Towards a Pedagogy of Solidarity: Uprooting Traditions of Racial Plagiarism and Cultural Appropriation at Camp Ahmek

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Abstract

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Amanda Shore

Since the turn of the 20th century stolen Indigenous objects, stories, songs, and symbols have proliferated in the North American camping sector, and white-settler camp educators have enabled this appropriation of Indigenous land and culture. This research examines strategies used by camp educators to dispose of racialized costumes and uproot traditions of cultural appropriation and racial plagiarism. With Camp Ahmek as my case study, I examine strategies used by camp staff to repatriate costumes and props as they work to dismantle racialized traditions of make believe. I highlight Indigenous educators over the last century who have worked in summer camps, and acted with agency to safeguard cultural practices. I trace the rate of change, the patterns of curricular reform, and the success of interventions in order to understand the broader phenomenon of cultural appropriation. Ultimately, I conclude that cultural appropriation is a complex process of intellectual and cultural theft, which resists intervention and persists in many material and immaterial forms. Correspondingly, it requires an equally complex, long-term commitment to decolonizing practices directed by Indigenous educators.

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It has been the greatest privilege of my education to be mentored by strong women scholars. I am deeply grateful to my thesis advisor Dr. Heather Igloliorte for challenging me to be ambitious, fearless, and humble in my research. This thesis elaborates on ideas developed in my paper "Notes on Camp: A Decolonizing Strategy," under the supervision of Dr. Carla Taunton at NSCAD University. Thank you, Carla, for encouraging me to pursue settler responsibility with care and empathy. Thank you to my reader Dr. Elaine Cheasley Paterson for welcoming me into the world of craft scholarship. I am grateful to Jim "Many Hats" Adams, Greg Padulo, and Kathleen Padulo, who were willing to share their stories with me in interviews. This work is written in loving memory of Dr. Sandra Alfoldy, whose warmth and humour never undermined her rigour as a scholar and curator.

Catherine Ross, an established camp leader, once said in a training session that camp counselors spend more hours in a day with some campers than their parents ever will. She taught me to never take for granted my influence as a camp educator, and to be careful with the power and privilege I carry in the camping sphere. Lastly, thank you to Nina Bohemia Purghart, my former camper and dear friend who continually reminds me to keep children at the core of my research.

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Introduction

At the turn of the 20th century, urban dwellers in North America were overstimulated by emerging technologies and retreated en masse to the wilderness.[1] This anxiety-driven retreat marked the beginning of the modern camping movement on Turtle Island.[2] Settler imaginaries took a primitivist turn, idolizing a "simpler life" which they equated with an idealized pan-Indigenous way of life.[3] For over a century, stolen Indigenous symbols have proliferated in the camping sector, and settler camp educators have enabled the idolization, commodification, and fetishization of Indigenous land and culture. Critical scholarship by Marcia Crosby, Sandrina De Finney, Deborah Doxtator, and Adrienne Keene examines the fetishization of Indigenous stereotypes and the damaging effects of cultural appropriation.[4] Further research by Philip Deloria, Abigail Van Slyck, and Sharon Wall traces the history of cultural appropriation at summer camps in the first half of the 20th century; however, there are few written records of how camp traditions have unravelled in recent decades.[5]

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[1] I use "wilderness" to refer to the settler fantasy of untouched backwoods, a concept which enables settlers in the fields of outdoor education and ecotourism to commodify Indigenous land. J. Baird Callicott and Michael P. Nelson, *The Great New Wilderness Debate* (University of Georgia Press, 1998); William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996): 7–28.

[2] On antimodern anxiety see Lynda Jessup, ed., *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Norman McIntyre, ed., *Multiple Dwelling and Tourism: Negotiating Place, Home and Identity* (Cambridge: CAB International, 2006); Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

[3] Avril Bell defines the "settler imaginary" as "the set of ideas and values that underpin a peculiarly settler discourse of nationhood, identity and indigenous-settler relations." I conceive of "imaginaries" in the context of Jason Edward Lewis and Skawennati's research on the "future imaginary," which synthesizes the images, stories, and legends that Indigenous communities use to imagine their futures. While "settler imaginary" refers to the colonial space of the settler psyche, I pluralize this term to acknowledge the breadth of settler experiences across intersectional lines of difference. Avril Bell, "Is Settler Colonialism Still a Thing?," University of Auckland New Zealand, March 28, 2018, https://www.thebigq.org/2018/03/28/is-settler-colonialism-still-a-thing/; Jason Edward Lewis, "A Better Dance and Better Prayers: Systems, Structures, and the Future Imaginary in Aboriginal New Media," in *Coded Territories: Tracing Indigenous Pathways in New Media Art*, ed. Steve Loft and Kerry Swanson (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014), 55–77.

[4] Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, ed. John O'Brian and Peter White, 1st ed. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 488–498; Sandrina de Finney, "Playing Indian and Other Settler Stories: Disrupting Western Narratives of Indigenous Girlhood," *Continuum* 29, no. 2 (March 4, 2015): 169–81, https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2015.1022940; Deborah Doxtator, "Fluff and Feathers," *Arts and Crafts Quarterly*, Winter 1989; Adrienne Keene, "Engaging Indigeneity and Avoiding Appropriation: An Interview with Adrienne Keene," *English Journal* 106 (2016): 55–57.

[5] Thomas McIlwraith's 2019 literature review provides a more detailed survey of recent scholarship. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood: Indian Lore, Child Psychology, and the Cultural Landscape of Camp Ahmek," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Lerner (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2009), 27–48; Sharon Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions: 'Playing Indian' at Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955," *Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (2005): 513–44; Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55*; Thomas McIlwraith and Stephen Fine, "Decolonizing Strategies for Summer Camps: A 'Backgrounder' and Bibliography," March 2019, Canadian Camping

As a white settler-Canadian art historian, and a former camp counselor, I acknowledge that for twelve years, I participated in camp traditions that imitate, appropriate, and misrepresent Indigenous ceremonies and cultural traditions. I am a beneficiary of the traditions which I critique in this research, and I position myself firmly within what Roger Epp calls "the settler problem."[6] I've contributed to a camp environment that fosters peer pressure and white-settler collectivity, and I've also glimpsed the potential of outdoor classrooms to be transformative pedagogical spaces. I am indebted to those who taught me to be a teacher, and a better listener—my former campers who are now in fact running the camp that both my mother and I attended, a generation apart—who are putting this research into practice in real time. In response to my experience at summer camp, I highlight the work of camp educators working to shift, eradicate, and uproot harmful costuming traditions like the ones I experienced.

In this research, I investigate strategies used by Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators to dispose of racialized costumes in order to eradicate, modify, or uproot harmful traditions. Using Camp Ahmek as a case study, I examine strategies used by educators to retire costumes and props used in racialized traditions of make believe. I track the pace of change, and whether interventions have successfully shifted patterns of settler dominance. I study patterns of curricular reform and omission, in order to learn about the phenomenon of cultural appropriation. Ultimately, I argue that cultural appropriation is a complex process of intellectual and cultural theft, which resists intervention and persists in many material and immaterial forms. Correspondingly, it requires an equally complex, long-term commitment to decolonizing practices directed by Indigenous educators.

I acknowledge the limits of my research due to the barriers I faced as an outside researcher. I received little participatory engagement from Camp Ahmek, and my request to visit the camp was declined. Due to these limitations, I resorted to archival research, secondary sources, and interviews with educators who have worked with Camp Ahmek in the past. These educators expressed that they sometimes experienced similar challenges with communication and a lack of engagement from the camp. In the third section of this thesis, I argue that this pattern of behaviour fortifies the camp against outside criticism, and allows them to maintain authority over their programming. Eve Tuck

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Association, http://www.ccamping.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/McIlwraith-and-Fine_Indigenous-Peoples-and-Camps-Briefing-Paper_Mar-2019_Final-002.pdf.

[6] Roger Epp, "'There Was No One Here When We Came': Overcoming the Settler Problem" (Bechtel Lectures, Conrad Grebel University College, 2011), 120; Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 86.

and Ruben A. Gaztambide-Fernández use the term "fort pedagogy" to describe educational spaces where outsiders are excluded unless they are made to be insiders.[7] Summer camps, like fraternities and sports teams, rely on sameness and exclude outside critics. I advocate for what Gaztambide-Fernández calls a "pedagogy of solidarity;" one which helps campers establish relations to one another across lines of difference. Rather than tolerating or managing difference, a pedagogy of solidarity necessitates difference, and asks staff and campers to develop relationships based on solidarity.[8]

Operating at a critical distance, I examine this case study in relation to broader conversations about cultural appropriation in art, sports, fashion, and craft. I consider these findings against decolonizing theory by Indigenous scholars such as Philip Deloria, Eve Tuck, Marcia Crosby, Jolene Rickard, Adrienne Keene, and Sandrina De Finney. My research emerges as a product of its time, in urgent response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action which call upon the corporate sector to adopt a reconciliation framework.[9] I consider camp education in the context of fort pedagogy, pedagogy of solidarity, and Paulette Regan's pedagogy of discomfort, in order to envision a future for camp education that relies on vulnerability and cross-cultural accountability.

Camp Ahmek is situated on the unceded lands and waterways of the Algonquin, Odawa, and Anishinaabe peoples, and falls under the Dish With One Spoon Treaty (1701), the Robinson-Huron treaty (1850), and the Williams Treaty (1923). The camp falls just outside of the territory of the current Algonquin land claim, which has been ongoing since the 1980s.[10] Located in Algonquin Park, outside of the Algonquin land claim, the camp maintains complicated relations with Algonquin peoples, because it has historically employed staff from the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation (formerly Golden Lake Reserve), the only federally recognized Algonquin community. However, according to my interviews with camps educators, this relationship has been damaged and

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[7] Eve Tuck and Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, "Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler Futurity," *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 29, no. 1 (2013).
[8] Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," 43-46.
[9] Call to Action 92i calls upon businesses to "commit to meaningful consultation, building respectful relationships, and obtaining the free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous peoples before proceeding with economic development projects." My research focuses on for-profit camps on unceded Indigenous land, which benefit from stolen cultural traditions, and I approach curricular reform and consultation with the urgency that the calls to action deserve. "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).
[10] Tanya Talaga, "Historic Algonquin Claim of Ottawa Area Nearly Done | The Star," *Toronto Star*, June 1, 2012, https://www.thestar.com/news/ontario/2012/06/01/historic_algonquin_claim_of_ottawa_area_nearly_done.html.

inconsistent in recent decades.[11] In the 1990's, a group of Indigenous campers from the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation attended the camp, and their discomfort during the Council Ring ceremony inspired non-Indigenous staff member Greg Padulo to begin researching decolonizing strategies for the camp.[12] My research operates against the backdrop of the ongoing Algonquin land claim, and the occupation of Indigenous lands and waterways by Camp Ahmek, Parks Canada and the colonial nation state.[13] Cultural appropriation follows what Mark Rifkin calls "settler common sense," the same line of logic that settlers use to rationalize their claim over wilderness as an educational space. Indigenous land and territory are therefore fundamental to discussions of cultural appropriation, particularly in outdoor education.[14]

Cultural appropriation is one of many terms I use to refer to the unauthorized copying of cultural traditions. Minh-ha T. Pham considers the term racial plagiarism to be "a more precise formulation" which expresses the severity of uncredited copying.[15] I interchangeably use terms such as cultural appropriation, racial plagiarism, racial pageantry, and mock-Indigenous costuming to describe the phenomenon that Philip Deloria calls "playing Indian."[16] This pan-Indigenizing term refers to the mythical and stereotypical construct of Indigeneity performed by the settler imaginary.[17] While some Indigenous community members may themselves find agency in self-identifying as Indian or NDN, as a white-settler scholar, in this thesis I deliberately limit my use of the term "Indian" to direct quotes only, out of my respect for First Nations and Métis peoples. The term "playing Indian" was first popularized by the founder of Boy Scouts of America, Ernest Thompson Seton, in *The Red Book: or, How to Play Indian,* and my research takes up the task of unravelling Seton's prominent legacy in the camp sector. [18] This choice reflects my commitment to shifting language used by settlers in legislation, scholarship, and policy, which has the potential to reinscribe stereotypes and colonial trauma.

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[11] Amanda Shore, Interview with Greg Padulo, September 11, 2018.
[12] Shore.
[13] Bonita Lawrence, *Fractured Homeland: Federal Recognition and Algonquin Identity in Ontario* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012); Paul Kopas, *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canada's National Parks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).
[14] Kiara M. Vigil, "Charles Eastman's 'School of the Woods': Re-Creation Related to Childhood, Race, Gender, and Nation at Camp Oahe," *American Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2018): 33; Mark Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance* (U of Minnesota Press, 2014).
[15] Minh-Ha T. Pham, "Racial Plagiarism and Fashion," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 4, no. 3 (2017): 68.
[16] Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
[17] Deborah Doxtator, *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness* (Brantford, Ontario: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1992); Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian"; Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Fuse Magazine*, Fall 1989.
[18] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 326.

In my research I examine traditions of cultural appropriation that have been normalized among white-settler camp educators, and I explicitly name their role in colonial violence and cultural genocide in order to hold educators accountable for their histories. Simultaneously, I am reminded by Tuscarora scholar Jolene Rickard that the discourse on Indigenous cultural practices must be foregrounded by Indigenous sovereignty, rather than victimizing narratives of colonial violence. Rickard writes,

> Sovereignty is the border that shifts Indigenous experience from a victimized stance to a strategic one. […] The work of Indigenous artists needs to be understood through the clarifying lens of sovereignty and self-determination, not just in terms of assimilation, colonization, and identity politics.[19]

Rickard understands sovereignty as action; an ongoing practice that challenges the limitations of the term as a legal concept.[20] Joanne Barker (Lenape) establishes that "it is impossible to stabilize what sovereignty means" because it relies on the specific social relations, histories, and identities of the Indigenous communities who invoke this term.[21] When naming instances of colonial violence in my research, I challenge narratives of assimilation by highlighting stories of Indigenous self-determination, resistance, and sovereignty.

A significant number of Indigenous canoeists, educators, and craftspeople have worked at Camp Ahmek since its founding, and I prioritize their stories in order to rupture the narrative of white-settler dominance in outdoor education. Some of these Indigenous educators have offered their traditions (songs, stories, canoeing techniques etc.) to the camp in times when residential schools and ceremonial bans sought to eradicate their traditions. Their contributions are substantial. In the 1920's and 1930's, expert canoeists from the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation taught paddling techniques at Camp Ahmek which influenced the way that canoeing was taught in camps across North America.[22] I see these Indigenous educators as first responders, who shared knowledge in order to safeguard their cultural practices for future generations. Philip Deloria calls them "bridge figures," who acted out of urgency to ensure the continuance of songs, language, land-based knowledge, and craft-based traditions of canoe building.[23] Cherokee scholar Adrienne Keene

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[19] Jolene Rickard, "Sovereignty: A Line in the Sand," *Aperture* 139 (Summer 1995): 51.
[20] Jolene Rickard, "Diversifying Sovereignty and the Reception of Indigenous Art," *Art Journal* 76, no. 2 (2017): 81.
[21] Joanne Barker, *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 21.
[22] Jack Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 2.
[23] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 122.

acknowledges that some Indigenous cultural practices are clearly not meant to be shared, while others have been shared in the past due to pressure under settler-colonialism.[24] I prioritize their stories of survivance and resilience, while remembering the conditions under which they shared knowledge. The generosity with which they shared their cultural knowledge under settler-colonialism does not absolve Camp Ahmek of the need to seek free, prior, and informed consent from Indigenous communities on an ongoing basis, in order to develop long-term relations with Indigenous educators.

There is limited written documentation of many camp traditions, and certain restrictions shape the content of my research. A sense of mystery and ceremony surround traditions of cultural appropriation at camps, and the documentation is often restricted or protected knowledge.[25] Many camp histories are only documented through storytelling and hearsay, and in my interviews many truths emerged simultaneously to create a dynamic discourse which cannot be distilled into a single story. Rather than writing a definitive master narrative, I aim to hold stories in tension with one another in order to trace broad patterns of Indigenous-settler relations. I value stories as historical records, and my oral history methodology aligns with camp storytelling traditions, where knowledge sharing occurs in intimate settings around campfires and through song. My methodology is shaped by the words of Jim "Many Hats" Adams, who spoke to me about his experience telling stories with campers at Camp Ahmek, saying, "If I shared a story, they would share a story, and begin a storytelling tradition. And each of us would share our insights, and our connections to the land, and it would begin to create something that hopefully would grow."[26] Following Adams' approach, I share stories in the hopes of generating momentum and growth within the discourse around camp traditions.

The first section of this thesis recounts the history of cultural appropriation at summer camps across North America, specifically investigating the material culture, songs, and performances at Camp Ahmek—the first private boys camp in Canada. The second section investigates the meaning, impact, and contradictions of cultural appropriation as it is interpreted in legislation, law, and the media. Finally, the third section explores the history of decolonizing interventions by

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[24] Adrienne Keene and Matika Wilbur, *Native Appropriations*, All My Relations, April 17, 2019, https://www.allmyrelationspodcast.com/podcast/episode/46e6ef0d/ep-7-native-appropriations.
[25] Many publications describing Council Ring ceremonies are safeguarded against prospective campers to maintain the element of surprise. See "Safeguarded Material," Our History: Order of the Arrow, Boy Scouts of America, accessed September 16, 2019, https://oa-bsa.org/safeguarded-material.
[26] Amanda Shore, Interview with Jim "Many Hats" Adams, November 22, 2018.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators at Camp Ahmek, and offers insight into how camps can pursue a pedagogy of solidarity.

Section One: The North American Camping Movement – 1902-1930

Urban Recoil, Childhood Psychology, and Ernest Thompson Seton

Following World War I, technological and economic advancements in booming urban centers caused widespread social anxiety.[27] As cities experienced an influx of new technologies, immigrant workers, and African-American families fleeing the Jim Crow South, the United States became the world's largest mercantile economy.[28] As companies became linked as franchises, and small businesses incorporated and consolidated, the economy became increasingly unified.[29] Social initiatives worldwide aimed to re-integrated veterans into civilian life, and restore traditional family structures.[30] Leslie Paris reports that white-settler anxieties towards urban life were racially motivated as rural white-settlers moved into cities with growing immigrant communities.[31] Sharon Wall asserts that the camping movement in the inter-war years was symptomatic of antimodern anxieties, and "reflected middle-class unease with the pace and direction of cultural change."[32] In the face of emerging technologies, psychologists and early camp founders feared that over-stimulation in urban settings would impact a child's development.[33]

Gender-specific recreational groups for children such as Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls aimed to re-skill white-settler youth with particular skills that would uphold the nuclear family.[34] Scouting clubs for girls prioritized "[f]olk dancing, nature study, literary interests of any kind, handicraft" and other recreational activities which promoted conservative interests in family

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[27] Jessup, *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience*.
[28] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 211.
[29] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 99.
[30] Examining a similar movement after the Second World War, Christopher J. Greig observes that Canadian liberal policy aimed to return to a standard of normalcy; a desire for a simpler time that mirrors the antimodernist movement after the First World War. Seeking to define the "normal" masculine role model in the postwar era, Greig observes that the idolized "boy-hero" figure was found in representations of hockey players, soldiers, and cowboys. Social norms motivated by Cold War anxieties upheld the role model of the "citizen-leader of the future," and "an 'appropriate' boyhood in the postwar period became, if nothing else, a metaphor for the survival of the nation." Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp,* 25; Christopher J. Greig, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2014), ix-xiv.
[31] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp,* 25.
[32] Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 514.
[33] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1904).
[34] On girlhood and camp education, see Leslie Hahner, "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (June 2008): 113–34; Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2017). My recent unpublished research on radical pedagogy and girls of colour investigates how the Girl Scout badge system uses self-decoration to teach skills valued by a white American workforce. Amanda Shore, "Girlhood as Praxis: Valuing the Labour of Girls of Colour in the Radical Monarchs" (unpublished paper, April 26, 2018).

life.[35] The co-founder of Camp Fire Girls was opposed to women's work in machine-driven and assembly-line production, and rather, she favoured alternative craft-based labour.[36] With a mandate to "devise ways of measuring and creating standards for woman's work," Camp Fire Girls aimed to re-skill girls in domestic practices, and to create a framework within which these skills have value.[37]

By contrast, young boys were taught to embody a rugged ideal of heroic masculinity.[38] Camping forerunner Daniel Beard considered urbanism to be "effeminate" and "postfrontier," and boys' programming aimed to restore frontier masculinity.[39] In 1902, Ernest Thompson Seton founded the Woodcraft Indians, a camping program which would become the Boy Scouts of America. Seton wrote, "Our motto, was 'The best things of the best Indians.' Whatever is picturesque, good, and safe in Indian life, that we used."[40] At its core, Seton's programming relied on the appropriation of an idealized pan-Indigeneity, and he idolized primitive ideals which he considered "human instincts: 'Hero-worship, gang instinct, love of glory, hunter instinct, cave-man instinct, play, fear of dark, initiation instinct."[41] By considering stereotypically primitive ideals to be universal human traits, Seton made it possible for white settler boys to co-opt and parody Indigenous material culture, stories, songs, and language.[42] Through the wide circulation of his publications, Seton influenced generations of outdoor educators who have emulated his programming.

Jackson Lears defines antimodernism as the "recoil from an 'overcivilized' modern existence," and describes this as a widespread reaction to urban progress that is ripe with contradiction.[43] Fred R. Myers reminds us that the primitive Other is a "theme in the very ideological constitution of the 'modern.'"[44] Modernism relies on the idea of primitivism, and Philip Deloria claims that "primitivism and progress [define] the dialectic of the modern," acting as two

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[35] Leslie Hahner, "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization," 120.
[36] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 111.
[37] *The Book of the Camp Fire Girls*, 3rd ed. (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1913), 7.
[38] Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood."
[39] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 96-97.
[40] Ernest Thompson Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 384.
[41] Ibid., 376. Deborah Doxtator clarifies that "Indianness" has little to do with actual Indigenous people, and more to do with the settlers who manufactured the stereotypes themselves. Deborah Doxtator, *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness*.
[42] Granted, Seton's list of human instincts only universally applied to men and boys, and excluding women and girls.
[43] T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture: 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).
[44] Fred R. Myers, "Introduction to Part One: Around and About Modernity: Some Comments on Themes of Primitivism and Modernism," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 16.

sides of the same coin.[45] Antimodernism is a contradictory pursuit and the antimodern retreat into nature seeks to refresh the urban middle-class so it can return to the workforce with renewed vigour.[46] Ultimately, antimodernism amplifies the white-settler experience of modernity, rather than resisting it. Camping is not only a byproduct of antimodernism, it is an expression of "settler common sense." This term, coined by Mark Rifkin, refers to a system of logic that considers settler access to Indigenous land to be a given, due to the legal and political structures that make it available through forced displacement.[47] Settler-colonialism provides white-settlers with the territorial freedom to seek spiritual and physical reprieve in nature, and provides the illusion of belonging. Seton's programming follows a similar logic, which assumes that Indigenous cultural practices are available for settlers to claim.

Developments in the field of child psychology also influenced the logic behind Seton's programming. Camp forerunner and psychologist George Stanley Hall published *Adolescence* in 1904, which articulated that children "needed to indulge their savage tendencies in childhood so that they might, as the human race itself had ostensibly done, progress beyond them to civilized adulthood."[48] Hall's recapitulation theory stipulated that childhood development follows the Darwinian stages of evolution, and that children must adopt primitive traits in their early years in order to move through each stage.[49] Hall also believed that over-stimulation from modern civilization could cause "neurasthenia," a condition of nervous exhaustion commonly diagnosed in urban middle-class American men. Though it is now considered medically obsolete, the condition (also called "Americanitis") reveals that anxiety in urban American boyhood was a significant medical concern which fed the camping industry.[50] Deloria states that emerging child psychology also encouraged "self-rule" in education.[51] This principle, which served as a model for collective obedience, was considered by settlers to be reflective of Indigenous forms of self-governance.[52] Changing norms in

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[45] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 100.
[46] Ibid., 102.
[47] Mark Rifkin, "Settler Common Sense," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, no. 3-04 (November 2013): 322–40.
[48] Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 521.
[49] Prior to Darwin's influence on the field of child psychology (now referred to as developmental psychology), the philosophical roots of the discipline relied on Jean-Jacques Rousseau. John D. Hogan, "Developmental Psychology: History of the Field," in *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, ed. Alan E. Kazdin, 2000, 9-13.
[50] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, 144; Francis George Gosling, *Before Freud: Neurasthenia and the American Medical Community, 1870-1910* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Julie Beck, "'Americanitis': The Disease of Living Too Fast," *The Atlantic*, March 11, 2016, https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/03/the-history-of-neurasthenia-or-americanitis-health-happiness-and-culture/473253/.
[51] Deloria, *Playing Indian*.
[52] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 107.

child psychology at the time encouraged racialized play, and as Hall's peer in the camping movement, Ernest Thompson Seton adopted his child psychology theories as justification for mock-Indigenous costuming.

Traditions of cultural appropriation at summer camps in the United States and Canada, respectively, sprung up in environments of legislated displacement and assimilation. It is against a backdrop of cultural genocide that Seton claimed ownership over Indigenous traditions and lands as settler property. In the United States, legislation in the 19th century parcelled off Indigenous territories for settler entitlement, in an effort to assimilate Indigenous communities into the social fabric of white America. Prior to 1871, treaties were signed between the federal government and autonomous Indigenous nations, which were considered sovereign and self-determined.[53] The Indian Appropriations Act of 1871 made Indigenous peoples wards of the state, absolving nations of sovereignty. When Thomas J. Morgan became commissioner of Indian affairs in 1889, he took measures to centralize and expand the existing boarding schools and industrial schools targeting Indigenous children.[54] The Dawes Act of 1887 aimed to abolish communally owned Indigenous territories in the United States through a process known as allotment.[55] The legislated dispossession of Indigenous communities through allotment and residential schools was coupled by colonial warfare, including the 1890 Massacre at Wounded Knee.

The heroism of settler conquest was spectacularized in the Buffalo Bill Wild West show that toured from 1883 to 1938, and the stereotypical Indigenous characters were depicted as threatening, menacing, and ultimately prone to defeat.[56] Hartmut Lutz coined the term "Indianthusiasm" to describe the mass-consumption of Indigenous stereotypes that occurred in German culture when Karl May published the epic *Winnetou* in 1892.[57] The proliferation of imagined Indigenous stereotypes correlates to the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their territories, and at the

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[53] Susanne Berthier-Foglar, Sheila Collingwood-Whittick, and Sandrine Tolazzi, *Biomapping Indigenous Peoples : Towards an Understanding of the Issues*, Cross/Cultures (Amsterdam: Brill | Rodopi, 2012); Suzan Shown Harjo, *Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations* (Washington, D.C. and New York: National Museum of the American Indian and Smithsonian Books, 2014).
[54] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 55; Thomas J. Morgan, *Indian Education* (Washington, D.C.: Indian Rights Association, 1890).
[55] Kiara M. Vigil, "Charles Eastman's 'School of the Woods': Re-Creation Related to Childhood, Race, Gender, and Nation at Camp Oahe," *American Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2018): 34.
[56] Doxtator, *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness*.
[57] Hartmut Lutz, *Approaches: Essays in Native North American Studies and Literatures* (Ausberg: Wissner Verlag, 2002); Hartmut Lutz, Florentine Strzelczyk, and Renae Watchman, eds., *Indianthusiasm: Indigenous Responses* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2020).

1893 Chicago World Fair, a historian declared the end of the frontier era, because the frontier was supposedly no longer a barrier for settlers. In the wake of this announcement, Seton set in motion a camping movement which relied on the assumption that Indigenous cultural practices were available for settlers to claim. By encouraging children to retreat in space and time to a fictional primitive past, Seton relied on the assumption that white-settler campers were the heirs to Indigenous cultural practices.

Aileen Moreton-Robinson refers to "white possessive logics" as the system by which colonial nation-states exert ownership over Indigenous communities.[58] Canada's expression of white possessive logic in treaties and policies operated in tandem to American legislation. In Canada, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 acknowledged Indigenous title to unceded lands, as well as a nation-to-nation relationship between the British crown and sovereign Indigenous nations.[59] When the Indian Act was introduced in 1876, it established a paternalistic relationship between Canada and First Nations, by creating status regulations and managing reserve land.[60] Amendments to the Indian Act from 1876 to 1985 forced enfranchisement (loss of status) on Indigenous peoples who acquired an education, practiced ceremony, served in the armed forces, or purchased alcohol. Indigenous performances and ceremonies were banned from 1884 to 1951, although Indigenous performers such as Tekahionwake (Pauline Johnson) continued to perform publicly for settler and Indigenous audiences alike.[61] When faced with assimilative measures and legislated cultural genocide, Indigenous communities continued to exert cultural and territorial sovereignty.

Despite state efforts to force assimilation on both sides of the border, many Indigenous educators continued to share teachings, and work as performers, educators, and craftspeople at summer camps. One such educator is Dakota activist and educator Ohiyesa (Charles Eastman), who

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[58] Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2015), xii.

[59] Bonita Lawrence, "'Real' Indians and Others: Mixed-Race Urban Native People, The Indian Act, and the Rebuilding of Indigenous Nations" (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1999), 51.

[60] Ibid., 52-55.

[61] In "Lori Blondeau: High-Tech Storytelling for Social Change," Carla Taunton claims that Tekahionwake consciously played into exoticized stereotypes of Indigeneity in her performances in order to challenge them under the ceremonial ban. Taunton writes, "it was Johnson's understanding of the social climate she was situated in that enabled her to play with images such as the romantic 'Indian Princess' in order to subvert them and intervene within the discourse of colonial representation." Mary S. Edgar (a peer of Taylor Statten who founded Glen Bernard Camp in 1922) cites Tekahionwake as one of her major inspirations when she saw her perform as a young girl. Carla Taunton, "Lori Blondeau: High-Tech Storytelling for Social Change." (Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada = Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, 2007), 27; Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 523; E. Pauline Johnson, Carle Gerson, and Veronica Jane Strong-Boag, *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), xiii.

witnessed and survived the massacre of at Wounded Knee, and went on to work at Carlisle Indian Industrial School.[62] Ohiyesa later became an activist with the Society of American Indians, and in the face of colonial warfare, he worked to safeguard Dakota traditions. In 1910 he helped Seton found Boy Scouts of America, and in 1914, he wrote a book called *Indian Scout Talks: A Guide for Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls* which outlined Indigenous ceremonies, symbols, and words that he deemed appropriate to be practiced by white-settler campers.[63] By offering Lakota ceremonies and symbols to white camp educators, I would speculate that Ohiyesa contributed to the prevalence of Plains imagery in camp culture, and subsequently in popular culture. Acting as a bridge figure, he shared knowledge in order to ensure cultural continuance, and his impact can be traced throughout the camping movement.

Pseudo-Authenticity and Material Culture at Camp Ahmek

Camp Ahmek and Camp Wapomeo (the neighbouring girl's camp) are currently in their fourth generation of family ownership as Taylor Statten Camps, and for almost a century they have hosted the children of the most elite families in Canada, such as the Eaton's and the Trudeau's. Described by his daughter Adele Ebbs as a "showman," founder Taylor Statten was known as "Chief" to staff and campers.[64] The name "Ahmek" is the Ojibway word for Beaver, which perhaps speaks more to settler industriousness than the meaning contained in Anishinaabemowin. Statten was an active member and founder of several prominent camping associations, and developed training manuals for camping programs prior to founding Camp Ahmek.[65] Abigail Van Slyck attests that its commitment to cultural appropriation set Camp Ahmek apart from its peers.[66] While many of the first boys camps in the United States adopted Indigenous names, games of racial roleplaying were short and less integrated into camp life. At Camp Ahmek, the camp's culture and built environment is marked by totem poles, and replicas of Indigenous art created by white-settler camp staff.

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[62] Vigil, "Charles Eastman's 'School of the Woods,'" 28-29.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Jack Pearse, Adele Ebbs Interview on Taylor Statten, cassette tape, May 22, 1986, 83-002/010/009, Trent University Archives (Hereafter, TUA).
[65] In the 1910's Statten used woodcraft and pseudo-Indigenous lore to create a system of badges and certificates in the Tuxis and Trail Ranger programs. In 1933 he became the founding chairman of the Ontario Camping Association, and the founding president of the Canadian Camping Association in 1939, and the first Canadian elected president of the American Camping Association in 1941.Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood," 30.
[66] Ibid., 32.

There is no single origin story for the Ontario camping movement, but some of the earliest private Ontario camps drew directly from Seton's programs, songs, and instructional manuals.[67] As early as 1905, Taylor Statten had received a copy of Seton's *The Woodcraft Manual* and began awarding coup to campers to reward them for successes.[68] In 1922, Ernest Thompson Seton was hired by Camp Ahmek to build their Council Ring program, demonstrate dances, and assign pseudo-Indigenous names [fig. 1].[69] As a case study, Camp Ahmek demonstrates how connected the American and Canadian camping movements have been for almost a century.[70] As I trace the trajectory of traditions of cultural appropriation at summer camps, I focus on Camp Ahmek because their programs expose overlapping trends in settler colonial camping education on Turtle Island.

Camp traditions of cultural appropriation contain layers of irony that go beyond a simple act of dress-up. These traditions undercut themselves—they strive for authenticity, yet they outline their own absurdity by featuring blatant material contradictions, exaggerations, and disregard for accurate language and terminology.[71] Many examples of this irony can be found in Camp Ahmek's 1938 instruction manual by Jack Eastaugh, which documents the traditions that Seton set in place in 1922. The manual explains how to create faux-sacred objects using electrical tape, cheese boxes, and turkey feathers leftover from Christmas and Thanksgiving.[72] Eastaugh—a camp staff member at Camp Ahmek, principal at Norseman public school in Etobicoke, and an amateur painter—played a significant role in the creation and documentation of mock-Indigenous programming. In addition to writing the 1938 *Indian Council Ring* manual, he painted wooden plaques in the dining hall in 1954, and is pictured painting North West Coast style formlines in 1980 [fig. 2].[73] The objects in

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[67] Mary Hamilton, who founded Camp Tanamakoon nearby in Algonquin Park in 1925, also consulted Ernest Thompson Seton's programming, as well as the family of Tekahionwake (Pauline Johnson). Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 523.

[68] Seton's reward system for campers was loosely based on Plains traditions of "counting coup." Taylor Statten, "Twenty-Five Years of Camping," Report of Institute (Chicago: Y.M.C.A. College, 1931), 1; Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 108. On the importance of "counting, accounting, and recounting" in Indigenous traditions and methodologies, see Cheryl L'Hirondelle, "Codetalkers Recounting Signals of Survival," in *Coded Territories: Tracing Indigenous Pathways in New Media Art*, ed. Steve Loft and Kerry Swanson (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014), 155-158.

[69] Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood," 33.

[70] Camps on Turtle Island maintained such cross-border connections, that the Ontario Camping Association began as a chapter of the American Camping Association. Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature,* 11.

[71] On the false paradigm of authenticity in Indigenous art, Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[72] WJ Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring" (Taylor Statten Camps, 1938), TUA.

[73] Liz Lundell, *Fires of Friendship: Eighty Years of the Taylor Statten Camps* (Fires of Friendship Books, 2000), 120; Don Delaplante, "Long a Mystery of Art World: Body May Answer Riddle of Tom Thomson's Death," *The Globe and Mail*, October 10, 1956,
https://www.canadianmysteries.ca/sites/thomson/archives/newspaperormagazinearticle/5099en.html.

Eastaugh's manual range from simple crafts (a rattle made out of a jam tin) to disturbing symbols of violence (a fake scalp made out of dyed hemp rope).[74] The material landscape and built environment of the camp is marked by settler representations of Indigenous craft and architecture. In an illustrated map of Taylor Statten Camps [fig. 3 & 4], the campers in the war canoe are wearing feather headbands, and inlets have been named "Wigwam Bay" and the misspelled "Mowhawk Harbour." There is an area labelled "Indian village," as well as a totem pole and wooden enclosure for Council Ring ceremonies. A cabin was built in honour of Seton's 1922 visit, and it is positioned near the Council Ring. Camp Ahmek's exaggerated advertising reflects the camp's tendency to play make believe. Early brochures described the camp as a virgin wilderness when it had actually been "the locus of intense logging activity."[75] Similar brochures claimed that the camp's totem pole was from British Columbia, when it was actually carved and installed by Jack Ridpath, who owned Ridpath Ltd., a well-known fine furnishing company in Toronto [fig. 5].[76] The camp has maintained lore related to Indigenous authenticity, however their traditions are ripe with material contradictions.

While mock-Indigenous visual culture was present throughout Camp Ahmek's built environment, the highest concentration of costuming, performance, and lore took place at Council Ring. Prioritizing enchantment, illusion, performance, and intimacy, this ceremony followed a strict sequence.[77] First, campers prepared in their own cabins by applying war paint, putting on headbands, and preparing tribal yells. They would wait for the tom tom beaters and horsemen on bareback to lead them in single file in complete silence to Council Ring, and campers from Camp Wapameo would arrive by war canoe. Campers were seated in the wooden structure according to their assigned "tribes," while the Medicine Man conducted the fire lighting and peace pipe ceremony by saying a prayer to the four winds. Different methods for lighting the fire included sending flaming rolls of toilet paper down copper fishing line from a nearby cliff top to the fire pit; a strategy which proved precarious for staff in feather headdresses.[78] Other times, a bottle of sulphuric acid was suspended by a hidden string, and was dropped into a mixture of potassium chlorate and sugar in the fire pit to

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[74] Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring," 31.
[75] Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood," 32.
[76] Gaye Clemson, *Treasuring Algonquin: Sharing Scenes from 100 Years of Leaseholding* (Trafford Publishing, 2006); Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood"; Lundell, *Fires of Friendship: Eighty Years of the Taylor Statten Camps*.
[77] I have only found one accessible record of the Council Ring script at Camp Ahmek written in 1938. Given the importance of tradition and the legacy of Ernest Thompson Seton at the camp, the 1938 record is likely similar to the original sequence developed in 1922. Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring."
[78] Jack Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 3.

light the fire with the illusion of "black magic."[79] Next, participatory events took place such as games, pageants, stunts, and ranger reports. Finally, Hiawatha's Departure was sung in darkness, and after a costumed young brave started new fire, campers would sing the Omaha Tribal Prayer before exiting Council Ring. While it is difficult to determine the degree to which the Camp Ahmek Council Ring influenced other Council Ring traditions in Ontario, I can anecdotally attest that the Council Ring at the Ontario girl's camp I attended from 2001-2013 followed almost this exact sequence. By 1924, Camp Ahmek had become the leading boys' camp in Canada, and Seton claimed it had the finest Council Ring in North America, making its influence on the Canadian camping sphere hard to deny.[80]

As a solemn event, Council Ring traditions take place in a quiet area of the camp that is only designated for the ceremony. Its ritualistic sequence was comforting to both Ernest Thompson Seton and Taylor Statten, who each sought spiritual connections with nature to replace the faith practices they had left behind when rejecting strict religious practices.[81] To satisfy the desire for ritual in secular education, Council Ring evoked drama and reverence rooted in Judeo-Christian values.[82] Council Ring was so reflective of Christian liturgy that some religious camps easily Christianized the secular ritual by reminding campers that the Council fire was symbolic of Christ's love.[83] Traditions of cultural appropriation have been defended by Taylor Statten Camps as "respectful," likely due to the reverent and solemn nature of the ceremony itself.[84] When faced with criticism in 1972, Jack Eastaugh said,

> Having lived with Indian Lore programs in camp since the year 1930, I feel I can speak with conviction when I say that in all those years I cannot recall a single incident in which the Indian was portrayed as anything less than a brave, skillful, naturalist—an artisan, lover of forest, lake and stream and a heroic figure of stature and nobility.[85]

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[79] Ibid., 3.
[80] C.A.M. Edwards, *Taylor Statten: A Biography,* 89.
[81] In an interview about her father's character, Adele Ebbs said that her father "dropped that sort of flaunting of religion." Pearse, Adele Ebbs Interview on Taylor Statten.
[82] Seton's first camp, founded in 1900 outside New York City, "made chivalry, kindness, courage and honour the cardinal virtues." Rooted in Judeo-Christian values, this camp gave Seton the first feeling of relief since he rejected his mother's religious doctrines seven years prior. Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist,* 375-384.
[83] Canadian Girls in Training Camps made modifications in the 1930's to remind campers that the Council fire represents the spirit of the camp council, which is rooted in loyalty to Christ. Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 529.
[84] When interviewing Adele Ebbs (Taylor Statten's daughter) about criticism Taylor Statten received from an Indigenous staff member about Council Ring, Jack Pearse said, "Did she ever come to realize that it was out of respect?" Pearse, Adele Ebbs Interview on Taylor Statten.
[85] Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 2.

Defending Camp Ahmek in front of the Society of Camp Directors, Eastaugh claimed that the ceremony only places Indigenous peoples "in a favourable light," portraying them as "noble, courageous, [and] religiously motivated."[86] Often conflating solemnity with respect, Camp Ahmek has defended its practice of redface because it is carried out with a reverent sense of ritual.

In contrast to the solemn ritual of redface at Council Ring, Leslie Paris writes that blackface in American camp minstrel shows was considerably more comedic.[87] Though less common than Council Ring traditions, minstrel shows in early American summer camps allowed white campers to typify racialized Others with imagined comedic traits. When Jewish Americans faced anti-Semitism in the 1910's and 1920's, amid widespread anxieties around white "racial denegration," and restricted immigration from southern and eastern Europe, minstrel shows became a way for Jewish camps to proclaim racial assimilation.[88] In 1972, Jack Eastaugh differentiated Council Ring from minstrel shows (which he claims went out of fashion in the early 1950's), because minstrelsy often depicted a tyrannical white slave owner as a character that clearly represented white supremacy.[89] Following this logic, what was unpalatable about minstrelsy was not its depiction of Black characters, but its unfavourable characterization of white-settlers.

The extent to which Council Ring traditions are rooted in Indigenous knowledge is difficult to clearly discern. The peace pipe ceremony at Camp Ahmek follows the same sequence outlined in Seton's 1912 publication *Woodcraft and Indian Lore.*[90] In this exercise, the Chief addresses the four winds to seek their protection: Wazi Yata (the north wind), Weo Hinyan Peato (the east wind), Wea Peato (the south wind) and Okago (the west wind), and the campers answer "noon way," which signifies "amen."[91] When Ohiyesa outlined the peace pipe ceremony for Boy Scouts of America in his book *Indian Scout Talks,* he wrote the ceremony in a way that was completely anglicized:

> He thus holds the pipe successively toward the four points of the compass, exclaiming as he does so: 'To the East Wind! The West Wind! The North Wind! The South Wind!' and each time all answer: 'Ho!'[92]

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[86] Ibid., 5.
[87] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp*, 197–98.
[88] Ibid., 197–98.
[89] Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 1.
[90] Ernest Thompson Seton, *The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1912), 148.
[91] Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 3; Seton, *The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore*, 148.
[92] Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Scout Talks: A Guide for Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls* (Boston: Little, Brown, And Company, 1914), 145.

The word "nunwe" appears in the Lakota Book of Common Prayer (though not as a replacement for "amen," which appears in the text untranslated), and also in the Lakota Cosmogony, where it repeatedly reads, "All the gods shouted, '*Nunwe'* (So be it)."[93] In 1937, under the direction of Franz Boas at Columbia University, Lakota educator and ethnographer Ella Deloria translated "Legends of the Oglala Sioux," which is known as the Lakota Cosmogony.[94] Philip Deloria, author of *Playing Indian,* attests that Ella Deloria (his paternal great-aunt) also led demonstrations, ceremonies, and pageants for Camp Fire Girls and taught the Dakota language to anthropologists during the Great Depression.[95] Both as a performer at Camp Fire Girls, and as a scholar and translator at Columbia University, Ella Deloria's work interpreting Lakota teachings impacted the camping sector, and generations of Lakota people. Through the small word "nunwe," intersecting relations emerge between Indigenous educators who offered teachings to camp educators. Though these connections between Lakota scholars and educators past and present may seem tenuous, they prove that Indigenous educators maintain relationality to one another through quiet acts of resistance and sovereignty in camp culture, across generations.

The dramatic climax of Council Ring is the pageant of Hiawatha's Departure, and this call-and-response death song has gone through numerous cycles of appropriation, reclamation, and re-appropriation. In 1839, Indian agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft published a series of Anishinaabe stories including the story of Nanabozho, after interviewing Anishinaabe visitors and his Anishinaabe wife.[96] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who reportedly had never visited Anishinaabe territory, pored over Schoolcraft's text in order to write an epic titled *Manabozho* in 1855.[97] Publishers later retitled the epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha,* naming it after the Haudenosaunee prophet who was more aligned with heroic western ideals, as opposed to the trickster figure who represented both mischief and honour.[98] Due to popularity and the influx of migrants in 1900, the

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[93] Church of England, *Hanthanna qais tHtayetu Cekiyapi* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889), http://archive.org/details/cihm_30109; Michael Edward Melody, "Maka's Story: A Study of a Lakota Cosmogony," *The Journal of American Folklore* 90, no. 356 (April 1977): 149.

[94] Michael Edward Melody explains that Ella Deloria's manuscript is attributed to Rev. Luke C. Walker, and there are many elements of the text that have been lost, including the original Lakota manuscript. For my research I draw from Melody's text, assembled using letters and various manuscripts. Melody, "Maka's Story."

[95] Deloria, "Three Lives, Two Rivers: One Marriage and the Narratives of American Colonial History," *Rikkyo American Studies* 32 (March 2010): 103-128.

[96] Michael David McNally, "The Indian Passion Play: Contesting the Real Indian in Song of Hiawatha Pageants, 1901-1965," *American Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2006): 109; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches: Comprising Inquiries Respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians* (New York: Harper, 1839).

[97] McNally, "The Indian Passion Play," 110.

[98] Ibid.

poem was translated into twenty European languages and notably, into Anishinaabemowin.[99] In 1901, Louis Olivier Armstrong wrote a libretto in English and Anishinaabemowin which was performed by Anishinaabe actors in Desbarats, Ontario. It was reperformed each summer on the harbor shore from 1901-1918, and then periodically until the 1960's.[100] Frederick Russell Burton studied the performance by the Anishinaabe actors and vocalists in 1903, and adapted the libretto for a tour based on their performances, which Ernest Thompson Seton witnessed.[101] Seton incorporated Burton's score for "Death Song" (or Hiawatha's Departure) into his Council Ring ceremony, and the handwritten score in Camp Ahmek's Council Ring manual is identical to Burton's score.[102] The clear lineage of Hiawatha's Departure reveals many layers of cultural theft and reclamation which complicate the seemingly simple narrative of cultural appropriation.

When singing *The Song of Hiawatha* in Anishinaabemowin before a mixed Indigenous and non-Indigenous audience, Anishinaabe actors often included tongue-in-cheek improvisations or false syntax.[103] Michael D. McNally states that Indigenous performers in Hiawatha pageants were "Anishinaabeg playing Indian, and doing so for Anishinaabe reasons" during the ceremonial bans, using humour to dismantle the narrative of victimhood portrayed in the libretto.[104] The song sung at Camp Ahmek is based on an Anishinaabe travelling song about the journey from Sault Ste. Marie rapids to Wahweyahtenung (Detroit), in which "Wahweyahtenung" is simply replaced with "Hiawatha." When adapting the song, the Anishinaabe actors allegedly incorporated more new words, and one actor remarked, "What does it matter? The white people do not know one word from another."[105] Though the anglicized lyrics of "Death Song" (or Hiawatha's Departure) tell a tragic story of farewell ("mourn ye not for my departure"), traces of Indigenous humour, resistance, and agency remain in the history of the song.

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[99] Ibid., 105.
[100] Initially the pageant was meant to "attract tourists, generate train fares, and sell lands claimed by the railroads," and advertisements referred to it as the "Indian Passion Play," spiritualizing the story by equating Hiawatha to a Christ-like martyr. When they were no longer promoted by the railway, the productions were sponsored by reservation communities and performed in residential schools. Ibid., 105.
[101] Frederick Russell Burton, *American Primitive Music: With Special Attention to The Music of the Ojibways* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Co., 1909).
[102] Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring," 31.
[103] McNally, "The Indian Passion Play," 126–29.
[104] Ibid., 107.
[105] Frederick Russell Burton, *American Primitive Music: With Special Attention to The Music of the Ojibways*, 269.

Initially Hiawatha pageant was meant to "attract tourists, generate train fares, and sell lands claimed by the railroads," and advertisements referred to it as the "Indian Passion Play," spiritualizing the story by equating Hiawatha to a Christ-like martyr. When they were no longer promoted by the railway, the productions were sponsored by reservations and performed in residential schools. Anishinaabe actors were able to sing for their own communities, in their own language, on the gym floor of a boarding school that did not allow students to speak their own languages. In the memoirs of Shoshone elder Esther Horne, she recalls her role in the *Song of Hiawatha* pageant as a student at Haskell Institute, the boarding school where Ella Deloria worked. Horne describes Deloria as her mentor, who wanted her to learn to survive and be proud of her ancestry. In the words of Philip Deloria, when faced with the devastating conditions of the boarding school, these women found opportunities to "[mime] Indianness back at Americans in order to redefine it," while safeguarding their dignity and cultural sovereignty.[106]

Though Council Ring traditions carry material contradictions, stolen symbols, and appropriated songs, they also carry a complex history of Indigenous agency and resistance. Dismantling deeply rooted traditions of cultural appropriation is not as simple as removing costumes and totem poles. As objects, the headdresses, pipes, and costumes created by white-settler camp educators are difficult to characterize. They act as repositories of institutional memory, triggering reminders of colonial trauma, antique relics of a period of antimodernism, and empty ceremonial regalia void of ancestral or sacred presence. The impulse to dispose of these objects is coupled with the reflex to safeguard them due to their conflated status as pseudo-antiques. In order for camps to eradicate traditions of cultural appropriation, their actions must extend beyond the simple disposal of costumes.

Indigenous Erasure and Inheritance

Mock-Indigenous traditions of cultural appropriation often signal the symbolic erasure of Indigenous peoples in the physical and cultural landscape of Turtle Island. In order to claim Indigenous material culture, white-settler campers rely on the myth that Indigenous communities only exist in the historic past. Moreover, writers have speculated that the proliferation of racial pageantry at summer camps regularly coincides with the physical and cultural erasure of Indigenous peoples, without drawing a direct correlation. Wall wrote in 2005, "Nothing, it seems, was ever said

[106] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 125.

about the fact that, as white campers played at being Indian, contemporary Native children were the target of aggressive campaigns aimed to rid them of their 'Indian-ness.'"[107] While no significant scholarship has proven a direct relationship between white-settler summer camps and Indigenous residential schools, the correlating narratives of these two education systems show that summer camps benefited from legislated Indigenous erasure.

The violent erasure of Indigenous cultural practices through the residential school system and ceremonial bans directly correlates to the expansion of racial pageantry in camp education. The camping movement formed as a sector in the interwar years, and by World War II there were at least sixty-three camps in Ontario.[108] While the camp sector was growing, the 1920 amendment to the Indian Act made residential schools mandatory for Indigenous children aged seven to fifteen. As urban white-settler campers increasingly moved "back to the land," Indigenous children of the same age were being displaced from their ancestral territories. In the 1920's and 30's, Indigenous canoeists and craftspeople from Moosonee and the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation were employed by Camp Ahmek.[109] At the time when they worked there, many children from the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation travelled 500 km from home to attend Garnier Indian Residential High School in Spanish, Ontario, which was operational from 1913 to 1958.[110] The residential school in Moosonee was Bishop Horden Memorial School, and it was operational from 1855 to 1969.[111]

The idolization of the "noble savage" stereotype proliferated through material culture at a time when Indigenous peoples were becoming increasingly immaterial within the settler consciousness. Records of violent programming at Camp Ahmek show that campers and staff alike were fascinated by myths of a vanishing race. A shocking section of Jack Eastaugh's 1938 Council

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[107] Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 539. For further speculation on Indigenous erasure in camp education see Liz Newbery, "Canoe Pedagogy and Colonial History: Exploring Contested Space of Outdoor Environmental Education," *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education (CJEE)* 17 (2012): 36.
[108] Bonita Lawrence, "'Real' Indians and Others: Mixed-Race Urban Native People, The Indian Act, and the Rebuilding of Indigenous Nations"; Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55*, 11.
[109] The identities of the educators from the Moosonee area are unknown, and today this Treaty 9 territory is home to Mushkegowuk (Cree), Ojibwe/Chippewa, Oji-Cree, Algonquin, and Métis peoples. "Guide to Acknowledging First Peoples & Traditional Territory" (Canadian Association of University Teachers, September 2017), 14; Jack Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 2; Lundell, *Fires of Friendship: Eighty Years of the Taylor Statten Camps*, 25; Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 538.
[110] "Did You Live near a Residential School?," Interactive Map, CBC News, June 18, 2018, http://www.cbc.ca/news2/interactives/beyond-94-residential-school-map/; Kim Hanewich, "Our Story," in *Omamiwinini: The Invisible People. History of the Algonquins* (Golden Lake, Ontario: The Algonquin Way Cultural Centre, 2009).
[111] "Did You Live near a Residential School?"

Ring manual from Camp Ahmek describes how to create a DIY ancient burial ground.[112] It instructs staff to place bits of pottery and arrowheads in a mound so that campers can experience the thrill of discovery by encountering a mythical Indigenous gravesite. This activity enacts the salvage paradigm, the colonial desire to scavenge something "authentic" from a culture which is presumed to be prone to extinction.[113] This violent pageantry positions Indigenous peoples in the historic past, so that campers can justify their claim to Indigenous land, craft, and dress.

The spectacle of treasure hunting and gravedigging has a deeper, more troubling legacy at Camp Ahmek. In 1956, several former staff members at Camp Ahmek (including Jack Eastaugh) decided to investigate the mysterious death of Tom Thomson, who drowned on the lake in 1917 [fig. 6].[114] What started as a sketching trip quickly escalated when they found depressions in the earth where Thomson's grave was rumoured to be [fig. 7].[115] The group dug six feet below ground and exhumed the bones they found, at which point they realized that they should call the authorities.[116] To the dismay of the gravediggers, the provincial crime lab concluded that the group had not exhumed the skeleton of Tom Thomson—rather, they found the bones of an Indigenous man who had been buried for 20 to 40 years.[117] Eighteen years after Jack Eastaugh playfully wrote about the camp's ancient burial ground programming in the Council Ring instruction manual, he absolved it of

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112 Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring," 30.

113 This term is a relic of Franz Boas' generation of anthropology and ethnography, and it is a major motivating factor behind colonial collecting practices. James Clifford, "The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," *Third Text* 3, no. 6 (March 1989): 73–78.

114 The renowned Group of Seven painter had intermittently been hired to execute odd jobs for the Statten family, including building their fireplace, and clearing underbrush. In 1930, Camp Ahmek held a Tom Thomson pageant to inaugurate their new Tom Thomson totem pole in memory of the famous painter. In an interview in 1986, Taylor Statten's daughter Alice Ebbs delivered a calculated response when asked about her family's whereabouts at the time of the murder. She attested that her family had not visited the lake in the summer of 1917—when she was eight-years-old—because of the war. While the family clearly has a connection to Thomson (not to mention a fascination with his death), I have no doubt they maintained a calculated alibi due to their longstanding presence and influence on Canoe Lake. C.A.M. Edwards, *Taylor Statten: A Biography* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960), 66, 117; Jim Poling Sr., *Tom Thomson: The Life and Mysterious Death of the Famous Canadian Painter* (Canmore, Alberta: Altitude Pub., 2003); Pearse, Adele Ebbs Interview on Taylor Statten.

115 Don Delaplante, "Long a Mystery of Art World: Body May Answer Riddle of Tom Thomson's Death."

116 Thomson's family had been unhappy with the burial place on Canoe Lake, and in 1917 the body was exhumed and moved to Owen Sound for reburial at their request. The gravediggers in 1956 were investigating rumours that the body had not been moved, but on the contrary, they rationalized the legality of their expedition based on the assumption that the body had been moved. Poling, *Tom Thomson: The Life and Mysterious Death of the Famous Canadian Painter,* 84-89; "Ex-Undertaker Says He Exhumed Tom Thomson's Body," *Regina Leader-Post*, October 12, 1956, https://www.canadianmysteries.ca/sites/thomson/investigations/1950-1965/5251en.html.

117 Poling, *Tom Thomson: The Life and Mysterious Death of the Famous Canadian Painter,* 90; Kelso Roberts, "Algonquin Park Bones Not Those of Thomson," *Toronto Daily Star*, October 19, 1956, https://www.canadianmysteries.ca/sites/thomson/archives/newspaperormagazinearticle/5106en.html.

any fiction. Driven by adrenaline and the neo-colonial thrill of exploring, the gravediggers narrowed the gap between make believe and reality.

Many Indigenous scholars argue that the phenomenon of cultural appropriation is directly reliant on physical and genetic erasure of Indigenous peoples. Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate scholar Kim Tallbear states that Americans "'play Indian' in a quest to absorb Indigenous people, whom the state has failed to completely exterminate."[118] Tsimshian-Haida writer Marcia Crosby argues that the parasitic absorption of Indigenous cultures into the Canadian master narrative is a "colonization of images," which "is not an inclusive act, but an act predicated on our exclusion, or 'otherness.'"[119] Crosby asserts that the hegemonic European master narrative only creates space for an invisible Indigenous Other, an imagined fabrication with no embodied subjectivity.[120] Sandrina De Finney similarly discusses the ghostly emptiness of the Indigenous Other in the settler imaginary. She argues that Indigenous girl bodies are commodified as property through appropriation, in order to "become spectral shadows of empire."[121] Folklore at summer camps builds mystique around traditions of cultural appropriation, not to mention a narrative of inheritance which positions Indigenous peoples as historic rather than contemporary.[122] The dehumanizing phenomenon of cultural appropriation reduces Indigenous peoples to ghosts of the past, in order for white-settlers to claim their cultural inheritance. Cultural appropriation demonstrates that Indigeneity holds more power in the settler imaginary when it exists immaterially as an idea, and is forcefully displaced from Indigenous bodies.

Performance, Racial Pageantry, and Make-Believe

While traditions of cultural appropriation at Camp Ahmek rely on the material exclusion and physical erasure of Indigenous peoples, they also rely on the illusive, immaterial, and performative aspects of Indigenous stereotypes. Homi Bhabha considers the stereotype to be a "major discursive strategy" and "a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in

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118 Kim Tallbear, "Playing Indian," *High Country News* 51, no. 2 (February 4, 2019): 28.
119 Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," 222.
120 Ibid.
121 de Finney, "Playing Indian and Other Settler Stories," 173.
122 Jessica Dunkin explains that at Glen Bernard Camp, camp staff told legends which provided fictional histories of sites like Altar Rock, The Glen, and Tuscarora Rock, and portrayed campers as followers of past peoples, "claiming others' pasts as their own." Jessica Dunkin, "Manufacturing Landscapes: Place and Community at Glen Bernard Camp, 1924–1933," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 45, no. 89 (2012): 108.

place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated."[123] A stereotype only becomes ratified in the collective consciousness when it is validated and re-validated through performance, circulation, and reproduction. Due to their annual traditions of racialized costuming, camps play a significant role in repeating stereotypes which become resilient to interventions.

Jack Eastaugh's 1938 Council Ring manual is the most detailed record of early Council Ring traditions at Taylor Statten Camps, and it acknowledges the difficulty of role playing, and encourages basic performance and acting techniques. Eastaugh encourages collective make believe in order to cope with stage fright, stating that "the presence of spectators can be a bit unnerving at first. It is much more comfortable when everyone at the council ring *is* an 'Indian.'"[124] In Johan Huizinga's extensive study of play, he describes that the transformation of the ego allows a player to "not so much represent as incarnate and actualize."[125] While clothing and accessories used in dress-up are typically called costumes, Philip Deloria reminds us that cultural appropriation is an act of disguise. The line between costume and disguise is blurred, but for Deloria "disguise readily calls the notion of fixed identity into question. At the same time, however, wearing a mask also makes one self-conscious of a *real* 'me' underneath."[126] A disguise implies an impersonation or an element of deception which is perhaps flimsy or porous. Warpaint and feather headdresses hardly conceal the identity, but they temporarily unfix racial identities in a way that transforms the wearer. There is no fourth wall in this communal act of playing make believe; rather, the players and audience experience a communal process of becoming.

At Camp Ahmek, racial pageantry has been used as a tool for unification, bonding boys together as a single *communitas* when they all play along with a single fantasy [fig. 8]. Bill Ellis and L.R. Goldman respectively describe traditions of make believe which require a shared social contract of play. In these unique spaces of make believe, all participants suspend their disbelief, and say, with their body language, 'let's pretend.' When playing 'pretend,' the group enters a new 'pretense' in which they are empowered as a settler collective.[127] Two unpublished studies led by Stephanie Fryberg in 2011 reveal that after being exposed to stereotypical Indigenous sports mascots, white

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[123] Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 66.
[124] Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring," 1.
[125] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*: *A study of the play element in culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), 145. Quoted in Janine Fron et al., "Playing Dress-up: Costumes, Roleplay and Imagination," *Philosophy of Computer Games*, 2007, 2.
[126] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 7.
[127] L.R. Goldman, *Child's Play: Myth, Mimesis and Make Believe* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), 1.

settler Americans experienced higher self-esteem than when they were exposed to non-Indigenous mascots.[128] In 1997 Deborah Root speculated that when elite white-settlers feel a sense of powerlessness towards the direction of culture, it allows them to identify with disenfranchised peoples.[129] Seeking to numb this experience of victimhood, they identify with images that represent Indigenous peoples as victimized, or as heroic, or both at once.[130] It follows that stereotypes of Indigenous peoples serve the colonial project by reinforcing white settler authority, supremacy, and collective settler futurity.

In "Dress Right, Dress: The Boy Scout Uniform as a Folk Costume," Jay Mechling considers items of clothing to be "dramaturgical, rhetorical devices," with a discursive ability to communicate.[131] Following this logic, these costumes are vessels which carry nonverbal harmful messages and rely on the reception of the spectator. Speaking about camp performances, Bill Ellis states that "it is the campers' perception of the event that defines its nature."[132] Ellis analyzes an annual performative camp ritual similar to Council Ring, which he claims is a "sincere effort to test and define boundaries of the 'real' world."[133] Through suspended disbelief, the group shares in the collective experience of being in on the joke, and knowing that they are playing in the realm of make-believe. The costumes hold power due to the collective suspension of disbelief of the group, and the social contract which they share together.

On one hand, Council Ring strives for an "authentic" and spiritual experience, yet it also encourages campers to invent their own folklore, breaking any semblance of authenticity. Ranger Reports are described in Eastaugh's instruction manual as a camper's opportunity to share recent observations and fieldnotes from camp, but to performatively spin them into nature lore. A quarter of the Council Ring program was devoted to this activity, and Eastaugh writes that "the fifteen minutes assigned to this sections slips quickly by."[134] Campers and staff express their "prowess as orators" and this performative aspect of the program encouraged imagination and myth-making.

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[128] Stephanie A. Fryberg and Daphna Oyserman, "Feeling Good about Chief Wahoo: Basking in the Reflected Glory of American Indians" (Unpublished manuscript, 2011). Unpublished study mentioned in Stephanie A. Fryberg et al., "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots," *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 30, no. 3 (September 26, 2008): 216.
[129] Deborah Root, "White Indians: Appropriation and the Politics of Display," in *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, ed. Bruce Diff and Pratima V. Rao (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 225–36.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Jay Mechling, "Dress Right, Dress: The Boy Scout Uniform as a Folk Costume," *Journal of the International Association for Semiotic Studies* 64, no. 3–4 (1987): 320.
[132] Bill Ellis, "The Camp Mock-Ordeal Theater as Life," *The Journal of American Folklore* 94, no. 374 (1981): 486–505.
[133] Ibid., 488.
[134] Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring," 3.

Given that Council costumes and props are deeply tied to their performative value as a part of camp culture, it is essential that camp educators uproot traditions of cultural appropriation by examining the role of performance, make believe and play in their organizations. Repeated performances which take place each summer can yield performative behavioural patterns in campers, and their self-imagining is tied to traditions of make believe. As such, the following section examines how cultural appropriation operates as a pattern of behaviour which persists in many material and immaterial forms, despite interventions.

Section Two: Cultural Appropriation, Racial Plagiarism, and the Media Landscape

Tressie McMillan Cottom states that debates on cultural appropriation "have, at times, wallowed in their intellectual infancy."[135] Articles about cultural appropriation successfully incite online engagement and call-out tweets, and Tayllor Johnson argues that they increase visibility for media platforms.[136] Andrew C. Billings and Jason Edward Black begin their 2018 book *Mascot Nation: The Controversy over Native American Representations in Sports* by stating that they will avoid measuring acts of cultural appropriation according to a spectrum of acceptability.[137] They avoid evaluating cases of cultural appropriation along an imaginary spectrum, comparing the relative acceptability of, for example, fringe leather jackets to the deplorable appropriation of sacred headdresses used in fashion magazines or music festivals.[138] Resources on cultural appropriation rarely focus on the nature of the phenomenon itself, and often devolve into narrow evaluations of individual cases of cultural appropriation. Billings and Black state that "the binaries of should change/should not change and should *have to* change/should not *have to* change are secondary to the broader landscape of what Native American mascots represent."[139] By constructing an imagined spectrum of appropriateness, and making value judgements based on degrees of acceptability, white-settlers uphold the exploitative system of racialized copying by identifying how to get away with low-risk copies.

By fixing its attention on this spectrum of acceptability, the popular media landscape has become saturated with misrepresentations of Indigenous material culture. In 2017, Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm declared in a Globe and Mail article that "the appropriation debate needs to end. But not because the war has been won or because our stories are no longer being stolen."[140] The

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135 This quote by Tressie McMillan Cottom is featured on the book jacket of Lauren Michele Jackson, *White Negroes: When Cornrows Were in Vogue ... and Other Thoughts on Cultural Appropriation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019).
136 Tayllor Johnson, "Cultural Appropriation: A Marketing Strategy," *Luxy Haus*, March 22, 2019, https://www.luxyhaus.com/home/2019/3/22/cultural-appropriation-marketing-strategy.
137 Andrew C. Billings and Jason Edward Black, *Mascot Nation: The Controversy over Native American Representations in Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018).
138 *Think Before You Appropriate: Things to Know and Questions to Ask in Order to Avoid Misappropriating Indigenous Cultural Heritage.* (Vancouver: Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage Project, Simon Fraser University, 2015); Chelsea Vowel, "The Do's, Don'ts, Maybes, and I-Don't-Knows of Cultural Appropriation.," *âpihtawikosisân* (blog), January 30, 2012, http://apihtawikosisan.com/2012/01/the-dos-donts-maybes-I-dont-knows-of-cultural-appropriation.; Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, "Stop Stealing Native Stories," *Globe and Mail*, January 26, 1990, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/cultural-appropriation-stop-stealing-native-stories/article35066040/; Adrienne Keene, Migizi Penseneau, and Matika Wilbur, "Keynote Speaker Panel" (Perspectives on Native Representations Symposium, Berkeley, February 20, 2015), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mUzhwBtxUG0&list=PLTTT4bzLbP4n7JTxV7CX3C80FX2IlcguS&index=4.
139 Billings and Black, *Mascot Nation: The Controversy over Native American Representations in Sports,* 2.
140 Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm, "The Cultural Appropriation Debate Is over. It's Time for Action," *Globe and Mail*, May 20, 2017, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/the-cultural-appropriation-debate-is-over-its-time-for-action/article35072670/.

Anishinaabe writer and editor from the Chippewas of Nawash First Nation, Saugeen Ojibway Nation stated, "it's time to stop the debate because fighting these battles is getting us nowhere."[141] Akiwenzie-Damm issues this call to action in order to encourage Indigenous writers and makers to shift and change the media landscape.

Like Akiwenzie-Damm, Minh-ha T. Pham has abandoned the cultural appropriation debate, which insufficiently captures the complex process of cultural and intellectual theft that occurs under settler colonialism. In a 2017 essay, Pham abandons the term "cultural appropriation" altogether, and introduces the term "racial plagiarism" to describe unauthorized copying using less ambiguous language. Pham clarifies that "fashion design, in its entirety, is not copyrightable," therefore unauthorized copying in costuming and fashion operates outside of the Western legal system of intellectual property.[142] Pham uses the term racial plagiarism because "a plagiarized copy is an unauthorized copy that does not necessarily violate copyright law."[143] Since there is limited legislative protection for BIPOC fashion designs, Pham creates a new term which captures the severity of unauthorized copying.

While some legislation protects certain Indigenous styles and designs, the scope of copyright law is limiting for communally-held knowledge systems.[144] According to a report produced by Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage Project, "IP [intellectual property] laws are designed to protect an individual's creation for a limited time span, whereas cultural practices and expressions are developed collectively over many generations."[145] In the United States, the 1990 Indian Arts and Crafts Act (IACA) makes it illegal to sell "counterfeit" Indigenous material culture, and primarily reprimands companies making significant profit from deceptive marketing.[146] Only in recent years has it begun to be reinforced, such as in the Pendelton Wollen Mills settlement in 2014, and the Nael Ali sentencing in 2018.[147] No such legislation exists in Canada, and since IACA is a truth-in-advertizing law, it does not focus on protecting Indigenous makers, but on convicting fraudulent

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[141] Ibid.
[142] Pham, "Racial Plagiarism and Fashion," 69.
[143] Ibid.
[144] For example, the Navajo Nation holds 86 trademark registrations to protect Navajo designs. *Think Before You Appropriate: Things to Know and Questions to Ask in Order to Avoid Misappropriating Indigenous Cultural Heritage,* 4.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Francesca Fionda, "Why Aren't Fake Indigenous Art Makers Going to Jail in Canada?," The Discourse., May 24, 2019, https://www.thediscourse.ca/urban-nation/fake-art-laws.
[147] Ibid.

companies.[148] Vanessa Udy writes that Canadian "laws were not developed to meet the aim of cultural heritage protection, but for other economic purposes."[149]

In a 1989 article by Joane Cardinal-Schubert, the Kainaiwa artist argues, "If Native artists are to continue to be a part of the gross national product of Canada we cannot allow cheap imitations to exist and we cannot continue to finance their production with grants and the machinery of P.R."[150] Only when plagiarism inhibits the capital gain of the national culture system, will it be policed. Cardinal-Schubert advocates for the visibility of Indigenous art in order to shift the mainstream media. She continues, "Only by publishing imagery will it become apparent to these rip-off artists that Native people deserve the same professional respect given to the artists in the mainstream who have lawyers lurking in the back ground protecting copyright."[151] Like Pham, Cardinal-Schubert recognizes the irony of copyright protection, which favours the white individuals and institutions with the most significant legal arsenal.

Cultural appropriation is a pattern of behaviour which persists in many material forms, despite well-intentioned interventions. Operating as a cycle, the settler pattern of claiming cultural property does not always involve physical acts of costuming, and the study of cultural appropriation extends beyond material culture. Pham states,

> To meet the racial plagiarism standard, it is not enough that a racially marked object or style is used and consumed by someone who is not a part of that racial or indigenous community. Racial plagiarism centrally involves and colludes in racial capitalist processes of value extraction in which racialized groups' resources of knowledge, labor, and cultural heritage are exploited for the benefit of dominant groups and in ways that maintain dominant socioeconomic relationships.[152]

Patterns of cultural theft and racial plagiarism are symptoms of deeper issues of white-settler dominance, which materialize through the mainstream culture system. Given the lack of legislative protection for Indigenous artists and makers, and the ongoing cultural genocide, the colonial nation

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[148] Brian Zark, "Use of Native American Tribal Names as Marks," *American Indian Law Journal* 3, no. 2 (2015): 7.
[149] The Navajo Nation trademarked their name in 1943 to protect against companies like Urban Outfitters, which since 2001 have marketed products such as the "Navajo Hipster Panty." In their 2012 lawsuit against Urban Outfitters they brought six claims against the company for breaching trademark, and for violating IACA. It appears that their case was strengthened more by the trademark argument than the argument that Urban Outfitters violated IACA. Vanessa Udy, "The Appropriation of Aboriginal Cultural Heritage: Examining the Uses and Pitfalls of the Canadian Intellectual Property Regime," Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage, accessed October 8, 2019, https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/outputs/blog/canadian-intellectual-property-regime/; Nicky Woolf, "Urban Outfitters Settles with Navajo Nation after Illegally Using Tribe's Name," *The Guardian*, November 19, 2016, sec. US news, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/18/urban-outfitters-navajo-nation-settlement; Zark, "Use of Native American Tribal Names as Marks."
[150] Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Fuse Magazine* (Fall 1989): 28.
[151] Ibid., 27.
[152] Pham, "Racial Plagiarism and Fashion," 73.

state profits off the misrepresentation and underrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in the media landscape. By fueling debates about cultural appropriation, popular media articles fail to shift the media landscape in which Indigenous peoples and stories are underrepresented.

A 2008 study led by Stephanie A. Fryberg argues that the negative impact of Indigenous stereotypes results not only from the images themselves, but from "the relative absence of more contemporary positive images" of Indigenous peoples in the media and in American society.[153] Likewise, Adrienne Keene asserts that "many of the problems of cultural appropriation occur because of the sheer invisibility of Native peoples."[154] Keene's blog nativeappropriations.com has been incredibly influential in setting the discourse for dialogues about cultural appropriation, and for tracking the rate and pace of the phenomenon since 2010. Keene reinforces the truth that cultural appropriation is a crisis of power, and one which relies on a lack of Indigenous representation.[155] The erasure of Indigenous representation in the media has a measurable impact on Indigenous youth and communities at large. In a study of Indigenous girlhood, Sandrina De Finney states that stereotypical images "take hold in [Indigenous] girls' lives as material exclusion," and that the absence of media representation "leaves them with few role models."[156] In this context, the erasure of Indigenous peoples in the media amplifies the impact of appropriative or stereotypical images. Following this logic, the problem of cultural appropriation in the media and childhood education cannot be resolved by simply removing problematic costumes from costume boxes and party stores. The problem of cultural appropriation is a mere offshoot of the entire colonial paradigm that benefits from the erasure of Indigenous peoples in the media, and in turn, capitalizes off misrepresentations. The process of repatriating, deaccessioning, and disposing of harmful costumes, props, and objects must be coupled by a commitment to Indigenous visibility and sovereignty.

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153 Fryberg et al., "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses."
154 Keene, "Engaging Indigeneity and Avoiding Appropriation."
155 Keene and Wilbur, *Native Appropriations*.
156 de Finney, "Playing Indian and Other Settler Stories."

Section Three: Decolonization in the Camping Sector

Chronology of Interventions at Camp Ahmek – 1921-2018

Cultural appropriation is a complex pattern of settler behaviour; one which relies on white possessive logics and systems of dominance. Given the lack of representation of Indigenous peoples in the mainstream media, and the ubiquity of Indigenous stereotypes in the commercial media landscape, representations of Indigenous mascots and characters occupy a complex intermediary space for Indigenous youth. Fryberg's 2008 study on Indigenous mascots concluded that stereotypes such as Chief Wahoo and Pocahontas initially generated positive associations for Indigenous children but later "produced negative consequences for self-esteem […] and community worth."[157] Mock-Indigenous stereotypes trigger a complex system of associations for Indigenous children because of, according to Fryberg's study, the lack of Indigenous representation in the media. In order to understand the complexity of the problem of cultural appropriation at Camp Ahmek, I investigate the historical contradictions in their programming since it was founded in 1921, moving chronologically to the present day.

In the first section of this thesis I established how traditions of racial role-playing rely on the erasure of Indigenous peoples in predominantly white-settler spaces. In contradiction to this narrative of violent erasure, Camp Ahmek employed canoeists from the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation in the 1920s and 30s to teach campers to make birchbark canoes.[158] Jack Eastaugh also claims that some Indigenous staff members came from the Moosonee area, and "demonstrated their woodlore and craftsmanship."[159] Algonquin canoeists Basil Partridge and Bill Stoqua are misidentified as "Ojibway canoeists" in the note etched on a photograph of them building a canoe at Camp Ahmek [fig. 9].[160] Bill Stoqua was an influential canoeist who taught campers "how to paddle in a style which has caught on in camps all over North America."[161] Another canoeist who worked at the camp was Matthew Bernard, a master canoe builder and former chief of the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation who went on to build the world's largest birchbark canoe for the

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[157] Fryberg et al., "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses," 214.
[158] Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 538; Lundell, *Fires of Friendship: Eighty Years of the Taylor Statten Camps*, 35.
[159] Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 2.
[160] Lundell, *Fires of Friendship: Eighty Years of the Taylor Statten Camps*, 25.
[161] Jack Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 2.

Canadian Museum of History (formerly the Canadian Museum of Man) in the 50's.[162] Their expertise is significant because the camp takes pride in the historical importance of its canoes, claiming that its two war canoes "were at one time in the *Guinness Book of World Records* as the largest canoes of their type in use, are the only ones of their kind in existence today."[163] Matt Bernard also built the "Indian Village" at Camp Ahmek [fig. 10] and these skilled craftsmen occupy a strange position in this settler space which relies on the erasure of local Indigenous peoples.[164] Their skilled work in a time of colonial genocide demonstrates cultural resilience, survivance, and excellence in their craft, despite the fact that they were performing Indigeneity for settlers who, themselves, were performing mock-Indigeneity.

Philip Deloria describes Ella Deloria—and other ancestors who were camp educators—as "bridge figures, using antimodern primitivism to defend native cultures against the negative stereotypes left over from conquest."[165] Indigenous bridge figures at summer camps complicate the idea that cultural appropriation is a simple one-way transaction of cultural theft. I speculate that Ohiyesa offered certain cultural practices to settlers in order to maintain cultural continuance, while safeguarding other sacred ceremonies, symbols, and objects from appropriation. Vigil likens Ohiyesa to a trickster character who is "often sacrificing something special in order to do good."[166] In contrast to the salvage paradigm, Ohiyesa is not simply preserving and documenting all cultural traditions for fear of extinction. As an activist and educator, Ohiyesa exerts agency by selectively shielding sacred practices from white-settler camp educators. As knowledge keepers, bridge figures like Ohiyesa, Ella Deloria, Bill Stoqua, and Matt Bernard embody survivance by ensuring cultural continuance and cultural sovereignty.[167]

Other Indigenous campers, educators, and storytellers have acted as bridge figures at Camp Ahmek. In a 1986 interview, Taylor Statten's daughter, Adele Ebbs, mentions a counselor-in-training from Curve Lake First Nation who worked at Camp Ahmek in the 1970's, referring to her only as

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[162] "Canoe Builders of Pikwàkanagàn: Algonquin Way Cultural Centre," Virtual Museum, Community Memories, accessed July 25, 2019, http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_stories/pm_v2.php?id=story_line&lg=English&fl=0&ex=384&sl=2312&pos=1&pf=1.
[163] Donald Burry, "History of the Taylor Statten Camps: A Thesis."
[164] Ibid., 78.
[165] Deloria, *Playing Indian,* 122. See also Philip J. Deloria, "Three Lives, Two Rivers: One Marriage and the Narratives of American Colonial History."
[166] Vigil, "Charles Eastman's 'School of the Woods,'" 32.
[167] Gerald Vizenor defines his flexible term "survivance" as a "a sense of native presence over absence, nihility, and victimry." Resisting definition and embracing sovereignty, the term is an antidote to colonial narratives of Indigenous victimhood. Gerald Vizenor, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 1.

Margot.[168] This counselor-in-training expressed to Taylor Statten that she found the Council Ring traditions to be harmful, and she refused to attend. Ebbs claims that Statten surprised everyone that year when he did not wear his headdress or costume at Council Ring, instead wearing a jacket and beret. In subsequent years, however, he wore his usual costume, and Ebbs explains that this momentary intervention was ultimately not a deterrent to the Council Ring tradition at that time. "It was a lesson to us to be more careful," she said, reinforcing the camp's commitment to maintaining settler authority over Indigenous material culture. Jack Eastaugh recounts a similar story wherein two French Canadian boys criticized Council Ring in 1971, speaking instead to Dr. Taylor Statten II (known as Dr. Tay), not Taylor Statten I. That year at Council Ring, Dr. Tay wore a military beret (he had served as a Canadian medical officer in WWII), hunting jacket, and carried a walking cane. Rather than the fire lighting and peace pipe ceremonies he spoke about pollution and threats to the environment. Due to popular demand, the camp fell back into the usual Council Ring script later that summer at September Camp, which is mostly attended by alumni. It is possible that these two stories are in fact the same story, and though they present intersecting and perhaps contradictory truths, the impulses and reactions of the camp follow the same pattern. In accounts by white-settlers, Margot either goes unnamed or is referred to only by her first name, and many aspects of her story remain untold. Her intervention is described as though it was temporary and reversible, when it was in fact a crucial turning point. Her story is continually referenced as a rare moment of confrontation in Camp Ahmek's history when it became abundantly clear that Indigenous educators did not feel honoured by Council Ring traditions.

In the 1970's, Camp Ahmek's resistance to criticism was coupled with heightened settler entitlement to Indigenous land. Starting in 1954, the Ontario government opened the possibility that all leaseholders within Algonquin Park (including both Camp Ahmek and Camp Wapameo) may lose their leases when they expired in 1986.[169] In Eastaugh's 1972 speech to the Society of Camp Directors, his words strike an urgent cord as he relentlessly defends Council Ring despite the criticism it received the summer prior. He does not present a clear rationale or response to the criticism, and instead presents a defensive, anxious last stand at the end of his speech:

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[168] One version of Margot's story was told in an audio interview with Adele Ebbs, who did not mention her full name. Another account by Taylor Wilkes claims that the unnamed counselor-in-training said to Taylor Statten that it made her sick "having to watch you people make fun of my people." Pearse, Adele Ebbs Interview on Taylor Statten; Taylor Wilkes, "Transitioning Traditions: Rectifying an Ontario Camp's Indian Council Ring," *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education* 23, no. 2 (2011): 6.

[169] Donald Burry, "History of the Taylor Statten Camps: A Thesis," 78.

> And finally if the children's camps are successful in their bid to remain in Algonquin Park it may be due to the ability of the Honourable Tom Wells, the Minister of Education to persuade the Ontario Cabinet to the opinion he formed as a result of attending the August Council Ring at the Taylor Statten Camps last summer.[170]

When faced with the possibility of forced displacement, Eastaugh draws on the camp's full arsenal of power and privilege in order to claim settler entitlement due to their connections to government. In the summer of 1973, it was announced that the lease would be renewed, and the event was inaugurated with a plaque in the dining hall. Against the backdrop of the ongoing Algonquin land claim, which was submitted only a decade after Camp Ahmek was granted its new lease, it becomes clear that Camp Ahmek's relationship to cultural appropriation is intrinsically linked to the Indigenous land it occupies.

As a non-Indigenous counselor in the 1990's, Greg Padulo had actively started conversations with senior staff members at Camp Ahmek, questioning the ethics of Council Ring traditions.[171] In the mid-1990's, the senior staff connected with the Algonquins of Pikwàkanagàn First Nation, and invited four Indigenous boys to attend Camp Ahmek. Greg Padulo and Michael Trudeau (son of Pierre Trudeau, and brother of the current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau) were assigned as camp counselors to the group of boys, and Greg Padulo believes that it was an intentional staffing decision to assign a Trudeau to the group. The Algonquin campers were asked to open the Council Ring ceremony with drumming, and Greg Padulo says it quickly became an uncomfortable environment for the Indigenous campers. At this point there was no question for Greg Padulo that these traditions needed to change. He pursued his Indigenous Studies degree at Trent University in 1996, interviewing roughly 100 Indigenous participants to gather suggestions on how to change the Council Ring traditions. Greg Padulo was met with resistance by senior staff members when he presented his research to the camp, and he says that the most significant finding from his research was that many participants agreed that "the way to change is through participation […] with Indigenous participants on an equitable basis."[172] Greg Padulo agrees that simply removing all mock-Indigenous material culture cannot solve the problem of cultural appropriation at Camp Ahmek, but that the camp must create space for Indigenous educators to hold sovereignty over their own stories, songs, and traditions of craft and dress.

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[170] Eastaugh, "Is There Still a Place for the Indian Council Ring Ceremony?," 5.
[171] Shore, Interview with Greg Padulo.
[172] Ibid.

A substantial intervention took place in 2011, when Jim "Many Hats" Adams was invited to the camp to lead storytelling programming. Adams is a kantiwenahawei (a carrier of words) of Swampy Cree, Innu, Mohawk and English ancestry, and a former staff member recalls that when he first visited the camp, he "primarily listened."[173] After returning to the camp several times, he was asked by the former director Jay Kennedy to lead a process of repatriation to retire the camp's headdresses. While most of the headdresses were made by white-settler educators, one was an eagle-feather headdress created by an Indigenous maker. Adams speculates that it may have been made by a member of the Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation, and in Donald Burry's 1985 research he states that Taylor Statten's original eagle feather headdress was created by Tsuut'ina makers.[174] Adams he described his first encounter with the headdress in a recent interview.

> When I opened that box, its spirit came out, and it was sad. It was sad and happy at the same time. It was happy that someone was coming to repatriate it, to look after it, to treat it well, but it was sad that it had been there and it had been made to endure these ceremonies for so long.[175]

Adams offered medicines (sweetgrass, sage, tobacco, and cedar) to the headdress and put it away where it would no longer be worn. At the next Council Ring, Adams lined the perimeter of the ring with tobacco bundles, smudged the space, opened the ceremony in song, and explained his process to the campers.[176] The replica headdresses were not Adams' concern at the time, and alumni insisted on keeping one headdress for the annual alumni Council Ring, which remained unchanged. During this intervention, Adams acted in immediate response to an object that was in critical condition. It is crucial to position his actions in the context of this particular object, which spoke to him personally. Rather than treating Adams' actions as a model for repatriation protocol, I consider his story as a unique glimpse into the urgent need for ongoing care of sacred and ceremonial objects.

Adams shared another story which captures the unifying power of camp traditions, which persist without being questioned or challenged. Speaking about the boys at Camp Ahmek, he recalls,

> One of their favourite ways of agreeing with things if they were in approval of it in the mess hall, was to bang on the table and go "howgh howgh howgh!"[177] So I asked them, "What

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[173] Taylor Wilkes, "Transitioning Traditions: Rectifying an Ontario Camp's Indian Council Ring," *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education* 23, no. 2 (2011): 7.

[174] In his research Burry refers to the "the Sarcee Indians," but the sovereign nation currently self-identify as the Tsuut'ina Nation. Donald Burry, "History of the Taylor Statten Camps: A Thesis"; Shore, Interview with Jim "Many Hats" Adams.

[175] Shore, Interview with Jim "Many Hats" Adams.

[176] Wilkes, "Transitioning Traditions: Rectifying an Ontario Camp's Indian Council Ring."

[177] Karl May uses the spelling "howgh" in his canonical German trilogy *Winnetou*, a romanticized and fabricated story of an Indigenous hero. The Lakota spelling for this greeting is "háu." April Renae S. Watchman, "Howgh! I Have Spoken,

> does that mean, do you understand what that means?" and they had no idea. I said, "Do you realize that you're taking a greeting as it comes from the Lakota nation, and it doesn't really even fully express a greeting of approaching someone. So if you knew someone and they weren't a friend, if they were just somebody casual that you met, you might say háu to them. That's part of a longer expression, it just means 'hello.' So basically you're yelling 'hello hello!' Does that really make sense to bang on the table and say that?" And they said "no," but they still proceeded to do it.[178]

According to Eastaugh's 1938 manual, during Council Ring games, if two opponents were mismatched, the assembly would cry "Wah, wah, wah" which meant "no, no, they are not suited," and when a more appropriate challenger was selected, the assembly would cry "Howgh, Howgh, Howgh" in agreement.[179] After the games, opponents would shake hands and say "Howgh, howgh" in the spirit of good sportsmanship. The unifying feeling of call and response emptied the words of meaning to the point that campers could not comprehend the change that Adams proposed. Although Adams said his programming was praised by senior camp staff, after four summers he was no longer invited to the camp.

In 2013, Generation Seven was hired by Taylor Statten Camps to do sustainability planning for both Camp Ahmek and Camp Wapomeo. Generation Seven is a consulting firm jointly led by Greg Padulo (the non-Indigenous Camp Ahmek alumna who has been questioning Council Ring traditions since the 90's) and his wife and colleague Kathleen Padulo (an Indigenous consultant from the Oneida Nation of the Thames) that aims "to connect Indigenous initiatives and the public and private sector in innovative ways—culturally, environmentally, socially."[180] In 2016, one year after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada released its Calls to Action, Generation Seven and Taylor Statten Camps envisioned a multi-year initiative which would focus on land-based education and commitment to Indigenous communities. Call to Action #92 would be the cornerstone of the initiative, which calls upon the corporate sector to adopt UNDRIP into its policies, and core operations involving Indigenous peoples, lands, and resources.[181] This includes a commitment to consultation and relationship-building with Indigenous peoples, in order to provide jobs, training, and education to Indigenous communities. In addition, this call to action prioritizes skill-based education for management and staff on intercultural competency, and anti-racism.

Uff, Uff!: Karl May and the 19th Century Representations of American Indians" (M.A. Thesis, Phoenix, Arizona State University, 2001).

[178] Shore, Interview with Jim "Many Hats" Adams.

[179] Eastaugh, "Indian Council Ring."

[180] Shore, Interview with Greg Padulo.

[181] "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action."

Despite initial interest, Greg Padulo attests that very little progress was made between 2016 and 2018, at which point the project dissolved due to lack of commitment from Camp Ahmek. Generation Seven was interested in working with Indigenous educators in all aspects of the existing camp programming (including arts and culture and canoe tripping), in addition to creating new support programs for Indigenous youth, families, and educators. Greg Padulo attests that Taylor Statten was mostly interested in day programs, and one-off presentations by Indigenous educators, rather than long-term initiatives and new programs. While the camp was interested in making small changes to its material landscape (such as removing Indigenous names from cabins), Padulo considers this to be low-hanging fruit, and when Generation Seven suggested that they create an Indigenous Advisory Board to lead this process, this suggestion was met with resistance. Ultimately the relationship between the two organizations ended due to lack of engagement.

Major changes took place in 2017 (independently of Generation Seven), when director Greg Albisser and staff member Braedon Pauze created a new Council Ring script, replacing all Indigenous caricatures with fur traders, loggers, the camp's founders, and Tom Thompson.[182] Under the previous director, Jay Kennedy (2009-2013), "montages of painted warriors riding bareback" were removed from the path to Council Ring, and under the direction of Albisser, they were replaced with tableaux of "voyageur and campcraft skill-building scenes."[183] Rather than wearing a buckskin shirt like Taylor Statten I at Council Ring, Albisser wore khakis and a button-down Oxford-style shirt which matched the portrait of the founder in the dining hall. According to Jay Kennedy, "this shifted the role of 'the Chief' […] from a fictional Indigenous character to an historic leader and outdoor educator."[184] The pageant of Hiawatha's Departure has been replaced with a new "mythology specific to the camp and its founder's vision of 'living in harmony with nature.'"[185] While the costumes have been removed and the script has been changed, Council Ring still takes place in the same fortified structure lined with totem poles, shields, and wooden murals.

That same summer, Alexa Scully brought visiting Indigenous educators to the camp including Kim Wheatley (Anishinaabe from Shawanaga First Nation) and Brian Charles (Chippewas

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[182] Taylor Wilkes, Jay Kennedy, and Amanda Shore, "Transitioning Traditions Take Two: The Evolution of an Ontario Camp's 'Indian' Council Ring—Eight Years in the Making," *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education* 30, no. 3 (Spring 2018): 9.
[183] Ibid., 9.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Wilkes, Kennedy, and Shore, 4.

of Georgina Island First Nation), who held discussions and shared teachings about fire and water.[186] Inspired by their visit, staff added fire and water keeper roles to Council Ring to highlight relationships to nature. These elements were not specifically sanctioned by the Indigenous visitors, and staff considered them to be "ways to show respect for local Indigenous knowledge and lifeways."[187] Rather than closing Council Ring with the Omaha Tribal Prayer, a poem was recited which was translated by Chief Yellow Lark (a 19th century Sioux leader), encouraging campers to respect the natural environment.[188] Perhaps one of the most significant changes was a land acknowledgement at the beginning of the program, explaining that Camp Ahmek "has unceded Algonquin territory to the east, Anishinaabe territory to the west, and is within the territory of the Dish with One Spoon Treaty."[189] It is clear that Camp Ahmek is making efforts to pursue curricular replacement, and create new programs which redefine the legacy of its founder. Though Camp Ahmek has made attempts at curricular replacement by mythologizing the camp's origins, these efforts often replace Indigenous stereotypes with other settler-colonial stereotypes, such as voyageurs and a Group of Seven painter. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández warn that curricular reform by white educators is often used as a tool of Indigenous erasure which ultimately protects settler futurity.[190]

For nearly a century, Camp Ahmek has hosted Indigenous educators both as bridge figures, and as short-term guests who have intervened and ruptured the Council Ring tradition. However, this timeline shows that cultural appropriation is a patterned behaviour which resists intervention unless a critical mass of campers and educators work together to collectively shift the mentality of the group. Camp Ahmek has taken strides to introduce Indigenous educators, retire costumes, and reform traditions of racial pageantry. However powerful interventions by educators such as Jim Adams and Generation Seven seem to only have a short-term impact. It is perhaps too early to evaluate the efficacy and longevity of the changes that were made in 2017, though the camp is clearly making efforts to change the Council Ring tradition. Camp Ahmek continues to show resistance to

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[186] Wilkes, Kennedy, and Shore, 10.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid., 10.
[189] Ibid., 10.
[190] Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández also warn that the work of non-white, non-settler curricular reformers is often replaced with post-racial analysis by white curricular scholars in an effort to protect settler futurity. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, "Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler Futurity," 79–80.

long-term collaboration with Indigenous educators, preferring to maintain control over their program.

By maintaining settler control in an isolated environment, Camp Ahmek has developed what Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández call "fort pedagogy."[191] The fortified Council Ring enclosure coincidentally mimics this ideological phenomenon and pedagogical framework, where "everyone must be brought inside and become like the insiders," and "outsiders must be either incorporated, or excluded."[192] At isolated summer camps where communities are formed around unique, often ritualistic traditions, "fort pedagogy" allows camps to fortify themselves against critique from outsiders. I've encountered this ideological wall as an outside researcher, and Jim Adams and Generation Seven have attested to having similar experiences. Adopting this framework of fort pedagogy, the next section proposes a theoretical strategy for pursuing decolonizing pedagogies, and dismantling settler authority on Indigenous lands.

Settler Responsibility and a Pedagogy of Solidarity

Uprooting problematic traditions of cultural appropriation requires a long-term commitment to decolonization. Decolonization is, by design, a moving target; an ongoing process that continues to be redefined by Indigenous writers. Linda Tuhiwai Smith relies on the language of Franz Fanon, who declared, "decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world is, obviously, a programme of complete disorder."[193] In their seminal text "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang define it as the "repatriation of Indigenous land and life."[194] In their ambitious call to action, Tuck and Yang challenge the rhetoric of reconciliation and "the easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization" which they claim is "another form of settler appropriation."[195]

Another scholar who complicates the concept of decolonization is non-Indigenous scholar Paulette Regan, who calls for decolonizing strategies that are both uncomfortable and transformative. Drawing from the words of Taiaiake Alfred, Regan positions discomfort as a useful

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[191] Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, "Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler Futurity."
[192] Ibid.
[193] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London ; New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1999), 27.
[194] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012), 21.
[195] Tuck and Yang, 3.

tool through which deep and meaningful reflection can occur.[196] Referencing Megan Boler and Michalinos Zembylas' "pedagogy of discomfort," Regan states that non-Indigenous people "have to be willing to be uncomfortable, to be disquieted at a deep and disturbing level" in order to transform their "colonial relationship with Indigenous peoples."[197] Regan challenges non-Indigenous peoples to pursue truth telling which acknowledges their complicity in the colonial project, and re-stories Canadian history.[198] Paulette Regan draws on Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of Hope,* arguing that hope is the conduit through which reflection is linked to action in pedagogical spaces. She states that "failure to link knowledge and critical reflection to action explains why many settlers never move beyond denial and guilt, and why many public education efforts are ineffective in bringing about deep social and political change."[199] Other settler writers acknowledge that decolonizing work cannot be accomplished by white-settlers alone. Carla Taunton and Leah Decter ask, "How can the practice of decolonizing settler colonialism work in productive ways that do not co-opt or de-centre Indigenous decolonization and political and cultural sovereignty?"[200] In their work, Taunton and Decter promote experimental pedagogies that encourage critical settler-driven interventions and cross-cultural collaboration.

Tuck and Yang's definition of decolonization hinges on the concept of repatriation (or rematriation), which is both a physical project concerned with returning stolen land and objects to Indigenous communities, and an immaterial project concerned with returning authority, power, and sovereignty to Indigenous peoples. Nancy Marie Mithlo traces the history of physical repatriation on Turtle Island, outlining cases where Indigenous peoples have been required to co-opt museum logic or comply with museum conditions of curatorial care in order to gain access to their own stolen objects.[201] Perhaps Deloria would also consider these artists and curators to be bridge figures. Terri-Lynn Williams asserts that according to Indigenous peoples, "cultural objects possess their own spirits and the creator of those objects is only a medium through which [the] ancestors speak."[202] While Eurocentric museum logic assumes that non-human entities, natural objects, and material

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196 Paulette Regan, "A Transformative Framework for Decolonizing Canada: A Non-Indigenous Approach" (IGOV Doctoral Student Symposium, University of Victoria, January 20, 2006), 3.
197 Ibid., 7.
198 Regan, *Unsettling the Settler within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, 32.
199 Ibid., 23.
200 Carla Taunton and Leah Decter, "Addressing the Settler Problem," *Fuse Magazine* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 32.
201 Nancy Marie Mithlo, "'Red Man's Burden': The Politics of Inclusion in Museum Settings," *The American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2004): 743–763.
202 Terri Lynn Williams, *Cultural Perpetuation: Repatriation of First Nations Cultural Heritage* (UBC Law Review, 1995), 185.

objects do not possess life, this is not the case for Indigenous peoples.[203] Williams' analysis lends new insight to Tuck and Yang's concept of "repatriating Indigenous land and life," by expanding the category of "life" to include cultural objects and non-human elements. Ultimately, I return to Tuck and Yang's definition because it frames decolonization as an ongoing project which resists categorization, because of the endless potential of the category of "Indigenous life" to expand as decolonizing work continues.

Camp Ahmek has demonstrated through its collaborations with Indigenous bridge figures and educators, that it maintains a system of fort pedagogy which resists intervention, and maintains settler sovereignty. As a storyteller visiting the camp, Adams identified one strategy which began to rupture this environment of fort pedagogy. He felt resistance from senior staff when he proposed change, and in response he focused his time on creating change among the campers. The residential school system aimed to acculturate and assimilate youth in order to initiate an entire cultural genocide, and Adams used the inverse of this colonial logic to create change among campers, in order to influence their peers, the older campers, the staff, and ultimately the senior staff. After speaking about the residential school system he said,

> So basically, I was doing the reversal. I was trying to educate the very young ones so that eventually their policies of acculturation would die out, and we would then be able to be represented in a good way, instead of being culturally appropriated. So I would go and share stories and I would ask them to share stories because I wanted it to be a reciprocal relationship.[204]

Adams' strategy for combatting an environment of fort pedagogy was to focus his attention on the youngest and most attentive campers, and initiate change from the inside.

In order to shift a culture of fort pedagogy, Ruben Gaztambide-Fernández advocates for a pedagogy of solidarity, one which relies on difference, rather than sameness.[205] Council Ring is a space of collective unity where campers abandon their individual social and racial identities, in order to perform a unified, collective whiteness. Gaztambide-Fernández asserts that educators must recast their "day-to-day relations and encounters with difference" in order to create solidarity in their classrooms.[206] While "multiculturalism operates to manage and contain cultural difference," a pedagogy of solidarity should primarily hinge "on radical differences," and should insist "on

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[203] Ibid.
[204] Shore, Interview with Jim "Many Hats" Adams.
[205] Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity."
[206] Ibid., 42.

relationships of incommensurable interdependency."[207] Tuck and Yang similarly advocate for "an ethic of incommensurability" in education, which unsettles innocence and prioritizes difference.[208] Gaztambide-Fernández calls educators to "[recast] *the difference that difference makes.*"[209] Paraphrasing Lorenzo Veracini, Gaztambide-Fernández clarifies that solidarity is not decolonization, and that both projects intersect while remaining independent.[210]

Gaztambide-Fernández describes pedagogy in a way that resonates with the programming of outdoor educators and camp staff. His text describes the unpredictability of "the pedagogical encounter as a process through which both the teacher and the learner are transformed"—one where both parties are vulnerable to one another.[211] In outdoor classrooms where education and leisure occupy the same space, and there is a narrow age gap between staff and campers, teachers and learners are reciprocally impacted by harmful camp programming. The next chapter in camp pedagogy requires that educators initiate an ongoing practice of decolonial solidarity which does not "require similarity, shared interests, or a common destiny" among its campers, but which commits "to an incommensurable interdependency" between campers, land, water, and Indigenous peoples.[212]

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[207] Ibid., 43-46.
[208] Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 28.
[209] Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," 42.
[210] Ibid., 60.
[211] Ibid., 51.
[212] Ibid., 50.

Conclusion

By examining performances of racial plagiarism at Camp Ahmek, this thesis has demonstrated that these complex traditions require equally complex, long-term approaches to decolonization, directed by Indigenous educators. Racial mimicry has been deeply rooted in the history of children's outdoor education since the founding of Boy Scouts of America in 1902 by Ernest Thompson Seton. Due to Taylor Statten's relationship to Seton, and his significant role as a founding member of the Canadian Camping Association (CCA) and the Ontario Camping Association (OCA), I argue that his programming has held significant influence in the camping sector. The songs, costumes, and rituals of Camp Ahmek's Council Ring show that the phenomenon of cultural appropriation relies on the illusion of authenticity, the myth of white inheritance, and Indigenous erasure.

Indigenous leaders have identified cultural appropriation as a systemic issue across the Ontario camping sector. In 2015, Chief Lance Haymond of the Eagle Village First Nation called upon two Ontario boy's camps, Camp Ponacka and Kilcoo Camp, to end their redface rituals.[213] That same year, the CCA identified cultural appropriation at summer camps to be a "fundamental recurring Canadian social issue, which is now bordering on a crisis."[214] In direct response to Chief Haymond's call to action, the OCA convened panels on the topic at their annual conference in 2016 and 2017, including Jim "Many Hats" Adams and I as panelists.[215] Given that racial plagiarism has been identified by Chief Haymond, the CCA, and the OCA, as a sector-wide issue, it cannot be solved through minor, tokenizing interventions. Camp Ahmek is one of many camps with significant longstanding traditions of cultural appropriation, and interventions by Indigenous educators at Camp Ahmek have repeatedly ended due to lack of engagement and commitment from

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213 APTN National News, "Chief Insulted by Mock Indigenous Ceremonies at Two Ontario Summer Camps - APTN NewsAPTN News," APTN News, July 15, 2015, https://aptnnews.ca/2015/07/15/two-ontario-summer-camps-need-stop-indigenous-themed-rituals-chief/.

214 The CCA made this comment when they announced that my paper, "Notes on Camp: A Decolonizing Strategy," was the 2015 winner of their Research Award of Excellence. This announcement came mere months after Chief Haymond called upon Camp Ponacka and Kilcoo Camp to end their traditions of redface. CCA Communications Committee, "Canadian Camping Research Award of Excellence 2015 Winner," Canadian Camping Association, December 7, 2015, http://www.ccamping.org/canadian-camping-research-award-excellence-2015-winner/; Amanda Shore, "Notes on Camp: A Decolonizing Strategy" (Undergraduate thesis, NSCAD University, 2015).

215 Jim "Many Hats" Adams et al., "Indigenous Cultures and Camps Panel" (Panel Discussion, Ontario Camping Association Conference, Toronto, January 29, 2016); Jim "Many Hats" Adams, "Indigenous Cultures and Camps Panel" (Panel Discussion, Ontario Camping Association Conference, Toronto, January 25, 2017).

the camp's administration. A generational cultural shift is required to successfully uproot traditions of racial plagiarism at Camp Ahmek and across the camping sector in Ontario.

Systems of fort pedagogy—including fraternities, sports teams, and summer camps—garner sameness through initiations, performances, and bonding exercises. In these spaces, traditions go unquestioned, and outsiders are excluded and isolated. Outside interventions seem to only have a short-term impact on Camp Ahmek's traditions of cultural appropriation, given the amount of resistance that outside educators have faced from the camp. In order to make a lasting impact on patterns of cultural appropriation, Camp Ahmek must clear significant space at the centre of their organization for a group of Indigenous educators to develop a long-term relationship with the camp, and envision a new direction for the camp's traditions. Having faced reluctance and resistance from camp staff at Camp Ahmek, Adams turned his focus away from the administration, and towards the youngest campers. Making a crucial observation, he said, "I think the people that will be instrumental in making the changes will be the campers for sure."[216] This hopeful approach to education acknowledges that fort pedagogy must be dismantled from within, with a critical mass.

In order for a camp to recast its relationship to difference, it must ensure that its entire educational structure relies on solidarity and allyship. The Radical Monarchs acts as an example of a pedagogy of solidarity, and this successful program for girls of colour reclaims and re-envisions the material culture of the Scouting movement and the Black Panther Party.[217] Radical Monarchs attend protests wearing their sashes adorned with badges in Radical Advocacy, Environmental Justice, and Radical Coding.[218] Aligning advocacy, ceremony, and self-love with survival skills, Radical Monarchs creates a badge system that values the emotional labour which goes undervalued in the capitalist labour system. Relying on a pedagogy of solidarity, the Radical Monarchs wear their berets to protests for Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Trans rights, in order to act as allies across lines of difference. The success of the Radical Monarchs relies on their site-specific curriculum in Oakland, California, the birthplace of the Black Panther Party, where they have held sessions with former members of the party in order to learn local histories of community action. The Radical Monarchs offer a glimpse at the future of education; one which relies on hope, difference, and solidarity. As the Radical Monarchs demonstrate, costumed programming ought to provide campers with the

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[216] Shore, Interview with Jim "Many Hats" Adams.
[217] Shore, "Girlhood as Praxis: Valuing the Labour of Girls of Colour in the Radical Monarchs."
[218] Linda Goldstein Knowlton, *Radical Brownies* (The Guardian, 2017), http://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2017/jan/06/radical-brownies-berets-badges-and-social-justice-video.

opportunity to self-ornament and personify their own subjective selfhood, rather than personifying a racialized Other.

If camps were to truly recast their relationship to difference, this would involve creating costuming and performance programs which don't rely on a process of Othering. LR Goldman stresses the importance of make-believe in a child's development, while also acknowledging that it relies on a process of Othering. He states that in make-believe children conjure up "an alternative, counterfactual state that is temporarily overlaid onto a conventionally understood 'reality.'"[219] By encountering their counter-reality, children build a clearer knowledge of their lived reality. Sara Ahmed reminds us that not all others are "the Other" or "the stranger," and mediated encounters with difference in educational spaces are essential to development.[220]

The next generation of camp educators will create systems of pedagogy that rely on difference and solidarity, rather than sameness. Granted, difference has long-since been commodified under the machine of multiculturalism, and there is always a risk that initiatives that aspire to highlight difference will simply pay lip service to tokenized campers.[221] Himani Bannerji refers to multiculturalism as "difference-studded unity," one which opportunistically takes difference for granted.[222] In order to truly decolonize our thinking and understand our relationship to difference, Gaztambide-Fernández prompts us all to ask ourselves, "How am I being made by others? What are the consequences of my being on others?" and how is the way I mythologize myself "the result of unequal circumstances and injustice"?[223] In addition to committing to long-term decolonizing practices directed by Indigenous peoples, it is crucial for camps to consider how all campers relate to one another across lines of racial difference, and that includes white settler campers, Indigenous campers, settlers of colour, and migrant campers. Through long-term relationships with Indigenous educators, the next generation of camp educators has the potential to craft new programming that relies on difference, solidarity, and productive self-imagining. By making dramatic shifts in their institutional structures and systems of power, camp educators can

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219 L.R. Goldman, *Child's Play: Myth, Mimesis and Make Believe*, xvii, 2.
220 Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
221 Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (London: Routledge, 1999); Minelle Mahtani, "Interrogating the Hyphen-Nation: Canadian Multicultural Policy and 'Mixed Race' Identities," in *Identity and Belonging: Rethinking Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Society*, ed. B. Singh Boloria and Sean Patrick Hier (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2006), 163–77; Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation, and the Commodification of Difference*.
222 Himani Bannerji, "On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the State of 'Canada,'" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1996): 109.
223 Gaztambide-Fernández, "Decolonization and the Pedagogy of Solidarity," 53.

still embrace the performative practice of make believe, by creating new traditions of play which do not rely on racial pageantry.

Figures

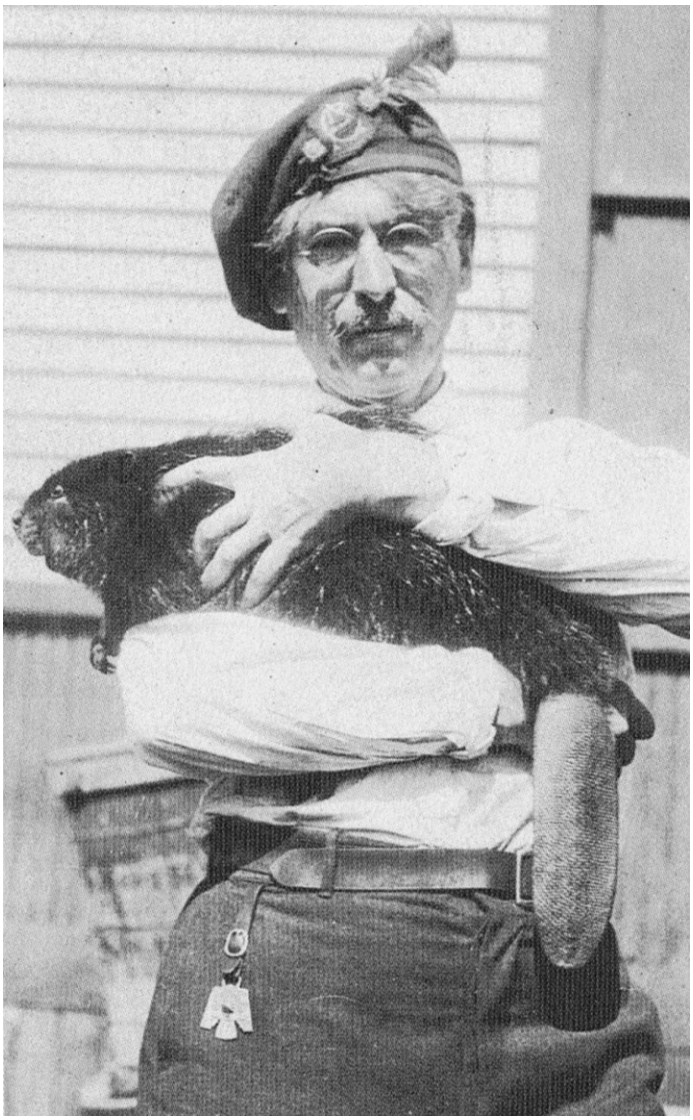

Figure 1 — Ernest Thompson Seton posing with a beaver at Camp Ahmek in 1922. Source: Liz Lundell, *Fires of Friendship: Eighty Years of Taylor Statten Camps* (Toronto: Fires of Friendship Books, 2000), 23.

Figure 2 — Jack Eastaugh painting what resembles Northwest Coast formlines in front of the Ernest Thomson Seton Library at Camp Ahmek in 1980. Source: Lundell, *Fires of Friendship*, 189.

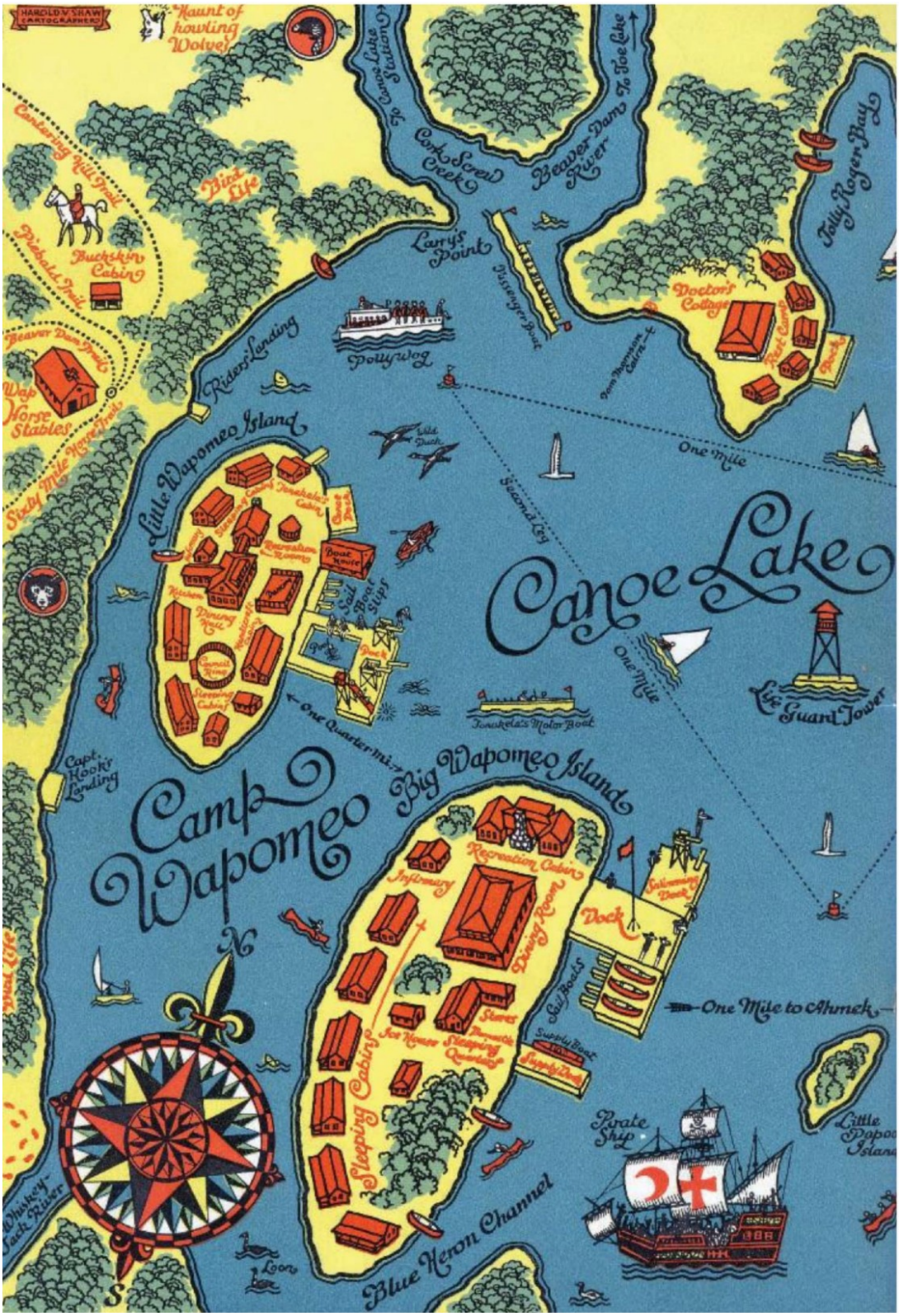

Figure 3 — This map of Canoe Lake was created by Harold V. Shaw in 1928, and was published on the cover of a camp brochure in 1932. See Figure 4 for other half of the map. Source: Lundell, *Fires of Friendship,* 34.

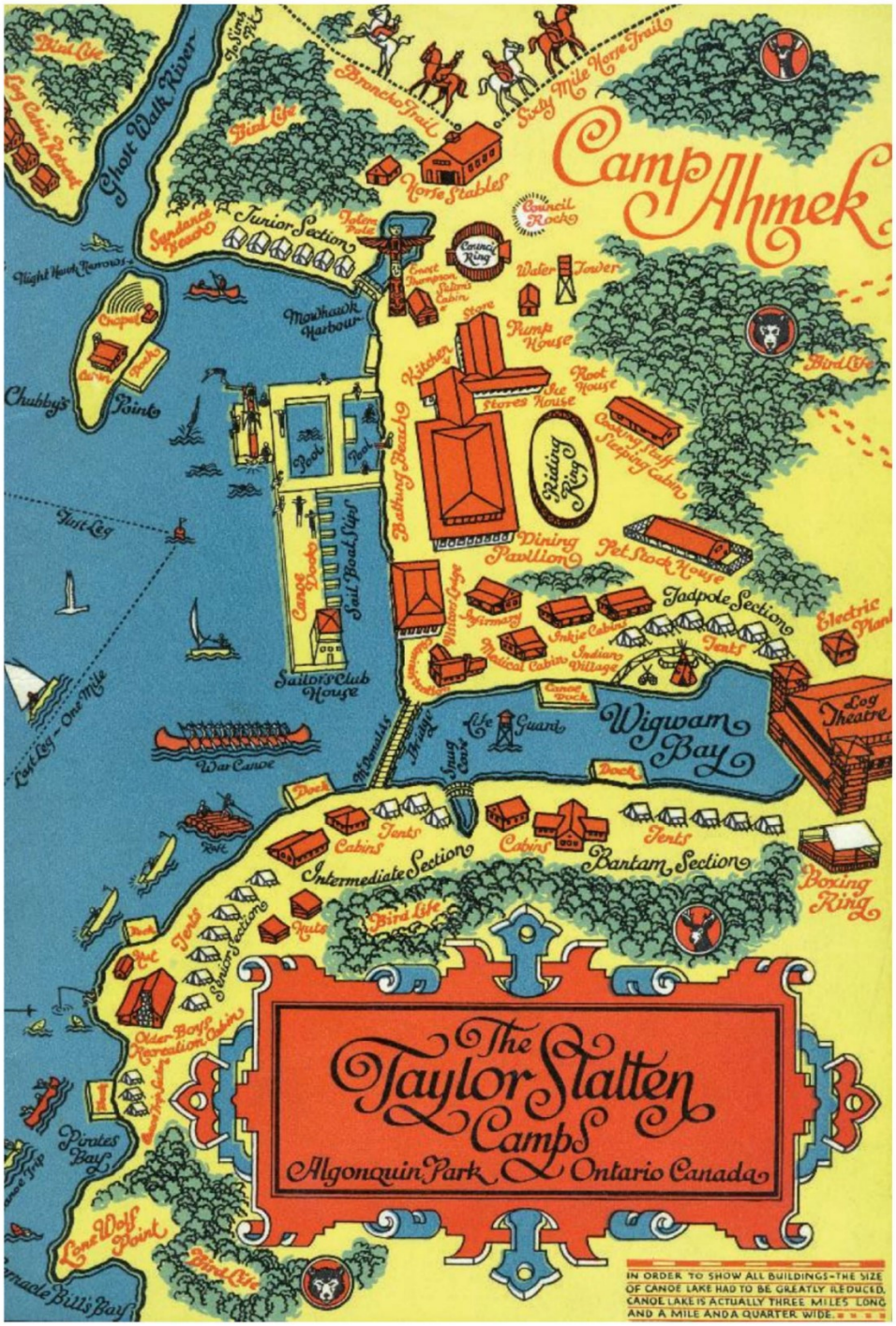

Figure 4 — This map of Canoe Lake was created by Harold V. Shaw in 1928, and was published on the cover of a camp brochure in 1932. See Figure 3 for other half of the map. Source: Lundell, *Fires of Friendship*, 34.

Figure 5 — Jack Ridpath (Ridpath Ltd., Toronto) with the totem pole he designed and carved for Camp Ahmek in 1922. According to Abigail Van Slyck, "the central figure is Gitchiahmek, protecting four boys who represent spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social growth, respectively. Translated as Great Beaver, Gitchiahmek was Taylor Statten's name at camp." Source: Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood: Indian Lore, Child Pscyhology, and the Cultural Landscape of Camp Ahmek," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Lerner (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2009), 34.

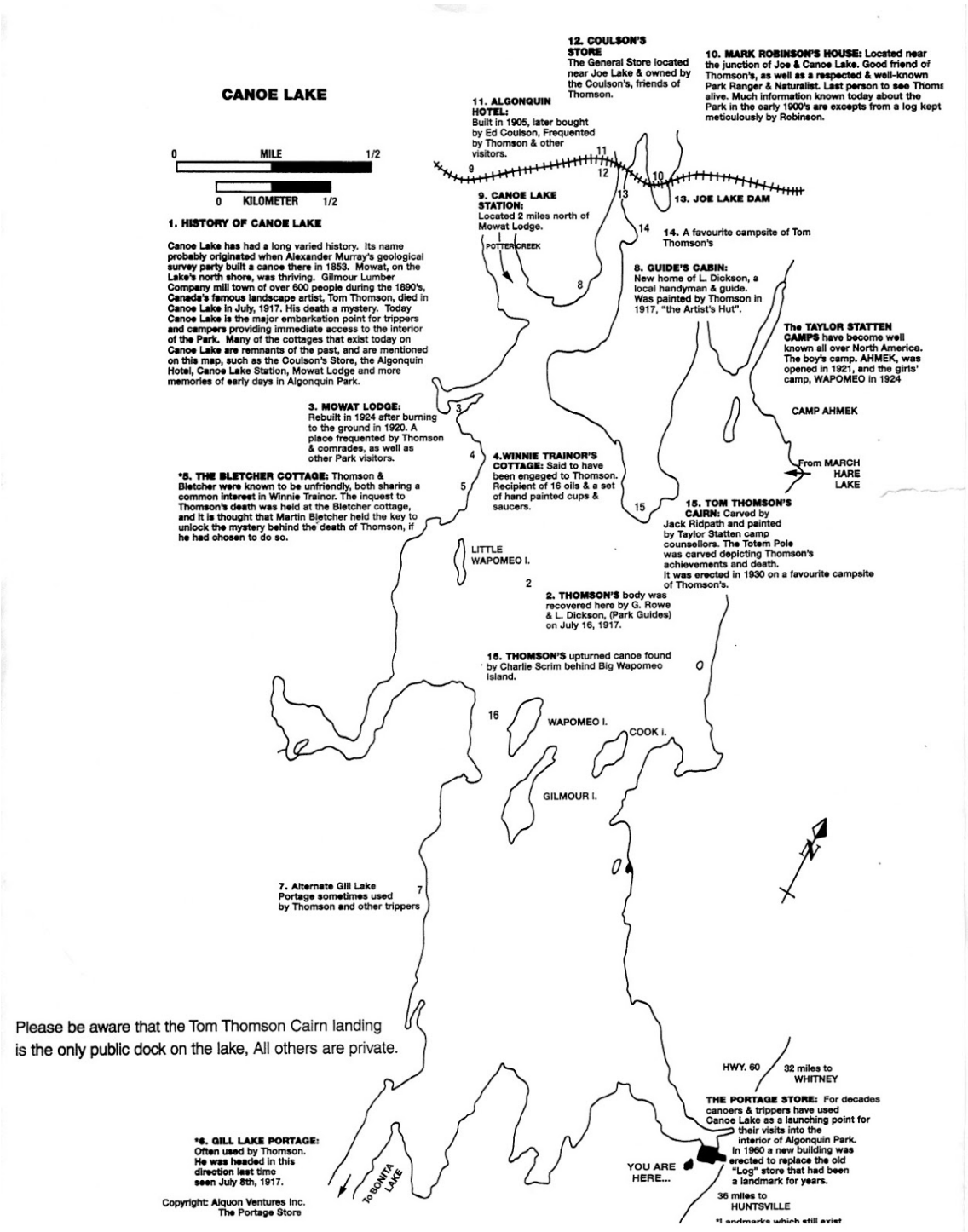

Figure 6 — Map of Canoe Lake by Alquon Ventures Inc. and The Portage Store, showing where Tom Thomson's body was found in relation to Camp Ahmek and Camp Wapomeo ("Wapomeo I.") Source: Suzanne Sewell, "Tom Thomson Cairne at Canoe Lake," *My Life is Like a Song,* July 16, 2013, http://mylifeislikeasong.blogspot.com/2013/07/tom-thomson-cairn-at-canoe-lake.html

Figure 7 — Four gravediggers left to right: Leonard Gibson, William Little, Jack Eastaugh, Frank Braught. Source: Jim Poling Sr. *Tom Thomson: The Life and Mysterious Death of the Famous Canadian Painter*. (Canmore, Alberta: Altitude Pub., 2003), 81.

Figure 8 — Jousting tournament at Camp Ahmek Council Ring in 1923. Source: Van Slyck, "Shaping Modern Boyhood," 37.

Figure 9 — Photograph of Algonquin Basil Partridge and Bill Stoqua (Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation) labelled as though they were Ojibway canoeists, teaching campers to make a birchbark canoe in 1926. Lundell, *Fires of Friendship*, 25.

Figure 17.: The Indian Village With The Log Cabin Theatre in Back. The Village was developed by Matt Bernard, (Anishinabi), a former chief of the Golden Lake Reserve of Ojibway Indians. About 1935.

Figure 10 — The “Indian Village” at Camp Ahmek developed by Algonquin master canoe builder Matt Bernard (Algonquins of Pikwàkangàn First Nation). Bernard is attributed by scholar Donald Burry as being Anishinaabe / Ojibway, and I have found no records that support this claim. Donald Burry, "History of the Taylor Statten Camps: A Thesis” (Saskatoon: Master's thesis, 1985). TUA.

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