by the researcher. It is often a necessity and for this thesis I have, on more than one occasion²¹, omitted data that might in some way harm, or embarrass, or cause some other type of stress to particular informants. But the problems here are obvious as intentional omissions must somehow be balanced with an ethical awareness in terms of the researcher's responsibility²² to the academic community. The eurocentrically culture-bound sacred cows of academic responsibility and validity are far less important than the well-being of the subject community but they are truly difficult to avoid.

The factors governing censorship are manifold but the major questions to be answered seem to be "whose side are we on"²³ and, how do we deal with the "agony of [oft unavoidable] betrayal" (Adler and Adler 1993: 254-256)? This holds

²⁰ Data are only sensitive when they are brought into a forum where they are unwelcome, ie: where they are available for public scrutiny.

²¹ For example, I have restricted my description of some of the data gathered at the sweat-lodge ceremony due to the personal (and secret) nature of the material. This is described in chapter 4.

²² Here I would suggest that 'responsibility' merely refers to presenting data in an honest fashion. If this cannot be done without compromising the integrity of the subject group, or if the data has to be manipulated in such a manner that validity becomes questionable then the research should be abandoned. I made this undertaking to the Ardoch Algonquins at my initial meeting with the council.

²³ I would argue that it is impossible for anyone to maintain total neutrality.

particularly true when the researcher and the subject group part in disagreement as the implicit 'betrayal' is, under certain specific conditions, "an ethnographic feature of both cultures" (Sixel, personal communication). Whether informed consent is received in writing, or verbally, or not at all, there is always a tacit contract between researcher and subjects which is (theoretically, despite the efforts of 'scientists' such as Crapanzano²⁴) inviolate. How do we present data in a neutral cast when ethnographicization and detachment, hold risks? How are data affected when the researcher falls prey to the ethno-methodological epistemology of 'going native', renouncing professional science, and 'becoming the phenomenon'? We can relate this, for example, to the problems facing researchers who study their own colleagues and have a personal interest in the research-site.

I have taken two courses of action regarding self-censorship: where informants have made remarks in 'casual conversation' without realising that their comments were being absorbed²⁵ I have concealed their identities - including the role they play in the community. It would, for example, be pointless to 'fog' (following Robert Arnold, Department of Sociology, Queen's University) an individual's identity merely by changing his name if he was still identified as, say, 'a local priest' - especially in

²⁴ In 1985, American Anthropologist Vincent Crapanzano published Waiting: The Whites of South Africa. After promising his informants that they would be ensured total anonymity the author, in an act of spite, identified them by other means such as occupation, address, and so on. Crapanzano's 'work' had devastating effects on his subjects.

²⁵ On occasion a casual remark would turn out to be of relevance at a later stage.

a community as small as Ardoch. Secondly, where individuals have made remarks that might be construed as being highly inflammatory, derogatory, or racist, I have either carried out a similar process of concealment, or not used the material at all - even if, at the time, they wished to remain officially 'on the record'²⁶. Thus individual informants may have more than a single identity in this thesis. As previously mentioned, I have chosen to restrict using informants' real identities to those I consider to be key-players, therefore, the identities of all others are obscured.

There is, of course, another factor here - one that was thankfully not an issue for my research but that does deserve mention as it leads into the issue of spying - which is the (usually, but not exclusively, unstated) demand for loyalty to research sponsors (who may have their own agenda) as sponsorship not only influences the formulation and execution of a variety of researchable issues, but directs the analysis and presentation of the findings as well. At the same time it is, perhaps, an unwise social scientist who bites the hand that feeds him (but it is something that often has to be done). This is an ethical dilemma which social scientists usually address on an individual basis of personal compromise, taking into account issues such as the prevailing political climate, the risks of or stigma, the taboo nature of the data and the risks posed to others if abuse is not reported. That is, the potential costs to both science and society are weighed by the researcher (on a purely

²⁶ I often found that I would be told something quite shocking, immediately followed by "...and I don't give a damn who knows it". It is in cases such as this that I have, after reflexion, exercised my subjective discretion.

subjective level).

We can clearly see then that, under these circumstances, a field worker's claim to neutrality or 'objectivity', descriptive faithfulness or benign intent is entirely a matter of perspective that is **itself** variable and in flux. That is, such a claim can be no more (and no less) than subjective, and informed by instrumentalism rather than reflexion. Here, the problem is that the researcher runs the risk of becoming a spy in the process of which s/he distorts the very essence of spontaneity and dialogue that is so crucial in reaching understanding and momentary truth. If honesty is indeed spontaneous, how is it possible to do research under these conditions? Historically, social scientists have dealt with this dilemma with the claim that a little dishonesty is vastly superior to being unemployed (this is often disguised by statements such as "the research is vital", or "you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs", or some other form of instrumental justification).

On Maurice Punch's terms, the type of approach outlined above is perfectly acceptable as, for him, the **key** skill in any fieldwork is "infiltration" (as opposed to 'access') and the carefully planned cultivation of relationships between researcher and subjects (1986: 7). Of course, and as we have seen, these dubious methods affect both the nature of the data and the outcome of the project. The author's use of language here implies surreptitious, devious and inveigling methods of ingratiating oneself with the research subjects (nothing less than spying and stealing

secret knowledge) but Punch argues that this is not necessarily the case as it allows the researcher in the field to become his/her own flexible “research instrument” (ibid: 12). This seems to hold attractions because (according to Punch) such an approach to the realities of constant change in the field allows the researcher to solve political and ethical dilemmas spontaneously, and *in situ*, as they occur.

The point here is crucial and on this issue I am in **partial** agreement with Punch: neither researcher nor subjects can possibly foresee all risks, threats, or even the final outcome of the research and there is often little time for rational reflexion in the field - decisions occasionally have to be made instantly, based on prevailing undercurrents and the ‘gut-feeling’ of the researcher who is there in concrete reality. But what Punch has failed to address here is that the ‘gut-feeling’ and instincts of the researcher must surely be based on nothing less than **spontaneous honesty** and flexibility, and a **dialogical**, conversational, relationship with informants. It is not solely the researcher’s mandate to make split-second decisions of a nature that may have drastic effects on the fieldwork setting - especially when the relationship between researcher and researched is one based on ‘infiltration’ and deceit.

Research is not a “smooth, almost idealized...process” and fieldwork is more like a craft, or art (where the artist engages in dialogue with the subject, constantly reflecting and constantly mediating between model and easel), rather than

something to be performed following a set of rigid guide-lines (ibid). Fieldwork is not the same as a simple trip to the library and an attitude of receptivity, or open-ness, is vital for successful research (Beaudry 1997: 67). On this point Agar eloquently suggests that "[e]thnography is to social science as jazz is to music" (Agar op.cit: 92). That is, ethnography is a matter of exploration, improvisation and negotiation with the subject matter.

For Punch, then, fieldwork thus requires "both tenacity of purpose and competence in a number of social skills" (op.cit: 16). But, of course, these 'skills' are defined by the cultural baggage that the researcher carries and are themselves sometimes inadequate for the task (remember, for Punch infiltration is **the** critical skill). If conversation - in the form of dialogue - is indeed a defining feature of the search for abstract meaning, then the cultural baggage that the researcher drags into the field needs to be subsumed by spontaneity, flexibility, and an urge for truth. What is being emphasized here is that social research - and specifically ethnographic fieldwork - involves stress, deep personal involvement, physical and mental effort, drudgery, discomfort, danger, as well as the time-consuming nature of the 'job'. Fieldwork can be difficult.

Apart from dealing with these 'standard' problems, we have to add one more variable: the researcher has to sometimes learn how to sustain relationships with people s/he may not normally mix with and with whom s/he may have nothing in

common. Indeed, the researcher may in fact (like Malinowski) sometimes despise his informants, or have no desire to risk contagion through investigating particular aspects of socio-cultural behaviour (Renzetti *et al* op.cit: 256). In this event spontaneous honesty is conceivably problematic, possibly unachievable, and could be confrontational. In cross-cultural studies this is indeed a recipe for disaster. The key then, is to somehow retain a sense of emotional balance in order not to spoil acceptance and negatively affect the continued collection of data. During my fieldwork I interviewed two informants who were most notable for their outspoken and offensive racism (towards **anyone** not white - not solely Aboriginals). Here I had to decide whether to get involved in a pointless argument (with a very real danger of escalation to violent confrontation) or to leave and lose valuable data. My solution (which caused no small measure of personal frustration) was to simply state that while I disagreed with their views I felt that their opinions were of great importance because they were **real**. These were symptoms of conflict within the community and I had to record them.

The epistemological phenomenon of 'going native' can be seen as a double-edged sword. It is not merely a case of becoming morally (or even spontaneously) involved in 'good' or 'just' causes. It can also result in, for instance, studying *apartheid* and becoming a racist oneself. On this Punch wryly remarks that, in certain situations, "[p]articipant observation can be socialization with a sociological vengeance..." (op.cit: 16). While the hypothetical example given may seem

somewhat dramatic, for Punch it is clear that continued involvement in the field can be likened to being constantly on stage and constantly acting out a role which must be played out without the actor ever dropping his/her guard. Punch's analysis suggests that the researcher is, to borrow a phrase from law enforcement parlance, 'under deep cover' and the performance is totally demanding. But this is extremely problematic as Punch implies that fieldwork is always carried out on the basis of pretence, acting, misleading and, basically, lying. Aside from this, such an artificial approach negates the 'spontaneity' that is a feature of normal social interaction and thus research.

Nevertheless, "[o]bstructionist gatekeepers²⁷, vacillating sponsors, factionalism in the field setting forcing the researcher to take sides, organizational resistance, respondents subverting the research role, sexual shenanigans and disputes about publication and the veracity of findings": these **may** be anticipated, and **may** be dealt with by the researcher, yet they may still fundamentally alter the whole nature and purpose of the research (ibid: 18). Other factors that may aid or hinder the researcher include age, race, ethnicity, gender, status, rejection, over-identification, factionalism, bureaucratic obstacles, accidents, good fortune, appearance, personality etc. The real problem is that there simply **are** no comprehensive 'guide books' - indeed there cannot be such guides as **they** would be culturally 'loaded' -

²⁷ There is an interesting, yet difficult to precisely pin down, distinction here between 'gatekeepers' and individuals whom Punch refers to as 'watchdogs'.

on doing good, ethical, ethnographic fieldwork and all researchers face at least some of these obstacles on a daily basis while in (or even preparing for) the field setting.

The 'obligations' of the researcher

In his inimitable fashion, Punch describes how 'good' research (which he fails to ever actually define) inevitably makes some people angry with the result that it seldom addresses peculiarly powerful groups. Rather, social science tends to concentrate on the "nuts and sluts" of society and it is not unreasonable to ask whether "the investigation of the stripper, dwarves, prostitutes...really brings us closer to studying the corridors of power" (ibid: 25)?

This applies in particular to anthropologists who have a tendency to only report 'exotic' data or that which is manifestly Other - the real danger here is that familiarity with the Other breeds contempt resulting in Other behaviour being accepted as the norm and thus no longer taken into account²⁸ (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest 1973: 114). Where powerful institutions actually are challenged, this most often takes the form of 'smash and grab' ethnography (such as Crapanzano's) which only serves to damage the discipline. This type of 'conflict-methodology' may have the manifest aim to expose the powerful or corrupt but we still need to ask

²⁸ This is described in great detail by Ed Wilmsen (Land Filled With Flies 1989) as 'ethnogracyzation', or simply 'making the Other academically interesting'.

whether the ends justify the means used and thus whether deception is indeed legitimate? I would argue that such instrumentalism is indeed unjustifiable but Punch suggests that professional ethics - which of course, should be spontaneous ethics - effectively amount to scientific "suicide" and he raises a clarion call for legitimate subversion (op.cit: 40). That is to say, if we accept that some types of social behaviour (such as politics) are themselves based on deceit (again following Goffman's frontstage/ backstage dramaturgical approach), then research can and should be carried out according to similar 'rules'. Because of the inescapable subjectivity of the researcher this is extremely problematic as moral high-ground is simply too culturally loaded, yet once again, Punch advocates social and cultural espionage.

Predictably, Punch fails to take the discussion any further on this issue and leaves us with the unsatisfying advice that **some** deception **may** be acceptable in **some** social situations where the possibility of gaining knowledge outweighs²⁹ possible harm. Again, the analysis of the situation is left to the researcher on the ground but the problem does not end here. If **some** deception **is** acceptable, how do we decide when it is **not**? At the same time the author demands that "academics must keep their morally unquestionable promises not to blow the whistle on deviants" (ibid: 41). In other words, Punch states that we may use deception to gather data

²⁹ Who is to decide this? And how?

unobtainable by any other means while simultaneously not breaking ethical promises made to subjects. Apart from placing the researcher in an unenviable and possibly litigious position³⁰, this advice serves no practical purpose whatsoever. To say that deception is context-specific does not advance the debate at all. Further, the researcher is left with a moral dilemma based on when it is permissible to be untruthful to subjects and when it is desirable to (for example) break the law.

I found this to be extremely difficult to deal with because as the fieldwork progressed my empathy with the plight of the Ardoch Algonquins increased exponentially. In itself this would not be too problematic yet many of my informants who trusted my integrity came from political camps with completely different belief systems to my own and this was a challenge. My only solution here was to emphasise the neutrality of the document I aimed to produce, and the fact that I would neither distort data, nor use it out of context. Thankfully, and without exception, this strategy was accepted by the people that I was dealing with.

The situation is somewhat clarified by Agar who emphasises that collaboration between researcher and informants is a constantly evolving and dialogical relationship which is based on “indexicality” (1980: 1). That is, the amount of shared background knowledge necessary to understand a given message (or carry

³⁰ For example, in Ontario researchers (with the exception of those employed by Statistics Canada) are legally required to report instances of child abuse (Robert Arnold, personal communication).

out a conversation). This is rather similar to Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of coding and decoding techniques, and the necessity of 'understanding' the same 'language'. Ethnographers and subjects come to share the same narratives and their life-stories intersect with those of their informants during the time spent in the field. Self/Other boundaries thus become partially blurred and throughout the research the fieldworker constantly redefines him/herself in relation to others (Kisliuk 1997: 23 and Tan op.cit: 5). Of course, this is precisely the cause of the mystique of ethnographic fieldwork as in no other academic discipline is the close and personal involvement necessary for participant observation so obvious. Here it seems relevant to actually attempt a definition for the act, or process, of ethnography.

The most commonly - but somewhat erroneously - held view is that the ethnographer is identifiable by the long-term association he/she has with some group, most often on their own 'territory', with the **sole purpose** of learning from them their ways of doing things and their view of reality (again, spying, if you will). Ethnography in these terms is therefore founded purely on "experiential wealth" which is derived from "conversations, casual observations, formal interviews, previous research, novels, general perceptions of the human condition, even childhood experiences", and all this within a single ethnography (ibid: 6). But procedurally, ethnography is **dialectic** rather than linear and, as Sixel's analysis of Marx illustrates, understanding of the concretely abstract is derived through mediation and negotiation between the subjectivities of researcher and researched.

That is, data are collected, analysed, then more data are collected in order to confirm interpretations or clarify issues. This is far more than merely collecting data and describing how the Other view reality. Indeed, that reality can **only** be understood after reflexion on behalf of both subject and researcher, and negotiation of the data through dialogue. At each stage of negotiation the newly gathered data transcends and contains the old. The 'finished' ethnography³¹ is therefore derived via a dialectical, evolutionary (and revolutionary) process founded on purification of the senses and reflexion. It is important to note that I avidly followed one of Kisliuk's doctrines during the fieldwork and recorded, by one means or another, everything I possibly could (and, of course, there is much that I failed to record). With a few notable exceptions interviews were completely unstructured³², completely informal, and often completely unplanned spur-of-the-moment affairs. Often the only planning would be a casual arrangement to meet on a certain day, at a certain time.

Some implications of ethnography

Ethnography is basically an "arrogant enterprise" (ibid: 41). That is to say, and as we have seen, what the researcher is told largely depends on how he/she is categorized by the group under study which itself depends upon the presentation of the ethnographer. On the other hand, fieldwork can also be viewed as a model

³¹ Which, in terms of the infinite process of renegotiation, is **never** finished. The momentary nature of truth does not cater for any absolutes.

³² I did, however, direct the flow of conversation on occasion - particularly if an informant was not very talkative.

for “being in the world”, and by ‘doing’ this particular kind of research we weave ourselves (or, are woven by others) into the fabric of the communities we study, thus becoming cultural actors in the dramas of society we try to understand (Cooley 1997: 18 and Tan: *ibid*).

By constructing ‘the field’, and ourselves as ‘fieldworkers’, we can frame and delimit our enquiries and identities. However, the fiction of these constructs has become increasingly apparent, to the extent where edges and borders crumble and we allow our identities to flow between the cracks (Kisliuk *op.cit*: 25). That is to say, when we remove ourselves from the ‘home’ environment we grow to become (if we are fortunate) ‘guest’ participants in the cultural narratives of the Other.

But some disturbing queries emerge here: when does empathy turn to identification? Where do we inscribe the brackets that differentiate us from our informants? How much of ourselves do we offer to our informants? When do personal lives and professional interests merge? How is research affected when subjects not only ask for compassion but also for collaboration? Should the ethnographer become an accomplice to unjustifiable behaviour? And on what cultural grounds is ‘just-ness’ defined? Is it defined at the locally abstract level and negotiated with the researcher? Further, how does the researcher face the problem that just as it may be difficult to research people one does not particularly like, it is just as difficult to work with those one **does** like (it may, of course, be just as

distasteful for the informants who submit to the attentions of the researcher). Finally, is there anything actually **wrong** with these relationships?

To answer the last question, no³³ - there is nothing to be feared about contradictory relationships in research. Indeed, and keeping in mind the dialectical nature of the research process, contradiction is almost essential for the process of dialogue and negotiation to occur as we **can** only negotiate and debate when there are differences. Sameness thus negates the necessity to inquire. Total identification is not suitable for negotiation to occur yet at the same time **empathy** fits in with the procedure of reaching understanding, or 'knowing'. Total identification therefore precludes dialogue and becoming the Other precludes the search for knowledge.

Although I have suggested that fieldwork is by nature dialectic, with 'fresh' data both containing and transcending old, there is another aspect of the dialectic in fieldwork: that is of defining oneself and simultaneously being defined by others - this is one of the building-blocks of social and cultural politics. We get to 'know' Others by making ourselves known to them and through them we know ourselves again in a continuous cycle. Relationships therefore have to be reshaped to fit respective values as well as the actual social situation (ibid: 27). Following Victor Turner (1967) then, one might suggest that fieldwork is in fact a prescribed state of

³³ Although as in everything, this is not absolute.

liminality for social scientists, where one is neither unformed nor complete - that is, *a rite de passage*.

One of the most pressing ethical problems with fieldwork is that it is not always known who is going to use the ethnography, how they are going to use it, and why. Where the ethnographer has a manifest and clearly stated political agenda³⁴ this may not be problematic but when the research has been designed as non-reactive the issue is not as clear-cut. Early examples of the manifestation of this type of consequence are evident in some of the first 'real' ethnographies, carried out during the early stages of the 20th century. Researchers such as Evans-Pritchard, Malinowski, Gluckman, and Marshall quite possibly had no manifest desire to harm their subject communities. However, their ethnographies were often (ab)used by colonial authorities and capitalist ventures in order to appropriate land, resources and labour³⁵.

With regard to this thesis, I have, as much as possible, involved my informants in the planning and execution of the research, and hope that their conscious contributions may obviate some of these problems. They also have a measure of control over the final use of the thesis for their politico-legal struggles if they choose

³⁴ Of course, all research has political implications.

³⁵ Wilmsen's disgust with this led him to claim that the age of ethnography is behind us and "we may hope never to return" (1989: xii).

to do so. Having said that, whether academic 'betrayal' is planned or not, it is clear that social scientists have a remarkable tendency to work beneath their own Sword of Damocles - perhaps most visibly evident today in the limited access to funding that researchers have and how stiff competition for money clouds ethical concerns. This can range from being 'forced' to carry out 'fashionable' research, to working for agencies with dubious agendas and is, without doubt, a symptom of the 'publish or perish' age. For example, is it ethical for a researcher into drug abuse to be funded by a narcotics bureau³⁶? It is also quite possible not even to be aware of the actual source of the funding. Agar states his case as follows: "Social science researchers are like a drunk pretending to walk a straight line in a dark room with a gale-force wind blowing through it" (op.cit: 44). Or alternatively, researchers walk a very narrow ethical funding-plank.

The data-gathering process itself holds ethical pitfalls. If question-asking is indeed a special blend of art and science (and of course deception), how does one balance this with the ideal of acceptance within the community. In other words, "to be accepted is to be hip; to be hip is to be knowledgeable; to be knowledgeable is to be capable of understanding what is going on, on the basis of minimal clues" (ibid). But then surely, the very act of asking questions can only show non-understanding

³⁶ For that matter, one might ask whether it is ethical for a researcher to participate in, for example, substance abuse as part of the 'participant'-observation process. This is a common problem and difficult to deal with. To refuse to take part in illicit activity may well draw suspicion or destroy confidence. Indeed, to refuse any 'gift' may have negative consequences for the researcher.

and therefore a lack of acceptability. Beaudry notes that among the Inuit, "asking questions is a mark of mental incapacity. In a culture that values learning by observation and imitation, only the village idiot goes around asking questions" (op.cit: 75).

Here we have to examine how the researcher adapts to the role of stranger and its accompanying state of perceptual chaos - also described as the insider/outsider debate. In a 'perfect world' the researcher would be able to assume an air of detached, spontaneous involvement, characterised by a high degree of autonomy and a tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty. In other words, and in the true spirit of participant observation, the researcher would be part of - yet simultaneously distant from - the community. This is perhaps the 'ideal goal' and the ethnographer has to move around this goal, always keeping a little distance (and difference) for intellectual purification and reflexion. Naturally this implies a high degree of personal stress for the researcher: it is immensely difficult to constantly have to move between two cultural world-views and the result can only be a consistent state of culture shock³⁷. There is therefore a necessary ability to be psychologically mobile among different social categories and to be able to handle tension. These

³⁷ During 1993 I carried out 6 months of fieldwork in a black South African ghetto and I found myself in a constant state of confusion, moving from a comfortable white middle-class existence to a community characterised by devastating poverty and extreme levels of violence. Commuting on a daily basis between these two life-styles did little for my conscience and less for my nerves. Perhaps the most influential aspect of this whole experience was the (sometimes welcome) realization that the ethnographer can always go home, whenever he wants to, to temporarily escape the conditions he is working in.

are prerequisites for the discipline and are an enhanced adaptation of a normal, natural social skill: that is, conversation. Further, the researcher has to have the ability to make - and see - mistakes and deal with inevitable blows to self-esteem as well as possible threats to professional identity. Therefore the ethnographer needs all aspects of his/her personality, as well as a burning desire (the urge) 'to know', and s/he needs them under control in order to produce good work. The researcher is thus an apprentice ethnographer and, simultaneously, an apprentice human being.

Fieldwork is, in the 'real' world, essentially an act "for which you are held accountable by your profession and your funding source" as well as your informants (Agar *ibid*: 55). It is therefore crucial for the researcher to present him/herself in the best possible light, and completely honestly, to all concerned. But in reality just how realistic is this goal? Is it enough just to introduce oneself as 'an anthropologist', or 'a sociologist', and express a desire to learn about the culture of the subject group³⁸? In the first place this is not always possible if the research is to be carried out at all as identification may destroy any chances of acceptance. For example, it is difficult to imagine Laud Humphreys being accepted at face value in the 'tearooms'. Again though, the concept of spontaneous honesty challenges a research agenda such as this.

³⁸ And to identify oneself as a social scientist is not necessarily an act of honesty as this may be a fogging device that conceals undisclosed research goals.

But if identification **is** desirable - and I suggest that it is - how often does the researcher need to identify him/herself, and under what circumstances. Should this include casual conversations? What if a third person joins in on a conversation - is it necessary to identify oneself to that person? Is it a breach of confidence and trust not to? And if the researcher chances upon an interesting situation, is identification called for? How would this affect both situation and data? Advocates of a post-modernist approach to ethnography advise us that the **manner** in which researchers affect the data is indeed a crucial part of the ethnographic process and should form part of the ethnography. However, the counter-point is that the researcher simply cannot know what would have occurred **without** his/her presence and influence. For the fieldwork that formed such a vital component in this research project I usually, but not always, identified myself as a graduate student who was doing research in the region. Strangely, if and when I mentioned my subject matter (ie: non-status Indian issues) quite a few settlers and people of European descent seemed to assume that this was **all** that I was interested in and spoke freely with me.

I also found it occasionally necessary to say - in the interests of retaining both my sanity and good relations with certain informants - "time out, I'm not working right now". This was done to reassure my friends (because during these periods they were not informants at all) that they could completely relax and know that their personal thoughts and their behaviour were not under constant scrutiny. The

relationship between researcher and informants is, despite good relationships, trust and empathy, a working relationship and one that demands leisure-time.

The point then is that ethnography (like life) is not nicely and neatly packaged - people tend to drift in and out of situations on a regular basis that simply cannot always be catered for. Therefore it is suggested in this thesis that social research - particularly ethnographic research - is something that is performed in circumstances that one arrives at through natural, normal social interaction which is based on spontaneous and honest dialogue between researcher and subjects, and negotiation of understanding. There **is** no 'acting' other than participation in the normal cultural drama and there **is** no need (on the ethnographer's behalf) for a phoney performance or false-front. If deceit on behalf of the researcher is crucial to the research process then the project should perhaps be viewed with some reticence.

As researchers we tend to make unrealistic demands on our respondents. For example, we desire the status of an intimate, an insider, without having been initiated into the group or earning that status. Thus "[i]n the confusion that [the researcher's] presence initially creates people [may] restructure it with assumptions of...malevolent intent" (Agar *ibid*: 59). That is to say, what reasonable person would **not** be suspicious of such a demand? But there are ways in which suspicion can be overcome. Agar suggests that, for the 'established' researcher, "if [s/he] can

behave in a way that indicates prior insider status elsewhere, it will change peoples' interpretation of [that] role" and enable or ease the access and transition periods (ibid: 60)³⁹. To reiterate this point, the goal of the ethnographer is therefore to present him/herself as honestly as possible and in a way that makes sense to those involved in the study.

Yet here one has to add a *caveat*: however the researcher is 'presented' and perceived, question marks and warning flags should be hung on many of the things and data learned - particularly in the early stages of the fieldwork - and this is why reflexion and constant renegotiation are crucial to the ethnographic process. Suspicion and reticence are variables that must be taken into account until the relationship between researcher and respondents is firmly established on the basis of mutual trust and a willingness to gather and interpret meaningful, accurate data.

The researcher thus finds him/herself caught up in a classic opposition as s/he is effectively participating in an ongoing effort at some personal moral⁴⁰ cost and must weigh this against standing outside and working on alternatives that are consistent with his/her personal values. Once again the researcher has to apply common

³⁹ While establishing connections with AAFNA I found that mention of earlier fieldwork in South Africa generated 'friendly' interest and a more open-minded attitude to the project. This may indeed merely be based on a desire to have the research carried out by an 'established' or 'knowledgeable' field worker. On the other hand, it may be related to a perceived common political goal.

⁴⁰ Morality here defined by the researchers subjectivity and socialization rather than an 'objective' truth.

sense, logic, and deep soul-searching (ie: reflexion) in order to be able to ignore the ethical warning-bells. For Agar this matter is dealt with thus: "I first try to evaluate the potential political effect of my participation and its importance to me. Then I try to estimate realistically how much I have to 'sell out' to participate. Then I decide and live with the consequences" (ibid: 187). His statement is succinct and honestly stated.

However, Agar is wrong: while final accountability must rest with the researcher alone, admitting sole responsibility for an ethnography does not and cannot protect participants from the process, results and effects of the research. This is simply not satisfactory. The questions therefore are: **if** the researcher insures that informants are aware of what s/he intends doing with the data they give him/her (as well as that which they do not give him/her), and **if** they know that they will be protected to the best of the researcher's ability, and **if** they have final control over the information that they personally provide, and **if** the researcher accepts full responsibility and accountability for the content of all reports and documents - both by members of the group studied as well as by 'outsiders' who might change their dealings with the group on the basis of what he has communicated, is this sufficient to constitute informed consent and does this then act as an anodyne for any possible unforeseen consequences of the research?

I would argue that this is indeed not sufficient. The problems addressed by Agar,

Punch, Sieber, Renzetti *et al* ignore a fundamental issue: to wit, nowhere have they suggested or admitted that social scientists - and particularly those who work with the exotic Other - need to examine **their own location** in power relationships when they attempt to speak 'for' those among whom they have worked - and there is **always** some sort of imbalance in the power relationship (which, as with the desirability for 'difference' between researcher and researched, is not necessarily wrong or detrimental to the research). Nor does this solve the problem of intended and unforeseen effects that accrue through the work of the researcher. That is to say, the research and any resulting representation are irreducibly intertwined with politics and power. Here we have to ask what the differences are between 'exploration' and 'exploitation' and how do we negotiate this - and is a compromise between the locally concrete and the locally abstract (ie: intersubjectivity) sufficient? Where do we, as researchers, fit in? What are we doing in the field? What are the social costs of our research going to be?

Perhaps what has been ignored here - and I believe that this is the crux of the matter - is that the results of any qualitative social research, and the author(s) of those results, can only speak for the specific relationship that existed between researcher and subjects at the specific and particular time that the fieldwork was performed. A finished ethnography (inasmuch as any ethnography is 'finished') cannot be taken to represent a 'culture', or 'group', or even a 'person', nor can it be accepted as the final analysis of a particular social situation - it is merely a (albeit

purified through reflexion) 'snap-shot', or single moment in time and space, captured by the researcher through a narrow - and occasionally unfocused (or rose-tinted) lens. But, while an ethnography can be nothing more than momentary truth, this does not make the exercise any less valid because any **further** ethnographic analysis transcends and contains the old, thus building layers of 'new' knowledge.

This must surely be made clear to respondents, sponsors and any other interested parties prior to the research being carried out. This is what I have attempted to do throughout this fieldwork and the thesis thus makes no claims whatsoever to speak **for** the Ardoch Algonquins. Nor does it speak **for** the Ardoch settler community, or any other group. Neither I nor the thesis can do that. Rather, it speaks **of** a particular social relationship that occurred between my informants and I during 1997 and it speaks **of** events, thoughts, relationships and conversations that have been, following reflexion, drawn out and analysed in the thesis. There is no doubt that my informants and I have reached an intersubjective understanding of many of the issues addressed in this thesis. However, the momentary nature of truth implies that this understanding will have to be re-negotiated repeatedly in order to retain that intersubjectivity as the concretely abstract, like culture, is not static. Research is therefore an ongoing process that leads to flexible, non-objective (ie: purified and intersubjective) truth and a way of knowing.

Finally, as Robben and Nordstrom (1995: 11) forcefully argue, "if our position as [social scientists] grants us privilege, it can be employed to help those with less". That is, research can have a 'noble' motivation. But we still have to pose the questions: what constitutes 'less', on whose terms are we 'helping', and outside of the specific research situation what are the long-term effects of the project⁴¹? Once again, the researcher can always choose to return home but informants are generally stuck in their own community and their own political situation, and have to deal with the aftermath. These issues were constantly in mind throughout the research period and, as I expected, many of them remain partially unresolved. They are complex issues that will plague and confound social scientists for all-time. There can be no final, absolute solution because each fieldwork setting offers a unique and dynamic set of demands and there is no final, absolute truth. Today's analyses and solutions probably will not be effective tomorrow. In the final analysis of the research methods employed for this research, I can merely state unequivocally that I have managed to adhere faithfully to the standards of imperfection set by my predecessors.

⁴¹ This is, of course, similar to the ongoing debate on the merits of aid and development.

Chapter 2

The Historical Background

Is there any difference between their [full-blooded Aboriginals] position and that of the half-breeds? None at all. They hunt and fish, and live as they please (Governor Sir George Simpson, 1867).

At the time of manomin keezis, the wild rice moon, summer draws to a close and Mary Whiteduck's great-grandson canoes down the river from his home at Ardoch to see if the wild rice has ripened. Harold Perry...represents the fourth generation of hereditary stewards who have cared for the wild rice. If the seeds are mature and if the crop is plentiful enough for harvesting, he calls native people from throughout southeastern Ontario, as well as local settlers, to gather Manomin - the good seed, the Gift from the Creator (Petr Cizek, 1993).

This chapter briefly deals with the history of the Algonquin presence in the research area, leading into a discussion of the organisation of AAFNA and how this is loosely based on a specific kinship system: ie the clan system. Links are made between clan and band, and how these are the foundation of political organisation and activism among the community. This particular issue is a recurring theme throughout the thesis. An analysis of an important Aboriginal cultural practice - one that today has symbolic rather than economic implications - allows us to examine some of the major political issues that AAFNA has been, and presently is, involved in. This then introduces chapter three which addresses the more specific questions of Aboriginal identity and why these are loci of strain and controversy.

It is important to note that, for the purposes of this thesis, the term 'Algonquin' is largely divorced from the term 'Algonquian' (also 'Algonkian'). The former refers to

a specific group of people who share cultural orientation and a (vaguely) common ancestry, while the latter is a far broader category which includes many other groups purely on the basis of linguistic similarities. For example, Algonquian (with regional and tribal dialectic variations) is also the mother tongue of the Montagnais, Cree, Ojibwa and Mi'kmaq, but these nations are merely related to the Algonquin 'proper'. Here however, we are concerned with a unique sub-group of a particular tribe who have a geographical and cultural identification with a specific section of the land-mass. That is, within the broad vicinity of the Mississippi River watershed in south-eastern Ontario (following Clément 1996: 1).

'Officially', there are ten Algonquin groups in Eastern Canada, one of which is located in Ontario at Golden Lake (45°15'N 78°W) - the other nine are on the Québec bank (east) of the Ottawa River - and Clément estimates a total Algonquin population base of some 7000 souls in these reserve communities (ibid: 2). Here I must emphasise that these ten communities have recognized Aboriginal status and live on designated reservations - off-reserve and non-status Algonquins are not included in these figures. The Ardoch Algonquins⁴² however, do not have that status and are not affiliated to any of the status communities - this notwithstanding the likelihood that their origins may lie in Golden Lake or further east. They are, like most non-status communities, largely ignored both in the literature and, until

⁴² There are a number of other non-status communities of Algonquin orientation in this region eg. Antoine First Nation (Mattawa, Ontario), Bonnechere Métis Association (Ottawa River watershed).

recently at least, by the federal and provincial governments of Canada. They are also totally ignored in Indian-rights and land-claims negotiations. The population base of the whole Algonquin Nation is thus greater than the figure of 7000 offered by Clément. For reasons which will become clear an accurate head-count is not possible but estimates as to the current non-status population appear later in the thesis.

Samuel de Champlain determined as early as 1612 that the area along the Ottawa River was Algonquin territory⁴³ but as Ratelle points out, "drawing up a ... borderline between the Algonquins and the other ethnic groups is a very risky proposition" (Ratelle 1996: 59). The reason for this is because the Algonquins were habitually nomadic, moving seasonally between the St. Lawrence River and interior hunting grounds. However, archaeological evidence clearly shows that there was a strong Algonquin presence in the region as early as 800 years B.P.⁴⁴ - these people are referred to by Côté as 'proto-Algonquin' who became *Anishinâbeg*⁴⁵ around 350 B.P. (1996: 9) - and remnants of earlier Algonquian cultures dating back to 6000

⁴³De Champlain in fact first came across the people he called 'Algoumequin' in 1603 at a meeting at Tadoussac, Québec, where a number of groups - Aboriginal and colonial - had gathered in order to celebrate a joint-victory over the Iroquois Nation (ibid).

⁴⁴ Before Present with 0 being 1950. Where B.P. is not used in this thesis all dates are *Anno Domini*.

⁴⁵ *Anicinâbe*, *Anichinâbe*, *Nishnâbe* and *Anishinâbe* are all terms used by the Algonquin people to refer to themselves. The name means: Indian, human, and in the plural (eg: *Anishinâbeg*), **the people** (Clément ibid: 2 and McGregor 1994: 112, 116, 166).

B.P. have been found at numerous archaeological sites⁴⁶ (ibid: 8). There is therefore a strong case to be built that Aboriginals, and in particular the Algonquins, have occupied the region since 'time immemorial'.

But Ratelle, who does not dispute the archaeological evidence *per se*, emphasises that we should keep in mind the cyclic (perhaps rhythmic?) nature of Aboriginal land occupation (Ratelle, ibid). Not only did the Algonquins and their predecessors practise a nomadic⁴⁷ mode of production, they were also forced to move around fairly regularly because of warfare with other Aboriginal groups - particularly the Iroquois (ibid: 52). Of course, at a later stage the Algonquins were also forced to flee from colonists due to conflict over resources and epidemics⁴⁸. The population-base of the area was therefore in a state of flux both before and after first contact.

This has important ramifications for the present-day Ardoch Algonquins because it means that there is little real historical or archaeological evidence of their presence

⁴⁶ None of these designated sites are near Ardoch but Harold Perry informed me that a settler who lives in the vicinity found an artefact while installing a sewage system at his property. The artefact, an arrow-point, has been dated and is between 1200 and 2000 years old. It has apparently been identified as being of early Algonquin style.

⁴⁷ Ratelle mentions that, prior to first contact, some Algonquins were actually not nomadic, engaging in limited horticulture and trade which allowed them to develop relatively substantial population bases. However, the author does not tell us which groups these were and one must assume that he is referring to the larger communities east of the Ottawa River (Ratelle, op.cit: 61).

⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that prior to both major epidemics (starting as early as 1611), the decimating wars with the Iroquois during the 1630s to 1660s and the subsequent temporary exodus of the Algonquins, the Ottawa River had gone by the name of the Algonquin River (Ratelle, ibid: 62).

there. The “Old People”, as my informants refer to their predecessors, were itinerant - they simply were not in any one place long enough to leave permanent traces. Harold Perry informs me that settlements and hunting camps were often temporary affairs, occupied for just one or two seasons, and many tools, weapons and other artefacts were constructed of materials that simply would not last after being discarded. So while opponents of AAFNA's political struggle point out that there is no evidence of any historical Aboriginal presence in the Ardoch region, AAFNA's response is that it would be most unusual if there were to be any. The Algonquins became sedentary only following contact with the colonial settlers and this only after being gradually forced further into the interior, and in the case of Golden Lake and the Ardoch Algonquins, westward into south-eastern Ontario.

Kinship, politics and the Ardoch Algonquins

The earliest recorded evidence of a regular Algonquin presence in the Ardoch region comes from census data which shows that one Joe (Joseph) Whiteduck (Algonquian: *Wàbàshishib*) and his spouse Mary Buckshot established permanent residence there in the latter half of the 19th century. It is believed that they settled at what is now known as Buckshot Lake (44°48'N 77°3'W) which is approximately six kilometres northwest of Ardoch village and linked to the Mississippi River by Buckshot Creek (not navigable in the present). We do not really know whether Joe

Whiteduck and Mary Buckshot were 'legally'⁴⁹ married or not but this is of little importance. Roark-Calnek draws our attention to the fact that, historically and today, Algonquins draw little distinction between 'marriage' (*nibawiwîn*) and cohabitation (*widigemâdowin*)⁵⁰ although the former has some symbolic importance. Both relationships are recognized by the community and there is no social stigma attached to the latter (1996: 157). Joe Whiteduck is the eponymous founder of the Whiteduck clan which is the substructure of, and justification for, the existence of AAFNA. AAFNA is thus a social and political organisation based predominantly on a descent system and kinship relations among members. But many of the genealogical links in this system are obscure⁵¹ - a fact which greatly appeals to detractors of AAFNA⁵² - and a discussion of the clan-based kinship system is necessary in order to understand why it is that AAFNA members feel that, firstly, they are of Aboriginal descent, and secondly, that they have justifiable and legitimate Aboriginal title to the territory.

⁴⁹ Here I mean married by the Christian church or by Algonquin ceremony - see Roark-Calnek for an ethnography of Algonquin wedding rites.

⁵⁰ Note that various authors employ different linguistic accents (diacritics) for Algonquian vowels (some ignore them altogether). For example, here Roark-Calnek uses *nîbâwîwîn* and *widigemâdowin*. With the exception of direct quotations from works cited, where I use Algonquian terms in this thesis I rely upon McGregor's authoritative Lexicon which is used as an educational aid by, amongst others, the Kitigan Zibi Education Authority of Maniwaki, Québec.

⁵¹ Obscurity is in fact a vital attribute of the clan system.

⁵² Among some settler and tourist informants, it is popularly believed that many AAFNA members "are not even Indian, let alone Algonquin".

It is important to note here that the term 'clan' is one that the ethnographer has imposed and it is not one that AAFNA members often use (although they do on occasion). Individuals that I have interviewed use terms like 'band', 'family', 'community', 'clan' and so on interchangeably, and, as far as can be gathered, with the same meaning. I have applied 'clan' as both descriptive and analytical tool in this thesis, as well as to avoid confusion. It will also become clear that 'clan' supersedes 'band', 'community', 'corporate-group', 'family' and 'tribe'.

In the anthropological tradition, the clan is an incorporated social sub-system of a larger body (eg. tribe) that is based on a collectively held belief that members are descended from a common and identifiable ancestor, without **necessarily** knowing just how. Indeed, Gellner (1987) points out that the **physical** relationship between the individual and the ancestor may well be mythical and is, "in any case, irrelevant" (1987: 167). What is important is that clan members **believe** that they are descendants. The concept of clan-based kinship is thus largely a fictive one yet it has immense socio-cultural significance as it defines a potentially co-operative group by means of a "kin notion" (ibid: 168). The important issue here is that the **actual** truth of any physical links between clan members may, and often does, bear little correspondence to commonly held notions of kin relatedness. That is to say, the term 'clan' is a concept that is essentially **related** to other concepts such as lineage, extended family, co-operative group, political-economic organisation and so on.

Thus the set of individuals who claim clan-membership use their affiliation in order to express, justify or reinforce co-operation in terms of the original kin notion. Naturally, and of import to this study, initiation into and membership criteria of the clan are themselves flexible notions and physical kinship may bear little or no resemblance to social kinship - indeed, they may be dissimilar (see AAFNA Registration Information Questionnaire in **Appendix 4** which merely delves into two generations). The clan is thus a fairly amorphous social institution which originates from an historical, fluid, nomadic existence and is thus part of the Algonquin heritage. Traditionally, Algonquin society consisted of small, mobile bands rather than a unified tribe and it is suggested that the fluidity and flexibility of this lifestyle permeated all facets of social existence - including the structure of the clan and ,as we shall see, the form of government. Indeed, Beattie emphasises that the criteria for creating an atmosphere of mutual dependency and obligation in the first place often stem from some problem that needs to be overcome (1989: 98). The clan is thus a confederacy of necessity, based on a need for temporary instrumental action, with rules and regulations of membership that are adaptable to change (Young 1988: 54).

However, it is suggested here that the flexibility of the Ardoch Algonquin band with regard to membership - which is inextricably linked to clan membership - is relatively unusual in terms of the common (ie: broader anthropological and sociological) understandings of the workings of the clan-system. On this matter Evans-Pritchard

suggests that “a man can change his tribe by changing his place of residence, but he can never change his clan” (1965: 213). There seems to be a theoretical and methodological contradiction here but as I shall illustrate, in the case of AAFNA and the Whiteduck clan, the clan is more important as a social institution than the Algonquin tribe because it is a more powerful unit (and driving force) of focussed, local activism. It also supersedes the band as without the clan the band could not exist (the inverse is not true).

But this does not mean that being Algonquin is not important. On the contrary, Aboriginal identity, and specifically Algonquin Aboriginal identity is crucial to AAFNA members. As one informant put it : “[b]eing Algonquins makes us a more distinct group”. However, and partially due to internecine conflict with other Aboriginal people, the clan is the rallying point for the group. The question of whether this trend to sub-divide weakens a broader provincial or national First Nations political integrity is addressed at a further point in the thesis.

We can say then that the ‘clan’ is a rational⁵³ means of social organisation, implying mutual obligations among members who define themselves in reference to shared ‘descent’ from the (real or mythical) common ancestor. But this should not infer that clan members are involved in close day-to-day activities with each other, nor is it

⁵³ In appearance there is a strong element of instrumentalism, or egofocalism, in this. The transient nature of Ardoch Algonquin instrumental behaviour is discussed in detail in the conclusion of the thesis.

necessary for members to live in close proximity to one-another. The clan is commonly widely dispersed and may seldom gather all members together at a given time and it has been suggested elsewhere (see, for example, Hays 1958, Seligman in Evans-Pritchard 1963, Evans-Pritchard 1965, and Malinowski in Young 1988) that the institution of the clan is actually never a 'community' at all, and can never act corporately - this purely for reasons of practicality because it is logistically impossible to gather all members at any given point in time and space⁵⁴. Here I suggest that there is no contradiction between social 'closeness' and geographical distance simply because it is an attribute of traditional Algonquin social organisation that has survived. One might also suggest that such fragmentation evolved because it was advantageous insofar as small, splintered groups (clans/bands) were more difficult to pin down than larger corporate bodies.

The approach taken in this thesis is one which suggests that the 'clan', the 'band', the 'community', the 'corporation', the 'family' and the 'tribe' are all the focus of individual and group identification for the Ardoch Algonquins - even though they may, in fact, only visibly express their common identity when there is an explicit threat to, or goal of, the corporate group and even though the act of expression may only come from a select core-group of clan members who choose to don the mantle of activism. It is not necessary for the whole clan to be mustered in order to perform

⁵⁴ For example, to gather all members of, say, a large Scottish clan would indeed be a daunting task. Data drawn from this fieldwork indicates that it is seemingly as difficult to gather the complete Whiteduck clan whether the occasion has social, ceremonial or political significance.

corporate functions and it is clear - although occasionally unstated - that the AAFNA organisation stands behind activists and council members who act spontaneously on their behalf.

It is also suggested here that some individuals may only fly their Algonquin colours when facing problems involving their own personal property. That is, they may have an individuated, egofocal, and instrumental agenda. At a particular AAFNA council meeting I attended in 1997 it became clear to me that one of those present was there mainly in order to find out whether the band could offer any assistance in a matter involving development on a lake where s/he has a cottage. The area in question lies well outside AAFNA 'territory'⁵⁵ and council members cordially advised the individual that no advice or help was available. My evaluation of this incident was that the person in question attempted to mobilize AAFNA political support when the issue was not an Aboriginal concern - let alone one that should be occupying AAFNA. This incident should be kept in mind when settlers' comments about Indians using their identity arbitrarily are discussed. Aboriginal identity **might** then be activated as a matter of convenience⁵⁶ and there is no doubt that cultural 'confusion' is a potentially exploitable, instrumental, 'resource' for some.

⁵⁵ Note that there is no map of Ardoch Algonquin territory in this thesis - an explanation for this is offered in chapter 3.

⁵⁶ At this point I stress that the incident described above was the sole exception rather than the rule, and was not repeated at any other time while I was present.

Evie Plaice's (1990) ethnography of Northwest River, Canada, demonstrates that claims of ethnic identity are "social resources" that are manipulable depending on the current political agenda of both settlers and Indians (Plaice 1990: xiv). Basing her hypothesis on Nigel Rapport's (1983) analysis of identity in a rural village in England, Plaice argues that settlers and Aboriginals make use of multiple personae and world views **within the same individual** depending on the social or political situation (Strathern, in her 1992 The Gender of the Gift, would, in this case, use the term **dividual** to describe the same phenomenon).

With a local history at Northwest River founded on elitism (as a result of the influence of the Hudson Bay Company) and Indians taking a marginal position with settlers higher on the hierarchical ladder, it is, on the surface, surprising to note that many so-called 'settlers' advocate and publicly proclaim their **Aboriginal** heritage on occasion. That is, by definition and intention, those who claim descent from the earliest settlers simultaneously claim Native status because of earlier intermarriage (Plaice *ibid*: 52). While the community at Northwest River is generally characterized by racial segregation, economic expediency in the form of government grants encourages the settlers to, at specific times, emphasise their Aboriginal heritage. On the one hand, most children of mixed marriages categorize themselves as 'white', yet at the same time they are part of a more general Indian community when it comes to government handouts. The elites here are noticeably dualistic by nature: while members of the elite group have a universalistic function pertaining to

public interest when dealing with economic issues that affect the wider community, they have a simultaneous **particularistic** and self-serving function when political and economic factors are brought into play (Cohen 1979: 103).

But we have seen that, where a clan-kinship system is used as the basis for group identity, the functionality of the system becomes obvious when intermittent co-operation is called for. These groups are, in fact, of key political importance in many societies (Beattie op.cit: 99). Again, it is important to understand that the cohesion of the clan can never be taken for granted because while membership of the group is a constant given⁵⁷, action is always situational or relative. Nevertheless, members of a clan tend to **think** of themselves in terms of their inter-relationships with 'kin': "a clansman is always a brother, a father or a son, however remote he may be genealogically" (Young op.cit: 54).

One might express this relationship as one within which, if we were to apply the notion to western European culture, people regarded all others who shared the same surname as close kin (even when they were not) and acknowledged definite obligations and claimed definite rights in regard to them, sharing a particular belief system, and knowing that members of the group are, in some way, different from all other non-clan people. I have found that this indeed is the case with many AAFNA members - even those who would perhaps, by some observers, be labelled

⁵⁷ Here I mean membership in terms of identity, not demographics.

as 'nominal' or 'token' members, or even "Indians of convenience" (a settler's comment). AAFNA members who may never previously have met visibly express feelings of 'brotherhood' when brought together. I found it interesting that this even seemed to apply when, say, a 'new' non-Aboriginal spouse was brought along to an AAFNA function for the first time - this illustrates the inclusive nature of the clan.

Confusion may arise at this point as there seems to be little difference between 'clan', and 'lineage', and this deserves some explication. With both terms, the sole criterion is descent from a common ancestor. However, within a lineage the physical links **can** be definitively traced and descendants are all consanguineally related. The lineage is, like the clan, a means of corporate grouping, identity and mobilization. The difference - in strictly genealogical terms - is that members of a lineage, in order to cooperate, should live in close proximity to one another as the lineage is usually much smaller than the clan. There are simply fewer human resources at the lineage level. Further, membership of the lineage is usually not flexible and new members are the result of off-spring through marriage - a spouse does not exchange his or her lineage following marriage. Naturally, clans are always made up of any number of lineages but the crux is that personal and corporate identification is primarily to the clan rather than the lineage. In Evans-Pritchard's analysis, "[t]he clan is the largest group of lineages which is definable by reference to rules of exogamy" (1965: 6). While a lineage is a group of individuals between whom kinship can be genealogically traced (ie: a genealogical

segment) a clan is a system of exogamous lineages (1963: 15). In effect, the clan - and thus in this case AAFNA - supersedes both tribe and lineage as a motivation for mobilization and is, for the purposes of sociological and anthropological inquiry, the lowest common denominator of concrete social organization⁵⁸. Threats to the clan are more immediate than threats to the tribe. According to Gellner then, we may sum up the position as follows:

[K]inship structure[s] [such as the 'clan'] are, by definition, systems of social relationships such as are functions of (are regularly related to) physical kinship...the rule relating the physical kinship and the social relation being generally complex, involving **additions, omissions and distortions**; and all this notwithstanding the fact that individual *instances* of the relationships may occasionally diverge from the rule...and also that individual *concepts* within the system of social concepts...**may fail to be related directly by any rule to physical kinship** (for they remain embedded in a system of concepts most of which *are* so related) (Gellner op.cit: 169, italics and parentheses in original, emphasis added).

Notwithstanding the insistence of the Crown in, by means of the *Indian Act 1876*, determining Indian identity and status through patrilineal descent⁵⁹, the Algonquin Nation historically practised matrilineal descent⁶⁰ - although the system **was**

⁵⁸ The institution of the 'band', as **created** by the Crown, is often described/explained in this fashion (Adrian Tanner, Department of Social Anthropology, Memorial University, Newfoundland. Personal communication. November 1996). I am, of course, deliberately ignoring the 'nuclear family' as a common social denominator here.

⁵⁹ That is, through the male line from a male ancestor. This (the *Indian Act*) is discussed in detail later in the thesis.

⁶⁰ Bob Lovelace informs me that marriage was, on occasion, polygynous and/or endogamous among the Algonquins and that fathers sometimes took daughters as spouses. This constitutes a temporary (but pragmatic) suspension of the incest taboo and was a way by which economic skills were easily transferred - it also obviated the necessity to 'train' outsiders in those skills. I would suggest that, if this was indeed the case, a shortage of available partners may have been the motivation for this. Roark-Calnek mentions rare polygynous marriages but not endogamy (ibid: 162).

patricentric concerning land-use relations and emphasized the position of men “in public, out-facing affairs” (Roark-Calnek op.cit: 160 and verified by Bob Lovelace, personal communication). That is to say, while descent followed the female line, positions of authority were usually held by men (women had their own ways of exerting influence). Because there was no concept of private property - in terms of ‘ownership’ of land although there was organised land **use** - as we know it, the matrilineal descent system ensured two things: firstly, and because of general rules of exogamy, that political power within the clan could not be controlled by any one lineage, and secondly that the division of labour was based on complementarity rather than inequality.

When one of Roark-Calnek’s informants states that “[l]ong time ago, a man and a woman couldn’t live without each other” s/he means just that - the division of labour was not only flexible, it was largely “reversible”, with both genders being adept in serving the full needs of the family unit (ibid). Both men and women were able to hunt and gather (although in different ways), and both men and women were responsible for domestic chores (again, though, in different ways). To an extent, this is still the case today with the Ardoch Algonquins when ‘traditional’ practices are indulged in and is perhaps most evident in the annual wild rice harvest⁶¹. This was an arena of conflict in 1981, leading to what is now referred to as the Rice War, and one of the prime motivating factors behind the eventual formation of AAFNA

⁶¹ The political implications of the rice harvest are discussed in detail in Chapter 3

The wild rice⁶² beds at Ardoch are situated in Mud Lake (44°56'30N 76°54'W), a wide, shallow section of the Mississippi River a few hundred metres downstream and northeast of Ardoch village, and cover between 44.8 and 147.4 hectares depending on the annual crop-growth in any given year⁶³. The beds were originally established by Mary Buckshot, spouse of Joe Whiteduck, who brought some seed with her from another growing area (probably Rice Lake), sometime between 1885 and 1890 (Cizek 1992: 3). We know that it was not much earlier than this because until the 1870s the Mississippi was used for driving timber and the river environment would have been far too unstable to propagate rice (Harold Perry). The beds have been maintained since their establishment by her descendants - a span of five generations - and harvested annually by the Whiteduck clan, other groups of Ontarian Aboriginals, and, very occasionally, local settlers.

Harvesting takes place in late August and September, and following the Indian fashion, the grain is gathered using the 'two-stick method' from open canoes. The paddler, kneeling in the prow and using a narrow-bladed paddle so as not to disturb the fragile root system of the plants, propels the vessel in parallel 'passes' through the rice beds. The harvester, kneeling in the stern and facing the prow, uses one stick (the sticks are approximately 40 inches in length and tapered, with a diameter

⁶² Ontario Algonquins use the word *manòmin* which they translate as "Gift from The Creator" (Perry, Lovelace, Cizek). However, McGregor's lexicon suggests that *manòmin* actually means oats (cereal perhaps?), and that the Algonquian term for wild rice is *pagwadjanòmin*. The biological term for wild rice is *Zizania aquatica*.

⁶³ Figures taken from surveys carried out between 1979 and 1982, compiled by Cizek (1992: 109).

of approximately 1 inch at the thickest section) to bend the rice stems over the gunwale and the other to sweep, or brush, the seeds from the stems onto a tarpaulin in the canoe. The technique is well-described by Cizek (op.cit), Lovelace (1982) and Avery and Pawlik (1981) but is actually far more difficult than one might assume. Having observed Harold Perry and his spouse Elsie Schonhauser harvesting on Mud Lake I attempted it myself, alone, and found that not only does it take some time to accumulate a few pounds of green rice⁶⁴, it is also hard physical work both paddling through the beds as well as harvesting - somewhat akin to wading through waist-deep snow. Distressingly, much of the rice tends to fall back in the water but indeed, this is one of the primary methods of managing the resource⁶⁵.

While commercially operated air boats gather a much larger percentage of the rice, the two-stick technique functions as a seed-sowing strategy, ensuring even distribution and the future viability of the beds. Cizek notes that while air boats achieve an efficiency of about twenty-five percent, the two-stick method is less than 5% efficient (ibid: 113). It is also the Ardoch Algonquin practice to use the first portion of the harvest to manually and consciously re-seed "thin areas" and give thanks to the Creator for the harvest (Mona Perry, Harold Perry). Usually, the

⁶⁴ After a two-hour stint I had accumulated 3 pounds of green rice which, after processing, amounted to just over 1 pound of finished product.

⁶⁵ Cizek estimates that between 75% and 80% of the seed falls back in the water when the two-stick method is used (ibid: 71). Also, much of the rice remains on the stem.

harvester places an offering of tobacco in the water before setting to work. Before going out to harvest Harold Perry made very sure that I understood and would follow these practices. The two-stick method leaves stems intact with the unripe seed remaining for later, natural dispersal while commercial boats wastefully collect both ripe and unripe rice.

The way we do it is the only way that makes sense. The canoe doesn't cause too much damage to the rice that way and there's always plenty falling back in the water - that's how we've kept the rice going for so long (a harvester from the Golden Lake Algonquin community).

Once harvested the green rice is left to partially dry on a tarpaulin for a few days. This also ensures that the insect-life that feeds on the rice while it is on the stem disperses (when the harvest is poor - which occasionally occurs - rice is only gathered for re-seeding purposes and in this case it is not dried. In fact, and unlike many other cereals, wild rice will not germinate once dehydrated). Once semi-dry the rice is then placed in a large (approximately 1 metre in diameter) cast-iron pot and dry-roasted until it starts turning brown - this is known as the parching process. The reason for this part of the procedure is to completely dehydrate the grains as well as to make the husks brittle and easier to remove. Cleaning and winnowing of the rice is done by 'dancing'. That is, one person wearing moccasins climbs into the pot and works it with his/her feet, thus completely de-husking the individual seeds which are then placed on a blanket and tossed in the air to winnow rice from chaff. Today, the large pots are rarely seen - although Harold Perry has three which he still uses - and people use smaller vessels after which they place the parched grain

in a sack, beating it against a tree to loosen the husks. Finally, the rice is packed in vermin-proof containers for storage until it is either consumed or redistributed to people who have been unable to harvest for themselves (such as the Elders of the community).

Gathering and processing the rice is therefore a time-consuming and labour-intensive operation but men, women and even children are all capable of, and experienced in, performing each aspect of the task.

The rice beds were unlikely to be planted for frivolous reasons and Harold Perry believes that they were an important staple of his ancestors. This would have been particularly relevant during the Great Depression and he states emphatically that "during hard times the chances are that wild rice could have meant the difference between starvation and survival - especially for the Old People". Another informant commented that the rice was probably planted by Mary Buckshot as a precaution against "hard times". In other words, as famine food. Cizek suggests that, as famine food, wild rice was an important staple for settlers as well as Aboriginals during lean times (op.cit: 81). Today there is no pressing economic reason for rice cultivation and harvesting, and what is gathered is generally given away to Elders and kinfolk who are unable to get to Mud Lake⁶⁶. It is important to note that the wild

⁶⁶ Note that in other areas where rice is harvested Aboriginal Peoples have established commercial operations licensed by MNR.

rice from Mud Lake is **never** sold as a commodity and individuals who have tried to do this in the past have been actively discouraged. As a Gift from the Creator wild rice has sacred properties - it simply must not be commodified. Interestingly though, in other regions where the rice **is** sold by Aboriginal processors it has more commercial value when harvested in the 'traditional' manner. As Cizek's informant from Parry Island so shrewdly put it, "[r]ice is more valuable when harvested traditionally. Dollars plus culture" (ibid: 71).

Clearly the symbolism of the annual harvest is vital to the ritual and political well-being of the clan, acting as a concrete expression of Ardoch Algonquin sovereignty, and a celebration of their Aboriginal identity. Harvesting is generally a festive occasion and people gather at Ardoch in order to celebrate the spirituality of the rituals and ceremonies that are performed, using the exercise to expose children to indigenous values and sharing the experience with others. This is not a 'new' recreation (although the teaching aspect enhances cultural revival) of an Aboriginal 'tradition'. Rather, the rice harvest is a conscious exhibition of cultural continuity and a way of ensuring that Aboriginal ideals are remembered and passed on through the generations. Thus, while rice harvesting is no longer an act of economic significance it is performed today out of **cultural** necessity.

Here, and having labelled rice harvesting as a 'traditional' practice, it is crucial to reiterate that **any** conceptual isolation of a people in a temporal position outside of

which they actually exist, and/or in a mental state different from that of their societal contemporaries, tends to breed racist ideologies, ignorance and social inequality (Wilmsen 1993). What I refer to here is - through the use of labels of 'traditionalism' - the deliberate misrepresentation of particular groups of people as existing **at present** in a time-frame that has past, and with the thought processes, practices and beliefs that, perhaps, were relevant **only** to that primordial era. At the same time, I suggest that this distortion tends to project concrete Aboriginal reality - that is their present socio-economic position and political status, or 'now' - as 'natural', preordained and self inflicted, rather than arising from historical events and processes. This is not the intention of my use of the term 'traditional' and I make no suggestion that the Ardoch Algonquins either 'live in the past', or that their cultural practises can be related to their current condition of marginalization.

The Rice War

So for over a century the Ardoch Algonquins have nurtured and made use of their rice beds, sharing the harvest with kin and neighbours alike. One Ardoch settler informed me that in years past it had been customary for "the Indians to give white families a pound of rice for each household" but I was unable to corroborate this with Algonquin informants, other settlers or the literature. However, rice harvesting is a viable and profitable commercial operation, and in terms of the *Wild Rice Harvesting Act* (Government of Ontario 1980), rice is a natural resource owned by the Crown. Despite a 1978 moratorium placed on new commercial rice-harvesting

licenses - specifically to protect Aboriginal interests, in 1979 a permit to harvest on Mud Lake was issued to the Lanark Wild Rice Company (LWRC). That year, an LWRC air boat was found working on Mud Lake by a local settler who attempted to make a citizen's arrest but was shown a valid harvesting permit by the operator.

Harold Perry, recognized by the local Aboriginal community as well as settlers as the hereditary steward of the rice beds, was informed of this incident and protested to the local MNR officials based in Tweed. In this, he was supported by Aboriginals from Golden Lake and Alderville Reserves, local settlers, and the Reeves of Clarendon Miller Township, Palmerston, and North and South Canonto. The level of anxiety felt by the community was so high that Indians and settlers established the Indian, Métis, and Settlers' Wild Rice Association (IMSet) which was eventually successful in negotiating a 1982 agreement with MNR stating that Aboriginal and constitutional issues such as those involving natural resources were unresolved (Cizek 1992 op.cit).

The opposition to LWRC was based on two issues: firstly, there was anger at the commercialization of the resource - particularly as the operator was an 'outsider' and seen as a "fly-by-night opportunist" with no interest in the community (Harold Perry). Secondly, there was concern (which was quite justified in the light of Cizek's later scientific analysis of the sustainable yield at Mud Lake) that the LWRC air boats would destroy the rice beds. In effect, the community united behind the

Ardoch Algonquins and for a while there was an air of solidarity and a common opposition to any exploitation of a locally established and maintained resource.

But one may ask why did settlers actively support the Aboriginals and, more importantly, why did the strong sense of cohesion in the community eventually break down? Cizek predicted that only as long as the harvest was accompanied by communal social celebrations, would the sense of community survive (ibid: 86). In a way, Cizek was proved correct as the communal celebrations gradually died away and IMSet became a defunct organization. But as we shall see, the reasons behind this collapse go beyond the wild rice issue.

In 1980 LWRC were, despite the moratorium⁶⁷, granted a harvest permit for Mud Lake and on August 30 1981 their air boat arrived at the rice beds. The fact that the LWRC operator was accompanied by two Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) cruisers indicates that some opposition was expected from the local community. Indeed, IMSet had responded to the issuing of the permit by blockading the access road to Mud Lake - this had been manned for a period of two weeks - and LWRC and their escort were turned away. Settlers who owned property around the lake refused to

⁶⁷ Auld, the Deputy minister of MNR decided that the moratorium did not apply to southern Ontario. He also justified the issuing of the permit on the basis that "[t]he natives weren't cropping anything like the **whole** crop" (Pawlick 1981: 36 emphasis added).

allow LWRC to cross their land⁶⁸ and the attitude of the protestors was one of militant defiance. On August 31 LWRC returned - this time with an escort of twenty-seven OPP cruisers, two 'paddy wagons', two tow-trucks who were assigned to remove the blockade, eight MNR patrol boats and two police helicopters (Cizek *ibid*: 56 and Lovelace *op.cit*: 34-35). This military-strength force broke through the IMSet blockade but again were refused permission to cross privately owned land. People who were present at this debacle told me that the OPP had barged through people gathered there with little regard for life-and-limb: as Bob Lovelace put it, "those who refused to move were just bumped and pushed out of the way" (Lovelace *ibid*: 35).

After radioing for instructions, the officer in charge of the force was told to find an access point to the lake that was within twenty feet of the edge of the roadway - ie: public property and therefore legal access in terms of legislation. This is the stage of the operation that conveys just how ludicrous the situation actually was. The officer duly found the narrowest point, measured it (with a metric tape the distance was 7.6 metres) and after mental conversion determined that it was nineteen feet wide. At this point there are two accounts of what occurred next: Cizek (citing from Pawlick) states that Bob Lovelace "took out a calculator and insisted on working the conversion" (Cizek *op.cit*: 57). Lovelace states that the officer "radioed for mechanical calculation" (Lovelace *op.cit*: 37). It matters little though, as the

⁶⁸ There are only two possible routes to Mud Lake that do not require trespassing - one must travel there, by water, either from upstream or downstream.

conversion determined that the distance was twenty-three feet and within a short time LWRC and their escort left the area. When rumours arose that LWRC were hoping to launch their air boat by crane from a bridge downstream the following day, it suddenly became necessary for the local municipal authorities to excavate drainage ditches across the road leading to the bridge, thus making the road impassable. Without a doubt, LWRC, the OPP and MNR were humiliated by IMSet.

The basic concern of IMSet was the protection of the wild rice from exploitation - both by outsiders and by anyone doing it for commercial purposes, and the Rice War served as the catalyst that temporarily joined the community. Cizek states that

“[b]y about 1985 IMSet had ceased to be formally active [but] the informal relations which had preceded IMSet's formation have continued until the present day [ie: 1992]. No doubt, the shared experience of the 'wild rice war' had affected, and strengthened, these relationships” (op.cit: 65).

This is the point at which Cizek's optimistic evaluation of social relations in Ardoch loses much of its credibility. The solidarity demonstrated by settlers and local politicians was not solely due to a concern with the rice issue. A number of informants expressed the opinion that, for non-Aboriginal participants, one of the main motivations in opposing LWRC was “to stick it to the MNR” (Claudio Valentini, a settler and owner of the local aerodrome) due to local resentment of regulations governing the management of natural resources - particularly those involving hunting, fishing and water-front development. Claudio told me that too many local people had been subjected to “outrageous” penalties for crimes as menial as

“coming home with one bass too many”. In a community where all people feel some connection with the land and where ‘going back to nature’ is reality rather than an urban dream, non-Aboriginal people used the Rice War as an expression of anger. Of course, a cynical observer might comment that, in the event of the protest ‘getting out of hand’, blame would predominantly rest with the Algonquins rather than the settlers. While IMSet were involved in a joint effort there was no real common cause.

Other settlers, and indeed a few Algonquins, stated that in the event of a similar local crisis, the community would unite again but it seems that recent developments in the region have irrevocably soured the once cordial relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Harold Perry also told me that, while Indian concerns were somewhat ‘trendy’ for Canadians during the 1980s the current state of economic depression has diverted interest to other areas, thus reducing popular support. The following chapter takes up on issues of legal status and what it means to be a non-status Indian.

Chapter 3

On what it 'means' to be Indian

We do not want the Indian Act retained because it is a good piece of legislation. It isn't. It is discriminatory from start to finish. But it is a lever in our hands and an embarrassment to the government, as it should be. No just society, and no society with even pretensions to being just can long tolerate such a piece of legislation, but we would rather continue to live in bondage under the inequitable Indian Act than surrender our sacred rights. Any time the government wants to honour its obligations to us we are more than ready to help devise new Indian legislation (Cardinal 1969: 140).

In an attempt to draw out the challenges facing the Ardoch Algonquins we need to address the complexities of their 'official' lack of status. This task is daunting and one has to weave a tortuous path through obscure Crown documents, Acts of Parliament, Constitutional Amendments and law reports, all of which pose contradictory interpretations on who is, and who is not, recognized as status or non-status Indian. It is hardly surprising, then, that most Canadians, and many Aboriginals for that matter, fail to have a complete, if any, understanding of this most unjust and discriminatory piece of legislation.

The issue of status is indeed so complex that Harold Perry, my principle informant and a man who is the historian and genealogist of the Whiteduck clan, and who is a direct descendant of Joe Whiteduck, is unsure of where he or his daughter stand in terms of the latest legislation. Harold Perry told me: "I think that under *Bill C-31* [my daughter] Mona might qualify for status but I don't know about her [future] kids". Following analysis of the Perry family the situation is still unclear although

technically Mona Perry is eligible for limited status. However, should she marry a non-status person her descendants would not qualify for Aboriginal status.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples which was released in 1996 sheds some light on these issues but is far from definitive - many questions are not answered satisfactorily. The situation becomes positively labyrinthine when the category of Métis⁶⁹ is added to the equation. For example, the list below illustrates just some of the possible categories of identity that a person of Aboriginal descent can be slotted into. All of these have some bearing on the current condition of the Ardoch Algonquins.

One can be any of the following⁷⁰:

Status Indian (two categories since the passing of *Bill C-31* - these are discussed below)

Non-status Indian

Status Indian and Métis

Non-status Indian and Métis

Métis as a distinct group

In all of these categories the key-term is 'status' which is little more than a recognition, **by federal and provincial governments**, of a particular and limited

⁶⁹ This term is explained in detail further in this chapter.

⁷⁰ It must be noted here that these are arbitrary (subjective) and predominantly externally imposed terms which often do not correspond with the specific identity, or persona, or world-view, that a given individual or group chooses at any particular time. Further, these political-legal terms have little bearing on how Aboriginal people see themselves 'in the world' (it is also, of course, quite possible for people to deny, or at least underplay, their Aboriginal descent depending on individual circumstances). Disturbingly, Aboriginal Peoples have, until now, not been consulted on these issues, and have seldom been permitted to contribute their own formulations of identity.

group of individuals, in terms of *The Indian Act, 1876* and the various amendments that have been devised since the *Act's* inception. The *Act* acknowledges limited obligations by the government to those who, in the state's terms, qualify for relief and these obligations are manifested in the recognition and honouring of existing treaties, the recognition of 'valid' land-claims, and the carrying out of the state's other financial and fiduciary commitments to Aboriginal Peoples. This chapter attempts to explain the logic underlying the *Indian Act* and the implications that the *Act* has for the future of Canadian Aboriginal Peoples. Here it is crucial to note that the *Act* discriminates against both status and non-status Indians. However, there are subtle differences in the degree of oppression.

It shall be shown that the latest amendment to the *Act* - *Bill C-31, 1985* - is by far the most repressive because in one fell stroke, the Canadian government has guaranteed the eventual demise of the status Indian and a simultaneous increase in the non-status population. The latter having little recourse at present to either federal or provincial aid, whether they live on- or off-reserve, and little chance of settling land- and rights-claims. The suggestion put forward here, then, is that the strategy of the state is to bring an end to its fiduciary obligations to First Nations Peoples and it is further suggested that *Bill C-31* was solely introduced in a deliberate attempt to mislead, confuse, and seduce, Aboriginal Peoples.

In other words, the so-called Amendments to the original *Indian Act* are nothing

more than poorly disguised attempts by the state to press forward with a 'Grand Plan' of assimilation - and simultaneous segregation - of Aborigines. The position of the Ardoch Algonquins tends to illuminate just how bizarre the Canadian social-system actually is and supports the argument that there is only one major difference between the inhumane South African system of *apartheid*⁷¹ and Canada's often cited 'benevolent management' of Aborigines. That difference is, in South Africa *apartheid* eventually failed as a social engineering strategy - in Canada, the system has yet to collapse. Both policies are founded in racist ideologies and economic greed.

The Canadian Constitution and the *Indian Act*.

Certain basic rights inhere in men as men, not by reason of their race, creed, or colour, but by reason of their humanity (Francisco de Vitoria, 1532).

There is no question that, prior to 1876 and the formulation of the *Indian Act*, there had been existing precedent set regarding the 'management' of the lands and affairs of Indians. *The Assembly of Canada Act, 1850* stated that

...the following classes of persons are and shall be considered as Indians belonging to the tribe or body of Indians...Firstly, all persons of Indian blood...and their descendants. **Secondly, all persons intermarried with any such Indians and residing amongst them, and the descendants of such persons** (Chartier 1978: 56-57 emphasis added).

An 1851 amendment to this *Act* made further clarification of this issue as follows:

All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents were or are,

⁷¹ The literal translation of the Afrikaans term is 'separateness' but it is usually interpreted as 'separate development'. It was designated as a "crime against humanity" by the United Nations.

or either of them was or is, **descended on either side from Indians**, or as an Indian reputed to belong to the particular Tribe or Body of Indians interested in such lands or immoveable property, **and the descendants of all such persons** (ibid, emphasis added).

It seems clear that the 1850 *Act* and its later amendment are, unambiguously and transparently, entrenching the rights of all people of Aboriginal descent, regardless of intermarriage with settlers. However, here we can already see geographical restrictions emerging in the form of a requirement to reside “among such Indians”. There is also no specific allusion to the status of any descendants following the third generation, and in fact the very **concept** of descent is defined (or interpreted) and imposed externally - there is no mediation between the locally concrete and the locally abstract meanings with the result that the indigenous concept of descent is totally ignored. In other words, while the wording of the *Act* **appears** to guarantee rights of Aboriginal title in perpetuity, this has the prerequisite of residence in an Aboriginal ‘community’ as defined by the Crown, and **might** be interpreted as only applying for a limited time. Indeed, and as we shall see, this is precisely how status was later defined, that is as subject to temporal, or generational, limitations.

Despite having precedent set, *Section 91(24) of The Constitution Act, 1867* finally and absolutely conferred upon the federal government the mandate to draft laws concerning “Indians and lands reserved for the Indians” (Hogg 1992: 27-2). There were two underlying, yet manifest, reasons for this section of the *Constitution*: firstly, to “protect Indians from settler expansionism”, and secondly, to maintain “uniform

national policies" regarding Aboriginals (ibid).

Unsurprisingly, Aboriginals were not invited to participate in confederation and they had no control over the constitutional developments that would affect them so significantly in the future - once again, Aboriginal Peoples had no voice. But the reference to 'protection' from colonial expansion is misleading. Referring to an even earlier stage in the colonization of Canada, Chartier points out that, contrary to popular belief *vis a vis* the cordial and respectful relationship between early French settlers and Aboriginal Peoples⁷², "that there is no indication that the French recognized any Indian rights whatsoever" (op.cit: 38). It seems in fact that, as early as 1612, France instructed de Champlain to

establish, extend, and make known the name, power and authority of His Majesty, **and to the latter to subject, subdue, and make obey all peoples of the said land** (ibid, emphasis added).

There is no reason to believe that the situation was any different regarding the intentions of the English forces of Imperial expansion and a letter patent issued to John Cabot by King Henry VII gave the explorer explicit instructions on how to deal with indigenous Peoples:

And that the aforesaid John and his sonnes...may subdue, occupie, and possesse, all such townes, cities, castles, and yles, of them founde, which they can subdue, occupie and possesse, as our

⁷² For example, it has been (erroneously) suggested elsewhere that the Newfoundland Beothuk were exterminated following a campaign carried out jointly by French colonials and the Mi'kmaq (see, for example, Rowe 1977, Upton 1977, and Jackson 1993 for a discussion of the myth of friendly and benevolent relations between Aboriginals and early settlers).

vassalles and lieutenantes, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iurisdiction of the same villages, townes, castles and firme lands so founde...(cited in the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 1: 100).

From the earliest stages of colonialism then, it is clear that the relationship between European and Indian was one that always would be based on the domination and exploitation of indigenous people. It was designed to work in that manner⁷³.

The wording of *Section 91(24)* is seductive and, at various times Aboriginal Peoples have either sought to be covered by it, or tried to escape it. In effect, the 'benefits' of federal jurisdiction have been seen as a "mixed blessing" by Indians (Canadian Bar Association Report on Aboriginal Peoples: 64). For non-status Indians the most distressing passage of *Section 91(24)* is that which promises to "recognize and affirm existing aboriginal and treaty rights of Indians, Inuit and Métis" (ibid). The problem is this: Métis and non-status Indians (as well 'new-Indians' who are discussed below as *subsection 6(2)* status Indians) simply do not have any 'existing rights' to be protected by the *Constitution*, thus there are no rights to 'recognition or affirmation'. "'Indian' means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian, or is entitled to be registered as an Indian" (Chartier op.cit: 40). It is only those who, within the statutory definition of the limitations of the *Act*, are recognized constitutionally as 'status Indians' who enjoy *Indian Act* privileges (Hogg op.cit: 27-

⁷³ It should be kept in mind that the French Catholics had an imperative need to Christianize indigenous Peoples whereas this was of far less importance to the Protestant English colonial authorities - in both cases, though, extraction of resources was of the utmost importance.

3). Non-status Indians and Métis are not entitled to be **registered** as Indians and therefore are offered no protection or privilege.

Therefore, although it is clear that *Section 91(24)* is inclusive of non-status Aboriginals - after all, it speaks to and of them (yet never for them) - it, and later versions of the *Indian Act*, deny them 'status' which is effectively "unconstitutional exclusion" (Morse nd: 429). In their analysis of *Section 91(24)*, the Canadian Bar Association's conclusion begins as follows:

A significant part of the confusion and human tragedy besetting aboriginal peoples today stems from questions of status. Not only have precise⁷⁴ definitions set the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion as 'officially recognized Indians', but also these definitions have been changed on numerous occasions. Furthermore, the eligibility criteria have been set by Parliament in law, and by government officials in reality, **rather than by aboriginal peoples and their communities** (op.cit: 61, emphasis added).

So in terms of *Section 91(24)* there is no distinction between the rights of status and non-status Indians - yet non-status Indians do not have any Aboriginal rights to begin with⁷⁵. Here the Canadian Bar Association provides a damning commentary:

Parliament's assertion of the power to alter the definitional criteria so as suddenly to render people excluded or registerable **reflects an assertion of jurisdiction over the groups labelled as 'non-status Indians'** (ibid: 62, emphasis added).

It is suggested here that along with this "jurisdiction" is a simultaneous federal responsibility to maintain non-status Indian rights just as there is an implicit

⁷⁴ Here I would argue that the 'definitions' are anything but precise.

⁷⁵ This should be kept in mind for the analysis of the *Perry* Case that appears in the following chapter.

responsibility to maintain status Indian rights.

While the *Acts* outlined above are, with the benefit of hindsight and dissection, discriminatory, it is only through analysis of *The Indian Act, 1876* that the long-term strategy of the government becomes truly apparent. Amongst other things, this *Act* made it very clear that “half-breeds”⁷⁶ were not to be considered as Indians for the purposes of the *Act* unless they had been admitted into treaty as of April 12, 1876 - this notwithstanding the fact that earlier legislation (as we have seen, although with certain restrictions) recognized the inherent rights of people of mixed descent (ibid: 61, 68). Basically, the *Indian Act* served to establish a registration system that recorded the names of Aboriginal persons ‘qualified’ to claim Indian status. In order to accomplish this, the government established the ‘band system’ of governance. Peter Hogg deduces that the statutory definition of qualified persons “traces Indian status from particular bands whose charter members were nominally determined at the time of the establishment of a reserve or the making of a treaty” (op.cit: 27-3). It is suggested here that not only was this charter membership nominal, it was also arbitrary.

As previously mentioned, it is at this point that the band is, without taking cognizance of indigenous forms of Indian government, subjectively introduced as

⁷⁶ This term appears frequently in Crown documents. For example, see Morris (1880) The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories Belfords, Clarke and Co.: Toronto. P. 294.

the lowest common denominator of Aboriginal society. But there **is** no tradition of 'the band' in Indian society - it is a modern (ie: post-contact) fabrication. However, it is one that has now become internalized with possibly far-reaching and even dangerous implications for future Aboriginal solidarity. Here I mean that a consequence of the institution of the band-system has been to subdivide what were, prior to contact, relatively cohesive and cooperative First Nations⁷⁷ - and more particularly since the *Act* was amended and the bands themselves were 'allowed' to control their own membership and recruitment⁷⁸.

Phenomena such as this have been well-described in other colonial settings. For example, see Marks' and Rathbone's (1982) Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa, or Stadler's (1987) The Political Economy of Modern South Africa for discussion of how, just as the political notion of 'race' was introduced to divide black Africans and European settlers, so the political concept of 'tribe' was used in order to sub-divide Africans, and thus undermine, African solidarity (note that this has no bearing on the use of the term 'tribe' in the Canadian context where it does not hold derogatory connotations - I am merely drawing attention to the policy of divide, sub-divide and rule). The disastrous effects of this policy are still the primary cause of

⁷⁷ There is no suggestion being made here that Aboriginal tribes, or even sub-groups such as clans, lived in idyllic harmony before contact. It is acknowledged that conflict occurred - sometimes, as in the case of the Iroquois wars, of an intense nature. What is being postulated here is that any such conflict would have been of an internal nature and not externally orchestrated.

⁷⁸ Of course, bands have never been permitted to control Indian **status**, merely recruitment and membership.

conflict and inequality in a majority of African nations today.

But the institution of the band-system of self-governance is, in the words of an AAFNA informant, "the only workable system we have at present" and despite the inevitable danger of fragmentation, it is one that does have the potential to politicise Aboriginal people. It is therefore a double-edged sword with both positive and negative attributes. Indigenous societies have often been particularly adept at first examining the roles that they were expected to play (even if these were originally designed as minor roles) and (following Goffman *op.cit.*) delivering 'performances' that exceeded all expectations. Hence, when European missionaries expected to find 'tribes' upon their arrival in sub-Saharan Africa, that is exactly what native Africans delivered: "Europeans believed Africans belonged to tribes [so] Africans built tribes to belong to" (Ranger 1985: 252). African chiefdoms and indigenous monarchies emerged practically overnight complete with the hierarchical structures that the colonists' world-view demanded. And again, it was solely because of European preconceptions of Fijian cannibalism that the islanders seized on this in order to 'impress' their visitors (Thomas 1992: 213, 215). Effectively, Fijians reinvented their 'traditions' as a direct result of external stimuli in the form of colonial interlopers. In the Canadian context, Plaice has drawn attention to the 'mystification' of Mi'kmaq identity and bush-craft by European hunters who sought reliable and wily guides in the Maritime provinces. Predictably, this was seized upon and refined by the Mi'kmaq who had few other employment possibilities

(Plaice 1990 and Tanner 1979).

So while on the one hand it can be seen that introductions such as the band-system are nothing more than expressions of legitimization for a racist ideology (as well as being a practical method of passing responsibility for administrative procedures onto Aboriginal Peoples), on the other the band has the potential to become a powerful weapon against continuing oppression.

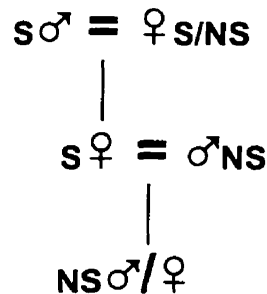
In terms of *The Indian Act, 1867*, Indian status was derived through descent, and through the male line alone. In other words, the colonial authorities arbitrarily declared that Aboriginal descent was to be patrilineal. For many Indian societies - including the Algonquins - this was completely contrary to how they had lived in the past with their indigenous, matrilineal descent systems⁷⁹. However, for the purposes of this thesis we shall ignore most of those consequences and concentrate on the issue of status.

Patrilineal descent meant that only off-spring generated through the male line qualified as status Indians, and that female off-spring of the male lineage who married 'out' (that is, who married either non-status Indians or non-Aboriginal people) forfeited their own status as well as that of their descendants. In effect, upon marrying 'out' females and their children were no longer Indians (see **Figure**

⁷⁹ Although, as we have already noted, matrilineality only applied to significant and specific areas of social life. It has been suggested to me that Algonquins in 'reality' practised a dual-descent system. However there is no presently available data to support this hypothesis.

1⁸⁰).

Figure 1
Descent pre-1985 (Bill C-31)
Through the male line and applying to female off-spring
marrying 'out' only.
(Note that NS males marrying 'in' remain NS)



An extract from Volume 4 of the Royal Commission Report illustrates the bizarre logic behind the decision to force Indian women to give up their status upon marrying 'out':

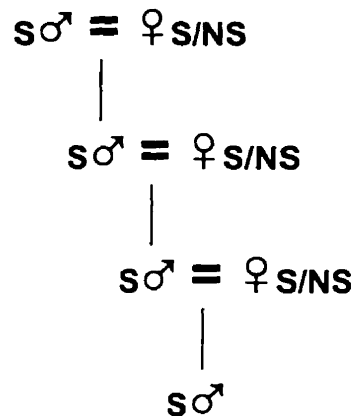
When an Indian woman marries outside the band, whether a non-treaty Indian or a white⁸¹ man, it is in the interest of the Department, **and in her interest as well**, to sever her connection wholly with the reserve and the Indian mode of life...(op.cit: 16, emphasis added).

For males the patrilineal descent system meant that they could marry 'in' or 'out' and their descendants would retain their Indian status. Any women who married in automatically gained Indian status (see **Figure 2**).

⁸⁰ In these Figures, S represents status, NS represents non-status, = represents a marriage union, σ represents male, and ♀ represents female. The vertical line is the line of descent.

⁸¹ The use of "white man" here is extremely misleading and reflects the inherent racism of the *Act*. There are many cases of Aboriginal women marrying (say) black or Asian men and these unions are totally ignored in terms of the *Act*. The implication here is that anyone who is not Aboriginal must be of European ('white') descent. I am extremely grateful to Maureen Brioux-Jolly for pointing out to me this intriguing anomaly.

Figure 2
Descent pre-1985 (Bill C-31)
Through the male line and applying to male off-spring
marrying either 'in' or 'out'
(Note that NS females marrying 'in' automatically become S).



Looking at the above diagram, it would seem that, at the least, male descendants through the male line would be assured of their Aboriginal status, and this whether their mothers had married 'in' or 'out'. But amendment 12 (1)(a)(iv), 1951 to the *Indian Act* effectively ended this state of affairs. This amendment

was to introduce new ironies and injustices in the status system, many of which worked against Indian women and their descendants. A good example of the illogicality and injustice of the new system is provided by the so-called 'double mother' rule, first introduced at this time. Section 12 (1)(a)(iv) of the revised act stated that a child lost Indian status at age 21 if his or her mother and grandmother had obtained status only through marriage to a man with Indian status. The logic seemed to be that after two generations in which non-Indian women had married into an Indian community, any children of the second generation marriage should be removed on the basis of their mixed culture and blood quantum (Royal Commission Report, Vol. 4: *Ibid*).

This modification meant that after two generations of marrying 'in', both male and female off-spring would lose their status, yet their parents on both sides would still

be full-status Indians under the conditions of the *Indian Act* - that is, women marrying 'in' would automatically be granted status. The so-called 'rules' of the patrilineal descent system therefore no longer fully applied. This is represented below in **Figure 3**.

Figure 3
Descent pre-1985 (Bill C-31)
Through the male line and applying to male and female off-spring
following the introduction of the 'double mother' rule
(Note that both females marrying 'in' gain status)

$$\begin{array}{c}
 S\sigma^{\uparrow} = \text{♀}NS \neq \sigma^{\uparrow}NS \\
 | \\
 S\sigma^{\uparrow} = \text{♀}NS \\
 | \\
 \sigma^{\uparrow}/\text{♀}NS
 \end{array}$$

The above scenario would be particularly relevant in the case (and this is not merely hypothetical - there are many instances of this occurring cited in the Report) of a previously married mother and daughter (or an unwed mother and her illegitimate daughter) from a non-status band marrying into a status band. Both bands might be (say) Algonquin, with both sets of adults and their off-spring being of Algonquin culture, yet the children of the second generation would be denied Indian status. While these children would **undoubtedly** be 'Indian' in every respect, the state would not recognise them as being eligible for status.

The inequalities that resulted from regulations entrenched by the *Indian Act* (such as those described above) were so destructive to Aboriginal society that, following

the 1982 incorporation of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* into the *Constitution*, the government was “motivated”⁸² to eliminate certain discriminatory provisions from the *Act* (ibid: 18). The result of this was the passing of *Bill C-31* in 1985 which had an enormous and profound effect on present generations of Aboriginal people as well as those generations to come. Basically, *Bill C-31* created two ‘new’ classes of status Indians under two specific subsections. Under *subsection*

6(1), status was assigned (upon application) to all people who had already had status prior to April 17 1985 and all those who had lost their status because of discriminatory sections of the *Indian Act* - the latter included women who had married ‘out’, those who had lost their status due to the ‘double mother’ rule, and those who had been either voluntarily or involuntarily enfranchised in the past. It also included non-Aboriginal or non-status women who had married ‘in’ before April 17 1985.

Subsection 6(2) specifically covers any person who has only one parent as a registered status Indian under any part of *subsection 6(1)*. However, a person who has one parent covered under *subsection 6(2)* and one who is non-Aboriginal is not

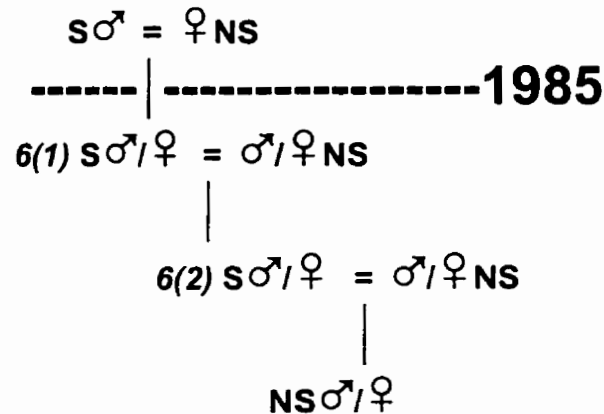
⁸² There is also little doubt that the *United Nations Human Rights Committee* exerted some influence as a result of the case of *Lovelace v. Canada*. The UNHRC found that Sandra Lovelace (unrelated to Bob Lovelace of AAFNA) had wrongfully been deprived of her Aboriginal status after marrying ‘out’, and that the loss of her status was not reasonable or necessary to preserve the distinct identity of the Tobique band, of which she had been a member (Boldt, op.cit: 51, 208, 210).

entitled to Indian status. The Royal Aboriginal Commission Report is unequivocal in its criticism of *Bill C-31*:

...more alarmingly for future generations of First Nations people, the consequences of falling within subsection 6(1) or subsection 6(2) are felt by [a] woman's children and grandchildren. For these descendants, the way in which their parents and grandparents acquired status will be important determinants of whether they will have Indian status and, if they do, whether and to what extent they will be able to pass it on to their children (Ibid: 23).

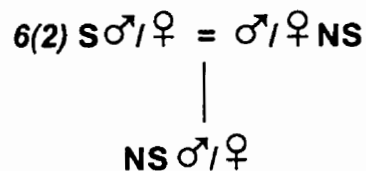
The important difference between the two subsections lies therefore in the precise point where status will be lost to future generations. For people accorded *subsection 6(1)* status after 1985, as long as they (male or female) keep marrying 6(1) partners their descendants are assured of their 6(1) status in perpetuity. If a male who has 6(1) status married a non-status female **before** 1985 the wife automatically receives Indian status under the old Act. Their off-spring are thus 6(1) status Indians and even if these (especially women) marry 'out', the following generation (the grandchildren) will have at the least *subsection 6(2)* status (see **Figure 4**). However, if a female who has *subsection 6(1)* status married a non-status male prior to 1985 the situation is somewhat different as their children will have *subsection 6(2)* status and if **they** then marry 'out' then the grandchildren will be non-status. This is exactly the same dilemma facing *subsection 6(2)* status Indians (male or female) who are far more threatened by *Bill C-31*.

Figure 4
Descent post-1985 (Bill C-31)
Applying to subsection 6(1) status Indians
who marry 'out'



If a person (male or female) with only one parent who is a *subsection 6(1)* Indian, and one who is a non-status Indian, marries 'out', then any off-spring produced will be non-status. That is to say, Indian status will be lost by the **very next generation** (see **Figure 5**).

Figure 5
Descent post-1985 (Bill C-31)
Applying to subsection 6(2) status Indians
who marry 'out'



But whether the difference between the two categories is 'unfair' or not is academic. *Bill C-31* means, and in the relatively near future, the withering away of status Indians as a distinct group. There is a strong indication that status Indians today

have a tendency to marry 'out' (there is, of course, a 'shortage' of status spouses available in most Aboriginal communities) and, regardless of whether individuals fall under *subsection 6(1)* or *6(2)*, "it is predicted that, in time, many Indian communities will no longer be populated by [status Indians]" (Royal Commission Report Volume 1 op.cit: 306). A sudden increase in the number of status Indians following the initial introduction of *Bill C-31* was a one-off affair and this demographic trend will soon reverse as subsections continue to marry 'out'. Due to difficulties in finding *subsection 6(1)* spouses, it is postulated that within time all descendants will be *subsection 6(2)* status Indians. Two to three generations after this, status Indians will be reduced to a matter of historical interest and the government's fiduciary obligations will be finally absolved.

Thus, it can be predicted that in future there may be bands on reserves with no status Indian members. They will have effectively been assimilated for legal purposes into provincial populations. Historical assimilation goals will have been reached, and the federal government will have been relieved of its constitutional obligations of protection, since there will no longer be any legal 'Indians' left to protect (ibid).

On being Métis

But there are also many persons of Indian blood and culture who are outside the statutory definition. These 'non-status Indians' are also undoubtably 'Indians' within the meaning of S. 91(24)...There may be as many as 500,000 Métis and non-status Indians in Canada (Hogg op.cit: 27-4).

The quotation above serves to illustrate that there are no **precise** definitions or understandings of what it means to be Métis - they are merely 'lumped in' with non-

status Indians and *vice versa*. Before addressing the condition of the Ardoch Algonquins, I shall identify and discuss those definitions that are on offer. Some are 'official' descriptions while others are popularly held - by 'Canadians' and by Aboriginal Peoples respectively.

Until 1981, Métis were referred to as 'half-breeds' in census reports and it is obvious that, at least until this time, the records were inaccurately kept. For example, the 1941 census reported 35,416 'half-breeds' but by 1981 over 126,000 people gave their origin as Métis - this is far beyond any 'normal' population growth. The latest available data (1991) gives a self-ascribed Métis population of 139,000. The same census gives an estimated non-status population of 112,600 but needless to say, both figures are surely inaccurate due to non-declaration factors (ibid: 19). Elsewhere it has been estimated that the non-status and Métis population is **at the least** the equal of the status Indian population and as we have seen, status Indians are on the demographic decline and these (non-status) numbers are bound to increase (see, for example, Hogg op.cit).

In the broadest possible (and most simplistic) terms, the category of 'Métis' refers to a section of the population who are of mixed (ie: Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal⁸³) blood and in its original form, the term 'Métis' generally (but not exclusively)

⁸³ To re-emphasize an earlier observation, 'non-Aboriginal' refers exclusively to Europeans and ignores other 'racial' categories.

identified the descendants of unions between French settlers and indigenous Peoples. The emergence of the Métis people was not accidental. Indeed, it seems clear that early intermarriage between French settlers and Aboriginal Peoples was a deliberate attempt by New France to establish a strong presence in the region to counter that of their other European economic rivals. The practise was, until 1670, actively encouraged by the Catholic church as well as state officials (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 1 op.cit: 144). A secondary consequence of this was that the Métis off-spring of these unions took on a position as (supposedly) non-partisan mediators in negotiations between Europeans and First Nations.

On the east coast too, intermarriage between Aboriginals and the English took place but this was more accidental and the result of the presence of illegal English 'liveyers'⁸⁴ who had decided to stay in Canada beyond their seasonal fishing contracts. But the issue of these unions were known as 'Métis' too and in both cases there emerged a 'new' Aboriginal people in their own right - a people who practised a culture that was visibly far closer to being Indian than European (ibid: 149).

Nevertheless, the *Royal Proclamation*, 1763 made no mention of Métis people or

⁸⁴ Also: 'liver', 'livere', 'livyer', 'liveyere', 'livier' - 1: "A permanent settler of coastal Newfoundland (as opposed to migratory fishermen from England)". 2: "A settler on the coast of Labrador (as opposed to migratory summer fishermen from Newfoundland)" (Dictionary of Newfoundland English 1990: 308).

Métis communities “that had developed in the territory that was deemed to be ‘Indian’ rather than ‘settled’” (ibid). In the analysis of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, it is presumed that, if any thought was given to them at all, the Métis were to be “dealt with” as Indians (ibid) - but there was in fact no set policy on accommodating them. Here, there is a codicil: in order to be ‘dealt with’ as Indians, Métis had to **look like** Indians⁸⁵ as well as reside in a community that was **recognized** - by both the Crown as well as other status Indians - as being Indian. Those that did not meet these narrow criteria were merely treated as half-breed squatters and were progressively hounded away from areas as these became settled by Europeans (ibid). These people developed a lifestyle that was founded on ‘moving on’ whenever settlers began to encroach.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the French- and English-speaking Métis joined to develop a unique culture of their own, complete with language, dress, cuisine, ceremonial life and political organization, but any real effort to unite was defeated by the British Crown’s 1867 decision to take over all the territory controlled by the Hudson’s Bay Company. In 1885, and following the execution of rebel leader Louis Riel⁸⁶, the Métis were given two choices by the Crown: either join existing treaty Indians **as** Indians or receive “half-breed scrip” redeemable in land or cash (ibid: 148). That was all, and, as far as the government was concerned, it

⁸⁵ And who can imagine how this was determined?

⁸⁶ Who has recently been designated a ‘Father of Confederation’ and pardoned.

was the final act of negotiation with the Métis. If they accepted the Crown's offer their rights to claims of aboriginality were deemed to be extinguished for all time. Thus, and due to their uncertain status, the interests of the Métis were not catered to in these negotiations - they were simply not recognized as being due Aboriginal rights or title and in fact, the Métis were not even recognized as being a people in their own right.

Therefore although Métis people are not 'recognized' under *Section 91(24)* of the *Indian Act*, they **are** covered under *Section 35(2)* of the 1982 amendment to the *Act* - yet they "have neither treaties, nor a constitutionally grounded land-base, nor a trust relationship with the federal government" (Boldt 1993: 82). Even as they are accepted as Aboriginal people, they are simultaneously accepted as "full provincial citizens" and by joining Métis with Inuit and status Indians under *Section 35(2)* the government has merely acted to obscure and complicate Indian claims (ibid). The *Indian Act* (in whichever version one chooses to refer to) does not define who is Indian, or who is Métis - what the *Act* does define is who **the government** chooses to recognize as being Indian or Métis.

There are then real difficulties in using the category 'Métis' to label Aboriginals of mixed descent because the terms which people use to depict others, or themselves, have been, and are, under constant review. That is why it is neither unexpected nor unusual today for 'Métis', 'non-status', and 'non-registered' to be used

interchangeably, and often arbitrarily, by Aboriginals, federal and provincial authorities and the broader Canadian population. For example it is quite possible for one individual to declare that s/he is Métis, Aboriginal, Indian and Canadian (to name but a few) - and all at the same time.

The determination of identity is thus far more than merely a matter of genetics⁸⁷ (although a Métis person will always have mixed ancestry) and reflects upon a cultural perspective - how that person actually lives 'in the world'. One can thus state that the Métis are a People who "share a consciousness of Métis peoplehood" (Dosman 1972: 11). But even this is misleading as the following two quotations from an informant illustrate (the data were drawn approximately one month apart):

I've never thought much about the Métis people, but the definition I keep in my head is that the Métis are a statistically significant group of people descended from native husbands/white women or white men/native women. I always think that it was more often than not male European - French and English - *couriers de bois* and traders in general, having families with native women. I can't imagine that the immigrant population back then would want to have much to do with a bunch of half-breeds, or any white person who would have much to do with Indians. So, their culture would be predominantly Aboriginal with a weird mix of European thrown in.

And:

I just realized that to some I might fit the definition of Métis, seeing as my mom is Gitk'san and my father's father came over from Norway. I always associate Métis with those plains Indian types, though.

Chapter 4, Volume 4 of the Royal Commission Report attempts to address the issue

⁸⁷ The same applies to individuals who declare a specific tribal identity and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find today (say) an Algonquin person of solely ('purely') Algonquin descent.

of Métis identity and concludes that, to be Métis, the distinguishing factor is nothing more or less than a conscious association with 'Métis culture'⁸⁸ (op.cit: 200-201). In other words a shared concept of nationhood, that is recognized by other people who declare Métis identity, is sufficient whether or not any other person or body agrees.

The 1992 proposed *Métis Nation Accord* (prepared by First Ministers and Aboriginal leaders), *section 1(a)*, simply states that "'Métis' means an Aboriginal person who self-identifies as Métis..." (cited in the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 4 op.cit: 67). This implies that it is sufficient for an individual to merely state that s/he is Métis. *Section 35(2)* of the *Constitution Act, 1982* purports to recognize that the Métis are among the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada, with "recognized and affirmed" Aboriginal rights, but something *Section 35(2)* does **not** deal with is what those rights actually are (as they were not previously recognized and therefore do not exist) and who then qualifies for Métis status **in terms of** *Section 35(2)*. A similar quandary applies to *Section 91(24)* of the *Constitution Act, 1867* as it is unclear whether the word 'Indians' includes the Métis people.

Up to this point in time, and notwithstanding the statement of intent in *Section 35(2)*, the Canadian government's approach has clearly been that Métis are **not** Indians and it is apparent that in the future the Supreme Court of Canada is going to have

⁸⁸ This (Métis culture) is never defined in any meaningful way.

to make a ruling on this and direct new legislation. The discussion of the *Perry Case* in the following chapter illustrates this necessity as well as the government's unwillingness to engage in debate with either Métis or non-status Aboriginal Peoples. Nevertheless, by imposing its own, eurocentric, definitions of what it means to be 'Indian' and by setting qualification criteria that are based solely on proof of ancestry and ancestral possession of land, the state has effectively determined that 'Indian' is a proxy for race - not culture - due to biological determinism (Boldt op.cit: 207). Culture is **not** a criterion and through the imposition of the terms of the *Indian Act* in its various manifestations the state has - to its ultimate advantage and in line with its policies of assimilation - "preserv[ed] the race [through] neglecting the culture" (ibid⁸⁹).

Thus we can see that, in terms of government policy, non-status Indians such as the Ardoch Algonquins threaten the current *status quo*. Chapter 4 begins with a commentary on tradition and continuity in an Aboriginal community and there is a focus on one particular ceremony and how this has far-reaching implications for cultural cohesion. In the second part of chapter 4 we shall see that the threat to state hegemony posed by non-status Indians has been countered with obfuscating and dubious legislative manipulation as well as a certain lack of restitutive action on the part of the government when it is obvious that such action is called for. This is followed by a discussion of the AAFNA band system and some of the contradictions

⁸⁹ Here, Boldt uses "while" instead of "through" - the term I use seems more apt under the circumstances.

that (from a eurocentric perspective) seem inherent in this.

Chapter 4

Ardoch Algonquin expressions of identity

It is not known to what degree the Canadian government has been successful in its efforts to eliminate traditional Indian attitudes and values. It is assumed by many that very little remains of Indian ideology and philosophy because the traditional Indian life-style is no longer in evidence... This assumption holds that traditional values and beliefs changed when our life-styles changed. Implicit in this assumption, also, is the notion that Indian culture must remain static to remain Indian. But the history of our people is a history of successful adaptation to change while countering oppression and resisting imposition of undesired changes (Marie Smallface Marule 1984: 37).

One merely needs to glance at the Whiteduck genealogy to realize that the Ardoch Algonquins have practised marrying 'out' for at least four, and possibly five⁹⁰, generations (see **Appendix 1**). Yet, AAFNA members refer to themselves as Algonquin Indians rather than Métis or any other category and during the *Perry* Case made it clear that they **are** Algonquins and not Métis. Many informants emphasised to me that they are Algonquins first, Aboriginal second, and Canadian third (if at all). While some members are certainly 'recreationists', or 'revivalists' in terms of their Aboriginal cultural heritage, the Ardoch Algonquins live **now**, in the latter stages of the twentieth century, and have to deal with the consequences of this just as all other Canadians do. By this I mean that AAFNA members are full participants in the late capitalist economy and are not culturally static, thus while

⁹⁰ The father of Henrietta Whiteduck's children is unknown. Note that the name 'Perry' first appears at this point in the genealogy but I am informed by Harold Perry that the name-change was the result of trying to 'fit in' to European society. Harold Perry's mother Helen (Richard's wife) was an Ojibwa woman therefore although Richard was non-status, under *Bill C-31* Harold would be entitled to apply for status if he so wished. It is unclear whether he would gain 6(1) or 6(2) status.

they retain aspects of their past, they live fully in the present. But this is a matter of contention among the non-Aboriginal Ardoch community. The village seems to be fairly equally divided with some people in obvious disagreement with AAFNA on this issue. A local businessman's comments perhaps sum their perceptions up:

I fail to see why I have to take out a fishing permit and these [AAFNA] people don't. They have no grounds at all for this and they're just taking advantage of the whole Indian thing. Why don't they go and live on the reserve if they want to be Indians? They don't live like Indians. They don't hunt with bows and spears. These people are no more Indian than I am. All this is recent and just a few years ago they weren't running around telling everybody they were Indians.

And, perhaps more tactfully - and more tellingly - local Reeve Stan Johnston's view:

They do not have those [Aboriginal] rights and if you set a precedence by giving these things to them, you perhaps, have created real problems for the provincial government (22 July, 1997).

There is a point where past and present come together and this is where the spirituality and politicization of 'Indian-ness' are evident. In fact, for the Ardoch Algonquins the spiritual (and thus the cultural) **is** the political because traditional values and philosophies have always been integral to Indian self-government (following Little Bear *et al* 1984: 3). As Oren Lyons, in his essay on natural law, so eloquently states: "Spirituality is the highest form of politics, and our spirituality is directly involved in government" (ibid: 5). Hunting and gathering - both political-economic and thus spiritual activities - are still of vital importance to the cultural life of the community but these practices are no longer carried out due to economic necessity. Indeed, it seems that a minority of Ardoch Algonquins actually engage in these 'traditions' on a regular basis, and hunting as well as gathering now have

different driving forces. But the fact that comparatively few people regularly hunt or gather is relatively unimportant. What **is** important is that **some** Ardoch Algonquins still hunt and gather, and that **some** of them play active roles in the spiritual and ceremonial aspects of their culture. These activities are cultural celebrations and it is the participants who are the political activists and agitators, organisers, teachers and leaders of AAFNA. They are, in effect, the inner circle, or rallying point for the rest of the community.

In the section that follows I describe and analyse ethnographic data drawn from a sweat-lodge ceremony and, while the actual event deserves a 'complete' ethnography in its own right, I have condensed the data merely to illustrate that continuity and teaching traditions are integral to Algonquin culture, identity and politics. Following this I examine the 'ritual' of hunting and why this has political relevance. Finally, the chapter delves into the AAFNA system of self-government and some of the obstacles that are inherent in this system.

The Algonquin sweat-lodge ceremony

On a Sunday morning I travelled from Ardoch to Sharbot Lake to participate in and observe the sweat-lodge ceremony which Bob Lovelace holds on most weekends. Following Bob's advice I had fasted for the previous day and night - both to heighten 'awareness' and (perhaps more importantly in my case) reduce nausea induced by extreme heat and dehydration. I had asked whether I could tape-record and

photograph the ceremony but this was not permissible. However, Bob had no objection to me making sketches and diagrams of the lodge, or taking field-notes both before and after the sweat. I also tape-recorded my impressions of the sweat in my car after I left later that afternoon. At around 09h30 I assisted Bob in collecting stones from around his property for the sweat and this act was performed in a ritualistic manner. That is, and as with rice gathering, when a stone is taken from the ground it is 'replaced' with a pinch of tobacco. Bob informed me that the tobacco is both an offering as well as a token of thanks to the Creator. Verbal thanks in the form of a brief prayer (in Algonquian) were also given by Bob when each stone was taken from the ground. Once sufficient stones were collected we moved them up to the sweat-lodge which is approximately 150 feet behind Bob's house and in dense bush. I commented that the nearby highway noise was intrusive in this 'quiet space' but Bob assured me that the noise was merely "part of the river of life" and thus natural.

At the site there is a fire-pit semi-surrounded by a low wall of stones that have previously been used in the ceremony and this represents both the crescent moon and the spirits of the grandmothers. There is a wide (approximately 1.5 metres) entrance gap in the western end of in this wall. The stones are never used twice and the explanation for this is that the spirits of the grandfathers are released during the ceremony⁹¹. Bob also pointed out to me that the extreme heat of the fire alters

⁹¹ The spirits don't permanently leave the stones but once they have been released new ones are necessary.

the chemical and mineral structure of the stones - I noticed that previously used stones have a somewhat 'sugary', or granular texture and emit a noticeably dull sound when tapped together - and many of the old stones are cracked or shattered due to extreme heat.

We then gathered wood and Bob built a small fire in the centre of the pit. On top of this he constructed an elaborate frame of heavier branches over which he laid more branches until the structure resembled a table-top, or bed. The stones were then piled on top of this frame-work and again, more wood was piled around and over the stones. The finished fire was well over a metre in height. Bob then prayed over the stones for a while, laying his hands on them in the process, and tobacco was sprinkled on the fire which was then lit. I noted that no paper or artificial devices were used in the building of the fire which Bob told me was deliberate. However, he used a disposable lighter to ignite the structure and when I commented that this seemed contradictory Bob informed that all fire is sacred and that its source is irrelevant.

The next stage was to clean out the pit inside the sweat-lodge that the heated stones are placed in (approximately 1 metre in diameter and 350mm in depth) and this was performed by Mitch Shewell's⁹² partner's son, Devon, who was attending

⁹² Mitch Shewell is an AAFNA member who participates fully in Algonquin spiritual life and is passionate about reviving Aboriginal culture. He stood for the position of Chief in the last AAFNA election but was not elected.

the Family Gathering. When he began to carelessly throw the old, used stones out of the lodge he was mildly reprimanded and asked to treat them with a certain amount of respect. There were only to be men at this particular sweat - the only reason for this was that no women wished to attend the ceremony that day⁹³ - and I was told that when females do take part in the sweat they usually gather fresh cedar boughs for the floor of the lodge - these are aromatic as well as soft and comfortable to sit on.

The lodge is dome-shaped, approximately 3 metres in diameter and 1 metre in height, and is constructed of a inter-laced frame made of flexible boughs which is then covered with blankets and tarpaulins⁹⁴. One could fairly accurately compare the design of the lodge to a modern, space-frame alpine tent. The lodge is approximately 4 metres west from the fire-pit. There is a low, narrow entrance way which faces east - that is, directly towards the firepit entrance and the rising sun. In the centre of the lodge is the pit where the stones are placed during the ceremony. Once the entrance is covered with blanket flaps it is completely dark in the lodge.

⁹³ Menstruating women do not attend the sweat as menstruation rites may not be combined with the sweat-lodge. This is not because of 'pollution' taboos (an ethnocentric and derogatory term at the best of times) but is rather a voluntary separation from the rest of society. Moon-time (menstruation) is a 'medicine time' when women are closest to the Creator and female medicine is too strong to mix with the sweat-lodge. I was informed that the 'act' of the sweat is the symbolic male 'equivalent' of menstruation but that women see the sweat-lodge as spiritually "inferior" to the moon-time (Bob Lovelace, personal communication).

⁹⁴ Traditionally, hides would have been used for this.

Because of the fire hazard, buckets of water were placed close to the lodge and a garden hose was extended from the house. There was in fact a municipal and district open-fire ban imposed at the time and in reply to a question Bob said that spiritual issues take precedence over legal restrictions. He was quite prepared to risk a substantial fine for breaking the ban and, as his home is less than half a mile from the Sharbot Lake police station and the fire-smoke was clearly visible, I had no doubt about his sincerity on this.

Once the lodge was prepared we moved all metal objects well away from the vicinity of the lodge - the only exception to this was a large garden fork which was used to stir the fire and to transport the stones once heated. Bob Lovelace told me that the reason for this is that metal is "reflective"⁹⁵ (not only in terms of light-waves) and distorts spiritual energy - there is a danger here of confusing the spirits. Ceremonies such as the sweat emit a "glow", or aura, and metal objects would break this glow up. Bob then prepared himself for the sweat, laying out a number of items of spiritual significance on a blanket just outside the stone wall, to the east. I did not intrude on this aspect of the ceremony but Bob was kind enough to discuss this with me after the sweat.

There were five male participants in the sweat: Bob Lovelace, Mitch Shewell, Ron (Bob's partner's brother), Devon and the ethnographer. Before entering the lodge

⁹⁵ Again, the term 'pollution' which is so commonly applied in anthropology is inappropriate.

Mitch lit a sweetgrass smudge and, fanning the smoke with a feather, purified the participants. All of the items taken into the lodge - feathers, herbs, musical instruments, the pipe, and the fork - were 'smudged' in the same manner and tobacco was added to the water that was used to create the steam during the sweat. The structure of the lodge - inside and outside - was also purified with sweetgrass smoke. With the exception of a pair of shorts or underwear all clothing was removed - this included metal jewellery and, in my case, spectacles (I was a little reluctant about this but I found that the lodge was totally devoid of light anyway). I was allowed to retain a wedding ring and Mitch retained a gold nipple-ring. As noted above, metal has reflecting characteristics but there is another good reason for removing jewellery - the heat inside the lodge is so intense that metal burns the skin⁹⁶.

With the exception of Ron, who was designated as 'firekeeper', we entered the lodge and Bob spent a few minutes moving us around until he was satisfied with the seating. Bob sat facing east, Mitch facing south, I was positioned next to the entrance facing south-west, a space on the other side of the entrance was left for the firekeeper, Ron, who faced west, and Devon faced north. All of these compass points have significance. For example, Devon's position in the southern section of the lodge placed him in an area that is significant for women, and mothers in particular. Bob stated that, as a young adolescent, this position would offer

⁹⁶ Just as a garden implement left in the sun becomes too hot to touch.

protection and comfort for the boy.

Bob briefly described how the sweat would proceed and mentioned that should the heat become too extreme individuals should feel free to leave. While the sweat is a rigorous procedure it is not an endurance test *per se*. By this time (about two hours after the fire had been lit) the fire had burned down to embers and the stones were exposed. The firekeeper, using the large fork, lifted four stones from the fire and carried them into the lodge. As the firekeeper entered Bob greeted them loudly in Algonquian: "*Bòzshò Mishòmis*" (welcome grandfathers) and the stones were placed in the shallow pit in the centre of the lodge.

The sweat on this day consisted of five 'rounds' or sessions, each lasting for about half an hour. The first round began with the pipe which was loaded, tamped and lit by Bob who then passed it in a clockwise direction to each of us in turn (**everything** in the sweat-lodge - including participants - travels in the same direction. This means that although my seat was next to the door on the right-hand side, I had to circumnavigate the lodge to get to it). Generally, the tobacco smoke is not inhaled as many people use toxic herbs in their tobacco mixture. Rather, the smoke is wafted over face and body. Once the pipe has been received and puffed on, the holder rotates it 540° in a clockwise direction (ie: one and a half turns - one full rotation to perform the necessary 'circle' and a further half-turn to ensure that the pipe is passed with the mouthpiece facing the next recipient) and then passes it on.

After the pipe had completed the circle Ron closed the door-flaps leaving the lodge in complete darkness.

At this point Bob dipped a cedar branch into the pail of water and shook it over the hot stones, creating clouds of scalding steam. The rise in temperature was immediate and discomforting (after this round Mitch informed me that it was better to lie down rather than sit upright as the temperatures were much lower at floor-level). Bob then uttered a prayer and began shaking a rattle. We were asked to imagine the beginning of the world, when there was nothing. The sound of the rattle represented the only sound that existed before creation. Bob then gave a 'teaching' concerning the four directions, the links between the compass points and sacred colours, and the four elements sacred to Aboriginal people: rock, fire, water and air - the vital natural constituents of the sweat-lodge ceremony. Once the teaching was completed, Bob repeatedly shook water over the stones, creating intense heat, and shouted for the firekeeper to throw the flaps open. We then left the lodge and rested for a few minutes before continuing.

The term 'sweat' does not adequately describe the temperature and humidity in the lodge and the ceremony is extremely stressful - both physically and mentally. The situation is made no more comfortable when pungent herbs are thrown onto the hot stones - one in particular reminded me of breathing ammonia fumes. The breaks between rounds are welcome and a chance to replenish lost body fluids as well as

cool down a little. Indeed, I found it difficult to believe that my body could produce so much perspiration and I consumed at least one litre of water between each round. Mitch informed me that among the Sioux Indians, participants in the sweat take no breaks at all. Harold Perry had told me that the sweat was a challenge to anyone - so much so that, following his heart condition, he can no longer take the risk of participating - and I can fully endorse his comments.

The second round followed a similar format to the first, with Bob telling a parable and then asking each participant to offer a prayer. Again, the pipe completed the circle. During this round Bob tapped out a rhythm on his drum and sang a praise-song to the spirit of his grandmother. Although the heat seemed less intense this time, a herb was sprinkled on the fresh stones and at one stage, due to an inability to breathe, I seriously considered leaving. The prayers were of a personal nature and thus, for this thesis, remain in the domain of secret and private knowledge.

During the third round Bob talked us through an 'out-of-body' or 'astral travelling' experience to a place that was special to each person. On this 'journey' we were to meet with the spirits of ancestors and friends and spend some time with them. We all started from the lodge and set off through a forest to a point where we separated, taking off to our individual spaces of preference where we met and conversed ancestral and other spirits. After some time, we were 'talked' back to where we had initially split up, and made our way together back to the lodge. Once

again, this round ended with a great deal of steam and heat - so much so that, when Ron threw the flaps open the heat was scalding as it rushed out. I had difficulty fully participating in this spiritual experience and Bob informed me that the exercise takes some discipline and practice. The aim is to be able to return to the same special place at will and an ability to be introspective, reflexive and at peace are the key attributes

The fourth round involved each participant sharing a 'teaching' with the others. Here 'teaching' can be interpreted as being a story or parable with some sort of community or social value. There was no restriction placed on traditional Aboriginal teachings. Once again, it would not be appropriate to discuss the personal nature of the data gathered from this round.

The final round was left for meditation of the complete sweat experience and we were all asked to lie down quietly for a while. The aim was to achieve a state of tranquillity and create some sort of spiritual synthesis from the events of the afternoon. We were told that, once we left the lodge, we were to spend some time relaxing, hose ourselves down and just enjoy the after-effects of the sweat. For this round Ron brought in the remaining stones from the fire - perhaps eight or ten - and when the water was sprinkled on the pile the effect was devastating. Although we were lying on the ground, closer to cool air, the heat was absolutely suffocating and when Ron finally opened the flaps I made the mistake of sitting upright before

leaving the lodge. The difference in temperature between floor and ceiling was startling and I very quickly dropped onto my stomach in order to crawl out of the lodge⁹⁷.

After the ceremony a feast was held in the main house and while many of the dishes were common commercial products we started with a dish of berries, fruit and legumes which were all a continuance and an ending of the sweat. These foods are always part of the feast.

Bob Lovelace plays an important role in the spiritual and cultural life of the Ardoch Algonquins and tradition is possibly more important to him than my other informants. I asked him whether he would characterise himself as a shaman, medicine man, or healer and he said

I know a little medicine and people have approached me for healing in the past, which I have done, but I find that my work as a counsellor [at Queen's University], holding the sweat, working in the prisons and teaching, I'm doing my healing in those ways.

Gordon Bruyere, in his monologue on talking circles as a teaching device, states that regarding the interdependence of his identity with philosophy, history and culture, "...the many things I 'do' are always merely the means to demonstrate who

⁹⁷ I have no idea how hot the lodge actually gets and Bob told me that, apart from the fact that a thermometer would be an inappropriate and reflecting presence, he had never thought about measuring it. I have worked in Namibia where one February the ambient temperature in the shade rose to 51°C and I was confident that I could physically cope with the rigours of the sweat. My confidence was misplaced. When I later discussed the experience with Harold his response was "I warned you" followed by laughter.

I am" (1997: 172). Here, I would suggest that Bob Lovelace manifestly displays his identity as a spiritual leader in **all** of the activities he engages in. However, I would add that this is not a conscious act of expression or demonstration - rather, it is simply what he is. His identity "cannot be separated from what [he] teach[es] or how [he] teach[es]" (ibid).

There is no doubt that performance is integral to the success of the sweat and I found striking parallels between the contemporary Algonquin sweat-lodge and the Ndembu healing rituals described by Victor Turner (1967). Among the Ndembu, illness⁹⁸ and misfortune are manifested as social conflict based on dysfunction. Therapy is aimed at sealing breaches in social relations and Ndembu healers look at causation and remedy when resolving the dysfunctional condition (1967: 360). Simply put, illness appears when cultural norms are transgressed and this social explanation for 'sickness' has to be understood in terms of the beliefs and values of the specific cultural group within which it is practised.

In one of Turner's case-studies an Ndembu tribesman, Kamahasanyi, was disliked and distrusted by the community at large because of his weak character and a decision to break with tradition and stay with his patrikin following his marriage. After developing physical symptoms of sickness he consulted the local ritual

⁹⁸ Note that 'illness' refers to psycho-social and cultural responses to disease rather than the pathological malfunctioning of the body.

specialist and during consultation the 'doctor' established the social and political network of Kamahasanyi's village, isolating the social tensions that prevailed. Therapy was administered in two stages: firstly, the patient and the community were urged to express their grudges publicly, airing resentment and allowing the participants to negotiate and reconcile their differences. In effect, the doctor encouraged the villagers to cooperate, satisfying ancestral spirits and curing the patient. The second part of the ritual was a lengthy, mystical process culminating in the removal of a spirit-tooth from Kamahasanyi's body. This act (Turner implies sleight of hand here) illustrated the efficacy of the healing process in the eyes of both patient and community. The end result was the reintegration of the ill person into Ndembu society.

In Turner's analysis the patient had indeed been successfully healed. Social disunity had caused the patient to somatise real physiological symptoms and the healer managed to resolve both problems. When illness is viewed as "something rotten in the corporate body" the task of the healer is to cure the group rather than the individual (ibid: 392). Once the prevailing conflicts are resolved and the community regains a state of equilibrium then the patient is deemed to be healed. By arousing public emotion, using his knowledge of the community concerned, and stripping emotions of all feeling, the healer 'performs' in a manner that satisfies the needs of the 'corporate body'.

In essence, then, the efficacy of the ritual is largely judged by the performance itself (following Atkinson 1987: 342). Therefore successful healers gain their reputation from words, gestures, songs, and the exhibition of secret knowledge in a dramatic fashion. Audience participation is crucial to healing and the ritual constitutes religion, theatre, therapy, and a platform for political expression. The process is a cathartic experience that is controlled by the healer⁹⁹.

In my analysis, Bob Lovelace, in his role as a healer in the sweat-lodge, holds a position similar to that of the Ndembu ritual specialist - although the healing is performed on a much smaller scale and involves fewer participants. His presence as a 'leader' and 'guide' during the sweat is crucial to the efficacy of the ceremony and, by encouraging participants to purge themselves of deeply troubling personal psychological ills in a (albeit restricted) public forum, the participants (ie: patients) experience a catharsis that alleviates social illness within the individual, the Ardoch Algonquin community and the broader social environment.

I must note here that, in discussions concerning the sweat-lodge, Bob has constantly placed great emphasis on his belief that the success of the ceremony as a cathartic experience is only **partially** due to his guidance and leadership - most of the healing occurs because of the spirits who "are inclined to assist and ally with

⁹⁹ It follows without saying that Turner - in his guise as sceptical social scientist - completely refutes any possibility of mystical or ancestral intervention and thus devalues the Ndembu cosmology.

the healer". Bob's access to teachings, songs, prayers and medicines engender feelings of confidence in his role and when in the lodge, there is no doubt about his knowledge of Aboriginal spirituality and how he adapts this knowledge to create the equivalent (in western society) of group therapy. One leaves the sweat feeling physically and mentally purged and purified, enervated yet exhilarated, and somehow, 'well'.

But although Bob Lovelace has a crucial role in conducting the sweat, the ceremony is also an exercise in **self**-cleansing, and **group**-healing - and this as much for the rest of the Ardoch Algonquin community as for the actual participants. One does not merely sit-in and 'observe' at a sweat - it is a fully shared experience. Participation is necessary rather than sufficient and in the sweat I have described above, the ethnographer was more than merely a guest. Indeed my own active engagement during the ceremony was perhaps just as important as that of the other participants. Or, perhaps I should say that, had I merely been there as an observer, the ceremony would have been less effective for the Algonquin participants.

The sweat-lodge ceremony is, as I have stated, not an endurance test. Nor is it performed in order to generate some sort of 'strength' for dealing with confrontation. What the sweat does serve to do is it **regenerates**, and **celebrates** Ardoch Algonquin identity at both group and individual levels, and it is a sensuously-grounded reminder of Algonquin 'togetherness'. This re-sensitization and the

element of shared experience are, then, the keys to the ceremony's 'healing' properties. The Ardoch Algonquins face many challenges in their search for identity, and ceremonies such as the sweat allow them to express a 'natural' sensuous proximity¹⁰⁰ - one that is part of 'being' Algonquin - with one another and with their environment. This is not expressly an instrumentalist event or philosophy, rather, it **challenges** the alien instrumentalism of a mode of production that contradicts their very Indian-ness, and it **heals** (and seals) breaches in the social fabric caused by the inner-sickness and corruption that are so characteristic of 20th century late capitalism. Note that, while the Ardoch Algonquins are forced to live according to externally imposed categorization, **they**, the Algonquin people, are flexible and open-minded enough to have a non-exclusive ceremonial life - even to the point of including people who perhaps should be outsiders. This is surely most evident in the fact that Bob Lovelace, who is an adopted Algonquin and Cherokee by birth, is at the very core of Algonquin spiritual and ceremonial life.

The sweat that takes place at Bob Lovelace's lodge¹⁰¹ has been 'revived' on two fronts: on the one hand the sweat serves to maintain equilibrium among community members who, because of an ideological system that refuses to recognize them, experience serious social problems of personal and group identity and which have the potential to create dysfunction and destructive behaviour. As with Turner's

¹⁰⁰ Discussed in detail in the Conclusion.

¹⁰¹ Bob would argue that the lodge belongs to the community and not himself.

Ndembu healer, Bob Lovelace heals the community as much as the individual during the sweat ceremony. In fact, healing the individual **is** healing the community because the illnesses dealt with are the result of being a marginalised, unrepresented and powerless community. Again following Turner's analysis, during the sweat ceremony Bob applies and explores his personal knowledge of the participants and what may be troubling them in order to effectively heal - indeed, although every sweat ceremony is different from the last (even if the participants are the same) Bob usually has a fairly good idea of the 'programme' that will be followed **because** he knows the participants well. That is to say, 'local knowledge' is an integral facet of the healer's persona and crucial for efficacy. The sweat is unlike, say, palmistry (or spiritual bingo) because the aim is to cure rather than just diagnose or predict. On the other hand the sweat is a highly visible expression of the Ardoch Algonquins' 'Indian-ness' and Aboriginal heritage. Many Aboriginal societies in North America practice the sweat-lodge but for the people of AAFNA, **this** lodge is a vital part of what it means to be an Ardoch Algonquin, and **this** lodge is different to all others.

A political activist and the politics of hunting

Firstly, there is the issue of continuity with the past and although the ceremonial and cultural life of the Ardoch Algonquins is not - on the surface - particularly rich in terms of visible activity it is a constant theme in many activities. That is, Algonquin spirituality is not restricted to the rice harvest, the sweat-lodge or any other periodic

and planned activity which the community - either as individuals or a collective - engage in. This became most evident to me during lengthy conversations with Harold Perry, my principal informant, throughout the fieldwork.

Mr Perry, four generations removed from Joe Whiteduck, is 68 years old and was born in Ardoch. During his working life - he is now in retirement following heart surgery - he has worked primarily as an electrician and builder, but has also been a woodcutter and session musician - Harold is a talented guitarist who has performed professionally - among other things. He is known as a skilled hunter among the Whiteducks - a specialist if you will - which is an established facet of the traditional Algonquin division of labour¹⁰². He has built houses for himself, his ex-wife, and his daughter and is usually involved in some sort of maintenance project at one of the three dwellings. Harold lives with his partner Elsie Schonhauser in the village of Ardoch, at 'The Point'¹⁰³ - a tract of land that juts into the Mississippi River and that is solely occupied by four of his five surviving siblings - that is, the extended family (see **Appendix 2**).

During my summer in Ardoch Harold spent a great deal of time at his daughter Mona's house on Malcolm Lake (one kilometre south-east of Ardoch village)

¹⁰² Although, as we have seen, the division of labour among the Algonquins was not specifically gendered, political authority was always delegated to specialists - like hunters and healers - among the community.

¹⁰³ Helen Geddes' 1992 Canada's Mississippi River refers to The Point as Whiteduck Point but I have not heard it referred to as such (and neither has Harold Perry).

clearing two sites for seasonal camping as well as re-wiring the electricity supply in the house. While Harold has environmental reservations about clearing the bush at his daughter's home, he has done this in an attempt to make the property pay its own taxes. He also owns approximately 600 acres of land at Green Lake, three kilometres from the village of Ardoch, which comprises a broad swathe around the south and east shores of the lake¹⁰⁴, as well as other property in the area.

The tract at Green Lake is referred to by AAFNA members as 'The Park' and it is used by Harold Perry as a getaway, a hunting area, as well as for occasional AAFNA family gatherings. There are a few seasonal campsites at The Park that he rents out to anglers and campers whom he knows well. During the summer of 1997 there was a prolonged drought in the area and when ambient temperatures soared into the high 20s, Harold banned all open fires at Green Lake - this notwithstanding a major AAFNA family gathering which coincided with the annual wild-rice harvest.

The Park is a 'wild' piece of land and Harold has altered as little as possible of the terrain and bush, leaving it as a managed yet self-sustaining eco-system. Although he does hunt at Green Lake, his annual 'take' depends on the condition of the fowl and deer during the hunting season. If the ducks or deer are few in number in a particular year Harold will not hunt. In fact, he is quite content to spend a day or two

¹⁰⁴ Although known locally as Green Lake, it features on all topographical maps as Ardoch Lake.

in the bush just to enjoy the surroundings and not fire a shot. Bush clearing is kept to an absolute minimum and only deadwood from the campsites is removed. After years of sparring with a local beaver population whose dams occasionally collapse, flooding and destroying the road into The Park, Harold now tends to control the population only when it exceeds the sustainable level. As he told me:

you can't eradicate them completely and if you try then there aren't enough beaver to maintain the dams. At the same time if there are too many then the dams get too big and eventually give way. Now I work with them.

For "serious" hunting - that is for moose - and for annual blueberry harvesting and fishing Harold travels into northern Ontario and these are major expeditions. Most of the game that Harold shoots is for redistribution rather than his own consumption:

Now I'm getting older I don't hunt so much anymore but I'd like to go this year...and get some meat for the Elders...That's what we've always done, looking out for the Elders and for people who can't hunt themselves.

Commenting on his own spiritual beliefs and his relationship with the environment

Harold states that he is not a Christian:

I sort of follow the Aboriginal religion, you know, a relationship with nature and the wildlife that's based on respect. These things are all gifts from the Creator. That's the funny thing about hunting because I don't like killing the animals. I'd rather not kill them. But I'm good at it so I hunt for the rest of the family.

The spirituality of the relationship that Harold has to the environment is evident in his approach to hunting. The **act** of hunting is instrumental - after all, Harold hunts solely in order to get meat (he does not hunt for sport). However, much of the game that he brings home is for redistribution and little goes into his own freezer. Further,

although he has a specific goal while hunting - ie: to kill animals for their meat - he does not take advantage of the prey. Harold tells a story of a particular hunting trip where he was sitting in the bush, waiting for deer to appear. He looked up and saw a doe standing within a few metres but did not shoot it. Keeping in mind that the sole object of the exercise is to (pragmatically and efficiently) collect fresh meat, this seems to be strange or contradictory behaviour. An obvious explanation for this is that (in European hunting terms) to shoot the deer would have been 'unsporting' or 'too easy'. However, I would suggest that 'sportsmanship' has little to do with it. Rather, this is a case of **respect** for a fellow creature and a recognition that game is not here just for the taking. So, while the act of hunting may be instrumental, it is not performed out of instrumentalism.

Because Harold hunts for moose in remote areas, often days travel from the nearest roadway, he began manufacturing his own canoes specifically for hunting. He needed a vessel that could cope with heavy loads, strong winds and high seas (some of the lakes that Harold traverses are miles across) yet would be light enough for one person to portage. After studying various traditional designs Harold came up with the Shadow which is a 17 and a half foot canoe manufactured out of cedar strips and aluminium sheeting and, at around 55 lbs in weight, is ideal for his extended trips. Harold has taken desirable features (high, rounded gunwales and prominent bow and stern respectively) of Mi'kmaq and Ojibwa designs¹⁰⁵, and then

¹⁰⁵ Traditional Algonquin canoe designs were not an option as they have an unusual and fairly inefficient hull.

used birch-bark technology to shape the aluminium skin of the canoe to the strip-frame. Pitch is used to seal all rivetted seams. His hunting canoe was so successful that Harold started making them for a select market and he has sold over twenty. The canoes are a reflection, and concrete expression, of Harold Perry's native culture but he is a pragmatist insofar as he uses modern materials, a well equipped workshop, and efficient design features. When I asked him why he did not use birch-bark his response was that the bark-skin has too short an operating life and requires a great deal of maintenance.

As a feature of the traditional Aboriginal economy, hunting always played an important political role on both macro- and micro-levels, involving controlled access to both land and resources. For the Ardoch Algonquins this holds particularly true today and is the essence of their struggle for recognition. That is, that hunting is a spiritual and cultural act, and therefore a political act, and, through an analysis of the *Perry Case*, it is clear that this is both recognized and feared by the Canadian government. The following précis of the *Perry Case* is reconstructed from interview-derived data supplied by Bob Lovelace and Harold Perry, as well as a number of legal briefs which AAFNA were kind enough to allow me access to.

On September 25, 1993, Harold Perry was arrested by officers of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources for hunting ducks without a MNR license. At that time he produced his AAFNA membership card which identified him as a member of the

Ardoch Algonquin community but was told that he would be charged as he is a non-status Aboriginal with no exemption from hunting regulations, and that the government's *Interim Enforcement Policy* (IEP)¹⁰⁶ did not apply to him. He also informed the officers that he was hunting for food within the Ardoch Algonquins' traditional territory. It is crucial to note that this was a deliberate political move by AAFNA and that the MNR had been advised that Harold Perry would be hunting without the necessary permit. AAFNA were, in effect, testing the system and challenging the IEP (Bob Lovelace, personal communication). Shortly after his arrest Harold suffered a major heart-attack. On October 21 of the same year and prior to charges actually being laid by the MNR, AAFNA wrote to the Minister of Natural Resources to request that the issue be resolved through negotiation rather than prosecution. This request for consultation was not acknowledged and the Minister refused to apply the IEP on the grounds that it only applied to status Indians.

Finally, charges were laid under the *Game and Fish Act (Ontario)* as well as the *Migratory Birds Convention Act*. MNR had decided to prosecute on the basis that this was a 'test-case' of whether the exclusion of non-status Indians from the IEP violated *Section 15(1)* of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Therefore the *Perry Case* involved far more than mere MNR concerns about hunting

¹⁰⁶ The IEP was introduced in 1991 to regulate the enforcement of provincial and federal hunting and fishing laws against Aboriginal peoples. Under the IEP only status Indians are exempt from prosecution and only when they are hunting in their traditional territories.

infractions and it has serious ramifications for all Canadian non-status Aboriginals. Needless to say, neither provincial nor federal governments had any intention of losing this case due to the perceived danger of opening up the non-status 'flood-gates' to new land and rights claims.

In January of 1995 Harold Perry and the Attorney General agreed to each pay half of the costs of an historical report on the Ardoch Algonquins but in June, 1995 the provincial government suddenly informed the research company that it would not contribute towards the costs and reneged on the deal, leaving AAFNA to pay the full costs. Like the later Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the data assembled by Joan Holmes and Associates¹⁰⁷ was far too damaging to the state's case and was, in the final analysis, instrumental in influencing Justice Cosgrove's final decisions on the matter as it presented incontestable proof that the Ardoch Algonquins have made use of the territory "since time immemorial" and that they are indeed Aboriginal in terms of the requirements of the *Indian Act*.

On December 15, 1995, Justice Paul Cosgrove decided that the IEP was a violation of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* insofar as it discriminates against non-status Indians solely on the grounds that the government of Canada has the right to define which specific Aboriginal groups may practise their traditions without

¹⁰⁷ Joan Holmes has made substantial contributions to the Royal Commission in the form of The Holmes Report.

fear of prosecution. The issue here, then, was not whether the 'condition' of being non-status was discriminatory *per se*, rather, it was that non-status Indians may not enjoy Aboriginal rights to carry out their cultural and traditional practises. The response of the state was to repeal the IEP on January 11, 1996, and replace it with a hastily concocted case-by-case policy in which enforcement officers were directed to prosecute non-status Indians unless there was 'strong reason' not to ('strong reason' was not clarified). This attempt to pre-empt a final judgment by the court in the *Perry Case* was labelled the *Aboriginal Compliance Guidelines*. In their application to oppose this development, counsel for AAFNA argued that

in view of Ontario's stated position that the rights of non-status Indians are always "unclear" and "uncertain", the new [policy] will require prosecutions in every case, and have a "chilling" effect on the exercise of constitutional rights by non-status Indians (Court Brief prepared by C. Reid, solicitor for AAFNA 1997: 7).

Cosgrove's recommendation was that the Ontario government enter immediately into negotiations with AAFNA on the basis that there was a fiduciary obligation to address the 'uncertainties' which prevented it from respecting the Aboriginal rights of AAFNA. Again the provincial government attempted to block this by claiming that it was already involved in negotiations with 'all Algonquins' in its land-claim consultations with the Golden Lake Algonquin band, and that any separate negotiations with AAFNA might jeopardise those negotiations - at this point an intervener from Golden Lake was brought in to support this allegation. The intervener was Chief Robert Whiteduck (unrelated to Harold Perry) who stated that, although he fundamentally agreed with AAFNA that their Aboriginal rights do not

depend upon 'status' under the *Indian Act*, the application against the IEP was potentially harmful to the greater Algonquin Nation because it

invite[d] a narrowing of [*Canadian Charter*] rights and [was] in any event something that should not be done without the clear consent of those whose rights may be affected (Affidavit of Chief Whiteduck, Court File 9318/95).

However, the argument was rejected by the Court and again, Ontario was ordered to begin negotiating with AAFNA immediately. Here it should be noted that the Ardoch Algonquins perceive the intervention of the Golden Lake Algonquins as part of the state's strategy to sub-divide the greater First Nation and limit any settlement or restitution to status Indians alone. This is neither the first nor last time that this tactic has been used in dealings with AAFNA. In fact, it has been adopted by lesser state organs in the form of local municipal boards who stir internecine conflict to deflect AAFNA claims against land-development.

The final act of the provincial government was to take the issue to the Court of Appeal where Justice Finlayson ruled that a judge (Cosgrove) cannot issue a declaration requiring the government to negotiate with AAFNA, "or take other positive steps to address the 'uncertainties' which the government claimed prevented it from respecting the applicants' constitutional rights" (ibid: 11).

AAFNA appealed this decision on the basis that the government erroneously assumed that Aboriginal rights are clarified in the *Indian Act*, and that, because of

perceived “uncertainties” in law *vis a vis* the rights of non-status Aboriginals, Ontario carefully tailored the IEP to apply to status Indians alone. In fact, nowhere in the *Indian Act* are Aboriginal rights¹⁰⁸ clarified, and nowhere are holders of Aboriginal rights identified. Further, the *Act* at no point refers to non-status rights being more “uncertain” than status rights. Finally, the IEP does not require that **status** Indians establish the existence of their Aboriginal rights before they benefit from the policy. In a word then, the IEP is discriminatory and there have been (especially since *R vs. Sparrow*¹⁰⁹) a number of cases whereby

[w]here an aboriginal community can demonstrate that a particular practice, custom, or tradition is integral to its distinctive culture today, and that this...has continuity with [those] of pre-contact times, that community will have demonstrated...an aboriginal right...(R. v. *Van der Peet* 1996, 137 Dominium Law Reports 4th 289 at 310).

One of the manifest objectives of the IEP was to

minimize the number of instances where aboriginal people are in conflict with the government of Ontario in the application of the Game and Fish Act, the Fisheries Act, and the Migratory Birds Convention Act...(cited in Reid op.cit: 15).

But there is a paradox here: in its attempt to meet the above objectives the IEP deliberately **and explicitly** excludes non-status Indians from all of its provisions.

¹⁰⁸ Of course, the exceptions to this are the various rights to land and government assistance that the *Indian Act* delineates for status Indians. However, this discussion is concerned with **socio-cultural** rights.

¹⁰⁹ Ronald Sparrow, a Musqueam band member from British Columbia, was charged in 1984 for fishing with a non-regulation net. At issue was the state’s authority to regulate net-length and the Supreme Court found that Sparrow’s constitutional rights as an Aboriginal person - that is, to fish using traditional methods and technology - had been violated. While many Indian communities celebrated, they ignored one obvious point: to wit, that Aboriginal title is nothing more than usufructory, and subject to extinguishment at the leisure of the Crown. The Court determined the **existence** of Aboriginal rights but subordinated the **exercise** of those rights to state legislation.

By marginalising (even further) non-status Aboriginals the provincial government is denying constitutionally guaranteed rights of equality merely because the holders of those rights are difficult to 'identify'. Justice Cosgrove's solution to this was simple and non-confrontational: "...it is the constitutional duty of the government to overcome this through negotiated solutions" (ibid). Later Cosgrove was to comment that

the respondent government [is] stalling in achieving anything concrete...[and] the identification and protection of aboriginal hunting and fishing rights ha[s] to have a forum, and should not await a land claim negotiation as argued by the government (Court File 2384/96).

In their counter-appeal, AAFNA suggested that there is

no more just and appropriate remedy than to order a government to take positive steps to address uncertainties which frustrate the recognition and affirmation of constitutional rights, particularly when the government refuses to take any action to address those uncertainties (ibid).

To summarise the *Perry Case*, it seems that the government is unwilling to negotiate with non-status Indians due to a fear of opening up the flood-gates and becoming involved in protracted and costly Aboriginal title and land claims. This reluctance is clearly - in the eyes of the General Court as well as the Ardoch Algonquins - based on nothing more than 'laws' of biological determinism as laid down in the *Indian Act*. There is no doubt that the *Indian Act* is founded on racist ideology as it is blatantly discriminatory against non-status Indians, denying them the so-called benefits that are the due status Indians, and justifying this solely on genealogical descent (and therefore blood-quantum). In the final analysis, the

charges brought against Harold Perry had little to do with game law infractions. Rather, the state wished to test the veracity of its own legislation and ensure that non-status Indians would not be permitted to broaden current and future claims to fiduciary support.

On their own part, the Ardoch Algonquins used their challenge against the IEP as a way of bringing the issues of status and Aboriginal rights to the attention of the judicial system in the hope that a favourable outcome could be used to influence policy and legislation. It is painfully obvious that the government will go to any lengths in order to suppress cases such as this where their hegemony is threatened. Anyone who truly believes that Canadian Courts and politicians will ultimately legitimate indigenous interpretations of Aboriginal rights is guilty of "vulgar optimism" as the laws passed by Parliament are not designed to cater for Indian interests at all (Boldt op.cit: 31). Rather, these laws are made to serve Parliamentary interests which are usually in direct conflict with Aboriginal concerns and, with few exceptions, the Courts follow these laws blindly.

Some Indian leaders,... beguiled by rare instances where a judge has decided a case on the basis of a unique point of law that seems adverse to the accumulated legal structures and precedents,...[n]aively...imagine they have found such a 'point of law', which will discredit the legal structure...But, the prospects are better for finding the Holy Grail in one's lunch pail than that Indians will obtain such a judicial decision from the Supreme Court of Canada. While there may be an occasional aberrant judge at the lower-court level who might allow his or her personal sense of moral justice to override precedent, when the case comes to the higher-court level, seasoned and **career-minded judges** will never allow unique points

of law or any personal sense of moral justice to supersede accumulated legal structures and precedents unless there is a compelling 'national interest' to do so (ibid, emphasis added).

It is therefore extremely unlikely that legitimization of an Aboriginal definition of Aboriginal rights will meet the standards of the judiciary - either now, or in the foreseeable future. Where test-cases are successfully pursued by Aboriginal Peoples the response of the state is always the same: make immediate changes to the legislation and block-up the loopholes. Thus, following the 'landmark' *Sparrow* Case the state imposed the *Interim Enforcement Policy* and when that was challenged by *Perry* the MNR attempted to introduce the *Aboriginal Compliance Guidelines*. When all else failed, the Cosgrove decision - which **should** have been a landmark - was overturned at Appeal Court level on a point of technicality; ie. that a judge is *ultra vires*¹¹⁰ in determining that the state should negotiate with an unrecognized group.

Following the Appeal Court decision, AAFNA Barrister Chris Reid - a non-Algonquin who is both personally and professionally involved with AAFNA - was initially confident that the band still had a pursuable case and AAFNA launched their own counter-appeal. However, the Supreme Court has now, finally so it seems, refused to revisit the case. The process has been lengthy and, for Harold Perry, has taken its toll physically. As Harold's daughter Mona wryly commented: "Sometimes I just think that they're dragging the whole thing out on the off-chance that dad's health

¹¹⁰ Has gone beyond the bounds of his jurisdiction.

will deteriorate and the AAFNA issue will just go away". Unfortunately, it seems that Menno Boldt's cynicism regarding the Canadian justice system is not altogether unfounded.

AAFNA self-government: politics and spirituality

The measure and validity of a culture is determined by its efficiency as a design for surviving and living. By this standard *Indian* cultures in Canada are in a state of crisis. Moreover, this cultural crisis is so grave that Indians will not survive as *Indians* unless they initiate immediate and intensive measures to revitalize their traditional cultural philosophies, principles, social and normative systems, and languages (Boldt, op.cit: 167).

As an organisation, AAFNA have chosen a band council system of management but, as we have noted, this system (as applied by status bands) is usually not without its inherent contradictions both in terms of subdividing Aboriginal people on the basis of geographical location, as well as performing administrative functions (such as determining membership and access to resources) that are contentious. There is also the issue that the band-system - as a colonially imposed system - further isolates individual Aboriginal communities from mainstream Canadian politics. Therefore AAFNA have recreated a band council that is more in keeping with the traditional form of Algonquin governance as practised in the past.

Historically, flexibility was a vital aspect of Indian government because a **strictly** adhered to division of labour could not cater for the periodic (and necessary) absences of chiefs and representatives at meetings. Thus, representation had to be organised on a far looser basis in order to allow for these absences. The system

that evolved was therefore one within which representatives who attended meetings might stand in for any number of families or clans who were otherwise engaged. But this is nothing like a system of representative democracy as we might imagine it and, in fact, the Algonquin government system is so amorphous that any sort of 'democratic', rigidly fixed council could not work. Therefore, instead of - and in conscious opposition to - the colonially inspired system of band council, AAFNA have developed their own based on historical experience, and founded on a flexible division of labour.

For AAFNA there are few resources to redistribute as they receive no state support, thus, the council concentrates more on negotiating and consulting with federal and provincial structures, strategic planning of political protests and litigation, legitimately dealing with other Aboriginal organisations, involving the rest of the clan in political, cultural and clan events, and, to a limited extent, generating public support.

AAFNA was created at an inaugural meeting that took place in June, 1992 at the instigation of Bob Lovelace and Harold Perry who saw the need for a collective response to a land claim settlement that was - at the time - being negotiated by the Golden Lake Algonquins. As non-status Algonquins, Harold and Bob¹¹¹ saw that,

¹¹¹ Bob Lovelace was born in the United States and is of Cherokee heritage. He has been involved with the Ardoch Algonquins for many years, volunteering his time and expertise as a para-legal expert, as a holder of traditional and spiritual knowledge, and as a healer. He has been adopted into the Ardoch Algonquin First

not only were they being excluded as a community from these negotiations, but that, once agreed upon, the settlement would be final, and encompass **all** Algonquins in the region. In other words, the settlement was seen to be too limiting in terms of who it included in the consultation process, the size of the land claim, and possible implications for future generations of non-reserve/non-status Algonquins. When I queried Harold on the rationale behind the opposition he stated that:

Once this claim goes through, that's it. There's no more room for negotiation after that. Not ever - and that's what the government wants. This is unsurrendered Algonquin territory¹¹² and it's Ardoch Algonquins who use it. We were the first people to settle in the Ardoch region you know. We must be able to state our case and we can't allow others to make such important decisions for us when they don't care to ask us what we think about it all.

On June 4, 1992, a letter was sent to "[h]eads of families and all others" inviting "direct descendants of the first known Algonquin family" to attend a "traditional council" in Ardoch. The agenda for the meeting involved the Golden Lake claim and the establishment of a traditional band council (the full text of this letter appears in **Appendix 3**). During this interim period, Harold and Bob acted as spokespersons for the band - this was predominantly because of their experiences during the Rice War but also largely due to the fact that Harold had, over his lifetime, collected a vast amount of historical and genealogical data about the Ardoch Algonquins.

Nation (the adoption is yet another bone of contention between AAFNA and Golden Lake).

¹¹² Ardoch lies within the mandate of Treaty 27 between the Crown and the Missisagua (sic) Nation. The Ardoch Algonquins contend that the territory was **never** Mississauga-controlled and that the region is unsurrendered and unceded Algonquin territory.

Although Harold is not an Elder¹¹³, many AAFNA members regard him as one and often seek his counsel. Further, Bob Lovelace, as an experienced para-legal, has extensive knowledge of legislation concerning Aboriginal Peoples. Both men were, and are, committed to the cause of the Ardoch Algonquins.

AAFNA has an elected Chief and elections have, in the past, been held annually. However, at the last council meeting I attended (August 9, 1997) it was suggested by the incumbent Chief, Bob Crawford, that in future the position should run for a duration of three years. This is because "by the time a Chief has grasped the intricacies of the position, the year is up and not much has been done". The Chief is senior spokesperson for AAFNA and represents the band politically but has no mandate to make unilateral decisions. Nor does the Chief have decisive veto powers. Traditionally, Algonquin government operated on the basis of 'consensus' in all matters affecting the community and, with the exception of the electoral process whereby a candidate volunteers to stand for the office and is voted in by democratic ballot, this is still the case.

In traditional Indian societies, whether band or clan, authority was a collective right that could be temporarily delegated to a leader, under restrictive conditions, to carry out essential responsibilities. But the responsibility and authority always remained with the people (Smallface Marule, op.cit: 36).

¹¹³ The title of Elder is given to senior family members who are seen as being experienced, knowledgeable and astute and Elders are respectfully deferred to in all matters. There are no strict criteria for becoming an Elder - rather, it is something that an individual develops (or grows) into and is decided by the consensus of the rest of the community. In other words, it is an amorphous position that is only understandable to the individuals concerned. Perhaps it would be acceptable to say that Harold is in the process of 'becoming' an Elder.

At council meetings all members of the community are welcome and although heads of families, Elders and the Chief are deferred to and carefully heard, all decisions are reached by consensus. That is to say, while there may be issues that are not unanimously agreed upon, there has to be harmonious acceptance of the final decision. If this state of affairs is not achieved then further discussion is called for until the matter is resolved.

All of their [council] decisions have to be by consensus. There is no majority rule (Tom Porter 1984: 17).

Council meetings follow a flexible format and are usually held on Sundays and, unless there is pressing business, on a monthly basis. I have attended meetings at Harold Perry's home in Ardoch as well as at Bob Lovelace's house in Sharbot Lake. The following is a summary of a council meeting held on a Saturday at Bob's in August 1997. This was the weekend of the AAFNA Family Gathering (held at The Park) and attendance was probably higher than usual as family members from outlying areas had travelled to Ardoch for this social and cultural festival. The Family Gathering was the first of what is planned to be an annual affair.

The morning of the council meeting had been spent on a drum workshop - part of the Family Gathering and there were many participants in this. Rocky Landon, who works in Aboriginal education, had supplied a number of made-up wooden frames and Candy Bilow, the band registrar, arrived with a soaked pony hide for the membranes. After a short explanation by Rocky of how drums are constructed

people chose their materials and set to work. At future Gatherings similar workshops are planned and Candy mentioned other possible, traditional Algonquin crafts such as making moccasins and beadwork. In the past AAFNA have also sponsored Algonquian language workshops and more of these are planned for the future¹¹⁴. The workshops are part of an effort by AAFNA to revive aspects of their culture and carry on the custom of teaching their heritage and traditions to younger generations.

The workshop ended at around noon and people moved towards the rear of Bob's house, bringing benches and chairs with them. There were sixteen AAFNA members present for this meeting which began with Mitch Shewell (who participated in the sweat-lodge described earlier) purifying those present with a sweetgrass smudge. Using a feather, Mitch fanned the smoke over each person and most of them 'washed' their hands, faces and bodies with the smoke. Some (perhaps a little self-consciously?) merely wafted the smoke over their faces.

I had discussed 'smudging' before with Harold Perry who told me that as far as he knew, for Algonquins it was not really a ceremonial or spiritual act. Harold recalled his youth and said that smudging had a purely practical application in those days.

¹¹⁴ With the exception of Bob Lovelace (who as an adult of Cherokee origin has learned the language through a process of self-education) I have found no one with a working knowledge of Algonquian. Although spoken widely (with dialectic variations) by many Aboriginal Peoples it has basically died out among the Ardoch Algonquins. Some individuals (such as Harold Perry and his daughter) have learned basic phrases but these people are not fluent speakers of the language. Here Boldt's comment comes to mind: "[w]hen a language dies, a world-view is lost" (op.cit: 187).

Because there were no cooling fans or air-conditioners, doors and windows were commonly left open in the summer, allowing access to various obnoxious flying insects. He recalled having to light smudges to keep blackflies and mosquitos away at meetings but says there was little ceremonial about it. While he has his own doubts as to whether the Algonquins smudged for purification purposes he feels that the modern trend among the younger Ardoch Algonquins is not a bad thing: "I don't always agree with [all aspects of recreationism] but it's clear that we need to revive Aboriginal customs. We can't look ahead without looking back." After the smudging Chief Bob Crawford offered a prayer to the Creator and the meeting began.

During the meeting a number of concerns were raised in connection with getting more members to participate in events such as the Family Gathering, as well as political activities such as passive demonstrations against the Golden Lake claim settlement, held earlier in the year at the Algonquin Provincial Park. Chief Crawford expressed a concern that there was a "lack of balance" within the community with too much effort being devoted to political aims and not enough concentration on a social programme. His conclusion was that "we need to concentrate on 'the community' and we need to plan at least one year ahead".

After input from most of those present it was generally agreed that the biggest problem facing the organisation was communication. Invitations to the Family

Gathering had been sent out late and many people had been unable to change prior plans. Clare Crawford, an Elder and the Chief's uncle, is currently liaising with other members and planning a regular newsletter, and is working on his computer skills in order to achieve this. It was agreed that AAFNA is a widely dispersed band and good communication will be essential in keeping members informed and involved in the business of the community in future. Here there is a slight deviation from the 'historical' Algonquin council as, in the past, nothing was written down (Bob Lovelace, personal communication).

Further council business involved the issuing of AAFNA hunting permits and the question was raised whether AAFNA should link-up with the Bonnechere Métis Association (a South-eastern Ontario non-status community) and develop a joint-plan. Bob Lovelace told the council that the Buckshot Lake development was going ahead and that it had been agreed that AAFNA has the right to halt all building permits if there are archaeological sites found there, and that any 'finds' have to be returned to the Algonquin people. Buckshot Lake is approximately ten kilometres north-west of Ardoch village and is the site where Joe Whiteduck and Mary Buckshot are believed to have first settled. The Reeve of the district, Stan Johnstone, has a cottage-development planned for this area and argues that there is no evidence of Algonquin residence there. This affects AAFNA members who live in areas where development is planned and Bob stated that these people should contact AAFNA for assistance. Finally, Bob Lovelace issued an invitation for

members to visit jailed Aboriginal people and requested that members consider sponsoring released prisoners.

Following this council meeting, and after reflecting upon my field-notes, it became clear to me that AAFNA face a number of problems and that many of these are 'simply' organizational in nature. AAFNA members exhibit the will to build a strong and vibrant community but there is a pressing need to motivate the majority of the clan. As members at the meeting conceded, there is an urgent need for communication but perhaps more importantly, there is a need for the administration and coordination of AAFNA's day-to-day affairs. There are plans to open an office in Ardoch and employ a full-time secretary but as yet there is insufficient funding for this. Chief Crawford is currently working on this and AAFNA hope to resolve the matter shortly. It is clear, then, that the traditional form of band council that AAFNA have adopted is in need of a certain degree of bureaucratization in order to maintain pace with modern political demands. Whether or not this becomes hierarchical and 'democratic' remains to be seen.

Historically, communication would have been neither politically nor socio-culturally problematic for Aboriginal groups. They tended to live in self-contained, independent and self-governing communities, and interaction with other groups took place on a regular basis through trade, inter-marriage, and political and social discourse (Little Bear *et al* 1984: xi). Pre-contact groups were sovereign, distinct

nations and national consciousness was expressed through “sacred and secular mythologies, religious and moral laws, rituals, material art forms, dance and music” (Whyte 1984: 103). At present AAFNA are experiencing difficulties with combining traditional forms of government and contemporary eurocentric political processes but this is far more complex than merely establishing an Aboriginal band council and then exercising sovereign powers that have been suppressed since the early 19th century (following Kickingbird 1984: 51).

Lyons believes that the capitalist political economy is “spiritually bankrupt” and anathema to indigenous culture but, if AAFNA are to be a successful self-governing First Nation, then the two world-views have to be reconciled (op.cit: 11). Lyons’ commentary is too simplistic and offers no solutions to contemporary Indian governments which are forced to operate in two paradigms simultaneously. That is to say, the indigenous system of management must operate within a greater political economy and to accomplish this the band must simultaneously resurrect and **adapt** their traditional way of ‘being in the world’. Geographical, legal, social, political and economic isolation, combined with a history of forced cultural assimilation, have served to create daunting obstacles for Aboriginal groups - particularly those such as AAFNA who are still engaged in a struggle for recognition. If they wish to play a meaningful part in the broader political forum then it will be crucial to devote much more time and effort to refinding - and re-defining - their cultural roots. But they are going to have to do this, to an extent, in terms of the

demands of a 20th century late capitalist political economy - one that is, as we shall see in the conclusion to this thesis, inherently opposed to an Aboriginal world-view.

The band council is, at present, the only form of political expression available to the Ardoch Algonquins and it can be an efficient system if a majority of the community participate in it. But it is a micro-system and fragmentary by nature as it sub-divides greater tribes. It has been suggested in this thesis and elsewhere that the band council was introduced in order for the government to exert greater control over Aboriginals (eg: Little Bear *et al*). The system allowed the government to treat all Indians collectively in terms of administration but prevented Aboriginals from generating a collective 'Will'. A condition of limited resources has led to the creation of ill-feeling between competing bands and this is evident in the current conflict between AAFNA and the Golden Lake Algonquins.

Thus, where it has been pointed out that communication poses internal problems for the Ardoch Algonquins, we can apply this to their relations with other Aboriginal groups. This is not to say that AAFNA have not attempted to open dialogue with Golden Lake. On the contrary, they have often attempted to do so. However, on important issues there is little common ground and the conflict has often been used as a political tool by third parties. The Golden Lake claim settlement is now a *fait accompli* and it is highly unlikely that AAFNA will be able to have it repealed or even adjusted. As Harold Perry noted, as far as the government is concerned the issue

is closed.

Nevertheless, in order to strengthen their case in the struggle for recognition, AAFNA need the explicit support of other, recognized Aboriginal groups. It is unclear how this can be achieved and is one of the most challenging issues facing the Ardoch Algonquins but as the Rice War illustrates, a united force of small groups can wield considerable power.

The concluding chapter of the thesis addresses the condition of polarization that exists between the Ardoch Algonquins and other groups, and endeavours to account for this. While there is no attempt here to create policy, I discuss the prognosis that becomes evident when the issues of culture, politicization, and identity described in previous chapters are placed within the context of notions of 'sensuous proximity', and how this is the defining feature of Ardoch Algonquin identity.

Chapter 5
Conclusion
Polarity (and reconciliation?)

Name any category...and I can tell you with confidence who makes up the lowest rung. I can also predict that if you ask 100 Canadians whether we have a caste system in Canada, 99 will say no. The 100th will be an Indian (Ferguson, op.cit: 132).

Some affirm, and it is likely to be true, that these savages have no particular property in any part or parcel of that country, but only a general residency there, as wild beasts in the forest; for they range and wander up and down the country without any law or government, being led only by their own lusts and sensuality (Puritan preacher {circa 1609} cited in Porter 1979: 357, emphasis added).

Thus far we have seen that AAFNA exists, to an extent, in a state of legal, political, and cultural limbo. That is to say, they are, in terms of the *Indian Act*, Aboriginal yet they have no rights to live as Indians; they have an established system of political administration that is vaguely heard yet not listened to; and they have yet to 'fully' revive and redefine their cultural heritage and comfortably situate this within the confines that are inherent in the 20th century late capitalist mode of production. As a result of this confusing state of affairs the band is currently engaged in disputes with a number of other polities.

But it would be simplifying matters if we attempted to explain this situation **solely** in terms of (say) an historical legacy of colonial conquest, or as the result of oppressive legislation, or because of some unavoidable clash based on a 'natural' Indian/European or Indian/government dichotomy. In other words, we need to examine at which points the clash between the Ardoch Algonquins and 'The Rest'

emerges. Perhaps as pertinent, we need to identify who 'The Rest' actually are and why they are 'different', and in opposition to AAFNA. And we have to ask here, why there is disagreement at a fundamental level between the Ardoch Algonquins and other Aboriginal communities? That is, are they different in any particular way, and if so why? In the conclusion to this thesis I synthesize evidence that emerges from previous chapters and propose a hypothesis based on what I perceive to be irreconcilable (although of a momentary nature - there is no reason to believe that this will always be the case) differences between the Ardoch Algonquin cosmology and way of 'being in the world', and the ethos that pervades the prevailing mode of production and which dominates all other aspects of grounded social reality.

In chapter 3 of the thesis I stated that there was but one important difference between the South African and Canadian applications of *apartheid*: that difference being the fact that the Canadian interpretation has been a resounding success. However, at this point I am in conflict with informants from all sectors of the broader Ardoch community for a number of reasons. Firstly, some informants were offended by the comparison between South Africa and Canada, and one settler went to great lengths explaining the differences between a racist, authoritarian regime, and a nation that is "one of the best and most democratic in the world"¹¹⁵. Another said that, while it was clear that Canada's Aboriginal policies were discriminatory, the two

¹¹⁵ When I remarked in all seriousness that South Africa only became a democratic state in the past few years this informant told me that my 'joke' was not amusing.

goals of assimilation and segregation were “mutually exclusive” and thus gave Aboriginals the opportunity to create a power-base and “fight back”. In fact, while most European informants¹¹⁶ agreed that Canadian Aboriginals had received a ‘rough deal’ at the hands of the various governments since contact, they tended to conclude that Aboriginal policy had ultimately backfired and left Indians in a position of relative strength. On the other hand, some Aboriginal informants expressed dismay at my “pessimism” and cited instances (such as *Sparrow* and the stand-off at Oka) where First Nations Peoples had successfully challenged the status quo and made significant political gains in the process. This school of thought holds that reconciliation between state and Indians, and a “levelling of the playing field” lies in the near future and will come about as a result of increased activism, popular support, and the rising burden of guilt that the state has to bear.

An obvious, but often ignored, feature of *apartheid* is that it was designed by the South African Nationalist Party¹¹⁷ primarily as an economic policy. That is to say, the socio-cultural aspects of the programme (and it was a carefully planned programme with clearly defined goals and stages of socio-cultural development) were of secondary importance to the over-riding concerns of South African mining

¹¹⁶ This includes many tourists from the United States whom I met during the summer of 1997 - Ardoch has a strong tourist industry and many Americans visit the area for fishing, canoeing and camping trips. These tourists have an environmental impact on the stability of the rice-beds, thus they were interviewed in an attempt to find out whether they had any knowledge of the ‘Aboriginal issue’ in the region.

¹¹⁷ Perhaps the most influential architect of *apartheid* in South Africa was Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd who was trained as a *volkekundige* - or cultural anthropologist.

(later this developed to include industrial and manufacturing) capital. State policy thus resulted from an unholy alliance between the government and various capitalist organizations whose sole interests were the extraction of resources, control of labour, and accumulation of surplus. The social consequences of *apartheid* were a secondary effect - although a necessary one - of the economic strategy. When the *apartheid* regime in South Africa fell it did so not because of any unbearable burden of guilt. Neither did it collapse because of a desire to pander to the 'liberal' whims or 'moral' concerns of the United Nations and others. Nor did internationally applied economic sanctions have anything more than nuisance value for South African capital and the state - indeed, many supposedly 'outraged' nations happily purchased South African manufactured produce, goods and arms during the embargo. For example, few nations refused to buy 'tainted' South African gold during this period. At the lower end of the scale, South African wines were marketed as 'New World' products in Europe, and fresh fruit - particularly citrus fruit - was easily sold without the South African "Outspan" label. In other words, providing that the origin of the product was obscured in one way or another **by the purchasing nation** in such a way that this was not brought to the attention of the buying public, it was deemed to be 'business as usual' and perfectly acceptable.

Fundamentally, the wheels fell off the *apartheid* ox-wagon because the policy no longer paid dividends to capital and the country faced internally-induced economic strain. South Africa could no longer survive purely on exports of gold, diamonds,

bauxite and other minerals and it was vital to create a vibrant internal economy founded on commodity consumption by the 'mass market' (that is, **black** South Africans who at the time constituted approximately 70% of the total South African population). As early as the 1960s capital in South Africa realised that there was an urgent economic need for a black bourgeoisie and it was also foreseen that to create this 'new' black middle-class, *apartheid* would have to be dismantled as the preponderant social engineering strategy¹¹⁸.

Thus, and due predominantly to the insatiable demands of an economic system that could no longer expand under the prevailing social conditions - and capital **must** constantly expand in order to survive - the system was transformed. Of course, in the South African case-study demographics played a crucial role. That is to say, in the final analysis it was detrimental to the national economy for a small white minority to subdue and oppress a huge black majority (again, I refer the reader to works such as Marks and Rathbone 1982, Stadler 1987, Wolpe 1988, Wilmsen 1989, and Crush and Ambler 1992 for politico-economic histories of South Africa and discussions of why and when *apartheid* came to work against the interests of capital¹¹⁹).

¹¹⁸ There is no intention here to underplay the role of the liberation struggle in the collapse of *apartheid*. However, I suggest that it was economic 'pressure' that nurtured the black consciousness movements and that 'social unrest' was an unavoidable consequence of economic enlightenment.

¹¹⁹ Note here that the question of whether *apartheid* worked in, or against, the interests of capital has been the subject of heated intellectual debate during recent years in South Africa.

The demographic issue is perhaps the key to what I refer to as the successful Canadian system of *apartheid* and by this I mean that, here, it is **not** against the interests of capital for a large white majority to suppress a small minority of indigenous Aboriginal people. On the contrary, I argue that it is imperative for the Canadian government, meeting the demands of capital, to ensure that Indians - and particularly non-status Indians such as the Ardoch Algonquins - remain socially, culturally, politically, and above all economically, marginalised. By denying non-status groups recognition and representation, they are denied power and access to the public forum.

Ours is an apartheid that runs deeper than geography. It is the apartheid of the heart, a marginalization - social, economic, historical - of a people. We have segregated and subdivided and sought to swallow cultures prior to ours and nations older than our own (Ferguson, op.cit: 123).

Bill C-31 is the siege-engine of the Canadian *apartheid* regime and it clearly illustrates the present success of a strategy of simultaneously applied policies of economic and cultural segregation on the one hand, and social integration into a broader, amorphous and compliant Canadian society on the other. In a word, the dream of pluralists and multi-culturalists.

Indeed, this is why analysts such as Boldt (and I) remain sceptical when confronted with individual, isolated, Lower- and General-Court victories by non-status Aboriginal groups. In chapter 4 I have described in some detail the events surrounding the *Perry Case* and, following Boldt's commentary, I have expressed

my doubts regarding the eventual outcome of the case and its broader, long-term impact. But here, and to emphasise my point, I introduce new data that was gathered on February 28, 1998, when the Ardoch Algonquins staged a community protest very similar - yet very different in outcome - to Harold Perry's hunting protest. This event took place some time after the initial fieldwork but it is of such great importance that I include it here. I would add that in the chapter describing the methodology used for this fieldwork I have argued that the fieldwork process and relationships with informants do not stop at any finite point in time - this bears that analysis out and is the reason behind my conscious insertion of this material into the summary-section of the thesis.

On Saturday 28 February AAFNA had organised an illegal ice-fishing festival at Sharbot Lake and, just as in the *Perry* case, MNR were given prior warning. In fact, Chief Crawford not only wrote to MNR to advise them, he also telephoned the regional MNR supervisor in Toronto and told him when and where the protest would take place. Approximately forty Ardoch Algonquins turned out for the protest and were actively fishing by 10h00. By 10h30 two MNR officials on all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) arrived on the scene and began approaching individual fishermen, asking, firstly, for government issued fishing permits, and secondly, when these permits were not produced, for Aboriginal identification. AAFNA members then produced their band-cards which identify them as non-status Algonquins. It is crucial to note that no specific charges were laid at this or any other time. The MNR officers also

attempted to ask questions pertaining to the lineage of each individual. That is, once a person had identified him/herself as an Algonquin, s/he was asked “and are your parents both Algonquin too?” Chief Crawford told his people that they were not required to volunteer that information and the response of one MNR officer was **“that is just a question we were told to ask”**. I found this intriguing and could only wonder whether the MNR were attempting to interpret *Bill C-31*, and avoid being forced to charge AAFNA members for breaking hunting and fishing regulations.

An AAFNA member had dragged an ice-fishing hut onto the lake and was sitting, fishing, in the hut when one of the MNR officials approached him for his personal details. When asked to produce his band-card he asked the official to step back but was ignored. He again asked the official to leave the hut but again was ignored. Finally, he demanded - in no uncertain terms - that the official leave the ice-hut. Taken aback and a little daunted the official asked why he should leave. The fisherman's non-verbal reply was to haul up his fishing-line and drop a good-sized trout at the MNR officials feet.

This was a bizarre (and at the time highly amusing to those present) incident but is of great importance because the official season for lake-trout was closed at the time. In other words, two laws were being broken: fishing without a permit and

fishing for trout during the closed season¹²⁰. Again, no charges were laid and the officials climbed on their ATVs and disappeared across the lake. They returned within thirty minutes after obviously consulting with their superiors. The officers approached the individual in his ice-hut and asked him whether he was aware that the trout season was closed and that he was not allowed to retain the fish he had caught. They also informed him that the *Interim Enforcement Policy* was still in effect (ie: that only status Indians are covered by the IEP). On Chief Crawford's advice the AAFNA member did not reply to the MNR interrogation and the officers were advised that questions pertaining to either the protest or the details of those involved should be directed either directly to Chief Crawford or AAFNA's legal representative. After informing Chief Crawford that charges against people fishing without the relevant documentation, as well as charges against the person who had caught the out-of-season trout, were "pending", the MNR officials again left the vicinity - this time not to return. They neither photographed, nor confiscated, the illegally caught fish.

A local television station (CKWS Kingston) had, after being pre-warned of the protest, sent a one-man crew to capture the event and after shooting footage of AAFNA members who were fishing, the cameraman interviewed Chief Crawford. The gist of his statement was that AAFNA, as an unrecognized, non-status

¹²⁰ This had been foreseen by AAFNA members and when asked what species they were fishing for used the stock response: "my supper".

Algonquin band who have no legal rights to carry out their traditional cultural practices of hunting and fishing, had staged the event as a community protest against legislation that discriminates against non-status Indians. The aim of the protest was to bring this discrimination to the attention of the public and to demonstrate that the Ardoch Algonquins would not be deterred by unjust legislation. Chief Crawford also pointed out that Sharbot Lake falls within the territory that the Ardoch Algonquins regard as their traditional hunting grounds. During the interview the Chief spoke of intimidation on the part of the MNR officials (who were not present while the television crew was filming) in terms of their demands for identification as well as their questions regarding the ancestry of AAFNA members (however, when the footage was televised during the six o'clock news that evening, the material had - predictably - been edited and this particularly important aspect of the protest was not mentioned).

The behaviour of the MNR officials was both remarkable and disturbing. It was very clear that they had been ordered not to lay any charges no matter what the circumstances were¹²¹. In fact, it seemed as though they were bending over backwards in their attempts to avoid any type of litigious confrontation. But there was also a definite air of intimidation: the officers questioned most of those present, took down details from AAFNA band-cards, asked for further forms of identification

¹²¹ It is important to keep in mind that MNR officers routinely confiscate equipment, cars, and even property for infractions such as fishing without the applicable permits, exceeding bag-limit, or fishing during the closed season. Officers always carry side-arms and were, on this occasion, wearing body-armour.

(tacitly indicating that they found the band-cards unacceptable), asked details about individuals' lineages, inspected fishing-lines for illegal bait, and so on. The officers were also conspicuously armed and wore their side-arms belted outside their anoraks. When the officers realised that I was audio-taping their conversations and photographing them while they were interrogating AAFNA members, they began avoiding me, cutting short individual interrogations, lowering their voices, and turning away from the camera. In short, my presence as unidentified recorder made them uncomfortable¹²². Here I must note that on two occasions I was asked by AAFNA members to ensure that I recorded visual and audio data when individual AAFNA members were being questioned by MNR officers. Notwithstanding the fact that I would have done so in any case, there was a certain amount of direction of the researcher at this point - although I would hesitate before describing this as co-option.

Prior to the protest I had spent an hour with Bob Lovelace at his home and he had made it clear that it would be unlikely that charges would be laid against many people. However, he did expect a few individuals to be charged if only for 'nuisance value' and intimidation. The prediction was that most of those charged would pay admission of guilt fines and that others would (as with the *Perry Case*) proceed to

¹²² I was not asked for, and did not volunteer, any personal information - although I was asked whether I intended fishing that day. On this occasion I was acting purely as observer and not as a participant. It is clear, though, that the presence of the ethnographer had a visible effect on the behaviour of those present at the protest - both AAFNA participants and MNR officers.

take the matter to Court. But as I observed the events at Sharbot Lake it became clear that, and in the light of the *Perry* debacle, charges would **not** be brought that day and the reason for this is glaringly obvious: the Canadian government simply cannot afford to bring any publicity to bear on the issue of non-status Indian rights as the state - in the interests of capital - could not (or would not be willing to) bear the financial costs of: a), carrying out their fiduciary obligations should this become necessary; and b), recognizing Ardoch Algonquin (as well as other non-status Indian) claims to legitimacy, status, land and other resources. Should it be established by the Court that AAFNA have Aboriginal rights to fish then precedence would be set and claims to other rights might follow. One informant cited the recent (1998) settlement of 350 million dollars offered by the government in order to make restitution for the legacy of residential schooling. While some have seen this as an indication of the state's desire to acknowledge its fiduciary obligations to Aboriginal Peoples, "this so-called restitution only applies to on-reserve, status Indians. Off-reserve and non-status Indians are not included in this deal". The same informant wondered whether the government's public 'apology' for the residential school policy was equally only applicable to status, on-reserve Aboriginals.

As we have seen, some scholars have estimated that the non-status Indian population is, at the least, equal to the status population. It is quite possible that this estimate is actually conservative as many Canadians may be totally unaware of their Aboriginal roots yet may claim status at some later date. The increasing

number of people who are discovering their Algonquin heritage and applying for AAFNA membership indicates that this may well be an important factor¹²³. On the other hand, there are socio-cultural factors that might discourage some individuals from wanting to identify themselves as Aboriginal¹²⁴. It is also clear that fairly exhaustive social studies such as The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples indicate a rapid future increase in the non-status Indian population due to the effects of *Bill C-31* and the resulting temporal limitations on status that are inherent in this legislation.

At present the Canadian government is inundated with land- and rights-claims by status Indians and has barely begun - and only then under intense pressure - to address non-status claims. However, many of the non-status Indian issues are being dealt with by the government making small, short-term concessions. Where issues have far-reaching economic consequences the state is unwilling to risk commitment to resolving these. This is evident in The Superior Court decision *vis a vis* Cosgrove's recommendations in the *Perry* Case, as well as in the state's insistence in restricting its concessions in the *Sparrow* Case to 'usufructory rights' - that is, rights in terms of externally, state-defined and imposed guide-lines.

¹²³ AAFNA receives a steady trickle of enquiries from potential members/recruits.

¹²⁴ Among the Algonquin informants who participated in this research, a few told me of siblings or other relatives who refused to acknowledge their Aboriginal roots. It is clear that, in some cases, this has led to family rifts.

The media have not made any real positive contributions to resolving Aboriginal issues in general, and non-status issues specifically. Indeed, in some cases the media, prompted by interest groups, have been responsible for generating intense public opposition to Aboriginal causes and this has led to tangible 'racial' strife. How else can one account for 'works' such as Melvin Smith's 1996 Our Home or Native Land? What governments' aboriginal policy is doing to Canada making *The Globe and Mail* 'best-seller' list¹²⁵. By manipulating statistical data¹²⁶ and distorting historical evidence Smith argues - some might say convincingly - that, on the basis of every judicial decision that has dealt with land-ownership in Canada, all land is rightfully owned by the Crown and Indians have no valid claims at all. Smith's book is nothing more, or less, than a thinly disguised, racist monologue that (unsurprisingly) resonates with the current ideologies of certain political parties¹²⁷.

Alternatively, one might question the agenda of the St. John's *Evening Telegram* editorial that stated

the absurdity [of Newfoundland Mi'kmaq status- and land-claims] has been demolished...Now that the provincial government has rejected the Micmac demand, it remains to be seen how Ottawa will react to **their extravagant and unsupported claim** (*Evening Telegram*, July

¹²⁵ And this notwithstanding the fact that the author self-published.

¹²⁶ For example, the author goes to great lengths to point out that in British Columbia, land claims add up to over 110% of the province. However, he fails to point out that this figure has little to do with the actual area (in terms of actual land-mass) of B.C. and he conveniently ignores the fact that the treaties involved were drawn up by colonial authorities.

¹²⁷ Here, for example, I refer the reader to the most current (1998) Reform Party Blue Sheet on Constitutional Reform.

9, 1982, emphasis added).

Here the editorial was not offering an informed opinion. Nor was this the result of investigative journalism. Rather, it was paraphrasing the claims of the Newfoundland Trappers' Association (NTA) who had fundamental economic reasons - in the form of wishing to retain a monopoly on renewable resources - for opposing Mi'kmaq claims to status and rights. In the same issue of the newspaper the NTA had its demands for genotyping of Conne River Mi'kmaqs aired. My point is this: in both of the cases cited above, opponents of Indian rights were, because of a desire to retain a monopoly on valuable resources, bringing two unrelated issues to bear. That is, social status was being used to emphasise (and simultaneously postpone) economic conflict. Again, in both cases the role of the media was merely to generate non-Aboriginal support for economic and social *apartheid*.

Therefore it is argued here that issues of Indian status are highly contentious because there is a fundamental opposition between the socio-cultural needs of Aboriginal Peoples and the demands of the latter-day capitalist mode of production - a case of The Other (Indians) *versus* The Rest (capital). However, if this is indeed the case then we need to address the issue of 'inter-Aboriginal' conflict. That is to say, if the demands of a certain mode of production are indeed in direct opposition to the social and cultural needs of Aboriginal people, then why is it that, in the case of the Ardoch Algonquins, they are opposed at a fundamental level to and by a

neighbouring Algonquin band - ie: the Golden Lake Algonquins?

A number of statements of fact¹²⁸ that pose a complex question: the Golden Lake Algonquins are recognized status Indians. They are also on-reserve Indians. The Golden Lake band has recently finalized with the government a land-claim that incorporates a substantial area of land in the vicinity of the Algonquin Provincial Park. This land includes much of the territory that the Ardoch Algonquins claim is their own. The Ardoch Algonquins are a non-status band - however, some AAFNA members are (subject to the terms of *Bill C-31*) possibly eligible for limited status. The Ardoch Algonquins have repeatedly refused invitations to join with the Golden Lake Algonquins, and object strenuously to the restrictive, finite (absolute) and final terms of the land-claim. When it is clear that both Aboriginal groups share a common desire for acknowledgement of their Aboriginal rights and title, and when it is clear that the Ardoch Algonquins and the Golden Lake Algonquins come from a common Aboriginal (as well as tribal) heritage and culture, and when it is clear that both groups express their unique identity through traditional practices such as spiritual ceremonies, political organization, hunting, gathering and fishing, **why is there this contradiction?** That is to say, how is it possible that the two polities are not engaged in a common struggle against The Rest?

¹²⁸ Of course, these 'statements of fact' are both subjectively defined and are only momentarily 'true'. It is quite likely that the situations of both Golden Lake and AAFNA will change through the process of intersubjective dialogue.

Here, I believe, we can attribute the apparent contradictions and conflict to a differential in what Rousseau describes as 'sympathy', or more accurately, 'sensuous proximity'. There is no question that the Ardoch Algonquins - or, for that matter, any other Aboriginal society - no longer exist in a 'state of Nature' as Rousseau described it. That is, in a condition without social constraints. Indeed, it is clear that Rousseau merely used "Natural man" as a theoretical tool and he stated that it was quite unlikely that such a being had **ever** existed (1950: 191). However, by using Natural man to pose questions about 'man's' real nature, we **can** see that some societies are closer to Rousseau's 'ideal' concept than others.

For Rousseau there was a fundamental contradiction between Natural man (the hypothetical ideal) and Social man (the reality) that had to be reconciled in order to re-create an harmonious social order. Within the 'state of nature', and on the basis of mutual 'natural' need, Natural man lives in perfect balance with both his fellow man and the environment but the very establishment of a regulated social order risks the violation of 'natural' laws and the disruption of this delicate balance. That is to say, the notion of 'society' as we know it - with all its rules and regulations that negate 'freedom' - contradicts the nature of the human being because society is inherently subject to social, externally-imposed rather than natural, laws, thus negating the possibility of intersubjectivity and dialogue and upsetting the equilibrium between humanity's needs and the resources - material as well as conceptual - available to meet those needs. Simply put, society - characterised as

it is by inequalities that have no relationship to natural differences between individuals - distorts the natural balance of 'things', or relationships, in the world and is distinct from its human components which are bonded by mutual need - and what Rousseau refers to as 'sympathy' - in nature.

There is then, a distinct difference between society and sociality. Sociality is far more than merely a social relationship with others and is a natural phenomenon that occurs in humanity, arising out of **sensuousness**¹²⁹ and a **need** to share and satisfy natural urges. Alternatively, sensuous proximity is that which allows us to **feel** (literally) the relationships we have with others and with nature. For Rousseau, then, Natural man, because 'he' lives in a state of sensuous proximity with both fellow-man and nature, can **experience** the pain of others and can **feel** his impact on his environment.

This is far more than mere 'sympathy' as we might use the term in common speech and it effectively constitutes a means for social change because the pain generated by (and felt through) sensuous proximity is a real pain, **and one that must be relieved**. The ability to engage in sensuous relationships is, then, one that is inherent in all humans (here, Rousseau might say at birth) but once born, and subjected to the laws of society, Natural man begins to warp (perhaps even divest himself of) his sensuousness. In other words, what I am suggesting here is that the

¹²⁹ That is to say, of the senses.

type of society that one is born into may determine how soon - or how much (if such a thing can be quantified) - sensuous proximity is lost or distorted. Thus, the more inequitable the society, the sooner sensuousness is lost. Following Smith's treatise on nature, capital and the production of space, I make the point that, by its very 'nature', capitalism alters our relationships with nature, separating nature from society at both individual and group levels, and mediating "with deterministic pride", thus stripping us of all but the vestiges of sensuous proximity (Smith 1984: xiii).

It is, then, suggested here that there is indeed a fundamental difference between Aboriginal people and The Rest, and that is that Aboriginal Peoples have largely retained their 'natural', respectful, sensuous proximity to their environment, their ability to feel the pain of others, in ways that have become utterly distorted to The Rest because of the peculiar type of society that we live in. In other words, Aboriginal Peoples have not (yet) been completely seduced by the self-destructive demands that are inherent in the late 20th century mode of production and that are the hallmarks of capitalism - that is, those demands that are based purely on 'individuated individuality' - or, more simply, insanely ego-focal interest and instrumentalism. How else can we account for the intense and spontaneous spirituality of the relationship between man and nature that is so manifest, and expressed, in the daily practises of the Ardoch Algonquins. It could be argued that we too (The Rest) have **some** sort of spiritual relationship with nature but this now merely a crumpled remnant and no longer founded on mediation.

Naturally, I am not implying that the Ardoch Algonquins exist in a state of 'noble savagery', or live their lives in some kind of primordial state¹³⁰. And I am not suggesting that there are aspects of Algonquin culture that are inherently 'static' or 'stagnant'. Indeed, "[t]he tenets of [their] culture are in flux, as in every living culture..." (Bruyere, op.cit: 173). Nor am I deliberately romanticising the relationship between the Algonquins and nature - to do this would imply a relationship of dominance (the 'noble savage' being master of all he surveys) between the Ardoch Algonquins and nature that would merely replicate the ideological screen behind which capital systematically violates the natural environment. On the contrary, the Ardoch Algonquins participate in 'the real world' (or the world of The Rest) because they have to - there simply is no other alternative. However, they do so on their own terms which are very different to those of The Rest.

During my fieldwork it became clear that the Algonquin people have an ethos - a way of seeing and acting in the world - that is far closer to Rousseau's concept of Natural man than is capitalist man (on this point Sixel has suggested that this may be active **cultivation** of the concept - personal communication). And this is not merely restricted to the ceremonial or traditional practises that they engage in - although it is perhaps more apparent to the casual observer of these practises. Whether the issue is the digging of a latrine pit, planning a hunting expedition or

¹³⁰ It has forcefully been argued elsewhere (eg: Smith 1984, and Rowbotham in Sargent 1979) that the 'savage' achieves nobility only once subdued and placed on a pedestal.

merely clearing some brush, the possible consequences for others and the broader environment are carefully and thoughtfully taken into account before any action is taken¹³¹. This is, of course, most evident in things such as the planning of the rice harvest and the active nurturing of the rice-beds, but the ethos permeates daily behaviour. Simply put, the Ardoch Algonquins do not have an instrumentalist approach to 'living' - although they definitely do certain things, such as organize community protests, for instrumental ends and they engage in the capitalist economy for instrumental ends. But here one has to contrast **instrumentalism** (which is the defining feature of capitalism) with behaviour that may on occasion be **instrumental**, as the AAFNA protests have the ultimate (instrumental) goal of ensuring a non-instrumental, Algonquin life-style. That is to say, instrumentalism is an ethos (the spirit of capitalism) whereas instrumental behaviour is a strategy. There simply can be no instrumentalism involved in events such as the sweat or the rice harvest - unless one follows the circular doctrine that all expressions of identity are instrumental by nature. For the Ardoch Algonquins this is nothing more, or less, than just a way of being, and part of the total experience of living **in** the world rather than **from** or **off** the world. They live according to an **inclusive** rather than an **exclusive** philosophy.

But many of these attributes of Aboriginality are shared by the Golden Lake

¹³¹ One cannot in any way compare this to the so-called 'impact studies' that have become ubiquitous features of development under late capitalism and that merely serve to conceal exploitation. Capital has but one goal: surplus extraction.

Algonquins. They too have an Algonquin ceremonial life and they too believe themselves to be stewards of the land which is in their care. The crucial difference between the two groups is that the Golden Lake Algonquins have been successfully co-opted by the state in its guise as an economic agent and are now, effectively, part of The Rest¹³². While they may well be 'status Indians', they are no longer sensuous Indians. They have accepted a settlement with the state regarding territory and rights and they have done so on the state's highly restrictive, finite and final terms. Blinded by short-term gains (partially of a monetary nature) the Golden Lake band has devolved to a state of exclusive, individuated individuality, thus deforming their sensuousness and proximity to both their fellow man and nature. In a sense, their relationship with nature is now 'fixed' and no longer 'flexible' or symbiotic. My informants from AAFNA believe that Golden Lake's acceptance of the settlement is a short-sighted decision and one that is detrimental to Aboriginal people, particularly Algonquin people, and specifically the Ardoch Algonquins and other non-status Indians.

The Ardoch Algonquins are doing everything in their (albeit limited) power to force the state to come to the negotiating table and address the needs of non-status

¹³² Here, of course, it would be completely unacceptable - and probably false - to make a sweeping generalization that includes all individual Golden Lake Algonquins. Just as in any other community, including the Ardoch Algonquins, there is texture and difference of opinion among members. However, my analysis of the condition of the Golden Lake band is valid in regard to the system of government that they practise (which is nothing more than a federal municipality), and the supporters of that government. The fact that this state of affairs is almost certainly largely due to the history of colonialism is immaterial - what is important is that this history has transformed some people but not others.

Aboriginal Peoples. They refuse to do this on the state's terms and have declined offers of nominal, gratuitous, and short-lived Indian status and usufructory rights. Throughout this process, AAFNA has suffered in terms of individual and group stress, as well as marginalization from both society at large and other Aboriginal groups. But it is clear that there is a point where neither side is prepared to compromise and this obstacle seems to be insurmountable - the Ardoch Algonquins will not surrender their inherent sensuous nature and this is unacceptable to the modern capitalist state. The evidence for this claim can be found in the state's consistent application of flexible instrumentalism and by this I mean the practice of 'goal-post' shifting that the state has engaged in throughout its dealings with Aboriginal Peoples. Here, we need only look as far as the succession of Indian Acts and Amendments that the state has developed in order to ensure the simultaneous assimilation and segregation of Aboriginal Peoples. Regarding the situation of the Ardoch Algonquins there is further evidence of this policy in the development of the *Perry Case* and the state's frantic attempt to implement the *Aboriginal Compliance Guidelines* as a stop-gap measure to replace the discredited *Interim Enforcement Policy*. The Supreme Court's recent decision not to revisit the *Perry Case* seems to be yet another example of government paranoia and procrastination *vis a vis* non-status Indians and their claims to Aboriginal rights and title. Each time the position of the state is threatened, it instrumentally fabricates new legislation, and new structures and policies of oppression in order to retain its hegemonic position. It is on these grounds that I claim that *apartheid* in Canada is still a success and

remains entrenched as a system of economic, and thus socio-cultural and political, marginalization that is expressed in ideology and practised as racism. The Ardoch Algonquins are economically integrated¹³³ (but not co-opted) yet simultaneously culturally segregated, and this on terms that are even less favourable than those affecting other, supposedly 'legitimate' Aboriginal Peoples. The colonial policy of sub-divide and rule has thus been a resounding success.

There is little doubt that, and on the state's own terms as set out in the numerous historical versions of the *Indian Act*¹³⁴, the Ardoch Algonquins have every right to demand unconditional Indian status and Aboriginal title. They also have the right to determine precisely how these should be defined, on **their** own terms in order to negate possible co-option. The group has persuasive evidence of historical residence in the area and can trace their Algonquin descent back to an eponymous founder. AAFNA is an established, although as yet not fully formed, political organization that is, like its traditional and historical predecessors, a clan-based polity. AAFNA members demonstrably, in terms of world-view, practise an Aboriginal lifestyle and, more than that, they actually 'live' that lifestyle despite unavoidable economic assimilation. Taking this into account, it is clear that legislation and policies concerning non-status Aboriginal Peoples such as the

¹³³ They are subject to certain patterns of ego-focal consumption and acquisition - not all economic activities are for the good of the collective.

¹³⁴ Which, as we have seen in chapter 3, is instrumentally flexible to such a degree that sense can be barely made of it.

Ardoch Algonquins deserve immediate attention and should be subject to, at the very least, the same intense analysis and scrutiny that those concerning status Indians currently are.

At present there is a paucity of literature on the Algonquin First Nation Peoples - they are, perhaps, the most ignored of the distinct tribal entities. However, there has been far less than even this written about the condition of non-status and off-reserve Indians. The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples is a welcome step in the right direction but it too tends to treat non-status Indians as a peripheral issue which is of less immediate importance than those Aboriginals with status. That is to say, **because** they are non-status they are not legitimate; **because** they are not legitimate they are not seen or heard; and **because** they are both invisible and silenced they are not high on any list of priorities. But - and here I refer only to the Ardoch Algonquins - they do not want status that is 'granted' on the state's terms and that would destroy their sensuous nature and effectively result in co-option.

The challenges that non-status Aboriginals such as the Ardoch Algonquins are currently facing are of great complexity and these obstacles are the source of a painful amount of social and cultural stress. While this thesis merely offers a glimpse into some of these issues - and, at that, a glimpse that is solely that of the researcher - it seems clear that there is far more socio-cultural research to be done

in this particular, and until now so obviously neglected, field. Non-status Indians are not going to disappear quietly. On the contrary, following *Bill C-31* they are going to dramatically increase in numbers and become more visible as an obviously and deliberately marginalised group - this will become particularly evident within two-to-three generations when the off-spring of so many status Indians no longer qualify **at all** for status and families are divided¹³⁵ on the grounds of 'race' no matter how culturally cohesive they may be. The socio-cultural implications of this grim, but inevitable, prediction will be yet another hammer-blow for Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. The contribution of this thesis is therefore to revitalize, and perhaps inspire further, the generation of a body of knowledge about a Canadian history that has never attempted to account or cater for an historical People - a People who have never been conquered, a People who are descended from the original inhabitants of Canada, a People who have neither ceded nor surrendered land that they are stewards of on behalf of the Creator - yet a People who have no power.

¹³⁵ Here, sadly, one might say divided "once again".

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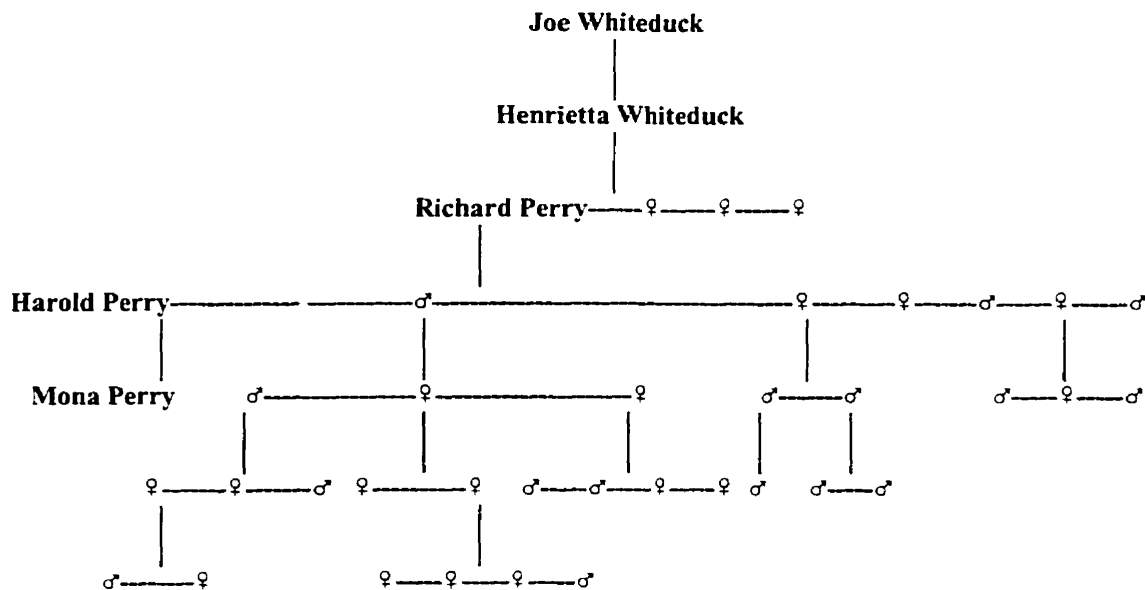
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Appendix 1

The Whiteduck Clan

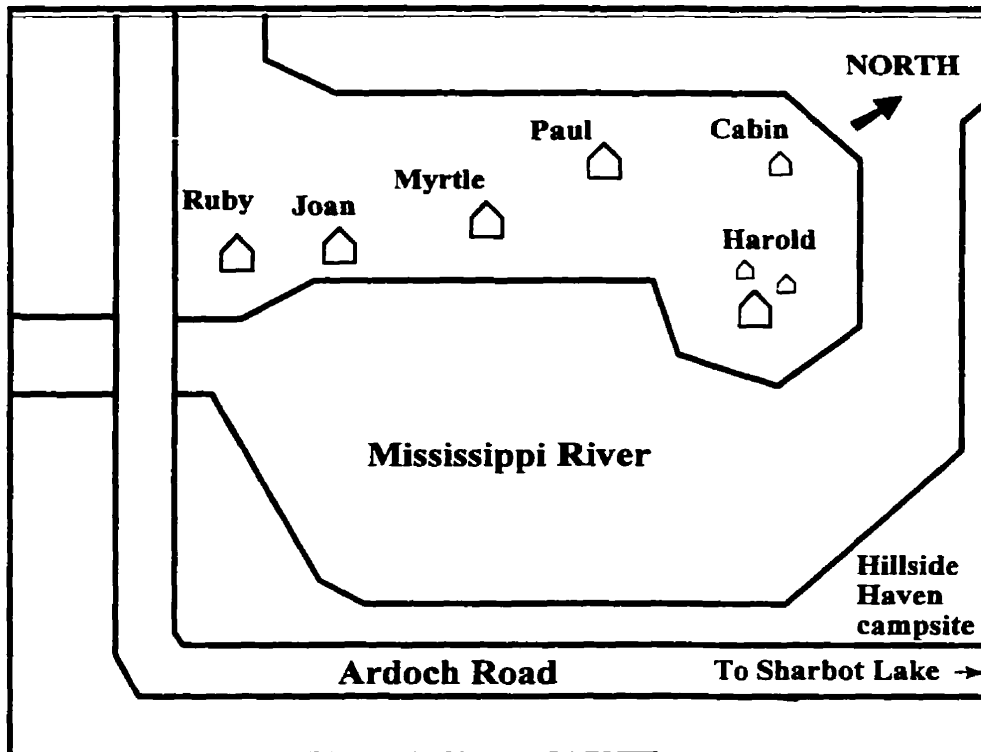
(Harold Perry's sib-group only, from eponymous founder, spouses not shown)
Note that: the line of patrilineal descent is broken in the second-to-third generation
and that, with the exception of Joe Whiteduck and Richard Perry, all unions are
marriages 'out'.



Appendix 2

'The Point' at Ardoch

(not drawn to scale)



Appendix 3
Invitation to attend 1st AAFNA meeting

Ardoch Algonquin First Nation and Allies
(interim name)

4 June 1992

To; Heads of families and all others
re; First Nation Traditional Council

As direct descendants of the first known Algonquin family (i.e. Whiteducks) who lived in the area which is now Ardoch, we invite you as an Algonquin descendant, or as an aboriginal of other heritage, to attend a traditional council at the home of Harold Perry in Ardoch on Sat. June 20th. 12:00 p.m.

Some important issues that face us are-;

The Algonquins of Golden Lake and the Gov't. of Ont. are now negotiating a huge land claim and self-gov't. agreement with the Golden Lake band council. Many Algonquins and other aboriginal people who do not live at Golden Lake have a strong interest in the land claim, but feel an aboriginal gov't. by band council only, without some form of access by non-registered or non-reserve aboriginals, would leave an inadequate, unequal, future without recourse, for our children and ourselves. We see the need to form our own organization to represent our interests in the negotiations, and to continue to work with the Golden Lake band.

An urgent need to create a strong Algonquin identity for the Algonquin descendants, but also equally include those of other aboriginal heritage (possibly, where Algon. claim issues are involved...may require Algonquins only.)

To strengthen the aboriginal bond and unity of the descendants of an original settlement of first people and those who would ally with us, to carry on traditions (e.g. ricing) to update, share information etc.

To recognize (being in our own unsundered Algon. territory) the need to come to council to make political and other decisions re- aboriginal betterment and self governing needs and to establish a council that other forms of gov't. can communicate with.

To create a suitable identity name reflecting our situation (interim name ARDOCH ALGONQUIN FIRST NATION & ALLIES...?) meets the approval of some.

To set traditional values for (AAFNA..?) i.e. consensus, (in voting) spokespersons etc.

To lay groundwork (AAFNA..?) for the next generations to build a more self governing traditional council.

To work in unison with Ardoch Manomin Aboriginal Kayaba. (wild rice group)

To explore the possibilities of carrying (AAFNA..?) identity cards. (Ont. Gov'ts. main excuse is they don't know who we are)

Other issues..?

Pot luck at 12:30 p.m. Council starts at 1:30 p.m.

Bring yourself a lawn chair if available

Megwetch

Robert Lovelace

Harold E. Perry

Appendix 4

AAFNA Registration Questionnaire

ARDOCH ALGONQUIN FIRST NATION AND ALLIES

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

Name _____ REGISTRATION # _____
Address _____
Approved by Ke-pazhigwandumin _____
Rejected by Ke-pazhigwandumin _____
Phone # _____ No decision _____
Date of birth _____ Place of birth _____
(Mth, Day, Yr)
Sex _____, Height _____, Weight _____, Eyes _____, Hair _____, Scars _____,
Birthmarks _____, Amputations, etc. _____
Aboriginal Origin _____
Spouses name _____
Heritage of spouse if Aboriginal _____

OTHER INFORMATION: Have you or any of your family ever done any hunting, fishing, trapping, or gathering within the land claim boundary? Yes or No (please circle one)
Do you wish to be included in the land claims of the Algonquins as a beneficiary. Yes or No (please circle one)

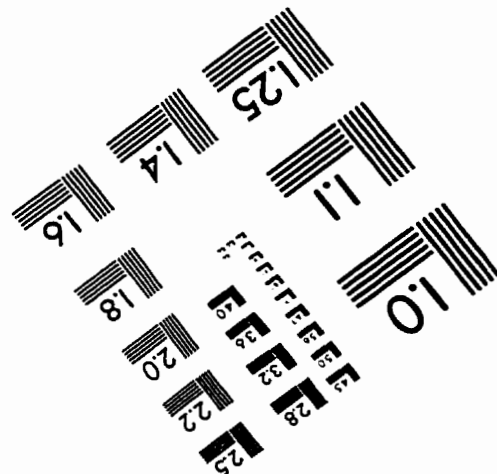
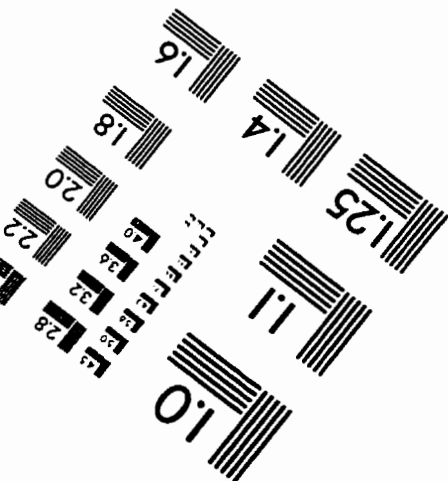
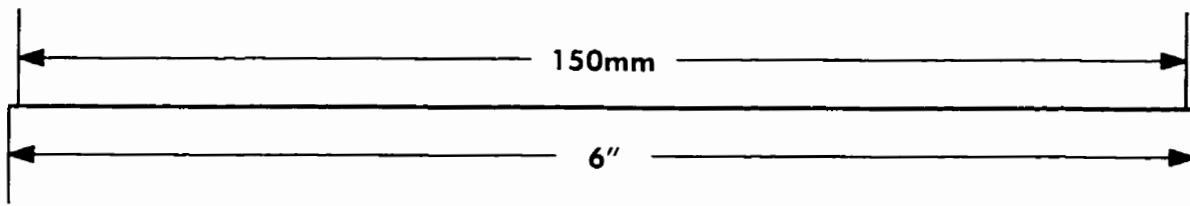
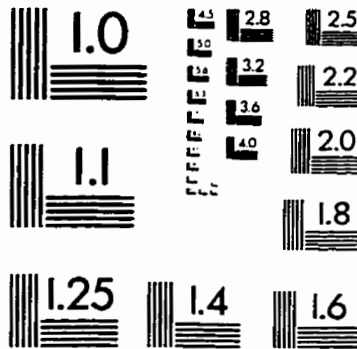
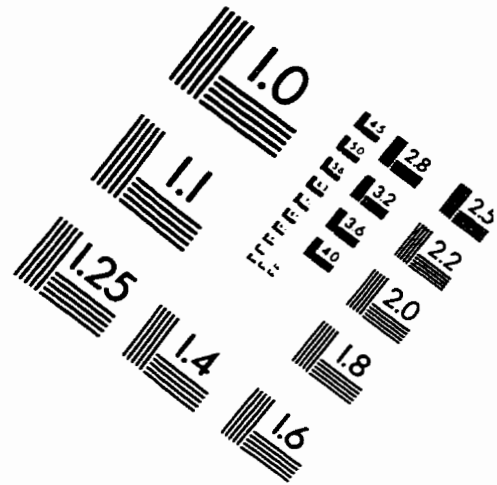
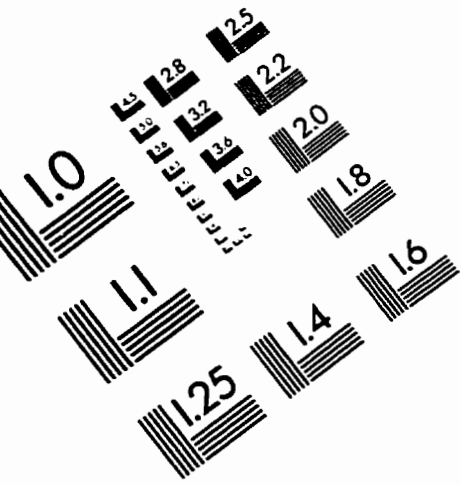
NAME OF YOUR PARENTS, GRANDPARENTS AND DATES OF BIRTH:

Maiden name of mother _____ 1st name _____
Date of birth _____, Date deceased _____
Full name of father _____
Date of birth _____, Date deceased _____
Maiden name of maternal grandmother _____
Date of birth _____, Date deceased _____
Full name of maternal grandfather _____
Date of birth _____, Date deceased _____
Maiden name of paternal grandmother _____
Date of birth _____, Date deceased _____
Full name of paternal grandfather _____
Date of birth _____, Date deceased _____

If the applicant is not of Algonquin origin and ceases to reside in the claim area, or if future research information should render this application void, the applicant agrees to return the identification card to AAFNA.

Application date _____,
Signature _____

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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