From Sugar Bush to Treaty Councils: Ozhaawashkodewekwe's Career in the Upper Great Lakes

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Abstract. Anishinaabe women in the nineteenth-century upper Great Lakes inherited responsibilities through their *doodem* (clan), which included incorporating newcomers into their networks and caring for lands and waterways. Employing biography, this article focuses on Ozhaawashkodewekwe, a prominent Anishinaabe who attempted to transform the gender-specific resources of seasonal rounds into titled property at sugar camps and treaty councils. The various stages of Ozhaawashkodewekwe's life illustrate how biography involves navigating between the micro scale (details about her life) and the macro scale (Anishinaabe political practices and governance, as well as American settler-colonial political practices and governance). Collectively, her life showcases how Anishinaabe women's involvement in the fur trade exemplifies deliberate political engagement aimed at strengthening her family and communities in the face of Anglo-American expansion.

Keywords. Anishinaabe, treaties, gender, Lake Superior, nineteenth century,

It was early spring in 1832, but it still looked like winter at Bawating on the Saint Marys River, an important Anishinaabe council fire at Lake Superior's eastern entrance.[1] Council fires were an important Anishinaabe political institution comprising related but distinct and autonomous communities (Bohaker 2021: 136–81; Witgen 2012: 279). Ozhaawashkodewekwe, an Anishinaabe woman, made the same journey she had for the last twenty-five years: traveling six miles over the frozen river to her sugar bush on an island (Schoolcraft 1851: 163). Anishinaabe women worked at the sugar bush in late winter and early spring when maple sap flows.

Ethnohistory 71:4 (October 2024) DOI 10.1215/00141801-11266316

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's labor at her sugar bush illustrates how Anishinaabe women used their work in seasonal rounds to build alliances and uphold their political responsibilities in the nineteenth-century upper Great Lakes when the fur trade was the central economic system in the region. They inherited these responsibilities through their *doodem* (clan), which included incorporating newcomers into their networks and caring for lands and waterways. Employing biography to center on Ozhaawashkodewekwe's life demonstrates how she fulfilled these responsibilities, including her marriage, her place of residence, the production and distribution of maple sugar, and her work at treaty councils. Collectively, her actions showcase how Anishinaabe women's involvement in the fur trade exemplifies deliberate political engagement.

Over the past four decades, scholarship on gender and the fur trade has focused on European fur traders entering into mutually beneficial marriages with Indigenous women—often known as marriages *à la façon du pays* ("in the custom of the country"). For Indigenous peoples, these marital alliances created reciprocal social ties and consolidated their economic relationships with incoming strangers. For Euro-American men, the marriages gave them access to powerful Indigenous family networks with extensive linguistic, social, and geographic knowledge (Van Kirk 1980; Brown 1980; Sleeper-Smith 2001; Murphy 2014; Hyde 2022). Scholarship on these marriages illustrates women's complex work as cultural mediators, assisting their husbands and raising children who continued mediation practices (Murphy 2014: 33–37, 55, 69). However, there has been little focus on the significant political labor women performed in these marriages or on the links between these unions and treaty councils.

As a method, biography represents a form of microhistory that offers avenues to challenge assumptions about the past while showing paths toward understanding other ways of living and being (Robisheaux 2017: 13). Ozhaawashkodewekwe's life challenges historians in the twenty-first century to rethink assumptions about the connections between gender, kinship, and politics. One of the challenges of analyzing Anishinaabe women's political work is that women rarely appear in colonial records. Also, they are rarely named when they appear, except for a small number of women who usually have familial ties to the fur trade and Anglo-American families. Ozhaawashkodewekwe enters the archive through her Irish husband and American son-in-law. She used these connections to influence treaty councils. However, her life must be understood within the context of Anishinaabe political life in the upper Great Lakes.

Long before Europeans arrived, treaties played an essential role in the political history of the Great Lakes (Stark 2010: 127; Lytwyn 1997: 210–12; Simpson 2008: 29–42). By the nineteenth century, Euro-American

government officials and historians tended to narrowly define treaties as written agreements between polities (Prucha 1994: 25; Saler 2014: 86; Blackhawk 2023: 199). However, for Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes, treaties are about relationships (Simpson 2008: 29). Anishinaabe legal scholar Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark (2010: 147) describes treaties as grounded in the principles of mutual respect and the shared responsibility to uphold a cooperative relationship grounded in trust and renewal. Both sides must adhere to these principles for the treaty to remain effective. Anishinaabe intellectual Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2008: 29) explains how treaties are embedded in "treaty processes . . . grounded in worldviews, language, knowledge systems, and political cultures of the nations involved, and they were governed by common Indigenous ethics of justice, peace, respect, reciprocity, and accountability."

Indigenous understandings of treaties emphasize the importance of relationships and open up new ways to understand the political work of Anishinaabe women, including marriages and the expansion of kinship networks. Placing the lives of Indigenous women like Ozhaawashkodewekwe within the context of scholarship on treaties by Anishinaabe intellectuals and legal scholars demonstrates how women entering marriages *à la façon du pays* are more than cultural mediators. Instead, they emerge as political actors actively involved in Indigenous political traditions. Ozhaawashkodewekwe's fur-trade marriage can be viewed as a kinship-based treaty, aligning with the custom of women marrying individuals outside of their clans. This practice goes back to the Anishinaabe origin story of Sky Woman creating relationships with nonhuman beings on earth (Kimmerer 2013: 3–5; Bohaker 2021: 45–46). In other words, women marrying fur traders continued the gendered processes of kin-making that cemented political alliances in the Great Lakes for centuries (White 1999: 128; Bohaker 2021: 78, 145).

The various stages of Ozhaawashkodewekwe's life illustrate how biography involves navigating between the micro scale, such as details about her life, and the macro scale, such as Anishinaabe political practices and governance, as well as Anglo-American settler-colonial political practices and governance (Robisheaux 2017: 13). During her childhood, Ozhaawashkodewekwe learned about seasonal round resources through gendered connections. In other words, Anishinaabe women learned to maintain, care for, and steward sugar bushes and other seasonal resources, passing down this knowledge through generations. Ozhaawashkodewekwe also learned about women's roles incorporating newcomers into council fires and kinship networks through stories about marriages, such as that of the Woman Who Married a Beaver.

In her adult years, Ozhaawashkodewekwe's actions consistently show her commitment to upholding her responsibilities. Her marriage exemplifies the Anishinaabe protocol of women marrying individuals from outside their communities to strengthen political alliances, underscoring how such unions operated akin to kinship-based treaties. Moving her family from the Chequamegon Bay east to Bawating allowed Ozhaawashkodewekwe to raise her children while stewarding a valuable sugar bush. Her work at the sugar bush illustrates her Caribou doodem responsibilities to provide resources for her family and council fire. She leveraged her role as a producer and distributor of valuable goods to influence one of the most recognizable forms of political practices: participating in treaty councils between polities that concluded in a written agreement. At the treaty at Fond du Lac in 1826, she advocated for land grants to women married to fur traders and their children. By the turn of the nineteenth century in the United States and British North America, written treaties became standard, and in the wake of the War of 1812, American settlement intensified in the upper Great Lakes (Stark 2010: 148; Saler 2014: 86). Ozhaawashkodewekwe attempted to figure out how to adapt Anishinaabe political customs amid these changes.

Tracing Ozhaawashkodewekwe's life—from her childhood and marriage to the establishment of her sugar bush and participation in treaty councils—reveals how Anishinaabe women adapted their responsibilities to forge connections with newcomers and care for lands inherited through their doodem amid increasing Euro-American settlements. Ozhaawashkodewekwe attempted to transform the gender-specific resources of seasonal rounds into titled property at sugar camps and treaty councils. These strategies aimed to strengthen her family and communities in the face of Anglo-American expansion. However, as Ozhaawashkodewekwe's adult life unfolded and the nineteenth century progressed, Anglo-American officials actively usurped and ignored Anishinaabe women's authority to solidify their jurisdiction in the region.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's Early Life

Ozhaawashkodewekwe was born into an esteemed Ojibwe family in the early 1770s. Her family included influential Anishinaabe *ogimaag* (chiefs) such as her father (Waubojiig) and her grandfather (Mamaangizide, also known as Ma-mongazida and Ma-mong-e-se-da). She inherited the Caribou doodem from her grandfather and father (Child 2013: 45). Anishinaabe societies are patrilineal, and fathers pass on their *doodemag* (clans) to their children. For the Anishinaabeg, doodem was far more significant than race, class, and social rank (Bohaker 2021: 67–68). Each doodem is

associated with a being—usually an animal or fish—like crane, catfish, loon, bear, marten, and moose (Witgen 2012: 33–35; Bohaker 2021: 60). Specific doodemag were responsible for particular lands and waterways in the Great Lakes and assigned specific responsibilities. For example, the Crane doodem is linked with Bawating, and its members were renowned orators (Bohaker 2021: 51–59, 112–13). Historically, doodemag shaped marriage and alliance patterns, facilitated long-distance travel, and facilitated the negotiation of community resources (Child 2013: 26). Caribou doodem responsibilities included providing food and provisions for their families and council fires, which are reflected in Waubojiig's hunting abilities (Chapman 1902: 352; Johnston 1990: 60). Caribou doodem kinship connections stretched from the Chequamegon Bay near the southwestern end of Lake Superior to Bawating to Mnidoo Mnising (Manitoulin Island) to Mnjikaaning (the narrows between Lake Simcoe and Couchiching).

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's family history illustrates that while marriages were integral to incorporating outsiders into council fires, larger political tensions could also break up these alliances formed through marriages. In the late seventeenth century, western Ojibwe council fires formed alliances with eastern Dakota communities, leading to intermarriages between both groups. Mamaangizide's mother married a Dakota leader and had sons, Wabashaw and Mamaangizide (Chapman 1902: 347; Jameson 1838: 204). As the French attempted to assert political authority in the region, they built new posts. Subsequently, violence increased and threatened the alliance between the western Ojibwe council fires and the Dakota. By 1729, this alliance collapsed, tearing apart the community where Mamaangizide's mother lived (Witgen 2012: 304). It was no longer safe for her to return with her Dakota husband to his family's territory or for him to move with her to the Chequamegon Bay at the southwestern end of Lake Superior, so she left her husband and her son Wabashaw and moved back with her family (Jameson 1838: 204). She married a man from the Caribou doodem and gave birth to Mamaangizide (Chapman 1902: 342; Jameson 1838: 205).

Like her paternal grandfather and father, Ozhaawashkodewekwe grew up along the Chequamegon Bay, at the southwestern end of Lake Superior, called Zaagawaamikong by the Anishinaabeg (referencing a bay made by a sandbar and a soft beaver dam) and La Pointe du Chequamegon by the French (Child 2013: 31; Witgen 2012: 65; Giizhibaa'aanakwad, n.d.).[2] The council fire was formed seasonally around the bay and on Mooniingwanekaaning-minis, or the "island of the yellow-shafted flicker" (known today as Madeline Island).[3] During her childhood, seasonal rounds dictated Ozhaawashkodewekwe's life. Families traveled to different areas

to use food sources, such as sugaring in the early spring, fishing in the spring and summer, gardening and harvesting in the summer, wild ricing in the early fall, and hunting, trapping, and ice fishing in the winter. Men did most of the hunting, trapping, and fishing, while women produced valuable, agricultural, and shelf-stable ingredients, including corn, berries, wild rice, and maple sugar. The women were also involved with preparing and preserving the fish and pelts. Anishinaabe council fires were largest from spring to fall, when the environment could support larger groups. In the winter, communities in western Lake Superior broke up into smaller family groupings to hunt, usually moving north and west, further inland to boreal forests into what would today be northern Minnesota and northwestern Ontario (Miller 2010: 48–59; Child 2013: 20–27).

Anishinaabe society was structured around a gendered seasonal round where Indigenous women were responsible for integral foodways (Drouillard 2022: 260; Gray 2021: 121; Child 2013: 1–62). In this way, the Anishinaabeg are both patrilineal and matrilocal. In other words, while doodem membership is usually passed on through the family's male line, seasonal rounds demonstrate how women were central to Anishinaabe social organization (Nesper 2019: 48). Ozhaawashkodewekwe learned essential skills to participate in seasonal rounds from her mother and other female relatives, including making baskets and moccasins, to harvesting wild rice and maple sugar (Child 2013: 20–27). When she was young, her mother or other female relatives would carry her on their backs in a cradleboard, and she learned from them how to produce valuable goods that were essential to Indigenous peoples' survival in the climate of the upper Great Lakes and coveted by Euro-American fur traders (Child 2013: 17; Miller 2010: 25). Women's gendered labor in seasonal rounds depended on Anishinaabe women's inherited rights to specific resources, including wild rice beds and maple groves, which were valued staples in Anishinaabe communities and desirable trade items among Euro-Americans (Child 2013: 24–27, 102–3).

During the lives of Mamaangizide, Waubojiig, and Ozhaawashkodewekwe, seasonal rounds were grafted onto the annual cycle of the fur trade. Fur traders arrived in the fall with items like blankets, cloth, and utensils. They used these goods and credit to purchase winter foods for survival (like wild rice and maple sugar). The men hunted and trapped animals throughout winter and spring while the women processed the pelts, which were brought to individual traders or trading posts. In the spring, fur traders headed back east in canoes filled with pelts (Child 2013: 40). The introduction of the fur trade did not significantly alter Ojibwe people's cycle of seasonal rounds. However, the growth of the fur trade and the arrival of European traders in

the upper Great Lakes influenced Indigenous politics, which affected Ojibwe families—as evidenced by the end of Mamaangizide's parents' marriage. One way Ojibwe people coped with these changes was to incorporate the newly arrived Europeans into their kinship networks like they incorporated the Dakota—through marriage.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's Fur-Trade Marriage

In 1792, Ozhaawashkodewekwe married an Irish fur trader, John Johnston. Marriages between newly arrived male fur traders and Indigenous women were an essential part of the political economy of the fur trade (Parker 2008: 211). For Indigenous peoples, these alliances created reciprocal economic and political relationships with incoming strangers. For newly arrived fur traders, they gained access to Indigenous family networks and extensive linguistic, social, and geographic knowledge. These marriages transformed fur traders from newcomers to kin and gave them the right to live and trade in a territory. Fur traders also gained access to the women's labor grounded in seasonal rounds, like producing valuable food products. Since the marriages were grounded in Indigenous practices, Anishinaabe women maintained their civil identity, including their inherited gendered rights to sugar bushes and wild rice beds (White 1999: 135; Child 2013: 24–27, 102–3).

John Johnston arrived at Chequamegon Bay in the fall of 1790. Over the winter, he shared supplies with Mamaangizide when most of the council fire had dispersed to their winter hunting grounds (Miller 2010: 102). When families returned to the bay in the spring, Johnston asked Waubojiig if he could marry Ozhaawashkodewekwe. Waubojiig deferred and told Johnston to come back in a year. When Johnston returned, Waubojiig agreed to the marriage (Chapman 1902: 342; McKenney 1827: 190). As a respected ogimaa, Waubojiig could have secured a marriage between Ozhaawashkodewekwe and a man from an equally influential Anishinaabe family. He saw value in formalizing a relationship with the fur trader.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's marriage to Johnston was simultaneously representative and atypical of fur-trade marriages. Usually, Anishinaabe families and the council fires to which they belonged were involved in arranging the marriages since the partnership was an alliance, joining two families together and creating new kinship connections and responsibilities (White 1999: 128; Bohaker 2021: 78, 145). However, Ozhaawashkodewekwe was anxious about her union with Johnston. Decades after the marriage ceremony, travel writer Anna Jameson (1838: 213) remembers Ozhaawashkodewekwe describing feeling "reluctance, terror, and aversion." In response to her fears, Ozhaawashkodewekwe ran away from Johnston

to her grandfather's lodge just over a week after the marriage. When Waubojiig returned from his hunting camp, he was angry with Ozhaawashkodewekwe. He beat her with a stick, threatened to cut off her ears, and returned her to Johnston with gifts to reconfirm the family alliance (214).

The violent start to the union was uncommon for fur-trade marriages (Landes 1997; Van Kirk 1980; Brown 1980; Parker 2008: 8). Ozhaawashkodewekwe's adult daughter Jane described how despite experiencing hardships, Ojibwe women held a position "higher and freer than that of the white woman" (Fuller 1844: 175). However, Waubojiig's physical assault of Ozhaawashkodewekwe shows how Ojibwe women were not immune from violence and coercion by family members. Viewing fur-trade marriages as alliances designed to incorporate newcomers illustrates how these unions are political decisions reflecting the collective will of a council fire and doodem rather than about an individual's desire to enter a romantic relationship. Ozhaawashkodewekwe demonstrates how on an individual level, women may have struggled to deal with their community's choice for their marriage partner. However, it is important to avoid transporting twenty-first-century values of marriages as individual romantic choices into the lives of Anishinaabe women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when marriages operated as a political institution focused on creating alliances designed to facilitate the sharing of resources.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe coped with her marriage by drawing on her understanding of women's gender roles, including the importance of forming relationships with outsiders. When fasting to prepare for her marriage, she dreamed of a white man who visited her (Jameson 1838: 212–13). Ozhaawashkodewekwe's vision reflects the Anishinaabe values she learned from her relatives in childhood about women's role in incorporating newcomers into Anishinaabe kinship networks through marriages as an important political practice. Other Anishinaabe women also had visions as girls that shaped their careers. Aazhaweya was born in the mid-1830s to her parents, Nena'aangabi and Nigooyoo, who lived near Rice Lake (in present-day Wisconsin). As a child, Aazhaweya dreamed she accompanied her father on a war party against the Dakota and returned with a scalp. She went on to become a renowned warrior (Redix 2014: 102–3).

Ozhaawashkodewekwe grew up observing intermarriages and learning Anishinaabe teachings emphasizing the importance of unions, like the story of the Woman Who Married a Beaver (Jones 1917: 251–57). In the story, a woman meets a man in human form, and he asks her to come to live with him. She agrees, and eventually, they marry and have children. Her husband and children leave the house as humans but always return with

ample items like kettles, bowls, knives, and tobacco—all things used when a beaver is eaten. Eventually, the woman realizes she married a beaver. The family's wealth grows until the woman's husband dies. When she returns to live with humans, she instructs her community to speak kindly about beavers, or they would never be able to kill one (White 1999: 109–11).

The Woman Who Married a Beaver explains a treaty relationship between the Anishinaabeg and beavers (Stark 2010: 146). In treaties and marriages, both parties are responsible for upholding a mutually beneficial relationship grounded in respect, responsibility, and renewal that facilitates resource sharing. Respect is demonstrated by the beaver's instructions to speak positively of beavers and show them love so that Anishinaabe people will have success trapping them. Responsibility is shown by the offerings that humans are expected to leave in return for the beavers giving themselves as food. Renewal is shown by the continuing cycle of offerings between the Anishinaabeg and the beaver (147).

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's marriage to John Johnston is similar to the story. When she married Johnston, she built an alliance with a newcomer that helped secure access to valuable trade goods for her family and community. The story also shows how Anishinaabe legal tenets exist in multiple spheres of life. Anishinaabe people understand the intimate sphere as a forum that sets precedents for legal relationships, including treaties (Wheteung 2019: 23–25). Understanding marriages as political practices to build alliances shows how women like Ozhaawashkodewekwe entering fur-trade marriages were political actors engaging with Indigenous political traditions. The relationships and alliances in Ozhaawashkodewekwe's intimate and familial life—including her marriage and later access to her sugar bush—shaped her responsibilities at treaty councils.

A year after Ozhaawashkodewekwe's marriage, Waubojiig died of tuberculosis. Several months later, she gave birth to her first child, and shortly after, the family moved east to Bawating (Brazer 1993: 79). It was common for newly married Anishinaabe couples to stay with the wife's family until their first child was born and then move to their husband's community, strengthening connections between council fires (Bohaker 2021: 78, 145). John Johnston's community across the Atlantic was not accessible, but Bawating was an excellent option. New arrivals to Lake Superior usually entered through the Saint Marys River, passing by Bawating on their journey from Lake Huron and the lower Great Lakes. These newcomers needed supplies, making Bawating an ideal place for a trading business. Moreover, despite relocating hundreds of miles from her natal family, Ozhaawashkodewekwe remained connected to her extended kinship network through her doodem. While the Crane doodem is responsible for the

lands at Bawating, many influential Caribou ogimaag lived in the Saint Marys River watershed (Corbiere 2005; Bohaker 2021: 112–13, fig. 1).[4] The Johnston trading business flourished, and the family expanded: Ozhaawashkodewekwe birthed seven more children (Parker 2008: 18).

Throughout her marriage, Ozhaawashkodewekwe continued to uphold her responsibility to incorporate newcomers into Anishinaabe kinship networks. The Johnston family adopted an infant, Nancy Campbell, after her father died (Jameson 1838: 319; Steele 1841: 61). Like marriages, adoptions were another Anishinaabe form of kin-making aimed at strengthening self-determination and facilitating political alliances (Rushforth 2012: 24). Other Anishinaabe women in the nineteenth-century upper Great Lakes also upheld their responsibility to incorporate new arrivals into their kin networks. Marianne Marcot LaSaliere (an Anishinaabe woman with an Odawa mother and French Canadian father) lived on Mackinac Island and ran a school for Anishinaabe children (McDowell 1977: 137). In 1820, John Tanner arrived on the island. Tanner was a white man from Kentucky who was captured by the Shawnee as a child and then raised by an Odawa *ogimaakwe* (leading woman), Netnowkwa. He asked Marianne if she could help him with raising his daughters. She agreed and brought them into her household (Miller 2010: 67–70).

While women incorporating new arrivals is a part of Anishinaabe political practices, Anishinaabe historian Michael Witgen (2022: 214) has argued that in the nineteenth century, Ojibwe wives of American missionaries worked to secure a place for their children in "the racial hierarchy of American civil society." Women may have prioritized their family's benefit over the well-being of the Anishinaabe council fire. However, Indigenous women throughout the Great Lakes region participated in marriages as a political practice to successfully make alliances with outsiders for centuries (perhaps millennia), so it is possible that when these practices began to fail, they did not immediately abandon them. Instead, they attempted to adapt them.[5]

Ozhaawashkodewekwe actions suggest that in some cases, Anishinaabe women's "inclusion" in the civilizing mission of the United States represents women's active attempts to use their marriage as a way to remind their husbands of their ongoing political responsibilities to themselves, their clan, and their council fire. However, incorporating newcomers was a different dynamic in the decades following the War of 1812. By the mid-nineteenth century, Anishinaabe peoples were no longer the demographic majority in the upper Great Lakes, and the Anglo-American legal system took precedence over Indigenous governance systems (Redix 2014). The Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes were

experiencing large land cessions and removal attempts. Under these circumstances, individual and familial survival might have been all certain women could cling to. Just as male ogimaag used varied strategies to support their council fires amid increased American settlement depending on their personality and challenges, women also did not respond to American expansion monolithically.[6] Moreover, in some cases, marriages did support American settler expansion in the region, like when fur traders materially benefited from their marriages at treaty councils and annuity payments (Witgen 2022; Drouillard 2019: 235–41). These machinations of settler colonialism have also hidden Indigenous women's political work at sugar bushes and treaty councils.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's Sugar Bush

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Ozhaawashkodewekwe was busy raising her children. One of the ways she supported her family was by stewarding and managing a large sugar bush that she established in 1806, over a decade after her family arrived in the region. Her sugar bush was on the nearby Sugar Island, and she returned to it annually into the 1830s.[7] As members of the Caribou doodem, Ozhaawashkodewekwe and her paternal family line had specific responsibilities for providing sustenance for their families (B. Johnston 1990: 60). Managing her sugar bush was one of the main ways Ozhaawashkodewekwe ensured her family had access to their needed resources. Maple sugar was an essential seasoning for fruits, vegetables, cereals, and fish in Anishinaabe communities, which lacked easy access to salt (Child 2014: 148; Miller 2010: 49–50). Not only was maple a valuable food source for Anishinaabeg peoples but it could be traded to acquire other needed supplies. American ethnographer Frances Densmore (1928: 309) describes how, in the twentieth century, "a woman with a goodly supply of maple sugar in its various forms was regarded as a thrifty woman providing for the wants of her family." Maple trees, sap, and sugar also held spiritual, cultural, and social significance to Anishinaabe people (Child 2013: 20). Maple sugar, wild rice, and berries were commonly utilized in feasts and ceremonies (Norrgard 2014: 25).

Anishinaabe women had a deep, scientific understanding of what conditions led to the best sugar, including winters with deep freezes and considerable snowfall accumulation (Densmore 1928: 309; Child 2014: 148). The running of sap was an essential and highly anticipated sign of spring, representing the seasonal transition from scarcity to abundance (Child 2013: 20). To prepare for sugar season in the spring, women worked throughout the year gathering materials such as birchbark, basswood,

and hemlock and transforming them into needed supplies, from baskets to spouts. Women utilized birchbark for numerous practical applications due to its ability to retain and heat liquids without degrading. Women made birchbark into *casseaus* (containers) to collect sap from trees and *makakoon*, which were birchbark baskets where the syrup was laid out to dry and crystallize into sugar. The final run of sap combined with fish sustained families as they planted their summer gardens during the spring (22). Women's success as sugar producers depended on intergenerational ecological knowledge and skill sets learned from female relatives and Anishinaabe women's inherited rights to maple groves through their doodem connections.

In Anishinaabe territory, ogimaag were responsible for assigning rights of most resources to both council fire members and the region's newcomers (Miller 2010: 93–96). While the Crane doodem is responsible for the waters and lands at Bawating, Caribou ogimaag also signed treaties regarding land and waterways adjacent to the Saint Marys River since the seventeenth century (Bohaker 2021: 25, 11–13). Nicholas Perrot's account of the 1671 *prise-de-possession* ceremony by the French at Bawating notes that at least one Caribou ogimaa inscribed his pictograph (Le Roy 1912: 347).[8] There was also an important Caribou ogimaa in the late eighteenth century named Ogaa. He and fellow Caribou ogimaa Kitchi Negou were signatories at the 1781 cession of Mackinac Island to the British. Mackinac Island is situated in the Straits of Mackinac, which connect northern Lake Huron to Lake Michigan, just a few miles west of the mouth of the Saint Marys River (Bohaker 2021, fig. 1).[9] Ogaa also witnessed the 1798 cession of St. Joseph's Island to the British (Corbiere 2005).[10] St. Joseph's Island is north of the Straits of Mackinac and south of Sugar Island in the Saint Marys River. In some spots, the two islands are separated by a narrow channel approximately half a mile wide. Ogaa's role as a signatory and witness in the land cessions—rather than a claimant—indicates his role in stewarding land in the region (Bohaker 2021: 43–44; Corbiere 2005). Ogaa died in 1801 and is buried on Drummond Island, downriver from Sugar Island and St. Joseph's Island, at the mouth of the Saint Marys River. Although the existing archival records do not provide specific accounts of how Ozhaawashkodewekwe established her camp, analyzing her doodem kinship networks demonstrates how she most likely staked her claim to a valuable grove. A woman from a well-respected Caribou doodem family gained access to land on an island in a region where Caribou ogimaa were overseers of the land and its resources: it appears Ozhaawashkodewekwe received her rights to the maple grove from her Caribou relatives. Since her camp was established approximately five years after Ogaa's death, she may have received her sugar bush as an inheritance (Schoolcraft 1851: 163).

Based on the extant archival record, there is no definite answer to how Ozhaawashkodewekwe established her sugar bush. Her labor at Sugar Island also raises other questions. Did other Anishinaabe women in the Caribou doodem work the sugar bush before Ozhaawashkodewekwe? Did Ogaa or women grant Ozhaawashkodewekwe rights to the sugar bush? Ogimaag were in charge of most resources in their territory, but gendered food sources, like sugar bushes and wild rice beds, were usually inherited through women (Sy 2019: 226). Perhaps one of Ogaa's female relatives had previously stewarded the sugar bush. Maybe this relative developed health issues. Alternatively, maybe other reasons prevented the relative from continuing to run an annual sugar camp. Ogaa might have worked with this relative to grant Ozhaawashkodewekwe access to the sugar bush. While there are no specific answers, the questions show connections between gender, political leadership, and the stewardship of land and waterways while illustrating the fragmented nature of human experience and archives (Robisheaux 2017: 12–13).

Missionary Jeremiah Porter describes how Ozhaawashkodewekwe's lodge on Sugar Island was "about half a mile thro' a beautiful maple orchard, the trees of noble growth" and "made of bark & mats spread on poles . . . larger than many a house. Probably it is 35 feet long & 25 broad & high."[11] When they collected enough sap, women hung kettles over a fire in the center of the lodge, and sugar was boiled within the house, creating "a scene of industry" (Schoolcraft 1851: 160–61). Henry Rowe Schoolcraft described the lodge as "resembling a factory" with about twenty kettles hanging over the fire and several Ojibwe women who were "all around sewing Mococks [makakoon], made from birch bark to contain the sugar" (160–61). Other Anishinaabe women in the region also ran large sugar bushes: Thérèse Marcot Schindler (the mother of Marianne LaSaliere) had a camp with over one thousand trees on Bois Blanc Island in the Straits of Mackinac, a short distance from the mouth of the Saint Marys River (Baird 1898: 28–32).

While archival evidence offers only a fleeting glimpse of Anishinaabe sugar production, what has survived suggests that Ozhaawashkodewekwe's camp was one of the largest in the area. She usually produced more than three thousand pounds of maple sugar each year of excellent quality (Jameson 1838: 217). Her production far surpassed the average at Bawating of three hundred to seven hundred pounds (Keller 1989: 132). The sugar she produced both sustained her family and played an integral role in the success of the family trading business when she took over the business after John Johnston died in 1828. After the War of 1812, the trade in beaver skins began to decline, and trade in other furs and natural resource commodities like wild

rice, dried fish, and maple sugar increased (Cleland 2000: 15). Within two years of taking over the family business, Ozhaawashkodewekwe was remarkably successful. She outfitted families with various goods, including various forms of alcohol like cider, shrubs (also known as "drinking vinegar" and usually consisting of a mixture of fruit, vinegar, sugar, and sometimes liquor), rum, wine, and whiskey. She also sold agricultural and food products produced on her family property, including flour, corn, pork, and beef, as well as items she and her daughters made, like baskets and moccasins. Maple sugar was among the most desired of all these goods, as evidenced by the frequency with which it was procured.[12]

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's sugar bush embodies her interconnected responsibilities as a mother, a member of the Caribou doodem, and an Anishinaabe woman at Bawating. She provided for her family and fulfilled her doodem responsibilities by using her knowledge of seasonal rounds to steward her sugar bush and produce a needed resource. Through her labor, she cemented her role as a provider for her community. She leveraged this role at treaty councils.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe and the Treaty of Sault Ste. Marie

In the wake of the War of 1812, Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan Territory, arranged an expedition exploring the northern Great Lakes in an attempt to extinguish Indigenous title to land at political hubs like Bawating, Prairie du Chien, and Green Bay (Witgen 2012: 340; Miller 2002: 227–28). Cass believed Indigenous peoples were doomed to disappear when faced with the presumed cultural and social superiority of Anglo-America (Witgen 2012: 398–99). He arrived at Bawating on 15 June 1820. John Johnston, who was seeking compensation for his losses from the War of 1812, was not present in Bawating as he was traveling to Britain (Schoolcraft 1851: 66–68, 71–79; "Memorial of John Johnston" 1908; G. Johnston 1887).[13] However, Ozhaawashkodewekwe was at home with several of their children.

Young ogimaag responsible for dealing with outsiders arrived at Cass's tent the day after his arrival. The ogimaag were adorned with British clothing and gifts to signal their preexisting political alliance (Miller 2002: 230; Cleland 2001: 17; Witgen 2012: 341). Cass made small gifts of tobacco and informed the ogimaag that the United States needed a tract of land to build a fort (G. Johnston 1887: 60). The ogimaag ignored the gifts and voiced concerns about the fort's proposed location on a burial ground. The meeting ended when an ogimaag named Sessaba left the tent and hoisted a British flag above his lodge. As part of the Crane doodem, Sessaba came from a lineage that traditionally governed the land and waterways at Bawating.

However, he also had personal reasons for his unhappiness with Cass's arrival: Americans had killed his brother during the War of 1812 ("General Cass" 1868). Cass responded by storming over to the British flag and tearing it down (G. Johnston 1887: 6).

George Johnston, Ozhaawashkodewekwe's son, informed his mother of the news. She responded, "'For God's sake, George, send instantly for the elder chiefs, for that foolish young chief, Sessaba, will bring ruin to the tribe, and get them assembled here'"(G. Johnston 1887: 6). George departed to gather Shingwauk, a rival of Sessaba and relative of Ozhaawashkodewekwe through her grandfather Mamaangizide, and other ogimaag for a council at the Johnston house. His father was Euro-American, so he did not receive a doodem from his father. Shingwauk's mother was member of the Crane doodem, and so was his wife (Bohaker 2021: 186–88). Shingwauk's descendants assert he was part of the Plover doodem, which he received through a dream. Plovers are small shorebirds whose outline and track marks resemble the Crane. Shingwauk was already connected to the Crane doodem through his mother and wife; by adopting the Plover doodem, he further linked himself to the idea of "Crane-ness" without claiming a Crane identity (Bohaker 2021: 186).

George Johnston's account demonstrates how his mother was instrumental in extinguishing the building conflict with the Americans. Ogimaag respected Ozhaawashkodewekwe's connections to Waubojiig and her Caribou doodem kin (Miller 2010: 68). Eventually, the ogimaag decided to accommodate an American presence at Bawating and agreed to another meeting with Cass. Shingwauk was selected to find Sessaba and inform him of the plan. When Shingwauk told Sessaba that the ogimaag decided to let the American delegation proceed in peace, Sessaba struck Shingwauk before eventually consenting to the decision (G. Johnston 1887: 60).

Ozhaawashkodewekwe, George Johnston, Shingwauk, and ogimaag assembled at the Johnston house to meet with Cass. The Anishinaabeg agreed to sell the Americans the tract along the Saint Marys River that Cass initially requested. However, they also maintained hunting and fishing rights in the region in perpetuity (Kappler 1904: 187–88). Several years after this treaty, the American superintendent of Indian affairs Thomas McKenney (1827: 183) noted Lewis Cass "felt himself then, and does yet, under the greatest obligation to Mrs. J [Ozhaawashkodewekwe] for her co-operation at that critical moment." While Ozhaawashkodewekwe gained some respect from American officials, she received no financial compensation.

At this moment in 1820, Ozhaawashkodewekwe wielded her political authority to smooth over the tense negotiations between the Ojibwe and American officials, preventing the conflict from escalating. Ozhaawashkodewekwe and Sessaba had radically different views on how to deal with the

arrival of American officials at Bawating. Sessaba was a young warrior. He was responsible for dealing with outsiders through conflict. He also had a personal vendetta against the Americans from the War of 1812. When looking back at the events of 1820 from the twenty-first century (knowing that the United States has a history of upholding very few treaty obligations), Sessaba's refusal to deal with the Americans seems like a savvy choice. After all, in the compromise orchestrated by Ozhaawashkodewekwe, the land ceded to Americans included burial grounds (Billings 1870: 129). However, despite the concessions Anishinaabe people made in 1820, oral histories from citizens of the Garden River First Nation (on the Canadian side of the Saint Marys River) are critical of Sessaba's leadership. They explain how he overtly favored the British over Americans without consulting his community, leading him to make potentially injurious decisions to the council fire (Chute 1998: 35). By putting his own beliefs and interests above the collective will of his community, he failed to uphold Anishinaabe standards for leadership (Redix 2014: 10–12). It is challenging to examine Sessaba's leadership style over a longer trajectory: in 1822, he drowned in the rapids of the Saint Marys River after drinking (Warren 2009: 463).

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's actions were consistent with Anishinaabe political customs. As an Anishinaabe woman from a paternal lineage of ogimaag, Ozhaawashkodewekwe learned from a young age the importance of incorporating newcomers into council fires. She modeled this practice throughout her life. As a member of the Caribou doodem, Ozhaawashkodewekwe was connected to important ogimaag who oversaw land along the Saint Marys River and adjacent waterways, even though members of the Crane doodem primarily held leadership roles at Bawating (Corbiere 2005). By facilitating an agreement between the Anishinaabe at Bawating and Lewis Cass, Ozhaawashkodewekwe upheld her responsibility as an Anishinaabe woman to educate newcomers and incorporate them into Anishinaabe political systems. In other words, she continued using marriage to form alliances just as her ancestors had for generations.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe further strengthened her family's relationship with the United States in 1823, when her daughter Jane married Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the recently arrived Indian Agent at Bawating. About a decade later, Jane's younger sister, Charlotte, married William McMurray, an Anglican missionary and British Indian Agent, on the northern side of the river (Ruggle 2003). Their marriages continued to model the Anishinaabe custom of marriage as a political institution to incorporate outsiders. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, American and British political and religious figures rarely upheld the responsibilities embedded in these alliances (Bohaker 2021: 90).

Ozhaawashkodewekwe and the Treaty of Fond du Lac

The connection between marriages and political alliances was evident in 1826 when Ozhaawashkodewekwe and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft traveled to Fond du Lac for a treaty council. This treaty intended to address the territorial boundaries described during the council at Prairie du Chien the previous year. Both treaties were part of Congress's attempts to define the boundary between Indigenous lands in the western Great Lakes as a preliminary step to negotiating land cessions. Not all Ojibwe ogimaag attended the 1825 treaty, so American officials called for a treaty at Fond du Lac to clarify the terms (Redix 2014: 24–27).

The Fond du Lac treaty did not cede any land to the Americans (Kappler 1904: 269). Instead, Americans gained the right to explore for minerals in the Lake Superior watershed. The Ojibwe negotiated for government annuities and allotments of tribal lands to Anishinaabe women who married Euro-American men, as well as for their children. Land grants to individuals were common in treaties since American officials and Indigenous communities often saw them as desirable features (Mumford 1999: 13). Americans saw allotments as a pathway to assimilate mixed-descent community members and to privatize parts of Indigenous lands. The Ojibwe saw the grants as a way to grow their council fire membership by connecting children of fur-trade marriages to kin networks as a strategic move to strengthen council fires amid American expansion.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe drew upon her family connections to influence the treaty, attempting to ensure that women who incorporated newcomers into Anishinaabe networks benefited from the land grants. Her impact is evident in the structure of the list of grants: she is the first name listed and the only person who was awarded a specific location for her grant at the site of her sugar bush (Kappler 1904: 269; Mumford 1999: 16). Through her work, her immediate family also benefited. Ozhaawashkodewekwe's son-in-law, Schoolcraft, helped negotiate the treaty. The land grants were a way to increase his children's property holdings. Under the land grants, Schoolcraft listed Ozhaawashkodewekwe's Anishinaabe name rather than her Christian name (Susan Johnston). Schoolcraft was working to disguise the benefits his wife (Jane Johnston Schoolcraft) and children received from people unfamiliar with their family—including Congress and the Senate.[14] While women tried to use the land grants to incorporate newcomers into Anishinaabe council fires, Schoolcraft and Euro-American husbands tried to use land grants to increase their holdings (Drouillard 2019: 235–41).

How did Ozhaawashkodewekwe and other Anishinaabe women feel when Schoolcraft and other Euro-American men manipulated treaty

councils and annuity payments to benefit themselves and their children while plundering resources from Anishinaabe peoples? Unsurprisingly, no archival documents discuss Ozhaawashkodewekwe's motivations or responses. However, dismissing her actions because of the potential influence of Euro-American male family members erases her significant political responsibilities. Throughout her life, Ozhaawashkodewekwe continually asserted her Anishinaabe identity. She spoke the Anishinaabe language. She dressed in Anishinaabe styles. While the United States aimed to access the region's valuable minerals and forests, she engaged in seasonal activities and fulfilled her doodem duties, which included stewarding the land allocated by her doodem (McKenney 1827: 150, 182). The ways Ozhaawashkodewekwe's asserted her Anishinaabe identity through times of political upheaval is similar to the ways Kakima, a Potawatomi woman living near southern Lake Michigan, used her fur-trade marriage to ensure her kin allied to both the Americans and the British had access to trade goods during the War of 1812 (Sleeper-Smith 2001: 90–91). Ozhaawashkodewekwe's actions in 1826 are also similar to Okunzhewug—another Ojibwe woman in the western Lake Superior region who was married to a Crane ogimaa (chief). Okunzhewug asserted a claim to gifts and trade goods at the treaty at Fond du Lac (McKenney 1827: 461).

When evaluating Ozhaawashkodewekwe's actions and the influence of her Euro-American family members, it is important to remember that Waubojiig arranged her marriage. Her marriage was not an individual decision that Ozhaawashkodewekwe made. Instead, it reflects the will of her father, who was an ogimaa (chief), and his responsibilities to his council fire. This context is integral to understanding her actions as part of a collective rather than only representing her family's interests. The inclusion of numerous families in land grants during the treaty provides additional evidence that Ozhaawashkodewekwe advocated for these grants to assist women who were involved in incorporating outsiders, especially traders, into their networks. The land grants included Ikwezewe (also known as Equaysayway or Madeline Cadotte), the wife of Michael Cadotte (Kappler 1904: 269). Like Ozhaawashkodewekwe, Ikwezewe lived in lands where she inherited responsibilities through her Crane doodem, like Bawating and Mooniingwanekaaning-minis (Warren 2009: 48).

Despite Ozhaawashkodewekwe's efforts and the self-serving assistance of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the Senate ultimately refused to ratify the land grants. Other Indigenous women also purchased land from their relatives and then lost land ownership as settlers poured into the Great Lakes. Some of these women successfully fought to reclaim their lands (like Nahnebahwequay, an Anishinaabe woman), and others were unsuccessful (like

Sally Ainse, an Oneida woman) (Smith 2003; Taylor 2006: 396–407; Macgillivray 2022). While Ozhaawashkodewekwe did not become the titled property owner of her Sugar Island land, she continued running her sugar bush. The American government's refusal to recognize her property did not usurp her doodem rights or responsibilities.

The 1826 treaty at Fond du Lac was the last treaty Ozhaawashkodewekwe attended. However, American officials continued to negotiate treaties with Anishinaabe people. The Treaty of Washington in 1836 ceded the northern Lower Peninsula and eastern Upper Peninsula to the United States and created reservations. Some reservation lands were on Sugar Island and Round Island, located in the Straits of Mackinac (near the mouth of the Saint Marys River). Round Island was initially transferred to Elizabeth Mitchell (Anishinaabe) by her Ojibwe relatives.[15] However, at a subsequent council with Schoolcraft, the ogimaag were coerced to agree to a modification by the Senate that stipulated the reservations only lasted five years.[16]

After the Treaty of Washington, some residents of Bawating alleged that during treaty annuity payments, Schoolcraft inappropriately paid several people (Hele 2008: 71). Residents of Bawatig accused Ozhaawashkodewekwe's daughter Charlotte and her son of being inappropriately paid since they lived on the British side of the river and because of her parents' ancestry. John Johnston was Scots-Irish, and Ozhaawashkodewekwe was accused of being Anishinaabe and Dakota since her paternal great-uncle was Dakota (75). However, accusing Ozhaawashkodewekwe of being only part Anishinaabe illustrates how Indigenous peoples drew on Euro-American understandings of blood and biology to attempt to support their families at the same time as Americans stripped valuable resources from Anishinaabe lands and waters. Euro-American understandings of identity view any Dakota ancestry as diluting Anishinaabe ancestry. However, under the Anishinaabe practice of patrilineal doodemag, a person either belonged as *inawemaaganag* (kin) or did not (Witgen 2012: 33, 35). As the daughter of an ogimaa and member of the Caribou doodem, Ozhaawashkodewekwe was Anishinaabe. Her lineage reflects the Anishinaabe practice of marriages with people outside of one's doodem.

In Ozhaawashkodewekwe's elder years, she once again drew upon her Caribou doodem responsibilities to provide for her family by seeking remuneration from the American federal government for the family property lost in the War of 1812.[17] The government refused to honor her family's claim. However, Ozhaawashkodewekwe continued to live at Bawating and maintain her sugar bush, stewarding the land and waterways. Americans did not establish settlements on the island until after 1842 (Belfy 2011: 147). Her responsibilities were independent of recognition from the settler state. She died in 1843.

Ozhaawashkodewekwe's Legacy

Despite the work of women like Ozhaawashkodewekwe, by the mid-nineteenth century, most Euro-Americans no longer understood the obligations embedded in Anishinaabe political practices and actively worked to usurp them. These challenges represent more extensive political changes sweeping across the Lake Superior region as settler-initiated treaty processes, land cessions, and annuity payments created a political economy of plunder (Witgen 2022: 19). Land cessions in British and American territories were motivated by access to valuable resources, like old-growth forests and deposits of copper and iron. Anglo-American men who did not depend on Anishinaabe kinship connections and skillsets for their survival or economic success controlled these industries (Redix 2014: 117–18, 122). American and Canadian officials and settlers did not view Anishinaabe women as political actors, and settler-colonial legal protocols like coverture made it difficult for Indigenous women to acquire, maintain, and steward property (Sleeper-Smith 2005: 428–30; Macgillivray 2022).

Amid these massive changes, Anishinaabe women in the Lake Superior watershed used their knowledge from seasonal rounds to participate in new markets. When state and federal officials targeted Ojibwe communities in the western half of Lake Superior for removal, the Ojibwe used support from mining communities who bought agricultural goods from Ojibwe women to lobby for permanent homelands in the region and successfully avoided removal with the signing of the Treaty of La Pointe in 1854 (Child 2013: 76; Redix 2014: 56). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women harvested blueberries flourishing in areas that had been heavily logged and then burned by forest fires. Women increased their berry picking at a crucial moment: settlers constructed dams on rivers and inland lakes, destroying wild rice beds, and logging companies shifted their targets from softwoods, like pines, to hardwoods, including maple groves (Child 2013: 86). Women also drew on their gendered skills developed through seasonal rounds to produce baskets and moccasins, clothing, and bags embroidered with elaborate beadwork for the emerging tourism industry (Norrgard 2014: 117–19).

Throughout her life, Ozhaawashkodewekwe drew upon her doodem connections and responsibilities to establish a thriving sugar bush. Her actions demonstrate how Anishinaabe women adjusted long-standing political traditions to steward natural resources in the interests of forthcoming generations amid the growing threat posed by Anglo-American settlement on their lands. In the twenty-first century, Anishinaabe women continue to protect land, waterways, and Indigenous foodways, sometimes receiving international recognition for their work, as did Josephine

Mandamin and Autumn Pelletier (Gallant 2020a, 2020b). In 2013–14, women were active members in Harvest Camp, a grassroots organization formed in opposition to the construction of a proposed open-pit taconite mine in the Penokee Hills of northern Wisconsin, about thirty miles south of Lake Superior. Harvest Camp's director Paul DeMain (member of the Oneida Nation and of Ojibwe descent) credits his grandmother's accounts of sugaring in the 1860s as the inspiration for the community's decision to tap trees (Moore 2016).

Notes

I would like to thank Northland College, and the Rackham Graduate School and the Department of American Culture at University of Michigan for providing funding for archival research and conference travel that shaped this article. I would like to especially thank the Newberry Library for supporting my archival research and providing time for thinking and writing that is reflected in this piece. I would also like to thank the mentors, colleagues, and reviewers who have provided feedback on this article in various forms. In particular, I would like to thank Kyle Bladow for his support and feedback.

1 Anishinaabe refers to Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi, Mississauga, and other Algonquian peoples in the Great Lakes. I use Ojibwe to refer to Anishinaabe communities on Lake Superior and its tributaries. I do not italicize Anishinaabe names or terminology. However, I do italicize terms from French. Bawating comes from the Anishinaabemowin (Anishinaabe language) word for rapids, baawitig. *The Ojibwe People's Dictionary*, s.v. "baawatig," https://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/main-entry/baawitig-ni (accessed 10 January 2020).

2 "Ojibwemowin Audio Place Names," National Park Service, 13 May 2022, https://www.nps.gov/apis/learn/historyculture/ojibwemowin-place-names.htm; The Rabbett before Horses Strickland exhibit at the Madeline Island Museum, La Pointe, WI, May and July 2022. Martin Powless (Bad River Anishinaabe) provided the Anishinaabemowin translations for this exhibit.

3 The island and the nearby Kakogan Sloughs wild rice beds play a significant role in the Anishinaabe migration story. See Giizhibaa'aanakwad, n.d.; Witgen 2012: 84n90, 93–96; Belfy 2011: xxxiv–xxxvii; Child 2013: xiii–xiv; Bohaker 2021: 48–53.

4 Michilimackinac Island, No. 1, 12 May 1781, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Ottawa, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1581293792285#ucls1 (accessed 15 February 2022); St. Joseph's Island, No. 11, 30 June 1798, LAC, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1581293792285#ucls11 (accessed 15 February 2022); "Signatures from the Mackinaw Island Deed, 12 May 1781," Clements Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, https://clements.umich.edu/exhibit/american-encounters/nah-case-5/signatures-from-mackinaw-island/ (accessed 15 February 2022).

5 Anishinaabe stories passed on through oral traditions emphasize how Anishinaabe people worked hard to explain to newcomers how to act as good neighbors within Anishinaabewaki. Simpson 2013: 40.

6 For examples of different leadership styles, see discussions of Nena'aangabi, Waabizheshi, and Giishkitawag in Redix 2014.
7 Jeremiah Porter Diaries, 5 April 1832, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit.
8 The original manuscript of the prise-de-possession has not been found.
9 Michilimackinac Island, No. 1; "Signatures from the Mackinaw Island Deed."
10 St. Joseph's Island, No. 11, 30 June 1798, LAC, https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1370372152585/1581293792285#ucls11 (accessed 15 February 2022).
11 Jeremiah Porter Diaries, 5 April 1832.
12 Susan Johnston, manuscript account journal of store at Sault Ste. Marie, MI, 1830–31, microfilm 1159, Newberry Library, Chicago.
13 Originals of G. Johnston's "Reminiscences" are in George Johnston Papers, Bayliss Public Library, Sault Ste. Marie, MI, Box 1.
14 Some Anishinaabe ogimaag, like Shingwauk, also had a Christian name (in this case, Augustin Bart) and signed treaties under more than one name. Belfy 2011: 68; Mumford 1999: 16.
15 Today, the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwe have reservation lands on Sugar Island. Most of Round Island is a wilderness preserve and part of the Hiawatha National Forest.
16 In the twentieth century, Anishinaabeg people in the Sugar Island and Sault Ste. Marie area lobbied for federal recognition. Today, the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwe have reservation lands through multiple counties in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, including on Sugar Island. Cleland 2001: 24, 79.
17 Susan Johnston, *John Johnston's administratrix: Petition of the widow and administratrix of John Johnston, of the falls of St. Mary's, in the territory of Michigan, praying compensation for property seized and carried away by the American army during the late war with Great Britain. January 7, 1836*, Washington, DC: Blair and Rives, Clements Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI.

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