

PEGAHMAGABOW OF PARRY ISLAND: FROM JENNESS INFORMANT TO INDIVIDUAL

John Steckley

Liberal Arts and Sciences
Humber College
Toronto, Ontario
Canada, M9W 5L7

Bryan Cummins

Department of Anthropology
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario
Canada, L8S 4L9

Abstract / Résumé

Francis Pegahmagabow, an Ojibwa from Parry Island, is the most decorated Aboriginal soldier of the World Wars. After he returned home from World War I, he acted as chief informant of government anthropologist Diamond Jenness, in the latter's writing of his important work: *The Ojibwa of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life* (1935). Information about Pegahmagabow can be gleaned from this work that will enable us to have greater information about him as a soldier, and as a man.

Francis Pegahmagabow, un Ojibwa de Parry Island, est le soldat autochtone le plus décoré pour sa participation à la Première Guerre mondiale. À son retour au Canada après la guerre, il est devenu le principal informateur de l'anthropologue gouvernemental Diamond Jessess au cours de la rédaction de son livre important, *The Ojibwa of Parry Island: Their Social and Religious Life* (1935). On peut y recueillir quelques renseignements au sujet de F. Pegahmagabow qui permettront de mieux le connaître à titre de soldat et d'homme.

Introduction

Individuality is part of ethnography. Both ethnographers and their informants have individual social locations, consisting of components such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and positions of authority within their societies. Both have particular personalities and proclivities, particular personal histories. In ethnography, as in other areas of the study of human beings, allowing or giving permission for subjectivity to be seen enables the visibility of the individual, including that of the ethnographers and of their informants. Claiming objectivity, on the other hand, can make all individuality disappear, even that of the ethnographer. When the individuality of informants is not seen, then it is relatively easy for ethnographers to sell the idea of a consensus they invisibly impose on the culture, at the cost of the contesting opinions of informants that do not neatly fit into the cultural norms thus imposed.

It can generally be said that throughout most of the history of anthropology as a discipline, objectivity was stressed. It is only since we have learned from Foucault (1978, 1980 and 1994) and critically minded anthropologists (e.g., Clifford and Marcus 1986, Jackson 1996 and Tedlock 1983), that knowledge is produced, is a cultural construct, and that the processes of that production of knowledge have to be made visible for an anthropological work to be trusted or critiqued, that the discipline has put the visibility of informants and ethnographers at the forefront.

That does not mean, however, that early anthropologists always suppressed the individuality of their informants. In the authors' study of Diamond Jenness (1886-1969), we have found this not to be true. Jenness exhibited in his ethnographies (1920, 1923, 1928, 1929, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1938 and 1955) a distinct tendency to allow for the individual voice of his informants to ring loud and clear. While this may be due, in part, to the short periods of time he spent in any one study in the field (with the notable exceptions of his Copper Inuit and New Guinea work), there is also a measure of choice involved, for which he should be justly praised and appreciated.

One benefit of allowing the voice of his informants to speak comes from the fact that much can be written about those people as individuals, something which Jenness, in fact, did with "Old Pierre" (Peter Pierre) in *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian* (1955). This was originally part of a broader ethnography that was never published. In addition, the first publication of his work with the Carrier (1929) dealt for a few pages primarily with one informant. One case in which an 'individualization' of this sort can be done is with the Ojibwa Francis Pegahmagabow, included in Jenness' ethnography of the Parry Island Ojibwa, published in

1935. Pegahmagabow emerges from this ethnography in a way that can permit us to know him significantly as an individual, and also be able to assess the nature of the information he gave. This information would not only appear, accredited to Pegahmagabow, in the Parry Island ethnography, but also anonymously in Jessess' more general works, most notably his *Indians of Canada* (1932)—the canonical work in Native studies in Canada for most of the last century.

Francis Pegahmagabow

Who was Francis Pegahmagabow, and why is he significant? He was the most highly decorated Canadian Aboriginal soldier of World War I, being awarded the Military Medal plus two bars, one of only 39 men in the entire Canadian Expeditionary Force to be so rewarded. He enlisted in August 1914, was part of the First Contingent that went overseas, and experienced all the horrors of the first battle in which deadly chlorine gas was unleashed upon unsuspecting Canadian troops. He proved to be a deadly sniper on the frontlines, probably the most deadly efficient at that task, with a 'kill' score sometimes, unofficially, recorded as high as 378. With phone lines often being cut, he became an effective "runner" carrying messages across the mudded, wired, killing fields of battle. He captured German prisoners, and rescued his countrymen. He was one of the few Canadians to fight the war virtually from beginning to end.

Nor surprisingly, his story will be prominently featured in the Canadian War Museum, which is currently under construction. In the words of the museum's recent (August 27, 2003) press release:

Francis Pegahmagabow...a key figure for explaining and interpreting the Canadian First World War experience. His photo and medals will be displayed in the Last Hundred Days section of the First World War gallery. In this section, the Canadians, along with the rest of the British Expeditionary Force, are shown advancing to victory against the German defenders; however, they did so at a terrible cost, as the Canadian Corps lost 45,000 men in the last hundred days of the war. Pegahmagabow will be one of the persons used to show the human face of battle. As one of five Canadian soldiers prominently featured in this section, his story will provide visitors with a better understanding of the important contribution of Aboriginal soldiers to the Canadian war effort. (-consulted Sept. 30, 2003)

In part, we feel the importance of this paper comes from the simple fact that telling stories about Aboriginal Canadian soldiers fighting in

world wars is not quite the same thing as telling the stories of non-Aboriginal soldiers. The authors of this paper learned, when writing a book about Aboriginal policing (Cummins and Steckley 2002), that there are some areas of Native studies that fall between the cracks of disciplines. We learned that, generally speaking, people (particularly anthropologists) who write about Aboriginal people do not tend to research and write about policing, and, similarly, people who research and write about policing do not typically have the anthropological training necessary to write about Aboriginal policing. The same seems true about Aboriginal soldiers. If Pegahmagabow's story is going to be told in the important venue of a new, national museum, the Ojibwa culture and its impact on Pegahmagabow must be interwoven into the storytelling. Similarly, the impact of World War I must be another thread in the story.

It is not just as a soldier that Pegahmagabow has significance for his people. He was chief of the Parry Island Band from 1921 to 1925, and a band councillor from 1933 to 1936. Just as important, he greatly valued the traditions of his people, and worked to preserve them. Concerning this latter point, in his biographies of his informants (of which Pegahmagabow's was by far the largest), Jenness wrote the following:

Being of profoundly meditative temperament, he began to write down the lore of his people, but later lost the notebooks in which he had jotted down their customs and traditions. He was elected Chief of the Parry Island Indians after he returned from the war and held the position for two years, when he stirred up some opposition by urging the old men and women to narrate in the council house the earlier customs of the people. Although comparatively young, and more travelled than most of the Indians, he was more saturated with their former outlook on life than the majority and more capable of interpreting the old beliefs. Occasionally his interpretations may have been a little more advanced than the average Indian would have given, yet they were a logical development of the lay beliefs such as were possible to any philosophically minded Ojibwa before the coming of Europeans. (Jenness 1935: v)

As can be suspected from the latter part of that quotation, Pegahmagabow was significantly younger than any of the other informants: John Manatuwaba (about 70), Jonas King (over 80), Jim Nanibush (about 90), Mary Sugedub (about 50), and James Walker (about 75).

It is not difficult to understand why Pegahmagabow was included with the others, who would more usually have been thought of as Elders. There would be an easy relating of the two men, Pegahmagabow and

Jeness. Both men were of the same generation. When Jenness did his fieldwork at Parry Island, in the summer of 1929, Pegahmagabow was 41 (Hayes 2003:14)¹ and Jenness was 43; both were World War I veterans. Both held or had held positions of authority over people much older than themselves, and took over from revered predecessors. Pegahmagabow became Chief at 33, following a man who had represented the people for almost 25 years, Jenness was from 1926 the chief ethnologist head at the National Museum of Canada following the first such, the highly influential Edward Sapir, who held that position from 1910 to 1925. Both men respected and were keenly interested in preserving the traditions of the Parry Island Ojibwa people. Both were articulate in their expression of those traditions.

Pegahmagabow's Biography Through the Eyes of Jenness' Ethnography

Jeness' approach to ethnography allows the reader to gain a lot of information about Pegahmagabow that would not readily have been available if he had imposed an informants' consensus on his work. The following is Pegahmagabow's biography as it comes from Jenness' ethnography.

Francis Pegahmagabow came from a chiefly lineage. Both his father and grandfather had been Chiefs of the band (1935:v). We learn of his name, not just in its literal meaning, but also in a more contextual sense:

Pegahmagabow...means 'it advances and halts, advances and halts,' and refers to the passage of a hurricane that seems to halt while it uproots the trees and bushes in its path. (Jeness 1935:92)

Although Jenness decries the Parry Islanders' decreasing knowledge of their clans, which results in a contradiction in the lists of clans coming from different informants, the reader learns Pegahmagabow's clan, and the significance it held for him:

My clan is the caribou. I have never visited Temogami [sic], but I have heard there are caribou people there also, and if I ever wish to spend a winter in that district I shall seek them out and ask them to use their influence with their band so that it will assign me a good hunting-ground. They are my relatives and will certainly help me. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:8)

There is a good chance that Pegahmagabow had experienced that kind of clan hospitality as he travelled the Great Lakes as a seaman involved in inspecting lighthouses for the Department of Marine and Fisheries both two years prior to and two years after World War I, an

experience in which, according to Jenness in Pegahmagabow's short introductory biography, he encountered a number of fellow Ojibwa.

The significance of Pegahmagabow as an informant is key here. The passage quoted above is the only example given in this monograph in which are expressed the feelings of kinship that the Ojibwa of the time may have had for members of the same clan (which Jenness describes as still surviving "in an attenuated form" at that time). Thus, this quotation from Pegahmagabow would seem to be the key source for Jenness' unattested comment in *Indians of Canada* (published in 1932, between Jenness' Ojibwa research and the publication of his Parry Island monograph) that these clans, "gave the nation a certain unity, since fellow clansmen regarded one another as close kinsmen even when they belonged to different tribes [possibly meaning 'bands']" (Jenness 1932:277).

Although Pegahmagabow's father, Michael, died when Francis was barely three, it seems that he was a storyteller, and that Francis remembered stories that his father told him. The following is an example:

My father and another Indian named *Micikkan*, 'Turtle,' shot a deer one morning a little north of Parry sound. As they were paddling back to their camp my father, who was sitting in the bow of the canoe, called out, 'Look.' Both men saw the back of an enormous turtle protruding from the water in front of them. The monster raised its head and gazed at them its eyes shining like large mirrors. The Indian in the stern lost consciousness and fell forward, but my father turned around in his seat and steered the canoe to the camp. Neither man received any medicine power from this experience, because it was only an accident. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:42)

There is a strong sense in Pegahmagabow's narratives of being saved by spiritual means. This can be read in two different, but not necessarily mutually exclusive ways. One is in line with what we know about the psychology of warfare. The fact that he survived battles in which most died (e.g., at Ypres in April 1915), and, as stated above, was one of the few Canadian soldiers who experienced virtually the entire war from beginning to end, may have led him to a belief that he was protected while others were not. It is well worth considering whether his interpretation of his culture should be seen through that biographical filter. Conversely, you could say that being raised with a sense of spiritual protection and rescue could possibly have enabled him to engage in the hideous trench warfare of World War I with a feeling that he was in some way protected.

The survival through spiritual means stories begin early in his telling

of his life story. The earliest relates to when he was a baby, and was reported in the Jenness book as follows. The first two sentences come from Jenness, the second from Pegahmagabow:

The hog-nosed snake (*Heterodon contortrix*) poisons the air with its breath. Keep to the windward of it. "I was poisoned by a hog-nosed snake when I was a baby, but a *kusabindugeyu*² discovered the cause of my sickness and cured me." (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:81)

More powerful and threatening is the following story of later in his life at Shawanaga:

When I was a young man at Shawanaga a *medewadji* tried several nights in succession to carry away my soul. I am sure it was a conjuror who was trying to harm me, because my father and grandfather had offended some of the Indians on Lake Huron, and these Indians destroyed by sorcery every member of their families except myself. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:68)

From the numerous quotations that refer to his survival through spiritual means, we can surmise that Pegahmagabow had a continuing concern about being attacked by sorcery. It should be noted that he was the only informant to refer to sorcery. While such is not inconsistent with the beliefs of his culture, it should be considered that he might have had good reason to feel and suspect the envy and jealousy of others. His father and grandfather had been Chiefs. He undoubtedly received a great deal of attention concerning his World War I exploits. In 1919, he had tried to obtain a loan under the Soldier Settlement Act and was opposed not only by Indian Agent Alexander Logan (Hayes 2003:45) but by band councillor Elijah Tabobondung, who alleged that Pegahmagabow had already squandered the money he had obtained upon his discharge (Hayes 2003:46). Further, he had become a Chief at a young age, 33. During that time he had been opposed when he tried to bring about a return to traditional practices, and was very politically active in attempting to re-acquire band lands and in trying to organize bands in the area in opposition to the paternalistic control of the local Indian Agent, and the Department of Indian Affairs. The following are his references to personally experienced sorcery. Note that one of the references even includes an accusation placed on the wife of another one of the informants, and that another involves reference to his baby. Regarding the latter, we will see later that the survival of his children as babies was an especial concern of his:

Last spring an owl prowled around my house just at the time my baby was born. I could not kill any game, and be-

came seriously ill, while my family was starving. Neighbours advised me to shoot the owl, but I knew that even if I hit it the bird would simply disappear and my gun would be quite useless afterwards. Then one of my friends who had been tapping some maple trees said to me 'I'll see if I can help you when I get home.' No sooner had he reached his home when I began to kill game again and to catch all the fish I needed. So I know some *medé* or sorcerer had a grudge against me and sent this owl to molest me.' (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:86-87)

Mrs. John Manatuwaba is herself a witch. Last winter my wife was very ill, and Jim Nanibush gave me herbal medicine to sprinkle over the walls, doors, and windows of my house four days in succession to make the witchcraft recoil on the sorcerer's own head. A fortnight later Mrs. Manatuwaba's niece died, and soon afterwards her grandchild. Her own daughter-in-law then reproached her, saying 'You have been trying to bewitch other people and your sorcery has recoiled on your own family.' (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:87)

After his father's death, he was taken in and raised from that time primarily by Peter Pamagewong, an elder and adoptive grandfather who had also helped to raise his father (Hayes 2003:14) in the nearby Ojibwa community of Shawanaga, about 30 kilometres north of Parry Island. A woman that he refers to as his "foster mother" practiced traditional medicine:

When I was living with my foster-parents at Shawanaga one of their daughters reached maturity. My foster-mother put wild ginger in all our food to prevent any ill-effect, and she gave me wild ginger to chew. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:97)

It was probably from his foster mother that he obtained the strong traditional sense of medicine that reveals itself clearly in Pegahmagabow's quotations in Jenness. The following are illustrative examples:

Talk to the tree or plant when you are gathering its bark, leaves, or root. Tell its soul and shadow³ why you are taking away part of its body. Say to it 'Help me to cure such and such a malady.' Unless you do this your medicine will not be of much avail. Moreover, if it is the root of the plant you need, take only part of it and leave the stem if possible undisturbed. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:76)

Pegahmagabow's deer medicine is the root of the *shingoakwansiwan* ("pine-shaped herb," probably the mugwort, *Artemisia dracunculoides*). He must find the plant to his right, for if it lies on his left it has no virtue. He buries its stem in the ground with a little tobacco, chews the root, and rubs the mingled juice and saliva over his eyes. Then he can approach a deer close enough to kill it with a tomahawk. (Jeness 1935:83)

There appears to have been medicine on the father's side of his foster family as well, strengthening the young Pegahmagabow's medicine connection:

My foster-father's brother, Buankins, once went west, encountered the *Sinebuan* [Assiniboine] and became a *buan* [interpreted in this text as "medicine man"²⁴].
(Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:61)

Many of Pegahmagabow's references to the spiritual culture of his people come from the time that he spent at Shawanaga. The following is an example:

While I was living at Shawanaga an Indian whom we had never seen visited the reservation to pick cranberries. There was a stone on the reservation not very large, but so heavy that no one could lift it; yet the stranger picked it up easily and hurled it into the lake. Evidently, he had the medicine power that gave him control over the soul of the stone.
(Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:21)

Of course, being raised with the Ojibwe language, the notion of a living stone would have been familiar to him, the noun for stone, *asin* being in some dialects of Ojibwe an animate noun (Baraga 1878, Otchipwe-English, p52; but not Rhodes 1985:344). Living stones are an important part of traditional Ojibwa cosmology, and are referred to as 'grandfathers' in their sacred context (Steckley and Rice 1997). He recounted another story of living stones to Jenness:

While I was living at Shawanaga an Indian whom we had never seen visited the reservation to pick cranberries. There was a stone on the reservation not very large, but so heavy that no one could lift it; yet the stranger picked it up easily and hurled it into the lake. Evidently he had medicine power that gave him control over the soul of the stone.

Long ago, too, a tribe was entirely exterminated with the exception of an old woman and her grandchild. These two were living alone on a hill-top from which they had a wide view of the surrounding country when their enemies

came and camped on the flat land at its foot. During the night the boy, who had been blessed by a *manido*, touched some stones with a stick, and, pointing in the direction of his enemies, commanded the stones to fall on them. The Stones obeyed his command; they travelled like cannonballs, and destroyed everything they met. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:21)

World War I

As mentioned above, Pegahmagabow seemed to have had a strong sense of surviving through spiritual protection. One element that would have given him such a sense when he was fighting was the war bundle that he carried with him throughout much of World War I. He was given this bundle when he was working as a seaman on the Great Lakes:

When I was at Rossport, on Lake Superior, in 1914, some of us landed from our vessel to gather blueberries near an Ojibwa camp. An old Indian recognized me, and gave me a tiny medicine-bag to protect me, saying that I would shortly go into great danger. The bag was of skin, tightly bound with a leather thong. Sometimes it seemed to be as hard as rock, at other times it appeared to contain nothing. What really was inside I do not know. I wore it in the trenches, but lost it when I was wounded and taken to a hospital.

(Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:53)

War has often been said to strengthen the religious faith of the soldiers. Witness the old statement "There are no atheists in foxholes." It appears that this may have been true for Pegahmagabow as well, at least as far as belief in the thunderbird was concerned. Although the speaker in this quotation is Jenness, Pegahmagabow's voice can be heard:

During the great war Pegahmagabow was overtaken by a terrific thunderstorm. He felt the air flap his face as though moved by the wings of a mighty bird. Previously he had not believed the story of a thunderbird, but on this occasion at least it seemed to him that it must be true. (Jenness 1935:37)

It was not just traditional Ojibwa spirits that Pegahmagabow felt were present in the battlefields of Europe. In the following passage, he speaks of a black dog working for the enemy, which seems to have disappeared mysteriously. The reference to a black dog is curious. While Pegahmagabow spoke of the symbolic importance of white dogs (Jenness 1935:39 and 65), he made no reference to any meaning attached by his people to black dogs. There is no reference known to the

authors of this paper to any special meaning being attached to black dogs in Ojibwa culture. However, black dogs have tremendous traditional symbolic meaning in Great Britain, with traditional stories throughout the island referring to their deadly power. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle picked up on these stories with the "coal-black hound" in his 1902 publication, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. Traditional rural culture still had many of his mythological foundations intact in rural England prior to World War I. Speaking and spending a great deal of time with British soldiers, perhaps Pegahmagabow learned some of their traditional beliefs. The reference to the black dog is as follows:

During one period of the war in France I was a runner, and had as my fellow runner a Norwegian named Oscar Lund. One evening we saw a black dog with a luminous mouth carrying what appeared to be a paper tied to its neck. Believing it to be a scout for the Germans Lund reported it to the adjutant, who took me with him in a motorcycle to look for it. However, we did not see it again. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:87)

Home from the War

When Pegahmagabow returned home after the war, he became quite ill. Perhaps he was suffering from a version of the Spanish flu that took such a devastating toll in the postwar years. The spiritual protector that helped him this time was Jesus. It is not revealed in Jenness' ethnography where Pegahmagabow learned his Christian lessons. However, Adrian Hayes, a biographer of Pegahmagabow, states that:

A brush with typhoid fever in the spring of 1913, during which Pegahmagabow was nursed back to health by the Sisters of St. Joseph in Parry Sound, seems to have fostered his life-long commitment to Roman Catholicism, even though he continued to believe very strongly in traditional Ojibwa customs and rituals. (Hayes 2003:19)

Pegahmagabow probably also encountered a strong sense of the power of Jesus from army chaplains, Christian soldiers of deep conviction, or even 'foxhole Christians' during the war. The following is what he said:

After I returned from the war I was ill and unable to do a hard day's work. One night I dreamed that Jesus approached me, clothed in a loin cloth and with bleeding wounds as He appears in pictures. I threw myself at His feet and asked for a blessing. Then I awoke, and told my friends that Jesus had blessed me and was restoring me to health. I recovered

my health, and am now as strong as ever. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:48)

This was not Pegahmagabow's only reference to Jesus in this ethnography. In the one other reference, he speaks of Jesus in Midewewin terms, as one who should have charged for his medical knowledge. In this quotation, Pegahmagabow's name is linked as source with Jonas King, who was involved with the Midewewin, something that happened a number of times, perhaps with the younger man being the translator of the elder:

No one may teach another any medicine without payment or benefit, for he would lose power thereby and wear out his life. Because Jesus healed the sick without payment he lost his power and perished. The least a competent medicine-man will accept for a medicine is \$50, the full earnings of one moon. (Jonas King and Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:76)

Pegahmagabow lost his first child shortly after it was born. He drew comfort from traditional beliefs to help him emotionally survive that horrible ordeal:

We often heard a sound as of a saucer moving beside my first baby, and it seemed to us that some unseen presence was tending the child. Shortly before it died we could feel this presence near us trying to take the child away, and I dreamed that it was the soul of my wife's dead mother. So we did not grieve greatly when the baby died, knowing that my wife's mother would take care of it. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:107)

That this may have caused Pegahmagabow some concern about the survival of babies past the critical early months can be seen in two stories he related in the ethnography, one of his own baby, who did live past that first stage, and of someone else's child, who did not:

Just after my baby was born a woman nearly related to me dreamed that it embodied the soul of a man named Blue Sky who had died many years before. My wife had a similar dream about the same time, so I named the baby Blue Sky, even though the original bearer of the name was unrelated to either of us. The name quickly showed its power, for the baby, which had been very sickly, gained strength immediately and is now quite healthy. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:93)

A few hours after Adam King's baby was born some one said to it 'Where have you come from?' The baby answered

'From far away'. But the Great Spirit saw that this baby was born with too much power and he caused it to die. So you must never ask questions of a baby." (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:91)

Pegahmagabow raised his children with notions of traditional Ojibwa culture, interpreting their lives with the eyes of a traditional Elder. This can be seen in the following quotations:

Every winter I set twenty-five or thirty rabbit snares. If I find a rabbit has carried away a snare, I warn my children that they have been making too much noise in the evenings. (Pegahmagabow in Jenness 1935:94)

Pegahmagabow's elder boy, aged nine, dreamed about a flood, and an old man of whom the father took counsel interpreted it to mean that the boy would receive a present. He offered the same interpretation for a second dream, and warned Pegahmagabow that the boy would shortly receive a visitation and a blessing from the supernatural world. (Jenness 1935:48)

Summary

Although Canadian Aboriginal volunteers in the two World Wars made important contributions, their collective effort and their stories as individuals are poorly known. Every effort must be made to have their stories told. In the case of Francis Pegahmagabow, there is important information to be gleaned from his work as an anthropological informant for Diamond Jenness in the production of the latter's important study of the Parry Island Ojibwa. We see him in his beliefs of personal survival through spiritual means, both in World War I and in his life in Parry Island and Shawanaga. We see something of his bicultural nature, through his belief in Jesus as a healing shaman, and, possibly through his acquired knowledge from British folk culture of the significance of black dogs.

Also, more secondarily, but still of significance, we attempted to demonstrate the value of an early anthropologist in Canada, Diamond Jenness, that the authors feel is underappreciated in contemporary Canadian anthropology. He let his informants speak in a way that still sends important messages today. We also have demonstrated, in a more minor way, the source of some of his comments on Aboriginal culture in his arguably most famous work, *Indians of Canada*.

Acknowledgment

Research for this publication was assisted by a grant from the Professional Development Fund, CUPE, Trent University.

Notes

1. Jenness (1935:v) gave Pegahmagabow's age as being 37. According to Hayes, Pegahmagabow "told military authorities in 1914 that he was born three years later" than the more probable date of his birth (Hayes 2003:14).
2. In Jenness' work, this is translated as "seer" or "conjurer."
3. The Ojibwe terms Jenness presented in the ethnography for these two concepts were "*utjitchog*" for "soul" and "*udjibbom*" for "shadow" (Jenness 1935:18). In Rhodes' valuable Ojibwe dictionary, these nouns are represented as "jiibay...ghost, spirit, soul" (Rhodes 1985:200) and "njichaag...my soul" (ibid). As Pegahmagabow was the only informant who used the terms "soul" and "shadow" in this way, it is possible that he was the one who gave Jenness the Ojibwe words.
4. The etymology of Assiniboine is presented by Jenness as being "*Sin-e-buan*: stone medicine-men" (1935:61), rather than the more conventional "the people that cook with hot stones" that he presents in *Indians of Canada* (1932:308). Perhaps he learned this particular etymology from Pegahmagabow, as he is the only one given as an informant concerning the Assiniboine.

References

- Baraga, F.
1878 *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*, Montreal: Beauchemin & Valois.
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus eds.
1986 *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cummins, Bryan and John Steckley
2002 *Aboriginal Policing: A Canadian Perspective*, Toronto: Pearson Education Canada.

- Foucault, Michel
- 1978 *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: An Introduction.* New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- 1980 "Two Lectures." *Power/Knowledge.* Ed. Colin Gordon. New York, NY: Pantheon Books. 78-108.
- 1994 *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* London: Routledge; trans. from *L'Archéologie du savoir* 1969.
- Hayes, Adrian
- 2003 *Pegahmagabow: Legendary Warrior, Forgotten Hero,* Huntsville: Fox Meadow Creations.
- Jackson, Michael ed.
- 1996 *Things As They Are: New Directions In Phenomenological Anthropology,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Jenness, Diamond (with Rev. A. Ballantyne)
- 1920 *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jenness, Diamond
- 1923 "The Life of the Copper Eskimos," *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918,* vol. 12, pt A, Ottawa: Dept. of Naval Services, King's Printer.
- 1928 *The People of the Twilight,* New York: The Macmillan Company.
- 1929 "The Ancient Education of a Carrier Indian," *National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 62, pp 22-27.*
- 1932 *The Indians of Canada,* Dept. of Mines, National Museum of Canada, Bull. 65, Anthropological Series No. 15, Ottawa: Acland.
- 1935 *The Ojibwa of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life,* Bull. 78, National Museum of Canada, Dept. of Mines, Anthropological Series, No. 17., Ottawa: Acland.
- 1937 *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia,* National Museum of Canada, Bull. 84, Anthropological Series no. 20, Ottawa: Acland.
- 1938 *The Sarcee Indians of Alberta,* National Museum of Canada, Bull. 90, Anthropological Series No. 23.
- 1943 *The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River: Their Social and Religious Life.*
- Rhodes, Richard
- 1985 *Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa Dictionary,* New York: Mouton Press.

Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology,
Anthropological Papers, no. 25, Washington

1955 *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian* ed., by Wilson Duff,
Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir 2, Victoria: BC
Provincial Museum.

Steckley, John and Brian Rice

1997 "Lifelong Learning and Cultural Identity: A Lesson from
Canada's Native People," co-author Brian Rice; Michael
Hatton ed., *Lifelong Learning: Policies, Programs and
Practices*, Toronto, APEC, pp 216-229.

Tedlock, Dennis

1983 *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*, Phila-
delphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.