Learning from Manoomin

Restor(y)ing relationships between Anishinaabeg, settlers, and more-than-human beings in the Great Lakes Basin.

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Positioned between multiple worlds, Manoomin - wild rice is described within the *Mishomis Book* by the leader and activist Edward Benton Benai, as one of the sacred gifts from the Earth to the Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes Basin. Over the past few centuries however, this relationship has been impacted by settler colonial land practices such as logging, mining, the creation of waterways and removal of harvesting rights through official documents and land dispossessions. While these movements of settler colonialism from governments and individuals have fragmented the relationship between Manoomin and the Anishinaabeg, there has been a growing movement by Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals and communities to restore wild rice in this region through reseeding, and wetland restoration efforts.

Working to directly challenge Western ways of knowing through the study of Indigenous methodologies and reconciliation research from authors such as Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Shawn Wilson, Ruth Koleszar-Green, and Deborah McGregor, this thesis asks how the restoration of Manoomin might provide a framework to understand relationships between Indigenous peoples, settlers, and more-than-human beings. Three initiatives restoring Manoomin in the Great Lakes Basin are explored with drawings, reflections, and conversation, which in turn document the evolution of the land through the "restorying" of relationships, following principles such as Vanessa Watt's "Place-Thought" and Willie Ermine's "Ethical Space".

Within each of the three initiatives, Manoomin offers a range of lessons; beginning with sovereignty, harvesting rights, and contrasting perceptions of land within the restoration of wild rice in Pigeon Lake, 'Ontario'. The dynamics of co-management are revealed through the restoration of the so-called St. Louis River in 'Duluth, Minnesota', one of the most polluted watersheds in the region and the sixth stop along the Anishinaabeg migration from the East coast of Turtle Island. Finally, the importance of establishing respectful relationships is emphasized in conversations with individuals in 'Michigan', who are involved in the seeding of Manoomin on the University of Michigan properties and a decades old effort to restore wild rice on Lake Lac Vieux Desert.

Through personal reflections on these relationships created through Manoomin, this thesis humbly considers how the process of reconciliation and the restoration of land might meaningfully support efforts towards Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination.

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Thank you to my supervisor Jane Mah Hutton. Your TRDI studio is where the seeds of this thesis began, and it was because of your care, support, feedback, suggestions, and honest questions throughout that this work was able to grow. I have learned not only how to be a better researcher from you, but a better student and person.

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This thesis was written, and researched, in a brick house made from the ground of the Dish with One Spoon Treaty. Out my window, I can see 'Brant Avenue' named after Thayendanegea, Joseph Brant, who was promised land by Frederick Haldimand to establish a new home for his Mohawk community as they were displaced from New York.

The street I am on is filled with Norwegian Maples. They were planted in the 70s, after the native Sugar Maples were felled; each summer the leaves develop large black spots revealing that they are not from here.

If I walk out my house towards the West, I will find the Wilkes Dam. Named after one of the men who originally leased the land for the "City of Brantford", from the Six Nations of the Grand River in 1820, it was subsequentially 'surrendered' for settlement in 1830.

This house was built in 1895, ten years after the opening of the Mohawk Institute Residential School, a six-minute drive from me; though reclaimed as the Woodland Cultural Center, it still reflects the horrific foundations of this so-called country of 'Canada'.

The water I drank, the ground I walked on, and the air I breathed during the duration of this thesis journey all live in the traditional territory of the Attawandron, Anishinaabeg, and Haudenosaunee peoples, clearly within 6 miles of the Grand River.

While the contents of this thesis are not directly positioned on the Haldimand Tract or the land of the Six Nations, they have been my home during this chapter in my life, acting as a constant reminder to be a humble guest, and supported my life and work throughout.

Miigwetch.

Dedication

To Manoomin and all her friends and family, named and unnamed, known and unknown, working to restore and protect her home.

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Planning: Coming to Manoomin and Defining Terms

When starting a new journey, it would seem logical to familiarize yourself with the lay of the land and points of interest. Or when starting a new book, you may read the back cover and author's biography to decide if the tone will suit your mood. Just as those initial steps are important to understanding where you will be going, and who will be guiding you on this journey, so is the practice of positioning.

Common within Indigenous research methodologies, positioning helps the reader or listener understand where the writer or teller is coming from[1]. Just as a methodology chapter situates your research within the academic field, positioning situates the author within their cultural, traditional, and personal context[2].

For myself, this journey to Manoomin cannot be explained without the context of where I am coming from, how I got here, and why I began this research.

1 Deborah, McGregor; et al. *Indigenous Research : Theories, Practices, and Relationships* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018).
2Ahnungoonhs - Brent Debassige, "Re-conceptualizing Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin (the Good Life) as Research Methodology: A Spirit-centered Way in Anishinaabe Research." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 33, no.1 (2010): 11-28.

Coming to Manoomin

The first time I heard talk of Manoomin was in a CBC video during the Spring of 2020, by the Anishinaabeg Chef Shawn Adler, who created a short series about foraging for traditional foods[3]. In one of the seasons, 'Winter', he went to visit James Whetung, a member of the Curve Lake First Nations. Whetung discussed the importance of Manoomin to his community and the Anishinaabeg at large, citing Edward Benton Benai's *Mishomis Book*, and calling Manoomin "the food of the Gods". At that time, we were still in our first COVID lockdown and I had yet to decide or know what the Fall would have in store for me. I filed this newfound knowledge away, not knowing just how important it would become.

As I had spent most of my life and undergraduate years to date focusing on Europe and it's culture, through courses, exchanges, and time spent working abroad on co-op, I began to notice a lack of awareness during my final years in school to the land that I had grown up on. Moving to 'Ontario'[4] when I was young from the so-called U.S, meant that I never properly considered this place home, even though I have spent most of my life in the Southern Great Lakes Basin, and summers in the North, near 'Parry Sound-Georgian Bay'. I knew that I wanted to reconcile this lack of knowledge and dedicate this thesis to unlearning these Western frameworks to properly address the land moving forward and pay respect to this place that shaped me into who I am today.

I started out exploring the land management documents from my own cottage, located on traditional Anishinaabeg, Algonquin, and Wendat land (though I did not know that initially). Like many settlers in Canada, I had consumed the narrative of supposed "wilderness" in the North[5] which is ingrained within the fabric of 'Canadian' society. With a desire to learn more about sustainably protecting and preserving the Boreal Forest habitat of this property, I began unpacking the forest management documents commissioned by my parents. Within these, I became aware of the "official" perspective of the land, which was that it was deemed good for only firewood and ATV trails. This report was in complete contrast to my own personal, emotional, and academic perception of this land: where beavers cross the pond, the months are marked by migrating birds and falling leaves, and moose walking over the marshy waters of the Southern Boreal forest

3 CBC Life, "Foraging for Wild Rice with Chef Shawn Adler," YouTube Video, 6:30, December 10,2019. CBC https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NRdVnJwgW1s&t=45s.

4 *Throughout the text, settler place names are denoted using scare quotes, following the practice of questioning the legitimacy of settler colonial place names as they erase Indigenous presence and serve to re-write the narrative in favour settler colonial governments like so-called Canada or the 'U.S'. See projects such as Ogimaa Mikana: Reclaiming/Renaming, Stories from the Land: Indigenous Place Names in Canada, or the Cree Place Names Program, as some examples of work being done to further this theory.*

5 Joe Curnow and Anjali Helferty, "Contradictions of Solidarity: Whiteness, Settler Coloniality, and the Mainstream Environmental Movement," *Environment and Society: Advances in Research 9* (2018): 148.

- to name a few examples. I did not realize properly at that time, but my perspectives was already contrary to this setter framework of land and more-than-human beings as capital (see Fig. I.2).

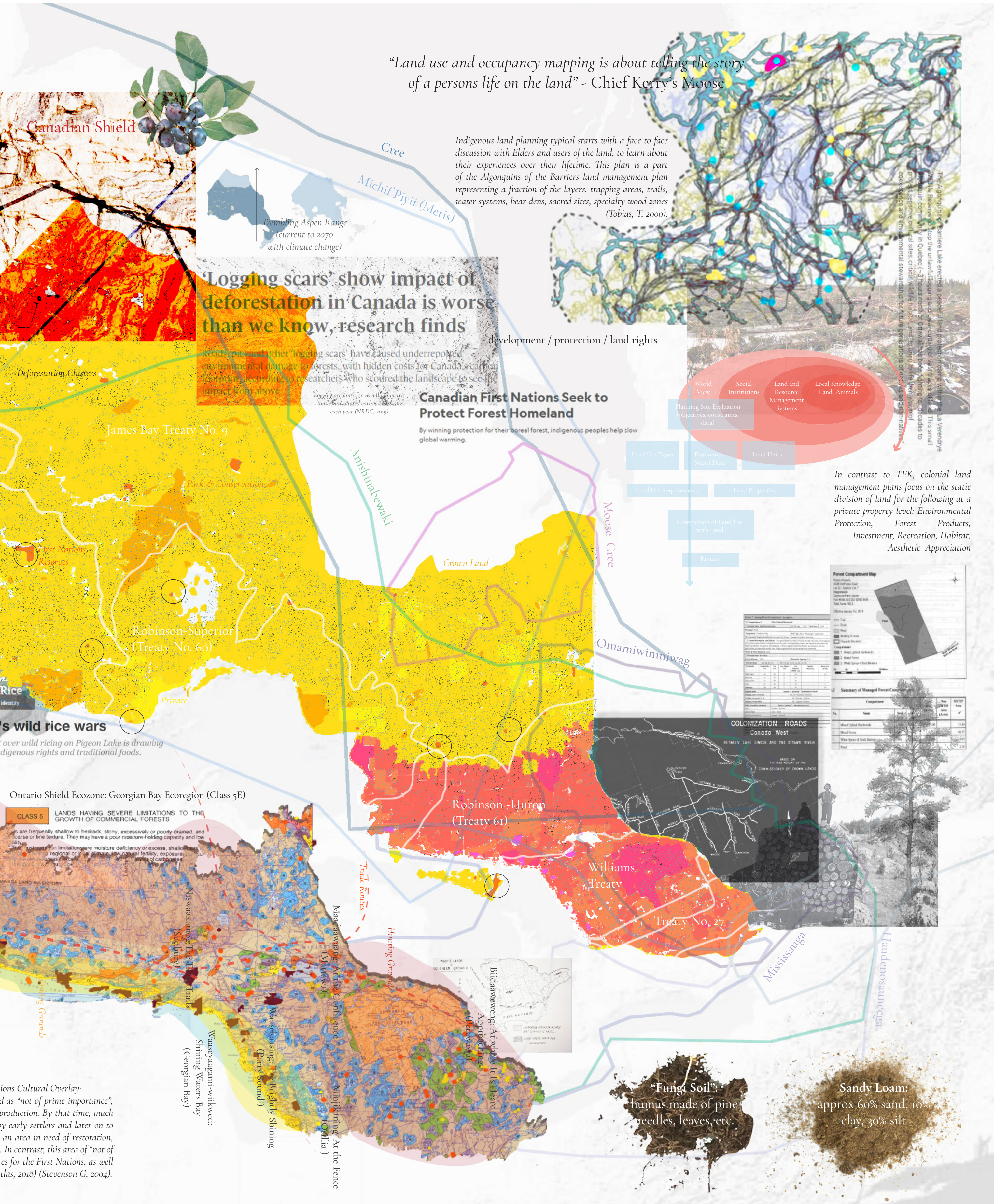
With additional research, I came to learn that the entire lot had likely been clear cut at one time, probably around the late 1800s when settlers were given land claims by the government to start farms. These all failed due to poor soil conditions for Western agricultural practices, but the impact influenced the landscape. Now when I look at the tall, thin, dense stands of black pine and balsam spruce, I understand that this landscape was not what was always there. Fortunately, though, whoever 'owned' this land before did not cut down the series of tall white pines that sit across the beaver pond (see Fig 1.2). These I know come from before. This journey to understand the land and the context of it, could not be completed without sitting with the knowledge of the transformation that occurred.

As my thesis research started, I was working simultaneously on an elective by Raweno:kwas, Dr. William Woodsworth, called *Twelve Architectures*. One of his assignments asks students to trace their ancestral migration story and how you relate "*to the land and people of the Hotinonshon:ni, Wendat, Neutral, Petun, Erie and Anishnabec relations of this region north of Lake Ontario*". Through this I was able to acknowledge how much I had dismissed this region as my 'home', choosing instead to romanticize the parts of my ancestral knowledge located in Europe. As a result, I could ignore the reality that my ancestors were Euro-American settlers, and that I am connected to this region more than I previously realized. In fact, my mother's family lived as European settlers within the mid-West of 'Wisconsin', in the Great Lakes Basin for almost 200 years, coming over from Norway in 1850 (see Fig. 1.1). This reality forced me to realize the connection and influence my ancestors, and thereby my own actions have had on this land.

It was only when my then TRDI studio professor, Jane Mah Hutton, said I should focus on the land practices which have shaped the culture and landscape, that I rediscovered Manoomin starting from James Whetung and moving forward through the marshes of the Great Lakes.

Fig. I.1 Film image of the marshy wetland at the heart of the beaver pond near my parent's cottage where the line between our 'property' and Crown Land runs directly through. When my parents and I first arrived at this cottage some 20 years ago the water was very low. Over the years we collaborated with the beavers to repair the broken dam which had collapsed the year we purchased the property. *Image by Osman Bari. 2020.*

Fig. I.2 First drawing from my Fall TRDI studio with Jane Mah Hutton where we were asked to complete an initial exploration of our thesis topic. For myself this meant issues of land management, and Indigenous versus settler colonial land practices impact on the Boreal Forest. This exercise would serve as the foundation for my research moving forward, particularly within discussions of contrasting perspectives of land, as I found Ontario Natural Resource Documents would designate certain land areas as essentially "useless". This is also what would eventually inspire the aesthetic for my final drawings. *Drawing by Author. 2020.*


"Land use and occupancy mapping is about telling the story of a persons life on the land" - Chief Kerry's Moose
Canadian Shield
Cree
Michif Piyii (Metis)
Trembling Aspen Range (current to 2070 with climate change)
Indigenous land planning typical starts with a face to face discussion with Elders and users of the land, to learn about their experiences over their lifetime. This plan is a part of the Algonquins of the Barriers lake land management plan representing a fraction of the layers: trapping areas, trails, water systems, bear dens, sacred sites, specialty wood zones (Tobias, T, 2000).
'Logging scars' show impact of deforestation in Canada is worse than we know, research finds
development / protection / land rights
Deforestation Clusters
Canadian First Nations Seek to Protect Forest Homeland
By winning protection for their boreal forest, indigenous peoples help slow global warming.
World View
Social Institutions
Land and Resource Management Systems
Local Knowledge, Land, Animals
James Bay Treaty No. 9
Anishinabewaki
Moose Cree
Park & Conservations
In contrast to TEK, colonial land management plans focus on the static division of land for the following at a private property level: Environmental Protection, Forest Products, Investment, Recreation, Habitat, Aesthetic Appreciation
First Nations Reserves
Crown Land
Robinson-Superior (Treaty No. 60)
Omamiwininiwag
Rice
's wild rice wars
Private
COLONIZATION ROADS
Canada West
Ontario Shield Ecozone: Georgian Bay Ecoregion (Class 5E)
CLASS 5
LANDS HAVING SEVERE LIMITATIONS TO THE GROWTH OF COMMERCIAL FORESTS
Robinson-Huron (Treaty 61)
Williams Treaty
Treaty No. 27
Trade Routes
Hunting Grounds
Mississauga
Haudenosaunee
Waasyagami-wiikwed: Shining Waters Bay (Georgian Bay)
Waasaksaing: The Brightly Shining (Parry Sound)
Mnjikaning: At the Fence
Bidaawewong: Awaken it is Heard
"Fungi Soil": humus made of pine needles, leaves, etc.
Sandy Loam: approx 60% sand, 10% clay, 30% silt

An acknowledgment of flaws

This thesis covers many topics that I am just starting to learn about. Instead of approaching it as a means of "staking my claim" within the academic field, I have seen this research evolve into an introduction, or seed of how I hope to position myself as a student, designer, and human being moving forward. I am aware of the flaws in this research and wish to acknowledge them initially upfront, not as a sort-of false modesty but to state my awareness of "*my own limitations and assumptions about place and land*"[6] as I reckon with being a guest or visitor on these lands and with this research:

1) I have not experienced going out into rice beds myself or had the opportunity to learn from the land where many of the examples I will discuss take place,

2) The duration of this thesis does not allow for proper time to build relationships, trust, and respect with the Anishinaabeg communities I am researching and learning from.

3) I am a settler academic, sharing the stories of communities from which I do not belong directly.

Having recognized these flaws from the beginning, I have tried my best to reduce their impacts through the development of my methods and seeking out specific sources to help challenge the Western mindset I am bringing to this topic (see chapter 3: methods and theories).

6 Zoe Todd discussing listening within Anja Kanngieser and Zoe Todd, "From Environmental Case Study to Environmental Kin Study," *History and Theory* 59, no. 3 (2020):390.

Defining Terms

Restor(y)ing: I first heard this term in the *Miijim: Food and Gardens as Remediation* lecture series used by Joce Two Crows Trembly (Mohawk, Pottawatomi, Francaise, Ashkenazi), as they described the Re-sistering Garden in Tkoronto[7]. To me, it describes a method of telling an old story in a new way, with new connections and relations. That story becomes new, and the message might be looked at in a different way.

None of what is written in here is "new", these stories presented in themselves are not new either. Instead, I have been working to draw connections across the region to learn lessons of self-determination, land management, and building relationships through the restoration of Manoomin's home. Hopefully making new connections and present the message in a different way.

Manoomin as "her": I believe it is important to develop your own relationships with the land and other-than-human-beings, so to hold your actions and feelings towards them in your own way.

A few weeks into my research as I learned of the importance of Manoomin I recognized the need to identify "it" as more than a thing, or even as more than a plant. I recognized the intrinsic importance to Anishinaabeg and wished to respect that relationship as much as I could. For myself this process was largely inspired by the much loved and quoted *Braiding Sweetgrass* by Robin Wall Kimmerer, the choice to refer to Manoomin with a capital and a pronoun came through her "note on a treatment of plant names" and "language of animacy". She writes:

> *We accept with nary a thought that the names of people are capitalized. To write "george washington" would be to strip that man of his special status as a human. It would be laughable to write "Mosquito" if it were in reference to a flying insect, but acceptable if we were discussing a brand of boat. Capitalization conveys a certain distinction, the elevated position of humans and their creations in the hierarchy of being. (p. 385)*

7 "The Resisting Project," *Taiaiako'n Historical Preservation Society,* last accessed May 29th, 2021. https://taiaiakon.wordpress.com/the-resisting-project-description/.

For myself, it was important to present Manoomin as an equal actor to the human ones within this project and therefore this 'personification' was part of that process for myself. Since then, I have read and heard of how Manoomin is referred to as a "brother", or a "charismatic plant", reflecting the individual relationships that people have with her.

The use of "her" is multi layered too, as my professor Dr. Miguel Sioui first brought to my attention in the Winter of 2021 the responsibility and relationship of Anishinaabe qwe (woman), to Nibi (water). This manifests in individual acts but also events such as the Mother Earth Water Walks led by Josephine Mandamin, which raises awareness of their knowledge and connection to this sacred element[8]. As Manoomin finds her home in this intermediary space of land and water, she has historically been harvested by women[9], and they continue to be sources of knowledge and caretakers of these beings. I think of Winona LaDuke who is a leader in her community and the White Earth Nation, currently fighting to protect the water and Manoomin which would be impacted by the replacement of the Enbridge 3 pipeline[10], and the thousands of women and 2SLGBTQIA+ Folks who are not as well-known who fight for the protection of Nibi. With this additional context, it seemed only appropriate to me, to recognize the strength of women and folks surrounding this being, protecting and speaking up for her when no one else cares.

Anishinaabeg Peoples: Edward Benton-Benai describes the birth of the Anishinaabeg as follows,

> *"Gitchi Manito (the creator), took four parts of Mother Earth and blew them using a Sacred Shell. From the union of the Four Sacred Elements and his breath man was created…From this original man came the Anishinaabe people"* (p.3).

Sometimes spelt Anishinaabek. Nishinaabee, Nishinabe…this word encompasses the Ojibwe, Chippeaw, Odawa, Potawatomi, Algonquin, Saulteaux, Nipissing, and Mississauga First Nations[11], whose traditional territories range, but homes are not limited to

8 "The Women Who Walk for the Water: Grandmother Josephine Mandamin's Legacy," *Water Docs,* last modified March 8th, 2019. https://www.waterdocs.ca/news/2019/3/8/the-women-who-walk-for-the-water-grandmother-josephines-legacy.
9 Amanda Raster, and Christina Gish Hill, "The dispute over wild rice: an investigation of treaty agreements and Ojibwe food sovereignty," *Agriculture and Human Values* 34, (2017): 271-272.
10 Lynn Sue Mizner, "Enbridge's Line 3 Is Putting Wild Rice at Risk – and Indigenous Water Protectors Are Taking a Stand," *Civil Eats,* last modified May 18th, 2021. https://civileats.com/2021/05/18/enbridges-line-3-is-putting-wild-rice-at-risk-and-indigenous-water-protectors-are-taking-a-stand/.
11 Karl S. Hele, "Anishinaabe," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* last modified July 16th, 2020. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/anishinaabe.

the West of Gichigami-ziibi (St Lawrence) to the beginning of the Plains to the West of Anishinaabewi-gichigami (Lake Superior)[12].

Within this thesis the stories center on the experiences and individuals of the Mississaugas and Lake Superior Chippewa and Ojibwe. I wish to note here that the experiences expressed by individuals in this thesis, or perspectives from Anishinaabeg authors are not necessarily reflective of the opinions of "all" Anishinaabeg peoples within this region – nor may all the individuals who care for Manoomin be Anishinaabeg.

Throughout the text when I refer to the work of a specific community, I have been sure to identify the specific community within. When referring to more general concepts or projects which may include other communities or Nations, I use the term Indigenous.

More-than-human beings: This term seeks to move past the human "nature" binary to see beings such as plants, animals, insects, minerals, systems, etc as more than or equal to humans. This concept is also present in terms such as "non-human", or "other-than-human" which are often used within the Western post-humanist theory[13] of Donna Haraway[14] or Bruno Latour[15] (to name a few examples). Unfortunately, the literature within posthumanism rarely credits Indigenous authors who are presenting these same ideas[16] and their origins within Indigenous ways of being.[17] This further perpetuates colonialism within the academic institution through exclusion[18].

Dr. Vanessa Watts, a Mohawk and Anishinaabe professor and author, expands the narrative around more-than-humans through "place-thought", whereby "*land is alive and thinking and human and non-humans derive agency through the extension of these thoughts*."[19] Watts critics Western authors for using histories such as Sky Woman or Coyote (in the case of *Situated Knoweldges* by Haraway) as epistemological lenses in which morals or lessons are distilled and applied to abstracted theories, dismissing the legitimacy of agreements between human and more-than-humans, as well as the significance of these stories for many Indigenous communities.

12 Ibid.
13 Juanita Sundberg, "Decolonizing posthumanist geographies," Cultural geographies 21, no. 1 (April 26, 2013).
14 Jay David Bolter, "Posthumanisim," in *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*, edited by Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Robert T. Craig, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2016): 2-3
15 Ibid: 4.
16 Juanita Sundberg, "Decolonizing posthumanist geographies."
17 Zoe Todd, An Indigenous Feminist Take on the Ontological Turn: 'Ontology is just another word for colonialism", *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 29, no.1 (2016): 18.
18 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London:Zed Books, 2012): 96.
19 Vanessa Watts, "Indigenous place-thought and agency amongst humans and non-humans," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2, no.1 (2013): 21.

I personally decided to use "more-than-human", as the other two seem to present these beings as lesser or different from humans. Over the past year my perception of these beings has changed as well. Somewhere along the way I began looking at the robin laying their nest in my parents' porch for example as not just "a bird", but one of the many beings who are living in a stream of consciousness and whole world that is beyond me. Every year robins are born, may migrate thousands of miles, make nests, survive, and thrive all within a two-year cycle. They appear to know their place in the world and are far more connected to the seasons and land then I may ever be, in these ways they are more than.

Settler Colonialism: Eve Tuck and K.W Yang define settler colonialism in *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor* as follows,

> "*..different from other forms of colonialism in that settlers come with the intention of making a new home on the land, a homemaking insists on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain...Within settler colonialism the most important concern is land/water/air/subterranean earth. This is both because the settlers make Indigenous land their new home and source of capital, and also because the disruption of Indigenous relationships to the land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence.*"[20]

Also coined neo-colonialism, these systems of power and capital have never gone away and will continue to dominate and divide until it is eliminated[21].

I use the name "settler" within this writing as a white individual who has directly and indirectly benefited from the system of settler colonialism. My ancestors arrived and claimed Turtle Island as their home from the mid 1800s to late 1900s, working as farmers, then town folks in so-called Wisconsin, and 'Missouri'. From these lands they were able to financially support their families, and indirectly me, over the course of generations. Within the context of this specific land, I am on now, I do acknowledge that I arrived here as an immigrant with my parents for a "*new home and source of capital*" as the definition of settler colonialism entails.

This is not to dismiss the narratives of refugees or marginalized communities who arrive

20 Eve Tuck and K. W. Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1, (2012):5, https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18630.
21 Shiri Pasternak, and Tia Dafnos, "How does a settler state secure the circuitry of capital?" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 36, no. 4 (2018).

and call this place home now[22]. Everyone's relationships to place are different and it is important to identify your own.

Settler Place Names: Throughout the text I have tried to introduce the locations using their Anishinaabemowin names and placed the English names in brackets after. In other instances, I have introduced the names following the convention of "so -called" which reflects the temporality and identity of this place from the colonial perspective. Finally, I personally decided to use scare quotes for all other Anglicized names for these same reasons.

Sovereignty: A historically colonial word linked to domination and power; it is often used and debated by Indigenous Peoples across Turtle Island to express more than these colonial ideas[23]. Writes such as Dene scholar Glen Coulthard[24], Mohawk author Gerald Taiaiake Alfred[25], and "activist scholar" Nandita Sharam[26], argue that the fight for sovereignty reinforces or is intrinsically connected to settler colonialism as Nations seek validation from colonial states[27].

In contrast, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson writes of redefining this term as separate from state power, where Indigenous sovereignty reflects self-determination and respect for other Nations[28]. Similarly, Sharon Venne, a Cree Indigenous Rights Attorney, describes sovereignty as follows:

> "*We understand the concept of sovereignty as woven through a fabric that encompasses our spirituality and responsibility. This is a cyclical view of sovereignty, incorporating it into our traditional philosophy and view of our responsibilities. There it differs greatly from the concept of western sovereignty which is based upon absolute power. For us absolute power is in the Creator and the natural order of all living things; not only in human beings… Our sovereignty is related to our connections to the earth and is inherent. The idea of a nation*

22 Andrea Smith, "Foreword", in *Undoing Border Imperialism* by Harsha Walia (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2014).
23 *See* "Sovereignty*" for a nuanced reflection of the various opinions and perspectives of what sovereignty is in*, Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle Raheja, *Native Studies Keywords (* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015).
24 Glen Coulthard, "Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Colonial
Contexts" (paper presented at the Cultural Studies Now Conference, University of East London, London, England, July 22, 2007).
25 Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 25.
26 Nandita Sharam, "Postcolonial Sovereignty", in *Native Studies Keywords (* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015): 35-58.
27 Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle Raheja, "Sovereignty" in *Native Studies Keywords (*Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015): 9.
28 Ibid: 10.

did not simply apply to human beings. We call the buffalo or, the wolves, the fish, the trees, and all are nations. Each is sovereign, an equal part of the creation, interdependent, interwoven, and all related."[29]

Therefore, 'sovereignty' presents itself as an extremely complicated word - which could be a thesis topic onto itself! I have used it within this thesis in a similar way to "more-than-human-beings" in the sense that though it is a flawed term it is still largely used within the research at this time.

Reconciliation: Just as sovereignty is an imperfect word, so too is reconciliation. It speaks to restoration, and a sense of compromise between beliefs; a return to what was. It is hard to reconcile a relationship if it was never healthy or present in the first place.

Madeleine Whetung's 2018 text *On remain unreconciled: Living together where we are*, presents the argument that settlers must start by realizing that there are limited avenues for repair due to colonial violence and dispossession. Through this discomfort and awareness of the magnitude of our actions, we can begin to imagine different types of relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers in the future. This position runs parallel to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's definition of the word. They define reconciliation as "*an ongoing process of establishing and maintain respectful relationships*[30]," through "*apologies, reparations, and genuine societal change, in addition to "the revitalization of Indigenous law and legal traditions*" (p.16). It can only be achieved through listening, and reflection, which can not occur over night or even over the course of a few months, but instead may take lifetimes before it is achieved in any capacity.

At its core, it is this process and the relationships connected through this, which this thesis attempts to explore through the following chapters. It is an imperfect process and requires individual reflection in addition to systematic change which reinstates Indigenous sovereignty and self determination on Turtle Island.

29 Quoted in Vanessa Watts, "Indigenous place-thought and agency amongst humans and non-humans," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2, no.1 (2013): 23.
30 Truth and Reconciliation Report. "Introduction", in *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,* (Ottawa: Library and Archived Canada Cataloguing).

01

Seeding: Introduction to Manoomin

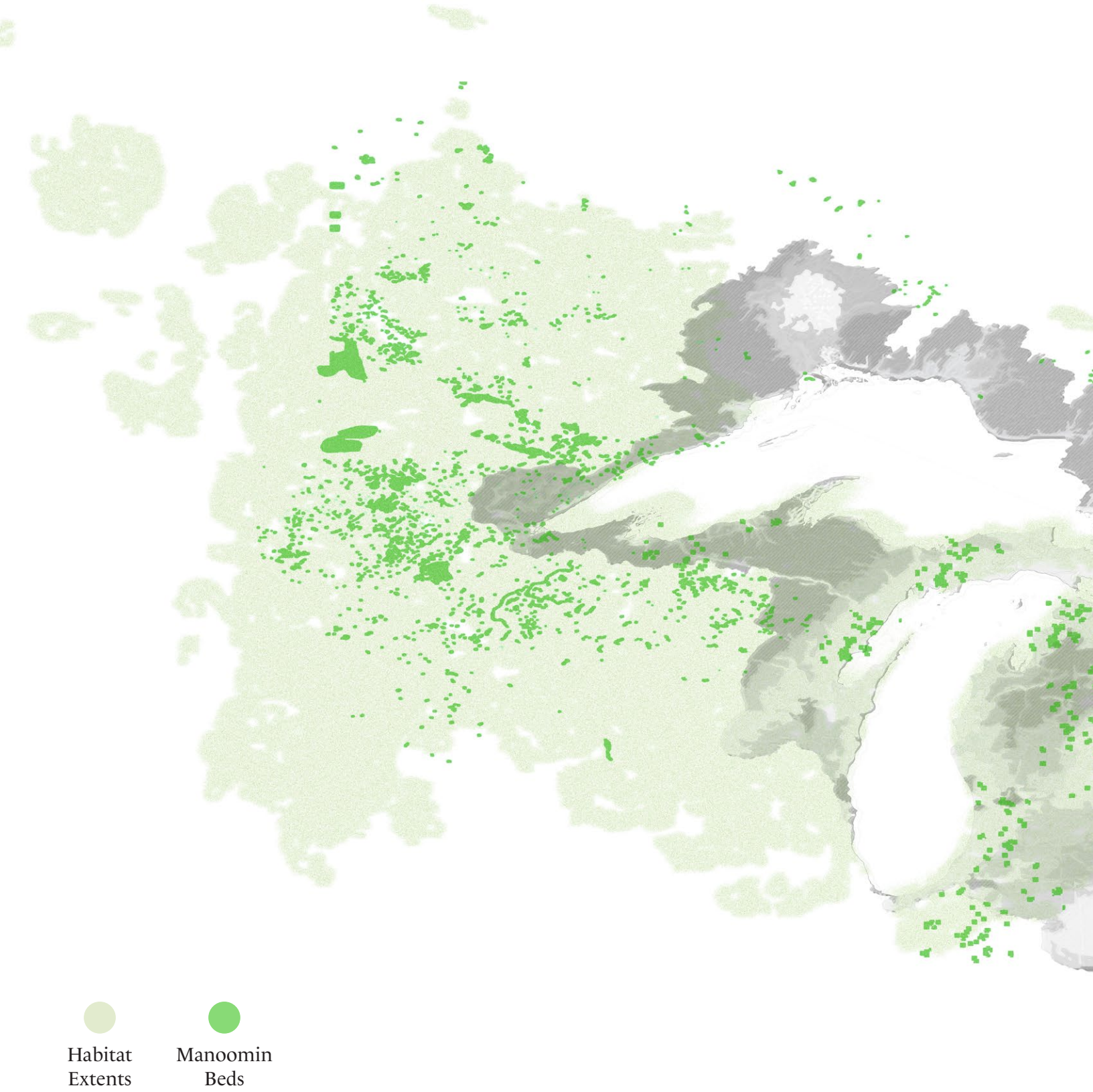
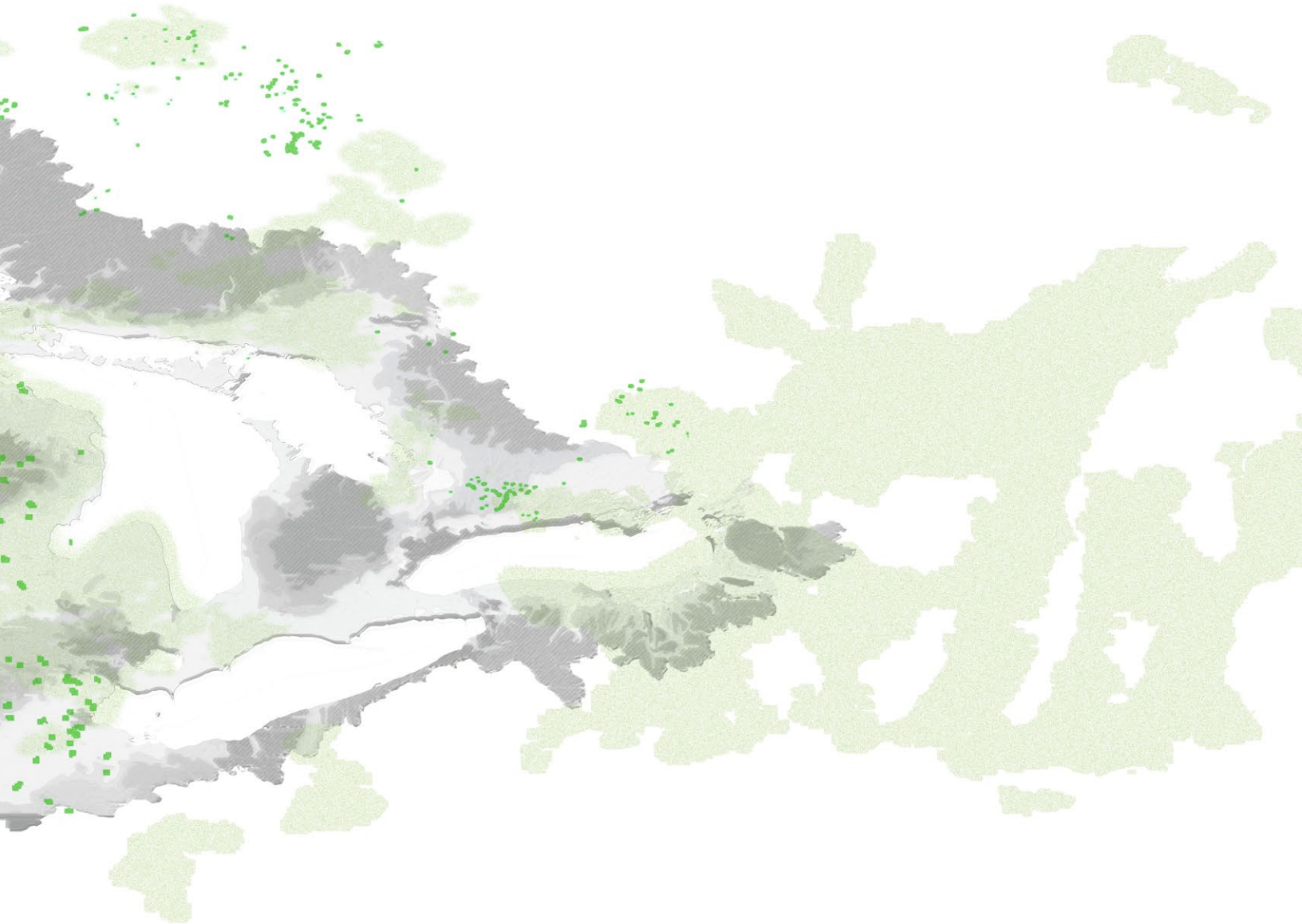


Fig. 1.1 Habitat extent of *Zizania palustris* is based on the drawings with Raymond Porter's article "Wild Rice in North America" (2019), and current Manoomin beds created from GIS information from Minnesota Geospatial Commons, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resource Wild Rice, Great Lakes Indian Fishing and Wildlife Commission, and the University of Michigan Herbarium. The Great Lakes Basin map was created based on the Equal Earth Map which represents continents in more correctly proportioned sizes. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*



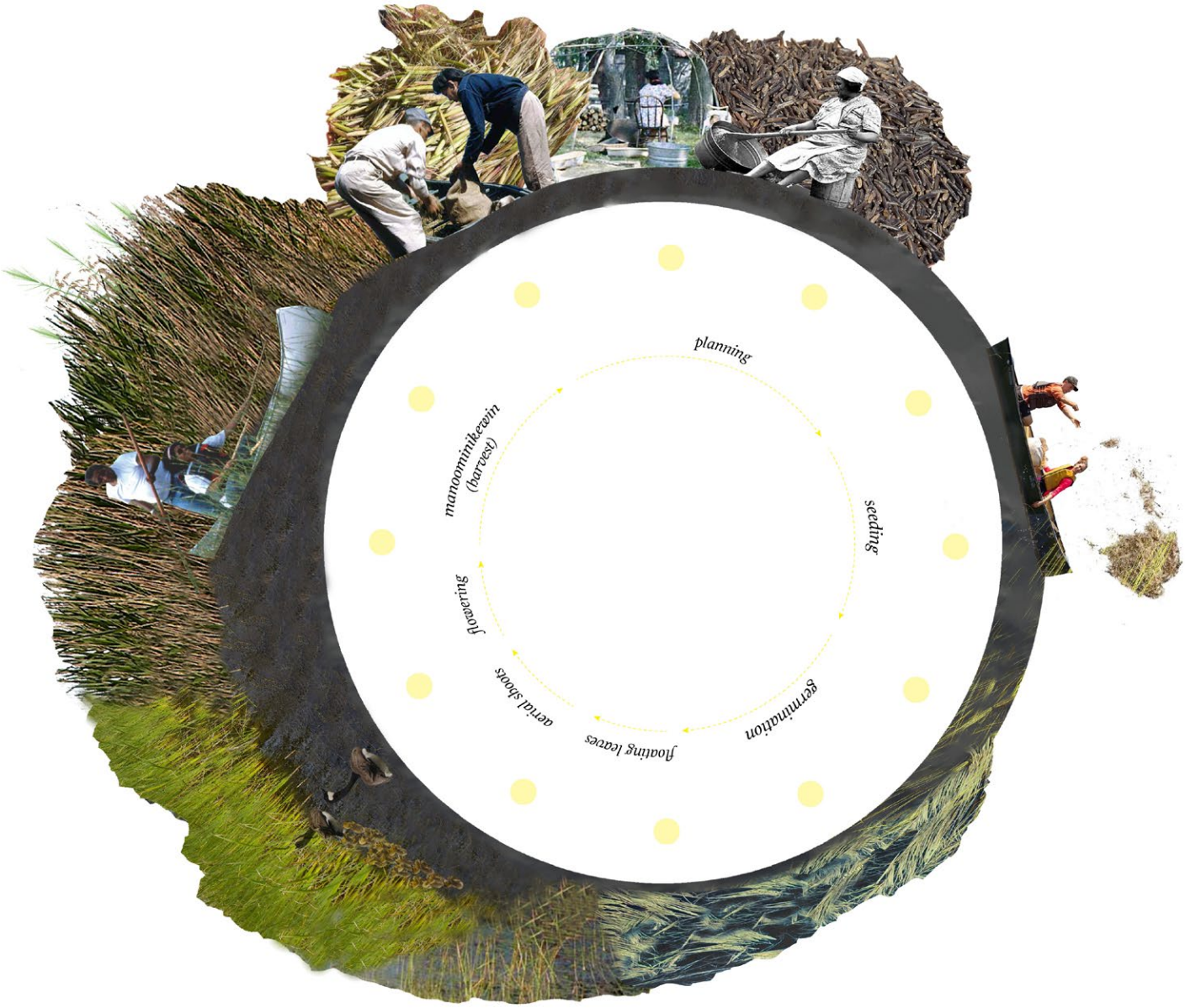


Fig. 1.2 Manoomin growth throughout the annual lunar cycle as it coincides with the activities of planning, seeding, harvesting, and processing. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

As Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, a Mississauga Nishinaabeg writer, musician, and academic from Alderville First Nations, packs up from a day of manoominikewin, [*ricing*], she describes a white couple who confronts her partner on the shoreline. "*I thought only Indians did that?*", one asks; Leanne shouts back, "*what makes you think I'm not Indian?*"[1]

Her short story *Circles on Circles* touches the heart of many conflicts between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, where Indigenous Peoples act to assert their land rights and practice their traditions, leading to settlers questioning, complaining, and misunderstanding. She ends the story with this passage:

> *"They want a beach. We want rice beds. You can't have both. They want to win. We need to win. They'll still be white people if they don't have the kind of beach they want. Our kids won't be Mississauga if they can't ever do a single Mississauga thing."* (p. 78, emphasis added)

From stories like this, I have come to slowly recognize how the 'land practice' of harvesting Manoomin is more than a recreational activity or another form of Western 'foraging'. As Leanne harvests Manoomin, she is living part of what it means to be Anishinaabeg, learning from her ancestors and community through this practice, and building a relationship with the land and plant herself. Deborah McGregor describes how the physical act of living out Indigenous Knowledge is the way in which it is passed down and learned by generations.[2] Passing down knowledge through land, practices, and stories is not exclusive to the harvesting of Manoomin but present throughout Anishinaabeg traditional practices and ways of being[3]. This is often described as 'TEK' (traditional ecological knowledge)[4], which is not simply something to be "studied", as many settler researchers perpetuate,[5] but moreso reflective of that continuous cycle of living, learning, and being in relation to oneself, to one's community and family, and one's relationship with Mother Earth.[6]

Speaking from the perspective of the Anishinaabeg in Treaty #3 area, Kathi Avery Kinew describes the culture and governance surrounding Manoomin as one of the oldest

1 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Circles on Circles" in *This Accident of Being Lost* by Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Toronto: house of Anansi Press, 2017): 76.
2 Deborah McGregor, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge: An Anishinaabe Woman's Perspective," *Atlantis* 29, no.2 (2005).
3 *For example, see the Williams Treaties First Nations (Alderville First nations, Curve Lake First Nations, Hiawatha First Nation, Scugog Island First Nation and the Chippewas of Beausoleil First Nations, Georgina Island First Nation, and the Rama First Nation) explanation of harvesting around the Seven Grandfather Teachings of wisdom, love, respect, bravery, honesty, humility, and truth* (Williams Treaty First Nations, 2021). *More discussion on this in Chapter 4.*
4 *I hesitate to use this term throughout this report as according to Indigenous authors such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Deborah McGregor, or Doug Brubacher (to name a few examples), it historically and presently has been used, misunderstood, dismissed, and exploited by settler researchers (more on this in chapter 3: methods and theories).*
5 Deborah McGregor, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge: An Anishinaabe Woman's Perspective," *Atlantis* 29, no.2 (2005): 105.
6 Ibid: 104.

forms of self-government[7]. Through the active monitoring and protection of stands, the time and energy it takes to harvest and process, and the method of harvesting itself which considers the reseeding of grains for the years to come; all reflect an Anishinaabeg way of living and being[8].

These values, culture, philosophy, and spirituality are present within Manoomin's name as well. I first heard wild rice described by James Whetung of Curve Lake First Nations, as "*the good seed, or the spirit seed, or the gift from the creator.*"[9] Defined by the Ojibwe People's Dictionary, this translation comes from the following roots:

Manoo: similar to root "minw", meaning good

-min: suffix meaning *berry, seed, grain*

As I have come to know through my course with Dr. Andrew Judge in Spring 2021, the root "min" means more than simply "good," but is found within 'minobimaatisiiwin,' a philosophy which is central to many Anishinaabeg[10]. This simply translates in English to "*the good life*"[11], or "*the good way of living,*"[12] however, it means so much more. Leanne Simpson describes this word within *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back,* as "*the art of living the good life,*"[13] - minobimaatisiiwin reflects an "*ongoing process*" through which one actions, relationships, and way of life reaffirms this way of being[14].

The root "min" is found in many Anishinaabemowin names for fruits or vegetables as well (ex: Mandaamin [*corn*], Mashkodesimin [*bean*] and Odemin [*strawberry*]), reflecting their connection to minobimaatisiiwin,[15] and therefore the knowledge contained within these beings[16] which is passed down through generations[17] in a continuous cycle of care, love, and responsibility, which this value system and way of learning creates.[18]

7 Kathi Avery Kinew, "Manito Gitigaan: Governance in the Great Spirit's Garden," PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, (1996): 4.
8 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "The Challenges of Reconciliation: Manoomin" November 2nd, 2015. http://anishinabeknews.ca/2015/11/18/for-the-love-of-manoominikewin/.
9 CBC Life, "Foraging for Wild Rice with Chef Shawn Adler," YouTube Video, 1:11-1:12, December 10,2019. CBC https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NRdVnJwgW1s&t=45s.
10 Winona LaDuke, "Minobimaatisiiwin: The Good Life," *Cultural Survival*, December 1992, https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/minobimaatisiiwin-good-life.
11 Deborah McGregor, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge: An Anishinaabe Woman's Perspective," *Atlantis* 29, no.2 (2005): 103.
12 Dr. Andrew Judge, "Trees and Spring Teachings," (online lecture, University of Waterloo, Cambridge, June 8th, 2021).
13 *Though she writes about minobimaatisiwwin being an important concept, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson also notes* in Dancing on Our Turtle's Back (2011) *some caution about this term being* "overused and over simplified concept in Nishinaabeg scholarship particularly amongst non-speakers and cultural beginners" (p. 26-27), *which should be acknowledged.*
14 Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back,* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011): 26.
15 Dr. Andrew Judge, "Trees and Spring Teachings."
16 Gloria Snively, and Wanosts'a7 Lorna Williams, *Knowing Ḥome: Braiding Indigenous Science with Western Science*, (Victoria: University of Victoria, 2016): 39.
17 Richard J. Parmentier, "Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache.:Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache," *Journal of linguistic anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1997): 136–138.
18 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* 3, no.3 (2014).

Fig. 1.3 " Maxine Big Bear and son Francis Norcross harvesting wild rice, Becker County, Minnesota," *Becker County Historical Society. 1967;* The film photos located throughout this chapter depicting the harvesting of Manoomin are predominantly taken by Monroe P. Killy through the 30s-40s (a settler engineer and photographer), and Frances Densmore through the early 1900s (a settler and ethnographer who worked to record local Indigenous music which is now in the Smithsonian) and archived through the Minnesota Historical Society.

Ecological Story

Fall to Winter: As one of only two native cereal grains to North America[16], Manoomin has provided for other plants, animals, fish, insects, birds, and human beings of the Great Lakes Basin[17] for centuries[18]. As mentioned previously, Manoomin-wild rice or *Zizania palustris* is an annual grain which requires reseeding each fall[19]. Though her grains will naturally fall back into the water, the spread of Manoomin is assisted with the help of human and other-than-human beings alike who help diversify the genetic composition of the stands as they harvest[20]. Reciprocally, Manoomin's dense stems provide shelter and nesting materials for waterfowl and migratory birds passing through the Lakes[21]. Alongside waterfowl, muskrat, deer, and moose also feed on the stems, naturally scattering the grains alongside the stems for next year's growth[22]. These seeds lay dormant in the soft clay bottoms over the winter as the shallow waters typically freeze over[23].

Spring to Summer: As the lakes and rivers thaw, the stems slowly emerge, creating dense networks of underwater leaves. The underwater and floating leaves stage is when Manoomin finds herself most likely to become uprooted[24] by passing motorboats, whose engines often become tangled up in the stems[25]. While considered a nuisance to boats, these dense conditions create safe breeding and resting grounds for birds and create perfect nursery areas for fish and amphibians[26]. Just as the stems extend out of the water, the roots of Manoomin begin reaching down into the soft sediment found along lakes, rivers, and ponds. Her roots stabilize these shorelines and soils[27], while also working to sequester of phosphorous and nitrogen, thereby reducing eutrophication[28], a growing problem in the Great Lakes Region[29].

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16 "History of Wild Rice," *White Earth Nation Wild Rice*, accessed February 5th, 2021, http://realwildrice.com/history/#:~:text=The%20rice%20kernel%20itself%20is,the%20state%20grain%20of%20Minn

17 *Expanding the narrative of tribal health,* (Cloquet: Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Resource Management Division 2020): 15.

18 *Within a report by Matthew Boyd et al. from the MidWest Archaeologist Conference in 2014, evidence of wild rice has been found from as early as 700 A.D across the Southern Boreal Forest and Great Lakes Basin, along with signs of the cultivation of corns, beans, and squash (the three sisters)*

19 Olivia, Dooley, Johnny Mojica, and Jessie Martin, *The Food That Grows out of the Water*, (Tacoma: Earth Economics, 2018): 12.

20 Annette Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes," *Ecological Modelling* 229, (2012): 2. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolmodel.2011.09.015.

21 Olivia, Dooley, Johnny Mojica, and Jessie Martin, "The Food That Grows out of the Water:" 12.

22 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *Natural Wild Rice in Minnesota*: 9.

23 Annette Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes:" 2.

24 Ibid.

25 "Cottagers & Indians" Fight over Wild Rice and Water Rights," YouTube video, 44:18, CBC Docs, July 9, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9k42UkDvxc&t=439s.

26 NOAA, *Lake Superior Manoomin Cultural and Ecosystem Characterization Study,* (Great Lakes Wild Rice Initiative, 2020): 5.

27 Ibid.

28 "We are related," *University of Minnesota Extension,* accessed February 5, 2021, https://extension.umn.edu/work-tribal-nations/we-are-related-relationship-water.

29 *Great Lakes Restoration Initiative Action Plan III*, Environmental Protection Agency, October 2019, https://www.glri.us/documents#actionplan.

Fig. 1.4 Primary growth stages of Manoomin. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

The English name for Manoomin largely misrepresents her as a being. In fact, Manoomin is not a "rice" at all, but an aquatic grain from the Zizania genus (not Oryza, as most domesticated rice originates from). In North America, there are three species of wild rice: Zizania palustris (Northern wild rice and the main personage in this thesis), Zizania aquatica (who grows mainly on rivers throughout Northern and Central regions of Turtle Island), and Zizania texana ("Texas' wild rice).

Anishinaabeg Migration to Manoomin

Though different stories exist, as I have learned through papers, stories, videos, and interviews, for many Anishinaabeg this relationship with Manoomin was solidified through their migration from the East coast of Turtle Island to the Great Lakes Basin. Told within the *Mishomis Book* by Ojibwe educator and spiritual leader, Edward Benton-Benai from Lac Court Oreilles in the so-called state of Wisconsin, the migration story began with the coming of the Seven Fire Prophecies.

> *"They came at a time when the people were living a full and peaceful life on the northeastern coast of North America. These prophets [nee-gawn-na-kayg'], left the people with seven predictions of what the future would bring. Each of these prophecies was called a Fire and each Fire referred to a particular era of time that would come in the future. Thus, the teachings of the seven prophets are now called Neesh-wa-swi' ish-ko-day-kawn' (Seven Fires) of the Ojibway."* (Chapter 13, The Seven Fires, p. 89)

Foretelling the coming of settlers, the prophecies warned that death and destruction would be left for the Anishinaabeg if they stayed on the East Coast, that they must move West to the place "*where food grows on the water*"[30]. Along the way, they made seven stops as foretold in the prophecies[31] (see image 1.4 and 1.5 for two different representations of this journey). As described by Roger LaBine of Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa during my interview with him[32],

> *"we came upriver [on the St. Lawrence Seaway]. One of the first prophecies at the first fire, we were told that there was going to be some visitors or people coming on logs with clouds and that that we needed to leave. [A]nd we needed to follow that Migis shell, because if we did not, we would be destroyed. And if you look at the Indigenous People remaining up and down the eastern seaboard, how many tribes are said to have survived that today? How many federally recognized tribes are up and down that eastern seaboard?"*

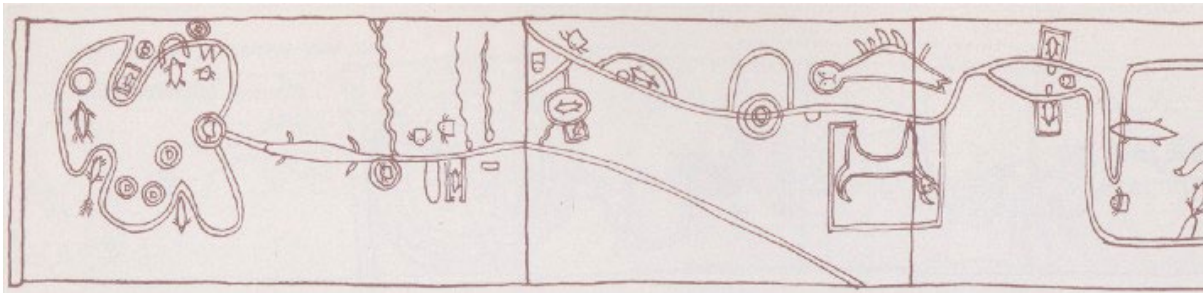


Fig. 1.5 103ft long wiigwaak-sabak (birch bark scroll) by James Red Sky Sr. of Lac Seul Ontario depicting the physical and spirtual migration of the Anishinaabeg. *Scan of original birch bark scroll by James Red Sky. 1960.*

30 Winona LaDuke, "The Rights of Wild Rice." *In These Times*, last modified February 21, 2019. https://inthesetimes.com/article/the-rights-of-wild-rice-winona-laduke-white-earth-rights-of-nature.
31 "Ojibwe Migration Story," *ESRI*, last accessed February 9th, 2021, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=4cca54af01514d1bb48e48c0ae99b942.
32 *Please see Chapter 6, and Appendix A for the full interview.*

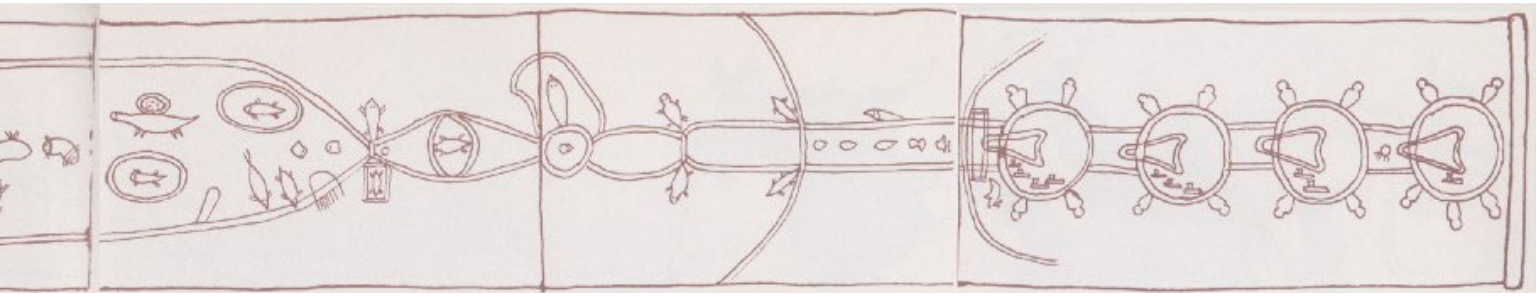
As Roger described, the Anishinaabeg left the shorelines of the Gulf of St. Lawerence and made their first stop on a turtle shaped island near Mooniyaang (*Montreal*). They continued along the Ottawa River until they came to Gichi-gakaabikaang, "the place of thunder water" (*Niagara Falls*). Their third stop was along the Detroit River where the three distinct groups within the Anishinaabeg Nation began to form: O-day-wa-tomi (*Potawatomi - the fire/coal keepers*), O-daw-wahg (*Ottawa - the trader people*) and the Ojibwe (*the faith keepers*). This would be known as the Confederacy of the Three Fires[33]. It was here where Roger LaBine describes telling of the third prophecy,

> *"in the third prophecy, it says that we needed to follow that Migis to the land where the food grows on the water, when we find this food, we will know we arrived at our new homeland."*

Knowing they must continue West, the group divided in two with one group traveling towards the South around the lakes. The other group moved North and across Manitoulin Island, which is considered for some as the capital of the Ojibway nation[34]. Their fifth stop was Baawitigong (*Sault Sainte Marie*), which would become an important trading spot between Indigenous Peoples and settlers. Again, the group divided with one traveling along the North shore of Gitchi-Gami (*Lake Superior*) and the other the South shore.

Though the specific paths, purposes, and journeys differ from person to person[35], many accounts describe each group coming to find Manoomin[36], which they found during the sixth stop on Spirit Island near what is now called Duluth. *"So, we've come to find out that when we end our migration story,* says Roger LaBine*, [is] where we come to find this food that grows on the water, so it [Manoomin] was a very, very sacred gift to us, to the Anishinaabeg People".* The final stop where the fire was carried was on Mo-ning-wun-a-kawn-ing (*Madeleine Island*).

Some accounts say the journey took around 500 years to complete, starting in 900 A.D[37].



33 Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway,* (Ann Arbour: University of Minnesota, 2010): 99
34 Ibid: 100.
35 Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, *Expanding the Narrative of Tribal Health: The Effects of Wild Rice Water Quality Rule Changes on Tribal Health,* (Fond du Lac Nation: Cloquet, Minnesota. 2020): 8.
36 "Ojibwe Migration Story," *ESRI*.
37 Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway:* 102.

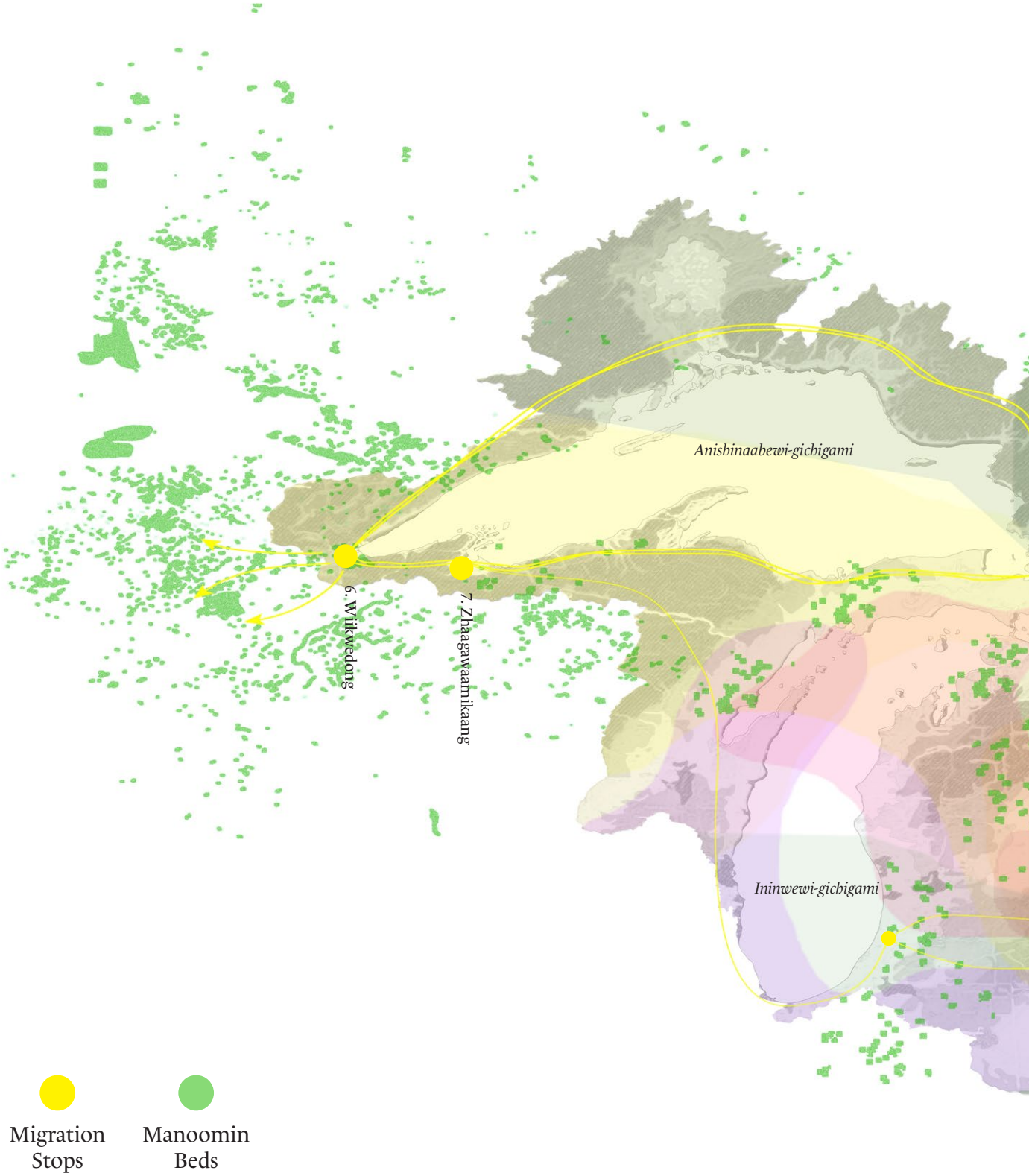


Fig. 1.6 Current Manoomin beds in the Great Lakes Basin overlayed with the Territories of the Anishinaabeg and their migration from East to West with the Anishinaabemowin names of the stops and Great Lakes. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

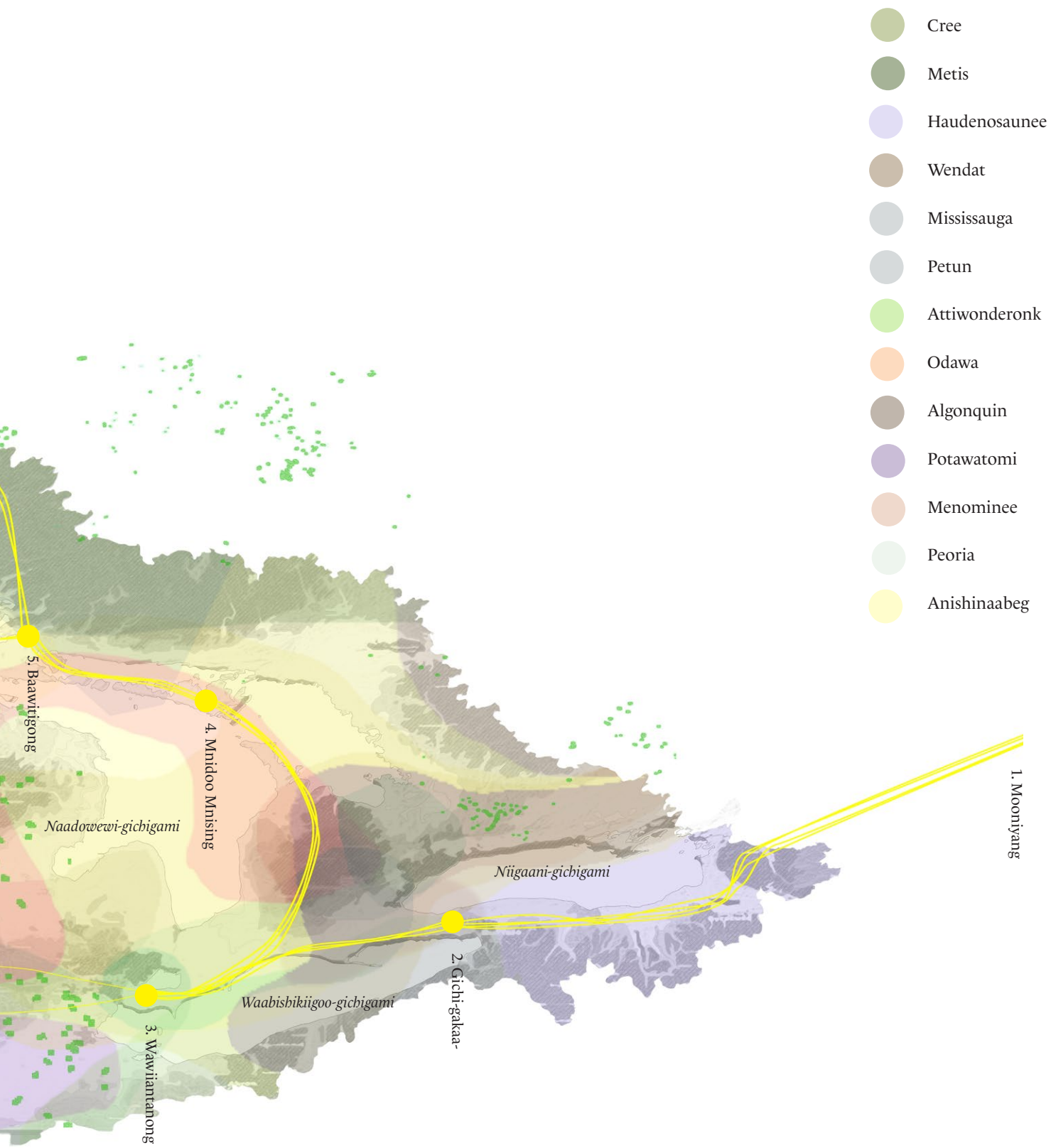

Cree
Metis
Haudenosaunee
Wendat
Mississauga
Petun
Attiwonderonk
Odawa
Algonquin
Potawatomi
Menominee
Peoria
Anishinaabeg
5. Baawitigong
4. Mnidoo Mnising
3. Wawiiantanong
2. Gichi-gakaa-
1. Mooniyang
Naadowewi-gichigami
Waabishkiigoo-gichigami
Niigaani-gichigami

Fig. 1.9 Close up of Wild Rice grains ready for harvest. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1946.*

Fig. 1.8 Manoomin filled lake. *Photograph by Frances Densmore. 1910.*

Fig. 1.7 Canoe filled with Wild Rice grains. *Postcard. 1915.*

Fig. 1.11 View of Wild Rice from canoe. *Photograph by Frances Densmore. N.D.*

Fig. 1.10 Wild Rice harvest White Earth Reservation. *Photograph by Frances Densmore. N.D.*

Fig. 1.12 Ojibwe woman harvesting Wild Rice on Nett Lake. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1946.*

Manoominikewin: ricing, harvesting wild rice[41]

Mii izhichigewaad ingiw Anishinaabeg dibwaa bawa`amowaad akawe asemaakewag biindaakoojigewag. Mii aw asemaa ayaabadizid biindaakoonind a`aw Manidoo. Geget apiitendaagozi asemaa. Mii akina ge izhichigeyangiban gegoo mamooyan imaa zayaaga`kiigin, gidaa-biindaakoojigemin.

The first thing Anishinaabeg do is make an offering of tobacco before they harvest wild rice. Tobacco is used when making an offering to the spirit. Tobacco is highly valued. When we take from nature, we should make an offering of tobacco. (GLIFWC, 2010, via NOAA Lake Superior Manoomin Cultural and Ecosystem Characterization Study)

As the seasons approach Manoominike Gizis (Wild Rice Moon for the Ojibwe of Minnesota), many Annishinabeg who practice manoominikewin begin preparing for the harvest[42]. Traditionally many communities and families would gather and come together along the shores of lakes and rivers to establish seasonal rice camps. These might have been present for weeks, though today it may only be a few days or even just during evenings after work.[43] Through these gatherings' traditions and stories can be passed down through generations, reconnecting individuals to the teachings of Manoomin[44].

Before any grains are harvested, a ricing committee would usually be elected by the community[45]. Today the opening of bodies of water for harvest largely depends on the area you are in. Within the so-called state of Minnesota[46], bodies of water are monitored throughout the season by the local Bands and the 1854 Treaty Authority who decide on whether a stand is ready for harvesting[47]. Within Reserves all residents have the right to harvest based on the ricing committee's decision. Outside of reserves non-Indigenous or individuals harvesting for 'recreational' purposes, who do not hold a "*valid tribal identification card from a federally recognized tribe located in Minnesota*" must obtain a harvesting permit.[48]

41 "manoominikewin," *The Ojibwe People's Dictionary,* last accessed February 5th, 2021, https://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/main-entry/manoominikewin-ni.
42 *Expanding the narrative of tribal health,* Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Resource Management Division: 10.
43 *As one of my interviewees who wished to remain anonymous mentioned to me, See Appendix A, page X.*
44 Kjerland, T. *Wild Rice Monitoring Handbook.* University of Minnesota Sea Grant Program Publication. 2015: 4.
45 *Gabe-bines - Paul Buffalo recorded and compiled his entire teachings and life story as an Anishinaabe leader within his community, born and raised in Northern 'Minnesota' (mainly near Leech Lake). This resource is an effort of Paul Buffalo, and Timothy Roufs, with help of the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe, The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, and University of Minnesota to compile these stories and make them accessible to future generations.* Paul Buffalo, "When Everybody Called Me Gabe-bines,"Forever-Flying-Bird", interviewed by Timothy G. Roufs, University of Minnesota Duluth, 2017, https://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/troufs/Buffalo/PB14.html.
46 "Wild Rice Regulations," *Minnesota Department of Natural Resources*, last accessed July 16th, 2021, https://www.dnr.state.mn.us/regulations/wildrice/index.html.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.

Fig. 1.13 Parching Wild Rice at Chicog's, Nett Lake. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1946.*

The decision to open waters for harvest is often difficult as the stands mature unequally and take around 10 to 14 days to turn from green to ripe[49]. In 'Minnesota', the season dates fall between August 15th and September 30th. Harvesting of green or unripe seeds in 'Minnesota' is "*unlawful*"[50], as it can not be consumed, thereby reducing the amount of seeds to harvest when ready and ones to be reseeded for next year.

> *"The green rice is no good. Green rice is o-jaa-wash-ko-ma-no-mIn. We break the green rice, and if it's milky, it isn't ready. If it comes out doughish, it isn't too ready, so we just go back. If you break the rice kernel and it becomes powder, or if it's brittle, it's ready." (*Paul Buffalo, 2017)

Once the stands are confirmed ripe by the ricing committee or individual or officially designated as open, the harvesting may commence![51]

49 Annette D. Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes, Harvesters and Management across Great Lakes Landscapes for Shared Regional Conservation:" 2.
50 "Wild Rice Regulations," Minnesota Department of Natural Resources.
51 Annette D. Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes, Harvesters and Management across Great Lakes Landscapes for Shared Regional Conservation:" 101.

Fig. 1.14 Ojibwe woman using basswood fiber to tie stalks to harvest later. *Photograph by Frances Densmore. N.D.*

Fig. 1.15 Wild Rice tied for harvest, Lake Onamia. *Postcard. 1909.*

Historically before the harvest would begin, women would take their canoes out into the beds to bind the seed heads. Each family would use a different material or binding pattern to distinguish their share[52]. Later, this technique was reserved for older people who could not complete the harvest in one day, so they marked the stands that they would return to[53]. This method is called mah-no-men dak-o-bi-du[54]. Today, I have personally found little mention of this practice as ricing occurs over a more condensed timeframe.

As seen in many historical depictions and a few accounts from individuals like Paul Buffalo, and James Whetung, ricing was historically completed by women who would take their canoes out with their daughters to harvest Manoomin from the stands[55]. Today, it is shared amongst men and women in the community who participate in the harvesting and processing of the grains.

The traditional practice is designed to avoid depleting the entire stand by allowing some grains to fall back into the water, thereby seeding next year's harvest[56]. The stands are rhythmically "hit" with cedar sticks as Fred Ackley Jr of Sokaogan Chippewa Community describes below, so that the grains are collected in the bottom of the canoe.

> *...once I get going out there, I don't want to quit. I've got this rhythm. They call it out, "Wham, wham, wham, wham!" Chush, chush, chush, chush. That's the rhythm.*

> *In my mind, every time I hit a new plant, I'm saying miigwech, thank you ... and then the rice comes in for me, because I'm honoring and praying to that rice, giving it that respect that's gonna keep me and my partner going, no matter...*

A poler stands at the back of the boat or canoe, guiding it through the stands, ensuring none of them are damaged[57]. While less common, and often reserved for larger harvesting requirements, motorboats and machines with a collection tray that scoops up the grains are used as well (though for example this is prohibited in 'Minnesota' regulations[58]), with these technics annual seeding is necessary to ensure the continuation of this annual plant.

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52 "Binding the rice," *Native Art in Canada*, accessed January 29th, 2021, http://www.native-art-in-canada.com/wildrice.html.
53 Paul Buffalo, "When Everybody Called Me Gabe-bines,"Forever-Flying-Bird".
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid; Paula Anderson and James Whetung, *Black Duck Wild Rice: A Case Study,* (Kitchener: Center for Sustainable Food Studies, Wilfred Laurier University, 2018): 4.
56"Ecological Importance," *Native Wild Rice Coalition*, accessed September 30, 2020. http://www.nativewildricecoalition.com/ecological-importance.html.
57 PBS Wisconsin., "Manoomin: Food That Grows on the Water," YouTube Video, 10:00, February 12, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eOz8CPW0m0.
58 "Wild Rice Regulations," *Minnesota Department of Natural Resources*.

Once on land, the grains are laid out onto a tarp, blanket, or birch bark sheets, to dry[59]. Today they might be brought to a machine which completes the roasting, dancing, and winnowing in two steps[60]. These however can be extremely expensive and therefore not accessible for all communities[61], though there are many videos online now that describe the process to DIY these machines[62].

Historically, however grains are roasted or parched over a fire to remove the hulls. A large metal tub is often placed at an angle on top of the fire. A paddle is used to stir the grains around the bottom so that they do not burn[63]. Amy Thielen's blog on the process of roasting describes the smells as the follow,

> *"The rice had picked up some of the funky blue poplar smoke from the fire and mixing with the clear water acidity of its creek origins the two scents together filled the car with a thick, dark yeasty fog.*
>
> *The dull, taupe kernels cook into bent hook-shaped grains and are smoky, earthy, and light. It isn't sticky like other kinds of rice. Fresh rice smells comforting–like the best of the world's starches–and instantly familiar."*[64]

The grains are then pounded in wooden tubs and "danced on" with moccasins to break the hulls open and remove the husk[65]. As Paul Buffalo describes,

> *"There's a man in that jigging hole -- always dressed for jigging -- with his moccasins on and his clothes tied up tight on the bottom so that he's ready for jigging. We call him mI-mi-gosh-kah-mo-wInInii -- that's a man, that jigs the rice…He gets right in there with the rice -- right in there with his moccasins on -- and jigs the rice…The first jigging is buu-tah-g^n. You'll say, "I'll take bu-tah-g^n." And this is mI-mi-gosh-kah-mo-a-g^n -- your body movement. You see, you get used to that. You're moving. You dance it."*

The final step is the winnowing, where the husk and chaff is completely removed as it is tossed in birch bark baskets or winnowing trays. The grains are then sometimes spread

59 CBC Life, "Foraging for Wild Rice with Chef Shawn Adler."
60 Ibid.
61 Paula Anderson and James Whetung, *Black Duck Wild Rice: A Case Study*: 9-10.
62 *Some examples of this include:* Abe Lloyd, "Wild Rice processing parching and hulling with homemade equipment," YouTube video, 5:43, December 2nd, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wrF7YVcnwGA&t=241s; Mike Oehler, "Processing your own wild rice at home," YouTube video, 14:01, July 2nd, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=olT-dH6j3kp8&t=49s.
63 PBS Wisconsin., "Manoomin: Food That Grows on the Water."
64 Amy Thielen, "Manoomin and the Beavers," last accessed July 16th, 2021, http://www.amythielen.com/manoomin-and-the-beavers/.
65 Paul Buffalo, "When Everybody Called Me Gabe-bines,"Forever-Flying-Bird."

Fig. 1.16 Harvesting using cedar sticks (left) and wooden pole (right). *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1939.*

Fig. 1.17 Sacking grains after harvest. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1946.*

Fig. 1.18 Wild Rice drying on birch bark. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1946.*

Fig. 1.19 Parching Wild Rice. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1939.*

Fig. 1.20 Dancing on the roasted grains. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1947.*

Fig. 1.21 Winnowing grains after 'jigging'. *Photograph. 1937.*

Fig. 1.22 Finished Wild Rice. *Photograph by Monroe P. Killy. 1946.*

on a blanket and tossed in the air to let the wind carry away the rest of the husk and leave behind the Manoomin in various shades of brown and black[66].

> *"An easy way to differentiate between "real" wild rice and commercially grown wild rice is by colour and grain size. Real wild rice is lighter and more varied in colour with longer grain."* (Stone House Farm Wisconsin, N.D)

As this process is so labor intensive, Manoomin is usually reserved for the community to share and sell as they see fit [67]. The first rice, is often reserved to share with families who could not participate this so to respect the "first taste" which Paul Buffalo describes below.[68]

> *"There are different tastes to rice according to the depth of the water. … In the past we always believe -- we always bragged -- that Mud Lake has very good eating rice. Practically all rice is good eating rice, but we know Mud Lake has a better supply of water, which gives it a good taste.*
>
> *You have to respect the first thing in life that you're able to get to. That first one is big -- that first one. Every year you hope to see another crop just as good, maybe better. You're giving; you're preparing; you're making an offer of good will. Good; good. That's the way we did it, and we always had rice."*

66 "Wild Rice," *Stone House Farm*, last accessed July 16th, 2021, http://www.stonehousefarmwi.com/wild-rice .
67 Olivia, Dooley, Johnny Mojica, and Jessie Martin, "The Food That Grows out of the Water:" 12.
68 Paul Buffalo, "When Everybody Called Me Gabe-bines, "Forever-Flying-Bird."

The following paragraphs contain two different perspectives on the processing of Manoomin. I have positioned them here to emphasize the difference in how this process might be generalized to reflect just the physical actions and steps, whereas for some Anishinaabeg one step alone brings consideration of the importance of Manoomin, land, and beings which are all connected through this action.

Western description of the entire harvesting process:

> *"It is still harvested the traditional way: while one person poles a canoe through a stand, another dislodges the ripe grains from the plants by tapping the stems with ricing sticks, allowing the grains to fall into the canoe. The grains are then parched to gelatinize the starch, allowing for long-term storage. It is boiled like rice to be consumed as a whole grain in various ways."* (Oelke and Porter, 2016, p. 92)

A description from an Anishinaabeg individual on just the dancing of Manoomin:

> *"There were songs that they sang for dancing [rice], giving thanks to the creator, pow wow, our dances. How could I translate it? They're hymns. Say somebody is out there fanning their rice, waving it in the wind, cleaning it out. They sing their little song. You bring in the wind; you bring in the motions of everything, the heat, sun, all that, you sing about that. When you dance it, you're asking the plant to give up its fruit, so you dance on it gentle. Good dancers, traditional Indian dancers, they don't stomp their feet on the ground. They're real light when they dance. Just like we dance rice, because we don't want to break the kernels. You got to get the husk off without breaking the kernels, so you got to dance real light. You got to be related, thinking in your mind and your body and that's when we sing that song. Those things, when you think about it, you're asking that plant for help all the way through and that's what those songs are. They're hymns to the plant and to the great spirit to know that we're giving thanks for everything, the nourishment and everything they're doing for us and that's why we're asking that plant or the animal, whatever you take, to give up their life, and we respect that."* (Frank Ackley Jr. speaking in "Manoomin: Food That Grows on the Water," PBS Wisconsin Education, 2020)

Processing and Profiting

As previously mentioned, historically, the Manoomin harvest was completed by Anishinaabeg women[69]. It was up to them to select the camp site, establish the limits, gather the grains, and process together as a collective[70]. This practice aligns with Anishinaabeg women's responsibilities to water[71] and their connection to not only food production but horticulture[72]. When missionaries traveled through the now called State of Minnesota in the 19th century, they described that of the 600 individuals harvesting Manoomin from the White Earth Nation, none of them were men[73]. This act was the most apparent demonstration of an Anishinaabeg women's autonomy and directly challenged the Western gender dynamics[74] that were slowly seeping their way into the land through settler colonialism[75].

As the so-called 'explorers' began migrating West, they initially traded with the Anishinaabeg for wild rice during the mid-18th century[76]. By the 1800s as knowledge of wild rice grew, settlers began infiltrating rice camps to learn the process of gathering and harvesting[77]. They would go on to establish official government harvesting camps where Indigenous and settler individuals would be paid for the weight of grains, they could collect in a day.[78] With the commodification of Manoomin and the co-option of harvesting practices by settlers, the responsibilities of Indigenous women were often reduced as well[79].

By the 1920s, just as other extractive industries like mining or agriculture, were introducing mechanized equipment at a larger scale, harvesting machines were introduced in the Manoomin beds[80]. This equipment removed every grain from each stock, removing the natural reseeding present in traditional harvesting methods[81].

As the price of Wild Rice grew in the 1950s, the University of Minnesota became interested in genetically mapping and modifying the grain to plant in artificial "paddy"

69 Amanda Raster, and Christina Gish Hill, "The Dispute over Wild Rice: An Investigation of Treaty Agreements and Ojibwe Food Sovereignty," *Agriculture and human values* 34, no. 2 (2017): 271.
70 Brenda Child, *Holding our world together (*London: Penguin Random House, 2013): 25-26.
71 Deborah McGregor, "Traditional knowledge and water governance," *Alternative* 10, no. 5(2014).
72 Charles C. Mann, "1491," *The Atlantic Monthly,* (March 2002).
73 Brenda Child, *Holding our world together (*London: Penguin Random House, 2013): 101.
74Ibid. 25.
75 Madeleine Whetung, "(En)gendering Shoreline Law: Nishinaabeg Relational Politics Along the Trent Severn Waterway," *Global Environmental Politics,* 19, no. 3 (2019): 16-32.
76 Annette Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes:" 2.
77 Amanda Raster, and Christina Gish Hill, "The Dispute over Wild Rice: An Investigation of Treaty Agreements and Ojibwe Food Sovereignty:" 275.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Olivia, Dooley, Johnny Mojica, and Jessie Martin, "The Food That Grows out of the Water:" 6.

fields[82]. 'Minnesota' was and remains one of the regions with the most Manoomin naturally present in the rivers and lakes, and therefore the decision to capitalize on this to compete with the growing wild rice industry in California was deemed an obvious one for settler institutions at that time[83]. This is where the division between Manoomin and wild rice grew, as the "wild" or "natural" facilities of Manoomin were designed out in favor of plants that were domesticated and grown for commercial scale farming[84].

Over the next 50 years, the University worked diligently to map and modify the grain without any consultation or acknowledgement of the Anishinaabeg Peoples[85]. For them, and particularly the Ojibwe and Chippewa present in 'Minnesota' who continued to protect these harvesting traditions, these acts were and maintain to be a direct affront to their cultural identity, and food sovereignty[86].

While the stands within individual Nations or Reserves often remained healthy (particularly those in 'Minnesota'), the Manoomin beds around which settlers were harvesting commercially dwindled away. This is largely in part due to the mass scale harvesting eliminating the natural reseeding process, and the lack of consideration for the environmental from settler colonial land practices such as logging, mining, flooding of waterways, dredging of wetlands, and increased levels of pollution present within the waters of the Great Lakes Basin[87] (more on these transformations throughout Chapter 4-6).

Today, these practices under colonial capitalist systems continue to exploit and profit from Manoomin. As the Fond du Lac Band in 'Minnesota' describe:

> *"This foreign socio-economic paradigm has forced tribal members to become disassociated from traditional lifeways that were natural, that allowed the flow of life to shape the way passage of time influenced daily and seasonal life-supporting activities…In current times our communion is expressed through the monetary system, which is a disjunction or severing of the traditional Anishinaabe ethic of respectful reciprocity that has sustained relationships between water, plants, people and community for countless generations."*[88]

82 Annette D. Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes:" 274.
83 Amanda Raster, and Christina Gish Hill. "The Dispute over Wild Rice: An Investigation of Treaty Agreements and Ojibwe Food Sovereignty:" 268.
84 Winona LaDuke, "The Rights of Wild Rice." *In These Times*, last modified February 21, 2019. https://inthesetimes.com/article/the-rights-of-wild-rice-winona-laduke-white-earth-rights-of-nature.
85 Amanda Raster, and Christina Gish Hill. "The Dispute over Wild Rice: An Investigation of Treaty Agreements and Ojibwe Food Sovereignty:" 268.
86 Annette D. Drewes, and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the Spatial Dynamics of Wild Rice Lakes:" 275.
87 "History of the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement," International Joint Commission, accessed January 22, 2021, https://www.ijc.org/en/what/glwqa-history.
88 Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, *Expanding the Narrative of Tribal Health:* 9.

Fig. 1.23 Settler Colonial land practices of logging, dredging, creation of waterways, mechanical harvesting, and property divisions based on tourism and 'resource' extraction which impacted the region and Manoomin. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

Fig. 1.24 Example of a mechanical harvesting machine for wild rice. *Photograph by Bill Burnson. 1970.*

Restoring Manoomin's Narrative

"*Our reservation was physically put here to save wild rice beds. We are here to live a life of Manoomin." (Fond du Lac Band, 2020 p.9)*

While most commercial "wild rice" production occurs in artificial fields, the natural stands are still impacted by modern factors such as; sulfate mines altering water quality[89], pipelines crossing over lakes, rivers, and Indigenous Land[90], climate change increasing water temperatures[91], and overall fewer young people who are interested or involved in Manoomin harvesting[92]. This led to the creation and declaration of the Rights of Manoomin from the Anishinaabeg Nation. This law passed after members gathered around the protest of the Enbridge 3 Pipeline which would pass directly through the Manoomin stands of Northern 'Minnesota'. It begins:

"*Manoomin, or wild rice, within all the Chippewa ceded territories, possesses inherent rights to exist, flourish, regenerate, and evolve, as well as inherent rights to restoration, recovery, and preservation*."

Following a similar format of other 'Rights of Nature' movements, Winona LaDuke, a member of the White Earth Nation in 'Minnesota', environmentalist, and leader within this movement, describes this law as a means of recognizing Manoomin as a living being, reaffirming Anishinaabe responsibilities[93]. This movement has played a critical role in the restoration of Manoomin within the Great Lakes Basin. With dwindling stocks, and fewer people interested in harvesting, Anishinaabeg communities having been working diligently over the past decades to restore and care for Manoomin. Their work has paved the way for a renewed interest in wetland restoration which is focused on bringing wild rice back home to these wetlands.

Some of these projects have been led by Indigenous peoples individually, or with settlers, through partnerships between communities. Most of the work has been in located in the so-called States of 'Minnesota' and Northern 'Wisconsin', as over 70% of the original habitat is damaged[94], with the remainder occurring in 'Michigan' and 'Ontario'. These projects include everything from independent restoration projects on 'private' land for commercial or recreational purposes, seeding for agricultural reasons, inclusion within a

89 Ibid: 10-11.
90 Minnesota Department of Commerce, *Final Environmental Impact Statement Line 3 Project*, St. Paul: Government of Minnesota. August 17, 2017.
91 *Tribal Habitat Restoration: caring for our land and waters.* Great Lakes Restoration Initiative Report. 2019.
92 Tonya Kjerland, *Wild Rice Monitoring Handbook:* 4.
93 Winona LaDuke, "The White Earth Band of Ojibwe Legally Recognize the Rights of Wild Rice," *Yes Magazine*, February 1, 2019, https://www.yesmagazine.org/environment/2019/02/01/the-white-earth-band-of-ojibwe-legally-recognized-the-rights-of-wild-rice-heres-why/.
94 Winona LaDuke, "The White Earth Band of Ojibwe Legally Recognize the Rights of Wild Rice."

larger wetland restoration project, or "rice camps" creating community engagement initiatives. While not every project emphasis the story of Manoomin and her connection to the Anishinaabeg, many of these initiatives are recognizing the opportunity to support Indigenous self determination and sovereignty through these efforts.

Fig. 1.25 Coinciding with the Rights of Manoomin is the current move to stop the replacement of the Enbridge 3 Pipeline which runs through various beds and rivers which are home to wild rice. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

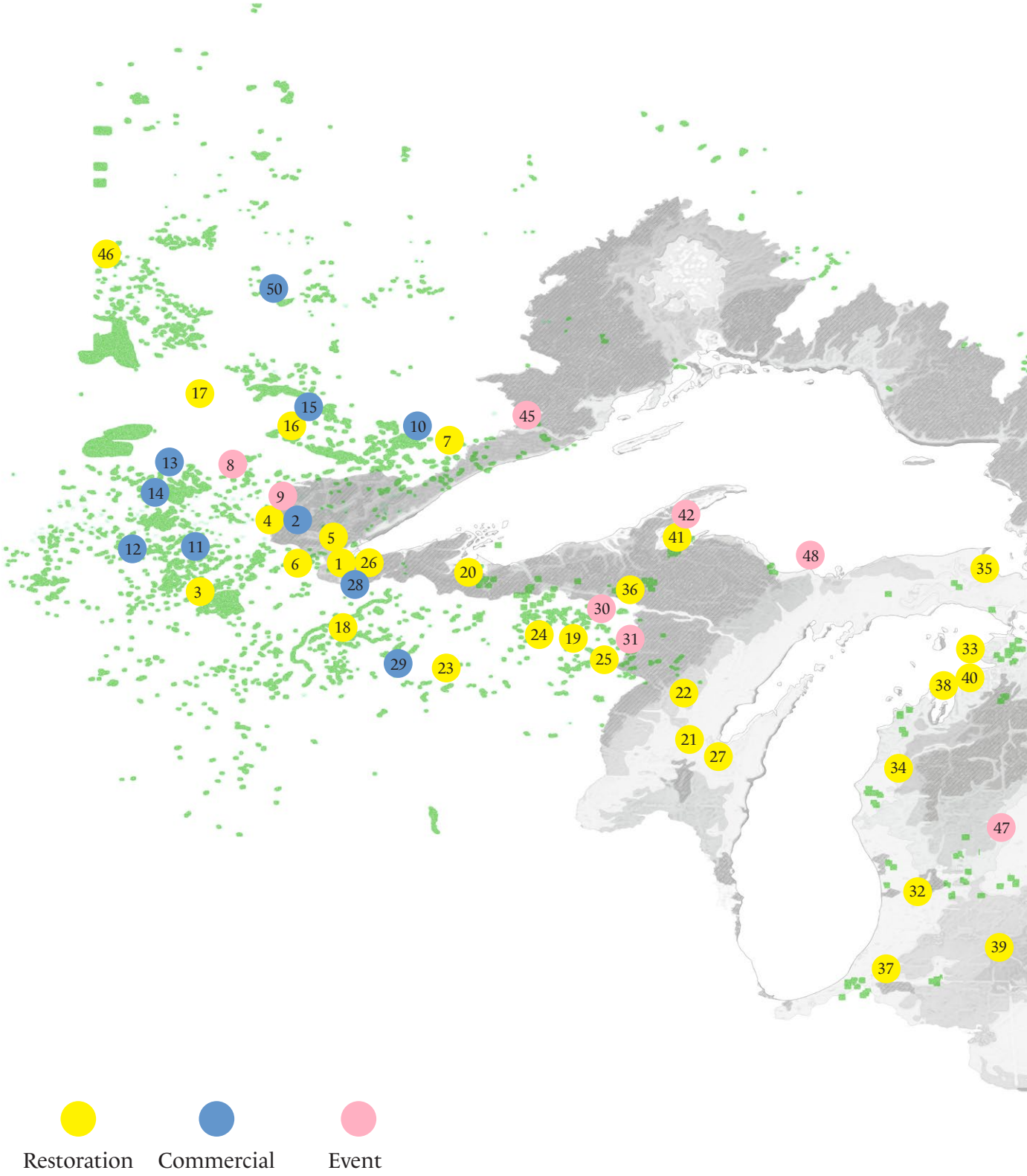
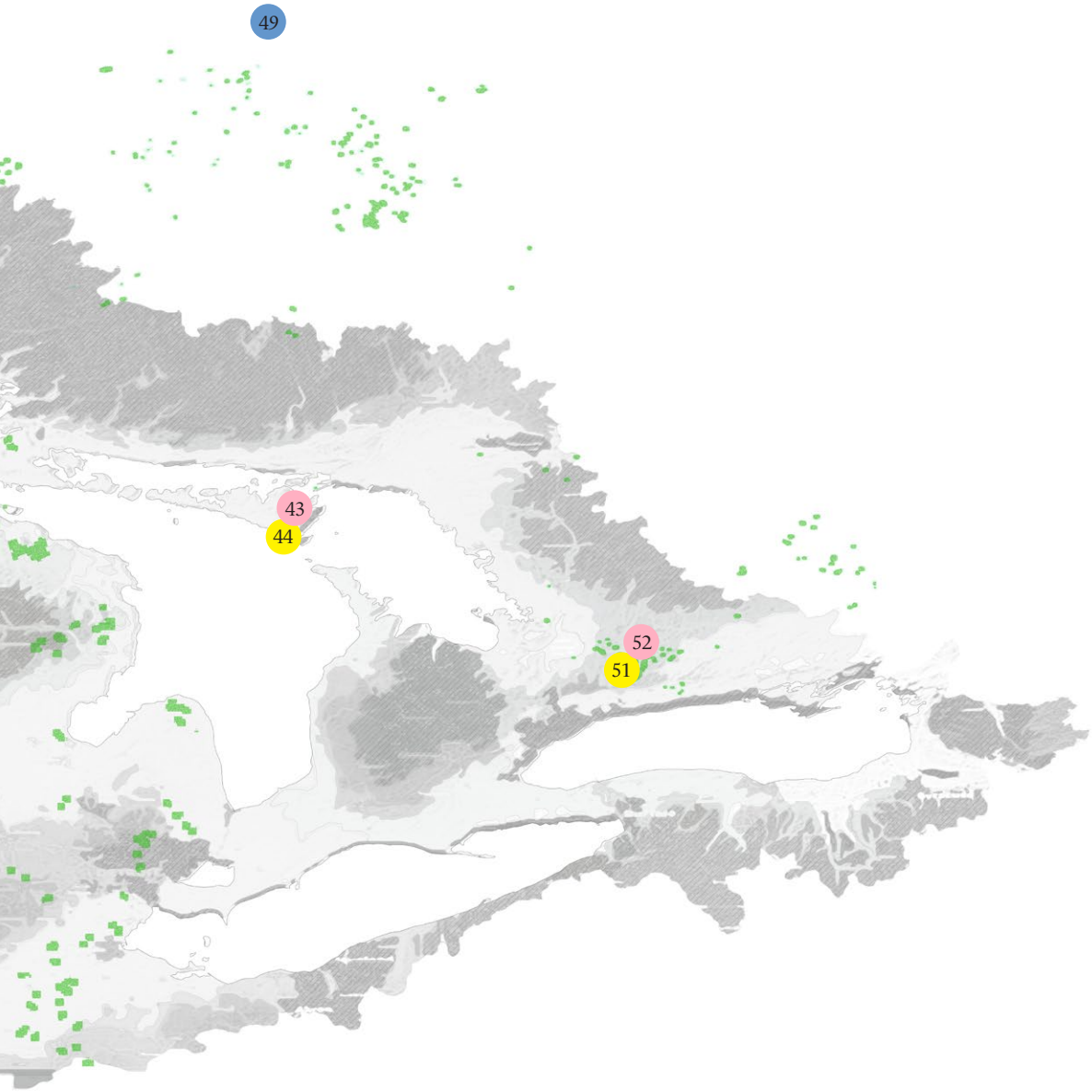


Fig. 1.26 Compilation of some of the Manoomin restoration efforts, commercial enterprises (farms/stores), and events (rice camps/festivals) across the Great Lakes Basin. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*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	Project/Company/Event	*Leader/Owner/Organizer*
1.	St Louis River Wild Rice Restoration	*Minnesota Land Trust*
2.	Spirit Lake Native Farm	*Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa*
3.	Wild Rice Habitat Restoration Lake Ogechie	*Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe*
4.	Wild Rice Watershed Enhancement	*Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa*
5.	Wild Rice Core Research	*Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa*
6.	Ganawenjigewin Manoomin	*Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa*
7.	Cedar Lake Wild Rice Environmental Restoration	*U.S Army Corps of Engineers*
8.	Deer River Wild Rice Festival	*Deer River Lions Club*
9.	Gidakiimanaaniwigamig - Rice Camp	*Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa*
10.	Moose Lake Wild Rice Farm	
11.	Canoe Wild Rice Farm	
12.	Pine River Wild Rice Farm	
13.	Scenic Waters Wild Rice Company	
14.	Leech Lake Wild Rice	*Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe*
15.	Nett Lake Wild Rice	*Boise Forte Band of Chippewa*
16.	Nett Lake Restoration	*Boise Forte Band of Chippewa*
17.	Wild Rice Monitoring	*1854 Tribal Authority +Fond du Lac Band of Chippewa*
18.	Wild Rice Restoration	*Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin*
19.	Rehabilitation of Wild Rice Beds	*Sokagon Chippewa Community of Wisconsin*
20.	Wild Rice Protection and Enhancement	*Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission*
21.	Wild Rice Project	*Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin*
22.	Wild Rice Restoration and Prairie Field Establishment	*Stockbridge-Munsee Community*
23.	Assessment of Wild Rice on Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation	*Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin*
24.	Wild Rice and Native Plant Restoration	*Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin*
25.	Restoring Wild Rice in Rice Lake	*Sokaogon Chippewa Community of Wisconsin*
26.	Allouez Bay Wild Rice Restoration	*Douglas County*
27.	Restoring Oneida Reservation Wild Rice Beds	*Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin*
28.	VP Wild Rice Company	
29.	Chieftan Wild Rice Company & Farm	
30.	Wild Rice Fest	*Vilas County, WI*
31.	Northwoods Rendezvous & Wild Rice Festival	*Mole Lake, WI*
32.	Wild Rice Restoration	*Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan (Gun Lake)*
33.	Wild Rice Restoration	*Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians*
34.	Wild Rice Restoration	*Little River Band of Ottawa Indians*

35.	WildRice and Waterfowl Monitoring on Spectacle Lake and Back Bay	*Bay Mills Indian Community*
36.	Lac Vieux Desert Wild Rice Restoration	*Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa*
37.	Pokagon Band Wild Rice and Invasive Species Surveys and Education Project	*Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians, Michigan and Indiana*
38.	Restoring Wild Rice Habitat While Strengthening Fishery Management	*Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians*
39.	Wild Rice Location And DNA Identification Project	*Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi*
40.	Restoring Wild Rice Habitat	*Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians*
41.	Wild Rice Restoration and Water Study	*Keweenaw Bay Indian Community*
42.	Wild Rice Camp	*Keweenaw Bay Indian Community*
43.	Community Wild Rice Event	*Wikewmikong First Nations*
44.	Wild Rice Restoration Program	*Wikewmikong First Nations*
45.	Land Based Education Program - Wild Rice Camp	*Biitigong Nishnaabeg Community with Lakehead University*
46.	Biocultural Restoration of Wild Rice	*Wabaseemoong Independent Nations*
47.	Michigan Wild Rice Initiative	
48.	Lake Superior Manoomin Restoration Workshops	
49.	DePepe Wild Rice Farm	
50.	Pure Canadian Wild Rice	
51.	Wild Rice Restoration	*Curve Lake First Nations*
52.	Wild Rice Camp	*Black Duck Wild Rice*

**This list is not exhaustive and many of the listed initiaitves may now be complete, still in progress, or changed direction.*

02

Monitoring: Difficulties facing Manoomin

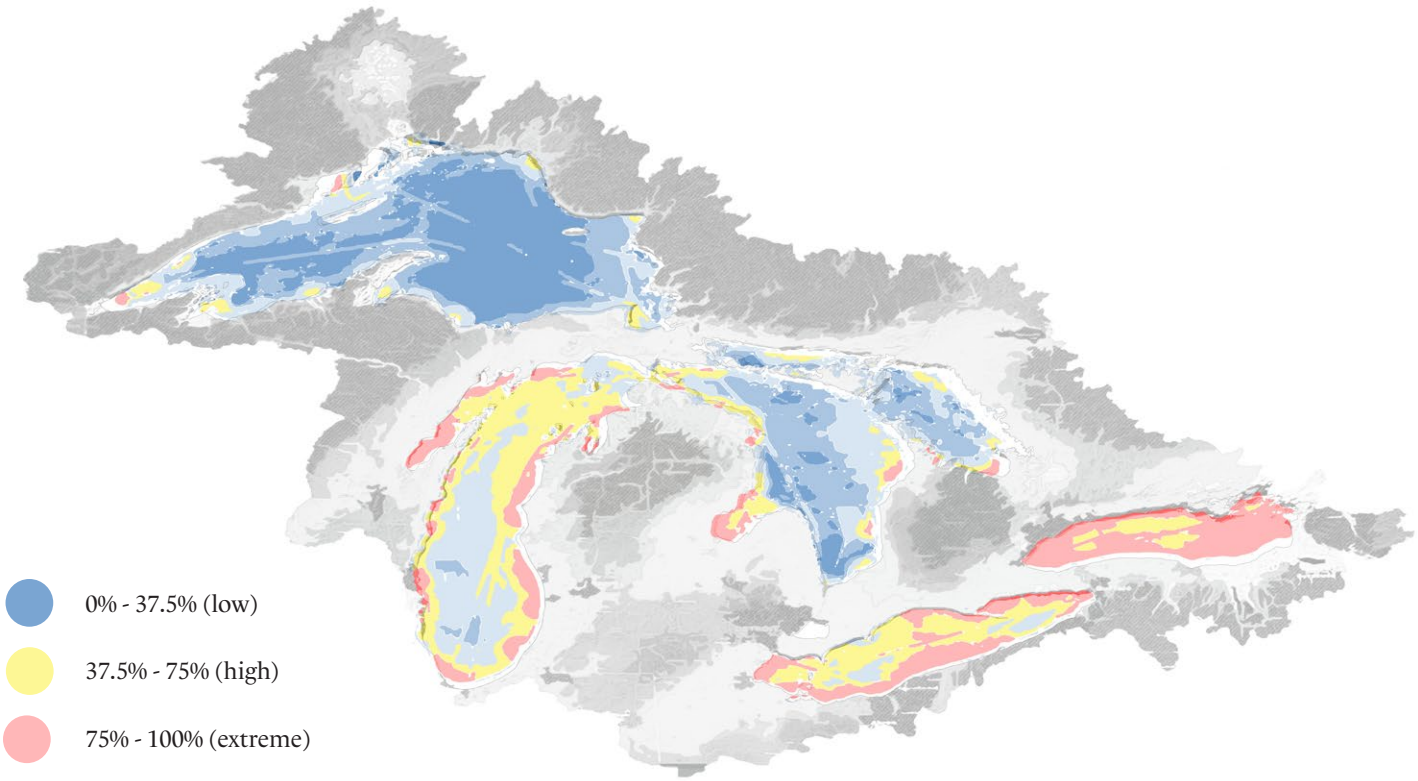


Fig. 2.1 Stress index of Great Lakes, reflecting the amount of pollution and damage done to ecosystems. Regions with the highest levels of stress are around urban or high density areas. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

Regional Stressors

Having only evolved some 3,000 years ago to have the current contours and drainage, the Great Lakes are a relatively recent geological formation, who are the largest freshwater bodies on this plant and the life blood of this region[1]. Each lake provides for millions of species thanks to the diversity in water depth, shoreline conditions, and ecological composition[2]. The Great Lakes also are positioned directly along the migratory pathway of some 200 bird species providing critical habitat and food for them along their journey[3]. These habitats range from rocky and woodland shores in the North, to flat and urban rimmed edges in the South.

Elder accounts and settler documents indicate that up until and throughout the 1600s, thousands of Indigenous Peoples and communities were living around this region[4]. These communities worked to shape many of the landscape conditions we see today, or colonizers documented seeing upon arrival, creating landscapes which were not in fact "pristine" and "untouched" but complex ecosystems designed for harvesting[5]. By the 1800s, large groups of Euro-American settlers had begun colonizing the region[6] and with that the introduction of large-scale land practices centered on removing 'natural resources' from the land, such as the lumber, mining, and agricultural industries (to name a few).

The lumber industry for example reflects the overall systematic impact which this resource extraction had on beings. Logs were removed to construct 'everything' from the towns, the cities, the masts for ships, and finally processed down for pulp and paper.[7] This damaged the forest ecosystem so much that some regions in Southern 'Ontario' turned to deserts[8]. While the physical removal of these beings, impacted the forest ecosystems of the region, the influence of this practice did not stop there. Once felled, the

1 Tim Folger, "So Great, So Fragile," *National Geographic,* December 2020, 56.
2 "The Great Lakes," *The National Wildlife Federation,* accessed February 4, 2021, https://www.nwf.org/Educational-Resources/Wildlife-Guide/Wild-Places/Great-Lakes.
3 "Migratory Stopover Habitat," *Audubon,* April 27th, 2016, https://gl.audubon.org/landing/migratory-stopover-habitat.
4 "Great Lakes History," *Milwaukee Public Museum,* accessed February 4, 2021, http://www.mpm.edu/plan-visit/educators/wirp/history.
5 Charles C. Mann, "1491," *The Atlantic*, March 2002, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/03/1491/302445/.
6 For this thesis, I am focused on the physical industries of extraction which transformed the landscape of the Great Lakes Basin. Throughout Chapters 4, 5, and 6, more nuance regarding the impact of land dispossession, treaties, 'property', and specific industries is introduced to reflect this transformation. This is not to ignore the genocidal actions and initiatives such as residential schools (or 'boarding schools' as I have seen them referred to in the 'U.S'), missing and murdered Indigenous Women, boil water advisories, and continued deforestation present within the Great Lakes Basin which play an equal role in the transformation of this landscape as the physical removal of 'natural resources' did.
7 Maude Barlow, *Our Great Lakes Commons a People's Plan to Protect the Great Lakes Forever* Ottawa, Ont: Council of Canadians = Conseil des canadiens, 2011: 19.
8 Ed Borczon, "Agreement Forests," *Forestory* 10, 1 (2019): 9

logs needed to be transported to the shoreline where most of the processing facilities were. To prioritize efficiency, logs were sent down rivers, and where there were no rivers, channels were flooded and created. Once they were at the shore, factories would process the logs into "timber" to be sent on boats traveling out the 'St. Lawrence', or another stop along the Great Lakes.

These land practices initiated by Euro-American settlers impacted the Manoomin beds[9] due to increased shoreline activity from ports and warehouses, dredging or removal of wetlands, and pollution or runoff from processing facilities, fertilizers, and pesticides. As these factors harmed the environmental conditions necessary for Manoomin, her seeds which naturally fall back into the water for next year became fewer in number as well. This decline in natural reseeding, followed by the limits these land practices put on the Anishinaabeg's ability to harvest[10] (which naturally reseeds the beds as described in Chapter 1), all led to an overall reduction in the amount of Manoomin present in the Great Lakes Basin.

Since then, the environmental conditions of the Great Lakes have been in a state of steady decline. By 1909, the first water quality agreement came into place between 'Canada' and the 'United States', followed by the 1955 convention on Great Lakes Fisheries. These agreements came into place as settlers began noticing the decline in economic potential within the region. While areas in the West or North for instance, were preserved due to their "wilderness" qualities, the Great Lakes has always been seen through the Western lens of property and resources. In 1972, following the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement was formed[11] which slowly introduced regulation to reduce future pollution inputs into the waters.

The primary stressors facing the Great Lakes today are those of pollution from agricultural run off, warming waters, and invasive species. Around 67,000 square miles surrounding the region is dedicated to agricultural purposes leading to algae blooms and nutrification, and the water required to run these properties further depletes the groundwater and reserves[12]. As winters in this area become increasingly mild, water temperatures within the lakes rise as well. Though Lake Erie is shallower and more used to these conditions, most of the species further North in Lake Superior cannot adapt

9 "Ecological Importance," *Native Wild Rice Coalition*, accessed September 30, 2020, http://www.nativewildricecoalition.com/ecological-importance.html.
10 *It should be noted that throughout my research I have seen mentions of Indigenous communities working to reseed annually to maintain the amount of Manoomin present. Within 'Duluth' for example individuals from the Fond du Lac Band continued to seed the river and surrounding water bodies even as the industrial land practices impacted the beds (see Chapter 5).*
11 Maude Barlow, *Our Great Lakes Commons a People's Plan to Protect the Great Lakes Forever*, 16.
12 Ibid.

to increased temperatures and reduced ice-cover. Finally, invasive species have begun thriving in these warmer conditions and slowly have been whittling away at the food-web and native species. Each Lake faces its own specific threats[13], however much of this also lies in the Western focus on protecting the remote "wild"[14] and ignoring the land around us, thus creating these suicidal actions as water slowly turns to poison.

Impact on Beings

Throughout the environmental mutation of the Great Lakes, Indigenous Peoples experienced parallel impacts of dispossession from their rights, responsibilities, culture, communities, beliefs, and Land. This massive transformation and dismissal of Indigenous Peoples by settlers cannot be explained through one isolated act or event, but as a tsunami of loss reverberating throughout North and South America. As Nancy and Katherine Turner describe in their paper documenting the loss of knowledge through the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples from their traditional food plants in BC:

> *Thus, a vicious cycle of cultural transformation was compounded--the more that First Peoples were distanced from their traditional livelihood seeking patterns, the more difficult it became to return to that way of life because without their obvious presence on the land, settlers' takeover was even more readily justified.*
>
> *(p. 8)*

These Western cultures, beliefs, and land practices created a divide between Indigenous Peoples and their cultural knowledge present in and on the land. This is due to the fundamental belief within Indigenous communities across North and South America of land-based education or place-based knowledge. For Anishinaabeg peoples this practice is no different. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson begins her chapter *Land as Pedagogy* with the story of Kwezen, as she goes into the maple tree bush during early Spring and learns from the red squirrel, Ajidamoo, about maple syrup which she brings back to her community and family to share. Simpson's story describes Nishinaabeg intelligence as a process of coming to know "from and with the land" alongside her family and Elders who love and support her[15]. This knowledge comes with the responsibility to care for these relationships to the natural world, as they care for you[16]; this is reciprocal knowledge

13 "The Great Lakes," *The National Wildlife Federation,* accessed February 4, 2021, https://www.nwf.org/Educational-Resources/Wildlife-Guide/Wild-Places/Great-Lakes.
14 William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," *Environmental History* 1,no.1 (Jan. 1996).
15 Leanne B. Simpson, "Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3, (2014): 6-7.
16 Deborah McGregor, "Traditional knowledge and water governance," *Alternative* 10, no. 5(2014): p. 494.

and the foundation of reciprocal relationships[17]. Consequently, when land is completely altered and people displaced, these relationships become difficult to maintain and care for over time, making their restoration even more vital for communities.

Within the context of Manoomin, Anishinaabeg began noticing how the settler harvesting techniques and 'natural resource' extraction was affecting the beds, and the more-than-human-beings connected to them[18]. Their displacement from the land and the commodification of Manoomin, wracked the very foundation of their reciprocal relationship to her. As a result, the move to restore and fight for the Rights of Manoomin has been such a vital marker within the current food sovereignty and land sovereignty movement for many Anishinaabeg[19], particularly for the Ojibwe to the West of Lake 'Superior', who live with most of the remaining beds in this region.

"this has nothing to do with me"

Living in a 'Post'-Truth and Reconciliation Commission world[20], many settlers may believe that the issues facing Indigenous Peoples are resolved or "not their problem"[21]. This is what Lenape and Potawatami scholar Dr. Susan Dion has coined as the "perfect stranger" phenomenon. Whereby settlers can feel "off the hook" for the realities facing Indigenous Peoples since "they don't know anything about these issues" and therefore believe they cannot be responsible[22].

While there has seemingly been an increased awareness within academic institutions through public land acknowledgments or statements against racism, this can also fur-

17 Sibyl Diver, et al. "Recognizing Reciprocal Relations," *International Journal of the Commons,* 13, no.1 (2019): 402.
18 *This reality has been reflected throughout my research across this region, and expanded on in more detail in Chapters 4,5, and 6.*
19 *As described in Chapter 1.*
20 *Since its publication in 2015, this report is identified according to the Canadian government as* "an important step in rebuilding Canada's relationship with Indigenous Peoples" *as an acknowledgment of the destruction which residential schools had on Indigenous communities. As a part of the final report the TRC issued 94 "calls to action" to further this reconciliation.*
21 *At the time that this thesis was written the graves of over 1000 children in residential schools have been uncovered, within my sphere of connections and media content I have seen a spike in overall awareness and calls for settlers to genuinely reflect and learn about whose land they are on, and actually read documents such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for examples. Just a few days ago residents of 'Brantford', where this thesis was written, marched down the streets to the Woodford Cultural Center (a former residential school reclaimed as a museum through the Save the Evidence organization) in respect and solidarity with these children who never came home. I genuinely hope this awareness continues so that the genocidal and racists realities present across Turtle Island can no longer be viewed as "not my problem."*
22 The Agenda with Steve Paikin, "Education in the Reconciliation Era," *TVO,* 37:30, April 4, 2019, https://www.tvo.org/video/education-in-the-reconciliation-era?fbclid=IwAR3zX4jc2fjM9eHaTHUMbwqBJ6uqEZkQ5BjRHI2HRhzIauBO1M5EGHkOTF0.

ther the narrative for many settlers that "*this has nothing to do with me*" or that "*the issue is being/has been solved*" according to individuals like Michelle Daigle. She writes about how universities continue to perpetuate settler colonialism through these "*hollow performance[s] of recognition and remorse*" following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, without genuine actions to alter these systems of racism and colonialism[23]. These acts of verbal acknowledgment are present across settler colonial spheres, be it institutional, private, or public[24], as Tuck and Yang write in their seminal 2012 text *Decolonization is not a Metaphor*, these are simply "moves to innocence"[25].

These realities reflect to myself, the need for something more than words or verbal recognition when discussing matters of 'reconciliation'.

Restoration and 'Reconciliation'

As Madeleine Whetung, an Anishinaabe scholar, argues in her 2017 paper *On remaining Un-reconciled*, there is a need for settlers to remain "unreconciled", meaning that settlers need to sit with the violence and realities of what has happened[26]. Only when settlers "*reveal [ourselves] as vulnerable 'not knowers' who are willing to examine our dual positions as colonizer-perpetrators and colonizer-allies*"[27] can conversations around reconciliation begin.

For those wishing to engage in reconciliation work, many Indigenous and settler ally writers speak of the need of restoring the land before those conversations can even begin[28]. However, restoration work has also been connected to colonialist and paternalist tendencies within white communities. As La Paperson, describes this in *A Ghetto Land Pedagogy*. Here they describe how environmental/"greening" movements in urban areas can often perpetuate the "disappearing" of BIPOC, while also reinforcing the white

23 Michelle Daigle, "The Spectacle of Reconciliation: On (the) unsettling responsibilities to Indigenous peoples in the academy," *€PD: Society and Space,* 37, no.4 (2019): 703-721.
24 Ibid.
25 Eve Tuck and K. W. Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, €ducation & Society* 1, no. 1, (2012):5, https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18630.
26 Madeline Whetung, "On Remaining Un-reconciled: Living Together Where We Are," (2017), Unpublished working paper, University of British Columbia.
27 Paulette Regan, "*Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*," (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010).
28 *See some of the following (in no particular order):* Whitney K. Mauer, "Unsettling Resilience"; Shaun A, Stevenson, "Decolonizing Hydrosocial Relations"; Nancy Turner and Peter Spalding, "Learning from the Earth, Learning from Each Other"; Jessica Hallenbeck, "Returning to the Water to Enact a Treaty Relationship"; Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morril, "Decolonizing Feminisim".

saviour complex to rescue the land[29]. While focused mainly on the regreening of urban neighbourhoods as gentrification, La Paperson reflects on the environmental movement's simultaneous silence about the context of the land they are on and the Indigenous understandings of it.[30] This is reinforced by socially and racially charged situations of tension where the 'outdoors' and access to this 'conserved' land becomes a privilege and a space for only white environmentalists, repackaging those initial settler colonial land practices with a green bow of conservation.

This division and misunderstanding are further entrenched by a fundamental difference in how the land and more-than-human-beings are perceived within the Western canon compared to Indigenous communities[31]. For many Indigenous Peoples, the land is their first mother[32], it is how knowledge is transmitted through land-based learning[33], and most importantly, it is within the reciprocal responsibilities of humans to care for the earth[34]. In contrast, the Western approach to land is that of a resource or commodity, areas are classified based on use and value, and other-than-human beings are inferior or secondary to humanity[35]. Even when settlers begin to acknowledge the need for land to be perceived as something more than a natural resource, it often comes with little acknowledgment or reference to the work Indigenous Peoples have been doing for centuries[36], as is the case with Leopold's 1949 *Land Ethics* or even Cronon's 1995 text, *The Trouble with Wilderness*[37].

Even if well intentioned projects are seeking to restore landscapes the question of "for whom" is often rarely present, and the larger impact of these projects on lives and socio-political conditions of Indigenous Peoples is seldom heard. Beyond that, the consideration or direct challenging of Western perceptions of the land is infrequently

29 La Paperson, "A ghetto land pedagogy: an antidote for settler environmentalism," *Environmental Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2014): 117.
30 Ibid: 121.
31 "Relationships are exploitative between humans and the land" – Deborah McGregor, "Traditional Knowledge and Water Governance," *Alternative* 10, no. 5 (2014). 493-507.
32 Miguel Sioui, "Indigenous Ways of Knowing" (lecture, Laurier University, Waterloo, January 22, 2021).
33 Gregory Cajete, "Plants, Food, Medicine, and Gardening," in *Native Science, (*Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000), 108-111.
34 Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Respect, Responsibility, and Renewal: The Foundations of Anishinaabe Treaty Making with the United States and Canada," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34, no. 2 (2010): 145-164; "*Nishnaabeg life didn't rely on institutionality to hold the structure of life. We relied upon process that created networked relationship. Our intelligence system is a series of interconnected and overlapping algorithms-stories, ceremonies, and the land itself as procedures for solving the problems of life. Networked because the modes of communication and interaction between beings occur in complex nonlinear forms, across time and space*." - Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "As We Have Always Done," (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017): 23.
35 Kyle Whyte, "How Similar Are Indigenous North American and Leopoldian Environmental Ethics?" (2015). SSRN 2022038.
36 Zoe Todd, "Indigenizing the Anthropocene," in *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters Among AestheticSs, Politics, Environment, and Epistemology* ed. Heather Davis and Etienne Turnpin (London: Open Humanities Press, 2015): 241-254.
37 Sioui, Miguel, "Indigenous Ways of Knowing."

challenged or even brought up amongst settler natural resource managers, community organizers, designers, geographers, communities, or institutions perpetuating these beliefs.

These moves to reconciliation are not easy, nor should they be. Therefore, with these problems and realities in mind I would like to know how Manoomin restoration initiatives influence these problems. Do these projects challenge any of the Western/colonial ways of 'managing' the environment? Do these efforts meaningfully move beyond "moves to innocence" as restoration work connects to the restoration of Anishinaabeg land practices and self-determination? What is my role within this work and how will this knowledge influence my way of being or designing?

03

Germination: Methods & Theories

The following work has evolved as my own understanding of Indigenous methodologies and 'reconciliation' have changed. This process and development of methodology has not been perfect, and I believe most importantly that this should be acknowledged.

I started out assuming I would need some sort of external framework to analyze these stories, to dissect and extract a specific conclusion from Manoomin. This act of reducing a community or concept to a specific point or single line in a conclusion, further perpetuates what Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith discusses in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* as the colonial power imbalance which Western researchers have historically created through the "study of" Indigenous Peoples. It was only through the reading of authors such as Linda Tuihiwai Smith or Shawn Wilson's *Research as Ceremony,* that research and the concept of 'Indigenous Methodologies' became more clear.

Shawn Wilson's book especially inspired me with his accessible language, use of personal reflections, and inclusion of conversations held with other Indigenous researchers about what Indigenous research looks like. My journey to him came through listening to Lori Campbell, a Two-Spirit Cree-Métis educator whose lecture at Waterloo Architecture had been posted online[1]. They both describe the four entities of an Indigenous research paradigm: ontology, epistemology, axiology, and finally methodology. Wilson writes that though these are unique steps within the process,

> *relationality seems to sum up the whole Indigenous research paradigm to me. Just as the components themselves all have to do with relationships. The ontology and epistemology are based upon a process of relationships that form a mutual reality. The axiology and methodology are based upon maintaining accountability to these relationships. There, that sums up the whole book in one paragraph! (p. 71, 2008)*

What this has meant to me, is that the act or methodological work cannot begin before you develop a relationship with the "object" of research first, be it the topic or being. This relationship starts with positioning and understanding your own biases which you bring to the research. It continues as you situate yourself within the web of connected entities to which we all belong. This idea of 'web of connected entities', is everywhere in Indigenous methodology writings[2], as it reflects the interrelationship of all beings

1 Lori Campbell, "Indigenous Research Methods." *Youtube* video, 46:21, posted by Waterloo Architecture, April 3rd, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ADuY3vYXyto

2 Renee Pualani Louis, "Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research," *Geographical Research* 45, no.2 (2007).

and our relational accountability to each and everyone[3]. To uphold this accountability and create respectful research, the 4 R's should be considered: respect, responsibility, relevance, and reciprocity[4] + refusal[5].

These are defined as the following:

Respect: showing respect to the subject, material, and knowledge source, through consent, citations, and by adapting to the participants ways of doing things.

Responsibility: being accountable to your direct relations within the study and all those connected from them.

Relevance: is the purpose of the research benefitting the community. Especially when addressing topics of Traditional Ecological Knowledge, or studies directly engaging Indigenous participants.

Reciprocity: what is the researcher giving back to the community or offering up to balance the relationship.

+ Refusal: "participants choose the researcher as much as the other way around"[6]. No one owes you anything and participants have the right to refuse certain aspects of their knowledge or participation as a whole[7].

I have tried to work towards addressing these R's within my own approach to this thesis, particularly with respect, responsibility, and refusal. The categories of relevance and reciprocity really need to be identified prior to selecting a topic, which I failed to do

3 Michael Asch, et al, *Resurgence and reconciliation: indigenous settler relations and earth teachings,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018): 8.
4 Lori Campbell, "Indigenous Research Methods."
5 Deborah McGregor, et al. *Indigenous Research: Theories, Practices, and Relationships*, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018): 15.
6 Margaret Kovach, Indigenous methodologies: characteristics, conversations and contexts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
7 Audre Simpson, "Ethnographic refusal: Indigeneity, "voice," and colonial citizenship," *Junctures, 9*, (2007): 67–80.

when starting this research journey. As described in my Prelude, these centered on three categories: lack of physical exposure to the land and Manoomin herself, limited capacity to build direct relationships, implications of white academic researchers' imposition on Indigenous knowledge. The following text describes the manners in which I hopefully humbly engaged in respectful research from the guidance of Indigenous authors and addressed the flaws or limits of this thesis through the design of my question, readings, and methodology.

Developing Relationship with Land & Manoomin

As I began this thesis with a quote by Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, her chapter "Land Based Pedagogy" was one of the first texts where I was exposed to the idea of place-based knowledge. Within this chapter and the rest of her book *As We Ḥave Always Done,* she describes how land-based practices create knowledge which form a living relationship between Anishinaabeg and other beings, while also forming the basis of their identity and rights[8]. Everything is therefore a source of knowledge which is generated through the relationships created with the natural world, family, and the spirit world[9]. It is through these living relationships with the land, beings, and spirit world, that Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), is created and more importantly lived[10] or worn[11]. Indigenous research frameworks are therefore entrenched in these relationships and in the ways of knowing[12] or coming to know[13].

In direct contrast to that, this thesis took place entirely online, and essentially alone in an isolated room – not the best way to learn about Manoomin! It was for this reason that I worked hard to develop a personal connection to Manoomin as best I could (see Chapter 1). It was also important to engage in deep listening[14], to try and understand just how important she is to Anishinaabeg and more-than-human-beings. I attempted

8 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Chapter 4: Nishinaabeg Internationalism," in *As We Ḥave Always Done*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).
9 Gregory Cajete, "Process of Native Science," in *Native Science* by Gregory Cajete, *(*Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000) p. 67.
10 McGregor, Deborah. "Traditional Knowledge and Water Governance." *Alternative* 10, no. 5 (2014). 493-507.
11 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Chapter 2: Kwe as Resurgent Method," in *As We Ḥave Always Done*, 29.
12 Margaret Kovach, "Chapter 2: Creating Indigenous Research Frameworks," in *Indigenous methodologies: characteristics, conversations and contexts*.
13 Gloria Snively, and Wanosts'a7 Lorna Williams, "Chapter 3: Coming to Know," in *Knowing Ḥome: Braiding Indigenous Science with Western Science*, by Gloria Snively, and Wanosts'a7 Lorna Williams (Victoria: University of Victoria, 2016).
14 "*describes a way of learning, working, and being together. It is informed by the concepts of community and reciprocity…. It involved reframing how we learn, how we come to know and what we value as knowledge"* Laura Brearley, and Treahna Hamm, "Spaces between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Knowledge Systems," in *Of Other Thoughts: Non-Traditional Ways to the Doctorate,* edited by A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpul and Michael A. Peters (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 159.

to do build this relationship and understanding through videos like 'Manoomin: Food That Grows on the Water' where Fred Ackley Jr from the Sokaogon Chippewa Community of Mole Lake speaks about his own connection to Manoomin[15], or from listening to James Whetung discuss food sovereignty and his right to seed in Pigeon Lake[16].

During this past year of COVID, there were also numerous opportunities to attend online lectures and seminars where I could listen to Indigenous peoples speaking directly on these topics. For example; The Finding Flowers seminar series *Miijim: Food as Relations* hosted by Lisa Meyers from York University brought together BIPOC speakers to discuss food, art, harvesting, planting, and labour… to "decenter colonial frameworks", or the Indigenous Women in Agriculture *World Water Day Event,* where I was able to hear individuals like Winona LaDuke talk about her work with food sovereignty within the White Earth Nation over the past year[17].

While I may not have had a direct connection to Manoomin throughout this journey, my own relationship with Land has evolved dramatically over the past year. Helped through the readings and lectures, I have cited above, in addition to my Indigenous studies electives, I have come to see much of the environment around me in a new lens. Be it through the realization that I am connected to this region due to my own ancestral legacy (as described in Prelude), or the realization that the Norwegian Maples which line my urban street are no less important than trees which compose a pristine forest; that this concept of "wilderness" is a colonial fallacy which categories some beings as worthy of protection and others less so.

I have attempted to cultivate this change of perspective through the care of my parent's garden during the pandemic. In an interview with the author and garden Lorraine Johnson, she says "*a garden is a conversation with the planet*"[18]. The conversation I have had with this particular part of the land I am on has involved the propagation of native pollinator species, seed saving last Fall with my Dad, and going through the trials and tribulations of trusting that the seeds we saved knew what they were doing and would grow! Not only have I grown to love this earth I am on, but I have also developed these memories of growing these beings with my family. From these practices, and overall increased perception of the beings around me (both in the city and at my cottage), I have come to believe that everything around me has a spirit to be protected and I am

15 PBS Wisconsin, "Manoomin: Food That Grows on the Water," YouTube Video, 4:23. February 12th, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eOz8CPW0m0&t=20s.
16 James Whetung, "Nourishing Ourselves, Nourishing the Land: A Conversation about Food Sovereignty," (video stream, Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa, February 18th, 2021), http://rmg.on.ca/events/nourishing-ourselves-nourishing-the-land-a-conversation-about-food-sovereignty/.
17 Winona LaDuke, "World Water Day," (video stream, Indigenous Women in Agriculture and the Native Women's Association of Canada, March 22, 2021).
18 Lorraine Johnson, "Why it's time to let native plants shine over lawns," interviewed by Christopher White, *Broadview,* February 25, 2021, Whitehttps://broadview.org/lorraine-johnson-interview/.

connected to them in one way or another.

Vanessa Watt's describes this framing of beings following Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe cosmologies as "Place-Thought"[19], whereby "*land is alive and thinking and that humans and non-humans derive agency through the extension of these thoughts*" (p.21). Citing Benton-Benai, Watt's writes about how in many Indigenous origin stories, humans were the last species to come to earth and thus are dependent on the existing society of more-than-human beings and their values, ethics, ways of being[20]. In contrast the story of Adam and Eve within some Western frames of the land, humans were rejected from the garden, separated from these beings, and warned of interacting with non-humans ("Serpent, Tree of Knowledge, apple")[21]. As described in Chapter 2, this foundational difference in perceiving land and more than humans directly divides communities. Therefore, I believed it incredibly important to include more-than-human beings within the understanding of Indigenous and settler relationships, as they shape this earth and who deserve equal respect and love towards.

By way of my own cultivation practices, and listening to the words of others, I was able to understand the landscape of Manoomin beds, and people's connection to her a tiny bit better, so that I might respectfully present this relationship.

Fig. 3.1 Mess of seedlings which lived beside my desk throughout the Spring and some of their home in the raised beds I built with my parents. *Images by Author. 2021.*

19 *As explained in Chapter 0, this premise has been largely co-opted by post-humanists, with little recognition of Indigenous communities believing and living the same things*. See for example *Indigenizing the Anthropocene* by Zoe Todd.
20 Vanessa Watts, "Indigenous place-thought & agency amongst humans and non-humans (First Woman and Sky Woman go on a European world tour!)", *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* 2, no.1 (2013):25.
21 Ibid: 24.

Developing Relationships with People and Stories

While I wanted to learn more about land rights and land practices through Manoomin, I knew the direct study of Wild Rice would not be feasible given the timeline and limited abilities to explore the land directly due to lockdowns.

Another event which shifted my focus and awareness towards the 4R's was through a workshop hosted by the University of Waterloo featuring Renee Kuehnle of *Lightship Strategies: engagement and planning*. She firmly addressed the legacy of researchers extracting knowledge and the consultation fatigue that many of the Indigenous communities she works with have experienced[22].

I took this lesson to heart by shifting my attention to public initiatives or formal projects which concerned restoring Manoomin, as opposed to discussions of individual Nations. This meant that there would be a limited burden of harm placed on the individuals involved, since most of the reports were extremely detailed on the process of restoration and contained direct quotes from individuals involved.

This shift also solidified my intention of centering the relationships and dynamics created through this work as opposed to the specific act or process of restoration. I believe these dynamics create what Indigenous scholar Willie Ermine, of Sturgeon Lake First Nations, calls 'Ethical Space'[23]. This term has been used to describe how Indigenous and Euro-Western epistemologies can be employed to shape meaningful collaborations (two-eyed seeing)[24]. Within this thesis however, I have understood this term as defined by Ermine himself, as the space created *"when two societies with disparate worldviews are poised to engage each other"*[25]. I see these projects, and therefore the Manoomin beds themselves as the space where these two 'societies' are 'poised to engage'. It is this dynamic, the way of seeing the world, and the engagement between the two, which I hoped to learn more about to not only understand how relationships might be improved, but also how land practices might grow self-determination.

22 *For settlers who wish to learn more about basic concept of sovereignty and self determination without overburdening Indigenous communities see resources such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Reports, Yellowhead Institute Land Back Paper (2019) or Cash Back (2021), for example.*
23 Ermine, W. "The Ethical Space of Engagement." Indigenous Law Journal 6, no. 1 (2007): 193-203.
24 Moffat, Michele. "Exploring Positionality in an Aboriginal Research Paradigm: A Unique Perspective." *International Journal of Technology and Inclusive Education* 5, no. 1 (2016):750-755.
25 Ermine, W. "The Ethical Space of Engagement:" 193-203.

Relationship with the Institution and Indigenous Research

Potentially the biggest flaw within this thesis is that no matter the framing, it is a continuation of settler individuals and institutions furthering their knowledge through the exploitation of Indigenous Peoples. The Global North has historically exploited and misrepresented Indigenous Peoples in service of their narrative of power and progress[26]. Though these broader societal implications of colonization are more well known, the actions of institutions, particularly academic ones, are less directly represented. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* rightly calls out the continued extraction of Indigenous knowledge by institutions and settler researchers who have made a career out of their research on these topics. She writes "*we are the most researched people in the world*"[27], and rarely has this research had a beneficial effect on the communities it impacts. In response to the legacy of extraction, many Indigenous Nations have been forced to create guidelines and discussion documents to stop this abuse.[28]

Exploring the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission[29], Deborah McGregor, Anishinaabe, presents a picture of how harmful the legacy of settler colonialism through residential schools, cultural genocide, and the racist attitudes directed towards Indigenous Peoples have been formalized in law and assimilated within institutions[30]. She writes, "*The dominant paradigm of extracting knowledge from Indigenous peoples, communities and organizations has to shift to one of collaborating and partnering" (p.826).* This will only become more balanced when funding is given directly to Indigenous communities to conduct work as they see fit, partnering with whom they chose [31], and therefore addressing what is relevant to their own community[32].

Thoughtfully applying Indigenous methodologies as primary methods of working, as opposed to considering them as "add ons", is another important step in changing this legacy. One needs to work with the communities to develop goals based on what is most important to them; "*one shares knowledge and remains accountable to that knowledge, rather than extracts or owns it*"[33]. Research, therefore, needs to become a "knowledge sharing

26 C. McEwan, "Postcolonialism, Postcolonial Geographies," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009).; Clive Barnett, "Postcolonialism: space, textuality, and power" in *Approached to Human Geography* edited by Stuart Atiken and Valentine Gill (London: Sage, 2006).
27 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London: Zed Books, 2012): 33.
28 Ibid: 35.
29 "*The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) provided those directly or indirectly affected by the legacy of the Indian Residential Schools system with an opportunity to share their stories and experiences*." Government of Canada, "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada," last modified December 15th, 2020, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525.
30 Deborah McGregor, "From 'Decolonized' to Reconciliation Research in Canada: Drawing from Indigenous Research Paradigms."
31 Ibid: 15.
32 Renee Pualani Louis, "Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research," *Geographical Research* 45, no.2 (2007): 130-139.
33 Deborah McGregor, et al. *Indigenous Research: Theories, Practices, and Relationships*, 297.

process"[34] and the sources of that knowledge need to be given proper credit and the right of consent. Most institutions maintain the exclusion of different knowledge sources, implement systems which reduce or discourage the application of Indigenous methods by Indigenous researchers, and continue to benefit financially and added notoriety from research on Indigenous Peoples or their knowledge[35].

I unfortunately did not start this research with awareness of this legacy. After six months of research, however, I did become aware, and even though I had attempted to frame this research with the idea of decolonization and more personal reflections, it is not enough. While the framing of the research on relationships and formal projects limits the direct publication and extraction of 'TEK' in terms of the physical act of restoring Manoomin, the locations, methods, or knowledge, it nevertheless maintains this legacy of research 'on' Indigenous Peoples with little benefit to them. I hope at the very least this may reflect a step towards how research might be conducted together or how institutions might better support Indigenous methodologies to eliminate this extraction.

Manoomin as a 'Framework'

Through my readings I have seen examples of people returning to the early Treaties to better understand relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers. Nicole LaTulippe, a French settler with Anishinaabe ancestry[36], writes about the Kaswentha (Two Row Wampum) as not only a promise to share how communities need to treat the land, but also to reflect on "*the conceptual space shared by Indigenous and Western qualitative research methodologies*" (p.9). As a method of developing and understanding these relationships, the Kaswentha, has been used academically as well as physically through the reenactments which occur across Turtle Island[37]. Jessica Hallenbeck, a settler who participated in one of these events in 2015, writes about how this process helped "*de-center Western ways of thinking about land and re-center the spaces, bodies, and beings that are strategically rendered invisible by settler colonialism*"[38].

Other authors have looked to Treaties as well to understand how they might be applied

34 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 53.
35 Nicole Latulippe, and Nicole Klenk. "Making room and moving over: knowledge co-production, Indigenous knowledge sovereignty and the politics of global environmental change decision-making." *Science Direct* 42 (2020):7-14
36 "Nicole Latulippe," *University of Toronto,* last accessed May 29th, 2021. https://utsc.utoronto.ca/geography/nicole-latulippe
37 Shaun A. Stevenson, "Decolonizing Hydrosocial Relations: The River as a Site of Ethical Encounter in Alan Michelson's TwoRow II," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 6, no. 7 (2018): 94-113.
38 Jessica Hallenbeck, "Returning to the water to enact a treaty relationship: the Two Row Wampum Renewal Campaign," *Settler Colonial Studies* 5, no. 4 (2015): 353.

to research. Brittany Luby, with Rachel Arsenault, Joseph Burke, Michelle Graham, and Toni Valenti, reflects on how Treaty #3 (near what is now called Southeastern Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario) might serve as a model for relationships between Indigenous Peoples and universities. They argue it enforces non-Indigenous researchers to collaborate with the Anishinaabeg communities, while also creating space for Indigenous Peoples within the institution to transform Western systems of education as well[39].

I think these writings reflect the foundational importance of these Treaties to understand relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settler. Particularly when the Indigenous understanding of these Treaties is prioritized. Personally, speaking however, it was important for me to understand relationships between these disparate communities as well as the more-than-human beings around us. If the perspectives of these beings and Land between Indigenous Peoples and settlers is and has been so contrasting, how can there ever be conversations of building new relationships in the name of reconciliation without including "all our relations"? [40]

As people are working to restore Manoomin, I believe they are forging new relationships in the name of care and respect through this practice. Manoomin herself is connected to the Anishinaabeg principle of *Minobimaatisiiwin* (the good life)[41], through the root -min[42]. This concept is more than just a philosophy or theoretical belief, but an intrinsic part of the Anishinaabeg identity and way of living in relation to the land and one another[43].

This work to restore Manoomin therefore appears to be establishing new relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, centring a more-than-human-being and Anishinaabeg knowledge. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis Manoomin became the channel through which I wished to understand these relationships.

39 Deborah McGregor, et al. *Indigenous Research: Theories, Practices, and Relationships*, Chapter 12.
40 "Reconciliation with all our relations" Michael Asch, et al, *Resurgence and reconciliation: indigenous settler relations and earth teachings,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018): 23; Nancy Turner, and Pamela Spalding, "Learning from the Earth, Learning from Each Other: Ethnocology, Responsibility, and Reciprocity," in *Resurgence and reconciliation: indigenous settler relations and earth teachings*. ed. Michael Asch, Tully James, and John Burrows, (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2018): 276-302.
41 Deborah McGregor, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge: An Anishinabe Woman's Perspective," *Atlantis* 29, no.2 (2005): 103-104.
42 Judge, Andrew. "Traditional Ecological Lecture." Lecture. University of Waterloo. Waterloo, ON, May 25, 2021.
43 Leanne Simpson, "Nishinaabeg Resurgence: Stories from Within," in *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back* by Leanne Simpson (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011): 13.

Fig. 3.2 Typical relationship based on modern Treaties between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, while important, still rely on colonial divisions of land and recognition in relation to colonial states, as opposed to self determination and the inclusion of more-than-human-beings. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

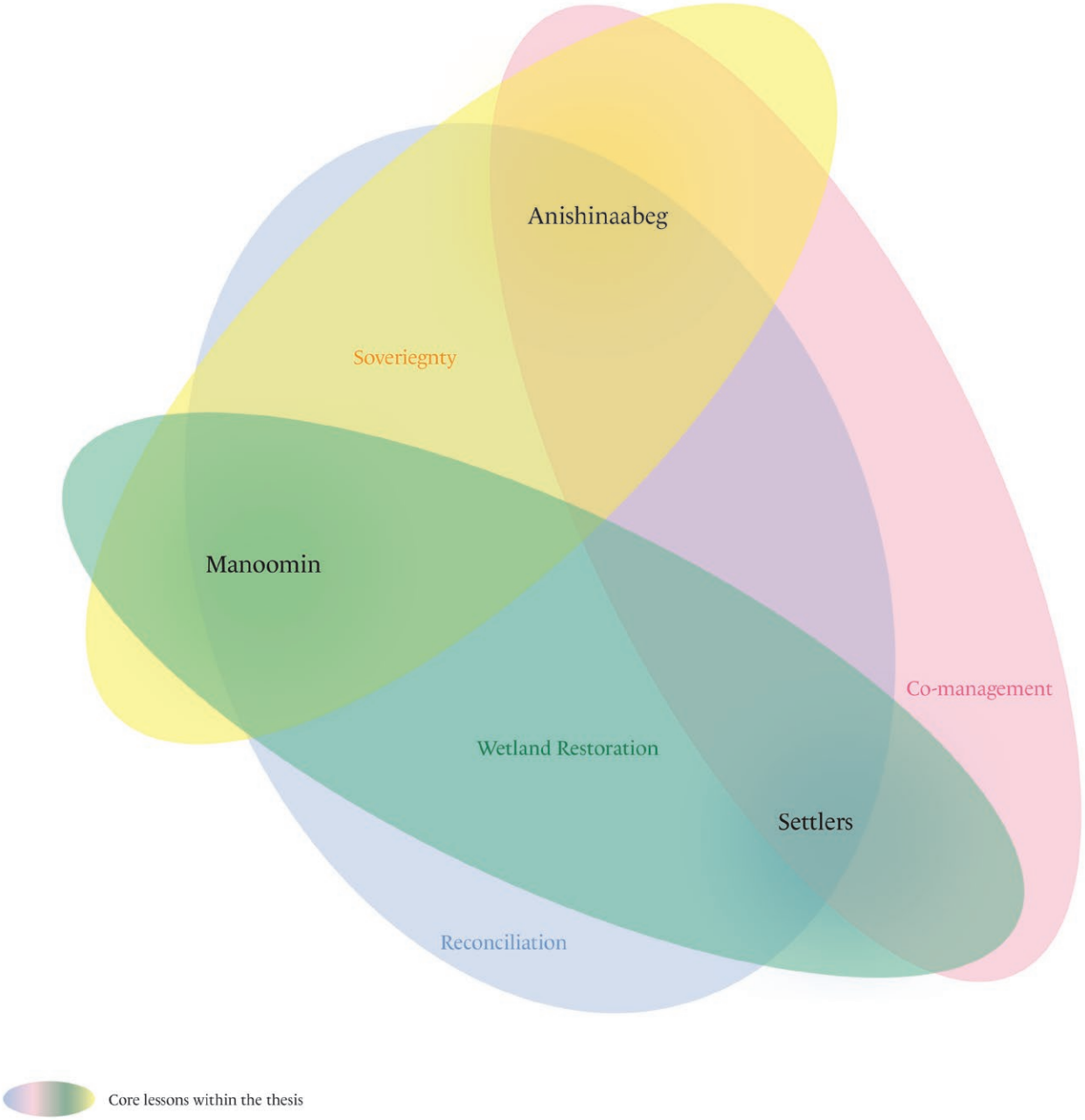


Fig. 3.3 In contrast to modern Treaties employed within academia to understand relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, Manoomin is bringing people together for a diversity of reasons, which inadvertantly centers Mino-bimaatisiiwin and therefore, an Anishinaabeg way of being, as opposed to a Western framework of understanding place and relationships. This diagram reflects the core lessons I have strived to learn throughout this journey as they intersect with Manoomin, Anishinaabeg, and settlers across the Great Lakes Basin. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

Manoomin as a Threshold

With this awareness of Indigenous methodologies (as described above) and the implications of research, the biggest shift within my research occurred when I let go of the need to find a way of "analyzing" this work, and simply recognized the lessons that these stories of restoring Manoomin held.

What that means to me is that instead of projecting another analytical structure onto these stories to distill some neutral or objective formula about being a respectful settler towards Indigenous Peoples and Land, I should be simply listening to the lessons about relationships which the stories themselves hold.

Manoomin has been teaching and caring for people for centuries, and continues to do so as Anishinaabeg Peoples restore her home. Within the restoration work, I believe there are lessons about what reconciliation really means, how to better respect and understand the land I live and work on, and most importantly present narratives of Indigenous self-determination within this work.

Through these stories and a deeper understanding of Manoomin, this thesis hopes to present itself as a threshold between what Ruth Koleszar-Green, Mohawk Nation[44], calls settler and guest[45]. She defines a settler as an individual who may know the words to a land acknowledgement and wishes to be an ally, but who rarely moves beyond those sentiments[46]. A guest is someone who engages in reflexive process research (meaning they respect Indigenous research methodologies throughout the co-creation process[47]), and actively supports the responsibilities of the stewards to the land you are on.[48] This process of transformation takes time and requires a lot of additional work for settlers to understand the context of these relationships and systems[49].

I can only speak to what I understand in this moment and I recognize I have a lot more to learn[50]. I believe this thesis is a threshold and not the result itself, as it situates itself between two spheres of knowing and being as a settler on this land.

44 "Ruth Koleszar-Green," *University of York*, last accessed May 29th, 2021. https://profiles.laps.yorku.ca/profiles/ruthkg/.
45 Ruth Kolescar-Green, "What is a Guest? What is a Settler?" *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry* 10, no. 2 (2018): 166-177.
46 Ibid. 174.
47 Abukari Kwame, "Reflexivity and the insider/outsider discourse in indigenous research: my personal experiences," *Alternative* 13, no. 4 (2017): 225.
48 Ruth Kolescar-Green, "What is a Guest? What is a Settler?" 175.
49 Nicole LaTulippe, "Bridging Parallel Rows: Epistemic Difference and Relational Accountability in Cross-Cultural Research," *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 6, no. 2 (2015):1-11.
50 Ahnungoonhs - Brent Debassige, "Re-conceptualizing Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin (the Good Life) as Research Methodology: A Spirit-centered Way in Anishinaabe Research," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 33, no.1 (2010): 18.

The Stories

From the beginning of this thesis, I have always gravitated towards the use of "story" as opposed to "case study" which seemed too sanitized and formal. Zoe Todd and Anja Kanngieser rightly discuss the generalization that case studies as a methodology create through their discussion on "Kin Studies". For them, "*…land and place [is] a set of relationships between human and nonhuman beings, co-constituting one another*" (p. 386), and therefore one place cannot stand in to understand another[51]. The stories as I see them reflect examples of how relationships might be created within these specific contexts of restoration and land management, as I have worked to 'restory' the beings and narratives across time within each.

Stories to me also, present an accessible way for everyone to understand a concept, an event, or a relationship. They seemingly present the importance of the actors within the story as equal to the narrator themselves.

Additionally, stories are of course, incredibly important ways that knowledge is transmitted by Indigenous Peoples across the globe. Indigenous knowledge in all its complexities and ways of being is stored in these stories[52], which are passed down through generations[53]. Through them sovereignty, spaces, cultures, and knowledge can be continuously defined and redefined[54].

These stories present the truth according to how I have heard or read them[55], they therefore by no means reflect the absolute truth within each situation. Though I may desire to shift the power dynamics present within research with the use of stories as a method[56], they are still being filtered through my mind.

At one time these three stories had been positioned in comparison to one another, building on an evolutionary scale of "best to worst" instead of reflecting the values and strengths in each one. Having been trained in the world of architecture, the "critic" is everything. Indigenous methodology would argue that this is not respectful. Shawn Wilson writes:

51 Anja Kanngieser, and Zoe Todd, "From Environmental Case Study to Environmental Kin Study," *History and Theory* 59,no. 3 (2020): 385-393.
52 Jeff Corntassel, "Restorying Indigenous Landscapes: Community Regeneration and Resurgence." in *Plants, people and places*, edited by Nancy J Turner. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press (2020): 254-268.
53 Gregory Cajete, "Process of Native Science," in *Native Science* by Gregory Cajete, *(*Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000): 13.
54 Cutcha Risling Baldy, "Coyote is not a metaphor: On decolonizing, (re)claiming and (re)naming Coyote," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 4, no. 1 (2015): 1-20.
55 Margaret Kovach, "Chapter 5: Story as Indigenous Methodology," in *Indigenous methodologies: characteristics, conversations and contexts*, by Margaret Kovach (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2009): 103.
56 Margaret Kovach, "Chapter 5: Story as Indigenous Methodology," in *Indigenous methodologies: characteristics, conversations and contexts*, 82.

> *One person cannot judge someone else's conclusions, or even attempt to make conclusions for someone else (like I am doing here for academic reasons!), but only to make new connections to ideas. It is incumbent upon the other person to come to their own decisions and the shape that the new ideas will take and to make their own conclusions*. (2008, p. 94)

The urge to critique, or draw arguments for or against, has been an important concept that I have needed to rethink within this thesis. Instead, I have worked towards seeing the value in the research process, as opposed to solely the result created through the comparison and contrast of these unique situations[57]. These three stories which I have 'selected' are therefore the result of all these methods and evolution in thinking.

Floating Leaves - Pigeon Lake: I was drawn to this story due to the physical proximity of this site from my own home in Southern 'Ontario', but also the narrative that has been created around it of "Indigenous Peoples vs. Cottagers", as the conflict lies in the contrasting perceptions of the uses and states that Pigeon Lake should be in; somewhere that generates food for the community while restoring the region to its historical condition, or open waterbody artificially created for recreational purposes.

As I learned through this story, the practice of restoration does not always create a perfect partnership. I needed to embrace Edward Said's opinion that "*knowledge is political*"[58]. I may have initially spoke of describing the nuances "on both sides" but I soon realized that was not correct. Indifference and lack of understanding reflect the presence of systematic racism according to Sami scholar, Rauna Koukanen[59], and therefore, neutrality could not be an avenue to accurately represent this story. Thus, in the case of Pigeon Lake, the restoration reflects on how nonetheless respect for Indigenous sovereignty and self determination to traditional land practices outweighs other opinions.

57 Katrina Srigley and Autumn Varley, "Chapter 2: Learning to unlearn: Building relationships on Anishinaabeg Territory," in *Indigenous Research: Theories, Practices, and Relationships*, Deborah Mcgregor, Jean-Paul Restoule, and Rochelle Johnston, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars., 2018): 54.

58 Lynda Lange, "Review of Reshaping the University: Responsibilities, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift," *Studies in Social Justice* 4, no. 1 (2010): 87-91.

59 As Sami scholar Rauna Koukanen writes in her 2007 book, *Reshaping the University: Responsibility, Indigenous Epistemes, and the Logic of the Gift*, "*Indifference and lack of understanding are indications that systemic racism exists*" (p.6) in academia.

Aerial Shoots - St Louis River Area of Concern:

Alongside Pigeon Lake, I would argue that the restoration of Manoomin in the St Louis River is the second most publicised example of this work. As both one of the most polluted watersheds in the Great Lakes Basin, and the place "where food grows on the water", this water body is an extremely important place for the Anishinaabeg on this side of the Great Lakes. Additionally, the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewas have partnered with the settler natural resource departments for many years, whereby Anishinaabeg knowledge is genuinely centered within this work.

I believe most of the lessons and perspectives on this case study come through my elective with Dr. Miguel Sioui. As an architecture student my passion has always been more towards landscape and environmental studies. Learning from him and hearing from the reflections of other students providing a priceless perspective on how co-management or natural resource projects work. Without this, I do not believe I would have been able to properly reflect on the space created through this story and within that type of relationship.

Flowering - Conversations from 'Michigan':

Whereas the stories of Pigeon Lake and the St Louis River have been with me since the early days of this thesis, the work occurring in 'Michigan' was one of my last discoveries. I initially entered this story to understand more about the creation of relationships through Manoomin within a project at the University of Michigan's Botanical Gardens, generating respectful relationships between the institution and Anishinaabeg communities with the restoration of Manoomin on 10 university owned properties. I felt that reaching out to the students and professors writing about this work would be a less obtrusive way to speak to those who are living out these relationships with Manoomin. I was gifted with the opportunity to speak and learn from three participants who are building these relationships within this specific project and their own restoration work.

Going through the ethics application process, reaching out, and hearing the stories from these individuals has in many ways put my research to the test. It also gave me the opportunity to hear about the work being done to restore Manoomin and the implications within that for reconciliation and respect for Indigenous self-determination in restoration projects.

With each story, I explore that space which is created through these works. I mean to share the different types of relationships, dynamics, methods of managing the land, and reflections on topics of sovereignty, self-determination, and co-management. I attempt to weave the historical and contextual realities that created the current situation and highlight part of the lessons I have learned from each.

I believe that together, they present important lessons that all settlers, especially those engaging with the land, need to be aware of to humbly embark on this unlearning process.

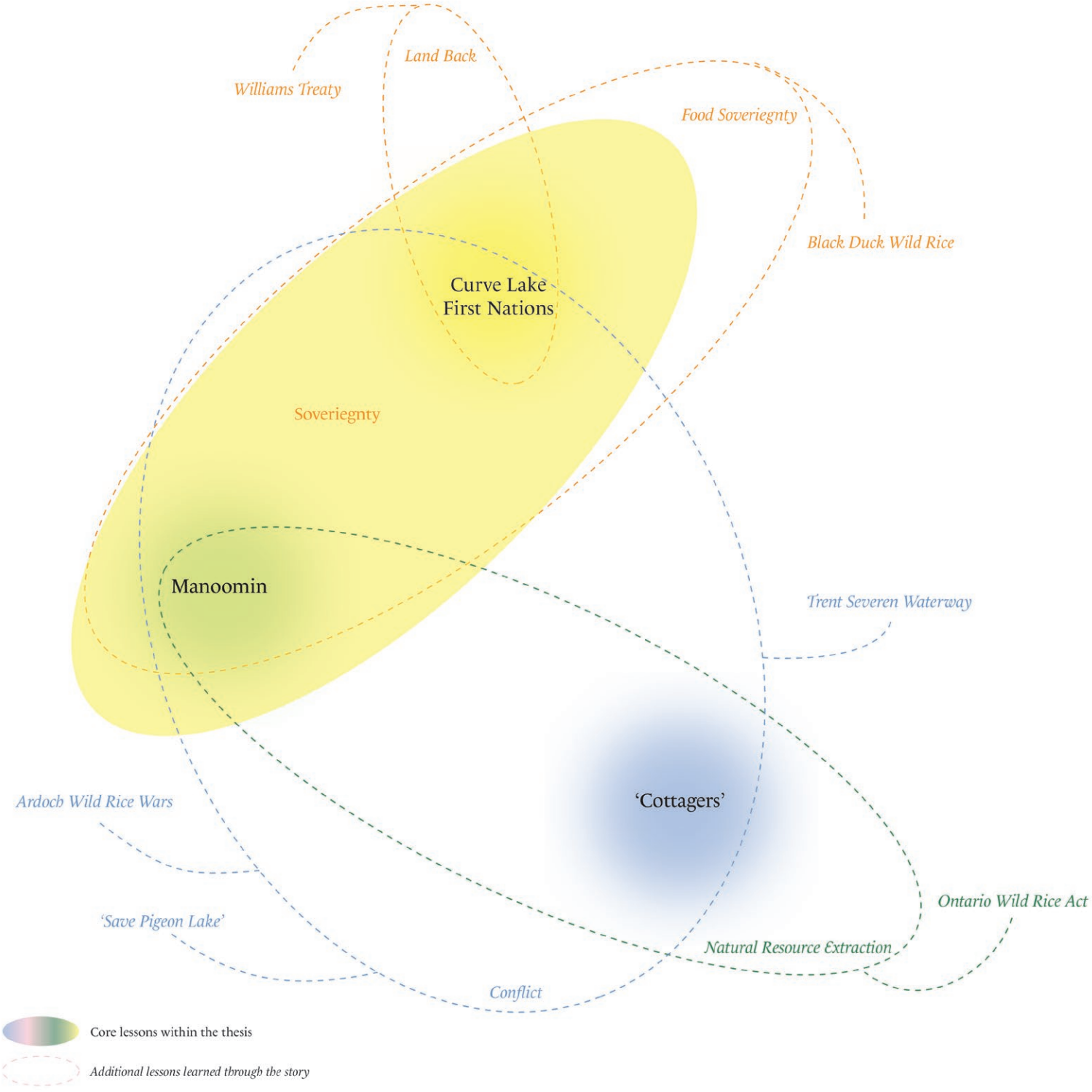


Fig. 4.1 Throughout this journey I have worked to learn about sovereignty, reconciliation, restoration, and co-management, however through these stories I ended up learning additional lessons which changed my perspective on what these initial lessons really mean. This diagram reflects the lessons learned from Pigeon Lake. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

04

Floating Leaves: Pigeon Lake

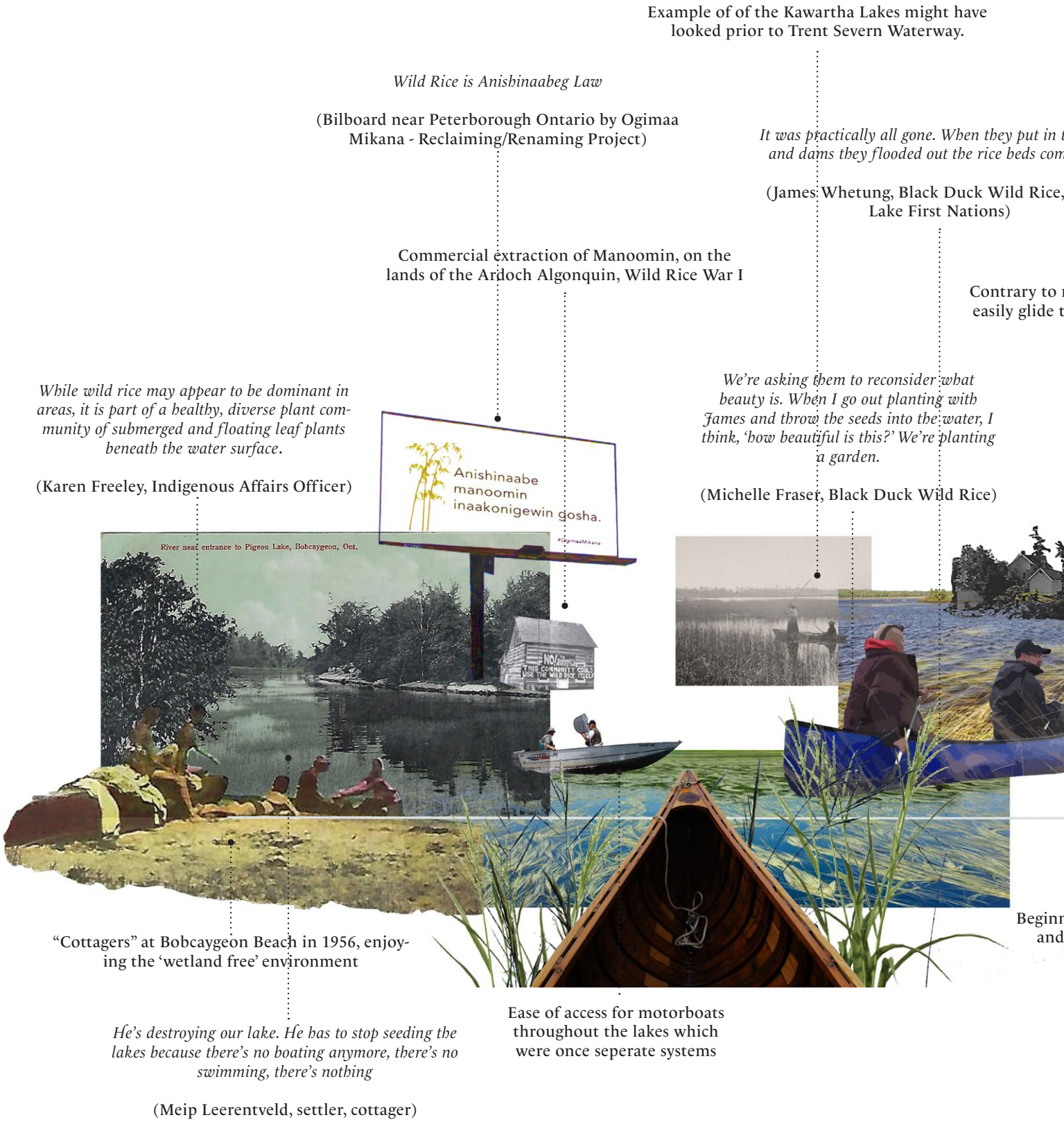


Fig. 4.2 Visual representation of the primary elements influencing the relationships between Curve Lake First Nations, Manoomin, and 'Cottagers" of Pigeon Lake. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

All of the teachings tell you to put back and that's what he's doing. It's our inherent right to be able to do that and the Williams Treaty enshrined our rights in the constitution.

(Lorenzo Whetung, Curve Lake First Nations councilor)

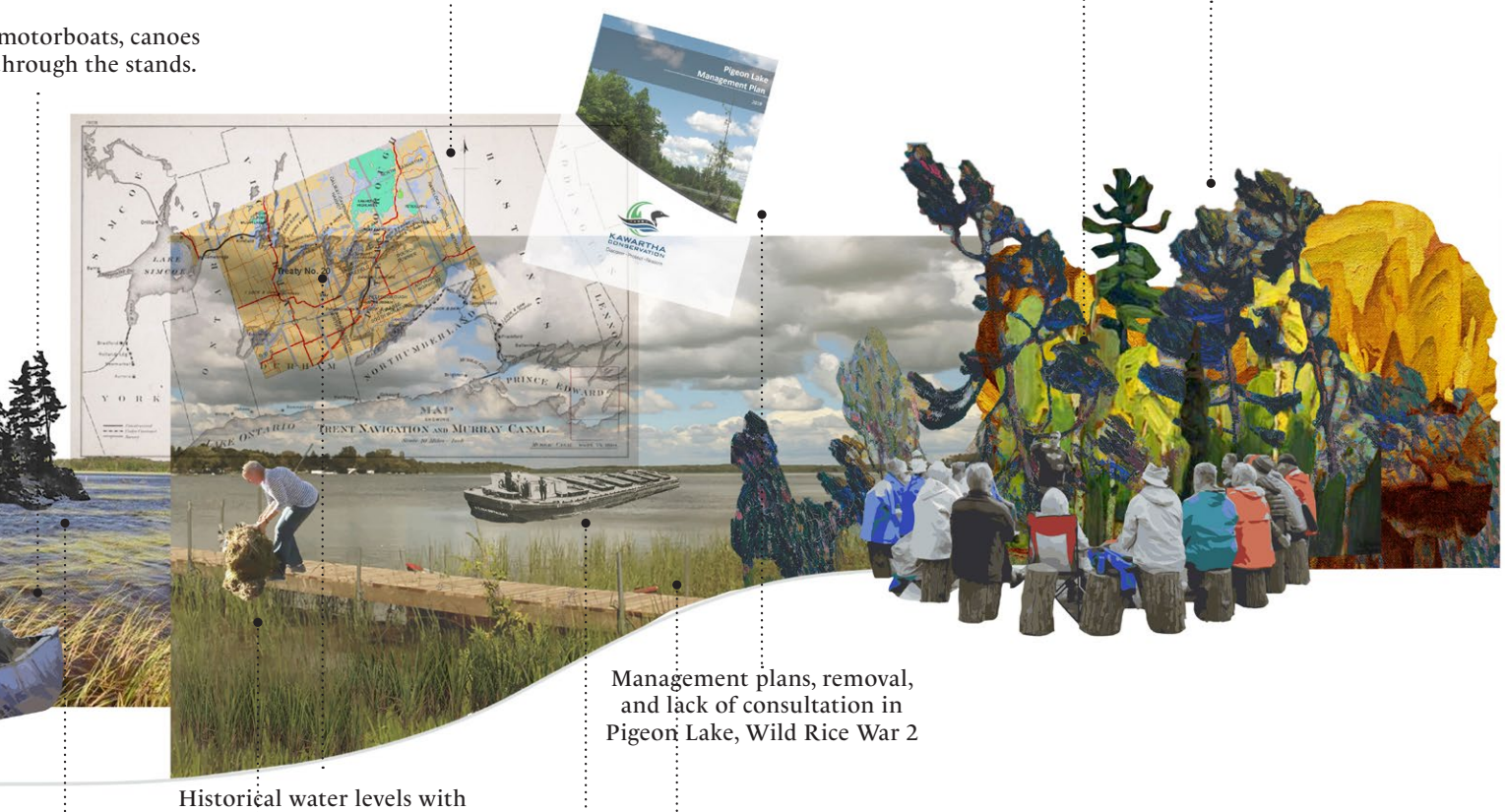
Beginning of rice camps hosted by James Whetung to share the importance of Manoomin with Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples a like.

Entrance to the 'cottage country' aesthetic

the locks
pletely

Curve

motorboats, canoes
hrough the stands.



Management plans, removal, and lack of consultation in Pigeon Lake, Wild Rice War 2

Historical water levels with Trent Severn Waterway path

ning of Boreal forest
Canadian Shield

Opened up Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario, bringing more settlers into the region and extracting 'natural resources'

Illegal removal of Manoomin from Pigeon Lake

Gradient shoreline condition from grass to rock to marsh to water

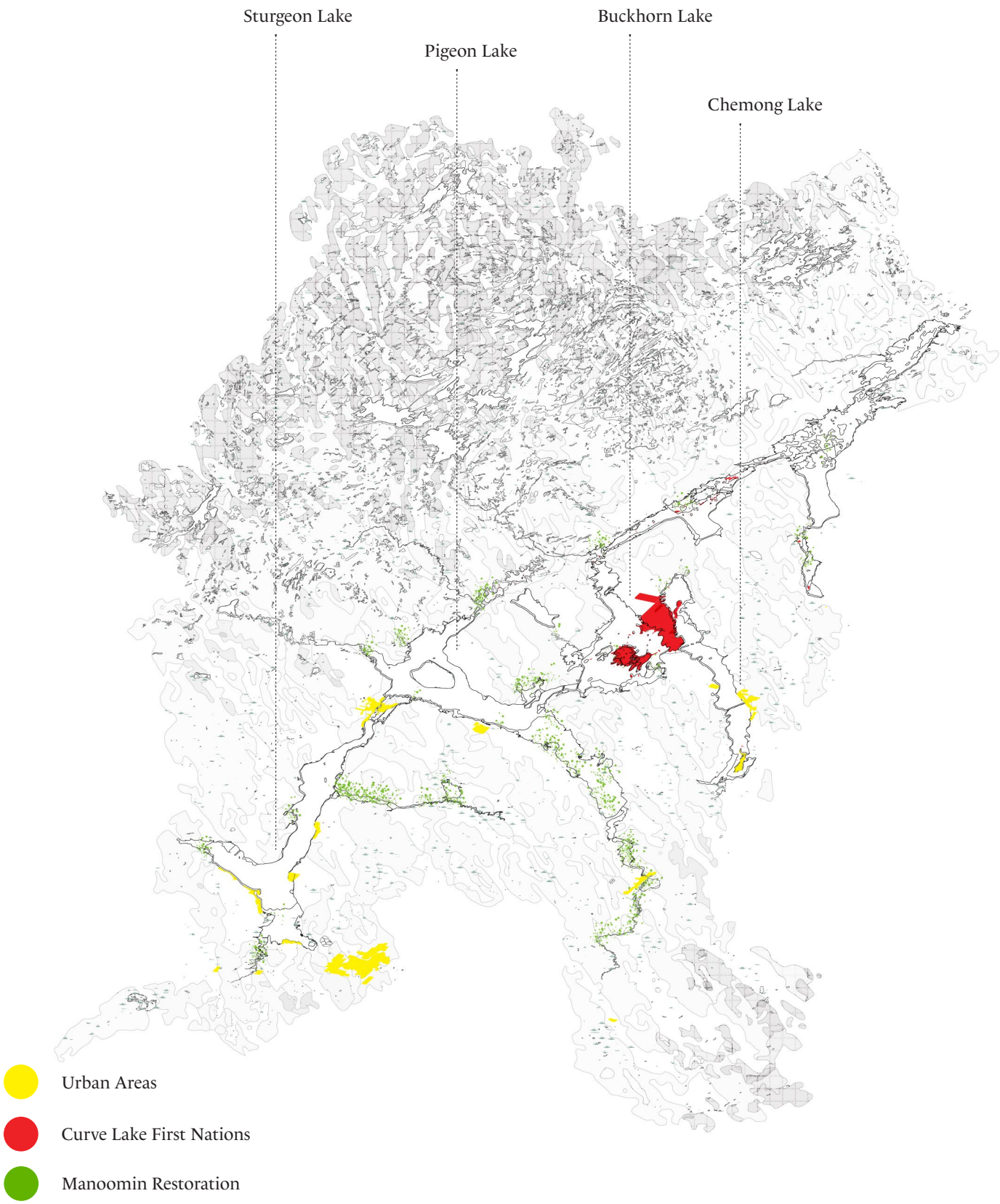


Fig. 4.3 Kawartha Lakes watershed reflecting current water levels and Manoomin prescence in this region..
Author's Drawing. 2021.

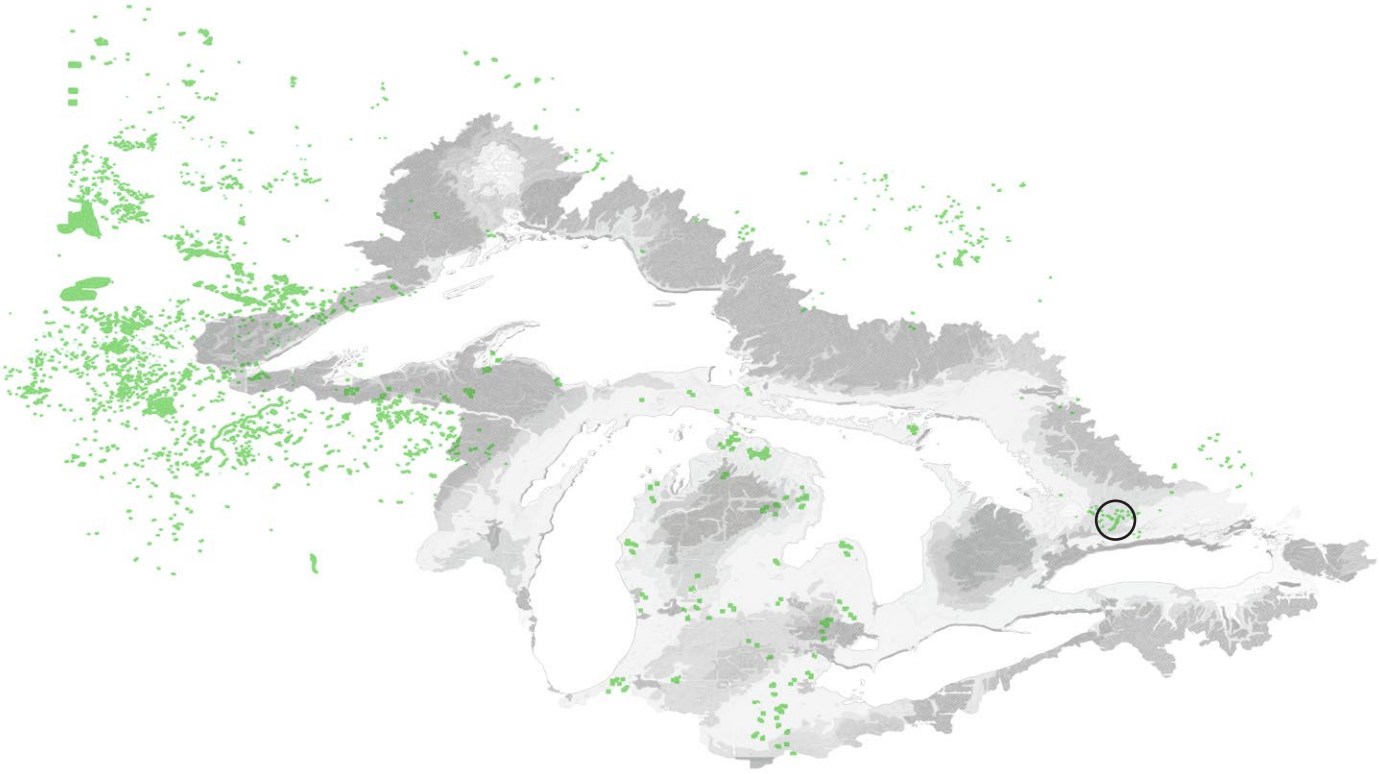


Fig. 4.4 Pigeon Lake circled within the Great Lakes Basin. Current Manoomin stands in green. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

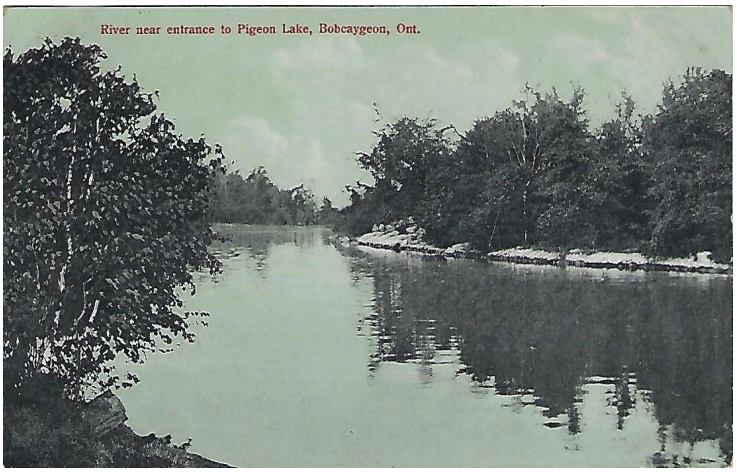


Fig. 4.5 "River near entrance to Pigeon Lake, Bobcaygeon, Ont." Landscape conditions before major flooding from the Trent Severn Waterway. Shorelines slope gradually into the water with trees lining the banks. *Postcard. 1919.*

Fig. 4.6 "Pleasure boats crusing on the Trent waterway", reflecting part of the 'ideal' of living in 'cottage country'. *Image by Doug Griffin. 1967.*

Fig. 4.7 Aerial view of Manoomin in Pigeon Lake creating small wetland pockets which can impede some motorboat traffic. *Image from "Cottagers and Indians" CBC documentary. 2020.*

Written and produced by Drew Hayden Taylor, a member of the Curve Lake First Nations, the 2019 play "Cottagers and Indians"[1] revealed the current conflict occurring in the Kawartha Lakes Region, more specifically within Pigeon Lake. The play told the story of Arthur Cooper, an Indigenous 'farmer', and Maureen Poole, a white cottager, whose conflict lies in the space between the water and shoreline, where Manoomin is being planted[2]. As in this production, the real conflict centers on questions of ownership, time, and the fundamental rights and responsibilities that Indigenous Peoples have to the land. The character of Arthur Cooper was inspired by James Whetung[3], a member of the Curve Lake First Nations and owner of Black Duck Wild Rice[4]. His intention is to return Manoomin to Pigeon Lake to give his community access to healthy food and reclaim their traditional practices[5]. To do so his work lies at the intersection of his rights as an Indigenous Person, and a commercial harvesting permit to ensure no other companies can exploit these lakes for economic gain[6].

The real cottager in this story, is not just one individual but a group of settlers who have spent most of their lives in this region and describe Wild Rice as a nuisance along 'their' shores as it impedes motorboats, swimming, and other recreational activities they have partaken in for the past few decades. Their concern lies in this current inconvenience of Manoomin, which they feel Whetung is escalating as he works to expand and restore the beds. Since 2006, the 'cottagers' have illegitimately removed Wild Rice from the shoreline, requested removal permits from Parks Canada who unlawfully approved it based on Treaty rights, and created the organization "Save Pigeon Lake" to stop reseeding in the water.

As long as most settlers remember, these lakes have always been clear and open, free from wetlands and marshes[7]. This classic image of the 'Canadian Cottage aesthetic', feeds into the legacy of the 'wild' and 'nature' land set aside from settlers to enjoy recreationally with no recognition of the context of this space. However, for the Anishinaabeg of Curve Lake First Nations and the surrounding Williams Treaty First Nations, this entire region used to be plentiful of Manoomin[8], calling it the "rice bowl"[9]. As elaborated

1 "Theatre Performances – Cottagers and Indians," *Living Arts Center Mississauga,* accessed March 5, 2020, https://www.livingartscentre.ca/theatre-performances/cottagers-indians.
2 Paula Anderson and James Whetung, *Black Duck Wild Rice Case Study* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University, 2018): 8-9.
3 *Cottagers & Indians,* directed by Drew Hayden Taylor (2020; Toronto, ON: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Paul Kemp Productions), https://www.cbc.ca/cbcdocspov/episodes/cottagers-indians.
4 "Protect Manoomin," *Black Duck Wild Rice*, accessed March 20th, 2021, https://www.blackduckwildrice.net/.
5 *Foraging for Wild Rice with Chef Sean Adler,* YouTube video, 1:17:00, posted by CBC Life, December 10, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NRdVnJwgW1s&t=45s.
6 Anderson and Whetung, *Black Duck Wild Rice Case Study,* 8-9.
7 *Cottagers & Indians,* directed by Drew Hayden Taylor CBC Documentary.
8 Rhiannon Johnson, "Cottage country conflict over wild rice leads to years of rising tensions," *CBC News,* Last modified November 12, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/kawartha-lakes-pigeon-lake-wild-rice-dispute-1.4894495.
9 Lisa Jackson, "Canada's wild rice wars," *Aljazeera,* Last modified February 20th, 2016, https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2016/2/20/canadas-wild-rice-wars.

on below, only through the introduction of settler colonial land practices, namely the construction of the Trent Severn Waterway, were the relationships of the Indigenous Peoples to land affected. As I will describe further, the current policies in place to manage the water conditions, reflect the settler perspective of the historical landscape conditions. This perspective does not consider Indigenous sovereignty, rights of more-than-human beings, or the contextual realities of how the transformation of the shoreline impacted relationships.

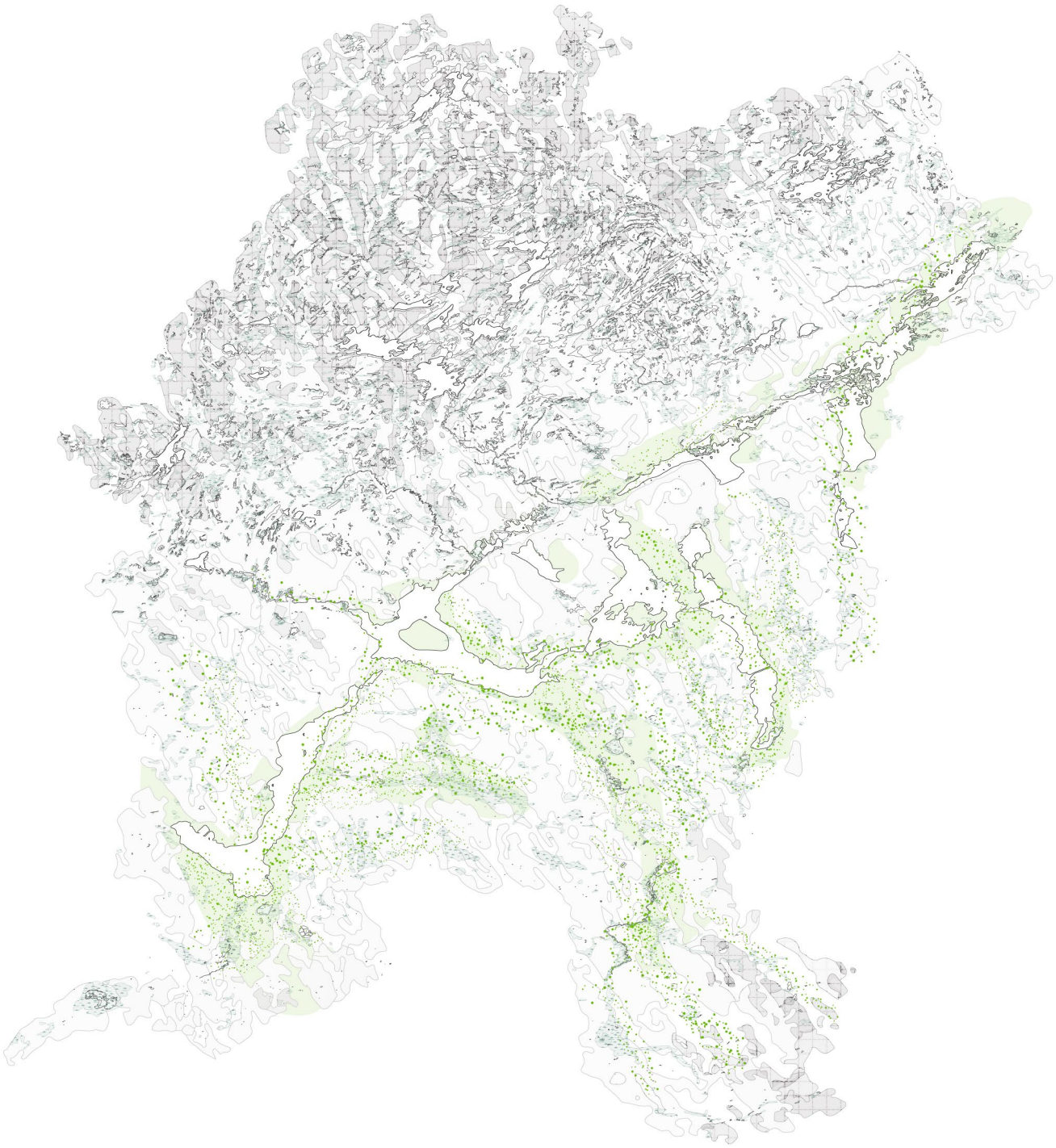
"we own land under water"

"*they didn't realize it, but they bought a wetland*"[10]

Though settlers now described this area as being full of "*pristine waterways*" "*perfect for boating, fishing, swimming*"[11], the Kawartha Lakes were artificially created through the construction of the Trent Severn Waterway[12]. Connecting Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay, this waterway was meant to provide faster access from the central Great Lakes to the St Lawrence Seaway facilitating transportation of people to the begin settling further North, and 'natural resources' primarily lumber removed from the Southern Boreal forest[13]. However, with the introduction of rail and a reduction in resources, it ended as a belated attempt to provide an alternative route between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario[14], and furthered the colonial domination of this land, reinforcing the dispossession of Anishinaabeg Peoples[15].

As construction started in 1844, the effects gradually began to appear, as the locks and dams covered up the wetland landscape. By 1908, the water levels had risen so high that nearly fifty percent (50%) of the Curve Lake First Nations Land (at that time called the Mud Lake Settlement), was lost underwater[16]. Even settlers today acknowledge this transformation of the landscape, as Meip Leerentveld describes in the 2020, CBC documentary Cottagers and Indians: *"It used to be farmland, forest, whatever. It was just a little*

10 James Connolly, Trent University - Rhiannon Johnson, "Cottage country conflict over wild rice leads to years of rising tensions," *CBC News,* Last modified November 12, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/kawartha-lakes-pigeon-lake-wild-rice-dispute-1.4894495.
11 *Cottagers & Indians,* directed by Drew Hayden Taylor, CBC Documentary.
12 Kawartha Lake Stewards Association, *Aquatic Plant Guide* (Peterborough: 2009): 3.
13 "*Trent-Severn Waterway: Management Plan*," (Report, Parks Canada, 2000):83.
14 Madeleine Whetung, "(En)gendering Shoreline Law: Nishinaabeg Relational Politics Along the Trent Severn Waterway," *Global Environmental Politics* 19, no. 3 (2019): 20-23.
15Ibid: 18-19.
16 "15000+ Years, and Counting: Nogojiwanong's First People and the Making of the Curve Lake First Nations," *Curve Lake Cultural Centre,* Last modified 2017, http://crrcpeterborough.benwolfedesign.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/15000-Years-and-Counting-Curve-Lake-Cultural-Centre-CRRC.pdf.



Manoomin

Fig. 4.8 Historical water levels and Manoomin habitat extent prior to Trent Severn Waterway. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

river running through…. A number of individuals believe that you cannot own land under water. We do. James Whetung is planting on that land." This "little river running through" that Meip describes, would be an ideal place for Manoomin to grow, providing shelter for birds and fish in the slow running water. This reality also begins to create questions over ownership of land versus water. Though 'legally' Parks Canada 'owns' the Treaty Severn Waterway, as Meip describes there are some who have deeds to plots which are now covered in water (see Fig. 4.9). Nonetheless, by the 1920s, Manoomin in the Kawartha Lakes was almost completely gone[17], the few seeds that remained were taken to the waters around Curve Lake First Nations and planted in the surrounding waters[18].

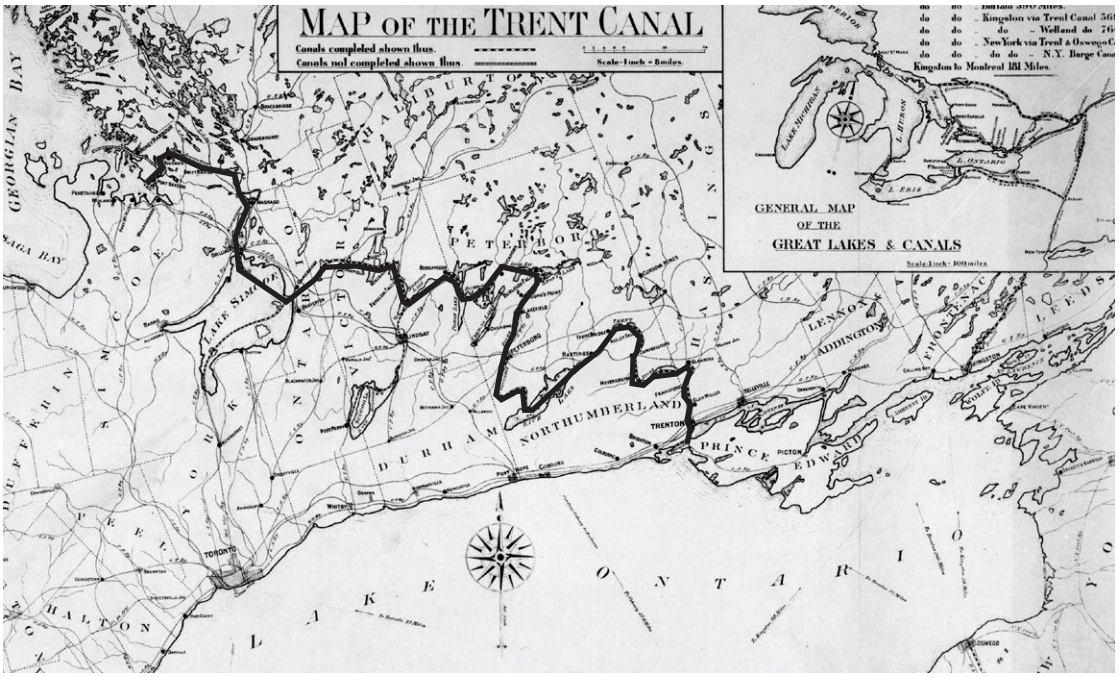


Fig. 4.9 Map of the Trent Severn Waterway connecting Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay, passing through the Kawartha Lakes. *Map by A.K Killaly. 1918.*

17 Doug Williams, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg: This Is Our Territory*, (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2018): 82.
18 Chelsea Jacobs, "*Drowned Landscape: An Architectural Reflection upon indigenous Sensibilities in Curve Lake First Nations*," (Master's thesis, Carleton University, 2019): 21.

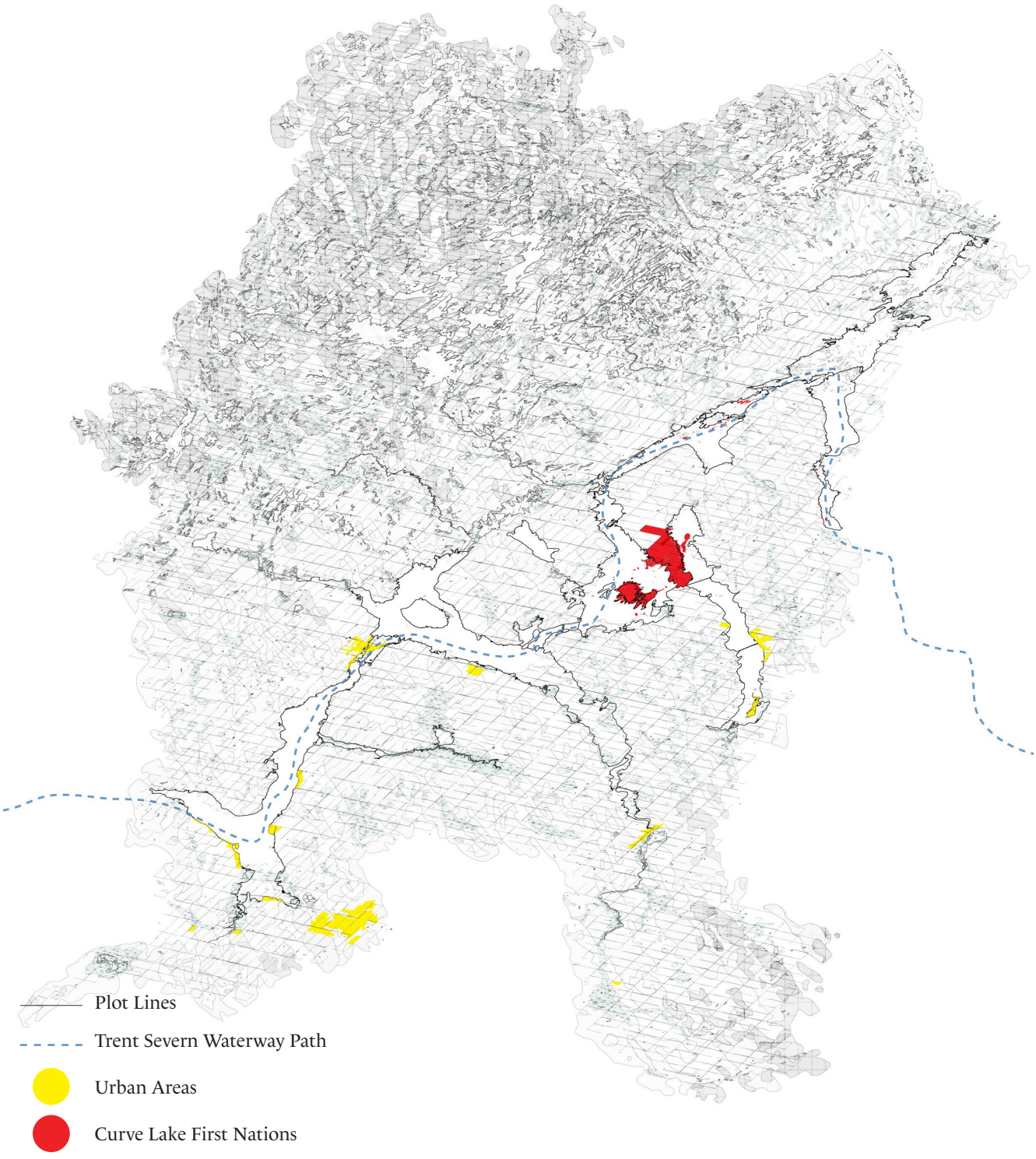


Fig. 4.10 Historical plot lines reflecting the original water levels prior to the addition of the Trent Severn Waterway. Image depicts current waterlevels, Curve Lake First Nations Reserve, urban areas, and the path of the Trent Severn Waterway running through the Kawartha Lakes. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

Treaty Relationships

Occurring adjacent to this loss was the 1923 Williams Treaty; one of the last treaties to be signed in 'Ontario'[19]. This transferred over 20,000 km^2 of land from the Mississauga's of Alderville First Nation, Curve lake First Nations, Hiawatha First Nation, and the Chippewas of Beausoleil First Nation, Georgina Island First nation and the Rama First Nation[20]. Initially concerned over the encroachment of settlers further North into their territory, these groups wished to come to an agreement regarding hunting and harvesting access.

Instead, the Crown, Federal and provincial government issued a hastily arranged and forced agreement with little to no negotiation between parties, and no legal representation for the First Nations signatories[21]. Every Nation member was issued a one-time payment of 25$. Unlike other Treaties in Ontario this one surrendered hunting and fishing rights to off-reserve lands in the final section:

> *"…all the right, title, interest, claim, demand and privileges whatsoever of the said Indians, in, to, upon or in respect of all other lands, situate in the Province of Ontario to which they ever had, now have, or now claim to have any right, title, interest, claim, demand or privileges, except such reserves as have heretofore been set apart for them by His Majesty the King."*

Over the following decades, Indigenous Peoples in this region continued to assert their right to hunt, fish and harvest on this land, though many faced criminal prosecution if caught. As Curve Lake First Nations Elder Doug Williams recounts to Leanne Simpson in *Land as Pedagogy,*

> "*The 1923 Williams Treaty was devasting to my people. I witnessed the trauma and the fear that was put on my people that were trying to liv on the land. They lived daily watching over their backs and trying to maintain their lifestyle as Michi Saagig Nishinaabeg*." (p.20)

With the prohibition of hunting deer and fishing from October 15th to July 1st each year it became difficult for many people to survive during the winter months and were forced to go into debt at the Whetung General Store just to get by until the Spring[22]. For many these practices were forced to be contained within Reserve land so that they might feel

19 Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Williams Treaties," The Canadian Encyclopedia, last modified June 24, 2020, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/williams-treaties.
20 "About Williams Treaties First Nation," Williams Treaties First Nations, accessed March 5th, 2021, https://williamstreatiesfirstnations.ca/about-williams-treaties-first-nations/.
21 Sarah Isabel Wallace, "Williams Treaties."
22 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* 3, no.3 (2014): 20-21.

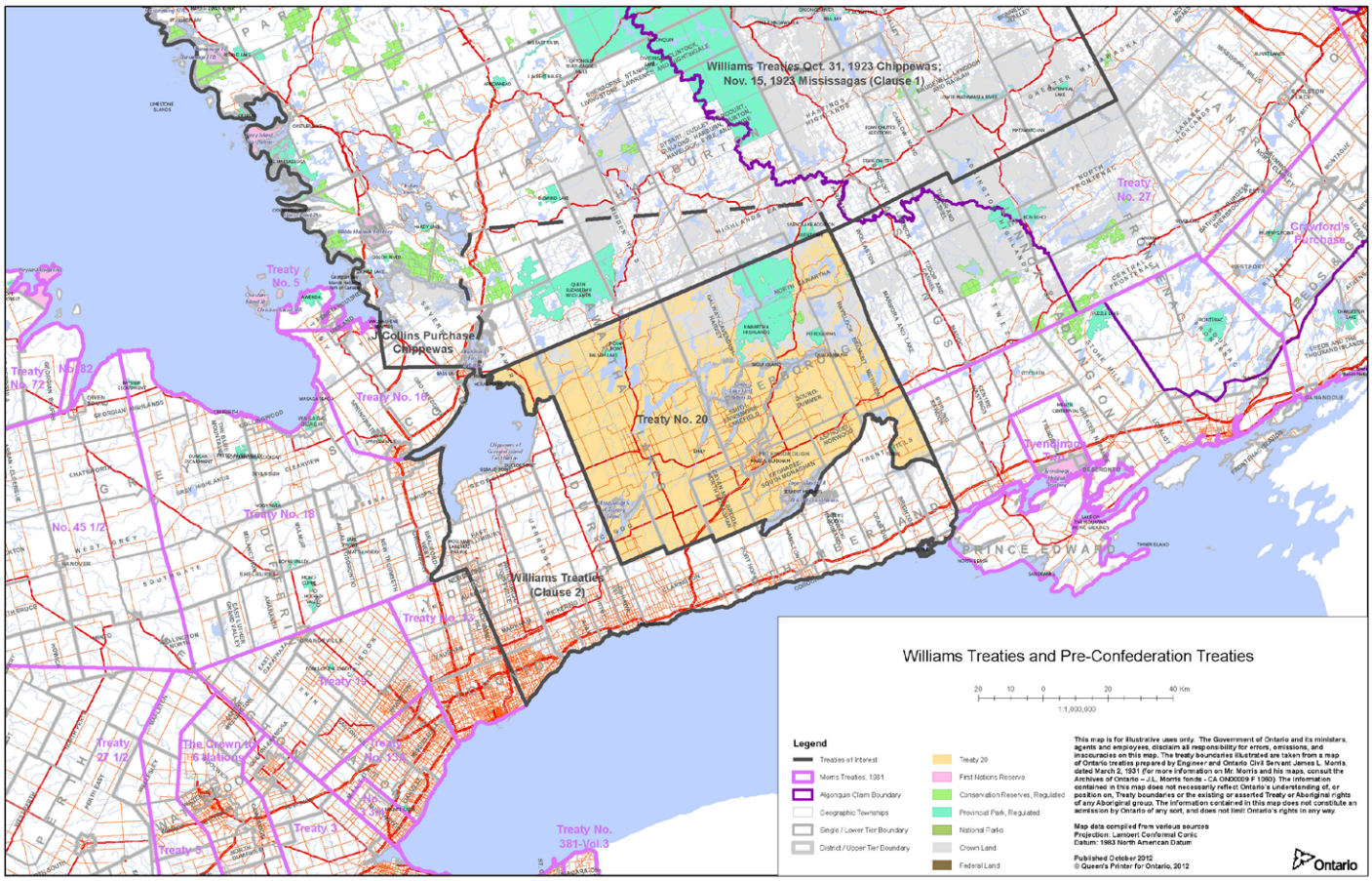


Fig. 4.11 Outline of Williams Treaty (no. 20), in orange. *Map created by Ontario from the Williams Treaty First Nations. 2020.*

more safe to harvest or perform ceremonies without fear of persecution[23].

By 2012, the trial, Alderville Indian Band et al v. Her Majesty the Queen et al, challenged the Williams Treaty, and ended in a verdict that granted the Indigenous Nations the same rights to harvest as other Treaties in 'Ontario'. Only in 2018 were the Nations granted the Williams Treaties Settlement Agreement recognizing "pre-confederation treaty harvesting rights". That year the Federal government issued an official apology for the loss that this created over nearly a century:

> *"To all Williams Treaties First Nations members, past and present, I would like to offer these sincere words: we are sorry. Mjinwesmin. Ninety-five years ago, your ancestors signed treaties with the Crown that became known as the Williams Treaties. The Crown only entered into these treaties after decades of requests by First Nation leaders and community members to address the matter of settlers encroaching on your traditional lands. The Williams Treaties of 1923 were intended to resolve your longstanding claims. Instead, the conclusion of these treaties created continuing injustices — insufficient compensation, inadequate reserve lands, and the inability to freely exercise harvesting rights."*
> (Honourable Carolyn Bennett, Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, November 17th, 2018, in Rama Ontario[24], emphases added)

Today, the Williams Treaties First Nations practice fishing, wildlife, trapping, gathering, and other forms of land management in accordance with their Seven Grandfathers Teaching[25]: *Nibwaakaawin – Wisdom*, *Zaagiidwin – Love*, *Minaadendamowin – Respect*, *Aakode'win – Bravery*, *Gwayakwaadiziwin – Honesty*, *Dabaadendiziwin – Humility*, *Debwewin – Truth*

These apply to[26]: *Manoomin – Wild Rice*, *Wilgwaas – Birch Bark, Miinaan – Berries, Mushkiikiiwug – Medicinal Plants (cedar, sage, sweetgrass, sweet flag, ginseng)*, *Ziisbaakdwaaboo - Sap*

These management principles are reinforced through the Interim Enforcement Policy, which prioritises Indigenous rights to harvest, fish, or hunt for themselves or their community following Anishinaabeg values[27].

23 Leanne Simpson, "The Challenges of Reconciliation: Manoomin", last modified November 2nd, 2015. http://anishinabeknews.ca/2015/11/18/for-the-love-of-manoominikewin/.
24 Honourable Carolyn Bennett, Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, "Statement of Apology for the Impacts of the 1923 Williams Treaties," *Government of Canada,* last modified November 17, 2018, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1542393580430/1542393607484.
25 "Williams Treaties Harvesting Guide," Williams Treaties First Nations, accessed March 5, 2021, https://williamstreatiesfirstnations.ca/all-about-harvesting/.
26 "Williams Treaties Harvesting Guide," Williams Treaties First Nations.
27 "What is the Interim Enforcement Policy," Williams Treaties First Nations, accessed May 26, 2021, https://williamstreatiesfirstnations.ca/all-about-harvesting/.

At the end of the CBC documentary, *Cottagers and* Indians, when Michelle Fraser reads out the letter from the Curve Lake First Nations saying *"James Whetung of the Curve Lake First Nations has constitutionally recognized Aboriginal and Treaty rights to harvest, reseed and plant rice"*[28] it is within this context of the legacy of land dispossession and punishment which members of the Williams Treaty First Nations faced for harvesting on their lands. Even with an official apology, the legacy of land dispossessions continues through the current conflict with "cottagers", as settlers again try to dictate or control Anishinaabeg harvesting rights.

July 2020

Declaration Regarding Manoomin

Michi Saagig Manoomin (Wild Rice) is a sacred plant found only in the Great Lakes and Boreal Forest regions of Turtle Island (North America). Michi Saagig have over 10,000 years of history with Manoomin in our traditional territory. This sacred plant has sustained the Michi Saagig since time immemorial and continues to be recognized and honoured as a significant food source.

Manoomin has rapidly declined in the past two centuries due to environmental changes caused by flooding since the construction of the Trent-Severn Waterway (TSW) and continued fluctuations to water levels. The decline of Manoomin is also due to settlement and pollution from development along shorelines, agricultural run-off, septic tank leakage, motorboat emissions, use of herbicides, foreign and invasive species, and federally permitted dredging. We are also aware of the devastation to our Manoomin beds due to the unlawful and un-permitted removal of Manoomin.

That Manoomin has returned to our lands and water demonstrates that our water systems are returning to better health. Manoomin has nourished Michi Saagig for millennia and is a significant part of Michi Saagig food security. Many Michi Saagig Elders, harvesters and community members have worked for decades to revitalize relationships with Manoomin through restoration initiatives and community-based education. This work will ensure continued access to sustainable and nutritious local food sources in this territory for generations to come.

We provide this declaration in the spirit of sharing information on the historical, cultural, nutritional, and spiritual resources found in our territory. We appreciate the ongoing work of community members, like James Whetung, for their dedication to preserving Manoomin. We applaud and congratulate Drew Hayden Taylor for his success in raising awareness of the issues surrounding the revitalization of Manoomin in our territories. And we admire his candor and humour when creating space for these conversations. Reconciliation can only happen when both parties engage in dialogue to understand our historical connection to all living things and the health of our environment.

Chief Emily Whetung on behalf of Curve Lake Council

Jeffrey Jacobs
Deborah Jacobs

Sean Conway
Nodin Knott

Crystal Cummings
Arnold Taylor

Laurie Hockaday
Saga Williams

Fig. 4.12 Curve Lake First Nations Chief Emily Whetung acknoweldging the work of James Whetung and Drew Hayden Taylor, in addition to Manoomin's legacy in this area. *Letter from Curve Lake First Nations. 2020.*

28 *Cottagers & Indians,* directed by Drew Hayden Taylor, CBC Documentary, 39:37 to 39:50.

The 'Ontario' Wild Rice Wars

Along with the physical dispossession and transformation of land as the way in which conflict around Manoomin has occurred in 'Ontario', the use of policy and the consideration of Wild Rice as a commodity furthered divisions between communities and repressed Indigenous sovereignty.

Following the commercialization and co-option of Wild Rice in the 1930s, 'Ontario' worked to develop their own Wild Rice industry through the Wild Rice Management Program of 1954. This categorized Wild Rice as a 'natural resource' within this context, thereby requiring permits to harvest, enforcement, penalties, and the inclusion of royalties. In 1960, the Wild Rice Harvesting Act (WRHA)[29], evolved from here, establishing registered harvesting areas, where Indigenous Peoples could harvest. Everywhere outside of this was open to settler, "non-status Indians" and Métis Peoples. This division and exclusion from rights based on "status", was practiced throughout other traditional practices in the region such as fishing and gathering rights[30]. The following decade saw a series of protests and disputes around the right to harvest and the specific permit process which would be required. Most of the legal proceedings occurred within the Treaty 3 territory, where most Wild Rice stands lie[31].

Nearby Curve Lake First Nations, the conflict surrounding the right to harvest Manoomin began with the first "Wild Rice War" with the Ardoch Algonquins in 1979[32]. Led by Elder Harold Perry, the community was fighting against commercial operations who were seeking commercial harvesting licenses for Mud Lake. The Ardoch Algonquins created a blockade and protest with the help of local Indigenous Nations and settler communities[33]. The 'war' lasted almost 3 years, as the Algonquins went back and forth with the Department of Natural Resources to stop issuing commercial harvesting permits that would strip away Manoomin from the lake[34]. Thanks to the support of surrounding Indigenous communities and some local settler residents, Ardoch was able to maintain their self-determination of Manoomin[35].

One of the members of Curve Lake First Nation who came to join Ardoch's fight for sovereignty was James Whetung[36]. He returned home with renewed knowledge about Manoomin and her benefits for the health of the community and land. By the 1990s, James

29 Ontario (1970) "c 497 Wild Rice Harvesting Act," *Ontario: Revised Statutes:* Vol. 1970: Iss. 5, Article 90.
30 Dani Kastelein, "We Belong With the Water" (Master's Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2019).
31 Kathi Avery Kinew, "Manito Gitigaan, Governing in the Great Spirit's Garden: Wild Rice in Treaty #3" (Phd thesis, University of Manitoba, 1995).
32 Susan B. DeLisle, "Coming out of the shadows: Asserting identity and authority in a layered homeland: The 1979-83 Mud Lake wild rice confrontation" (Master's Thesis, Queen's University, 2001).
33 "Manomin is the Heart of the Community," *Ardoch Algonquin First Nations*, accessed March 5th, 2020, http://www.aafna.ca/manoomin.
34 Andrew Thomson, "Echoes of the past," *Ottawa Citizen,* Last modified September 1st, 2007, https://www.pressreader.com/canada/ottawa-citizen/20070901/282402689998477.
35 "Manomin is the Heart of the Community," *Ardoch Algonquin First Nations*.
36Anderson and Whetung, *Black Duck Wild Rice Case Study,* 8-9.

Fig. 4.13 Wild Rice War I: Ardoch Algonquins stood up against the OPP and MNR for 60 days in order to prevent access to Manoomin from commercial harvesters. *Image from Ardoch Algonquin First Nations. 2019.*

Fig. 4.14 Wild Rice War 2: Community meeting in 2018 where settlers voiced anger around the seeding and harvesting of Manoomin in the Kawartha Lakes. *Image by Clifford Skarsted, Peterborough Examiner, TorStar, 2018.*

the Kawarthas to protest and protect Manoomin from being ripped out of her home[41].

> *"We're here to make it very clear that we're here to take care of (the wild rice)."* (Caleb Musgrave, Hiawatha First Nation, 2016)

> *"We just want to protect it and make people aware that it's here and we want it to remain here."* (Maryanne Jacobs, Curve Lake First Nations, 2016)

In the summer of 2019, a "Parks Canada Manomin/Wild Rice Workshop" was organized to establish some 'peace' and compromise around this conflict. It was organized by Parks Canada to involve a series of "individuals from various organizations and interests". The main purpose was to hear the complaints and learn of knowledge gaps that might help the larger Nation to Nation discussions. It is clearly mentioned on page 8 of the summary report that of the over 30 participants they were "largely non-Indigenous" but some how brought "a wide range of perspectives on the issue." [42]

The primary concerns expressed related to:

> *"ecological health, aesthetic character of the lake, healthy fish habitat for fishing activities, protection against invasive species, achievement of food security and economic opportunities by the First Nations, recognition and respect of Indigenous cultural practices and traditional knowledge"*[43]

Of the proposed solutions, none related to the adaptation of 'cottagers' to these means, but instead presented themselves as compromises; like the establishment of dedicated "wild rice zones", or time frame limits to harvesting practices. While not an official example of a Nation-to-Nation conversation, this community workshop demonstrates the limited perspective which settler residents hold towards this case that does not consider the large Indigenous beliefs, rights, and relationships to Manoomin.

In 2020, Chief Emily Whetung presented the Declaration Regarding Manoomin, which acknowledged the Manoomin as a sacred plant for the Michi Saagig[44]. This coincided with the survey of the lake by Parks Canada officials collaborating with the Save Pigeon Lake group to develop a wild rice management plan. Now in 2021, much of the situation remains at a stand still within the public realm as COVID 19 restrictions have limited gatherings and meetings. The 'cottagers' speak of making a compromise or having ded-

41 "Prayers, song for wild rice pulled from lake," *Peterborough Examiner,* last modified July 25, 2016, https://www.thepeterboroughexaminer.com/news/peterborough-region/2016/07/25/prayers-song-for-wild-rice-pulled-from-lake.html
42 Rene Drolet Consulting Services, *Parks Canada Manomin/Wild Rice Workshop Summary and Outcomes* (St-Eugene: Drolet Consulting, 2019), 8. https://npla.ca/2019/07/parks-canada-manomin-wild-rice-workshop-summary-and-outcomes-report/.
43Ibid: 11.
44 "Declaration Regarding Manoomin," *Curve Lake First Nations*, July 2020, https://curvelakefirstnation.ca/2020/07/04/declaration-regarding-manoomin/.

Fig. 4.15 'Cottager' clearing Wild Rice from boat slip. *Image from "Cottagers and Indians" CBC documentary. 2020.*

Fig. 4.16 James Whetung hosting Wild Rice camp with community. *Image from "Cottagers and Indians" Excerpt from CBC documentary. 2020.*

icated Wild Rice beds through this. James Whetung and many others from the Curve Lake First Nations say this is unacceptable, as their rights are not and should not be restricted to isolated regions, especially because of their Treaty rights to harvest and care for traditional practices anywhere.

Sovereignty and Self determination as Ethical Space

Whetung's act of sovereignty and self-determination has peeled back layers of colonial practices to reveal Indigenous land below. In doing so he has rightly reshaped and challenged the space and condition between the Curve Lake First Nations and 'cottagers'.

As described in Chapter 1, these 'land practices' are more than recreational activities or other forms of 'foraging'. Instead, these actions are based on the principle that everything harvested is a gift from the first mother[45]. These gifts, therefore, need to be respected and protected, and in return the land will continue to take care of us[46]. Therefore, when Anishinaabeg observe these practices they are asserting their rights to respect and care for these gifts and their presence on the land[47]. These rights and responsibilities form the bases of their laws, beliefs, and engagement with the 'management' of land and other-than-human beings, through these networks of relations. As a traditional practice, harvesting Manoomin is a part of this. It is that relationship that Whetung is working to restore and "rebuild from within"[48].

While the Trent Severen Waterway physically impeded the growth of Manoomin, it is not just about this singular act that can easily be reversed. The overlay of Indigenous dispossession, introduction of recreational and extractive industries, and division of space based on private property lines all altered the relationship that the Mississaugas of Curve Lake First Nations had with this land[49]. The continued legal and settler-led actions through management plans and interference by Parks Canada today furthers these divisions as the settler community tries to delineate where Wild Rice can or cannot be grown on Williams Treaty First Nations land.

These legal and extractive frameworks all create what is described by Sarah Hunt as

45 Miguel Sioui, "Indigenous Ways of Knowing" (lecture, Laurier University, Waterloo, January 22, 2021).
46 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land and Reconciliation: Having the Right Conversations," *Electric City Magazine,* last modified January 7th, 2016, https://www.electriccitymagazine.ca/2016/01/land-reconciliation/.
47 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Introduction," in *As We Have Always Done* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 6.
48 Black Duck Wild Rice: The Resurgence of Indigenous Food Sovereignty within the Kawartha Lakes Region," YouTube video, posted by Laurier Centre for Sustainable Food Systems, October 5th, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_rKv2ikzxOU.
49 Madeleine Whetung, "(En)gendering Shoreline Law: Nishinaabeg Relational Politics Along the Trent Severn Waterway,"31.

"colonialscapes"[50]. These representations of the Indigenous Peoples and land erase the current lives and past realities of Turtle Island and hide Indigenous ways of living into reserves to shape the settler narrative[51]. As in Pigeon Lake, the influence of colonialscapes is highly present. The perspective of 'cottagers' reflects the narrative that Indigenous Peoples need to stay in their reserves and that everything outside must be done according to settler colonial rules. There is no room for change or adaption on their part, instead it is James Whetung who must change, adapt, and hide away his way of being as an Anishinaabe man, so that life can continue as usual for the cottagers of Pigeon Lake. These actions are unfortunately extremely common throughout Turtle Island, in cases of material extraction that seek to reframe land, and urban environments, where the narrative of urban Indigenous communities is erased through gentrification and conservation work[52]. Any settler engaged with a process of land management, extraction, or even property 'ownership' at the smallest level, should be aware of the current realities of capitalist and racists assumptions which Canada is built on, to re-establish Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty[53].

On a scale of one to five, please rank the following interests about Manomin/wild rice and harvesting in the Pigeon Lake area for their importance to you (five being very important, zero being not at all important).

	0 Not at all Important	1	2	3 Neutral	4	5 Very Important
Restrictions or impacts to boat navigation and safety						
Restriction or impacts to waterfront access and beaches						
Debris from mechanical rice harvesting and motorized boat traffic						
Impacts to lakefront property values						
Impacts of seeding through cultivation practices						
Impacts of natural seeding processes						
Loud noise from mechanical harvesting methods						
Length of time mechanical harvesters are active						
Environmental impacts from mechanical harvesting methods						
Food Source and Nutrition						
Contributing to active living						
Practicing a cultural tradition						

Fig. 4.17 Excerpt from Parks Canada Manoomin/Wild Rice Workshop Summary and Outcomes Report. Note the committees consideration of noise, boat traffice, and navigation concerns over questions of self determination and Treaty rights. *Image by Rene Drolet Consulting Services. 2019.*

50 Sarah Hunt, "Witnessing the Colonialscape: lighting the intimate fires of Indigenous legal pluralism" (Phd Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2014).
51 Sarah Hunt, "Witnessing the Colonialscape," 72-73.
52 La Paperson,"A ghetto land pedagogy: an antidote for settler environmentalism," *Environmental Education Research* 20, no. 1 (2014), 120, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2013.865115.
53 Eve Tuck and Marcia McKenzie, *Place in Research: Theory, Methodology, and Methods* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016)

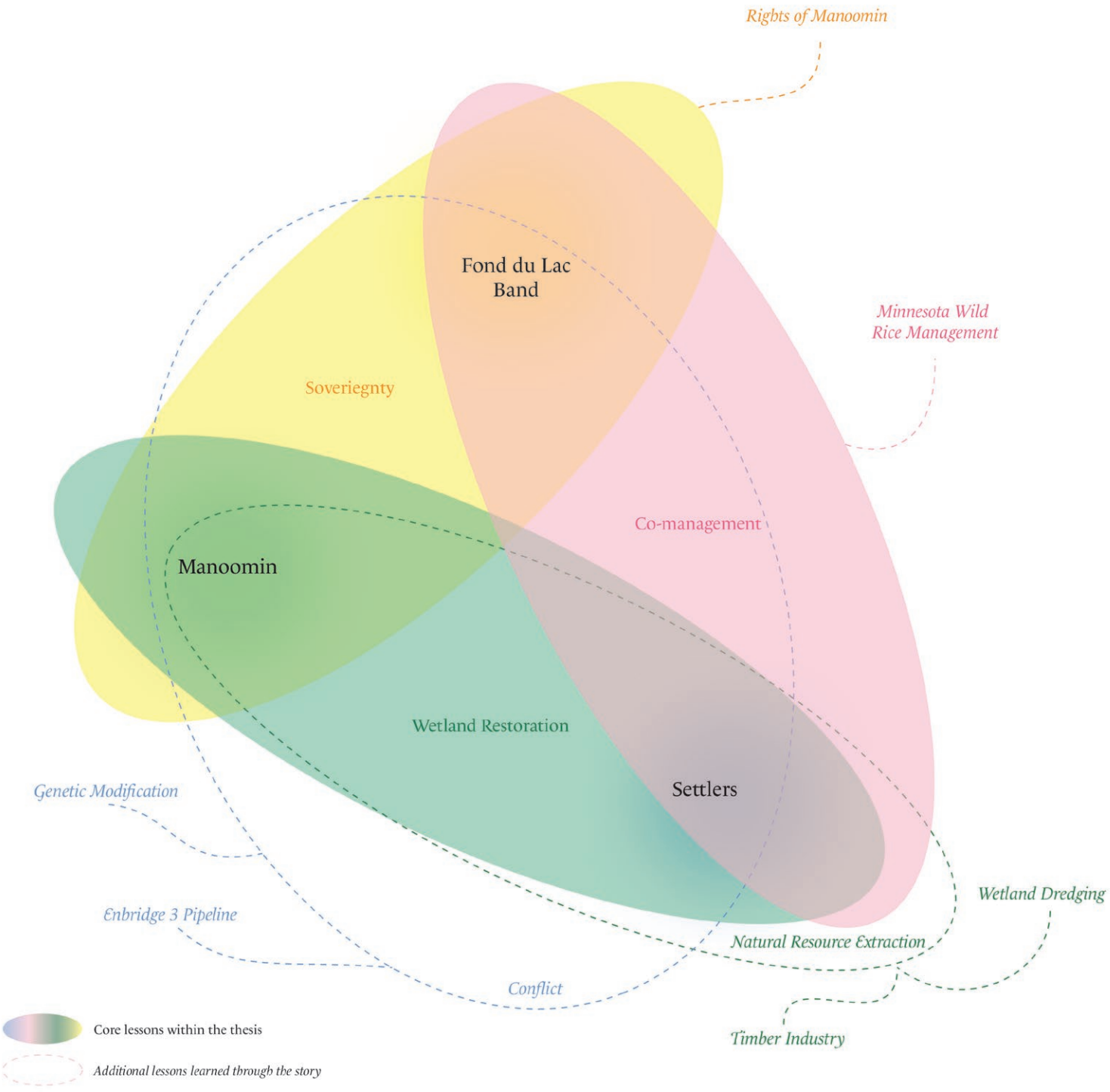


Fig. 5.1 Throughout this journey I have worked to learn about sovereignty, reconciliation, restoration, and co-management, however through these stories I ended up learning additional lessons which changed my perspective on what these initial lessons really mean. This diagram reflects the lessons learned fromthe St Louis River Area of Concern. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

05

Aerial Shoots: St Louis River Area of Concern

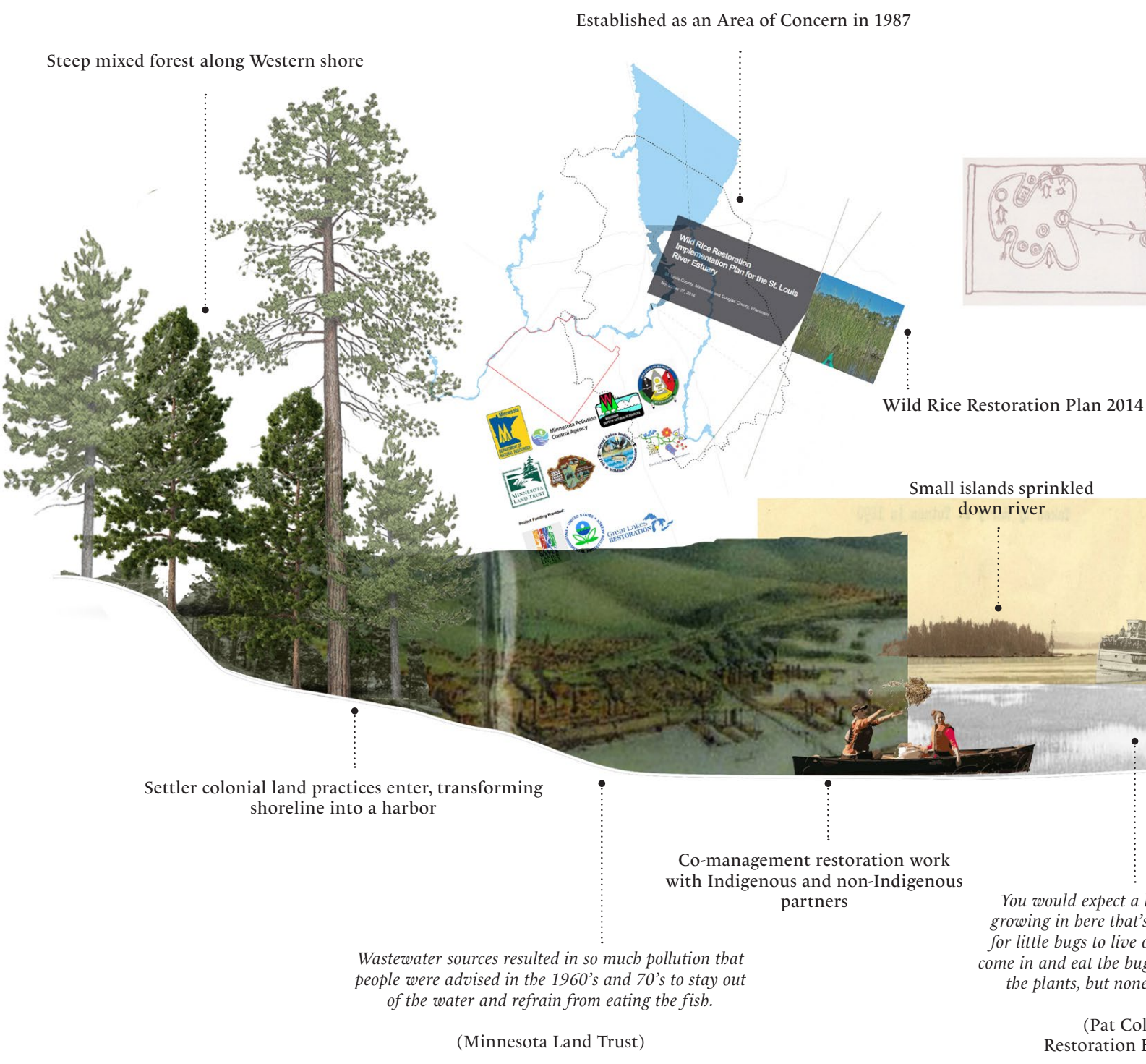


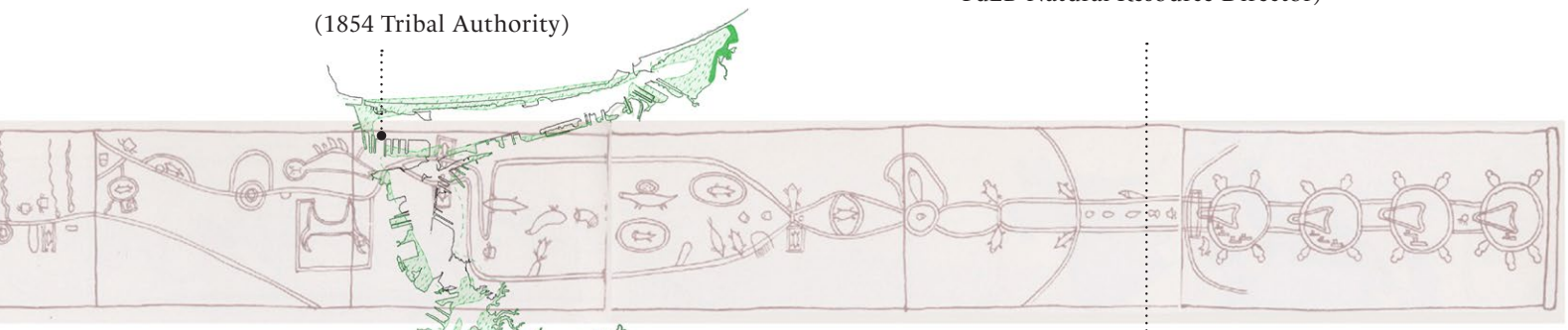
Fig. 5.2 Visual representation of the primary elements influencing the relationships between the Fond du Lac Band of Lac Superior Chippewa, Manoomin, and settlers of the St Louis River Area of Concern. Section depicts the forested hills to 'Duluth, Minnesota' side of the river, and the lower plateau on the 'Superior, Wisconsin' side. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

From the time a baby is born, to when we send people off to make their journey into the afterlife, there are ceremonies, and manoomin is a central component of those. If we don't have that, then we cease to exist somewhat culturally as a people.

(Thomas Howes,
FdLB Natural Resource Director)

The estuary was estimated to contain approximately 3,400 acres with a water depth of four feet or less, most of which was likely suitable wild rice habitat.

(1854 Tribal Authority)



James Red Sky Migration Map

Marshy inlets between shores and islands

There's a whole generation that doesn't know how to do this [wild rice harvesting]. It gives me hope, they want to revive it, restore it, to what it was.

(Charlie Nahgahnub,
FdLB Natural Resource Dept.)

lot of vegetation
s providing places
on, and for fish to
gs, waterfowl to eat
e of that is here.

lins,
Ecologist)

Lower success levels due to increased amounts of geese making their homes in the stands

Logging, steel mills, dredging, and waste run off eliminated Manoomin from the river

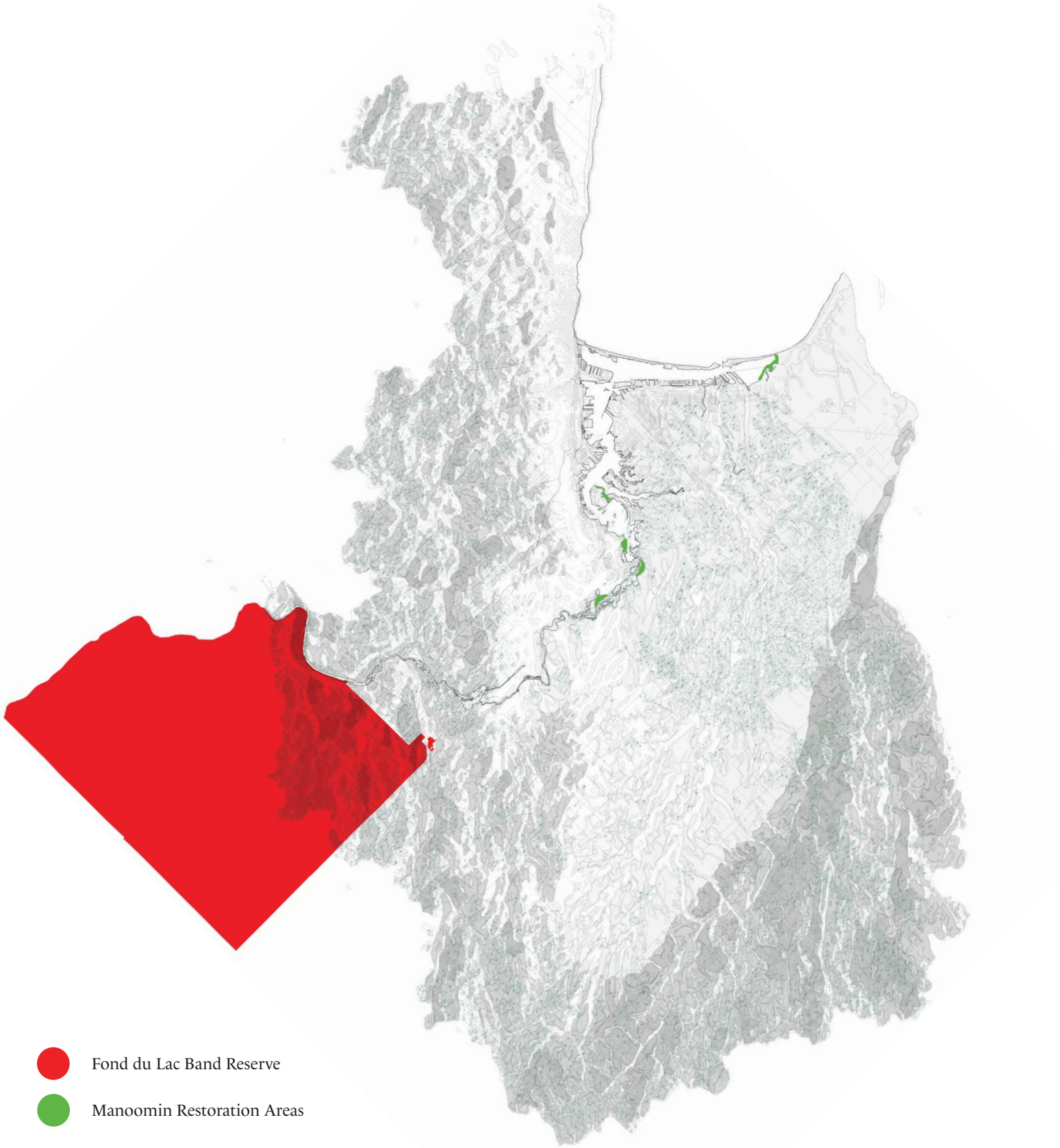


Fig. 5.3 St. Louis River Area of Concern Extents.
Drawing by Author. 2021.

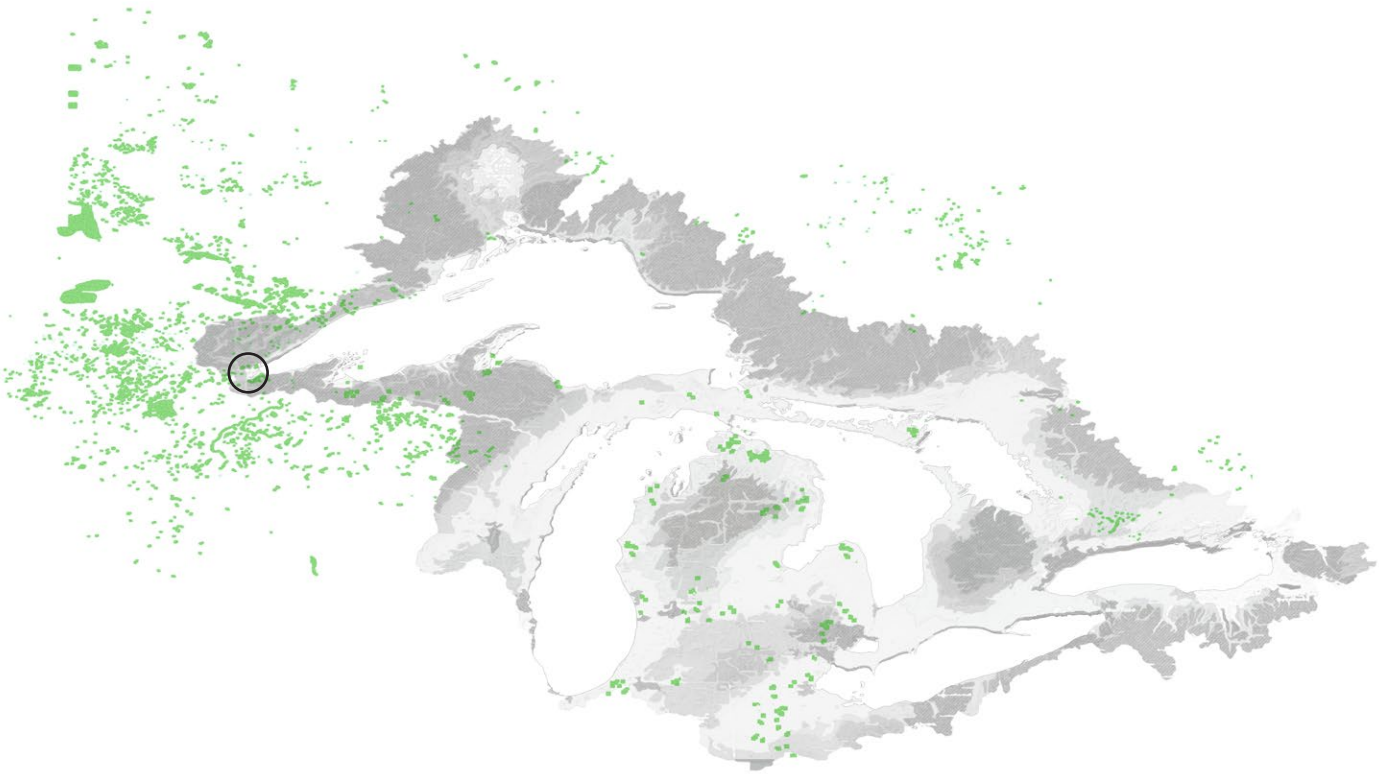
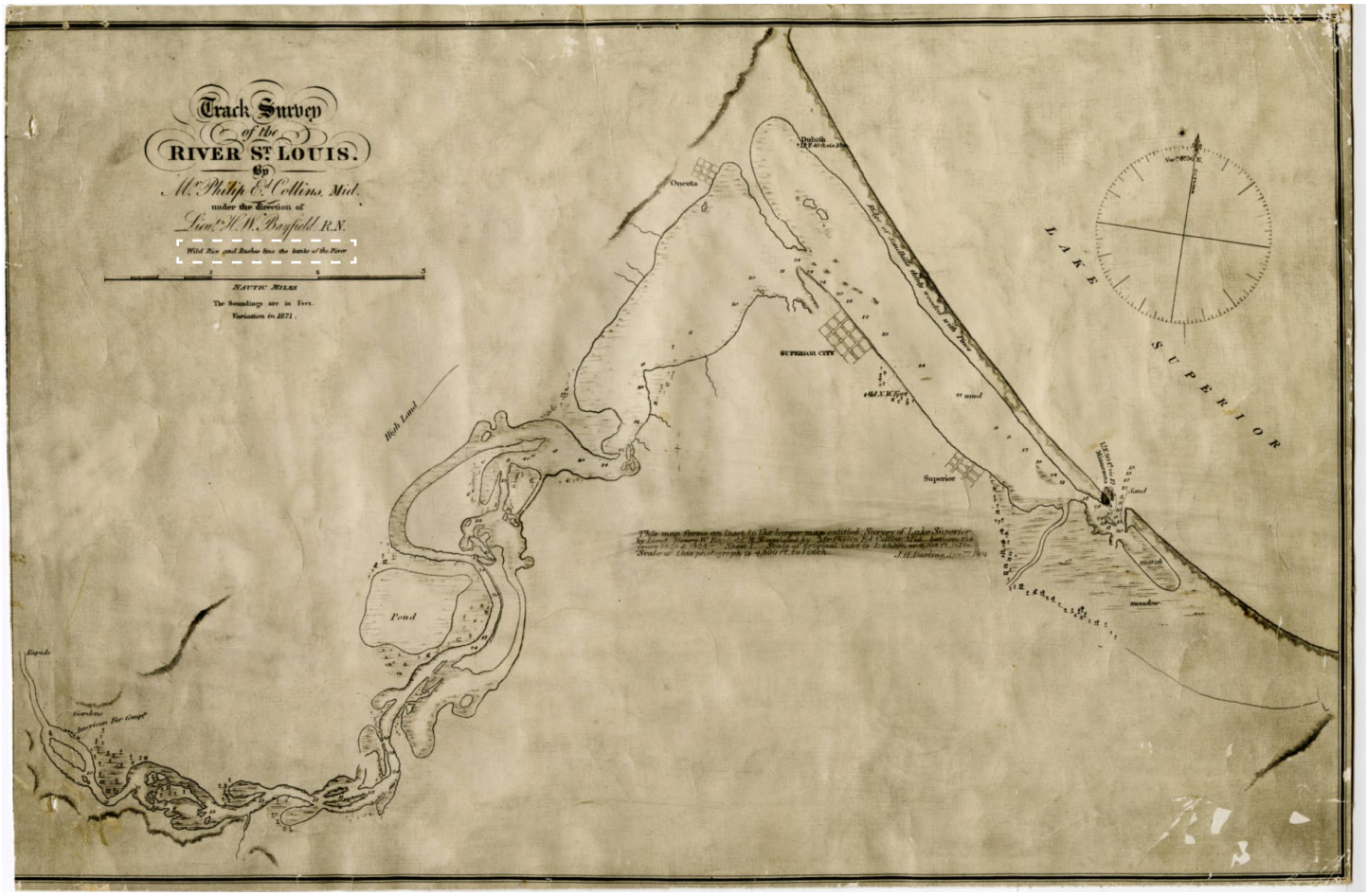


Fig. 5.4 St. Louis River Area of Concern circled within the Great Lakes Basin. Current Manoomin stands in green. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

Fig. 5.5 St Louis River and Spirit Island, Duluth, Minnesota. *Photograph by Harry F. Totman 1890.*



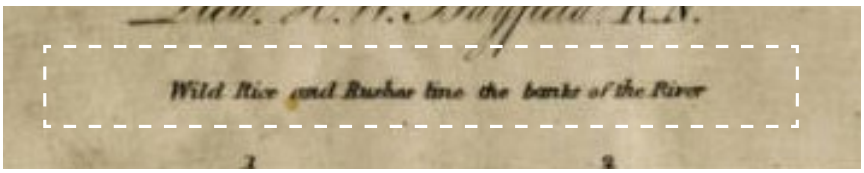


Fig. 5.6 "*Wild Rice and Rushes Line the Banks of the River*." Track survey of the St Louis River, representing the extent of wild rice throughout the marsh and wetland habitat. *Map by Lieut. Henry W. Bayfield. 1823 - 1825.*

Arrival and Dispossession

*"Wild rice is part of our prophecy, our process of being human, our process of being Anishinaabe … we are here because of the wild rice. We are living a prophecy fulfilled." (*Andy Favorite, White Earth's Tribal Historian)[1]

As described in Chapter one, the sixth stop on the Anishinaabeg's migration across the Great Lakes Region, Sea River – Gichigami-ziibi[2] [the *St Louis River],* holds great importance as a part of the place "where food grows on the water"[3]. In addition to the place where the Anishinaabeg found Manoomin, this is also where the two separated parties joined together at Manidoo-minis (Spirit Island) to form the Ojibwe and Chippewa communities in at the end of what is now called Lake Superior[4]. Though a deep river today, it would have been an emergent wetland system full of floating bogs and wild rice beds[5], making canoe the only viable option for travel. For nearly 400 years, this shoreline transitioned from the Great Sea – Gichigamming [*Lake Superior*] to the inner wetlands, forests, and plains of the region; becoming an important trading and portage route for the Ojibwe and other Indigenous groups moving through the area[6].

When French settlers began moving West on 'expeditions' surveying land around the Mississippi river, throughout the 1600 to 1800s, they too noted the abundance of Manoomin in this region, calling it *folle avoine -* water oats - after the European grain[7] . Initially, wild rice was one of the main resources that were traded between peoples[8], leading to settlers harvesting her as well[9]. Consequently, the practice of harvesting wild rice became a component of settler culture in this area, in contrast to Pigeon Lake where the presence of Manoomin was largely removed within their lifetimes. As described in Chapter One, however, this relationship between settlers and Manoomin was not protected. By the mid-1800s Manoomin was still thriving in the river, as described by the

1 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *Natural Wild Rice in Minnesota: Report submitted to Legislature* (Duluth: Government of Minnesota, 2008), 5.
2 "Lake Superior in Ojibwe," Info Superior, February 1st, 2017, https://infosuperior.com/blog/2017/02/01/lake-superior-in-ojibwe/.
3 *This region is called Nahaajiiwanaang or "Fond du Lac" [the end of the Lake] in French.*
4 Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway,* (Ann Arbour: University of Minnesota, 2010).
5 *Saint Louis River Estuary Implementation Planning Team. Implementation Plan for the St. Louis River Estuary Habitat Focus Area*, (Charleston: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2016), 11.
6 Eastern Research Group, *St Louis River Estuary Public Access and Cultural Guidebook*, (Lexington: Eastern Research Group, 2017): 3-5.
7 Sarah Wyle Krotz, "The Affective Geography of Wild Rice: A Literary Study," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 42, no.1 (2017): 18.
8 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan,* (Duluth: Division of Ecological and Water Resources, 2014), 2.
9 "The Stories," St Louis River Estuary the Stories and the Science, accessed April 9th, 2021, http://www.stlouisriverestuary.org/wildrice.php.

settler Henry Schoolcraft in 1820: *"On reaching the mouth of the St. Louis River or Fond du Lac River, the Cabotian mountains present a lofty barrier towards the north. We here saw in plenty the folle avoine, or wild rice…"*[10] The purpose for Henry Schoolcraft's 'exploration' of this region was to begin taking stock of the resources available in the upper Mississippi and Lake Superior Region[11].

Accounts and testimonies of these sorts prompted the subsequent influx of settlers in search of resources to exploit. These reports of plentiful natural resources generated the flood of Treaty agreements throughout the 1800s between Indigenous and settler government. As in 'Canada', the purpose of Treaties within the 'United States' for Indigenous communities in general was to guarantee their rights to land and traditional practices, which many communities believe represent the relationships they entered into with settlers to live respectfully on this land[12]. The settler governments, however, notoriously manipulated these documents[13] to be misleading or used coercive methods to force communities to sign, thus removing Indigenous peoples from their lands and creating the cycle of marginalisation and abuse which we continue to see today[14].

One of the last Treaties signed in this area was that of 1854, through which the Chippewa of Lake Superior ceded the final Northeastern portion of the State, where most of the mines and timber extraction sites would be established to export down river to Duluth[15]. This Treaty also established reservations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, 'legitimizing' the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples into separate regions to permit the extraction of 'natural resources'. Though Treaties did promise the rights to traditional practices, including Manoomin, the St Louis River unfortunately became overrun with settler colonial land practices, making it difficult for this relationship with the Anishinaabeg to continue wholistically. This period of dispossession is forever represented in the State seal, which depicts a First Nations man riding to the South, off the land, as the settler farmer enters with a plow, showing fallen trees, and tilled earth denoting the "taming of land"[16].

10 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan:* 6.
11 "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft", *Britannica*, March 24th, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Rowe-Schoolcraft.
12 Douglas P. Thompson, *The Right to Hunt and Fish Therein,* (Duluth: 1854 Treaty Authority, 2020).
13 *See Chapter 3 - Germination: Pigeon Lake*
14 *Land Back: A Yellowhead Institute Red Paper, (*Toronto: Yellowhead Institute, 2019): 16-20.
15 "Nah-gah-chi-wa-nong," *Minnesota Indian Affairs Council*, April 9, 2021, https://mn.gov/indianaffairs/fonddulac-iac.html.
16 "State Seal," *Office of Minnesota Secretary of State*, accessed April 9th, 2021, https://www.sos.state.mn.us/about-minnesota/state-symbols/state-seal/.

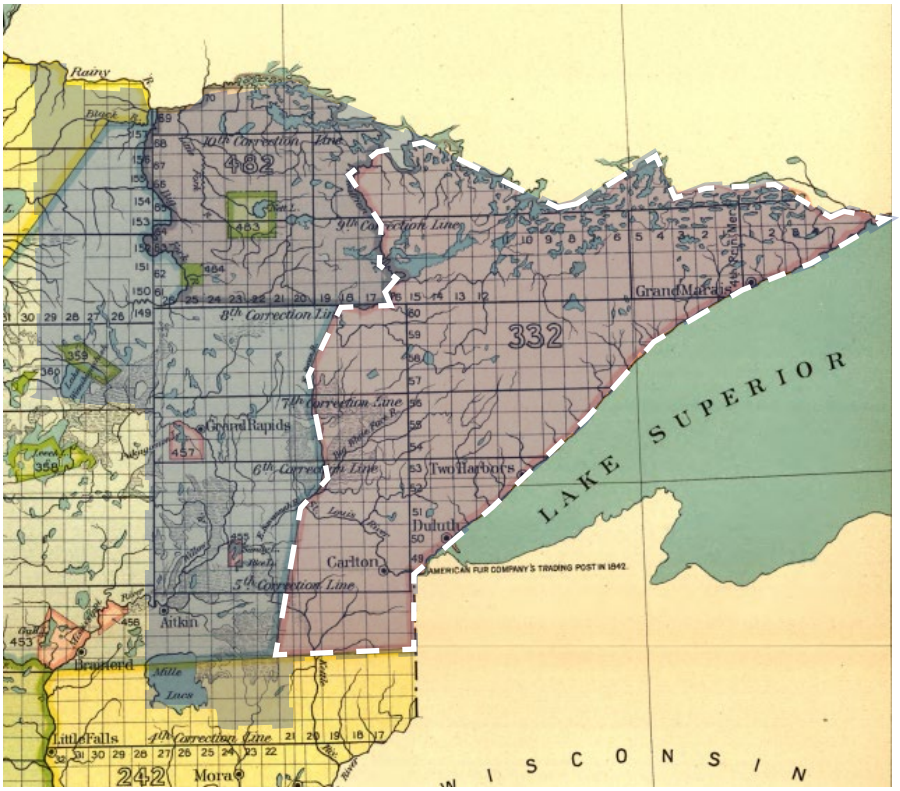


Fig. 5.7 Extent of the 1854 Treaty, in white, now called the "Iron Range" overlayed in blue. *Map by Bureau of American Ethnology. 1896-97.*

Fig. 5.8 "The Great Seal of Minnesota". Iron stamp depicting a farmer plowing, tree stump, and axe (representing the arrival of industry), the background shows an Indigenous man on horseback riding towards the setting sun (leaving the state). *Seal redesigned by Capt. Seth Eastman. 1849.*

Fig. 5.9 Duluth and Superior Harbour looking down the mouth of the St Louis River which was transformed into an artifical shoreline of ports and factory edges. Artifical edge outlined in white. *Drawing by H. Wellge with annotation by Author. 1909.*

Shoreline mutations

While settlers incorporated the practice of harvesting wild rice into their own culture practices, the relationship created did not stop the subsequent mutation of the St Louis River shoreline which would harm Manoomin's home. With the advent of the Soo Canal in 1855 in Sault St Marie[17] – the 5th stop along the Anishinaabeg migration path[18] – the city of Duluth was "open for business". As most of Maine and Wisconsin had seen their trees logged by the mid-1800s, Minnesota became the next place that surveyors looked to for abundance of wealth describing the land around as "an ocean of virgin white pine"[19]. By the turn of the century, Duluth Harbour had become one of the largest ports in the entire region[20] , built on the extraction and exploitation of land. The river was transformed into a "logging highway", as acres and acres of trees were felled from the surrounding region[21]. To permit larger ships into the port area to accommodate this arrival of raw materials, around 7,000 acres of wetland and shallow water habitat was dredged from 1867 to 1871[22]. The new shoreline of Duluth became home to factories, refineries, and mills, all processing and pumping waste into the water[23]. Coke plants, tar and chemical facilities, pig-iron production and meatpacking all contributed to the contaminated sediment levels throughout the watershed[24].

In 1928, the first signs of damage done to the river were noted by the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency after surveys were conducted upriver[25]:

> "*Near the upper end of Spirit Lake and MacDougall Shipyards below Spirit Lake, samples showed that the bottom was covered with a thick layer of mud thoroughly impregnated with small globules of tarry substance. The mud and water in this portion of the lake had a strong creosote odor and an oily film covered the surface. No living organisms were found in the mud sample and it is improbable that even adult fish could enter this zone with impunity*." (MN State Board of Health, 1928-1929)[26]

17 "Soo Locks," *Sault St Marie*, accessed April 13th, 2021. https://www.saultstemarie.com/attractions/soo-locks/.
18 Mike Swan, *Who we are as Anishinaabe*, (White Earth Nation Traditional Lands: MN Anishinaabe Tribes, 2011).
19 "Logging Industry," *Forest History Center, Minnesota Historical Society*, accessed April 9th, 2021, https://www.mnhs.org/foresthistory/learn/logging.
20 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan,* ES-1.
21 Dan Kracker, "In Duluth, restoring St. Louis River means dredging up the past", *MPR News*, August 28, 2019, https://www.mprnews.org/story/2019/08/28/in-duluth-restoring-st-louis-river-means-dredging-up-the-past.
22 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan,* 6.
23 Ibid. 8
24 Megan Ewald, "Spotlight on People and Pollution: Wild Rice, pollution, and space for traditions to grow," NOAA Office of Response and Restoration, March 5th, 2019, https://blog.response.restoration.noaa.gov/index.php/spotlight-people-and-pollution-wild-rice-pollution-and-space-traditions-grow.
25 Joel Hoffman and Hannah Ramage, "Long-term trends in St. Louis River water quality: 10 years, a historic flood, and some high lake water later," *St Louis River Summit*, Duluth, MN, March 03 - 04, 2020.
26 Ibid.

From that point on, the government began regularly monitoring the pollution levels; however no remediation was considered[27].

Not unique to Minnesota, the entire region had noticed the harmful impact these facilities and methods of managing the land were having on the Great Lakes. By 1918, the International Joint Commission[28] on pollution in the Great Lakes had noted high levels of degradation as a part of the Boundary Waters Treaty between the United States and Canada. This was subsequently updated in April of 1972 within the "Great Lakes Water Quality" Treaty,

> *"The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, Determined to restore and enhance water quality in the Great Lakes System; Seriously concerned about the grave deterioration of water quality on each side of the boundary to an extent that is causing injury to health and property of the other side…"*[29] (emphases added)

By 1944, the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources had realized that the pollution was a result of the direct "*discharge of municipal sewage, paper mill waste, wash water, and other industrial wastes at Cloquet*" and that "*the effect of this pollution extends to St. Louis Bay and has nearly eliminated fishing and fish life from this lower stretch of the river*". Consequently, the government issued policies banning people from fishing and consuming anything from the river due to the extent of pollution activities[30]. Settlers therefore retreated from the river, supposedly considering it a lost cause or side effect of the required industrial activities. Seemingly surviving the odds stacked against her, Manoomin remained a presence to some extent throughout this period of rapid shoreline mutation. Up until the 1930s through to the 1960s, oral accounts still described around 1000 acres of wild rice left in the system:

> "*But there was some, there was some huge beds of rice on the St. Louis in the early thirties, and I did a lot of wild ricing in the 1940s, late 40s and into the… into the 1950s. And that's when it started to disappear. But, all these bays above the Oliver bridge and below the Oliver bridge were full, full of wild rice. Big Pokegama Bay, Allouez Bay had a lot of rice. Every bay here was loaded on both sides, the Minnesota side and the Wisconsin. More… there was more rice*

27 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan:* 14.
28 "*The International Joint Commission is an independent binational organization established by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. Its purpose is to help prevent and resolve disputes relating to the use and quality of boundary waters and to advise Canada and the United States on related questions*." "International Joint Commission," Government of Canada, accessed April 13th, 2021, https://federal-organizations.canada.ca/profil.php?OrgID=IJC&lang=en.
29 United States of America and Canada, *Great Lakes Water Quality,* Agreement, with Annexes and Texts and Terms of Reference, Signed Ottawa April 15, 2917. https://www.ijc.org/sites/default/files/C23.pdf.
30 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan,* 14.

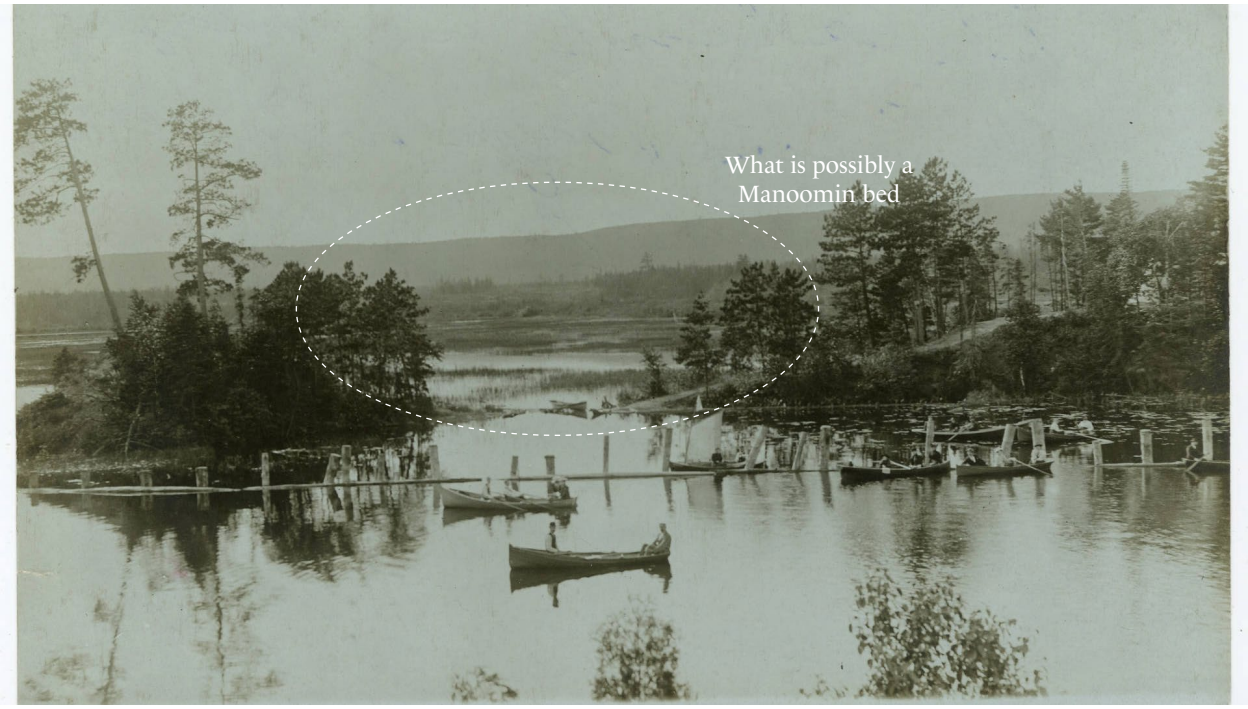


Fig. 5.10 Small island within the St Louis River reflect the 'natural' shoreline conditions prior to the shoreline mutations caused by industrial development. *Photo by R.C Sloan, annotation by Author. 1896.*

Fig. 5.11 "*A Lumber Raft, Duluth, Minnesota*." What would have been a typical industrial condition along the shoreline of the St. Louis River during the peak of industrial development. *Postcard. 1910.*

Fig. 5.12 Shoreline and Manoomin before and after the industrialization of the river. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

> *on the Wisconsin side than the Minnesota side, but there… there… all… every bay here was loaded… was loaded with wild rice. The St. Louis had… it was short and stubby, but there was a lot of it..*" (John Turk, 2015, from St Louis River Estuary: the stories and the science,[31] emphases added)

Even as many Ojibwe and Chippewa Peoples continued to seed rice in the river[32], the pollution levels were so extreme that the beds had nearly entirely disappeared by the 1970s.

Return of Manoomin

Following publications like Aldo Leopold's, the Land Ethic in 1949, and Silent Spring by Rachel Carson in 1962, settlers could no longer ignore the extent of the damage they had inflicted unto the land. With the advent of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970[33], the United States and Western countries at large began to recognize the damage that the past 100+ years of resource extraction had had on the land. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Great Lakes Region is one of the most polluted areas in North America.

Over 10 years after the introduction of the EPA, the 1987 Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement compiled a list of 42 areas of concern across the region which were too polluted for human use[34]. Their primary goal for many of these sites was to link the restoration of the shoreline with the economic revitalization of these communities, as many had seen a decline in population after the post-WW2 manufacturing boom[35]. Through this framework, an "ecosystem approach" was emphasized, thereby acknowledging the interdisciplinary nature of these projects and the need to consult with stakeholders such as scientists, business owners, government agencies, NGOs, and Indigenous Peoples[36]. Each Area of Concern establishes BUI's (Beneficial Use Impairments) which must be addressed to delist the site. These are created by the International Joint Commission,

31 "The Stories," St Louis River Estuary the Stories and the Science, accessed April 13th, 2021, https://stlouisriverestuary.org/wildrice.php.
32 "*You know, anecdotally, I've heard that, people have been throwing rice in the river for decades, folks with the tribe or the Fond du Lac tribe, and they just kind of [did] guerrilla restoration there*." (Matt Steiger, WDNR, full interview in Appendix A).
33 "The Origins of EPA," Environmental Protection Agency, 2021, https://www.epa.gov/history/origins-epa.
34 Ted R. Angradi, Kathleen C. Williams, Joel C. Hoffman, David W. Bolgrien, "Goals, beneficiaries, and inicators of waterfront revitalization in Great Lakes Areas of Concern and coastal communities," *Journal of Great Lakes Research* 45 (2019): 851-852.
35 Ibid.
36 John H. Hartig, Gail Krantzber, and Peter Alsip. "Thirty-five years of restoring Great Lakes Areas of Concern, *Journal of Great Lakes Research,* 46, no. 3 (2020).

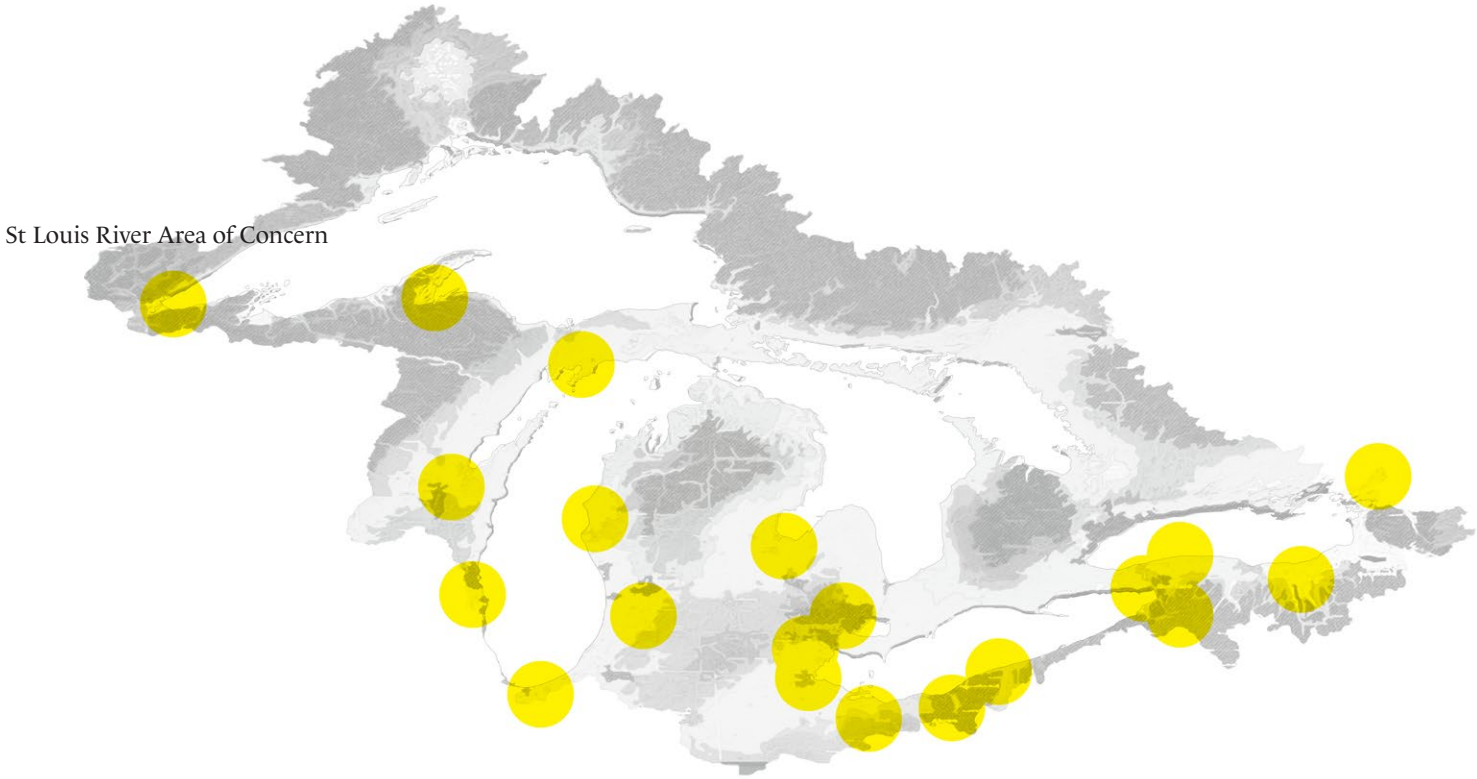


Fig. 5.13 Yellow circles represent the current Area of Concerns across the Great Lakes Basin. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

Fig. 5.14 St Louis River Area of Concern Partners. *Excerpt from Minnesota Departement of Natural Resources Restoration Plan. 2014.*

reflecting the environmental damage present within the site. Once they are all removed, only then can the status of the area change. While a positive step forward in addressing the damage done to natural systems, this process also begins to acknowledge an ecosystem service[37] argument reflecting the economic value of protecting environmental systems as the primary motivating factor to support restoration efforts.

Of those 42 initial Areas of Concern, the St Louis River Estuary was one of the largest. It encompassed the borders between the States of 'Minnesota', and 'Wisconsin', part of the Western tip of Lake Superior, Nemadji River watershed, and the Fond du Lac Reserve to the West[38], placing it at the intersection of various government and community players. To delist and restore the river, a team was assembled from the leading agencies including the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (WNDR), Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA), Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (FdLB), and the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources (MNDR). The St Louis River AOC has Nine BUIs[39], of which 3 have been subsequently removed since the time of listing. Number nine - loss of fish and wildlife habitat - is where the restoration of wild rice is categorized[40].

1. First consumption advisories
2. Degraded fish and wildlife populations
3. Fish tumors and deformities (removed 2019)
4. Degraded benthos
5. Restrictions on dredging
6. Excessive loading of nutrients and sediments (removed 2020)
7. Beach closings and body contact
8. Degraded aesthetics (removed 2014)
9. **Loss of fish and wildlife habitat**

The team's number one priority was to delist the site by 2025 from an "Area of Concern to an Area of Recovery"[41], however with additional scope and planning, this goal with likely take longer than expected as outlined in the MNDR 2020 Remedial Action Plan[42]. This is due to the genuine scope and scale of sediments contaminated with toxins such as mercury, dioxins, polychlorinated biphenyls (hazardous waste contaminates)[43].

37 *Coined in the early 2000s, ecosystem services "are the benefits that humans receive from nature"* (EPA, 2021). *Therefore, when a project is conducted the subsequent risks it might pose are calculated based on the cost which the damage done to the landscape might create. Though advocated for by many and widely accepted within an environmental business model, this reflects the continuation of land as capital which is seemingly ingrained in settler colonialism.*

38 "St Louis River Area of Concern," *St Louis River Alliance*, accessed April 9th, 2021, https://www.stlouisriver.org/area-of-concern.

39 *St Louis River Area of Concern 2020 Remedial Action Plan,* (Duluth: SLRAOC Coordinators and leaders, 2020) ES-2.

40 *It is interesting to note that though nothing specifically regarding emotion or spirituality is noted, the restrictions to fishing and swimming come close to recognize the extent of separation that humans and other-than-human beings have with this river system.*

41 "St Louis River Area of Concern," *St Louis River Alliance,* accessed April 9th, 2021.

42 *St Louis River Area of Concern 2020 Remedial Action Plan,* ES-1.

43 "St. Louis River AOC," *Great Lakes AOC, EPA,* accessed April 9th, 2021, https://www.epa.gov/great-lakes-aocs/st-louis-river-aoc.

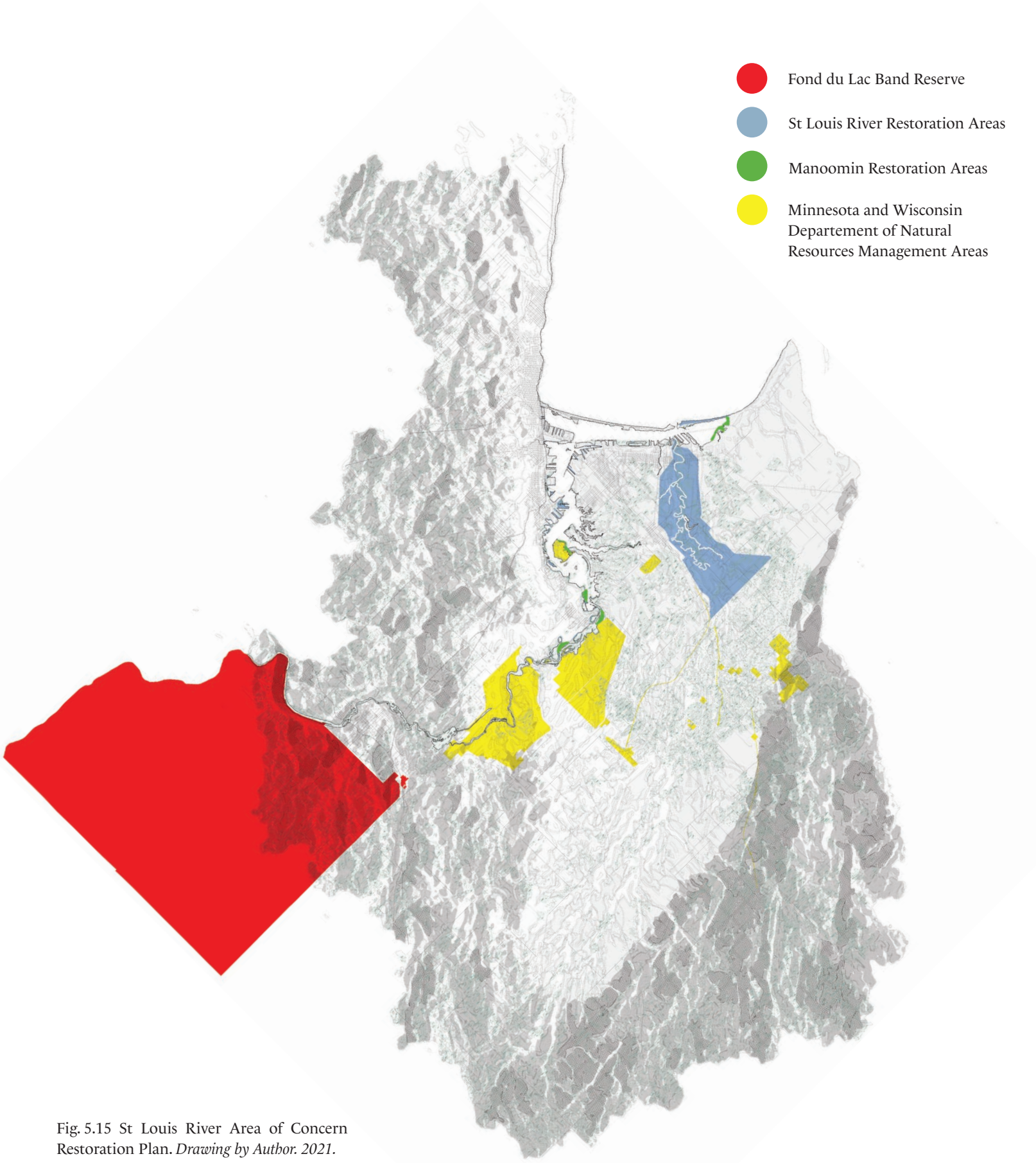


Fig. 5.15 St Louis River Area of Concern Restoration Plan. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

> *"All of the management actions identified in this RAP are underway or complete. As of September 30, 2020, 41 of 80 the management actions are either complete or need no further action (51.2%). The SLRAOC state RAP implementing agencies have a current goal of completing all construction project management actions by September 30, 2024, to be followed by completion of the remaining non-construction management actions and delisting." (*2020 report, p. ES-2)

Implementation and Restoration

In 2013, a section dedicated solely to the restoration of wild rice in the St Louis River was proposed to address BUI 9 – Loss of Fish and Wildlife Habitat. Though not the only method to tackle this section, it connected the historical and cultural context to the reality of the ecological benefits which Manoomin provides, as more organizations began to understand this relationship; "*The bands view wild rice as not an it, its a being, and a relative. And so that's something I really try to keep central when I'm working with it and communicating with others as well. Just how important this resource is*," said an anonymous participant within this restoration project during an interview.

Through the consultation with the MNDR, MPCA, WDNR, FdLB, 1854 Treaty Authority, Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, and Minnesota Land Trust, a series of sites were collaboratively decided upon based on historical accounts, water level maps, and current environmental conditions which would make restoration successful (see figure Y)[44]. Their primary goal is to seed 275 acres of wild rice from 2013 to 2023 to eventually establish a stand density of 1 stem/0.5m^2. The restoration projects follow two approaches:

One: seed areas where wild rice is scarcely present

Two: seed areas which are currently being restored and contain the required growing conditions

As Manoomin fluctuates each year, the monitoring and seeding has taken longer than the initial estimates predicted: *"We want to establish the beds so that they're self-sustaining. We don't want to seed by hand for the next 50 years to keep a rice stand here."* Said Matt Steiger, the

44 Darren J. Vogt, *St. Louis River Estuary Wild Rice Restoration Monitoring (2015-2020),* (Duluth: 1854 Treaty Authority, 2020).

St. Louis River's Area of Concern Coordinator for the Wisconsin DNR.[45] On top of seeding and clearing contaminated sediment, protection from Canadian Geese and Common Carp who enjoy eating wild rice seeds was needed. This opened the project up to the community at large through the St Louis River Alliance, a local NGO comprised of settler residents[46], whereby volunteers have been in canoes to deter the geese from grazing all the seeds, in addition to protection fences or "exclosures"[47] to all the germination of Manoomin.

> *"We're hoping that goose management, along with a couple of good years of growth and seed production,* says Matt Steiger, *will push us over the edge to not really have to manage the geese as much. They'll be able to graze the edges of a rice stand, it will be a food source for them, but they won't be able to graze the entire stand and decimate the sparse plants that we have."*

This is all in addition to the initial steps required to prepare the site through vegetation reduction and the regrading of the water to allow for a gradual slope. The work done to reduce the existing vegetation was led by the Fond du Lac Band, who provided a machine that easily mows back the grass so that sunlight and nutrients can reach the seedlings. This knowledge came from the centuries of work with Manoomin and the relationship they have formed to take care of and ensure her growth each year. The restoration of Manoomin takes on a new importance for individuals such as Thomas Howes from the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewas,

> *"For us, as Ojibwe people, we have a long history of [wild rice] taking care of our people. It's fed our people and given its energy or its life to us, so we have a life debt to it. When it's struggling … we should try to do our best to pay back that debt."* [48]

Most importantly, this inclusion of Manoomin within this project is largely thanks to the efforts individuals from Nations like the Fond du Lac Band;

> "*Tribes have really been pushing hard for more awareness and care and interest in wild rice. And I think we're seeing that more and more with state agencies, federal partners, the public, students, researchers [in this work]. Wild rice is really becoming more and more [the] forefront in the last decade. You can see a huge change for sure*."

45 Pam Louwagie, "Official, local groups work to re-establish wild rice in St. Louis River estuary," Star Tribune, August 19th, 2019. https://www.startribune.com/officials-local-groups-work-to-re-establish-wild-rice-in-st-louis-river-estuary/538416412/.
46 "Wild Rice Project," *St Louis River Alliance*, accessed April 9th, 2021, https://www.stlouisriver.org/wild-rice-project.
47 *Term used by Matt Steiger in our interview (See Appendix A), these fenced off areas protect the growing stands.*
48 Pam Louwagie, "Official, local groups work to re-establish wild rice in St. Louis River estuary."

Site potential based on data sets obtained from "agencies, academia, and private industry", along with field work conducted by team in 2014.

Mud Lake West

Primary State
Minnesota

Subareas Included
None.

Wild Rice Restoration Acreage Potential
(Based on Site Selection Model)

Site Potential	Acres
High Potential	0
Medium Potential	45
Low Potential	50
Total Acres	95

Area Description for Wild Rice Restoration
The Mud Lake West area is a deep marsh directly downstream from the Oliver Bridge. The perimeter of the area is surrounded by a floating mat of vegetation ranging from a sedge meadow with minimal cattail presence to dense cattail and purple loosestrife stands. The central portion of the area is open water with limited aquatic vegetation. Current anecdotal observations of wild rice have been made along the cattail fringe.

Mud Lake is currently undergoing a remedial investigation to determine the extent of contaminated sediments. Remedial activity is anticipated within Mud Lake West. It is hoped that wild rice restoration will be incorporated into the remediation to restoration project implemented in this location.

Representative Photos of the Area

Photo Point 1

Wild Rice Restoration Opportunities

- Use vegetation removal and thinning and seeding where cattail stands and floating mat is present to enhance habitat conditions for wild rice.

Wild Rice Restoration Limitations

- Contaminated sediments
- Equipment access across or under railroad grade.

Fig. 5.16 Mud Lake Restoration Assessement. E*xcerpt from Minnesota Departement of Natural Resource Wild Rice Restoration Plan (p. 58). 2014.*

Due to this advocacy, the inclusion of harvesting as a meter of success within this restoration project is somewhat unique. This goal is explicitly stated in the *MNDR Wild Rice Restoration Plan* from 2014 which acknowledges the need for consultation with the FdLR, 1854 Treaty Authority and Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission who "*should be consulted on potential target stem densities due to their extensive experience in monitoring stands to estimate wild rice abundance for harvest*" (p. 23), and according to my anonymous interviewee who said,

> "*some people might view rice as waterfowl habitat and that's important. But from our perspective, we would like to see some harvesting return to the estuary. And so that's a goal that at least I have, is that some locations would have enough area and be thick enough that wild rice could be harvested in the estuary. And so that's ultimately what I would like to see*."

This method of metering success, in addition to the increased awareness of the cultural components of Manoomin will hopefully ensure this effort lasts beyond the work with the Area of Concern. As Matt Steiger explained to me,

> "*establishing a harvestable stand will not be an Area of Concern, requirement. But it will be a longer-term goal included in the plan. I think this work will go beyond Area of Concern no matter what. Seeding and management of wild rice in the SLR will continue past when the direct Area of Concern funds run out, but it [restoration work] might be in different capacities [after that].*"

Wild Rice 'Management' in 'Minnesota'

This engagement across communities, organizations, and nations presents itself along the lines of a typical co-management framework, emphasizing the importance of local knowledge holders to monitor and actively participate in the plan's development[49]. For Manoomin in 'Minnesota', this method of engagement between communities, has been a meeting place for the past 75 years[50] as the Natural Resource Department considers the monitoring of stands through out the State as a co-management project.

Contrary to the requirements in 'Ontario' with the *Wild Rice Harvesting Act*, the regulations around harvesting in 'Minnesota' are more in line with "typical" harvesting or hunting permits. Since 1998, the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources works collaboratively with the 1854 Treaty Authority and the Fond du Lac Band measuring,

49 Carlsson Lars, and Fikret Berkes. "Co-management: concepts and methodological implications." *Journal of Environmental Management 75* (2005): 65-76.
50 Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, *St. Louis River estuary Wild Rice Restoration Implementation plan,* 23.

photographing, and monitoring the health of the stands across the State[51]. Within reserve land, the practice of having an annual wild rice committee who announces the start of the harvesting season is still in practice. Outside harvesting follows an "open when ripe" policy, meaning stands can be gathered according to the local conditions due to the indeterminate manner in which Manoomin ripens[52]. This however can create conflict between experienced harvesters and those who are less so, if the stands become damaged or harvested too early, leaving nothing for the rest of the community[53]. Consequentially, there are underlying tensions within this framework between Indigenous Peoples and the often-inexperienced settlers who disrespect this agreement and relationship. Nonetheless, due to this co-management agreement, wild rice stands have increased throughout the State and Anishinaabeg responsibilities to Manoomin are maintained through their work as the primary monitors[54].

Fig. 5.17 Images of Manoomin restoration via the Fond du Lac Band in airboat and settler volunteers in canoe. *Screenshot from "Restoring Wild Rice in the St Louis River Estuary," at 1:54 and 2:46. 2020.*

51 "Wild Rice Harvest Season and Regulations," *1854 Treaty Authority*, 2021, https://www.1854treatyauthority.org/wild-rice/seasons-regulations.html.
52 Annette Drewes and Janet Silbernagel, "Uncovering the spatial dynamics of wild rice lakes, harvesters and management across Great Lakes landscapes for shared regional conservation," *Ecological Modelling* (2011), 3.
53Ibid: 4-5.
54 "Wild Rice Monitoring," *1854 Treaty Authority*, 2021, https://www.1854treatyauthority.org/wild-rice/wild-rice-monitoring.html.

Co-Management as Ethical Space

As a framework, co-management has challenged existing monolithic management systems by including local knowledge and responsibilities[55]. Whereas historically in a Western context resources were managed from a top-down approach, co-management emphasizes the importance of cross-disciplinary and adaptive implementation methods[56]. This can help reinforce the support of the project from within the community and the project itself as local knowledge holders will always be the best source for monitoring and information[57].

Within the context of Indigenous and settler relationships across land, these co-management arrangements in theory should center themselves as the application of Treaty rights; whereby Indigenous Peoples' responsibilities, use, and knowledge of land is centered alongside the extraction or development work to create a balance of self-determination and environmental protection. However, as a space created through the management technics of settler colonial governments, these arrangements can often further entrench colonial power dynamics and appropriate Indigenous Knowledge[58].

The primary problem with these arrangements has been the perspective that Indigenous communities are one of the many stakeholders acting on behalf of the settler government[59]. As a result, Indigenous sovereignty is not recognized and communities are not recognized as Nations[60], thereby recreating historical patterns of settler colonialism. Additionally, these arrangements have also been historically ignored as researchers and settler governments complain of the time that consultation takes[61]. This is created by a culture that is working only towards the conclusion or end results, as opposed to seeing the process itself as the plan[62]. Finally, the results or interpretation of Indigenous Knowledge is often overlooked or misrepresented through mapping exercises which often requires the translation from oral methods of knowledge transfer to legal and written forms[63]. Fortunately, there has been a growing awareness of these limitations and

55 David C. Natcher,"Land use research and the duty to consult: a misrepresentation of the aboriginal landscape," *Land Use Policy* 18 (2001):113-122.
56 Lars Carlsson, and Fikret Berkes, "Co-management: concepts and methodological implications," *Journal of Environmental Management 75* (2005): 65-76.
57Gail Tipa, and Richard Welch, "Comanagement of natural Resources: Issues of definition from an Indingeous Community Perspective," *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 42, no.3 (2006): 373-390.
58 Paul Nadasdy, "The Case of the Missing Sheep: Time, Space and the Politics of 'Trust' in Co-Management Practice," In *Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Natural Resource Management.* (2006) Edited by C. Menzies,ed. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. p. 127-151.
59 Suzanne von der Porten, and Robert C. de Loe, "Collaborative approaches to governance for water and Indigenous peoples: A case study from British Columbia, Canada," *Geoforum 50 (2013): 154*
60 Janice Berry, "Indigenous State Planning as Inter-Institutional Capacity Development: The Evolution of 'Government to Government' Relations in Coastal British Columbia, Canada" *Planning Theory & Practice,* 13, no. 2(2012): 213-231.
61 Paul Nadasdy, "Re-evaluating the Co-Management Success Story," *Arctic* 56, no. 4 (2003).
62 Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony, (*Winnipeg: Fernwood Publisher, 2008)
63 Tara L. Joly, Hereward Longley, Carmen Wells, Jenny Gerbrandt, "Ethnographic refusal in traditional land use mapping," *The Extractive Industries and Society* 5 (2018).

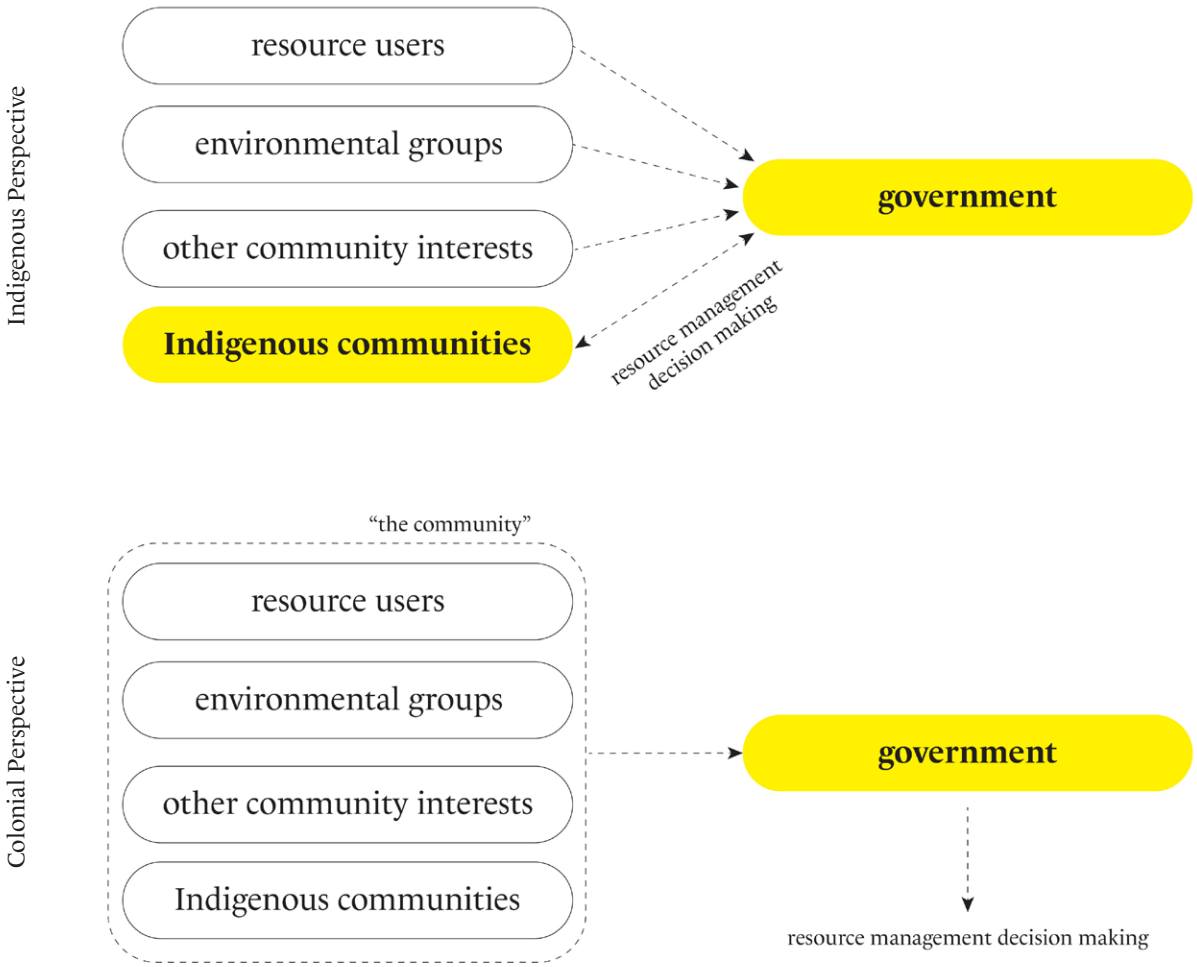


Fig. 5.18 Indigenous vs. colonial perspectives on co-management. Often in the colonial context, Indigenous Peoples have been, and still are considered to be one of the many stakeholders, as opposed to one of the primary resource management decision makers (i.e respecting sovereignty of Nation). *Author's drawing based on Gail Tipa and Richard Welch's Figure in "Co-management of natural resources" (p. 388). 2021.*

increasingly flexible ways of incorporating diverse knowledge sources through participatory mapping, or methods like photovoice which begin to challenge these structures[64].

Within the St Louis Restoration work, the Fond du Lac Band is listed as one of the four primary leaders of this work. According to Matt Steiger of the Wisconsin DNR;

> "*when the partners were developing a plan, the 1854 Treaty Authority, and the Fond du Lac Band are considered the experts in this field. You know, the techniques and the plans, everything, has been influenced by their knowledge and experience restoring rice and just working with rice in general.*"

This reflects a more appropriate form of co-management that leaves space for their governance and responsibility to this water and to Manoomin. Working alongside the State and Federal Agencies, the Ojibwe and Chippewa communities are the lead parties monitoring the stands within the River and the State at large. Each year, the 1854 Treaty Authority organization surveys the stands within the State to determine whether some spots should be closed or are stable enough for harvesting. Nearly every document or report I have reviewed from this project clearly states the relationship which the Ojibwe and Chippewa have towards this land and Manoomin's importance to them. Their role as a leader within this restoration project hopefully reduces the factor of appropriation which tokenistic representation might create. Is this space therefore, one of braided or two eyed knowing, whereby Indigenous and Western knowledge are interwoven to include the best of both methods?

From a co-management perspective, it does appear to be generating an active dialogue, however the implications of that on the public at large seem dependant on one's own sphere of reality. To challenge the potentially one-sided narrative of consulting on public radio and democratic government resources, I watched a news report from the local Fox News channel describing the wild rice restoration effort[65]. While still presenting the work as a positive, the Indigenous connection to this project was not listed at all. From the video, only the St Louis River Alliance, Wisconsin DNR, and Minnesota Land Trust were acknowledged as primary participants. I think this blind spot begins to reflect some of the limitations of learning from afar and the selective perspectives which we all reside within[66].

Additionally, as I learned from my interview with an anonymous participant within this work this collaboration was not always as fluid,

64 Caitlin Paridy, "Indigenous Geographies and Participatory Mapping: relating to Indigenous methodology and legal authority," (literature review submitted for GG668, 2021).
65 Nachai Taylor, "St Louis River Alliance Plant Help Restore Wild Rice Growth," *Fox 21 Local News,* September 19, 2019, https://www.fox21online.com/2019/09/19/st-louis-river-alliance-plant-help-restore-wild-rice-growth/.
66 Madeleine Whetung, "(En)Gendering Shoreline Law," *Global Environmental Politics* 19, no. 3 (2019):20.

> "*when we first started, we weren't really an accepted part of the natural resource community, perhaps so tribes have really built up their infrastructure and capabilities and have really become a player in a lot of things.*"

Now though it does seem from speaking with Matt Steiger of the WDNR, and my anonymous source, that these natural resource departments are looking towards Indigenous Knowledge,

> *"if we're just talking about this wild rice restoration - talk about the partners, the Bands and Inter-Tribals are always mentioned. So I think people are starting to hear more of it, and understand that, the tribes are here. They're active in natural resource management, and part of a successful partnership. And so all that just brings awareness to the Tribe's, the existence of Treaty rights, the history of the St Louis River, the history of wild rice, the cultural significance down there, I think all that is intertwined and slowly, more and more people are aware of that".*

The realities and implications of what that means for land management projects moving forward is less clear. If the government genuinely honoured Indigenous rights to self-determination and land management, which respects traditional practices such as the harvesting of Manoomin, then projects like the Enbridge 3 Pipeline which passes through Manoomin's home would not be approved (see Chapter two). However, the cultural restoration component within this initiative can not be ignored[67] as a way to genuinely create relationships through Manoomin in accordance with the values of the local Ojibwe and Chippewa communities. Ultimately, calls for changes in the institutional way that spaces and land are managed to address legacies of inequal power dynamics and inattention, need to represent the next wave of co-management agreements. These will hopefully recognize the importance of braided knowledge, in addition to relinquishing space so that Indigenous communities can live their lives and beliefs without the need to justify their legitimacy to settler institutions.

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67 "Wild rice is obviously very culturally important, and again I mentioned it's a part of who the Ojibwe are. And so I really learned that cultural piece. And so anything we can do to protect, [and] enhance wild rice is just obviously very important to the bands. The bands view wild rice as not an it, its a being, and a relative. And so that's something I really try to keep central when I'm working with it and communicating with others as well. Just how important this resources is…. We definitely want to restore that cultural connection, and I'm a big believer that we need wild rice harvesters. Those are the people who care about wild rice. So we're always trying to promote harvest and we want to do it the correct way. But we need to harvesters to use the resource because those are people that will care about the resource." (Excerpt from interview with anonymous participant on this project. Appendix A. 2021).

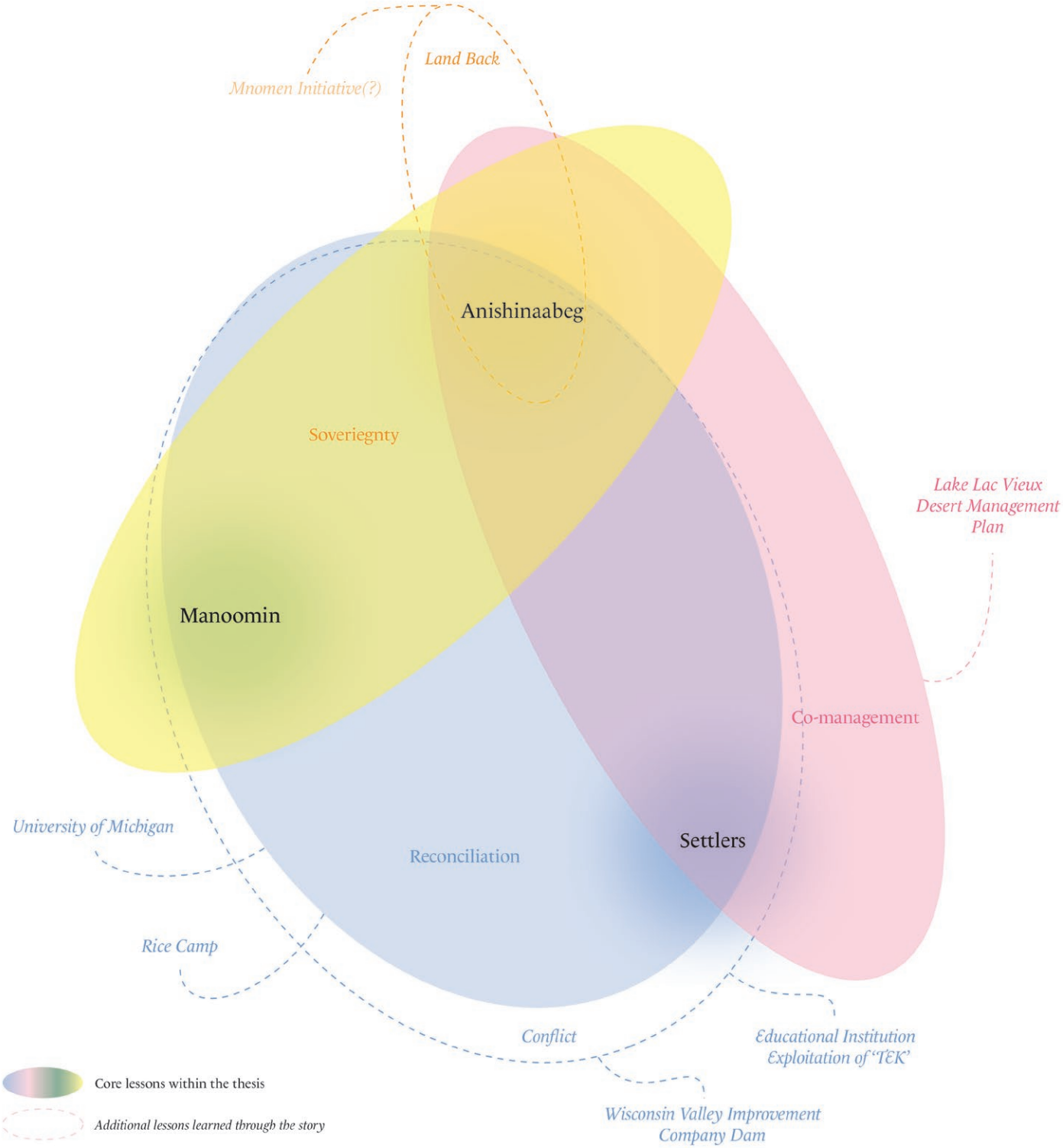


Fig. 6.1 Throughout this journey I have worked to learn about sovereignty, reconciliation, restoration, and co-management, however through these stories I ended up learning additional lessons which changed my perspective on what these initial lessons really mean. This diagram reflects the lessons learned from Michigan. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

06

Flowering: Conversations from ‘Michigan’

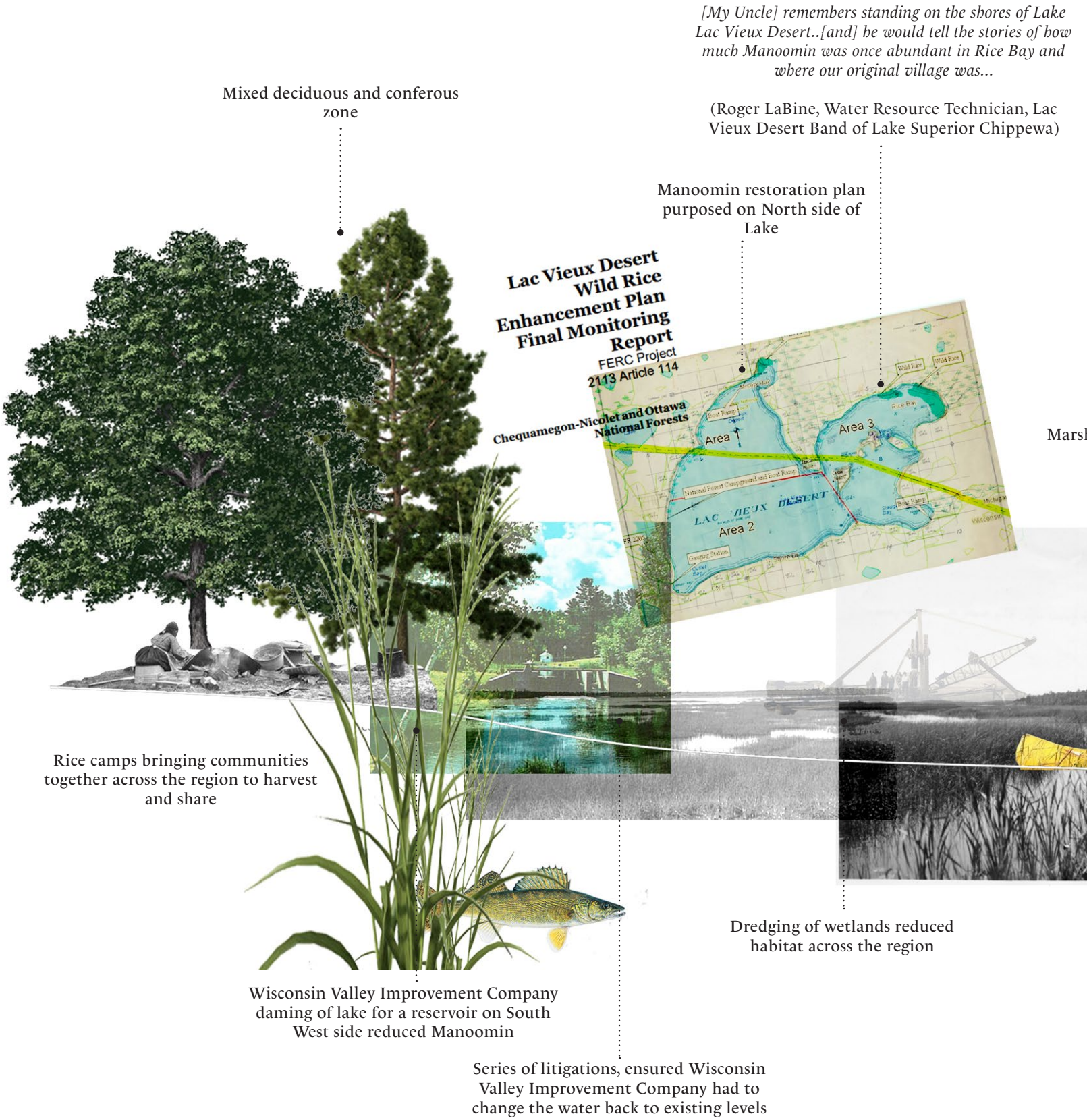


Fig. 6.1 Visual representation of the primary elements influencing the relationships between Lake Superior Chippewa within 'Michigan', Manoomin, and settlers. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

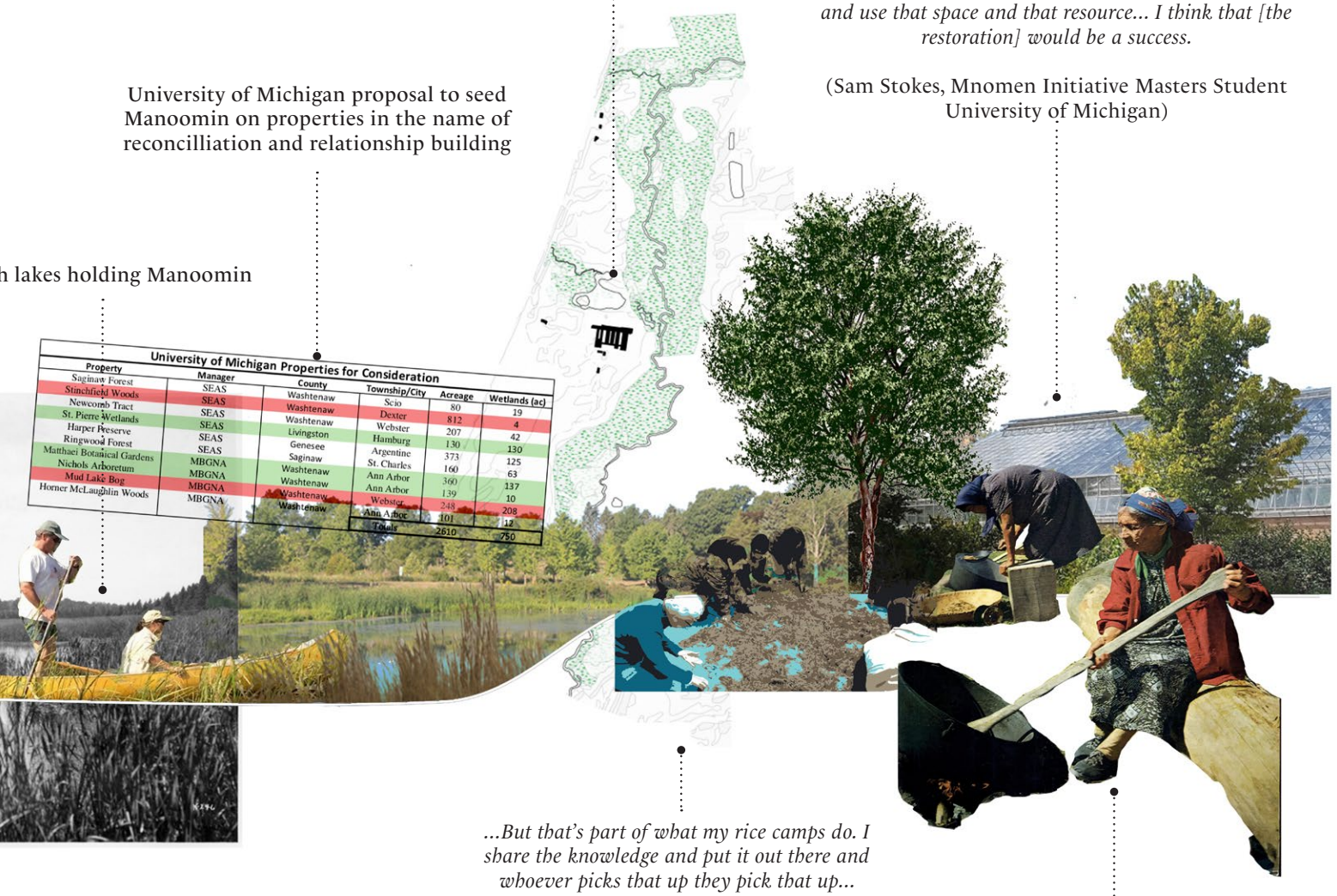
Test site to be initiated at Matthaei Botanical Gardens

...as long as Anishinaabeg people are able to easily access the property to do ceremony and steward the rice and use that space and that resource... I think that [the restoration] would be a success.

(Sam Stokes, Mnomen Initiative Masters Student University of Michigan)

University of Michigan proposal to seed Manoomin on properties in the name of reconcilliation and relationship building

h lakes holding Manoomin



University of Michigan Properties for Consideration

Property	Manager	County	Township/City	Acreage	Wetlands (ac)
Saginaw Forest	SEAS	Washtenaw	Scio	80	19
Stinchfield Woods	SEAS	Washtenaw	Dexter	812	4
Newcomb Tract	SEAS	Washtenaw	Webster	207	42
St. Pierre Wetlands	SEAS	Livingston	Hamburg	130	130
Harper Preserve	SEAS	Genesee	Argentine	373	125
Ringwood Forest	SEAS	Saginaw	St. Charles	160	63
Matthaei Botanical Gardens	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	360	137
Nichols Arboretum	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	139	10
Mud Lake Bog	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Webster	248	208
Horner McLaughlin Woods	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	101	12
			Totals	2610	750

...But that's part of what my rice camps do. I share the knowledge and put it out there and whoever picks that up they pick that up...

(Roger LaBine, Water Resource Technician, Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa)

Public rice camps near Keweena Bay inspiring new restoration

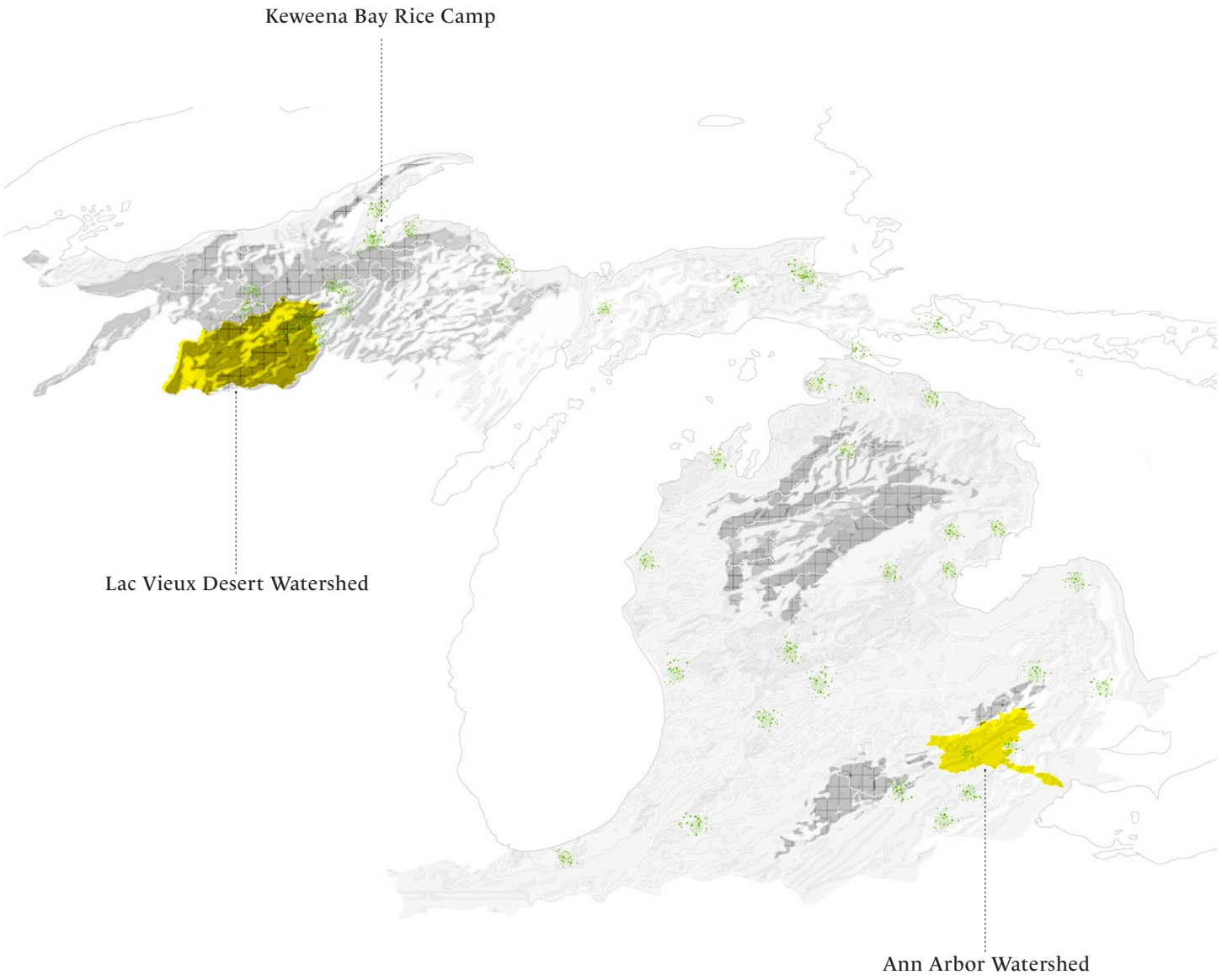


Fig. 6.2 Watershed extents of 'Michigan'. Within my research 'Michigan' was the only State which did not have readily availble GIS data. As a result I compiled information from the Great Lakes Fishing and Wildlife Commission, University of Michigan Herbarium, and the Great Lakes Commissions compilation of restoration initiatives from 2010-2017. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

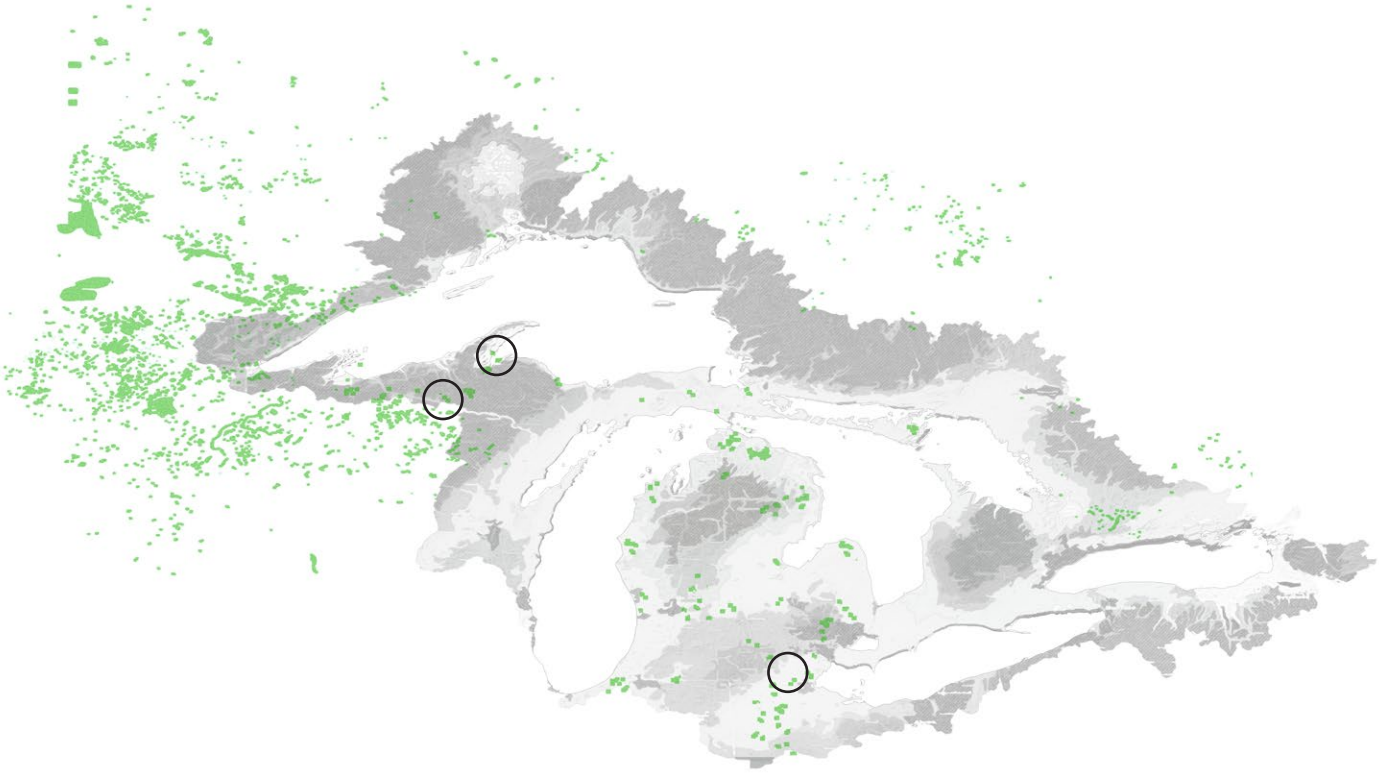


Fig. 6.3 Manoomin restoration initiatives circled. Current Manoomin stands in green. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

Fig. 6.4 "Vieux of Lac Vieux Desert... Land of Lakes Wis." *Photograph used with permission from Land o Lakes Historical Society. 1900-1960.*

Mnomen Initiative

By the end of the Winter term, I began to reflect further on the "action" in addressing relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers. Both Pigeon Lake and the St Louis River presented contrasting case studies of the evolution of these relationships and how they manifest today, but I was curious if there were other initiatives who maybe had my same hypothesis, that Manoomin is bringing beings together in this new way and generating respectful relationships, and if so, how were they establishing these relationships.

In theory I saw this final story as the lessons to learn before one might enter a restoration or land management project to ensure mistakes were not repeated and colonial systems of doing things were challenged through the assertion of Indigenous self-determination within the project.

The project that I found which appeared to have the same hypothesis as myself was that of the *Mnomen Initiative*, run through, but not solely by the University of Michigan. They describe this projects motivation as follows: "*This project, aims to build a partnership of Anishinaabek community members, tribal nations, U-M faculty, and allies at other Michigan universities.*"[1]

Throughout my research I had yet to find a project so explicitly building relationships around Manoomin with this intention. This project seeks to move beyond land acknowledgements, which have grown in use since the publication of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in 2015, by continued effort to develop respectful relationships with the Indigenous communities and restore their traditional land rights and responsibilities[2]. After years of respectfully developing relationships with the Anishinaabeg community through seed re-matriation efforts, this project seeks to broaden the sphere of connection by bringing Manoomin home to Southeast 'Michigan'[3].

Reaching Out

With this context in mind, I decided to focus my efforts on reaching out directly to this team to ask about how these relationships were created, what their motivations were, and their perspectives on Manoomin.

Given the legacy of extraction from academics towards Indigenous communities, even

1 "Restoring Mnomen, a Step on the Path to Reconciliation," *University of Michigan Graham Sustainability Institute,* accessed July 2021, http://graham.umich.edu/activity/46772.
2 David Michener, "Decolonizing University Land Management," *Gala University of Michigan,* accessed December, 2020. https://www.learngala.com/cases/a78487b6-9a5f-4116-bf09-b60214b31a44/1.
3 "Restoring Mnomen, a Step on the Path to Reconciliation," *University of Michigan Graham Sustainability Institute*.

though this 'study' was meant to be a conversation, it would still need Ethics Clearance through the University of Waterloo to proceed respectfully. As previously described in Chapter 3, my reason for framing the case studies around official initiatives and organizations was to reduce this burden of extraction as well.

To begin, I reached out to leader of this project David Michener from U-M's Matthaei Botanical Gardens, as the main point of contact. Through, his email, and in speaking with Samantha Stokes – who spent the past year or so testing these sites to see which would be best for the restoration and building these relationships herself - I felt it was ok to then send emails containing my information letter and the consent form out to the participants they had mentioned to gauge their interest.

Though I had compiled a list of questions to ask, I believed it was important to keep the tone of the interview much more like a conversation. I prefaced each call with the statement that I was not looking for any specific quotes, that the conversation was meant for people to "*to share what they have to share*"[4], to just be a part of this entire process of listening. Each participant received the transcript at the end of the conversation so that they might change, add, retract, or clarify anything that they said.

In the end three individuals from this initiative were kind enough to give me some of their time and share not only their connection to this project but their background and perspectives on these questions of relationships, sovereignty, and self-determination.

Evolution of Land Context

The landscape of the so-called State of 'Michigan' follows a similar narrative presented in Pigeon Lake and the St Louis River Area of Concern, where lands have been severely damaged, and homes disposed due to the entry of settlers into the area followed by excessive extraction of 'natural resources'. Not unique to this area, settlers also began draining swamps and wetland, as their presence was deemed to be the primary source of malaria within the State. While many did not entirely back this theory, the ability to remove marshlands from the southern Lower Peninsula opened the possibility for more farms to be added. For settlers, this became a matter of hitting two birds with one stone, as Dr. Henry F. Lyster of the University of Michigan noted in 1880:

> *There can be no doubt from a study of the State but that a very large portion of these lands can be drained and made available and profitable to agriculture, and in the meantime diminish very noticeably the amount of sickness and*

4 Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous methodologies: characteristics, conversations and contexts*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 99.

> *mortality from the diseases of a malarial type. The clearing out of the smaller creeks and streams, and the construction of county drains and of private drains, would enable vast quantities to be reclaimed and made salubrious. The gradual decline of several hundred feet in the surface of the country from the central portions of the State toward the littoral margins, shows the possibility of accomplishing a complete drainage of the State. (238)*[5]

These wetlands and marshes were noted in many cases by Dr. Lyster to be the home of wild rice: *[There is] now fifty acres of wheat growing on land formerly covered by water and growing wild rice and marsh weeds and frequented by muskrats* (1880, 237). [6]

Due to these settler colonial land practices, 'Michigan' follows 'Ontario' with having only a fraction of the beds which would have been otherwise present. Communities such as the Keewenaw Bay First Nations have been working to keep her alive for decades and now have created Rice Camps to share her with the community at large, preserving this knowledge and tradition.

Fig. 6.6 Example of dredging equipment used to remove wetlands across the Great Lakes. *Image in Big Stone County Historical Society. N.D.*

5 Barbara J. Barton, *Manoomin: The Story of Wild Rice in Michigan,* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2018), 74.
6 Barbara J. Barton, *Manoomin*, 75.

Institutions Role in Restoration

While the restoration of Wild Rice is the main concern within the *Mnomen Initiative*, the heart of the project lies in reversing the impact and healing the damage that settler institutions have created. As described in Chapter 2, academic institutions have perpetually dismissed, or destroyed Indigenous knowledge, beliefs, and people. On top of that, Universities in the "US" have a legacy of being created under the guise of "Land Grant Universities". Now nicknamed Land Grab Universities, these institutions were created through the Morrill Act of 1862, whereby Abraham Lincoln and Congress offered 11 million acres of land across the country - for free - for the purpose of establishing agricultural collages. This entire process of violence-backed land cessions, land thefts, and treaty seizures, cost 250 Tribes the loss of their land titles cost the government only $400,000.

With this legacy in mind, the team declare the following on their project website:

> *"Despite a plethora of land acknowledgments, diversity, equity, and inclusion statements and a profession to hold values of equity and justice in the highest regard, most Universities fail to support these words with any action. If historic harms and ongoing injustices are ever truly to be healed, then the way that the academy values and interacts with Indigenous peoples must change. As academic beneficiaries of colonial politics and institutions, we have a responsibility to use our privilege to change our teaching, research, and engagement practices from shallow, extractive, and tokenizing interactions into meaningful relationships based in mutual respect and reciprocity."*

Building on the relationships developed by David Michener, of the University of Michigan Botanical Gardens, Samantha Stokes, a Master student in Environmental Justice shaped her final project around the surveying of ten University sites to restore Manoomin. Part of this project involved the development of relationships to encourage participation from all Nations within 'Michigan' (see conversation with Samantha Stokes). After a year of meetings, samplings, and consultation with Knowledge Keepers such as Roger LaBine, the best spot for the first restoration pilot was decided to be in Willow Pond. A man-made lake within the Botanical gardens, its position next to the Campus farm that holds the 'food sovereignty' garden, makes it an ideal position to build on that project. Their hope in the future is that people may be able to harvest, or at the very least leave a legacy of action reinforcing an Indigenous presence on university grounds (see conversation with Anthony Kolenic).

The following pages include my conversations with Samantha Stokes, Anthony Kolenic, and Roger LaBine (ordered chronologically based on date of conversation), who generously gave me some of their time to discuss this project. I have included excerpts of

our conversations to recognize the work they have all put into this project, and so that others may learn directly from their words[7]. Though I might have gone in assuming the conversations would be entirely about this specific project, they turned instead to topics of academic responsibilities to sovereignty, cultural and spiritual importance of Manoomin, and the extent of work that many Indigenous communities have been doing for decades now to restore Manoomin (see conversation with Roger LaBine). These lessons and stories reflect the gravity of this work, and the legacy which projects done through the development of respectful relationships can have on all beings.

Please see Appendix A for the full interview transcripts, documents used to obtain consent, the text I used to introduce myself to each participant, and my list of questions.

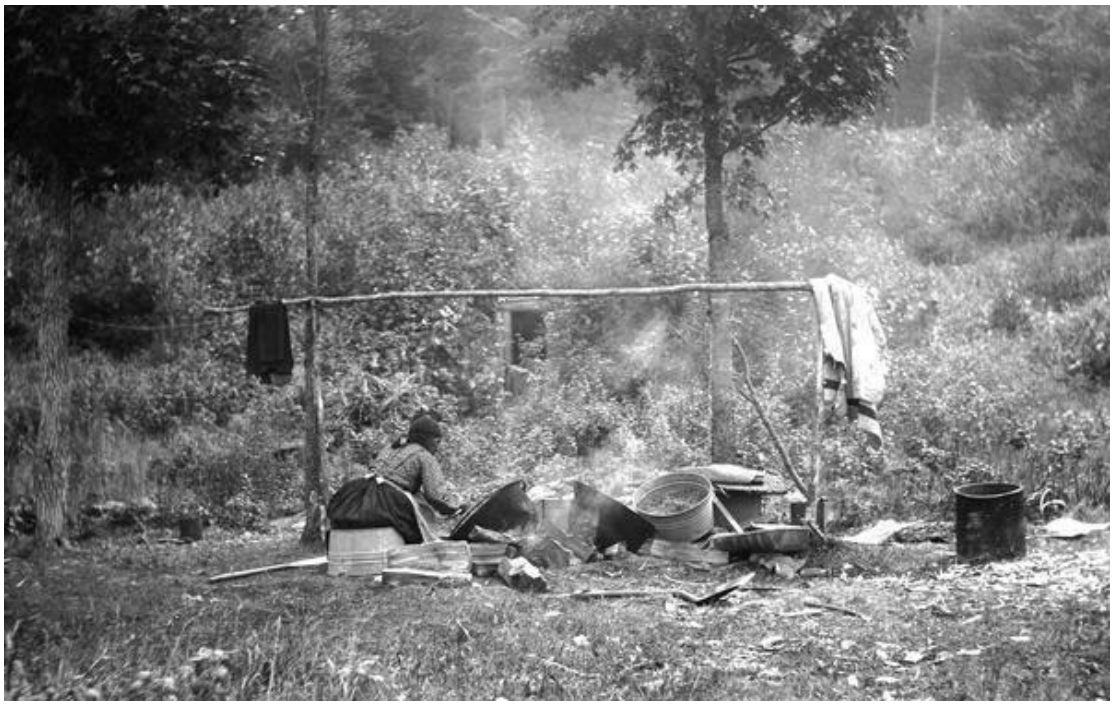


Fig. 6.7 "Parching Wild Rice in Lac Vieux Desert." *Used with permission from the Wisconsin Historical Society. 1907.*

7 Full interviews are found in Appendix A

Conversations with:

**in chronological order*

Samantha Stokes

Masters of Environmental Justice,
University of Michigan
Mnomen Initiative Leader

Anthony Kolenic

Director of Matthaei Botanical
Gardens and Nichols Arboretum

Roger LaBine

Water Technician
Lac Vieux Desert First Nations

Conversation with Samantha Stokes

Journey to Manoomin

As an Environmental Justice Masters student at the University of Michigan, Samantha Stokes focused her final practicum report on the surveying of 10 institutionally owned properties to determine their success for wild rice restoration.

The interest in this topic was not a random occurrence, as Sam first found Manoomin during her undergraduate degree at Michigan Tech. During that time, she was fortunate enough to have a professor and friend who were both Tribal members of Keweenaw Bay. From these relationships and proximity to the Keweenaw Bay reserve Sam went through a period of learning and relationship building;

> *"I was really lucky and [they saw] that I was interested and wanted to learn. There was family around who were willing to teach me, and tell me stories, educate me. I met them at a time in my life when I was relatively displeased with notions of conservation and natural resource management and the lack of care or justice [involved] in how the land was managed…"*

It was at one of the rice camps at Keweenaw Bay hosted by Roger LaBine and Scott Herron though where she learned of Manoomin's importance and the joy involved in this practice,

> *"I just fell in love [with this work]… I loved learning about Manoomin, I loved all of the ecology, but [also] more of the deep cultural connection and its importance to food sovereignty and community building and resilience."*

She credits some of this work with wild rice and land management as having altered the way she interacts with the land and beings around her saying;

> *"A lot of the scholarship that I read and the people who have taught me, shared stories with me and taken the time to invest in my knowledge about this, [have] definitely changed the way that I try to live my life. I'm [actually] a farmer, I work primarily with livestock. So employing the kind of relationship framework that one uses to understand plants, especially wild plants, is very different when you're trying to apply it to domesticated animals, but I found it really meaningful and generative to try and think through Indigenous ways of relating and being grateful [within my farming work], as a kind of "practice to my preach".*

Due to this exposure and newfound way of relating to the world, she decided to pursue a master's in environmental justice at the University of Michigan where she became connected with David Michener, who was the curator of the Matthaei Botanical Gardens. Building on his work with the Heritage Seeds Project and with discussions with Scott Herron, they decided to conduct a feasibility study to determine if this project could be expanded to include the restoration of Manoomin.

Developing Relationships

Part of my own interest in learning about this project was in part due to the emphasis on relationships which this work has publicly presented itself as encouraging. The team and Sam's initial goal was to try and meet with all Tribal communities within 'Michigan' to develop those partnerships prior to any formal work began.

> *We started off we just went and visited, we talked about the projects, so they've been very aware of it through meetings and everybody knows what what's going on. It's just been sad because we haven't been able to have people out [visiting the sites]. Between UofM's restrictions and the tribes taking Covid so seriously [we couldn't meet with as many people and] that was a bit of a disappointment because I wish that more people could have been out with us. But that said, I did meet a lot of people and I think a lot of people are aware of what's going on. And I know that as the report is taken forward, it will be shared more widely and more people will be able to be involved as Covid restrictions lower, but also as it becomes more formalized. And the hope is that this could be used to get funding for a pilot restoration.*

The importance of building these relationships is to hopefully challenge and redefine the historical dynamics of exploitation which settler colonialism, institutions and researchers have created.

> *"I think that there are two different sets of relationships that are really important",* says Sam.
>
> *The first is between the University and the Tribes. The other is between the settler public and Indigenous nations. I seriously question whether healthy relationships can be restored between - or created, since they were never healthy between the University and the Tribes. I definitely think that certain segments,*

or departments are growing healthy relationships, but I question whether academia at large and such a huge University can have a healthy relationship. I think that a restoration project like this would work wonders for wild rice awareness, of the cultural importance of wild rice and issues of Tribal sovereignty and survival and food sovereignty. But I'm also very wary of environmental education and interpretation. I think it's very harmful most of the time. In that you have a bunch of middle-class white people offering the same interpretations of a sacred plant that they would have any other plant.

But then the flip side of that is, how do you make [a project with Tribal partnerships], so that you're actually educating people properly. But then the flip side again is, is that a reciprocal relationship? Like what's the tribe getting out of that other than a hell of a lot of work? I think that because we are such a large University, there is potential for [future] research partnerships and [access to] some serious money going towards Tribal restoration projects, so I think there are ways to make it reciprocal. But if it's just, 'oh come and educate a bunch of white people so they can educate a bunch of white kids', like what's the benefit long term of that, if it's not going to change the institution and if it's not benefiting the tribal harvesters or indigenous kids? So, yeah, that's something I worry about a lot, and not just for this project, but in my teaching and environmental work too.

The 'Institutions' Role in 'Reconcilliation'

Like Sam I also have come to a point where I am concerned less about the developing of 'friendships' and more concerned about how I might move beyond land acknowledgments to develop meaningful work and understand that benefits Indigenous self-determination and the environment. Through my research on this initiative, the framework of examining university properties to give to this project seemed reflective of a "sort of" Land Back. Sam agreed to some extend but explained;

"In reality, it would take an atomic bomb to get the University of Michigan to give up any landholding. I don't believe that it would ever be true land back. I don't think that the properties would ever truly go back to un-mediated tribal management. I think we can hope for collaboration, partnership, joint management plans. I think we could really push for tribes to be treated as much more than a stakeholder. But then again, I don't even know that that would be successful. I think there's still a tremendous lack of understanding that tribes are not just another stakeholder - at large."

While some faculty members and departments support these moves to change the way the curriculum is approached early on, they do not reflect the majority. As many of the students are within masters programs any work they push for over the course of their two year degree is lost once they leave, *"so it just starts over and over again."*

While the larger systematic work is difficult to accomplish alone, Sam still voiced some hope in the work that individuals and individual initiatives are accomplishing to change the system a little bit at a time.

> *"The people who are working on these projects, my advisor, the people who are involved with Heritage Seeds, they know all this. They are trying to combat those issues, but combating it within one program and one initiative, I think is different than being successful in doing that for the University at large. So that is where my hesitation lies, not with these individual sort of initiatives. I think that they can be very successful. But larger systems, institutional change.*

Looking Forward

For Sam, the work to restore Manoomin felt like a natural next step in developing the Heritage Seeds project and the food sovereignty work through the Matthaei Botanical Garden,

> *"I think for me, food is everything…I think that one of the ways that the nature culture binary is enacted is that food doesn't come from natural spaces. Manoomin harvesting and gathering defies that, it defies private property, it defies this notion of productive land versus unproductive land. I think that there are a lot of excellent contradictions there, [as] it just shows the fallacy in those binaries. And so, I think that as a landholder, that's one of the ways that you can do that, like facilitating hunting and fishing and gathering on private properties is one way that the University can do more than just read like three sentences [of a land acknowledgment]… The bureaucracy cannot dictate and academia cannot dictate how this work happens. And it's going to try to… We've been really lucky [with the Mnomen Initaitve] that we've had internal grants that have been able to provide that space for us because it's necessary. This work is not going to be successful if the relationship's driving it don't have the space they need to grow and change and make mistakes and come back from them. It's not a linear process. It takes time. It needs space.*
>
> *I'm really hopeful that we will have a successful pilot on this little pond in front of the Botanical Gardens. I think it's the perfect spot. It's front and centre, super*

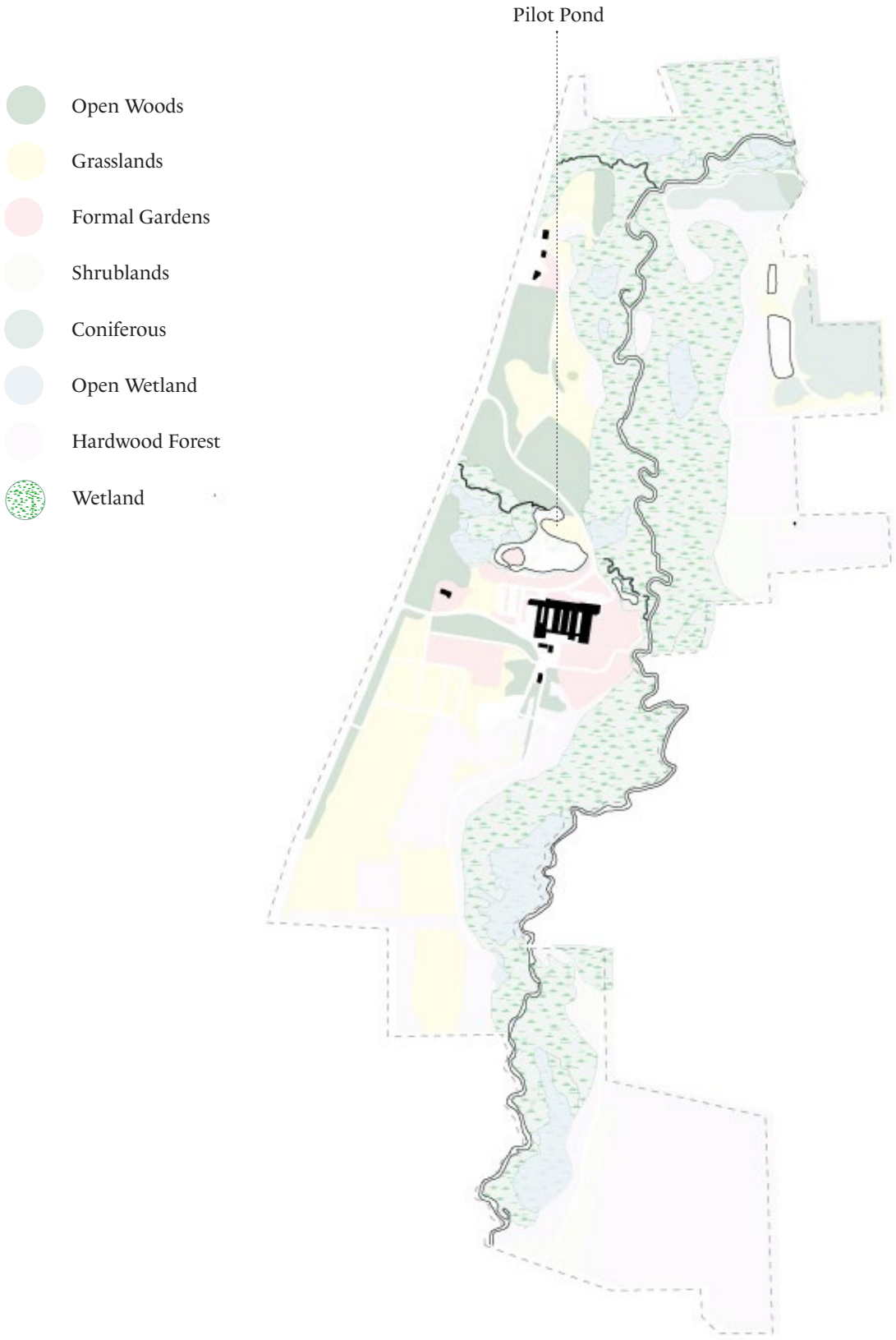


Fig. 6.8 Plan of habitats present within Matthei Botanical Garden. *Author's Drawing. 2021.*

Conversation with Anthony Kolenic

Redesigning Institutions and Spheres of Knowing

As the newly appointed director to the Matthaei Botanical Garden and Nichols Arboretum (MBGNA), Anthony Kolenic spoke with me about the institution's role within this broader discussion of reconciliation and relationship building.

> *It is obviously complicated work and takes a great leap of faith on the part of our Tribal partners - who I have to imagine are exhausted from generations upon generations of institutionalized, continued settler and colonial practices. So it's an honor to have [the gardens] considered as a potential site [through the Mnomen Initiative]. Sam [Stokes] is a student moving through [the school], so my perspective is that although I know she'll keep her relationships - because she's a good person and a good researcher and she'll stay connected to the site – we at Matthaei Nichols are committed to the longer haul of what this project means; and not just for us, but for the partnership and relationships [which have been built over the past 20 years by one of the curators, David Michener]… Our goal [with this restoration project] would be to co-create this in a way that's authentic and durable with our Tribal partners. This is a set of relationships and initiatives that we're fortunate to be involved with, and to which we are organizationally committed.*

Coming from a background in American studies, Anthony's work has evolved from peace and justice studies programs to community engaged farming and other initiative work where he has become familiar with many of the ways law, policy, and institutional norms *"control and throw roadblocks up to the pace of justice…"* While he spoke along the same lines as Sam about the limits of a single initiative in reversing or reframing centuries of colonialism *"that doesn't absolve us from the responsibility and opportunity to do what we can where we can."* Using the space of MBGNA and their four hundred and eighty-five thousand annual visitors, he hopes to create a space which might *"host, partner, and co-create space with Tribal partners where the diversity of Anishinaabeg worldviews are interpreted*," to contribute *"to the greater tapestry of people questioning their own value systems and the ways that they carry settler privilege."*

Institutional Reconciliation and Decolonization

From the context of supporting decolonization and self-determination, Anthony presented three "depths" of actions that should be addressed.

1) *The meaningful inclusion of diverse cultural practices, particularly within academic institutions.*
2) *The meaningful inclusion of endangered contexts and worldviews. How does one create space so that these practices may thrive and add to the way we make sense of the world.*
3) *The meaningful inclusion and creation of new culture through 'fragmegration' so that worldviews/epistemological frames/contexts may inform dominate culture.*

It is therefore up to the projects, initiatives, and institutions to support these "depths of actions". From there we might achieve one form of reconciliation. Though of course, as Anthony further elaborated on, many would argue that there can't be reconciliation "*until all lands are returned. At the same time I'd like to believe that the definition of justice, in this case, and restoration is one that is anchored in shared agency moving forward and instead of continued efforts of erasure; that's where I would place the emphasis*". Referencing a professor friend of his, Anthony spoke of how some of this may move forward through the support of "polycentric" disciplines and curriculums, *"should someone learning dance have to master ballet? Surely dance is big enough to have other centers and that doesn't take anything away from ballet".* By expanding the world views, frameworks, and structures, this will hopefully force institutions to "*re-examine the value structures behind our decisions and choices*", if not "*we run the risk of reinforcing potentially unjust paradigms.*"

As Sam and I spoke of how difficult it often felt for students to change these systems, I sought to ask Anthony from the perspective of an employee of the institution how we begin to employ these theories of diversifying programs to support sovereignty. He responded;

> *"Well, when it comes to curriculum, the work the curriculum achieves is entrusted to the faculty. From my perspective, they are stewarding something that also belongs to the world and to their students. That's the power that they are entrusted with, the responsibility they're entrusted with. And in the time that I've been in academia, when I think about my decision making and my role, I'm always asking myself: what am I making possible and for whom, and what am I making impossible and for whom? I was taught to be self-critical by really, really good mentors and so far, it's proven to be really useful for me. So, people*

with any degree of power should be thinking about the ways that they are gatekeepers. And that's going to lead to all different kinds of doors.

Looking Forward

While the Mnomen Initiative is just a single part of the whole suite of projects MBGNA is working to co-determine, there is a hope that this will start challenging the perception of botanical gardens and the institutions' role in diversifying knowledge and practices through restoration and relationship building.

"There's space for serenity and there's also space for having one's own value systems challenged… From my perspective, presuming [the pilot project] gets going and it gets established, we will need to work with our Indigenous partners in an ongoing modality to make sure that their value systems and worldviews are appropriately contextualizing and shaping what's happening there. And then it's up to us to find the resources to program that, and to create the long-term infrastructure for that relationship [moving forward].

Conversation with Roger LaBine

"Boozhoo, Mitigwinaabe in disz ni cauze

Giigohn do diem

Ojibwe Anishinaabe in dow

Katikitegoning in noon jiba

What I said was, my name is Mitigwinaabe, which means the tree spirit or the spirit of the trees. I am of the Fish Clan; I am from the Sturgeon Clan. And I am from the Ojibwa Nation Katikitegoning, which means that 'Land of the Old Garden', which is our traditional homeland. My western name is Roger Labine and I am an enrolled member of the Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (LVD). I am a Midewiwin. A lot of my ancestors are Midewiwin, my mentor, my teacher, my uncle Niigaanaash [Archie McGeshick Sr.], my grandparents, they are the ones who showed me this way. I work in the environmental department for the Lac Vieux Desert of Lake Superior Chippewa (LVD)…"

Roger works as a water resource technician within the environmental department, where in addition to completing reports and applications throughout the winter months, he spends time working on water quality monitoring for surface and groundwater, is involved in the walleye hatchery, monitoring and identifying invasive aquatic and terrestrial invasive species, and develops management plans. He does all this work, on top of Manoomin monitoring and restoration work, which he submits to the regional database set up by Nancy Schuldt, Fond du Lac Band in the EPA Region 5, and was part of the team developing the 2020 NOAA wild rice characterization study. Currently, he is working with the Army Corps of Engineers to identify why the 14 restoration sites on Keeweenaw Bay have been in decline since their peak around 2012; … *"We are out there collecting data to try to understand what we need to do to improve the habitat to improve our success, but we also do the traditional ceremonies and asking for that as well."*

My conversation with Roger came from an informal introduction through Samantha Stokes, who spoke of how much her experience with the rice camp in Keeweenaw Bay changed her life. Over the hour or so that we spoke, he shared the extent of time and work involved in developing these restoration projects and the importance of family

and community in supporting this work. To start off generally, I wanted to know if there was anything he enjoyed most about his work with Manoomin, be it restoration or teaching at the rice camps:

> *"Well, I enjoy it all, I guess. Early on when I kind of first started doing this, I was just a youngster who was out there trying to sow his oats as well. And I picked up some bad social habits. And it was not until I gained an interest in Manoomin that I set aside all those things. And when I set aside all those things, I started looking towards the Midewiwin Lodge. As I started preparing to become a member, I made my commitment to the Lodge. And I listened to the teachings not only before, through my initiation, and since I have become a member. And trying to be instructed or informed of what I need to do. Now, I've been sober for 32 years and I attribute this work to that. Not only that, but the support of my strong family, the support of my community, and as I put out my asema [tobacco], I asked the creator to put in my path those people that he felt could help me do this work. People like Sam and Courtney and some of the other people that have become my friends and my co-workers, my co-presenters, both Tribal and non-Tribal. The Creator up there has put them there for me. And it is always easily identifiable that we can click - like Sam! I mean, it is funny that I have gotten a person that was attending Michigan Technological University in forestry management, and you can switch from forestry management to environmental justice just because she attended my camp! But that's part of what my rice camps do. I share the knowledge and put it out there and whoever picks that up, they pick that up. But it is something that that I cherish and that extended family of mine in doing this work and is growing on a continuous basis."*

Coming to Manoomin

What stood out most to me in our conversation was the care and love in his voice when Roger spoke of his Uncle, mentor, and teacher, Niigaanaash. It was his work and initial vision that Roger credits to bringing Manoomin back home.

> *"He remembers standing on the shores of Lake Lac Vieux Desert, on the grounds of where we now have and our traditional homeland and now our reservation. He would tell the stories of how much Manoomin was once abundant in Rice Bay and where our original village was after we were forced to move from our homeland and to join another tribe, our sister Tribe, the Keweenaw Bay Indian community…And he would tell how the community was able to drink right out of that lake because the rice there, it was so pure."*

The water quality and communities' access were torn away from them as a dam was created on the mouth of the lake by the Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company, raising the water level and wiping out all the wild rice. Because of this, the community would need to travel all the way into northern Wisconsin "*for us to maintain this important thing, those teachings, also that part of our identity, [as a] member of the Midewiwin.* They would wrap up the seeds from that harvest and bring them back home to their traditional homeland, following his uncle's vision.

> "*… And in 1984, my Uncle became the first representative to the Voigt Task Force, which was part of the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission of the twelve Tribes that were part of what we call the Voigt decision. And that was one of those cases that had to go against the State to reaffirm our treaty rights, and went all the way up to the Supreme Court.*"

When Roger's uncle encountered health problems later on, he reached out to Roger through his mom, to come talk to him about needing someone to carry on this work and advocate for Manoomin restoration.

> "*So, he asked me who he could approach and that's part of the way of the Anishinaabeg People in that he didn't give me the tobacco to ask me, 'Rog would you do this?' He just shared what his needs were. And in listening to him, I left [the other priorities I had at the time], and I went home… his desire, his vision, what he would like to see [became clear]. I went back to him the next day. I said, 'Uncle, would you be willing to teach me?' I am willing to do this. And so up until he walked on, he was my mentor, my teacher. He accompanied me and led me to the Midewiwin Lodge. But I have now been involved with Manoomin for almost five decades. I was introduced in 1972 to Manoomin. Looking at that, learning about it, and even after five decades I am continually learning on a daily basis in my research…*"

Fight to Restore Manoomin

Part of this work meant carrying on the fight against the Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company (WVIC) who had gained rights in 1937 to dam Lake Lac Vieux Desert to create a reservoir to generate power with a 50-year permit. This dam had flooded out the Manoomin beds as raised the water levels. In 1987 this permit was set to be renewed, which is when Niigaanaash started working to return the water levels to the point

where Manoomin was still present on the lake.

> *"WVIC opposed the stipulations in the application of a renewed permit to a maximum water level and the recommendations to lowering the lake to 1937 levels. So, we had to go to court as they appealed the stipulations. They fought it for almost a decade, and it went all the way up to the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. The court still ruled in favor of the stipulations requested, ordered the drafting of an Adaptive Management Plan, and entered some punitive damages to restore the Manoomin bed. The next step was to the Supreme Court [if they did not agree], but they [did] concede [with the agreement that they had to lower the water level] and in 2002 WVIC was granted a 25-year permit which expires in 2026…This put the Tribe in a precarious situation because the riparian owners, the Lake Association, the Wisconsin DNR. They were not happy with that decision about lowering the lake [or the] adaptive management plan ordered by the Federal Energy Regulation Council for the management of wild rice on Lake Lac Vieux Desert…"*

This is where education and outreach and sharing the importance of Manoomin became an important part of Roger's work, particularly when working on the Adaptive Management Plan draft for Lake Lac Vieux Desert.

> "*In 2008, it was the first year our rice bed had got to the point where we had considered opening it up to harvest, to the community members. And that was the year that I conducted my first rice camp,"* says Roger.

> *"On the third day of the wild rice camp, as I stood there and started taking some pictures, and as I observed all the activities going on, I had to stop. I had tears running down my face. So, I thanked Niigaanaash, for inspiring me to do this work, and that our Manitou Getegaan, that our rice bed, has been so providing for us. I also realized that it was the first rice camp in over 60 years that was being conducted on the shores of Lake Lac Vieux Desert. I did not pat myself on the back, I was just proud of the fact that his vision was becoming a reality. We had people out there making rice sticks. We had people wanting to go out and harvest some Manoomin. We had people out there wanting to do the reseeding. Part of that wild rice camp was to donate part of their harvest back for reseeding. Making their push poles, many were processing the Manoomin. Hearing the laughter. Seeing the socialization and the making of new friendships. I looked and I understood and realized what was going on, this was what went on in 1972, the first time that I went to rice camp with my family in northern Wisconsin."*

Following this first rice camp, a meeting was held about the adaptive management plan, including representatives from the Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company, Michigan and Wisconsin DNR, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, riparian owners, and the lake associations. As previously mentioned, there were still many who disagreed with this proposal and did not want to see the water bodies change. Roger decided to take some of what was harvested during that first rice camp and serve it to the group for lunch.

> "*As I served these three dishes*", Roger said, "*I gifted everyone present with this [GLIFWC] cookbook. I gave everybody there one pound of wild rice. I started passing around the pictures I took the third day of rice camp. I am not sure if you have ever seen or heard that commercial, that a picture is worth a thousand words? Well, I shared those pictures with that group of people…I said I cannot tell you how important these pictures are to me, what they mean to me, but this is what we are fighting for. This is why we are asking for your support for the restoration project.*
>
> *By the end of the day all opposition to parts and provisions in the adaptive management plan disappeared. We passed it with a consensus vote and submitted as is. That is the document that we work with today on Lake Lac Vieux Desert. So, we have won over a lot of people, it has not been easy. It has taken some time. But the guy upstairs, intervened and spoke to their hearts. And I was just the messenger that day. But that is the best memory I had of doing this work. Not the only one but the best one!"*

Following this plan, Roger spoke of how now many of these same individuals or organizations approach him or his community and department for information about reducing their impact on the land;

> "*[N]ow we work with that that Lake Association. We work with that Wisconsin DNR. We work with those riparian owners about improving their septic fields, about decreasing their use of phosphates in their laundry. So, it has taken a while. I mean, it does not happen overnight, because we had to overcome the animosity originally that happened when we fought and won. And then it's through that education and outreach that, you know, [where] we can now sit at the table together not only with those people, but [also the] Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company…They seen the rice; they also see the benefits. And they came around. But it has taken some work and it's taken patience, and a lot of tongue biting and lip biting and a lot of forgiving. But we all now have a common goal."*

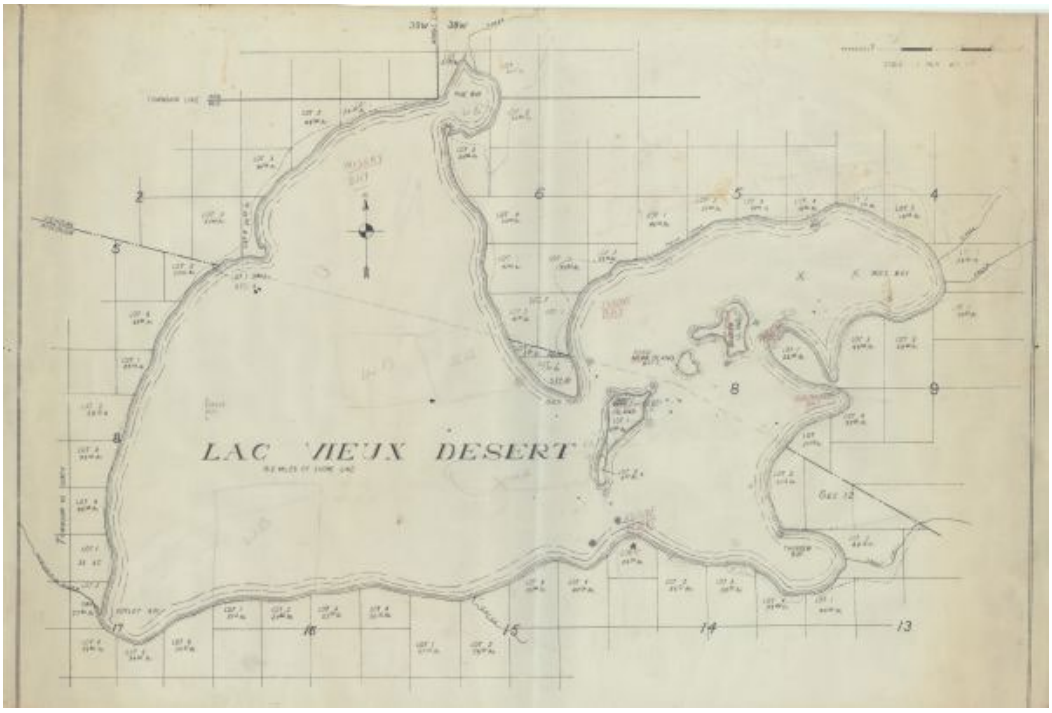


Fig. 6.9 Lot numbers and acreages surrounding Lac Vieux Desert which is positioned between 'Michigan' and 'Wisconsin'. *Map used with permission from Wisconsin Historical Society. 1910.*

Education and Outreach Work

The other part of Roger's advocacy came through the establishment of the Michigan Wild Rice Coalition in 2018, which was born out of a 2006 conference on Wild Rice which Lac Vieux Desert hosted. He wished to see some sort of committee or board within Michigan like they have in Minnesota and Wisconsin, so that the State and Federal agencies could sit down and work with the Tribes to discuss Manoomin in Michigan. Through this coalition, the teachings, methodologies, harvesting, and tools, could be shared, along with the annual rice camp. Now one of the subcommittees which are a part of the Coalition is dedicated to education and outreach, which Roger co-chairs with the full support of his Tribe.

> "*Part of the first material on there is what my subcommittee is working on",* says Roger, as they finally received some grants to fund the initative, *"is our education outreach, our resources to help try to bring the people on board with the importance of Manoomin and how to process all those things. But we will also be recruiting and taking individuals who want to assist with this restoration*

process or projects throughout the state of Michigan. I was going to retire three years ago until I was selected as the delegate for LVD to sit on this Initiative. And so, I put off retirement! … But I enjoy this work. It has brought me so much happiness, it's brought my family together. The benefits of doing this work are almost unimaginable, and sometimes it is difficult for me to conceive how I've been rewarded for doing this work."

Presently though, Roger is unaware of any Federally recognized Tribe in 'Michigan' which did not have a wild rice restoration project underway. Part of Roger's work now moving forward, is with the Michigan Wild Rice Initiative, who are meeting on a quarterly basis with the Michigan Tribal Environmental Group, to coordinate and share knowledge amongst the Nations;

"We are moving forward. And that is my goal. But it is also not to be greedy, but to offer the opportunity to harvest for non-Tribal people, for the Michigan residents. But our responsibility is to teach them how to harvest it and to do it properly. So about being willing to share, but that is where the regulations and co-management plans need to be put into place."

Importance of this Restoration

Most importantly, this work to return rights to Lac Vieux Desert has healed the land and returned many of the things that are important to the Midewiwin people and the community at large. "*What we have accomplished over the last several decades is show the importance of Manoomin in the bodies of water and the impact it can have to the ecosystem, and what it would bring back",* says Roger.

The Midewiwin People were forced to move as efforts to eliminate or restrict Indigenous Peoples through *"the colonization of Michigan, the destruction of the rice beds, going to the boarding schools, being moved onto reservations… All these things that were important to our spiritual leaders the Midewiwin People [were removed through these actions]",* says Roger. *"[They] left the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community to return to the original village at Lac Vieux Desert. When they returned to our original site they actually bought the land back by pooling the proceeds from their winter harvest, because that's what they wanted to do…They wanted to bring back the wild rice, they wanted to hear those water drums, they wanted to have those Midewiwin ceremonies, they wanted to get out and they kind of went underground there for a while. But*

that is how we returned to our original village and eventually became Federally recognized finally, in 1988…

[B]ecause of that disruption, our village almost became extinct because the community members were leaving the traditional village. Our community was going through what I call environmental amnesia, because all these things were not available to them. The wild rice was gone. Those wild rice camps were gone. Wild rice on the table every day was not there. They did not understand the importance of wild rice, what it meant to us as a Nation of people. Why, as Midewiwin people we were put on this earth to care, and tend for her to preserve, to protect her and to make sure that those resources were available to the next seven generations and seven generations from that. Our work here was to leave Mother Earth in a better condition than when we got here, to always improve, and to make sure that it was here for them, for my great, great, great, great grandchildren. That was the intent, for us to assume and carry out that responsibility we needed to pass this traditional environmental knowledge on an annual basis and on a continuous basis so that these things will not be lost. Very much like our songs, for the drum, our ceremonies, all those things. They were almost gone. But it is [up to us] to make sure that those type of things are here. In our stories and our teachings, when they reference these rice beds, they call them Manitou Gitigaan, which means the Spirit Garden, because it is a sacred gift to us and it helps us survive. Now we honor that in return. And we must take care of it….

Each year, we must go out there in the spring of the year, as Mother Earth starts to wake up and starts a whole new cycle. And as all those spiritual beings start their next generation, we too must go out there. And we have to offer our tobacco to those beings, to the water spirit, to Mother Earth, to that grandfather sun, to the wind, to those Thunderbirds who carry the water to us, and all those pollinators, because the pollinators are very important too. We all have to live in balance, we have to go out there and ask that those beings to have pity on us. To work with us, to provide for us, and we respect them, and we honor them. We do that same thing throughout the year as we go out during our monitoring. and we check the progress of the beds, we offer that tobacco before we get into that canoe to go out there to harvest.

We ask the beings, we ask the Creator to give us only what we need, no more. Only what we need to carry us until the next season. And go out there to protect us. We ask that water to be kind to us, to make no big waves. Those are the types of things that that we need to do. We need to honor and respect all those things.

One of the things that we are taught is to never take anything for granted. For example, at Lac Vieux Desert, the last two years there has not been any Ma-

noomin. That causes me and my community to look in self reflection. Where are we? Is there something that we are not doing? Something we are supposed to be doing. What can we do to bring that spirit back?...

…My intention in this overall thing was to return that Manoomin Spirit and make it available to the tribal communities. And they can share it with anybody else they want because it is not specifically for them. But I do not want the cultivated rice to become very important in the state of Michigan. So that is why in my consultations, my visitations, my advising the Tribes is to initially try to identify a local seed source so that you can do it that way and move forward."

Moving Forward in a Good Way

For Roger, part of his concern is that Manoomin in 'Michigan' may follow the same path of 'Minnesota' where it became a resource commodity to be manipulated genetically and sold as an agricultural product. Currently most of the restoration work done near Lac Vieux Desert is on public waterways, as their land base is limited. This causes difficulties in creating a management plan or regulation when there is no authority over the water there. Thus, adjustments to water laws and the potential designation of Manoomin with preservation status is what Roger is looking towards moving forward.

As the current administration in the 'U.S' is moving towards increased consultation with Tribes and the drafting of consultation policies at the State and Federal level, Roger said he believes this is where it starts,

"*… [b]ecause of our self-determination and because of our sovereignty rights and a lot of the treaty rights that need to be reaffirmed, the Tribes are now getting to the table.*

… I think part of the reason those actions have been taken is because I think deep down inside, and I want to believe, it's because the Indigenous People have the TEK- (Traditional Environment Knowledge). Have that knowledge and know how to make things right, how-to live-in balance with Mother Earth.

The teaching of [the] Seventh Fire, is that there is going to be a new people. And the new people are going to have a decision to make, as the road divides into a high road and a lower road. And are they going to take the high road, which is paved and with everything else and technology? But where has that road taken us? Self-destruction. Or they can take the simple road, the lower road, and work with Mother Earth and learn how to take care of her, and to listen to her and to heal her. Because which role do you want to take? The path of self-destruction

or capacity for us to maintain Mother Earth? That is one of those teachings in the Seventh Fire or the Seventh Prophecy. And so, I believe we're getting to that time. That the Indigenous People and non-Indigenous people need to learn to work together to heal Mother Earth."

Near the end of our conversation, Roger emphasized to me that these restoration projects moving forward most importantly need to be done by both Indigenous and Non-Indigenous peoples *"in the right way and [for] the right reason and do not do it for the purpose of a commodity crop or an agricultural crop. Do it for the environment, the habitat, the wetland, other spirit beings, for the fish populations, just to have it present to keep culture and traditions revived and to preserve it. Basically, I say don't abuse it. Move forward with a good heart and in a good way.*

I guess those are the things that I have learned in working with wild rice. And those things are why I respect, and I honor this spirit and this resource. And I am so grateful for it. I am so grateful for what it has given to me and my life, what it has taught me. It taught me how to be humble. It taught me not to be shy, introverted, bashful. To be able to speak publicly. Man, in high school, I could not do that. But I guess, I assume that I am just the messenger. He speaks through me. I mean, I do that when I do my rice camps. I put my tobacco down. I do not have an itinerary when I do a rice camp. I do not say 'oh I got to do this or that'. My rice camp is general in nature. The people that come dictate how that rice camp is done. It is not 'you come to do it my way' or whatever, but the people who come dictate how we move forward with that rice camp.

And the thing is, if you are considering a [restoration] project, you do not have to reinvent the wheel. There are a lot of people that are involved in restoration. And currently I feel confident in saying that all the tribes in Michigan are the ones of the best knowledge to move forward with the project and what to do. We are just learning and teaching the other people, our supporters, our partners that we are developing working relationships and we are educating them. But no, you do not have to reinvent the wheel, just be patient. It has taken me a long time, and I'm still at some points where I feel that I have failed. And I have been looking at it for a long time."

Roger ended our conversation saying;

"I am honored that my name was shared with you and that you felt that I could help you…And I take great caution in trying to say something that it comes from me directly and that I own it. Everything that I shared with you, comes from the greater opinion, from other people. I do not ever want somebody to

say, 'well, Roger said', and that is not me. I am sharing my knowledge and what I was taught, I do not own what I said. I am sharing with you what has been shared with me. And what I have shared with you comes from my Uncle Niigaanaash, my grandparents, the grand Chief of my Midewiwin lodge, and all other people, my advisers, and supporters with that lodge. So, what I shared with you today is by no means 'me', my words, I do not own them. I am sharing them with you."

Fig. 6.11 Excerpt from Lac Vieux Desert Wild Rice Enhancement Plan Final Monitoring Report representing one section of the Manoomin restoration in 2003 compared to 2010. *Report by United States Departement of Agriculture, p.31. 2015.*

Relationships as Ethical Space

Going through this process of interviews, questions, and hearing people speak of Manoomin was one of the most important parts of this entire thesis journey to me. Not only did it force me to leave my comfort zone and the isolated nature of this master's thesis during COVID, but it also required an understanding of the power dynamics at play, being an academic researcher approaching an external community. Which is why the inclusion of these conversations as methods of learning themselves was extremely important to me. As Kovach writes in *Story as Indigenous Methodology*:

> *"Story as methodology is decolonizing research. Stories of resistance inspire generations about the strength of the culture. Yet, there are political implications of Indigenous research that need to be figured into the equation. We cannot forget that the relationship between Indigenous knowledges and research is carried out within a contemporary colonial project of post-secondary studies. Thus the stories, and the content that they carry, must be shared with this appreciation to protect them from exploitation or appropriation. The use of narrative in inquiry means that the researcher must accept the guardianship of bringing oral story into academia during this particular historical moment." (p. 103)*

The words spoken in these interviews belong to those individuals and were only shared with me because of their own goodwill and trust. After speaking with these individuals and communicating with a few others via email who decided not to participate, I felt the weight of needing to respectfully present these words, but also a clearer understanding of the weight of this topic.

While initially my intention with this thesis might have been about the importance of developing relationships to improve restoration and land management work, it became very clear that that is not the most important part. The relationships created through these initiatives between Indigenous Peoples and settlers are foundationally important, but they need to be built on respect for Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty, respect for that knowledge, value for consent, and awareness that this entire process takes a lot of time.

In the case of the stories within 'Michigan', the relationships themselves are creating spaces whereby the priorities and efforts of sovereignty and self-determination are manifested, be it through seed re-matriation work or through land management plans to restore Manoomin, which accentuate the importance of Indigenous Knowledge.

As reflected on at the end of Chapter 5, if the legacy of co-management agreements

needs to recognize braided knowledge and relinquish space for Indigenous communities without the need to justify their legitimacy to settler institutions, then the University of Michigan's *Mnomen Initiative*, might be in line with this way of land management.

The creation of these relationships has taken many decades as explained by Anthony Kolenic, and much of the current work is only a fraction of the institution's larger goals to address reconciliation. However, because of these long-term partnerships and internal funding, the *Mnomen Initiative* is in a more privileged position to genuinely support these partnerships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, as well as creating space for the re-assertion of Indigenous presence onto the institution through this restoration work, when compared to other institutions . As Nicole Latulippe and Nicole Klenk write in their paper *Making room and moving over,* "*to make room is to value Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing on their own terms and to create culturally-relevant, appropriate spaces for Indigenous scientific research to flourish within extracting knowledge production infrastructure*" (p. 9), as I believe is the case with the *Mnomen Initiative*. Nonetheless, as Sam discussed, the impact of these small projects against "the system" is just one part of this entire collective effort required, and that without the transformation at the larger scale of these institutions, there will never be true Land Back within these relationships.

Challenging these Relationships

While my entire thesis to date has been about understanding the evolution of relationships between Indigenous Peoples, settlers, and more than human beings through Manoomin, most recently however, I have been reflecting on these dynamics along the lines of Glen Coulthard in *Subjects of Empire,* that relationships built on the acknowledgment of Indigenous Peoples by settler institutions does not matter and should not be the priority[8]. The relationships created between the two may always be unbalanced until the Anishinaabeg Knowledge and way of being is positioned as equal to Western within settler institutions[9].

No matter if settlers or institutions become interested in these restoration efforts, Indigenous communities will continue with this work. The work with Lake Lac Vieux Desert for example, took decades to restore, after centuries of dispossession. Though the work was made easier with settler institutions and stakeholders on board with the wild rice restoration efforts, it should not become the point of focus within this story. The most important part of this restoration efforts, I now believe, is that the relationship between

8 Glen S. Coulthard, "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada," *Contemporary Political Theory,* 6 (2007): 437-460.
9 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* 3,no.3 (2017):1-25.

the Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewas and Manoomin is being restored, in addition to the various communities across the region that people like Roger have taught and helped bring wild rice back to.

Therefore, while these efforts by settler institutions are important in challenging or decolonizing systems, they need to be led by Indigenous partners, and supported through long term efforts and actions which meaningfully make space for relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Land to be maintained and grown through "*the substantive transfer of lands, resources, and decision-making authority over traditional and treaty territories.*"[10]

10 Nicole Latulippe and Nicole Klenk, "Making room and moving over," *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability,* 42(2020): 9.

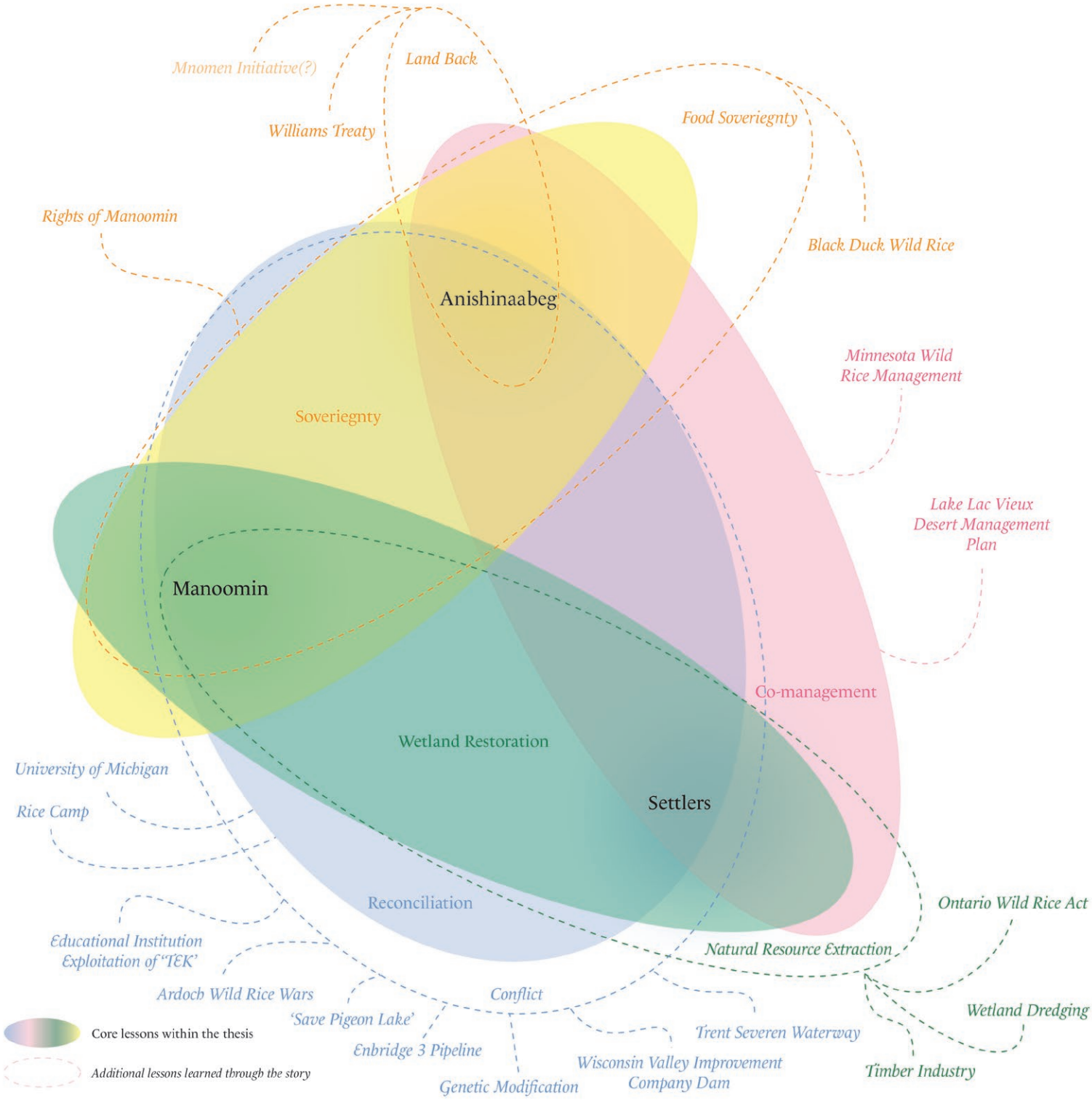


Fig. 7.1 Whereas initially my priority was about learning how the restoration of Manoomin might create reconcilliation and support sovereignty, I learned so much more from these stories. These additional lessons increased the complexity of my understanding of these realities, the relationships between Manoomin, Anishinaabeg, and settlers, and the larger efforts needed before reconcilliation might be addressed. *Drawing by Author. 2021.*

07

Harvesting: A Reflection

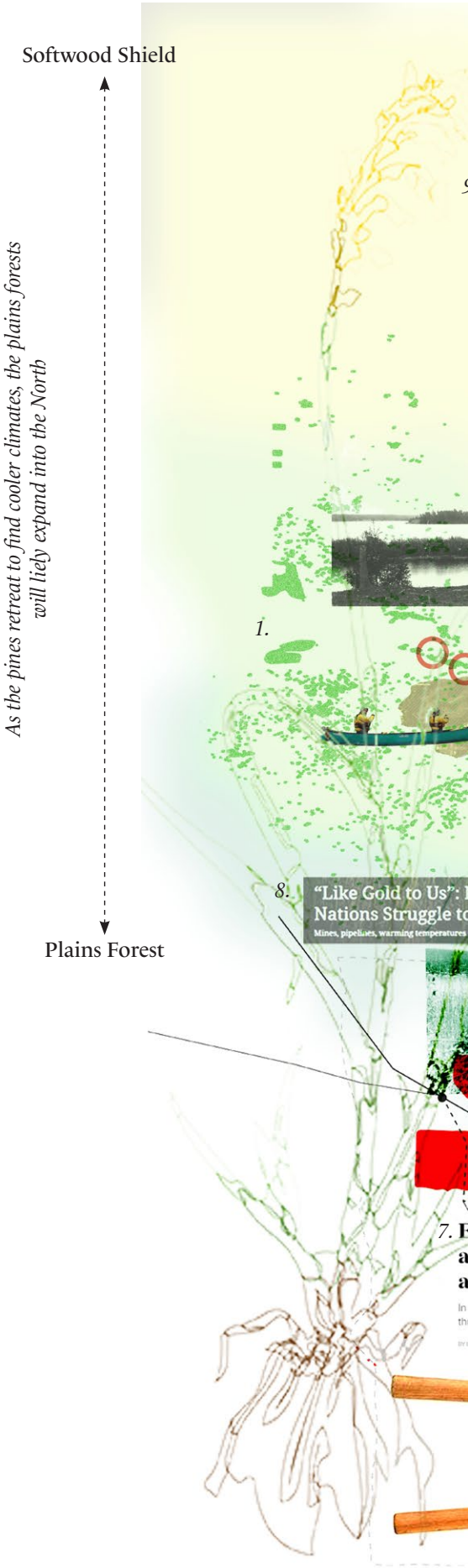
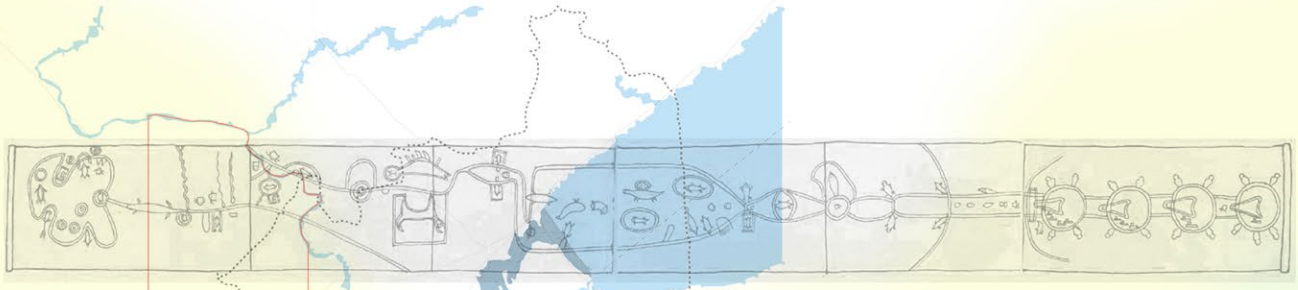


Fig. 7.1 A fragment of some of the current pressures facing Manoomin, and the Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes Basins, such as pipelines, treaty violations, boil water advisories, and climate change, as many individuals continue to care for wild rice as they have done for centuries. *Author's Drawing. 2021*

1. *Wild Rice GIS data sourced from the Government of Ontario, GLIWFC, and an estimate of stands in Michigan.*
2. *Land Claim data, Government of Ontario, 2021.*
3. *Curve Lake First Nations Water law Suite, the Narwhal, 2021. Latest legal suit to protect rights to Water.*
4. *"Wild Rice is Anishinaabe Law", billboard by the Ogimaa Mikana: Reclaiming/Renaming Project for the Kawartha Lakes.*
5. *Canada Wild Rice Wars, Aljazeera, 2016. Article presents the conflict occuring in the Kawartha Lakes.*
6. *Work being done to restore and preserve the traditional harvesting practices and encourage new Anishinaabeg participants to carry on this work.*
7. *Headline from Stop Line Three led by Honor the Earth organization fighting against the replacement of Enbridge 3 pipeline through the Manoomin beds and waters of so-called Minnesota. May 2021.*
8. *Headline from Sierra Club article highlighting the problems of pipelines, mines, climate change as the primary threats facing Manoomin. 2019.*
9. *Red Sky Migration Map by James Red Sky.*

9.



Cleaning the river with the hopes of harvesting Manoomin again one day from these waters

2.

Water pollution, invasive species, and industrialization continues to be a threat

3. **Indigenous leaders launch $2.1 billion class-action lawsuits against Canada over lack of drinking water**

The claimants argue the federal government failed to protect their water and forced First Nations communities to live in conditions "consistent with life in developing countries"

By Leyland Cecco

6.

4.

5. **Canada's wild rice wars**

How a conflict over wild rice in Pigeon Lake is bringing attention to Indigenous rights

nbridge's Line 3 Is Putting Wild Rice at Risk— nd Indigenous Water Protectors Are Taking Stand

northern Minnesota, Anishinaabe people are fighting a pipeline that reatens their sustenance and spiritual connection to the

Current land claims being reviewed by the so-called provinc eof Ontario

Moving from Settler to Guest

In '*Research is Ceremony*' Shawn Wilson emphasizes the importance of research as being a relationship between researcher and the research 'subject' throughout[1]. The result is not the most important part, but rather the journey you took to arrive there. As I look back on a year of "unlearning" and relearning through Manoomin I have struggled to summarize the extent of transformation within my own way of thinking, being, and my own relationship that I have developed with this subject. Out of respect to this thesis's intentions to serve as a threshold between living as a settler and living as a guest on these lands[2], I have decided to end with reflections on what I personally have learned from the relationships within these stories, broader context and current realities, and where I hope to take this knowledge moving forward.

Co-management to Indigenous Guardians

Co-management can provide a safe and respectful framework for land management projects if Indigenous communities are not considered to be one of the many stakeholders but one of the decision makers and land stewards. In the case of the St. Louis River, what might have been a typical co-management partnership with 'stakeholders', is instead led through the knowledge of the Fond du Lac Band who have championed for increased awareness and restoration of Manoomin in this region. As a result, the project's intentions extend beyond simply aesthetic or capitalistic reasons for restoration, to include harvesting and cultural awareness within this work.

The monitoring of Manoomin beds throughout the State by the Reserves and the 1854 Treaty Authority, is reflective of models like the Indigenous Guardians program or Community-Based Monitoring programs[3]. Serving as stewards of the land, these projects are planned based on the needs and knowledge of the local community, who then have the autonomy to monitor, test, and assess the environmental conditions of their land[4]. Furthermore, this method of land management program hopefully reflects calls by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, to further the integration of Indigenous

1 Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony, (*Winnipeg: Fernwood Publisher, 2008) p. 134-135.
2 *See Chapter 3 Methods and Theories for my discussion on Ruth Koleszar-Green's definition of these terms. In summary settler is an individual who is aware they are on stolen land, may wish to be a good ally, but there is little effort beyond that. A guest is someone who understands this knowledge in a cyclical way, they have a relationship with the "Land in a way that supports stewardship and not ownership", respectful reciprocal engagement with Indigenous communities around you. Understand your rights as a guest on that specific land, and the responsibilities to know the influence of settler colonialism, one's role within it, and meaningfully act to support the sovereignty of Nations whose lands you are on (p. 175).*
3 Nicole J. Wilson, et al. "Community-Based Monitoring as the practice of Indigenous governance," *Journal of Environmental Management* 210 (2018).
4 Nature Conservancy, "Learn About Indigenous Guardians Program," *Indigenous Guardians ToolKit*, accessed May 29th, 2021. https://www.indigenousguardianstoolkit.ca/chapter/learn-about-indigenous-guardian-programs.

worldviews and knowledge into environmental and sustainability planning[5]. According to Graeme Reed et al. however, while many of these Indigenous Guardians programs are promising, upon review, only a handful out of all the programs reflected Indigenous self-determination in land management[6]. It is therefore important to be continuously cautious of efforts which use the shield of 'recognition' and acknowledgement[7], as opposed to purposefully creating systems for Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination over lands[8].

Though the St. Louis River is a fraction of the entire State's stands of Manoomin, its proximity to urban areas and the Fond du Lac Reserve means harvesting Manoomin may become more accessible to urban Anishinaabeg and Indigenous Peoples who have maybe not learned how to harvest yet. To further the projects intentions towards Indigenous self-determination I would argue that the harvesting regulations within the State should be assessed. As the St. Louis River is outside of Reserve Territory, any person who does not hold a "valid tribal identification card" but who is a part of an Indigenous community, would require a permit to harvest, as issued by the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources.[9] Though this process seems more streamlined than in 'Ontario' for example, it still may exclude some Indigenous Peoples from their harvesting rights if they do not hold this form of identification. Calls by individuals such as Winona LaDuke from the White Earth Nation in 'Minnesota' need to be meaningfully heeded as well[10]. For example, this summer will be a turning point in the work being done to protest the Enbridge 3 pipeline, carrying crude oil from 'Alberta' through to the terminal in 'Superior, Wisconsin'[11]. This project therefore puts the heart of Manoomin's home at risk to oil spills and construction disturbance, as it moves through the land beside White Earth Reservation, Leech Lake Reservation, and Fond du Lac Reservation, before finally ending at the St. Louis River, where many Anishinaabeg first found the place where food grows on the water.

5 Sharon M. Jeannotte, "Caretakes of the Earth": 210.
6 Graeme Reed, et al. "Indigenous guardians as an emerging approach to indigenous environmental governance."
7 Glen Coulthard, *Red skin, white masks: rejecting the colonial politics of recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
8 Whitney K. Mauer, "Unsettling Resilience: Colonial Ecological Violence, Indigenous Futurisms, and the Restoration of the Elwha River," *Rural Sociology* (2020).
9 "Wild Rice Harvest Season and Regulations," *1854 Treaty Authority*, accessed July 14th, 2021, https://www.1854treatyauthority.org/wild-rice/seasons-regulations.html.
10 Winona LaDuke, "Ricekeepers" *Orion Magazine,* 2007, https://orionmagazine.org/article/ricekeepers/.
11 "What is Line 3," *Stop Line 3,* accessed May 29th, 2021, https://www.stopline3.org/#intro

Land Acknowledgements to Land Back

The University of Michigan's project to restore Manoomin seeks to move beyond land acknowledgements creating relationships built on shared knowledge and respect. I personally cannot be so cynical to presume that these individual efforts do nothing to move larger settler colonial frameworks towards decolonization, particularly within the University as "*an arm of the settler state*"[12]. From my conversations with some of the participants I am particularly encouraged by the emphasis placed on the continuous expansion of these relationships throughout the school, and botanical gardens. Nonetheless, as expressed with Chapter 2, the problems of exploitation within institutions towards Indigenous Knowledge and Peoples is a current and historical reality. Many of the moves to reconciliation only reflect land acknowledgements, or moreover, as Michelle Daigle writes in *The Spectacle of Reconciliation*, the onus can be placed solely on Indigenous faculties or students to create these spaces or Indigenous curriculums, while also "*simultaneously educating their colleagues about colonization and Indigeneity (not to mention, at times, attending to their white fragility in doing so)*."[13] She goes on to reflect on Land Back on campuses, writing, "*many white settler faculty, students, and staff continue to engage in performances of recognition yet quickly flee, retreat, or become defensive when they are asked to sit with what it means to be more responsible and accountable to Indigenous peoples given that they are occupying stolen lands",* as this request threatens the foundations of "*colonial hegemony*".

In my opinion, at surface level, the projects intentions to use university property for Manoomin restoration and Indigenous food sovereignty hints to Land Back. It is of course not true Land Back, or even close to it, but at the very least it possibly presents a first step towards how that might begin – meaning space or land is being given back to the Anishinaabeg Peoples to practice harvesting, ceremonies, teachings…though the official deed to land is still owned by the institution.

For myself as a settler, my own understanding of Land Back has shifted throughout this year as well. I will be honest in saying my initial reaction to this term was along those defensive ways which Daigle describes. This reaction incorrectly centers the emotions, and perspectives of the often-white individual, completely missing the point of these efforts.

I have come to understand Land Back as a larger movement in which many Indigenous communities across Turtle Island are calling for the actual return of land to Indigenous

12 Grande S (2018) quoted in Michelle Daigle, "The spectacle of reconciliation: On (the) unsettling responsibilities to Indigenous peoples in the academy," *ɛPD: Society and Space* 37, no.4: 708.
13 Michelle Daigle, "The Spectacle of reconciliation: On (the) unsettling responsibilities to Indigenous peoples in the academy," *ɛPD: Society and Space* 37, no. 4 (2019): 712.

Peoples, but also for the dismantling of patriarchal capitalistic systems of oppression and dispossession[14], allowing unimpeded access to all harvesting and traditional practices, and mandating consultation and procedures to obtain consent from Indigenous communities when developing projects/land…[15] All of these facets of Land Back (and more) are working towards restoring the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Land, whose severance by settler colonialism has impacted the health and wellbeing of Indigenous Peoples over generations[16], in addition to the health of the land itself.

Land which is managed or co-managed by Indigenous communities continues to be more diverse and healthier[17], as places such as the Mayan Community Forest Reserve[18] or the Pimachiowin Aki Region cared for by four Anishinaabeg Nations[19], reflect. Beyond that, to quote Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "*legally, this issue was decided years ago…*"[20] Which means to me that no matter the extent and scale of arguments, legal documents, or "status quo", the right to use and manage lies in the hands of Indigenous Peoples, and within the context of this thesis and Manoomin, the Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes.

Currently, there is work being done to incorporate frameworks of managing Manoomin in line with Anishinaabeg ways of being, as presented with the 2020 National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) document created by a group of Indigenous and non-Indigenous partners across 'Minnesota', 'Wisconsin', and 'Michigan'.[21] This presents a monitoring system which includes other markers of restoration beyond purely ecological ones[22] (see Fig 7.2), thereby challenging Western perceptions of landscapes and centering concepts of care, sovereignty, and self-determination within this management system.

14 *Systems such as the child welfare in 'Canada' disproportionately target Indigenous communities, with Stats Canada reporting 30% of foster children being Indigenous children when they only make up 4.1% of the population, as of 2016.*
15 *See organizations and papers such as: 4R's Youth Movement, Landback.org, Land Back: Yellowhead Institute.*
16 C.L. & F. Wein, *Health Inequalities and Social Determinants of Aboriginal Peoples' Health* (George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2009): 20-21; See also OECD, "The importance of land for Indigenous economic development," in Linking Indigenous Communities with Regional Development in Canada, (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2020). https://doi.org/10.1787/fc2b28b3-en.
17 University of British Columbia, "Biodiversity highest on Indigenous-managed lands," *ScienceDaily*, accessed July 16, 2021, www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2019/07/190731102157.htm.
18 Levy-Tacher et al., "Are Mayan community forest reserves effective in fulfilling people's needs and preserving tree species?" *Journal of Environmental Management* 245, no.30 (2019).
19 "Our Work," *Pimachiowin Aaki World Heritage Site*, accessed July 16th, 2021, https://pimaki.ca/keeping-the-land/our-work/.
20 Lisa Jackson, "Canada's wild rice wars," *Aljazeera,* last modified February 20th, 2016.
21 O*ne of whom is Roger LaBine who shared this document with me.*
22 Lake Superior Basin Anishinaabe communities, et al. "Lake Superior Manoomin Cultural and Ecosystem Characterization Study, Final Report," (Lake Superior Basin: NOAA, 2020).

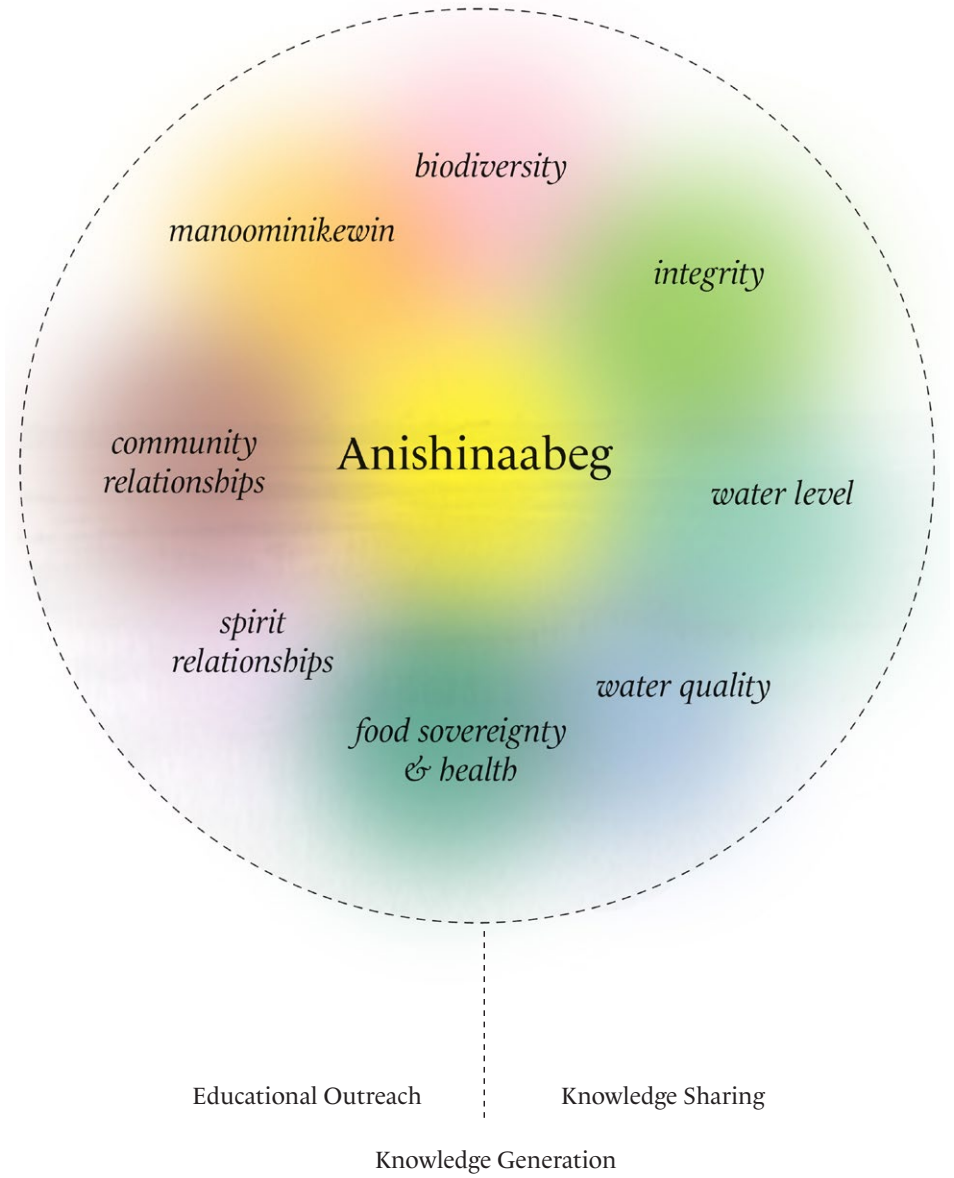


Fig. 7.2 "We developed 12 metrics that characterize the cultural and ecological functions of Manoomin and its associated habitat. These metrics describe how Manoomin contributes to maintaining connections with the Anishinaabe culture, how ecological functionality is supported and resilient to changing conditions, and how continued learning and sharing of Anishinaabe values are promoted." *Author's interpretation of Lake Superior Manoomin Cultural and Ecosystem Characterization Study diagram, 2020, p. 12.*

Sovereignty and Self-determination

With that in mind, within these stories of Manoomin I have come to understand the work being done by Anishinaabeg Peoples enacting self-determination and sovereignty to protect and preserve their ways of living and relationships to Land as most important. As explored within Pigeon Lake, the actions of James Whetung, individuals from Curve Lake First Nations and the surrounding Williams Treaty Nations, reflect not only the physical restoration of wild rice, but the reclamation of Treaty rights as Anishinaabeg and Indigenous Peoples.

However, asserting sovereignty through traditional practices is not always a simple or easy path. Within Pigeon Lake, James Whetung and others from Curve Lake First Nations continue to find themselves confronted verbally by settlers, witnessed Manoomin stalks being ripped up, and still carry on this work even with settler groups like "Save Pigeon Lake" against them. For many, the opportunity to carry on these traditions may not be available to them either because of lost knowledge due to settler colonialism, land dispossession, financial needs, and/or physical and mental health[23]. Quoted within Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's *Land as Pedagogy,* Curve Lake Elder Doug Williams describes some of the trauma that the 1923 Williams Treaty created saying:

> "*I witnessed the trauma and the fear that was put on my people that were trying to live on the land. They lived daily watching over their backs and trying to maintain their lifestyle as Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg…[we] were also prohibited from fishing from October 15 to July 1 every year under provincial statutes. These colonial restrictions were devastating to people that lived on the land. They posted Game Wardens in the tri-lakes area – Buckhorn, Chemong and Pigeon to enforce these restrictions. We faced starvation…The trauma created by the 1923 Williams Treaty will be longed lived. It lives in our hearts. The government can never repay us for what the damage they have caused. The damage is done. Many of the people that lived through this trauma have now passed on. I remember them dearly and I hope that somehow there are no Game Wardens in the Happy Hunting Grounds" (p.20-21).*

These barriers to harvesting still exist through the issuing of harvesting permits by the Province of Ontario, and through the limited number of stands growing throughout this region. Therefore, new trauma may be created through the inaccessibility of these land practices if they are limited due to private property blocking access, lack of physical or financial means to travel to water with rice, and/or potentially feeling unsafe in physically asserting these traditions if settlers are present.

23 Andrew Judge, "Health and Fall Teachings" (lecture, University of Waterloo, July 13th, 2021).

Many Indigenous communities are also still fighting for basic quality of life before this engagement with land can even occur.

For instance, in May of 2021, the deadline for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's five-year promise to end unsafe water conditions across the country passed without completion. In response, the chief of Curve Lake First Nations, Emily Whetung, and other Indigenous leaders initiated a national class-action lawsuit against the Federal government over the lack of potable and clean water for First Nations communities[24], "*asking the Courts to find that Canada has a duty to provide clean water to First Nations".*[25] For decades, the Curve Lake First Nations community has had to rely on bottled water due to broken and outdated water infrastructure, creating "*emotional and spiritual damage*" according to Chief Emily Whetung.[26] It is inconceivable that these colonial era laws are still dictating the living conditions of many Indigenous Peoples on this land[27] through legislation which bars communities from establishing their own water infrastructure, leaving Nations to the mercy of the federal government to fix the problem[28].

Foundationally, these reflect the core issues of sovereignty, livable conditions, and restoration of Indigenous Knowledge, which need to be addressed before 'relationships' or 'reconciliation' between Indigenous communities and settlers can even be prioritized.

Restoration as 'Reconciliation'

While modern Treaties as a framework for relationships are foundational - as all 'Canadians' are Treaty people[29] - I believe from a settler perspective there is often little discussion around shifting colonial perceptions of Land within conversations of 'reconciliation', as the focus is often only on the passed "historical" legacies or events of harm, with little consideration of the present harm, or the harm down towards Land.As I

24 Leyland Cecco, "Indigenous leaders launch $2.1 billion class-action lawsuits against Canada over lack of drinking water," *The Narwhal,* last modified May 4th, 2021. https://thenarwhal.ca/first-nation-class-action-lawsuit-canada-drinking-water/.

25 Chief Emily Whetung, "A message from Chief Emily Whetung," last modified February 2,2021. https://curvelakefirstnation.ca/2021/02/03/a-message-from-chief-emily-whetung-february-2-2021/.

26 Chief Emily Whetung quoted in Leyland Cecco, "Indigenous leaders launch $2.1 billion class-action lawsuits against Canada over lack of drinking water."

27 Graeme Reed, et al. "Indigenous guardians as an emerging approach to indigenous environmental governance," *Conservation Biology* 35, no.1 (2020): 186.

28 *Q: Why don't you just save some money and build your own water treatment plant? A: Nearly all of Curve Lake's funding comes through government agencies – both from Canada and the Province of Ontario. When these government agencies give money to us, it is only for specific things and anything 'leftover' must be returned to the government agency we received it from. We cannot 'save money' to build a treatment plant and we cannot use money from a program to put towards a treatment plant.* (Curve Lake First Nations, 2021).

29 Nicole Latulippe, "Bridging Parallel Rows: Epistemic Difference and Relational Accountability in Cross-Cultural Research," *The International Indigenous Policy Journal,* 6, no.2 (2015).

explored within each of these stories of Manoomin, settler colonial land practices and management fundamentally altered relationships between not only the Anishinaabeg and Manoomin but all settlers as well, as Indigenous Knowledge was severely damaged for everyone through these actions. The repetition of destruction of both people and land across these three initiatives forced me to sit with the reality of settler colonial violence across this region, of which part of my relatives who lived as farmers in so-called Wisconsin during the mid-1800s, would have been privy to. Madeleine Whetung writes in *On Remaining Unreconciled,* of the importance of 'unreconciliation' which starts from the premise that there is limited possibility for repair between settlers and Indigenous Peoples in their relationships[30]. She asks settlers to sit with the violence that has occurred and accept that self-determination for Indigenous Peoples means they may choose to remain unreconciled as well[31]. In respecting these realities, one may "*hold space to imagine a different type of relationship from where we are*"[32].

With these realities in mind, for myself as a settler, I believe there can be no 'reconciliation' of relationships without restoration of land – meaning not just the return of certain species to protected areas away from human presence, but systems of land management which genuinely return land and self-determination to Indigenous communities, respect the agency of more-than-human-beings, establish harvesting goals centered on care, and dismantle Western systems of perceiving Land as commodity, while striving for ethical engagement with the Earth.

If I reflect on the Anishinaabeg considerations when harvesting, in this case, Manoomin – manoominikewin - I believe there are lessons which might serve as a starting point for restoration as 'reconciliation', which may be applied to land management or tenets to consider within my own work as a designer moving forward:

patiently take only what you need

reconnect to Land in a way which is built on care and empathy

share these gifts with your community, family, friends, neighbours…

consider future generations when harvesting or planting

respect the agency and spirit within these more-than-human beings

reflect on what the land may need from you

and do so 'in a good way' which considers your connection to this place and how one's actions might be in solidarity with Indigenous self-determination to restore their relationships to Land.

30 Joe Curnow and Anjali Helferty, "Contraditions of Solidarity," *Environment and Society: Advances in Research 9* (2018): 155.
31 Michelle Daigle, "The Spectacle of reconciliation": 714.
32 Madeline Whetung, "On Remaining Un-reconciled: Living Together Where We Are," *Unpublished paper,* 2018.

These beliefs that I as a settler and humble guest have come to learn throughout this journey and hope to embody moving forward, came from listening to the knowledge of my teachers and mentors, to the land I have grown gardens on with my family, and the ways of being of many of the Anishinaabeg within the Great Lakes Basin who have cared for Manoomin for centuries, do so today, and will do so for generations to come.

chi-miigwetch

Fig. 7.3 Woman in boat within the Manoomin beds. *Photograph by Frances Densmore. N.D.*

8

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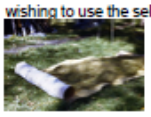
1 x	**Collections Online : Photo Reproduction | sku:** no_sku **Which version of the image are you ordering?** : Use Only **What type of user are you? (For more information in these options, please see the Photographs: Use Permissions and Licensing guide.)** : Personal: For students, family historians, and other researchers wishing to use the selected items for their own personal use. 	$0.00
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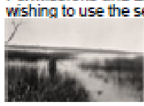

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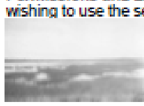

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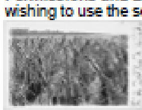

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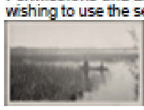

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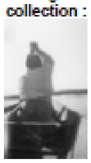

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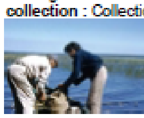

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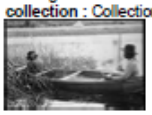
1 x	**Collections Online : Photo Reproduction | sku:** no_sku **identifier** : E97.32W r12 Locator Number **identifierlabel** : Identifier **spatiallabel** : Places **Which version of the image are you ordering?** : Use Only **title** : Indians gathering wild rice. (Supplied Title) **id** : 10413490 **titlelabel** : Title **What type of user are you? (For more information in these options, please see the Photographs: Use Permissions and Licensing guide.)** : Personal: For students, family historians, and other researchers wishing to use the selected items for their own personal use. **collection** : Collections+Online 	$0.00
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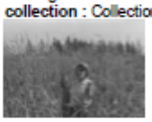

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08

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Appendix A: Interview Resources and Transcripts

Dear ***(Insert Name of Participant),***

I am reaching out to request an interview from a member of ***[organizations name]*** for my thesis research that I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in Architecture at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, under the supervision of Assistant Professor Jane Hutton. The title of my study is "*Conversations about land rights and restoration with Manoomin-Wild Rice"*. I am researching initiatives that are involved with restoring and harvesting *Manoomin*-Wild Rice to learn what impact this work has had on relationships between Indigenous Peoples, the land, and settlers within the Great Lakes Region.

I wish to invite you to participate in this research project through a one-on-one interview with myself, to discuss **[name of their project]**. I believe that your first-hand perspective will provide meaningful context and understanding about your project. The questions will relate to topics such as, your role within this organization, what *Manoomin* means to you, and your project's engagement with land rights and responsibilities. My hope is that through this thesis and study, others might learn from your work and apply this knowledge to their own collaborations between communities.

Participation with this interview is completely voluntary and will take around 30 minutes to one hour to complete by phone or video call. All participants will be informed and reminded of their rights to participate or withdraw before the interview. To support the findings of this study, quotations and excerpts from the interviews will be published with your permission within the final thesis document. To respect your privacy and rights, if you do not wish for your name or that of the organization to be published in the final thesis document alongside the interview, you may participate anonymously.

Please see the attached information and consent form for additional information about the interview, privacy protections, and my research.

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me by phone at, +1 226 966 3608, by email at cjparidy@uwaterloo.ca, or my supervisor Jane Hutton at jane.hutton@uwaterloo.ca. I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. However, the final decision about participation belongs to yourself and ***[name of organization]***.

Once my findings are complete, I will provide you with the finished thesis document with your interview for you and your community. My hope with this project is that it will share the work that **[insert organizations name]** is doing to encourage respectful conversations around land rights and responsibilities through the teachings of *Manoomin*-Wild Rice with others engaged in similar discussions.

I look forward to hearing from you!

Kindest regards,

Caitlin Paridy
Master's Candidate
School of Architecture - University of Waterloo
cjparidy@uwaterloo.ca

Learning from Manoomin
Conversations about land rights and restoration with Manoomin-Wild Rice

Caitlin Paridy
University of Waterloo, Canada

Name
Place

Date

Dear[Insert Name of Participant],

This letter is an invitation to participate in an interview I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the School of Architecture at the University of Waterloo in Canada, under the supervision of Assistant Professor Jane Hutton. I would like to provide you with more information about this project, and what your involvement would entail if you decided to take part.

Within the Great Lakes region, there has been a growing movement to restore wetland systems with Manoomin-Wild Rice, thereby respecting traditional knowledge and reversing the impact of settler colonial land practices along the water. This activity is at the confluence of Indigenous Knowledge and Western Science and is connecting local communities who are working to restore natural systems and create respectful relationships through this practice. While there have been attempts to support Indigenous land rights movements, many institutions and organizations have offered empty "moves to innocence". Often, these do not genuinely address land rights conversations, or meaningfully uphold Indigenous sovereignty. With that in mind, my thesis is researching what impact the restoration of Manoomin-Wild Rice has had on the relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers in this region.

With collages, maps, and interviews, I seek to document and present the stories of initiatives working to bring Manoomin back to their community thanks to help from individuals such as yourself. Through this, I believe that one can begin to understand commonalities between these case studies, and how the collaboration within this practice can be applied to other conflicts and discussions around land rights and responsibilities.

As one of the case studies I have been researching, I believe that your work with [Insert Organization Name], is directly in line with my thesis's hypothesis. Therefore, I would like to respectfully ask questions about your work restoring and harvesting Manoomin-Wild Rice, how it has possibly encouraged conversations around land rights and

responsibilities, and how relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers have evolved through this project.

Participation in this research is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 30 minutes to one hour in length to take place over video call or by phone. This can be arranged for a time convenient to your schedule. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by contacting myself up until the thesis has been submitted by August, 2021, as it will not be possible to remove your data from then on.

With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later will be transcribed for review. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation. At that time, you may add or clarify any points that you wish.

Your participation will be considered confidential by default and identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected and stored separately. Neither your name nor the name of your organization will appear in any thesis or publication resulting from this study, however with your permission, anonymous quotations from your interview may be used (e.g., “One organization commented that…”). Alternatively, you may choose to be identified by name and have your contributions directly attributed to you and your organization in the thesis and publications resulting from this study.

Collected data will be securely stored within a password protected Dropbox folder on my personal computer, or in a secured location within my private residence (physical notes) with no identifying information for a minimum of one year. You may withdraw your consent and request that your data be removed from the study by contacting me up until my thesis is submitted on August 2021. Only myself and my supervisor, Jane Hutton will have access.

Please note that if you choose to conduct the interview via videoconferencing, whenever information is transmitted over the internet, privacy cannot be guaranteed. There is always a risk your responses may be intercepted by a third party (e.g., government agencies, hackers). University of Waterloo researchers will not collect or use internet protocol (IP)

addresses or other information which could link your participation to your computer or electronic device without first informing you.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#42988). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions or if you would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 1-226-966-3608 or by email at cjparidy@uwaterloo.ca . You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Jane Hutton at jane.hutton@uwaterloo.ca.

Once my findings are complete, I will provide you with the finished thesis document for you to review and share with your community. My hope with this project is that it will help share the work that [Insert Organization Name] is doing to encourage respectful conversations around land rights and responsibilities through the teachings of Manoomin-Wild Rice with others engaged in similar discussions. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Kindest regards,

Master's of Architecture Candidate
University of Waterloo

cjparidy@uwaterloo.ca
+1 (226) 966 - 3608

Consent Form

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about the study "*Conversations about land rights and restoration with Manoomin-Wild Rice*" being conducted by Caitlin Paridy of the School of Architecture at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that with my permission my interview will be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that with my permission excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be published anonymously, unless otherwise requested.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time up until the publication of the thesis by August, 2021, without penalty by contacting the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#42988). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Caitlin Paridy at 1-226-966-3608 or by email at cjparidy@uwaterloo.ca

I agree of my own free will to participate in the study:

Participant Name: _____(Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Witness Name: _____(Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

Consent Form

Please review and check all boxes that apply:

Participation:	☐ With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this interview. ☐ I understand that I may withdraw from this interview at any time up, with no consequences, until the publication of this thesis by August, 2021
Quotations from this interview to be used in papers and publications resulting from this research:	☐ I agree to the use of anonymous quotations within any papers and publications from this research, with my review and approval. OR ☐ I agree to the use of attributed quotations within any papers and publications, with my review and approval (i.e you will be identified by name). **If at any time prior to submission of the thesis by August, 2021, if you wish to change your decision to include your name or remain anonymous, you may do so by contacting Caitlin Paridy.*
Audio recording for transcription/analysis purposes only:	☐ I agree to my interview being audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis. ☐ I understand that these recordings will not be made public. ☐ I agree to review the transcript after the interview to add, remove, or rephrase any quotes which may be used within this thesis.
Organization:	☐ My organization agrees to be named within this interview and research. OR ☐ My organization wishes to remain anonymous within this interview and research.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Questions for Mnomen Initiative Team

Theme 1: The project

- Can you describe this project and how you became involved with it?
- What has the process of developing relationships within this project been like?
- Is there something you enjoy most about these restoration projects that you would be willing to share? Do you have a favourite memory from your work with these projects that you would be willing to share?

Theme 2: Manoomin

- Can you describe what restoring Manoomin means to you?
- Is there something you have learned from Manoomin which you value the most and would be willing to share?

Community/public

- Can you speak to how these community workshops or restoration projects have impacted your community?
- Have you seen any changes in how volunteers/participants respect or view the land after working with Manoomin?
- Have you seen an impact on the ecosystem at large through this work? What kind?

Collaborations

- Has this project or the rice camps inspired other projects within the university or local community?
- How do you see future partnerships evolving or relationships improving between Indigenous Peoples and settlers from or because of these projects?

Theme 2: Land rights + responsibilities

- Can you describe what Indigenous self-determination and responsibility to care for land and more-than-human-beings means to you?
- Do you see this practice and project as a means of supporting or raising awareness towards Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination?
- To what extent do you think the framework of Manoomin restoration and this project is related to land back?

Theme 3: Moving forward

- Do you think this work or other land restoration work aligns itself with acts of meaningful reconciliation?
- Is there anything you would like others to know who are engaged in Manoomin restoration projects?
- What do you hope this project or other restoration work will lead to or how do you hope it will turn out?
- Is there anything else you think is important to know about this project/work?

University of Waterloo
School of Architecture
Date

Dear ***(Insert Name of Participant),***

I would like to thank you for your participation in this interview, "*Conversations about land rights and restoration with Manoomin-Wild Rice*". As a reminder, the purpose of this research is to learn about your work restoring and harvesting Manoomin-Wild Rice and to understand how this practice has developed relationships between settlers, Indigenous Peoples, and other-than-human beings in a meaningful way.

Your stories and accounts will provide first-hand perspectives from your engagement with this land practice, so that others might learn from and apply this knowledge to their own discussions around land rights and responsibilities.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#42988). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions you may contact myself, Caitlin Paridy, at 1-226-966-3608 or cjparidy@uwaterloo.ca.

Please note that any notes or recordings will be securely stored for a minimum of one year from the submission of this thesis in August 2021 in private and protected locations. If you wish to change your decision for quotes to be anonymous or attributed within my thesis, please reach out before the final submission (August 2021), after that time it will be not be possible to retract your information from this publication. This work may be shared with the research community through seminars, presentations, and journal articles.

Once the study is completed by August 2021, I will send you the thesis document to share as you may wish. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or telephone as noted below. I am so thankful for your help with this project and wish you the best of luck with ***[insert project name].***

Kindest regards,

Caitlin Paridy
Master's of Architecture Candidate
University of Waterloo

Samantha Stokes Interview, May 2021

CP: *My first question to start off broadly, is if you can describe how this project started and what inspired you to be a part of this work?*

SS: I did my undergraduate degree at Michigan Tech and Wildlife Ecology and the Natural Resources School there has a field school that was donated by the Fords or something. It's called the Ford Forest. And unbeknownst to the vast majority of students and probably a majority of faculty and staff as well, the field station is maybe 10 to 15 minutes away from the Keweenaw Bay Indian communities' reservation, which is also a rather large reservation, actually. And so, when I was there, I happened to become really good friends with a girl named Waba and didn't know for the longest time that she was born and then raised to some extent in Keweenaw Bay, she's a Tribal member. Our recruiter for the forestry school at the time was also a Tribal member. And so I just became really close with them and was really lucky that I was, you know, interested and wanted to learn, and they had family around who were willing to teach me and tell me tell me stories and educate me as much as they did, and it kind of like I met them at a time in my life when I was relatively displeased with notions of conservation and natural resources management and the lack of care and kind of justice in the way that the land was managed in terms of social justice and that sort of thing. And it kind of put me on this path towards environmental justice, specifically focusing on land management with restitution and land back for Indigenous Peoples.

So at this field school, they often hosted tribal events. And there was a rice camp one year and I skipped class to go to it for the weekend. It was taught by Roger Labine and Scott Herron, who are some pretty big names on this side of the border. And I just fell in love [with this work] and I just loved it so much. I loved learning about Manoomin, I loved all of the ecology, but [also] more of the deep cultural connection and the importance to food sovereignty and community building and resilience [with wild rice]. I then graduated from [Michigan] Tech and I came down to [the University of] Michigan because they're I think the only university in the United States that has an Environmental Justice Master's specifically. And so I wasn't sure what was going to happen, but I got connected with David Mitchener - who is the curator of the Botanical Gardens - through the Heritage Seeds Project, which is working to rematriate Indigenous seeds that are currently in archives. And so we just knew all the same people [from these projects] - it was very serendipitous. And so we knew that we wanted to work together. And it just so happened that over the years, Scott Herron, who has also involved in Heritage Seeds, had been to the [Botanical Gardens] property and had seen this little pond out front and said 'you know that just looks like a great place for rice'. So this looks like there should be some some rice growing there. And so David was like, well, what if we actually found that out? Like, what if we did a feasibility study? And so and so that's how this happened!

CP: *Wow, that's crazy. I didn't realize it was such a series of events!*

SS: Yeah, it really was. It was a series of very fortunate events involving like me, crying over some corn and like 'why did this happen - how did this happen'! It was one of those like happily messy situations. So, yeah, it was awesome.

CP: *I think the most exciting thing about this project or one of the best part about it is really the effort and work of developing those partnerships and those relationships. I know from the Gala website, you guys wrote about how you wanted to have at least one person from every Tribe, partner or be a part of this project. I'm just wondering what it's been like kind of trying to develop those partnerships within this project?*

SS: It's been a lot less successful. Well, OK, I won't say that. I'll say that it's been a lot less formally successful than I would have liked just because of Covid. We started off we just went and visited, we talked about the projects, so they've been very aware of it through meetings and everybody knows what what's going on. It's just been sad because we haven't been able to have people out [visiting the sites]. Between UofM's restrictions and the tribes taking Covid so seriously - which was really important. You know my Tribal friends and colleagues were all vaccinated before I was so I felt way safer being around them than the general public and all that stuff! But [not having as much collaboration in person] that was that was a bit of a disappointment and just sad because I wish that more people could have been out with with us. But that said, I did meet a lot of people and I think a lot of people are aware of what's going on. And I know that as the report is taken forward. It will be shared more widely and more people will be able to be involved as Covid restrictions lower, but also as it becomes more formalized. And the hope is that this could be used to to get funding for a pilot restoration.

CP: *I know there's the seed rematriation project, and obviously with the restrictions and whatnot, it's been difficult these past few months, but has this project and these relationships that were developed encouraged other projects or other sorts of partnerships?*

SS: I mean, there's definitely new relationships outside of the heritage seeds it's very in parallel. I think that people have been very excited about the wild rice specifically. I think it's a very charismatic plant and has a compelling story. And so people connect with it deeply and. It's all growing relationships in the same vein, I think.

CP: *Speaking with some people from [my case study in] Duluth, one of the person mentioned how when he has students working with them, they kind of catch the 'Manoomin bug'.*

SS: Oh absolutely. Yeah, people love the plant. They, you know, they want to see it everywhere. You know, the community bonding nature of a lot of the rice camps is important to people. And I think that people are just so surprised because they know nothing about it. It surprised me a bit that one of the first questions that people ask is like, 'I'm not buying Wild Rice at the grocery store?' And then I get, 'well, how do I know?' And like I that wasn't one of my first questions when [I started working with Manoomin]. So the fact that that people are like 'I'm not getting the real deal?' Like no you're not! So I just think it's funny and interesting that that's one of the first things which people catch on to.

CP: *That's so funny because I remember my supervisor, when I told her this was going to be the focus, she said a similar thing. She was like, 'how is it differ from the bag of wild rice I have in my kitchen?' And it's like there's a lot of difference actually!*

SS: Yeah, a lot actually. I'm actually going to University of Minnesota to do my PhD. And the difference is very felt there because of the genetics and plant breeding lab there that caused a lot of problems.

CP: *Are you working with Crystal Ng [and the 'First We Must Consider Manoomin' project]?*

SS: Yes with Mike Dockry and Crystal Ng. Yeah I'm going to be working on that!

CP: *That's awesome! Congratulations! As you're continuing on with wild rice and management have you noticed if this project has changed how you interact with the land around you and other plants and beings?*

SS: Yeah, it definitely has. A lot of the scholarship that I read and the people who have taught me and shared stories with me and taken the time to invest in my knowledge about this kind of things, it definitely changes the way that I try to live my life. Because actually I'm a farmer, I work primarily with livestock. So employing the kind of relationship framework that one uses to understand plants, especially wild plants, is very different when you're trying to apply it to domesticated animals, but I found it really meaningful and generative to try and think through Indigenous ways of relating and being grateful and trying to use my own, like farming and interaction with natural processes and people as a kind of "practice to my preach". So farming and caring for different properties, I interact with - and foraging and hiking and all that stuff. I try to make that my practice of all of the of all the things that I learn. So yeah, it definitely has changed a lot.

CP: *I don't know how public the project has been, or maybe even outside of that, like with family or friends who have engaged with Manoomin through you, have you seen it kind of change your community's relationship to the land and environment as well?*

SS: I don't know that it has changed. I know that students who become aware of it, I feel like it just kind of opens their eyes to a different issue. But I think that to appeal to a large extent [isn't quite there]. Like if you're an academic and your family is not there, they kind of just ask, 'OK, like what are you doing? What are you studying again? What's that weird, like language you type with sometimes on social media with the double vowels?' I just remember my dad was like, 'yeah, your grandma asked what Manoomin was and I had to explain it to her.' I was like, Oh Lordy! So, yeah, I feel like maybe I probably don't do as good a job as I could about teaching them about it, but I try! It definitely changes how I interact with youth. I try to use Robin Kimmerer's language of animacy, I try to use that a lot with, my little niece. So it changes the way I teach with young people, for sure.

CP: *Do you think it's because of the line of thinking that some people are more open to changes in perceptions of land than others?*

SS: I feel like they [younger people] just take it more

readily, it seems to make more sense [to them]. They question it a lot less. They're less likely to ask why I'm referring to a tree as a person or like 'that is maple' or something like that. Yeah, I think they also just pick up on the on the feeling of it all a little bit differently as well.

CP: *I definitely understand especially living at home and having my parents kind of be more of a part of this thesis process. It's it's been interesting. And I think my mom's kind of understood it more, but mainly because she's my main editor for my text so she's reading how I've been thinking and changing over time.*

SS: Yeah, my mom too!

CP: *So she kind of maybe understands it more since she's reading it and taking the time to understand the nuances of Manoomin. I guess more in line with the partnerships and whatnot. How do you see future partnerships evolving between Indigenous Peoples and settlers from or because of this project?*

SS: I don't know, I think that there are two different sets of relationships that are really important. The first is between the University and the Tribes. The other is between the settler public and Indigenous nations. I seriously question whether healthy relationships can be restored between - or created, since they were never healthy between the University and the Tribes, the University as a whole, that is. I definitely think that certain segments, or departments are growing healthy relationships, but I question whether academia at large and such a huge University can have a healthy relationship. I think that a restoration project like this would work wonders for Wild rice awareness of the cultural importance of wild rice and issues of Tribal sovereignty and survival and food sovereignty. But I'm also very wary of environmental education and interpretation. I think it's very harmful most of the time. In that you have a bunch of middle class white people interpreting, giving, offering the same interpretations of a sacred plant that they would have any other plant. But then the flip side of that is, how do you make so you want to partner with the Tribe, so that you're actually educating people properly. But then the flip side again is, is that a reciprocal relationship? Like what's the tribe getting out of that other than a hell of a lot of work? I think that because we are such a large University, there is potential for research partnerships and some serious money going towards tribal restoration projects, so I think there are ways to make it reciprocal. But if it's just, oh come and educate a bunch of white people so they can educate a bunch of white kids, like what's the benefit long term of that, if it's not going to change the institution and if it's not benefiting the tribal harvesters or indigenous kids? So, yeah, that's something I worry about a lot, and not just for this project, but in my teaching and and environmental work too.

CP: *I guess it's that idea of moving past the land acknowledgment and moving into meaningful work and understanding. Asking what, the First Nations people are getting out of that relationship and if it should be entered into anyway, if it's going to benefit the community or do so much more harm to them and to their community. That's really something I've been trying to tackle and question as well within the thesis. A few months ago, after learning from Indigenous professors and reading about Indigenous methodologies I realized like oh, crap, I probably shouldn't have started this research given the limited time frame and lack of direct relationships. But then on the other hand too, as an individual I entered this to make an effort to learn or challenge my colonial thinking and see the land in a new way. So I definitely understand that struggle. I've been kind of interpreting these projects as sort of land back initiative. Do you agree with that?*

SS: Yeah, aspirationally. In reality though, it would take an atomic bomb to get the University of Michigan to give up any landholding. I don't believe that it would ever be true land back. I don't think that the properties would ever truly go back to un-mediated tribal management. I think we can hope for collaboration, partnership, joint management plans. I think we could really push for tribes to be treated as much more than a stakeholder. But then again, I don't even know that that would be successful. I think there's still a tremendous lack of understanding that tribes are not just another stakeholder - at large. I mean, the people who are working on these projects, my advisor, the people who are involved with Heritage Seeds, they know all this. They are trying to combat those issues, but combating it within one program and one initiative, I think is different than being successful in doing that for the University at large. So that is where my hesitation lies, not with these individual sort of initiatives. I think that they can be very successful. But larger systems, institutional change. I question whether, you know, things like this within the academy will accomplish that.

CP: *Yeah, because we're in a little bubble, a microcosm of people who are maybe more open to these things. But, yeah, as soon as you kind of go beyond that department, where does it go?*

SS: Even within the department too, like other professors, they're just like, what? Absolutely not.

CP: *Do you think, [this project] is a beginning or is it just kind of like one off? One kind of like sphere or bubble that's hopefully making that specific community and those partnerships better?*

SS: I don't know, I'm feeling a bit... not pessimistic, but I'm not feeling, like super positive about it. I've worked on some efforts to begin decolonizing environmental curriculum at the University of Michigan, whatever that means. We got through early adopters within like a semester. The faculty don't want to change what they teach. They don't want to communicate with students or learn from them. The students grow up and they're ready to learn. They are already there teaching the professors about environmental justice, social justice, greenwashing... They're teaching them all of that. I learned way more from the students who are saying, hey, you're giving us a crappy education because it's so whitewashed and bound up with these colonial notions of nature and conservation. And the professors just aren't interested in hearing it and the administration knows they should care, but not why, and they also don't really care.

CP: *They care within the realm of not having to change their syllabus or their reading.*

SS: Right. And they care within the realm of, well, we're going to get cancelled if we don't care or these students are going to keep bothering us until we pretend like we care.

CP: *Yeah, I think that's definitely been the experience many students within architecture have spoken up about. Like there's a term in Rome and all of the cultural history classes throughout the degree have all been very Eurocentric. So we've definitely had similar conversations and people pushing to have these discussions. And you hear from people who have graduated like years before us and they say that they've been having the same discussions at that time too. I mean my department has had some improvements in hiring and working with Indigenous profs and projects but it's such a slow process it seems very impossible sometimes.*

SS: Yeah, and especially because in my school, most of the students are master's students and the administration absolutely knows that. They know that they only have to deal with anybody for two years. And it's very difficult to pass on institutional knowledge. So it just starts it's just start over and over and over again

CP: *Because you have no one there continue to fight and advocate consistently since they're gone in the next year. It's very frustrating to hear how wide spread these things are. Like talking to someone from a different school, in a different country, yet the issues and feelings are the exact same. To challenge that though within your own work, you spoke a little bit about co-management and how, people [Indigenous Peoples] aren't included as true partners was focusing and addressing the problems within those sorts of partnerships, one of the focuses or something you guys were hoping to do?*

SS: For me, a lot of it was seeing. Seeing like wetland restoration, is hot right? People are wanting [to restore], for great reasons, like wetlands are great. They got destroyed. But the university would be the would do the type of stupid thing to have a wetland restoration that included wild rice are focused around wild rice and not involve any Tribes. They would do something that stupid. The state does that. The feds do it, like lots of people do stupid stuff like that. And that would be crushing and that would be so wrong. So to do it in a different way and do it in a good way was just kind of the impetus. I think to also have Manoomin occupying this like odd interstitial space between like agriculture and nature, and that it's kind of really embodying, what, a stewarded plant is. It's cool, it's special, it's a unique relationship. And so it just felt like the logical next step, especially with all the excellent food sovereignty work that's happening at the Botanical Gardens, with the campus farm and the heritage seeds, it just felt like that was, the next thing to do.

CP: *Do you think there's some connection or benefit between, land restoration work and food sovereignty restoration work and things like that, which align themselves with meaningful acts of reconciliation?*

SS: Yeah, I mean, I think for me, food is everything, like everything has to do with food. So, I think that one of the ways that the nature culture binary is enacted is that food doesn't come from natural spaces. Manoomin and any harvesting and gathering defies that, it defies private property, it defies this notion of productive land versus unproductive land. And so I think that there are a lot of excellent contradictions there and it just shows the fallacy in those binaries. And so I think that as a landholder, that's one of the ways that you can do that. Like facilitating hunting and fishing and gathering on private properties is one way that the University can do more than just read like three sentences.

CP: *Do you do you think that's kind of a first steps towards*

something like land back, if this is a gradual process?

SS: I really don't know. I don't think I can say anything productive about that. I think that it's valuable. Whether it's on a road to land back, I don't know.

CP: *Yeah, fair enough. Can you describe what Indigenous self-determination and responsibilities to care for the land means to you? And if this project has changed your own perspective on these things or how it has?*

SS: At my very first rice camp. Roger [Labine] was talking about loving Manoomin like a brother. And when I did my capstone at Michigan Tech on Tribal wolf management - and ma'iingan or wolf, is sacred in a similar way [to Manoomin] in that, yes, it's a plant relative, but also very integral to creation stories. And I had a professor - and I'm sure this wasn't from him - but he was the one who told me, you know wolves are a brother quite just as literally as Catholics believe that the wine and the bread are the body and blood of Christ. And so I just had never thought of it like that before, and I think since then, listening to people teach and reading as much as I can about Anishinaabeg, but also, different global Indigenous worldviews. It sounds cliche, especially to people who read this stuff, but it really is about everything, and every one being related. And I think a lot about it in my own life, in that I work with livestock and what does it mean to love something and treat it with respect and live in good relation to it without presupposing that living in good relation to one being must be the same as living in good relation to other humans. So what does it mean to have healthy relationships with each being as an individual instead of coming up with one way that you're supposed to treat everything. So that's something I think about a lot and I think that comes just from trying to understand and appreciate and put to work what I have been gifted, and taught about Anishinaabeg world views.

CP: *Do you have a favourite memory of working with Manoomin, like from harvesting or going out into the stands?*

SS: Oh gosh, there's so many. I like it when people hear the migration story for the first time. Yeah, there are a lot of great memories. It was funny, the first ever rice camp I went to up North, it was over Thursday, Friday, Saturday or something, and so I went on the first day and then I was like, oh, I can't come the next day because I have class. And then I showed up the next day and Roger [Labine] was like, I thought you had class? I was like, yeah, I skipped. This was more important. And that's kind of how it's been ever since. So, yeah, it's all good memories. I think being out on the water is a good time to. It is the perfect time to just impart knowledge, you're doing something, harvesting or seeding whatever it is, it's a very rhythmic muscle memory sort of thing. And so it's a great time to try and listen to whoever is teaching you.

CP: *Do you have anything you'd like others to know who are engaged in restoration projects on indigenous lands?*

SS: Oh, gosh, there's a lot. Don't bother with the land acknowledgement if you're not going to do anything afterwards. And I know that's more of a thing in Canada, but Canada is full of shit. So any time people are like, 'oh, but Canada is past land acknowledgements'. No you're not your prime minister just got up on stage and was like 'reconciliation', and look what's happened since. Not that the United States is any better. But I'm not here for the fake. Which is prolific. Just put your money where your mouth is and put your actions where your mouth is, I think is the big thing. Aand also my favourite quote from my advisor is that 'this work moves at the speed of respect' - that's a David Michener quote. The bureaucracy cannot dictate and academia cannot dictate how this work happens. And it's going to try to. But that's the reason that we're in the situation we are in the first place. We cannot continue to operate as we always have done and expect to have a different outcome. That's the definition of insanity. So don't get into this if you think it's going to be easy because the institutional powers that be, are not going to like the fact that money must be spent to just travel and visit and and grow relationships. We've been really lucky [with the Mnomen Initaitve] that we've had internal grants that have been able to provide that space for us because it's necessary. This work is not going to be successful if the relationship's driving it don't have the space they need to grow and change and make mistakes and come back from them. It's not a linear process. It takes time. It needs space.

CP: *I think that's really amazing advice. Especially putting your money where your mouth is, I think we all need that. And I do agree with you in terms of Canada [needing to do that].*

SS: I just remember being pissed off because a professor was like, 'oh, I'm from Canada. We did land acknowledgments 20 years ago'. And I was like, Really? Can you give me a

good reason why you're not going to put one in your syllabus then?

CP: *That's a very valid question. And I also think acknowledgements have only really been more mainstream in the past 5-10 years!*

SS: I was like, you're full of shit. I'm not into it.

CP: *I guess my final question related to the project, is if you have any hopes for how this project will continue past your practicum?*

SS: I'm really hopeful that we will have a successful pilot on this little pond in front of the Botanical Gardens. I think it's the perfect spot. It's front and centre, super visible, you just drive right up to it practically. It's not a natural site. It's a manmade pond, which makes some of the land managers a little bit anxious. But I like that distress. I will fuel it in them. I'm just kind of like, this is good for you! Go take a sociology class that teaches you about that. They have thousands of students who come by for field trips. It will be part of this awesome site. You know, we have a food forest and the Heritage Seeds garden is right there, and the campus farm, will be part of this like growing human food landscape. People will get to see it, learn about the rice and hopefully there would be enough to harvest. I mean, it's a pretty small pond, so it's not going to feed a whole lot of people, but at least for demonstration purposes. Rice camps could be hosted there. Whatever it is, as long as Anishinaabeg people are able to easily access the property to do ceremony and steward the rice and use that space and that resource, aka the institution to further whatever it is that they are hoping to get out of the relationship, I think that would be a success.

CP: *I hope so, too. I hope you can get some harvesting out of it!*

SS: Yeah, I mean, I don't it's so shallow, it's so shallow, but it will be interesting to see how that could happen.

CP: *Fingers crossed.*

SS: Yeah, fingers crossed. And it would be something. I to also create it as a space where native students - there's so, so, so, few at the University of Michigan - but creating a space for them to go would be great.

CP: *Thank you for speaking with me and being so honest today.*

Anthony Kolenic Interview, May 2021

CP: *My first question is if you can describe this project and how you got involved with it?*

AK: I'm the new director of Matthaei Botanical Gardens and Nichols Arboretum at the University of Michigan so I am entering this work midstream. One of the curators, David Michener, has been working with Tribal partners for the last 20 years or so, and one of the students that he's mentoring is Sam Stokes, who was conducting her research on this topic. And because he has durable relationships with several tribal leaders and community members, it was a natural fit for him serve in this capacity. The site that is being considered is a signature site at Matthaei Botanical Gardens, Willow Pond. It is a human made pond, but it has all the right features for restoring Manoomin. It is obviously complicated work and takes a great leap of faith on the part of our Tribal partners - who I have to imagine are exhausted from generations upon generations of institutionalized, continued settler and colonial practices. So it's an honor to have it considered as a potential site. Sam [Stokes] is a student moving through [the school], so my perspective is that although I know she'll keep her relationships - because she's a good person and a good researcher and she'll stay connected to the site – we at Matthaei Nichols are committed to the longer haul of what this project means; and not just for us, but for the partnership and relationships.

CP: *Can you speak to how this project is potentially different from other projects or works at the Botanical Gardens?*

AK: Most leaders have the dual responsibility to make sure that we have everything we need, while also making sure that we need everything we have. And a lot of cultural organizations like ours tend to aggregate and accumulate either programs that we don't really need anymore or things that we keep doing because we've never thought to stop doing them. Every organization has that. What's different [here], and how that manifests here is that this it isn't ours to create. Our goal would be to co-create this in a way that's authentic and durable with our Tribal partners. This is a set of relationships and initiatives that we're fortunate to be involved with, and to which we are organizationally committed.

CP: *Sam also spoke of the Food Sovereignty Garden and the Heritage Seeds works. And I'm wondering if maybe the work with those projects and with the Mnomen initiative moving forward, if it's kind of inspiring new ways of approaching the management of other projects or future projects in the botanical gardens?*

AK: Yes is the short answer. I think of the way that I that I work with external partners from a socially engaged design framework and I tend to think that authenticity and durability of relationships is the actual product being grown, not the means to the end. The project is the means to *that* end, and manifest within the broader ways that we approach our anti-racist work across our organization in partnerships. But I think we will take some of the best practices, the ways that we're best manifesting mutual respect and honoring Tribal expertise, and mirror some of them into how we engage other communities to honor their expertise and help change us.

CP: *Do you see, because of projects like this and initiatives and those partnerships, do you see like future partnerships evolving or relationships improving between indigenous peoples and settlers from or because of these projects?*

AK: I hope so. I think of it like this: the pace of injustice never slows down on its own. But the pace of justice, with the path of justice being invisible to most and filled with obstacles, is only possible through meaningful action. But do I think that one or two of these projects like this is going to make *the* difference? No, I don't think we'll undo centuries upon centuries of that with a couple of initiatives. Still, that doesn't absolve us from the responsibility and opportunity to do what we can where we can. What's unique about MBGNA is that we are public facing; we have four hundred and eighty-five thousand annual visitors. That's four hundred eighty-five thousand opportunities to foreground not our version of Anishinaabeg cultures, but for us to host, partner, and co-create space with Tribal partners where the diversity of Anishinaabeg worldviews are interpreted. And I don't mean linguistically interpreted, I mean, educationally and epistemologically interpreted, for four hundred eighty-five thousand people to see, to be confronted with, and then that contributes to the greater tapestry of people questioning their own value systems and the ways that they carry settler privilege.

CP: *Having that many people visiting through really reflects the importance of serving as a platform for these sorts of projects.*

AK: Yeah, that's more than five percent of the state's population.

CP: *Oh, wow. That's a lot, actually. Has there been, within this external community or the university community, any changes in kind of how people respect or view the land from these projects? I know Mnomen Initiative hasn't officially started yet, but through the food sovereignty garden or through other things with the gardens?*

AK: I don't know yet. I will say that when the campus farm was started in 2012, it was started because people were invested in bringing our relationships to food to the foreground. The university rose to the occasion; it didn't, to my understanding, build it and people came. Students grew the need and the university became a willing partner and host. And, you know, the university has since then created a sustainable food systems cluster here with faculty, all new hires, across the university. We're growing food that then gets utilized by our campus dining work, we're able to provide students a lot of leadership training. My hope is that we can continue working with Indigenous partners and some donors and build out an Indigenous foodways kitchen at the farm, among other efforts.

CP: *I think that be really cool, you know having community gardens and engaging in that way, I think it's so fundamental to a lot of people in terms of producing and cooking.*

AK: It's the work that feels right.

CP: *Can you speak to a little bit about what, restoring Manoomin specifically means to you or how you view that project?*

AK: A bit about me. My academic background is in American studies, so I'm very much a cultural studies person and I spent the first portion of my career working in a peace and justice studies program, and I was teaching and advising students and doing a lot of community engaged work, including in urban farming and other initiatives. I'm not a subject area expert by any stretch of the imagination in Indigenous rights or Indigenous studies or restorative justice, and certainly not in ricing, but I do know a bit about American history and social justice and how all these interventions fit within that grander coloniser schema. As a director, there are a lot of things that keep me up at night; this project and ones like it are part of what keeps me up at night, but they're also what get me up in the morning because it's the right work. There are a lot of ways that law and policy and institutional norms control and throw roadblocks up to the pace of justice, and this is a place where we're actively able to create a better path and reduce those barriers. Importantly, at its best it's not just on our terms - not just us doing it on our terms to make ourselves feel good at the end of the day.

CP: *Do you see this, this practice and these initiatives more broadly at the gardens as a means of then hopefully supporting or raising awareness to topics of indigenous sovereignty and self-determination?*

AK: Oh, absolutely. Yeah. At no point do I want us to be representing, quote unquote 'them'; I want our tribal partners to be representing themselves in our space because it makes sense for people who are actively managing land for an institution of higher learning.

CP: *The interesting thing that I've found with the Mnomen Initiative and with the work going on at the Botanical Gardens is it seems somewhat connected in the sense of looking at the land that the university owns and looking at it with the lens of this project to restore wild rice and connect with indigenous partners. And I guess I'm wondering, to what extent do you think it's maybe related to Land Back?*

AK: It's a good question. I don't know yet. Again, I'm so new in this that I don't know where, as a State entity, we are on that right now. I can tell you that a multi century history of exclusion and erasure is the norm and it shouldn't be anymore, so we're working on that at the very least.

CP: *Do you think projects that are really more engaged with the land or with restoration projects, do you think they align themselves to acts of meaningful reconciliation?*

AK: They certainly can. It [also] depends on whose definition of reconciliation or justice we're using here. There's certainly an argument to be made out there that until all lands are returned, there can't be [reconciliation]. And I respect that argument. At the same time I'd like to believe that the definition of justice, in this case, and restoration is one that is anchored in shared agency moving forward and instead of continued efforts of erasure; that's where I would place the emphasis.

CP: *Can you speak a little bit about what shared agency or support of Indigenous self-determination means to you?*

AK: Yeah, so I'm going to speak within the context of decolonization for this one. There are essentially three depth's, from my perspective. There are cultural practices in and of themselves that should be included, particularly in a higher education space like the University of Michigan. Many of them are endangered practices, because of this forced erasure, and many of them are always changing as well. So there's a danger to fit people into a quote unquote, 'traditional knowledge box', as if people don't change, as if Indigenous life has never changed. So level one is meaningful inclusion of diverse cultural practices. ,

Level two – the next level of depth – includes creating the conditions for endangered practices to thrive - the endangered contexts and worldviews they represent and in which they make sense. This is about deeper cultural literacy and agency. Western classifications – agriculture, family life, religion, health, all these boxes that we have in the West – may simply make sense or be sufficient for understanding or recovering the power of culturally specific practices. So level two, for me, is about finding ways that contexts themselves, ways of making sense in the world, can be meaningfully included.

The third level is finding ways in which these worldviews/epistemological frames/contexts have agency to meaningfully inform dominant culture.In cultural studies, there's this concept borrowed from political science called 'fragmegration'. And it's essentially about the movement of culture fragments. It is exactly what it sounds like, the integration of various fragments that then create new cultural forms on a global scale. So hip hop is a really good example. You have Jamaican dub, a particular unique moment in the Bronx in the late 70s, Filipino dance, German electronica, all happening at the same time in a particular set of media, technological and mediascape realities unfolding globally to uniquely allow the integration of cultural fragments and create a new form. And thus, you have the cultural phenomenon of hip hop. I always think of culture as moving that way, except when systemic injustices get in the way. This third level of decolonization, then is concerned with finding ways to ensure that potentially threatened endangered contexts are able to meaningfully compete and be part of fragmegration at all times and at all turns.

CP: *Do you think then that it's the responsibility of institutions or universities to really meaningfully engage in these processes of decolonisation or supporting Indigenous self-determination?*

AK: Well, yes: to fulfill their own mission they have to.

CP: *Is it then just a process of building those partnerships and encouraging the leadership of those communities?*

AK: It's some of the hardest work because the people I know that have been done unto culturally, personally, and throughout centuries are exhausted. And they shouldn't have to put in the labor so those that have benefited the most can feel better at the end of the day.

CP: *Do you do you have any thoughts on that?*

AK: Well, I have a lot of answers to it. None of them are good. But I can tell you that it does come down to relationships. The only reason that we were able to contribute in any meaningful way with Sam's work and perhaps some of the reason that Sam's work could be done was because David has 20 years of relationships that he's developed. Within the context of higher education, students come and go. Largely student research with Indigenous partners is a continuation in some ways of settler extractive thinking. When you have a meaningful, deep, institutionalised relationship, though – the kind that David has and that I hope to develop with him – the students can come and go because they are add-ons to 'the' relationship. And as that grows and increases over time, it's no longer just a person or people, but a way of doing work. But it takes people who are willing to be committed to something for 30 or 40 years.

CP: *I know within my experience at what architecture, our curriculum, especially for architecture, has always been very Eurocentric. We have a Rome program. You know, all of our cultural history classes are focused on Europe. And there's been a real pushback and a backlash, not just this past year, but beyond that to change the curriculum and a lot of profs have kind of felt resentment about that, but I guess what I'm hearing maybe from what you said, is it's really up to the larger system and professors and people who are there for longer to kind of like take on that initiative, before anything can change?*

AK: Yes. I have a friend and a colleague who's a dance professor. She teaches contemporary choreography and West African dance. And she has spent her career getting various dance departments she's been involved with to become what she what she refers to as "polycentric", meaning something that has more than one center. So, should someone learning dance have to master ballet? Surely dance is big enough to have other centers and that doesn't take anything away from ballet. It doesn't take anything away from the Rome program to also have

a Rio program, you know? Should someone who wants to study hip hop and sound engineering have to be able to read music? I don't know, but should we enforce a classical Eurocentric format of what gets to be music onto them? When someone comes to encounter the plants and the flora at MBGNA, should we merely present them with our menagerie of things that we in the West have collected from countries around the globe? I think we have more to offer. Anyone trying to make meaning and represent has choices to make, and when we don't re-examine the value structures behind our decisions and choices – or by not making a choice – we run the risk of reinforcing potentially unjust paradigms.

CP: *Do you have any tips for how to make that move? Because I think sometimes, like I know for students and I'm sure for profs as well, it feels like an impossible feat.*

AK: Well, when it comes to curriculum, the work the curriculum achieves is entrusted to the faculty. From my perspective, they are stewarding something that also belongs to the world and to their students. That's the power that they are entrusted with, the responsibility they're entrusted with. And in the time that I've been in academia, when I think about my decision making and my role, I'm always asking myself: what am I making possible and for whom, and what am I making impossible and for whom? I was taught to be self-critical by really, really good mentors and so far, it's proven to be really useful for me. So, people with any degree of power should be thinking about the ways that they are gatekeepers. And that's going to lead to all different kinds of doors.

CP: *Along those lines, is there anything you'd like people engaged in restoration work or land practices?*

AK: I mean, it's always working with people, and I guess part of it, particularly for those of us that are at a big institution, yourself included, they [external partners] don't see you. They see the institution. And for good reason, you know, but more than anything, just that we are all behind.

CP: *Is there anything you're really hoping that this project or your work at the Botanical Gardens will lead to or how you're hoping these projects will turn out?*

AK: Botanical gardens tend to create an identity around themselves of it being this like peaceful, serene place, but it's not only that. We can be polycentric too; we can be that, but we can also be a place where you're confronted with worldviews that throw comfort out the window. So, there's space for serenity and there's also space for having one's own value systems challenged, and that's what I hope will happen through this work for the long haul. So even though it started as this project, it's really a commitment.

CP: *You spoke about hopefully having like a kitchen or things like that, is there anything specifically with this pilot moving forward, restoring the Manoomin that you're hoping will be created or add to the gardens from that angle?*

AK: From my perspective, presuming it gets going and it gets established, we will need to work with our Indigenous partners in an ongoing modality to make sure that their value systems and worldviews are appropriately contextualizing and shaping what's happening there. And then it's up to us to find the resources to program that, and to create the long-term infrastructure for that relationship. But the Mnomen project is a part of a larger suite of things that we're just in the very early stages of co-determining.

CP: *My last question is if there's anything else you think along these themes and lines, it's important to know about this project or the gardens?*

AK: I guess it's just that we aren't going to be all things to all people, nor should we be really. There are a couple of places where we have depth of expertise and depth of collection. So as a leader, I ask myself, what is something that we are uniquely poised to do? And when I ask myself that question, projects like this come to the forefront.

Roger LaBine Interview, May 2021

CP: *Could you start by introducing yourself and your work with this project?*

RLB:

Boozhoo, Mitigwinaabe in disz ni cauze

Giigohn do diem

Ojibwe Anishinaabe in dow

Katikitegoning in noon jiba

What I said was, my name is Mitigwinaabe , which means the tree spirit or the spirit of the trees. I am of the Fish Clan; I am from the Sturgeon Clan. And I am from the Ojibwa Nation Katikitegoning, which means that 'Land of the Old Garden', which is our traditional homeland. My western name is RLB and I am an enrolled member of the Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (LVD). I am a Midewiwin. A lot of my ancestors are Midewiwin, my mentor, my teacher, my uncle Niigaanaash [Archie McGeshick Sr.], my grandparents, they are the ones who showed me this way. I work in the environmental department for the Lac Vieux Desert of Lake Superior Chippewa (LVD).

I am a water resource technician, and I came into the environmental department because of the work that I did or still do. It is not really the main portion of what I get paid for though. I get paid through an EPA grant for water quality monitoring for surface and groundwater. So, I have been doing that. And one of my jobs is to do the restoration project on our traditional homelands and do the Manoomin monitoring, which I've kind of explained to you, that I submit to a database that Nancy Schuldt has set-up for Manoonmin in the EPA Region 5.

I have a few other responsibilities which include surveying and identifying invasive species, both aquatic and terrestrial. And I am trying to develop management plans or plans to address those invasive species. I also am involved in their walleye hatchery. So, my four main duties keep me busy and out in the field from April through October. And then from November through March is the worst part of my job when I got to sit at the desk and do all my reports and my applications and everything else like that. So that gives you a little bit about me.

And I guess I should add as a post-note here, that my Tribe and my employer support me wholeheartedly in my education and outreach programs and even being part of the duties of being co-chairman of the Education and Outreach Subcommittee of the Michigan Wild Rice initiative. Just a couple of weeks ago, I had the blessing of the Tribe to go down to advise, consult and evaluate some sites for possible restoration with Sam [Stokes] down at the University of Michigan. I really do not have any opposition, if I keep them informed. So, I do have the support of my tribe because I have been involved and I think I know a thing or two, not too much, but I am learning all the time! But I guess I can say that much at this time.

CP: *So when you were visiting with Sam that was part of the restoration project at the U of M Botanical Gardens?*

RLB: We were evaluating a few sites down there. A total of 9 sites that she had identified as being potential sites, but because of my limited restrictions and abilities, I said I will come down before my back surgery. We will just evaluate the top three sites and we'll do an on-site and field evaluations. And that is basically what we did.

And the other thing we did was go over the characterization study, through NOAA. That was a three-year project that I think it was very beneficial and it helped us work out and identify where we needed to go.

CP: *Is there something maybe you enjoy the most about this work or your restoration work or teaching at the rice camps?*

RLB: Well, I enjoy it all, I guess. Early on when I kind of first started doing this, I was I was just a youngster who was out there trying to sow his oats as well. And I picked up some bad social habits. And it was not until I gained an interest in Manoomin that I set aside all those things. And when I set aside all those things, I started looking towards the Midewiwin Lodge. As I started preparing to become a member, I made my commitment to the Lodge. And I listened to the teachings not only before, through my initiation, and since I have become a member. And trying to be instructed or informed of what I need to do. Now, I've been sober for 32 years and I attribute this work to that. Not only that, but the support of my strong family, the support of my community, and as I put out my asema, I asked the creator to put in my path those people that he felt could help me do this work. People like Sam and Courtney and some of the other people that have become my friends and my co-workers, my co presenters, both Tribal and non-Tribal. The Creator up there has put them there for me. And it is always easily identifiable that we can click - like Sam! I mean, it is funny that I have gotten a person that was attending Michigan Technological

University in forestry management and you can switch from forestry management to environmental justice just because she attended my camp! But that's part of what my rice camps do. I share the knowledge and put it out there and whoever picks that up they pick that up. But it is something that that I cherish and that extended family of mine in doing this work and is growing on a continuous basis.

CP: *Sam hadn't mentioned that she had switched from forestry management to the environmental justice just because your camp! I think that really speaks to the impact that Manoomin can have on someone's life, how it can transform their life as well. Have you seen other changes in how volunteers or participants or family, friends respect or view the land after working with Manoomin?*

RLB: Yes, very much like Sam. The public is very, I don't want to say ignorant, but they are unaware that Manoomin used to be very dominant resource over the entire state and Great Lakes Basin. And as part of our migration story and why the Midewiwin people and the Three Fires people are here in the Great Lakes Basin is because of Manoomin. And so, when that movement of industrialization started moving westward, they came and started taking the resources. One of the things that they did not do was consult Indigenous People or the Anishinabek people. Through a lot of the practices that they did to harvest these resources, they were done without even asking the Native People because they didn't see Manoomin as the sacred gift, or valuable resource to us. Because in our migration story, it is a kind of a lengthy story. But each fire or each stop along that, which starts from the mouth of the St. Lawrence Seaway, and goes all the way over to Madeline Island. It is just the opposite of the way that the water flows from Lake Superior to the St. Lawrence Seaway. So, we came upriver. One of the first prophecies at the first fire, we were told that there was going to be some visitors or people coming on logs with clouds and that that we needed to leave, and we needed to follow that Migis shell.

And we need to follow that Migis shell, because if we did not, we would be destroyed. And if you look at the Indigenous People remaining up and down the eastern seaboard, how many tribes are said to have survived that today? How many federally recognized tribes are up and down that eastern seaboard?

We followed that prophecy, and in the third prophecy, it says that we needed to follow that Migis to the land where the food grows on the water, when we find this food, we will know we arrived at our new homeland. So, as we started migrating, we were told to look for that site where the Mother Earth starts purifying the water. So that was how we ended up on Madeleine island on the western end of Lake Superior, the greatest freshwater lake on earth, the deepest body of cold water. And that is the start of that waterway. So, we've come to find out that when we end our migration story. Where we come to find this food that grows on the water, so it [Manoomin] was a very, very sacred gift to us, to the Anishinaabeg People.

We were also taught how to harvest it; we were taught how to process it. It became a staple food for us. The other staple food that we had was the maple sugar from the sugar bush. If we had those two things in our wigwams, because of the inclement weather outside. If we had those two things, and we could not go out to hunt and gather we could still survive. The two things that those two important staple foods also have in common is that they are very labor intensive.

One of those things is that there are two times that the people will gather in communities and do this work together, as a community to make sure everybody had some. That one was in the spring. As Mother Earth woke up and started to give back. And the other time was at the harvest time at the end of summer, that we would do that. And so, because we were subsistence people, that we were a very nomadic and we did not live-in large towns or large communities. We all went out and did our own thing. But when we needed to come together, we would come together in those two times of the year to make sure that we would provide and make sure everybody had enough of these important things. It also became later, as the fur buyers and the French men came into our community, they had seen to that those two things were very important for their survival. And so, the Anishinaabeg People were able to barter and get things to help improve their lifestyle as well. So those two things were the currency of the time.

CP: *Do you think then that the work restoring Manoomin is really connected to hopefully returning and restoring some of those community ties too?*

RLB: Yes. If you look at a map of the Wisconsin Valley you will see the progression of the government coming up here with the big timber industry, coming up into our area. But the methods that were used at the time to move their logs and get them to the mills to be sawed, was by creating dams on the waterways and dredging and doing a lot of other things. There again, there was no consultation with the indigenous people of trying to preserve the wild rice beds, that was not important. They were worried about getting their lumber and timber out.

But prior to that, one of the other things is that because of our migration story, most of the Indigenous People were concentrated around sites that were rich with Manoomin.

Because it was it was so important to their survival.

Lake Lac Vieux Desert is in a township called Watersmeet. It is a township that is unique. It is unique in the sense that it is like a crossroads where our village is currently, that water from that area goes into three waterways. The water to the north flows into Lake Superior, the water on the west and South West is the headwaters of the Wisconsin River that goes into the Mississippi watershed, and those waters to the east flow into Lake Michigan. So, the waters in our area go to three waterways. This was very important as the canoe was an important vessel for travel.

So, all these things were passed on because it was done on an annual basis. But then things got to be interrupted as the industrialization and the movement moved west. There was also a movement to try to, you know, basically eliminate us or even to restrict us, put us on to reservations, giving us Treaties. So through that era, through the boarding schools, for us being put on the reservations, not having access to everything but through our treaties. We put in those treaties that we retain the right to hunt, fish and gather. And it is one of those things that we ended up doing is actually taking a lot of these lawsuits into the courts. And some of them even had to go all the way up to the Supreme Court, to reaffirm the rights of the Indigenous people and to reinstate those rights to the Tribal communities.

So, even looking at that first question that you asked me and about how would you describe the project and how I got involved with it? Well, the project was a result of a vision of my Uncle Niigaanaash, who was my mentor and teacher, had in his childhood. He remembers standing on the shores of Lake Lac Vieux Desert, on the grounds of where we now have and our traditional homeland and now our reservation. He would tell the stories of how much Manoomin was once abundant in Rice Bay and where our original village was after we were forced to move from our homeland and to join another tribe, our sister Tribe, the Keweenaw Bay Indian community. But this was at a time when that the lumber industry came in and set up that dam on the mouth of the outlet of the lake and it raised the water and it wiped out all the wild rice. And he would tell how the community was able to drink right out of that lake because the rice there, it was so pure, and you know so well now and then after all of the other pollution and flooding and everything else that rice disappeared. And being part of the Midewiwin group. You know, for us to maintain this important thing, those teachings, also that part of our identity, we would have to travel into northern Wisconsin because they were not so much impacted like we were in Michigan. And so, when we needed Manoomin for our ceremonies, and for our nutritional needs and for consumption we would havd to travel into northern Wisconsin.

I remember the last couple of days before we broke rice camp on these lakes in northern Wisconsin. The harvest of the last couple of days, would be carefully packaged and stored and brought back home because my Uncle had this vision that he would attempt to bring it back to our traditional homeland. That it was there, and he wanted to bring it back. And in 1984, my Uncle became the first representative to the Voigt Task Force, which was part of the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission of the twelve Tribes that were part of what we call the Voigt decision. And that was one of those cases that had to go against the State to reaffirm our treaty rights, and went all the way up to the Supreme Court. And so as GLIFWC was formed, one of the earlier projects my Uncle was an advocate for was Manoomin restoration, especially on our homeland. And so later, when my Uncle encountered some health problems, and I was away from the community and doing my own thing. He told my mom, he said, "Next time I come home have him come talk to me". So, when I came home, I went to talk to him, and that's when he informed me of his health situation, and he said that he was looking for somebody to carry on his work. It was the work against the Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company (WVIC) who had gained the rights in 1837 and put a permanent dam on the lake to create a reservoir and flowage for power and other reasons. But my uncle was fighting with them during the recertification process of their permit, to lower the water levels to help re-establish the Manoomin beds, and that was another case, that ended up going all the way up to the Sixth Circuit Appeals Court in Washington, D.C., before WVIC backed down. That is a whole different story.

So, he asked me who he could approach and that's part of the way of the Anishinaabeg People in that he didn't give me the tobacco to ask me, 'Rog would you do this?' He just shared what his needs were. And in listening to him, I left, and I went home. I thought of trying to come up with a name. And ironically, part of the reason I was not ready prior to this, was because I had other priorities.

But then suddenly, his desire, his vision, what he would like to see [became clear]. I went back to him the next day. I said, 'Uncle, would you be willing to teach me?' I am willing to do this. And so up until he walked on, he was my mentor, my teacher. He accompanied me and led me to the Midewiwin Lodge.

Not only is that negative part of my life behind me, but I also don't miss it, I don't desire to go back. In doing this work I have been blessed with the fact that I do not have an unmet need. Everything I have, or everything I need is being provided for me. It does not mean I don't have a wish list or a bucket list.

But I have now been involved with Manoomin for almost five decades. I was introduced in 1972 to Manoomin. Looking at that, learning about it, and even after five decades I am continually learning on a daily basis in my research. I have a current research project, five years of research working on with the Army Corps of Engineers on our 14 restoration sites in our homeland. We are trying to identify the reasons that our 14 project sites seem to be stagnant or in decline. They are not producing or moving forward. So, we do not know if it is climate change, pollution, or another cause. We are out there collecting data to try to understand what we need to do to improve the habitat to improve our success, but we also do the traditional ceremonies and asking for that as well.

CP: *On the sites where the restoration has been successful have you seen some kind of an impact on the ecosystems at large where Manoomin has been healing the water?*

RLB: Yes. In 2012, when Lac Vieux Desert was at the peak. So, if you look on a curve, it was at the peak and in 2012 it started coming down, which was kind of interesting for us, because in all my years of being in the rice beds. Most were in a three to four-year cycle. Where in the first year, it would be nothing or very little. The next year it would come back, it would be harvestable, and you could get some. Then the third year it would be at its peak and you would have great stem densities and the bed would be reseeded, and then next year it would be again moderate to fair, then a bottom out.

And so that is why we're doing the five-year research project with the Army Corps of Engineers. We are trying to identify why our rice beds are getting to that point where, like the last two years, we had very little stocks. We are looking at doing sediment tests to see if there's viable seeds. Do we need to reseed? What caused the seed bank to disappear?

But when we were successful and we were going, we did see a lot of changes in the water quality around there. We also seen increases in the fish populations because of the rice bed acting as a nursery for all the fish. But yeah, they were good because of predatory fish would be on the outside. You can see the fishermen on the edge of the rice bed fishing away!

But we also seen why it was important to us and our ancestors years ago. You know, we are not only the only recipient of the benefits of wild rice. There are four orders, the swimmers, the reptiles/amphibians, the winged ones, the four-legged ones, were all benefiting from the resources of this bed when it was there. And that was part of why we needed it. And what made us, is because not only did we eat the Manoomin from the bed itself, but our fishing, our hunting and gathering, the muskrats, the beaver, the deer, the moose, those type of things, also provided and met our needs to provide for ourselves. And those things started to come back.

This happened as a result of a lawsuit, again, that we finally won against the Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company. The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, instead of giving them a renewal of the original 50-year permit like they did in 1937 and expired in 1987. This is when my uncle attempted to start working with them to try to lower the lake back to that water level of when they initially got their permit. Because when they got that permit, rice was still dominate on the lake. WVIC opposed the stipulations in the application of a renewed permit to a maximum water level on Lake Lac Vieux Desert and the recommendations to lowering the lake to 1937 levels. So, we had to go to court as they appealed the stipulations. And they fought it for almost a decade and it went all the way up to the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. and the court still ruled in favor of the stipulations requested, ordered the drafting of an Adaptive Management Plan, and entered some punitive damages to restore the Manoomin bed. The next step was to the Supreme Court, but they conceded and in 2002 WVIC was granted a 25-year permit which expires in 2026. But they had to lower the water level and this put the Tribe in a precarious situation because the riparian owners, the Lake Association, the Wisconsin DNR. They were not happy with that decision about lowering the lake. However, they did find out later that that was all for a positive. You know, so what the landowners and resort owners had to move their docks out so that they were not high and dry. But the fish populations, the musky, the northern pike, the pan fish... All those numbers started to rise. So, we had seen a lot of change. We were seeing a difference in the water quality, not that we could drink it again, however, the lake is a borderline Lake between Michigan and Wisconsin, and some spots were discharging sewage from their septic tanks right into the water so they would have algae blooms.

But the thing is in working with, the partnerships and stakeholders, the Lake Association and riparian owners are also part of that adaptive management plan ordered by the Federal Energy Regulation Council for the management of wild rice on that body of water. So, they sit at our table now. And now we work with that that Lake Association. We work with that Wisconsin DNR. We work with those riparian owners about improving their septic fields, about decreasing their use of phosphates in their laundry. So, it has taken a while. I mean, it does not happen overnight, because we had to overcome the animosity originally that happened when we fought for and won, and then it's through that education and outreach that, you know, we can now sit at the table together not only with those people, but Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company. So early on, there was a lot of

animosity, and a lot of people did not want to accept the project of Manoomin restoration on their body of water. Because it also impacted some of their activities, like the jet skis and everything else. So, it impacted them in more than one way. And so, it did not sit kindly with them. But we were consistent. They seen the rice; they also see the benefits. And they came around. But it has taken some work and it's taken patient, and a lot of tongue biting and lip biting and a lot of forgiving. But we all now have a common goal.

CP: *Do you think there's something tied to this restoration work and the development of relationships? Does it bring people together more so than other projects?*

RLB: That's an interesting question. One of the things in preparation for a wild rice restoration project is to look at that body of water and identify if it was a historical site, was there rice before. And if there was, what were the conditions before and what has changed to cause that rice bed to disappear. So, you have to identify that the habitat, the condition changes and to see if you can return that body of water to its original state. In this case you have a whole lot of work, especially if you have a lot of riparian owners and everything else. And so early on when we were doing this, we encountered a lot of resistance to it. So, when we started looking for alternative sites outside of Lac Vieux Desert, with our court case against WVIC, we had already started a strong partnership and a working relationship with the U.S. Forest Service, which is an agency within the Department of Agriculture. And as a matter of fact, the legal team from that Department of Agriculture out of Milwaukee, Wisconsin was the ones that took us, took our claim to court against WVIC.

But one of the things was, we started looking for water bodies, especially historic wild rice water bodies that were totally within the U.S. Forest Service. This really eliminated a lot of the work that we had to do in convincing people to accept the project - I mean, there are some things that the Forest Service had to do before we could actually start, requirements that we had to go through, putting it out there, getting public comment and doing all these other things on. It was easier for us to for us to make it work mainly with the Forest Service. For example, on Lac Vieux Desert, with our first case, we had just a lot of people attacking us because of what we did and what we wanted to do.

And for us to start these projects and to go to another, we had to do the education, outreach, conduct public meetings, public comment, and try to convince them to support the project and they would agree on a consensus basis to allow the project to proceed. Because one of the things that some of our people who we were gradually recruiting as a funding source was that they never wanted to go into litigation. And all it took was one person to be opposed to the project to put the project on hold or to stop it completely. So, it was a lot more work before we could move forward with that site until we could get a consensus, and everybody agreed.

What we have accomplished over the last several decades is show the importance of Manoomin in the bodies of water and the impact it can have to the ecosystem, and what it would bring back. Because a lot of people did not see that. And so, it goes back to the colonization of Michigan, the destruction of the rice beds, going to the boarding schools, being moved onto reservations. All these things that were important to our spiritual leaders the Midewiwin People, who left the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community to return to the original village at Lac Vieux Desert. When they returned to our original site they actually bought the land back by pooling the proceeds from their winter harvest, because that's what they wanted to do. To pass on this information. They wanted to bring back the wild rice, they wanted to hear those water drums, they wanted to have those Midewiwin ceremonies, they wanted to get out and they kind of went underground there for a while. But that is how we returned to our original village and eventually became Federally recognized finally, in 1988. We were State recognized originally while we fought for federal recognition, we did become a Federally recognized tribe in 1988.

And because of that disruption, our village almost became extinct because the community members were leaving the traditional village. Our community was going through what I call environmental amnesia, because all these things were not available to them. The wild rice was gone. Those wild rice camps were gone. Wild rice on the table every day was not there. They did not understand the importance of wild rice, what it meant to us as a Nation of people. Why, as Midewiwin people we were put on this earth to care, and tend for her to preserve, to protect her and to make sure that those resources were available to the next seven generations and seven generations from that. Our work here was to leave Mother Earth in a better condition than when we got here, to always improve, and to make sure that it was here for them, for my great, great, great, great grandchildren. That was the intent, for us to assume and carry out that responsibility we needed to pass this traditional environmental knowledge on an annual basis and on a continuous basis so that these things will not be lost. Very much like our songs, for the drum, our ceremonies, all those things. They were almost gone. But it is to make sure that those type of things are here. In our stories and our teachings, when they reference these rice beds, they call them Manitou Gitigaan, which means the Spirit Garden, because it is a sacred gift to us and it helps us survive. Now we honor that in return. And we must take care of it.

There are things that we must do every Spring. Because it is an annual plant, it has a one-year lifecycle. Each year, we must go out there in the spring of the year, as Mother Earth starts to wake up and starts a whole new cycle. And as all those spiritual beings start their next generation, we too must go out there. And we have to offer our tobacco to those beings, to the water spirit, to Mother Earth, to that grandfather sun, to the wind, to those Thunderbirds who carry the water to us, and all those pollinators, because the pollinators are very important too. We all have to live in balance, we have to go out there and ask that those beings to have pity on us. To work with us, to provide for us, and we respect them, and we honor them. We do that same thing throughout the year as we go out during our monitoring. and we check the progress of the beds, we offer that tobacco before we get into that canoe to go out there to harvest.

We ask the beings, we ask the Creator to give us only what we need no more. Only what we need to carry us until the next season. And go out there to protect us. We ask that water to be kind to us, to make no big waves. Those are the types of things that that we need to do. We need to honor and respect all those things.

One of the things that we are taught is to never take anything for granted. For example, at Lac Vieux Desert, the last two years there has not been any Manoomin. That causes me and my community to look in self reflection. Where are we? Is there something that we are not doing? Something we are supposed to be doing. What can we do to bring that spirit back? So that is where we are.

But I have also seen the positive impacts of success. One of the questions you asked was, if there was a memory that stands out most in all your work and all your time doing this work? And there is. It was in 2008. It was two years after the Lac Vieux Desert Tribe hosted a wild rice conference in 2006. It took a bit of time gathering the funding, but me and several other friends got to host a conference that was free of charge to address a lot of the issues, to form partnerships, to develop working relationships, to do some networking and some of those things.

One of the things that was most noted at that time in 2005, was the genetic research done by the University of Minnesota. And how the Tribes within the region are adamantly opposed to it because that research was to the point where they were going to be taking these GMO and hybridised seeds out into the natural environment, which was going to be contaminating the natural resource that currently exists. So that was one of the main topics at that conference. But we also addressed the fact the tribal communities were losing this TEK. They were losing the ability to do the restorations. They were losing that resource. They were losing that part of their identity, to recruit and try to get people to do the restoration, enhancement or even introduction to bring back wild rice to the communities because it was so important to our ancestors in that Tribal communities before us. And because of what I had referred to as the assimilation of the Anishinaabeg people into that Western culture, we were losing sight of our old ways. We needed to reintroduce that.

At the same time, we had won our lawsuit against WVIC and our rice bed was getting to that peak, because it peaked in 2012. In 2008, it was the first year our rice bed had got to the point where we had considered opening it up to harvest, to the community members. And that was the year that I conducted my first rice camp. At that time, we were still drafting the adaptive management plan. On the third day of the wild rice camp, as I stood there and started taking some pictures, and as I observed all the activities going on I had to stop. I had had tears running down my face. So, I thanked Niigaanaash, for inspiring me to do this work, and that our Manitou Getegaan, that our rice bed, has been so providing for us. I also realized that it was the first rice camp in over 60 years that was being conducted on the shores of Lake Lac Vieux Desert. I did not pat myself on the back, I was just proud of the fact that his vision was becoming a reality. We had people out there making rice sticks. We had people wanting to go out and harvest some Manoomin. We had people out there wanting to do the reseeding. Part of that wild rice camp was to donate part of their harvest back for reseeding. Making their push poles, many were processing the Manoomin. Hearing the laughter. Seeing the socialization and the making new friendships. I looked and I understood and realized what was going on, this was what went on in 1972, the first time that I went to rice camp with my family in northern Wisconsin.

Not long after that there was a meeting regarding the drafting of the Adaptive Management Plan for Lake Lac Vieux Desert. I took rice that was harvested and processed at the rice camp. I went and I made three dishes. And for the lunch of our meeting I served those three dishes. GLIFWC had this cookbook about eating healthy and there was a lot of wild rice recipes in there. As I served these three dishes, I gifted everyone present with this cookbook. I gave everybody there one pound of wild rice. I started passing around the pictures I took the third day of rice camp. I am not sure if you have ever seen or heard that commercial, that a picture is worth a thousand words? Well, I shared those pictures with that group of people. Which was WVIC, the Michigan and our Wisconsin DNR, the BIA, GLIWFC, and a lot of the riparian owners, the lake associations. We are all sitting there. And I showed them those pictures. I said I cannot tell you how important these pictures are to me, what they mean to me, but this is what we are fighting for. This is why we are asking for your support for the restoration

project. By the end of the day all opposition to parts and provisions in the adaptive management plan disappeared. We passed it with a consensus vote and submitted as is. That is the document that we work with today on Lake Lac Vieux Desert. So, we have won over a lot of people, it has not been easy. It has taken some time. But the guy upstairs, intervened and spoke to their hearts. And I was just the messenger that day. But that is the best memory I had of doing this work. Not the only one but the best one! But you know, I have some days when I go out there and I look at some of the Tribes that I'm working with, and I see them planting that seed and getting the community together to start a restoration program. And how successful they are. When they invite me down to look at their success and it makes my heart swell. And I see these things in a humble way, I do not mean to be patting myself on the back in no way.

I am just proud to see this coming back, to see it to continue to grow. I advocated for a long time to have a committee or a board or something very much like Minnesota and Wisconsin, the way that the State and Federal agencies work with the tribes. They are not always agreeing all the time, but they sit down at the table and discuss it. But this was absent in Michigan. So, I was advocating to get this kind of activity set up. 2018 was the first time that I convinced the Office of Great Lakes and the Department of Environmental Quality to move forward and try to get a committee together to address the issues of Manoomin in Michigan. In 2018 the Michigan Wild Rice initiative was born, which is another one in addition to the Native Wild Rights Coalition, like on Facebook. That coalition was also another result of that 2006 conference that LVD hosted. Because in addition to the teachings, the methodology, the harvesting, the tool making and all these things, we also decided that we should at least try to make one annual camp, for everybody. And so that's how the wild rice camps started.

And so now we have the Michigan Wild Rice initiative going on or forming. Our mission statement, our bylaws, basically, we have got subcommittees, I co-chair the education and outreach subcommittee, we have harvesting and seeding regulations, inventory, and legal. We have several other subcommittees out there that have a lot of work to do. And we have been kind of patiently - or maybe not so patiently - impatiently waiting for funding for this Initiative and being formally recognized with some dollars to operate. But we had the Tribe step up and get a grant, so what they are going to do is put a Web page out there. So, the Michigan Wild Rice Initiative will be on the Internet. Part of the first material on there is what my subcommittee is working on. Our education outreach, our resources to help try to bring the people on board of. You know the importance of Manoomin and how to process all those things. But we will also be recruiting and taking individuals who want to assist with this restoration process or projects throughout the state of Michigan. I was going to retire three years ago until I was selected as the delegate for LVD to sit on this Initiative. And so, I put off retirement! Well, I have to say this is that when I started looking to retirement and giving up some of my responsibilities and delegating it to some other people, like my AIS, my hatchery, a couple other things. But I would not surrender this. And I look at those programs I delegated responsibilities and, in my mind, and in my opinion, they're not doing well. I could not surrender this project over to somebody because I guess I am just stubborn in that way, or I am too passionate about it. I am hoping to retire in a year, but we will see what the Creator has for me, and what he puts on my plate and what he needs me to do yet. But I enjoy this work. It has brought me so much happiness, it's brought my family together. The benefits of doing this work are almost unimaginable, and sometimes it is difficult for me to conceive how I've been rewarded for doing this work.

CP: *Thank you for sharing all this, I'm trying to absorb just the scale of this work you've done, all the work your community has done, all these different initiatives and projects. I think it's just amazing. And I think it's really important. Is there anything you're hoping for in the future, even if you if you do retire in a year, but beyond that kind of how you're hoping these projects will turn out?*

RLB: One of the things that I am worried about is what the state of Minnesota experienced when the general public became aware of the nutritional value, the value of the resource in itself, almost like gold or lumber or something like that, when it became a commodity, and they want to take advantage of it. And that is what prompted the research at the University of Minnesota. So, one of the things that I want to try to address, not so much regulate, but try to set a standard of the restoration that is going to be moving forward in the state of Michigan. I am worried about those people, the state/federal agencies, the companies, the conservation organizations are going to rush into a project for the wrong reasons and without any oversight. Are they going to fall into the system like in Minnesota? It is probably a fear that I don't even need to address because Minnesota is the land of 10000 lakes. We have a lot of lakes in Michigan, but not that many. Most of the lakes that had wild rice in it, have been probably irreparably damaged. But what I do not want is like in California. I do not want the cultivated rice or paddy rice to come in. I do not want it to become an agricultural crop or a commodity product.

My intention in this overall thing was to return that Manoomin Spirit and make it available to the tribal communities. And they can share it with anybody else they want because it is not specifically for them. But I do not want the cultivated rice to become very important in the state of Michigan. So that is why in my consultations, my visitations, my advising the Tribes is to initially try

to identify a local seed source so that you can do it that way and move forward. You do not have to get rice from Minnesota or whatever, but to move forward in a good way. So, my wish is that all the Tribes in Michigan have a way to provide for their communities. At least in part, if not totally. Give them the staple food that they need. And to do that, one of the other things is we need a cooperative agreement with a lot of people because like in my case, we were recognized in 1988. Our land base is very limited, and we only have one river that goes through our reservation or on our Tribal properties. So, all the work that we do, even on Lake Lac Vieux Desert is on public waters and public land.

So, no matter what we do as a Tribe to do controls and everything else. All tribal laws are not applicable to non-Tribal members, on and off reservation. That is one of those things that I discovered early, is that we need to always reach out and be willing to work to develop partnerships and relationships for networking, such as the U.S Army Corp of Engineers, the Watershed Council, the Lake Associations. We do need those working relationships. So, I have done that. And I have got a lot of people that support this work. Right now, even the Lake Associations, come to me if they have an AIS (an aquatic invasive species) they want to manage or control, they ask for alternative methods to treat before asking for permission to chemically treat and before they apply for a permit. That would never have been done before. In our area I think we have done an adequate job of informing the general public of what the Tribe is going to do and trying to do. There are a lot of people that come out and support it. It is not 100 percent. But we have not gone into litigation on any of restoration sites. So, my goal is to have the Tribes restoration projects be able to maintain a *Manitou Getegaan*, that Spirit Garden. So that this will remain because we still need to do that. That was part of our objective of the 2006 conference, was to try to encourage the Tribes or give them the curiosity to start this.

And so, it has. I am not aware of any Federally recognized Tribe in the state of Michigan that does not have a Manoomin restoration project. Some of them are a little behind, but some of them are doing great. One of the other things is now that we have the Michigan Wild Rice Initiative, we meet on a quarterly basis. Along with a group called the Michigan Tribal Environmental Group. We are moving forward. And that is my goal. But it is also not to be greedy, but to offer the opportunity to harvest for non-Tribal people, for the Michigan residents. But our responsibility is to teach them how to harvest it and to do it properly. So about being willing to share, but that is where the regulations and co-management plans need to be put into place.

We also must look at changing some water laws. Because some of the difficulties we have in Michigan is how can you do a management plan or regulations on something you do not actually have authority to regulate or manage. Even on public waterways, according to our current laws, any thing that is attached to the bottom, the riparian owner owns. So even though we can go out on the water, we could be caught for trespassing, for harvesting that rice, because it is that guy's rice. And what right do we have to not put chemical treatment on it when it is his rice? We have some work to do here.

Those are just some of the things that have jumped out at me in doing my work. But I cannot do it, all I can do is bring awareness to it. One of the good things is that there is a bill moving forward in Michigan where wild rice is going to be considered very much like Minnesota has, like as a state grain or plant. So, it will have some preservation status, but it needs a status for us to move forward with the management plans, the regulations, trying to change the water laws. The work is not done. We have a lot of work to do.

CP: *Do you think these projects have kind of encouraged settler governments to be more aware of indigenous sovereignty and self-determination rights to land and recognition that Indigenous peoples should be the ones making the decisions about management, for example?*

RLB: I want to say yes. Even the executive order made by the current president regarding consultation with tribes. I think that is where it starts. Because of our self determination and because of our sovereignty rights and a lot of the treaty rights that need to be reaffirmed the Tribes are now getting to the table. Even though I have a property deed with my name on it, and I pay property taxes. The property is not mine because if I could not pay or refuse to pay the property taxes, what is going to happen? Our teachings, our reason and purpose for the Anishinaabe, we are taught our spirit is placed on Mother Earth to work preserve, to protect her, and to speak for all the beings we live in balance with. We never own Mother Earth we only harvest the gifts that Mother Earth has for us. We never own anything. So, when the Westerners came to try to claim land, that was not well accepted or hard to be accepted, how can you own it? But the mentality now is 'it's mine', whether it be the U.S. Forest Service, whether it be the state of Michigan, they cannot put the no trespass signs and they can't do this and can't do that. Especially without consulting with the tribes. I think that the administration of Biden coming in, are ordering all their agencies to consult with tribes and to draft consultation policies. The Governor of Michigan here has done basically done the same thing with executive orders. And I think part of the reason those actions have been taken is because I think deep down inside, and I want to believe, it's because the Indigenous People have the TEK- (Traditional Environment Knowledge). Have that

knowledge and know how to make things right, how-to live-in balance with Mother Earth. The teaching of Seventh Fire, is that there is going to be a new people. And the new people are going to have a decision to make, as the road divides into a high road and a lower road. And are they going to take the high road, which is paved and with everything else and technology? But where has that road taken us? Self-Destruction. Or they can take the simple road, the lower road, and work with Mother Earth and learn how to take care of her, and to listen to her and to heal her. Because which role do you want to take? The path of self destruction or capacity for us to maintain Mother Earth? That is one of those teachings in the Seventh Fire or the Seventh Prophecy? And so, I believe we're getting to that time. That the Indigenous People and non-Indigenous people need to learn to work together to heal Mother Earth.

CP: *Is there anything else you think is important to know about this project or work or for those engaged in Manoomin restoration projects?*

RLB: Well, I guess the thing that I would like to stress. I have been actively working in restoration for almost four decades. I have been involved in harvesting and working with rice for five decades. One of the things that I have learned is to be patient. I know there is a strong urge once you get introduced to Wild Rice or you hear about it, that "oh, I got to do it." And it is just that you don't go out and plant seeds it'll grow - like that movie, 'build it and they will come'. It takes a lot of planning. So do not set yourself up to fail. Any project that needs to be considered on any water body or whatever, it takes a lot of planning and you have got to have a lot of support. And that support can come in volunteers. It can come in fundraising, donations. But it also takes a lot of time to do a 10 year or longer plan. It is not something that you are going to do overnight or next year. Like even in the seeding. When we seed a project, for us to develop a seed bank, we need to secure funding for a minimum of five years. Hopefully seven and ideally ten. Because it is an annual plant. Depending on when we harvest the seed, the viability of it, it is questionable. But what we need to do is to develop a seed bank first, and so the long-range planning is doing it, setting up a monitoring strategy and getting people to be able to make a long-term commitment.

Not every water body or inland stream or river is ideal for a wild rice. You must do your evaluations of those sites. What are the current conditions? What are the favorable conditions to plant wild rice? Where to plant wild rice? In an inlet, outlet, North side, South side? Where is your seed source going to be? So, there's a lot of planning that needs to go in and include 10 years or more [of this work]. And also, the monitoring! And so that monitoring data hopefully can be shared with Nancy Schultz at the Fond Du Lac tribe in Minnesota.

But restoration is not limited to Tribes, any organization and conservation club, or individual can do it. But I encourage that they do it in the right way and do it for the right reason and do not do it for the purpose of a commodity crop or an agricultural crop. Do it for the environment, the habitat, the wetland, other spirit beings, for the fish populations, just to have it present to keep culture and traditions revived and to preserve it. Basically, I say don't abuse it. Move forward with a good heart and in a good way.

I guess those are the things that I have learned in working with wild rice. And those things are why I respect, and I honor this spirit and this resource. And I am so grateful for it. I am so grateful for what it has given to me and my life, what it has taught me. It taught me how to be humble. It taught me not to be shy, introverted, bashful. To be able to speak publicly. Man in high school, I could not do that. But I guess, I assume that I am just the messenger. He speaks through me. I mean, I do that when I do my rice camps. I put my tobacco down. I do not have an itinerary when I do a rice camp. I do not say 'oh I got to do this or that'. My rice camp is general in nature. The people that come dictate how that rice camp is done. It is not you come to do it my way or whatever, but the people who come dictate how we move forward with that rice camp.

And the thing is, if you are considering a project, you do not have to reinvent the wheel. There are a lot of people that are involved in restoration. And currently I feel confident in saying that all the tribes in Michigan are the ones of the best knowledge to move forward with the project and what to do. We are just learning and teaching the other people, our supporters, our partners that we are developing working relationships and we are educating them. But no, you do not have to reinvent the wheel, just be patient. It has taken me a long time, and I'm still at some points where I feel that I have failed. And I have been looking at it for a long time.

CP: *Thank you so much for speaking with me and talking about all the work that has gone into these projects and relationships. Like I said, I wasn't looking for anything specific, I'm just interested in hearing, what you have to say about this. It's been really nice speaking with people about Manoomin these past few weeks. Doing this thesis essentially alone in my room has felt very isolating. But getting the chance to speak with people who are doing this work has really helped motivate and continue working and learning about Manoomin and people's perspectives on this restoration work.*

RLB: I am honored that my name was shared with you and that you felt that I could help you. Feel free to reach out to me if you have other questions at all. I want to say thank you for your project. I am not opposed to being recognized as a source. And I take great caution in trying

to say something that it comes from me directly and that I own it. Everything that I shared with you, comes from the greater opinion, from other people. I do not ever want somebody to say, 'well, Roger said', and that is not me. I am sharing my knowledge and what I was taught, I do not own what I said. I am sharing with you what has been shared with me. And what I have shared with you comes from my Uncle Niigaanaash, my grandparents, the grand Chief of my Midewiwin lodge, and all other people, my advisers and supporters with that lodge. So, what I shared with you today is by no means 'me', my words, I do not own them. I am sharing them with you.

CP: *Miigwetch, thank you.*

Interview Matt Steiger, for the St Louis River Area of Concern, May 4th, 2021

CP: *To start off I'm wondering, if you could talk about your role, and how you got started?*

MS: Ok, so the St. Louis River area of concern work, I am the representative for Wisconsin at the DNR and. The wild rice work, It began, well, it was identified as a major habitat feature that had been lost, in documents leading up to the most current remedial action plan. The acreage of aquatic habitats lost in the estuary is estimated around 17 hundred acres or no thirty-four hundred acres at the start of the plan. The Area of concern goal, is, was and still is to restore or enhance seventeen hundred acres [of wild rice]. You know, the there's a wide variety of restoration projects happening in the St. Louis River, and some of them are targeting, submerged aquatic vegetation growth and, fish habitat, things like that, spawning habitat. Certain species, endangered species, plover, terns all kinds of things. And one thing that specifically we wanted to make sure restoration occurred was with wild rice and there were a few remnant stands in the St. Louis River. Uh. I don't know the size or really, you know, individual plants were identified through the system, and then Pokegama Bay and the river, were areas that had, a fairly robust wild rice population, but outside of that, in a lot of the, places we would expect it we weren't seeing much.

The initial work had been done starting with some university partners, University of Wisconsin Superior, [the] Lake Superior Research Institute specifically. They started to do some work to see what factors were keeping rice from growing, so they're doing different types of protection, fencing, just seeing if the seeds would germinate, you know, taking water quality measurements, doing more of, like student research type stuff. You know, anecdotally, I've heard that, people have been throwing rice in the river for decades, folks with the tribe or the Fond du Lac tribe, and they just kind of [did] guerrilla restoration there. You know, just to try it, because there is no reason not to I guess! We started to get a little more formal about it in 2014 when Minnesota DNR contracted a plan to be developed called the St. Louis River rice restoration plan. So in that process, stands and remnant stands in areas where identified. Which has a lot to do with water depth, substrate, other factors like that to model where the best or kind of model, the whole suitable area. And then rank it into. Excellent, good or fair chance of establishing rice beds. With that, we made a goal, an Area of Concern goal of two hundred seventy five acres of rice, and from there we started to get some funding to ramp up the efforts for seeding and each state took its own sites accordingly. We did some site preparation with a vegetation harvester in 2015, and 2016, mostly, I think on the Wisconsin side. And then we seeded in those areas to try and give the the seed a head start with competition of aquatic vegetation. In the past few years, I think starting in 2019, through the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative AOC Focus Area funding, we were able to request a position and the funding to do work on both sides of the river and do it more consistently. And not have to piece together different funding sources in different states and all that stuff.

Along the way, there's been a partner group, a site team essentially. That's really formed when the plan was being developed. And that has continued to guide the restoration over the years. So we meet a minimum of twice a year. In the spring, we will meet to plan out the season, prioritize sites, seeding rates, different prescriptions for different areas, depending on what we want to try for success and then in the fall, we usually meet, early winter, once the monitoring results are in and the report is drafted, recap the season and. Things like that, so that's the one-oh-one on our rice restoration to date!

CP: *One of the things I've found really interesting looking at the St. Louis River and the restoration is the extent of collaboration [throughout the project], be it private individuals or, between Minnesota and Wisconsin and then also the inclusion of the local tribes. So, I'm wondering if you can speak to how the collaboration has been, if this is the standard [for collaboration within this region] for restoration work or is this a unique situation [in that regard]?*

MS: So with the Area of Concern work the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, is a coordinating agency, so we have four agencies that have primary responsibilities in the AOC, Wisconsin DNR and the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency, Minnesota DNR and Fond du Lac Band. So they've always been active and participatory in the Area of Concern work However, with limited capacity and with most of the work being off their reservation boundaries. They take interest in certain things over others and wild rice is one that they've been consistently a part of. Other ones are fish consumption work. You know with, sustenance style consumption advice and pollution in general, and water quality is something they've been active in for I'm sure decades before I was working here! But when the partners were developing a plan, the 1854 Treaty Authority, and the Fond du Lac Band are considered the experts in this field. You know, the techniques and the plans, everything, has been influenced by their knowledge and experience restoring rice and just working with rice in general. And then they actually perform the seeding work and monitoring work. So we have received the Great Lakes Restoration Initiative funding, the Wisconsin DNR specifically for the rest of this work so taking us out to 2025. Wisconsin DNR has the funds in-house, and then we contracted out to Fond du Lac Band for the seeding and some of the enclosures we've been putting up for geese. And then 1854 we contracted them for the monitoring. So they're directly involved, really from A to Z. And, you know, we are a true partnership effort, and really look to the knowledge

there. With most everything, [it's] based off of of their knowledge.

CP: *And so [is] that [format of collaboration] then unique to this one Area of Concern as opposed to maybe some of your other projects in the DNR?*

MS: Yeah, so my job is pretty specific to the AOC work. I know that it's a little unique that because Fond du Lac Band is not actually a Wisconsin recognized tribe, and they're the ones I work with the most! In our partnership we also have the St. Croix tribe involved, specifically in the Allouez Bay work. They have worked with UW Superior in Allouez Bay. And provided, I think some of the funds to UW Superior, so it's kind of the opposite where they are going and getting some of the money and contracting it out to UW Superior to do the work. But it's still part of the overall restoration partnership and goals. But outside of rice work, I know that many of the Wisconsin recognized tribes are involved in, natural resource issues and programs, initiatives, and all kinds of things. But [with] the Area of Concern projects, quite a few of them, I would say, have representation from Fond du Lac Band and like I said, certain ones [projects within the AOC] are more important to them than others. The work in Spirit Lake [for example]. Those projects sites are very important to them, so they're very active and involved in those designs and remedial projects. But I would say overall, they have adequate natural resources department and staffing. They're out on the river doing fish work, sturgeon work, water quality and landscape type work. So there's a lot of representation and participation by their staff.

CP: *I think like something that's been interesting for me in reviewing this project, is it kind of seems like one of the meters of success in terms of restoration is that, hopefully eventually these stands can be harvested from which I think is really interesting. And it's kind of an interesting goal to be working towards in terms of restoration.*

MS: The wild rice project coordinator (WDNR) will lead an update to the AOC goals and restoration plan, probably in winter of 2021 - 2022 is the plan to work with partners and update it. I think those AOC acreage goals and beyond AOC goals will be re-evaluated based on, you know, seven years of work now. We aren't as far as we'd really like to be for establishing self sustaining beds of rice in the river, and it's really coming down to a geese issue, a goose issue! So we're working on that, but you know, the Area of Concern does have some restrictions and, well, constrictions, I guess, on our timelines and our funding and things like that, it's getting pretty highly competitive between different AOC's throughout the Great Lakes. So we kind of have that in mind, we've set up an end date and end goal in reaching our goals by 2025. So we have a few seasons left and we're really pushing and ramping everything up to get there. But at the same time, I think there's going to be a kind of practicality and realization that are our goals set in 2014 were pretty aggressive and all that. But as far as the wild rice restoration plan goes, the goal of having the harvestable stands will still definitely remain, but the timeline or size may be adjusted accordingly by partners during the plan update. Establishing a harvestable stand will not be an Area of Concern, requirement. But it will be a longer-term goal included in the plan. I think this work will go beyond Area of Concern no matter what. Seeding and management of wild rice in the SLR will continue past when the direct Area of Concern funds run out, but it [restoration work] might be in different capacities [after that].

CP: *That makes sense. I know you've set up fences and you had people out in canoes kind of trying to scare away some of the geese. But I'm wondering if you have seen any improvement [in the stands], since 2014?*

MS: Yeah, we've had a couple good years, we've had a couple bust years, which is pretty natural in the growth of rice. The geese are really sneaky, they have their moult and they have their broods right in those habitats right at this time that the rice goes from floating leaf to standing up out of the water. Right when that vegetation is right at perfect height and it comes out of its floating leaf stage, that's when they're their flightless. They kind of just paddle around in those bays with their families and graze off all the rice. It doesn't take many, because they just mow, they just mow! And, you know, we've had it where there is good germination, plenty of plants coming up. And we just don't get seed heads, the plants don't get a chance to fully grow and develop and flower. Now, last year we increased the - I call them "exclosures" - I don't think that's a real word, but we're "excluding" the geese so that's why I call them that! But we had some "exclosures" put up and the rice inside of there was just gorgeous. around 17 times the biomass inside the fenced in areas, so they definitely make a difference. We just can't physically fence geese out of all the restoration areas.

So, we are planning to conduct a roundup and removal of geese this year, specifically in the rice restoration areas on the Wisconsin waters. We're hoping that goose management, along with a couple of good years of growth and seed production, will push us over the edge to not really have to manage the geese as much. They'll be able to graze the edges of a rice stand, it will be a food source for them, but they won't be able to graze the entire stand and decimate the sparse plants that we have. The seeding rates have really seemed to be something we learned about too. We started initially with about 50 pounds per acre seeding rate just because of our acreage goals and how much seed we could get and, for the most part, we've had to double that. Just because the rice comes up

sparsely at that rate and it's almost perfect, swim through and eat it habitat for the geese. I think a natural stand will seed itself, at around three to six hundred pounds an acre depending on the year. But we're not even close to what an actual stand can do so, we need the rice to have a good year and get more dense, to where we can keep geese out of the centre of it.

CP: *It's pretty incredible, actually, how in just one or two days, how much destruction they can do sometimes!*

MS: I mean, we've counted the geese from planes, and I think the most geese we had in our rice sites on one day was 80. And that's only over a couple hundred acres. But like I said, it's just that timing when those plants are perfect, and sensitive to their browsing, it's right when they're [the geese] just kind of sticking in there and staying put!

CP: *Can't blame them, I guess!*

MS: Yeah, it is perfect.

CP: *So I guess that really is the focus maybe for your spring meeting. I'm not sure if you've kind of had that group meeting yet for this year yet?*

MS: Yeah, it's coming up.

CP: *I'm curious, is this your first large project working with Wild Rice or did you grow up harvesting?*

MS: No, I grew up in South-East Wisconsin, I did not really know anything about wild rice. Apart that it tastes good and probably didn't know the difference between cultivated and natural [grains]. So when I got the position up here, is when I really started to learn about it. I have since been a harvester a few times. And it's really cool, it's it's such a unique thing, you know, both as a as a plant and [from] a biology, eco-system lens. But also through a food source and a cultural symbolic lens as well. So I've learned a lot on the job in this area. And so this is really my experience with rice, is with the St Louis River, for the most part. That's what my job is, pretty focused on, the St Louis River. Now, at this point, with a few years of experience on it, people ask me when they're trying to do restoration's - wetland restorations - things like that, and. You know, I feel like I'm a lot better in tune to restoring rice then I was before.

CP: *Does it [wild rice restoration] seem to be a growing movement in this area?*

MS: I don't you know, I think the GLIFWC and other organizations, like the Fond du Lac Band have been doing on reservations, rice management restoration for decades. Ducks Unlimited and places like to work with wetland restoration and rice and all those. So, [it's] hard to say. I mean, I'm definitely more aware of it [restoration work]. And it's been going on for quite some time.

CP: *Do you have any kind overall thoughts, about this project, about wild rice, maybe where you're hoping the project will go?*

MS: [Within] The Area of Concern programs, I think the St. Louis River is probably one of the only ones that works with rice. So we've opened the eyes of many of the AOC Program staff in Chicago, at the Great Lakes National Program office - they fund the AOC's across the Great Lakes. There may be a few in Canada, but as far as the ones in the US that I know, this scale of wild rice restoration had not been attempted. So we set aggressive AOC goals, and the restoration was something that was really important to the project partners and the State's involved. It's pretty well known through historic accounts that this area was very abundant in, wild rice. And I think that going forward, we have learned a lot of techniques and lessons on how to restore the rice at this scale. But we still have some more to learn. But I think it may provide a case study and some examples for other areas that might pursue that. And like I said, I think these things are going to go beyond the Area of Concern work. I could see there being twenty years of restoration and management on the stands that we do get established as well. There might be years where periodic enhancement or expansion of the stands is warranted. It is all still kind of a big experiment. So we're lucky that it seems that the river has healed enough to where the water quality seems OK for the rice to grow, the sediment quality seems OK for the rice to grow, and I think there is maybe a little more openness and respect to having that as a key piece of the estuary by the general public. I think wetland restoration is something that a lot of people can get behind for whatever reason, you know. In this instance, it kind of crosses a lot of different reasons for restoring wetlands or enhancing the wetlands - whatever you want to call it, but really working at getting the rice re-established in this area.

CP: *Thank you so much for talking about this. I know it's only a short time, but it's been exciting to actually talk to someone who's involved in this project - thank you!*

Interview with Anonymous A in the St Louis River Area of Concern, May 5th, 2021

CP: *My first question is if you can tell me about your role within the project, maybe how you got started, through the your organization or individually.*

A: Basically we're a Tribal organization. So we're employed by the tribes and so we help deal with tribal interests and resources in that ceded territory, which the St Louis River is part of.

CP: *And so I know you manage and monitor the wild rice stands throughout the state, but within the St. Louis River, is your work along the same lines of monitoring and maintaining or is there more specific role that you guys have throughout that project?*

A: Yeah, we can talk more about all the partners and players. So our role in the project is mostly on the monitoring side. So we do a long term monitoring on a group of waters in North-eastern Minnesota, and we basically use that protocol, in the St Louis River estuary. So any of the restoration sites, we'll go in every fall and basically do our surveys to document how well the wild rice is growing and basically develop a biomass estimate so you can see our efforts being successful, things like that. So that's our main role. We're also involved in all of the planning efforts in that going on. The Fond du Lac Band really gets the credit for acquiring all the seed and doing the seeding. So they're kind of on the seeding side and we're more on the monitoring side. But again, we work with them and all the other partners on planning and coordination and things like that.

CP: *Can you speak to more about that collaboration between parties?*

A: Yeah, it's been huge. You know, I've been at this job for like twenty five years now, and at first the tribes really weren't an integral player in all the resource management going on. And over the years that's really changed. And so I think probably the most valuable part of this project is the partnerships and relationships that have been developed. And it wasn't just with the wild rice. It was happening before this as well. But, you know, the tribe and tribal organizations are kind of an integral- not kind of - they are an integral part of the resource management going on in the area now. And so it's just great to see how tribes are so involved now. So we've worked a lot with, you know, the State Department of Natural Resources, both Minnesota, Wisconsin DNR's, the Minnesota Pollution Control agencies had some role. Some non-profit organizations like the St Louis River Alliance, and the Minnesota Land Trusts have had a role. And all the other tribes: us, Fond du Lac, Great Lakes, Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission. So really just a great team working together for wild rice restoration, in the estuary. And it's been a real good partnership and a lot of positive relationships, I guess.

CP: *Yeah, I was speaking with Matt Steiger yesterday and he was talking about how really throughout this restoration project, the work from the Fond du Lac band and the other tribal nations has been fundamental or the primary source for all the knowledge throughout the restoration. Would you agree with that?*

A: Yeah. You know, some of the other agencies have been taking the lead, the Wisconsin DNR's, Minnesota DNR, and Minnesota Land Trust, have taken the lead on acquiring funding. So a lot of them have, which is credit too, a big credit. So they have often acquired the funding, while the bands have done the work, so they really relied on the bands for their experience and knowledge and kind of leading the wild rice restoration work. So I think it's worked great.

CP: *I don't know how directly you're involved [in this aspect], but have you seen a change in the community within Duluth and Superior [throughout this work], like being more open to having wild rice in the river and their engagement with the river that way?*

A: Yeah, I believe. So the St Louis river, you're probably aware, has a long history of being polluted and degraded, and it's [the conditions] really come around a lot in the last decade or so. And so the time was right to restore wild rice. And so I think there's a lot of local interest in the estuary itself and the health of the estuary. And then wild race is a component of that. Wild rice used to have a large presence in estuary and it's been essentially lost. And so, again, I think there's a lot of interest and people becoming aware of wild rice, the cultural importance and significance of the estuary and wild rice history there. And so I think all that is kind of coming to a forefront as we're working on this restoration work.

CP: *And so I'm wondering, because I'm not so familiar with this kind of format for monitoring and managing, if you can speak to, [monitoring] at the state level, [how] that process works?*

A: Yeah, you know, across the states, there's not a lot formal going on, so in that treaty area I was talking about, we we've been monitoring a group of ten lakes and rivers since 1998 about. And so it's becoming a long term dataset that you can track wild rice on this small group of waters. But that's such a small piece of the pie statewide.

And so there's not that kind of detail on many waters state-wide, within reservation boundaries there might be, but across the state there's not a very formal monitoring program. I think there's some efforts underway to maybe improve on that a little bit, too. So, tribes have really been pushing hard for more awareness and care and interest in wild rice. And I think we're seeing that more and more with state agencies, federal partners, the public, students, researchers... Wild rice is really becoming more and more forefront in the last decade. You can see a huge change for sure.

CP: *Have you seen any of these kinds of partnerships expanding out beyond wild rice towards the restoration of other plants, animals, landscapes, and what not?*

A: I think so, speaking again from a tribal organization perspective, when we first started, we weren't really an accepted part of the natural resource community, perhaps so tribes have really built up their infrastructure and capabilities and have really become a player in a lot of things. You know, we're interested in Rice, but I also mentioned wildlife and moose. So all these things have kind of been built together, I think.

CP: *And you said that was kind of in the past, like 20 years or so, that they've become more of a player?*

A: Correct, yes as tribes have developed and kind of kept and built their natural resource programs. That really helped quite a bit.

CP: *Ok, and I guess that's [beginning to] show more of a respect towards, Indigenous knowledge as well and the that inclusion of that within, State and other organizations?*

A: Definitely! You definitely see a change, and different agencies have a responsibility [now] to consult with the band's through executive orders and government and state orders as well. And so you're seeing a lot of this stuff being more formalized. And I think in practice, it's happening a lot better. We always have some hiccups. But, you know, it's getting better and better for sure.

CP: *Can you tell me maybe what you enjoy the most about this wild rice restoration work be it in the larger area or within the St. Louis River?*

A: Wild Rice is obviously very culturally important, and again I mentioned it's a part of who the Ojibwe are. And so I really learned that cultural piece. And so anything we can do to protect, [and] enhance wild rice is just obviously very important to the bands. The bands view wild rice as not an it, its a being, and a relative. And so that's something I really try to keep central when I'm working with it and communicating with others as well. Just how important this resources is.

CP: *Do you think that working with that [concept of wild rice as a being] has changed your perspective of how you work with other natural resources as well?*

A: It definitely has. I work for two Tribes, but I'm not a Tribal member myself, and so I had a lot to learn and I'm still learning as well, you know, I get it but it's hard to communicate with others sometimes. Just the different view. How tribes are not controllers of the environment, that they're part of the environment. It's a little different view to try to get across to people. And again, planning for the long term, that we want to protect these resources for future generations. You always hear about seven generation planning, things like that. And so we try to share those thoughts with other agencies. And, you know, sometimes you see glassy eyes and they don't get it. But I think slowly it's helping quite a bit.

CP: *So do you think that's maybe specific more to Minnesota in comparison to some of the other Great Lakes States or Wisconsin?*

A: Yeah, I hate to speak too much for other states. I think Minnesota has, [at least] what I hear is we're better than other states as far as our working relationship with the states at least. So, yeah, I think I think we're on a good path.

CP: *I think so far you've touched on how it's been really helpful engaging different parties and people. And speaking to kind of how it's maybe changed your perspective on the land. So do you believe that this initiative has raised awareness towards restoration and Indigenous land rights and responsibilities to the land?*

A: Yeah, I think so. You know, when there's any kind of talk about - if we're just talking about this wild rice restoration - talk about the partners, the Bands and Inter-Tribals are always mentioned. So I think people are starting to hear more of it, and understand that, the tribes are here. They're active in natural resource management, and part of a successful partnership. And so all that just brings awareness to the Tribe's, the existence of Treaty rights, the history of the St Louis River, the history of wild rice, the cultural significance down there, I think all that is intertwined and slowly, more and more people are aware of that.

CP: *Did you have any prior experience to, working with Wild rice-Manoomin? Did you ever harvest or grow up with it?*

A: No, not at all. I mean, I was aware that wild rice existed, but I didn't have really any familiarity with it when I started working here. So I had a lot to learn and again, wild rice is still teaching me things. So, yeah it's just a really incredible resource.

CP: *Can you maybe speak to that a little bit, about what Wild Rice has taught you?*

A: Yeah, I guess it's hard for me to find some of this and I guess I touched on this a little bit too, but just that personal connection with Manoomin, I think you can see other people to anyone who works with it - if it's students or researchers - you can see that connection develop pretty quickly. It's just I guess that's the easiest way for me to say it! Just how important, and that personal connection and it's being and it's a relative, those kind of concepts are things that stick with you.

CP: *It's kind of reassuring to hear you say that, because I've sort of felt that, too, within even my limited time with Manoomin. It's like there's just something about it that's almost "addicting", that you just want to learn more about and engage with more. It's just such an interesting plant and being as you said. So, yeah, it's nice to hear someone else reflect on Manoomin in a similar way.*

A: Yeah, again it's amazing that the students and researchers, once they start working with it, they kind of get the bug!

CP: *Do you engage with a lot of student work or volunteer community work through the restoration projects?*

A: Quite a bit of student work. More and more students reaching out about projects - kind of similar to what you're doing here today. So that is really taking off in maybe the last five years or so, some have been in particular with the St Louis river estuary, on some student projects, [asking] what can they do to help? So there's been some work on the goose controls, the big thing down there. So there's been some work by students about putting up cameras, documenting geese, paddling to try to get these geese out of the area, things like that. And so there's been some student efforts down there as well as coordinating with us,

CP: *I know Matt was saying yesterday how really the big problem now, is about solving the geese problem with the water level, the water quality, and the sediment, but it's really now down to solving this. Within the St. Louis River, is that the last thing to tackle before the stands can really establish [themselves]?*

A: I think so. There's still some bigger project cleanup's going on some contaminated sites [they're still working on], and they'll open up some more wildlife habitat. So that's one thing. But the restoration areas we're working on now [have been facing] a couple of things. One is that the water levels in Lake Superior have been so high, and that affects St Louis Rive estuary. So the water levels have been fighting us a little bit the last few years. But the biggest problem seems to be geese. I probably mentioned this, but most plants that stand up are getting mowed down right away by geese. So we're trying to figure out what can we do, just to give this rice a chance to get going and be sustainable and be able to sustain itself over time, and so that's what we're fighting right now.

CP: *Do you have any long term goals about how you hope this project will end up?*

A: Yeah, I guess people have different goals. Some people might view rice as waterfowl habitat and that's important. But from our perspective, we would like to see some harvesting return to the estuary. And so that's a goal that at least I have, is that some locations would have enough area and be thick enough that wild rice could be harvested in the estuary. And so that's ultimately what I would like to see.

CP: *But it's not there yet, right? It's still pretty sparse?*

A: We're getting marginally close in some spots, and every year I cross my fingers, like this year will be the year, but those darn geese!

CP: *I think that's another interesting factor too, that really the goal I've seen in a few places is that people hope they'll be able to harvest, which I think is a little bit different than other restoration projects. Just having the river be able to be harvest is kind of an interesting goal to work towards.*

A: Yeah, for sure, we definitely want to restore that cultural connection, and I'm a big believer that we need wild rice harvesters. Those are the people who care about wild rice. So we're always trying to promote harvest and we want to do it the correct way. But we need to harvesters to use the resource because those are people that will care about the resource.

CP: *And I guess, the harvesting naturally also helps reseeded the stands as well. So it's kind of helping you guys a little bit, right?*

A: Correct. Yep. I mean, harvesting we don't believe it has a negative impact on the rice between all that naturally drops off or that harvesters drop back in.H.

CP: *Have you started harvesting now or over the past few years maybe now that you're involved with the restoration?*

A: Me personally? Oh, yeah! Yeah, I've been harvesting for probably 20 years. I'm not like a hardcore [ricer] every year, but every couple of years or so I'll get out.

CP: *I think that's interesting too, how in Minnesota, it's not just an Indigenous or First Nations practice, it seems to be part of the overall culture as well.*

A: It is. We're trying to build that again. Not to get sidetracked here, but on our website, we put wild rice condition updates each year for North-eastern Minnesota. We put a quick blurb about how the rice is looking and a bunch of photos. And again, that's open to tribal and non tribal members on our website, it's a resource used by harvester's. Again, we're just trying to get people out there to use the resource.

CP: *I know a lot of the problems throughout the region is not having new harvester's. Is that still a struggle to get new people involved?*

A: It is. And it's hard because for the Tribal members, you know, a lot of Tribal members still harvest. So we don't have a good handle on numbers since we don't provide a specific wild rice license. We don't get a count of Tribal members every year that harvest it. As far as state license sales, it's been pretty stable, stable but low and we'd like to see that bump up a little bit. So anything we can do to share information, or we've talked about maybe changing harvest regulations right now. Harvest is supposed to close at three o'clock every day, but maybe it should actually be open later to give people a chance after work, after school to harvest. You know, how do we recruit and retain harvesters? I think it's a very important.

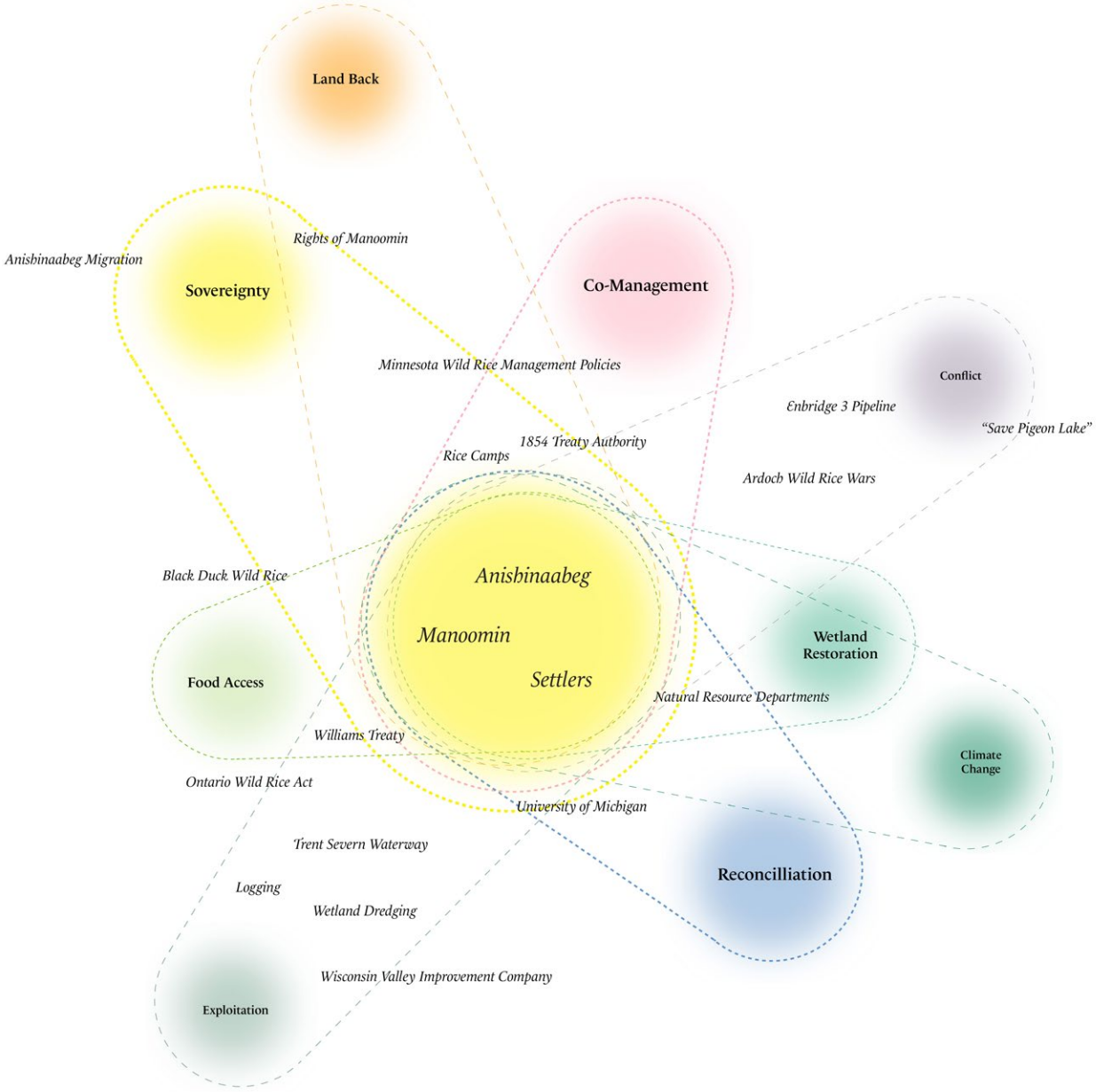
CP: *I guess hopefully down the line with the St. Louis River having enough stands, it's maybe more accessible to people living in Duluth or Superior. So that would probably be a big help too?*

A: It would be for sure. And again, even harvesting is important. And just that awareness that wild rice is present, what does it look like? What needs to be done to preserve and protected? All those things come in play.

CP: *I guess the final question is if you have any other thoughts about this project, about where you hope it will go, about these different arrangements and community collaboration - how that whole process has been?*

A: No, I think we kind of covered it. Again, I think the real value of this is the partnerships and relationships that have been formed. These relationships are vital for a wild rice restoration, and everything else, just that relationship building and trust building. I think that goes a long way for making sure that tribal interests are being addressed and heard.

Appendix B: Drawing Iterations

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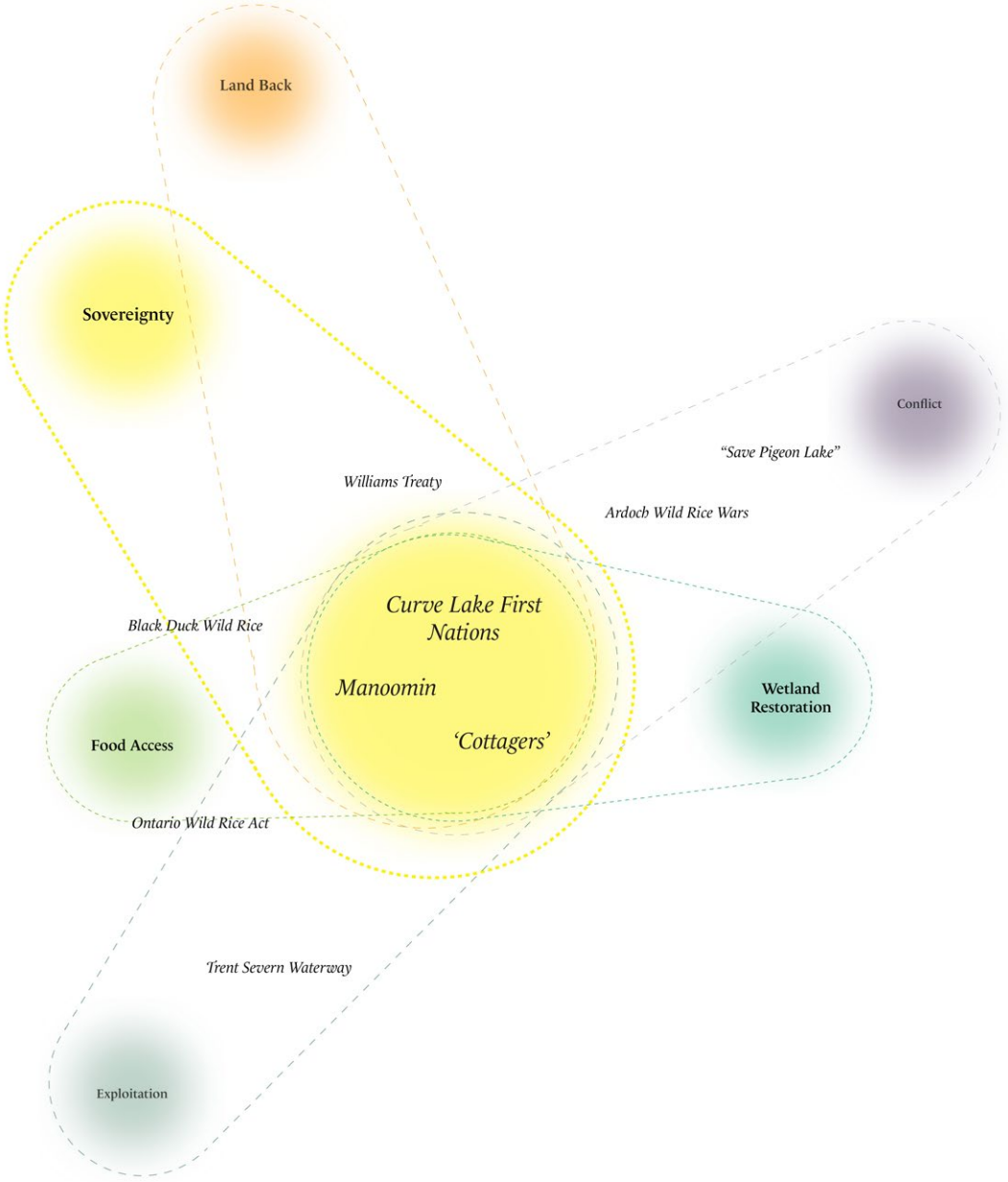
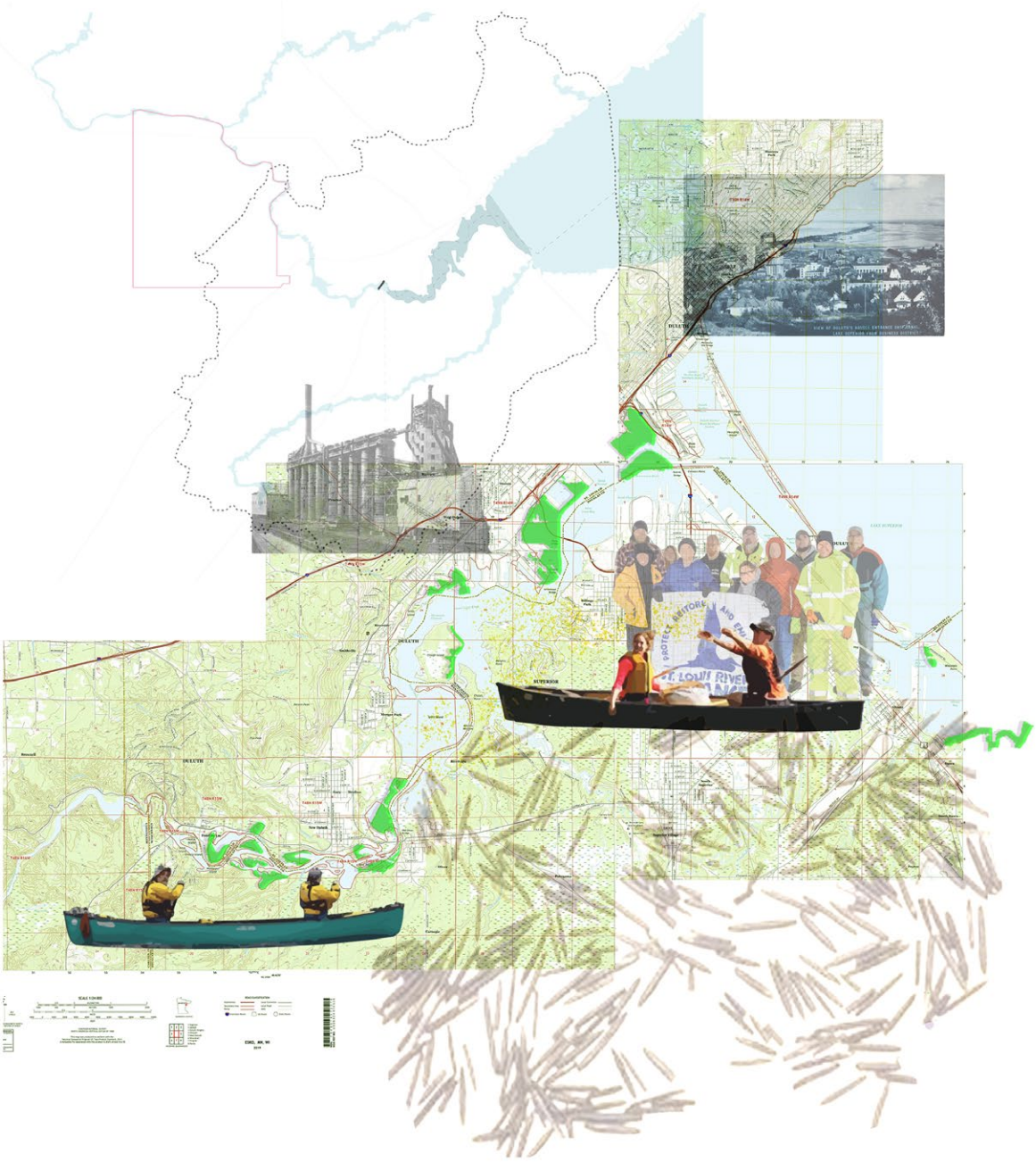
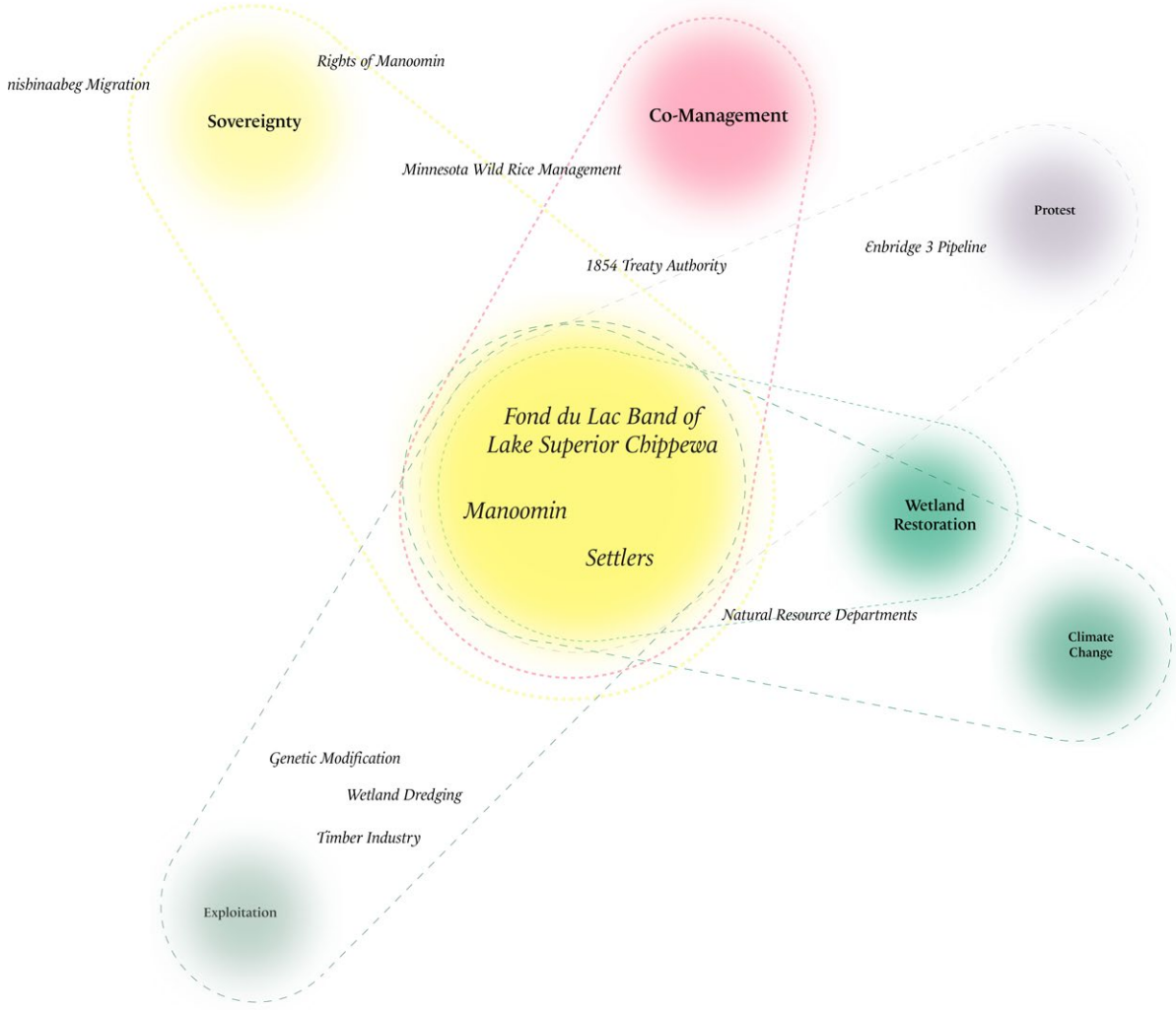
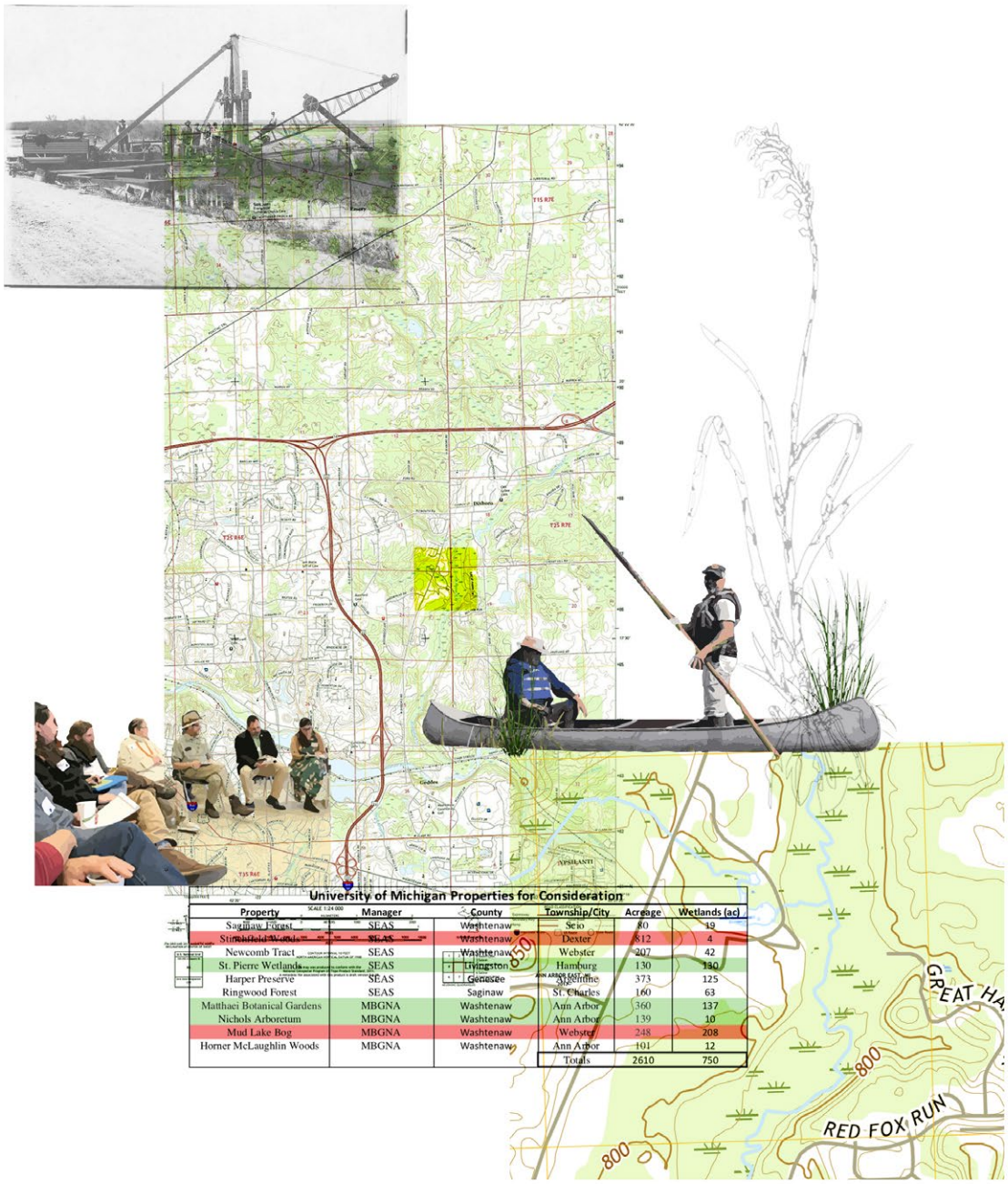
#OgimaaMikana
TOGETHER WE
HARVEST
Join us for a free wild rice harvesting trip
led by James & Daemin Whetung
9 AM - 3 PM on Sat. Sept. 7th


Land Back
Sovereignty
Conflict
"Save Pigeon Lake"
Williams Treaty
Ardoch Wild Rice Wars
Curve Lake First Nations
Black Duck Wild Rice
Manoomin
Wetland Restoration
Food Access
'Cottagers'
Ontario Wild Rice Act
Trent Severn Waterway
Exploitation

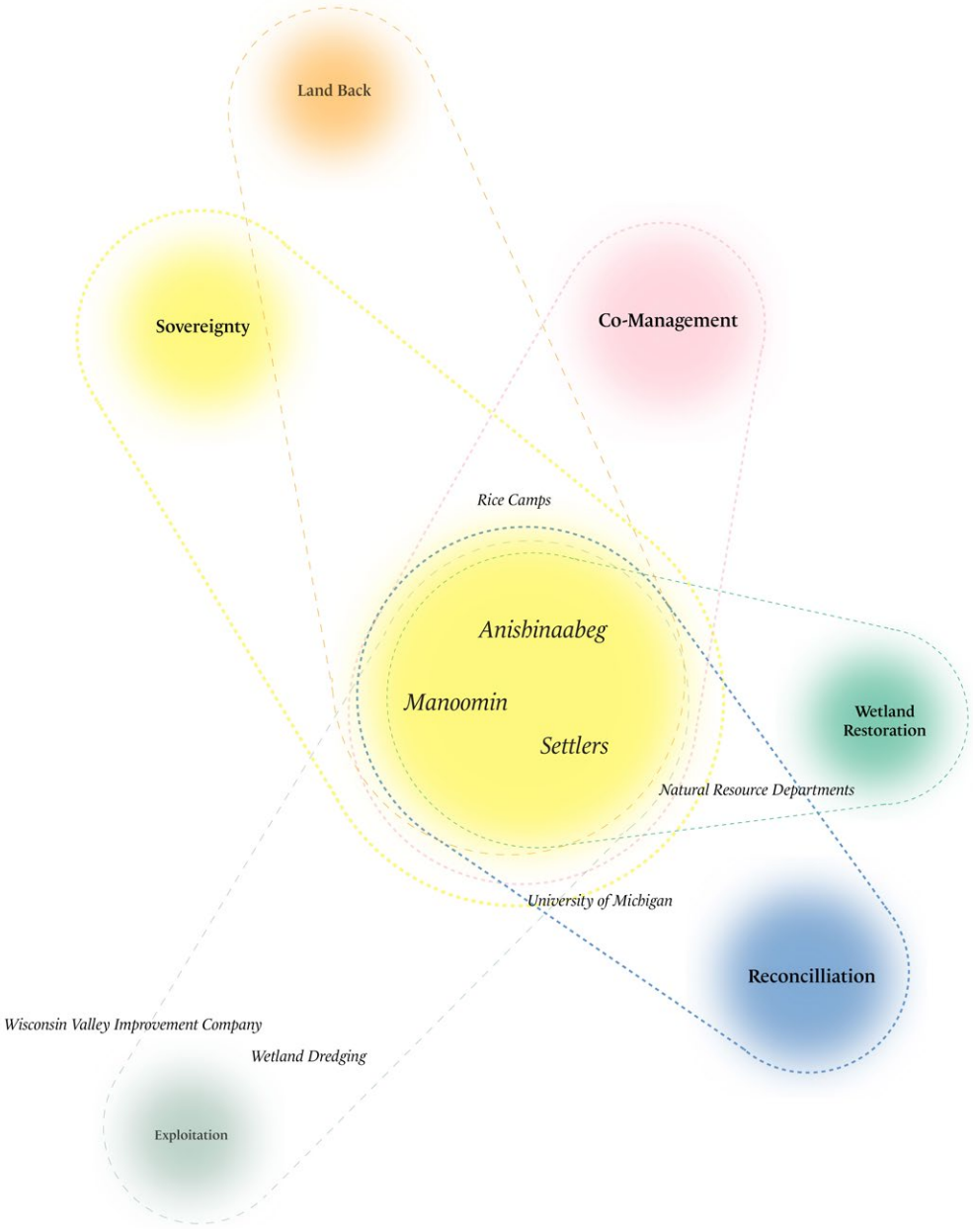



Rights of Manoomin
nishinaabeg Migration
Sovereignty
Co-Management
Minnesota Wild Rice Management
Protest
Enbridge 3 Pipeline
1854 Treaty Authority
Fond du Lac Band of
Lake Superior Chippewa
Manoomin
Settlers
Wetland
Restoration
Natural Resource Departments
Climate
Change
Genetic Modification
Wetland Dredging
Timber Industry
Exploitation



University of Michigan Properties for Consideration

Property	Manager	County	Township/City	Acreage	Wetlands (ac)
Saginaw Forest	SEAS	Washtenaw	Scio	80	19
Stinchfield Woods	SEAS	Washtenaw	Dexter	812	4
Newcomb Tract	SEAS	Washtenaw	Webster	207	42
St. Pierre Wetlands	SEAS	Livingston	Hamburg	130	130
Harper Preserve	SEAS	Genesee	Argentine	373	125
Ringwood Forest	SEAS	Saginaw	St. Charles	160	63
Matthaei Botanical Gardens	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	360	137
Nichols Arboretum	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	139	10
Mud Lake Bog	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Webster	248	208
Horner McLaughlin Woods	MBGNA	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	101	12
			Totals	2610	750


Land Back
Sovereignty
Co-Management
Rice Camps
Anishinaabeg
Manoomin
Settlers
Wetland Restoration
Natural Resource Departments
University of Michigan
Reconcilliation
Wisconsin Valley Improvement Company
Wetland Dredging
Exploitation