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Image Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Windswept.jpg>. This image is in the public domain.

This presentation accompanied a talk given by Heidi Bohaker September 14, 2019 at the 2019 Robinson Huron Treaty Gathering. The talk was recorded by FirstTel Communications and can be viewed here: <https://livestream.com/firsttel>. The work presented is part of the author's research, forthcoming in a new book from the Osgoode Society for Legal History and University of Toronto press in the fall of 2020 titled: *Doodem and Council Fire: Anishinaabe Governance Through Alliance*.

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Slide 2



The Robinson-Huron Treaty annuities case is historic for the tremendous breadth of evidence brought before the court, including the testimony of elders, the presence of Anishinaabe law and ceremony in and outside the courtroom, and the activation of historic alliance relationships between the signatory nations as they worked to bring this case to court.

This image is from the *Sudbury Star*, 29 January 2019 “**Ontario may appeal historic ruling on Robinson Huron Treaty annuities case**” _

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Doodem & Council Fire

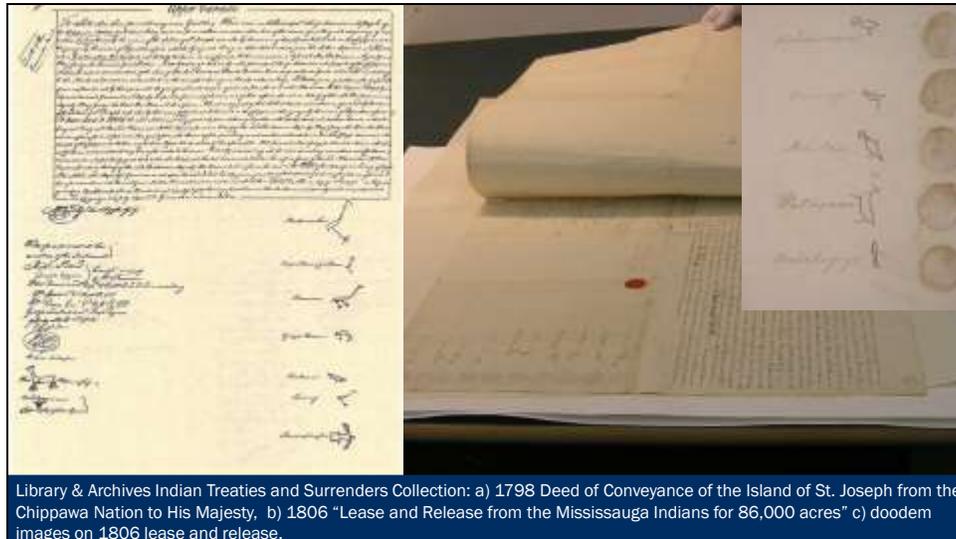
Principles of Anishinaabe Governance on Treaty Documents

Before the Robinson-Huron treaty was signed, the Anishinaabe nations or council fires from across Lake Huron had been in alliance relationships with each other and with other Anishinaabe council fires or nations in what is now Southern Ontario, on the Michigan Peninsula, and into the Lake Superior region. Anishinaabe peoples have a distinct category of kinship, doodem, that is also an integral part of government. Members of the same doodem considered themselves closely related, with reciprocal obligations to their fellow doodem members. This use of doodem as a category of kinship is also an expression of Anishinaabe philosophy and law – one that places humans in interdependent relationships with other-than-human beings, beings who are considered persons with a soul, and also relatives to whom one owes a duty of care. Since people kept their doodem identities when they married, each family was an alliance between doodem, and council fires comprised people of different doodem identities.

The following discussion contains images of doodem identity inscribed by Anishinaabe leaders on treaty documents. As these documents were signed *in council*, these treaties are records of council fires – sites where government was enacted. Anishinaabe governments comprised Anishinaabe people of different doodem identities coming together in council. These treaty documents are records of this system of government, and also of the different doodemag that historically were firekeepers for the many councils across the region. On these treaty documents, the ogimaa signed first, followed by the aanikeogimaa or deputy ogimaa, and the remaining images are of gitche-Anishinabek (headmen) or in some rare cases, principal women (only on treaties signed before 1815). These treaty documents show that Anishinaabe civil

governments were comprised of ogimaa and chi-Anishinaabek meeting in formal council, advised by the council of principal women and council of warriors. Anishinaabe leaders also wrote their doodem images on letters and petitions sent to colonial officials when those letters and petitions reflected the decision of the council.

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Library & Archives Indian Treaties and Surrenders Collection: a) 1798 Deed of Conveyance of the Island of St. Joseph from the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty, b) 1806 "Lease and Release from the Mississauga Indians for 86,000 acres" c) doodem images on 1806 lease and release.

About these documents:

Each of these treaties was signed in council. The signatories were the ogimaa, aanikeogimaa and the gitche-Anishinaabe who comprised the council. Each of these signatories would have been the head of a family cluster, people who would have wintered together. All of these families came together in their respective territory to manage the resources within through regular meetings of the council.

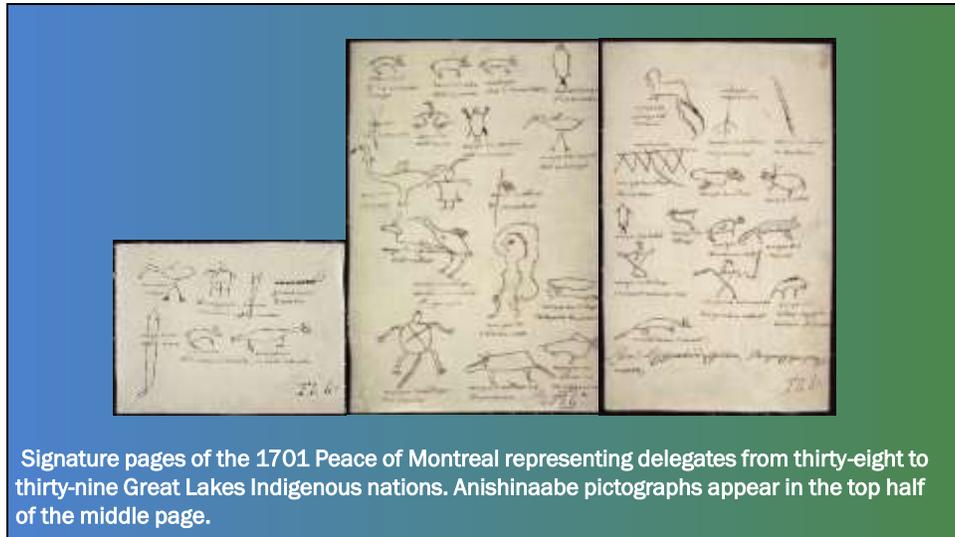
People historically took their father's doodem identity, and women kept their doodem identity when they married, so communities always comprised people of multiple doodemag. Marriages created alliances between husbands and wives, and between council fires throughout the Great Lakes region. In this way Anishinaabe peoples constructed a system of self-government in which decision-making rested in the local community but one in which people had kin ties with other communities, fostering inter-dependence alliance relationships over a large region.

Sources: "Deed of Conveyance of the Island of St. Joseph from the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty," 30 June 1798, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT (General Archives Description Reference Indian Treaty no) 35;

http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-09-23T20%3A27%3A53Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=

3941102&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng. The doodem images on the left side of this document are of the doodem images of the council at Bawating in 1798: Crane Ogimaa Meatoosawke, Crane Aanikeogimaa Keegustakamsigishkam, Boanince (Crane), Ogasque Waiaune (Marten), Kaukonce (Pike), Sasong (Crane), Shawanapennisse (Thunderbird). On the left is the Caribou doodem of Ogaa, "Chippewa Chief" and the Eagle doodem of Wabakangewana "Chippewa Chief of Lake Superior" who signed as witnesses. Spelling as in the source document.

Lease and Release from the Mississauga Indians for 86 000 acres in Peel and Halton regions, 6 September 1806, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 42. http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-09-23T20%3A26%3A44Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3944452&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng. The signatories here are the ogimaa Chechalk (Eagle), Quenepenon (Otter), Wabukayne (Eagle), Okemapenesse (Eagle), Kebonecence (Eagle), Osenego (Eagle), Acheton (Eagle), Pataquan (Caribou), Wabakagego (Pike).



Signature pages of the 1701 Peace of Montreal representing delegates from thirty-eight to thirty-nine Great Lakes Indigenous nations. Anishinaabe pictographs appear in the top half of the middle page.

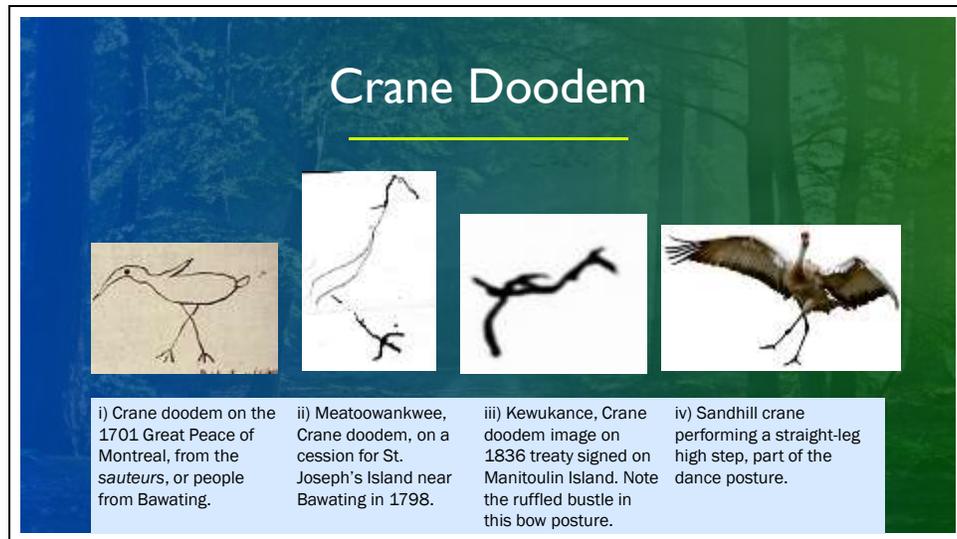
Source: "Ratification de la paix" 4 August 1701, Fonds des Colonies. Série C11A. Correspondence générale, Canada, vol. 19, fol.41-44, ANOM, France. Accessed online Archives Canada-France, <http://bd.archivescanadafrance.org>.

This document contains the doodem images of Anishinaabe ogimaa representing multiple council fires, as well as otara (clan) and village marks of Haudenosaunee (Six Nations Confederacy) and other nations who attended this major grand council at Montreal in 1701 to agree to peace. A translation of the text of the treaty can be found here: <https://openhistoryseminar.com/canadianhistory/chapter/document-3-great-peace-of-montreal-1701/>. Note that this document is a clerk' copy, and so each doodem drawn is in the handwriting of the clerk. The original document has been lost or destroyed.

The Anishinaabe council fires attending and the doodem images of the ogimaa are from left to right on the second page: For the Sinago Odawa, Outaliboi signed with a Bear doodem; (followed by a Deer of Haronhiateka, chief of the Sault [Kahnawake], and a Deer for Mechayon who signed for the Haudenosuane of La Montagne, two Haudeonsaunee towns along the St. Lawrence). The next Anishinaabe image was made by Kileouiskingié who signed with a Catfish on behalf of the Kiskakon council fire. The second row has first a forked stick, signed by Elaouesse on behalf of the Nassaweketons, the Odawas of the Fork (L'Arbe Croche, near Petoskey, Michigan), a thunderbird signed as the mark of the Mississaugas (Blind River), the mark of the Amikouais (Beaver) signed by ogimaa Mahingan, and the Crane doodem of

Bawating (the Sauters, or people of the rapids) signed by ogimaa Ouabangue. The third row begins with the Crane doodem of the ogimaa for the Algonquins of the Ottawa river. The images which follow below these and one the other pages represent the Sauk, Fox, Miami and other nations in attendance.

The Great Peace of Montreal is the first known *existing* record of Anishinaabe doodem images on a treaty document. Ogimaag signed an earlier document with the French at a council at Bawating in 1671, but only a clerk's copy of the minutes without the doodem images has been located so far. Nicholas Perrot, who attended that 1671 gathering, observed that they inscribed "the insignia of their families; some of them drew a beaver, others an otter, a sturgeon, a deer or an elk [my note: likely caribou doodem]." See Le Roy, Claude Charles, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale", in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Great Lakes*, 2 vols, ed. Emma Helen Blair, (Cleveland, Ohio, 1911) 1: 347. La Potherie was not an eyewitness, and relied on the interpreter Nicholas Perrot (who was there) for his information about this event. The manuscript original of this *prise de possession* (Ceremony of "taking possession") has not yet been found. The Intendant of New France, Jean Talon, indicated in his letter to the King that he would bring the signed document to Paris himself when he next came but the document is not in the colonial archives with Talon's other correspondence. See Talon to the King, 2 November 1671, Fonds des Colonies. Série C11A. Correspondence générale, Canada, vol. 3, fol.159-171v, Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer (hereafter ANOM), France. Accessed online Archives Canada-France, <http://bd.archivescanadafrance.org>.



These images of crane doodem are taken from the treaty documents cited below. The images are full of life and reflect the rich body language of cranes and their many dance and social postures.

A note on the doodem images: they were each cropped from digital images of the respective treaties. Images in brown are of photos of the original treaties. Images in black and white were cropped from digital images of microfilm of the original treaties (which is why some images appear as negatives – white on black background). The sources below and on all subsequent slides will let you view the digital copies of the original documents where possible – most treaties for what is now Canada are in the Library and Archives of Canada, and most are available to view online.

Sources:

[i] "Ratification de la paix" 4 August 1701, Fonds des Colonies. Série C11A.

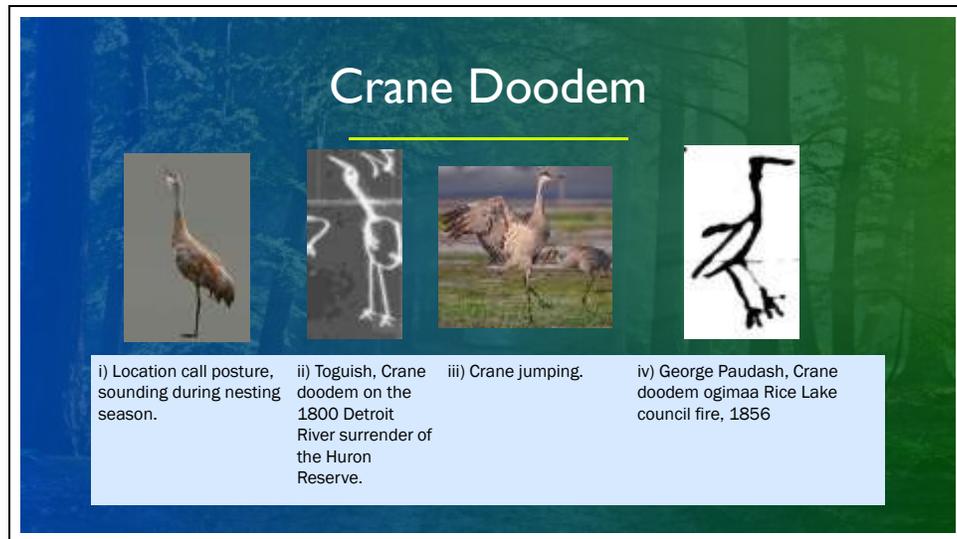
Correspondence générale, Canada, vol. 19, fol.41-44, ANOM, France . Accessed online Archives Canada-France, <http://bd.archivescanadafrance.org>

[ii] "Deed of Conveyance of the Island of St. Joseph from the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty," 30 June 1798, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 35;

http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-09-23T20%3A27%3A53Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3941102&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[iii] "The Chippewa, Ottawa and Sauking Indians - Provisional Agreement for the Surrender of the Manitoulin Islands and the Islands on the North shore of Lake Huron and also of the Sauking Territory," 9 August 1836, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 120; http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-16T01%3A51%3A32Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3963771&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

[iv] Crane image from gallery of sandhill crane dance displays. Reproduced without permission. <http://www.christyuncker.com/Cranedancedisplays.shtml>.



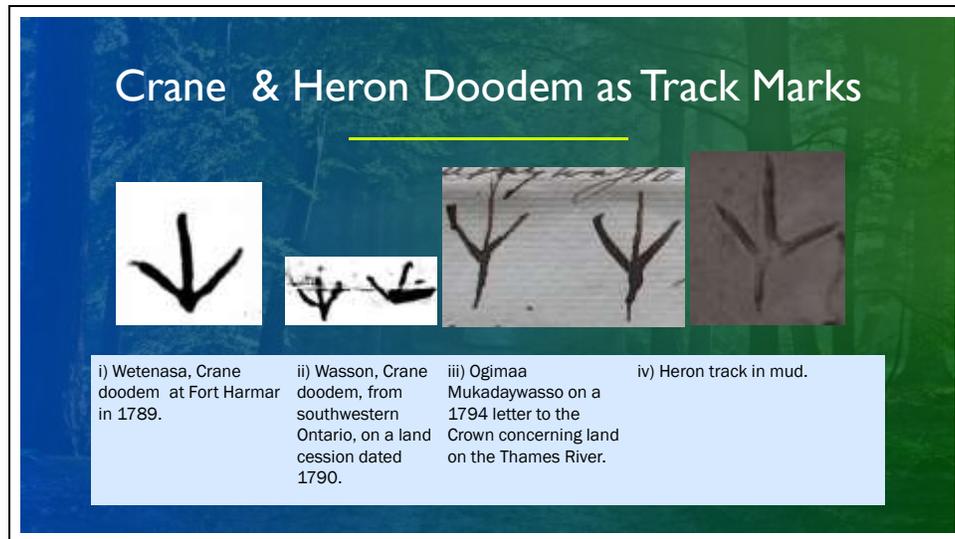
These images of crane doodem are taken from the treaty documents cited below, compared with images of crane social and dance displays.

[i] Crane image from gallery of sandhill crane social and dance displays. Reproduced without permission. http://www.christyyuncker.com/dimages/D7B0119-180-66_GreyBkg.jpg

[ii] "Copy of Deed No. 12, the surrender of part of the Huron Church Reserve" 11 September 1800, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 37; http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-16T02%3A14%3A01Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3941124&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

[iii] <https://sacredhoopdrums.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/sandhill-crane.jpg>. Reproduced without permission.

[iv] "Surrender by the Mississagas of Rice, Mud and Skugog Lakes of the Islands in Rice Lake and all the islands and mainland in Newcastle and Colborne Districts except the Reservations on the Shores of Rice, Mud and Skugog Lakes" 24 June 1857, LAC Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 195; http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-16T02%3A13%3A11Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3968657&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng



Sometimes Anishinaabe leaders signed with a track mark of their doodem being instead. Wasson, for example, always signed with track marks. The distinction between Crane and Heron tracks is clear.

[i] Treaty of Fort Harmar With the Wyandot, etc., 9 January 1789, National Archives and Records Administration, United States of America.

[ii] "Surrender of land by the Ottawa, Chippawa, Pot-to-wa-to-my, and Huron Indian Nations of Detroit," 19 May 1790 Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 002;

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=3931088&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=3931088,3964695,3987469,3974413,3931096,3988351,3931094,3987797,5098303,5102320

[iii] "Sworn Statement of Takamacosey, Mukadaywasso and other chiefs concerning the 1790 surrender and land reserves for Sally Ainse," Detroit, 2 March 1794, submitted with the Petition of Sally (Sarah) Ainse to the Executive Council, 12 August 1797, A Bundle, 4 Petition #45, RG 1 L3 (Executive Council Office of the Province of Upper Canada fonds) Vol. 3, LAC.

[iv] Heron track in mud. Credit: Dr. Peter L. Falkingham, <https://peterfalkingham.com/2015/10/05/heron-tracks-added-to-site/>.



Note how the leaders drew their caribou doodem to emphasize the round hoof of the caribou, the shape of the antlers, and how the tail was elevated, indicating alertness.

Sources:

[i] "Deed of Conveyance of the Island of St. Joseph from the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty," 30 June 1798, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 35;

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-09-23T20%3A27%3A53Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3941102&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[ii] "Conveyance of the Harbour of Penetanguishene by the Chippewa to the King with Inventory, schedule and plan attached," 22 May 1798, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 017,

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T18%3A55%3A25Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3931377&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[iii] "The Chiefs of the Mississague Nation of Indians to His Majesty George III, Lease for a Year of 428 Acres of Land," August 5, 1816, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 051;

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T18%3A56%3A10Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3949428&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

[iv] "Provisional Agreement with the Chippewa Nation to Surrender lands," March 9, 1819, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 065;

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T18%3A57%3A16Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3951856&rft_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

[v] "Surrender of part Lot#2 in the first concession of North Orillia," LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 160;

http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T18%3A58%3A05Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3964124&rft_id=info%3Asid%2FcollectionsCanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

Bottom Left:

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Gary_Wiles/publication/312580393/figure/fig2/AS:667699030028298@1536203262603/Female-woodland-caribou-photo-by-Thomas-Hartmann-Wikimedia-Commons_Q320.jpg

Bottom Right: Woodland caribou in winter. Source: By Steve Forrest -

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/usfwspacific/13959240820/in/photolist-ngwKXS-7WCc7-8wsakH-m5SbqP-ATFZ7n-m5SkCB-m5SdaF-m5S94p-m5S6Sk-pkUsr1-7Lq37A-6pxssA-qeyMuy-pz8uqf-qwj7ZL-qwdMEH-BoXPz7-m5SeNv-m5T3AE-m5Sgpr/>, CC BY 2.0,
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=45537844>.



As with Crane doodem, some Anishinaabe leaders signed their Caribou doodem as a track mark. The Caribou's cloven hoof is round and wide, and the dewclaws will also leave a mark in the snow.

[i] Caribou track mark in snow.

[ii] "Surrender of land by the Ottawa, Chippawa, Pot-to-wa-to-my, and Huron Indian Nations of Detroit," 19 May 1790 Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 002;

http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=3931088&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=3931088,3964695,3987469,3974413,3931096,3988351,3931094,3987797,5098303,5102320

[iii and iv] "Surrender of lands fronting on the South-eastern shore of Lake Huron in the London and Western Districts," 10 July 1825, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 091; http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T19%3A55%3A46Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3959827&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[v] "Surrender by the Chippewas of Sarnia of Stag Island in River St. Clair," 19 January 1857, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 203;

http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T20%3A01%3A19Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3970886&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng

Bottom: Caribou leg and hoof: https://farm1.staticflickr.com/66/167987821_1b82462707.jpg.



Notice how the otter doodem are drawn to emphasize the otter's shape, and the roundness of the back – the way otters carry themselves – when they are drawn from the side. The ears of the marten doodem are made much more visible. Otter ears lie flat back against the sides of their heads.

Sources:

[i] "Conveyance of the Harbour of Penetanguishene by the Chippewa to the King with Inventory, schedule and plan attached," 22 May 1798, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 017,

http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T18%3A55%3A25Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3931377&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[ii] "Agreement between Mr. Claus on the part of the Crown and the Chiefs of the Mississauga Nation," August 2, 1805, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 041, http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-21T20%3A39%3A16Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3941159&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[iii] "Surrender of the Saugeen Peninisula," 13 October 1854, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 172;

http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-

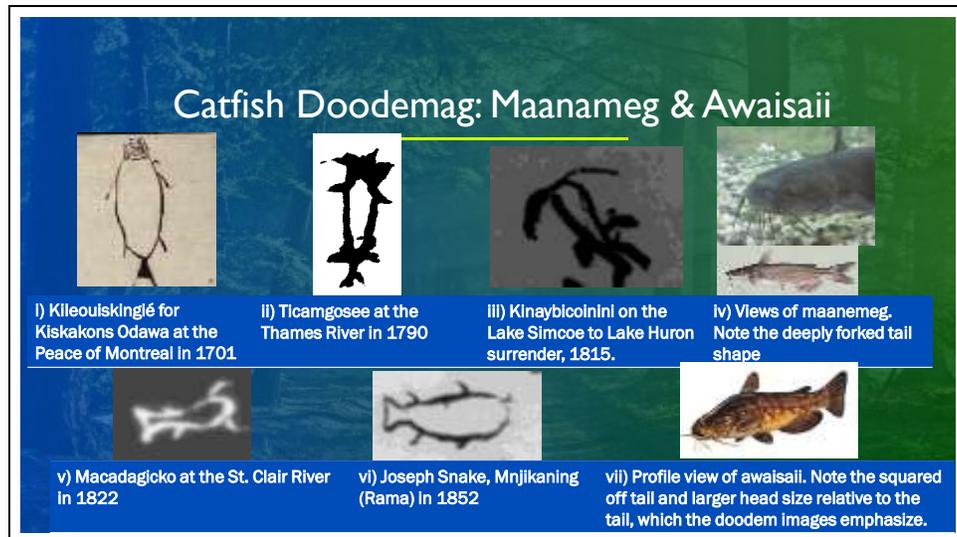
21T20%3A41%3A04Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3964695&rft_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng,
[iv] "Deed of Conveyance of the Island of St. Joseph from the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty," 30 June 1798, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 35;
http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-09-23T20%3A27%3A53Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3941102&rft_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

Bottom Left: Otter - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lontra_canadensis_01.jpg

Bottom Right: Marten - By United States Fish and Wildlife Service -

http://www.fws.gov/digitalmedia/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/natdiglib&CISOPTR=5330&CISOBOX=1&REC=2, Public Domain,

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=7734844>



People distinguished between two different types of catfish doodem: the channel catfish (maanameg) and the bullhead (awaisai) by the shape of the tail. Maanameg have a forked tail, an awaisai has a square tail.

Sources:

- [i] "Ratification de la paix" 4 August 1701, Fonds des Colonies. Série C11A. Correspondence générale, Canada, vol. 19, fol.41-44, ANOM, France . Accessed online Archives Canada-France, <http://bd.archivescanadafrance.org>
- [ii] "Surrender of land by the Ottawa, Chippawa, Pot-to-wa-to-my, and Huron Indian Nations of Detroit," 19 May 1790 Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 002; http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=3931088&lang=eng&rec_nbr_list=3931088,3964695,3987469,3974413,3931096,3988351,3931094,3987797,5098303,5102320
- [iii] "The Chiefs of the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty George III - Lease of 250,000 Acres of land for a year," November 14, 1815, LAC Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 047; http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-22T14%3A59%3A25Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3948975&rft_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng. Note that this lease was subsequently followed up with a formal surrender (see GAD REF IT 050).

[iv] Channel Catfish images. Top: <http://www.nwk.usace.army.mil/harryst/gif/channelcat.jpg>.
Public Domain. Bottom: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ictalurus_punctatus.jpg
Public Domain

[v] "Provisional Agreement with the Chippawa Indians of the River St. Clair," 26 April 1825, LAC Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 087;
http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-10-22T15%3A05%3A58Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3959813&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.

[vi] "The Chippewa Indian Chiefs of Lakes Huron and Simcoe to Her Majesty the Queen - Surrender of part of Lot # 2 in the first concession of North Orillia," 17 June 1862, LAC Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 160.

[vii] Bullhead Catfish from
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ameiurus#/media/File:Ictalurus_nebulosus_GLERL_1.jpg.
Public domain.



Doodem identities were not limited to animal species but could include plants as well. This is one example – birch doodem- among the Mississaugas of southern and eastern Ontario.

[i] Copy of speech made by the Mississauga Nation Chiefs assembling at York in 1811 to Lieutenant Governor Gore prior to his departure for England, 7 October 1811, LAC, Indian Affairs, RG10 Vol 27, f1613-4.

[ii] Petition of the Mississauga Indians residing at the River Credit to Sir John Colborne, requesting restriction on the sale of alcohol, 21 January 1835, LAC, RG10 Vol 57 pages 59052-3.

[iii] Petition to the Queen, 19 October 1844, Indian Petitions and Addresses, Peter Jones fonds, Box 1 Folder 9, Pratt Library Special Collections, Victoria University at the University of Toronto.

[iv] <https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/library/documents/treebook/paperbirch.htm>.

[v] White oak canopy. Author unknown.

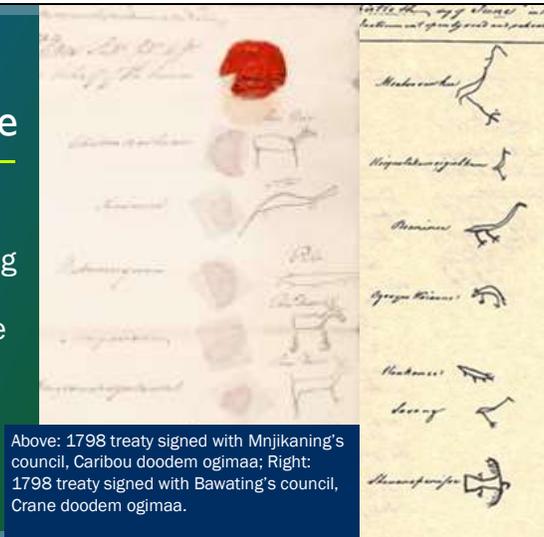


The choices that leaders made in how to represent themselves were shaped by Anishinaabe conceptions of leadership characteristics: that leaders were those who took responsibility for their community through provisioning and protecting them. The caribou doodem here has its tail raised, the heron makes a location call, all of the eagle doodem images that I have observed, for example, show the eagle either perching or in the act of catching prey. No other eagle behaviour, such as eating, nesting, or courting, is reflected in these images. The moose is eating. So while individual Anishinaabe leaders each drew their doodem in their own distinct way, they still chose to reflect these important leadership qualities.

Doodem Governance

“the totem [doodem] was probably the most important social unit taking precedence over the tribe, community and immediate family”

Basil Johnson, *Ojibway Heritage*, 59.



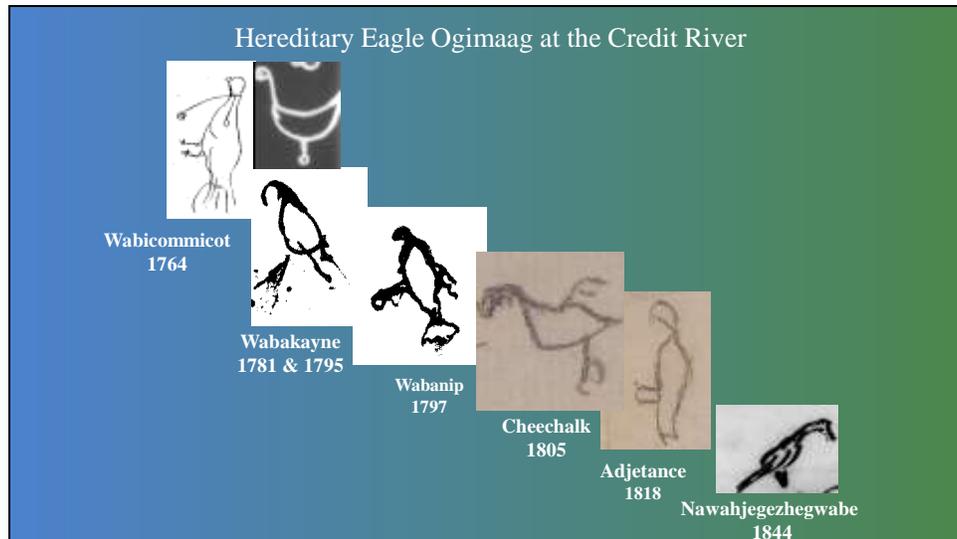
Above: 1798 treaty signed with Mnjikaning's council, Caribou doodem ogimaa; Right: 1798 treaty signed with Bawating's council, Crane doodem ogimaa.

Many treaty documents show the doodem of the ogimaa, annikeogimaa and gitchi-Anishinaabe who comprised the civil leadership of a community. Each signatory was also a gitchi-Anishinaabe (or headman) of his (and occasionally her) family cluster. When land sales were conducted with a particular council fire for lands within their territory, these leaders would sign the document. People used doodem as a metaphor for governance in the same way that the British and Canadian governments use the word “Crown” – when we say Crown lawyers, we mean lawyers for the government. In the same way, the council fire of a particular community was known by the doodem of the ogimaa, as that doodem was said to be the keeper of that council fire. In this way traditional government was hereditary – not necessarily passing father to son, but passing, for example at Bawating, from an ogimaa of the Crane doodem to the next also of the Crane doodem, or at Mnjikaning, from Caribou doodem to Caribou doodem, and from Eagle doodem to Eagle doodem at the Credit River. In the examples above are the doodemag of the Mnjikaning council in 1798: the ogimaa was Caribou doodem, and the council was comprised of an Otter, a Pike and two more Caribou. At Bawating in 1798, the council consisted of a Crane ogimaa, three other Crane, one Marten, one Pike and one Thunderbird.

Each community would have had people of other doodemag as members too, including the wives of the ogimaa and councilors. Note too the presence of the Pike doodem in both councils. Doodem created kin ties that connected council fires together and so

even though a considerable distance separated these two fires, the pike doodem people at Mnjikaning had doodem kin at Bawating. The Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior treaties are striking exceptions to the practice of Anishinaabe leaders signing treaties with doodem images. I do not think that this fact by itself calls the legitimacy of the these treaties into questions. The treaties were also notable for being with multiple council fires for a very large territory, instead of the smaller land transactions of earlier treaties. Further research here is needed to explore this discrepancy.

Document sources. “Deed of Conveyance of the Island of St. Joseph from the Chippawa Nation to His Majesty,” 30 June 1798, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 35; http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/ourl/res.php?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_tim=2019-09-23T20%3A27%3A53Z&url_ctx_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Actx&rft_dat=3941102&rfr_id=info%3Asid%2Fcollectionscanada.gc.ca%3Apam&lang=eng.



As a result of my analysis of doodem images on treaty documents, petitions and other documents it is possible to reconstruct the succession of leadership for some Anishinaabe council fires. The succession of Eagle *ogimaag* at the Credit River is illustrated here. The Credit River had an eagle *ogimaa* from the first establishment of their Council Fire in the late 1690s to their relocation of the entire community to the New Credit on the Six Nations reserve near Brantford in 1847.[1] The first Eagle *ogimaa* is not known, but in an 1840 recitation of the 1690s alliance agreement and peace agreement with the Haudenosuanees, Mnjikaning *ogimaa* Yellowhead recalled how the Credit River council fire was “kindled” and a “beautiful white headed eagle” was placed there to watch the fire.[2] Wabicommicot was chief until his death in 1768; Wabakayne may have succeeded him directly; he was signing treaties as the Credit River *ogimaa* by 1781. Wabakayne was murdered in 1796 and was succeeded by Wabanip, who formerly had been his *mezhenuhway* or aide-de camp. Cheechalk assumed the head chief rank following Wabanip and then died before 1810; Cheechalk's brother Adjetance (Captain Jim) was ‘raised’ to the rank of *ogimaa* in 1810. Adjetance was then succeeded by Nawahjegezhegwabe (born 1786) as *ogimaa* in the winter of 1825-26.[3] His nephew Peter Jones was appointed *aanikeogimaa*. This last appointment was most unusual, given that Jones was only in his early twenties at the time. But given the pressure from white settlers the community was under, they turned to the Jones who was fluent in both spoken and written English. Jones was the grandson of Wabenose, an Eagle headman from Burlington Bay at the head of Lake Ontario, but Jones had been also adopted by Adjetance after Adjetance's own son died.[4]

[1] Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewa-Quonaby) & the Mississauga Indians*, 212.

[2] See Yellowhead's speech in "Minutes of a General Council held at the River Credit," 16 January 1840, Library and Archives Canada, Paudash Papers, vol. 1011, Part B: 60–92.

[3] For "Wabicommicot" and "Wabakayne" see their respective entries in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*: <http://www.biographi.ca>. For Wabanip, see LAC, DIAND fonds, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Copy of the Toronto Purchase, IT40/IA13 (September 23, 1787); for Cheechalk and Adjutant, see LAC, DIAND fonds, Vol. 27:16151-3, Proceedings ... at the River Credit, 3 October 1810. For Nawahjegezhegwabe (Joseph Sawyer), see his entry in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*: <http://www.biographi.ca>. For Peter Jones, see Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 72-73.

[4] Smith, *Sacred Feathers*, 67-68.

Source of doodem images:

Wabicommicot: "Copy of Bradstreet's Treaty at Detroit," 1764, Amherst Papers, CKS-U1350, Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, Kent, England.

Wabakayne (1781 – top "Copy of sale of tract of land by the Chiefs of the Chipeweighs and Missisagas Indians," LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 403) (1795) "Captain Brant's purchase near the outlet in Burlington Bay," 24 October 1795 LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 008

Wabanip: "Deed of the Sale of Land at the head of Lake Ontario in Upper Canada from the Mississauga Nation to William Claus Esq," LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 29

Cheechalk: "Agreement between Mr. Claus on the part of the Crown and the Chiefs of the Mississauga Nation," August 2, 1805, LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 041;

Adjutant: LAC, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1841, Reel T-9938, GAD REF IT 59

Kahkewaquonaby: Petition to the Queen, 19 October 1844, Indian Petitions and Addresses, Peter Jones fonds, Box 1 Folder 9, Pratt Library Special Collections, Victoria University at the University of Toronto.



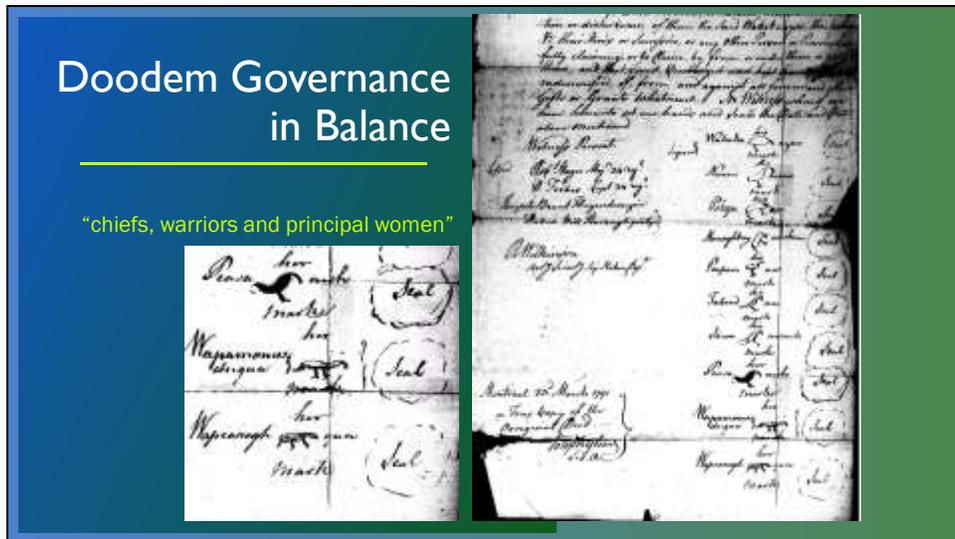
Anishinaabe leaders sometimes wore their doodem images on clothing. See for example here Nebanagoching's portrait in which is Crane doodem is visible, and the picture of Shingwaukonce and Nebanagoching with William B. Robinson. The inset above shows that Nebanagoching is wearing the same coat, and his Crane doodem is visible.

Leadership	Defense	Sustenance	Learning	Medicine
Chejauk (Crane)	Noka (Bear)	Waubizhaezh (Marten)	Mizi (Catfish)	Makinauk (Turtle)
Wawa (Goose)	Myeengun (Wolf)	Amik (Beaver)	Kinozhae (Pike)	Negik (Otter)
Mong (Loon)	Pizheu (Lynx)	Moozo (Moose)	Numaebin (Sucker)	Medawaewae (Rattle snake)
Kaihaik (Hawk)		Addick (Caribou)	Numae (Sturgeon)	Muzundumo (Black Snake)
Peepeegizaence (Sparrow Hawk)		Wawashkaesh (Deer)	Addikmeg (Whitefish)	Mukukee (Frog)
Migizi (White-headed Eagle)		Wuzhushk (Muskrat)		Nebaunaube Merman or Nebaunaubequae: Mermaid
Kineu (Black-headed Eagle)				
Makataezheeb (Brant)				
Kayaushk (Seagull)	Basil Johnston's chart of doodemag organized by social/governance function			



Basil Johnston provided a list of Anishinaabe doodem identities known to him, organized by social and governance functions. I have found across the Great Lakes region 101 different doodem identities, including, in addition to the ones on this list, Kingfisher, Swan, Pelican, Plover, Ruffed Grouse, two types of catfish (Bullhead and Channel catfish) and Birch and Oak tree doodemag.

Over time, the governance work that doodem identities did may have changed. For example, warriors who fought in the War of 1812 and earlier conflicts had many different doodem identities, and did not just come from the doodemag listed under Defense in Johnston's list. And certainly the composition of councils contained many different doodemag. Cranes were not always ogimaag. But given the importance of doodem as metaphor for governance, these different identities may have played a role in helping people think about their responsibilities to their communities.



Historian Cary Miller’s work on Anishinaabe leadership has uncovered the importance of women’s councils in Anishinaabe governance in the western Great Lakes region through the nineteenth century. She found evidence that not only were women historically highly respected by Anishinaabe men for their crucial contributions to social and societal well-being, but also that women had clearly defined political roles. During gatherings, women met in councils to discuss issues of importance; one woman, who Miller describes as being called an *ogimaakwe*, or chief woman, then presented the results of the women’s council findings to the men. Miller found evidence of women’s councils also contributing advice on matters of both peace and war. Significantly, several late eighteenth and very early nineteenth-century land sale agreements with the British in the eastern Great Lakes region also recognize this consultative structure of Anishinaabe governance and in particular the involvement of women. In these land sale agreements, the preambles state that documents were signed on behalf of the “chiefs, warriors and principal women.” And on this 1784 land cession, the presence of the women as signatories is clear – three women affixed their doodem images, next to the clerk’s works “her mark.” These texts indicate that the British clerks understood that Anishinaabe women had political roles and responsibilities. Women are no longer mentioned specifically in the preambles to treaties after 1800, as the description of the parties changes to “Principal Chiefs, Warriors and people” but it would be a mistake to conclude from this that Anishinaabe women ceased to be politically relevant in their communities, merely because the British stopped mentioning them.

See Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinabek Leadership, 1760-1845* (University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 76-77.

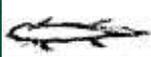
Three early British-Anishinabek treaties describe the constitute elements of Anishinaabe political councils, defining in the preambles that the treaties were with “Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women” as does one early agreements with the Six Nations on the Grand River, all signed between 1792 and 1796. Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1901), 61, 64, 65-66.

Source of the above image: Archives of Ontario

Indenture for the sale of lands along the Grand River, 23 May 1784, Archives of Ontario, Crown Lands, RG1-1v2p145-6. True copy of the original deed. Inset shows enlarged copy of bottom right of original document. The words “her mark” are clear.

1 August 1805, Minutes of a meeting with the Mississaugas at the River Credit, Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1, 294-297.

“We beg of you to take notice of what I have said; I speak **for all the Chiefs** & they wish to be under your protection as formerly. But it is hard for us to give away our Land: **The Young Men & Warriors** have found fault with so much having been sold before; it is true we are poor & **the Women say we will be worse**, if we part with any more; but we will tell you what we mean to do,”

Quennepenon (Otter doodem) 

Occasionally council minutes of treaty negotiations reveal that chiefs and councilors were consulting with the council of warriors and council of women. See for example this quote from the 1805 negotiations for sale of land in the territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit River. Quennepenon of the Otter doodem was the orator; Cheechalk (Eagle doodem) was ogimaa. 1 August 1805, Minutes of a meeting with the Mississaugas at the River Credit, Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs, D-10a, Series A, Volume 1, 294-297.

Common Councils

Where their local affairs are settled, such as sale and division of their lands, settling disputes, adopting other Indians into their own body, and the transaction of business with the British government...each person is at liberty to give his opinion on all matters before the council.”

General Councils

“At these councils federal unions are formed, war or peace is declared, treaties are made or renewed, and boundaries of territories established.”

Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, 105-109.

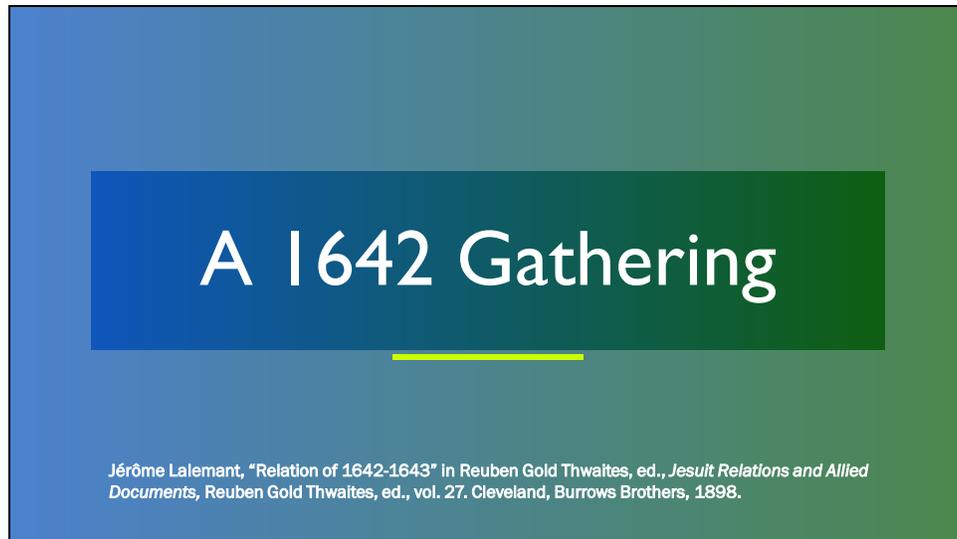
While most treaty documents were made with the common or local council, Anishinaabe people met regularly in large general councils. Mississauga aanikeogimaa () Peter Jones described the two different types of councils in his published history of the Anishinaabeg. Most Anishinaabe First Nations today are located at sites of historic common or local councils. But the alliances that connected council fires together, and which made Anishinaabe government strong and yet decentralized, were made and renewed at general councils. Before settler colonists moved into Anishinaabe territories, Anishinaabe peoples travelled regularly to gather with other council fires; council fires within an alliance (like the Robinson Huron Treaty Nations) took turns hosting. These gatherings meant that regional governance happened transparently in full view of all attending community members. Such gatherings also provided opportunities for socializing, games, dancing, feasting, and mourning those who had died. They were a critical part of the economy too, allowing for trade in food, goods and medicines.

Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby of the Credit River Mississauga) *History of the Ojebway Indians : with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity* (London, United Kingdom : A.W. Bennett, 1861). Online copy available here:
<http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.35737/3?r=0&s=1>

The Annual Round...

They seem to have as many abodes as the year has seasons - the Spring a part of them remain for fishing, where they consider it the best; a part go away with the tribes which gather on the shore of the North or icy sea [James Bay], upon which they voyage ten days, after having spent thirty days upon the rivers, in order to reach it. In summer they all gather together..... About the middle of Autumn, they begin to approach our Hurons, upon whose lands they generally spend the winter." Jérôme Lalemant, "Relation of 1640-1641," in Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, 21: 239-41.

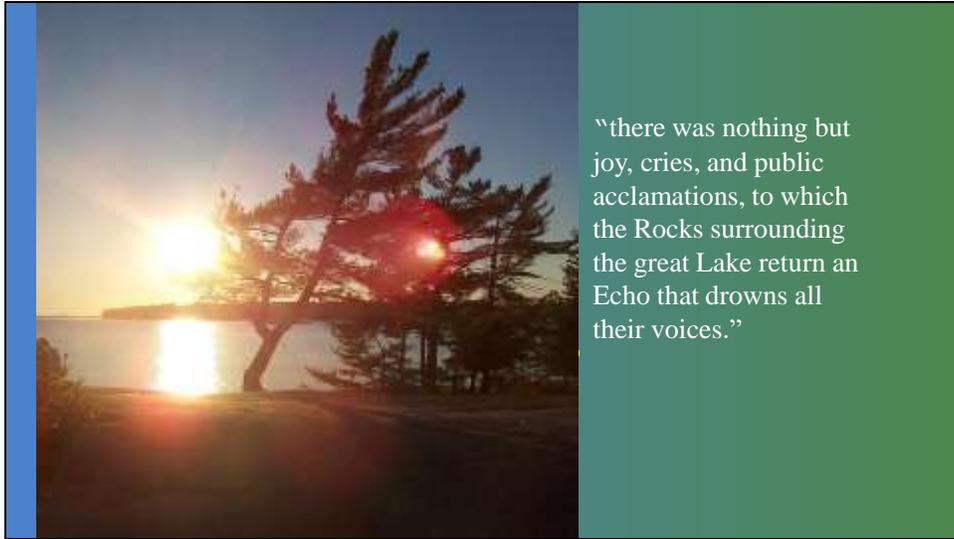
This description of the Nipissing council fire's seasonal travels shows that in the past people relocated seasonally to regular, planned places – as many abodes as the year as seasons – in other words, four relocations. But also that communities came together and then dispersed to travel to different communities for different purposes – some for fishing, some for trade.



A rare and detailed description of a regional gathering of Anishinaabe council fires within the Robinson-Huron Treaty Nations territory was recorded by Jesuit missionaries in 1642 and subsequently published originally in France.

An English translation was made in the late 19th century. You can read it here: Jérôme Lalemant, "Of the Mission of the Holy Ghost Among the Algonquins, the Nearest to the Hurons," in "Relation of 1642-1643." *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., vol. 23 (Cleveland, Burrows Brothers, 1898), pages 205-233 by accessing an online copy of this volume of the *Jesuit Relations* here: <http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.07557/3?r=0&s=1>.

Note that the English translation of the French word "sauvage" (which at the time at the connotation of "being of the forest" or "not cultivated") was translated into English in the late 19th century by Mr. Thwaites as "savage."



“there was nothing but joy, cries, and public acclamations, to which the Rocks surrounding the great Lake return an Echo that drowns all their voices.”

Lalemant’s description of the arrival of the council fires for this gathering held in early September of 1642 (in the neighborhood of Wausauking today) indicates what a happy time this was for families to be coming together again.



The Jesuits (who were invited guests of the Nipissing hosts) at this 1642 gathering, witnessed the tremendous number of gifts given and received by the hosts and guests for all manner of purposes. The exchange of presents and the distribution of gifts awed the Jesuits, but was an integral part of the Anishinabeg economy at work. There were the gifts given when the guest nations arrived, those tossed into the water for the young people to retrieve during the grand entry, the formal presentations of gifts to the hosts to condole them for their losses, prizes given to the winners of games of skill and agility, the give-aways by the newly elected Nipissing leaders to all those in attendance, gifts given by women mourning lost relatives to those who came to feast their dead together, and gifts given to reaffirm alliances. The gifts pictured here demonstrate the beauty of these items, reflecting many hours of work and significant artistic skill. Indeed Lalemant tried to put a monetary value on what he had seen, and he concluded that “although the riches of this Country are not sought for in the bowels of the Earth, and although most of them consist only in the spoils of animals---nevertheless, if they were transported to Europe, they would have their value. The presents that the Nipissirieniens [Nipissings] gave to the other Nations alone would have cost in France forty or even fifty thousand francs.” (enough to purchase several hundred pure bred horses – in other words, significant wealth).

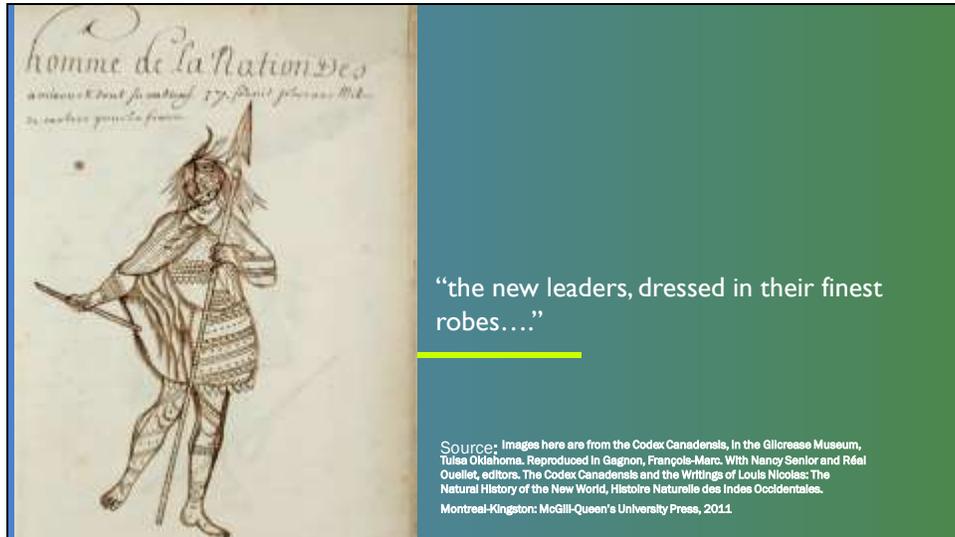
There images here are of items made in the 19th century that are similar to those described by Lalemant. Images are from the database of the Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures (GRASAC). See grasac.org. Robinson Huron Treaty members

wishing to learn more about GRASAC and to access the database can email grasac.pm@utoronto.ca.



Gifts also formed part of the language of alliance renewal at this 1642 gathering. Gifts included “porcelain” – wampum, and beautiful items like these moccasins made with porcupine quillwork and dyed moosehair. The large inset shows the incredible detail.

Images from the database of the Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures (GRASAC). See grasac.org. Robinson Huron Treaty members wishing to learn more about GRASAC and to access the database can email grasac.pm@utoronto.ca.



At this 1642 gathering, the host council fire (the Nipissings) asked their assembled allies to ratify their new leaders. When that occurred, “the new leaders, dressed in their finest robes” came forward to receive marks of office. Lalemant doesn’t specify what these items were, but I wonder if that may have included the presentation of formal headdresses that ogimaag were given upon taking up their posts. This portrait of an Anishinaabe man of the “Amikouais” or Beaver Nation was made in the late 1600s and shows the clothing typical of the period. The man’s robe is painted and decorated with porcupine quillwork.

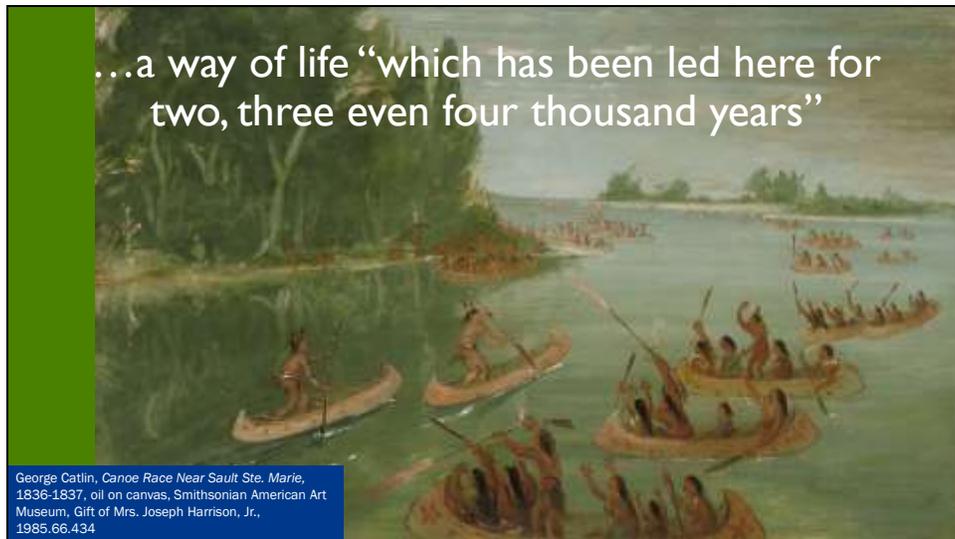
For more information on headdresses see Alan Corbiere, “Anishinaabe Headgear: Symbolic, Cultural and Linguistic Meanings,” *American Indian Art*, vol. 37, no. 3 (Summer 2012), 38–47.

The caskets...”borne between the presents given to the most intimate of friends, and were accompanied by the most precious robes and by collars of porcelain beads, which are the gold, the pearls and the diamonds of this Country”



Top: Unknown Anishinaabe artist. Single moccasin of tanned, smoked hide, faded red, white and black quillwork. Late 17th-mid 18th C. Currently in the Musée du quai Branly, Paris, France, 7i.1878.32.72. Right: Unknown Anishinaabe artist, western Great Lakes. Currently in the Museo Civico di Scienze Naturali, Bergamo, Italy.

The gathering also included a somber ceremony – the return to families the bones of those who had died outside of their birth community. Because many Anishinaabe women married into other council fires during this period, such a gathering and mourning ceremony would be an opportunity for their remains to be returned home for burial. The gifts which accompanied the remains were given to the community receiving the remains. The ceremony included a feast for the dead, in which a vigil was kept overnight, in a longhouse built by women, and at a feast conducted by them.



In his observations of this gathering, Lalemant observed that here was a way of life “which has been led here for two, three even four thousand years.” The painting above was made in 1836 near Bawating, and shows an active, vibrant community coming together to cheer on some young men in a canoe race as part of a larger gathering. This is the way of life that leaders of the Robinson-Huron Treaty nations were trying to protect when they entered into treaty in 1850.

When the 1642 gathering ended, the people from Bawating, who had travelled to this gathering from the farthest distance, then invited the Jesuits to come visit them. Two Jesuits, Pijart and Isaac Jogues, accepted the invitation and travelled to the Bawating council site in mid October with several members of the Wendat confederacy. There they found another two thousand people gathered for yet another council, met some Anishinaabemowin-speaking Potawatomi who were taking refuge at Bawating, and learned about the many other people living along Lake Superior and far into the interior. The gifts that the people from Bawating had received at their council with the Nipissing thus became part of the redistribution network at this next council, while the news they had acquired were shared with all who gathered at Bawating. Those who received would give, and those who gave, would receive. In this way council fires maintained alliances with many other fires throughout the Great Lakes. Through regular meetings and the performance of law, Anishinaabe peoples were able to govern themselves and maintain their way of life over a very large region even as individual council fires or alliances of council fires pursued their own autonomous policies with respect to relationships with outsiders.

Source: Lalement, "Relation of 1642-1643," *Jesuit Relations*, 23: 225-277; Bohaker, *Doodem and Council Fire*.



This presentation is an excerpt of work forthcoming in the fall of 2020: *Doodem and Council Fire: Anishinaabe Governance Through Alliance*.