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Boys to Braves: Performing an Idealized Colonial State at Ontario Canoe-Tripping Camps

An Honors Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of American Studies
Bates College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By

Helen Moran Bruckner
Lewiston, Maine
05/17/2021

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I could never have envisioned being diagnosed with a concussion three days before the deadline for this project, and I certainly could never have anticipated the outpouring of love and support I received from my advisors, the Honors Committee, Bates Sports Medicine, my friends, and my family. It truly takes a village, and this project is no exception. To my thesis advisor, Dr. Barnett, my academic advisor, Dr. Beasley, and the faculty of the Department of American Studies, thank you for your endless encouragement, and for affording me the opportunity to study a topic so important to me. If it weren't for my parents, Walter Bruckner and Pamela McKee, sending me off to Keewaydin that sunny June day in 2009, this project would not exist. Thank you for inspiring my love of the outdoors and always encouraging me to see, do, and study what brings me joy. Christine, thank you for all your work and passion for making our camps better, you inspire me daily. Grace, my constant adventure buddy and partner in crime, thank you for answering my late night Facetime calls and always reminding me of the value of my work. Erin, Lily, and Elizabeth, who are likely quite excited to not have to hear me talk about summer camp anymore, thank you for your love and support throughout this entire process. There is nobody I'd rather share a home with for my last year at Bates. What an honor it has been having such an incredible support system in place, I do not know where this project would be without all of you.

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Introduction

I was newly ten years old in 2009 when I stepped off the speed boat and onto the dock at Keewaydin Canoe Camp on Lake Temagami, Ontario. I had no connection to the camp, the location, or the people, my parents had simply searched for a one-of-a-kind summer camp experience on Google which landed me here, on a dock twenty minutes from the nearest marina, a six hours drive north of the nearest airport, Toronto Pearson International. I quickly fell into my group, six girls aged ten to twelve who were also new to Keewaydin and had just as good of an idea as I did of what canoe tripping was: none. That night after settling in to our cabins, introductions, and dinner, the entire camp shuttled down to the campfire ring next to the lake. The crowd fell silent as the distant sound of drumming began to reach our ears. The drumming grew louder and we could finally locate the source; a female member of the staff in a suede garment and wearing a feathered headdress marched into the circle and took a seat in front of the fire. Three more staff members eventually followed, all wearing similarly ambiguous Indigenous costumes and drumming. Once seated, they passed around a long pipe, and presented their scripted origin stories for each of the wind's directions, finishing with the north west wind--Keewaydin, the camp's namesake. As a ten year old child who lived in Cleveland's inner city, I cannot say I wasn't entranced by the performance. The storytelling, specifically how it situated the camp within thousands of years of history of the land, felt mystical and distant yet current, being brought to life before my very eyes.

Next the camp director told the story of Kokomis, a Teme Augama Anishinaabe creation story. Kokomis famously attempted to escape her arranged marriage to Gitchi Manitou--the bad spirit--and was consequently transformed into stone on one of the nearby islands. According to Keewaydin Camp lore, the Kokomis story was first told to the early founders of Keewaydin by

Big Paul Whitebear, a local Anishinaabe guide at Keewaydin in 1904. The director said stoically: “For as long as we have been on this island, any trip who passes by Kokomis has left an offering at her feet, thanking her for her bravery and to ask for her protection throughout the trip,” and that is exactly what we did when my group paddled past the Kokomis rock. Once we had placed a piece of bacon from the morning’s breakfast at her feet, we had permission to proceed on our trip with good luck, perfect weather, easy portages, and gentle tailwinds. I had no idea at the time how these experiences of manufactured indigeneity would affect my love for the outdoors, and consequently allow for the conception of this project.

What struck me most as I began reflecting on my experience at canoe tripping camps for the purpose of this project was how performing indigeneity remained such a central part of what is otherwise a very white, masculine, upper-class pursuit. Once I began researching the founders of the original camping movement, names such as Ernest Thompson Seton, Frederick Gunn, and Taylor Statten began to emerge. These men were particularly concerned with the denigration of modern society, and how urbanization was creating generations of weak, privileged, spoiled, effeminate boys. It was this fear of declining masculinity that inspired these men to look for representations of “ideal” masculinity, and it seems they found their inspiration in a singular aspect of a colonially-constructed, pre-contact Native person. To them, Native men were skilled with their hands, lived off the land, were physically strong and represented the essence of the American spirit. They used this colonial construction for the basis of the camping movement, where wealthy, white boys (those at the greatest risk of urban effeminization) could be taught to be strong, fit, and more capable of contributing to the capitalist state. It was their hope that by performing indigeneity for a brief period each summer, these boys would grow up much better equipped to combat the denigration of modern society.

In this way, camps were founded as institutions for privileged, white boys to perform indigeneity within a microcosm of the idealized colonial state, where hyper-masculinity was encouraged, women, racial minorities, and poor people were excluded, and Indigenous people existed solely in the temporal past. In many ways, canoe tripping camps still look very similar as they did when they were first founded. It quickly became clear that settler colonialism not only allowed for the physical formation of canoe tripping camps, but also inspired their atmosphere and the impact that they have on campers to this day. There are many approaches to analyzing the canoe tripping camp experience with settler colonialism at the focal point. I have decided to analyze how canoe tripping camps were founded on settler colonial ideals, inspired by the original aims of the American and Canadian camping movements, and how these ideals have impacted the camper experiences of multiple generations of camp alumni. By focusing my analysis on a few central tenets of the idealized settler colonial state, those being hyper-masculinity, racial, and socioeconomic exclusion, I hoped to determine how prevalent these values have been in the camp experience as well as in camp's early recorded history. The settler colonial foundations of canoe tripping camps directly implicate these institutions within the broader framework of decolonization. It is not enough to simply ascertain the means in which these organizations were based on ideals of the settler colonial state, but also how these ideals have been maintained across time.

This research will examine the role, most broadly, of the white canoe tripper. It is my goal to consider my experience in the canoe tripping community as a camper and current staff member through the lens of performance, not limited to the blatant performance of indigeneity that I witnessed that first night around the campfire at Keewaydin. Performing a colonially-constructed form of indigeneity at summer camp is directly related to the broader

performance of the settler colonial state at large as it is depicted on a small scale at canoe tripping camps. Any time I have engaged in canoe tripping, it has been defined by a subconscious performance of indigeneity within a community that has been modeled off of an idealized settler colonial society. Together, these performances allow me and others at canoe tripping camps to feel entitled to the land which we explore and to feel connected to stolen land that has been made available to me for my own pleasure out of hundreds of years of settler colonial violences. Maintaining a sense of entitlement to the land has been essential to the maintaining of the settler colonial state:

In the national mythologies of such societies, it is believed that white people came first and that it is they who principally developed the land; Aboriginal peoples are presumed to be mostly dead or assimilated. European settlers thus become the original inhabitants and the group most entitled to the fruits of citizenship. (Razack, 2002, p. 2)

In the context of wilderness canoe tripping and the outdoor industry, the fruits of said citizenship are the unspoiled natural landscapes to which we may feel closely connected. Canoe tripping camps were established by profiting off the subjugation of Indigenous people by the settler colonial state. These settler colonial ideals were maintained by appropriating Indigenous culture and practices, thus fabricating a closeness between Indigenous peoples and canoe tripping camps. This fabrication allows for settlers to take the place of Indigenous people as the “original inhabitants” that Razack describes. It was not until recently that I began to understand just how central this mindset has been to my own membership in the summer camp community. Settler conceptions of entitlement were essential in the formation of the settler state, and are still essential in the maintenance of the traditional summer camp experience. Performing indigeneity is but one means of furthering a settler sense of entitlement, by fabricating a long history of land use that was taught to settlers by Indigenous people, thus legitimizing settler presence of outdoor enthusiasts on Indigenous “wilderness.”

The oldest and most established summer camps in North America have capitalized on fabricated relationships between campers, staff, and Indigenous people while upholding the ideals of the settler colonial state. The adjacency to indigeneity that traditional-style canoe tripping camps have created and then capitalized on, through performances such as the Four Winds Ceremony, the Kokomis Story, and the appropriation of Indigenous spiritual and cultural practices has led to a community that performs an idealized version of the settler colonial state on a daily basis. The exclusive atmosphere at canoe tripping camps was constructed in order to best utilize Indigenous appropriation while still upholding the settler ideals of masculinity, white supremacy, and socioeconomic exclusion. For the sake of my analysis, it is important to note that the canoe tripping community as it will be discussed throughout the project refers to the community of predominantly cisgender, white, able-bodied men for whom canoe tripping was originally intended through the formation of summer camps. As a member of this community, and a white cisgendered female one at that, much of my interest in this topic has stemmed from my own experience in what it means not only to experience the outdoors, but also to experience it a way that appears closely aligned with indigeneity while simultaneously upholding the ideals of the settler colonial state.

The performances that take place at canoe tripping camp are twofold. On the one hand, the community as a whole is representative of the settler colonial state, and as a result settler colonial ideals are not only present but encouraged and upheld by members of the community. These ideals are performed through encouraging hyper-masculinity, conscious and unconscious exclusion of non-white racial groups, and socioeconomic exclusion. On the other hand, performing indigeneity through the appropriation of Native cultural and spiritual practices allows canoe tripping camps to situate themselves as true inhabitants of Indigenous land and spaces.

This furthers the aims of the colonial state by erasing Indigenous people from the landscapes we occupy while instilling a settler nativist mindset in campers and staff. It is here that the title of the project comes into play: performing an idealized colonial state at canoe tripping camps. The ideal colonial structure is one where Indigenous people are erased and assimilated in favor of a white supremacist, patriarchal, capitalist society, which is easily visible at canoe tripping camps. As a result, all of the modern discussion surrounding removing culturally appropriative practices from summer camps, decolonization, and making the outdoors more inclusive are complicated by these colonial performances as they pertain to the outdoors. If canoe tripping camps are committed to creating inclusive environments for all campers and staff, then it is necessary to address issues of exclusion within the framework of settler colonialism.

It is my goal for this project to be used as inspiration for summer camps to reevaluate their approaches to fostering inclusivity, and the project is structured with this goal in mind. Chapter one will provide the reader with a baseline understanding of North American settler colonialism, in addition to the implications of North American decolonization. I have based these sections in Fanonian critical theory as well as Tuck and Yang's work on decolonization. This discussion will segway into an analysis of the foundation of the modern American camping movement as a reflection of the colonial project and the process of nation building. By examining three facets of the colonial project, those being patriarchy and manufactured masculinity, class hierarchy, and racial division, and applying them to the foundational texts on the early summer camp movement, I will draw the connection between nation building as it relates to the earliest formation of summer camp and how these connections are still traced into the modern summer camp experience. The second chapter will discuss the research process,

methods, and methodology, and how I hoped to determine the presence of settler colonial ideals in the camper experience. The third chapter will provide a background of the two camps at the center of this project (both of which I am personally connected to), Keewaydin Canoe Camps and Camp Pathfinder, and how the published texts concerning each camp's history is centered in settler colonial social positioning and settler worldviews. These texts will also highlight the settler colonial foundations upon which each specific camp was built, and contextualize the testimony of the elder generation of camp alumni. The fourth chapter will analyze the data from interviews with camp alumni who attended Keewaydin and Pathfinder between 1953 and 1973, to see how the settler colonial foundations of each camp was reflected in their experiences. The fifth chapter will focus on the personal experiences of myself and my peers, how we perceive ourselves, how we perform indigeneity in the wilderness, and possible avenues to create lasting and meaningful change within our own individual summer camp communities. Finally, the sixth chapter will introduce camp-specific harm reduction strategies that must be adopted in the near future, as well as broader suggestions for how camps may examine their own positioning within settler colonial structures. It is not enough to simply start conversations on decolonization anymore. It is from a position of extreme race, gender, sexuality and socioeconomic privilege that I am able to criticize the institutions of my upbringing, and it is from a position of deep love and admiration for summer camp that obligates me to do this research.

Chapter 1: Settler Colonialism, Decolonization, and Summer Camp as a Colonial Project

Introduction to North American Settler Colonialism

It is impossible to understand the extent to which settler life as we know it will be upended by decolonization, without first recognizing how settler colonialism functions at its core. Settler colonialism extends to many reaches of the world, notably Australia, New Zealand, Palestine, and South Africa, however as this project is concerned with the Indigenous spaces which are currently occupied by North American summer camps and outdoor enthusiasts, I have chosen to focus my exploration of settler colonialism within the North American context. This context will of course have slightly different connotations based on which side of the United States/Canadian border it is taking place, although the foundations, no matter the location, are the same. A white settler colonial state, broadly put, is one where Europeans establish themselves on non-European soil. Non-European soil is always Indigenous, whether it be Indigenous Canadian, American, African, Australian, etc. The United States was first established as external colonies of Great Britain, where the “fragments of Indigenous worlds” were to be harvested and transported to the colonial center (in this case to England). After the colonies declared independence, those fragments were exploited and managed within the “domestic borders of the imperial nation,” thus transitioning North America from an external form of colonialism to an internal one (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 4). The plants, animals, and humans that were first exploited for the profit of the British Commonwealth were then available to feed the appetites for goods such as opium, spices, tea, tobacco, and cotton of the newly independent colonizer, crops that are still used to further colonial states across the world today. (*Ibid*, p. 5). Both the introduction of external colonialism beginning with Columbian contact and the

transition to internal colonialism of North America were violent processes. The notion of a peaceful settlement of North America by hardy European settlers through collaboration with Indigenous peoples, mutual agreement, and a common goal of an industrialized state is a violent colonial construction. In addition, the decentering of capitalist greed and colonial desire for full access to Indigenous fragments as impetus for American independence is similarly violent. These constructions and decenterings are used to alleviate settler guilt and fabricate innocence as it relates to the violent and systematic eradication of Indigenous people. The “First Thanksgiving” narrative, one that implies peaceful reconciliation or a peaceful transition from Indigenous to settler stewardship of the landscape, is a “quintessential feature of white settler mythologies” that is inherently violent and relies on the “disavowal of conquest, genocide, slavery, and the exploitation of the labour of peoples of color” (Razack, 2002, p. 2). Upholding the more peaceful retelling of history, that of peaceful cross-cultural collaboration and European acquired legitimacy towards the land, is a common tactic used by the settler colonial state in order to deny that North America is a product of conquest and colonization.

Settler colonialism has and always will be intrinsically linked to capitalism and all of capitalism’s oppressive offspring. Marx theorized that colonialism relies on an unending supply of land that can then become capital through resource extraction, agriculture, industrial projects, and finally through the sale of the land for profit. In addition, American colonialism was founded on the goal of every settler also being a landowner, so that each colonizer could control and profit from his ownership of his land (Marx, 1887, Ch. 33). The entitlement to North American land through colonial projects then must rely on the construction of white supremacy, as the white, European settler must carry a stronger entitlement to the land and its resulting capital due to his racial superiority than the original inhabitants, non-white Indigenous people. In this way,

white supremacy--the ideology that the white, European race is superior to any other--and the capitalist thirst for profit through North American land acquisition and exploitation work in tandem to create the American settler colonial state. White supremacy also favors Christianity, heteronormativity, class division, and misogyny, systems that were not standard practice, but were forced upon the first inhabitants of the continent post-contact. Capitalism also inspired settler exploitation of the continent's natural resources, as exhibited by the beaver pelt trade which resulted in the near extinction of the Canadian beaver, as well as massive deforestation and soil degradation from unsustainable agricultural practices, to name a few. Where capitalism draws connections between land, profit and personal property, Indigenous land claims are largely grounded in tribal creation stories and the "intimate and meaningful way[s]" that water, plants, animals, people, weather, and "all the physical and spiritual forces" are connected (Couthard and Simpson, 2016, p. 249). As a result, the violent introduction of capitalism to the North American landscape through settler colonialism, and the colonial values (patriarchy, anthropocentrism, Christianity) that were forced upon Indigenous people through treaties, forced expulsion, residential schooling, and military conflict were intentional methods of eradicating Indigenous people and culture that stood in the way of the colonial project. Every facet of both American and Canadian settler society is founded on the subjugation of Indigenous people and is upheld and maintained through each and every colonial system of oppression. As a result, decolonization requires the deconstruction of all of these systems. Discourse featuring phrases such as "It is time to decolonize Thanksgiving" or "How to decolonize higher education" are (either intentionally or unintentionally) misleading, for it is impossible to decolonize one singular aspect of the settler society, without deconstructing each of said society's components.

The Complications of North American Decolonization

The implication that all systems of oppression are superseded by white-supremacist colonialism lies at the heart of Frantz Fanon's critical theory (Fanon, 1963, p. 88-89). Fanonian theory of revolutionary decolonization does not simply rest in the colonizer handing the reins to the racially colonized after a bloody period of civil unrest, rather it is a process of consistently unmapping each oppressive system that was imposed on the colonized peoples by the colonizer.

As Fanon writes:

Let us decide not to imitate Europe...let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions, and societies which draw their inspiration from her...If we want to turn Africa into a new Europe, and America into a new Europe, then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us. But if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries. (Fanon, 1963, p. 313, 315)

Fanon theorized a postcolonial Africa and America that no longer maintained European structures of society and governance after European departure. Instead, he committed his life to determining how to free racially colonized people from "colonial values...which include aesthetic, spiritual, social, political, cultural, intellectual and psychological mores and models" (Rabaka, 2010, p. 123). Fanon asserted that removal of the colonizer from Indigenous land without freedom from colonial values is not decolonization, but simply a different form of colonialism, which he describes as neocolonialism. Neocolonialism is the maintenance of oppressive systems (capitalism, internalized white supremacy, misogyny, homophobia, class division, christian privilege) despite the removal of the original oppressor, the European (or European-descendant, in the case of North America) settler. In its purest form, decolonizing can be boiled down to a return of the colonizer to their ancestral lands, but what takes place after can only be theorized, because no process of decolonization has been successful--in a Fanonian sense--to date.

This failure is not the fault of the racially colonized (who Fanon calls the “wretched of the Earth”), but rather the fault of a globally maintained capitalist system that does not allow for avenues for escape, especially not in an increasingly globalized world. This is where another version of Fanonism, “Marxist Fanonism” is called into play, for the need for a socialist economic system suitable for postcolonial states has not yet been discovered, let alone put into action (*Ibid*, p. 125). Fanonian decolonization is also largely focused on the African continent, where colonialism was maintained through a stricter racial divide than it is in North America. Due to the nature of the American melting pot, settler colonialism no longer relies solely on the European settler sitting in opposition with the Indigenous native, instead a myriad of racial, ethnic, and national identities are all implicated in the maintenance of American settler colonialism. The immigration of non-white people, as well as the forced introduction of enslaved Africans into the North American landscape, are also tools of settler colonialism that complicate the decolonizing process. If the decolonization of North America was similar to that of the African colonies, it would be simpler to delineate the final destination of the colonizing group, be it the return of French colonizers in Côte D’Ivoire back to France, or the return of the British in India back to Britain. Instead, American/Canadian national identities have been built upon the perceived entitlement of not only white but also Afro-descended and recently immigrated peoples to North American land, and such an entitlement is maintained through continual erasure of the violent colonial history of North America.

The insidiousness of North American settler colonialism lies in the means by which the settler consciousness infiltrates every aspect of society, even into liberal arts academia and social justice movements, two bastions of should-be inclusivity and “woke-ness.” Decolonizing cannot be reduced to teaching people about colonial history, donating to Indigenous causes or

organizations, or antiracist discourse. This is not to say that anti-racist, Indigenous, education as well as donating or spreading awareness of Indigenous activism is not a valuable and necessary approach, especially in how it relates to educating children while they attend summer camp, but these forms of education cannot, and should not, be mistaken as decolonizing work. Working towards inclusivity, anti-racism, and intersectionality is all meaningful, especially in places that are most obviously white and male (such as summer camp or academia) but it is not inherently decolonial. Making white spaces inclusive or intersectional calls into question whose land the space sits on, whether it be academic buildings, workplaces, or summer camps, and who is therefore making the decision to in/exclude other racialized groups. Discourse alone is not equated with decolonization, and any argument otherwise threatens to reduce decolonization to a metaphor rather than a concrete process (*Op cit*, Tuck and Yang, p. 3). As long as settler colonialism is not seen as central to every form of social justice discourse, these discourses will remain examples of ‘settler moves to innocence’ (*Ibid*, p. 3). In order to proceed with this project, I had to come to terms with the imminent discomfort that will arise from a truly decolonized state, not the comfortable “Indigenous-inclusive” discourse upon which my liberal arts education has been based.

The perpetuation of settler colonialism in the modern day is rarely discussed at the forefront of antiracist discourse, as is seen in the discussion of the Occupy movement in *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*. Furthermore, Tuck and Yang go so far as to argue that liberal arts institutions willingly perpetuate settler colonialism by “trying to make the settler indigenous to the land he occupies” (*Op cit*, Tuck and Yang, p. 8). In the case of academia, pushing the settler into an Indigenous role on occupied land takes place under the guise of antiracist discourse and inclusivity. By making students and faculty feel indigenous to the land through

inclusivity and diversity education, and therefore included in a settler space rather than recognizing that space as inherently Indigenous, it becomes easier to wrap decolonization into other forms of inclusivity discourse, rather than asserting decolonization as distinct from social justice initiatives. The parallels between academia as is discussed in Tuck and Yang's paper and the camping movement are apparent, as playing Indian in explicit terms with face paint and headdresses allowed for campers and staff to feel an entitlement to the Indigenous landscape while maintaining their positions in settler society. Thus, the attempt to "make the settler indigenous to the land he occupies" is directly implicated in the earliest formation of summer camp. "Playing Indian is a powerful U.S. pastime," and it is vital to the settler livelihood--especially in North America--and is situated within a broader framework of Indigenous erasure (*Ibid*, p. 8).

Not only is playing Indian a powerful U.S. and Canadian pastime, but it is also a form of settler performance that takes place in virtually every corner of society. While Tuck and Yang chose to highlight academia as one location of playing Indian, playing Indian has always been at the core of the North American camping movement, and is described in explicit terms in Ernest Thompson Seton's writings about his conceptualizations of summer camps and the foundation of the Boy Scouts of America. Although in modern academia face painting, headdresses, council fires, and peace pipes are not used to highlight the desire for feeling Indigenous, the central desire of the settler to become Indigenous lies at the heart of both phenomena. This desire to feel or become Indigenous has been fueling settler performances of indigeneity for generations and has only been recently assessed as an aspect of the summer camp experience that needs to be grappled with. Feigning indigeneity is but one method in the arsenal of the settler conscious to

feel connected to land which is not their own and as a result maintain their claim to Indigenous land.

The Implication of the North American Camping Movement in the Colonial Project

There are three main themes that were central to the construction of the modern North American camping movement. Through encouraging an idealized colonial version of masculinity grounded in grit, hard work, self-reliance, and adaptability (skills that I will demonstrate were intended to be acquired through playing Indian), summer camp and consequently the outdoor industry became a boy's club. By making summer camp costly and by spreading the idea of summer camp through traditionally white, upper-class institutions, a class divide was forged between the sons of wealthy families that could afford to attend summer camp and the sons of poor families that could not. This class divide inevitably led to a racial divide in the summer camp and outdoor industries as wealth has always been intrinsically linked to whiteness in North America. Masculinity, class, and race are the same bastions on which an idealized colonial society is built, and are thus examples of concrete tactics that early outdoor enthusiasts employed to establish camping as a national pastime, which also (not coincidentally) were beneficial to the maintenance of the settler colonial state. The ties to masculinity, social class, and whiteness that were coded into the construction of the camping movement heavily relied on playing Indian as a teaching tool, whereby performing indigeneity was directly introduced to boys and young men as a means of bettering society.

Manufacturing Masculinity at Summer Camp

Many traditional summer camps follow a model created by Ernest Thompson Seton, widely recognized as being the “father” of the American summer camp and the founder of the Boy Scouts of America. Much of Seton’s work revolved around rekindling boys’ and young men’s relationship with the outdoors, and his organization the Woodcraft Indians was a national movement to turn city boys into strong, able, men. He believed in the power of returning to nature in order to solve society’s ills. For Seton, the wilderness provided the perfect space for men to nurture their masculinity. Seton’s multiple written works, as well as the mission of the Woodcraft Indians, was to “revive Woodcraft as a school for Manhood” (Seton, 2014, p. 1). As the name of Seton’s organization indicates, much of the activities that the boys were encouraged to do were either heavily inspired by or appropriated/stolen from Indigenous cultures. This included making miniature birch bark canoes, erecting teepees, lean-to’s, and longhouses, and making/using traditional weapons (spears, bows, arrows, arrowheads). Seton desired to adopt a form of indigeneity that was beneficial for teaching boys to be men, without threatening the colonial state in the same way as the existence of actual Indigenous people. He interpreted indigeneity as a teaching tool and a symbol of patriotism, and “long argued that Indians offered patriotic role models for the American youth” that were facing an “effeminate, post-frontier urbanism” that was threatening to white masculinity (Deloria, 1998, p. 96). It was this conflation of indigeneity with white American masculinity that brought playing Indian into many major events in American history.

As a result of Seton’s endorsement of the positive effects that playing Indian had on young boys, camping in general became a male-dominated activity, and

...it was masculinity which was most readily associated with the education of camp. If outdoor activities like big-game hunting and strenuous canoe-tripping were considered natural tonics for a flagging, increasingly citified adult masculinity, camp life promised to

influence the boy while his gender identity and abilities were still in vulnerable formation.
(Wall, 2003, p. 186)

White supremacy relies on the construction of a masculine ideal, and summer camp proved to be a way to not only encourage this ideal, but also teach boys that indigeneity is useful merely as a stepping stone in the preparation for adult manhood in an urbanized and industrial society. Seton's model for summer camp proved to be an incredibly successful tool for maintaining settler colonial power, by not only mapping out an idealized form of masculinity, but also by instilling the idea that indigeneity is a phase that must be played out in a boy's life and then moved on from. This reflects the settler colonial ideology that the Indigenous history of the United States was a necessary phase in the formation of the state that during the time of industrialization must be left behind as well. White boys in general, but specifically Seton's campers, were regarded as "the evolutionary equivalents of 'primitive' savages" and were to be encouraged in giving full expression to their "savage" impulses (*Ibid*, p. 436). These boys were allowed to indulge such impulses for a short time each summer until they reached adulthood, before leaving behind their short lived *Indianness* in pursuit of modern industrialized adulthood. Performing indigeneity then became a large factor in the construction of the campers' own ideas of masculinity, to be associated with strength, grit, and hard work.

This idealized form of masculinity played out very differently at girl's camps, although the encouragement of a colonial gender binary in the outdoors and at summer camp was still readily maintained. Where playing Indian at Seton's Woodcraft School meant building physical strength, establishing leadership hierarchies by electing "a Chief, a Second Chief, a Keeper of the Tally, and a Keeper of the Wampum," selecting their own "tribal name," and learning survival skills, camps for girls encouraged more feminine pursuits (Kate, 2019). Survival skills and feats of physical strength may have been valuable lessons for boys, girl campers "were

encouraged to emulate a very different sort of Indian...the emphasis on Native activities was on the development of artistic abilities...with weaving and painting of 'Indian themes' being popular" (Wall, 2005, p. 10). This is especially true at Glen Bernard Camp, founded by avid Seton follower Mary Edgar, where Setonian ideals were translated into feminine-friendly undertakings such as poetry writing, drama, and various forms of crafting. Edgar felt that "writing poetry was of 'infinitely greater value for an individual than any other experience camp can offer'" (Dunkin, 2012, p. 12). Rather than encouraging the development of wilderness skills uniformly across a gender divide, camp founders such as Edgar at the turn of the century were inclined to harness indigeneity in an entirely different way for the betterment of white girls. Playing Indian for boys was great for making stronger and manlier men to combat what was deemed an increasingly effeminate society, but for girls playing Indian meant developing stronger domestic abilities and expressing gender through creative outlets. This affinity towards poetry and other modes of creative expression sits in stark contrast with the "games of 'scalping' and 'pioneers and Indians'" which were taking place at boys camps during the same period (*Op cit*, Wall, 2005, p. 10).

The dichotomy between encouraging boys to play Indian in order to prevent becoming effeminate, urbanized men, yet encouraging girls to play Indian in order to somehow become more feminine and creative, speaks to how playing Indian really had nothing to do with tangible life skills and everything to do with maintaining social order and upholding a white, colonial, patriarchal society. Where modernity for men is coded as weak, feminine, and domicile, modernity for women meant joining the workforce and exiting the private sphere, thus rejecting the feminine role that was designed for them by the colonial patriarchy. There was no standardization of how a summer spent outdoors was intended to help white, urban youth

regardless of gender or class, instead indigeneity was applied haphazardly across the gender spectrum as a means of maintaining social order. Seton and his followers were not interested in real Indigenous people (or the violence they were facing during this period through colonial assimilation policies), but the colonially constructed and idealized Indian that was at the heart of the American Spirit. To Seton, G. Stanley Hall, and other early outdoor enthusiasts, Indians represented resistance to modernity and all the social ills that accompanied it, and by embracing a small portion of this resistance through Indian play at summer camp, boys and girls would be more fit to uphold their predetermined societal roles as they grew into adults.

The masculinity that exists at the very heart of the camping movement and the outdoor community today is a mirror of how Seton and his followers wanted masculinity to be practiced in American society at large. It is impossible to separate masculinity as it is expressed in the outdoor community from the colonial goals of nation building laid out by Seton and the earliest founders of summer camp. The trope of the white, bearded, physically strong, rugged outdoorsman is Seton's colonially-inspired, ideal male archetype. Playing Indian, and the camp programming and practices that resulted from it at traditional summer camps is directly responsible for the hypermasculinity that is associated with camping and the outdoor industry. Seton and his followers knew that by teaching boys and girls how to be men and women by adopting certain aspects of colonially constructed indigeneity, they could transform the society they lived in back into their American ideal--strong, masculine, men and domicile, creative women who through their performances of indigeneity at summer camp felt connected and entitled to the landscape which they inhabited.

Maintaining the Class Divide in Access to the Outdoors

This fear of weak and effeminate men was not standard across social classes during this period. Presumably, families where children worked (or parents struggled to feed them) were not at risk of raising weak sons, this was a possibility only for the upper classes where wealth and social status had made for easy and privileged childhoods. This became a valuable marketing strategy for elite camps, where leadership and the cultivation of distinguished citizens was emphasized in camp literature and recruiting practices. By capitalizing on summer camp's ability to raise the boys of today into the independent, upstanding, leaders of tomorrow, social class was inevitably coded into the camp experience. The possibility of raising weak sons into undistinguished men was too great a risk to not send them to camp. It was considered essential that children attend summer camp to be taught the necessary skills for maintaining their positions in the social hierarchy and upholding colonial ideals. Placing boys in the woods was the first step, but sending them out onto canoe trips, to learn "'co-operation,' 'responsibility,' 'obedience,' and 'self reliance'" through playing Indian was the next, and most important, step (*Op cit*, Wall, 2003, p. 280). If the colonial construction of indigeneity was that of freedom, co-operation, self-reliance, and mental and physical strength, then canoe tripping was the best way to adopt these ideals and learn to apply them to upper-class urban life. Masculinity as it was being taught at summer camp was thereby inextricably linked to the stratification of the upper classes, and it was the job of the elite summer camps to emphasize this link in order to recruit and maintain their client base year after year.

Once it was shown how summer camp would turn unexceptional upper class boys into exceptional upper class men (the "most promising citizens") of tomorrow, recruitment began to take place at preexisting high-society locales, such as private and boarding schools, fraternal

orders, social and country clubs, and universities (*Ibid*, p. 279). The recruiting approach for the elite camps was threefold--base summer camp in an ideology founded in white, upper class anxiety (preventing boys from growing into weak men), recruit through social installations that were already exclusive to the wealthy and upper class, and then recycle the names of distinguished parents and staff in future publications as a means of appealing to future recruitable families. Even if there were families from lower classes that were able to learn about summer camp through their own means, camps solidified their exclusionary status by charging tuition so high that it was largely unattainable for working class children without the assistance of scholarships. Keewaydin specifically was charging upwards of \$400 for a session in 1949 (which works out to \$50 a week) in comparison to Fresh Air and YMCA camps which usually cost around \$12.37 per week (OCA Directories File, OCA Directory of Member Camps, 1949). In fairness, the cost of running and maintaining camps such as Keewaydin is substantial, as the remote location complicates everything from food delivery to camper transportation. For the 2021 season, a three week session at Keewaydin costs \$5100 USD, and six week sessions (depending on camper age and the length of canoe trips offered) range from \$7460 to \$9125. These figures are solely the base cost of tuition and do not take into account gear, airfare/transportation to Toronto, or spending money at the camp store (Keewaydin.org). While Keewaydin does offer a limited number of scholarships (one of which helped cover the cost of my final year as a camper, which all told would have otherwise cost upwards of \$12,000), the tuition listed on the website is enough to deter a new family from enrolling their child.

The remnants of years of recruiting from the highest socioeconomic classes is still visible today at canoe tripping camps, as seen by the hometowns of many campers and the schools which they attend. Even if recruitment is no longer as explicitly targeted at wealthy families, the

cost of tuition and the means by which the knowledge of camp spreads (largely word of mouth and family-hosted recruiting events), continue to keep canoe tripping camps exclusive and largely inaccessible to middle and lower income families. Scholarships are one way of combating this exclusivity, although this does not work to inform new families about summer camp nor does it assist in making campers on scholarship feel welcome or comfortable within the camp community should they choose to attend. The precedent set by the elite camps in their recruiting is also at the heart of the racial homogeneity that is so prevalent at expensive summer camps and the outdoor community at large. As wealth has always been associated with whiteness in North America, creating barriers of access to institutions like summer camp through high tuition and focused recruitment campaigns has led to the overwhelming whiteness of summer camp.

The Blinding Whiteness of Summer Camp

Upper class institutions have historically always been coded as racially exclusive in the United States, as is seen in the racial breakdown of private academic institutions, social clubs, fraternal orders, and country clubs to name a few. As these were the primary spaces through which information about summer camp was disseminated, camps were reflections of the clientele that frequented these spaces. While there were camps founded in the middle of the twentieth century that placed an emphasis on racial integration (many of which were met with harsh racist backlash), this was not a focus for the established camps during this time. The eldest and most established camps remained overwhelmingly white spaces, despite the racialized performances that were written into the camps day-to-day programming. Playing Indian at camp--or “primitive play” as it is described in a broader sense--was not always limited to donning headdresses and

face painting. Although less prevalent among the canoe tripping camps, minstrel shows were another form of primitive play that took place at camp in the early 20th century (Paris, 2008, p. 192). It is important to recognize the duality of primitive play being performed in the same spaces that often relied on the labor of Black and Indigenous people, such as Black camp chefs and maintenance workers and Indian canoe trip guides (*Op cit*, Wall, 2005, p. 21). In many instances the few Black and Indigenous staff at summer camps were the only non-white people on camp grounds, but were rarely seen as implicated in the harm caused by the primitive play taking place before their very eyes (*Op cit*, Paris, p. 192). The socioeconomic barrier may have been the leading cause of whiteness at the elite summer camps, but it seems unlikely that the Black and Indigenous people who worked at these camps and saw the primitive play taking place would recommend their non-white friends and family to send their children to camp. The first step in keeping summer camp a white space was to create a wealth barrier, but the racialization of camp activities aided in maintaining camp's racial exclusivity.

The disconnect between the primitive play that placed non-white identities in a temporal past, associated with the antebellum south (in the case of minstrelsy) or pre-Columbian North America (in the case of playing Indian), while benefitting from the physical and emotional labor of those non-white identities is essential to the upholding of the settler colonial state. Settler colonialism relies on placing Indigenous and Black people in a nation's past, a time period to "honor" but move on from in the pursuit of the idealized white state of the future. Where minstrel shows honored the antebellum south and only acknowledged the role of Black Americans as enslaved people, playing Indian honored the freedom and savagery of pre-colonial North America, before colonialism had to inevitably remove Indigenous peoples from the landscape in order for white settlers to take their place as the true native people of North

America. As Philip Deloria writes: “Americans wanted to feel a natural affinity with the continent, and it was Indians who could teach them such aboriginal closeness. Yet, in order to control the landscape they had to destroy the original inhabitants” (*Op cit*, Deloria, p. 5).

Performing indigeneity at summer camp was a result of the colonial desire to feel connected to land that is not otherwise their own. I believe that minstrel shows, especially at summer camp, were just another facet of the racialized performances taking place at camp to make campers and staff feel native to the North American landscape.

Summary

Racialized performances, specifically playing Indian, play into a series of colonial actions that allow for feelings of settler nativism that are otherwise unavailable to members of the white colonial state. The anxiety caused by never fully being native to North American land complicates the nation-building mission that has been underway since the signing of the Declaration of Independence: “Indigeneity prompts multiple forms of settler anxiety, even if only because the presence of Indigenous peoples - who make *a priori* claims to land and ways of being - is a constant reminder that the settler colonial project is incomplete” (*Op cit*, Tuck and Yang, p. 9). Broad-stroke performances of indigeneity work to acknowledge the Indigenous past of North America while simultaneously moving settler performers into an indigenous position, although settler indigeneity will never be accomplished as long as Indigenous people exist. I believe that even with a heightened understanding of the harm caused by playing Indian in the history of summer camps, the lasting implications of the role that summer camp played in Indigenous erasure and encouraging settler nativism are still seen today in the summer camp and outdoor communities. The Indian pageants and minstrel shows may have been removed from the

camp programming, but the lessons that these performances taught campers and staff about their own claims of entitlement to the land will take more than taking off the headdresses and face paint to unlearn.

Decolonizing is much more than unlearning the settler nativism that is instilled in the summer camp experience, and it is a difficult and uncomfortable process to learn to separate one's appreciation for natural landscapes with the entitlement that we were taught to feel for those same landscapes. As was discussed in the beginning of this chapter, decolonizing implies a complete breakdown of the settler state, but I do believe that conscious unlearning of the harmful mindsets that were instilled in me through my experiences at camp is a necessary and valuable first step in the decolonization process. Summer camp was founded on three important facets of the settler state, those being masculinity, class, and race division, all of which manifested through the specific act of playing Indian. Although that specific act--Indian play--is slowly being removed from camp programming, the results of years of Indigenous performances are still traceable in the modern camp experience. Summer camps like Keewaydin and Pathfinder are still heavily masculine spaces where even after the integration of female campers and staff, masculinity is still expected as a necessary expression of the outdoor experience. The racial and class divisions at these camps are obvious now more than ever before since the introduction of diversity and inclusion discourse into the camping community. Embracing and encouraging diversity at summer camp and decentralizing masculinity are both important harm reduction tactics that camps must be undertaking from now on, but without a stronger understanding of the colonial precedent that made summer camps the exclusive spaces they are, diversity and inclusion are mere band-aids for a broader problem in the summer camp community. It's true that in a decolonized North America summer camps, along with every other settler institution, will be

obsolete, but I don't believe that absolutism is a helpful approach to unmapping years of colonial violence. Indigenous education and understanding the colonial roots in summer camps are the bare minimum in what will be a long decolonization process of the outdoors.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

Before continuing into my own research methodology, it is important to highlight the ways in which Western academia, as it is maintained through the colonial state, has continuously placed Europeans in a position of researcher and non-Europeans in the position of research subject. White supremacy places value solely on white, eurocentric worldviews, reducing Indigenous and non-white voices to the periphery. North American academia consistently attempts to categorize research conducted through any standpoint that either calls into question--or outright challenges--“traditional” forms of academia as political in nature. Maggie Walter and Chris Anderson, in their book *Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology* (2013), invites their readers to question eurocentric research methodologies and the factors that have caused these methodologies to be considered “normal,” “academic,” “peer reviewed,” and “credible” while simultaneously calling the credibility of opposing methodologies into question. Walter and Anderson document how Indigenous researchers challenge these colonial methodologies and ask their readers to recognize how their own social positioning will inevitably impact their methodologies. It is paramount that a 21st century researcher, regardless of academic discipline, continuously acknowledges their role in the research process and how the colonial state has encouraged academics to value certain methodologies while devaluing others.

Research Standpoint

Conducting research that lies outside of the realm of the traditional scientific method presents its own challenges, not least of which concerns choosing which theories will be applied to the data collection and analysis processes. While theory is typically considered to be the

impetus for then deciding methodology, Walter and Anderson argue that in all likelihood the order is reversed, as there are quite a few factors about the researchers themselves that will implicitly impact the theoretical framework of each individual's research process. Walter and Anderson thus present their readers with what they call a "Recipe for Methodology," built from three central ingredients, those being the research standpoint, the standpoint influenced political frame, and finally the methods (*Ibid*, p. 45). The research standpoint asks the researcher to consider a few factors, beginning with their own social position, and how their social position may influence their ontology, epistemology, and axiology. As they argue that the research standpoint will heavily influence the theoretical framework of the project, it is only after explaining my own research standpoint that I can introduce the theories that define my research framework, and will therefore impact my data collection and analysis processes. Finally, the steps of data collection and my predicted analysis process will be discussed in depth towards the end of the chapter.

Researcher's Social Position

I've been lucky enough in my many years as a member of the canoe tripping community to experience relative ease and inclusivity in outdoor spaces. As a white, upper class, heterosexual, cisgender woman, I occupy a highly privileged position in the settler colonial complex. I will go so far as to say that my identity was the ideal when Ernest Thompson Seton and the other founders of the camping movement first conceptualized summer camp, minus my status as non-male. My parents had to scrimp and save, but could always afford to send me to camp, even if it was without some of the newest and trendiest gear. I come from a very similar social position to the majority of my peers, my sexuality was regularly expressed as the norm

through casual conversations with my staff and friends, and nearly every person that I canoe trip and work with has similar eurocentric features to myself. When I did experience moments of exclusivity, usually perpetrated through my relationship to the patriarchy, I had a group of other white, upper class, cisgender women to support me.

As I grew into my position as a staff member, my understanding of exclusivity at camp began to grow. For example, I even noticed in myself that I did not try as hard to connect with less physically capable or “tough” campers, and often found myself complaining about children in my care who could not seem to carry the same weight on the trip as other, more favored campers. I practiced favoritism towards campers that fit into the patriarchal ideal of physical strength, and bought into an ableist worldview that considers strength and coordination as preferred bodily capabilities. I also found it difficult to connect with more sensitive or emotional campers, as I had been raised in the canoe tripping community to keep my emotions to myself. Later on, I realized that many of my coworkers would not attempt to connect with nonwhite campers, especially if those children also had emotional or behavioral difficulties in addition to their racial difference. It was not until the summer of 2018 with the introduction of Indigenous education at Camp Pathfinder that I started to trace colonialism as not only the root of *how* we are here, how the camp acquired an island in a provincial park on unceded Algonquin Anishinaabeg territory, but also *why* we are here. Settler colonialism influences why we as a community view wilderness landscapes as open and available for our sole use, in addition to why our canoe tripping camps are as white, masculine, and wealthy as they are.

Researcher's Ontology: The Nature of Being

Walter and Anderson describe ontology as “concerned with the nature of being and the categories we use to make sense of our social reality” (*Ibid*, p. 52). White, settler-centric conceptions of being and perceptions of social reality are rarely challenged, and are instead treated largely as objective fact, due to the historic prioritization of white supremacist worldviews. In the North American settler colonial context, this manifests in Indian policy grounded in integration and assimilation, the devaluing of Indigenous knowledge, governance, and social structures. In academia, the prioritization of white conceptions of social reality causes non-white worldviews to be pushed into individual and peripheral fields, such as Africana or Indigenous Studies, rather than being actively included across all academic disciplines. It is why Black Lives Matter is confronted with white supremacist counter-movements such as All Lives and Blue Lives Matter; it is inconceivable to the white supremacist, settler state that race and other identifying factors would alter the state of being or the social realities of non-white people.

My race, gender expression, sexuality, socioeconomic status, and religion all coincide to impact my perception of social reality, especially as it applies to the canoe tripping community. My gender causes me to view certain interactions I've had at camp and in outdoor spaces as expressions of patriarchy and misogyny, while people with differing relationships to these structures will inevitably see them differently. When onlookers express shock and amazement at my physical and technical competencies while on a canoe trip--such as my ability to pick up and carry a canoe--I interpret this as my challenging misogynistic assumptions about what certain gendered bodies can and cannot do. However, the onlooker in question may perceive their amazement as flattery, and these differing interpretations are direct reflections of our differing categories that we use to make sense of our social reality. In this way, I believe that there are

many different understandings of truth, especially in how we view and experience canoe tripping, and that defining one singular truth that's free from human subjectivity is impossible.

From an ontological standpoint, this places me and my research process in the relativist category, as I believe individual truths are tailored to individual experiences and relationships to the colonialist structures in which we inhabit and contribute. A great portion of my research process is, and will continue to be, devoted to encouraging people in the canoe tripping community to recognize multiple truths as they take place simultaneously. Multiplicity in understanding allows for recognition of how our practices and traditions harm others--even if we were never forced to problematize these practices until now. I am cognizant of how relativist ontological positioning can be weaponized to absolve people--colonizers, in the context of this project--of their role in harming of marginalized (especially First Nations and Native American) identities, but I am much more wary of adopting a realist ontology that fails to engage in the multiplicity of truth as we experience it in the outdoors and beyond.

Researcher's Epistemology: The Nature of Knowledge and What Counts as Knowledge

Epistemology is broadly concerned with the study of knowledge, "or, more pragmatically, the theory of knowing" (*Ibid*, p. 47). Knowledge extends beyond academic conceptions of objective fact, and is naturally impacted by social and cultural influences. While the theory of evolution is an objective fact, this does not negate the impact that the book of Exodus may have on the worldviews of Christians, or that of the creation stories of the Teme Augama Anishinaabe on the people of Temagami First Nation. Although a person speaking to me in a sexist tone may not acknowledge their misogyny as objective fact, my own knowledge as it is impacted by my

social position will tell me that it is. The same goes for non-white identities experiencing acts of racism, or people outside of heterosexual identities experiencing homophobia.

As a result, my epistemology will not only be impacted by my social position, but through my active efforts to incorporate the social positions and worldviews of others. It was with all of these considerations in mind that formed my epistemology most closely with subjectivism, recognizing the unique variations in how myself and my participants will use our worldviews as they are impacted by our social positioning to better understand our relationships with the outdoors, with each other, and with our adult selves. As I come to recognize a wide multiplicity of truths and knowledge in this project, subjectivist approaches to epistemology invites me as a researcher to work to understand how multiple truths can lead to a conclusion that benefits a wide range of personal experiences and social positions.

Researcher's Axiology: The Nature of Value(s)

By nature of a number of personal factors, including my age, race, gender, the institution I attend and the field I study, what I value most, and thereby highlight as the intention for this project, is the possibility of making canoe tripping camps inclusive spaces for all people regardless of gender, race, sexual preference, and physical ability. This is an incredibly lofty goal, but my social positioning has caused inclusivity to become something I value strongly. As a result, this value system being the impetus for my research indicates my inability to extricate myself from my research process. As Walter and Anderson write: "to suggest, therefore, that our research is divorced from our personal and cultural values is patently not true" (*Ibid*, p. 50).

As I based this project in my own experiences with canoe tripping, and am analyzing two institutions with which I have very strong social and emotional ties, it would be impossible to

remove my own proximity to the topic from my research methodology and experimental design. My research will inevitably reflect my belief that there is value in sharing our experiences in order to ascertain how they overlap with each other and with the settler colonial state which we inhabit. In light of these acknowledgements, I would categorize my research approach as interpretivist with a few exceptions, as my axiology asserts that my research is “value bound,” that I as the researcher am a “part of what is being researched,” that these assertions cannot be separated, and thus my research will be subjective (Dudovskiy, 2018). However, critical inquiry is often at odds with interpretivist axiological perspectives as interpretivism can lead to an uncritical stance of the culture or group being studied, in this case the canoe tripping community (Gray, 2004).

As my second chapter already lays out in depth, critical theory is essential in analyzing any space that is maintained through unequal power dynamics, especially racial structures. As these unequal power structures are the heart of my research project, so is critical inquiry at the heart of my research methodology. The handful of harms I have encountered while in the outdoors all coincide with my inability to fully know the breadth of harms caused to people more marginalized than myself in the outdoor community, primarily non-white and Indigenous people. I know that even these unknown harms can be analyzed better if my research process is grounded in my own experiences. I also believe that analyzing the stories of the least marginalized members of the camping community, the able-bodied, white, cisgender, male-identifying people with whom one comes in most contact in outdoor spaces also hold value for a variety of reasons. Both conscious and unconscious contribution to a harmful space, whether or not fully recognized, is necessary data in confronting the colonial value system upon which the camping movement was built. However, critical theory requires not only analysis of these privileged

experiences but also criticism, and a conscious effort to prioritize marginalized voices when harm is identified, rather than writing off micro and macro aggressions as merely misguided, out of context, or outdated. It is the responsibility of every white member of the camping community to uplift non-white and Indigenous experiences.

Standpoint Influenced Theoretical Frame

This project is a study of privilege. Settler-colonialism provides white people with privilege over non-white and Indigenous people in myriad ways, not limited to white supremacy and capitalism, and further privileges cisgender, heterosexual white men through upholding a heteronormative patriarchy. As was discussed in the previous chapters, none of these structures were in place as we see them today in pre-contact North America. As a result, critical theory is paramount to my research process and to how I will analyze the data collected through my interviews with camp alumni. It is a goal of this project to consistently push back against white academic norms in favor of Indigenous methodologies, more specifically the academic value of storytelling and holistic approaches for understanding the ways social position and privilege impact how researchers analyze truth.

In this way I subscribe to a relativist ontological approach as I believe that truth is constructed by the subject. This construction results from both internal factors stemming from personal experience, as well as external factors such as social position, proximity to, and privilege derived from the settler colonial state. In the case of the goals of my research, I do not believe that there is one truth which will be revealed through data analysis, rather that a range of individual truths may fit together to either exemplify or disprove the prevalence of settler colonial values in modern summer camp experiences. As a result, rather than a realist

epistemology, I align my process more closely with a subjectivist approach, as truth is inevitably subjective and my own social position will greatly impact the ways in which I analyze and interpret the truths of others. Finally, to the extent that I too am a subject and would be unable to perform “objective” research, my own involvement will align my axiology with interpretivism. This interpretivist approach is still grounded in maintaining critical inquiry to the best of my ability, as it is my role as the researcher to criticize and problematize both my own experiences as well as those of my participants.

It is with all of these factors in mind that I constructed a research process largely influenced by phenomenological approaches as described in David Gray’s *Doing Research in the Real World (2004)*. By utilizing a rather small number of participants, conducting lengthy, in-depth, and unstructured interviews, and tailoring topics based on the individual social positions of my participants, my research is distinct from typical ethnographic approaches as well as methodologies more commonly adopted in the scientific fields. Analyzing a community which I am a part of, and interviewing participants that I may know personally, complicates other more “traditional” research methods, as my role as both the researcher and the participant could be called into question. I intend to structure my interviews in a discussion-based format, rather than adhering strictly to a set of research questions that remain constant across all participants. I have concluded this is an academically and ethically sound approach to data collection, as I can better account for individual differences in privilege, cultural understanding, age, and other factors. As I intend to conduct group interviews as well as individual interviews, I am also cognizant of my role as the researcher in preventing and reducing possible harm to participants with marginalized identities by steering conversations away from traumatic or stereotypical interpretations of truth, despite the possibility of such interpretations resulting in “useful” data.

Research Methods

The scholarship on summer camp to date has largely established the ways that settler colonialism in North America guided and inspired the formation of the modern camping movement. In my documentary analysis, I was able to identify a few themes of the colonial mindset that are reflected in the foundations of summer camps, those including masculinity, whiteness, and socioeconomic class. However, colonialism is often reduced to camp's pasts, so it was my intention to investigate the prevalence of colonial ideals at camp today. As a result, I will interview two differing generations of camp alumni, in order to compare to what extent the colonial foundations of canoe tripping camp are reflected in the experiences of campers. The two generations represent the periods from 1950's to the 1970's and 1999 to the present. My interview approach was heavily influenced by the work *Research is Ceremony; Indigenous Research Methods (2008)* by Shawn Wilson, whose emphasis on storytelling as a valid and valuable form of data inspired my approach. If camps were founded with the intention of performing an idealized settler-colonial state on a microscopic scale, it was important to investigate which settler colonial values were most reflected in the experiences of campers and staff and how those might differ or remain consistent across time. Through my own tenure at canoe tripping camps, I had come into contact with individual examples of misogyny, heteronormativity, socio economic exclusion, and white racial homogeneity. My research process set out to determine if these encounters were individual or broader reflections of canoe tripping camp's colonial foundations.

In December of 2020, I posted a Google Survey to the alumni Facebook groups of both Keewaydin Temagami and Camp Pathfinder, Algonquin Park (see Appendix C). The Google Form was intended as a tool from which to build interview groups based on the years each

participant attended camp, as well as to have close to equal representation of each camp in each group. After one week, I closed the form and I began building groups. Immediately it became clear that the vast majority of my participants were male identifying. I had a total of four participants who identify as cisgender women and one participant who identifies as a non-binary transgender woman out of a pool of twenty total participants. The small size of this group of non-male identifying participants is due in part to the exclusion of outwardly female-identifying campers and staff from the canoe tripping program at Keewaydin until 1999, while Pathfinder remains open only to male-identifying campers to this day. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 80, and in total I conducted 4 group interviews, broken into years as follows:

Group 1: 1953-1961,

Group 2: 1965-1972,

Group 3: 2007-2010, and

Group 4: 2011-2013.

The intention was to keep the number of participants in each group between three and five. Groups 1 and 2 were intended to represent an older generation that could then be compared with Groups 3 and 4, the more recent generation of alumni campers and current staff. Participants were placed in groups with others who attended in the years closest to them, which is reflected in the fluctuating range in years by group (the four eldest participants ranged from 1953-1961, whereas the youngest three participants only ranged from 2011-2013).

Once groups were made, preliminary scheduling emails were sent to each group with suggested meeting dates and times based on the preferences listed in the Google Form. Once confirmed, a second email was sent which included the detailed description of the project, consent forms, and the Zoom meeting invitation. Due to the sensitive nature of the project, I

included the title as well as a brief description of the colonial framework of my research in my preliminary emails. One participant did rescind their willingness to participate upon receiving this information. In addition, the consent to participation form (see appendix B.1) provided a description of the sensitivity of the project. Before beginning each interview, I described in detail the basis of the project as problematizing certain aspects of the camp experience and asked if the participants had any remaining questions, reservations, or no longer desired to participate. It was only after answering these questions that the interviews formally began. Participant names were not used in final interview transcripts nor in the written project without express signed consent and deception was not used in my process. Additionally, interview transcripts (see appendix A) have been edited of any identifying information pertaining to participants and non-participants who did not provide consent to be identified (see appendix B.2).

Some respondents from the Google Form never returned follow-up emails and as a result did not participate in group interviews. The groups were organized in the following manner:

Group 1: four participants.

Group 2: three participants,

Group 3: three participants, and

Group 4: three participants.

Those who reached out to me concerning a scheduling conflict--but still wanted to participate--were encouraged to schedule an individual interview. Both group and individual interviews were conducted and recorded over Zoom. Recordings were saved to my password-protected personal computer, as was described in the consent forms signed by all participants (see appendix B.2). As previously stated, group interviews were designed in an open-discussion format. I came with a few questions prepared but allowed conversation to flow

freely and asked follow up questions as they arose naturally from the discussion. As a result, no two group interviews covered all the same topics, but were rather built on top of and in connection to one another. Any remaining questions I had after the group interview stage was completed were brought to my individual interviews as applicable.

There were two varieties of individual interview participants. First were those who had followed up with me regarding a conflict with their group interview time. The second were my own connections whose input I valued and to whom I reached out personally. I spoke with three participants--all of whom attended camp in the early to mid-2000's--individually, as their unique perspectives or other circumstances warranted personalized interviews (one participant began attending camp in 1999, so I did not feel that his inclusion in Group 3 would have made sense). Additionally, I interviewed Mike Sladden, the current director of Camp Pathfinder, as well as Christine McRae-Luckasavitch, of Waaseyaa Indigenous Consulting. Of the six individual interviews conducted, each took place virtually and were recorded via Zoom. With all of the previous experience from the group interviews in mind, I came to each individual interview more prepared questions while still allowing discussion to flow freely. Individual interviews were also slightly more tailored to discussing harm reduction strategies and the future of camp while still working within the original framework laid out by the research question as previously stated. Full transcripts of all group and individual interviews are located in appendix A at the end of the project.

Data Analysis Strategy

Data analysis from interviews will take place in multiple steps, as detailed below.

Otter.ai:

I began analysis using a transcription software service called Otter.ai. The process progressed as follows:

- 1) Upload all Zoom audio recordings to Otter's secure online server.
- 2) Listen to each recording while reading the transcript generated by Otter, editing for spelling, grammar, and clarity. This includes all First Nation terms and place names, camp-specific terminology, removing the names of non-participating people, and removing filler words.
- 3) Export the edited transcripts from the Otter server and onto my personal computer.

Once transcripts were edited and exported, they were then uploaded to a computer software application called Nvivo.

Nvivo:

The purpose of Nvivo is to create a database of qualitative source material and in-person data (interview transcripts, in this case) where it can then be categorized by themes (which the software calls "Nodes") that have been predetermined by the researcher. The subsequent section will highlight how I identified possible themes before starting data collection as well as how these themes could be identified within my interview data. The data analysis process in Nvivo progressed as follows:

- 1) Upload the newly cleaned and edited transcripts to my personal Nvivo project.
- 2) Read each transcript closely within the software, highlighting any data that may fall under a certain theme.

- 3) Log highlighted data as “Nodes”
- 4) Review the data within each node, removing excerpts that don’t fit and recategorizing those that fit better elsewhere.
- 5) Review excerpts once more for clarity, paying particular attention to any identifying information that needs to be removed based on the consent of each participant

It is impossible to know what themes will arise before conducting interviews. Even after transcribing and rereading transcripts, themes may still be difficult to identify. However, through my analysis of the settler colonial state and how a few tenets of the colonial project formed a foundation for the North American camping movement, I theorize a few themes that could indicate the continued presence of settler colonial ideals within the camp experience. I have come into contact with these themes on an individual basis throughout my time at canoe tripping camp, but as previously stated it is impossible to know prior to the interview stage whether these experiences were individual, systemic, or have remained constant across the multiple generations of campers and staff.

Potential Themes

In my experience in the canoe tripping community, the colonial ideal I encounter most is patriarchy. Patriarchal influences on my camp experience include the association of physical strength with masculinity, and weakness with femininity. One’s physical strength is closely tied to one’s acceptance in the canoe tripping community, by associating physicality--what we call “hard skill”--with masculinity, and physicality with what makes a “good” canoe tripper. In terms of how patriarchy may present itself during interviews, I envision an emphasis on physical strength could be a common experience across the two distinct generations that I interview.

Stronger and more physically capable campers could be described as more popular, having closer relationships with staff, being favored for longer or more rigorous trip routes, and thus having more fond memories of their experiences at camp. Patriarchy could also be presented through an underemphasis on fostering emotional maturity, what is often called “soft skills,” or the ability to emotionally connect well with other campers and staff. The camping movement was founded on the desire to “toughen up” boys that were considered weak due to urbanization and privilege, dissuading campers from expressing emotions such as sadness, homesickness, or frustration--so called “signs of weakness”--could be a marker for the lasting effects of these colonial foundations. Just as physically capable boys could be popular campers, so could more emotional campers be ostracized from the greater camp community or described as unpopular, picked on, or teased. Performing masculinity could manifest itself in multiple ways, but I envision emphasis on physical strength, bullying of weaker campers, and suppressing emotion could be the most common.

Social class can be portrayed in almost as many ways as patriarchy, but there are a few specific class markers that I know from experience are most common in the canoe tripping community and thus envision coming up most prevalently in interview responses. First and foremost, class is systematically linked in North America to “formal” education. By formal education, I mean attending private or wealthy, well-funded public high schools, college education being both expected and financially attainable, and the commonality of participants holding post-graduate degrees. The majority of my participants having these types of educational backgrounds would be a fair indicator of the canoe tripping community being one of economic and social means, which is contingent on and exacerbated by the financial expense that is undertaken by families who choose to send their children to summer camp. As was discussed in

the previous chapter, summer camps also recruited heavily through educational institutions, whether it be staff who were school teachers during the year, or alumni connections to prestigious secondary schools. In these ways the North American, colonial education system and canoe tripping camps are inextricably linked and would thus indicate class markers amongst my participants.

This leads me to my third and final proposed theme, that of the central tenet of settler colonialism, racial exclusion and white supremacy. White supremacy at canoe tripping camps would not be solely limited to racial homogeneity, as I predict that the vast majority of my participants will be white, but could also be reflected in other ways. Participants may reflect on how certain campers and staff of color may not have been as fully socially accepted in the camp community, in addition to tokenizing the few non-white community members that are present. However, what I envision will be a far more prevalent form of white supremacy will come up regarding camp traditions that culturally appropriate Indigenous practices. The defending of these traditions--or insisting they be kept as part of camp programming--for the benefit of the white camp experience would indicate a participant's belief that white comfort and tradition should be prioritized. Prioritization of white comfort, despite the known harm this comfort causes to non-white and Indigenous people, is white supremacy. Both the intentional and unintentional employment of indigenous stereotypes in interviews would exemplify white supremacy still at work in the camp consciousness. Stereotypes that I envision hearing would include reducing the roles of Indigenous people to that of wilderness teachers and land stewards, implying that Indigenous culture is in decline or will inevitably disappear, and blaming systemic Indigenous poverty on anything other than settler-colonial violence.

Settler nativism has been defined in the previous chapters, but in the canoe tripping context I find that it is especially important to list it as an indicator of white supremacy in my data analysis approach. Settler nativism is an aspect of the settler consciousness that erases Indigenous human history from broader discussions of histories of place, allowing for settlers to position themselves as the original inhabitants of colonized land. Published histories of Algonquin Park, for example, often reduce the 6000 year history of Algonquin people in the region to a mere few sentences or paragraphs, implying that the history of the park began at the park's founding, or when settlers decided the park area was worthy of government protection. Settler nativism works similarly in published camp histories, where the history of a camp's location begins at the camp's founding, without any further consideration of how that land was made available and the violent colonial displacement that allowed for land to be "owned" by settlers. In this way, camp history books erase Indigenous presence and influence by using terms such as "our island," "our park," "our campsites" and other terminology based on settler ownership of and entitlement to Indigenous land. I know this language is commonly used in the camp community and I believe that it will continue to be used in my interviews. Although it may sound harmless to other settlers, normalizing ownership language when discussing Indigenous spaces quietly works to uphold the settler colonial state, and thus white supremacy.

Should my thematic predictions prove consistent and conclusions can be drawn that settler colonial values have been maintained by the canoe tripping camp institution, I believe that organizing data by theme, rather than a timeline format will better allow for comparative analysis of the two groups. However, there is a considerable amount of camp history leading up to the first year that my participants began attending camp. Using the camp history books of both Keewaydin Temagami and Camp Pathfinder, I hope to construct a historical overview of each

camp that will act as context for how the colonial state inspired and encouraged the camps' formations. The historical overview will be the content covered in chapter three of the project, and will extend from each camp's founding until 1953, my eldest participant's first summer. This chapter will also include critical analysis of how colonial mindsets and language are employed in the published documentation of each camp. In chapters four and five, oral testimony from interview participants will be analyzed by themes, with chapter four covering the generation spanning 1953 to 1973 and chapter five covering the 2000's generation. The Keewaydin history book, *The Keewaydin Way*, was published in 2004, and the Pathfinder history book, *Paddles Flashing in the Sun*, was published in 1995. As a result, where applicable, relevant information about the time period in camp's history will be included in order to provide context, in addition to any relevant events that took place outside of the specific camp context that could help to further contextualize the data.

Finally, harm reduction strategies that may be suggested by Indigenous participants, camp leadership, and alumni will be formally discussed along with their accompanying implementation challenges in the final chapter of the project, in conjunction with the discussion of the limitations of my research process and suggestions for further study. I hope that through this research, real, tangible changes can be implemented at camp, and that my research will provide additional context for proving just how necessary and vital these changes would be to creating a safer and more inclusive experience for future campers. While much of my inspiration for this project was born from my fondness for canoe tripping and the community of friends that it has given me, it is also my duty to critique an institution that I love so that others will have the same opportunity to grow up with an appreciation for the outdoors without fear of exclusion and harm.

Chapter 3: Founding Camp in the Colonial Context

Each night on trip after chores were completed, tents set up and sleeping bags unfurled, my staff would call us to the fire to read a section of Keewaydin's history book, *The Keewaydin Way*. First published in 1975, "The Way," to which it is fondly referred, has been a staple on Keewaydin Canoe trips since publication. The 430 page volume, carried in wannigans, day packs, and duffel rolls all across northeastern Canada each summer, connects generations of Keewaydin campers and staff to one another. *The Keewaydin Way* documents Keewaydin's history from its infancy at the Gunnery School in Connecticut to its most recent re-publishing in 2004. One of its most touching segments, "The Defining Moment of My Teenage Life" is read to the eldest campers on the last night of their trip to the Hudson Bay, to mark their symbolic transition from camper to staff, childhood to adulthood.

Pathfinder also has a history book, a collection of stories from alumni and staff, entitled *Paddles Flashing in the Sun*. *Paddles Flashing* is a compilation of oral testimony, spanning from Pathfinder's earliest years well into the 1990's. It recounts traditions long since abandoned as well as those still practiced today. Rather than reading these texts by a crackling fire, on a quiet Ontario lake next to a setting sun, reminiscing of camp's pasts, I looked to these texts for insight into camp's future. It is often said that the best way to see where you're going is to know where you've been, and I hoped that by turning a critical eye to how camp's history is told--and by whom--I might better understand some of the challenges that camp is facing today, and how these challenges may be addressed moving forward.

The following chapter offers a brief historical overview of Keewaydin and Camp Pathfinder, highlighting how the settler colonial state enabled each camp's foundations, and the impacts of settler colonialism on each camp's histories. As was discussed in the first chapter, the

settler colonial state was instrumental in the formation of the American and Canadian camping movements. Therefore, it is necessary to apply this framework to the formation of not only camps in general, but also to the two specific camps at the center of this project. The chapter is divided into two sections, first describing and analyzing the early history of Keewaydin, then the history of Pathfinder.

The chapter will also act as a documentary analysis of each camp's respective text. It is important to note that the authors of each camp's book have their own social positioning that would not necessarily be reflective of the camp experience as a whole. With that being said, both authors are camp alumni and thus have extensive knowledge of and participation in their camp's communities. While I do not want to focus solely on how the authors' narrative voices reflect their own positions within the colonial state, the methods utilized by each author to depict their camp's histories is significant and will not be overlooked. While the focus of this project is still tracing colonialism through the lived experiences of my participants, their oral testimonies would lack context without a broader understanding of both camp's early histories and a critical analysis of how each camp is discussed in writing. In order to apply a critical lens to the camp experience as a whole, it is necessary to problematize not only individual experiences (through interviews) but also what is documented as the general camp experience (as it is depicted in the texts). Basing the entirety of my analysis on the texts would be a disservice to the project, but without utilizing the written histories of each camp, the picture I hope to paint of the camp experience would be incomplete.

In Search of Keewaydin

“In Search of Keewaydin” is the title of the introduction to *The Keewaydin Way*. It introduces not only to the institution of Keewaydin, but also highlights the deep emotional connection that members of the Keewaydin community feel towards the camp. Partially describing the writing process, partially attempting to embody the spirit of Keewaydin in the written word, “In Search of Keewaydin” provides insight into the essence of Keewaydin.

Drawing the reader in, the author categorizes the Keewaydin experience as follows:

It is a youth camp with a mission to educate and grow the characters of young people, but it is also an institution that preserves the heritage canoe travel that opened North America in the late 1800's and early 1900's. Ever seen a wannigan or a tumpline or a double pack or a bannock? Extinct? No. Relegated to displays at museums? Yes, but also alive and well at Keewaydin, practiced continuously, not as imitations, but in the same form as they were when introduced over a hundred years ago. Quaint traditions? No. They are valuable tools: wilderness tools for traveling remote northern areas; and educational tools for teaching self-reliance and self-confidence, and for building character in boys and girls, young men and women that attend Keewaydin. (Back, 2004, p. 7)

Keewaydin is invariably a temple to tradition, although much less romantic in the greater colonial context of Ontario specifically, and North America as a whole. The “heritage canoe travel” as the passage describes, is an amalgam of Indigenous methods with colonial influences, used by voyageurs, fur traders, Hudson Bay Company officials, and colonial “Indian Agents.” These figures should not be remembered as solely romantic explorers, “opening” an otherwise wild continent, as each one perpetuated and benefitted from the support of a white supremacist colonial state. The tumpline, bannock, and wooden canoe, in conjunction with voyageur technologies like wannigans, canvas tents, and fire irons, is a mixture of multiple forms, both Indigenous and colonial, that come together to form the “Keewaydin Way.” Without the original colonial expansions into First Nations territories and the continued perpetuation of colonial tendencies, such as the “vanishing Indian” narrative as it is described in the passage, the

Keewaydin Way would not exist as we know it today. The role that Keewaydin seems to fulfill in preserving these methods of canoe travel is colonial in nature, as indigeneity is lived day to day, constantly evolving, and can never be “relegated to displays at museums.” The language we use when talking about camp matters. Passages such as this one exemplify the continuous erasure of colonial violence as it was used to enable the formation of canoe tripping camps, as well as the ongoing romanticization of settler colonial history as it pertains to the camp experience.

Conceiving Keewaydin

The Keewaydin Way does little in acknowledging the thousands of years of human history that preceded the camp’s first summer. First Nations origin stories tell us not only of the unbreakable relations between themselves and the land, but also of innumerable generations of existence; from the beginning of time, long before the arrival of European colonizers, and even longer before the arrival of the founders of Keewaydin. The ancestors of the present-day Teme Augama Anishinaabe, the First Nation inhabitants of Temagami, had been running trap lines in the winter and fishing during the summer in the rich Temagami landscape thousands of years before the Hudson Bay Company first landed on Bear Island, the current reservation and headquarters of the band. The Canadian Pacific Railway extended as far as Mattawa on the Ottawa River in 1881, expanding the horizon for European colonization drastically. According to the Temagami First Nations website, the Hudson Bay Post was established on Bear Island in 1872 and “the grandparents of the present-day Temagami First Nation began to reside there in the summer.” The arrival of the Hudson Bay Company, now recognized as the partial embodiment of settler colonial violence in Canada, was the impetus for this seasonal annual presence on Lake Temagami. The seasonal presence of Teme-Augama Anishinaabe people, in

conjunction with the Hudson Bay Post, was vital to the survival of Keewaydin in its earliest years. The camp used the company post for mail, provisioning, and winter storage, and employed local First Nation people as guides as well.

While Keewaydin's first summer in operation was 1893 in Maine, the camp was moved to Temagami in 1902. This was thanks in part to the expanding railways, the Hudson Bay Company presence, and most importantly, the Indigenous knowledge of the canoe route that connects Mattawa to Lake Temagami, where the camp resides to this day. Keewaydin's founder, A.S. Gregg Clarke, along with a few students recruited from his camp in Maine, arrived in Mattawa by rail in the spring of 1902. They went into town and found three guides to lead them to Temagami--Frank LeClaire, Peter Brown, and Joe LeVigne: "They were...well...Indian and French [original emphasis]" (*Op Cit*, Back, p. 32). The Indigenous guides not only led Clarke--fondly nicknamed "The Commodore"--and his campers to Temagami, but they left a lasting imprint on the fabric of Keewaydin history which is still traceable today. For two years, Keewaydin campers and staff tripped in and around Temagami, utilizing the trap lines, existing portages, and paddling lakes under the guidance of Indigenous people.

It wasn't until 1904 that Keewaydin established a "permanent" base camp on Devil's Island. I use the term "permanent" semi-ironically, as Keewaydin campers and staff were squatters on Devil's Island from 1904-1906. Keewaydin staff built structures and occupied Devil's Island illegally on what was then still considered "Crown land," after the region was pronounced a Forest Reserve by the Ontario provincial government in 1898. In a series of events riddled with colonial entitlement, American squatters took ownership of the Ontario reserve land that had been previously taken from the Indigenous people of the region. Devil's Island was included in the traditional hunting grounds of Temagami First Nation people, including the

ancestors of current Keewaydin alumni (see Appendix A.1). The colonial foundations of camp are not part of some distant past, rather they are very current and connected to the framework of camp today.

Colonial encroachment continued into Temagami in 1905 with the establishment of a new railway connecting North Bay to the town of Temagami. This advancement negated the need to canoe trip from Mattawa to Devil's Island and ushered in a "local frontier," which necessitated "a new one to be found" (*Ibid*, p. 43). Thus began the search for a new type of canoe trip, one that pushed Keewaydin campers and staff further from Temagami, into the territories of different First Nations people, notably Cree and Inuit. Their eyes were set on completing a canoe trip to the Hudson Bay. In 1911, after the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway (TN&O) extended from Temagami to Cochrane, the first Bay Trip was completed under the guidance of George LeClaire, the son of Frank, one of the original guides in 1902. As the author writes: "There were no Frontiers that could escape them" (*Ibid*, p. 44).

Keewaydin's numbers grew steadily during the 1910's and 20's, and the era was marked by new building infrastructure on the island as well as the completion of longer and further canoe routes. Clarke--The Commodore--died in 1926, and thus Keewaydin entered the Great Depression under new leadership. Incidentally, Keewaydin enrollment set a record high in 1931 at 173 campers, despite the economic crisis underway at the time. The duality of an economic depression in conjunction with a record number of families sending their children to camp reflects the overall social class of Keewaydin families; still being able to afford camp during the Great Depression was a significant privilege, one that likely kept camp's doors open while so many others had to close. As Peter McMillen remarked: "Only the privileged went to canoe camps" (P. McMillen, Appendix A.2). Even during periods of widespread distress: economic

depression, a world war, the polio epidemic, canoe camps were able to attract enough wealthy families to keep their doors open as spaces to isolate privileged boys from the turmoil of the time period.

Just two years after the enormous recruiting success of the summer of 1931, Camp Wabun was formed by a Keewaydin staff walk-out and Keewaydin enrollment plummeted. The division was heavily caused by the new director William K. Gunn--nicknamed "The Major." Gunn's vision of Devil's Island was very different from previous Keewaydin leadership. To him, a strict divide had to be maintained between campers, staff, and island guests based on biological sex. According to *The Keewaydin Way*: "The Major resented the presence of women. They distracted the men from their devotion to the trials and spoiled the Brotherhood's healthy male preserve" (*Ibid*, p. 133). Gunn issued stringent regulations concerning coed interactions, accompanied by encouragement of what he must have perceived as stereotypically masculine pursuits, such as swimming without a bathing suit and urinating in the open; "Gunn added civility to this male rite by ordering the construction of a pit in front of the tent platforms on Fifth Avenue, with a post erected in the center and gravel placed on the bottom--a communal urinal" (*Ibid*, p. 134). The Major ushered in an era in Keewaydin's history characterized by outright disgust towards anything perceived as non-masculine; masculinity was encouraged to be performed out in the open.

Keewaydin's recruiting troubles continued throughout the 1930's and into the second World War, with enrollment hitting an all time low in 1943, ten years after the Wabun split. Following years of financial hardship at Keewaydin, new directorship was found in Howard Chivers, a former staffman and Olympic skier. The financial toll that the war took on Keewaydin was significant. When Chivers took over directorship in 1948, enrollment was at 52 campers and

only half were paying tuition. A fire was lit under Chivers, “the Chief,” who wasted no time pouring money into new infrastructure on the island, recruiting back former staff and Mattawa guides, and rebuilding the camp. It was during these prosperous years that the eldest participants in this project began attending Keewaydin. The eldest participant began his Keewaydin career in 1953, a time when Keewaydin was entering into a new era of change and upheaval.

“We Own this Place:” Pathfinder’s Early Years

A few short years after Keewaydin completed its first trip to Hudson Bay, in 1914, Camp Pathfinder began its first season. Operating on an island in Source Lake in Algonquin Park, at the headwaters of the Madawaska river, Camp Pathfinder has kept its original location for its entire 107 year history. Like *The Keewaydin Way*, Pathfinder’s recorded history does not begin with 10,000 years of Indigenous occupancy of the Algonquin landscape, as the author wonders:

Where do we begin to tell our story? We could start with the glaciers that sculpted what would become Algonquin Park out of the great Canadian Shield. Or perhaps early explorers, men like Alexander Sherriff, who were the first white men to travel through Algonquin Park and Source Lake in the 1800’s. (Rand, 1995, p. 2)

The comparison of camp’s history to colonial exploration remains constant across both texts, and so does the nonexistent acknowledgement of the colonial land seizures that made both Temagami and Algonquin Park accessible to the American and Canadian men who wished to start their camps there. Algonquin Park was established as a wildlife reserve in 1893, forcing Algonquin people to move from the lakes and rivers they had occupied for generations (Luckasavitch, 2018, p. 13). Algonquin Park remains unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabeg people despite over a hundred years of struggle for recognition, although this is rarely mentioned in white retellings of Algonquin Park’s history. By the time William Bennet and Franklin J. Gray,

Pathfinder's founders, stepped off the train at the Source Lake landing, the park was all but open for the business of white men, and they spent the winter of 1913 obtaining a lease.

Gray was a Keewaydin staffman before eventually deciding to found his own camp; he likely fell in love with canoe tripping through his years on Temagami. In the second chapter of *Paddles Flashing in the Sun*, entitled "We Own this Place," the author hints at the impetus for Bennet and Gray choosing Source Lake: "The layout of the site seems immensely suitable...easily accessible by railroad and a superb place for tripping" (Rand, 1995, p. 24). The title of the chapter alone hints at the settler nativist mindset that was pervasive throughout the founding of both Keewaydin and Pathfinder. Much like the illegal squatting on Devil's Island in the years prior to obtaining a lease, the concept of ownership over Pathfinder Island is not only factually incorrect--Pathfinder still maintains a lease with the Park--but also influenced by colonial understandings of land as capital. Although Pathfinder obtained their land legally from the start (through the provincial government, as opposed to squatting), the commonality of taking land that seems the most suitable to one's needs, without regard for how that land became "available" to you, is common of both camps and reminds us of the quiet ways that colonial violence is erased from white accounts of history.

In 1922, Camp Pathfinder transitioned to new ownership. The new era brought a revitalization of the canoe tripping program, along with other, newer varieties of camp activities. The 1930's were when "Indian Lore" was introduced into the Pathfinder program, thanks to Bill and Charlie Luce "the Indian Lore experts" (*Ibid*, p. 169). Indian Lore is no longer a part of the camp program, but as the author states: "When I started at camp in 1965 Indian Lore was still quite popular, and I spent many a Council Fire toe-heeling or high stepping around the Ring. It has since waned, though we still have our weekly gatherings at the Ring down at the far end of

the island, the ‘New Indian Council Ring’” (*Ibid*, p. 169). Indian Lore and camp programs like it were maintained during the same period that the *Indian Act* (1876) and the Potlach Law (1880) were in effect, “forcing us [First Nations peoples] into a colonial-based system geared toward Indigenous assimilation into settler culture and away from our traditional systems of governance” (*Op cit*, Luckasavitch, p. 13). The Canadian colonial government banned all cultural practices “including speeches, gift-giving, dance and ceremony;” while it was still perfectly acceptable to practice “unauthentic versions of our culture” in the camp programming of children’s summer camps (*Ibid*, p. 13). It was during this early introduction of Indian Lore into camp programming that the age groups of Pathfinder campers, previously called tadpoles, chipmunks, beavers, and bucks, were changed to MicMacs, Chipewas, Crees, Ottawas, and Abanekies; all but Abanekies are still in use today.

Note on Cultural Appropriation at Keewaydin

Keewaydin also appropriates Indigenous words for their age groups, called wigwams, in addition to partaking in their own share of Indian Lore-inspired traditions. Although, according to *The Keewaydin Way*, “Only the Gigitowin and the Four Winds Ceremony suggest any romanticism” (*Op Cit*, Back, p. 44). Unlike other camps with in-camp Indian Lore programs, Back asserts that Keewaydin escaped:

...a long tradition of taking advantage of the dual myths of the noble savage and the frontier. Certainly, Keewaydin came in search of those when it arrived in Temagami, but its firsthand contact with local First Nations guides and the ruggedness of the portages made mincemeat of it. The tumpline was a gift of the native to non-natives. Under a tumpline you aren't looking at First People through rose-colored glasses anymore. You experience their toil, and then the respect is earned and unadulterated. They were seeing the sweaty toil of aboriginal life. That appears to be why an experiment with Ernest Thompson Seton's Woodcraft Indians in 1911 lasted one year. It didn't fit in. Everyone could see right through it. The locals didn't wear buckskins or tramp around in the bush in headdresses. They were too practical. Pragmatism destroyed the myths. It

was difficult to maintain a romantic and sentimentalism embodied in Woodcraft Indians waist-deep in muskeg and mosquitoes in your ears. (Ibid, p. 44)

Back implies that camps like Pathfinder that practiced Indian Lore romanticized what Keewaydin campers and staff knew to be the “true” Indigenous experience. He also goes so far as to suggest Keewaydin campers and staff had no need for Indian Lore as they earned their respect for First Nations people on the trail, “experiencing their toil,” rather than “high stepping” around a campfire the way Rand describes in *Paddles Flashing*. While there are many flaws in Back’s assessment, the most obvious would be that he equates going on a Keewaydin canoe trip with understanding and experiencing “aboriginal life.” Back argues that performing indigeneity happened every day while on Keewaydin canoe trips, and were thus not relegated to a few Woodcraft and Indian Lore traditions. In this way, he attempts to separate Keewaydin from other camps while simultaneously exemplifying the very same settler nativist mindset that Indian Lore is intended to inspire. Keewaydin is not unique in not having an official Indian Lore program, especially considering the blatant acts of cultural appropriation that Keewaydin takes part in, such as the Four Winds Ceremony and the Gigitowin. Promoting the notion that Keewaydin provides campers and staff with some higher degree of Indigenous understanding simply due to Indigenous proximity is just as harmful as any Indian Lore practices that were taking place at other camps. Staff were still painting their faces and wearing loin cloths to perform the Four Winds Ceremony when I first started attending Keewaydin in 2009; no level of strenuous canoe tripping will absolve the camp from contributing to colonial stereotyping of Indigenous people.

Summary

The first chapter of the project discusses how settler colonialism worked on a broad scale to encourage the formation of the camping movement. However, I found it important to also

highlight how settler colonialism worked specifically for Keewaydin and Pathfinder from the very moment of each camp's founding. Both camps were founded on similar ideals--masculinity, whiteness, socioeconomic status, and manufactured indigeneity, and thus their proximities to the settler colonial state are remarkably similar. By highlighting each camp's early histories and analyzing the language used by each author in discussing said histories, the settler colonial foundations of both Keewaydin and Pathfinder come into better view. Without this background understanding of how prevalent settler colonial mindsets have been throughout camp's history, the content gathered from interview participants would lack context. The history in itself is significant in understanding how settler colonialism has contributed to the maintenance of each camp, but I found the documentary analysis especially telling. Settler colonialism is present in how camp is described in writing, so it makes sense that settler colonialism is present in how we talk about camp as well, as the subsequent chapters will indicate.

Chapter 4: Colonialism in the Second Half of the 20th Century

Now that the early history of each camp has been recounted, the stories described in each text will start to overlap with the times that the participants in this project attended Keewaydin and Pathfinder. In total, I interviewed ten alumni from the period spanning 1953-1973, and this group of ten have a combined 96 years of experience as campers and staff at Pathfinder and Keewaydin. In keeping with the original goals of this project, this chapter will build on how the colonial foundations of camp as described in previous chapters were reflected in the camper experience. Major events in the camp's history as they are documented in either *The Keewaydin Way* or *Paddles Flashing in the Sun* will be used to contextualize individual accounts and paint a broader picture of what camp was like at the time. Additionally, relevant social and political movements of the time period (such as new colonial legislation) are incorporated into the chapter as applicable. When I first conceived this project, I knew I wanted to do more than simply analyze the texts and the ways that camp is discussed in writing, I also wanted to see to what degree the written texts mirror the lived experiences, and vice versa. In this way, my analysis is not solely documentary nor interview based, the two work hand in hand.

The chapter will be divided into themes based on what I gathered through data analysis. I found colonial ideals displayed in the appropriation of and profit from Indigenous culture and knowledge, the encouragement of masculine ideals through a hierarchy based on physical strength and size, and economic and racial exclusion of non-white and non-wealthy people. As was highlighted in the methodology chapter, questions and discussion topics were not explicitly aimed at these themes, rather they emerged naturally over the course of discussion, which I found especially significant. Names of participants have been removed unless consent for

identification was provided, otherwise the participants are identified only by the year of their first summer as a camper.

Appropriation of Indigenous Knowledge

Many external factors were at work during the 1950's that would end up drastically altering the Keewaydin experience for future generations. Most notably, the 1950's marked the beginning of the decline in the number of Indigenous guides, from both Temagami and Mattawa, who spent their summers guiding trips at Keewaydin. In 1951, the Canadian government passed a revised version of the *Indian Act* of 1876, widely regarded as more of a restatement of the original law rather than any major revision (Milloy, 1999, p. 189). The one major piece of legislation that did pass that year was the decision to end the residential schooling system and transfer Indigenous children from residential schools into local public provincial schools instead. However, the main focus of the 1951 legislation was still on assimilation as the solution to the "Indian problem" (*Ibid*, p. 189). Despite the decision to end the residential schooling system being made in 1951, it took until 1986 for the final school to be closed, and as a result the system continued throughout the time that this group of participants attended camp.

The reason this legislation is significant is to highlight the fact that the Canadian government was still actively trying to integrate and erase Indigenous culture through official legislation well into the 20th century. While the *Keewaydin Way* advocates for a passive fading-out in the number of Indigenous guides working at Keewaydin, it was the partial success of anti-Indigenous legislation that also ushered in the so-called end of the Indigenous guiding era at Keewaydin. As one participant (1953) pointed out, "the younger generation never followed the footsteps of the previous generation...I think there was one of the Belanger's there for a

while...but there were very few of the ones that really went to the bush, everybody else went to a factory or went to an office or went to something else” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.1).

It was true, fewer and fewer Indigenous guides were continuing their father’s legacies at Keewaydin, but the shift was not purely economic in nature. What was not documented in *The Keewaydin Way* was the ultimatum that the Department of Indian Affairs had been giving to First Nations people across Canada for nearly a century (edited for clarity):

...the native way of life was not needed anymore...that traditional life of the Indigenous peoples going off to your family territories and trapping all winter and fishing in the spring. And in 1956 the Indian agent came to Bear Island and said, if you take your kids out in the bush next winter, we’re taking them away. Then you had your residential schools, the Catholic Church, and their traditions were taken away from them. (P. McMillen, Appendix A.1)

The threat of colonial violence by the 1950’s had caused a tangible shift in the makeup of Keewaydin’s organization, where subsequent generations of would-be Indigenous guides no longer had the geographic and cultural knowledge to lead trips as a result of violent assimilation. This assimilation also forced Indigenous people to contribute to a colonial capitalist economy that could not be sustained through traditional ways of life, causing them to seek wage labor outside of Keewaydin.

In 1953, the first summer of the eldest participant, five First Nations guides initiated a strike by refusing to leave on trip. Chivers paid them off and asked them to leave that day. He is quoted in *The Keewaydin Way* about the event, saying: “The belief that we needed ‘native’ guides was carried too far and we could easily have changed to the present system much earlier. The one point that was used to continue the natives was the attraction their presence had for the campers. They looked up to and respected them, little realizing that these ‘supermen’ (in their eyes) had failings that were weak links” (*Op Cit*, Back, p. 212). With recent breakthroughs in mapping, the extension of rail and road systems, and a number of competent white staff who had

previously been Keewaydin campers, Chivers believed that the need for Indigenous guides, and the unique Indigenous knowledge and skills that they brought to canoe tripping, were no longer needed, and could be supplanted with the experience of white former campers. Indigenous guides taught valuable skills to their campers, as one participant (1953) remembers: "...when we were there, we had a lot of Native guides. And that gave us some insight into the Aboriginal customs and how they did things. For example, I still paddle like I was taught, I think by one of the Baptistes, and you never see anybody paddling like that" (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.1). Despite the invaluable lessons taught to campers by their Indigenous staff well into the 1950's and 60's, camp leadership still proceeded in phasing out the employment of Indigenous people in leadership roles on canoe trips, although as Peter McMillen reminded us, "the native population was pretty much in a subservient role working there taking care of them [the camp population] in the summertime" as kitchen staff and facility care takers rather than trip staff (P. McMillen, Appendix A.1).

While Chief Chivers felt the impact Indigenous guides had on the campers was not enough to continue hiring them, their presence is highly significant in the memory of the alumni with whom I spoke. Campers during the Indigenous guiding years profited greatly off the knowledge that their guides passed on to them on the trail, which were then taken into their years on staff in order to fill the void left behind by the Indigenous guides when they eventually stopped working at Keewaydin. In those early transition years, some staff were still acknowledging where their knowledge came from, as Tom Gilbert (1965) remembers his interaction with Heb Evans, considered one of the "best white staff men" Keewaydin has ever had:

Heb told us that everything he knew up there he'd gotten from Nishi Belanger, his guide for many, many years. And he was like the ultimate Mattawa, Ojibwe Indian, this one eyed guy who could do absolutely anything and everything. And so Heb would say, you

know, everything that I am telling you, it's not because I discovered it or whatever I was taught by Nishi Belanger. (T. Gilbert, Appendix A.4)

Both Heb and Nishi live on in Keewaydin memory as nearly mythical figures, remnants of an earlier time in camp history. It was a time when First Nations people actively passed their knowledge down to white people for the benefit of the settler, preparing them to take their place, a real exemplification of the colonial “vanishing Indian” narrative. This colonial erasure could have easily been stopped or slowed down had Keewaydin leadership recognized the value and importance of learning Indigenous knowledge from Indigenous people, rather than from the white men they taught it to. In this way, the high leadership at Keewaydin felt that it was better to utilize the knowledge that their new generations of staff learned from Indigenous people, rather than continuing to employ them on canoe trips. This shift in the employment practices at Keewaydin perfectly encapsulates broader settler nativist mindsets; the settler feels that they can replace Indigenous people by co-opting Indigenous knowledge, repackaging it as general camp knowledge, and passing it down to campers.

The Keewaydin Way further buys into these colonial narratives and stereotypes, arguing that while Chivers attempted to continue hiring guides from Mattawa and Temagami,

Many of the new guides at Keewaydin were available because they couldn't get the year-round jobs. They were borderline alcoholics whose skills did not extend beyond canoeing. They were undisciplined and difficult to manage. Some of them were getting drunk on the island. Chivers was not pleased with the quality of the guides that he had been hiring. He was the first director to face the problem and questioned whether Keewaydin needed the Mattawans. They were not the Frontiersmen of the early years. (Op cit, Back, p. 242)

Beyond the horrific exemplification of stereotypes surrounding alcoholism in Indigenous communities, characterizing their only skills as canoeing, as well as not being “Frontiersmen” as the earlier guides were considered, are direct manifestations of the violence that the colonial state inflicted upon First Nations communities. These manifestations of colonial violence are

exemplified by the then-recent revisions to the 1876 *Indian Act*. Years of colonial assimilation-based legislation had left a generation of Mattawans who no longer held the cultural and territorial knowledge that their predecessors at Keewaydin had. Through residential schooling, environmental degradation, the collapse of the fur industry--which had been the one viable method of maintaining Indigenous subsistence systems while still contributing to the settler capitalist economy--settler colonialism had forced these new guides out of their ancestors' way of life. Chivers was left dissatisfied by his employees partially because colonial assimilation policies had been successful, but also because he failed to recognize that Indigenous people evolve just as society does. Year-round jobs in a settler capitalist society were antithetical to the traditional way of life that the earlier guides had experienced, and it was this traditional upbringing that made their service palatable to Keewaydin as a settler institution. Chivers expected his Indigenous employees to remain unchanged year after year, despite the Indigenous experience constantly changing and evolving. In the colonial state, Indigenous people are expected to occupy the temporal past, and any indication of an evolution to the Indigenous experience is dangerous to the maintenance of the colonial system. Once the ramifications of nearly a century of assimilation legislation could be fully recognized, it resulted in the need for a shift in the staff employment practices at Keewaydin, thus further erasing Indigenous people from the camp landscape.

Despite all of the racist and anti-Indigenous rhetoric that surrounded this Keewaydin shift, campers continued to retain fond memories of their First Nation guides well into the 1960's. Although Back claims that the era of the Mattawa guides came to an unofficial close just two years after the following story took place, Tom Gilbert (1965) a camper on a trip with Joe Lacelle in 1966 (edited for clarity), recalls something else:

He was hilarious and ingenious, and I absolutely loved the guy. On our second trip, we went up to the Lady Evelyn rivers, the Trout Streams...And so here we have all these upper middle class kind of wannabe campers who didn't know anything about being out in the woods. And, of course, we had hundreds of dollars worth of fishing equipment and lures, and we got to the first campsite up there, which was Joe's special place. All of us first thing in the morning got all of our equipment, and everybody headed off to go fishing, and I was the last one there. Joe says to me, 'Hey, Gilby, um, you got any line?' I said, 'sure,' he took about 15 feet of line and cut it and said, 'thanks.' He says, 'hey, you got a hook?' And so I looked through all my stuff. And he selected a nice little hook. And he says 'That's good.' And he cut himself an alder pole from the shore bank, and then he said, 'Hey, you got any worms?' And so I said, 'Sure'...and he grabs one worm and throws it into the bottom of his canoe when he disappeared around the corner, and we fished for hours that morning, and none of us got even a bite. Nothing. And around noon time he comes around the corner in his canoe, and we yell out at him: 'Hey, Joe! Any fish?' and he says, 'Oh, no luck today.' He comes around the corner and the entire bottom of the canoe was filled with trout. And then he comes out and collects everything, he hands me back this half eaten worm. And that was his style. I mean, he was so incredible. When it came to being out in the woods, he was an absolute scholar. He knew everything. We learned a tremendous amount from him. (T. Gilbert, Appendix A.4)

What Chief Chivers may have neglected to consider in his employment strategies during this period was the sheer joy that comes with learning new skills from people with different backgrounds from ourselves. The memories recounted to me by my participants are not told through a smokescreen of childhood innocence, but rather a strong, adult recollection of experiences that they would likely never have had under the new generations of staff leadership. *The Keewaydin Way* asserts that by 1966 when this story took place, the “strong presence” of Indigenous guides that Keewaydin had been known for would only last another two years (*Op cit*, Back, p. 242). Although no longer from Mattawa, Fred McMillen, grandson of Peter Brown, and later Demi Mathias, both of the Temagami First Nation, would work on the trip staff at Keewaydin, continuing the legacy of Indigenous guiding despite the official history asserting that era has long been over. The skills and knowledge that Indigenous people possess can not be supplanted by a non-Indigenous person. A lifelong camper-turned-staff member will not hold the same knowledge and experience as an Indigenous staff person. It was a settler-nativist mindset that caused Chief Chivers and the Keewaydin staff to believe that white guides could simply

replace Indigenous people, one that was influenced by the continuing colonial project underway during their time.

Appropriation of Indigenous Culture

Perhaps it was a misplaced reverence for the First Nations guides of Keewaydin's past that has caused culturally appropriative traditions to remain heavily incorporated in camp programming. Not limited to Keewaydin, Pathfinder had also incorporated Indian Lore into their program since the 1930's, and the tradition was still very much alive during the time the elder participants attended. Indigenous people do not seem to have held positions on staff in great numbers at Pathfinder, likely due in part to the creation of Algonquin Park forcing the relocation of many Algonquin families out of their ancestral territories. Additionally, Pathfinder was founded after a base camp had already been established; there was no precedent of Indigenous guides leading the founders of Pathfinder into Algonquin Park in search of one. Since there was no significant history of Indigenous Algonquins ever guiding Pathfinder trips, indigeneity was manufactured through programs like Indian Lore and council fires, tribal names for each age group, and Toncacoo. The Toncacoo story is documented in *Paddles Flashing in the Sun*:

Toncacoo is a very old Indian who lives atop Bear Mountain all year long. At the end of each summer he visits us and takes some coals from the final Council Fire, returns to Bear Mountain, and lights a fire with them. He keeps that fire going all winter long, symbolizing the camp spirit. Then, the first night of camp the following summer, he returns, looks over the braves, and--if they are properly respectful--he lights the first fire of the season. (Op cit, Rand, p. 170)

Toncacoo is, of course, a made up Indigenous-inspired word for a made-up Indigenous character. He is a Pathfinder staff member who used to don a headdress at the opening camp fire of the summer. The character and accompanying ceremony is intended to represent the spirit of Pathfinder that lives on in Algonquin Park throughout the winter and reemerges each year to

excite campers for their upcoming summer. While Rand asserts that the braves (Pathfinder campers) treated Toncacoo with the utmost respect, the reality seems to have been slightly different. As one participant (1961) remembers, “as a kid I didn't even feel this was ceremonial. I viewed it as theater” (Anonymous participant, Appendix A.1). Mark Eustis (1972) remembers the Toncacoo ceremony similarly (edited for clarity):

Toncacoo would come out on Saturday night with a can full of coals wearing a Plains Indian full warbonnet with the whole heel toe routine. But it was all sort of a sham, you never quite understood. I do remember being on a trip, and an older guy, an Indigenous elder was canoeing and camping on his own. And he came by just to sit with us in the evening, and visit with us around the campsite. And it was painful to watch the pain on his face about the lack of understanding about why he was there, and why we were there. That was my first real experience, and some of the cultural differences between Indigenous people and whites. (M. Eustis, Appendix A.4)

That pain that Eustis describes may come in part from first realizing one's privilege within the settler colonial state. It must have been eye-opening to come face-to-face with someone whose culture had become almost a joke of the camp. The colonial mindset that had been pervasive in his camper experience up until this point came into view, but only because of his exposure to a living Indigenous person, and not one that was made up and performed for the benefit of himself and his white counterparts. While Indian Lore may have originally been introduced as a means for showing respect for Indigenous people, the actuality is that in many cases these performances denigrated further into mocking caricatures, taken as jokes to crack among the staff. Even if campers and staff had been able to maintain a reverence for the cultures which they were appropriating at summer camp, all of these acts of Indian play were taking place while First Nations people were continuing to be punished for and dissuaded from practicing their own cultural and religious ceremonies. The Potlach law of 1880 banned all Indigenous cultural practices and was not repealed until 1951; First Nations practiced in secret for decades to follow.

The realities of the Indigenous experience were far removed from the consciousness of the summer camp community. Colonial legislation and assimilation policies were not at the forefront of discussions surrounding culturally appropriative traditions at camp. As one participant (1961) remembers: “it occurred to me that there were mature adults at Pathfinder in 1961, who, in theory, were capable of realizing what was going on. But again it was a different time. There were very few people. Now, even well educated, and these people are mostly well off. It just wasn't in their universe. And no, they weren't bad people, they were arguably ignorant, but they weren't bad” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.1).

National assimilation policies were not a guarded legislative secret. Laws were passed out in the open and spoke plainly about how assimilation was the best solution to the “Indian Problem” in Canada, mirroring that of the United States. Canada finally admitted in 2008 with the founding of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that the government was responsible for hundreds of years of colonially-inflicted generational trauma on First Nations communities. This assertion should act as a reminder to members of the camp community that traditions we thought were once appropriate should now be perceived differently. While many participants agreed that cultural appreciation was misplaced and needs to be addressed, there is still some hesitation:

I've done just terrible things in all my life, but I'm not going to sit here and feel sorry and apologize for all this stuff. Because at some point in time, they're gonna discover that because I drove an SUV I've ruined the atmosphere? Well I'm not going to get too terribly concerned about that because that's the way things were done back then. And right now, I didn't consider for example, you mentioned the Four Winds, if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, I think it was showing tribute to the four winds. (Anonymous participant, Appendix A.1)

While it is not the goal of this research to fault generations past for not recognizing the broader context in which they inhabited summer camp, I assert that the unknowing ignorance that allowed culturally appropriative traditions to continue at camp was fueled by white, settler

privilege. It was a privilege for wealthy, well educated, white boys and men to be able to buy fake headdresses and totems, paint their faces, and assume that they were paying homage to the history of the land. It was white privilege that allowed generations of campers and staff to never fully recognize how the presence of camp, the use of stolen land, the profiting off of Indigenous knowledge, and the conflation of indigeneity with white coming of age rituals were all tools of Indigenous erasure that could not be remedied through falsified Indigenous ceremonies. Now it is the duty of the camp community to acknowledge how camp as an institution is a continuing manifestation of white settler privilege. This privilege has been afforded us by the colonial states to which we contribute and it is paramount that this newfound understanding be used to reduce future harm.

“Boys to Men:” The Masculine Hierarchy at Camp

Many campers begin attending Keewaydin and Pathfinder as young as seven or eight years old, and continue attending into early adulthood. As a result, camp becomes a significant factor in their childhood, adolescent, and adult maturation. For many participants, camp is seen as an integral component in one’s coming of age, associated with not only a physical, but also a mental and emotional shift from childhood into adulthood. Canoe tripping teaches children valuable lessons about personal responsibility, overcoming adversity, and being a member of a team, all of which are skills that transfer easily into adulthood. However, these lessons are not the only ways in which camp situates itself as an institution built upon coming of age, or transforming children into adults. It is especially the “boys to men” component that was reflected in the series of interviews I conducted with the older generation, and these reflections were both conscious and subconscious.

Regardless of sex, gender identity and expression, sexuality, or the impacts of the patriarchy, canoe tripping continuously forces you to toughen up. Even the strongest campers, the college athletes, and the lifelong outdoor enthusiasts will experience a moment on a canoe trip when it feels impossible to continue. This physical, mental and emotional exhaustion must always be overcome in order to finish the day; keep the trip moving and get to the campsite. Parents choose to send their children to canoe tripping camp for a variety of reasons, but one that has remained constant since the founding of camp is the desire of parents to toughen up their children, especially their sons. It was true for one participant, who still expresses gratitude to his parents for making that decision in 1972:

I'm thankful to this day that my dad saw enough opportunity to send me off and toughen me up. Because I was a wuss, I needed it. It was great. I was a spoiled kid, an introvert, who needed to go off someplace and get tempered a little bit. And I didn't know that until years afterward. One of the great advantages of going through an experience like that, is this historical, traditional, if you want to go back to the time of bands and clans, there was always a pre described ritual to pass through in order to become, and you were taught and mentored how to go throw the spear or use the axe or whatever. How to hunt. And you started when you were 12, or 13, you started when you were a kid. And as a male in whatever society you were in, you would be mentored and go along on the hunt. And at some point, you would go out moose hunting, or bear hunting, or deer hunting, or duck or whatever the case may be. When you were 10 you'd go out duck hunting or fishing. And those rites of passage have been lost in contemporary urban and suburban societies. So finding a rite of passage you know, it's a wonderful thing to be able to have afforded to go do this, it ain't cheap to go to a camp. (M. Eustis, Appendix A.4)

Fostering maturity through experiences that cause one to overcome adversity is valuable for children across the gender spectrum, but it is an expression of the colonial patriarchy that mental and physical toughness are ascribed as inherently masculine traits. Being spoiled, introverted, or weak, as the participant describes his younger self, are not inherently gendered traits until they are expressed by boys within a patriarchal structure. In which case, they do not conform to an ideal form of masculinity. Canoe tripping camp was used to overcome weakness--or "wuss"-ness--thus encouraging boys to mature through camp with an understanding that the skills they learn are representations of adult masculinity.

What also stands out in this excerpt is the immediate interpretation of coming of age rituals as cultural practices that have been lost or nonexistent in settler society. Hunting, adult male mentorship, and learning skills at different times in one's adolescence in order to pass into adulthood are all allusions to Indigenous practices that extend beyond North America, but are especially significant within the settler- colonial framework of this project. The participant asserts that contemporary society has lost these ritual representations of male maturation. As a result, the void is filled for those privileged enough to be able to replicate these experiences by attending summer camp. In order to further "authenticate" the experience, Ernest Thompson Seton and his followers offered Woodcraft and Indian Lore as a means for allowing campers to not only feel that they were coming of age through canoe tripping, but to dress up and play the part as well. While part of the impetus for Seton's Woodcraft school was to use manufactured indigeneity to instill respect for Indigenous culture (clearly with mixed results), another was to instill idealized expressions of masculinity and male maturity in boys from a young age through Indigenous performances. However, it is not the act of canoe tripping alone that alludes to seemingly extinct "boys to men" type rituals, camps fostered this narrative in other highly intentional ways as well. Indian play and other forms of Indigenous performance, within a highly structured colonially-minded atmosphere, allowed boys to act out their "savage impulses."

The camp atmosphere placed an emphasis on strength and physical size by maintaining a hierarchy among campers that privileged those with higher physical capabilities, further encouraging boys to toughen up and get stronger in order to take advantage of a higher social status at camp. This hierarchy inevitably also manifested in the bullying of younger, smaller, and weaker campers: "That type of hazing went on a great deal...Short sheeting beds, that happened a lot. Picking people, some of the younger nerdier kids would have their mattresses picked up, and

they would be carried off and stuck on a dock. And of course, they'd roll over and into the water. Yeah, there was hazing that went on continuously” (T. Gilbert, Appendix A.4). Bullying younger, “nerdier” campers, while privileging older, stronger, more skilled campers, taught boys from a young age that the best way to fit into the camp community was by embodying the traits of an ideal man in a patriarchal society. Additionally, boys who did not have these traits were not worthy of acceptance in the community and could thus become social outcasts and the butt of jokes. However, through a long tenure at camp, physical growth, and improvement of skills, one could earn their acceptance in the community.

The colonial patriarchy also enforces the notion of a gender binary. This binary asserts the existence of only two genders, male and female, and ascribes roles to each based on what is traditionally considered to be masculine and feminine. The binary is upheld in the history books of each text by acknowledging only men and women, and not acknowledging the wealth of identities that reside outside of the prescribed binary. For the sake of this analysis, the term “boys” applies almost exclusively to cisgender men who were assigned male at birth, as there is no discussion in the camp texts about transgender or gender nonconfirming camp community members. In order to best uphold the gender binary at camp, strong, tough boys were included in the community, while smaller, weaker boys were excluded, as these traits are associated with femininity. This binary was solidified at camp through the explicit exclusion of those seen as least-masculine, in this case those who identify as female. Although both camp history books include sections thanking the female-identifying kitchen staff for their service in keeping the camps fed, beyond roles of chef, maid, wife, or mother, women were not included within the larger community. At Keewaydin this can largely be attributed to policies enacted in the 1930’s that explicitly banned those who did not identify as male from certain spaces on the island in an

effort to maintain the masculine atmosphere of the camp. This was a policy that was also practiced at Pathfinder. As it is described in *Paddles Flashing in the Sun*, “Pathfinder has always been, for the most part, a bastion of maleness” and this was reflected in Chief Norton’s views towards women’s roles on the Island: “The camp’s policies and the Director’s understandings with his staffmen are not the business of camp wives...Avoid gossiping about camp policies. [Responsibilities include] story hour, milk squad, camp mother’s sewing circle, and washing windows” (*Op cit*, Rand, p. 76). According to Margaret Roggow, interviewed for *Paddles Flashing*, “In the early days women weren’t considered very important on the Island. When Chief would meet us on the trail he would simply say, ‘Hello, lady.’ We often wondered if he knew our names; I don’t think he did” (*Ibid*, p. 76). Female-identifying community members at Pathfinder were not allowed to eat in the main dining hall, but rather ate in a wing of the kitchen, separated from the rest of the campers and staff (Appendix A.1). In many ways, the general atmosphere towards “women’s roles” was one of subservience and exclusion, despite the very tangible emotional and material benefits that women brought to camp: “the women at Pathfinder in the 50s and 60s had certain roles; for the youngest boys who were at camp, they would sometimes go and read stories to them. If a little guy was really homesick, they might bring a woman in to help settle him down. They decorated the dining hall for the banquet. I think they helped with the candy store sometimes. But they were there because their husbands had a job” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.1). The roles that female-identifying staff at Pathfinder took on by nurturing and comforting younger campers contributed to what is described as “the ‘camp mother’ idea” that reduced them to cooks, cleaners, mothers and maids (*Op cit*, Rand, p. 77).

At Keewaydin, anyone who identified as non-male were not encouraged to venture beyond Ojibway lodge, and even today the main cabin area for female campers is a quarter of a mile walk from the main area of camp. The girls' cabins are situated on Laundry Bay, aptly named as it was where the laundry staff (almost exclusively female-identifying) would work cleaning the camper's and staff's clothing while still remaining as physically distant from the main camp as possible. Similar to Rand's characterization of Pathfinder as "a bastion of maleness," Back describes Keewaydin as embodying "for most of its existence, until girls were added in 1999, the North American male romance in which the ideals of boyhood and youth make one either gallant or renegade. These men have celebrated the elusive myths of male camaraderie, friendship, loyalty, courage and unadvertised accomplishment" (*Op cit*, Back, p. 8). In both cases, these atmospheres were solidified as overtly masculine and maintained this masculinity by excluding women, as anyone who identifies as a woman is categorized in the patriarchal gender binary as the antithesis to masculinity. Similarly, the patriarchy devalues what are prescribed as "women's roles" to unseen and unheard chefs, maids, and mothers. Camp reflected the colonial ideal perfectly by enforcing the patriarchy through celebrating masculinity and excluding women from canoe tripping and camp programming, while relying on their labor behind the scenes to keep camp running smoothly. As will become clear in the following chapters, even after Keewaydin added girls in 1999, the aura of male romance, ideals of boyhood, and male camaraderie is still very much alive, only now it excludes those along the gender spectrum in more subliminal ways than in previous generations.

Both Keewaydin and Pathfinder successfully engineered masculine environments that were perfect for toughening up the sons of privileged families. Emphasizing the importance of physical strength, utilizing Indigenous performance as a representation of coming of age, a strict

and hierarchical atmosphere, and the exclusion of women based on a gender binary all contributed to the patriarchal structure of camp. In these ways, camp was able to execute the goals of the camping movement, creating an ideal colonial patriarchal microcosm where strength and physicality were markers of community inclusion, indigeneity was a tool to enrich camp traditions and teach maturity, and those who identified as non-male were devalued. If gender is a performance, then the boys at Keewaydin and Pathfinder were performing masculinity exactly as it is encouraged within the broader settler colonial structure, a fact that has had lasting implications for those in the camp community whose gender identity lies outside of cisgender masculinity on the gender spectrum. Of course, as the very first excerpt of this subsection described, the ability to participate in these “bastions of maleness” and learn how to perform masculinity in such prescribed ways was predicated not only on white, settler privilege, but also on socioeconomic privilege: “it ain’t cheap to go to a camp” (M. Eustis, Appendix A.4).

Performing the Colonial State: Economic and Racial Exclusion at Camp

It’s clear that camp is expensive and it’s clear that camp was extraordinarily white, especially towards the end of the 1960’s when the Indigenous presence at Keewaydin was largely gone. However, in the 1960’s when Keewaydin cost \$600 for a summer (\$700 for the Bay Trip) and Pathfinder cost \$895, the racial breakdown at camp was about the same as it is now. As of 2021, a full summer at Keewaydin and Pathfinder costs approximately \$8500 (and even more for a Keewaydin Bay Trip). To account for inflation, the cost of a summer in 1969 (\$895) translates to approximately \$6500 today. A \$2000 increase on top of inflation is admittedly significant, but cost alone is not the only reason that camp has remained as racially homogenous as it has throughout history.

Exclusion at camp was fostered as much by cost as it was by recruitment. Of the 10 participants I spoke with for this chapter, the vast majority had discovered camp through family members who had previously attended, or through personal connections, most prominently through school. Many participants talked about clusters of campers living in the same cities, such as Boston, Atlanta, Cleveland, New York, Buffalo, and Rochester, and camp directors would utilize these connections in order to recruit campers each summer: “The recruitment for Keewaydin generally runs in clusters, Atlanta had a big cluster at one point time, Buffalo had one, Pittsburgh had one. There were several other ones because you would find a whole cluster of campers that came from this particular town. And a lot of them kind of knew each other beforehand. So I think a lot of that had to do a bit with word of mouth” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.1). While clusters of campers could have originated in any number of ways--one family could have recruited all of their friends, a staffman or camp director lived and recruited there, it was the director’s hometown, etc.--the commonality was largely that the campers knew each other already before attending camp. Whether they attended school together, their parents were in the same social circles, or whatever the connection may be, camp recruitment relied heavily on current staff and the families of current campers spreading the word about camp to the people they knew. As a result, it became easy for camp directors to capitalize on these connections in order to fill camper rosters year after year. According to one participant, Chief Norton “had set up a network of mothers of campers in Buffalo and Rochester, and they would work networks of women friends who had male kids that were Pathfinder potential and that's how I learned about the camp” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.1). In other cases, current camp staff were the teachers or coaches of their future campers: “the person who recommended the camp was Dan Carpenter senior who was a teacher at Wilson Academy where I went to

school. And I had gone to school with his son Danny and we've been friends forever. And my father had actually grown up with Howard Chivers” (T. Gilbert, Appendix A.4). Finally, the camp directors used their own personal connections to recruit further, as was the case for Mark Eustis: “My dad was a frat brother with the then owner, Swifty, way back in the day” (M. Eustis, Appendix A.4). What all of these recruitment stories share is that the news about camp was spread largely through word of mouth and personal connections. Schools were especially important recruiting tools for camps, whether they were public or private, although many participants recall their peers attending private schools as they did:

At least the people I was involved with at camp, a lot of them had that private school background. And even though I was, you know, like I said, they're poor born in a rich man's land, I had the private school experience...and all my friends were in the same boat...you know, situation, social class, whatever...But camp costing what it did, and there not being that many scholarships back then, a lot of kids from private schools, Cleveland area, the Boston area, or if they were from public schools, it was from at least to my knowledge, the wealthier areas of the city, as opposed to the inner city. (F. McMillen, Appendix A.3)

The general socio-economic class of the campers and staff was noticeable even at that time, but what may have been less noticeable (as it came up quite rarely in discussions with participants) was the effect that that had on the racial makeup of the camp. As the group of participants I interviewed for this chapter ranged in years from 1953-1972, it is important to discuss the political climate of the time that certainly had an impact on the socioeconomic and racial exclusivity at camp.

Brown vs. Board of education was passed in 1954, one year after the eldest participant began his tenure at Keewaydin. Despite the federal desegregation of public schools, “white flight” and the growth of the American suburb meant that while schools were officially desegregated, many public schools were just as racially homogenous as they were prior to 1954. Even after Brown v. Board, private schools could easily circumnavigate civil rights regulations.

The Civil Rights movement was ongoing throughout the years the participants began attending camp, and discussions of racial segregation were rather new to white settler society during this period. Although most of the campers at Keewaydin and Pathfinder hailed from the Northeast, especially Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, many of the cities listed as camp clusters continue to be some of the most racially segregated cities in the United States, including Philadelphia, Buffalo, Jackson Mississippi, Atlanta, and Cleveland (Cortright, CityCommentary, 2020). If word of camp was spread through school and personal connections, the likelihood of white campers attending schools with Black students, and white families in these cities having any personal connections to families of color, was slim, to say the least. Even if camps made no official statement regarding the exclusion of Black campers, the racial climate of the era in conjunction with the cost of attending camp worked to make camp almost completely inaccessible to Black families. While some participants recall fellow campers from Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Japan, “I think in my five years as a camper, I don't ever remember there being any black campers?...And maybe I think, the last year I was a staff member there...But I seem to recall, there might have been one black camper. But that's the only time I can remember” (F. McMillen, Appendix A.3). Even campers such as the McMillens--who hold Indigenous heritage and whose Indigenous ancestors were instrumental in the camp's formation--were assimilated into the white settler culture at camp without question: “I was white at Keewaydin just like everybody else. I just had a family background in the area” (P. McMillen, Appendix A.2).

There were factors beyond a family's ability to write a tuition check that maintained camp as the white space that it was and still is today. Jim Crow and segregation were only beginning to be brought to the forefront of broader white settler consciousness during this period, and it is impossible to know whether a Black family who could afford to send their son to a camp

such as Keewaydin or Pathfinder would even choose to do so, given the sociopolitical climate of the time. Spaces like canoe tripping camps, which were grounded in colonialism, which is grounded in white supremacy, were inherently built to exclude poor and non-white campers. Institutions that are founded on white supremacy will continue to uphold white supremacy, and in this way canoe tripping camps have succeeded.

Summary

In conversation with participants from 1953-1972, it is clear that the settler consciousness that predicated the formation of both Keewaydin and Pathfinder was reflected in the years they attended. The devaluing of Indigenous guides, a process that resulted directly from years of Canadian assimilation policies, marked the beginning of this era. Despite campers maintaining a reverence for the Indigenous people they tripped with, it was rather easy for Keewaydin to replace them in favor of white staff, a direct representation of the "vanishing Indian" narrative that both results from and contributes to settler colonial mindsets. While the presence of Indigenous guides diminished, the appropriation of Indigenous culture continued at both Keewaydin and Pathfinder. Rather than honoring Indigenous culture and knowledge by employing Indigenous people, camps encouraged campers and staff to dress up and perform Indigeneity even as Indigenous cultural and religious practices were actively outlawed for practice by associated tribal Nations. Indigenous performance was equated with coming of age rituals and inclusion in the camp community, contributing further to the settler nativist mindset that was already prevalent at summer camps. Additionally, Keewaydin and Pathfinder maintained atmospheres that encouraged masculine ideals of strength and toughness, creating a hierarchy that privileged bigger and stronger campers at the expense of those who did not

exemplify the same ideals. The atmosphere of masculinity was also reliant on a patriarchal gender binary that excluded women from leadership and canoe tripping roles, as women are regarded as opposite to the masculine ideal being fostered at camp. Canoe tripping camps, as a reflection of the colonial patriarchy, reduced female-identifying community members to subservience, while simultaneously viewing the roles they did perform, those of cooking, cleaning, and emotional nurturing, as insignificant within the broader camp culture. Finally, this ideal colonial environment, one of masculinity and manufactured indigeneity, was accessible only to families of means--overwhelmingly white families.

External factors such as Canadian Indian legislation and the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. almost certainly contributed to the colonial culture at canoe tripping camps, even if these broader contexts are excluded from the official camp histories. The experiences recounted to me through interviews also reflect the written histories of the camps, although in many cases the way that each author describes their camp's history is heavily influenced by their own settler colonial worldviews, which I will not ascribe to all members of the camp community. What I can conclude is that the colonial ideals that inspired the original founders of the camping movement--Seton, Gunn, and others--were still traceable in the camp atmosphere, and thereby the camper experience, of the participants from this period. The participants each tell a tale of a white, colonial utopia where masculinity was explicitly encouraged and fostered within a strictly enforced gender binary and in the absence of people of color, Indigeneity was a teaching tool, and Indigenous people existed only in the past. Settler colonial ideals were performed on a daily basis as they had been since each camp's first summer, and continue to be performed in the modern day. Canoe tripping camps were inspired by the settler colonial state to privilege white,

able-bodied, men of means, and these privileges were reflected in the atmosphere at each camp during this time.

Chapter 5: Calling Camp into Question in the 21st Century

Both camps underwent periods of considerable change with the turn in the 21st century. Keewaydin opened its doors to the first female-identifying campers in 1999, and Pathfinder alumni noticed a subtle but consistent shift in staff leadership styles as the early 2000's progressed. The colonial foundations of each camp were starting to be called into question, although not as explicitly as they are now. Staff seemed to become increasingly nurturing with each passing summer, hazing and bullying campers started to become passé, and issues of racial and economic exclusion began to be discussed with more intensity than in previous periods. Campers who experienced the remnants of "old camp" in the early 2000's were becoming staff, and vowing not to repeat some of the harmful practices that had in some cases defined their own camper experiences.

This period of change is strongly reflected in the discussions I had with this later group of participants, who began attending camp between 1999 and 2017. Many participants are current staff members at the same camp they grew up attending and feel a strong resolve to usher the camp into a new era of heightened social responsibility. Much of this resolve is due to the changes they observed throughout their camp careers, which inspires optimism for the future. However, changing institutions so grounded in tradition is an arduous process, and most participants expressed some worry that change will be slow coming. Many of the same themes that emerged in discussions with the older generation were present in the younger generation as well, although they were expressed largely in the context of past harms that they experienced, witnessed, or contributed to that they hope can be prevented in the future. Cultural appropriation, masculinity, and race at camp were all brought into sharp focus by the younger generation, which

to me as the researcher felt gratifying to realize that the work of this project is meaningful and the desire I feel to make camp better is shared by my peers.

Appropriation of Indigenous Spiritual and Cultural Practices

Participants from this generation provided new insight into how ingrained cultural appropriation is at camp in ways I had not considered before. I had theorized that utilizing Indigenous-inspired ceremonies and emphasizing proximity to Native people served as justification for continuing to occupy Indigenous land and spaces. However, many participants also reflected on how appropriated Indigenous spiritual practices have been used as a way for white campers and staff to contextualize their own experiences in the wilderness in a way that other members of the camp community were able to recognize and relate. There are many less blatant ways that members of the camp community capitalize off appropriated Indigenous spiritual practices that extend beyond council fires, the Four Winds Ceremony, and Toncacoo, which did not come up in discussions with older participants. There is a settler-colonial created consciousness that equates outdoor experiences with indigeneity and thus an outdoor enthusiast as a Native person. This constructed connection between outdoor enthusiasts and Indigenous people is aided at camp by the retelling of Ojibwe Nanabush (creation) stories and the camp's historic and current employment of Indigenous people. These insights complicate the removal of culturally appropriative traditions at camp as they prove that indigeneity is ingrained into the consciousness of settler campers and is intertwined with how campers and staff perceive their relationships with canoe tripping and with the land.

Both Pathfinder and Keewaydin have aspects of appropriated Indigenous spirituality that have become almost inextricably linked to how campers and staff perceive the significance of canoe tripping. As Anna McClean (2010) recalls:

How much Keewaydin means to you, tripping means to you, how sacred or transformative you find the experience becomes competitive. I often think of things like the Great Spirit or the Great White Bear or the sacrifices. I think a lot of people use it as a mechanism to process the sacredness of what we'd have no ability to contextualize otherwise, the significance, importance, majesty, beauty that you find on a trip. And the only way people are able to communicate it and contextualize it to the camp as a whole kind of is through this weird mystical indigenously sometimes. (A. McClean, Appendix A.8)

The Great White Bear is a deity that is incorporated frequently into Keewaydin camp traditions. It is the symbol of the Gigitowin, Keewaydin's secret society, and every morning on a Keewaydin trip the staff cuts an extra slice of bacon, splits it in half, throws one half into the fire for the Great White Bear, and the other half into the lake to the Majestic Loon. Sacrifices to the Great White Bear are intended to bring camaraderie and brotherhood to the trip, while the Majestic Loon bestows good weather and fair winds. It is not widely known at Keewaydin who the Great White Bear is, what it represents, or how we came to use it as a spiritual symbol of our membership in the Keewaydin community. It is vaguely indicative of Ojibwe spiritual practices and is clearly appropriated from a non-settler belief system. In the context of day-to-day life on a Keewaydin canoe trip, the Great White Bear is invoked as a representation of section camaraderie in the same way it is used as a visual symbol of the "brotherhood" of the Gigitowin. The use of the Great White Bear as a symbol for settler camaraderie is not only indicative of the broader appropriation of Indigenous practices at summer camp, but it also acts as a stand-in for Judeo-Christian spiritual practices that can not be used at camp as it may exclude members of the community who do not ascribe to those beliefs.

Although not explicitly linked to ‘new-age’ religious movements which have gained popularity since the 1960’s, Keewaydin and Pathfinder substitute pseudo-Indigenous spirituality as a means for connecting campers and staff to one another as well as to the landscape, rather than invoking a christian god. At Pathfinder this is seen in the Great Spirit, which plays a significantly smaller role in camp traditions but is still invoked before meals as the symbol to which we give thanks:

I don't think anyone in that room would ever pray to a Great Spirit anywhere outside of that dining hall. But then there's this weird combination of Christian, Judeo-Christian ideas while trying to be nondenominational. So to not be nondenominational, they take Indigenous culture instead, because, well, this isn't gonna offend anybody here. It's just really interesting to think that you can't pick a religion that anyone in the room practices, you have to pick this other one that's fake, because then it's not picking anyone in particular, even though it's inspired by something that's just as real of a system as the other ones that they're trying to avoid. (A. Beecher, Appendix A.8)

Similar to the Great White Bear, the Great Spirit supplants any settler belief systems that could exclude other settlers. A staff member at Pathfinder can thank the Great Spirit for any number of blessings, such as the recent good weather, the safe return of a canoe trip, and the good company. Both the Great White Bear and the Great Spirit allow campers and staff to “tap into this weird, specific, culty belief system when we're at camp or when we're with people from camp who can relate to it” (A. McClean, Appendix A.8). This camp-specific belief system fosters a sense of community among the camp, which can be positive and impactful, but becomes harmful when it is so clearly taken and co-opted to the point where nobody is quite sure from where the deities originated. It is highly plausible that sacrificing to the Great White Bear became common Keewaydin tradition after campers observed their Indigenous guides performing these ceremonies, which then continued to be passed down well after the Indigenous presence at Keewaydin was largely gone. It is important to still keep in mind that the Canadian colonial government had outlawed all forms of Indigenous cultural and spiritual practices well into the

20th century, but were allowed in their appropriated form at summer camps when performed by white settlers. Additionally, many spiritual practices in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam are closed practices, meaning they cannot be performed by non-believers, and the same is true for a variety of Indigenous practices as well. Settlers are often invited and welcome at Indigenous gatherings such as public powwows, dance and drum performances, and elsewhere, but it is inappropriate to incorporate closed practices into one's own spirituality regardless of intent or location, such as on a canoe trip.

The sense of Indigenous proximity that these practices invoke is then built upon by the incorporation of Indigenous storytelling into camp programming. Whether it is the retelling of Nanabush stories such as the Kokomis story at Keewaydin, or the creation of camp constructed Indigenous icons such as Toncacoo or Algonquin Joe at Pathfinder, storytelling has become a common way to situate camps within a broader Indigenous history of the land that is now difficult to separate. I opened the project with my recollection of the Kokomis story as it was told to me and the rest of the camp by our director, where I reflected on the positioning of the Anishinaabe creation story as one that campers hold on to as they embark on their trips, a reflection that is shared by other white alumni as well: "it is the Indigenous creation story of Temagami, but it feels a little weird for the camp director to be telling it sometimes. I feel especially to open the summer and go out on a trip in that context the next morning, after hearing these stories and thinking about tripping in the context or under the shroud of these traditions or ceremonies" (A. McClean, Appendix A.8). Leaving for a trip the next morning and seeing Temagami's islands, the Kokomis rock, and other landmarks that are incorporated into the Nanabush creation story presents campers with a falsely heightened understanding of the landscape, due to the fact that this understanding is introduced by white settlers rather than

Native people. It causes white campers and staff to feel a connection to the land that they are not wholly entitled to, and an entitlement to a space that is not theirs. This is a perfect example of the “settler moves to innocence” that Tuck and Yang describe in their paper and was discussed in the first chapter. The Kokomis story at the opening campfire is only a single snapshot of a wealth of other creation stories that are interwoven into the Temagami natural landscape, stories that many campers and staff will never hear and thus never gain a broader understanding of the Indigenous history or the spiritual significance of many sites that they may pass on a canoe trip. Demi Mathias (2009), a member of the Temagami First Nation and a Keewaydin camper and staff reflects:

There are certain parts of the island or the lake where there are caves that have Nanabush stories--creation stories--around them and the Kokomis story that the director tells, that's a creation story that Nanabush was also involved in. These are our creation stories, our traditions, our culture, our understanding, our worldviews, and by him using the story, he's taking that knowledge and using it to make it look like Keewaydin is in great relations with the First Peoples of this territory when you're not. You really are not. (D. Mathias, Appendix A.7)

Indigenous stories are not ours as settlers to tell. With the Temagami First Nation located a short boat ride away, it would be just as easy to invite a member of the band to the opening campfire and tell the story themselves, or erase it entirely in an attempt to extricate camp's history with that of the Temagami First Nation. As Demi says, it makes it appear like the camp and the band are in close relations, which in her opinion is not the case. This false proximity is reflected in the experience of the campers and staff, who perceive friendly faces and invitations to Bear Island as justification for occupying the space: “I think we have a good relationship with them, which I think a lot of people take as good enough permission, like, 'Oh, because we're liked by Bear Island, we've been dubbed worthy of what we're doing'” (A. McClean, Appendix A.8). There is no level of community outreach that can ever fully justify the colonization of Indigenous spaces, however, the false pretense that Keewaydin is closely aligned with the Temagami First Nation

while simultaneously tokenizing their Indigenous campers, neglecting community outreach, and forgoing cultural education, indicates that the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge through storytelling and spiritual practices is a smokescreen to justify the camp's presence and nothing more.

Since Pathfinder does not share a lake with the local First Nation to which it can claim proximity, it over the course of its history has fabricated Indigenous stories that act to implicate the camp in the land's history. In addition to Toncacoo being a mystical Indigenous icon who keeps the coals of the last Pathfinder campfire alive throughout the winter, there is the story of Algonquin Joe, whose grave supposedly sits on Pathfinder Island:

There's a little story about how this Indigenous man who walked all around, he was Algonquin Joe, that's the name of the park. And he's buried on Pathfinder, he died and was buried on Pathfinder Island, and it's tying in this island in this place. And the people who inhabit it now as like the continuation of these groups that came before us when in reality is not how that historically played out. But I think there is a good point too, that we're positioning ourselves as like the true people who belong here. And that's why we are better than everyone else. And that's why we occupy this space within the park is because it's our park. And we've inherited this long tradition of this park being our park, from the people who came before us on the Madawaska River and Source lake and Algonquin Joe. (A. Beecher, Appendix A.5)

In this way cultural and intellectual appropriation goes far deeper than a mere acknowledgement or honoring of Indigenous people. It contributes to a settler nativist understanding of the land which we occupy, the canoe routes we travel, the stories we tell, and our position within the broader colonial structure as the sole inheritors of the land. In this way, a settler can feel as if they are indigenous to the land without becoming an Indigenous person. When we talk about reducing harm at summer camps, it will not be enough simply to take off the headdresses, rename the age groups, and say a land acknowledgement at the beginning of the summer. It requires consistent engagement within the camp community to recognize how these traditions were supposed to make us feel, why they feel too important to let go, and contextualize those

questions through our positions as settlers on colonized land. Does sacrificing to the Great White Bear make us feel spiritually connected to Lake Temagami and if so, why is that? The answer will almost always lead to the conclusion that it is because it makes us as settlers feel indigenous to the land, even for a brief moment each summer. This mindset will always uphold the settler colonial structure and will never benefit the Indigenous people of the land, and it is time to find new ways to discuss camp and its significance free of Indigenous pretenses and appropriations. It is a good and positive thing to feel reverence for a space, especially those as beautiful and rich as Lake Temagami or Algonquin Park, but this reverence must always come with the acknowledgement that these places were made available to us through violent colonization, and cause us to redouble our efforts to advocate for those whose territory we stand on. Toncacoo, the Four Winds Ceremony, First Nations names for age groups, and other overtly appropriated camp traditions are the tip of the iceberg, and what lies underneath is a broader, colonially-based understanding of our entitlement to Native Land. This is why it is so important to dismantle these traditions first, so that we can begin peeling back the layers of just how ingrained settler colonial consciousness remains within the camp community. As one participant (1999) reflected on the Toncacoo caricature at Pathfinder: “I think stuff like that is a way to teach MicnChips, little kids, that there's an energy and a heritage to this land that was here before you and will be here after you. So in that sense, I don't think it's racist in the least bit, actually. I think it's very important to teach those young, wealthy children for the most part, that this land is bigger than you” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.5).

The land is bigger than us as white people, but caricatures and co-opted spiritual practices are not the way to teach that to campers, especially when it is settlers attempting to instill Indigenous worldviews to other settlers. Settlers will always have an inherently different

relationship to land than Indigenous people, and it is paramount that we begin deciphering our connections to these spaces free of manufactured indigeneity. Temagami and Algonquin Park are allowed to feel important, and practicing reverence for the outdoor spaces we love is absolutely valid and necessary, but these feelings will never equate to Indigenous land relationships, no matter how many sacrifices to the Great White Bear or Toncahoo performances we take part in. Instead of manufacturing and performing indigeneity, it is time we start listening to Indigenous voices, because “to you it's nothing, but not to me” (D. Mathias, Appendix A.7).

Boys to Men, Girls to...?

The act of the canoe trip elicits feelings of strength, perseverance, team camaraderie, and personal responsibility. Every one of these traits is valuable and powerful when instilled into children from a young age, and canoe tripping is a fantastic mechanism to teach children the power of their bodies. Where the essence of canoe tripping becomes problematic is when all of these traits are inherently ascribed to male bodies, and ideal male bodies at that. Strength looks different for different people, and creating a gold standard for what an ideal canoe tripper looks like that mirrors a masculine ideal is where the patriarchal structure begins to infiltrate the camp community. The hierarchy among campers and staff based on age, skill level, physical strength, and tripping capability is very similar now as it was in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's as the older generation described it. This hierarchy is even more difficult for those who identify as female, or whose identity lies outside the colonial gender binary, to penetrate, as the metaphorical standard was set nearly a century before any identities outside of cisgender male were ever allowed to canoe trip at Keewaydin or Pathfinder. Every year as a camper, and subsequently every year as a staff, is ascribed with an unspoken standard for how much one should be able to carry, how

easily one flips up a canoe, how fast one can paddle, and so on. It is time to decentralize these one-size-fits-all standards for strength and physicality, as it ascribes a masculine ideal to campers and staff that leave people behind when they cannot perform at the level that's expected of them.

Both camps maintain a social hierarchy based on ability, although the younger generation at Pathfinder discussed it especially vividly. Much like in the older generation, smaller and weaker campers are picked on or ostracized for their status in the camp hierarchy: “there were other kids that were just kind of like babies and jerks. And they had a really hard time. They would find themselves tripping on portages and getting pushed and stuff because they were annoying. They were slowing everyone down” (Anonymous Participant, Appendix A.5). Being the one to slow the trip down is about as embarrassing, and thereby emasculating, as it gets on a canoe trip. The fear of slowing a trip down stays with campers well into their staff careers, and multiple participants discussed moments where they could not handle the trip they were a part of, and the embarrassment that that caused for them. Slowing down the trip can be traced to a range of factors, such as struggling carrying one's canoe, needing assistance to flip up, or even just perceiving oneself as paddling or portaging slower than the rest of the group. The feeling of slowing the trip down is different than recognizing that one is traveling on a challenging route; it likens to feelings of being unable to conform or not reaching the standard that the trip route places on the members of the trip section. Once you're on staff, there is no excuse for feeling challenged to the point of slowing the trip down:

I just remember how humiliating it was not being able to handle it. And eventually people cooled down, but for the first couple days I had failed in this performance and I was being emasculated for it...I guess the reputation came 'oh you know Naomi can't handle canoe trips, don't send them on any canoe trips,' ...So it's a little sink or swim, you know, unless you're sinking, in which case there's not a lot of support. (N. Hourihane, Appendix A.6)

Failure is emasculating, and failure is nearly always equated with being physically challenged beyond one's capabilities. Canoe tripping is inherently challenging, but there always comes a breaking point, and reaching one's breaking point on a trip as a staff member has consequences for one's inclusion in the community. It becomes especially challenging when your physical failures are perceived by others outside of the staff. If a camper sees you struggle it is especially embarrassing, as Ally Rail (2017) recalls: "The reason I'm crying is because I'm so embarrassed that I'm supposed to be the leader, staff person who's showing them yes, you can do this having never done it before. And I can't even do it myself, you know" (A. Rail, Appendix A.9).

In a hierarchy that was constructed for cisgender men by cisgender men, anyone whose identity lies beyond cisgender male will constantly struggle to establish legitimacy within the community. Physical differences aside, there are small differences between the way different genders canoe trip, especially at Keewaydin, where female-identifying campers and staff have been a part of the community for such a comparatively short period of time: "girls showed up at Keewaydin and then had to learn how to do everything themselves. And so there's small differences in the way we trip compared to how the guys trip at our own camp...in a lot of spaces, you're kind of shamed...your legitimacy comes from your ability to conform, and girls will do things differently" (A. McClean, Appendix A.8). One's ability to conform as a woman at Keewaydin is largely derived from one's physical capabilities. The camp atmosphere resonates with competitive spirit between sectionmates, age groups, and staff to see who can embody the "Keewaydin spirit" the most--who can paddle hardest, portage fastest, flip up a canoe the easiest. The competitive spirit culminates in the highest honor a camper can receive at Keewaydin: the Gunn Canoe trophy. The Gunn Canoe competition takes place at the end of every summer, where campers from the eldest boys and girls sections compete against one another in a series of canoe

trip-related tasks, such as tying a tumpline, flipping up a canoe, loading the canoe into the water, and paddle strokes. Since 1999, only two winners have identified as non-male--Demi Mathias being one of them: "my sectionmates would always tell me, 'you have to show that we are just as strong as the boys, and by you winning, you show that. You show that to the little Kokomis girl that thinks that only men have won it, but you can go up there and show them that it is possible that a girl can do it and can do it better'" (D. Mathias, Appendix A.7). In this way, the Gunn Canoe competition embodies the hierarchy set by the camp atmosphere--that there is honor and pride in being the strongest, most skilled canoe tripper at the camp, and male-identifying campers overwhelmingly win the competition because they appear to embody those skills better than anyone else. Canoe tripping camps make it exceedingly difficult to feel successful and included in the community if one does not embody all of the qualities of an ideal canoe tripper, and since canoe tripping camps (and the camping movement at large) were founded in order to foster a male ideal, it is no surprise that female-identifying and gender non-conforming campers and staff will find it more difficult to establish legitimacy within the community.

Female-identifying and gender non-conforming community members are not alone in this struggle for legitimacy, as boys and men who also exist outside of these ideals struggle with inclusion as well. Canoe tripping is fun, it is challenging, it is inspiring, and teaches invaluable lessons to young people, but it is important to recognize how the lessons that canoe tripping teaches has historically been--and continues to be--intrinsicly linked to masculinity and the patriarchal male ideal. Gender inclusion at canoe tripping camps begins with degendering the act of canoe tripping and the lessons we learn from it, so that anyone on the gender spectrum feels strong and powerful on a canoe trip regardless of physical ability or patriarchal notions of masculinity as the ideal.

Navigating Racial Inclusion at Canoe Tripping Camp

Much like the older generation, many younger participants reflected on how camp has remained overwhelmingly white, despite efforts to increase scholarship opportunities and reevaluate recruiting practices. With the discussions of diversity and inclusion coming to the forefront in recent years, both camps have had difficulty adapting to the increasing pressure of diversifying their communities. Diversity is cyclical, where a camp that clearly has very few non-white campers does not appeal to non-white families, thus bringing in fewer non-white campers. It can be difficult to tread the line of listening to non-white community members--without tokenizing them--in an effort to make the camp appear more inclusive than it is. Tokenizing of non-white identities was a common theme that arose in discussions surrounding race with the younger generation of participants. This can take the form of relying on one singular staff member to speak on any issues relating to their identity, over-publicizing the presence of a small number of campers, or actively seeking out photos of non-white campers for publicity purposes as “proof” of the camp’s diversity:

I got an email that was sent to me and like two or three other staff, and it was like, we are putting together new pamphlets and brochures, and we want to highlight the diversity at Keewaydin and I recall you having had a particularly diverse section, like two or three years ago, do you have any photos of that section on trip that can be included in the newest diversity brochure or whatever. And I was like, I know that you were talking about that one summer that I had a single black camper. She was the only black female camper that we had that summer. And no, I'm not going to tokenize her to prove to anyone that we're diverse, because we're not. So I'm not gonna go through old photos to find one of her specifically on a trip. (A. McClean, Appendix A.8)

Not only is tokenizing harmful to the camper themselves, but misadvertising the diversity of the space for recruiting purposes can further harm future campers who attend camp with a false understanding of what that space looks like. Rather than attempting to highlight individual campers as photo evidence of a diverse and inclusive community, it may help camps to enter discussions with non-white campers and their families about their experiences at camp and how

the community could better support them in the future. Racial diversity within the camp community is important, but dropping non-white children into white spaces that are not prepared to provide them with a safe community is harmful and detrimental to the building of an inclusive space at camp.

There was similar discomfort in discussions surrounding the documentary film based on the experiences of Syrian refugees campers at Pathfinder in the summer of 2017. Camp Pathfinder, under the direction of Michael Sladden, worked hard to make camp a welcoming space for the Syrian campers, by preparing Halal meals, allotting time and space for prayer, employing a muslim liaison staff member who spoke Arabic, and supporting the staff who brought the campers out on canoe trips. In many ways, the work done at Pathfinder that summer and the subsequent summers is a testament to how easily changes can be made in order to accommodate campers from different backgrounds than the rest of the population. In no way can it be said that the Syrian campers were dropped into camp and left to fend for themselves. However, where questions arose in discussions with participants was the decision to then invite a camera crew to the island for the summer to film them:

I think the issue wasn't bringing the Syrian campers, it was the 'lets then follow them around with camera crews.' That was the problem. Because I think in the past summers, where there were no camera crews, I think it was probably a much better experience for them...I think it was attempted to be well done, pre-bringing in the camera crew and the documentary, and turning it into this dramatic movie released in New York, which was interesting to watch. It was fun to watch. But you know, there's a climax and there's all this drama and someone gets sent home and what's going to happen next. (A. Beecher, Appendix A.8).

The “climax” that Andrew describes is the decision that was made to send one of the Syrian campers--Omar--home, after he had been exhibiting dangerous behaviors that were putting other campers and staff at risk. Omar was involved in incidents with knives and other general encounters that resulted in other campers and staff feeling threatened, and it was decided to be in

the best interest of the community for him to return home before the end of the summer.

However, in the broader context of racial inclusivity at camp, the documentary highlights the ways in which over publicizing the presence of non-white campers within a white space can be detrimental to those camper's mental health and overall experiences. As Andrew indicates, there were much fewer behavioral problems in subsequent summers (to which I can attest, as my first summer at Pathfinder was in 2018), and the campers seemed to have great experiences at camp once they were free from the camera lenses. I think the project to bring campers from varying backgrounds to camp is fantastic and worthwhile, as long as it is not then used to "virtue signal" the diversity or the "wokeness" of the space. The more tangible accommodations that Pathfinder made to welcome the Syrian campers indicate the relative ease by which spaces can be made more accessible, but inclusivity work extends beyond accommodation as well. Making sure the community as a whole is equipped to not only physically welcome people, but also spiritually and atmospherically welcome people, is where inclusion goes from performance to reality. This distinction highly problematizes the practice of tokenizing minority campers and staff, as it indicates that inclusion work is done solely for external validation rather than internal desire to improve the experiences of non-white people at camp.

Demi Mathias and I spoke in depth about her experience as the singular Indigenous camper and staff person at Keewaydin throughout her career. Tokenization is not limited to making non-white people the focus of the camera, and her experience looks slightly different from those previously discussed. As she describes:

There's been a big push in the past, what however many years, a lot of it has to do with because I was there. Because I was the tokenized native camper. I'm just like you know what, I hate being tokenized. I hate that. But then I'm also like these people, a lot of these older generations have no idea. Don't know the history, they don't know the importance of territory, the importance of culture and understanding, and they want to but maybe they don't know how to go about it. (D. Mathias, Appendix A.7).

In her experience, tokenization took a few forms. As she mentions first, the discussion surrounding Indigenous history and incorporating Indigenous education into camp programming was not prevalent until her arrival. Secondly, it caused her to feel responsible for taking on the role as the sole Indigenous educator for the entire camp, a role that takes significant emotional labor and is not required of white staff. In this way, it is a privilege for white staff to not also be held responsible for educating their coworkers and peers on issues surrounding racism and colonialism, a privilege that Demi--and minority staff at large--are not afforded. It is not the job of a singular person to educate an entire community, especially when that person has a normal camp counselor job just like everybody else. Placing the reeducation of an entire community on the shoulders of one individual is incredibly harmful and burdens only the one doing the educating and not the ones being educated. There is a wealth of resources available for helping white people in leadership positions at camp begin the process of educating their communities on issues of race, colonialism, and exclusion, and it should never fall to one staff person to be the impetus or the arbitrator of such education. Tokenizing non-white identities for the purpose of educating the broader community is not inclusion, it is further facilitating harm. As Demi said: "it's time to really implement and change things because your minority campers and staff are feeling that. They feel attacked and they feel appropriated." (D. Mathias, Appendix A.7).

Summary

Camps have made strides towards addressing the racial, gender, and socioeconomic exclusion at their institutions. However, there is still considerable work to be done in breaking down the systems of oppression on which the camping movement as a whole was built. In order to understand issues at camp in the 21st century, it is paramount that members of the camp

community recognize why these systems were first put in place, in addition to how they are maintained on a daily basis. The issues which I highlighted in this chapter, appropriating Indigenous spiritual and cultural practices, celebrating masculinity and maintaining a hierarchy based on physical ability, and the tokenization of minority campers and staff are just a few ways that camps continue to build upon their foundations of colonial oppression. Camp is the way it is now because that was how it was intended to be from the very beginning--white, male, wealthy, physically able, and entitled to the landscapes in which they inhabit. Many of the traditions that we grew to love as campers and staff were put in place to teach wealthy, white, boys how to grow up into ideal men, and this is why so many people feel excluded by the canoe tripping camp experience. However, despite the problems that canoe tripping camps have, I know that canoe tripping is one of the most transformative experiences I've ever had the privilege of participating in, and that the friendships I've built in the canoe tripping community are some of the closest I will ever have. Canoe *tripping* is for everyone; it is simply that right now, canoe tripping *camps* are not for everyone.

Concluding Thoughts

I always thought the conclusion would be the easiest part to write. It is a pretty simple recipe--summarize what was said, remind people why it matters, give suggestions for future research, then close up all the open tabs on the computer, delete the extra files, and call it a day. As the deadline approaches, I've been forced to come to terms with what "the end" really looks like. There is guilt, for not having said enough; worry, for having said too much; fear, that nobody will think it matters; sadness, that one paper will not fix all of the problems one wants to fix. I have found all of these emotions are amplified by the emotional attachment that I have not only to my research, but also to the people and places that my research has implicated. In an attempt to put this project to rest, I must also come to terms with the many ways in which this work will never be finished--can never truly be finished. That is the beauty of research as resistance; even after I submit this paper, the impact that it has had on how I view myself, the communities I am a part of, and the experiences that raised me will stay with me forever.

I had originally set out to create a type of guide--some tangible list of tasks that canoe tripping camps should be completing in order to kickstart their inclusivity work. It is clear to me now that no such list exists, as there is no one-size-fits-all model that can ensure inclusivity. I wanted so badly to be able to offer concrete solutions--to give camp leadership and staff members a sense of direction towards understanding the systems of oppression in place at canoe tripping camps. The longer I spent drafting my proposed "solutions," the more I came to realize that the entirety of this project, and everything I have learned, said, reflected on, problematized, read, and discussed with friends, indicates that there will never be an easy answer to "fixing" canoe tripping camps. Renaming the age groups, throwing away the fake headdresses, employing gender inclusive language, offering scholarships, recruiting from non-white communities, and

employing more Indigenous people will not fix the problems of exclusion at canoe tripping camps. It is the responsibility of each and every canoe tripping camp--and summer camp in general--to look and think critically about the institution and how it has been engineered since its inception to exclude non-white, non-male, non-wealthy people. I am not even sure if there is any way to fix camp; all I know now is how the lessons I have learned throughout this project will apply to my involvement in the canoe tripping community moving forward. I would like to take this opportunity to reflect on that now.

This research has not taught me all of the answers to fixing canoe tripping camps, but it has taught me how to ask better questions. What is causing me to hold on to traditions that I know are harmful to others? I recognize now that the attachments we feel to certain traditions, and the difficulties which we encounter in addressing them, are present by design. Canoe tripping camps were founded in an attempt to make us feel connected to land, in touch with nature, appreciative of the landscape, and in tune with our bodies and surroundings. These feelings were encouraged through manufacturing indigeneity and fostering entitlement to landscapes that are not our own. I do not feel guilty about holding reverence for places like Lake Temagami and Algonquin Park. However, I do feel a new sense of urgency in finding ways to keep canoe tripping meaningful without contributing further to colonial entitlements and settler nativist sentiments. I am now more capable of questioning the language I use to describe canoe tripping and the land I occupy; Pathfinder Island is not my home, but it is a place that I value and love and respect. Pathfinder Island is part of an ancestral home of innumerable generations of Algonquin Anishinaabeg people, who were forcibly removed in order to open the land to my own pleasure. Identifying this distinction is important to comprehending my position within the canoe tripping community and the settler colonial state as a whole.

This research has also allowed me to come to better terms with my identity as a cis-woman and my femininity, which I often felt sits in opposition to my role as a canoe tripper. I love the way canoe tripping pushes my physical boundaries and shows me the power of my body, but now I am in a better position to question why I am so quick to equate my physical power with masculinity. Rather than embracing the plurality of strength and speed and sweat and femininity, I was conditioned to believe that I must embody a male persona while in the outdoors, and how successfully I perform this persona will decide my level of inclusion in the canoe tripping community. This conditioning too was by design, my experience was the product of an environment that was conceived with the intention of teaching boys to reject weakness--femininity--and that was exactly what I did as well. Now that I recognize the ways in which canoe tripping camps were founded on instilling idealized binary gender roles, I'm in a much better position to combat those roles in my own mind. The internal struggle I face in proving my legitimacy to my peers through performing masculinity is not likely to go away soon, but I am now equipped with an understanding of why my legitimacy and inclusion in the community has always been predicated on gender performances. I hope new generations of campers will be able to celebrate their bodies, their minds, and their identities on canoe trips without feeling beholden to the same colonially-inspired masculine ideal as I did, an ideal that was constructed in the founding of canoe tripping camps and has been maintained ever since.

After doing this research I see the value in problematizing gendered language at canoe tripping camps. Rather than telling your campers to "man up," consider encouraging them to be strong. Affirm the difficulties they are experiencing in overcoming the current challenge and remind them of the joy in accomplishing what they did not think was possible. Actively attempting to decenter gender from discussions of strength and weakness chips away at the

colonial masculine ideal we have been taught to uphold, opening avenues for inclusion in the canoe tripping community that are not reliant on gender performances.

It has been a privilege of mine to feel included within the canoe tripping community based on my racial identity. This is a privilege that is extended to the majority of canoe trippers--and it is time to start acknowledging the basis for the whiteness of canoe tripping. Non-white campers and staff feel unseen, unheard, unappreciated, and uninvited at canoe tripping camps because these are spaces that were never designed to include them. It is easy for white people to maintain white spaces; there is no labor on the part of the white settler in upholding the settler colonial state. As a result, the responsibility of reducing the harm caused to non-white and Indigenous people by canoe tripping camps has always fallen to those being harmed, never those perpetrating harm. I was raised on texts like *The Keewaydin Way* and conditioned to believe that my comfort at canoe tripping camp has never been a result of settler colonial harm. Canoe tripping camps have always existed at the expense of others, especially those whose territories our camps sit on. Acknowledging the ways that canoe trippers have benefitted from settler colonial violences is a good first step, but acknowledgement alone does not equate to dismantling systems of oppression. I said I could not provide a concrete list of diversity and inclusion strategies, but I can offer a few words of advice that I've learned throughout my research process. Acknowledge your role in upholding the settler-colonial state and the ways the state benefits you. Listen to non-white and Indigenous voices, and actively seek out non-white perspectives and worldviews. Affirm the feelings of non-white and Indigenous people when they tell you they're experiencing harm. Accept criticism of people, places, and institutions to which you feel attached. Criticism will often make you feel uncomfortable--harness that discomfort into a desire to make the institution better.

It is impossible to go back in time and change the central tenets of the camping movement. I know now that going back to canoe tripping camp and inhabiting the same spaces I always have--and contributing to the same harms--as I did prior to doing this research would make this work meaningless. Spending a year outlining how canoe tripping camps uphold the settler colonial state only to return to camp and fall back into the same privilege I have always had is performative allyship. Beyond how this work has affected my own perceptions of canoe tripping, I must also educate my coworkers and campers on my findings. I cannot singlehandedly set out to change the summer camp industry as a whole, but I also cannot do nothing and risk falling back into complacency with the very systems I have spent so long studying how to dismantle. I hope that through engaging with my own experiences at canoe tripping camps, I have offered a new perspective on an institution that I value and wish to see made better. Settler colonialism not only “opened the land” to canoe tripping camps, but settler colonial ideals have been perpetuated and performed at canoe tripping camps since their inception. These ideals have manifested in different ways across time, but the cause remains the same. Canoe tripping camps were founded to teach white boys how to be ideal white men, appropriating Indigenous culture and practices in order to do so. With wealthy, white men as the target audience, there was never a need or an attempt to diversify the community, until now. Using settler colonialism as a framework for understanding current struggles with diversity and inclusion helps to contextualize why canoe tripping camps have looked and acted the way they have for so long. Hopefully this framework inspires camp leadership to reassess the way they perceive inclusion, but at the very least it has caused me to better understand my own experiences and how I perceive my position within the canoe tripping community. It has taken nearly an entire year to come to terms with the potential impact that this research may have, and I do not know what the

future holds regarding my continued involvement in the canoe tripping camp community. I can no longer find joy in complacency; wherever the path of this work leads me, my relationship with canoe tripping has been permanently altered. For that, I thank my Bates College education, my advising and support systems, and the Honors Committee, without whom this project would not have been possible; it has been an honor and a privilege to engage in this work throughout the course of my final year at Bates.

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Appendix A: Interview Transcripts

Appendix A.1: Group 1, 1953-1961

(C=Anonymous Participant, first summer 1953; P=Peter McMillen, first summer 1956;
S=anonymous participant, first summer 1957; R=anonymous participant, first summer 1961;
I=Interviewer; ___=redacted name)

I: 13:35

Yeah, true that um, well, before I get into the nitty gritty of this discussion, I just want to start with a couple sort of informational backgrounds. A little preamble that I wrote I like to call it just so that as everyone signed the forms, you all feel fully informed about my research and my research process. So that includes that the purpose of this discussion is not to debate the impacts of settler colonialism on the canoe tripping communities. That's just something that I've accepted as part of the framework of my research. I'd like to acknowledge that the Temagami area is their island First Nation and Teme Augama Anishinaabe ancestral lands, and the Algonquin Park remains unseeded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabeg peoples. The American and Canadian camping movements were founded partially out of a desire to toughen up a generation of boys that society was deeming were too weak to enter the turn of the century. American landscape. So in order to do this, boys were taken out into the wilderness and allowed to interpret Indigenous culture and utilize Indigenous stereotypes, including Indian play, and also going on canoe trips in order to toughen up. I'd also just like to point out that I use the term performance and the title of my project, to hint at what I believe to be the possibility of the canoe tripping camps continuing to reflect these original colonial goals. And finally, if anyone has any questions, this discussion could be difficult, sometimes it's not. But now's a great time. If there's any questions before we start, of course, you can rescind your consent to participate at any time with no ramifications. I'm legally required to tell everyone that before we start, so if at any point, you decide to rescind your consent, that's okay. And I can send your consent forms back to you. And there's no problem at all.

C: 16:15

Could you expand a bit on the term colonialism? I mean, because I think in our trips, we never tried to colonize anybody.

I: 16:23

Yeah. Um, so settler colonialism is the framework in which North America became the nations that they are so Canada and the United States. So that just implies that Europeans came to North America and intended to stay forever, there was no idea about going back to Europe afterward it was they were going to come they're going to settle and they were going to form a new state here. And the process to do that requires stealing Indigenous land, exterminating Indigenous people, it also in the context of North America, included enslaving both Indigenous

and African people in order to build the nation that we have at the moment. So even though once we started at canoe tripping camp, the ramifications of settler colonialism had largely taken place, it's still a continuing process. And I'm considering how colonialism as a greater mindset could have impacted our experiences at canoe tripping camps.

C: 17:39

Well, I missed out on all that doggon it.

I: 17:47

Would you would? Would it be helpful if I sent some resources? I could do that.

C: 17:52

No, that's fine. I think you touched on the point. Yeah.

I: 17:58

So it's in my research framework that I'm implicated in settler colonialism. The greater US and Canadian white nations are implicated in settler colonialism. And by doing research about how that impacts canoe tripping camps specifically, hopefully we can make canoe tripping camps a little less implicated and also make canoe tripping camps more inclusive and accessible for other people.

C: 18:30

Okay, yeah, carry on.

I: 18:33

All right. Without further ado, I think I'd like to start by asking everyone to think about the if anyone's been back to canoe tripping camp recently, which I think most people have to compare the overall atmosphere at canoe tripping camp when you were a camper versus what it appears to be now, if there's anything that stands out.

P: 19:09

I'd like to make up the first thing that enters my mind as far as Keewaydin on Lake Temagami that has gone through a myriad of changes over the generations. And I guess it started quite a light late date when women were eventually allowed on the Keewaydin end of the island and has now progressed into a prosperous co-educational canoe tripping experience.

C: 19:46

I would think one thing that changed a bit as the technology we've gone to different tents we had the old Woods canvas tents that we had to chop 10 poles for you know, I think some of the foods stuff that we used to carry has been replaced by a lot of freeze dried stuff. So, in that regard, yeah, you know, technology bringing brings change. We're still using some plans where it's they're still using Canvas cedar canoes. So, from that regard, I guess things are some things change and some things know, the paddles are a little bit different as I understand it. But you

know, it's to go from point A to point B, you got to you got to paddle your boat, and when you run on land, you got to carry it, and then you got to cook it and eat it. So

P: 20:40

I think one thing I noticed Carl in terms of technology, and realizing that Keewaydin is built so much on tradition, having worked at other canoeing camps over the years in the area, on lake Temagami, I noticed many camps sort of forgoing the old traditional ways. And in terms of technology, you know, coming up with the latest lightest, more improved tents. I mean, we clear cut every campsite for years in Temagami, cutting all those tent poles but at the same time, I noticed a lot of other camps or graduating in to higher tech camping lighter canoes, lighter equipment, freeze dried food at whereas Keewaydin has stuck with many of the traditions for better for worse over the years I've just not commenting other than I've noticed this as being a difference.

C: 21:46

I think they've got done away with the old Woods Canvas tents in my understanding, uh, you know, I haven't tripped there and years. They were on the way out, I think when my kids were there. But at the tent poles were a good source of firewood, hey,

S: 22:04

I started Pathfinder use the same wood tents. And we had a staff that junior staff guy went out and look for poles for us. Which Pathfinder certainly done away with those are a couple things I was going to say and not based on too much experience in recent years. But my sense is the staff are friendlier to the campers, they have more kind of empathy and ability to be a little more I don't know, collegial with the kids. Whereas when I was there that on a canoe trip, the staff were kind of elitist and very, tend to be kind of more aloof. I, on the other hand, the instruction that I saw in canoeing and stuff, and maybe it's just being an old geezer, but it seemed to me that it wasn't as detailed or didn't provide the kids with as much information as it could have. The other thing is, we've got an owner, we've got owners now who are very aware of the issues that Nell is talking about, and are trying to educate their campers and staff on First Nations issues and some other related issues.

P: 23:26

If I can pop in, in terms of contemporary, all relationships between I guess the best example I can come up with at the moment is Keewaydin. And that certainly our concentration, and Pathfinder, incidentally, my grandfather's trapping grounds, were in Algonquin Park for many, many years. And the unseeded territory is now the subject of a land claim by the Algonquins of Ontario, which goes all from Lake Temagami down to the City of Ottawa. So, it's a considerable amount of land. And I'm scheduled for another zoom meeting this afternoon on that treaty. Two hours, I don't know if I'll be able to make it or not. I do tend to get tired at my age looking at the TV screen, but back to the contemporary issues, I think that you're concerned about we grew up through an era at Keewaydin, in the 50s and 60s, sometimes were very different than in terms of the times now I think in terms of Indigenous education, participation and awareness. I still think that's still very, very lacking. Yeah. Some camps more than others, and I would say how

worked at Wabun, Wanipitei, Lorien, all Keewaydin camps, some former, some still in operation, I think when it came to any education about issues of people consciousness within the camper community at Keewaydin it was very lacking. But that was something that was not unusual, especially at the time that we were cameras times have changed. Thankfully, yeah.

I: 25:46

I had a meeting on Wednesday and some other old timers were on it. And we talked a lot about the militarism that was sort of common at canoe tripping camps at the time that they were there, the regimentalism. And that extended into the way that hierarchies were formed between campers and staff. So, I was curious if, because everyone here was at Camp a little bit earlier than that group. If there are any memories that stand out about the sort of the strictness or the routine of camp, that might be different now that it's not quite as military inspired?

P: 26:40

Well, I think that that mindset continues today, you know, part of building the boys in to men, making them strong. And I think, from what I've read, what I've seen, that was very much part of philosophy of you know, many of the the initial camps that settled and started in the Temagami, Algonquin Park area, you know, it was a military approach. That, yeah, my partner saying in the background reading the Sunday paper machismo, machismo and yeah, so it was, it was and it was classist. And but that was all at the time part of making boys into real man, which was important.

I: 27:32

Yeah.

C: 27:35

Well, from the standpoint of being a staff, and for a while, there are certain parameters that you had to establish, you can call it militarism. Or you can call it organization call it whatever you want to. But for example, I remember a little kid named ___, who is long distance swimmer, and we would stand on the campsite. He'd be out in the middle of the lake half a mile away by himself. You know, that ain't cool, you know, it's a lot easier if there's a canoe there, you can find the body a lot easier. You know, kids, younger kids should not be using the axe. If you're going to get up and get moving there are certain tasks that need to be done. You know, I don't know if you want to call that militaristic or just common sense and organization. In any organization, certain things have to be done to accomplish a goal. So you can call it militarism. I didn't run my units or my sections as a military unit. You know, I guess I would have been the MMMM FRC if you know what that stands for. But we never had that. In fact, we had very good relationship in the years I was there. Between the staff the guide and the assistants and the kids were part of the family as opposed to being a military unit. And we were going to go you know, take that next portage. Do all that other stuff.

S: 29:10

Pathfinder, that there were a lot of world war two vets on the senior staff. But I mean, what the impact of that experience had in their lives was all very different. It wasn't sort of that we should

all be marching in unison into the dining hall or anything. But I do think, as I said, my other comments that and I don't think that, you know, we always had a bugler we always saluted, put the flag up in the morning played taps at night. I didn't think in the course of a day at camp that was really that that militaristic, but I do think that as I said earlier that the staff was a little more aloof Maybe a little closer to an officer corps than they are now

C: 30:09

if you wait, I don't recall an awful lot of vets being there. There were an awful lot of people from schools, headmaster's teachers, etc. But I don't remember a huge group of ex military at all. Peter, do you remember a lot of ex military there? I don't

P: 30:29

No. And I really don't recall any so called militaristic rituals, I mean, that were based on the military. There is a way of describing it, Carl, as you said, in terms of discipline, and doing the right thing and learning how to be comfortable survive in the bush. But in terms of vets, I don't know, it's that that crosses beyond Keewaydin into, you know, classes in that a lot of the upper class, wealthy didn't participate in the war, you know, they, they didn't have to go to war. That's, that's one of the one so called objective comment. That's not true everywhere. But

C: 31:24

even when Fred took it over, and Fred was ex Air Force, he didn't do that.

H: 31:32

Well, the one main exception to the Keewatin would be that the Ridgeway family was a Keewaydin family. So Matthew Ridgeway Jr. was a camper but that is

C: 31:51

he was killed up there. And in one year, I had ___ on in my section, ___ was a son of ___, who was the president, Chairman of the Board of Pan American Airlines. But by definition, it's not a cheap place to go

I: 32:12

It's not cheap.

C: 32:13

And they do have a scholarship program, then that helps folks that can't afford.

R: 32:16

So now I was going to mention that I was a Canadian, there and there weren't very many Canadians, at Pathfinder in the, in the 1960s. And, and I was also a kid, I was totally unaware of anything that had anything to do with the military. Like in Canada, where I lived in London, Ontario, though, there was Wolseley barracks, which was a world war two barracks where I there was some sort of presence there still, but I was completely you know, nobody in my family was in military. What did strike me as you guys are talking is that Pathfinder, back then, they

there were all these false or faked Indian rituals that we did, you know, I apparently this was really common in camps and may still be, but you know, that the head of the camp was called the chief and, and once a week, he would put on this extremely beautiful headdress, which went down to his ankles. I mean, it was beautiful. I suspect strongly, it was a complete absolute fake, but it was really impressive. And, and, you know, we were grouped the groups were Indian tribes or something that approximated Indian tribes, but it sort of stopped at that there was a special that you could do out on night alone out in the woods, and get into a special sort of pseudo Indian named organization. I don't remember the name of it, but that's what struck me as a kid there. I found this all very foreign. And, and, and it's mostly gone. Fortunately, they still name they, they're still working on it. They still named the still named the groups by an approximation to tribal names. Like there's Micmacs for example, which in Canada is becoming a bit of an issue but but they call them Mics. I mean, they don't even call them Micmacs. And there's Crees. And so you know, the names are still in use. But again, as a kid I, I don't know. I thought it was I didn't even feel this ceremonial. I viewed it as theater.

P: 34:37

I think. I think in terms of your definition of the fake headdress. It was a fake headdress. Because it was a fake chief.

R: 34:45

Yeah. Oh, absolutely. Yeah. Absolutely.

P: 34:50

Perpetuated for years. You know the four winds ceremony at Keewaydin a part of its history in those pictures of ___ in a head dress and makeup on his barrel chest. And I mean, I was a part of that. When I was there when I was a young child, I didn't know any different, right? And there's a lot of things we don't know until we become an adult. And yeah, you know, oh, critical thinking and the fact that, hey, this is wrong, there's, you know, there's something going on here rather than I always felt rather. And I think this happened a few times at Keewaydin, not when I was there. But but rather than everybody pretending why not bring in the real people, and have a history lesson, you know, a lecture or discussion. And we don't have to play Indian yell and scream and to pass on the traditions, let's let's, let's talk to the people that are part of the land and part of the history.

I: 35:55

And I want to clarify that as I've been researching these practices, like the four winds ceremony is what I opened with when I start my project, like the whole project, that's the first story that came to mind as I began writing. And, you know, when my committee read it, they were shocked that this was in 2009. Right. And shortly after, it was changed drastically, but it is. I do want it clear that I don't think that people were bad people for participating in these rituals. But I think that our understanding of appreciating Indigenous culture has changed drastically. And partially, I don't think that a lot of Keewaydin campers or Pathfinder campers and staff would have known that, at the same time that people at Camp were donning headdresses and whooping around fires that Indigenous people were banned from their own cultural practices in

both Canada and the United States. So there's just sort of putting together the historical context of the time, and also recognizing our own sort of complicated understanding of how to appreciate culture that changes as we progress. So I don't I don't want anyone coming out of this thinking that like, I'm going to write everyone off as a horrible person. Because these things were happening at camp, I just want to be able to better understand the context in which it was happening. So

R: 37:45

You know, as you're saying this, it occurred to me that there were mature adults at Pathfinder in 1961, who, in theory, were capable of realizing what was going on. But again, you know, that was, it was a different time. There were very few people. Now, even even well educated, and these people are mostly mostly well off. It just it just wasn't in their universe. And no, they weren't bad people they were, they were arguably ignorant, but they weren't bad

P: 38:19

They didn't teach it in schools and they didn't teach it at Keewaydin.

I: 38:29

Um, with that being said, I would like to explore a little bit in the third realm of the secret society, because Pathfinders secret society sort of has moved out of existence, but the Gigitowin, still does exist. And I'm a proud member of the Gigitowin. But I have been thinking a lot about the coming of age and rites of passage and things and how all of that can be tied up into being accepted into an even more exclusive group. Once you reach a certain milestone and sort of how that factored into the camp experience for people. Did you look up? Did you look forward to being initiated? Did it just sort of happen? What are your thoughts on that?

P: 39:31

Well, I look forward to it. I mean, it was a goal as a camper, assistant staff person. It was something that was ingrained within the camp culture and becoming a long-term participant at the camp. That was that was a goal. But once again, at that age, yeah, that was an important goal. I look back now as a critical thinker as an adult, when it comes to secret organizations, racism, classism, we've seen where a lot of these secret groups took us on January 6 in this country. There's good ones, and there's bad ones. And my son, who was a member of fraternity in college, still maintains strong relationships, and many of them have prospered in their careers because of this, you know, fraternal friendship. I look back wish I had never joined a fraternity in college. I'd look at it now. And I say, Oh, my God, how could you do all that stuff? But again, it was part of the culture. Yeah. And it was something everyone looked forward to, you know, and couldn't see anything wrong with it at the time. Yeah.

C: 41:02

But the Gigitowin, and in my mind, was sort of the senior elders, and they were somewhat of an advisory group. I think that the staff, there were certain things that they had concerns over. And, and I think they were instrumental in in a number of probably changes there. One was the use of trash or you used to burn the cans and throw them into Canada. Now we bring them back.

The, the change in the tense from chopping up all the seedlings, for saplings for tent poles, cleaning up campsite, other things that were needed to be done. And I think in that regard, they served a useful purpose. Yeah. But, you know, it's, it's Peter said, it was the sign of the times, you know, and, and God bless. I've done just terrible things in all my life, but I'm not going to sit here and feel sorry, and apologize for all this stuff. Because, you know, at some point in time, they're gonna discover that, gosh, because I drove an SUV I've ruined the atmosphere? Well, you know, I'm not gonna get too terribly concerned about that, because that's, that's the way things were done back then. And right now, so, you know, I didn't consider back I considered, for example, you mentioned the four winds, you know, if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, you know, I think it was showing tribute to, you know, the four winds. And if you go back to, was it long fellows, songs at Keewaydin, you'll find all these words, because basically was written in the Ojibwe language.

I: 42:40

Or so we think. I said or so we think it's, it's a little hard to know for sure, at this point, with all the history that's come from it from afterward. But I do like that you said, I do agree that the gig is in terms of making Keewaydin better at canoe tripping, I feel like the Gigitowin is sort of the guiding force in that it's the people that know the craft the best at the camp, and then are able to decide like, yeah, we shouldn't leave cans behind, or we shouldn't cut down trees anymore. So, I do think that there is utility in having an opportunity for senior staff members to come together and be able to make those decisions. Do I think that we necessarily need to get like paddled and slither on our stomachs to be a part of it? Like maybe not? I do understand the utility and the reason for it. It's continuity. So

C: 43:47

I don't recall anybody slithering on their stomachs or doing any of that stuff when I was there.

I: 43:52

Oh yeah, that's a maybe that's a new initiation ritual.

S: 43:58

But I think what Corot was talking about was the Mitimiwon lodge at Pathfinder, and it was it was related to the Indian noble savage activities at the camp. Basecamp Pathfinder wasn't I don't think it was nowhere near the importance that this group seemed to equate it to at Keewaydin and a lot of us I think, myself included, I, I had kind of, I was kind of ambivalent about the group I. I think, like most of the boys there, I was focused on the canoe trips. And when I got we didn't do this quite the same pattern of tripping as Keewaydin did but when I got back to camp, I was tired. I wanted to fill my belly at every opportunity to sleep from other trips and the thought about having to you know go out to Bear Mountain across the lake and spend a night on my own. I mean, it was kind of a challenge, but I just couldn't fit it in. And it didn't it was never a very big part of the camp that took part in it.

R: 45:14

Oh, that's true. In fact, By the mid 60s, it was nearly gone. The only there was only one guy that I remember getting into it. And he turned into be an absolutely stupendous athlete. He was an NCAA. What a Class A level athlete and handball. He was a handball champion. And, and so he found it very easy to do these things, because he was just an exceptional athlete.

P: 45:43

I don't remember Keewaydin having solos, as part of the no ritual. I never thought, Yeah, when I worked at Wanipitei. This staff that came up for preseason opening up camp. Part of that yearly ritual was for the younger staff to take their solo overnight sometimes they were I think, three days, maybe max. But it was a requirement to work your way up the ladder, spend that time by yourself in the bush,

I: 46:18

We still do it at the outpost at Keewaydin. That's where your solos normally happen. So, it's still it's kind of there.

P: 46:27

But back in if I can just Oh, I didn't mean to interrupt. That's all I have to say. Back to the, to the rituals. The four winds ceremony, the Indigenous false identity that the camps were trying to ascertain was predominant everywhere. Yeah, I mean, I used to see ___ at one point A dressed in a headdress and, you know, leather deerskin outfit. And why haven't they, they've had their traditions. I did not work at. In the summertime, I was there year-round caretaker, and lived there in the winter for quite a few years. But they always seem to have a closer relationship with the Indigenous community for a number of reasons, one that they were right next door to bear island they were they were right, right there. But I did notice a number of other camps. That beyond Keewaydin and other than Keewaydin and maintained relationships with the Indigenous community more so in terms of hiring, especially Wanipitei, they work closely with the First Nations communities for years, and very liberal. But it was very different from Keewaydin. And it was co-educational. It was very liberal minded, NDP based. And it was it was just a whole different experience. But you know, for whatever reason, even the involvement with the Indigenous community was sometimes a little skewed. Yeah.

I: 48:26

That's interesting that Wanipitei was co Ed, significantly earlier than I mean, keewaydin was just late in general, but that's not that's I'm not like passing a judgement or anything about that. But that does raise the question. Was there ever a conversation at keewaydin or Pathfinder about women on the island or women involvement in the camp community? If so, like, how did those conversations normally go? Or was it just not even thought about at the time?

P: 49:09

Was it even talked about?

C: 49:16

Well, yeah, the midseason dances were always great, because the ladies from Kiyoga would come. I mean, it, and when you get a group of guys together, you know, sometimes the female is discussed. You know, not my case ever, but some other guys do that. You know, and again, that would be a subject to the owners and the people that ran the camp. I mean, they don't, Keewaydin they wouldn't run around and say, what do you think about women being you? Well, you know, that's, that's kind of a decision a little bit beyond the pale that I was in and beyond the pale that I think most of us probably were in that respect. I mean, that's the ownership level.

R: 50:05

Yeah, in the early 1970s, the women who were married to the more senior staff was the very first years that they started to participate in the program itself. And even then, on a very limited basis. And that was, again, I agree with you tied to the owners, these were the, although they'd only own the camp since the early 60s, they had been associated with the camp for many years. And, you know, they were conservative people and, and change for them that just wasn't on their radar, right. And that, and then in in the late or mid 70s, I'm not sure exactly when it changed hands to a different owner. And for me, that was a blank period there of about 15 or 20 years when I had nothing to do with the camp. And during those years, women became much more involved with the program. So, in the 1960s, the women ate in a separate dining area, they were they were physically isolated from, from the rest of the camp. That which now it's just seems totally bizarre. But again, I was a little kid didn't i didn't give it a moment's thought.

S: 51:20

Yeah, and the, the women at Pathfinder in the in the 50s. And 60s had certain roles they could, like for the youngest boys who were at camp, they would sometimes go and read stories to them. If a little guy was really homesick, they might bring a woman in to help settle him down. They decorated the dining hall for the banquet. I think they helped with a candy store sometimes. But they had I mean, they were there because their husbands had a job. They didn't have, you know, a very big role to play. Most of the camps in the park were one sex, except actually the two that were coed were the Jewish oriented camps in those days. So I can't think of, you know, any. What's like, I can't think of any of the wives who would have tried to push the envelope on those issues, or certainly, as a camper, junior staff, you had no awareness of it. Yeah.

R: 52:35

From a business standpoint, even today, it there is no way that Pathfinder could become coed. Because the physical plan, the physical plan simply wouldn't. It would have to be modified so much. I it's I can't even I mean, just for the guys on Pathfinder doesn't have running water, and maybe Keewaydin and doesn't either I don't know. Yeah, we don't have right, there's no running water, there's no power outside of the main buildings. And, and so you know, they'd have, they would likely have to, to make a change like that the health people would give, and the giving us a pass on having running water and showers. and installing showers would involve a tremendous amount of infrastructure development. And it's not a big island. I'm not even sure whether it would be feasible to have a big leaching pit for a shower system. I don't know whether it would be possible. I don't think so.

I: 53:35

Yes, Pathfinder's a like a mountain almost that sticks out of the ground so that out of the water, and there's no way to really like dig or bring heavy machinery up the island. So even this past summer, when they fixed the ball field, it was a huge undertaking to bring out all of that machinery and stuff and get it set up. So I don't I don't know how we're not required to have flushing toilets, but I'll just suspend my disbelief on that I think it adds charm to the Pathfinder experience.

R: 54:15

Um, well, it does but I think Pathfinder gets a buy on having showers like it any health department could simply pull the whistle and blow the whistle on that and say you got to have showers and they haven't and they haven't been a big change like that would absolutely cause that infrastructure change.

I: 54:35

Yeah, I know.

P: 54:37

When excuse me, go ahead.

I: 54:41

Oh, I was just going to say I don't think that I don't particularly believe that camps need to be co-educational. I went to an all-girls high school and I am totally on board with single sex experiences. So that's what

R: 54:55

a lot of it a lot of the camps when co Ed keep filling the camps. It was done for financial reasons. Yeah,

P: 55:01

But you know, that was that was slow paced. And as you say a lot of it was for financial survival. I remember watching, oh, this was 30 years ago, a volleyball game, at Wabun who had started to have women, not co Ed sections, but women sections. And there was a, there was a volleyball game, and it was the men against the women that I mentioned something to ___ about when you mix them up, you know, make it coed teams on both sides make it a little fairer, was against the law at the time. They couldn't do that according to how that the camp situation with young boys and young girls was set up. So, you know, all of this was a slow progression, overcoming the sexism. And then there was the racism? Well, it was all rich white people from the south at Keewaydin. And the native population was pretty much in a subservient role working there taking care of them in the summertime. And it was classist because, you know, everyone had a lot of money in order to be there. So, all of these overlying situations were ever present. Not just on Devil's Island, but on Lake Temagami and the province of Ontario. Worldwide, and they still exist, and we're still fighting them and looking for change was it wrong?

Some people say yes. But it was part of the process of growing it was what it was what society was at the time. But it was, you know, the whole Temagami camp experience. So, it was colonialism right from the get go.

I: 57:12

That's what that's at least what my introduction and first chapter argue that's for sure. But, um, I still to this day, when I'm in a Pathfinder boat, especially when I'm sterning a Pathfinder boat, I have been asked like, how do you know how to paddle? How do you know how to stern a canoe? Can you carry your canoe? Like, yep, I can do all of those things, despite being a woman. But it's still it lasts to this day and I think it's less from I've experienced a lot less in the canoe tripping community, such as Pathfinder, Keewaydin, but from other camps, tourists, people outside of that sort of close knit community, I experienced it more, which I think is interesting.

P: 58:06

I was an Indigenous person who grew up in a white environment as an 11-year-old camper, at Keewaydin I knew my family had tradition. And I had been there for many, many, many generations. But I didn't know that when I was a camper. And the irony was later on, down the years when chief Gary Potts so the Temagami Anishnaabe, he appointed me to the wind Dobbin stewardship authority was because I knew the land, I'd been on the land for many years as a Keewaydin camper. I saw things that people my generation from the reserve, didn't get to see because the traditional way of life have been stopped, you know, by the government, and I was privileged enough to be at Keewaydin on a scholarship got to know the land. And later on, as an adult. Turned out, I knew a lot more about the land than people from the reserve who did not have the opportunity. After the government stopped a lot of the traditional ways of living, they didn't get to know their land anymore. There's a lot to know about that land.

I: 59:35

Did anyone can complete a bay trip with Keewaydin here?

P: 59:41

I did not

C: 59:42

No, Section B. I was out for a month Section B and that was it. All three of my sons did the bay and my brother did. But

I: 59:50

did you ever end up re outfitting at an Indigenous settlement or anything?

C: 59:59

The truth We took no, we carried our goodies with us and we did restock. I think we're after 28 days. Yeah. And we did a Wanipitei circuit, Wanipitei river and then north of some of the rivers that flowed into one appetite.

I: 1:00:14

Now I said, we were discussing last week with some Pathfinder staff that are my age about discovering how jarring it could be for a group of white campers to just sort of show up in your town and not be announced, not ask to be there. Especially when, as is the case with Keewaydin you're still canoe tripping in such a such a traditional style. I really liked what you said there about having that privilege of experiencing the land in a way that so many of your own people weren't able to. Because that makes me think of all the places that I've also been the Keewaydin and Pathfinder have provided me with that I wouldn't have otherwise gotten the opportunity to do. But I want to talk a little bit about the staff that we look up to camp, the people that whether they took us on trips or not the ones that stick out in our mind as they could be sort of Keewaydin Pathfinder legends the way that they're written down, or just the person that you individually looked up to the most while you were there.

C: 1:01:48

I think in Keewaydin, there are a couple names that come come about I probably never knew Heb Evans, Heb has written a number of books on canoe tripping. And in Heb was sort of an institution there. Another institution there you probably never met was a _____. _____ was in charge of the younger group, the Manitou group for years and years and years, a gorilla of a man. But very, very gentle soul. And I guess he had been up there for some 30 years or so. And I knew both them quite well. Both were basically legends up there. And I'm sure Peter can answer names.

P: 1:02:35

All there were, there were lots of them. Lots of lots of names, and lots of Legends on the native end of the history of

C: 1:02:47

Nishi Belanger

P: 1:02:48

Sure. And the Belanger family still very much part of the Mattawa, Ontario community. And, you know, there were a lot of these icons that developed over the years. And my MDP Temagami partner keeps sending me these notes on the table, you know, but one of one of her observations was that only the privileged were able to go to the canoe camps. And it was to their advantage not to address racism and classism and sexism. I mean, this, this was a part of, you know, the philosophy was, you know, turn these boys into men. And because the camps didn't touch on Native American history, other than stereotypical roles, they didn't have to deal with this stuff. It was just it was not part of the program at the time. And it just perpetuated itself down through the years. And it was a it was a long time for change.

C: 1:04:07

Well, a Peter, I think you'll agree when we were there, we have a lot of native guides. And that gave us some insight into the Aboriginal customs and how they did things. For example, I still

paddle like I was taught, I think by one of the Baptistes, and you never see anybody paddling like that. Now everybody's using their arms and everything. You can paddle all day with just using your back on a Jay stroke. And when I was doing Gunn canoe trophy, you know, we never saw it anymore. But then that changed. Of course, there was a great article on was Facebook on bugs in the kitchen had been there for years and years _____. I mean, she was a fixture there, as well as a number of the guys up at Ojibwe. You know, I'm trying to remember his name to guided my grandmother.

P: 1:05:25

I think my experience as a child with the guides at Keewaydin in Ojibwe, I wouldn't trade that for the world. I learned so much. Oh, absolutely. About the bush. A sense of humor. That was beyond belief. I don't know how many of you have read Brian's book. But it's interesting in what happened to the custom of hiring the native guides as civilization. There you go. You got

I: 1:06:00

My textbook for my project.

C: 1:06:04

Has the second book come out yet?

I: 1:06:06

No, it hasn't come out yet. Okay. I'm waiting. Now I wish you would publish, where I was done with my project so I could use it.

P: 1:06:16

Well, as civilization grew as the as the railways, invaded as the roads invaded as logging roads invaded, it was easier for the canoe campers to get places that they didn't need guides. I remember Waniptei talking about when I was 15 in 1960. Taking the Des Moines River trip from Keewaydin, and we were gone for a month. And the kids said, well, where did you put in? Because they'll drive and you know, for a day and have a week's trip? And they asked me Well, why don't you put in for this Dumoine River trip, but I pointed down water I said at the dock. You know, we went from here to there we go. That's That's how things work. But I was going to say something else. But I forgot my train of thought. So, I apologize.

C: 1:07:17

That happens to me a lot. Yeah. Who are you people? By the way?

I: 1:07:26

I know that Keewaydin by having the written history, so locked and loaded, has allowed for the younger generations to be exposed to the idols, the stories of the Keewaydin legends, but I haven't gotten as much of that in my experience with Pathfinder. So, I'm curious. I mean, ____ goes without saying.

S: 1:07:55

you know, this book?

I: 1:07:57

Yeah, paddles flashing?

S: 1:08:03

Yeah, I think I mean, when I read that and learned about the early years of Pathfinder, it was, you know, really interesting and stuff that. I mean, there were subtle ways that I'm sure that some of those traditions were formed very early and continued. But I didn't know that much about the early years of Pathfinder as a staffer, did you, R?

R: 1:08:29

No, I didn't. And also, you know that there's quite a difference between the two camps. Keewaydin is a much bigger organization with a, you know, the fact that there's this big U.S., I don't know what even what is it in Maine or something like that. It's a totally different. You were talking about scholarships. And the reason that Pathfinder has only been able to offer scholarships until recent years is because prior to that, it was it was a hand to mouth organization. They barely stayed alive from year to year. In fact, in fact, for about 15 years, they were continuously underwater, and they couldn't possibly have afforded to offer scholarships. But apart from that, it probably also never entered their head. But I think mostly because of the financial state that they were in. I mean, until well, arguably only into the last maybe 10 years. This was a negative ROI company. You know, it's a privately owned little company. It's not a charity or it's not owned by a trust or anything like that. It's a small business. And I think it's great that they offer scholarships, now. But that's only what I would say in the last five to eight years. Maybe. S, does that sound right?

S: 1:10:08

Yeah, it's quite, I think Rand toward the end of this time started that fund. Oh, did he with you know, and using Rochester as the base but you're right I mean, and you gave a good reason which I hadn't really thought about but there was no there was no slush fund to draw you know,

R: 1:10:35

and I remember I remember as a staff man you know, if somebody broke something like let's say you broke a motor on a motorboat you know, drove it into a sandbar or something. I mean, that was a major expense to get an appliance like that fixed you know cost you have to take it in Huntsville cost 150 bucks or whatever it cost to fix. That was a big financial hit to these guys. So at least they made it seem like it was

I: 1:11:03

They still do honestly.

C: 1:11:08

Yeah, recall on one of our trips coming down the Matabitchuan river, one of my systems, had a brand-new canoe it still had the price tag on it. He got broadside around a boulder and flat. And Howard Chivers was not particularly pleased at that particular point.

I: 1:11:29

To cut the K out of a brand new first season canoe is not an experience anyone really wants.

C: 1:11:36

Well, this one had been in the water probably three days. I mean, it was the version. I'm curious. How old is Pathfinder? And when was it started?

R: 1:11:48

1914. Sandy, is that right? Yeah. And it was founded and you're going to have to help me out here. There was this sort of old time sort of Boy Scout philosophy but it wasn't the Boy Scouts. It was something else what was called the Woodman ship a Woodcraft or something

I: 1:12:06

Woodcraft, Indian lore

R: 1:12:11

the guy that founded it was sort of into that. Whatever. It wasn't Lord Baden Powell. It was the other guy ran.

P: 1:12:20

scout scouts honor.

I: 1:12:26

Yeah. Yeah. All that kind of stuff.

P: 1:12:29

mentality. Yep. Yeah.

R: 1:12:31

So you know, it, it, it was a very small place to start with. We've seen pictures of it and god, it was just a bunch of tents stuck on a rock. And it wasn't much to it. But it was on a railway line. So you could take the railway directly to the camp from Buffalo. And, and, and you know, at the time, I'm thinking maybe later in the 40s. And certainly in the 50s. The camp was financially successful because of polio. parents wanted to get their kids out of urban areas, because of polio.

P: 1:13:07

Yeah. And privileged parents. Yeah.

R: 1:13:12

Well, yes, I guess that's true.

I: 1:13:15

That's true.

P: 1:13:16

I was when I was talking about the guides that came back into, into my mind. Even if you read Brian's book about the demise of the native guide at Keewaydin, for many reasons, a lot of which involved but I mentioned the industrialization of the area, so to speak, you know, with railroads and logging. But even in Brian's book, there's, there's a mention of this attitude, how the establishment was concerned about the drinking, alcohol consumption of the local peoples that were working at the camp at the time. And yes, there, there was a reputation there. And I can remember and participating and perpetuating some of those rumors. Growing up

C: 1:14:08

You and my brother.

P: 1:14:10

Yes, yes. I mean, we learned how to make wine from the indigenous people at 15. And we tried it. We got really drunk and sick, but we did. No part of it part of growing up and making boys in to men. But yeah, it's even Brian's book, his talk about the that concern as the guides were fading out, you know, because of the drinking and they weren't needed anymore. Yeah.

C: 1:14:43

Well, something else that contributed to that, I think, Peter is that the younger generation never followed the footsteps of the previous generation. There were very few younger, I think there was one of the Belangers there for a while and there was somebody else that was there for a while. The subsequent generations, but there were very few of the ones that really went to the bush, everybody else went to a factory or went to an office or went to something else.

P: 1:15:13

You're absolutely right. And that was all part of you know, colonialism, industrialization and the fact that colonial project. Yeah, the native way of life was not needed anymore.

C: 1:15:32

Well, some that had a big impact, I know in the Temagami area, or was that when the fur industry died, a lot of the folks on Bear Island would run trap lines, especially for Beaver. At one point in time, the market absolutely collapsed. What we faced the same thing down here in Louisiana with nutrient some other things. And they're just overrunning everything now. I mean, one of the big problems up in the Temagami area, is the dam beavers, I mean, they're, they're chopping all your trees down. They're building dams. And they're dumb enough to try and dam up an island, which is very difficult that you actually want to have a dam on both sides of the island. But But yeah, civilization is changed. for better for worse, it's changed.

P: 1:16:25

But that traditional life of the Indigenous peoples going off to your family territories, and trapping, all winter and fishing in the spring. And in 1956, you know, the Indian agent came to Bear Island and said, if you take your kids out in the bush next winter, we're taking them away. Then you had your residential schools, the Catholic Church, and you know, their traditions were taken away from them. Yeah, by colonialization.

C: 1:17:03

I understand but the government always knows, so much better than we did?

P: 1:17:09

The camps were a part of it. Unfortunately.

I: 1:17:12

It's true. Oh, yeah. There wasn't. It's an active process and not passive in the ways of accepting like a factory job over something else. It's there's always forces for causing change.

R: 1:17:32

there were camps in in Algonquin that did hire local native guides, but like Tanamakoon did, I know, but the Pathfinder never did, as far as I know, Pathfinder hired local people who may or may not have been native people to do heavy construction. They, they built docks, and they built major buildings. And they brought the ice in, in the winter and so on. But they were never local people were never part of the program at all, as far as I know. So that's not true. They, they hired girls from what's the name of the town on the east side of the park? Sorry. Yeah, they hired girls from there to be the scrub kids in the Kitchen. But yeah, so they, as far as I know, the camp never employed local people of any ilk to work during the program, or as part of the program.

P: 1:18:38

Well, I think in this at this point in time as the camps have grown, in terms of employee status and employing locals, you know, it's gone up and down in many different ways. But at this point in time, at this time of our development, the Canadian government says, if you want to have a business here, you're gonna hire Canadians. Yeah. So that's, that's part of the transition as well. Yeah,

R: 1:19:08

I Pathfinder as a business only has one full time employee, so they, I think anything less than five employees, you're not. You sort of crawl below the wire on those roles. Yeah.

I: 1:19:21

I like that you brought up Seton and I don't know if anyone knows this, but Ernest Thompson Seton, who founded sort of the boy scout and the camping movement. He was actually friends with Taylor Statten. So, all of the Taylor Statten were directly inspired by like the book, The Thompson Seton book. So that's why when you do research about traditions at summer camps,

they talk about Taylor Statten a lot because those camps had whole Indian villages, Teepee setups, sweat lodges like the whole thing. Until very recently, which I'm almost glad I don't have to work through that in this project. That would be a great project to do a little bit later. But it is nice that by being at Pathfinder and working with Christine, the Indigenous consultant, we can luckily not have to implicate ourselves quite as much as the Taylor Statten camps do.

S: 1:20:38

Original camp that up at Arowhan was called Camp of the Red Gods. And it was started by a guy named Ellsworth Jaeger from Buffalo and he was totally into the Woodcraft ancient traditions. Yeah. You know, probably very close to what Taylor staff was trying to do. But yeah, his camp didn't last very long.

P: 1:21:05

well, I think that Taylor Statten legacy, I mean, it's definitely Canadian. I think if you asked Keewaydin, camper, about Taylor Statten, and they look at you not have a clue.

I: 1:21:16

No, they wouldn't. Yeah.

P: 1:21:20

Canadian organizations Waniptei for one.

C: 1:21:25

I've never heard of him. Yeah. He's never heard of me, either. So

I: 1:21:31

Taylor Statten is one of the Canadian camping gurus, I would say. Partially due to the number of camps that are under the conglomerate and also by his fervor in instilling certain ideologies at his camps. But yeah, so I just I appreciate that you brought that up, because I've been reading a lot of Seton works recently. In addition to the some of my friends were up at Pathfinder, this winter a couple of weeks ago, and my friend sent me a picture of a note card that he found in the office. That was the itemized list of how to run Indian camp council fire at Pathfinder. So there was like, all of the steps that you had to take the blankets you needed to bring out the face paint all of that. So that you can have your "authentic" council fire experience.

R: 1:22:33

You should make it clear now this is historical.

I: 1:22:35

Yeah. That was the card was noted from I think 1923 maybe so very, very early. Luckily, we don't have any of those direct remnants anymore. I don't think

P: 1:22:53

Isn't there a Taylor Statten bursary fund that's available for scholarships? I seem to recall something of that nature. But I that was a long time ago.

I: 1:23:06

I don't think the Statten camps are included in the Algonquin campership fund.

R: 1:23:11

That's right they're not. That's correct. Yeah.

I: 1:23:17

So, I'm not sure about that.

R: 1:23:19

Okay. I'm just looking up the bursary fund. Yes, there is a Taylor Statten bursary fund. And it's I'm looking to see if it's a not for profit, it probably is. Yeah, it is. It's a Canadian registered charity. Yes. Now there is a registered charity in the US, that Pathfinder uses to sponsor students. It's based in Rochester. It's managed by the Rochester area, community fund or something like that. And what's it called Nell? The Algonquin campership fund?

I: 1:23:56

The Algonquin campership fund.

R: 1:23:59

Yeah, but I find it frustrating that I mean, I give money to it, I don't get a tax break for giving money to it. So

I: 1:24:10

I like the campership fund, because I appreciate that my money could be going to sending a girl or a boy to camp. I recognize that. It's obviously okay to donate to any organization you want. I just appreciate that there's that sort of community organized fund so that it's distributed a little more evenly, especially because Northway is considerably underfunded compared to Pathfinder and other camps in the area. But that's its own branch have some other project in the future.

R: 1:24:54

Yes, I think studying the finances of children's camps would be interesting. They're all, almost all of them are, you know, just for fun businesses must be very difficult to keep them going.

C: 1:25:10

You've got an asset that sits there 12 months out of the year and gets used for maybe two months. Well, especially in Canada, I mean, look at the winters that you got to deal with.

R: 1:25:21

Well, actually, that's one of the reasons that Pathfinder is still in business is that the owners use the shoulder seasons. They bring up school groups from both Toronto and Buffalo area. They

go up there and mid as soon as they have almost as soon as the ice goes out to just before thanks, Canadian Thanksgiving. And, you know, they send kids out on trips who've never even been in a canoe before. It's really quite remarkable. inner city kids that have never seen a lake, even though the buffalo they live in Buffalo. They've never seen Lake Erie. Yeah, that's wild. It is wild. Yes.

P: 1:26:02

I know that. Wanipitei, of course, being Canadian and also being academia oriented through ____, owner director for so many years. Head of the history department at Trenton University in Peterborough, they utilize that camp year round, they would bring up so many different school groups from Trent, you know, symposiums and that that helped things a lot of these kids would come up to basically just an uninsulated cabin with a wood stove in it, and probably freeze for the weekend. But yeah, it builds character. Absolutely. Absolutely.

C: 1:26:51

I've got all the character I can stand.

I: 1:26:55

I don't think I need freezing in a tent to be added to my character building anymore.

P: 1:27:01

I got a great I got a great anecdote from a young, wealthy staff person from Toronto that worked at Wanipitei who had worked winter programs at a camp in Algonquin Park for at risk youth. And he came back to Wanipitei I was sitting around guy there and I welcomed Adam back and said How was your winter and he was explaining his experience winter camping with the at risk group groups compared to the people that Wanipitei, said it's nice to come back to Wanipitei where your camper doesn't look at you first thing in the morning and say fuck you. That was that was his big difference. Yeah.

C: 1:27:47

And the kid was being nice, actually.

P: 1:27:54

Very big issue. Sorry, class, very summer camps, Class, Class, racism and sexism.

I: 1:28:05

The financials are difficult. And obviously Keewaydin said a bit of an advantage by having the entire foundation allowing for some scholarship opportunities. But that doesn't solve all of the problems with access that I found such as just getting people to know about camp, if most people learn by word of mouth or through family connections. That's its own form of exclusivity. So, there's certainly tons of aspects of the class differences at camp that could have would have to be addressed all at the same time, sort of.

R: 1:28:48

You know Nell I think I think that's a little unfair. The camps during non COVID times have these big open houses to which are basically just trade shows with the camps are there for anybody to come tromping through and, and I've been to these trade shows, and, you know, this is this is salesmanship, they're trying to fill their camps. The exclusivity, I think, is limited to being able to write the check.

C: 1:29:15

Exactly. Yeah.

R: 1:29:18

But it's not it's not word of mouth. I mean, you know, it's you can use Google to find summer camps. It's, you're limited by the checks. Absolutely. I mean, it these camps are phenomenally expensive. They're a couple of grand for two weeks, right? Yep. Yeah, so really quite something.

C: 1:29:39

When in my case, it was worth planning to get rid of the kids.

R: 1:29:43

Oh, and my parents case, there was no they would have paid anything to get rid of me.

C: 1:29:50

I've seen him in the recruitment for a Keewaydin and it generally runs in clusters and it used to run around clusters for Atlanta had a big cluster at one point time yet buffalo had one, Pittsburgh had one. There were several other ones here, because you would find a whole cluster of campers that that came from this particular town. And a lot of them kind of knew each other beforehand. So and I think a lot of that had to do a bit with word of mouth.

I: 1:30:17

I think now the internet and expos and things make it much easier to learn about camp. But back in the day, if your teacher at boarding school was a staffman at Pathfinder, that's one way to learn. But if you didn't attend that boarding school, for whatever reason, it might be a little bit more difficult. That being said, I would like to talk a little bit about recruiting and everyone's entry process into the community. Mine was internet, my parents searched super intense wilderness camp, because I needed to be toughened up as a child. But we didn't have the word of mouth or the connections my first summer, we only made those afterward. So, I'd love to hear what it was like learning about camp as a child.

R: 1:31:27

I have a very clear memory of it. might somehow my parents got wind of a dog and pony show that the chief Norton was running in London, Ontario at the carousel motel, which is this just a cheap dumpy hotel motel near the highway near the 401. And he did a you know, a slideshow, and I didn't realize at the time, but most of his slides were fraudulent. He had pictures of tennis courts that didn't exist and things like that. I mean, it's absolutely serious. And, and, and my parents were, were desperate to get rid of me. And I went for a month, the first the first year.

And then I surprised my parents by saying I wanted to go back and then for the next 10 years, I was there for seven weeks. But he managed to fill the camp.

S: 1:32:22

And I'm a sort of similar story. I call it kind of a PT Barnum guy, and he had set up a network of mothers of campers and in Buffalo and Rochester, and they would work networks of women friends who had kids who had male kids that were a Pathfinder potential and that's how I learned about the camp was my mother said would you be interested? And I was kind of nonplussed. My dad took me down to the Statler Hilton in downtown Buffalo and chief ran his dog and pony show he had a film of guys pole vaulting and jumping off this 20 foot tower and going canoeing away from the dock and all this kind of stuff. So I was I was pretty interested, but I didn't have any friends that went there. I didn't have any relatives that went there. I was. I was pretty nervous the first time I went up there as to what I was going to find.

R: 1:33:28

But my situation was essentially identical. And and there was a fella named ____, who was running the show and he was he was an ex-Army Sergeant. I think Marine Corps. Marine Corps absolutely terrified me. I was nine years old. I never had. Yeah.

C: 1:33:52

I had no choice basically. my uncles had all gone up there. My grandmother and actually built a cabin up there. And if you ever experienced a summer down here in southern Louisiana, you'll understand why she went up there. It's just too damn hot down here. So, my grandfather actually was at a we were in the timber business was in Toronto at a lumber show and bought a ticket as far north as he could go in at that point, that was Temagami station. He walked down to the boat yard and said I want a boat ride to the northernmost part of the lake, which at that point happened to be Ojibwe and Waniptei and he got off there and he said, this feels a lot better to let start the tradition. My brother and I went there in all three of my kids went there. So, I mean, it's sort of a family rite of passage. Whether you like it or not. You're going to spend some time up there. My son has a daughter that was supposed to have gone up there last year. But of course, with the, the COVID thing, she couldn't do it to Keewaydin and he's got another daughter and son will probably go up there. So, you know, it's sort of inbred in my cousin, Fred Reimers actually ran the camp for a number of years and only camp so I've kind of got green paint all over me. Yeah.

I: 1:35:28

Bleeding green, as we say, yeah.

C: 1:35:32

Yeah. And I marked a bunch rocks up there a green paint.

I: 1:35:36

Yeah, me too. Me too. I didn't know the first time I went canoe tripping that you're supposed to get your feet wet. Um, so I ended up putting a hole straight through the bow of my boat when I

was 10 years old, because I just let us ram directly up onto the shore for every landing to start every portage for an entire five days. So

C: 1:35:59

my bowman would have done that once.

I: 1:36:01

Yeah, yeah, says a lot about the nurturing characteristics of the women's section, that I was allowed to continue making that mistake.

P: 1:36:15

Well, when my grandfather, a nomadic Algonquin from the golden Lake area, who worked the Ottawa River, his early part of life when he came to Temagami with the Keewaydin folks in 1903, that's where I met my grandmother who was from Bear Island. And ironically, Devil's Island is in my family's traditional hunting grounds on Lake Temagami. And my grandparents course lived their whole adult life on Browns Island. On Devil's Island, their home in the winter was the Mattawa cabin. And I have some great winter pictures of their lives on Devil's Island in the wintertime. But I went to Keewaydin because it was it was part of the family. My grandparents worked there for 45 years. My father, who was a school teacher from Philadelphia, scraped up \$3,000 in 1950. But our island which is really a mile north of Ojibwe, wait Devil's Island, and neighboring Carl's family's place. So growing up, you know, with Temagami heritage, all on my maternal side of the family, it was normal for me, coming of age to thanks to Howard Chivers at the time offering a scholarship and starting out as an 11 year old camper at Keewaydin. So it started for me.

C: 1:38:09

I was 12 at the time.

I: 1:38:16

I feel like that fear of the first time stepping off stepping onto boat line Bay or getting off the landing at source like is a universal experience. I don't think I've ever been as scared as I was getting onto the bus to get up there. But look where we are.

C: 1:38:37

I think the real fear is when you pull your canoe up to the first Portage because you don't have any idea what a portage is. I mean, I'm mispronouncing, I guess y'all call it a portage, but fortunately, if you're lucky, you'll start with a short one as opposed to a mile and a half or whatever.

I: 1:39:03

I don't know, is the fear worse on the first one when you don't know what it's like, or for the second one once you do know what it's like?

C: 1:39:20

probably the first.

I: 1:39:22

Yeah. I have my notes from last, my last conversation pulled up to make sure I don't miss out on anything that we touched on slightly before. Oh, I wanted to know, I was curious. Um, was everyone considered part of the in crowd when they were at camp? Was there like a clique at camp? When you guys were there? Did you feel sort of like a part of a part of the community or did you feel a little bit more of an outsider in the beginning.

C: 1:40:04

When my case it certainly was set up in sections, and you were part of that section. And the section generally didn't have enough people in it to have a clique, for example, in Waubeno know, you wouldn't have I think we'd have six canoes for a party of 12. Three of which would be staff and then that would leave you a limited number of people to have a clique, you know, I think you probably need a fairly large group for these cliques to start forming Now, within that there were several people that were closer together than others but no, I never felt that way.

I: 1:40:45

I'm just trying to gauge the generational experiences, especially since I have a younger crowd this afternoon to talk to so I want to get as much content as possible to bring up later

S: 1:41:01

Well, you know, Pathfinder, you were reassigned on every canoe trip to a different group of boys so you know, you didn't see a lot of people for a good part of the summer I think that when I think back to the late 50s the guys who were extremely good at something like swimming or the basics of track and field or they were known to be super trippers who ran every Portage on this or anything. I mean, they were always looked up to but I don't think there were and there were some guys who tried to be super cool but I don't think the clique click thing really had time to develop.

P: 1:41:54

Yeah, so you know, summertime goes by quickly. You know, you had your bullies and you know, you had your people that didn't seem very emotionally or physically strong. But as Carl said, when you're put into a small section and for the most part, you're out in the bush all summer, you know, it's a quick summer. And it is reflective, I think of society as a whole but you know, in just the blink of an eye.

C: 1:42:29

Remember one summer I got there early well as part of the early staff and we got to thinking that maybe we ought to just sink the boat bringing the campers in, because we could probably have a much better summer without them. Than with them didn't work. Didn't work. That was a we had some wonderful boat called the Aubree cousins back then. And it was it would bring the group in and it could it was really, really neat. It was a cabin Guppy that ran it and his wife had a little concession down under underneath. And every time the boat came up, we'd all run to the

to the boat dock and buy ice cream out of a little porthole there that she had. made great waves. If you got out and open water you know you get about 6/7/8 foot waves out of the thing. It was kind of fun. But that's all gone on. I think they're using what a barge now to bring folks in and yeah, this is the back in the olden days. Conscious white bear was still alive.

I: 1:43:52

The steamships were still allowed to be on Temagami

C: 1:43:56

where it was diesel and Peter's uncle I think. ____, ran one of the boats, I think was called the Ojibwe. There was a whole nest of boats there. Old displacement, beautiful old boats that that covered the lake and it was almost like a bus system that they had in Hubert who would come steaming up the back between Devil's Island and the cliff there on that little laundry Bay through that cut. And he was probably doing 2530 miles an hour to that thing. Then he could he could probably close his eyes and drive that. He would overnight up at Browns Island and then he would have an early boat down in the morning.

C: 1:44:40

My mother used to sit at our place and see people come through the Narrows behind Devil's Island. You know, we say well, it's a local because they knew that channel.

P: 1:44:54

They would utilize it because it would keep them out of Granny's Bay.

I: 1:45:13

I like sort of wrapping up at the very end of my meetings with asking everyone to recall that moment when you realize, if you realized ever, that the thing you were carrying or the paddling you were doing wasn't just for yourself, but it had to be for the entire group. I feel like that moment is sort of the natural maturation point for a canoe trip or going from a young camper to a more experienced one. And I've found that a lot of people remember that moment pretty clearly or which staff member was that told them that?

R: 1:46:03

Well, no, I have to say that. I never had that moment. I was I was very immature kid. And I didn't I don't think I reached that level of maturity. Till I was a staff member.

I: 1:46:18

That's fine. That's, that's still counts were. Yeah. Yeah.

R: 1:46:25

I mean, I, I mean, that's the simple fact. I was not a very mature kid. So

P: 1:46:33

I can't think of one particular instance where I felt that I was part of this core group, but I do remember losing a wannigan, I think was the Des Moines River in the rapids and losing what food we have for the next three days finalizing our trip other than I think we had some canned ham and noodles. So, you know, we ate a ham and, and pasta glop for three days straight breakfast, lunch and dinner because we had lost all our food. And then it was at that point, I realized that we were all part of a cohesive unit. That individual within itself was not nearly as important as the unit as a whole. You know, lesson learned growing up.

C: 1:47:38

I recall, a similar experience, we didn't lose the one again. But the Wannigan got wet. And it had among other things in it, the toilet paper. And a precious item became peeling the labels of cans, and having a knife so you can peel some birch bark off in case of an emergency. The first year I was up there I was 12 years old, I was fat. I was not very strong. And I was thrown into Waubeno, which was the middle age group back then. And they started liking 14. So I was two years under what what the prime what the what my peers were. And finally, the staff said, Look, nobody moves until we all get across. And if you need some help, we'll give it to you. But you're going to have to do this on your own. And I worked through several portages that way. Not being particularly happy. But knowing that we don't move unless I get across and whatever it is I'm carrying gets crossed. Otherwise, they just sit there and wait on me. And I think that was probably when I had the realization that you know, I'm only one little part in that puzzle. But without that part, the puzzles never finished or the task is never completed. And I actually wanted to go back the next year, then there became a habit for him.

S: 1:49:22

I'm drawing a blank. It's a really good question, but I can't think of a moment of epiphany or anything on team building or bigger consciousness came somewhere, maybe as a staffer. Also,

C: 1:49:42

you can always make up an answer but.

I: 1:49:45

I won't know. I also found with my moment of maturation for me also coincided with when I started out actually enjoying canoe tripping, rather than just suffering through each trip as a young camper normally would. So I haven't done enough interviewing yet to determine if that's a universal experience or if I just happened to get lucky. And I learned individual responsibility and was able to start enjoying my experience more at the same time. That's why I like asking that question. I'm trying to, I'm doing a little bit of personal research.

C: 1:50:37

One of the things that I learned was that the first year we had a native guide, and he was a terrible cook. And I like to eat. So I got involved in the preparation of meals. And I think that's where southern Louisiana is unique in that the men cook and it's a lot more than putting a piece of dead meat on a piece of charcoal. I mean, we do at two phase and sauce because and all this other good stuff. And after that point in time, we almost had a gourmet trip, I think my

section probably ate better than any other section in Keewaydin. And when I was there, we actually had a spice wannigan, we'd bring up hot sauce and all this good stuff. And we produce some pretty good food. Other than just plain old glop, which is you know, you scrape everything out of the wannigan and throw it in the pot that will kill you.

I: 1:51:45

My one of my staff had a custom spice tray placed into her jewelry wannigan. So, they had the silverware tray like you would normally have in the jewelry, but then she installed a second tray below that jewelry tray that was just for spices, which was a little revolutionary for that year. But we definitely appreciated having everything super organized like that

C: 1:52:19

She was not the first one to do that. I should have copyrighted it.

P: 1:52:26

It was important for me as a staff person. And I probably utilize this a lot more taking trips out of other camps besides Keewaydin. But, you know, I learned the basics through Camp Keewaydin. But I remember taking young kids out in the bush, and it was the most important thing for me to have them do everything themselves. And especially when it came to cooking, you know, maybe the first three or four days out in the bush, the meals left a lot to be desired. But the kids caught on really quickly. And it was important for me to have them gather their firewood, saw their firewood, drop their firewood, learn how to cook in the bush learn how to do all this stuff themselves made it easier for me. But it was much more fun to be a mentor, you know, just sitting on a stoop and pointing your finger and say, this is how you do this or do that. But that, to me, the goal was to get the kids to learn this ASAP. And then once they got the grip of cooking and camping, being out in the bush, it became so much easier for them. And fun.

I: 1:53:40

Yeah, and when tripping is easier, tripping is more fun, that's for sure. Absolutely. Not easier in terms of like movement. But once you understand the skills more I feel like tripping is way more enjoyable. There's still perfect utility in doing hard canoe trips once you have the proper facilities for it. I think that's all I have currently. I don't know if there's if I have left anything out that anyone wants to add on to if anyone wants to circle back to something we already talked about. I also enjoy the end of the call is just being able to recall memories talk about shared experiences. So I'm opening up the floor to any of that.

C: 1:54:41

I will say this that my experiences at Keewaydin probably did more to mold me into the person that I am today than any other experience I ever had. And then includes the military and spending some time in a combat zone I learned more confidence in myself. And I think I learned more about dealing with people, both superiors and people below me through my experiences at Keewaydin than any other thing that that's ever happened to me. And ironically, I think my three sons share the same experience. End the story,

I: 1:55:24

I agree.

P: 1:55:28

I'm happy today to hear Pathfinder stories. This is new to me. I agree. Yeah. Thank you.

S: 1:55:40

Wow, great. And I can say that maybe there's something up that Nell mentioned ____, who's a, traditional style canoe builder in Dwight, just outside of Algonquin. He and I are two guys who grew up in Buffalo who ended up living within a short drive of Algonquin Park, and critically because of our Pathfinder experience.

C: 2:00:35

are you going to post it somewhere so we can read it, then?

I: 2:00:39

Yeah, I have to work through my school in terms of accessibility of my project, but I think I get to decide to what degree it's available to the public. So, I'm going to choose as available as humanly possible. If anyone wants the recording of the zoom, some other groups have asked to keep a copy of the recording, I can definitely share that with people as well. Luckily, since everyone got their consent forms back to me, I could send that recording, as soon as it finishes downloading to my computer, which is not the case when I haven't gotten all the consent forms back. So

P: 2:03:26

Just want to say thank you now and nice to see everybody.

R: 2:03:31

Nice to see you all

C: 2:03:33

hope you have a terrific weekend, what's left. Let's get this damn COVID out of the way. So we can get back out there.

I: 2:03:40

Get out tripping again, for sure. Yeah, thank you everyone for your participation. It means a lot to me. And it's such a privilege to be able to do research on something that we all love, as deeply as canoe tripping. So, I'm grateful every single day for that.

S: 2:03:59

It's a great idea. And I hope everything comes together for you.

I: 2:04:03

Me too. Thank you.

P: 2:04:06

Thank you Nell

I: 2:04:06

Alright thank you.

S: 2:04:08

Bye everybody.

Appendix A.2: Personal Interview with Peter McMillen

(P=Peter McMillen, first summer 1956; K=Katharine Ingwersen, wife of Peter; I=Interviewer; ____=redacted name)

P: 02:01

I was a little bit tongue tied. Yeah. In that I wanted to bring in a little closer to Keewaydin when ____ not only was the chief, but also the owner because they bought camp. ____ gave the camp a million bucks four or five years ago. Yeah. I wanted to be careful what I said to the, to the purse strings and you know,

I: 02:35

yes, I totally understand.

P: 02:37

Not anger anybody, especially since I've known them, we, you know, we all grew up together there. But I walked in to the director's office one day, his desk was at the left of the door. And on the right, there was a big old antique wooden coat rack. And on the rack, the director had one of the must have been four winds, long braided, black wigs. And on the top was a Temagami barge cap. So there was this little sort of display of a native what's the word? You know, just a native? Yeah, like a like a cigar store Indian.

K: 03:39

I remember the first time I went to Keewaydin for an environmental meeting with Brian Back. And who's Waniptei guy, dead now, a friend who's had never been to Keewaydin. And I grew up thinking that only privileged, privileged people went to, I had the luxury of growing up with bohemian hippies in the States. So I mean, we thought we were poor. We acted like we were poor, and now hung out with all the local natives and shit. But my parents both had gone to private schools and summer camps, but they said public schools and only privileged people go so that's how what was my mindset when I walked into this camp? And I saw this, I walked into keewaydin. Yes. This native head. And like, it's just so weird to me that I said to somebody, I think it was the director. I said, Oh, this is weird. He just kind of looked at me. And then

somebody said to me, you know, it wasn't until 1984 that women were even allowed down here. So you're lucky to be here.

I: 04:49

Yeah. What is this an honor to be allowed in the main part of the island, right.

P: 04:57

Well, thank god things are changing. But I know we both talked today about the basis of your thesis because I know it had to do with relating to indigenous neighbors. Yeah. land, I, I never felt the Keewaydin never went out of their way to connect with indigenous people in the area at all. ___ from Bear Island did a lot of the contracts for construction a Keewaydin. But he was he was what do I want to say? Oh, he's the one that you know, he was a drunk and he had lots of problems. And he really changed his life and overcame any everything and

I: 05:51

So they can work for us? Yeah, yes, serve our state a little bit better.

P: 05:57

Yeah. As compared to, really I could compare to Waniptei who bent over backwards to reach out to the Native community in terms of scholarships for campers, hiring the native community to work at the camp in the summertime. And I never saw it at Keewaydin, their interaction was primarily you know, the blackface ceremonies like the four winds, but the director at Waniptei as much as he did for the indigenous people not only Temagami, but in the province of Ontario and nationwide. He used to dress up at a deer skin outfit with a headdress.

I: 06:43

Yeah. I don't doubt it. I don't doubt it at all.

K: 06:48

Lots of people did back then. Yeah. And the director of Waniptei taught at Trent and was very progressive NDP. That's how I met you through, you know, knowing him and being involved in environmental issues and political issues and native issues. So

P: 07:04

Are you familiar with NDP, the National Democratic Party, it's the, it's the Canadian.

K: 07:11

Second to the Green Party on the progressive like, the NDP,

I: 07:16

The equivalent of the Democratic Socialists here?

P: 07:24

yeah. And you know, Waniptei was very progressive. Yeah. But at the same time, the staff was a collection of wealthy Toronto, private school kids. Yeah, a lot of them did Outward Bound in the winter. In the states in Texas and Florida. They came up to two Waniptei in the wintertime. And I found a big transition going from my experiences to keewaydin as a kid to being a young adult working at Iorien. Yeah, where all the women were naked all summer. Yeah, at Waniptei the staff. I remember, after lunch pre camp, you know, like 20 girls from college girls from Toronto, come out to the dock and they all got naked. And I was working out there with a chainsaw. And John was the boss's son. I grabbed my chainsaw and I walked away and he said, Where are you going? I said, If I stay here, I'm going to cut my leg off. You know, I can't I can't work. When you have 20 naked college girls tried it just doesn't work that way, especially with a chainsaw. Yeah. The attitudes were a lot different at both of those camps, but Waniptei was very progressive. Yeah. And much less uptight. and nice. Not so bad. Not so bent on tradition as Keewaydin was.

I: 09:00

I think because all of the scholarship about summer camps currently view keewaydin and places like Pathfinder and Ahmek as directly involved with their sort of military pasts, like the military histories of the staff and the owners and things and as a result, where camps like Waniptei were more able to sort of become like hippie communes. Yeah, like precedent that the camps like Keewaydin and Pathfinder set in their foundations have allowed for more like rigid and even though I feel like the outdoor community is largely progressive now but you still have these pockets of like, old money families that still send their kids to these camps. And yes, those political leanings don't represent what we envision the outdoor community to look like now. So I feel like there's a lot of walls put up around tradition and changing tradition, because of just these long family histories that I've never like, had to branch further into the outdoor community. Whereas Waniptei, if your staff are going to our bound and stuff in the winter, you're probably going to get more exposure to what that community looks like. And because they're supported by these people's money they have, they're kind of stuck there.

P: 10:37

oh, yeah, the endowment at keewaydin is, comparatively speaking. It's absurd. Yeah. I mean, it's such a wealthy camp, because it's being supported by the alumni. Yeah. And they're, in general, very wealthy alumni. But that's Southern influence. There were pockets of campers from Atlanta from always from Cleveland. Someone mentioned Mississippi when ___ was involved. Tons of kids from the deep south and Mississippi. Yeah. There's still a lot of Mississippi families that come to Ojibwe in the summertime. And our dear friend Kay, who's I don't know if you know, ___ has been the cook of Ojibwe for the last quite a few years. Yeah, but we talk in the summertime. And she goes nuts because of the trumppers at Ojibwe the rich trumppers. Yes. She said I can't I can't deal with these people that talk about Donald Trump. And that's not exactly what you are talking about in your thesis.

I: 12:06

No, it's not. But it's all connected. That's why this my point, this weave is very complicated due to things like that. I find that, um, because, well, maybe not because but Pathfinders not as wealthy at all, and they're a business. They're not a foundation.

P: 12:28

Did you go to Pathfinder?

I: 12:30

Pathfinder is all boys. I just worked there. And now work there.

P: 12:33

Yeah, well, you're working there now.

I: 12:35

There now. But since they don't receive there's no like donating to Pathfinder, they're a hand to mouth organization, largely. So I feel like the reliance on wealthy alumni is a lot less due to that. Like if you want to donate to Pathfinder, you donate to the scholarship fund that is like shared between them and some other camps. So when I think of people that I encounter at Pathfinder, I can think of maybe one of my co workers, that's a Trump supporter. Yeah. Maybe other than that it's largely just sort of your regular like buffalo sort of New York liberals kinda what I would describe it as. So there's definitely a difference there in the atmosphere, but yeah, nice working there. Yeah, everyone's really lovely. And this whole project came out of the director at Pathfinder, hiring Christine Luckasavitch, who's an indigenous consultant from the Algonquin community. And she started doing indigenous education and things at Pathfinder. Yeah. So, her work, and a lot of the responses that I heard that were like, what's this outsider doing? Trying to, like, get us to change our traditions is sort of where I decided to come in as like, a half outsider since I didn't grow up at Pathfinder, but with my connection to Keewaydin also I thought I was in a unique position to do this kind of work. Yeah, good for you.

K: 14:25

Well, that's important that they're doing that there. Yeah,

I: 14:29

Yeah it's really great.

P: 14:31

Well, with with the connection of the director at Wanipitei, as head of the history department at Trent University, in Peterborough, who have in Ontario, at least one of the biggest and best Indigenous Studies, Native studies programs, yeah, in Ontario, and they oftentimes would bring big groups of Native study students and Use Wanipitei on lake Temagami. For seminars classes and they they blended the indigenous issues of contemporary Temagami into the history. And he certainly felt strongly about blending the camps into this whole philosophy of recognizing that we're on their land. I never saw anything like that. At Keewaydin. Yeah, ever.

K: 15:42

No, I don't think there will I know. Who's the cook there at Ojibwe? She tries to bring people in in the summer has brought some native musicians in and artists and stuff and I think there's for the tourists or the mostly there, as you know, parents of the kids that are going there, right. Yeah. At Ojibwe. Yeah. Yeah. So she tries to do that. So, but I'm not sure you know how much you could push that or whatever, depending on the funders. And I thought you were really good in your facilitation not to not to push that because everybody had been together.

K: 17:13

I was thinking when that all was going on, I was thinking about Peter and how he grew up. Not really. I mean, he knew his mother was native that because she had gone to residential school. It was all robbed. It hurts her history and status was all robbed from her. Yeah. As of like, what you're talking about colonialism. She was part of the missing generation. And she married a white guy who was some kind of privileged white guy

P: 17:41

Taught at Shady Side in Pittsburgh.

K: 17:43

Yeah. And so Peter didn't I mean, you knew you were native, but then going to summer camp,

P: 17:48

I was white at Keewaydin just like everybody else. I just had a family background in the area. But my family never talked about. They never talked about it. I had to wait till I was an adult to find out for myself.

I: 18:03

Yeah, that's what Christine said too when she was talking to us is for especially like the unseeded tribes, if you don't live on a reservation that's hundreds of miles away from ancestral lands like you can grow up just not having any idea your native at all. But yeah, it's colonialism at work.

P: 18:24

Well, I gave everything up working on the West Coast at Seattle and got a job at Waniptei being they're year round caretaker and they pay me \$75 a month.

K: 18:35

But you got a place to live provided

P: 18:37

Provided me with a leaky boat and a snowmobile that barely worked. But I was there for quite a while, went to Wabun and was the year round guy there. And really got to know my roots from Bear Island. Yes, I ultimately ended up being elected to Executive Council on TAA. And then we were on the stewardship award on the Win Dobbins stewardship authority together. Yeah.

K: 19:07

Which was a result of the whole Temagami land claim the natives, the environmentalists, and yeah, like you were representing the native government. I was representing the Ontario government. And there were six natives and six nonnative so yeah, it's pretty interesting for about four years. I think it's interesting what you're doing. And I was thinking the other day when you guys were all on there together. So I would kept writing Peter. Notes. I said, because only the privileged went to canoe camps. And it was to their advantage not to address racism, classism, sexism. And because the camps did not teach native history, the camps and the campers will perpetuate these isms, these racisms, whatever. Well, on being I mean,

P: 21:18

Unbeknownst to them

K: 21:19

Ignorance, but you know, because, but so you're so right, that they should be teaching this kind of stuff, especially if they're so ingrained, entwined, in the in the environment, you know,

I: 21:32

Right, you would think that it's a no brainer, but yeah, seems a lot more difficult for some, I just had a meeting on Sunday with a different age group. And I'm one of the people on it just recently stopped working at Keewaydin. Um, they said that one of the headquarters staff emailed this person asking for photos of her particularly diverse section that had one African American camper on it.

P: 22:08

I knew they needed the token black for the catalogue.

I: 22:16

I mean, yeah, like, you know, when we brought up like scholarships, fix socio economic differences at camp. That's not the case at all. Because I was on scholarship. My parents were too proud to apply for scholarships every year until my last year, my Bay Trip year. But, I mean, I was white, and my parents could at least afford like decent gear and things. So I was sort of able to fit in, I knew I wasn't like, necessarily like, in in yet. It took a lot longer for that to happen. But as a white and cisgender presenting person with enough resources to like, walk the walk, and still feeling like an outsider until much later in my time. It's single, single proof that scholarships are not fixing this issue. And yeah, I wonder if anyone stopped to wonder whether that Black camper was returning or not. So as I think the last portion of this project is going to be harm reduction strategies that I've just sort of workshopped with as many people as possible, and that's going to have to be a big one is just telling people that scholarships don't fix feeling included in the community that's built to exclude you.

K: 23:49

Yes, yes. Yeah. There has to be like you say, some, maybe some education around that at the camp. Or maybe having native people go with you on some of your trips and teaching you things. You know. They don't have that opportunity, though. At least most people on the reserves, and it's not even in the in the mindset at Keewaydin.

P: 24:14

Yeah. It's just not part of the program. Yeah. And I think you'd have to pull teeth to change it.

I: 24:22

Oh, yeah, for sure. For sure.

K: 24:25

I think it's really important that you're doing this and bringing these issues up.

I: 24:29

Yeah, I think so too. And considering the, like the strict schedule that keewaydin maintains every summer, the two days at base camp, five day trip, two days at base camp 10 day trip, yada yada yada. Like if you don't educate all of your staff and require continuous education of your campers while you're on trip with them, then nothing would ever get done because you can't fix this problem by having one lecture. At midseason. Whereas Pathfinder has a bit of an edge on that because the tripping schedule's completely flexible, one guy plans all the trips for the whole summer based on who's around and who's not so it's a lot easier to work in new things into a Pathfinder summer schedule that's basically impossible to do at Keewaydin.

P: 25:28

You know what would be a wonderful idea? Well you sign up for a trips you sign up for different sections, how about signing up for a native history section, take trips with some native with a real native guide native staff and learn some things along the way learn some history of let's start with Devil's mountain, squirrels point, all those are part of indigenous history. There are stories behind every one of those landmarks. Yeah, Lake Temagami. I mean, that's just something that, you know, but that'd be a wonderful idea. I'd do it in a heartbeat. If I get something I can read, ride Mojo have those kids paddling around. But I think what you're doing is great. It's Yeah, you know, it's a big task. You got a lot of

I: 26:20

I know sometimes I feel like I'm working on my dissertation and not just my senior project. But

K: 26:28

You're a senior there at Bates?

I: 26:30

I'm graduating in May.

P: 26:33

Cool. That's a great school.

I: 26:41

A lot of Keewaydin people have gone to Bates.

P: 28:01

Well, I just wanted to check in straighten those. That were bothering me at the end. And, you know, I shouldn't feel stifled. I should be able to say how I feel. And it's sad, but it's the it's the way it is.

I: 28:32

Yeah. I had a long talk with my advisor before starting any of these interviews, just laying out to what degree I was supposed to teach people. Yeah, your level of implication in the colonial state. And we sort of agreed that. By focusing on colonialism at summer camp, you can like make people slightly more comfortable by limiting their inclusion in that to a very small portion. But it doesn't mean it doesn't fully address the fact that we are all I am all part of this.

P: 34:58

Thanks for everything. I want to I don't want to keep you any longer.

I: 35:02

It's really not a problem. But if I'm, if I can be of any other help, or vice versa, my email is open public domain. So if you want to send information anywhere, that's fine.

P: 35:14

You know if you have any questions, email in a heartbeat, don't think twice. Well, by light of our day is trying to figure out what we're going to watch on Netflix.

K: 35:25

But it's important work you're doing for sure. We like Temagami and the camps and the difference between the reserve and the camps and the local people. It's very important.

Peter McMillen 36:15

Yeah, don't stop. Very important.

Helen Bruckner 36:22

Thank you so much for checking back in and I really appreciate the help that you guys have been already so anytime. Give me a call.

K: 36:32

Nice meeting you my dear, Good work.

P: 36:38

Okay, take care.

I: 36:39

Thank you. You too.

Appendix A.3: Personal Interview with Ted McMillen

(T=Ted McMillen, first summer 1961; I=Interviewer; ___=redacted name)

I: 0T::00

Okay, perfect. Um, I've been testing out recording transcribing functions and I figured out that recording on zoom saving it as a file and then transcribing it works a lot better. So um, yeah, so I just like to start off all my meetings with a quick acknowledgement that Temagami is Teme Augama Anishinaabe land and that we're exploring colonialism and how it may have impacted camper experiences at Pathfinder and weighed in. And that I don't debate whether colonialism was part of the foundation of the camping movement that's sort of just like an agreed upon fact for my research framework. But I am interested in first

T: 00:50

Where's Pathfinder?

I: 00:52

Pathfinders in Algonquin Park. Okay, so it's Algonquin Anishinaabeg, unseeded territory? Yeah, yeah. Um, I'm looking more closely at a few tenants of the settler colonial state and how those might have been reflected in our experiences at camp, not limited to things like patriarchy, white supremacy that

T: 01:18

You're going to have to tell me what those are

I: 01:25

I sometimes come into interviews with a range of understandings about settler colonialism versus normal colonialism. How the colonial project is ongoing, it's didn't just stop in like, the 1800s, 1700s we're still a part of it. So I just like to start all of my interviews with that little like framework in mind, but I did want to start my first question for you was, is were you always aware of your indigenous heritage? Or did you come into it later in life?

T: 02:02

Personally with me, I was aware of it only because I don't know how much you remember of my brother, or what he told you. But both he and I are members of the Temagami Anishinaabe of it. Even though we were born and raised in the States, our Father met our mother, who was originally from Mattawa. Up at Temagami. Her parents, Peter and Caroline Brown, were one of the original guides, caretaker and cook of the camp, Keewaydin itself. And we were fortunate that back in 1950, my family was able to buy an island, just north of Temagami. So we have a long history of now being up in Temagami. And like I said, even having the Indian heritage in our background, although it really wasn't, to be honest, I don't think that was anything my mother was proud of, at the time back then. But then again, she No, she wasn't the per se, the Indian schools back in the day that has come into the forefront, but going to like a Catholic school and stuff like that, where they really tried to, I don't know, erase, her heritage, so to speak. It's

something that she really never talked about, to be honest with you. But yeah, I mean, we were always aware of that, you know, we were part of the band, so to speak. Yeah, there was in our background. And my brother started really going in to our history. So our heritage, and he's, in fact, he just got native status not too long ago. And our cousin who was from Temagami, Caroline Brown, she did an amazing job researching our family heritage with the note Temagami Anishinaabe where my brother kind of left off and it's just amazing. The fact she was instrumental in us being able to get...I haven't applied yet, but I can get it because all my cousins that have applied for up to that point you know, brother, sister cousins whoever have gotten that. So you know, we'd be able to get native status yet again, like I said that we were always aware of it, but did not think much of it until just recently.

I: 04:53

Was your relationship with Bear Island something that other campers and staff knew about? Did you talk about it when you were at Keewaydin?

T: 05:03

At the time at the time, not them see, as you can tell, I mean, I just turned 70. And I was at Keewaydin for a total of nine years, I was a camper for five years. I was an assistant for one year, a guide for two years, and then a staffman for one year. And there was there were four years in between it. I wasn't up at camp. But you know, back then, I mean, that was not I don't think they really were. I mean, my, my grandparents on my mother's side, are actually buried on Bear Island. And I remember one trip summer. I don't know how familiar you are with the history of people, but there's names it's kind of stuck out in history at Keewaydin one of them being ___ who and he he, of course, knew with a background. And in fact, we took we took a trip called Temagami Tour, which was he just he was with the youngest camp section. And my first year at camp, I was in the youngest group. And we just actually we just traveled all around the lake didn't know one portage, visited other camps on the lake, just to get a good background and knowledge of the lake itself. Yeah. And on that trip, he actually took us to the Bear Island cemetery. We pulled the canoes up on the shore. And we walked up to where my parents were my grandparents buried, which I thought was kind of neat.

I: 06:43

Yeah, that is cool. Yeah. So your brother mentioned your grandfather being on the trip in?

T: 06:54

Ah, well, I know my grandfather might have been. No, he could have been. Yeah, I mean, I'm sure in your research, have you? Are you familiar with Brian Back and his book *The Keewaydin Way*?

I: 07:13

I'm using Brian's book as part of my project.

T: 07:16

Yeah, cuz that gives a very extensive history of the camp. I honestly don't remember that is actually one of the original guides on the trip in.

I: 07:27

Yeah. Yeah, Brian's book gives a very white centered history of the camp. Yeah, so yeah, sort of why it's interesting to use. I think the way the rest of my projects gonna look is sort of tracing like the camps founding as it's written in the camp history books, because Pathfinder also has a history book. And then, interweaving stories that are in the history books with the time periods of the people that I interview with, just sort of like paint an overall picture of like, camper experience and things. Yeah, yeah. So I actually have my Keewaydin way right here on my desk. Now, instead of studying it for my gigatowin initiation, I get to use it as scholarly work. Yeah, so I talked a little bit to Demi Mathias a couple weeks ago, and she was pointing out her family's long history, not only in the Temagami area, of course, but with Keewaydin specifically, and it came up we talked a little bit about in overall camp consciousness, the way that her family and other white Keewaydin families have similarly long histories and connections to camp. But it wasn't until recently that camp overall started sort of acknowledging indigenous families as having as long of a history as other non indigenous families. So in your experience, having that similar history, did you feel sort of as included in the camp story as some of these other non indigenous families?

T: 09:29

I don't think so. I mean, it's, it was it was kind of a different time back in the 60s. So just I think, to me, I mean, camp was camp. I don't think we delve that much into how it tied into the earlier set. I mean, yeah, we know we knew it was like, these are like some of these trips were maybe trade routes or trapping routes. You know, whatever portages were forged by a lot of the native people, you know, going to their various trapping grounds and stuff like that. There was no there, at least, with my experience, there was not much history, so to speak, you know, brought into it. Yes, going to camp and taking canoe trips and having a good time.

I: 10:23

I think the emphasis on history sort of grows as camp's history becomes longer. You know, as we progress through like to centuries of camp existing, it becomes more and more of like a focal point. When you attended camp and things like the four winds ceremony and the gigitowin initiation and things were taking place around, did it ever give you pause? Or was that more of a reflective experience later on in life?

11:03

You kind of broke up there what experience later in life? When traditions were happening around you like the for when ceremony or the ogima dressing up in the head dress and things. Yeah. Did that give you pause? When you're there? Yeah. Yeah. Do you mind talking a little bit about that?

T: 11:32

Ah, did it give me pause. I didn't know I just thought it was part of the camp tradition. I you know, four winds ceremony. I mean, I know some people later on might have thought it was a bunch of Hocus Pocus stuff. But you know, I always enjoyed it. And I, I knew there was a little tie in with, you know, some legends and lore up there. But a lot of it too, was maybe just a good story, but I never thought anything of it one way or the other is just, you know, just as nice, a nice ceremony and kinda, you know, let people believe that there was maybe some kind of history of the native people up there with it. Yeah. Yeah, that's about it. And as far as the Gigotowin goes, and that mean, to me, that was just, you know, initially the words, you know, log, you know, things like that, that. In fact, I know, some of the other campers in a way almost. I don't want to say saw it as a joke, but kind of took light of it is just like, Oh, this is a secret society with the get get to go eat ice cream at night when they have meetings. Yeah, like that. And doing doing cow tows to the lonely strip of bacon. Yeah, to the can of tomatoes, and stuff like that. But I that to me, was just no, this part of the camp tradition, so to speak.

I: 13:11

Yeah. Um, that's funny. The Gigotowin comes up a lot when I do interviews, because there's a long history of American and Canadian "secret societies" being modeled off of indigenous stories, groups, whatever. And Philip Deloria talks a lot about that in his books. So if you're ever interested, I highly recommend Deloria and his talking about camp. It's very interesting.

T: 13:52

I mean, secret, secret society. I mean, it's I don't know. I mean, you know, basically, in the meetings, we talked about how we can improve things around the camp or going around, you know, cleaning up campsites and things like that. Yeah. I mean, there were no secret handshakes or the little pin was nice and stuff like that. Yeah, I think it was like the secret societies that Yale or Harvard.

I: 14:19

Yeah. Were there still indigenous guides that camp when you attended.

T: 14:27

Yes. When I was there, there were still native guides. Yeah. My first summer there I was with one of the I tripped with one of them. And I mean, I like I said, I grew up I mean, I was going to Temagami, and involved with keewaydin Ojibwe long before I even started being a camper, right? So I mean, I knew I knew all the guides at keewaydin. They had a few native guides at Ojibwe that would take guests out on fishing trips and stuff but yeah, if I knew them all, yeah, sometimes we'd stop and say hello to them on the Mattawa on the way up or back or whatever. But see, like I said, I had to tie in, you know, of being up in Temagami. I mean, I would I would leave our home in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, two days after school got out in June and I wouldn't come back until two days before school started in September. Yeah. And I spent the whole time either up on our island, or keewaydin but yeah, they they were they had the native guides there.

I: 15:33

What's the process like for buying an island in Temagami?

T: 15:40

I really been though that was done the year I was born, you know, my father did it. And I mean back then. I mean, I can remember we're only paying like \$24 a year in taxes. But now we're up to like you know, 12, \$15,000 a year in taxes and not getting much at least because we're just you know, summer residents and yeah, and I know for us right now, my brother and I have it but for us to turn it or to pass it on to our kids whatever that's going to cost I'm afraid a lot of money and a lot of paperwork and stuff like that which I hate to think of that that's how that's gonna happen.

I: 16:24

Do taxes that you pay in Temagami go to the Anishinaabe. Or does it go to the Ontario provincial?

T: 16:34

I think it goes to the Ontario Provincial I'm not that familiar but I know it's part of it school tax you know town works and things for the town. No mine road access roads and things like that but as far as far as it goes to the Anishinaabe I don't know.

I: 17:02

that's probably something that comes up one land claims come up I feel

T: 17:06

Yeah, my brother I don't know how much you got into that with him. But he might know a lot about it because he one time he lived up there for a while and he was very involved with the band and the land claim the red squirrel road blockade and and the land claim he he was sitting on boards during that whole land claim process. Yeah. So I don't know how much in depth he got into that with him But no, if you didn't you might not want to go back to that. Yeah,

I: 17:47

I'm just curious sort of outside of the scholarly process. Yeah, always makes me wonder because cottages and Algonquin Park because of the territory being really unseeded all of that goes either to the park itself or to like the Huntsville town. Do you think oh, how do you imagine the decline in the number of indigenous guides at Camp took place? There's a lot of different stories and takes on it but

T: 18:36

Well, just making a guess. I just think it was just kind of through osmosis I mean that the the generation of people growing up on the native side, there just wasn't that much. This is totally my own opinion, might have just been just people just lost it. I maybe just people lost interest in it. You know, maybe I only know of one guide. person that kind of followed in his father's footsteps. And that was a Belanger, Nishi Belanger and his son Peter Belanger but as far as i don't i don't recall if there were maybe anymore. Maybe in other camps there were but yeah, wait, I don't think there was much generation generation of the native guide. But I may be way

off base with that. You know, I really don't know. And that's, I think maybe just why they kind of declined. I don't know like I said, maybe they're just you know, I don't know. More and more of the campers would want to stay and become camper, assistant staff guide. Maybe just moving up like that. But yeah, I have no idea why that would be a decline in

I: 20:11

Filling rosters with camp alumni that turn into staff. Yeah, um, one interesting thing about the sort of peak mattawa guide era at Keewaydin is that a lot of the boards that like have all the staff and campers listed on them, they're like, hung up in the lodge. And many of those don't actually mention any of the indigenous guides as like members of the staff

T: 20:43

I was not I was I was not aware that I was I was not aware of that.

I: 20:48

I didn't know that either. Demi told me that that apart from like, after Nishi had worked for a few summers he got his name actually, like put on one but that was sort of like a standout occurrence. Like it wasn't common for them to be included in like the overall staff roster

T: 21:11

up again, I was not aware of that. But think about I I don't know, maybe it was jack mcisaac up there at one time as headquarters staff. I don't know. But yeah, that's, that's interesting.

I: 21:23

Yeah. Um, so you grew up in Pittsburgh? Yeah. Did you attend a public or a private school.

T: 21:33

Private School. Private School. Yeah. My father was a teacher and administrator in Shady Side Academy.

I: 21:50

And was camp always considered like financially attainable for your family.

T: 22:00

Ah, that's funny you should say that, I have always considered myself and even with an island up in Temagami. I've always considered myself a poor boy in a rich man's land. My father was a teacher at a private school. Yeah, he was the administrator of private school, but we lived on campus. We always lived in the school provided housing. The school dining room, we would eat in the school dining room. I think we only got the island because back then they weren't as expensive as they are now. And going to camp back when I was a camper. Keewaydin only cost six, but I say only now because that's right now that numbers and only, back then it was \$600 for the season. Yeah. If you went on the bay trip, it was \$700 for the season. And I honestly think even with my father being the teacher of the private school, and back then chief Chivers, Howard Chivers, gave us a discount because of our history. Yeah, family history with the camp.

Yeah. So it only costs my dad \$300 at the time, yeah, to go to camp as opposed to \$600. And when I, when I took the Bay trip, I took the Bay trip in 1966. I remember my dad telling me that, you know, the Bay Trip cost, but \$100 more than the regular camp season for the trip. I was not expecting to be on the bay trip that year. But in the spring, I guess, Chief Chivers called my father saying, Look, I'm having trouble filling up Section A. I'm short a couple of campers. Do you think Ted would want to go on the bay trip? And my dad told me, he said, you know, Howie, I'm sure we would. But we couldn't afford the extra money for him to go on the Bay trip. And he said, you'd be doing me a favor. It's not going to cost you any more money. Now, you'd be doing me a favor filling the section. So it's not going to cost any more money. Yeah, that's how I got to go on a Bay trip. I had to discount and to start with. And I honestly don't know, back then. I mean, I don't really think back in the 60s there were scholarships set up, for people. I may be wrong on that. Yeah. But the you know, the scholarships and like the Roy Waters scholarship and things like that didn't start up till a later time. Yeah. Oh, the endowment that the camp gets and things. Yeah, the fundraising and stuff. So like I said, You know, I was able to go to camp just because of our family history with the camp itself. Even though I was a private school and living in one of the wealthier suburbs of Pittsburgh and stuff like that, we were on the campus of a private school and had housing provided and stuff like that. So I don't know if I would have gone to Keewaydin if we had to pay full fare to be honest. But again, that was a different time, though. Back in the 60s, you know, it was a, you know, \$600 was a lot more back then than it is now.

I: 25:28

That's actually really, that's really interesting, as you were saying all of that. Because my relationship was basically the exact same, like, I went to private school also. But I was a scholarship kid at my private school. My dad, is a teacher, my mom was working in nonprofit work. And they were sort of able to like scrap together the money until my Bay trip year. And that's when we, we cannot do this on our own. And we had never even applied for a scholarship. I think my parents were a little embarrassed to ask for help from a scholarship. But when they saw the bill for the bay trip being like, \$9,000, or something, \$8500, they like just wrote an email directly to Bruce.

T: 26:23

What year was that?

I: 26:24

I did my Bay trip in 2015. Yeah, so works out to like, \$1000 a week

T: 26:32

1960 the Bay trip was \$700.

I: 26:34

Yeah. So it works out to like \$1,000 a week, basically. And then the extra for like travel and new gear, all that kind of stuff. Yeah. Really added up. So it was only my last year as a camper. So I guess at that point, I had sort of built my relationship with camp by having attended for so many

summers that they were like, yeah, we'll slide you the discount. But as similar as our financial experiences I can't seem to have been, I also felt that my relationship with other campers was a little different, because I didn't come from the same vastness of wealth as some of my other friends. Was that similar for you?

T: 27:26

I can honestly say, I did not have that experience. But then again, too, I think, you know, it was a different era, I think back in the 60s, as opposed to, you know, what's going on now. But, again, a lot of the at least the people I was involved with at camp, a lot of them had that private school background. And even though I was, you know, like I said, they're poor born in a rich man's land, I had the private school experience, coat and tie to school every day. And then, and, you know, then all my friends were in the same boat. I always say the same boat, but then the same. You know, situation, social class, whatever. I don't know. But I never noticed people being treated any different from their status or class or whatever. But then again, Camp costing what it did, and they're not being that many scholarships back then. That I'm aware that a lot of kids from private schools, you know, Cleveland area, the Boston area, or if they were from public schools, it was from the at least to my knowledge, the wealthier areas of the city. Yeah, so to speak, as opposed to the inner city and stuff.

I: 29:06

Yeah, I think the way that my parents generation and your generation experienced wealth divides was very different than we, than I experienced it now. But the cost of camp has only gotten more significant over the years. So now it's even less possible for a poor boy in a rich man's land to be able to like play in the camp community for longer. And I get a little wary of using scholarship programs as like a blank Fix for getting kids to be able to come to camp only because like, I was at camp I got there, and I still sometimes didn't feel as included. And if I hadn't just like sort of stuck through it, I could have seen myself leaving camp earlier than I did because of those divides. So even if you have camp like, attainable financially, it doesn't necessarily like predicate inclusion or acceptance in the community. Which I think comes out a lot more when we try and talk about like, racial divides at camp and getting kids from inner cities and things to come out.

T: 30:43

I I don't I think, you know, in my five years as a camper, there I don't ever remember there being any black campers? Yeah, a one year I was there. There were there were two campers from Puerto Rico. Yeah. But like I said, I don't remember there being any black campers. And maybe I think, one year the last year, I was a staff member there. And I'm kind of hazy and fuzzy on this. But I seem to recall, there might have been one black camper. But that's the only time I can remember. But then again, we're talking. This is my last my last year at Keewaydin, I think was in 1973. Sso we're going back 50 years.

I: 31:44

Yeah. I regret to inform you that that is still largely the case. Both the camps that I'm looking at. But there's also the trouble of sort of like dropping kids with very different backgrounds into a

camp that's not like prepared to come meet them there. You know, like, dropping non white people into an all white space and just sort of like hoping for the best isn't necessarily going to create an environment that's like safe and loving and inclusive for people. So there's a lot of work to be done in that regard. But that's partially what this project is hoping to do. I would say, so.

T: 32:39

Interesting.

I: 32:40

Yeah. So you went on your bay chip in, I wrote it down in 1966 What was the route you took?

T: 32:52

We did the Rupert River. In fact, I think was one of the last times they took the Rupert River. And it was also the first time that Nishi wasn't the guide. I think. That was when we first started having Americans, so to speak, be the guides Nishi had stopped doing the bay trip then. But we, we took the car and train to a place called Osquillanio in Quebec, up through the Guillon reservoir, Lake Chibougama to Lake Mistassini. Then went to cross Lake Mistassini to the Rupert river, and we took some of the Rupert then we dropped down to the Martin river, and then got back to the Rupert river, the little outpost called Nemoscout and then went on to Rupert house.

I: 35:28

We had when I was an assistant, we started our trip on Lake Mistassini. And so we put in there was there's like a little teeny, tiny, skinny, swampy Bay that has a put in on it. So we paddled out that and then we had to paddle down the shore for about four or five days. Before we could make an in on to the archipelago and the river that we're trying we were trying to get to. And I can honestly say that was the worst paddling I think I've ever done in my life. There's nothing quite as traumatic as trying to go lengthwise into the wind on lake Mistassini. They don't do any trips on lake Mistassini anymore. It's just too much of a liability. But yeah. I like asking this question too. Normally, I started out with it, but I had lots of other things I wanted to make sure we got to first when did you start enjoying canoe tripping?

T: 36:39

I was weened in the canoe. Really, I mean you know, like I said our islands just north of Keewaydin. Where you are Keewaydin at one point? We were almost just across from Philadelphia point. Devil's mountain, And I love keewaydin I still do I mean, that's, that's a different trip style. I guess. Now there was then but I love canoeing. I don't do hardly any of it now.

I: 39:30

Yeah. Wow. Well, I we pretty much covered everything that I was meaning to cover. I don't mean to keep you too long chit chatting. I just like building the camaraderie.

T: 39:44

I'm retired now. If I wasn't doing this I'd be watching on a different screen probably Covid really shut us down this year and just keep them pretty close to home and stuff but I hope I helped you with anything I know it's probably wasn't much But just another perspective.

I: 42:11

All right. Well,

T: 42:12

glad I was able to help you out. Yeah.

I: 42:15

Thank you so much. And I'm sure we'll be in touch.

T: 42:18

I take care. Glad I had a chance to meet you

Appendix A.4: Group 2, 1965-1972

(G=Tom Gilbert, first summer 1965; D=David Kremetz, first summer 1969, M=Mark Eustis, first summer 1972, I=Interviewer; ___=redacted name)

I: 04:34

I'm Nell I as I just said, I work at Pathfinder. I've been working there since 2018. And I started my first summer Keewaydin and as a camper was 2009 so I completed my Bay trip with Keewaydin in 2015, and we finished in Umiujaq on the Quebec side of the Hudson Bay, just above the Richmond Gulf. So to start, I just wanted to give everyone a brief background on my research and the process. So first off, again, thanking everyone for joining me at sort of a late hour on a weekday night, I really appreciate it. Um, so to begin my research is based on a few truths. And I want to lay those out and just reiterate that we're here to just have like an open discussion. It's not a debate or anything like that. I'm just basing my research overall on sort of a framework and that would be including just the acknowledgement that the Temagami and Algonquin Park regions are the ancestral lands of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai and the Algonquin Anishinaabeg peoples respectively. Algonquin Park remains part of greater Algonquin territory, that to this day remains unceded land. And through conquest, relocation and extermination land was thus taken from Indigenous people under a greater colonial project. I also am using the framework that the American and Canadian camping movements were founded partially out of a fear of sort of a weaker generation of men at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. That being that being outside and going canoe tripping was supposed to encourage strengthening boys turning them into men are coming of age, time in a boy's life. And that a lot of these stereotypes that surround Indigenous people like being hyper masculine or savage or untamed were harnessed and then applied to predominantly white upper class boys in order to toughen them up. And in the title of my project, I use the term performance. Just to

hint at what I believe is the manner in which canoe tripping camps and the outdoor community at large, may continue to reflect a few of these colonial goals including sort of feeling of entitlement to North America's wild landscapes, writing them as untouched or open for exploration without necessarily acknowledging the human histories that are already traced through the land. So this work is being done a lot at Pathfinder right now, as with our work with Christine Luckasavitch, who is Algonquin Anishinaabeg. That was the impetus for my research, I was really interested in tying this indigenous history to land to our experiences at canoe tripping camp. So as I said, there might be some difficult topics that come up, if at any point, things get a little uncomfortable, that's okay, we can always take a step back sort of reevaluate. And finally, if anyone is no longer interested in participating, that is also completely fine. And you are welcome to leave at any time with no negative affects on participation or anything. So that is why I want everyone to be well informed on my research before we start as was laid out in the consent forms. So again, I just thank everyone for being here. And for my first question, I want to talk a little bit about the camper or staff that you remember really looking up to when you were either a camper or a staff like that first person that stands out in your mind as the person you looked up to in your canoe tripping career. And I won't set an order for speaking so whoever is ready first, you can just go ahead and start.

D: 09:32

Oh I'll start. This person I looked up to was my staff man, _____. And he was a scout leader and all that sort of thing. But kids from the Cleveland area to the camp he responsible for mining that neck of the woods, for potential campers and has a long history at Keewaydin some somewhat controversial but long history so he was the first guy I looked up to

I: 10:19

I part of that Cleveland mining history. I'm a Cleveland girl.

D: 10:25

He was a high school teacher.

I: 10:29

University School i think i think we he and I have met before. Yeah.

D: 10:33

And my understanding was that he really pushed the camp for years for quite a few kids from my section were from cleveland, my first year.

M: 10:53

interesting. Um, I'm a little new on the whole zoom. I'm not a big Zoomer Am I am I relating? Are you hearing me seeing me? etc? Yeah. Okay.

G: 11:09

I'm hearing Yes.

I: 11:10

Yeah. Okay. super clear.

M: 11:12

Cool. So I, the first trip or the first experience I had at camp, I flew from Europe. My dad was a frat brother with the then owner, Swifty you know, way back in the day, and they and I flew over alone from Brussels, and then took a bus to Rochester. And I knew no one. I don't have much in the way of memories of my camper year. And in fact, ___ was the head man on the trip that I ended up being on the AA trip because they needed kids. And I went as a 14-year-old. Frankly, my, my memories are not wonderful of that trip. It was heinously uncomfortable.

I: 12:12

That'll happen

M: 12:14

Yeah, it was, well, as a, as a new kid, they put me in the middle. And sitting on the pack was just, I just get hurt all day long. Hi. And so my memory really was being with ___ and not having a wonderful memory of that. I guess it wasn't until two years later, I missed the next year, I broke my leg. So I came back the year after that as a junior staff, and I think it was Gyros brother that I and then ___ ended up being somebody that I really looked up to. And have you met ___, Nell?

I: 13:09

Yes, I have.

M: 13:12

He was he was instrumental and a mentor to me at one at a critical point. Some years later. Actually. I still to this day, I still wonder why it took me three years to get to the point where I actually enjoyed it.

I: 13:29

It takes a lot longer. So yeah.

M: 13:33

Yeah right? So I guess you can say that the first person that I really you know, admired and looked up to as a as a role model is ___, which is role models go is pretty good one to pick up on. Yeah.

I: 13:47

formidable role model.

M: 13:49

Yeah.

G: 14:44

Okay, actually I have a really strange history with keewaydin because the person who recommended the camp was ___ senior who was a teacher at Wilson Academy where I went to school. And I had gone to school with his son Danny and we've been friends forever. And my father had actually grown up with Howard Chivers, the director of the camp in Hanover, New Hampshire. So, and I had been in summer camps all my life and so going to keewaydin was no big deal at all. And I had a blast. The first person I really looked up to was Joe La Salle from Mattawa. He was Ojibwe native. And he was the guide in Section B, my second year in 66. And he was hilarious and ingenious, and I absolutely loved the guy. I'm just to give you a short story, if I can. On our second trip, we went up to the lady Evelyn rivers, trout streams. And we actually spent the first day going to Northern lady Evelyn so that we can actually spend two rest days up there because he likes to fish. And so here we have all these upper middle class kind of wannabe campers who didn't know anything about being out in the woods. And, of course, we had hundreds of dollars worth of fishing equipment and lures and, and etc, etc, etc. And we got to the first campsite up there, which was Joe's special place. And we had two rest days. And so all of us first thing in the morning, got all of our equipment, and everybody headed off to go fishing. And I was the last one there. And Joe says to me, he says, Hey, Gilby, he says, um, you got any line? I said, sure, he took about 15 feet a line and cut it and said, thanks. He says, you, Hey, you got a hook? And so I looked through all my stuff. And he selected a nice little hook. And he says that that's good. And he cut himself an alder pole from the shore bank. And then he said, Hey, you got any worms? And so I said, Sure. I got the little stuff with the moss and then my little container and he grabs one worm and throws it into the bottom of his canoe when he disappeared around the corner, and we fished for hours that morning, and no one none of us got even a bite. Nothing. And around noon time he comes around the corner in his canoe, and we yell out him, at him. Hey, Joe. And he fishing he says, oh, no luck today. He comes around the corner and the entire bottom of the canoe was filled with trout. And then he comes out and collects everything. he hands me back this half eaten worm. And that was his style. I mean, he was he was so incredible. Um did a lot of amazing things, taught us how to throw knives, throw axes, took us to all his favorite places. And then the last trip was the Des Moines River trip. And we had an absolute blast listening to his stories. One of his lines was half the lies I tell aren't even true. When it came to being out in the woods, he was an absolute scholar. He knew everything. Yeah. And so we learned a tremendous amount from him. So

I: 18:47

I feel like when I look back on the staff that I looked up to was a similar experience of people that I perceived as being so naturally in the landscape people and all the skills were there and the strength was there. But I I feel like that with age and with experience comes a certain ease in existing in the wilderness. And partially people who flip up boats and look really great canoe tripping? Are they look comfortable, but I think there's something more sort of central to that experience. And I know by talking to ___ there, there definitely is something there. So I was wondering if anyone could describe watching these people in the area or on a canoe trip and how that experience sort of made you feel as someone looking up to them.

M: 20:05

Well, having tripped as a staff member for ____, I think it was my second year as a third. Maybe it was my... Yes, second year as a second. Whatever, whatever year I was in, he was head man. And he chose to take three short trips that were in and around. We ended up in Oxtongue twice. It turns out that he was courting ____ at the time. So instead of taking the long trip, he decided to take a series of short trips, and I ended up being his staff on all three trips. And I never got a sense that I was, I never felt like he was mentoring me or teaching me or anything, you know, we just went out and did our thing. And it was a very light touch from him. Which I found unusual because of the regimented nature of the trip staff. Back in the day. He was really easy to be around. But maybe it was just, we clicked I don't remember. But it was fun.

I: 21:32

Yeah. You can be both, Yeah.

D: 21:34

Yeah. I tripped with ____. And that was a guide with ____ very accomplished outdoorsman. And I guess it wasn't like he, like you said, he didn't go about telling folks what to do. He sort of demonstrated by example. Yeah, that many times of the year, two different staff members, it's nice to experience it in the bush and more more years, you stay in the bush the easier it comes chock it up to

G: 23:09

Um, geez. I learned so much. I mean, it every every staff person that I had had certain things that were just amazing. For instance, one of the first things I learned from Heb Evans, on my Hudson Bay trip was he taught us how to, sharpen an axe, because most axes are beveled concave. And he said, that when you use an axe that's concave, it just bounces off the wood. And so what you want is convex, so that your your blade hits into the wood and sticks. And the first day we were out, he chopped down a tree, a dead Chico in about three minutes with his axe and explained how he was able to cut it and use it. So we spent a great deal of time fixing our axes, the first couple of days. And you just little things like that. And so it was eye opening being out in the woods with people who were expert. Every little thing was was amazing.

M: 24:44

Okay, now if I can add, I don't have any memory of consciousness of engagement with ____ or Other folks, I never really felt like I was, you know, mmm better watch this guy to figure out what happens here, or what happens next how I should do this. I don't, I probably was, but I don't have any consciousness or memory of that at the time. Or maybe memory of the consciousness of actively engaged in that, if you if you will.

D: 25:24

If I can just add an observation, I started in '69 and that was quite a few years ago, I will offer this that that as far as I was concerned camp had radically changed over that time period where, for example, the time that overtime it became much more of a physical thing, the physicality of flipping became the focus the natural history just went away. And I feared for a long time. That that was a mistake. That we need to put that the natural history brought back in, that I could

make, I had to go out and physically grab the remnants of the cans now to bring it back, because they would throw the whole damn thing away, back to the lodge. Now, they were meant to take that time and mentor the kids. And that's just one away. I always thought that that was a big mistake. It may be coming back, but my experience is that it's gone in a different direction.

I: 27:06

I definitely think that even in the 11-12 years that I've been involved in the camp community, I've watched it go from sort of unnurturing and hard environment to a much more nurturing experience where my first summer, you got thrown onto the trip, you've never picked anything heavy up before in your life, I was a swimmer. So I really had no like actual life, like walking skills in any way. And a lot of the time, falling or failing was sort of met with criticism or punishment. And now as I observe, and I learned from my co workers at Pathfinder, and from talking with my friends that still work at Keewaydin, the focus is becoming a lot more towards isolating, like what specific issues a kid might be experiencing, or how to talk about it with their staff or with other campers. And as a result, finding solutions to make the trail a much more like exciting, and fun experience while still maintaining that you have to carry what you have to carry, because everyone else has to carry what they have to. So there's keeping the teamwork aspect central, while finding more understanding ways to go about canoe tripping, which I think is really exciting. I like watching that happen. And that actually leads me into my next point. And being that in the last interview that I did, I talked to Ally Rail and Ben Kelly, and Ian Hanson all together all from Pathfinder. And they brought up a really interesting idea that I hadn't really thought about as I was doing my research and that is the team building approach and aspect of canoe tripping and how central that is. And for them, it came up in the mentoring their staff said, you know, you have to do this, because we all need to get to our campsite. And I was wondering how, if at all that lesson that canoe tripping teaches all of us has been applied in later and adult life. If you can think of any ways that it has

D: 29:49

I know it helped me professionally and research I'm a biologist I do research as a biologist throughout my entire career what I learned from Keewaydin was how to be a better team leader as a result of all those experiences at Keewaydin, you know, helping me understand all that stuff you know it was really important for my career development.

G: 30:29

One of the things that one of the things that you mentioned that that is startling to me, and it's just making my mind race. Um, I went to Wiliston Academy in western Massachusetts, from 63 to 68. And I was at Keewaydin, from 65, to 70. And for my 50th reunion back in 2018, going back to Wiliston Academy for the first time, the entire atmosphere of the school had completely changed. Because when I was a student, bullying was absolutely central to the school fabric, and it was militaristic. It was brutal. My memories of the school are pretty crazy. Camp, and Keewaydin was very similar. And at this point, when we went back all we had more of our classes in 2018, showing up for the 50th reunion. And we were all startled because the headmaster said bullying is so completely disallowed, that even the first defense you are gone. And we we were startled because of the nurturance. And the mentoring that the school had

transformed into what was idyllic, and we all wish that we had been at a school like that. Yeah, because our memories of the harassment, which was daily and brutal, you know, we've we've never gotten away from it. So if Keewaydin at this point is nurturing that is fantastic. Yeah, absolutely fantastic. And mentoring and, and, and not bullying. So yeah, I Congratulate you, you know,

I: 32:45

we're definitely doing the work you know, trying to unlearn a lot of sort of more toxic traits of the canoe tripping community that's for sure.

G: 32:57

Yeah.

M: 32:59

So I can speak to my history as a as a kid I grew up in Australia and I went to as they say, their public school, which meant that if you kicked a football through a window that caned if you've seen "The Wall" the Pink Floyd movie with it was remarkably like that. So getting to Pathfinder was something of a haven from the pretty brutal bullying you know, when I was a kid, but I don't really recall Pathfinder having a there was definitely cliques and there still are. Yes, it was a very militaristic and regimented way of life between the the division of labor between staff and in amongst the staff read ranks was very prescribed the division of labor between you know, pecking order and kids how many years you'd been there. But it was tolerable compared to the, you know, hellhole that I'd grown up in as a little kid. As far as team membership, that the team, the ethos of teams and relying on a core small group as you travel through remote space, I realized I moved to Annapolis in the mid 80s and fell in with a bad crowd and started doing a lot of ocean racing, sailing and regatas and such, and ended up doing a lot of long distance ocean races on pretty big boats.

I: 34:50

You probably knew my grandparents then my mom's entire family is from Annapolis, and are sailors the Mckees

M: 34:59

Interesting. So I think it was on my first blue water, Ocean Race. And we were gone. We were offshore for three days. And I, it felt perfectly normal for me, I've been on the team dynamic was a little different because you're four on and six off. And you know, so you only saw half of the of the crew of 13. So, you know, you only saw six people at any particular time. But it felt very normal and very comfortable. And after the, you know, the, I think it was the third day offshore, someone said, how many races have you done offshore, you seem really comfortable with this? I'm like, well, this is my first. And that, and it isn't so much that I didn't feel uncomfortable in that close dynamic of a team in a very controlled environment and I think that's directly attributable to the team dynamic you learn when you're in, you know, crappy weather in Temagami. And it's 33 degrees at night in August.

I: 36:19

In a leaky tent

M: 36:19

And a leaky canoe, and, you know, bad food and bears, you know, you're just having a crap time, but you know, you're still enjoying it, right to get that, that the team's dynamic that you develop through adversity. I do a lot of work in the intelligence and defense community. And there's, there's no comparison in the team dynamic between special forces that, you know, have been shot at and wounded and lost partners and such, but there is a, there's a dynamic, there's a team dynamic that you get, but and a bond that you get when you're in small groups, that that's a very special opportunity. And that's something that has carried me forward. You know, certainly through life. It's irritating when you're in a small team in a professional situation, and people are not behaving as a team that that's, you know, that could be irritating.

I: 37:24

Yeah, I, I can agree with that. For sure. Even just applying canoe tripping to my swimming career, I swim in college, and I've learned to apply that team aspect to my every day practicing even though I'm just one person and I'm just going back and forth, virtually alone. By being able to contextualize like, well I'm doing this, so that I can score points for my team so that I can support other people on my team, someone gets hurt. I think that's definitely directly a result of canoe tripping as such a young person, but I really would love to explore a little bit further, just what that militaristic environment was like at Camp when everyone attended because it's so different from even what I experienced, or what we're working on right now. And as I went to an all girls, middle and high school and it was a very nurturing place, we were supported, almost to the point of being over supported. So I'd love to explore that a little bit further. So for Tom and your school experience and your Keewaydin experience being similar, did you find that camp felt like a break at all or was it sort of just a continuation of your entire year of getting bullied forced to do difficult things?

G: 39:10

Um, camp was very, very different. I recall my first day there at camp in '65 being told when we went to get our paddles and and so on, signing them off, and this was your paddle for the year and I got back and and I think one of the staff persons their younger the younger guy said, Tom, are you right handed? And I said, Yes. He says, Well, you've got a left handed paddle and take it back. And so I had to go and return the paddle. And then of course, there was a hell of a lot of laughter and so on. That type of hazing went on a great deal. There were all kinds of things like that. Short sheeting beds, and that happened a lot. Picking people, you know, as some of the, the younger nerdier kids would have their mattresses picked up, and they would be carried off and stuck on a dock. And of course, they'd roll over and into the water. Yeah, there was there was hazing that went on continuously. Yeah. But it was more playful at camp. In school in prep school it was not it was it was intentionally brutal.

D: 41:04

I was gonna say in my experience that it was two different things there was poking fun and there was bullying. I remember my first year, there's you know this separation, between bow and sternman and I mean you don't cross that line. That was just how it was. And you know, the section had to get to point A and point B and you had to have a bow and sternman so you know you did what you could and those sternman were brutal.

I: 41:48

How are sternman selected? Were they the stronger camper? Yeah.

D: 41:55

I was in Waubeno and you know, I was, I mean, I was really tiny when I first arrived at Devil's Island you know I barely weighed 100 pounds. And you know my sternman he was a big kid who was just non stop on my ass about not being able to paddle harder. You know I remember on the first portage of that I did I couldn't pick up my wannigan. Now, I couldn't get my wannigan on my back. I know that I made it maybe 50 or 100 yards and my wannigan fell on top of me. I had to lay there until someone could come along and pick up the wannigan because I couldn't get out from underneath it. Anyway. Yeah, at camp bullying was common. If you cross that line, you get like pushed out, that was how it was done even at Devil's Island. Yeah, actually my brother he was a staffman and he got reassigned, because he was such a boy. But that was what what it was and I've been told it's changed over the time, but that's just the way it was. Like I said, you know that the hazing that you probably describe just some kids couldn't get over it, they didn't come back.

I: 43:40

Yeah, definitely a harsh environment.

M: 43:49

So I have a couple of thoughts on the regimentedness. You know, when I was there, I was a Pathfinder from 72 through 79. And 73, I had a broken leg so I didn't go the senior the camp director was in the Second World War, and he was first guy, you know, first units into Nagasaki. He was in the Philippines, you know, fought his way through the Philippines. So a lot of the, the, the, the very senior members of the camp who had been campers there in the 30s and been in the war in the 40s and were semi, you know, easing towards retirement. They were 50s and 60s by you know, when when I got there. So for them it you know, the culture was militaristic in a sense because that's how they were tempered. You know, they they actually survived in some ways in their combat because of the things that they learned when they were at Pathfinder, so they carried that forward. ___'s father was on the Bataan March. Yeah, yeah. Wow. So that kind of an ethos of shut up and do it, this is the way we do it, was was there but the headman that I tripped with and then I became a headman, they were, you know, Mac Rand and ___, and they were young men of the 60s. Well off young men of the 60s, right, frat boys and I should I could tell you stories about ___ and some of the things that we did on trips that were like, rather surprising that we're definitely not the militaristic, you know, approach. But there were very well described boundaries between the roles of the head man, the second man, the third man and the campers. I never paid a whole lot of attention to the, to that so much as I just went out to

enjoy myself and never, I was not a bully, or maybe because I got my ass kicked so royally so many times when I was a kid coming up, I just, you know, I didn't whoop on anybody else. But maybe that was that I was a product of my time as well. But it was, you know, I certainly remember there were moments when it was tough to be a kid. But it wasn't. It wasn't brutal. I just remember the regimentation. Yes. was because of the war experiences of the of the generation that was running the place.

G: 47:19

I'll agree with that. One of my best friends. And two of the years that I was up, there was Matthew Ridgeway, Jr. son of the general. And I remember having marvelous talks with Matt and his father, who was who would come up and visit. So yeah, there was definitely a militaristic background and, and those who were, you know, overseeing the camp. Yeah.

I: 47:48

That definitely ties into sort of making men out of boys. That's definitely something I've been exploring a lot in my external research. But what I've always found lacking in the source material is that personal like connection to canoe tripping, because all of the scholars on the camps group all of the old camps together, and there isn't like a personal one on one connection to any one camp specifically. So I've definitely been learning a lot from talking to others in the camp community, which leads me to first I do want to talk a little bit about that separation, that hierarchy and how it was maintained at camp. For my experience at Pathfinder, its age mostly and experience level. But if there was more to it, while you guys were campers, or staff men or any other sort of, because of that military aspect, if there's something more to it.

M: 49:19

But I think a lot there's some the traditions are layered on like, chunky peanut butter with these places, you know, and it's that framework that describes all the weird words for the different buildings and that and it's part of the initiation to be part of the, the organization to to assimilate some of that structure.

I: 49:47

Right. Yeah.

M: 49:49

And that's part of the belonging to know the, to know the phrases and to know the, the dynamic and you know, it It also reduces your otherness to be, you know, talking about bumwad, and the fort and all the rest of the, you know, code words and the actions and the structure, you know, like the head man wears the red trip rag and the second man wears the blue. And I don't know, if they still do that. Yeah, there you go. I still have my trip rag. I don't have the red one anymore, but I kept the blueprints. So you know, the whole men or boys to men kind of thing. You know, it's a rite of passage. I'm thankful to this day that my dad saw enough opportunity to send me off and toughen me up. Because I was a wuss, I needed. It was great. You know, I was a spoiled kid who would, you know, an introvert, who, you know, needed to go off someplace and get tempered a little bit. And I didn't know that until years afterward. But there you go. Right. I you

know, one of the great advantages of going through an experience like that is this is an historical, traditional, if you want to go back to the time of bands and clans, you know, there was there was always a pre described ritual to pass through in order to become, you know, and you were taught and mentored how to go, throw the spear, or use the axe or whatever, how to hunt. And, and you started when you were 12, or 13, you started when you were a kid. And as a as a, as a male, in, in whatever society you were in, you would, you would be mentored and go along on the hunt. And at some point, you would go out moose hunting, right, or bear hunting or deer hunting or duck or whatever the case may be, as, probably not in that, in that order. You'd reverse the order when you were 10 you'd go out duck hunting or something and fishing. And those rites of passage have been lost in contemporary urban and suburban societies. So finding a rite of passage you know, there's it's a wonderful thing to be able to have afforded or been able to, you know, have the opportunity to go do this, you know, it ain't cheap to go to a camp. And of course, it my dad only had to pay for it one year. And I got paid a pittance to go back and, you know, and and take my lickers thereafter. But, you know, to this day, I still don't understand, you know, it took me three years to like it, you know? And then I did but

G: 52:59

In talking to you folks, I'm remembering things that I had long forgotten. And I remember the four groups at Keewaydin Devils Island, Manitou, Algonquin, Waubeno and Temagami. And I was in 65, I was in Waubeno, and there was a time for almost Reveley in the morning, when you had to get up and get moving. But there was also a prescribed bedtime. And so there was one person who would come by at a particular time and say lights out, you know, and and, and you would get yelled at and and have to do all kinds of things if you didn't follow the orders. But the next year I was in Temagami, Section B. And in Temagami, there was no time limit, you could stay up late. You could also smoke if you wanted to. There was no smoking allowed in Algonquin or Waubeno ya know, so there was this hierarchy that went went along with your progression through the development. Yeah, crazy stuff. Oh, and my first year with Bob Raymond the staff person he spent the first several days there going over all the details of how to do things and he was a taskmaster how we wanted his pots cleaned, how you wanted how he wanted the tire that the the irons fixed on how he wanted you to use your tump line and and for doing the packs and and your canoe and the wannigans and, you know, how you fold in your tent, and he was extremely militaristic and and set in his ways of this is how it's done in my section and you will follow my orders. You know, I recall that you know, so you Yeah. Anyway,

I: 55:04

I love that. I, I to this day, I have a day, the first night of trip with new campers, that's, I want you to be able to rub your face on the bottom of the pan and it should be clean. You need to have the stake as far into the ground as possible to the point where it's difficult to pull it out of the ground. Like there are just a few things like I like the way that my campsite is set up. And there's no there's nothing wrong with that. I think that comes with being experienced and having preferences. An interesting thing that I learned by shifting camps as an adult, is that Pathfinder doesn't carry boats with carrying bars and the paddles lashed in to the underbody of the boat. And on my first trip, I had absolutely no idea how to carry a boat the Pathfinder way, it was excruciatingly painful, and the mid thwart just sits right at the top of your neck. I had such a hard

time. So I finally just at the end of the staff trip, I put my boat down, I waited for everyone to leave the canoe dock. And I put paddle ties into my boat for myself and I tumped it the Keewaydin way because there was just no way that I was going to carry it any other way the rest of the time that summer. So there's something definitely to be said for not only preferences, but the way that I was raised to canoe trip still affects the way that I do things despite being in a new environment. In that way, I just thought that was kind of funny. And I miss my wannigans I'm gonna say it I miss my wannigans.

G: 57:01

I miss my bannocks

I: 57:05

Yeah, I baked bannock for my campers, it was their first time ever having bannock on trip. So there was a few new things that I was able to bring over. But,

M: 57:18

You know, 70s we carried a Pathfinder we carried canoes, with paddle lashings and a tump. Yeah. And I I still don't understand the the new way. I you know, the the pack that you use to carry it now is horrible. Yeah. Weird. How you control. I don't know how you control the boat when you're going down the hill, or, you know, know moving around in woods, but I don't have to carry it anymore. That's okay.

I: 57:56

My first night at Pathfinder, the very first day I arrived, I found myself in the kitchen with the tripping directors. And we were just battling over how to carry a boat correctly, because I saw the way that the tumps were strung into the Pathfinder boats. And I was so confused that there were no knots or anything, it was just roped through kinda and then tied off at the ends. And they told me that the shift happened, as they were trying to create longer trips that could move faster, they figured out that if you had a big backpack, you could rest the boat on the backpack, and then you wouldn't have to waste time tying your paddles in to the boat. So it was just a flip it up, pull the tump on, and then get to running the trail, which I think represents an interesting difference in dynamic in the way that Keewaydin and Pathfinder view canoe tripping. In my experience at Keewaydin, it's very methodical, very. When you're moving fast, you're moving fast. But a lot of the time you have time to stop and sort of smell the flowers, hot lunches on the trail, that sort of thing. Whereas at Pathfinder, a lot of the emphasis has still been put on moving long distances in short periods of time. Which just I don't know, it's just something that I've learned from being in two different places in the same community.

M: 59:34

These days there. I sat with ___ a couple years ago and looked at the days that they had planned on trips and like some of these young kids trips. And he said no, no, these are, you know, these are 13-14 year olds, the next year's there AA year. And I said, wow, why are they moving so slow. There's some traditions that deserve to be changed. Yeah. And that was one of them was I never brought I fish all the time now. I spend a lot of time in fisheries advocacy work.

I've lived to fish. And I would have lived to fish them and would have been eager to do it. But you never brought a fishing rod along back in the day because that was too slow. Yeah. Nobody would carry

I: 1:00:31

And you wouldn't be able to trawl it behind you because it would take up too much time. Yeah.

G: 1:00:40

What kind of canoes did you have? Because we had like the canvas, cedar, Old Town canoes in the 60s. I have that changed. You have fiberglass canoes or what?

M: 1:00:55

Chestnuts. Just like cruisers and crongees. Okay. 16, prospectors, prospectors or crongees. Which you know, the 16 foot something or other? Right? Yeah,

G: 1:01:06

yeah.

M: 1:01:07

There are still 16 foot or 16 and a half. You know, they're now they're ___ brought us or something like that.

I: 1:01:15

The super deep prospectors double ribbed all of that. Yes, super heavy, filled with water all the time. Yeah. There's a lot of things that I want to get into. But I also am I'm going to offer up a quick like 10 minute break. If anyone wants to get some water, eat a little bit or anything. I don't know. I'm just offering it up.

M: 1:01:42

I'm prepped. I'm good.

I: 1:01:43

Everyone's good. Okay, I'm good. Sounds good to me. I'm also good. I still have my water left. There's so much good that's being brought up. And I want to start,

M: 1:01:58

If I can interject a little bit here. Um, I was really going to the acknowledgement of the Algonquin anishinaabeg. And the indigenous connection. Deb Holland was testifying today in her second day of testimony for to become the Secretary of Interior. And she acknowledged the three tribes, three bands from the DC area, acknowledged that she was on unceded land at the opening of her statement to the Senate. And I just took my breath away, took my breath away, that the Secretary of Interior was acknowledging before testimony, but what a what a difference. Just stunned, just I jaw dropped, listening to her saying that she opened in Kerris and then address them in Kerris and then and then acknowledged, you know, her family and others that were

there and that she was on unceded territory and lands. And I thought that was just an astonishing difference between Earnhardt and the rest of the folks that were there. For the last four years.

I: 1:03:57

Yeah, it is really nice doing this work at a time where attention is definitely being brought more to Indigenous issues. And this has been something that I've been thinking about for almost two years now. So to see a lot of build up and growth just in the last couple months has been really exciting. With that being said, this is a pretty good segue. I would love to explore a little bit further this rites of passage experience that I think we've all had at canoe trip in camps, obviously at Keewaydin we have the Gigitowin, which I don't know if anyone else other, I'm also a member. I have my pin and everything. The secret society that senior camper and staff are allowed to join. Was there--Is there a Pathfinder secret society? Or was there one when you were there?

M: 1:05:11

It was generally tied towards drinking age and which shack across the lake you went to whether it was a four and a half or the five? Yeah. No, there was no secondary well lit. To my knowledge, there is no secret society.

I: 1:05:28

Yes, to my knowledge, there isn't either, right now.

M: 1:05:32

You know, there may have been the, you know, the pinky swear secret society between some of the guys when I was there, but I never belonged. If there was one.

G: 1:05:44

I had completely forgotten when you mentioned Gigitowin. And it was just like, oh, my god, yes. I was initiated into that group. Yes. In the main Lodge, you know, after hours I don't remember much about it. But anyway, afterwards, it was like it was like, like, some kind of lodge that you were joining. And there was, of course, drinking and gambling afterwards. But, you know, it was kind of a for show. Secret Society. Yeah. It was funny. Not much mysticism in it, you know

I: 1:06:23

No, a lot of hanging out with your friends. Yes. For hours and sitting by the fire, in my experience in the Gigitowin.

D: 1:06:33

When I joined the Gig I was the last, group when I was back to this brutality thing I was in the last group that was allowed to use that you're actually allowed to be paddled part of the dogma. It was kinda exciting but, all that hitting with the paddle.

I: 1:06:54

Yeah. Yeah, there's Wow, that night was really something that I have spent a lot of time reflecting on especially, especially since I've started doing research on indigenous influences on canoe tripping. For sure. Also, in terms of, sort of mental maturity, and I think, speaking for myself, and hopefully others, a lot of people have that moment where they went from, like, their camper identity into being a fully formed or, like, more mature staff person. And mine didn't necessarily line up with my Gig initiation. But I was wondering if anyone recalled that moment, or that summer specifically, where they might have become aware of their maturity.

M: 1:08:01

I remember, coming back the summer after I had spent half the year, you know, half the season with with ____, and my attitude on the trip was completely different. And, but I don't know what happened in the middle, you know. But, you know, I just, it was easier to carry the boat. It was everything was easier, and everything felt better and right. I started to enjoy it. Well, I just don't know why. Maybe I grew up and I, you know, I had obviously grown up another year. By that time, you know, maybe I was further up in the food chain. So I had more responsibility and I wasn't the butt of, you know, I wasn't the third man anymore. I was second man. I don't remember.

D: 1:09:01

When I recognize the difference because I was an assistant in Manitou and then I went back and I was probably one of the only people that did B twice. And not A I went back B a second time. And then when I came back as a Guide after section B I think that was That second B trip, in conjunction with being an assistant my maturity changed enough that I felt that I was a staff person at that point.

G: 1:09:45

I don't think I ever got to a point where I thought I was mature and had graduated into a responsible situation even though I was an assistant and again, a guide in lemme see 68 and 70. That's part of my own family dysfunction, I guess. But I think I've perfected immaturity as an art form in my my later life

M: 1:10:24

I think the phrase is growing older but not up.

G: 1:10:27

Yeah. So I don't I don't see myself as as, as a person that transition from from one class to a to another. No, that didn't happen to me or for me.

I: 1:10:57

I was talking with David at the beginning, very beginning of the call that my first summer as a staff, at Keewaydin and I went on a 28-day trip in Quebec with David's daughter. And I was her assistant and we had a third woman also on staff with us. And on our third day on trip we completely lost a boat just out into the middle of a huge lake was never going to come back, lost it. And there were two campers in the water, wannigans floating away packs floating away,

horrible weather huge, like cresting white caps. And it was my third day on trip as a staff person, and I was effectively rescuing my campers and kind of pull all of our gear out of the water. And even after that, I was still unsure about my position, or my credibility as a staff person. I was like, I don't I did that. And I took the leadership over the campers and made sure everyone was safe in that moment so that the staff and guide could go after the rest of the gear, but I was still kind of unsure of myself. But it wasn't until my other staff, a few days later, a few hardships later just told me that they were really glad that I was on the trip with them, and they couldn't see how we would still be going if I hadn't been there. That really felt like a huge turning point for me. Going from unsure if I was really helping at all to understanding my position better as an assistant, even though I had campers that were technically older than me on the trip with us. But it's not always trauma that builds character on canoe trips, it just happens to be what you remember the strongest in my experience are those really scary, scary times.

G: 1:13:14

Let me share with you my last experience in camp. Our last trip, I was a guide. We had gone west of Lake temagami and it was the sturgeon river trip. We went up to Macomb by and down and so on. Anyway, um, uh, while we were coming down the river on one of the one of the portages there was this tradition that ended after my experience with it. You carried your ax as a guide hanging up in the front of the canoe. So if you came across any dead wood, you could chop it down and still not take the canoe off. I tripped on some kind of snag, the canoe altered on my shoulders and I tried to change the direction of the canoe and not realizing that I was holding on to the axe which had dislodged and I put it into my right knee and that right down to the bone. And I ended up doing my own bandaging of my knee. But we realized we had to get out of there in a hurry. And so the assistant and one of our stronger campers helped me go from the sturgeon to round lake to Obabika to Gull or something and and eventually find somebody who had a telephone to get a airplane into get me out And then I was shipped to a hospital, they end up with surgery and so on. That was my last experience at camp. But reason I'm telling you this is that all of our kids who were just happy go lucky campers that were like the Bad News Bears, they just, they could never really get anything right. But with the trauma of me getting out and all of them having to pick up the slack. The staff person told me later on that all of the campers woke up with this accident. And they became like soldiers, and they did all of the work. They did all the cooking. They did all everything fell in line. So the trauma of my experience with them and so on. They're dealing with it. They all of a sudden became adults. It just overnight with this. So yeah, trauma does teach people how to grow up. Yeah, so I can relate to what you You said your story. By the way. What Lake were you in? Where you lost the canoe? What in the in Quebec? You remember?

D: 1:16:08

Mistassini.

G: 1:16:09

Oh, yeah. Yeah. Yeah. Okay. Yeah. Yeah.

D: 1:16:14

I don't know if you know this but as a result of that experience and many others that happened before you guys that don't use that lake anymore.

G: 1:16:22

Wow.

I: 1:16:23

Really?

D: 1:16:24

They had enough bad experiences on that lake that they're avoiding it now.

I: 1:16:28

It's, I mean, it is a horrible lake.

G: 1:16:33

It's 100 miles long. It's Yeah, when we crossed it at the bay trip when you're going on East Main river trip. It was absolutely dead calm and Heb Evans was like, wait a minute, there's a storm coming. I know there is

I: 1:16:45

It's happening.

G: 1:16:46

But we just passed it was it really was absolutely dead calm crossing it. And he had told us about how dangerous it is. On certain occasions. They sometimes they have to wait for days to have it clear. Yep. Wow.

I: 1:16:59

Yeah, it was, um, my friends did section two. And it was a summer that I took off so that I could try and pursue swimming a little further. And they crossed it. And the same, it was the same experience. Their whole trip was horrible weather headwinds, everything, you know, blisters to the bone level, just soggy. And the second, they had to start their crossing, they did it very early in the morning three or 4am or something. It was completely calm like scarily they said it was scarily calm because they hadn't experienced no rain in like the 40 days that they had been on trip for. So when I did it, it was horrible weather the entire time. So yeah, the I just remember, I didn't think to tell the campers because Songa Wild is a it's a new trip that keewaydin does where they take girls from Songadeewin of Keewaydin, and they put them on a Temagami style trip. And the way Songadeewin and Dunmore trip and the way Temagami trips is obviously very different. So I didn't think that I needed to explain to the campers that the bigger person goes in the back and not in the front. So we were already like a quarter of the way into our large Bay crossing when I realized that the the headwind and the waves coming at us were crashing over the bow deck of one of my campers boats because there was a significantly larger girl in the front than in the back. The whole rest of the experience was a complete blur until they were both

in the water and we were trying to pull them out of the water but yeah, you learn a lot from being an assistant on a trip like that and it definitely taught me how to be a better staff person to women like to girls and how to teach better which is obviously not super useful now that I work in an all boys camp but yeah, the nurturing aspect goes a long way when girls are scared to go down whitewater because of nearly drowning in the middle of a huge lake.

D: 1:20:45

That an interesting thing about that accident to me is that you know, when I first started at camp, the training that the staff were receiving was minimal I mean absolutely minimal and now its extensive like an entire week of training.

M: 1:21:03

Absolutely.

D: 1:21:04

I remember my last year, you know, CPR, all that stuff why they didn't do it way back when I'm really happy that they're doing it now. I mean, every section that I was in, we had a life and death situation. But we had some bad situations, every single year. In fact even the last few years that I went to the bay, each year we had on a day to day basis serious situations. We had a situation down the Winisk that we probably should have evac'd. The camper that got so sick. Anyway.

M: 1:21:54

The prep when I was at Pathfinder back in the 70s was after breakfast, the staff would get together and you'd practice mouth to mouth resuscitation live. Which was, you know, this was a big, big thing, right? And that was pretty much and then you know how to put a bandage on. And then swifty would read what he called the litany of tragedies. And that was about an hour's worth of him talking about all of the horrible things that could happen that had happened at other camps. But it would never happen to Pathfinder, of course, because we were prepared because we had listened to Swifty and his litany of tragedies. And then that was it.

D: 1:22:49

I remember that when we got to Temagami the sections, that part of the section life was learning how to do things right you know, whitewater rafting, tying knots, all that stuff. And that's just goes back to my earlier comment about the loss of kind of natural history and camping and learning all that stuff as I sort of see that as unfortunate I don't know if it's still there. Yeah, I don't know if that's part of the rite of passage of going up to Temagami.

I: 1:23:30

No, it definitely is. Learning to do things right. And the pride that comes with being a Pathfinder man in Algonquin Park and a Keewaydin man in Temagami is very similar in my experience, and a lot of that to this day comes from stories of my staff when I was on the Obabika circuit. Evacuating a Wabun girl because the Wabun staff had no idea how bad her infections on her

legs were. And my coworker at Pathfinder, evacuating a camp Ahmek boy for similar reasons and the precedent that being the top tier in the area comes with the people that you go to for help the people that you can trust to take care of the campsite and the land is something that definitely continues. And to that point, I would like to dig a little deeper into how Keewaydin and Pathfinder in the day, how people were taught to interact with other camps, other tourists, if, where the pride specifically sort of stemmed from in Everyone's individual experiences.

G: 1:25:09

It was sort of like, common noise in Keewaydin that if you ever came across Boy Scouts up there, they were to be laughed at, because they didn't know what the hell they were doing out there in the wilderness. I never really came across any groups that were Boy Scouts that appeared to be ignorant and unaware of things. But there was just this unwritten code that people who were Boy Scouts were imbeciles up there. We ran across a lot of Wabun people up there. And there were a lot of tourists that we came across, trappers. People were just out hunting and drinking. On our Bay trip, the only people we came across on our entire trip, were some French miners who were panning for gold. And they were very wary of us when we came around the island and saw them and they had their shotguns out there until they discovered who we were in one of our campers was fluent in French. And so it explained who we were and what we were doing. And then we had a, we shared a lunch with them. And that day, yeah, I was a strange circumstance. I'm running across other people from other camps and other organizations. We were told pretty much to stay to ourselves. But that was the 60s.

M: 1:27:02

I can remember. Yeah. I can remember being, you know, trip snobs, you know, you could always tell the Camp Tamakwa boats, were in great disrepair. And the way they were painted black, you know, who paints a canoe black, you know, with white stripes on. And, you know, we used to call them skunk boats. And we come across Boy Scouts. And, you know, we never spent a whole lot of time interacting with them. Because we were moving so fast, we would just sort of come across a group on a portage or something and just sort of just roll right through and just disappear. And it was actually a point of pride sort of being that, you know, Pathfinder trips snob. Okay, guys look good here, you know, and you you jam it together and everybody hop in and you'd be a well oiled machine just disappear.

G: 1:28:10

And, yeah, you know, that

M: 1:28:12

interaction was always I never felt like so much that we were any much better than anybody else. Unless they were Boy Scouts or, or some group that was bonking aluminum canoes, you know, yeah. But you know, you'd see Ahmek or you'd see Northway or, or other groups. And then sometimes you'd see somebody in a plastic boat goes zinging by you and you'd be like, Whoa, okay.

I: 1:28:43

Power paddling.

M: 1:28:47

Clearly, the Pathfinder staff are the most trained wilderness groups that I've seen, you know, when I interact with wilderness groups in the Mid Atlantic, you know, that school groups that are going out for field surveys and that kind of stuff. And if you do it for a few years, you you get pretty good at it. And that that's different than a than a Boy Scout group that there's a Boy Scout or a group from Salisbury state, which is a state school in Maryland that comes up to Algonquin Park every summer and they go up for two weeks. And Algonquin Outfitters has been outfitting them as a orientation thing for new students for many years, and they're gonna, Gordon and I laugh about, you know, these these kids coming up and never done it before and, but it's a wonderful thing for somebody to experience that You know,

I: 1:30:00

that's the dichotomy To be out there at all, you know? You hate seeing people bad at tripping, but you want everyone to be able to experience canoe tripping at the same time.

M: 1:30:13

Exactly, exactly.

G: 1:30:14

Precisely.

I: 1:30:18

Yeah, I definitely think there's still that precedent of you power paddle when you are passing tourists on an open lake or there's certain portage etiquette that you maintain when there's other people on the trail that if you haven't been in that community for long enough, you wouldn't necessarily know to like put all of your stuff on the left side of the landing, etc. or leaving space and not flipping your boat down into the middle of the landing at the end of the portage things like that. But it makes it does make for trip snobbery when you've been doing it long enough. Which I don't think is necessarily a bad thing. But it does. Being that group that looks so at ease in the environment, and so well oiled. Sort of in I don't know where I was gonna go with that thought I would be.

M: 1:31:30

You can be that you just don't have to be a Richard about it.

I: 1:31:33

That's true.

G: 1:31:35

Yes. I want to share something on our Hudson Bay trip, East Main trip. It was an exploratory trip. And some of the more advanced campers were selected for the group. Why how I ended up with the group, I have no idea. But in the East Main river trip had never been done before

because it was considered way too dangerous. And, and the history was that a person from the Hudson Bay Company in 1896, named AP Lowe, had gone up there to survey for the Hudson Bay Company, the East Main River Basin. And that was the first group. And then in 1955, an American named Dave Jarden took two college students with him. And I guess one of the most famous whitewater, Ojibwe Indian guides named Mike buckshot, and the two canoes, they did the exploratory group, and so Heb Evans in 1967. When we went down, we were the next group of canoes people as far as we knew who had gone down, and he had the report from Jarden and from AP Lowe. And everywhere on that trip, where we came across a Native American campsites Heb said, Okay, you guys, you're what you're gonna do is because this is a summer and winter trap lines that the Cree Indians had for going up and down the river, have said, Okay, guys, go out and chop down a ton of wood and put it into the reserve of the place. Because we're going to stock up more wood than we use. And, and so is this gesture to whoever comes by, you know, you know, we will have left them more wood than we used. And so that was something that we did, you know, for the Native Americans, you know, and that was something that have instilled in us, and also not to disturb anything, because we're so many places where we come across our totems and, and sacred things. It was like, No, don't touch any of this stuff. None of this stuff is is for you. This is this is their land, this is their backyard. We're just visitors going through, you know, so anyway,

I: 1:34:14

I'm still wrapping my head around the fact that you tripped with Heb Evans, I'm sorry, I'm going to just take a moment to absorb the idolatry that I have been instilled with for so long. Okay, time to continue.

G: 1:34:30

Heb told us that everything you knew up there he'd gotten from Nishi Belange is his guide for many, many years. And he was like the, the ultimate mattawa, Ojibwe Indian, this one eyed guy who could do absolutely anything and everything. And so Heb would say, you know, everything that I am telling you, it's not because I discovered it or whatever I was taught by Nishi Belange So That was heavy.

M: 1:35:01

Nishi is anishinaabe for friend. That's interesting.

G: 1:35:17

I'm Pardon me.

M: 1:35:18

Nishi is anishinaabe for friend.

G: 1:35:21

Yeah, absolutely.

I: 1:35:29

Now I'm just thinking about all of the studying of the Keewaydin way that I did on my Bay trips so that I was ready for my initiation test. And all the stories about Heb and Nishi that I am was memorizing. Wow, that's really exciting. I had a list of talking points that I was gonna, hopefully get back to let's see if I can find any of those. Oh, yes, they along. A while ago, in the conversation Mark, you brought up how the time periods that staff and campers were brought up in affected the overall experience of the camp, like with ____, versus the older military generation. I was just wondering if anyone had any more to say on that, or a story, perhaps Anything? Anything related? I just really liked that comment that you made.

M: 1:36:39

Well, we sank, my canoe sank in the middle of Lac Kipawa on a trip with ____. And the bow was really low, because I had a case of beer stuck in the baby pack. So, you know, maybe, maybe no, maybe, maybe don't fill your baby with a case with a 24 of beer before you go down the Des Moines. You know, don't go tell ____ I said anything about I think, you know, every generation has a different ethos and a different interaction with the land and, you know, with each other, right, the how people the dynamic, or the personal dynamic between my dad and his good friend swift, and, you know, when So, and ____ and the rest of that crowd that were in the Second World War, they had a very, the emotional connection between them was very understated, you know, it was probably just as strong as it is today. But it was expressed in entirely different ways. Right? So that baseline or that cultural expectation of how people interact with each other changes by generation. And I think in broad ways, you know, the way people interact with each other, the Pathfinder now, in my experience, having gone back, you know, for a couple weeks, these past few years in June, it's a different dynamic than it was when I was there. It's, it's, and I think that there's a tempering factor because there's women around there were little or no, there were just very few women there. When I was there in the 70s. And if there were, they were somebody's wife, and they didn't socialize with the campers, or not, but the camp with the staff, right, so there was no, it was it was truly just a big bunch of frat boys rolling around and being idiots. And, you know, that general sense of the word and sometimes in the very specific sense of the word.

I: 1:39:17

Alright. Indeed.

M: 1:39:20

But I and I think culturally, you know, if you go back to the indigenous, the adoption of the indigenous ways would you know, back in the day when I was there Toncacoo would come out on Saturday night for the with with a can full a coals right wearing a Plains Indian full warbonnet with the whole heel toe routine, and that expropriation I guess the boys that had just given up thinking that Santa Claus was real, we're okay with thinking that, you know, maybe this Tocacoo thing is there's something to it. But it was all sort of a sham, you know, for everybody just kind of a weird anachronism at the time, you know, never quite understood, I do remember being on a trip, and an older guy, an indigenous elder was canoeing and camping on his own. And he came by just to sit with us in the evening, and visit with us around the campsite. And it was painful to watch the pain on his face about the lack of understanding about why he was there, and why we

were there. That was my first real experience, and some of the cultural differences between indigenous people and, you know, I was, and, and whites. At least in North America, when I was a kid in Australia, I I knew some indigenous folks there, but it was a very different dynamic. So I, I think that sort of loop around on this, the, the connection to the indigenous community is so much more positive, intellectually appropriate. And and what is the right word here? Honest now, compared to the stylized, you know, painted Indian activity from back in the day? You know, in the 70s, the whole the whole Indian ethos was it was recognized, I think we all recognize it was kind of a vestige of some turn of the century 20s 30s, idealized, stylized approach to that reverence. Versus now where there's a much more realistic clear eyed view about the role of and the rights and the culture.

I: 1:42:34

Yeah. Couldn't have said it better myself, Mark.

G: 1:42:40

Yes, very well said. Yeah. Thank you.

I: 1:42:42

Thank you. I have a lot of thoughts about Toncaco, but I'll leave that for the time being I'm just like, I have thoughts about the four winds ceremony and the Ogima at Keewaydin, then it's not just a Pathfinder problem, it's all over?

M: 1:43:03

Well, I think I struggle with this a lot is that you know, about, you know, presentism versus historical, you know, views. can't look back too far. With these with the way we view the world now. And ascribe malevolence or evil to it. It's, you know, pandering and and, you know, condescending. And I think if anything, the camps back at the, you know, when they started in the teens in the aughts, in the teens, you know, 100 plus years ago, there was a reverence for this and an appreciation, misplaced and how it was what was iterated but at least there was a reverence and appreciation, that was a whole lot different than because of the socio economic level of the people who were doing it versus Joe logger down the, you know, down the road, who just as soon, you know, hit the indigenous person with a with a PV, and you get them out of the way because he was just another drunk Indian, right. So, there's a cultural appreciation that cultural change happen is I think we are in a in a place to appreciate in a very different way than people in the concomitant socio economic area, you know,

G: 1:44:43

um, let me add sorry, I just remembered something. When, when we got to East Main house in 1967, one of the young kids there who was the great grandson of the chief There, he had been a school down south. And he spoke with us for the three days we were there, and wanted to know everything about us. And we and we asked everything about him. His great grandfather, ____, was 101. And his wife was 100. And he and his wife, bought one of our canoes, with the 17 foot canoes, because we couldn't get all of the canoes back onto the the seaplane to go back. And so this was a normal routine of selling off one of the canoes. And ____ and his wife, were

still going out on the summer and winter trap line. And his wife picked up the canoe off the beach, put it on her head, and walk it back to where they were going to store it. And the amazement, of just ___ telling us about his great grandparents, and all the things that they continued to do, and all of the things that they were involved in, in the community of East Main house. And it was eye opening, and jaw dropping for all of us kids, because here was, you know, this loyal couple who were 101 and 100 years old, and still Hale and Hardy, like they were kids. And it was amazing. And their features were just aged wisdom in everything that they did. And so it was fantastic for us to see this. The chief and his wife in East Main house, ___ and his wife. I never got the name of his wife. But to see this woman who's 100 years old, just pick up the canoe, put it on her shoulders and walk it back to their their camp.

I: 1:47:06

Yeah. So yeah.

M: 1:47:09

My grandma was 98 when she died and she was playing canasta on the, you know, on the porch and in Florida.

G: 1:47:19

Unreal.

M: 1:47:20

Yeah, that's amazing.

I: 1:47:23

I still get funny looks when I flip up canoes in Algonquin Park sometimes always makes me laugh that actually I think the funniest interaction I had as a woman leading a male campers trip was a tourist or another camp coming up and asking how I knew how to stern a canoe. Because I was just in the stern and my co head man was in the front in the bow. And someone just paddle up next to us and got really close to our boat. So I had to really maneuver to make sure we didn't hit each other because I didn't want their plastic rubbing up on our fresh paint job. And they had to ask how, I knew how to stern. And I was like, I don't know, I learned when I was a kid. And I said, Oh, okay, and then they just, like, paddled into those ones that

M: 1:48:28

it can be a mysterious thing to watch somebody paddle a canoe. In a straight line, right?

I: 1:48:34

Yeah. It's one of my more valuable skills. I like to think. Yeah, for the wow factor, you know

G: 1:48:53

I have a question for you guys. I'm in the 1960s when I was there, there were during midsummer, there was competition everywhere in everything. There were swimming

competitions, canoe competitions. There was cooking competitions. And it was all you know, ridiculously competitive. You know? Um, I don't know. Is that something that that continues?

I: 1:49:20

Yes. When I was a camper we won. Every year that I was a base camp camper. My section won the cooking competition. We won camping when I was in Winisk, so like the Waubeno equivalent, and I won swimming every single summer. I still have my badges from all of the competitions from midseason. Yeah. point of pride for me. I would say. It got bad though when a kid that was on the premier swim team in Toronto, started coming into camp because then I actually had competition whereas before I could just sort of swim slowly and still beat everyone. It got very heated, yeah. Yeah,

M: 1:50:13

There was a lot of competition and, and rigor to that competition in the 70s at Pathfinder, I'm, I'm not an organized sports kind of guy. So although we had this wonderful game called fresher, which is no longer played, and, and that was fun, because it was just organized chaos. The game was, you divided the camp in half. And you'd line up on either sides of what was called the ball field. And you would tag the other person out if you were fresher off the line than they were. So was tag. So if, if I walked forward, and then somebody came out from the other side after me, they were fresher. So they could tag me and get me out. And it turned Well, they outlawed it. They don't play it at Camp anymore, because kids would get an run over was was mayhem. And that was really enjoyable. I really liked that. Really. I played rugby, so and when I was like, Oh, yeah. I like rugby, because it was just sort of, you know,

I: 1:51:33

chaotic.

M: 1:51:34

It was a team sport, even though I'm a not not a non competitive kind of guy. But yeah, I think that's I think there's still competitive stuff at Pathfinder, now, you know, swimming competitions and badges and all the rest of it. I couldn't have cared. And it was not possible for me to have cared any less about getting any of those badges or any of those awards when I was a camper. I just didn't care. But I think it's still there. And only you're still there. Right? So there's a competition.

I: 1:52:07

Yeah, I can't. I don't remember the specific name for it. I just remember there being four teams, and canoeing in the morning and swimming in the afternoon. And having usually around a quarter of the entire camp on the swim dock in one afternoon at a time is pretty much the most stressful thing you can experience as a lifeguard. And the competition gets really intense still. But in terms of like evening activities and stuff apart from the dodgeball equivalent that Pathfinder plays. I don't see much like physical injury happening over competition, maybe because everyone has to wear close toed shoes, so you're less likely to slip on a sandal or something. The spirit is still there, I would say. Yeah.

M: 1:53:09

Sure. I'm heartened that it seems there's also a bit more of a more of a resurgence or not a resurgence, but a an appreciation and improved appreciation for moving a little slower and interacting a bit more with the natural world. I think Pathfinder could do a whole lot more about that. Yeah. You know, there, there's many, many ways to better educate the staff. And then from there, that campers about the ecosystems, the challenges that they're in, you know, writ large, as well as directly from Thunder boxes and people coming through, you know, day after day for three months out of the year.

I: 1:54:05

Yeah, I definitely think that where sort of trad lore and land stewardship may have been taught in a more nativist mindset where like, we are responsible for steward being stewards of this land. I think now, in conjunction with being more culturally aware of the indigenous history, especially in Algonquin Park. The mindset is shifting a little more towards we're guests in the park and more guests on unceded land and sort of our dues for occupying that position as a guest is by taking care of where we are to the absolute best of our ability. At least from sort of accounts that I've read about, like old old camp. I do like that the foundation on which teaching about trees and wildlife and human history are more in conjunction with indigenous acknowledgement rather than erasure. So that's something I'm pretty excited about. But there's still definitely more work to be done. I just wish that I had been taught like, animal tracks, I feel like it would have been a cool skill to have, considering how much time we spent outside or tree identification. You know, I feel like sometimes

M: 1:55:52

I had a conversation after the last spruce root, with a couple of folks about putting together flashcards that the head man should carry along with, you know, a card with the characteristics of the pines and the characteristics of the deciduous trees and, you know, little pictures with a little description, just so that, you know, what is that bird over there? Right, you know, yeah. Well, you know, why is this? Why is this Sundew in the swamp instead of, you know, that swamp over there? And what? It wouldn't be too hard to, you know, raise the game? remarkably, yeah. You know, remarkably, with some very portable guides that would go along.

I: 1:56:45

Yeah.

G: 1:56:46

I agree completely.

M: 1:56:48

It's a it's a mission of mine for the next time I go up is to bring a sample of those to Mike. Which

D: 1:57:01

I was on Keewaydin's case forever about bringing back the nature and stuff like that. Teaching about Indigenous history and part of the issue, was that the staff most of the staff had no, knowledge it was difficult for them to educate the kids and so the burden fell on a bunch of guides that could be brought out on foot and then the other issue that at the beginning of camp the staff spent half a day on that part of the kind of learning especially the younger staff knowing how to identify things how to appreciate things. Yeah. Because that goes back to the last comment to the Who was there? You know, they used to spend a lot of time on the campsite and he used to talk about the natural history with a man and that's something that again, gets back to my notes that it doesn't just like the last time I step 2008 is all about how many miles we can cover and you know, I just fed them and said that that that was trying to kind of minimize and anybody else could get sort of missed out there. You know it really badly is a lot of time to get up and live and then a drive home How important is my father's doing here because of that is that I got back to the US yeah to cut down trees to put up that tent. Drive that crazy that that the club that that is the tip is the next section with that who became very concerned about conservation of species, the things that we use with who that are to learn putting some of that stuff to practice.

I: 1:59:46

Yeah.

G: 1:59:49

Very good.

I: 1:59:52

When I was 11 we had four campers with three campers on three staff So the staff decided that we were going to sleep only in Woods tents, like the classic Canvas tents instead of taking our normal, contemporary tents. And they would have us saw down the logs and everything and learn how to construct proper wooden tent poles, which was probably a little destructive considering it's hard to even find firewood in the Temagami area as an 11 year old, but I value the experience for sure. Not a lot of people can say they did that. So

M: 2:00:39

well, I remember doing it a lot. And I also really appreciate the fact that it's just a lot easier to set up a tent without having to go out and smack bugs and, you know, carry a Kevlar canoe, you carry the tent and the poles and all the rest of it, it's, it's easier that that's fine. And the added bonus is you're not really eliminating all the saplings within a 750 yard radius of your campsite.

I: 2:01:10

And you can pick and choose which traditions are worth holding on to do. I feel when there's many more technological advancements. But there's something I really appreciate about places like Keewaydin and Pathfinder, that have actively chosen to maintain cedar boats and classic Duluth or wannigan, style packs, that sort of thing. Well we're at exactly eight o'clock, which is, wow, that was it. I don't know if anyone has anything else they want to fit in before we wrap up, but it didn't feel anything more. We hit. I chose new opening questions based on my experience

with my last interview, those got everything through there. And all of the follow up topics that I pointed out. We got through all of that, too. So I can't think of anything else that I am burning to ask at the moment. But I haven't set a shutdown time or anything for the zoom. So it's not what like extremely pressed for time. I do really appreciate it. I love the juxtaposition of interviewing my canoe tripping contemporaries, and then interviewing a much different demographic, right after Because I learned a lot

G: 2:08:49

I want to thank all of you for for doing this. I'm being flooded this entire two hours with memories that have long been forgotten the number of times the number of times than somebody would scream in the middle of the night. Northern Lights and we go running out to the docks and lie down and watch and feel infinitesimally small these massive ribbons floating across the sky. Oh was in the night skies up there on real.

I: 2:09:20

Yeah. The stars and yes, but it's always a meteor shower at Keewaydin end season. Yes.

M: 2:09:27

Oh. That reminds me of standing on the swim dock in the late 70s and unbelievable curtains of purples and pinks and greens and the Perseids were going off and shooting breaking holes through the curtains which were then closing back up again.

G: 2:09:53

Wow.

M: 2:09:54

And the you know everybody on the docks just going Holy moly. Yeah, I'll never forget counting shooting stars. We're all very fortunate folks to have experienced this.

G: 2:10:09

Yeah. Oh, I must tell you, I must tell you um, Joe Lacelle told all of us that if we ever came across a moose out in the middle of a moose pond and then somebody would get a chance to ride the moose. And we actually did that. And one of our campers _____. I don't Did you ever come across _____? Yeah. _____ got a chance to ride the moose. And and it was fine until the moose hit solid ground and then he was bucked off. We were. We were dying with laughter It was so much fun.

M: 2:11:32

thank you Nell

I: 2:11:33

we'll wrap this down. Now. Wow this is always so fun. I love that I get to do research on something that I love so much, and that so many people love as much as I do. And and for that I'm super super grateful.

G: 2:11:47

If you have any further questions, if you want to do a zoom later on for follow up, you know, I I'm game. This is marvelous. I love this. Yes.

I: 2:11:56

Yeah.

M: 2:11:57

Who doesn't want to talk about camp.

I: 2:12:00

Literally. Hasn't this project hasn't been done already. Because it's nothing but joy. I'm looking into posting the final project on a sort of widely available basis for anyone that's interested who wants to read it later. So

G: 2:13:47

Thank you. Thanks. Thank

I: 2:13:48

you guys. A joy as always. Thanks.

G: 2:13:53

Thank you. Nice meeting all of you. By the way. You said you were in Cleveland area. I'm from Lakewood. Yeah.

I: 2:14:34

All right. Thank you, folks.

G: 2:14:37

See you later. Yes.

I: 2:14:40

Night.

Appendix A.5: Personal Interview with Anonymous Participant

(M=Anonymous Participant, first summer 1999; I=Interviewer, ___=redacted name)

I: 01:44

yeah. I'm, I'm I was inspired by Pathfinders recent introduction of indigenous education into our camp programming. So we hired an Indigenous consultant there. Yeah, I work there now. I've been working there since 2018. So a couple years now. Yeah. But I grew up as a camper at

Keewaydin Temagami a different canoe tripping camp. Yeah, so that's where I grew up. So I've been canoe tripping, basically, my entire life now.

M: 02:22
Yep, same

I: 02:23
kinda played into the inspiration for this project. Cool. So just as a little background, and so that legally I start every interview with the same sort of preamble just to make sure everyone's on the same page. So the basis of my project is reflecting on the colonial roots of the canoe tripping camps Keewaydin and Pathfinder to further contextualize future harm reduction and inclusivity at camps all across Ontario. I'd like to acknowledge that Algonquin Park is unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabeg people, and that, in my basis for my research, I'm determining to what extent the colonial roots of summer camp are still seen within the camp experience across multiple generations. So I've been interviewing my first, my oldest group I interviewed started in 1953 into 1960s range. And then I sort of worked my way down from there. I had a couple of groups of recent alumni and current staff also. But do you have any questions before we start?

M: 03:57
No, that sounds fair.

I: 03:59
Okay, I just wanted to make sure. Typically, when there's a large group, I want to make sure everyone's still on board to participate and things before just to be safe. But I wanted to start by asking at what point in your canoe tripping career you began enjoying canoe tripping.

M: 04:21
My AA year

I: 04:23
yeah. Where did you go?

M: 04:27
I did the White River. I don't think they do it anymore. I think the Ontario dammed it off shortly after I did it for hydroelectric. So that we did was five days on the White River and then 12 days on Lake Superior. Oh, wow. So that was pretty that's pretty bad at Lake Superior. If you remember canoe Lake Superior it's friggin bad ass.

I: 04:47
I'll never

M: 04:49
Yeah, it's scary because like the wind just can get up in waves huge and yeah, so it was it was awesome though. So that was the first time I probably was like, holy shit. This is like the coolest

thing I've ever Like ever done and then I've done the Missinabi not with Pathfinder, but done it personally and I tried to do I mean I obviously couldn't get to Canada this year but I try to go to Algonquin every year. I mean, I got two little kids now so it's not as easy as it once was, but still want to do it.

I: 05:16

Yeah.

M: 05:18

I'm also from Well, not from from Buffalo, but I grew up in northern Minnesota. The Boundary Waters, which is basically Algonquin and then bordering Quetico, which is another huge Provincial Park. So I think together, they're actually bigger than Algonquin. So I'm pretty familiar with, like, you know, all the challenges that they've had up there with the indigenous communities. And

I: 05:42

yeah, um, do you remember? Was there a specific moment where canoe tripping clicked for you? Or was it just a gradual things became easier?

M: 05:55

Yeah, so I'm not sure how much Pathfinder has changed. But they were really hard on, This is like the early, early 2000s. And they were really hard on us as kids. And it's tough when you're like, you know, 11 years old, and you can barely pick up your pack. So that's why I think I hated it. Because all my friends were home playing riding bikes and going, you know, going for coffee and hanging out with girls. And like, I wasn't doing that. Yeah. But I think it became easier. And just then you start to appreciate how badass it really is like what you're doing?

I: 06:30

Yeah.

M: 06:32

So it was it was at some point on that trip. We had a few wind bound days where we were just like, because like, you can't go out and like superior when it's crazy windy. And it was one of those days. We were just sitting there like just wind bound hanging out eating food. And I was just like, Wow, this is awesome.

I: 06:48

This is really cool. Yeah. Did you ever have a staffman that inspired that feeling in you even maybe before you really enjoyed canoe tripping? Was there ever a staff person that led you to believe you might start liking canoe tripping at some point?

M: 07:15

I think I think almost all of them did. So in one way or another. But I think it was also cool, like, on my aa trip or like those guys are only like, couple years older than you, you know. So like,

you're almost like a peer to them. You know, there's still staff and you're still a camper, but it's not that big divide anymore. And you start to realize like, okay, these guys are like kids, too. You know, they're all in college. I mean, like, my only regret I have around canoe tripping is I didn't do full summer, my AA year.

I: 07:53

Oh, yeah.

M: 07:54

Missed out on another one of those trips. Now, I think you have to do a whole. It's like you have to do a full summer.

I: 08:01

Yeah, to a degree. Yeah, cuz mostly the trips end up going to the Bay. So it just takes the whole summer.

M: 08:10

they didn't do that. Yeah, they didn't do those trips back when I was there.

I: 08:13

Yeah. I was surprised when I found that out because I obviously went on a Bay trip at Keewaydin. So the following year, when I first started working at Pathfinder, the AA's were doing a very similar trip to the one that I did. So they ended up using my staff's trip notes from our trip for their first descent for Pathfinder of that trip, which I thought was really cool.

M: 08:44

That's really cool.

I: 08:46

Did you ever work at Pathfinder?

M: 08:49

I didn't no. My cousin did though, he worked there.

I: 08:59

So to what extent as a camper as an AA, did you sort of understand what the staff dynamics were? Or were you sort of far removed from that?

M: 09:11

By that point? Yeah, pretty much I think you start figuring out when you're like, what is the Otts? I think we sort of figuring out then yeah, camper staff brawls and everything and like, you know, basically, you kind of realize that CIT is are just pushovers. And you don't really have to respect them all that much and and now it's it kind of caused problems but that's I think when you start

figuring out the like, Alright, you listen to the Headman and then you just you just mess with these two.

I: 09:40

Yeah, exactly. Huh. Were you close with your AA section? With the other campers?

M: 09:52

Um, I can't remember. So I know one guy was on it. Two guys that were both on that trip. So yeah, only because I was in high school with those guys after the fact. But like the rest of them like nah I don't really remember who they were.

I: 10:15

That's interesting. I've gotten mixed reviews to that question like some generations remember every single person by name, even though they haven't spoken since 1972, or whenever.

M: 10:31

So I think I have a trip that I was my second year Ott trip. My brother was a year younger than me. And we actually only ever went on one trip together, because I basically had to beg the tripping director to put us on a trip together. Yeah. And he did. And it was a really hard, it was brutally hard. We did 14 days Nipissing through Petawawa. And it was just like, mosquitoes hatched like day one on the nipissing. And it was awful. Yeah, that trip was so hard that I actually remember every single person on that trip. Because it was just so awful for the first eight days. And then the Petawawa I mean, have you done the Petawawa? Do it. It's like, it's bad. It's sick. So it's, it's a it's, I always explain it. It's like a set, it's like a 17 day canoe trip packed down in a four day, six days. Yeah, because it's the geographically it changes so much. So that's like, I've done it three times, since then, just by myself, because I love it. And that trip was so challenging at first and then so rewarding that I do remember those guys? Yeah, but my my age, it wasn't, it was just kind of like fun. And it wasn't really that difficult.

I: 11:41

That's, um, a key difference between Pathfinder and Keewaydin is that you basically grow up with the same section forever, like, people come and go, obviously, but like your core group, I was in the same tripping section with a girl in 2009, all the way until we went to the bay together in 2015. But as a result, like those are kind of your only friends at Keewaydin like you don't really get super exposed to other sections at all. So in some ways, the overall camp camaraderie at Pathfinder is a lot stronger, whereas individual sections are so changing and malleable all the time that you don't necessarily get that like section identity as much.

M: 12:29

Right. Right.

I: 12:37

So we're we've been recently sort of discussing phasing out names like the NIC and OIC, the Indian Council rings as part of just an overall flow of acknowledging indigenous history without

having to use like terms like that in everyday camp. But I wanted to ask you about your interpretation as a camper, not looking back on it now, but just how you saw the Toncacoo tradition through camper eyes.

M: 13:15

So I think early early on, that's the grave right? Or the suppose that grave?

I: 13:22

That's Algonquin Joe. Toncacoo is the guy who shakes the staff and has a hood.

M: 13:28

Oh yeah. Yeah. I don't think I really had an opinion of it. So I look at Pathfinder, if you take it out of context, is it racist? Like, yes. You know, it's like, if you go to a college football game, right, and they have like a Native American chief dancing around acting a fool, you're sure that's insensitive. But when you're in somewhere like Temagami or Algonquin, and you're a kid who comes from a city I think it's important to understand that's an environment that has been unchanged for millennia. Right. And you know, it wasn't until the first voyagers or the first white man that like ever went through that area. So I think stuff like that is a way to teach like MicnChips you know, little kids that there's an energy and a heritage to this land that was here before you and will be here after you. So in that sense, I don't think it's racist in the least bit, actually. I think it's very important to teach those young, wealthy children for the most part, that this land is bigger than you.

I: 15:09

As current staff get caught up in, should we keep should we ditch argument that's just sort of cyclical surrounding Toncacoo I do think it's super valuable to point out that getting rid of him completely, just like erasing it from the program does leave, there's like a void there in terms of sort of weaving camp into the landscape and sort of the whole history of camp across all these multiple generations. And that's what I've gained a lot of insight on by talking to older alumni especially, is that should we get rid of Toncacoo as like a figure, it should be replaced by something that still teaches those same lessons, but possibly in just a more sort of culturally sensitive way. But Toncacoo is challenging, because now like, there's no headdress or anything, but it's just sort of like, vaguely an indigenous person, which, when we talk to our indigenous consultant, Christine about it, in some ways, that's like, kind of as challenging to talk about as someone actually wearing a headdress and like face painting and the whole thing. Just because, you know,

M: 16:36

I look at it as like, so is the St. Patrick's Day Parade racist just because indigenous people are a minority subset like, you know, a non white minority, all of a sudden, it's racist, and it's bad, and we can't do it. Meanwhile, it's like a dying, their heritage is dying more rapidly than any other heritage. You look at Polish people and like Italians, and like, they've kind of like there's still a country, right? where they came from somewhere, right? We're like, you look at like indigenous communities up in, you know, Moose River Crossing at the end of the Missinabi. And like, that's

what's left. So, yeah, I mean, it's important like, I think it's great that you'd have like an indigenous consultant, like, that's cool, but like to deny it. And to say that we can't do that, because that belongs to somebody else. Like, where? It probably won't be here in 200 years. You know, because the Ontario government is great at a lot of things. And in a lot of ways, I wish I was Canadian, but they are awful at honoring and respecting the original people. Yeah, worse in a lot of ways than the Americans have been, which is shocking, but it's really true. Like, I came up to the Moose River. Have you done the Missinabi? Nope. So it ends at this town called Moosonee, where you can't get there by road it's just trains. There's a town and there's an island next to it, which is the native reservation. And we happen to get there on welfare check day. And it's awful. We hear stories from people that the kids up there huff gasoline out of ziplock baggies to get high. Like there's nothing for them. And you know, those individuals I saw are not holding on to their culture. They're not celebrating their culture, like they're barely existing. So, yeah, does Camp Pathfinders celebrating it make up for it like, absolutely not, but at least it's a way to kind of carry on the tradition of, at least at the bare minimum, the interactions between the Voyagers and the native First Nations, which are probably awful, and they probably killed each other most of the time, but not all the time. Because I always felt like as campers. We were voyagers like we weren't First People, right? We weren't up there like living off the land like we were up there going from point A to point B. And that's what the Voyagers did. They just did it better than we did it.

I: 19:20

Yeah. I think the root of the question, at least how I'm interpreting it for my project is if you can't trace an honoring of a culture to a specific culture, because indigenous cultures are all very different, like there's a huge range, then where is the line between honoring and appropriating? So I think that's where we're doing a lot of work recently is just sort of identifying who the people from the Algonquin Park region are, and what is the best way to acknowledge that history?

M: 20:17

No, that's awesome. I'm glad they're doing that, you know,

I: 20:24

I do also struggle with trying to bring together these two like opposing forces, even now with Christine, I've heard in interactions with other staff like, "Oh, she's an outsider trying to like take our camp traditions away." And "She doesn't understand what the camp Pathfinder history is," things like that. So a lot of my work has just been trying to, like bring those opposing sides together in the best way possible for like the future of camp and to preserve the camp experience as much as possible. But that means to take it into a bit of a different direction. Now. First, I want to know, How many years did you attend Pathfinder as a camper?

M: 21:16

See, it was probably '99 through '08. So almost 10 years, 10 summers by nine summers. MicnChip through AA.

I: 21:47

Can you think of a shift or a continuity in the Pathfinder atmosphere between those years? Or did it seem pretty much the same overall, across the 10 years?

M: 22:03

I think it's started changing towards the end, like maybe my last year is when I don't know if it was insurance, or what but all of a sudden, like Sladds started getting really uptight about things that used to slide. And I've heard like, I have some good friends and clients that are old Pathfinder guys, and they've kept going back and they said, it's not even remotely similar to the camp we went to anymore. You know, 30 years before us, they were burying garbage at every campsite. Obviously, we stopped doing that, but stuff like camper/staff brawls, and zero technology, I was never on a trip where they had a sat phone, we had GPS on our last trip. So it's not, I don't think it's as like rugged as they used to kind of because I think they used to really celebrate, like the manliness aspect of it. And you know, the fact that it was an all boys camp and camper/staff brawls were all stuff like that. We never really swim naked on the island, because we always had women there, but

I: 23:16

On trips and things.

M: 23:21

They're one death away from not being there anymore. And they know that. Somebody dies on a canoe trip. That's it. Like Pathfinders probably done so I understand why they've gotten more strict about everything and I just think it's ridiculous that like, okay, like your mom gets a gets a spot update as to your location on your AA trip like that's bullshit, but whatever this is the world we live in now.

I: 23:49

Yeah, I don't think my Bay trip was giving our spot updates to anyone other than the camp director themselves. So when I heard that was I was pretty shocked.

M: 24:01

I was like, because I'm on the Camp Pathfinder Facebook and I just see the moms being like Little Timmy is in like...I'm like God shut up, like that's why he's there.

I: 24:11

Right like you can't even find that place on a Google Map. Like you would have to drop a pin to know where that is. It's not even worth looking it up. I think it takes away a little bit from the novelty that parents get by hearing the trip stories like from their kid when they get home, because if I was tracing my kids entire trip day by day then you're not hearing the trip for the first time you're sort of seeing it happen

M: 24:44

Even like when I was there they had the phone in the cafeteria mess hall, main hall or whatever. And my parents never once called me like never. That always bothered me when I was a kid.

And I was like, why does my friend's mom call him once a week and like mine didn't, now I get why. And I've heard that like, you know, there are kids up there with cell phones that just don't turn them in. Yeah, like I'm sure that happens. And like, that's a shame to me. I remember I snuck an iPod and some speaker and I snuck an iPod in a battery pack on one of my like, trips, and I felt like that was really breaking the rules by playing music to go to sleep.

I: 25:25

Yeah, I also stuck an iPod Shuffle. And I wasn't even smart enough to bring a battery pack. So I would listen to like one song a night, because I didn't think my battery was gonna last any longer.

M: 25:42

I got a battery pack that ran off double A's. I found it online just so I can purposely bring it in my dry bag on the trip it was great.

I: 25:52

Yeah. Oh, God, it wasn't even a good shuffle. It was like the shuffle that didn't even have buttons on it. I don't know why I thought that was necessary. But I hear a lot of older alumni describing the way that camp has trended towards a more nurturing environment. But I've also heard like, a more sissy environment. And I think you're hitting sort of directly on that by describing Sladds getting stricter with the rules around camp. And then that tying in to not brawling with campers anymore. And campers have to wear shoes and life jackets anytime they swim on trip and things. So would you mind just describing a little more about that? Those like early years like the, like peak Pathfinder, before things started getting stricter around the island.

M: 27:03

Yeah, I think I'm probably maybe five years too young from what peak Pathfinder really was. I so I'm 31. So I think it's the guys that are like, 36 right now that really experienced the camp before I really feel like it's technology that ruined everything. But it was, you know, technology came up. But it was just like, you know, brawling on trips, I remember I was on a couple trips where like the staff said don't turn around in a canoe and like, you knew what they were doing that they're having a cigarette break. Yeah, I'm sure that doesn't happen anymore.

I: 27:41

No, it does not.

M: 27:44

Or, like, you know, back when I was like a MicnChip and like, or a Cree or whatever, and we would go on a couple three day trips. And there would come a time when the whole island would start smelling like pee. Because nobody was going to the fort in the middle of the night. They would just go next to their tent, but those days didn't last long. Like, you know, Sladds put an end to that real quick. We had some like epic camper staff brawls at some point, I remember getting literally thrown off a cliff by like my head man who is like a marine. I've heard that they put a stop to all that.

I: 28:25

Yeah, certainly.

M: 28:27

But it wasn't like derogatory, right? Like when I was there was never like calling anybody like a pussy or anything like that. It was more just like being tough on each other. Like we used to really pride ourselves, I'm sure they still do this, we pride ourselves on portages right? We do we do every portage in one trip. Yeah. And most camps can't do that. I don't know why I'm blanking on the names, but they would like get to the portage. And it's just a mess. There's like paddles and life jackets and raincoats and sunblock. You just get there in, out, over and done. And that was always like very Pathfinder to me, that defined us as a camp that we were just so efficient with our tripping.

I: 29:16

I think as discussions about camp's changing culture get inevitably more heated as time moves forward, I think that circling back to the core of canoe tripping at Pathfinder being essentially the same is something that's going to keep the conversations going forward at all. Because as you change the actual craft of canoe tripping, I feel like it opens the door to not only arguments about the camp culture on the island, but then you also have to tie in all of the other things. So like efficiency and being the best camp in Algonquin Park and things is like a good way to circle the conversation back to what's important.

M: 31:29

I'm super curious, though, my son is one. Right? So it's going to be six years? So I'm curious to see what what is it going to be like when he is a little seven year old. But when he is like, you know, an Ott? Like, what's it going to be like? You know, I think he's gonna be like me, where I got to a point where I hated CPI. I thought CPI was just awful. So I wanted to get there and get off the island and not come back until it was time to go home. But that didn't happen until I was like an Ott because I just hated doing activities, that was so stupid to me. And I'm sure it's even worse now. Like, no offense, you know, if you're an Island staff member, but I always just hated that stuff. But you're also a camper from Keewaydin so you understand. Right?

I: 32:21

Oh, yeah.

M: 32:22

If I wanted to do that stuff, I could have stayed in Buffalo and done it. You know you can't trip there and you came here for tripping. So I hope they don't lose that. And like, there were always a lot of kids that hated canoe tripping. And those are the ones that if they could spend the entire three and a half weeks on the island they would but I wasn't one of them.

I: 32:45

At least at Keewaydin, we had kids getting sent out a lot that were at camp for punishment. They were like at fat camp or they were at you drink too much in high school camp, whatever it was. So in that way, like if you weren't there willingly and you hated canoe tripping from the first day you are going to hate it the entire time that you ever got sent there.

M: 33:09

We always had kids like that too. But I feel like Sladds always kind of knew who they were. They have like a zero tolerance policy, the second you did anything, you're out. There was like two kids that got kicked out during like midway through camp for just doing something belligerent like robbing and stealing from somebody or whatever.

I: 33:28

There was a bunch of Otts that stole from the candy store. I don't even remember what they did. I think they literally just stole like a box of candy and nothing else. And it was interesting, too, because those weren't even the kids that like, you would have expected it to be done. It was just they all got together and their hive mind because they had been on the island for too long. And they staged a heist, which was really interesting. But punishment was swift to say the least.

M: 34:08

They didn't kick them out of there.

I: 34:10

I think they might have kicked out one of the kids. Yeah, the one identified as like the ringleader or the mastermind of the operation. But yeah. In that way, Pathfinder does occupy an interesting middle ground where, since the tripping director just decides when and where you go. If you're a kid that doesn't really like tripping, like, you could pull enough strings probably to be able to stick around for as long as humanly possible. But then it puts campers that enjoy tripping a lot more and a bit of a disadvantage because they often get stuck in camp longer than they really hope.

M: 34:53

But that's why I remember I learned like early on that I would sneak out like right before bedtime. I would go Down to the tripping building, what's the name of it?

I: 35:10

The TP?

M: 35:13

I would go in there and I would see, because the director of tripping was my MicnChip counselor. So he knew me my entire life there, and I'd be like, what's the sweetest trip you're planning for the Otts? I want that one, and I always got the Primo trips and we were always one of the first trips to leave. Yeah, because I would tell him get me out of here immediately.

I: 35:38

Yeah, I feel like that's insider information. Like if the kids are really enthusiastic, they knew who to befriend. Obviously you can't know who's gonna end up being the director of tripping, but you can get in with the DOT's friends and sort of like make your way in there that way.

M: 35:59

Yeah, and well it might help that my cousin was a headman too when I was a camper. So I would you know, he had a lot of respect there. He was, he was like hardcore Mr. Pathfinder. So I think being his cousin helped me a lot.

I: 36:13

Yeah, the connections were definitely already there. Yeah. So because you were sort of in, in whatever way that means, you had access to the trips you wanted and you knew the staff pretty well. Did you find that there was a big disconnect between sort of Primo Pathfinder campers and the ones that were less enthusiastic or like less experience? Yeah? Let's talk about that.

M: 36:49

Wow, hadn't even thought about it in so long. Those kids had a really hard time. If they were nice, like I remember there was one kid we called him _____. He was actually a child actor he was in--oh, I'll try to find it. What's the college movie? But yeah, he was a nice kid. He was just like, super weak and super kind of sickly and always had a really hard time, mosquitoes just ate him alive.

I: 37:25

Yeah,

M: 37:25

Yeah, then there were other kids that were just like, kind of like babies and jerks. And they had a really hard time. They would find themselves tripping on portages and getting pushed and stuff like because they were annoying. They were slowing everyone down. So in a way that like, you know, I'm sure there are some grown men out there right now that are scarred for the rest of their life because of what they experienced at Pathfinder.

I: 37:57

Yeah. I hadn't thought much as I was doing the participant searching for this project. But the more interviews I did, the more I realized that the people that are going to be in the Facebook groups are probably the ones that had better experiences at Camp than people that were left scarred by their experience and never want it to be connected to Pathfinder and Keewaydin ever again. So I've been like mentally trying to make sure that I bring up with everyone because it's different for every generation who the good campers were and who then less good or less popular campers were. Largely it was based on hard skills and just like enthusiasm for tripping but over the course of the multiple timeframes that I've been looking at, there's often sort of slight differences in who those kids were.

M: 39:03

Also like especially like a boys camp they're like kids who are at a physical disadvantage, right? Like little kids. Those kids always I think dropped out, weren't there even if they liked it. I think as like the trips got longer and harder. They just couldn't keep up anymore. Like like camper packs like those are still like 50 pounds 40 pounds, you know? Even if you're not carrying the food pack or the ax pack like you know it was heavy. Yeah, so there were some kids that it was too difficult for and I do wonder how much is like are they still using like those same piece of shit Canvas backpacks and those shitty A-Frame Algonquin tents they were using 30 years ago?

I: 39:47

Yes, yeah, that's the one yeah.

M: 39:50

I love it. I think it's awesome. There's so much better gear out there but they're just not going to do it.

I: 39:57

Yeah, Pathfinder breeds and encourages and maintains relationships with kids that want to be there. But there are certain characteristics of those types of kids that has become more obvious the longer I've been doing these interviews.

M: 40:16

Oh what was that?

I: 40:20

I was the fat kid in my section for pretty much my entire camper experience. I took one summer off, I took sort of the equivalent of my last year off and then I went into my AA year the next year. And over that time, I stayed at home to focus on swimming, because I was getting a lot faster, and it was almost recruiting time. So like, my body changed a lot over that like two summer difference. And then when I came back, and I was physically a lot stronger and able to canoe trip better, I had a wildly better experience at camp.

M: 40:57

Yeah, for sure. Like my brother, I'm a big kid, I'm like six, three, like a big guy. My brother's very strong. He was stronger than a lot of the staff when he was like an Ott. So I always really liked going on trips with him. I felt bad for him, because they would always give him like the ax pack, and then they would overload it. Like I remember, there's this one trip or this little kid couldn't even do it. And they took one of the rolls out of his pack. And he strapped it on top of Adler's ax pack. So that pack was like over 100 pounds. And he's like 15 years old carrying that. It was hard for him. But it was it was also kind of like fun to be. That's why I like that one trip, I can remember everyone, it's because my brother was on it. And it'll probably be the only trip that we ever have done together except for the trips we did with my dad. Around that same time frame.

I: 42:11

I wanted to talk a little bit about Pathfinder pride, and how that is portrayed and also felt while on the trail, especially in the park. Because it manifests now as power paddling past Ahmek and being really efficient on portages and things. But yeah, were there certain lessons that your staff taught about how you were supposed to interact with other people in the park?

M: 42:47

Yeah, no, we were always like, super respectful and like we were never, even when we were kind of like, we're gonna smoke these clowns on this potage. We would never say anything. Like, we would just silently walk past them. And I remember there was this Northway camping trip there was like little girls and like, there it was, it was around like Smoke Lake, it was one of the more populated areas and it was definitely one of their like, amateur trips out. But they were just a mess like these girls like they were just packs all over the Portage and I remember we were just like, we were probably Otts and we just walked by and like without saying a word just like reach down and grab their packs and like threw them on top of our packs and like just kept walking. And these like 12 year old girls were just like, oh my god, like looking at us. Like that felt really cool to be like that badass that you could do that. And that was funny because they're perhaps weighed like 20 pounds. I bet their staff probably carried everything.

I: 43:42

Yeah, Where it was opposite with us like the staff didn't anything didn't carry anything. Yeah, I remember one my trips one of the secondmen brought a full size pillow in his pack. And I'm like dude, you're such a dick. Let's wrap up with the, the moment, the experience the specific memory of sort of graduating from an immature camper to mature camper or immature camper to mature staff person. Sort of a coming of age story or experience from your time at camp. This is open to everyone obviously.

M: 50:46

I think it's, it's when you're finally on like a difficult trip, whether it's weather or bugs or whatever, and you just realize there's no way out but forward. And that happens younger for some people. And some people maybe never happens. Again. I remember being on a trip and this kid just starts bawling while putting his socks on the morning because the mosquitoes are so bad. Now it's just like, dude, like, it just is what it is man. They're just, that's what they are. I probably realized that when I was a Cree maybe. Yeah, like 11 or 12 years old, that like, you know, you just keep going forward, and it'll get better. And then looking back on it, you'll only remember the good times, and you won't remember the shitty times. Yeah. And even now, like when I go on trips there are times it sucks. And you're like, why did I do that? I can be like, on a beach somewhere drinking beer. And I decided to come here like, okay. But I remember I did I did the Petawawa with a buddy of mine who had never canoe trips in his life and I brought a full Coleman you know, the folding green open? Yeah, I brought one of those and just strapped it to the top of his pack. And he looks like he's like a big hiker. And he's like, what the fuck? Like, why? You're like, what's the longest trail like a mile? Like, who cares? Like you're fine.

I: 55:56

I know. I like the communal carrying aspect of canoe tripping so much better than hiking, because canoe tripping taught me to bring my wool jacket and my warm sleeping bag and everything because you need that in Northern Ontario. So then when I'm hiking in Maine, and I assume that I'm going to need my wool jacket and my warm sleeping bag and everything else, and then I end up having to carry it all day non stop every day. That's where the breakdown happens. I would much rather be held responsible for other people's stuff. In addition to my own than just my own.

M: 56:36

I agree.

I: 56:37

Keeps me motivated.

M: 56:37

I gotta step off real quick. I hear I hear crying coming from downstairs. And I got 19 minutes until my next meeting. So let's do this again.

I: 56:49

I will. I thank you so much for scheduling and things. We'll be in touch for sure. Nice. Thank you.

M: 56:56

All right. Take care. Yeah, good to meet you.

Appendix A.6: Personal Interview with Naomi Hourihane

(N=N:, first summer 2004; I=Interviewer, ____=Redacted name)

N: 00:00

A little bit of all of that stuff. The biggest thing that I want to say first, and I'm mentioning this because it's insane off the bat. So at the start and at the end of each summer at Pathfinder, you know they have like an opening and a closing ceremony kind of thing, but there was this like fictional Native American or First Nations, because it's, Ontario. First Nations man named Toncacoo who supposedly lives at the top of the mountain at the end of the lake. And his job was to keep the coals warm over the winter to keep the spirit of Pathfinder alive. There is no such man, Toncacoo is one of the counselors wearing like a head dress and like hunched over with like a big walking stick like they're an old fucking man. And that's just insane to me that I didn't even think to question this until like last year. That's just disgustingly racist, you know, oh my god that's horrible. I shouldn't be laughing.

I: 01:15

We've recently been going undergoing some structural changes to some of the camp programming, namely we recently brought on an indigenous consultant who is native Algonquin

Anishinaabeg, and she works with camps and companies and sort of anything in the area to make sure that people have a better understanding of the human history of the Algonquin Park region. Because that is largely neglected in park histories as sort of 'a park was formed' and there's no real acknowledgement of what exactly took place to form it. I also wanted to mention quickly the framework for my project, which is investigating the effects of settler colonial mindsets and ideals on the canoe tripping camp experience. Algonquin Park sits on unceded Algonquin Anishinaabeg territory and canoe tripping camps are implicated in the ongoing development of the settler colonial state, and as a result I want to use settler colonialism as a framework for considering how we can make camps more inclusive in the future, by knowing why they were so exclusive in the past. Does all that make sense? If so we can go ahead and get officially started.

N: 01:59

I remember they even teach the campers a lot about you know Les Voyageurs and the logging industry and the history of all that stuff to the park but there's just no mention of anything that might have happened before that. Yeah, exactly. It's just sort of Quietly, quietly ignored a lot.

I: 02:22

Well we're lucky because sort of slightly prior to Christine our consultant coming on, there were some talks about Toncacoo and the future of Toncacoo as a tenet of the pre and post season ceremonies. So the headdress was taken away and now it's sort of like a cloak instead but there's still guys dressing up.

N: 02:52

The whole character is pretty bad. Yeah.

I: 02:59

Yeah, we're sort of brainstorming how to...

N: 03:04

Just get rid of it and just get rid of it. Yeah, that's what I would say is just ditch it and just never say anything about it again.

I: 03:15

Yeah

N: 03:17

Yeah I'm sorry I sort of started off on my own tangent I don't know if you have like a standard thing people are supposed to say

I: 03:24

No I've been spending a lot of time doing work in theory and trying to make sure that there's an academic basis in just talking and having open discussions, and letting conversations, move where they want to

N: 03:51

I mentioned that angle. I was gonna say we mentioned the whole First Nations angle. Pretty Pretty not great. And, and there is a little bit. Well a lot of this attitude of like you know sort of going out and almost sort of conquering the wilderness, right, which is like you know, sort of a pretty colonialist attitude to have. I think that's literally the definition of it, yeah. I mean that, that's kind of whatever I think, I think the other weirder thing is that at Pathfinder specifically, there is, now I'm like a totally queer person so maybe my experience is not 100% on this, but I remember there being just a lot of like suppressed homophobia, and like no homo kind of moments, bubbling underneath the surface. And there was a lot, there was a lot of, Like you know, dude's while you're out on a canoe trip like rubbing each other's shoulders and when you go to bed at night and shit. And, like, you know, I don't even know where to start with a lot of this stuff that was just there was just so much of it. But at the same time, at least in my day, I also remember camp being really homophobic. I remember finding out that one of the other campers or counselors or something was gay or was bisexual, and I just remember how vividly uncomfortable that made everyone that this was around, 2013, or 14 ish. So I don't know if it's gotten any better since then I should hope it has, but there definitely was this sort of attitude of, like, you know, no homo just guys being dudes everyone's acting real touchy and feely and gay, but no one wants to actually be gay, right.

I: 06:12

Packaging it like a brotherhood rather the

N: 06:15

Yeah, yeah, yeah,

I: 06:17

I know exactly what you're talking about. I can't say I can really speak to whether it's better, or even really inclusive yet. One of my close friends very recently just came out to me, and I don't even know to what extent his sexuality has been talked about with any of the people that we work with. He doesn't work with us anymore so I don't see why it would necessarily but, I can't say whether or not Pathfinder as a masculine environment stopped, those conversations from happening or if it was a personal decision, influenced by other things but

07:12

You know it's really it's a lot harder to nail that stuff down when you're so young. Because it's like you know when, when you're 14 or 15, and you're starting to have feelings about things it's. You don't even really recognize that those feelings are like capital G gay. You're just kind of go with it because everyone else is going with it, you're like okay that's just the done thing here.

I: 07:42

The only other times that I've heard of sexuality specifically coming up in conversation at Pathfinder prior to me arriving and just like being around. One of my participants talked about his staff reading porn to them as when they were on trip?

N: 08:08

The "staff manual"

I: 08:11

I can't imagine that was very gender inclusive.

N: 08:18

So, you know, being that most of the staff are really horny teenage boys, you know you have teenage boys between the ages of, like, 16, and like 20 and having lived through that time, that is just like the horniest you can possibly be. There is so much testosterone flowing through your little body and you just don't know what to do with it all. So naturally, a lot of the staff buy like porno magazines, because at the time, at least, you know, there was no cell service up in Algonquin Park and smartphones were a lot less common. And we all jokingly called them staff manuals, which is a really funny name. And it was like oh we can't let the campers know we have that, okay, fine. But, there definitely were...one moment that stands out to me in particular is at Pathfinder when you're 15, which is the oldest you can be as a camper, you go out on your AA, it's called and you go out on your AA trip which is usually some huge long river trip somewhere in Ontario sometimes Quebec. And when we went on mine, we were just having like this really shitty day it was a hard day it was raining, it was that we were staying at this dinky little campsite that sucked. And I just remember that, like, basically, as like a reward for like getting through the day like champs, we were 15, our staff gave us a porno mag to share as campers. And, I mean, you know, we weren't like you know all like masturbating over it. When I say it sounds really weird and bad and maybe it is but it didn't feel that bad, it just felt like, oh this is funny, you know.

I: 10:33

Yes, I guess?

10:35

To us at age 15 it was like the coolest funniest thing ever. In retrospect was probably a little inappropriate, but

I: 10:49

Yeah I think I recall. I have no idea whether this is true or not, but I remember a rumor going around that one of the AA used his GoPro, while he was at home, to film Pornhub, and then save it onto his SD card for later for use on trip.

11:26

I have never heard that before, but I 100% believe it. I'm willing to believe that falls so perfectly in line with like Pathfinder boy things. And it's especially funny that they didn't just figure out a way to download the video directly, and instead just pointed the camera at a screen, which just, that's totally something like a 15 year old would do, right, you know,

I: 12:01

When you were a camper and a staff was your gender, starting to come into more consideration for you? Or did that was that process later?

N: 12:12

Maybe like a tiny bit. It's sort of one of those things that once you figure it out you sort of look back on the rest of your life and you're like, oooooohhhh, I can tell you that like at the time, I wasn't really cognizant of it at all, but looking back now, there definitely were like signs of it just sort of poking up. Not that I can remember anything specific, but I definitely remember when I was. I definitely remember doing the bit about like, you know, folding your shirt into itself so it looked like you had tiddies. That was a joke I used to do a lot as a kid, and I thought it was really funny and now look what happened. It was kind of right after Pathfinder that that stuff sort of became more conscious, my last summer at Pathfinder was 2015, I didn't really get it figured out, until like the middle of 2017. You know, I don't think that Pathfinder, really. I feel like if anything it made me sort of internalized a little bit of like that no homo attitude of, like, you know basically trying to convince myself that I was like you know not homosexual or bisexual or whatever, that it was just like guys being dudes, or whatever. But at the same time, I think that some of that just might have been me getting caught up in my own head about it, for the longest time I was terrified of people knowing that about me. And obviously now in 2021 I'm way past that stage, I don't care who knows. But you know when I was younger and when I was at Pathfinder it definitely felt like something I couldn't really talk to people about, especially being in this like ultra hyper masculine environment you know Pathfinder. They prided themselves a lot on being the best canoe trippers in Algonquin Park. They like to think in Canada but who knows.

I: 14:59

Certainly better than any non-male canoe trippers.

15:07

Which was also backed up by the fact that my sisters went to Northway, you know Northway. They went to Northway and the way that they described it, canoe tripping was really not that big of a thing at Northway, they only had like 50 campers and like a few canoes that were in like not such great shape. Whereas at Pathfinder, we made a point of going canoe tripping of taking really good care of our boats of everyone being really good at canoeing and everything, that pride in canoe tripping sort of feeds back into that like bizarre hypermasculinity of the whole place, you know.

I: 15:54

Yeah, there's tons of scholarship that talks about how canoe tripping was packaged in order to create a masculine identity, but where my research kind of stands apart from that, is there isn't much on like first person accounts of that. So I wanted to explore like whether these sort of removed scholars theorizing about the way canoe tripping is supposed to breed like super male masculine guys

N: 16:29

Oh no it's super duper masculine, it's because like you know, basically as you get older, when you go on these further trips you have more and more distance to go each day. And it's like, you learn to develop a certain tolerance for stuff that is just generally kind of uncomfortable of hopping out of the canoe up to your knees, you know, you get the water in your boots your feet get wet, so that you can efficiently get out of the boats and get set up for a portage, or like learning to work quickly in setting up a campsite, even when it's raining or like finding firewood and stuff like that. And, you know, it's definitely sort of a good attitude to have to an extent of saying oh you know this isn't so bad we can push through this, you know that part is really great to sort of overcoming adversity but there's definitely this angle of packaging it as this masculine thing like we can do this because we're men, you know, the girls couldn't handle this. Tourists couldn't handle this, which is just outrageously masculine.

I: 17:49

That's not something that I've been forced to reflect on a lot in my own experience as a camper I tripped with all female identifying campers and staff. So, in today's climate, one would package that in like a girl boss girl power kind of way, but for me when I was a camper, I looked at it much more as like, I'm trying to be like the boy campers, like my femininity was downplayed. In a matter of like my physicality and my strength and my skills.

N: 18:31

Yeah. You say that and I'm thinking about how much it sucks that that has to happen. That's sad. Right. Think of what that does to a little girls like confidence, and even at Northway, you know, at Pathfinder we have the headmen who are the counselors who like guide the trips at Northway their equivalent is the guides, but all of their guides with a couple exceptions are men. A lot of them come from Pathfinder and you know, even the way Sophie and Mimi talk about them and I can put you in touch with them, maybe if you want more detail. But it's a lot like, you know, we don't do a lot of canoe tripping because, like you know the only people who are strong enough to carry a boat are the guides. Shit like that, you know.

I: 19:34

Yeah, Northway tried to poach me one summer, when I was working at Pathfinder.

N: 19:39

Don't work at Northway

I: 19:40

They were so understaffed that they were willing to take me on as a guide, I was honestly kind of empowered by that.

N: 19:48

They're underfunded understaffed. It sounds like all of the buildings are falling apart at the seams, and that there's no real schedule or program the girls just kind of float around doing whatever all day, but then like you know also, at least two separate summers Sophie and Mimi came home with lice. So don't work there.

I: 20:20

It says a lot about valuing canoe tripping as an all gender activity when men's camps are funded and supported the way that they are and women's camps do not seem to be the same way.

20:37

Yeah and even when the women's camps are there, it's all about you know 'we can hang out with the cool boys'

I: 20:45

For sure. I do have questions that I prepared. Sure. Let's see, we've covered. Honestly a lot of them already. In 2017 as you said you sort of came into your gender identity. Afterwards, did you ever reconnect with people that you knew at Pathfinder?

21:18

Oh yeah, no I still have friends from Pathfinder I keep in touch with. Although lately just within the last few years everyone's kind of gone off and done their own things. I sort of figured it out in 2017, but I didn't really come out and start transitioning until about a year later, and even then and all of the people I knew from Pathfinder were really supportive everyone was really kind and cool about it. But I also, I wonder. Now that we're mentioning it. I wonder how it would have gone differently if I had come out while I was still working at camp, you know, would a transgender camp counselor be like welcome there. What sorts of shit what other people try to talk you know there's definitely, I think back on in our group of canoe tripping, like our AA trip there was this one kid ____, who is infamous I don't know if you've heard about this kid. Have you?

I: 22:32

I think once or twice. Yeah,

22:36

My god that was almost a decade ago and people are still hearing about ____, anyways. Weird guy but I remember, you know, we were casually joking around before our big trip, that it's 27 days together we're gonna learn all of our deepest secrets and we're all joking and laughing and ____ says that his big secret is that he's bi, and the room, freezes. I remember we were 15 mind you, so it makes sense that maybe our reaction wasn't the best but I just remember how uncomfortable that made me and everyone else. I think that teenagers and kids today are probably much better about LGBT stuff than they were when I was a teenager. The campers always follow the attitude of the staff but I don't know how it would have gone if I had tried to come out while still working at camp, I might not have. I might, for a long time especially right before I wound up gay. I leaned really really hard into being masculine, because I basically was having a lot of confused feelings that I didn't know what else to do. And if I hadn't worked at Pathfinder it probably would have continued, I think.

I: 24:03

Do you mind talking a little bit about what that leaning in, looked like for you?

24:09

I grew my beard out really big. That was partially because I didn't really like how my face looked, which I recognize now as just dysphoria, straight up, you know I worked out a bunch, my shoulders and arms were really big at one point, I was all about like oh yeah I love Beer and hockey and sports and stuff. And the truth is I still love all those things but now I'm a lesbian.

I: 24:46

And that is totally okay!

N: 24:52

It's really funny that these things I sort of picked up in an effort to be masculine, now that I'm doing the same things but I'm a girl, now they're gay. And that's really funny to me.

I: 25:10

I know my senior year of high school I cut off all my hair because I was applying to military academies and I think I too was sort of leaning into this masculinity, and what I thought that looked like for me, and inevitably the rumors started circulating that I was in a lesbian relationship with my best friend. I went to an all girls high school so like there wasn't much to talk about so whenever things like this started spreading like it was big talk, and it took me a long time to realize but cutting your hair and having an interest in the military, or like canoe tripping being reflections of being gay for a woman is a just a facet

N: 26:04

It's just misogyny

I: 26:05

It's misogyny, it's homophobia, it's misogyny. And I think my fear that people thought that about me was my own expression of homophobia that I've been actively trying to address in myself, Because looking back now I wish I hadn't been as scared to confront those rumors, as I was in the moment. Changing interests and styling yourself differently, it will always cause people to think certain assumptions about your gender identity and sexuality I think. But it wasn't until I started working at Pathfinder that I realized that my femininity, my womanhood on a canoe trip is acceptable and it was almost celebrated as one of four female staff, now that I'm there. And so I brought a trip dress and I would wear a dress around the campsite

N: 27:24

Do you do canoe tripping? That's fantastic. When I was there, there were like a smattering of female staff, and only one of them went canoe tripping sometimes, not because she wasn't good at it, she was like way more fit than most of us. Oh my god I don't remember her name it was _____'s wife, Mary something.

I: 27:51

I was gonna say _____, but that's not who that is,

27:53

No, actually I think it might have been. Like you know she was like the one female staffer who went tripping sometimes. And, you know I'm chewing on it now and I'm like wow that is just so much misogyny in the attitude and everything.

I: 28:25

But I also think I was in a unique position from having as much canoe tripping experience as I did prior because that's not the norm for a lot of the women that I work with. So I sort of came in with canoe tripping clout, that I didn't know if I was necessarily ready to handle. And a lot of that is probably based in men, interpreting me as a canoe tripper or as like a masculine thing. I can perform masculinity as well as the boys that I'm working with.

N: 29:04

I mean it is a performance

I: 29:07

Just like wearing a dress on trip now is a performance

N: 29:10

Yeah, well yeah, it's all gender. Gender is a performance and I'm getting booted off the stage. I'm going to be right back, I'm going to put my plate away and go get some more water,

I: 29:21

no problem.

N: 29:58

All right, where were we,

I: 29:59

Performing

N: 30:01

Yeah, gender, performing

I: 30:08

the other framework of this project, in performing, which has manifested itself in many ways, not just putting on indigenous headdresses and things.

N: 30:22

Oh, no, no, there's definitely this effort to even if you were in physical pain to just sort of keep plowing through it, because you're a big tough Pathfinder guy and that shouldn't bother you. I remember back problems are super common for camp counselors because canoe tripping. The

way that we carry the canoes, it's just horrible for you. It's just so bad for your spine. No one should ever do this, but we do it and inevitably everyone gets some sort of fucked up like pull a muscle or like they slip a disc or something. I know a ton of people who got fucked up back problems from camp. But you know a lot of people would just sort of like, keep pushing through it. I remember my buddy _____ pulled a muscle in his back and we're paddling along one day and he is describing how uncomfortable it is because he can feel his shoulder blade, rubbing up and down against the knot in the muscles on his back, and I'm like Wow, isn't that painful he's like yeah,

I: 31:40

Slap some icy hot on it at the campsite

31:43

Yeah and you're good to go. Later that summer on like my last day of my last canoe trip, I was just looking around the campsite to make sure no one dropped anything before we left and I like bent over to go pick something up, and I pulled a muscle in my back doing it, and it was our last day and we were getting trucked back, so I didn't have a ton of work to do when I'm just sitting up straight like this is fine. I think a lot about how we push that attitude on campers, you have, like a little kid who's maybe 12 years old. And, you know the ax pack weighs probably half of their fucking body weight, and we try to be supportive but like secretly everyone looks down on the kid who can't handle it, and praises the kid who can, but you know if you're struggling at camp, there's never a lot of support. There was always this attitude of, 'Come on buddy. Get your shit together,' you know, no question. And the campers absolutely reflected that.

I: 33:00

Well yeah, because the stronger campers are the popular ones.

N: 33:04

Yeah, the stronger campers are the popular ones, and they get put on the bigger trips, because they can go faster, and they can handle it. And I mean, to a certain extent, I get it. You don't want to put a kid who doesn't really like canoe tripping out for two weeks on a canoe trip, they're gonna hate it, but even if you're on a short little trip because every camper goes on a trip, eventually, even if you're on a short little trip, and you have a kid who's struggling and God knows I was this kid when I was younger. It's those kids. And again, maybe it's better now because last time I was there was a long time ago, those kids got to get shit on for struggling with it. There was one trip, this is one of my first trips as a camp counselor. I think I was 17. And I got put on this really big hard canoe trip, but everyone believed in me because I was like this veteran, I had been going to camp forever I was just nuts about the place and I loved it, but it was a really fucking hard trip I was my first time carrying a cedar Canvas boat, the long story short of it is I really couldn't handle it. It took me fucking forever to do portages because you know I was just maybe not in such great shape. I was really tired all the time. It was like a nine day trip but it was a really tough route, although I couldn't tell you what the route is now. I was really tired all the time there was never any rest. And then, I fucked up packing the stove. I put together a stove and I checked that it works but then grabbed the different one out of the

teepee. And so you know it's late, it's a little wet. We're all tired as hell, and our headman's just like you know fuck it let's just put some soup on. And what do we find but the stove doesn't work and somehow that's my fault, which I guess it kind of was, and like you know as the trip went on I got slower and slower it got to the point where the other counselors would run ahead with their boats put their stuff down and then double back to carry my boat, because it was just faster than waiting for me, and like you know, everyone at Camp heard about it and I got so much shit for it. I nearly lost my job right there that summer, I got fired again the next summer, but that's another story. And I just remember how humiliating it was not being able to handle it. And eventually people cooled down, but for the first couple days I had failed in this performance and I was being emasculated for it. And then, this was like early in July, so I spent the next five weeks sitting around camp doing fuck all. Which I guess the reputation came 'oh you know Naomi can't handle canoe trips, don't send them on any canoe trips,' and how bored I was and just how much it sucked. And I remember talking to people about it, and literally the response I got was well we tried sending you on a trip and it didn't work out. And I'm like 'Okay.' Eventually I did go out on another trip. This one was a lot easier. And I handled the boat, no problem, you know, maybe because I just spent the extra couple weeks like being outside and doing stuff, or maybe just because I actually had time to rest between days, but you know I didn't have a problem carrying this time, and then I come back and everyone's like, Yeah, you did it. Awesome, great job. So it's a little sink or swim, you know, unless you're sinking, in which case there's not a lot of support. I'm talking about camp like it's this miserable place to be. I loved camp. I, for the most part, I remember my camp days very very fondly. But it's got some institutional problems

I: 37:36

That the community chooses to accept you, on conditions surrounding your physicality is...I don't know if it's ever gonna really change. I don't know, I can't offer any solutions for yeah that

N: 38:04

I mean I don't know what to do about it either. I think it boils down to it being like an attitude problem. It's sort of an attitude problem, but I wouldn't know how to go about fixing it for, or making it any better.

I: 38:38

The first trip I went on with Pathfinder, we were given a route that we knew our kids could absolutely just not handle, there was no way, and we had some really strong kids on our trip and it was just an outlandish route so we cut stuff off, we got rid of a whole loop we were going, you know, we basically did whatever we wanted. And as a result, the strong kids looked even stronger because they were having a super easy time on this easier trip, but we had two kids that were really struggling, and I think partially because I'm more mature now, I can look back and realize how badly I handled difficult campers that first summer because I didn't want to sit out on a log in the rain and comfort a kid who's crying in the rain and refuses to go inside.

N: 39:38

Because they're on a shitty campsite, and it's raining, and their tent sucks and the food sucks, and their feet are wet and their everything is wet and they don't want to be there. You know I've

been that kid. But I've also been the one who just looks at that kid and says like, 'Come on buddy. Get your act together,' I've experienced both sides of it, which you'd think would have made me a little more empathetic as a staff but not really. You know, I was like 17/18

I: 40:12

Yeah, I think that once you're on the staff side of it, and you have a little bit more experience, I often tend to forget that I was that struggling camper once in a while. And I've really been forced to reevaluate my counseling abilities and my Soft Skills, because of that. Because I've 100% sat on the log, outside the tent in the rain, crying, and no one came to sit with me and no one told me that it was going to get better and is tough love sometimes the the best answer? Yeah. But sometimes you need that friend to tell you to come into the tent and get warm.

N: 41:01

And this is definitely something that changed while I was at Pathfinder. The staff were definitely more and more willing to sort of like, be empathetic towards children. But by the time I left it still wasn't great. And if you were a staff who was struggling, it was just right out. Yeah, you know. So it's, it's the very sort of toxic masculinity kind of environment.

I: 41:36

Yeah, I had a member in my group interview who had a sort of infamous evac situation while he was on staff on a trip, and his story was similar coming back and sitting in camp for multiple weeks and sort of having to question whether or not you belong in the group now, and performing. You're proving to others that you belong despite everyone assuming you don't because of whether you can carry your boat fast or not. So it's still happening, that was only a couple of years ago now so that's definitely something we have to work with, but I agree that I think staff are getting a lot more nurturing, as time moves forward.

N: 42:28

Oh my God, when I was a little kid, when I was like 10 years old and younger, the staff used to be fucking brutal. They just used to let them, I don't want to say abuse the kids but they definitely weren't nice maybe bordering on abusive but I think calling it abuse requires a level of intent that maybe wasn't there. But I remember that there was this counselor ____, we called him, and we were on a trip with this other kid, ___ and ___ wasn't fat but he was bigger than the other kids because we were like 13 or 14. He was grown more he was just physically bigger than everyone else and I remember being in this shallow creek somewhere in the north end of the park. And for whatever reason, *staff* tells *camper* to get out of the boat in the middle of a creek, and the kid, you know it was like maybe chest high water and the kid fucking does it, and we're all laughing at him like, 'oh, how could you not have known that we were joking,' we're just taking the piss. You know that was really fucking mean, that was fucked up.

I: 43:54

And he's wet for the rest of the day, and maybe multiple days after that because of that.

N: 44:00

It's just like you know that. Or like, staff, there used to not be any rules on on like splashing or canoe cupping a kid. So like, you know, it used to be like if you were paddling in a boat and you accidentally splashed the counselor, they would just dump a fucking cup of water on you and be like, 'don't do that' and I'm just like, 'What the fuck,'

I: 44:25

right, because we're not supposed to get wet on canoe trips that's

N: 44:34

It's harder for me to pull up specifics because I was a lot younger, but there was like a lot of frustrations that got taken out on the kids. I remember even being 13 sitting in a tent being like, 'Man, why did they treat us like this?'

I: 44:50

Yeah. It was softer for me. I started in 2009, so I was a couple years later, but if you didn't crush the cans (because we tripped with cans at my old camp) if you didn't crush the cans tight enough you'd end up with cans in your sleeping bag, like with the tops sticking out so you could cut your feet on them when you got into it. Which my emotional response as a child was very strong and then a couple years later, I said like, oh, that's totally normal like

N: 45:33

Like everyone gets canned sometimes!

I: 45:36

Why am I overreacting, why did you cry so much, now I'm like, no you shouldn't put rusty cans in the sleeping bags of children

N: 45:46

I remember this happened when I was 13 or 14. It was a nice night and we had our tents set up, and our counselors steam rolled our tent, which is they unstaked it while we were sleeping, and then like flung their bodies onto the tent and rolled around to wake us up, which is pretty funny. But I remember like as a 13 year old, I was furious. I was. Because if you do that to like your peer, I think it's funny, but if you're like an adult or an adult figure doing that to a 13 year old like that's a little, that's that's maybe not so great

I: 46:33

Not to mention that you could seriously hurt somebody.

N: 46:37

Yeah, and I remember like just fucking exploding at the staff like why are you doing this, I can't remember the arguments you just made, but basically I was really pissed off and I fucking let them know it. And I remember everyone being like whoa like you're overreacting and it just felt insane to me that me being mad about it was considered an overreaction. Like what the fuck, I never did any of that shit to kids. I definitely, I definitely could have been nicer to kids who were

slow on portages and slow on the campsite, but I didn't fucking barrel over their tent in the middle of the night. I didn't tell a kid to get out of the boat in the middle of a creek or any of that shit. Sorry I got distracted I heard a noise outside.

I: 47:48

Yeah I'm used to the heavy street noise at this point, my house is on a five Street intersection. And there's a walk signal that beeps 24-Seven, all hours of the day. So I always got a lot of background noise in my zoom recordings now. But, yeah, I remember there was a moment where I was doing like a paddle and paint at base camp with some of the campers.

N: 48:23

Was this at Keewaydin?

I: 48:25

This was a Pathfinder activity, while we were in camp. And these two kids were just, you know, Being shitheads like they painted dicks on their papers and then like started gunwale hopping and stuff, and the staff that I was working with and I were getting really frustrated. So then when they dumped their boat, which they inevitably did, we just didn't let anyone paddle over to give them a T rescue and they just had to swim it back to the dock.

N: 49:01

That's funny though.

I: 49:02

We were like in the middle of Source, like it was far.

N: 49:05

Oh, okay. I was gonna say like if you're like right outside the canoe dock, Like that's pretty funny.

I: 49:12

It was pretty far

N: 49:15

Okay that's pretty mean

I: 49:19

They had life jackets on. So,

N: 49:22

And we laugh about it now, but, think about how those kids felt they probably

I: 49:28

Oh they were furious, rightfully so yeah we should have rescued them, but also we told them multiple times not to gunwhale hop because they were in plastic boats so they were gonna flip easily. And yeah, sometimes you just got to dish it to them.

N: 49:47

No no no, there was this concept of what we called 'natural consequences.' And this definitely falls under that.

I: 49:58

I like to think so at least.

N: 50:06

That's all I have, I'm looking at the clock and I realized that we've been going on about this for almost an hour now.

I: 50:14

Yeah, that'll happen when you get people talking about canoe tripping, which makes this project really easy.

N: 50:21

Yeah, and I mean, you know, I mentioned it before. I liked camp, I miss camp a lot, camp was outrageously fun. My dream vacation, would be to just go on a canoe trip like at Pathfinder, but like, without any campers like just adults, that would be excellent,

I: 50:43

You can!

N: 50:45

I mean I can yeah but like I don't really have the time or the money to do so

I: 50:50

It's an expensive hobby once you get into it

N: 50:53

It is an expensive hobby. Really picking it apart now there are institutional problems. Which is why I think it's maybe good that this is the project that you're doing.

I: 51:13

I just hope that the time that I take to stop and not ask a camper like, 'Oh, do you have a girlfriend?' or like, 'write to mom and dad' and just generally trying to use more inclusive language as much as possible. I use that desire for everyone to be more thoughtful at camp, into a year long, getting to interview my friends, colleagues and alumni, and see if this is something that we can actually pull off. And largely I think it is like there are some strategies that I think could really easily be implemented to make camp better, but it'll probably take a while.

N: 52:01

It will take a while, everything there is all about traditions that run back like 100 years and getting people to part ways with traditions, they're going to be pretty stubborn

I: 52:15

Yeah it's hard problematizing places and experiences that you remember as fondly as you do I find, so the reflectivity of it can be challenging, but hopefully some good comes out of it.

N: 52:33

Yeah, hopefully,

I: 52:34

Yeah, spending four years, attending a predominantly white institution in Maine and then driving directly to Pathfinder

N: 52:44

We didn't even talk about race yeah so white. Yeah, it is overwhelmingly white, and every summer, there are a few kids from a foreign country, who don't speak a lot of English, who their parents just kind of dumped them there for god knows what reason. I remember specifically, there were these two Mexican kids, they were twins. And I remember people liking them even though they didn't speak a lot of English. And there were also these two little Japanese boys like ____ and I don't remember the other ones name, but beyond that just everyone else, white.

I: 53:36

Yeah it's true. And I'm wary of making a blanket suggestion to just try and recruit more campers of color without first recognizing institutional changes that need to be made in order to accommodate people.

N: 53:59

Yeah and it also just boils down to the wider problem, wider, not whiter, wider a problem of camp is just really expensive. You know

I: 54:10

And scholarships don't fix everything.

N: 54:14

No. I mean, you might get like one kid whose summer is paid for and that's it

I: 54:22

Even then if you get a scholarship that doesn't mean you get

N: 54:26

It doesn't mean they can afford the rest of it

I: 54:28

Right or you can relate to the campers that you're in a tent with like, Johnny and Timmy from New York City whose parents have Lake houses or whatever else in the park, you're probably going to have a harder time in the community than someone else.

N: 54:50

All right. Yeah. Well thanks for reaching out, I gotta hop off in a minute here, already been like an hour. But it was great talking to you.

I: 55:00

Yeah, thank you so much for making time I really appreciate it.

N: 55:30

Yeah, yeah. I'm kind of curious to read this paper, I'd like to read it.

I: 55:37

Yeah, I'm gonna do my best to make sure that it's as open as possible. But regardless, there's still a document on my own computer that I can send to whoever I want. So that's nice. It'll be officially turned in on May 5, and after that defended slightly after and then sent around picked apart perhaps, but that's the timeline. I thank you a lot for joining me.

N: 56:13

No problem.

I: 56:13

If you think of anything else, shoot me an email, whatever, if any other questions come up that I find while I'm writing. I'll just reach out again. Maybe?

N: 56:26

Yeah cool, no problem.

I: 56:28

All right, sounds good. Thanks so much. Have a nice night.

N: 56:30

Have a nice night. You too.

Appendix A.7: Personal Interview with Demi Mathias

(D=Demi Mathias, first summer 2009; I=Interviewer, ___=Redacted name)

I: 00:38

Hey, how are ya,

D: 00:41

I'm good, how are you

I: 00:43

good thanks for meeting with me,

D: 00:46

No problem I'm excited to hear about the work that you're doing.

I: 00:51

Yeah I'm honestly really excited. My final draft is due in like a month and a half now so I'm like almost at the end stages. So this is pretty exciting. But it was all sort of born out of the camp that I work at now, Camp Pathfinder, that brought on an indigenous consultant two years ago to talk to us about some of the camp programming and traditions that needed some updating and things like that and she talks, she's specializes in Algonquin history. So she did a couple of workshops with us on that. And after that, I took her business card down and like two years later, I'm making it basically my entire thesis, so that was super awesome, and the timing of everything was really great. So I just spent three, almost four weeks interviewing alumni from like the 50s all the way to now. So yeah, I've got. I have a lot of data right now to work through. But primarily I'm focusing on asserting to what degree colonialism was at the basis of the camping movement and how that manifested in the way that camps were founded. And the purpose of my interview stages were was to try and figure out how those colonial values were still manifesting in a bunch of different generations of campers. And I was focusing on things like patriarchy and that was a little hard because there just aren't many women that were experiencing camp on trip until right now, and race and socio economic class, and all in the context, largely, of how traditions at camp that are culturally appropriative are perceived over a long period of time. So I talked to Christine our indigenous consultant two days ago actually, she and I just had an interview, which was awesome and she gave me a lot of like Canada specific resources to look into which was great because sort of sitting on the US, Canadian border of this issue is something that I didn't realize I was going to be coming up against as much as I am. But yeah, so sort of the background.

D: 03:39

So awesome though, I'm so proud of you!

I: 03:42

Oh thank you so much. So I basically get to spend my whole year just talking about canoe tripping, and how it can be better for people in the future and that's just a super fun way to spend my time. So, yeah, I always start my interviews by doing a land acknowledgement for the camp that we're talking about so Keewaydin then is Teme Augama Anishinaabe land. It was opened to exploration and to camp due to settler colonization. And these are facts that I base my framework around, and when I talk to camp alumni I got to just lay out that it's not like a debate platform, my interviews are just to explore the ways that we encounter colonialism outright during our canoe tripping experiences but also how the way that we perceive ourselves and our experiences may have been sort of encapsulated by colonialism's roots and values that we were taught. So that's my little preamble, but I wanted to start by asking you how long your family has lived in the Temagami area.

D: 4:00

Oh god. Like my family specifically we have been here for 6000 plus years, we've gone down in generations since, it's been a while, I can't really put a date on it. So, my family, my grandfather, he is a Mathias, and so that lineage has been here for those 6000 plus years. And then my grandma's side is the Potts. And, you know, we've been here on that side for 6000 plus years but the Potts side migrated down from the James Bay Cree area. So having that bit of Cree as well but really settled here on the Ndaki Menan, in this area for 6000 plus years, is what my knowledge is. My grandparents, my grandpa was born on an island on Lake Temagami. He literally lived in the bush. So forever. Yeah for time immemorial, I can't put a stamp on it. Yeah.

I: 6:00

And what was your family's history in connection with Keewaydin?

D: 06:37

I'm not sure the exact timeframe, but it was around when my great grandpa, he must have been in his late 20s, early 30s. He did some guiding for them. Back in, I don't know, whenever, I'm trying to like put dates to it. Would it be, well my grandma was young, probably in like the 50s and 60s. He did some guiding for Keewaydin where he took groups out because they knew the area so well, right? They didn't need maps or there weren't maps right so they would take people out, he led. This might have been before my grandma was born and when he was really young, maybe in the 30s. Maybe. He led a couple of trips down the Albany river to Hudson's Bay. So it was really just like that side of my family that was really involved in Keewaydin and that was really to make money. Because at that point we were immersed in colonization, the contact period had happened. And that economic development that that started and continued, you needed money in society and so it was really a job for my great grandpa sorry, to provide for his family. So it was really during that period there were other, not just my family specifically but other community members who who guiding there as well. I'm not 100% on their names. But they used this community Temagami First Nation to help get to know the area, and then pay them in terms of that reciprocity for sharing their knowledge. So all men, I mean, myself, my dad, my grandpa, my grandpa Philip is like the oldest generation of my family that guided there that we know of, that was what was talked about and told to us so it could be further generations back but we just don't know.

I: 09:03

So, you and your family has a similarly long Keewaydin lineage, just like some other big families. Was there ever a point where you realized that your experience at Keewaydin might have been different than white women or the white men that you were tripping with?

D: 09:30

Definitely, so, in my identity. I definitely continue to grow and search for who I am as a person and having to balance both worldviews essentially because my mother is white and my father is native, right. So having that balance as well fighting with my identity that, you know, you don't look native. Well, how can you tell me how I look when you know we're all trying to find who we are. And you can't really define native as being dark, having dark hair, there's so much more to being, indigenous and native to the northern parts of Turtle Island to Canada right there's so much more. And so I definitely felt that when I first came to Camp in my first year. Just because I was like, why are you all so excited about being here? Just those little moments and when people were talking about their families, where they come from, all this, I couldn't relate. I didn't have an understanding, you know, when some people would talk about all this money that they had and I'm like, I don't know what you're talking about. I definitely felt it there. And then a bit about the culture just seeing the amount of language that is used. It's basically culturally appropriated language that has been taken. And then furthering my career at Keewaydin, it probably wasn't until my Bay trip and then when I was on staff that I was like really. I had never seen the Four Winds ceremony, and thank God I had never seen it. My first year on staff, I was there for the Four Winds ceremony and I was like, No. This is not okay, we are in whatever 21st century and here you are still using the term "Injun" that's like calling a black person the N word. That is not okay, like tradition can only go so far and tradition can be changed. Yeah, we can acknowledge those roots but it needs to be changed and that's not it. So it was really like in my years as staff that I saw that more also because I had found myself more. I was able to pick it out and just like start calling people out on it. Yeah, like this is not okay. There are certain things that I'm okay with taking the time to educate people because a lot of people just don't know, they're either very ignorant, privileged, or they just don't know. And so I pick and choose my battles because it does get tiring. It's not okay, no you can't do that, you can't use those words. Yeah, I definitely felt it more as staff and I think that, sorry I'm just kind of going on,

I: 13:14

This is perfect. I have my recording in the background I like to use a third party software so keep going, it's perfect. Don't worry.

D: 13:25

Yeah just feeling it still from even people my age, there were certain people my age and a bit older, still around the same time at Keewaydin and generation at Keewaydin that were like 'No, it needs to stay the same, it's tradition.' It's like, 'Yeah, but you don't get it, to you it's nothing' but not to me, I am one of the First Peoples of this territory and here you are using this vulgarity, this language that shouldn't be used, and the appropriation just even like little things. The assistant staff plaque in the lodge, they didn't put guides on there and they're still not putting guides

because they were indigenous! That's so discriminatory! We might not have went there as campers a lot of them, but they still worked for Keewaydin. There's things that need to be acknowledged and changed, and you know there are steps that are being taken, but I don't think it's enough, and it's not, for lack of a better word, as good as it should be.

I: 14:45

Yeah,

D: 14:46

Like even on ___ when he was the director, but even now like ___ and ___ like, being the first female it's time to really implement and change things because your minority campers and staff are feeling that. They feel attacked and they feel, they feel appropriated. So it's, I don't know if that answered the question?

I: 15:16

That answered like a bunch of my questions. But when I talked to Christine on Friday, one of the things that comes up a lot is the small practices like I had never thought about throwing offerings into the fire. Until, Christine, explained that her uncle was practicing in secret before it was officially "re-legalized" by the colonial government. And that was one of the like small things that she noticed that he would do when they were just together as family. And I think that partially people not knowing is one aspect but I also think that's an easy implementation to achieve, searching for a consultant or Indigenous knowledge holders, and my boss at Pathfinder was able to basically have an itemized list. Alright, this has got to go, this has got to go, this has got to go, and the superficial changes are super easy. But we talked a little bit in a different interview about how boys at Keewaydin sometimes use their attachment to tradition, and like the 'spirituality of canoe tripping' as like a flex? Like 'we're more committed to canoe tripping than you.' So I really like that you brought up the younger campers and staff, arguing about which traditions can stay and which can go. But in terms of bigger things. I was also curious about how language. Like 'first descent,' and a 'Keewaydin campsite,' and 'our island' being so like prevalently used in the canoe tripping community, did that ever stick out to you?

D: 17:28

I just want to, sorry. My head went to when you brought up talking about the traditions and the spirituality connecting to canoe tripping and how you know, men or boys might feel that differently. I just went to Wood on Water, the film that what's her name Mia,

I: 17:52

Maya?

D: 17:54

Whatever her name is just did, just because, you know I took part in that and I spoke in that. Because I was like, it's so important that you always need to start acknowledging the territory that we travel on, the territory that friggin Devil's Island sits on. I talked about how important it is to acknowledge territory but also understand like where the canoe came from. Who do you think

invented it? I've had the experience of paddling a plastic canoe, or wood canvas canoe. I've made a physical birch bark canoe, like what we used to travel in traditionally, what in a vision that came down from creator in one of our creation stories the vision of a canoe of that vessel to transport you to and from and, just to hold and again transport those that were so important to you. I just thought of that just because they have this connection but it's very lateral. They don't understand the amount of history around that canoe specifically, right? It wasn't invented by someone who came over from Europe. We were traveling in birch bark canoes when the contact period happened. So sorry I was like, I need to save this. So, can you ask me other point again?

I: 19:41

Yeah! So beyond using language like Injun and brave and face painting and things I also am looking a little bit further into the more rudimentary ways that we talk about canoe tripping like a 'first descent,' or that this campsite is a 'Keewaydin campsite' versus a non Keewaydin campsite or that this is 'our island,' and how that language may contribute to keeping colonialism's prevalence throughout the experience. Because even if we work to get away from the Four Winds ceremony and things like that there's going to have to be like a stronger reeducation to unwork that language from the white canoe tripping space's repertoire.

D: 20:48

Yeah, I never thought of that. I think I would just be like, excuse me, I'm Teme Augama Anishinaabe. You haven't been here for as long as I have, so actually this is my land.

I: 21:05

This is not a Keewatin campsite this campsite has been here for a way longer,

D: 21:12

Exactly. Yeah, I never thought of that but I definitely see that in like specific campsites that, like the Section A campsite over on the far side of the North arm right, it's like, yeah, I don't really know how to answer this or maybe I'm not understanding right. I think I would say I think it all stems from that lack of education and knowledge on the camps part. About not providing that background of the land that we're on and yeah this campsite might have been here for so many years, but you know, this could have been an area where a family lived in a different time of the year because we didn't initially all live on Bear Island. This would be a more summer place where people would come to but in the winters they were out trapping and hunting and trying to get the furs to, then make money right. Yeah, that's an interesting way to look at it. Now you got me thinking. I just think yeah it's. I don't know.

I: 22:47

I think a big issue that we have to work with, especially at a place like Keewaydin that does have the longest history as a summer camp, is separating that history being a cool thing because it's a summer camp that's really old from the camp tradition trying to like weave its way into the land history as if they've grown up together. Because I feel like when I very started this project, the first thing I wrote down was Bruce telling the Kokomis story at the opening campfire.

And that was before I had really spent any time thinking about whether Indigenous stories are ours to tell? I don't really think so. But just at like the base level, trying to make camp seem like it's been here as long as the Kokomis rock is dangerous, so some ramifications that we've got to work through.

D: 24:06

Yeah. So, I'd never been to an opening campfire until my first year on staff, and I didn't even really sit in because I was just so angered about the fact of the Four Winds ceremony I was just like, oh my god like why are they doing this this is. So, this is not representing who we are as a people. And here we are, like, you know 150 People are like, 'oh my god this is what indigenous people are like?' and it's like, no, no, it's not. Oh, yeah, I just think that in terms of like the land and the stories that are shared and that connection that Keewaydin and the Keewaydin people think they have with the territory and the land is really just at that base level, it's not very deep because a lot of them might not even know the history. And it's, you know, it's that colonial mindset that's ingrained in them saying that this is our land. Because 'oh my great, my grandpa was a guide here back in the 50s so I know the land,' but it's like no you have no idea. The history there are certain parts of the island, or the lake where, you know there are caves that have Nana Bush stories, creation stories, around them and that the Kokomis story that Bruce tells that's a creation story that Nana Bush was also involved in right. These are our creation stories our traditions, our culture, and our understanding, our worldviews and by him using the story, he's taking that knowledge and using it to make it look like Keewaydin is in great relations with the First Peoples of this territory when you're not. You really are not. There's been a big push in the past, what however many years, a lot of it has to do with because I was there. Because I was the tokenized native camper. I'm just like you know what, I hate being tokenized. I hate that. But then I'm also like these people, a lot of these older generations have no idea. Don't know the history, they don't know the importance of territory, the importance of culture and understanding, and they want to but maybe they don't know how to go about it. I just think that not even just Keewaydin there are camps all over the lake right and they all have this. I don't know this, territorial claiming when it's not theirs to claim that needs to be educated and understood that, we are here and we are the First Peoples and it's something that each camp needs to work on 100%. So, I was seeing this guy from another community, further down. And he talked about how, and personally I think land acknowledgments, they're great and all, they're acknowledging that you're actually understanding that people were here before you. But he also said that land acknowledgments are a funny thing because they might say the land acknowledgement but then nothing's done afterward, right. Or, they're like, 'Oh, I did the land acknowledgement, so that's good enough.' Yeah, like no the land acknowledgement is only one part of this. What everyone's calling it, reconciliation, I don't even really like that word because it's become like a buzzword, it's being misused. But people are like, 'Oh, it's done. That's all we needed to do,' it's like you're finally acknowledging territory, now you need to do more. Yeah, more that needs to be done right. A land acknowledgement just is that very basic, that first level, but much more needs to be done under that. As you're acknowledging this territory and here you are still claiming it as Keewaydin or claiming, which is part of the camp, but also you need to acknowledge who was here before the camp, because the camp hasn't always been there.

What was there before the camp? That would be something cool. I don't know what was there. Families could have resided on that island so yeah. I could talk about this for like days.

I: 29:45

I know especially because I feel like Keewaydin's, the rigidity of the schedule of the summer, makes it really hard to institute, any sort of major programming changes. Whereas at Pathfinder, we have a little bit of an easier time because trips just go out whenever they're scheduled. They can come in, leave whenever, so you can reasonably have like every single camper at some point in the summer, sit down for a workshop with Christine, and like everyone gets it. Whereas, if the Bay Trippers are gone and then the section Two and Section B guys leave the next day, when will there be an opportunity to make sure that these Section A campers actually know what they're going through, where they're going, the people that they're going to meet at the end. Yeah, do you think it's possible? Do you think that there would ever come a time where Keewaydin management does just like institute an Indigenous Education program at all, in some level?

D: 31:00

I think it would be something that would be beneficial and would be so great for the camp to do, but, I'm in a group right now with a bunch of other Keewaydin alum and people that are still staffing there, and we are working on the racism, discrimination, everything that's at the camp that needs some changing or just some altering because it's not good. And just by sitting in on those groups, providing you know, again being tokenized a bit, or whatever, providing my indigenous understanding and knowledge. You know we have not made as much headway as I would like to with the headquarters, and even the board like I would 100% go in and sit on the board and be like, 'this is what needs to change' because even if we had an indigenous consultant on the board of directors. Yeah they aren't going to be fuckin' donating because oh I'm sorry. They won't be donating a bunch of money but like they'll be there to provide their understanding. Because you know, even not only just on Bear Island but all the Cree and Inuit communities that we travel through on our journeys like that's a lot of communities. And so there definitely needs to be something, even if it starts small, even if it's you know just at the headquarters, where they're getting some cultural training, essentially cultural sensitivity training or whatever, and then moving from there to the staff, and then eventually to the campers, to the bigger Keewaydin community. I think that would be so beneficial, because then it provides them with better knowledge and understanding and especially because we traveled through all these communities. There needs to be something that focuses on that and highlights, because the indigenous population in Canada, we're a unique group, we're all very different. And it's so important to have a better understanding because when you're coming into a reserve, things look different than a city. Our houses, unless you're in like a ghettoer part, the houses will look rundown. There will be probably like eight to nine people living in a house, there are certain things like that, and then teaching on why these things are the way they are. No, we didn't choose this. There's been a lot, that intergenerational trauma from that colonization period has seeped deep into our communities, and providing that education to people that have no idea, is so important. Because then they'll have an understanding. I always tell this to my students that I teach, I say 'the knowledge that I share here today. Take it with you and then continue to share it

because it needs to be shared and understood because a lot of people still don't know the history and the present day reality of indigenous peoples, what we go through.'

I: 34:45

Yeah.

D: 34:46

So I definitely think that there needs to be something, it needs to be a more permanent thing whether it's every six months different training happens or at the beginning and the end of every season like, it needs to be implemented in a way that is actually providing more knowledge to the staff. For them to be able to then provide that knowledge and education to the campers. But then also to other staff that might need a better understanding of the indigenous studies area, I guess for lack of a better term. But yeah, I don't see, as sad as that is, I don't see that happening anytime soon, which sucks.

I: 35:51

Yeah

D: 35:52

It's not something that you want to hear but. I don't know what it is but it's just not on the radar.

I: 36:07

Yeah, yeah. It's challenging when a summer camp is, especially a canoe tripping camp, is just like a massive endeavor to run at all. So the white space is like comfortable and easy to keep going and we've been doing it the whole time. So like, god forbid we start trying to get more diverse campers to show up and that means we actually have to do work. I don't know. maybe if we did some recruiting events not in the McMansion suburbs where all the Keewaydin families are really coming from. We might be able to get some traction, but that doesn't even begin to touch on, when Christine and I talked about having indigenous staff on the payroll, all the time, and there has to be an environment that is harm reduced enough that there isn't constant trauma inflicted all the time, and tokenizing of indigenous people to teach this history, but then also the connection that you gain to the community by being a camper. But the trauma that ensues from being an indigenous or a bipoc camper in a white space it's like the circle is closed and trying to like pierce it to get any type of diversity in without like a substantial amount of preparation beforehand is. I wouldn't want to put anyone through that like being like trial run indigenous camper, at Keewaydin.

D: 37:56

Yeah.

I: 37:58

Oh, my God. Cultural competency is such like a, you flip through the Zoom training and then you're like, 'I won't say slurs around people anymore' but that doesn't actually make the space

when you're in it, when you step off the boat for the first time, any less exclusive than it's been designed to be since the 1890s.

D: 38:31

Exactly. Yeah. Because the director had asked for last year for like myself, and my sister to come in just to talk about, you know, plants and the different medicines and the land and connection we have to the land and being able to harvest and find food from the land. And I said yeah no problem like I would be able to come in and talk about that but I was like can I also add like some cultural sensitivity training or better understanding and educating people on indigenous issues and perspectives and whatever else? And she's like, Yeah, sure. And then, obviously camp didn't run, right. Yeah, I just think that there needs to be more done, and there was one, it was in my undergrad, and there was this really impactful experience, I don't know if they're doing it in the States, but it's called the blanket exercise.

I: 39:46

Yeah, yeah, it's written up in the American Camping Association.

D: 39:52

Okay, yes, that would be something I think that should be done up at Keewaydin, because that gives you the experience of the history, what we are living through today, the impact that has. But then also, the feeling of a child being taken, the feeling of being taken from your own community and not being able to go back. I think that like, I know it's really harsh, but it would get the point. And it would hopefully start those conversations and the movement to indigenize the Keewaydin experience more.

I: 40:39

Yeah, I had an interview that almost went really South really quickly, where the question of why indigenous guides stopped working at Keewaydin in the 60's, and the answer that Brian back offers us, is that there were rumors that there was too much partying going on at camp during that period, and then obviously there was no discussion of like residential schools or people being threatened with getting their families ripped apart if you don't join a colonial career and start committing to a colonial economy. So it's written into the camp history without any recognition of just like the massively larger effects that were going on outside of camp. And the fact that people still at camp don't realize, especially when we're doing things like this Four Winds ceremony and offerings to the fire and things, is that it was illegal to practice indigeneity before 1996. Like, if that's not enough of a reason why we shouldn't be doing it and why it shouldn't have been a tradition in the 50s 60s 70s and 80s, and certainly not today, then I don't know what more justification you need for that. Because it wasn't appreciating people, at least not in any meaningful way.

D: 42:39

Yeah, cuz that's an older generation right they're very stuck in their ways, set in their ways and in most cases, they're like no we didn't do anything wrong. And it's like, Okay, I'm not gonna argue with you because, well. Back, it's really awesome that he's doing all this work and looking

into the history but also though, there has been barely anyone he's reached out to on Bear Island if anyone. And here you are researching a camp that's been here where we had people work up there and not talking to anyone on Bear Island, no.

I: 43:31

How does that make sense. You have a whole section about the Mattawan guides and maybe one quote from someone that actually did work as a guide. Right. Like how. where did the records come from other than just talking to people, I don't know. I mean, I could do an entire colonial case study just on the Keewaydin way, because Pathfinder also has a history book. And I didn't even know about this until I just got sent a copy, but the second chapter is literally called we own this place. Oh my god, and I was like, like all content is good content but this is especially good content, like you just can't even make that up. So we went to an office in Ottawa, and acquired a lease and the next thing we know we were sitting on this island and building our cabins for ourselves. And it's like, oh, okay, so where did the lease come from, how did you guys get there. Yeah, I think the next chapters in this project are going to just be like a side by side of like the way that the camp history talks about certain areas at camp and then like the in interviews next to I feel like they'll really like stick in there and just patriarchy, at Keewaydin and I could talk about this for hours but one thing I wanted to bring up again was how masculinity is encouraged at Keewaydin as the canoe tripping ideal, was there ever a moment where you realized that you didn't have to embody masculinity on trail anymore?

D: 45:56

God, going real deep here. I feel like the way like I was raised basically, there was lots of trauma and everything in the way I was raised and so in some ways without actually saying it like my family, we were taught like basically not to show weakness, which is so shitty, that's so horrible because showing emotion is normal, it's a way, it's healing. And so a lot of times we weren't taught that and so in a lot of cases, I don't show motion, and especially at Keewaydin I felt like, always having to be that masculine or that strong figure I guess. I don't even know I'm just like trying to pinpoint a time like when I didn't. But I really, not only the pressures of family but like the camp as well just constantly feeling that which is not okay. I'm very grateful for what Keewaydin did for me, the person I am, but also a lot of it was trying to be better than the guys are trying to be better. And then, and I honestly say, and I said this in that film too, I was like, we do drip better than the guys, I think, because there are ways where we're more organized, we just do things better. Yeah, because women are just the best, and we're just so much smarter.

I: 48:12

Exactly like seeing the way guys just like pick up anything on the landing and carry it across the portage, we have our specific packs that you carry specifically and then you don't have to search around at the end for the stuff

D: 48:39

I definitely felt on like my Bay trip, I feel like when we reached the bay there was just like we weren't competing against anyone we weren't, I was able to just be there with my best friends, and just really take it all in and not have to like be the best or whatever it was, right, because I

always felt even then like my sections, this competition and it's like that sucks, and some of these people are my best friends but there's always that competition between us and it's like this is that mentality that this camp has, and that has been ingrained that you know you need to work real hard and keep going and blah blah blah and it's like no, take a second to smell the roses, enjoy the land. When I was staff, I was like, No, I am taking my time, I'm gonna enjoy. Yeah, I'm gonna sit here and drink my coffee, and I'll tump my wannigan later, like, I'm gonna sit here and enjoy, none of this rush, hustle and bustle. I'm not happy with the amount of masculinity that the camp has and is perceived onto others, especially the girls and the women that are at the camp. Yeah, there hasn't been a lot of times where I haven't felt that, which is shitty.

I: 50:38

Yeah. Constant. I think a lot about how inviting or allowing women on the island is not the same as including women's experiences. And when I was talking to a different alumni, she mentioned how sometimes boys section would come over for a CoCo social and the guide or staff of the other section would nitpick her campsite or ask why she made certain decisions that she did. And I feel like having to constantly compare ourselves to men, even when we all have the same exact understanding of how to canoe trip to the point where like I had been a camper for a couple more years than a lot of the guys in our Section A equivalent section, but still felt like I didn't know how to canoe trip, as well as they did. How does that make any sense? Is it just having big arms? Like that's really what it came down to I think.

D: 52:04

Yeah. And that's a pity, because then it makes you second guess and think about what am I doing wrong. What are you doing differently. It's like nothing, you're great, don't listen to them, you know Keewaydin is great, but then there's also so much that needs to be improved and looked at.

I: 52:32

I feel like you really defied those odds by winning the Gunn though.

D: 52:37

I hate that. I am not a fan of that competition. I'm not a fan. I don't like what it represents. I'm not a fan of how much people get into it, upset about it, whatever it might be because it doesn't show what we actually do. It shows a quick snapshot of a couple strokes, and that's the gist. Because you know your tump, you probably have to retump a couple times in the summer, it happens when you're moving and you move every day right? So that happens. I'm not a fan of it but I set out to win it. This wasn't a thought in my head when I was a camper and when I set this goal to go for it, but every time ____, she really like pushes this every time you know when there's an announcement or anything because I just don't like talking about it or hearing, or whatever. But she's like, 'you have to show that we are just as strong as the boys, and by you winning, you show that. You show that to the little Kokomis girl that is like, oh, the Gunn, only men have won it, but you can go up there and show them that it is possible that a girl can do it and can do it better.' ____ always tells me that. I'm like, Alright, I guess you're right, but I just

don't like the attitude and the mindset and mentality around what the Gunn canoe is. There's just too much pressure and it's adding to that masculinity of canoe tripping and you know being the strongest person, why don't we not have a competition and just enjoy end season and get to spend time and show and tell our stories of trip and show everyone what we do. I just don't like it, I don't know what it is, but I'm just not a fan of what the Gunn represents.

I: 55:53

I know I'm so torn between loving proving my strength against men, especially now that I work in an all boys camp I feel like that's just like feeds my fire a little bit. But then I also have to stand back once in a while and ask like, Does my worth, depend on my strength being the same as a man's. No, it doesn't. If it's fun and enjoyable for me to prove my skills to other people, that's one thing, but if I start like basing who I am as a canoe tripper or who I am as a counselor to the boys that I'm working with. It's all the time. We are way better at counseling than any of the men that I work with, just putting that out there. Like that's when it starts to become a problem, you know, but it was at Pathfinder that I realized I'm gonna bring a dress as my campsite clothes because I'm the only girl on this trip and I can, and it's gonna be fun. Just allowing a space for young boys to see women in positions that are anti what they picture girls to be in, and I don't think Keewaydin does a good enough job of that because we're separated the entire time. Like, if you walk into any of the boys areas there's flip up competitions happening and all this stuff going on, but if we wanted to do that we would just have to walk all the way to song.

D: 57:39

It's very divided. It's very secluded like the girls. Yeah.

I: 57:48

Like, would it be impossible to just build a new area, that's not half a mile away,

D: 57:57

Or give them like one of the cabins that aren't being used like those boys cabins, put them together, like I just don't like that Manitou, Abitibi, Gowganda, and Mattawa like they did not fill all those in 2019, they're not all filled. I don't understand either. Or, give them Waubeno like Waubeno is not always full, staff were living in it. There's that divide right there even in the living. It should not be like that. We should be just as involved and have a space on that side. Oh, so many issues.

I: 58:51

Camp boy campers not seeing girls doing well, until the Gunn, where they may see girls doing well but inevitably, unless it's you or _____, a man's gonna win anyway, it doesn't set up for a staff community that respects or encourages women, in my opinion.

D: 59:24

Yep.

I: 59:25

Whereas I feel like having an all boys camp where all of the staff were previous campers but they were exposed to female staff that weren't Pathfinder campers, so we can bring in all of our own experiences, whether it be like, I came with a lot of clout, by coming from Keewaydin and people were like, 'Oh that's so cool like yada yada yada.' So I had this precedent coming in, but then I got an opportunity to go on staff trips with men, and be a counselor to boys so that divide isn't a strong even though Keewaydin is considered like an integrated camp, I find that is fun having Kewadin clout though. Now that I'm like removed from those like small skills that I can still transfer over have really done me good sometimes

D: 1:00:40

So there's this program that I also work for called Gibbamish Gottiman, which is a partnership between North waters here on the lake, and this church. And they bring in 10 indigenous youth and ten non-Indigenous youth from across Canada. And we all met here at North waters. And we went on a canoe trip together. And it was an amazing experience to see. We had guy and guy canoes, girl and guy canoes, we had girl and girl, it was just, it was amazing to see the dynamic and how we worked together and how I see how other camps have implemented that and use both sexes on trips, and it's something that is so beneficial because you've just learned so much more when you're building those relationships with the opposite sex. I think that from that experience and then looking at my own experience, I would have loved to trip with some guys so that we can learn from each other, because yes okay they might do things different than I do but my way might be easier or my way might be more efficient, right. So it's like going back to that tradition and being stuck. No, girls go with girls, boys go with boys, like why?

I: 1:02:23

I feel like it would be super easy to have Kokomis campers go on a three day, and then a five day, and then a six day or whatever instead of throwing them into a five and a 10 day, even if it just starts with like the littlest kids. I think that having gender be less of a dividing factor at camp would be hugely beneficial, because I still think that boys think that we go out on trip and just like sit around. Sometimes I interact with boys who assume that I don't know how to stern a canoe, like I've been on a pathfinder trip where I was their equivalent of a guide and I had a co guide, and he was in the bow and I was in the stern, we were just like effing off and all of our like CIT is that we were taking out were in the back, and someone, a tourist like came up to us and was like, where'd you learn how to do that? I was like, what are you going to ask my head man in the front how he learned how to bow, okay. I don't think so, because I'm a girl but I know that you're not gonna say that. But you're gonna make it sound flattering that you're impressed by my ability. I feel like I should work at an all girls canoe tripping camp just to know what it's like. I feel like I need to get the full spectrum now.

D: 1:04:15

Yes, and then let me know how it is.

I: 1:04:20

Because clearly, integrated like this, is not it, but all boys is kind of fun. Maybe it's because I'm in a position of authority as one of four women on the entire island. Let me check these notes,

wow, we really covered all of this. Oh, my last question that I wanted to get to, was about doing Bay trips, as an indigenous woman. And what the cultural understanding of your section as a camper, sections you took out on staff, was prior to arriving at a northern settlement.

D: 1:05:17

I mean, to me, I was like oh it's just gonna be like home. There's probably dogs running around, and it's just gonna be like home. And in most cases, it was just a little bigger. In some cases, and maybe more secluded. Then we are here. For my Bay trip as a camper we went through two communities that were 1000 plus people. So much larger, much larger than here but still very similar right still just families, family run, lots of kids running around like it was just like home to me. Which sounds weird because like I you know I wasn't. I'm not from there I you know I don't. Before that I had never been into Satchco Lake or Schmattawa, but it just felt like normal to me. Nothing felt like off or weird. Just because I know what it's like to live on a reserve. As a staff, I had more knowledge at the time, and we were in an Inuit community/slash Cree community. Kuujuarapik and then Wapumatoosie, and so it was a little bit different there. Just because I had never been to an Inuit community before. But again, still very similar to what I grew up in, it was a reserve right so I had that knowledge and I felt a little bit connected because I knew what it was like in a community, but it was definitely, I found it, my experience up in Kuujuarapik was definitely different than any other time, just because of the amount of people but as well the different cultures that were there so the Cree and then Inuit as well. And just gaining a better sense of their cultures, was something that I really enjoyed and I looked at, but to me it was really, really similar. Just basically like I was at home. And I found a lot of the trips that we did go through communities and for different campers and my friends, when we were campers. To them it was so different and unrealistic and then they would always ask like oh is this what Bear island is like and I'm like, I guess so in some ways? I don't know, every community is so distinct and so different that in some ways it's similar but then there are so many differences as well. So to me it was, it was not as as different or as as weird or odd as as others might have felt because I am from a reserve and I've lived in one so that's kind of yeah, I hope that answers the question.

I: 1:09:14

Yeah, because when I talked to my director at Pathfinder. He talked a little bit about, because they hadn't been doing Bay trips nearly as long as Keewaydin has, so they only started sort of in the 2000s going super north. And he said that he got tired of campers coming back and just like complaining and like talking about the dogs or whatever and like being shocked by seeing poverty in any form. And as a result he really had to reevaluate the ways that they were inhabiting those spaces to make it culturally sensitive and understanding, but also like significant as an experience for the campers, beyond just sort of just poverty porn, I guess, is how he described it. Because white campers, without prior education or any discussion, probably wouldn't know that there's like different cultures between every single settlement and things like that and if you're only going to learn that by doing two major canoe trips in a row in your life and then never again, then you're not really taking away what you could be out of the experience. So I like his approach to that, so he set up some relationships in Fort Albany and Moosonee and things and so that there were like gatherings, and Pathfinder always ends up in

Moose Factory for like the gathering of our people and stuff so I find that recent alumni who have gone on trips like that have a much better awareness, which I think is a positive.

D: 1:11:32

Yeah, I also like, when I staffed that Bay trip, like, _____ did most of the communication with the community, and because we were both ending there. And I just, to me reaching out to not only our contacts in the community but reaching out to the community as a whole is so important, when we decided to take the birch bark canoe up to the Missinabi river we weren't on our territory, and so we reached out to Beaver House there was a couple other communities Chapleau Cree, like we reached out to the communities of the territories we were traveling on and we reached out to their highest level of authority and we're saying like, hi, you know, we're from here and we're going to be traveling through your territory you know with our birch bark canoe and just Miigwitch for letting us travel, you know, so I definitely think that there needs to be more of a relationship with the communities that we do end in, or just knowledge of, because if my community was one of those communities, and there were strangers coming into the community, I would want to know, I would want to be like, oh who's coming through and then I would most likely go talk to them and be like hey where are you coming from like where you from just to get a better sense, and have an understanding of the people coming into our community, but then also the people coming into the community having a better sense of the community, what community the community's culture, you know, building those relationships up to strengthen the ties that we have with these communities that we sometimes spend you know like three days to eight days in them. It really depends on where you're going and how much time you have left so I think that should not be on part of the trip staff but I think the headquarters should really have conversations and a say, with communities and I know that adds more to their plate, but that's just basically doing their due diligence. Yeah, we're sending people on different territories for X amount of days. I think that's something that would strengthen community ties but then also bring up, educate our staff and the campers that are going through these communities on different things.

I: 1:14:25

Yeah. Because without talking, or giving heads up about traveling beyond obviously doing it where you finish your trip but that long series of territories that one may encounter on a trip without doing that, the more that I read it feels more and more like an HBC sort of coming through, not really paying attention, Like using resources to get out at the end and like not really like doing anything of substance to actually acknowledge that these are like real human people that like live here. And I think it would also be beneficial for campers to know that the communities that we're traveling through are aware of our presence and that if we don't see any people for however many days, that's just because we didn't run into anyone that lives here, But there are people around that live here. Because I think that idea of isolation can get a little like sketchy when you start thinking that there's no one around for 1000s and 1000s of miles because in all likelihood there is someone around, we're just not aware of it because we haven't done any research to figure it out. So would that impact the like majesty of a canoe trip, I don't really think so and if the only expense is that people are more aware of human history while we're on a canoe trip I think that's a good price to pay.

D: 1:16:22

Yes, exactly like you know just finding ways to. And this would have to be done for the staff first to then share that knowledge, continue to tell that story but even just sharing of, you know like, like, I wonder how many people actually know like what the territory, like in the James Bay Coast area what the territory is called right like what communities you're going into, I just think that there needs to be more done to acknowledge the indigenous people that reside there and have resided there for, You know, over 1000s of years. Yeah.

I: 1:17:12

It's time to let the 'we're the only people in these woods,' mindset die out at canoe tripping camp, And I don't know how long that's gonna take but

D: 1:17:28

Probably a while,

I: 1:17:30

A really long time.

D: 1:17:32

Yes,

I: 1:17:34

I just can't believe that I'm an American Studies major at Bates, and if I didn't make this my thesis, I would have taken in total, two classes about indigenous history, and my major is American Studies, like so what else are we talking about if it's not that? So I want to be charitable to people that I work with, that want to learn without absolving the fact that you can choose to do work on your own for that and it's just a matter of whether you take the time to do it or not. So, I just don't want to have to depend on an indigenous consultant forever. I feel like we could really make some lasting change but

D: 1:18:38

This is awesome this is what, I don't like the term, I don't like a lot of terms. But a lot of people are using allyship. And I like rather using in good relations, because it's just, I don't know, there's something again around allyship there's just a lot of work that needs to be done to break down that word and who is an ally right like, you know, like I said earlier about the land acknowledgement like that's not good enough, you're not an ally if you acknowledge the territory you're on like no.

I: 1:19:22

And you're not an ally if you self proclaim yourself as an ally, that's also not. If you don't actually interact with any nonwhite people, or non straight people you can't just like claim the term ally for yourself like

D: 1:19:42

That exactly right.

I: 1:19:43

It doesn't work that way if all of your friends are white and all of your co workers are white

D: 1:19:49

Exactly. So looking at that as well right and the importance of that and, you know, using the work that you're doing, which sounds amazing and I'm so proud.

I: 1:20:01

I hope it's amazing at the end.

D: 1:20:04

It will be it will be because this is something that, this is something that is real, it's a lived reality that we all face and that we all have because there are summer camps across the world. You know there are summer camps everywhere and so it's something that definitely needs to be looked at and continued to be educated on and shared and just discussed. Yeah.

I: 1:20:35

Period. Well that's all the questions that I had and we're going on an hour and almost a half now, I don't want to keep you too long when it's still nice and sunny outside, but is there anything that I can answer beyond what we've been talking about?

D: 1:21:04

Not that I can think of. Not right now, I'm happy that you're doing this work and I hope it all comes together. I've wrote thesis I know what it's like it sucks. But then when it's done, it's the best. So my hope is it goes well, good luck transcribing.

I: 1:21:28

I already have your forms back which is awesome because normally I have to use this last section of time to be like please give me my forms back. So thank you for that. And thanks for sitting with me.

D: 1:22:13

Yeah! I love this conversation, embrace it, I live it every day and I just want to, you know, work towards making for me specifically Keewaydin, you know, just a better place for all, you know, All groups all minorities all people.

I: 1:22:35

Yeah, me too. Well, that's all I got. I will sign this off now. Yeah, you have my email so if I come up with anything else. Would you be okay to talk again if I,

D: 1:22:50

For sure. Yeah, I just have to be like after a certain hour because I do work so just, yeah, just let me know and we can if we if you want we can chat again I would be open to that for sure.

I: 1:23:02

All right, perfect. Well, I'll let you know. Thanks again. I'll talk to you again at some point!

D: 1:23:08

It was so nice to see you!

I: 1:23.12

So good to see you too!

Appendix A.8: Group 3, 2007-2010

(B=Andrew Beecher, first summer 2007; F=Aidan Fitzgerald, first summer 2010; A=Anna McClean, first summer 2010; I=interviewer; ___=redacted name)

I: 05:35

I like to start off every interview with a bit of a preamble, just laying out the framework for the project and making sure everyone is on the same page. Firstly, I'm examining the role of settler colonialism in the traditional canoe tripping camp experience. Secondly, Lake Temagami sits on the ancestral lands of the Temagami First Nation, the Teme Augama Anishinaabe people. Algonquin Park is unceded territory of the Algonquin Anishinaabeg people. Settler colonialism is an ongoing process that all settlers contribute to, regardless of race, age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, etc. Does anyone have any questions so far? If not, just a reminder that you can rescind your consent to participate at any time and for any reason without risk of punishment. There's no reward for participating in my project, as I'm sure everyone's aware from the consent forms. Any questions about the consent forms? No? Alright then I believe we can get started. I was excited to be able to tailor questions that are more towards our age range, rather than sticking to sort of the questions that I've been using for other groups, which is nice. But I would like to start out by asking if anyone recalls the first time, or the first instance of a camp tradition that felt vaguely indigenous, or had indigenously inspired aspects to it. And I'm not going to make a list of like the first. Yeah, the first one.

B: 06:20

Are you thinking like the first time we noticed that it was indigenous? Or the first time that we first realized that tradition?

I: 06:26

Yeah. First time, you noticed,

06:31

It was my first year second man year, I was about to start college, was a summer between senior year and college. So that was that same year, but I had gone up in June to go pick my sister up because she was there for a school trip. She wanted to come home a few hours early. So I used it as an excuse to go spend the weekend up at Pathfinder. And I remember there's like a conversation in the kitchen that I was somewhat part of, where people were giving Sladds a hard time for trying to kill Toncacoo. And this is the beginning of the kill Toncacoo conversation, and I never really thought about it, I guess before, like it was like so clear. I mean, he is Indigenous, but I guess I never thought about like, Oh, this is actually not a great thing. That was the first time I was ever, kinda like, oh, but at the time, I was kinda like, oh, I don't really see the problem with it. Like, it's very respectful. And it wasn't till later in the summer, when the conversation came up again with me and ____ on our Dumoine trip because he had been in the kitchen so he brought it up again. And he kind of put it in perspective of like, Okay, what if it was blackface and not dressing up as an indigenous man? And then all of a sudden, I was like, Okay, I get it now. Like that clicked. And then from then on, I was like, okay, we should kill Toncacoo.

I: 08:01

Anna for reference Toncacoo is the mysterious, shrouded indigenous man that visits our campfires at Pathfinder and shares wisdom with the group? So where does the name Toncacoo come from? Was that just like, also completely made up out of the blue? I feel like Sladds might have tried to tell me a story about his origins, but I'm pretty sure it was just complete gibberish that they threw words together for. Yeah.

B: 08:43

Yeah, that sounds about right.

A: 08:45

I can't remember what came first, but I think definitely like my first year at camp, like the Four Winds ceremony. Which is like a ceremony one of the first all camp campfires at Keewaydin where like, staff dress up as one of the four winds and face paint, leather skirts and feathers in their hair level bad and, read a script and tell a story and embody the four winds. Which I think Yeah, is bad. And I remember thinking that it was weird, and like weird dress up. When I first started camps I was like 10 or 11. But I don't think I understood like the larger cultural appropriation context until later on. But I also think, at Keewaydin there's a lot of really subtle, more subtle, less obvious appropriations of indigenous culture and I'm even thinking of Bruce's Kokomis story where whatever Mudjikeewis or whomever chased her and devils Island and the scree slope and the islands and the anger and the lake and which like is a really cool story and this is the like indigenous creation story of like Temagami, etc but it feels a little weird for Bruce Ingersoll to be telling it sometimes. I feel like those especially to open the summer and like go out on trip in that context or like under that. Yeah, like the next morning after hearing these stories and whatever and thinking about tripping in the context or under the shroud of these traditions or ceremonies, I guess.

I: 11:06

Going out the next morning and leaving an offering for Kokomis.

A: 11:09

Yeah. and then of course sacrificing to the loon and the bear, and yeah, I mean, I could probably go on, there's a lot.

I: 11:20

Yes, a lot.

A: 11:22

I think those are. Those are the first few anyway.

I: 11:31

Aidan?

F: 11:32

For me? I think I've always sort of been aware that Toncahoo was supposed to represent an indigenous person. I guess it isn't, like necessarily a tradition, but the tribe names were always very apparent to me. Yeah, and I guess I can't remember. If when I started going to camp Tradlore was called Indian Lore. But I guess with Tradlore as well, that it was sort of built on indigenous sort of ideologies, or attempting to Yeah. I would say, Toncahoo and the Tribe names. Yeah.

I: 12:30

I use the Kokomis story. Well, the experience, first telling the Kokomis story, to open my introduction to this paper. And as I was sort of recounting how I remember that first night happening in 2009. I remember how it felt mystical that camp was being situated into this broader indigenous history of the area by like, implicating Devil's Island, specifically into the indigenous creation story. And I wonder, to what degree did camp feel a part of the lands history beyond just being like a private institution placed on an island in a park? And how camp made us feel like were supposed to be there? Like we were. We're like a part of the landscape. Does that make sense?

A: 13:42

Yes, I feel like I know, I 100% think I felt a lot, in hindsight, I think Keewaydin tradition does a lot to almost justify our presence and justify our tradition. Even the way we trip, I think there's a lot of this is the traditional way of tripping and why do you use wood canvas because it's tradition and whatever, whatever. And I think that a lot of our, what is camp tradition? The line between what is camp tradition and what is like weirdly appropriated indigenous behavior or story or narrative or importance. I think it's blurred a lot. And so then I think there's often stories or traditions or things like the Four ceremony that people feel really strongly about and have like, really strong memories towards or affection towards certain elements. And so then people feel like the tradition of camp is being criticized or attacked when I think there's definitely a way to separate the two. And so I think there are a lot of things like, at Keewaydin we used to do this

thing where like, every morning on trip, you would have a sacrifice piece of bacon, like you would cut a smaller piece every morning, and split it and sacrifice one to the great white bear and won to the majestic Loon. And you would like get campers involved. And they'd be like, I sacrifices whatever and throw it in the water, throw it in the fire. And it was always you sacrifice to the Great White Bear for friendship and brotherhood and harmony among your section and you sacrifice to The Loon for good weather and whatever. So that alone is like a weird, kind of cool, because it's kind of a moment of reflection of, we do need to be respectful and give back and think about how mystical and magical what we're doing is, but then it's also fucked because it's, I don't know, it's not any of our belief systems. And there is a weird element of, Oh, we tap into this, weird, specific, culty belief system when we're at camp or like, when we're with people from camp, you can relate to it. But nobody really understands the significance, so I completely agree that there's a lot of weird elements that make you feel sort of entitled, or like you belong, or that it was sort of bestowed, especially when you start talking about indigenous guides showed us the land and Mattawa guides who, like what a gift they gave us to show us, whatever it is, and let's go visit some settlement.

B: 16:51

It's the whole system. I wasn't even thinking about that, but one of the ones that was super obvious, even as a kid, obviously the tribe names and the Toncacoo, like I knew they were indigenous as a kid, I just didn't like see it. I didn't really understand the weight of that. But the other one is praying to the Great Spirit before every meal. That's what I always forget about but it's so, I don't think anyone in that room would ever ever pray to a Great Spirit anywhere outside of that dining hall, pretty much. But then there is this way of trying to, it's this weird combination of Christian, Judeo Christian ideas with trying to be nondenominational. So to not be nondenominational, they take indigenous culture instead, because they're like, well, this isn't gonna offend anybody here. It's just really interesting to think that you can't pick a religion that anyone in the room practices, you have to pick this other one that's fake, because then it's not picking anyone in particular, even though it's inspired by something that's just as real of a system as the other ones that they're trying to avoid. Yeah, I was worried about that one.

I: 18:10

Especially because we have chapel at Pathfinder. So there is sort of a reflection peace period that's encouraged in the camp community. And the great spirit is at every meal and things. So you would think that just being religious, if you were a camper would be part of that, but it's not whatsoever. And it's instead, trying to conflate thinking about your own feelings and understanding your own ideas with tapping into some greater possibly indigenous history of the area. Because I don't think any of us know who The Great Spirit is specifically tied to. I mean, it's sort of one size fits all. In that respect, so

A: 19:11

In a lot of ways, I think this is just definitely gonna be me projecting, and obviously, I don't really know anything about Pathfinder, but I have been there a couple times actually, but other than that, I know nothing, but there is this weird thing at Keewaydin where there's like competitive emotion sometimes, or like how much Keewaydin means to you and tripping means to you and

how sacred or transformative you find the experience becomes competitive. I mean, Nell will remember this like our assistant year, so our first year on staff we had this weird big conversation about sobriety on the island and while you were at camp, and what that looked like for different people and the reasoning behind it and whatever, whatever. And there was a lot of like, why would you want to taint the sanctity of this experience? And whatever, whatever. Yeah, and so I often think of things like I imagined the Great Spirit or the Great White Bear or the sacrifices. I think a lot of people use it as like a mechanism to process the sacredness of what we'd like have no ability to contextualize otherwise. Like the significance, importance, majesty, beauty that you find on trip. And the only way people are able to communicate it and contextualize it to like the camp as a whole kind of is through these weird mystical indigenouness sometimes, and I don't know what that means, or what that looks like for everyone. But I often feel like when everyone talks, at Keewaydin it's the Great White Bear, which I imagine is sort of like whatever the Great Spirit is, or whatever. And I think

I: 21:12

Probably the same guy honestly Yeah, honestly, like cowtow to the Great White Bear and give thanks to the Great White Bear. And it's definitely I think a little bit just like a stand in for how much it means to everyone, which is weird, but then we are unable to like, talk about that without having like some weird mythical person, like embody it for us, I think. I don't know. I really liked that, because you're so right. And I have not considered the competitive aspect of trying to prove how, like into camp you are. And it happens to a degree at Pathfinder, but I noticed that a little bit less, I think, but especially when we brought gender into that also, like, I'm not a super spiritual person, obviously I like canoe tripping, and it's fun to do. But for some reason, once our female section and the equivalent male section started, hanging out, it became like the boys were definitely more into it for some reason, and we have to continuously prove to them that we were also as into camp as they were, which is bizarre. Like, I don't know, why we got we caught up in that.

A: 22:30

But I think we each felt like we had different things to prove. Like I think for girls, it often becomes our ability to trip and our skill and our strength and something that's like a sore spot for girls and guys at Keewaydin is being able to flip up, which is just so fucking stupid. But obviously, we trip with Canvas boats, and an 11 year old girl probably weighs like 85 pounds and whatever. And it's fucking hard. And it becomes a genuine sore spot for people like myself included, it becomes something that you won't try in front of other people because you don't want to stumble and whatever. And then guys will even, when I was on staff, I had younger staff come on to my campsite for like cocoa socials and stuff and be like, that's how you organize your kitchen area? That's all the wood you got, or whatever and have weird, critical comments on whatever. And then I would hug one of my campers or call her sweetheart or something, and they'd be like you're not her friend. So I think the competition, girls often in those spaces felt like we had to prove our skills and our abilities. And then guys weirdly needed to prove their, like, Emotional-ness. They're like, prove that they were like emotionally connected to what we were doing and cry. And like who could cry harder or more easily which was just like, so weird. I feel

like at Pathfinder the flex for guys staff is whether or not you're like actually good with kids. Like that's like what makes you like

B: 24:35

I think there's that or being like, really good at tripping.

I: 24:41

Yeah. That's like the dichotomy. You either have all of the hard skills completely down or you actually can counsel kids.

B: 24:52

Like hard skills are, you know I can do them all, but like I'm not running the portages.

I: 25:01

And you shouldn't have to, to prove that you're more into camp than other people.

B: 25:07

There's always some competitiveness there though. Especially between different years, like, if you're a CIT, and you're beating a second man, or a secondman beating a headman, which like, I'll just flip up last and just take the trail, go last and just like clean up so that I don't have to get passed by my secondman. Especially when I'm tripping with ____ who can like carry two canoes at once and I'm like okay I've got one over here like

I: 25:37

I'll put this pack on this kid instead. So I don't have to deal with the shame of getting passed. Yeah, I wonder this sort of ties into a bit like the pride of being the elite canoe tripping camp in the area, it's the same Pathfinder and Keewaydin both occupy those exact same parameters just in different spaces. And how that, I'm going to call it hubris, how that canoe tripping hubris, impacts the way that you interact with other people on the trail. And the expectations that I felt I had to fulfill as a member of that group to like prove something to others. That was a long question. Let's just go back to the pride of being in the "in crowd."

A: 26:42

I think interestingly at Keewaydin I think it often ties back to gender especially for a girl on trip. Because I think like Keewaydin does have a lot of like, get your shit right, get your shit tight. Like we are fast we are quiet no LS like everything you unload put everything in a pile, take your boats fast, there definitely is a lot of pressure and I think for me at least, like I have especially when I was on staff more so because after my first two years on trip, I feel like you didn't see anyone ever, but memories of having just paddled out and two sections are taking the same Portage like out of Temagami, and like hearing a guy's section behind me and feeling like I was gonna be criticized or judged, or my girls were gonna be criticized or judged or perceived to be less than if they were crying or having a hard time or couldn't get their pack. And if we made a mess at one end of the Portage, and another section saw it, I felt more not self conscious, but maybe just more conscious overall, in regards to other sections from the same camp than other

people. Because I think other people in the area were often just like impressed, which sounds stupid. I don't mean to say that our abilities were like, so much higher than the average Joe that regardless of it, people were impressed by it, but like, to a certain extent Yeah, green boats are green boats. Whatever, to a certain extent they were and it was cool. And I always felt very proud of my kids, you know, and it felt good, and they're always like, Oh, my God, it felt good. And it was nice, but I think I felt more like stress.

I: 29:07

Yeah. Knowing that, like, more pressure than if it was just like a family trip or something, which is different than camps. But To a degree, it's just green boats are green boats when it's like someone not affiliated with camp. Oh, those are the guys like kind of know what they're doing. Whereas if you're getting compared to other keewaydin sections, it is more intimidating. I don't think you were on the trip that the Section B guys like kicked us off our campsite, and we were in Kokomis.

A: 29:45

Oh, no, but I've heard this story several times.

I: 29:47

Yeah. It's just like we got there first guys. Just deal with it. There's a campsite literally on the other side of this point. It can't be that big of a deal.

A: 30:03

But, yeah, and I think it's really sad the way it's passed from staff to campers, like whoever those Section B staff were did that in front of their camp Section B campers, which means those Section B boys were on staff like two summers later. And like it was demonstrated to them that not only is it okay to kick other people off a site that they've already set up on. But there's especially the weird dynamic of them having been a long trip like the competition between the staff, so the Section B staff being long trip staff compared to base camp staff that's already like always a weird dynamic sometimes. And then also, it being like, 16/17 year old boys and like 9/10/11 year old girls, like you can get there, at the end of the summer they are so dialed, it would have taken them 32 seconds to get there. Whereas like for 11 year olds to get their shit together and load their boats and paddle down would have taken like Three hours. Yeah. Three Hours. Yeah.

B: 31:07

Yeah, I think there's an interesting, what I'm seeing here on the trail particularly with other camps, but even tourists, they're like, because other camps in the park, they trip about as efficiently as the tourists, usually the tourists are better. Ahmek's like, okay, yeah, that's like the closest, that's the runner up. It's an all boys camp, they're like the closest relation I guess, as far as like, most similar.

I: 31:38

They're our Wabun kinda

B: 31:41

Not as bad as like the Arowhon. Arowhon carries water with them for days instead of just purifying while they're on trip, they're super weird. I think there's like a weird, we need to prove how much better we are than them. Like if you're pulling up to like a landing, and you see those other people, it's like, we're gonna take up no space, we're gonna do we're gonna be in and out of here, like, as fast as humanly possible, make this your best landing of the day. Hey, be don't wander around these people. And it's just easier. Because you kind of want to show off a little bit like, it's that hubris of like, Well, we know we're the best, so let's prove it. But then there's also the flip side of it, where also I want you to be the nicest most polite people ever. Like I want you to pass them on the portage. But while you're passing, Hey, how are you? How's your day, engaging, not only better, but we're also really nice, because I think that's also part of it is I think it is a little bit of hubris, like Ahmek doesn't have a good reputation for being nice. Because I've never seen a Pathfinder trip not be like, Hey, guys, how's it going to other camps. And a lot of times, other camps will just not say a word, like they'll just walk past you and ignore you. Or they'll be like, good, have a good one. It's a really weird interaction because we try to be the friendly ones too so like, maybe that plays into the hubris part too. It's like proving that we're also not only better than them, but better people too, I don't know, but it is kind of like a like, Okay, guys, let's like be nice. And be better than them. Like, you kind of try and hit both, which is kind of opposing but maybe not. What I'm saying. Yeah.

I: 33:20

I know 100% what you mean, there's a weird you want them to walk away from their interaction with you impressed, just in general, like 'wow, they were really efficient and also, helped us load our boats because they had the time.'

B: 33:38

Look how happy those kids looked

I: 33:39

They picked up my water bottle that I forgot They grabbed our loose life jacket. Whatever. Yeah. I wonder to what degree the indigenous story telling to try and implicate camp in the landscape, is the other side of the same coin that we're also the best at being in the landscape that other people interact with? Like, if we're being taught at camp that we've been a part of this landscapes history for 110-20 years, and we're also better at tripping than every other person in the area. Could that be trying to invite camp into a more indigenous position in the regions that we inhabit? Like, I don't know, maybe? I don't know if it's necessarily conscientious, but I do sometimes feel that they must be related in some way.

B: 34:55

I think sometimes it's conscientious. Like I think recently, we've promoted the idea that Pathfinder is the biggest island in the source of the Madawaska. Like the lake that is the source of the Madawaska River, I've seen on the website now or on Facebook, I've seen it a little bit more. I think as we try to reconcile with the indigenous, like cultural appropriation, I've seen that

more as almost reassuring our place, but it's still kind of that appropriation like it's the same problem. We're just kind of writing it in different ways, but also to like Algonquin Joe's grave, which is like this, like supposedly, I don't even know if there's anyone buried there. I feel

A: 35:36

We have one of those at Keewaydin too.

B: 35:38

There's no one there. It's like a pile of dirt that people put leaves on top of. But there's a little story about how this indigenous man who walked all around, he was Algonquin Joe, that was the name of the park. And he's buried on Pathfinder, he died and was buried on Pathfinder Island, and it's tying in this island in this place. And the people who inhabit it now as like the continuation of these groups that came before us when in reality is not how that historically played out. But I think there is a good point to that, like, we're positioning ourselves as like the true people who belong here. And that's why we are better than everyone else. And that's when everyone else and like, that's why we occupy this space within the park is because it's our park. And we we've inherited this long tradition of this park being our park, from the people who came before us on the Madawaska River and Source lake and Algonquin Joe.

I: 36:35

You said it, not me Keewaydin also plays up our proximity to Bear Island. Oh, yeah. That's for sure.

A: 36:46

So on Temagami, there's an island called Bear Island, which is an indigenous First Nations reserve. And we have campers from Bear Island. And we have a pretty good relationship with Bear Island, largely because of a couple families. And I just think, and I don't necessarily think in a camp wide way, but I think in a lot of personal relationships, we feel a little bit like, because we're on good terms Bear Island, and we know people from Bear Island, and people from Bear Island will wave at you and be like, oh, 'Do you know Demi? Do you know so and so?' and like, 'here have some cinnamon rolls!' Yeah, I think we have a good relationship with them, which I think a lot of people take as good enough permission kind like, 'Oh, because we're liked by Bear Island, I don't know, we've been dubbed worthy of what we're doing' kind of, which I think is weird. And so one of the campers from Bear Island who was on staff for a while at end season every year gets asked to perform some songs. And she is very funny about it, because she always gets up and all of the parents love it. And think it's so cool. And she's like, invited up as a staff member like from Bear Island, whatever, whatever. And she like sings the same two songs every year and doesn't really know what they mean. Or they don't really have any significance. And she comes up every time and like warms her drum and is always like, this is the traveling song wishing you and your family good travels home, whatever and parents love it and Demi's always like yeah, I don't know what it means. Like it's just a random whatever and I want to say we use her and her family but I think we do a little which is sad. It's like always an interesting like, take our campers to Bear Island to get ice cream and like look at the crafts at their little like Welcome Center and go to the graveyard.

I: 39:07

Yeah, go look at the graveyard. Yeah,

A: 39:10

Oh my god yeah, we did that in Winisk.

I: 39:15

I I love this project, partially because the same way that we perceive our interactions with Bear Island now and having Demi and her family involved in camp currently is very similar to the way that the older generation describes their perceptions of Nishi and the indigenous guides from that era which has great content in an academic standpoint. But um, the way that proximity to Nishi for the older generations seems to justify presence in indigenous Land and using indigenous customs is something that is, to a degree being maintained, I think, at least at Keewaydin. I can't speak for Pathfinder because there's not quite as much of a precedent with indigenous guides or anything, was there ever really a history of

B: 40:23

Aidan Did you ever meet ___? I mean, I'm sure you've heard of him. But did you ever, I don't know if it was quite your time. It was very early in mine.

F: 40:31

I don't think so.

B: 40:33

He was like a possibly indigenous man. I see that there's, I can't confirm, I think he is. But I think maybe one side, I'm not sure. I don't know. I don't know his family background. But that was kind of his thing was that he was the indigenous guy on the island. And he would teach, I think we still called it Indian Lore. We built a longhouse I think, I don't think it was a teepee. I think it was a longhouse. We built some sort of indigenous structure, residential structure, like somewhere on the back of the island. I don't know. It was very interesting. He has a YouTube channel, you can find it if you're interested in things, he makes the sweat lodge. I don't know. That was the only thing I remember. I remember I cut myself. And he's like, Oh, we'll heal this the traditional way. And then he took sap off a tree and stuff. I was like, I don't think this is like a safe way to handle this, oh, I guess it worked. Nothing was getting in there. At that point, he just stuffed it full of sap. But I don't know too much. Otherwise, I think it's always been pretty white. I mean, there's Chief, Chief Norton,

I: 41:48

Of course. Keewaydin had a chief. We had a long history of these mattawa guides, well, first of all, Grey Owl, who isn't even indigenous, and he was like the original appropriator of life. He was Setons, like inspo for the entire Boy Scout program, that is currently in place Grey Owl was like the blueprint.

A: 42:23

Yeah, he had pet beavers and multiple lives in different places. Anyway, we had a lot of Mattawa guides from Mattawa who would come and we used them as, not tickets, but entry tickets, I think in a lot of ways to different indigenous communities and indigenous spaces beyond just lakes and rivers and land, I think we used Mattawa guides as like, reason, or as an excuse to use a lot of other indigenous infrastructure, including like routes, trains, and towns and grocery stores, and, etc, in different areas. And I think we continue to do so. Because we have been, for a really long time. I don't necessarily think it's cool that we go to a northern store, and buy all of their cans of beans, or whatever, when we're re-outfitting. But we probably have been using the same northern store for like 50 years, and will continue to do so.

B: 43:34

Which is the Northern stores is also like a direct continuation of the Hudson Bay Company.

A: 43:40

Yes.

B: 43:41

Learned recently,

I: 43:42

And it's like all of those indigenous settlements and towns on the outer skirts of everywhere, because, they were forced to there, obviously. And so it's like, oh, we're gonna go to the Bay and go to Umiujaq, or Kuujjuarapik or wherever. And like, let's see the indigenous people and like sleep on their baseball field and whatever. So they can't play baseball for five days during the summer.

A: 44:12

Yeah exactly, go get all their ice cream, whatever may happen. And then I don't know, like simultaneously suck up a lot of resources. And then also probably provide some entertainment I guess, and then leave and then do it again next year. And like it's always it's Yeah,

I: 44:35

I was gonna ask Sladds when we talk one on one. About Aidan you might know the answer to this does Sladds call in advance and like, ask if we can come finish a trip there or is it like a show up? And just hope for the best situation?

F: 44:56

Yeah, like when I was in Kuujjuarapik last summer, we showed up. And I guess Sladds had been in touch with somebody maybe Russ was in touch with some coordinators his name was _____. I could maybe get you his email if you wanted to. But, yeah, and I think he was just some guy in the community. I don't think he had like, a specific role. And I think he maybe was a member of the band office actually. But he knew we were coming and we were supposed to stay at the cultural center. But the dates were wrong, I think, actually.

B: 45:48

I remember from when I, like on the Missinabi, they knew we are coming to Moose Factory. But I remember that we didn't even know, we didn't know if they knew we were coming. But we thought that they didn't know you're coming. We found out when we got there and somebody pulled up someone was there. And they're like, Oh, hey, you guys are here. We didn't even know that you knew we were coming. Because the year before they forgot to tell them. So ___ took it the year before I think. And they had no idea when he showed up. But I think otherwise it's all pretty like, at Fort Albany I remember when we went through we kind of met up with you guys there but we didn't stay there. So no one really needed to know we're coming through. But I know like that place where we got our food drop like Martin Falls on the Albany, they didn't know we were coming they were kinda like 'Who are you people? Why are you here showing up in canoes' and like, Oh, we have mail at the post office and we ended up staying there a couple of nights. They're all like very happy to I don't know, offer food and stuff. But

F: 46:53

Looking back, I'm sure that they had no idea when we arrived in Attawapiskat that summer. Like we just sat, we sat on the lawn. I was like right beside this playground for like, hours and hours and hours when we got there. They had no idea. And I'm sure probably like ___ or ___ found somebody and then we ended up staying in the church.

A: 47:17

Yeah, I think like remembering in Umiujaq Nell, when we like there was on our Bay trip we like, went up through the Gulf, and then we're trying to get to Umiujaq. And there's like a lot of land between the Gulf and then like, Umiujaq on the bay. And I think they had somebody's number that like someone that year before was like, oh, call this guy. But I feel like we were there for like eight hours waiting and we couldn't like unpack or anything because this guy was gonna like show up at any moment. And he showed up in a pickup truck with a shattered windshield that only had could fit two people in it at a time. And so we like we're a group of 10. I don't know the degree to the communication. But you would think that there would, I don't know, I would like hope someone's asking permission.

I: 48:20

I'm like nervous to ask because in both of these cases, there's a pretty, especially at Keewaydin, there's like a strong precedent of people coming to settlements. So it's not like, it's super unusual to see a bunch of green boats, just like showing up on your beach one afternoon. But that doesn't mean that you should not only give advance warning that you're going to be there but like you are in someone else's land, you need to like ask permission to be camping on someone's backyard. And I just don't know to what degree the asking versus just the warning is being done. So that was one of the first things that kind of came to mind when I was thinking about harm reduction at camp is just like, instead of assuming that we're welcome in any space that we feel like going to just, someone lives there already. Just like ask if it's okay. I don't think anyone would end up saying no, but just opening the lines of communication to a more even

exchange rather than just utilization of resources and then exiting again. But obviously, I don't know the extent of the planning that goes into those trips. So

B: 49:47

The other thing I thought of was when remember when we went to the concert in Fort Albany or in Moost Factory which is really fun. But like, it was also this concert for this festival, it was free you didn't pay, but it was also kind of like, we just took over the space. In hindsight, everyone else had chairs and they're pulled up and they're watching the concert and we came and just made a dance floor and started dancing, trying to hype up the crowd. We were like, oh, we're gonna get the crowd all hyped up. It was also kind of just like, we showed up at their event and changed the nature of it entirely. Granted, the guy who was performing loved us, because it was a very quiet crowd, he was a rapper. And people were like, sitting in their chairs, like politely watching. So you know, but like the colonization of that space is interesting, we just kind of came in, right? Yeah, this is ours. Now we're turning this into like, our concert. Like, come join us if you want.

F: 50:54

Yeah, we were completely unaware. Like I we kind of had an idea sort of, I think it was called gathering of our people the little thing. But like, we were completely uninformed as to like what the purpose of the event was, and oh, wow,

B: 51:16

I have it.

F: 51:18

Yeah.

B: 51:20

It's still signed.

I: 51:22

Wow, you got the signature and everything,

B: 51:24

we got the signature, and it doesn't say the name of the event. There's just some ticket thing Mindy gave us.

A: 51:30

I also wonder the degree to which gender plays a role in terms of like people's comfort in different spaces. And I just only say that because there were a lot of times Nell where like you and I were in the same not always indigenous space, but like the same space with the guys and like, they were always always allowed to do so much more than we were. And there were so many times where we finished lunch and look up and all the guys would be in somebody's boat going to some secret cliff jumping whatever or somebody's house they offered them and let

them shower at their house and do laundry or were allowed to like go ride on someone's ATV or whatever. All these things. Remember in Outpost? Yeah, all the guy was were allowed to sleep on this guy's lawn and like play football with this guy and hang out with him. And he was giving them food and all this stuff. And we had to go sleep on the other side of the train tracks. Not because of him, but our staff were just like, this whole situation seems weird, and we're uncomfortable with it. And I very much appreciate them making a decision with our safety in mind. But I do think sometimes. I don't know. I think our beloved canoe tripping camps are dominated by white men and so then we go into spaces that have already been colonized. And then we follow their lead. A lot of times it's them being like, 'Oh, we were invited to the Rec Center to play basketball, let's all go' and we're like, okay, not to not to absolve us of anything but I wonder what like Taylor Statten or whatever that camp does

I: 53:40

Ahmek is the boys Taylor Statten camp and Wapameo is the girls camp. I did not know that. I'm always like who are those girls that trip in dresses because that's cool.

B: 53:53

Do they really?

A: 53:55

I don't know we've just seen them tripping. We'd just see them in town not like in athletic dresses or like workout shorts but like flowery sundresses and then hiking boots. I'm always like, that is cool.

I: 54:19

That was my reawakening, seeing those girls in town in Temagami, crossing the train tracks in their dresses. It made me start to realize To what degree keewaydin forced me to think that masculinity is the only way to occupy the wilderness. And then see girls just being girls in the woods and doing it really cool. Definitely flipped the switch for me where I bought a dress for the campsite like the next summer or whatever. And I re evaluated the internalized misogyny that I had been like, pushing down that was teaching me that I I had to be big, strong, fast, quiet. We weren't encouraged to sort of engage with the guys, especially about canoe tripping when we were younger and so as we got older, and I realized that it's okay to be a girl in the woods that was pretty transformative for me. I had to do a lot of unlearning from that. I definitely, like with my sisters, definitely grapple or talk about the dichotomy of canoe tripping, having been so transformative for all of us, because they were spaces where we were allowed, I don't know, where you just became aware of your strength and your ability and how cool that a group of girls can do this, and do the exact same trips that the guys can do. And I remember it simultaneously was so confidence boosting. And I think I learned so much about myself and my abilities and my strength and the strength of other women, etc, etc. But also, there's so many situations in which it's reinforced that you're doing it wrong if you're not doing it like the guys are doing it. It's not legit enough. Like for a good example, at Keewaydin we have like different styles of wood canvas boats for boys and girls. For boys they're prospectors which are just way deeper and bigger. And so in some contexts, guys can run different rivers than girls can run just because

their boats are bigger, but my arms literally do not fit. Like I literally can't put it on my head because my arms are too short. The gunwhales come down to your ribcage when you try and flip up.

A: 56:51

And sometimes guys are like, you can't, that's a prospect or so there is a little bit of I think struggle sometimes with your legitimacy comes from your ability to conform, and like girls will do things differently. And guys will come to your camp site and be like, why is your fly put up like that, and you'll be like, I don't know, this is how I was taught to do it, like girls showed up at Keewaydin and then had to learn how to do everything themselves. And so there's small differences in the way we trip compared to how the guys trip at our own camp. And there's like a weird simultaneous pride that we were able to figure it out and do it so successfully. But then, in a lot of spaces, you're kind of shamed. But like kind of subtly show shame you feel some shame around or some embarrassment and then you feel bad or guilty or embarrassed that you do it differently rather than I wish I had just like owned that.

I: 58:00

My fly's gonna be lower down to the ground than yours because I can't reach as high on the tree. Okay.

A: 58:15

Yeah. And then it's also stupid shit like Dickies where it's like, why do I need to trip in these pants that don't fucking dry because excuse me girls get yeast infections and it sucks and instead of wearing quick dry pants, you have to wear dickies, you don't have to but like you basically have to wear Dickies on trip. And then it's like Sorry, we're a Patagonia baggies community over at Pathfinder. I wish and then you get to I'm not allowed to do shit in chacos or whatever, and then my feet fall off.

I: 58:40

Yeah, I was I was trying the Dickies that first summer at Pathfinder and I realized this shit is stupid. There is no reason to be doing this anymore. And I was willing to give up the Dickies. I just you know, I rock my baggies now. And I don't regret it. And if I ever went on a trip at Keewaydin again, I will probably still wear my baggies because there's just no reason to have sweaty wet legs all day.

A: 59:14

Well, why not? It's not fun. The only time I've ever been like Wow, thank God I'm wearing pants is when it's cold, when you're like bushing a portage through like the scratchy sticks. But Nell what did we do in outpost,

B: 59:34

But even when it's cold, don't you end up soaking wet? I can't imagine they ever dry?

I: 59:38

Not really. Not really. At least not at the bottom

A: 59:41

The bottom six inches are always wet. At least. But Nell what did we do in outpost? That proves that you don't need to wear pants on trip?

I: 59:49

Naked days. Naked days.

A: 59:51

Two in a row. We trip half naked for two days in a row.

I: 59:55

Naked days. Yeah, we saw no one we were completely naked for two days straight I still have that picture of ____ with her wannigan on and just no pants like you see a big green box and an ass and legs and then hiking boots. It's pretty funny.

B: 1:00:15

That's like a lawsuit waiting to happen.

I: 1:00:18

Yeah, our staff like weren't super into it on the first day, but I think ____ got more into it the second day.

A: 1:00:26

I don't remember. I just thought it was so funny. And it's weird that it's become so taboo. I mean, not weird, I definitely get it. But I think that sort of thing was all so transformative for me in terms of being comfortable in my body and skinny dipping and whatever and like, not caring.

I: 1:00:47

We were naked a lot.

A: 1:00:50

Like so much, but also just being like, you know what, I don't want to get my bathing suit wet because it's gonna take a long time to dry and so I'm not gonna wear one.

I: 1:00:59

And that's okay. Because there's no one else on this lake and we all sleep in the same tents anyway. Yeah that was a really big transition from tripping at Keewaydin to tripping at Pathfinder is I have to be dressed all of the time now. Like I don't get my own tent. I don't have any naked time anymore on trip and it hard.

B: 1:01:26

It's hard how quickly I try and change in the tent or just like wait for the kids to be gone, the kids aren't around. I always try to be like clothes on at all times.

A: 1:01:38

Yeah, there's been big shifts at Keewaydin recently, for the better genuinely. But in terms of, like we didn't start wearing lifejackets until our last year was campers. Yeah. Except on moving water. We had to wear life jackets. But otherwise we didn't at all.

B: 1:02:03

We're mixed on that. Yeah, on moving water definitely, older kids on flat water maybe not.

I: 1:02:10

Like none of us wore them. We wore them if we were cold. If it was raining, we would wear it to stay warm. It was always annoying to stuff it back under the seat, if you like ran something and then had to Portage the rest of the set or something like that. It's just a hassle dealing with life jackets. Yeah, that nudity thing is definitely like. It's interesting, because I feel strongly that like a lot of it was really important for my growth. But I think there were a lot of really beneficial things that came out of it for me anyway. Obviously, I do think there's a lot of fine lines. And I do think that like Being naked around our staff who were also naked was probably

A: 1:03:09

Right, you know, wrong. questionable. Yeah. I think it's interesting. Changing. Yeah,

B: 1:03:20

The porn, when ____ would read it. We were what 11/12 they would read us like stuff from the pornos, they'd read us stories from the pornos on trip. Like That was our bedtime story, get all the 11 year old boys in a circle, just like the super graphic, erotic fiction, which is like hindsight, it's like I wouldn't do that. I think I would probably get fired now that

A: 1:03:54

The thought that I would just like strip in front of my campers. I definitely had staff who varied from just being fully naked to like, when the campers are going to bed, I'm gonna just dip in around this corner. This little Cove on the other side, which I think is okay, but they're, I don't know. I don't think I would just be like, sorry, girls.

I: 1:04:19

Hey, girls, we're all gonna swim together. Yeah.

B: 1:04:25

You don't want to normalize it. Like blocking myself from being implicating anything, but I also in protecting them and like, yeah, I'm not being creepy about it, but I don't want to normalize it for the guys

I: 1:04:37

Right. I don't want them to grow thinking that if their like swim coach or something, started doing the same things in the locker room that it's like normal. So I think

A: 1:04:47

But you want them to like feel comfortable. Or, or alternatively I feel like there are always kids who are like, 'No, I'm not comfortable taking off my bathing suit' and you don't want anyone to feel like pressure. expectations,

I: 1:05:01

Like you have to, if everyone else is naked, you have to be naked. Yeah. This is bringing up a lot of commentary that I got from the older age group that I had talked to on Wednesday, that were remarking on the nurturing nature of Camp as it is now and how we're trying at least, I've noticed a significant difference from the way that campers and staff interacted my first summer as a camper to how I act as a staff now. And is there a conscious effort to be better with kids now? Or do we think it's just, we're normal human beings that shouldn't be naked around our kids or reading them porn, where do we think the line is with that.

B: 1:06:02

I think it's conscious. I mean, you hear old Pathfinder versus new Pathfinder, but even back then you've heard of old old Pathfinder, which is like, way more physically abusive, and by the time I got there it was just minorly abusive, oh you got hit on the head with the paddle, and button top, that was minor. It was whatever, I deserved it, but I think it's conscious. I remember my CIT director was like, 'Hey, guys, I know this was okay. And now you're a staff and it is now not okay. And that was the old way. And I know there's still a couple guys you might see it from, but they're at the end of their career. And it's done now. They're gonna be gone after the summer and it's gone.'

I: 1:06:47

I remember like our first year on staff Nell when they were like, yeah, so we're gonna make an effort to not drink on the island when campers are here. I was a little bit like yeah, what do you mean people were, I definitely looking back They were drinking with us the year that we finished our Bay trip like they were giving us beer. But I remember like being little knowing that our staff said goodnight to us and then like went and hung out with other staff but I don't think I registered that they were all going to drink and it's hard because they're definitely staff who were so transformative in my life and I look up to immensely but I'm also like, are you fucking kidding me. Like you had a job a little bit, like what? I don't know, I do think there is a really conscious, especially in terms of how you talk to your kids and whatever we talked about, like eat team, you can't force your kids to eat cold oatmeal anymore and stuff like that. Where it's like, yes, bad. I miss god spoon, I'm gonna bring it back.

A: 1:08:13

I have so much trauma from that

I: 1:08:17

That was like soft trauma. Make you eat the burned oatmeal on the inside of the pot.

A: 1:08:28

Yeah, getting hit in the head with a paddle, or button topped or like having all of your stuff thrown in the lake that kind of stuff obviously. But then there is Cans in the sleeping bag. That was a fun one. I remember that Have dirty pots in your sleeping bag. But anyway, all that stuff we like consciously are like, Okay, stop that. But then I think, at least our cohort of staff, we're all kind of like, Well, yeah, we shouldn't be drunk when we are the ones responsible for children. Like, yes. I never thought, it never seemed like a question. And then there's also obviously a really big difference of the staff who were doing coke on trip and whatever being psychopaths.

B: 1:09:11

We have a drinking culture, but not on trip.

I: 1:09:16

Yeah. Like we drink a lot at Pathfinder, like nightly Don't you guys get nights off?

B: 1:09:24

Yeah, we're off Island. If we're drinking, no one's drinking if there's campers on the Island

A: 1:09:28

You go to that thing, what's that called?

I: 1:09:30

G.D.

A: 1:09:31

I was gonna say Gilligan's.

B: 1:09:37

It's like organized drinking. It's like okay, like there's one person on senior staff on the island. There's one person from each staff responsible for each area. And then there's always people who don't go out but there's like a bare minimum number of people who are there and a chain of command for who's there while everyone else is on a different landmass drinking it's like at least somewhat responsible I guess like I mean if there's a real emergency and it was like 2am I don't know how well it would be handled but like

A: 1:10:07

We don't get any nights off and then we, it's just so hard. I think something that I often think is like when people come back on staff, whether they actually want to be on staff or if they just want to relive their love from being a camper or like have a summer with their friends in the place they love and doing what they love, but yeah, so we don't get nights off but people just want to hang out and so sometimes you hang out but when I guess we were younger everyone would just go to the lodge and fully abandon all the girls at least, this is really fucked up and

gets me really mad, but the girls area is on the other side of the island it's over a quarter of a mile away and we have no way to contact the main side of the island at all and so like No phones, No phone service, No wifi, No walkie talkie, we have a bell. But all of our staff would go to the other side of the island and then get hammered with all the guys and then like come back I guess

I: 1:11:19

In the dark because we're not allowed to use head lamps at night Because we get yelled at for using headlamps. Yeah, That was a really fun tradition that I blocked out of my mind forever.

A: 1:11:30

Our assistant year we would get drunk like before campers got up there, we would get drunk and then would have to literally crawl back to our cabins. There was this one area of the path that's all these flat rocks that are sloped and we literally crawled because if we were using a headlamp they would tell us only headquarter staff, so only like our director and whatever, can use a headlamp. Yeah, really fuckin stupid. Excuse My French. I'm gonna get heated, Nell.

I: 1:11:57

Yeah, I really have to pee. Can we take like a five minute little interlude really fast? Okay, awesome. I just finished my tallboy while we were venting about headlamps. Okay, all right. Five minutes. Hello anybody there. Cool? Cool, cool cool. Awesome, awesome. Awesome. I was just thinking about what I wanted to talk about next. Oh yeah, so if we're consciously undoing a lot of the harm that our staff were causing to campers, even when we were here and sort of undoing traditions, in terms of camper staff relationships that have been traditions for so long. What do we think is the main barrier to also applying that same strategy to culturally offensive traditions at camp? How do we mobilize this same energy towards issues beyond how we treat campers while on the trail?

B: 1:19:23

I think a lot of motivations come from protecting ourselves, and you don't see that in cultural appropriation issues, when it comes to, I can protect myself from a sexual harassment lawsuit or prison or whatever. But when it's like, I'm not part of that there's not really any motivating factor other than just creating a better world. So you have no personal motivation is to do it. So I don't know how to generate such a way to push personal responsibility there, but I think that would. That's like the biggest difference that stands out to me.

A: 1:20:10

I think also a lot of it, I sort of said this at the beginning, but I think a lot of the things that are culturally appropriative are things people would consider to be like integral parts of Camp tradition. And I think that that is really hard to dismantle. For a lot of people and for a lot of reasons, which doesn't at all mean it shouldn't happen. But I think there would be a lot of pushback. I think a lot of people don't know where to start. I think a lot of people feel like, well, what would we put in place of it? Yeah. I think a lot of people feel like, it's even something like changing the names of sections or whatever, if they're culturally appropriative. People are going

to be like, why? It's been like that for 100 years, whatever, whatever. I just can't imagine anyone saying let's get rid of the gigitowin and people being like, yeah! Let's do it!

I: 1:21:22

Yeah. The gig is a whole other playing field that we can suspend for the sake of keeping our secret society secret to the outsiders, but just so ridiculous. But I do think the first part of it is definitely getting staff on board with recognizing the importance of doing harm reduction work. But then also simultaneously trying to separate camp as an institution from Camp as an institution that's been built the whole time on appropriating indigenous culture, which camps were founded on. So it is really hard to make that distinction, when the whole point of forming a canoe tripping camp was to get boys to be like big, tough, strong, capitalist men, by pretending to be Indians every summer. But I think that our staff training definitely could just start incorporating a little bit more cultural education, even if it's just beginning with teaching the indigenous history of the region and slowly building up from there, because it does seem kind of wack to me that we can lead trips in Temagami or in Algonquin Park and not even know the Band names of the people that live there. There's like a bare minimum level of cultural awareness that we should be required to have to be able to occupy the spaces that we do. But then even when we have Christine come to Pathfinder, you'll still hear headmen complaining about doing the bare minimum of watching a presentation, and it's like, well, don't be here then if it's that much of a chore, then just don't come to camp anymore. This is what we're doing now. It's like the bare minimum.

B: 1:23:52

I think engineering that change from inside would be to like, I think part of the reason people are like, oh, who is Christine, what is she trying to do? What does she know? She's not part of our group, right? Like, it's just like an outsider coming in to try to change these, internal, long standing traditions that people are so attached to. So I think that's also part of it as people kind of roll their eyes about Christine. Yeah, no, it is a problem. But this is the way we've always done it. There's a lot of recognition that oh, yeah, this isn't great. Like, it's kind like who is this person to tell us what we should change. And engineering that change from inside as opposed to like, where it's almost worse, you should be able to be like, hey, let's listen to indigenous voices. And if they have a problem with us, appropriating our culture, we should listen to that and change it. But it almost creates a barrier, people put up walls because it's like, well, they're this outsider. So who cares what they think about the way we do things, but when it comes from inside, it's like, oh, well, these other headmen are like, hey, maybe this is a problem, we should change it, change the tide of the group. Despite how problematic you're gonna be to say yo, we're actually going to not listen to these indigenous voices. Let's listen to our own voices that say the same thing.

I: 1:25:12

Listen to our own white folks whose presentation is literally the exact same as Christine's, but it's presented by white person. Yeah, I mean, that idea that Christine, as an indigenous person is an outsider on her own land, literally her ancestral territory and is viewed as an outsider for teaching us the history of that ancestral land is the essence of colonialism and canoe tripping

working together. But that is just a massive stumbling block, I feel like to a degree to get this started and really get a ball rolling, may have to be what it takes is to just get a group together from inside that's willing to do the work. But I also think that's not necessarily the worst thing because putting all of the emotional labor on an indigenous person to teach us how to be better, is also not necessarily the best approach. So I think it goes in two directions, definitely. But if we consult with Christine on being able to take the reins of positive change in our own communities, then I feel like that's significant and worthwhile work. You know.

F: 1:27:02

I thought what Christine was doing, maybe this was just me personally, but I thought what she was doing was fantastic. I didn't hear these other headmen kind of complaining about it, but I can see it happening, of course, but even if it was just expressed more from older head men supporting Christine, because for her, I totally understand what you're saying as far as putting the emotional burden on her but I think that's also her passion, I think she loves to educate people. So, I don't know I think it also is a shift in attitude and mentality towards learning. I also understand, I agree with you, Beecher, because when anybody comes into the dining hall and sits and they're not a camper, or related to somebody, they are viewed as an outsider 100%. So I feel like somehow creating a more inclusive space for people to visit as well.

I: 1:28:13

And not placing so much of an emphasis on hard skills as the deciding factor on your inclusion in the space. I feel like it's just a good strategy in general teaching kids that they're welcome into a space despite not being able to carry the heaviest stuff or knowing how to tump their duffel perfectly every single time. Decentering that physical capability as the reason that you're included and welcome into a space. But also, canoe tripping is canoe tripping, and you have to carry your pack. So there's also that, I'm not gonna carry it for you, so you better figure it out.

A: 1:29:00

I think Keewaydin is especially horrible at that. In terms of like the outsider thing, and I've seen it firsthand multiple times when staff who've been staff or campers at other camps for years and come to Keewaydin and get a job at Keewaydin and are ostracized and nobody even takes the time to teach them hard skills like Phoebe. Our first summer a girl started with us who had never tripped before. And it was my job as a fellow assistant to teach her everything. How to paddle, how to carry, how to light a fire how to build a fire like everything. There was no like staff training at least at Keewaydin has zero hard skills other than like, let's do this wood chopping thing because actually we just have a lot of stumps that we need chopped and cleared. Nobody takes any time to show you any of the hard skills you're supposed to know. So then there's never any new ideas, there's never any fresh ideas you would never hire like a phenomenal camp director from another camp to come in and revamp the place because God forbid, someone who doesn't, I don't know, because then there's no diversity of thought, then there's nobody offering a critical eye or opinion. I think it's really hard to look yourself in the mirror and decipher what needs to change and pick things apart and identify where the lines are, where the challenges are. But I think we are particularly unwilling to allow anyone else. I cannot imagine they would ever hire even a diversity consultant, or anything, anything.

I: 1:31:02

I know it's like, Oh, God, guys, come on. People think that having a scholarship fund is equivalent to inclusion. I had to get into that conversation this morning, when we were talking about socio economic barriers to camp. And someone said that a scholarship program just fixes it, like, you can afford it now. No, not having to pay tuition doesn't mean you will ever feel as included as a multi generation legacy camper. So don't tell me that applying for scholarships is the same as getting a free ticket to going to camp. And that doesn't even begin to scratch the surface of like, showing up as a bipoc person at a space that is that white. And no one being there to make you feel like you are a part of the group at all. It's very different, giving someone money, and then giving someone cultural background, family history, outdoor skills at all, or any, hiking experience, anything like that, there's so much more to feeling included in the community than just paying the tuition. And that's where I think a lot of camps struggle with diversity and inclusion is it's like seen as a band aid, oh, we cover the cost for you, that's all we need to do.

A: 1:32:37

I got an email that was sent to me and like two or three other staff, and it was like, we are putting together new pamphlets and brochures, whatever. And we want to highlight the diversity at Keewaydin and I recall you having had a particularly diverse section, like two or three years ago, do you have any photos of that section on trip that can be included in the like, newest diversity brochure or whatever. And I was like, I know that you were talking about that one summer that I had a single black camper. She was the only black female camper that we had that summer. And no, I'm not going to tokenize her to prove to anyone that we're diverse, because we're not. So I'm not gonna like go through old photos to find one of her specifically on trip. Oh,

I: 1:33:38

I'm not going to pimp out my one African American camper for a diversity brochure. Are you on drugs?

A: 1:33:48

I was like you don't even have the decency to like, say, obviously you can't write explicitly in an email 'I'm looking for more photos of Black campers on trip,' but I was like, you needed to say that I had a particularly diverse section a couple years ago?

I: 1:34:12

Yes, yes. Yes. Yes. I feel like it's the same thing as the Syrian movie for Pathfinder. Let's get into it. Let's talk about that was it awesome bringing Syrian refugee kids to camp?

B: 1:34:48

I don't know. I don't know. I think yeah, I think it was done better than most things with regard to inclusion. I mean, we did have a dedicated staff person who spoke Arabic and who was Muslim and who was there to help them adjust and kind of like that. And he was pretty welcome on staff like everyone really I don't know, he seemed to interact well and he was really welcome on staff.

But I think we didn't really just try like throw them to the wolves. I think the issue wasn't the bring the Syrian campers, it was the lets then follow them around with camera crews. That was the problem. Because I think in the past summers, where there were no camera crews, I think it was probably a much better experience for them. I think they had a lot of fun. Like I had some kids. I had ___ and ___ in my tent and they're cousins, and they had the same name. I think they had a really good time. But like, I don't think what was the name of the staff guy who was there that summer it was so long ago. But I don't think he was there the next summer. I think he came up briefly, but I think he came and said Hi, but he didn't stay. Yeah, I think it was attempted to be well done pre bringing in the camera crew, and the documentary. And turning it into this like dramatic movie released in New York, which was interesting to watch. It was fun to watch. But you know, it became this, like, there's a climax and there's all this drama and someone gets sent home and what's going to happen next. And like, it was like bad reality TV. Yeah.

F: 1:36:56

I think it was pretty rough. Like, nobody was equipped to handle someone coming from that sort of situation. It was sort of expected to be treated as just another kid coming from their family home, the cultural background and the kind of Warzone part that Omar had gone through. And then he was just viewed as this, like menace. And this just like awfully behaved kid. When, like context to why that was the case just like was not explained. Or, like he was a nightmare. That's how it was sort of viewed but nobody fully understood, or really respected why. And also in the documentary, I thought it was pretty problematic because Omar, I mean, I haven't seen it in a bit, but from what I remember, Omar was the villain in a sense, they really viewed him in a negative light. And he's a child like

B: 1:38:07

A child from a warzone. Yeah, yeah, with PTSD from growing up in a warzone and fleeing ISIS like,

F: 1:38:15

Yeah

I: 1:38:18

Because he couldn't sort of fall into the white upper class outdoor community that we had, I wasn't there that summer, so graciously offered to them. But as much as the attempt was there it's just like an entire cultural shift that couldn't be achieved, even in like the best of circumstances, in like one summer, you know,

B: 1:38:56

They're also pretty new. I don't think a lot of, not many of them had been settled in Canada for very long. It was very much, it honestly reminds me of trying to assimilate indigenous groups and just like, oh, we just need to make them white like us. Like what can we do? Let's send them to a white summer camp and teach them how to be white so they can fit in better here? Yeah, I kind of forgot about the whole war part, the fact that they're not just immigrants they were refugees. Once you pointed that out I was like, holy shit, we were really unequipped.

I: 1:39:27

Yeah.

A: 1:39:29

We never attempted anything similar, but I heard both of you guys talking about being unequipped or unprepared and I immediately thought of many situations in which we had campers who weren't necessarily like people of color or anything, but there tends to be a lot of kids at Keewaydin as punishment, or parents send their kids to Keewaydin and decide to not send them with their medication and allow them to have a detox summer, unmedicated. And there are a lot of kids who come with a lot of trauma or diverse backgrounds, or especially with the girl sections histories of eating disorders. And there have been so many moments where myself, or my peers have stepped back for a second and thought, hang on a minute, we are 19 years old, we already have these kids lives in our hands and are just like, sent into the woods. Assuming that we learned all the skills we needed to learn, through our childhood, being a camper, essentially. And then you give us these kids with incredible trauma or mental health issues or behavioral problems or anything under the sun and expect us to through grit and fresh air, provide them a transformative experience when at Keewaydin we get this psychologist who comes and just really talks about homesickness, and how to handle homesickness, which is important, but they check the box, mental health preparedness off, and it's like, hang on, this kid is self harming or this kid. You know, this kid talking about wanting to harm themselves, there's just so much. So many people who don't just come from like a rich white family that have a history, like, I've always gone to Keewaydin. And most of the time, we're only 19 years old. Yeah.

B: 1:41:38

And there's also that dismissive attitude, like that dismissive from the higher ups because like, I see that same yeah, mental health, Pathfinder preparedness. I realized how bad it was two summers ago. I had a camper who had expressed suicidal thoughts. And basically said he had attempted suicide at camp. And then they proceeded to put them on a canoe trip with me the next day. Oh, you'll figure it out. Like, what can you really do out there?

A: 1:42:11

We had a kid who made a noose out of a tump in his cabin. And they sent him his whole section. They never really talked to the staff about it. Never really talked to the kids about it. They're just like, well, it was all good. And we were all like you, please,

I: 1:42:28

'Well at least they didn't use it.' type response

B: 1:42:31

The nurse got in trouble for telling us. Yeah, they were mad at the nurse for telling us before we went out. Yeah, it was such a disaster. But I think that kind of relating to the topic here because that's a whole another thing. Yeah, well, inclusion, but I was thinking to the dismissive attitude of like, 'Oh, well, they're just the traditional tribe names,' Like, because they were dismissive. Like,

oh, he just wants attention. He just doesn't like canoe tripping. And I'm like, I don't think this is the case here. I think this is something bigger than that. But what do you know, you're 19 we know better because we're in charge. They're just gonna deal with it. And you guys are just gonna deal with the Toncacoo ceremony and the tribe names and that, you know, he's gonna deal with suicidal thoughts, and the indigenous people can deal with us appropriate their culture, you know, stop being so sensitive.

A: 1:43:42

I don't quite know what the structure is at Pathfinder, but at Keewaydin, at least you spend a very little amount of time on base camp regardless of how old you are, and even our three week campers spend 15 days on trip. Yeah, so they spend max five days on the island. And so I think when I was younger, we always used to joke that we have literally a single basketball hoop for entertainment. And so I think at a lot of these camps, there is so much pressure and preparedness and like gear and re outfits and planes and insurance and there are a lot of other elements that need to be perfected and dialed and you have to worry about medical evacuations and fires and whatever. But it sometimes feels a little bit like, and maybe this was sort of what you were saying Andrew, that the dismissiveness that like whatever happens on the island, whatever they're just going out on trip. Camp is about tripping not about base camp. We're not going to worry much about what happens while they're here. Kind of like oh, everything will be solved. They're just homesick because headquarters staff always talks about kids being homesick when they're on Island, rather than on trip because they're bored. And so it's like the notion that, oh, once they get out on trip, everything will be fine. They'll get into the routine, whatever. And sometimes I feel a little bit like people spend so much time worrying about trip, nobody really stops to think about, hang on a minute, sacrificing to a great white bear and a loon, we don't need to be throwing bacon into the water, especially when we used to get screamed at for leaving, a single oat flake in the water, from washing dishes or whatever. But I think sometimes we a little bit have blinders on and are so preoccupied with fixing gear, don't break the gear, whatever that we don't really think about, like, the connotation or the implications of like, stories we tell.

I: 1:46:00

A good trip is one that doesn't have any major traumatic events that happen. So even if there was never a happy day the entire trip and everyone was crying nonstop, it was still a good trip because no one got evaced.

A: 1:46:16

It's true unfortunately, to some degree, it is a little bit like sometimes the weather just sucks. And sometimes the kids don't get along at all, and sometimes, whatever. But thank God, we didn't lose a boat, kind of. But also like big picture, I think gets lost sometimes.

I: 1:46:37

Yeah, I would have loved to sit in on that senior staff meeting where they decided to put me on a trip with campers that were older than me and just like see what was going to happen. Like being the staff woman or an assistant for campers that were legitimately older than you and just

like assume that you're going to have any type of authority on the trip. We could have probably taken five extra minutes to just literally put ___ on my trip and it would have been fine. Like the dynamic was yeah those things I feel like, don't necessarily come up in the trip planning process. But I feel like it might be kind of different at Pathfinder, because campers can choose who they go on trip with. Like, they kind of suggest Yeah. And then one guy chooses all of the groups for the entire summer. And so there's a little bit of workshopping, that could happen. But boys are also just like, scary. And campers are confusing. So. I really don't think I have much more to pullout, honestly. I feel like we dug deep for an hour and 48 straight minutes, which is awesome. And I'll pose one question to sort of wrap up. And that would be if you were the camp director today, what's one change that you could feasibly make by staff training, starting in June of this year?

B: 1:48:57

I'm renaming those age groups so quickly. It just doesn't feel right. I know it's supposed to be respectful. And that's what we've been saying. Now, since we started having these discussions a few years ago, but it's not. We're taking white kids and dividing them up into the groups of the people that we have displaced. Like the victims of genocide and be like, hey, like, you're here because they all died. So we're gonna put you in groups that are named after them out of respect, like what? That would go so fast? They're also not that old. Those replaced earlier names, we looked at old camp brochures, they're all divided up into animals, which is so much less problematic. You could have the deer and the frogs and the whatever the hell they have, or lakes in Algonquin Park or provincial parks, or rivers or whatever you name them after Harry Potter characters it would be so much better. That would be my very easy to make change right away.

F: 1:50:09

Yeah, I agree. I would say the tribe names need to go ASAP. And I was also thinking about the first question that you posed Nell, about, the first things that we noticed when we got there, I also noticed the NIC and the OIC. That was like one of the major ones I don't like, Is it still the NIC and OIC? Or he just,

B: 1:50:38

Paige just stopped writing those down on things and she's changed it to OCR and NCR. Okay, even the idea of a council is problematic

I: 1:50:46

I think we need to ditch council.

F: 1:50:49

Yeah, I would ditch that completely as well. And, I really love the concept of giving a little grace before every meal. That's like, its own dominion. But like praying to a great spirit before every meal goes as well.

I: 1:51:14

I feel like that's something that people like campers probably wouldn't really notice much of a difference from year to year, the staff might get butt hurt for like one summer and I genuinely feel like the campers would have forgotten that we even used to do that in the span of one year.

F: 1:51:33

And man on the mountain sorry. I feel like that's a huge one. Like, it doesn't have to be this like mystical thing that suggests this indigenous person is keeping our fire. It could literally be Sladds. Like it doesn't have to suggest anything to do with appropriation at all.

B: 1:51:54

Yeah, like Sladds has a woodstove in the PX. And he's been keeping these coals all winter, in the wood stove. And now he's bringing them to the council fire.

I: 1:52:04

we could even pick a staff person for a year who did something really cool in the winter that we want to highlight and we'll be like,

F: 1:52:13

Or the director of tripping, like it could get passed to whoever's,

I: 1:52:19

They were planning these trips all winter long and keeping the coals alive. So here we go and bring them back. Yeah, that would definitely be something that could happen.

A: 1:52:32

Um, I think I would, honestly, there's so many different ones. But I think that I would start workshoping the gig. Which obviously, um, I don't know, that's like a whole other. I can't think of a phrase like barrel of apples. Anyway.

F: 1:53:04

I think it's can of worms.

I: 1:53:05

Yes.

A: 1:53:06

Thank you. Not barrel of apples. No, there's something I couldn't think of the group noun. And I was thinking specifically about making noise. At gig meetings and how, so we have, a secret society. And it's honestly, it's quite exciting and quite special. And like, it's fun. But a lot of it is very problematic. And all of the positions are, taken directly from indigenous languages. And we do this thing at the end of meetings, the meetings, nothing really happens. Like, we don't really do anything. It's really just like,

I: 1:53:52

It's just an excuse to hang out.

A: 1:53:55

And we do this thing at meetings where we make noise specifically, so that campers hear you and are like, Oh my god, what happens at the gig meetings, but it's very, I don't want to say indigenous sounding because that is so horrible, but it's like drumming and whooping and hollering. Anyway. It's kinda scary, and

B: 1:54:19

Western.

A: 1:54:21

Yeah. And it's very, like, if you cut sound from literally an old movie of coming upon a tribal circle. Like that's what it sounds like. And it just seems very, first of all, like, we don't need to try and scare kids. And second of all, I don't know. I think I'd just try to start that because I imagine that that is going to be

I: 1:54:42

A very long process. But yeah, there's definitely like a few teeny tiny things that you could tweak. You could just change a lot of the names of positions like Ogima, Mishikwinini, a lot of that could be changed. You don't need to make kids, you could do something different than cow tows which is like weirdly praying to bacon and brown sugar and coffee and whatever but then also to the Great White Bear nobody needs to be on their hands and knees praying to a bear. I don't know there's definitely there's like a lot of little pieces that and then also Four Winds needs to go Yeah,

A: 1:55:23

They have, the outfits have gone and the script has changed but I think

I: 1:55:29

Do they still drum when they walk in? Or did that go changed to?

A: 1:55:36

Honestly, I don't remember

I: 1:55:37

Because I just I distinctly remember ____ walking in drumming in a suede skirt.

A: 1:55:46

I just remember ____ pants caught on fire. I think he could easily be like the four directions that you're going to travel in the summer. Like let's hope you have pleasant winds come we'll light the fire or whatever. There's just ways to turn the appropriation off

I: 1:56:08

No question.

F: 1:56:12

I think implementing some education as well in staff week or whatever in terms, we all claim to love canoe tripping so much, which is obviously the case but education in terms of where the canoe comes from, and the specific group where I forget who which is kind of sad because they spent how many summers canoe tripping but I forget what group exactly used the birch bark canoe. I want to say the Iroquois. But I think that's wrong. But implementing education like that, as well would be awesome.

I: 1:56:56

Yeah.

A: 1:56:57

Also the history of canoe tripping. I think the only context in which the history of canoe tripping was brought up was often the Hudson's Bay Company and like, fur trappers and

I: 1:57:11

White people doing it, not indigenous people doing it.

A: 1:57:15

I think we could go back a couple 100 years.

I: 1:57:21

Yeah, start with the trap lines. Like we did not make this trail. This trail was here before anyone got here. Keewaydin didn't create the trip in, people were doing that canoe trip. It's not like brand new to these white guys in cowboy hats. We're not the first ones to do the trip in. And the first time the trip in was even done by us it was guided by Indigenous people.

A: 1:58:02

Brian Back is like Keewaydin's historian and he wrote a book and in the book, there is more written about oh my god Nell why I can't remember the name of the glue. I was gonna say napalm. But yeah. There's more written about the glue we use patch canoes and there is about the girls program. There's two pages on glue and like half a page on the girls.

B: 1:59:00

Yeah, what is this in the book?

A: 1:59:03

Yeah. Like he's like Keewaydin's historian. But anyway, it's kind of cool. But he wrote more about glue that we use to patch the boats. Then he wrote about the girl program, which is just not very nice.

B: 1:59:16

When did the girls programs start was it much later?

I: 1:59:19

98

A: 1:59:21

Only 20 years old. And the boys program is like

I: 1:59:25

125

A: 1:59:30

There's there's been hundreds of boys Bay Trips and like Nell and I were the fifth? And my sister was the 10th. Yeah, nobody comes to our paddle ins.

I: 1:59:51

Yeah, the girls paddle ins are always when you go and like get snacks from the dining hall. You'll see them later. It's fine.

A: 1:59:59

Nobody comes over. Anytime we have campfires at the end of trip I'm sure you guys have something similar where you campers have to tell stories. And it's at different campfires around the island and anytime there's a campfire in song, which is like where the girls cabins are everybody complains. There's not a single person who doesn't complain about having to walk all the way to song. We have to wake up half an hour earlier than boys to make it for breakfast.

I: 2:00:25

We have a special breakfast Bell that's 30 minutes before everyone else's breakfast bell. It is straight misogyny and having to live in song honestly. Yeah, at least a Pathfinder the girls get paid more. I'm single handedly closing the wage gap.

B: 2:00:49

Oh, yeah, I'm sure you guys get paid so much more. I saw my offer and I was like, this is nothing and then I was like, actually, it's double what I made two years ago, I got my offer doubled and I'm still like so I make in a day what my friends at home make in an hour.

A: 2:01:05

I know you calculate your hourly wage, and it's like, five cents

B: 2:01:10

Including food and housing. I calculated like what I was getting, I was like, Okay, so I'm not paying rent, I'm not paying food. So if I take those out and add them into a paycheck, I'm still making what my friends who live in New York will make an hour

A: 2:01:22

And then you calculate like how much you spend on gear or like getting to camp and you're like I'm breaking even.

I: 2:07:36

Um, well, cool. guys totally tubular. If anyone at any time decides that they no longer want to be a participant in this project, you just have to tell me and I can strike you from the record. And other than that, thank you so much for participating and that's all I got. That's my spiel. Sweet

B: 2:09:07

Nice meeting you. Nice to see you guys.

I: 2:11:01

Sounds good. I'm gonna hit that end meeting button.

B: 2:11:08

I see. Okay.

I: 2:11:12

See ya.

Appendix A.9: Group 4, 2011-2017

(H=Ian Hanson, first summer 2011; K=Benjamin Kelly, first summer 2013; R=Allyson Rail, first summer 2017, I=Interviewer, ___=redacted name)

I: 01:13

Hello,

H: 01:15

Hi Nell, How are you?

I: 01:20

I'm good. I'm a little nervous. This is my first interview for my project. So I think I'm gonna start with, I have a little preamble that I wrote, just to give everyone a little background on the project. Just bear with me and then I can go into a little more detail, because it'll make a lot more sense for you guys. So here we go. I want to start off by thanking everyone for participating in my undergraduate thesis research. The purpose of my project is to determine to what extent the goals of the original camping movement are reflected in our common experiences with canoe tripping camps in Northern Ontario. There are a few truths which I've based my research around and the purpose of these interviews is not to debate them, but rather to reflect on our experiences within this broader framework, which I've been setting out. These include the acknowledgement that the Temagami and Algonquin Park areas specifically are the ancestral

lands of the Teme Augama Anishinaabe and the Algonquin Anishinaabeg peoples respectively. Algonquin Park remains part of a greater Algonquin territory that to this day remains unceded land that was stolen from indigenous people through conquest, relocation and extermination, all falling under the fold of the greater North American colonial project. In addition, the American and Canadian camping movements were founded out of a fear of a generation of perceived weak and a feminist sons of white wealthy families who could be toughened and prepared to contribute to the colonial and capitalist state through experiences in the outdoors. Finally, the camping movement was heavily inspired by the colonial perceptions of indigenous people as hyper masculine, savage and untamed. And that these stereotypes could be harnessed through practices such as Indian play and canoe tripping. In order to toughen up the generation of weak boys. The use of the term performance in the title of my project hints to what I believe to be the manner in which canoe tripping camps and the outdoor community at large continue to reflect these colonial goals by encouraging hyper masculinity, as well as encouraging feelings of entitlement to North America's wild landscapes, writing them as untouched, open for exploration, and available for outdoor exploration without acknowledging the human indigenous histories that have already touched these lands for 1000s of years, as was indicated in my emails, and the consent forms, some topics may be difficult to discuss, including race, gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic class. So before we begin, I would like to check with everyone on the call that you are still willing to participate in this discussion and consent to the recording of the call. Should you choose not to participate, there will be no record of it in any part of the project with no consequence to you as a participant. That's the beginning. A little bit of the fear going in was that talking about colonialism can sort of elicit like a knee jerk reaction. And I don't really want to spend two hours trying to convince people that we contribute to a colonial structure, but rather to focus on our camp experiences and sort of work through some of the ways that colonialism impacts our experiences at camp. So that's the goal. And I think with our with my first question, I was hoping that everyone could tell me quickly. Their sort of the "manning up" story that you have from a canoe trip or from being at Camp like that moment where you had to really toughen up, strengthen yourself to overcome a large obstacle and you internalize that sort of like growth strategy to overcome something difficult on a canoe trip. Doesn't matter who goes first.

R: 10:42

Well, mine obviously happened a lot like later because I didn't canoe trip when I was younger. So I kind of got thrown into you know, as you all know, the whole canoe tripping, putting a boat on your head for you, just abruptly so I always struggled with portaging, but probably my biggest moment was completing my first 2k with ____, actually, who, I and I guess maybe this is kind of a bad example. Because again, that's why I think my might be really different from others. Because it wasn't so much of like a man up as a take your time to get through something really difficult to prove to yourself that you can do it, and just the support and that was the whole mentality around what ____ helped me do because I couldn't have done it alone. 100% I don't think and just being able to see that you were capable of something that you really didn't think that you would ever be capable of. But I think Yeah, a lot of factors and not having been canoe tripping or ever been in a situation of having a cedar canvas canoe on my head for 2k it was just kind of why would I do this and then pushing yourself to do it so that's, that's mine.

H: 11:58

Funny enough mine also has very much directly to do with _____. He gets really. Yeah, he gets a lot of credit. Mine I would probably say was when I was 13 on my first trip as as an Ottawa where I was on the meanest link, which is an 18 day canoe trip basically around the park, following this, favorite parts and the Algonquin Outfitters range around Algonquin Park, blanking on his name Mean Dude. Swift. Bill Swift. And on the third day of that trip, I remember, we were going through some RV trails, and I was carrying the food pack. And it was my first ever trip carrying the food pack. And I had no idea where I was going. Honestly, I don't think any of us really had a clear idea. And I was alone at that point. And I remember dropping my pack and circling around trying to find someone and the first person I saw was my brother. And he asked me first why did I put down my pack. And I told him I have no idea where I'm going. I am concerned and he was like, next time don't put down the pack. I'm going to get this up on you the first time but next time don't put down the pack. And he had to put down he had to go through all the motions which now I know, as I'm older, it's pretty frustrating having to flip down and pick up the campers back. But there's obviously an underlying level of this is my brother he wants to see me succeed on a different plane than other people. Not that it's higher or lower, but it's just a different standard. And his willingness to help me and knowing that that was a connection point. And then from there I was very determined to always carry the food pack without dropping it. So for me that was a point of acknowledgement that there's kind of this, there's some significance to the work that I'm doing and for me to do it well helps out everyone else.

K: 14:23

Whenever you're ready Nell,

I: 14:24

I'm good. You're good you can start.

K: 14:26

So, I think it also has to do with *same person*. So I was second year Cree, I was 12 and I was a full season camper. So first half I did a 10 day in Temagami. And second half I did 19 days circle the boundary. On the Temagami trip with _____, he was a second man or a head man, I don't remember and it was one of my first trips where I had to take a food pack for a very long trip with no food drops and I I remember, on the 19 day trip, I remember, I was sitting up on a log or a root, and I was crying. And I was, I was like, I can't do this I. And then, who is his name? My headman, _____, he kind of just gave me a pep talk. And kind of helped me realize that I was the fittest person on that trip to take that pack. And at that moment, I kind of realized that, I, number one was not the only person on the trip. And number two, that we all had some weight that we needed to take, mentally and physically. And that experience, once I finished the trip, there was a lot of doubt during the trip, I was homesick a lot. But there's just a feeling at the end of a trip that you have. You just you all get back in one piece. And it's that kind of thing that for the next trips I did in the following summers, I always took the food pack. Because I knew I could. And it was, Yeah, just like kind of Manning up really.

R: 16:20

I feel like I'm at Spruce Root

I: 16:26

Does anyone remember some of the language that your staff men used surrounding those situations? What was most motivating to help you like pick up that pack again, and keep walking?

R: 16:44

Whatever it was, it worked.

K: 16:46

I remember I was a first year Cree or something on my second trip ever and _____, He kind of teepeed this tree or teepeed the canoe. And he kind of just gave me a pep talk. I don't exactly remember what he said. But it was something along the lines of like, Hey, you got this, it's gonna be okay. And sometimes that's all a camper needs. Just a pep talk. Yeah.

R: 17:14

I feel like a lot of my experiences with struggling with portaging, since it happens a lot is, I don't want to say it's the idea of, yeah, this does hurt, this is really, really painful. But you have to do it anyways. You have to pretty much become one with the pain. And a lot of that I think headmen will focus on, pretty much saying this is you have to just mentally get to a place where you can do this. Because once you find that place, it will become easier. So that acknowledging of how hard it is, and that it is really painful. But then that other side of if you can channel yourself, get yourself comfortable. But get yourself into a groove and mentally tap into what you're doing right now. And how it may be is not just your physical body that wants to just give up on you. If you can mentally get yourself through that, then you can do it and you'll be able to do it time and time again, pretty much.

K: 18:16

And the same thing goes for flipping up a canoe as a CIT. Especially first half, I couldn't flip up a canoe. And if I did, I was muscling it up. And then I would just hurt myself. But it's something that you, I remember I was on my Petawawa trip with Andrew Beecher, the Nipissing Petawawa. And I had I picked the heaviest boat in the fleet for some reason. I don't know why. And it got to a point where I, I physically could not lift, pick up the boat. Cut even still, I got to a point where I realized that I had to muscle the boat up. And I had to keep going on the Portage because the trip relied on me for it. And it's not to say that it wasn't painful, but it was that kind of just clicked in my head where like you have to do this.

I: 19:17

I'm reflecting a little bit on how canoe tripping is such a team effort. Like there's no real way for one person to carry the load for everyone around you. And how that personal responsibility of your own weight is not only to benefit you, your own food or your own sleeping bag, but it's the

food for everyone else around you or everyone else's rolls. And I'm the idea that teaching young people, kids, that responsibility of buying into a greater project that's beyond yourself but is also wholly reliant on your own capabilities is a really valuable experience. And do we? Does anyone have any idea about that being translated into life away from camp? Have you encountered situations where your own participation in a larger project is equal parts your own responsibility and the good of the group? The overall team?

H: 20:48

Yeah, I feel like it translates a lot. It translates to a lot of collaborative work. And the dynamics in that way are also interesting, because you can disperse it equally, but then there's also the opportunity of taking on a larger amount of effort for the betterment of the situation. But there's also this issue, there's also a circumstance where you can like take a step back, and let other things happen. So in terms of that, I feel like canoe tripping does a good job of letting you understand your position in terms of a visible system, in terms of what's actually right in front of you, what you can do to help it and how your actions do directly impact it.

I: 21:46

It's just also especially, for young kids that go on canoe trips, it's a really hard, much harder idea to get them to buy into because they're so young, they don't have, really that understanding of other people as much because their brain just isn't as developed. And so it's almost sometimes frustrating, I found it a frustrating thing. When you're tripping with MicnChips and one camper is like done, can't make it through the portage, crying the whole time. And you just want to be like, I know this so hard, but think of everyone, but they can't and you can't say that to them. Because you kind of know that won't get them where they need to go. But I do think eventually, if they continue canoe tripping and growing up, it's a really like valuable thing for them to have happen at a younger age to then even go into workplace settings or classroom settings that it's just that understanding of others, that really burden and understanding of like other people. Does it happen for everyone? Probably not. But yeah, yeah,

H: 22:55

I remember my first two years when I was 11, and 12, both having breakdowns that year where it's like, I cannot do this anymore. And then it happened in a minor setting when I was 13, on the meanest link. And after then it struck me that there's a switch that needs to happen in terms of my perception of what's going on. But I do think that the failure aspect of it of, you having those moments of weakness, and the responses that you get, because I've been in situations where I've been helped through those, and then there's been ones where I've like, had to work it out by myself. And so, yeah,

I: 23:40

Yeah, I remember as a camper, looking at my staff, when they would flip down to help me put my pack back on. When I was younger, as a camper thinking that, well, they can do everything why can't they just carry my pack too? They're so much bigger and stronger. And I don't see why I have to hurt this badly when it's clearly not bothering anyone else. And then when you grow up a little bit, especially when you take on that leadership position on a trip later on. And

you're waking up earlier than everyone else going to sleep later than everyone else flipping up last with no one around to help in case you fall. And the switch is flipped between. And then you see your campers putting the pack down and you realize we've all been that camper that thought that I as the staff with the boat on my head right now could do everything at once. And the growth that comes with a long period of canoe tripping, I feel like really helps you contextualize the capabilities of an 18 year old person. To think that your 17 year old staff is the strongest person on earth, and suddenly you're 21, flipping up your boat on every single portage exhausted and still putting on a smile and trying to help your camper.

K: 25:13

I remember my CIT year, I don't remember what trip it was. But whenever I would flip down my boat, I would not want anyone to speak to me. I remember, an unnamed camper said, Hey, good job. And I literally told him to stop talking. And I realized that, that was really shitty of me to do because this camper was like, go You and I was so in my head about like, this sucks, having a boat on my head it helped me realize that some, the campers you can tell when a camper really cares and knows and wants to do well on a canoe trip. But I'm going back to your question Nell about how it applies to other things. This past summer, I worked at a campground as a maintenance slash Guest Services person. And it was my first real experience with maintenance on a very broad spectrum. Because one day I may be called to go fix the cable at an RV site. The next there's a excrement spewing out of a pipe, and I gotta clean it. So but that was like a really big eye opener to me to working on a team because I had a lot of instances where I could do this right now , where I could not, I could just go drive my golf cart around the campground and fuck off. But I learned a lot about being on a team but also having to rely on myself when my team members aren't there. And that kind of learned initially at Pathfinder where like, as the three or four staff on a trip, we're all there for each other, but there are moments when it's just us and it's just a camper, and they're crying their eyes out, we need to know what to do. So yeah.

H: 27:20

To talk about what we were talking about before, but after the gross thing. I mean, it's definitely at Pathfinder, I bet it's absolutely at Taylor Statten and then it's probably at Keewaydin. But there's a solid amount of idolizing that happens, especially when you're younger, from the age of 13, to even people who are 17 and 18 years old. And there's also a point, this is something I've definitely felt when you're like 16, 17 and 18, when you're in the CIT and the second men position where you feel like you should be able to do absolutely everything. It's because of the fact that you've seen people before you do it, but you're at a position where you don't really know what's going on. So there's a little bit of arrogance that comes with that age, particularly. And that might be something that's unique to Pathfinder, just because of the way that it works out that you're a staff when you're literally 16 years old. Like you just finished 10th grade and you're taking kids on canoe trips.

I: 28:31

My first summer, as a trip staff, I couldn't flip up a boat the whole summer, I needed help every single time and I felt so embarrassed and just, there's almost a shame that comes with not

being able to do every single task perfectly. And I feel like that sort of ties in to this idolization of your staff or the older campers where if you're the same age as someone you once idolized, but you don't perceive yourself as good, strong, fast, competent. Then you fail and somehow your canoe tripping career has failed you in some way. And I also think that that makes me celebrate my successes more like quietly or secretively because even if it's just I flipped up every single portage today, so does everyone else it's not that big of a deal. You shouldn't be celebrating something that's expected of you. So it makes me feel as if my individual successes I have to push down a little bit because it's not perceived as exciting for everyone. It's not a huge breakthrough for the rest of the group. I don't know.

H: 29:57

The community aspect of. I was gonna say at least community aspect of that is interesting because it is the collective and so you're kind of just helping out. And I think historically, we've actually been pretty bad at celebrating people's things. And I guess I hope that we've been getting better. But I just think about, there's a lot of CIT's, I have maybe I don't know what it was like before I was a staff, but there are a lot of CIT that do you have problems and there are a lot of efforts I do see of older staff going down to the canoe dock, and helping them out. And like they celebrate when they're able to do it there. But then when you're on a canoe trip in front of campers, it is a different thing. Because there's also the show of face aspect.

R: 30:44

I was gonna say that especially, not to bring gender necessarily into it, but as a female staff at a canoe tripping camp, it's never that I've, not I was gonna say, people don't really celebrate my successes, but that's not true, people do. Yeah. When you're on the trail, you don't really get that I've also been on the trail where, you know, high schoolers are crushing a portage before me. And the reason I'm crying is because I'm so embarrassed that I'm supposed to be the leader, staff person who's showing them yes, you can do this having never done it before. And I can't even do it myself, you know. So there's that element that you almost just keep those like personal, it's so interesting. I've never really thought about the collective versus individual aspects of a canoe trip this in depth before. But it really is you keep almost, it's such a group experience. But such an individual experience at the same time that sometimes you don't want. You just want those successes and those hardships they feel like they should just be yours. Because the greater goal is to not celebrate successes or celebrate or to get hung up necessarily on 'Oh, Ally just cried on that portage' and then it's about just getting through those, keeping those to yourself and then helping the trip happen, you know? But yeah, it's it's very interesting.

I: 32:00

When you're a woman on, that was the biggest thing I noticed when I switched camps was that, at Keewadin, everything we did as women was constantly being compared to the boys the same age as us. So if we weren't as strong as fast, we weren't flipping up as well. Even when you did perform better than you were expecting yourself to, and it was always performing. We were always just trying to like prove our place at the camp. We're trying to forge this direction for women as like a group at Keewaydin. Our successes were so downplayed all the time. Like, if

you were doing the exact same thing as a male camper, you weren't succeeding at all, you had to be going above and beyond. So then when I got to Pathfinder, and people were surprised that I knew how to flip up, I was like, wait, this is kind of cool that I can do this. That's so fun that people can acknowledge that I'm good at what I'm doing right now. And that's exciting. To the point where sometimes I feel a little over celebrated. It's like people are shocked that I'm on a canoe trip and doing it the way that it's supposed to be done.

R: 33:36

Because they've had me for the past four years

H: 33:39

Well, yeah, even before then there were two female staff that really canoe tripped before. Like, you went on a canoe trip Ally, it was. It was ___ and it was ____. And ___ it took years for her before she led her first canoe trip. I think it was 2017 was the first time she led a canoe trip. Yeah, she was around a really long time, maybe four years to lead her first

R: 34:08

___ for like four years before leading

H: 34:14

And like even before then ___ she never led a trip she guided, she like assistant guided but she never led a trip

R: 34:26

Yeah, and I think a lot of females canoe tripping, like the female canoe tripping aspect of Pathfinder, just honestly sometimes comes down to the logistics of getting female staff out on trips because they are mainly hired for in camp programming. That's just kind of the reality of it. But I would say that from what I've heard and what I've experienced, it is way more advanced at Pathfinder now to push to, when I started going to camp, I was just like, I'm not going to canoe trip, what even is a portage and Sladds was the one who was Like, go out and experience this. He made sure my first summer that I went out, that ___ got out on an overnight, you know, all these people got to experience it because, less so of this idea of go learn how to canoe trip and more so of you're here, experience this wonderful thing on an awesome overnight with staff that we have an abundance of. And I think that that's really special because I don't really think that that's necessarily you know, we talk a lot about this whole kind of like idolization of people like ___ and even ___ that, honestly, sometimes idolization was wonderful, but it really was a barrier for normal women to get into the act of canoe tripping, and actually ___ shared a really interesting article on the Pathfinder Facebook page a couple years ago about the problem of, pretty much making this whole super woman Wonder Woman caricature specifically in the wilderness, because it then creates more of a barrier for women to feel like what Nell is saying, to feel like their success is a success just because they're doing it, you know? Yeah, whatever. Just give me the food pack. I'm fine. It's okay.

36:24

Yeah, that point. I mean, I'm also just the captain of the Frisbee team. And we've been doing a lot of stuff in equity, diversity and inclusiveness, or inclusivity. And one of the things that we've been talking about a lot is, a lot of the programming that we've been doing has been screenings, where it highlights the best bipoc athletes, but it's the very, very best, the people who are playing on the best teams around the country. And they're playing really good Frisbee. And it's not necessarily dealing with a lot of the people who are not at the top of the game. It's a lot of people who are, who are there because of their skill, and not because of other reasons, which are blocking other people from being part of the community. So I think that that's absolutely connected.

R: 37:18

Congrats on making Captain!

I: 37:21

Yeah, that's so exciting.

H: 37:23

Yeah, it's been absolutely nothing this year, we don't go anywhere we just practice and hang out. Don't even hang out, really.

R: 37:31

Yeah. Fuck COVID.

I: 37:41

There's another direction I want to go. But I'm still really enjoying this. Because we're sort of getting into a little bit of the performance aspect of what I've been thinking about in terms of this project where, the Superwoman caricature, putting on a front of being the absolute best for other people around you. And for me, that took the form of not really enjoying canoe tripping as much as I could have when I was sort of in my formative years, because I spent so much time concerned with proving that I could do it and not taking the time to appreciate that I love doing it. I felt like there was a disconnect between consistently proving my strength, proving my worth, my position on the trip, versus just doing it because I'm enjoying it, and I want to be there and I paid to be there and it's how I've chosen to spend my summer.

K: 38:48

I wanted to add to that, so the performance aspect. I don't really tell people this but on the Nip Pet trip I did two summers ago with Andrew Beecher. And I had a super heavy boat. I felt so defeated. With that boat on that trip, being a leader, and I loved the campers, they loved me, but I have acid reflux. So one morning I was just regurgitating everything I ate. And at that point, we were close to an evac point, and I did not feel comfortable with myself continuing on that trip. I didn't feel like I was worthy enough and as you were saying, Nell, I kind of forgot why I really canoe trip. And I forgot that, I had this idea where I had to be perfect at carrying the canoe. I had to know how to flip up because my campers were watching me struggle breaking my neck flipping up. And I was like, You're so stupid. Because the next day I was in camp for like two

weeks doing nothing. And it was such a, I guess an eye opener for me where number one, finish what you started, but manliness within a staff that literally, CIT's feel like they need to have. And there's not a lot of like, when you're in a camp setting and you're doing trip training a headman will be like, yeah, that's totally fine if you don't know how to flip up perfectly. But the mindset on a canoe trip, your staff, your headman could have a conversation with you at night or something, if you're not chopping enough wood

H: 40:59

Yeah, there's, I feel like there's a lot of layers to that point. I think that there's also concern about not enough reconciliation and a little bit too much punishment for not being able to do tasks. And I think that there's also, there's a little bit of a concern when you're on the trail, I guess just as my experience as a headman about, like, having to take in a lot of things. And especially the risk management aspect of it is something that like, always needs to be considered.

R: 41:47

Yeah, I feel like for me, again, it's a different perspective. But I was kind of like, I'm fine being in camp like, this is fun to do, but I don't really necessarily enjoy being in charge of doing this. Not COVID just just sniffles. But for me, it was a lot of the just logistics of canoe tripping, I didn't understand and trying to understand it in the first place. And then understand, the very, very specific, I called it always the Pathfinder effect on me where I would over analyze every single thing that I was doing. And this is actually really funny. My first ever trip, I got super roasted about this. But I asked ___ how to cut an onion. Because in my mind, at that point in my life wasn't really good at cooking, probably didn't cut that many onions. But I knew I could have just done it. But I always did this thing where I would ask first before I did something, even if I could start this fire. My first big trip that I went on with ___ it was a lot of asking because logistically, I never felt like I was putting on the right performance, you know, and doing the right thing or maybe not putting on the right performance, but doing the way that Pathfinder wanted things to be especially just dishes or the way you get out of your boat, all amazing things. But there's so many Pathfinder ways of doing things that it's hard to always that's like a perspective. I didn't go on a Pathfinder canoe trip as a camper. So it's not like, Okay, this is how we wallop, and then I got roasted on that first trip for asking camper questions. And I remember, you laugh it off, this is just a joke. It's obviously just playing fun. But deep down it's so annoying, because the reason I'm asking so many fucking questions is because I don't know. I've never done this before. So if you're not going to sit down and tell me about it, then I'm going to ask because I want to be good at this. But almost this idea of you should just know, it's just like, well, how am I supposed to just know, you know?

I: 44:13

That's a great segue because I spent a lot of time working through how the specific ways that we canoe trip like getting out of the boat, how to flip up properly, all of the little things that we do throughout the entire day that mark our trips as Pathfinder trips, and I'm currently analyzing those as a series of performances not only for the group that we're in, to prove to each other that we're Pathfinder and we canoe tripping correctly, but also to prove to the other people in the park that we see every single day. There's so much pride that we carry in how we do things.

And to what extent is it because it's the best way to do them, versus we want everyone else to know that we're doing it the best way to do it.

K: 45:21

And I think we've all experienced being on a canoe trip and we're passing by another camper, we're passing by tourists. And our head mans like, Alright, power paddle. Show that like, yo, we're the best. But on that same token of overanalyzing asking a lot of questions, I feel like, as a staff, and you become a staff, you're ingrained to avoid camper questions. Because as a camper, you probably ask a lot of questions. But especially when a lot of my campers asked a lot of camper questions. I wouldn't say I wouldn't just brush off the question, I would answer it, because I understood that. Sometimes these campers had so much uncertainty, and knowing that they had three portages left of the day would get them through it. Or, you know, anything like that. And I just feel like the culture of, obviously, when there's too many camper questions, there's too many camper questions, but there is a divide on a canoe trip between the staff and the campers, and there should be, but sometimes it's so divided that it's not a full trip.

H: 46:41

Yeah, I also think that there's been a generational shift a little bit. It's especially, I caught the very, very, very end of it in 2011, where, you couldn't say really anything without getting scolding. To where it's a little bit more open, and it gets maybe a little bit more open with staff being campers who got questions answered every single year, but it's still a pretty slow shift. To what Nell was saying before. It's, I always think about how the camp was developed as, like a military style system, and that that's kind of at the heart of a lot of the things that we did. And then it was translated into more modern ways. In terms of something aesthetic, it's military stencil on the front of our boats. There's probably some historical reasoning behind that. Because there's the Battle of externality and internalizing those kinds of performance aspects, and then being able to like, put them on our outside and like having that be seen in front of other people is pretty important to what Pathfinder has been.

R: 48:15

Yeah, and going off of that, honestly, my kind of perspective on it, I think you could really go kind of on either side of this discussion, but for me, I love being able to say, you know, I meet someone who, in Ottawa who's worked at a canoe tripping camp, and maybe it's like, Ahmek or Tamakwa. And obviously, I'm not an asshole, but I get a little spark of joy just being like, I work at Pathfinder, and I don't know if they know that but there is something very prideful in the way that, do I necessarily think we need to power paddle past Northway? No. Do I do it anyways? And do I get joy from it? Yeah, I kind of do, because it is it makes me feel really proud to be a part of this. And I don't know, again, that falls back on kind of like the female canoe tripping aspect, but I remember paddling on my trip with Riley. And I think Riley was in the bow and I was in the stern. And we were coming on to Rock and we saw an old boat, whatever. And the guy said that he used to go to Pathfinder or something. And then immediately made the most just classic sexist comment of like, Whoa, didn't know there's females or like, how's she doing? And I like remember so quickly, just being like, I'm a head man on this trip. You know, it was just because it was my first co head man trip.

H: 49:45

Yeah bro check the red bandana.

R: 49:47

Yeah, so just kind of having that, I was proud to be able to say like, No, I'm leading this Pathfinder trip too and this red boat is also, I'm in this red boat just as much as All the other guys here. Oh, and then my last point on that is that I think a huge part of maybe not our performance, but Pathfinder would never leave a trip unhelped, like they are always there to assist, be good stewards of the forest, maybe not every single trip. But that's really something that you know, like ___ literally carrying someone a whole portage because their staff had no medical training or anything. And like, is that a little bit of why we puff our chests and say we're the best, maybe. But I think there are really good parts of the performative aspect alongside the other arguments that are there, you know,

I: 50:44

That sense of if something goes wrong on a tourist campsite, and they see red boats across the lake, they're gonna go to the red boats and ask for help. There's that you can rely on a Pathfinder trip to have the training, the supplies, the materials all necessary to get you through a crisis, kind of, which even though it's just a summer camp, at the end of the day, there's that, Yeah, we do all have medical training, we all know how to cook, we can all carry our boats, aspects that comes out of it.

H: 51:20

I think there's also a really interesting, this I was also like a little iffy, because I don't know what foundation it lies on. But there's also like a sort of development of morality. And I think I point back to, I was on a trip in 2013, as well, second half. And we were paddling on Dixon, and we were about to get to Laveille, and I was super excited to get to Laveille. And there's a forest fire. There is a root fire happening on one of the islands on Dixon. I remember Personally, I was like, I don't want to fucking deal with it. I know park rangers are going to be here, within a couple hours. But it was ___ who is like, Alright, we're going there. And we're going to try to stop as much of this fire as we can. And we got on the island. And for about two hours, we were going up and down from the water, trying to take out as many fires as we can. And I think about that a lot. And I remember even afterwards, I was still a little ticked off. On the fact that we did this, when we knew that there were going to be park rangers coming. I mean, there is smoke 200 feet in the air. But I do think it teaches you to go out of your way. I think that a lot of the stuff does do that. And I think I forget if it was ___ who saved the kid from the coulounge trip, the kid who hit his head and was in the middle of the river. And I think it was a Taylor Statten trip, and they just didn't have the resources to get the kid out, and we help them get him out with the heli back.

I: 52:58

Something about working at Pathfinder gives you a strong sense of stewardship. I like that word of the park and the area that you're in, putting out the root fire picking up garbage, I feel like is

another big one, I don't know where the disconnect between a tourist trip being comfortable leaving cans at a camp site or just sort of generally leaving things in disarray. And the fact that that's completely unacceptable for a Pathfinder trip. But that also adds to the pride that we feel because there's that taking care of where you are. And almost a little bit of a land entitlement feeling that you get from it. Like we've been here the longest out of the camps we're seeing and so we're gonna put out this fire because the Rangers are going to take too long to get here.

K: 54:07

I was just gonna say a one that note though, like, on almost all of the canoe trips I've been on as a staff and a camper, you got to treat the place you're in well, because it is not yours. And like Pathfinder, that's our island but it's not ours really. And I think Pathfinder does a really good job at instilling that you do not litter on the trail you do not poop five feet away from the trail, you know?

H: 54:56

Yeah, I think it's interesting because when I initially learned that there was no recognition of who was actually there beforehand. Like when you learn about the history of Pathfinders, and it's specifically Algonquin Park, it starts in 1860. Like it starts around, when it comes to logging, I mean, you can go back to the 16th century, you can go back even farther. And that's like the nice thing about Christine, but also it puts us in a weird position where you have the tourists who they actually just don't give a crap. They're not there to learn anything. They're there to enjoy themselves as much as possible. With very little recognition of what the space actually is. And then we're in this kind of intermediary position where we obviously do care, but it's because we use it a lot. And that's obviously not it, but our experience with the space makes it valuable, but it makes it valuable to us. Which I think it's interesting.

I: 56:14

Yeah, I don't think anyone's gonna sit here and say that feeling connected to a space is a bad thing. Like if you love Algonquin Park, which we all do, you're gonna pick up the garbage, because you love being there. But where the complication can often set in is that, like you said before, Christine, the notion that our stewardship of the land comes from our own ownership of it, and not the fact that we're guests, unwelcome guests largely in a much broader scope of history of the area, that I'm really glad that Sladds has taken that first step by bringing Christine in, because even just knowing the name of the people that claim source as their ancestral land is a step towards taking care of an area because we love it and not because we think that it belongs to us. So

K: 57:28

I remember hearing from a staff man, I asked a question, who is a great spirit? And I don't know if Sladds told me or someone else but they said Chichi Apakwa. And I was like, is like Chichi Apakwa a whitewash name? Are they an actual person? Because we're kind of, we're not trained, but we're taught certain things at Pathfinder, and they are, they are the way they are. That's the mindset, when that's not the healthiest mindset.

R: 58:02

Yeah, I think tradition is a very interesting intersection in this whole dialogue, because initially when we started talking about I think a lot of the ways that Pathfinder trips is rooted in tradition. But I think some of the tradition obviously isn't good. So it's this hard thing that I think maybe it's kind of this idea that when I think of how many people canoe trip now with no experience, we all heard about that Thanksgiving weekend thing on Opeongo where all these people tipped in their boats, in freezing cold water, none of them knew what they were doing. And that's so dangerous for not only them, but for the people who ended up rescuing them, who were in kayaks and had to get everyone, no one knew how to T rescue, no one knew anything. And so I think a lot of people who get themselves in those scenarios, you can probably just base down to the idea that our society puts everything on social media, and people just are doing a lot more things I think that they would never have done before. Because they're like, well, this is something to do while there's a lockdown. We'll just go camping, why not? It's fun. Whereas for us, we have so much more of a kind of stricter, like really purposeful approach to canoe tripping. And I think that's kind of one of the really great things that tradition has brought. But I think that the huge part that the traditions at Pathfinder have left behind is exactly the idea that this is, we're not doing this because this is our land and our space, they're like, we should be doing this because this is stolen land that we are borrowing to use and we should be absolutely taking care of that and I think I agree with you know, that there has been big, maybe not big enough, but big mindset shift towards that even just discussing the fact that you know, you're able to say this is, you know, ancestral land this is, even the rock caves are very important and why are they important because of this history that is there. And so I think Pathfinder is starting to, but I think that those really entrenched traditions, honestly, less so on the trail and more so in camp are ones that were stuck on, unfortunately.

H: 1:00:37

Yeah, I think I was. Oh, my God. Sorry, I have no idea what happened. I think I was first introduced to this conversation. It was a couple years before Christine, it was in 2015, when ___ had this presentation that she gave to my year about our route, and the history of our route. And I was, shocked there had been no programming ever established like this before. I remember ___ was also there. And I feel like there was this interesting dynamic of ___ was telling us all these things, and it's a bunch of 15 year olds who don't really give a crap about this. And ___ like, you guys should actually listen to this. This is pretty important. Um, classic, and oh, classic. Yeah. Yeah. I mean, that's a funny dynamic to look back on. In 2015, and I think it's also interesting to just acknowledge what values we have been upholding. I think that that's a big part of the question that we're trying to get.

K: 1:02:00

And I feel like it was definitely a good step in the right direction, morphing Pathfinder trips with Wabun, and there were some other things I don't exactly know. But I have a feeling that Pathfinder can only do so much as a camp, where a bunch of and I can't say all, but a majority of the campers come from privilege. And there's only so much Pathfinder can do. And there's only so much Christine can do to aid us. But in the grand scheme of things the Algonquin land

was, and is native land. And it still is, but it's not officially anymore. And I know it's not going to be only native land in the future, you know, so I feel like there's only so much I can do.

I: 1:03:03

I definitely had to come to terms as I was researching and becoming more versed in decolonization discourse. I had to come to terms with the fact that there's no decolonizing camp, you can't pick and choose what you decolonize because the idea of decolonization is more anti colonization, where you completely get rid of the entire structure that we've created. And that's a lot harder to do in a settler colonial context like North America, because realistically, are all the white people are going to move back to their ancestral countries? No. So where does the line come of admitting and taking ownership of the fact that camp has been at the root of a lot of colonial struggles and land issues, but then also, recognizing that in a de colonial context, camp doesn't exist? Like if we were to decolonize camp, Sladds would get rid of it completely and give the land back to? Who? We don't know. There's no one person who would step into that role like it's gets so complicated. So I think focusing on harm reduction, which took a long time for me to figure out is where a lot of this project is going to come from, because I'm not going to say Sit here in front of my friends and colleagues and say that we're just going to like disintegrate camp, because it's not gonna happen. And camp is inherently a good thing, it's good to send kids out into the wilderness.

H: 1:05:12

Yeah, this might be my own personal worldview, and just like what I want to happen, but there are things that can happen outside of camp that can directly impact what camp looks like as a structure. And so that doesn't mean that there aren't things that we can change about camp because there's a plethora of things that we can do. But that there's a system behind where camp thrives currently, and there's a system in which it can also exist just in a different form, in terms of what it teaches and what it gives to people but then also changes who it's for.

K: 1:06:06

Now, my iPads about to die, I'm gonna rejoin the zoom from my phone.

I: 1:06:11

Okay, I kinda have to pee. I just finished this 24 ounce chai latte. Want to take like 10/10 ish minutes? Come back at 3:15? I'm thinking we move in a little bit of a different direction. Another storytime. This time since everyone's gone from, well, I guess Ally you were always on staff. But I feel like this is still applicable. That moment where you were mentally taken out of your camper life and you really felt that you were prepared in taking on that staff role. And that doesn't have to necessarily be, you are officially on staff, because mine happened after I was officially on staff. But when you sort of felt like mentally, maybe physically too, you were ready to be a staff in a way that you hadn't been before.

H: 1:17:30

Feel like my experience that that has for me is an interesting experience. Because it was another point of failure and actually helping from another staff member, it was on my first CIT

trip. And I remember it was the first day where I had eight or nine portages, a couple really tricky ones. It's a tough day from Burnt Root to Ostler, and there's like a couple 1400s across the nipissing River, and one really brutal 1800. And I remember finishing that day. And _____, also my brother was on that trip and he sat me down after the day, we had just rolled up to the campsite. And was like you did a great job today. You're absolutely gassed, I'm going to chop the wood. And it was a six man trip too so he was the head man. And he was the only other staff and he chopped all the wood and did all the stuff for the day. And I just set up our tent. And there was kind of this realization not to get back to what we were initially talking about. But in terms of the collective front of the staff. That was kind of a little bit of a breaking of it. But it has a different situation because of again, a little bit of nepotism. I don't know if that's gonna be part of it. But just that there is this collaborative front that I had developed with this person already. So it's able to be manipulated.

K: 1:19:24

I'm trying to think of because when I went on my CIT trip with _____ and Aidan, and it was actually not a super bad CIT trip at all, compared to what I've heard from other CIT trips. But I remember the first night I had a huge caffeine withdrawal headache, absolutely horrible. And we got to the campsite. And I felt like, this is kind of stupid, but because I felt like I was letting people down, I wasn't but I was chopping wood for the first time on a trip. And I came back, I was grabbing some stuff and Aidan was like, dude, that's not enough, um, in a polite way, but he was kind of showing me that I gotta step up even when I don't feel my best because if a camper is hungry, they're not going to care if I have a headache, they got to eat food. But I feel on my AA trip that year before. It's not like I felt like I was fully a staff, but I was becoming aware that I am no longer a camper. I remember having a conversation with _____. But I was telling him I can't act like this as a staff. And he was like, Yeah, you're right. It was kind of just like a partly growing up partly maturing about just as a staff you need to do certain things that you don't necessarily want to do.

R: 1:21:19

I'd say for me it was the five day that I went on where it was less of just get out on the trail go on an overnight and more of a your'e co head manning this. And I think a lot of the time for me was when I would be in boats with the campers is a lot of the time ____ and I just were in a boat. Chillin, I would get kind of practice on sterning and practice tripping and actually canoeing while you're tripping. And I would always feel that sense of, Oh my god, I can't let these campers down because two Crees who are really good trippers they at that point, did out paddle, they would power me while I was paddling stern. So a lot of it would feel like, okay, I'm tired, I'm sore. I can't keep sterning this boat. But we have to find a campsite on Rock. So maybe Yeah, we would always be a bit behind. But it was kind of that moment of just Alright, another moment of just you just got to frickin do it. And I remember, in that moment, it was less of you're doing it for yourself to finish this 2k portage and show yourself you can do it. And more of a, it's being two campers in my boat. We got to get to the campsite just as much as everyone else does. So you got to buckle up and do it, you know?

K: 1:22:41

Right?

I: 1:22:41

I cried in front of a camper. Oh, it was really scary and sad. And we had on day three, we had lost that boat, then had to wait for a flight to come in with a new boat and two new wannigans. And we had been sitting on a horrible tiny brushy fake campsite. Waiting for a plane for two more days. So we were two days behind. And then the weather was horrible. It was really hard to navigate. Leaving. Getting out of the lake we were on and into a river. And there were just 1000s of tiny islands making up that Confluence point. And we had to go a very certain direction to make sure we didn't get lost. So that was hard. And then we got to the river, we had one Portage. And our campsite was literally on the other side. And as we went to go scout a camper hadn't pulled the boat far enough up onto the shore. And these girls were 15 years old. And I really didn't think that I was going to have to explain that if the waters running the whole boat needs to be on the land. So we got back from scouting the Portage. And the boat was washed down the set that we were portaging around and it was sunk underneath the set. And our first thought was, oh my god, we just broke every rib and we're gonna have to paddle back to the lake and get another boat from a plane. And luckily, we're able to pull the boat out of the water. It wasn't mine, thank God because it was so inundated with water that it was significantly heavier than every other boat we were bringing with us. And we got it to shore to start the Portage and I let everyone go in front of me. I was gonna be the last person but my camper was like, really set on doing it together. I couldn't figure out why she was super clingy on to me for this one. And I was trying to get her to leave, and she wouldn't leave. And I just sat there and I started crying. And I was just like, it's not supposed to be this hard, canoe tripping is not supposed to be just one misadventure at a time, one after another. And this girl is like, wait, it's not? She thought that all canoe tripping was was just like, crisis management. In a way, like canoe tripping is kind of mini crisis management, just one at a time, even if the crisis is just your camper, put the food pack down. And now you have to flip down and put it back on them. It's still one tiny crisis after another that you just have to mentally put into lists like, this was a small crisis. This is a big crisis. But after that, my co staff and I, we climbed this huge hill that was overlooking our campsite. And we watched the sunset and we just screamed, we just screamed at the top of our lungs as loud as we could. We got all of the crisis energy out of ourselves, and screamed and cried and watch the sunset. And then they told me that I did a good job, and that they didn't think that they could have handled everything that already happened if they didn't have me there. And I was like, cool. So I am really a staff, even though one of my campers is older than me. And that feels really weird.

H: 1:26:55

It is so weird how it does build up on itself. You have like mini crises, when you're younger, and yet you learn how to deal with it. You have like a little bit of a bigger one when you're older, and the experience just builds on top of each other until you're at that point where you really shouldn't be at and you're on the verge of breaking. And sometimes you do break but even though you've had these experiences before, and they aren't at the same magnitude, you know how to bring yourself back. And that's really something that is beautiful about canoe tripping is that it's so introspective for people, it's you learn so much about how to deal with yourself. And

going on so many canoe trips, back when I'm in the real world. It really helps me appreciate when I feel like I'm having a bad day here because I missed the bus going to school. And it really puts it in perspective because things could be so much worse. And canoe tripping really helps put that into perspective for you where everything could go wrong. But then you see a beautiful sunset at the end of the night. And you scream at the top of your lungs and everything's okay. Yeah,

I: 1:28:20

We don't need another boat flown in. Already didn't have any minutes left on our sat phone anyway, so we couldn't have called for a boat if we needed to. Man, yeah, I really, there's this TikTok sound that's popular right now that I've seen a lot that's like, you know, get a cold. And you think about all the times that you didn't have a congested nose and you're like, man, I didn't really appreciate what it felt like to not be congested. It's like you sit in it, like really, really dig on that feeling right now. I use that. At least I'm not pulling another replacement bow out of a set sunken at the end of the day, like at least you're not doing that right now. But then it gets turned into. Yeah, but you could be screaming at the top of your lungs at the top of a mountain watching a sunset. Which honestly,

R: 1:29:28

Pro tip is getting campers to scream if they're having a hard time on a portage. I mean obviously maybe make sure you're in an okay surrounding to not stress anyone out but I had a MicnChip it would take probably 20-30 minutes longer for us to finish portage than everyone else and he used to just ball and I would just be like, do you want to scream? And he's like, yeah, and I'm like, then just scream and scream and like let it out and then just be like, Okay, scream with them too because then they're like, Oh, okay, so good releases

H: 1:30:03

You are on the same team, you trick them into thinking you're on the same team. Yeah. always,

I: 1:30:10

There's that breaking down that it's so fun to watch a little kid, realize that some of the rules of the real world don't apply when you're at camp, you can't really scream when you're frustrated during a math test at home. But if you're frustrated on a portage on a canoe trip, you can scream. And it's really fun to watch that click happen. Or like, oh, there's things that I can do here that I can't do anywhere else. That's a fun sort of turning point for a lot of campers. That's awesome. I have. Let's see, I have all these interview questions. And I love that I didn't need to use any of them. Because Oh, this is a good one. Um, were you, for Ben and Ian, when you guys finished your Bay trips? Were you ever like, briefed on how to interact with indigenous people in the town? Or what were some ways that we inhabit that space as guests? Was that ever like a discussion that came up before you got there? Or was there like an unspoken?

K: 1:31:39

I actually never went on bay trip I went on two half trips, Kip and Coulonge Noir. But,

H: 1:31:49

In 2014, I did the Missinabi. And for that one, there was no formal training, but I was with _____ and he, I wouldn't say briefed us, but definitely was a little bit of a lead by example, which is something that does come up a lot. And it's very much just pretty formal, but also very gratuitous. When you're in moose factory, you're staying usually at the Cree center. And so you're in a pretty special space. And so it's also, you learn a little bit when you're there. I don't know if that's intentional. But you do get a little bit of an understanding of where you are, and you're shown around the space, there's not really any sort of understanding of what this place is. In 2015, that's when ____ gave us the breakdown of what our route was before we went to Fort Severn. And again it's a lot of the formalities. Just how to be respectful. And how to kind of the gratuitous like, we were always really nice to them, but we already knew to be nice to them and we're allowed to talk to them. It's not they're like a separate thing. We were allowed to ask questions and hang out with them when it was appropriate. But in terms of briefing that discussion with Clara was basically the only type of briefing I've ever got. And then in 2017, when we went to Kuujuarapik, we had no idea what it was going to be like, and we were actually surprised that it was completely different than all the other Ontario places that I've been to. There's a there's a KFC and a Tim Hortons in Kuujuarapik. Which is so different from what you experience when you go to maybe not moose factory, but when I was in Wapekika. And when I was in fort Severn, it's just there are noticeable differences materially between different groups, and you're not really explained what is going on?

I: 1:34:08

Yeah. Yeah, I think it was. No one really like none of us were fully ready for the poverty that we were going to see. I don't think. And there was one moment that really stood out to me, were the kids that hung around with us a lot, they would walk out to our campsite because we camped pretty far outside of the town area. And we always had just three or four young ish kids hanging around watching us cook or doing whatever hanging out playing cards. And none of our staff, who I think knew what the situation was really told us, but then one night, I was like, go home, it's kind of late. And they're like our mom's not there. Like, we don't know where she is kind of thing. We were brought into this space that we are only here for four days, three days. And there was no formal introduction as to why the experience that we had was the way it was, especially in the broader context of Canadian treatment of Indigenous people. So to us, as campers we were just like, life kind of sucks here. I don't know why you would want to live out here. And now looking back on it in the context that I now have, as an older person. I sort of wish that I had been given more explanation.

H: 1:36:02

For sure. When I was in Wapekeka, we were there for maybe not even 24 hours. With no context, we thought we were just picking up some more food. But we ended up staying there for the day. And we also had kids hanging around with us the whole time. And they would go into our tents, we had set up right by the water, and they would hang out with us. And you get into conversations with them. And I remember them talking about playing games, but they would like talk about playing hot knife, which is essentially, like putting a knife on a stove, heating it up, and like seeing how long they can keep it on their skin. And there was also like the school at

Wapekeka had recently been burned down, or torched from the inside, it was a fire lit inside. And you're not really given any context to why it's happening like that. You don't really get it at all until you have to take a step back. And you're not really given that opportunity. In our camp system, I guess.

I: 1:37:26

Yeah.

R: 1:37:27

And I think also on this point, something that I've thought about is the idea of Americans having such both at Keewayin and Pathfinder, such heavy presence of American campers is that, you know, there's a lot about the United States history that I do not know. And there's a lot about, vice versa, the Canadian history that Americans don't know, even I was just on a call right before this, just catching up with my girlfriend who is from Wisconsin, and I said 'Oh, yeah, this is like the topic.' And she's like, Whoa, what's wrong with summer camps? And I'm like, Oh, well, there's these huge aspects. And then just a lot of my American friends, I've had to even just through traveling and stuff, people around the world just don't understand the treatment and the issues of systemic racism towards Indigenous peoples in Canada. And so I think that that, not trying to say it's the Americans fault that they don't know. But obviously, if there's such already a lack of understanding of just the history, you're not going to know, when you go, even someone who has, I wouldn't say I got taught it in school at all, which is obviously a big issue, but someone who's Canadian, and now understands a lot more of that, I would still not know exactly what to expect, right? I think no one can. But, you know, I think that understanding the history of why those places that privileged white campers end up that look the way they do is extremely important going forward in sending trips like that, because I think, you know, does it fix it? No, but does it help for an understanding? Like, absolutely, you know,

H: 1:39:09

Yeah there are two historical landmarks that I have realized in terms of dates. And also, this might be more of a larger scale, because this has to do with like the Canadian government. But in 2002, the Canadian government was not willing to sign the UN Declaration of Indigenous sovereignty, along with the US. And they fought like hell to not have to sign it. And then there's the other one of indigenous tribes until the 90s, not being allowed to do any form of ritual while we were able to appropriate anything that we wanted at camp, including things like man on the mountain because I don't really want to say its original name. It was so engrained into what our system was.

R: 1:40:07

I think it was so ingrained that that is why people have such a hard time discussing it and coming to the realization that the whole idea of reconciliation and reconciling is not what the purpose was when it was first started, it doesn't matter what the purpose was, it matters what taking in greater context of what was going on in that time, and also just understanding that it wasn't and certain things still aren't appropriate. That is a really difficult thing for a lot of people, I've like literally heard it firsthand within the last month, I'm not gonna name names, but it's just

mind boggling to me that this person has absolutely been to places that ends a bay trip or is traveling on these these lands and would probably never say, 'Oh, yeah, I'm not on stolen land.' But would say that certain traditions in camp weren't a problem, we don't do them now because it's obviously not good. But then that wasn't an issue. And it's like, well,

I: 1:41:28

It has always been an issue.

R: 1:41:30

Yeah. And that's actually something I didn't know a lot about was the 19. What you just mentioned, Ian, about not being able to practice, which obviously, now that you say, and I've never even looked at it in the perspective of here we are obviously, doing really culturally appropriated things when the people who it's their actual culture are not allowed to, and then obviously, the greater extent of that being taken into residential schools and pretty much get the culture beaten out of them, right. And then here we are a bunch of people who get to have the white privilege and the dressing up like indigenous people for fun. So how does that? Yeah,

K: 1:42:16

I remember, when I was first introduced to Christine and we were talking, and I don't know how the conversation arose, but she was mentioning about how there were boarding schools in Canada, for indigenous people. And when I found that out, I was shocked. I didn't even know and I've been going to camp for so long in Canada. And it was kind of an eye opener, because I knew where I was, I knew I was at Pathfinder. This was our island, but I didn't know where we were, you know, that makes sense. Yeah,

I: 1:42:49

I was just gonna say I can't imagine how jarring it must have been for the people that we were visiting in Umiujaq, especially in the past when you weren't calling ahead and saying, we're going to be here for this many days. Without asking, we still don't really ask if we can come in, you just show up. And I mean, for the most part, all the experiences I've heard from Camp is that you're just welcomed openly. Your presence is really welcomed every time you go there. But to think that you're traveling with an indigenous form of travel, first of all, a canoe trip through indigenous land and showing up unannounced uninvited into someone's home, but isn't that how Algonquin Park is for people for Algonquin Anishinaabeg people, it's the same idea. It's just when you see it in the context of showing up at a settlement, where there's indigenous people in front of you, you're like, Oh, this is a long history of using land in ways that indigenous people weren't allowed to.

H: 1:44:18

Nell have you? Have you ever read paddles flashing in the sun? Do you have a copy of it?

I: 1:44:25

I don't, no.

H: 1:44:27

That is the book that who is the owner before Sladds? What's his name?

K: 1:44:38

Mac Rand.

H: 1:44:39

Yeah. Mac Rand compiled this book of a bunch of the history of Pathfinder and source lake. And I think, I don't know a lot of it. I know like of some things in it because I glimpsed through it. But I think that there's a lot of Really important history of what Pathfinder was in that book in terms of what we felt like we could do. Yeah. In relation to the greater indigenous concerns.

I: 1:45:19

My textbook recently. It's so fun learning about camps, when they have their own history book written, it's a lot easier than doing the searching yourself.

H: 1:45:36

There's a lot of, honestly, a lot of weird shit in there. But it's also really cool and really interesting. Because there's also a lot of understanding of like, what this place is, and how things got to be where they are, which is interesting, but also can be critiqued.

R: 1:45:51

Yeah, Mac did a lot of work on like writing down Pathfinder, everything, you know, so it would be an interesting thing to look at kind of for I imagine for your approach Nell.

I: 1:46:13

So I technically have no idea what I'm doing. Once I've collected all of these could go back through and then help me out a little bit.

R: 1:46:23

It'll come together.

K: 1:46:25

How many pages this this paper? How many pages is this?

I: 1:46:32

Um, well, my, my first two chapters combined are like 38 pages, 37 pages. Um, so if I'm on track, it'll probably be like 75-80 pages total, which isn't? I think it's not considered excessive for a year long thesis. They used to have the Oh, if you're doing an honors thesis, you have to have a certain number of pages. But they kind of gotten rid of that a little bit. So

K: 1:47:08

I'm still senior in high school so

H: 1:47:09

Yeah.

I: 1:47:14

Don't worry, and I've had the entire school year to do it. So technically, I shouldn't have written all 40 pages in the span of two weeks before the proposal was due. That's sometimes how it works out.

H: 1:47:32

You brought up the stuff about the traditional travel. And I thought that was interesting, because I remember when we were in Kuujuarapik and the we had Nova craft canoes, and we just like left them there for them to have, which I thought was like an interesting thing. And also a really nice thing. But then I also learned from talking with people around specifically like, the, the directors of tripping that year was like, Oh, it's but also because it was too expensive to take back. Yeah. So there's always an interesting thing about where's your intentions? Yeah. And where are your actions?

I: 1:48:19

I mean, we always leave all of our food behind, like, anything that's not outfitted for the lunch, and dinners on the travel back. Which raises some interesting questions that I'm not going to get into specifically, but yeah, it's always like, we just went to the community center and left behind anything that we didn't need. I don't know. I'm not studying philanthropy, colonially minded philanthropy, specifically. So

H: 1:48:53

I never thought about the fact that we just drop in before to the communities. Yes. Yeah. I think every single time they either haven't been told at all, or they just like, haven't been fully briefed, or we like a general idea. Yeah. We're going to be coming around these dates, maybe and we're just gonna hang out, but then almost every single time they do more than what we expect. Yeah. Which

K: 1:49:22

Has Pathfinder or direct or tripping, have we as a camp made it an effort to, like, let communities know that we're coming. If you guys you know,

H: 1:49:39

I think for expediency, we have said something. I don't think it's ever been some sort of concerted effort.

R: 1:49:50

I think like also Sladds have certain people that are, it's like a one individual, of that community that they're in contact with, but the greater, even like the people who are maybe helping with like transport of you guys like when you get transported into the community, like they probably are super aware more maybe just like used to it. I have heard in recent years like Sladds, you know,

just be in the PX while doing trip planning or big trip communication is going on, but I also think that a bit of the trip like sometimes it involves like a logistic or sometimes, you know, it involves staying in a cabin, I forget which one there's one trip that stays like they've stayed in like a cabin one night.

H: 1:50:43

Yeah, in the seven we stayed at like three cabins that they had set up, like north of the community. And we stayed there.

R: 1:50:54

Yeah, yeah. So yeah, I don't know. I just I don't know, obviously like it in detail. But I do think that maybe there's certain areas that Sladds has like friends and contacts, you know that he's in contact with. But I mean, when they showed up people knew but the people like I think they were just happened to be there saw a bunch of canoes coming in on a really rough day of Hudson's Bay weather and then we're like, Hey, are you okay? And they were like, Hey, we're here.

H: 1:51:33

The fort Severn guy, his name is ____ I have him on Facebook. He's a great man. Yeah.

I: 1:51:43

I know, when we fly out, like you have to fly from Kuuj and you have to fly from Umiujaq and you make a reservation with a ticket on air Inuit. But I don't know, the extent of like, asking in advance. Like, when you get to Umiujaq, you have to get trucked from the Richmond Gulf to the bay side. And it's like 10k. And it's literally just one guy. And his phone number is written on the back of the satellite phone. And you call him and he has a truck and he puts three canoes on the truck and does trips until everyone comes back. So no, that's a good question to raise when I talk to Sladds individually later.

H: 1:52:31

I think also one thing too at least consider for Pathfinder is like we're all we are pretty new to this. Yeah. Just in terms of like going there. I mean, we've been to Kuujuarapik twice, and it's probably been better we've been to I think there's only one trip that stopped in Umiujaq. I don't know if the 2019 trip stopped there.

I: 1:52:51

I think yeah, Rupert's been there.

H: 1:52:55

____'s been there but was that in 2017, or 2019? Yeah, I think that do get better. Yeah. At least Hudson Bay ones. I don't know. What our situation was is with Attawapiskat or Fort Albany.

R: 1:53:15

Nell you should ask when you talk to Sladds, I think Ben brought this up a bit like at the beginning of the call. But my first summer we did do a collaborative tripping thing with Wabun that's why I think you should ask him. I don't even remember. But there were indigenous youth who came from Attawapiskat maybe. But they were from a very, like, impoverished area. And they came in trip with us. And it was a really interesting thing, because I don't remember exactly what kind of the, I remember it being a great thing. I don't remember connecting or having a whole lot of, you know, the youth didn't really necessarily seem super amped to be there. Did they have a good time? I think so. I hope so. But that could be a really interesting thing to talk to, to incorporate more indigenous collaboration between the two, but I don't know how successful it was or even what his success meter on that was. Or if he found that, like, impacted, you know, because I think or maybe if he thinks that any of that could have been been done differently, or better. You know, he's probably the best person to talk to you about it too, because there were not a ton of staff involved in it and all this staff who were involved in it. I don't think you'll, it was _____, _____, and _____. Oh, yeah.

H: 1:54:52

Yeah, that stuff always gives me mixed vibes. It's like how much it is like bring? Yeah, yeah.

R: 1:54:59

It's the same as Like the Syrian movie, which we could talk about for forever, you know,

I: 1:55:05

Yeah, when I talked to my advisor about the senior in movie her eyes lit up just like nation building. Let's talk about it. Yeah, so

R: 1:55:17

Especially finishing a four year degree in international development, I can tell you there's a lot there to unpack. Yeah. A lot. I actually really triggered when people like, because obviously, I never had campers in the tent. But I get very defensive about that whole situation, because you know, you have just a white Canadian who doesn't give a fuck, just shitting on how horrible these kids are. And I'm like, you know, yes, you were put in a really difficult position with very little briefing, and that was very unfair and not well thought out. However you don't know what trauma does. And PTSD happens in a child like this. Yeah. So it's just always interesting when people are like, fuck the Syrians. That was such a fucking shit show. So was their whole entire life. Like, you know, so. Not that I think anyone's ever said practice Syrian sorry.

I: 1:56:20

strike from the record. Separate that quote completely. Ally consented to me writing down that she said. Wow, we really filled up that time huh.

H: 1:56:43

Yeah. You know,

I: 1:56:46

And I love not having to list questions, just bam, bam, bam, bam. It's a lot more fun for me. And when it's,

K: 1:56:57

And we all know each other. So it's so much easier.

I: 1:57:00

Yeah, this was a good practice round. I'm talking to an older group on Wednesday, and that is a mixed bag.

R: 1:57:13

Who's gonna be there?

I: 1:57:19

Two pathfinder and two keewaydin guys.

R: 1:57:52

One suggestion Nell for interviewing them. Maybe a way to, before you ask questions, just be like, if you want to speak like feel free to just go for it. You don't need to wait, you know, just so that they know. Or maybe you want to do a raise your hand if you have something to say. They might be like, a little bit thrown off by just the idea of a bunch of different people just talking on a zoom. You know what I mean? Like, that's the only thing because we can figure it out, obviously, because we're us, but I feel like at that age, it might be something that trips them up at first. Yeah,

I: 1:58:39

I was also thinking that if it wasn't a super organic conversation, and I do have to do more like direct question asking, I could just set like a if you want to answer like answering this order, and I can just like stick an order of people on the jet. Yeah.

H: 1:59:01

exactly. That would be perfect. Just because I feel like they're less like, able to have an organic conversation over zoom as hard obviously. Really excited to read this after it drops.

I: 2:00:39

Some of my participants were like we're gonna share your work around and I was like, Oh, yeah. We might want to like, I might write an abstract that sort of tones things down a little bit that can be more widely shared. But that's also for later. Yeah.

H: 2:01:15

I guess my question was just about Sladds. And do you think he knows the extent at which you're willing to dig into this?

I: 2:01:27

I think so. I think so. I think he's well versed in the digging that's going on. But yeah, the goal is just to make camp better. And there's no part of the paper that's saying like camps a horrible place for children, you shouldn't send them here and we're gonna dismantle the entire system. So no, I think it's, it's pretty safe.

R: 2:02:42

Thanks, guys.

H: 2:02:47

See you later. Bye.

Appendix A.10: Personal Interview with Michael Sladden, Director of Camp Pathfinder

(S=Michael Sladden, first summer 1969; I=Interviewer, ___=Redacted name)

I: 03:38

Okay, um, I like to start off all of my interviews with just a brief acknowledgement that Pathfinder sits on Algonquin Park, which is unceded Algonquin Anishinaabeg territory, and that the basis for my project is considering the roots of the foundation of the camping movement and how those reflected colonial goals of the time and that in my work, now I'm looking towards the future and how we can combat this colonial foundation in order to make camp just a more inclusive and open place for the future. So when I do group interviews, I make sure everyone knows like we're not debating my framework or anything. It's just more of an open discussion to talk about experiences and see what happens from there.

S: 04:36

Great, very wise, very wise move.

I: 04:39

I've been using this book by Shawn Wilson Research is Ceremony which discusses indigenous research approaches and the powerful aspects of storytelling as data collection. So as my as my framework, I don't necessarily go straight into like a listed set of questions, I sort of like to keep the floor open and just see where conversation goes. But with one on one, it's a little different, because I want to make sure we have plenty of things to talk about. So I wanted to start by asking, when you as a camper started enjoying canoe tripping.

S: 05:22

Okay, I started as a camper in 1969, it was 1970 was more tolerable, you know, I don't know how you remember yours. But I didn't like my first canoe trips, even though I wanted to. And I had two in 69. And then I had a couple in 70. You know, in 70, I started to like it a little better, although I think one of those trips was rough because of rain and bugs. And you know, so I think it was the end of 1970 season for me. And in the 1971. I had, I was having a much, much better

time and really looking forward to it. And I was able to be part of a crew of guys who really wanted to just go out tripping all the time, and only were content to wait in camp until there was another trip for us. And in those days, you could stick with the same kids if you wanted to, you know, and we do that a little bit. We do that a little bit today. You know, there's different groups, groups of guys that are very avid and we let them keep tripping together. And so that was my that was my experience. And then 72 was my last camper year and those trips were great. The last trip of the season was the most ambitious it was over two weeks in the park, like a tour de park and the end of season weather was horrendous. And there was running rapids and breaking canoes and fairly miserable trip. But we still, by that point, I was loving tripping because of the camaraderie of that group. But yes, you're right. It definitely is an acquired taste. And I think at my age, I was not loving it at the beginning. Yeah.

I: 07:12

So when as you got a little bit older, you were less of the base, camper, camper and more of trying to get out on as many trips as possible.

S: 07:22

I think I was always in a group that was slated to go on as many trips as possible. And I think I just didn't like it as much the first season and the first part of the second season, but then I liked it better. I think there was a bit of a vibe at camp that if you were more interested in staying in camp, and doing little trips that it wasn't as cool you know? So I, I got pulled into that pulled into that feeling that vibe. Yeah, I was

I: 07:54

talking to a different alumni a couple days ago who said the same thing that more of the hierarchy among the campers when he was there was based on whether you were enthusiastic to trip or not. So like the cooler kids were the ones going out more rather than the kids that were there for punishment and decided to stay in camp as much as possible.

S: 08:16

Oh, my gosh, yeah. No, it's funny Pathfinder was was interesting in that way, because there was never an overt stigma about it. And in fact, ____, who I think you may have met, at some point, spruce root, maybe. ____ was the program director and became the camp director in those in his later years, and he was there like 35 years, but maybe longer, but Mac Rand was the owner, but he had ____ be the camp director. And anyway, Lance was this you know, wunderkind Brainiac, math instructor from a private school in Tennessee and he he grew up at Pathfinder, also, and he didn't like tripping, but was very good at it as a kid. Yeah. And then he was fully capable of taking trips out but preferred to be an in camp guy and everyone worshipped this guy. And so it was just weird because if you were a kid, you worshiped Lance and thought he was the coolest guy ever. And he just chose to be in camp all the time and run the camp experiences and yet there still was this vibe that it was better to be out on trip than to be in camp.

I: 09:30

Yeah, I feel like that's sort of a consistent across the canoe tripping experience is that you're cooler I feel like you like canoe tripping more when you're better at it and you get better at it by doing more of it. So there's sort of the cycle of at some point, if you stick around long enough, you'll enjoy it.

09:52

I think so. Especially if you enjoy the people you're with and and, you know, Pathfinder was a tripping camp. There was no doubt about it. And I went there, mostly because my father and grandfather went there. But also, you know, it was a tripping camp and some of my friends at home went to a camp in the Adirondack Mountains. That was more hiking and sort of serious swimming. Yeah, swimming trip. It was the Reiners family owned this camp in the Adirondacks called and arrived next swimming and trip camp ASTC. And they, that was a big choice for people in my part of the world, I think maybe even Northeast Ohio also. So that, so it was a very conscious decision to go to a trip and camp. And so the idea was, if you were going to go to one you would go tripping.

I: 10:41

So what caused you to decide to take over camp when it became available?

S: 10:48

I wish I understood myself at that time in my life, but the Well, a couple of things. One, I had gotten back connected with Pathfinder as an alumni volunteer and seemed to be parent of a camper. So I was helping out the previous owner, with some fundraising some member or alumni member, you know, searching. We did a couple of reunions over, over a five year period, we did a 75th and an 80th reunion at the camp we did. We raised some money for the camp to buy a hydro service that would be you know, a cable under the lake instead of having that the throbbing generator going all day and night. And in those days, that hydro only served the dining hall and TP building TP with the Olo. And then I went and then I was working as a museum, you know, working in a museum and after I'd worked there, for let's say, I'm just kind of think about it a 97. So I had worked at the museum, 11 years, and asked for a sabbatical and got it. And so I spent part of my six month sabbatical at Pathfinder in 1997, as an alumni in residence and loved it and clicked with the staff and, you know, was able to make a contribution. And after that, I was just more in you know, it's kind of more into what was going on at Pathfinder than I had been as just a casual alumni volunteering visitor. So the other piece of the answer is that I had a new we had a new kid, and we had another kid on the way, ____, and it was becoming more and more difficult to live on museum salary. And so even though it was scary to go into business for yourself, I was going into business with a partner, and definitely wanted Pathfinder to remain the camp that I knew it has. And I know ____ did too. And, and I knew that I could probably if I worked hard enough, I could make a better living for the family. If I did something other than work in museums, you know, and parenthetically, I was a little little disappointed to see my future in the museum had, there was a career ceiling that was becoming more and more obvious, I was a curator in charge of education and public programs. You know, so lecture series, and all the dosimetry and tours and some of the exhibit design and interpretation and some of the, you know, museum labeling, and I worked on interactive media, when it was brand

new things like interactive touchscreen stuff. And all that was interesting. And I liked the people I worked with, but it was clear that I couldn't go any farther.

I: 14:01

There was that ceiling and

S: 14:02

Than running this particular department. And so I don't know, you know, it's probably more of an answer than you wanted, but I think it was having reconnected after some years of being just a random alumnus, and then becoming more and more involved in support of the camp. And then not wanting the camp to be taken over by someone who would make it you know, a sports camp or making a you know, a zip line camp or whatever, we just and I and it was just interesting that I knew so many alumni, including much, much older people than me. And so that like ___ I think same idea, like I think he kind of has had a similar trajectory, where he's gotten to know the younger guys. And also he knows a ton of the older guys from bygone eras. And that gave me a sense of a continuum there that we didn't want to see disappear. Yeah.

I: 14:57

So how do you now that we're in a period where we're looking a little more critically at Camp as it was, how do you approach keeping camp the way you wanted it to when you took over? And then the dichotomy of bringing Christine in and trying to change things for the better now currently?

S: 15:21

That's a good question. I think Christine is part of a continuum for us. I think we ___ and I both have wanted camp to be traditional in the way that we understood it as kids and staff. Because we really valued that aspects of that traditional experience. And, you know, student of history, I really liked the idea that something like that would endure and continue and that you need to steward it to do that. But simultaneously, we had another parallel impulse, which was to make things better. And for me, making things better included, things that have led up to having Christine become involved. But certainly, she's not, she's just the tip of the spear of what's otherwise a 20 year run of trying to do things differently. So the first thing we did was set up a scholarship endowment to make it possible for families who could not afford Pathfinder to send their kids. And we targeted, racially diverse kids, and I've had a mixed experience trying to do that. So we then expanded the scope of the endowment so that it could accommodate families that were in perhaps temporary financial straits or white kids whose families had experienced trauma as well as Black, Hispanic, and Asian kids. So, for example, if a parent had died, or it was a job loss or a divorce, or if, if a sibling was critically ill or disabled in some way that made life really challenging for a camper, we would step in and provide whatever the difference in money was for a family to be able to comfortably afford camp for that kid. And then we expanded the scope of the scholarship endowment, which is called the Algonquin campership fund to include school groups from inner city, Rochester and buffalo. So that boys and girls, and especially our target group, which would be at risk kids of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. And so by expanding the scope to make it possible for the endowment to fund

school groups, and not only individual campers, we then went on this tear where we had several schools coming year after year bringing kids from really the sketchiest circumstances of those two inner cities. And they were, they were at risk in a number of ways like teen pregnancy, gang violence, drugs, truancy, dropout, illiteracy, grade promotion, constantly being grade promoted, even though they had not kept up academically with the grade expectations of that year. You know, and that just all was pointing toward, you know, low graduation rates and Failure to matriculate into post secondary education and bad outcomes all around. So we wanted to get involved by having those outdoor Ed experiences that we have in the spring and fall. And we were hosting a bunch of private schools as you know. And we thought, that's not enough. We got to have schools for whom an outdoor ed experience would be unattainable otherwise. Yeah. And we did it two ways. We use the endowment and a couple other guys quietly giving money to not the endowment but a separate foundation that was associated with the school districts. So that busses and extra food and clothing and whatever was needed by the group to get up to Pathfinder whereas the campership fund could only support the tuition for the outdoor ed experience at Pathfinder. So long story short that was one thing We tried to do right away Individual camper, scholarship endowment and expanding its scope into these school groups. And then as you know as far as tripping you know, it was very obvious to me and a couple other guys that I really respect that a camp who were younger ___ was chief among those guys and you met him at spruce root. We felt that we were going on aa trips. to places like Peuwonic. And Moose factory, and Attawampuscat, but that our kids were not having any sort of real experience of, of the place and the people there, it was just a destination to arrive at, at the end of your trip and then a train or flight or whatever home. And kids were coming home with the impression, you know, I just would hear the anecdotes, right. And I'd spend time up there in James Bay, and kind of knew what they were talking about. But they would be like, Oh, you know, we saw these guys who tried to get in a fight with us. And we saw these guys who were obviously stoned and drunk, and we saw some guy like lying in the gutter. And we saw this. And we saw that and there was needles and bottles everywhere on our campsite and stuff. That's the kind of shallow anecdotal experience of their take out community that they were coming back with. And I thought this is ridiculous like this, we must be able to do something differently. And so we decided, I mean, I thought, Well, why don't we try to get tours of the community, from people that know about its history. So Moose factory is a great example. It's, you know, the second oldest Hudson Bay post on earth. And and that was challenging because what I couldn't understand at the time was that there were lots of people living in the community with long histories and heritages. But they didn't all know very much about it, you know, about that time period, and why not in retrospect, looking back, there's ample reasons why, and you could describe them better than me why they didn't know or didn't want to know, or had been shut out of all the details of that what I thought was a rich, cool, colonial history. But we started with that. And then we moved to doing tradition meals with local people in those communities like goose, you know, having goose dinners, or we became like goose and bannock. And on the Rupert river, we had kind of a breakthrough experience for a couple years where we had the tours and the goose, spanic and whitefish meals, and, you know, spending whole days with indigenous families that were kind of hosting and explaining everything to the kids, and everyone was totally into it. And we loved it. And we did that in Bloodvein village. And we did it in a lot of scat, and we, you know, there were places we weren't able to do it. And that was interesting, too. We

didn't have any luck doing it. At first and Attawapuskat. And then we didn't have any luck in Fort Albany either. And then I later I learned that there were more complex dynamics going on in those communities, and there wasn't any family or families that had sort of stepped up to, to engage with visitors and canoe trippers. Yeah. And there's a lot of complicated reasons why that was the case in those communities. And, you know, then later around 2012 and 13, we were going out west and Ontario, and we were doing the Winisk River, and then later eventually the Severn River and the rivers leading to it. We had gone to Lansdowne House as part of a Pipestone to attawapuskat route several times and we had gone You know, in 2013 for the 100th anniversary, we went to Waskaganish, on the way nisc and sorry, I keep saying that it's Peuwonic. So and in Peuwonic we found, you know, that people were eager for to have interactions and do you know, things for us, like put us up in bear protected cabins on the edge of town and take us out to the bay coast to, to search polar bears and to provide food and you know, we've even had experiences where the guys gave their digital SD cards to someone in the community to set up as a slideshow and then we'd go to the community center and tell people that came to see pictures what it was like to travel that route that led to their village and then in Fort Severn, we found ___ and his family and and they were super welcoming. And the same was true for a family and Bloodvein village on Lake Winnipeg at the end of the blood vein River. And then the same as was true in terms of friendly interactions, although we had never really dipped far enough into it to have a real cultural exchange in Umiuqaq and in Kujuarapik on the nunavik side. Yeah, but we're obviously are getting there and one thing we did was gift our canoes to the community. The first year we were up there So anyway, you have to stop me if I know the whole idea was richer and more, more real experience for the kids of being up there and that hopefully along the way they would be exposed to ideas that they hadn't been before. So for example, in Wiskagonish, which is formerly for Rupert, or Rupert house on the Rupert river on the east side of James Bay, we had a guy who his name was ___, ___, and ___ was part of a long established family there and he had been sent to residential schools, his child, and lit and clearly had been deeply negatively affected by that. And he was determined for Cree language to survive in his community and force sustainable, or subsistence living practices to survive and he was someone like Angus, who was hunting and fishing for elderly people that could no longer do it. And he was you know, keeping Cree language alive and he was trying to promote visits by tourists, including people like me in the camp to help the community with income and his stories about the experience of residential school we're very affecting to the trip staff and to me and other people think the kids you know, picked up on it to some extent but again, that's that was a opening a crack in the door to get a richer experience. And then, you know, through ___ we got to know a little bit more about people in moose factory and listening. ___ was the mayor of moosini he may still be he has a trapping camp at the confluence of the moose and Abitibi rivers and as a resource for us, and then Ironically, my neighbor and friend ___, his sister who was much older than he was, and I didn't know her because she had moved away years ago and she married a Cree guy from Attawapuskat and became a teacher. And then her husband died young and she became an elder, even though she was white and she gave us a lot of contacts in Moose Factory and one of those was our current contact there. I don't know why I'm blanking on her name, but she is one it gives us really pretty fantastic access to the Cree cultural center at Moose factory and she makes sure that there's always a program there for us and Now that the kids are exposed to local residents with Moose factory

island. So anyway, you get the idea that was and that was a big push So number one was endowment scholarship and more access to Pathfinders for people that couldn't afford it. And number two was Expanding depth of understanding If we could, with people in indigenous communities up north that we were visiting and You know, there were some other things and in recent years We've tried to do More when I don't know if You're really focused more on the indogenous piece of it, but We decided that we would be Become the food donor what's called the gathering of our people, which which algonquins who gather every year at whitefish lake in the park. They call it their powwow. I think it's officially called gathering of our people anyway. We've dedicated ourselves to providing all the food that they need for that event and you know We got involved with Christine and we got involved with this guy ___ and ___ was a Chief Ranger In the park, who was beyond retirement age but didn't really Want to leave work and even As you know, legendary guy who would work On Baffin Island worked in the Arctic and worked with ojbwe Communities you know, as an m&r guy and he spoke Ojibwe and knew all the you know all the traditional ways new the nustagen routes like the back of his hand and Temagami and was researching and exploring Winter travel routes in Algonquin. And establishing winter trails I got connected with him and he started using our guys on you know, like if they were taking like an extravaganza canoe trip at the end of the session, he'd meet them on like, let's say I'll Owl lake and they would help him reroute the portage from Owl to Linda to get Back to the older route because the newer portage was Suffering damage or came and taught the kids how To remove rocks and logs from portage landings leading out to Smoke Lake from source and There'd be less damage to canoes and Our kids helped him to make that little bit of portage from the camp road down to the channel of Source Lake so that people weren't walking or portaging the road into the parking Like to get to the put in. Yeah. That guy was you know, he built He built me a traditional Tupic which is a Winter hot tent and stove and He came and talked to our campers. Part of an eighth grade one Their trip from Buffalo to Pathfinder in stayed in the Tupik and learned all about stuff from ___. So you know a lot of it is just trying to provide enrichment for campers and then of course Another entire category of things that we Get involved undoing things right Nell. So one of the things we undid was we undid Any Indian headdress ceremonies, any drumming, any fake Indian Hollywood talk. That was part of either skits or jokes or bits at the camp. And we got rid of council fire programs that were faux Indian legend ceremonies, and we got rid of as you know, everything but Toncaco. And we still call our age groups by tribe names. And, you know, I would say that in that effort, we were ahead of some camps. And certainly, but we, you know, we were ahead in some ways, but, you know, we definitely, it's going to take another generation of ownership, I think, because for ___ and me, the tribe names are near and dear to us. And so is this Toncaco concept, if we can simply de indianized it completely, and make it more about a mystical person who has this fire metaphor working for the camps, spirit. And, you know, as you know, it's been baby steps. And it's like, sort of one step forward, two steps backward, we're trying to recalibrate what Toncaco means. So just, those are examples, right, you know, things that we've been doing ever since 1999. Because we recognize that what was traditional about camp that we liked and valued was worth keeping. Yeah, but there were some vestigial things from the Woodcraft era of Pathfinder that we thought we would like to get rid of, and we wanted to be more inclusive, even though camp is certainly not a diverse place. Overall, it's, you know, there's efforts being made, and we wanted it to be financially accessible. And we wanted to start getting in touch with more of the

truth about indigenous experience than the myths that surrounded Woodcraft camping at the turn of the century, when Pathfinder came into existence.

I: 32:05

In talking to other alumni, and Toncacoo sort of just naturally comes up when I do these discussions, but one thing that stood out to me was a comment someone made regarding what Toncacoo represents not externally as like sort of a mythical indigenous person, but rather, the notion of keeping the camp spirit alive through the winter and continuity and community. And those sort of aspects, which are positives, and we should work to keep those as influential portions of the experience so that kids remember, like, Oh, it's the winter, but the camp spirit is being kept alive by somebody. So I think it is valuable work to consider by unpacking some of these traditions. And getting to the root of like, why it feels as special as it does, can be really sorry, someone that's revving their motorcycle engine at my intersection. I think that's sort of the heart of what we're all trying to do is to figure out what are the ways that somebody who can represent what he still represents without necessarily some of the vestigial harm that it might have been founded on? Yeah,

S: 33:39

I think so. I think that's right. And, you know, this is a really complicated topic. And I think you're brave to tackle that when it comes to camps. But I don't think it's your generation alone, that is uneasy with these past treatments of certain individuals. And so, but it is interesting that it's, there's incremental awareness, right. So my awareness and willingness to, you know, to sort of, baby shake our camp into a different way of thinking you know, my capacity to do that in my willingness is going to be less than maybe yours generations, right. And I think one reason for that is not that we're just old guys who can't imagine changing, it's that there's real, and maybe you've picked up on this, there's real emotional connection to these ideas. And as kids, we were completely innocent, that they were appropriative, or that they were insensitive, or the, you know, instead, we were just as younger kids, we were taken with the mystery of Toncacoo like ____ is a young pre camper kid living in camp would be absolutely hypnotized by this Toncacoo ceremony and keep saying to me, why, you know, why won't he talk and, and can we go see him on Bear Mountain and I want to ask him all these questions, and he would list all these questions. You know, there was that sort of level of mysticism if you will. Yeah, that was really cool and of course as you get older, it morph from that sort of Santa Claus, feeling about him to feeling some sort of reverence for Algonquin and the camp and the fact that you're part of a continuum of people, some of whom you'll never meet because they're long dead or that they're much older but the you all have something shared. And that's a cool feeling. And then I think also it you know, it kind of awakens feelings you have inside yourself about feeling connected. And I think that, you know, every camp I've ever researched has some sort of flame metaphor going right, like, there's candle and torch ceremonies and flaming arrows and bonfires, and like, it's the whole nine yards, right? floating lanterns, you name it. So obviously, I don't think this was a Ernest Thompson Seton ritual, per se, but it was, you know, it came to Pathfinder, early on whoever came up with it obviously understood the metaphorical possibilities of fire, symbolism. And so you know, that's, that's what's made it Toncacoo last as long as it has, and we are getting 100% guilty of letting takaku be somewhat meaningless in the early 2000s, from like,

2000 to 2010. Toncacoo was just this goofy moment, at the beginning of camp at the end of camp. And unless you were full season kid or a staff member, you never really saw the one after the other, you just saw the beginning or the end because of your session, right. But you know, it's something where everyone's like, Oh, yeah, it's talking to it's like saying, Oh, it's like, soap, you know, it's like, banquet soap bath or Oh, it's like, you know, regata? Yeah, it was just another thing you do at the end? Yeah. And so like, whatever goofy things you would do at private school at the end of a term or in the spring, right. You know, in my own prep school, they made girls dance, in the month of May around the may pole in in pastel dresses with, like ribbons and flowers in their hair and stuff. And we're all like, well, I guess it's just time for this again, every year not really understanding how deeply disturbed the motivation for that ceremony was, right? And, and so let's say it's hardly an excuse, but I think we were really treating it superficially. And then it just became obvious that the kids weren't really getting much out of it anymore. And then it was really a question of how old do you have to be before you stop believing Toncacoo was a real weird guy. And so, you know, that was, you know, that was kind of embarrassing on a certain level. And so we wanted to, like make a change. And because we had done away with all the other stuff from past Indian lore, cultural stuff, and Pathfinder, Toncacoo started to stand out more like a sore thumb. And then the real thing was, I had no problem having Christine come over to camp and saying, Oh, this is the Cree area, and this is the Ott area, and this is where mic and chips are and, and all that none of that bothered me. What bothered me was having to describe Toncacoo to her. Yeah. And then as you know, we did a Cree collaborative in 2017, the year that we did the Syrian project. And I would you know, I'd count that along with spruce root as another in that sort of litany I was giving you of trying to get camp a little bit more woke right. Yes. But the at the end of the creek collaborative, which we did with Bay Cree from through we did this program with Wabun. It was the kids were there at the end of the season because we did our tripping with them in Algonquin late in the year and then they were there for the final trip reports and Toncacoo was scheduled for right after To the final trip reports that night, and we went ahead and did it. And we did it over the objection of some of the staff who didn't want to do it because we had and I said, Well, if you would do it when they're not here, but you don't want to do when they aren't here then that kind of, you know, that's not right. Yeah, doing it. Yeah. But I went to great lengths at that time to say we're making a change with Toncacoo and was this was an all camp announcement. Yeah, it happened to be that final trip reports was in the records and it was rainy. And so we're gonna go to the council fire and do the ceremony. Because we want this whole spirit thing of camp to continue and one of the best traditions but over many years people choose to associate Toncacoo with a native guy and you know, that's not that's not really what it's about and the topic is a made up word that isn't from any native languages, and you know I kind of had to give this a long preamble and then we went and did it. The kids who are visiting from from James Bay, we're like, that was cool. Yeah, like it really didn't register with them as any sort of thing but as you know since then we've kind of like stumbled and fallen on our feet. basically trying to reconfigure Toncacoo but I would say my main argument is that it was time For a change in many ways, but we were trying to figure out a way to hang on to that thing for all its positives. And one reason we were trying to do that is that it had this really poignant meaning to prior generations and we could let it go But it would be I think hurtful to the older guys. And we would

be losing an opportunity to refashion it into something useful and meaningful. So We'll see what happens but that's kind of the backstory. And then I

I: 40:55

Obviously Keewaydin has plenty of it own traditions that I've been unpacking a little bit but one thing that I do really like that they do is the youngest camper lights the opening campfire at the beginning of the summer and then at the end of the summer All of the oldest campers stay well beyond Everyone else leaving the circle so there's sort of the like, like you start the summer as like your youngest camper self and then you end the summer in your like full grown, about to be a staff position. So I sort of like the continuity in keeping the tradition alive over many years is sort of like visually represented by that but.

S: 41:42

Yeah that's cool. That's a nice one. Yeah. See I've seen camps do really nice things. and you know, it's so interesting that we have Are these keewaydin roots like that Frank Gray was a Keewaydin guy and then a keewaydin doesn't seem to have been burdened by as much wood craft, camping movement stuff as Pathfinder, I could be wrong about

I: 42:01

There's other aspects that because there was no program. So I think in some ways, the way that Keewaydin handles indigeneity is almost a little bit more insidious, because it's just sort of like, built in, just like no question asked is just like how you're taught to canoe trip, how you're taught to interact with other people, the way that we conduct ourselves in indigenous settlements when we go there. It's just like, I think, a long history. And that's a comment that I wanted to make a little bit earlier when we were talking about doing AA trips and visiting settlements is I think it's almost to Pathfinders benefit that those long trips started much more recently than they did at Keewaydin. Because there's this like reflexivity that you and ___ could apply to those interactions that there was never really an opportunity for keewaydin higher ups to like, think about because it's just the way that it's been done since the 50s. The 40s. So I know like when I went, it was the same exact experience, like we sort of just stumbled around, we had no idea what we were getting into. Most of the memories came back as just like a lot of poverty and kind of depressing and there wasn't much of like a working together or like community education that was going on.

S: 43:35

There's something about Keewaydin that I don't know if you pick up on this, but my impression of it by reading ottertooth trip logs, is it from it's very inception the counselors and guides at keewaydin took a native guy along on these long trips, and that they did something that would be common to long journeys of indigenous people which is, they not only descended rivers, but they ascended rivers. Yeah. And that you didn't just take the plane in the train home to source lake you tripped home to Lake Temagami from wherever you went. And those things always made a big impression on us at Pathfinder, that these trips are much longer and involved both upstream travel, and cross watershed travel and had to come back to to Devil's Island and then we always at Pathfinder, you know, because we were, naturally a very male thing to do be

defensive about the fact that Keewaydin was doing things that were ballsier on some level than what Pathfinder was doing we would always say, Well, they've got this native guy who, you know, knows everything. So they're leaning on that and, and not on their, on their head, man. And, you know, obviously, that's foolish, but what's the deal with, when did they stop using an indigenous guide? For these long trips? Was it kind of 60s and 70s? time period?

I: 44:59

Yeah, there's one of my informants is indigenous and his great grandfather was actually with the guides on the Keewaydin's, like first trip in like the very first time they got to Temagami, this man's great grandfather led it and he brought up that indigenous guides were really common. They were called the mattawa guides, they were really common up until the 60s, early 70s. And then the Keewaydin Way has sort of an interesting tidbit, trying to explain why mattawa guides kind of stopped coming to camp. And the keewaydin way talks about like people just getting jobs in factories instead of living in the Temagami area, but also that the camp director was concerned about the drinking going on at camp. But that was only a concern once there were a significant number of indigenous people working at Keewaydin during that time period, so there's a little bit of a sketchy racial undertone to that, but

S: 46:19

interesting, yeah,

I: 46:20

But it was also around the same time where religious or residential schooling was really ramping up in the 60s and people were being told that you could either go on the trap lines and your kids would get sent to residential school or you could work in a factory so there was like, that colonial aspect too of pulling indigenous people from Bear island and the Temagami area rather than risking getting your kids sent to school, so yeah

S: 46:53

Yeah for sure. So there was just something so interesting, you know. And in pre 1900 imagine, I mean, think of the vision of these guys from the gunnery school and other places to want to have summer camp in the first place. Yeah. And and then to go to places, you know, like, I think, I think Lake Temagami was probably a potential destination, and a place to search for a campsite because of the railroad. Same as Pathfinder. Yeah. And that they would need help from local people that knew what they were doing in all kinds of ways. And I'll bet Keewaydin, like a lot of camps, you know, needed indigenous help to just build buildings and clear the site and figure out where to get stuff and how to deal with buttoning things up for the offseason and you name it, like all kinds of stuff

I: 47:47

Winter caretakers, all sorts of stuff

S: 47:50

Yeah big time. And then I know that the Bear Island guys are really good at stuff like ice roads and heavy equipment and barging stuff. And, you know, they're the ones who salvage you know, big heavy things that fall through the ice and go in the lake. And you know, like they do it all. Yeah. And, you know, white guys from prep schools down south don't know how to do any of that. But they know how to find the guys, you know, is ____ on your list of resources?

I: 48:20

No I don't think so

S: 48:22

Well the reason I asked is his great uncle is Ernest Thompson Seton.

I: 48:29

Yes, I think you did mention that

S: 48:31

He has a unique perspective, right, because he's a product of the Pathfinder, before some of the big changes were made. He also influenced the changes. Many of them or was a big influence on me in wanting to make them and he has a you know, he's no expert on his, his relative, but he's expert enough. And I think it'd be interesting. To just chat with him. I'll send you his contact info, but he's now he's the cartographer for Canadian geographic, so and that's that came out of a childhood fascination with maps that started at Pathfinder. So that's kind of a cool story with him. But Seaton in that wood craft movement are really important to our story when it comes to indigenous matters. And you may have other topics you want to talk about, but no, I'm,

I: 49:21

I'm just letting this go wherever it wants to go.

S: 49:24

Indignous stuff at Pathfinder, like some other camps, like Taylor Staton and you know, like Chris Thurber's camp in New Hampshire camp Belknap, you know, that's a YMCA camp, but it's one of the YMCA oldest camps in North America. They are definitely a Woodcraft camp. Some of these Thompson camp activities and language and ceremony and everything is, is drawn from this, this guy who he's kind of a weirdo. You know, he's, he's a an academic. He's a philosopher, he's interested in, you know, kids and education and, and boys development and all this great stuff. But he's also a little bit off, you know, he's a little bit weird.

I: 50:05

Kind of like Grey Owl was a fraud. So then Seton sort of learned from that guy's mistakes and was a lot more successful on his mission.

S: 50:17

That might be true. I don't really know that exact chain of events. Yeah, Grey Owl is a fascinating story to me, because first he was this mystic. When we were kids, then he was a

fraud. And we can only think of him as a fraud. But it really turns out that I think he, I think even indigenous peoples still respected him in spite of him being a phony. Yeah. Because of what he talked about and emphasized and was able to evangelize. It's just it's so interesting that you know that you've gone through all these stages of acceptance and rejection, this Grey Owl concept Grey Owl guided at Keewaydin

I: 50:28

In the Winter you know, they said that, you know, no one would be allowed in the park in the winter because of all this poaching and trapping. And he said, Well, there's no Ranger on Earth that could stop me crossing the park whenever I feel like it. And they said, Well, don't do that. So he did it. Yeah, he did it but he went through the ice and froze his feet. And he had to limp to a ranger cabin and ask for help from the Rangers and then so they took him into custody, and then they had to help him in his frozen feet and he was you know, unwell, and they kind of nursed him back to health and during this period, holed up in these cabins in the winter in the park. He completely captivated them with his stories and his knowledge of natural science and wildlife. And you know, they became like, buddies. Even though they were, you know, their job was to like, sort of take charge of this guy. And so he completely won these guys over. But he had to be rescued. This was, you know, and this is I think I talked to ___ about that. And he's like, Well, you know, you could you can be indigenous all day long. But if you freeze your feet, you're still kind of fucked. So the things about Seton that I, that I've seen at Pathfinder is the good part was that Seton was very concerned that boys were and he wasn't against girls camping, like Miss Case's Northway, that's an excellent example. But he thought that boys were at great risk. In around the turn of the century, because of an agrarian population, majority of the agrarian population in America was migrating to become a majority of the urban population, because of industry, because capital in the robber baron era was all pushing people into urban concentrations for factory work, and, you know, for industry, and then, inevitably, for consumerism, you know, the consumption of consumer products. And he was really concerned about physical and mental degradation of kids that used to have a connection to the land, and lived in a healthier environment, than the city, nasty sort of vice written cities, you know, pestilence and pandemics and everything else. Yeah. And so really, part of Seton's motivation was to get kids back to a more wholesome and cleaner and more spiritually fulfilling experience, and especially to be able to do it for a period in the summer. So that they would have some sort of reserve of, you know, mental and physical wellbeing to take through the winter. So that was an interesting motivation to me and pretty worthy. And something that we think of is just as important today, maybe more so even, you know, because of mass media, having a potentially negative effect on people. And then he truly because he had traveled all over North America, visiting indigenous populations, wherever they were kind of like Edward Curtis, the photographer going, all right, we're doing the same thing, seen him on all over the place, and was fascinated and enraptured by all these native traditions and ways of understanding. And he wanted to replicate that in a way that was reproducible through his, you know, handbooks and camp manuals, so that people could reproduce a sensation in kids of wanting to think differently about their place in the world, you know, and just think like an Indian, which we thought of as kids is an aspirational thing, like, and you could get into that mindset that was cool, like almost being like a kung fu type, Shaolin guy, when you got old enough to think about such things, but

obviously, it's a little misguided and a little superficial, and it doesn't take into account all the pain and suffering that went on, before some white guy showed an academic interest in what native people were up to. But, you know, those are some of the positive motivations and the negative stuff was that he to me, and I saw it reflected in Pathfinder, that he thought it was okay to make up these Indian sounding languages and jibberish and slang and, you know, dialect that you could speak at Camp as part of getting into character and he thought that, you know, loin skins and you know, it's almost homoerotic some of the weird Indianlore stuff with you know, mostly naked kids dancing and drumming around and you know, that was a little bit unfortunate to say the least. And in 2015, Thurber reproduced Belknaps Woodcraft campfire ceremony that Keewaydin used to do, that Pathfinder used to do like an authentic version that Seton would have done. Yeah. And it was horrifying. Like, all of us were like, Oh, we don't want anything to do with that. It was super awful. Yeah. On a bunch of levels. And so it's just interesting to me, that Pathfinder and Keewaydin people long before that had already discovered that they didn't want to continue doing that kind of wood craft campfire. Anyway, I'm rambling but the Seton piece is so interesting to me, because it really informs why Pathfinder, and probably some other camps went down this let's play Indian in the woods, that are tripping camps, you know, informed that mindset. Yeah. I think the guys who and maybe you'll disagree with this, because you're way deeper into it than I am. But I think it's so interesting that the guys at these boarding schools that started these camps, they were well read well educated guys, and they were educators in their own right and they weren't college prep school educators. Yeah, they bought into this sort of Indian mythology. How do I say valorizing, of what they perceive to be Indian traditions, they bought into it hook, line and sinker. And they were guys who were part of the Progressive Era. Yeah. So they were pretty woke for their time period, and that they were right into this stuff and perpetuated.

I: 57:08

Well, I think at one point, being in touch with nature at all is considered woke. So there's not these clear delineations. And I also find that it's, it's been challenging for me, as I look more closely at Seton and the founding fathers of the camping movement. Because I agree that urban kids need to get outside and having outdoor experiences is one of the most valuable things that you can do in your childhood and then young adulthood. But that doesn't necessarily have to be completely separate from the fact that if you're scared of boys becoming effeminate, because they live in the city, and thus they need to become masculinized by going out into the woods, then that is colonially inspired, you know, so there's, hindsight is 2020. But I'm not trying to approach this project by writing off all of the old timers as like, raving lunatic racists, I think that we just have, we have a much better understanding of how to appreciate culture, in a way that the people of that culture actually want to be appreciated. And not necessarily in a loincloth and headdresses and drumming

S: 58:48

Yeah, for sure. I agree with you. 100%. And you wouldn't you couldn't offend me if you were on that kind of a mission with this thesis. But, but it is, I think it's just, you know, whether you are or not, it's interesting to contemplate what was either naive or well intentioned about the original impulses, and certainly the way it was received by children. If you talk to like ____, let's say, are

people like that, they we were just really in enthralled by the whole thing. And it was just part of older guys entertaining us for the summer. Another level to that was just that superficial, entertaining quality. So, you know, I think another thing that that Pathfinder has tried to do since 2000, is involved women more in the leadership of Camp life, because that was completely not the, and I don't know about Keewaydin methods completely, not the deal from 1914 to 1999. It was really the women who were there were only the wives of other male staff who were there. And occasionally, people in the kitchen or a nurse hired for the summer and they didn't have any agency whatsoever at the camp, and yet, they could just quietly went about making camp a better place every single year that women were there in any capacity. And, you know, ___ and I you know, had wives that were very self possessed people and whether or not they encouraged us we wanted to make that change. And so it became very quickly obvious that their working on the swim dock really helped the experience of the kids at camp because the guys are all kind of a little bit clueless and dumb about certain anxieties that kids might have or certain hangups or certain things that we were a little bit too cavalier about their bumps and bruises and cuts and rashes and stuff. And so women on the swim dock, where it was the ideal thing, and I hate to admit it, but part of what made it ideal was that they didn't have this drive to go tripping and become not swim staff anymore, but will morph over to the trip staff. And so that was that was the superficial part of the solution. But the other deeper part was that they could get kids to tell them what was wrong. They could give us a heads up about certain kids. And they were way more tuned into relationship friction between kids and because we could solve they were way more tuned into You know, you guys realize, right? That he's got a bad cut on his foot that he's not telling you about, like, even stuff like that, right? And I don't know how to quantify it and I, it's gonna sound wrong coming out of my mouth, no matter how I try to say it, I'll just say it, there was a need for some sort of maternal energy at camp, you know, and it made a gigantic, measurable difference. And then the big task became from the senior staff including women like ___, and others. Myself, ___ other people, let's also have the, the parallel salutary benefit of modeling respect for women between male and female staff at camp in front of the boys. Yeah. Which which was a you know, it just it wasn't that the opposite was happening at Camp it's just that nothing like that was happening at camp because it was so majoritively male in every way and the women are just like shadows, who went around cooking things and nursing you and tidying up and you know, as wives and staff, so I would I would add that to the list, right? If you got a scholarship and you've got inner city school groups and, and smarter AA trips and getting rid of Indianlore and having Spruce Root and doing refugee programming and Cree and Algonquin collaboratives I think involving women more in camp leadership is definitely on the list. Now is your focus really more about the indigenous piece it sounds like it is.

I: 1:03:22

Um, I would say that my framework is colonialism, settler colonialism. But I think the way that I'm, it's turning out to be applied is that some of these tenets of settler colonialism that we know well, like patriarchy, and heterosexuality and whiteness are reflected in the camp experience, to some degree. And in order to move forward in a way, that's better for as many people as possible, we can use colonialism as sort of like a framework to better understand those issues in camp currently. So when I talk to my female friends from Keewaydin, and like, we talk a lot about how patriarchy manifests at Keewaydin, and in the Keewaydin experience. And then with

this new framework that I'm using, I can trace why that might be what our experience was, in 2011, to the camp being founded on certain ideals in 1896, or whatever.

S: 1:04:41

I'm with you, it's, I'm with you.

I: 1:04:44

And I'm not going to be like qualified as an indigenous educator or anything. But I think just by using colonial frameworks to consider the issues that we're trying to combat at Camp now. It's definitely giving me a better understanding of ways that we can be better friends and neighbors to the indigenous communities that we are surrounded by in Ontario. So I don't necessarily think that Christine and our other indigenous friends need to be like the sole providers of our cultural understanding. So hopefully, by just being a better camp staff person for myself, as I go through this project, I can be a better facilitator for the work that we do.

S: 1:05:41

I think it's awesome. And I you know, I think it's cool. How cool is that, that you can go deep down a certain academic rabbit hole, something that you had such a personal experience of? It's just awesome.

I: 1:05:51

I get to fill a void in, there is actually a considerable amount of Camp scholarship, which I don't think I really recognized before starting. But what all of it is missing is that personal connection, there's no, you know, Sharon Wall didn't go to Keewaydin or Pathfinder or Ahmek, so she doesn't have the same understanding of Camp tradition, as I do. So. Yeah,

S: 1:06:21

I agree. I think it's cool. Yeah. Speaking of that, are you going to see this film screening that's coming up?

I: 1:06:27

I saw that it was posted. I feel like I should, it would be good on search, but I don't know.

S: 1:07:34

I guess on YouTube, there's a series of films that guys who are former camp Guys, canoe tripping together? I can't think of the name of it. I think Brent was telling me about it. That sounds like it's a little bit, you know, trip film used to all be basically trip slideshows that had morphed into video, and it was all, you know, gags and campfires, and shots of rapids and like, scenics you know, it's just the same thing that we used to do with these old fashioned slideshows. And then, gradually, I noticed with our camp videos, that the themes started to become a little bit more nuanced about what it's like to be out there. Yeah. And how people got there, and not only showing, you know, all smiles and sunny days kind of thing. And then I think Aidan's AA trip film was kind of a breakthrough. For me, I think I think that a film that was done on ___'s AA trip, anyway, their film was a little bit more like that. And then Aidan's I thought, was

like, the new Pinnacle for us. And it was really a film about the people on the trip and less about the itinerary of the trip, although it's still had some amazing scenes. But I think people like ___ and others that are into film, I'm sure ___ feels this way. It'd be so nice if there was a way to make film on trip that allowed the trip to still be exactly authentically what it's going to be but also to capture that mental, spiritual, emotional and metaphysical part of what tripping is, and that's the hardest thing in the world to do, I imagine and I think it's gonna be interesting to see whether this film is able to do it or not. And I think the filmmaker that went with them heard little just tidbits of gossip that it wasn't very easy to have someone who was not a Keewaydin person on this trip. Yeah. And and it's, it's hard to make film. It's hard to make film out there in the best of circumstances. Yeah. So I'm just curious about how that all turns out.

I: 1:09:47

I think she was only on two separate portions of the trip. So she flew in, flew out, flew in again, or something like that. So trip had a lot more external communication than a typical section 2 trip would I think that's what Katie and I talked about a little bit when she came back, but

S: 1:10:15

hey, I got a question for you back on topic. Are you exploring any aspects of Christianity or Christian religious dogma in camping? It's a big snarly topic. I just, I just you know, ever since I was a kid at Pathfinder, I noticed that just as a child would and then it seems to be prevalent you know, these there's, there's a spirit there's a faith based piece of it because chapel is a thing at many camps. And ours is no longer religious, but it definitely was religiously toned, and it was definitely Protestant. You know, and seen and others, baden-powell, you know, other people, there was a lot a lot of Christianity referenced, I thought, and stuff about camping and camping movements, and there's, you know, Pathfinders song, songbook and Pathfinders. There was some goofy prayer of the Pathfinder that a guy wrote in the 40s. You know, there's just a lot a lot of religion vibe. Up until a certain period of time, like the 60s, I think, and the 60s was, you know, there was a lot of changing. In the 60s things really changed at Pathfinder in a way that I didn't understand until recent years. But I should have because in the early years of Pathfinder, the counselors and guides were all adult men who were educators, counselors, coaches, who took the summer off from school and bought into chief Norton's hierarchy for his school district by serving at the camp for decent money wise. Yeah. But so imagine, you know, camps original mode was adult men, leading teenagers down to seven year olds, right? It was in the 60s, when that really radically changed. And it became less about adult men, family men doing leading. And there were just a few of those on senior staff. And then it was college guys and High School guys doing the leading and counseling like we understand it to be today. So that's really interesting to me. I've never really understood exactly why and when that flipped over me, I know it was kind of in the early 60s. And I think in Pathfinders case, it just happened that because chief Norton was a education administrator and manager and boss and had, you know, career sway over a bunch of guys, he could convince the best of them to be Pathfinder staff to advance their careers by being in his favor. But it may be that when Bill Swift senior bought the camp from Hermann Norton, that he decided that it was University guys that really should be the leaders and not these older guys. And one possible reason among many is that the senior staff at that point had been in World War Two and came back from the war. And some of them

resumed their time at Pathfinder. And they I think, honestly, they were straight up scary. To the college and younger kids because I've heard some World War Two, World War Two was a lot rougher on people, then I think we understand those who survived and came back. And there's characters in Pathfinder history like, like I'm trying to think of who was what that was the guy's name. ___ was a guy from Rochester, who had been in the Marines in World War Two, and came back onto the senior staff for Norton after the war. And people like the trip staff were literally terrified of this guy, because he had killed a bunch of people in the war. Not the same guy who left and went to the war, you know, that kind of thing. And that's a funny, funny joke. In some extent, a preteen right now is that I'm calls their grandparents like boobie, and Grammy and stuff, but grumpy shot, you know, 72 Japanese in the South Pacific. Yeah. But just back to the my original point, it just was interesting to me that the original camp model was based on adult men with an education background, leading the camp. And now it's morphed into like most most camps, its high school and university kids doing the leading.

I: 1:14.44

I wonder how much of that is related to sort of the overall decline in the public school systems just across the US and the fact that being a public school teacher was devalued incrementally from the 70s-80s onward.

S: 1:15:06

Maybe you know the Union, the trade union movement help because teachers union Scott better pay and benefits for teachers, and they didn't have to make ends meet in the summer with picking up summer work as much as they did in the past. Or maybe it's totally different that teachers, counselors and coaches make more by coaching day camps and sports camps in their local communities. As a tutoring for huge amounts of money, like Will Hopkins does, yeah. Anyway, I don't know the Christianity piece was interesting. And then the whole adult leadership versus young adult leadership is interesting to me. So where else do you want adventure on this interview? Because I think I keep taking you off things, but I much prefer hit me with the heavy question or whatever. I'll be more compliant and just answer the immediate question.

I: 1:16:06

Oh, do you want to talk about foundation versus private? camp? I'd always been pro foundation. That was always my mental state until last week, when I had an interview with an informant who talked a lot about the funding of prominent camps being done by old white wealthy people who don't necessarily politically represent what one would think a diverse and inclusive camp environment would also support. So when camps were doing, like, posting about Black Lives Matter over summer and things like that, there was a big concern in the foundation community that that funding might be pulled due to some of these political undertones. But as a result, now I have a much more nuanced approach to the discussion. And I would love to hear your thoughts on Pathfinder, specifically, and what the big talking points for you would be in that discussion.

S: 1:17:32

That is revelation to me. Doesn't surprise me, but I had never thought about it that way. Like if, if you're saying that, like if the camp staff in June of last summer had gotten really militant, with their BLM support and social media and other ways that it would offend major donors to the foundation for the camp, and that they would react in some way? Yeah, that's disappointing, because you would think that even if they held different views about life, and were about the young people's point of view, that they would remember what it was like to be a young people and kind of sell that. But on the other hand, I can see how the people that you know, the people that have the money to support a foundation for a camp, you know, which is a pretty like frivolous thing. You know, they're self made people, they're very self assured people, I'm sure they're very white, and they're very male and very corporate, and in large measure, and I can see that they're like, Well, look, I support the United Way. And I support food banks and I support you know, you know, programs for unwed mothers and blah, blah, blah. So I'm, you know, so I'm a virtuous person, and I want to support my camp, and I'm supporting it to keep it the way I knew it as a kid. And therefore, I don't want to hear any bullshit about wokeness that like can't it's the one basket and for me, that is insulated from this, you know, bullshit woke world, right? From what was it? Who's that republican black congressman who ripped one off in Fox News The other night? He called it woke supremacy? Oh, yeah. I love that. I can't wait for someone to try that on me. So I can rip them apart. I can see it, I can see it. But it never occurred to me that any of the guys who might end up supporting Pathfinder in that way, if we went Foundation, would try to judge or insinuate themselves into staff sentiment, you know, like, I've had alumni that might be future donors. on that level, I've had them question why I let Indianlore go completely away. And they're a little quizzical about what Christine, you know, doing? But they're not, you know, criticizing, and they're just kind of like, what are you doing with our old traditions kind of thing? And, you know, what, I think, you know, ___ is, you know, ___, self described politics are a little to the right of Attila the Hun, you know, so he is extreme right wing guy, but never gets in my way or insinuates himself into the dialogue at camp, you know, there's probably things I do that he doesn't like, that he thinks are a little too, politically correct. But, you know, he knows enough to stay out of it. And that way, he's not going to come in and say, but I can see if we, let's say we had a foundation and 10 or 15 years down the road, we've started to lean on some major donors for the biggest gifts and for the money, you know, it we're starting to think about planned giving, where they're going to give an annuity to the camp, or they're going to get a life insurance policy for the camp, or they're going to make some sort of, you know, estate request to the camp. And then suddenly, you've got people trying to qualify their gift. You know, we expect things to be a certain way. Or they get on the board, because they're major donors. And then there's a creative faction on the board that's advocating for one thing versus the other. Yeah, you know, there's guy is out there from the old days, who want to see me ratchet the AA trip program back to come back, you know, like the Des Moines River and Temagami and, and Algonquin, and that's it, like, stop going to big, big river trips, because you're devaluing the Algonquin tripping experience. There's guys who? Well, luckily, there's only a few of these guys, but there's some guys I think that have their nose that a joint that I allowed a film crew to come and make a documentary about some Syrian boys who came to the camp. They think that that was a mistake, and they're a little bitter about it. Yeah. But that's kind of the limit of the negativity that I've picked up on. And I think there's quite a few traditional white guys who are on the alumni who had said to me over the years That they like the things we're doing,

like the endowment. And what is you know, the kind of kid is supposed to bring into camp to keep camp from becoming a, you know, a snob-a- torium. And they like the school group program and they like the staff enrichment efforts of all kinds and then like the effort to make the AA trips less clueless about the places they go, and they like the the idea that we would make a similar attempt with our local Algonquin population, which is absolutely, by the way, a complete failure. So far, we haven't been able to track any Algonquin of Ontario families to a free scholarship for kids to be at camp. Very strange. But Christine and I are kind of scratching our heads about it. But yeah, I've seen a lot of support for stuff like that, and and then it's kind of 50/50 on how influential the role of women is going to be a camp as far as those old alumni guys saying, I think it's the greatest thing you've done. And then other guys are thinking like, you're just going to create sexual drama, and you know, it's unneeded, and it's less, it's less boys being led by man, and just now boys being led by young adult versions of their parents, you know, if it's male, female, I'd seen like theories like that fly around. But I haven't had the same sense that you'd have some bigshot donor in Pathfinders future say I'm only going to support the camp if they stay away from any sort of progressive political stances. Now, by the same token, I think some of the staff that were up there with me this summer in June, May and June, were disappointed that ___ and I weren't going to take a stance as representatives of camp on BLM, in our social media posts, and we we adamantly refused to do it, because there was no way to address an opinion that represented all camp families and alumni. And while we expressed our own opinions, you know, privately or I did on my own feeds, that were just simply my opinions, like, it wasn't appropriate. In our opinion, it wasn't appropriate to do so as representatives of the camp to wade into that political scene. And the camps who did so did so very quickly and very emotionally. And Keewaydin was one of those camps Keewaydin made a very emotional post. And I'm always going to be curious, in the, in the aftermath, what happened with that, but we didn't want the kind of backlash we knew would happen from that. And we didn't think it was right, to just sort of, and I'm not saying she postured but I'm saying, we weren't going to virtue signal, we were just going to keep doing what we do, and let our actions sort of represent our our values and, and not presumed to say something that would represent the feelings of all the stakeholders people at the camp. I think there's also a lot to be said for white spaces, like camps are posting on social media that black lives matter, but then still being white spaces the next summer, you know, like, something doesn't sit quite right with me about that Keewaydin post, because then I hear that higher ups a Keewaydin were individually texting the two staff members that ever had black campers asking for pictures of them so they could put them on social media and stuff like that. I know that's tough. I don't know. I you know, I didn't want to I didn't want Pathfinder to be in a defensive stance either. Because, you know, I'm working out of the camp and everything we've tried to do, but also it's just a fact you know, it's like this is I just thought this was so interesting. I was talking to ___ about it saying you know, this is a tough position to be in for the staff because remember it well, like I think a couple of staff that you know, very well were really upset one morning at camp because they had been posting including about BLM including doing the kind of Instagram blackout day, if you remember that. And so they did their black screen thing and hashtag black lives matter in the morning and by the afternoon. They were upset because they were being ripped for clogging up alarms, with black screens. And they're like, This is the story of social media, like you can't do anything right. All you can do is the wrong thing, because it's right at 8am and it's wrong at 3pm.

What I hate about, you know, all of this kind of thing, and, you know, I felt empathetic about that. But you know, the concept that really identified with long ago is this virtue signaling idea, which is where, you know, white dominated institutions trying to position themselves as so awesome on whatever these topics are, and but it's coming from a good place. But I think it's a mistake to do that, maybe a little bit better to just act on your beliefs. And let those actions kind of carry the weight, as opposed to making a posture of some kind. Anyway, yeah, that's what everyone's got to make their own choices.

I: 1:27:53

During the summer, I didn't post a black screen or anything, but I also was aware to not be like posting bikini pictures on the same day that one of my friends got shot in the head at a protest by a rubber bullet. But I just, you know, I did a fundraiser with my team, we raised money for student athletes supporting Black Lives Matter, I personally made donations and did individual community outreach, or reparation, payment type of things. And I felt like, if someone saw my social media, and assumed that I didn't think that black lives mattered, it would be kind of ridiculous, because that's not how I try and live my everyday experience life. So I made sure that there were like, you know, an infographic or two on my story once in a while, but even that felt kind of virtue signaling, because it felt like I was covering my ass. And in case someone thought that I was a racist, because my social media was just my social media.

S: 1:29:10

Yeah it's tough. It's really tough. You know, it's, it's amazing communication medium, but it's so fraught. Anyway, on the on the foundation versus private, here's what ___ and I have always thought is the problem. And we've we haven't yet made a decision about it. If you go nonprofit, there are certain virtues to that. One is that you take the high liability, exposure and burden off of individual guys, and you make it a collective burden of the camp alumni and families through a board of directors and an executive director. So that's a plus, also, you can unleash this donor impulse that exists in the alumni and parent community in support of a place like Pathfinder, thriving and continuing into the future. And so no, one or two guys is shouldering the financial burden all by themselves. And theoretically, like Keewaydin has managed to do, you could build an endowment on top of that. And in the Keewaydin model, and certainly in our model, conceptually, the camp would still have to operate on its annual revenue, not live off in some sort of trust fund. But you'd have a financial cushion there. And you could do special projects with that. The capital gains off that cushion, and you'd have it there for the financial stability in general and the emergency use, if needed. And I think Keewaydin is a good case study on that, because they've had to do that. And they're both special projects, like the map room would be a good example. Maybe they're tripping shed building and other stuff. And also they've had some calamities, right, like the summer with the fires and I don't know if you heard or not, their insurance claim for last COVID summer got denied for lost revenue, and they're gonna have to fight it in court. So we see that as a virtue to the financial stability that could be there. And we think that there's a possible third virtue, which would be that the alumni families would become more aware of engaged in and more contributing to the wealth, the well being of the camp, you know, by being part of rotating board scheduled governance and being more involved in knowing about camp and hearing about it and stuff like that, caring about what's going on there.

And that there would be a chance for to, to do more outreach. If you were in a nonprofit stance, and there's this other parallel benefit. So, you know, those are all some of the examples of the pluses. The minuses are kind of also items on the list and pluses for primary. So a minus would be that you could exhaust the donor impulse over a period of a decade or more and not realize that you were getting into territory where people were going to get donor fatigue, supporting a camp, and that you could have great fundraising years and suddenly go into a slump. And maybe the slump was formed in part by a recession or a depression or stock market crash, or maybe it was just going to be people losing interest or becoming interested in donating to other things, you know, you can, you can go in, we can have peaks and valleys of donor, donor energy, and that would be scary. You would have board, which is a term describing that you have some people with different ideas on the board that try to wrestle in one way or another and either connive with or fight against the camp executive director, to move the camp in a certain direction, you know, versus another, and you've got board arguments and board, Discord. And so you don't have a unified direction that you get in a private camp where you have semi benevolent dictatorship, for good or ill, but the good part of dictatorship is that you can be nimble and make decisions quickly and that you don't have factionalism paralyzing your decision making process let's say, and then another aspect that we think is a possible negative for a nonprofit model versus a private model is, you know, when you're a private owner of a camp, it's perform, or die, right. So you have to roll out of bed every morning hungry, to do business to make the donuts to, you know, get enrollments and, you know, control your budgets and all that stuff. You have the skin in the game, and so you're highly motivated, like any small business person would be, and that motivation would be absent from, you know, let's say we made ____, the camp director, and we made you the executive director, and you were reported to a board of directors. No one has real skin in the game, no one's family's livelihood is at stake. And so that's a consideration like you know, will camp do better when it's run by guys who are hungry, to succeed and afraid to fail? Or is it better to have it be in a nonprofit mode, like a university. You know, so those are some of the things back and forth pros and cons that, you know, we're weighing and, and then the other thing, frankly, is that camps, like Keewaydin and Belknap, are examples of camps where some of their alumni are extremely wealthy. And can give gifts like if you remember at Keewaydin there's a big rock and the rock has a couple of donors names on it. Like those people gave tremendous amount of money. To the camp. It's not like someone gave 1000 bucks. And it's not at all clear to me that Pathfinders alumni rolls have enough of those people to sustain the camp if we were to go nonprofit, or to help, you know, to help boost it to a certain level of stability. So yeah, it's really, it's really difficult to know. And I think that political briar patches are a possibility with foundation governance versus private governance, because you could get into a scene where, like, what if a faction of the board started to advocate for reducing the footprint and impact of women at the camp because they wanted to get back to a very, very male model for you know, the argument would be, look, parents are sending their kids to a boys camp where the boys are the counselor for a reason. And if you suddenly started having a lot of girls there, you're undercutting their original reason why they wanted to send their boys to a single gender camp. But that would that could be an argument. And then that would, you know, that argument would inform a political position in the board that could lead to real problems on camp's identity and where it was headed and or you could have another board faction that was risk averse. And so they would let us stop doing

canoe trips this way. We're gonna start doing them in this other way. Because our insurance risk assessment team has determined that you know, you can't camp on any sites with old growth trees or you have to have three SATCOM devices on every trip or you can only take this age group out for this many days or you can't do any river travel that involves moving water or you can you know, yeah, that could be good could be bad. So, whereas the other bit the other bad thing on the other side of the coin, then I'll let this topic go. But it would be that if we sell it to the wrong people. So if we remain in the private ownership modality, what almost happened in 1999, when ___ and I bought the camp couldn't happen to us again. So, and this is how it plays out. In 99, there were guys who wanted to buy Pathfinder, and we're willing to offer a little more than Glen and I were willing to offer that they were going to, but they weren't Pathfinder, people were going to take the camp in a direction, no one could predict. And there was no sense of security, that Pathfinder would remain the place, we knew it as. So that could happen to us, even though we don't want to do that, because no one's going to offer us the purchase price that we've invested in the camp so far. And that could be bad, because you bought it for a price in 1999. Now, it's worth a great deal more than that. And we have to get that money back out of it. And that's our retirement, let's say. And if no one who is a Pathfinder alumnus is able to come up with that, then we're going to be we'd have to sell it to Joe Blow, and his partner who aren't Pathfinder people and can't be guaranteed to keep it going in a Pathfinder tradition. So no, this, as you can tell this plusses and minuses Yeah, now, maybe none of that addresses your interested in private versus foundation. But if it doesn't, that's, you know, all of that. So it's hard to know, you know, and I wonder, I don't know, you know, Keewaydin obviously thinks it did the right thing. And there was a lot of work that was done to get it to foundation status in order for there to be a foundation. And, you know, I, we admire it and we're actually using it as a case study as we try to figure out, you know, what we're going to do as we get older and older. Yeah. So yeah, but it's a head scratcher. It's really puzzler.

I: 1:38:45

Well, out of all these questions, I wrote down, we pretty much addressed everything in some way or another. I also scheduled for an hour. So I didn't take up too much of your time.

S: 1:39:04

No, no, I'm happy to and I'll let you go if you have to go. But no, I like talking about this. And I'm really happy you're doing this project. So if it's at all helpful, I'm happy about it.

I: 1:39:13

Yeah, me too. It's officially the transcript on May 5, and I get to decide as the researcher, how accessible it is, it's going to be put through the school SCARAB database, which is just like, where all of the important papers that people write go to. But I think I get to decide how open the access will be. And I want to make it quite open so that anyone that was involved or has any stake in the project in some way or another has the opportunity to read it. So did I send you the consent forms?

S: 1:39:57

You may have done let me let me look like now remember if I did or not. Let's see thesis interview. Here's the meeting schedule. Here is the here's the consent stuff. Okay. All right. Yeah. So I get that.

I: 1:40:18

There's no rush on that. I have plenty of other transcripts to read through and analyze before anyway, but that is the that's okay.

S: 1:40:28

Do you want me to just scan it back? You?

I: 1:40:30

Yeah, whatever's convenient. Just the only thing I can't as a typed script format of signature. So you can Adobe draw or whatever on to it.

S: 1:40:42

But that's alright. I'll just do an ink signature and scan it back. Being the fashion guy.

I: 1:40:50

Yeah, whatever works.

S: 1:40:52

All right. Well, I hope this is helpful. And thank you for thinking of me.

I: 1:40:55

Of course, it was a pleasure. And I like that you were my first individual interview, and I have quite a series in the next two weeks. But my last piece of fun news is that Christine is going to be my outside examiner for my honors thesis defense committee. She accepted my proposal to, since my thesis defense is on zoom anyway, there's no travel or anything. But typically during a normal year honor students have an outside examiner that is flown in by the school to do the defense meetings.

S: 1:41:39

Amazing. That's really good news.

I: 1:41:42

Yeah, I'm really excited. She and I are talking on Thursday, I think this coming week, so

S: 1:41:48

fantastic, Nell. That's so cool. Well she'll be a good one.

I: 1:41:51

Yeah, I'm really excited. So.

S: 1:46:36

Excellent. And is it one or two course credits?

I: 1:46:39

An honors thesis is two. It's considered a class by both the first semester and second semester. And this semester, I'm applying an AP credit so that I only take two non thesis classes on top of my thesis. Yeah. So if all goes accordingly and Christine votes, yes, I'll have honors designation by like the middle of May hopefully.

S: 1:47:08

That's nice. And is her role also to support your defense? Or is she just adjudicating it?

I: 1:47:21

Technically, the outside examiner, like by the book is supposed to be someone that you don't really know, but is an expert in their field. But yeah, that rule has been bent to broken by basically everyone that I know at this point. So a lot of the time, it's like the liaison for the community engagement that they're doing, or the principal at the school that they studied at, or whatever it is.

S: 1:47:49

She'll be she's, she's like that, you know, her and she's supportive of doing it. But I think that she would hold you to some rigor because she's one of the few academics in the Ottawa Valley. Yeah. And she's certainly an expert in the field. So yeah, I think so too. I think so too. I'm really so and when you talk to her ask her about this book project, because I know that she's she had to put it on hold for a while because she couldn't actually access the archives during COVID. But I think it's gonna be probably when everything is said and done. It'll be a year later than we thought it would be. Yeah. But I think it's pretty cool. And I can't believe it took this long for a book to come out about Algonquin that is from the point of view of indigenous people. And I'm just hoping that she's able to get a lot of stuff at full of actual Yeah, objective factual stuff. Because you know, what went on in the park is so much more interesting than the little tidbits that we know, there were, you know, the family groups and their traditions, their the family farms that were in the park that were indigenous the Yeah, there's just a ton of a ton of stuff. And, you know, this doesn't sound very sophisticated. But it's always interesting to me that the Cree people that we interact with on our Bay trust is such a different kind of population than the Algonquins of Ontario populations that we deal with have kind of the gene swamping of Algonquin people because of their proximity to this urban centers of white migration in North America, right? So that when you meet an average card carrying Algonquin of Ontario, they look like you and me, whereas if you meet someone who's, you know, a swampy Cree from Fort Albany, they, they don't necessarily look like you and me? Yeah.

I: 1:49:56

Oh, yeah, one more question. And that was, can I buy paddles flashing in the sun on the internet somewhere? Or do I have to get a special copy sent to me?

S: 1:50:06

Yeah, I'm just going to send you a copy. But I gotta think of how to do that. I'm going to email you and Paige. Okay, and tell Paige go to my house and grab one and put it in the mail to you. Okay. I can you verify your address there? It's going to be a mail postal mailing here.

I: 1:50:28

Seven Central Avenue. Lewiston, Maine. 04240.

S: 1:50:38

Awesome. Yeah. And I'm going to do that right now. I'm going to send you back those consents.

I: 1:50:44

And you can tell Paige that my department will pay for the shipping or so she doesn't have to worry about that. I can get that back to her. All right. Yeah, sure.

S: 1:50:54

Yeah, happy to do that. I was gonna suggest that book. It's not as fancy as Keewaydin way, but it's, you'll find it.

I: 1:51:02

It'll be good to have source material from both for this part of the project. So yeah, no, it's a good thing.

S: 1:51:08

Good on the bibliography too. Great, cool. Good luck.

I: 1:51:13

Yeah, that's all I have. Thank you so much. After I do all the other interviews, if anything else comes up that I think you could shed some light on all definitely keep in touch. But in the meantime. Yeah, thank you. I'm really excited to be able to be in this position. And I have an excellent boss for working with me on it so

S: 1:51:40

Well, you're really. You're very kind. So let's the next step for us is we're going to work out what role you can ultimately play at camp and If you want to take over this waterfront director job, I'm gonna have to nail down a really concrete way to get that basic minimum qualification. So I think the best way to do it is with Lecko. And she has said she's willing in principle to figure something out. So let's just see how challenging that's going to be and go from there.

I: 1:52:13

Yeah, sounds good. All right. All right.

S: 1:52:16

Have a good day.

I: 1:52:17

You too. Have a nice Friday. Bye.

Appendix A.11: Personal Interview with Christine McRae (Luckasavitch) of Waaseyaa

Consulting

(CML=Christine McRae (Luckasavitch), I=Interviewer, ___=Redacted name)

I: 10:15

Yeah, I was really excited to hear about the new hopefully. Yeah, hopefully fewer injuries now. Yeah, well, um um, well, I guess typically when I start my interviews, I lay out my framework, which just broadly is discussing how the American and Canadian camping movements were founded on a set of colonial values, including toughening up weakened boys and the fear of industrialization and urbanization, and using indigenous stereotypes to sort of teach lessons to young boys about how they can grow up into strong white and idealized colonial men. I also always lay out in the beginning that Algonquin Park is unceded Algonquin Anishinaabeg territory, and that encouraging hypermasculinity at summer camp also can lead to feelings of entitlement to North America's wild landscapes that is not recognizing of the human history that's been there for a lot longer than we have. And I guess it's obvious that in interviews, it's normal to discuss difficult topics like race, gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic class. And removing your willingness to participate will have no ill effects in the future. But I guess getting right into it, I remember during your presentations, you talked a little bit about sort of growing into your heritage and your culture as not a small child, but a little bit later in life. And I was wondering if we could start off by you just sort of talking about that a little bit. Yeah.

CML: 12:40

And do you have a recording thing on?

I: 12:42

Yeah, I have. I have a recording software called otter. So transcribes and records on its own, so I don't have to deal with the zoom interface.

CML: 12:53

Good. Okay. I was just I wanted to make sure because I didn't see the little red.

I: 12:56

Yeah. No, it's going in the background.

CML: 12:59

Yeah. So I mean, for me. I was, I think so I'm going to start a little bit further back. So with my territory being the headwaters of the Madawaska River, right, which is right where like Pathfinder is and stuff. My great. Well, my grandfather four generations ago, as far as either

way, my grandfather generations ago, he was the high chief of the whole entire area, basically, between here what's now North Bay, and over a little bit more to the eastern boundaries of Algonquin Park, and he shows up in petitions, talking about just wanting to be set aside land for 400 Algonquin families. So we know that there were a lot of people that were here. And this was around like the 1850s 1860s or so. And he continued to petition the government and his requests were never they were never mentioned, or they were they were never accepted. And I can I'll send you something that's written about this just so you can actually look, I'll ask you to keep it in confidence because it's kind of like my, my script. But But anyway, although he tried very hard, and although we know that there was a significant population that was here, Algonquin Park went ahead and was created, right. And so that really ties in with that whole aspect of like, wilderness and who owns wilderness and colonial conquering of wilderness and so on. And so, what happens sort of after that, if we were to move into like the 1900s. My family were taught to be ashamed of being Algonquin or being indigenous. And so there's a lot of like family family stuff there, but To not dive too deep into that, but essentially an ended up that my, my grandmother never, never talked about being Algonquin. And so my dad grew up not really knowing except that he had an uncle who would basically practice ceremony. Out of out of sight of people. And so my dad, he can remember like, seeing my uncle toss stuff into the fire, but not not No, because really what that was was giving offering to that fire and that meant ceremony. So anyway, dad grew up, not really knowing. But when he harvested his first deer, someone gave him an eagle feather. And he held on to this. So it's like, he had this really innate connection, even though he didn't really know what it was per se. Like he knew he had that heritage, but no one talked about it. And further, they were told to be ashamed of it. And so like, fast forward to me. Yeah, when I was a little kid, it was that that idea that I saw a dead porcupine on the road, and I asked my mom what it was. And my mom said that your ancestors used to make jewelry out of this. And it was at that point, I was like, Oh, that's really cool, right? Yeah. But then I didn't get a chance to know anything really until quite a bit later. I don't know it might have been grade, either grade eight or grade nine or something like that. But I had a teacher who was Algonquin, who she brought a small group of us who self identified as indigenous. So I knew I was indigenous, but I didn't know what that meant. But she brought us to a powwow in Kitigan Zibi, which is the kind of like main Algonquin reserve in Quebec. And after that, I thought, Okay, this is something I really need to start, start knowing something more about, like, weave into, there is a power here in Algonquin Park and like I had been to it as a kid, but it was mostly just like visiting and I looked at it as kind of any other community event. And I was so small that I didn't totally get it, but it was after going to Kitigan Zibi and seeing people in like full regalia and seeing like a whole community and people from outside of the community. And then it was that realization that like, Okay, this is, this is something that's part of me, it's something I need to know about. So that's the point where my, my interest in like Algonquin history started, and I still have like, the original books that are just behind me that like were the first things that I read, like, who were Algonquin people, and so on. And then that just really, I mean, it was a focus. But then of course, you go through the things where you're like, you're a teenager, right? So you have very different priorities, and you go to university, and so you do the university thing, and you focus, I studied English literature and their English literature and Canadian history, and there was nothing, nothing at all on indigenous people. I read one poem by Pauline Johnson. Just an aside on that, I met with one of my favorite professors, an English professor, two years

after I finished two or three years after I finished my degree. And he told me then that he wished that like he proposed a whole entire class to the university based on indigenous literature, and they had actually refused at that point in time. And so I mean, things have changed since but then you look at like, you know, what more could I have known through my education and being supported? Right, and just being surrounded by some of that literature. Yeah. And what that would have meant, right. And yeah, so then that's a big thing. But yeah, so that's, that's a long answer to your question.

I: 18:41

Perfect. That's perfect. It wasn't really until I started digging deeply for this project that I was even exposed to any thing at all written by indigenous people. Which is really concerning, since I'm an American Studies major. And that's not something that people seem to intertwine at all. But thank Gosh, I was able to connect with Kristen and have the guidance to do what I'm doing now. Because otherwise there would have been nothing at all basically, in my undergraduate studies, except for the classes that she taught to me as a student. So you finished undergrad and what caused you to then start your firm?

CML: 19:36

So what I was doing, I had an interest in archaeology and this stemmed it was actually an online history course I was taking through Acadia, but it talked about the place. It's always like that very first chapter in the book that says, you know, people were here, before Europeans, but then it's like that smallest chapter in the entire book. But it was a book on the East Coast, early, early history. And there were archaeological sites just sort of down the coastline from where I was going to school. And after that, I said, Okay, this is really cool that I can study people, but in a material way. And so I started looking more and more into archaeology. And I mean, there was always that, that interest in like, indigenous history and so on, and so that was still part of my identity, but not the most prevalent part. I think, like I knew I knew the few other Indigenous students that would have been my cohorts. But there was no, like, indigenous culture there. Even though there's a reserve like five minutes away. Yeah. So I didn't have a totally terrible experience as an indigenous student while at Acadia, but I know, just as an aside, there's like overt racism now, because more people don't want it more people talk about it. Yeah. But yeah, so my, my interest then went to archaeology, and for for quite a few years, I've had a navigational archaeological license, which means it's, it's like a step up from a hobby. I can't lead any digs. But I can work on digs licensed. And so I started looking into that. And yeah, I think it was more mostly just like starting to really immerse myself in. And I worked for Ontario parks for a while as an interior Ranger. And from that, I was able to see a lot of the park. And it was just like, kind of deepening my love for a place I had already really known. But then after that, what I did is I went to the algonquins of Ontario to the land claim office. And with my whole focus was like history, culture. That material culture, like archaeology, right, like, focus on the culture so that you're able to basically build that foundation. That's through negotiating land claim, you think you would be focused on culture. And I remember my very first day that I was there, and I was shocked, and I actually asked them, you know, why? Why are you not paying more attention to like, to the culture here, because it was all like economic development and so on. But at that point, I was there just, I was an American EEL researcher, so collecting

traditional knowledge. And so I was able to really connect with the Algonquin communities and Ontario. And so from that, I think I was able to kind of like strengthen those nationwide connections, versus just like my community base here. But, yeah, so through that, that stint in politics that I had, it became more and more clear. The focus shouldn't be on economic development and politics and like negotiating with a government for territory that's unceded that's ours anyway, right? It's kind of redundant. Why? And when you look at traditional culture, and that understanding that as indigenous people, we cannot own the land, like the land is our brother, like, you know, you can't own that. That's your relation, right? So I quit five times from that job. Like, the last time that I quit, I actually moved and moved to the west coast for a while because I just thought I just need some time. So I was there for six weeks, and I came back because there's something that always just like, brings me back home.

23:47

And I had been playing around with this idea of starting my own consulting company that would be more focused on history and culture and that sort of a thing. And it would be November, I want to say of 2016 maybe I'll have to check it but I think it's November of 2016. I got my first contract with a consulting with camp Tanamakoon. And was to tell Algonquin history, like make sure that the campers who are enjoying summer camp in Algonquin Park know that there's a much deeper history and know that there's more context and then know that there's a bigger responsibility. And so from there, it's just been this like, slow and steady sort of crawl. But I always knew like in the back of my, my head that I'm just going to work at this and let it like organically. Come because it's something it's worth it needs to be done. And I'm finally like, you know, here we are this many years later. And I'm finally at the point where I'm going like, I don't know if I can handle all of this on my own like it's it's good that you can see that it's got traction because it's something that people are becoming more conscious of.

I: 23:47

Yeah. Yeah, yeah. When you started, did you have any goals in mind, tangible or sort of intangible?

CML: 25:16

So my, my overarching goal was to like to help people and support people. And then my more tangible goal is to get to the point where I'm able to support Algonquin youth. And so that they're able to know who they are, where they come from, that people are looking out for them. And so whether that's through like an Education Fund, whether that's through employment, I'm not sure just yet, but that's, I think it's it's to help build a sense of community. I think that's that sort of, yeah, I think that sense of community, it'd be a good way of putting it. Yeah.

I: 26:07

So when you first came to Pathfinder, did it have any aspects that set it apart, stood out more or set it apart from other camps or establishments that you've consulted with before?

CML: 26:25

Yeah, and so I won't name any other camps.

I: 26:28

Yeah, that's fine. You don't have to

CML: 26:32

We'll put it this way, I've been to a boys camp in Algonquin Park for a party before. And so there's a very different culture at one. But yeah, we'll keep that one off the record. But no, at Pathfinder, and I think what I was, so I don't know what the word would be like. But what I was so impressed by was that everyone was so welcoming, but also so respectful. And it went from like, from Sladds, and from the headman and from like, all of all of you guys who are like running programs, all the way down to even the youngest campers, like everyone was extremely genuine. And, you know, with, I think one of my first times at Camp might have been spruce root, actually. Yeah. And so at spruce root that, you know, it's this whole community that is surrounded by families that had been involved with camp for so long. And you can see, I used to remember Alex Hurley crying when he was talking about his stuff like that, I'm gonna cry. Yeah. And then his mom was there. And you know, like, it's just it's very intergenerational type of setting. But then looking at folks like, like _____ and _____ and those people that I've had so much respect for in their careers, and how they're so deeply entrenched in Algonquin Park, and like, _____, too. And so was that like that, that sense of community was a big thing. And then just how much respect is, is centered in those relationships. And you can see, like, I don't know, you guys all have a very good relationship with each other, you look out for each other, you still have like fun, but you're very professional, too. And then after that presentation, then it went on to be like that land acknowledgement workshop. So I was able to really like, ask people, you know, what do you know? Or what's important that you do know? Right? Like, why? Why is it important for you to talk to the campers about this being unceded territory, like, what's your value, and so I was able to really gauge that this is like a genuine, a genuine interest and like a genuine project where people are thinking very deeply about it and want to make that that necessary change. Yeah.

I: 29:07

Was there a tradition or? Yeah, I'll go with tradition. Was there a tradition at camp that stood out to you most when you got here? As Sladds was sort of introducing the camp culture and things

CML: 29:21

I again, can't pinpoint what it is exactly. But there's something about dinner like him being in in the dining hall, there was something there I don't know. I think it's still like basis in that that whole idea of like respect and looking out for each other because I can remember, like, if something runs out, then someone goes to get more food, right? Everyone just kind of like looks out for each other. So that's one thing. There was nothing like inappropriate that I could see immediately. But I mean going into a summer camp and knowing that context of summer camps, but I thought really the fact that I was invited to be there to talk about what I had to talk about. And especially like I can remember Sladds, putting a lot of emphasis on the fact that like, Pathfinder, being at the headwaters of the Madawaska, like, it's so necessary to have someone

from that people, the Madaoueskarini people to be there and tell that story, and really how crucial that is to camp.

I: 30:38

I've been doing I've done quite a few interviews at this point. And when I, when the topic of evolving traditions from past camp and sort of looking towards the future, a lot of the times what I hear in response is sort of that it's being taken out of context. And that hindsight is 2020. And we can't burden ourselves with missteps that people in the past were making, and I feel like that's probably a pretty common response to a lot of the work that summer camps have to do. And I was wondering how you feel or how you would typically respond to a comment like that.

CML: 31:26

I mean, it's because most of the camp culture is based on Ernest Thompson Seton's work, right? Like, that's kind of the basis for it, but it's appropriated knowledge. And it's appropriated practice, that is based on a very pan indigenous understanding, whereas, you know, each of us, like I can see in some of Seton's suggested practices for like a camp repertoire, or whatever it would be, you know, he takes something from like a plains culture, but then also a woodland culture and fuses it into one. So it's not even like, like, I get the point behind it. And I can see the context that he created it in, right, like there is that honoring of Indigenous people. But it was also at a time when Indigenous people were like, people were trying to take photos of Indigenous people, because Indigenous people were going extinct. Or at least they thought, yeah, and so looking at the greater context, and even though I'm pretty confident that Seton meant no harm, nor did people who were involved with summer camps mean any harm to indigenous people, but looking at it now. And like now is the point where we're changing those traditions or where tradition should be changed. But just, you can see that it is problematic, especially because, up until, you know, fairly recent decades, it was illegal for indigenous people to even hold our council fires. So well. Yeah, it's, it's something that needs to be changed. And that, you know, as much as it might be hard to change traditions. I mean, you can do it without appropriating and insulting, indigenous culture and indigenous practice. So it's that really fine balance in between, but I would say like, 100%, full stop needs to be changed. Yeah.

I: 33:31

That's wonderful. That reminds me of the first question when you were talking about your dad's uncle making offerings. And that was a common practice for me as a camper, like we were instructed to throw something into the fire every morning. And not with any context, obviously, and now with a greater understanding that many practices are closed practices. It's incredibly frustrating to think of all the times that I took part in practices that I had no understanding of and didn't even really understand why I needed an understanding of it like putting together a camp tradition that was stolen from an indigenous tradition and then just like, boxing it as like what we do at camp and no one else does it like we do is this small, day to day activities that take place that you don't even spend time really thinking about once you get older.

CML: 34:47

It can be the smallest but then it can even be as big as like, you know, even like the name of council fire so that council fire is taken from that indigenous context, but then I know that there are camps that you know, put on headdresses and painted faces and wool or whatever, or whatever around the campfire, right? And that's, it's such a, I want to say like a bastardization of that, what should be a sacred practice like for us that ceremony? Like it doesn't get any more significant. We were talking about campfires and like the practice, I don't know where it cut off exactly. But I think kind of where it cut off. I was talking about the thinking of my my uncle, who, you know, he was practicing in secret and being one of the only people here who, who still carried on ceremony in like the 60s and 70s. And like, it was illegal for us to practice, right. But meanwhile, a half an hour down the road at these kids camps. A version, an appropriated version of these ceremonies could freely take place like every day. Yeah. And so looking at that contrast there. Like, it's, it's significant. It's extremely significant.

I: 37:45

I think that our understandings of how to respect or appreciate culture is naturally shifting over time. And that's a good thing. And that what used to be considered in white spaces as culturally appreciating indigenous culture is not what it's gonna look like now. And I think that's the biggest barrier that I've encountered. Talking to like old timers at Camp is that it's hard to separate. Like, well, we didn't think we were doing anything wrong. And we were trying to be respectful with like, yes, but now we're going to try and be respectful by having education at Camp about the human history of where we are and using place names that are not anglicised or not from colonisers. Like there's just, there's a new approach that we can take on that's gonna be a lot more beneficial in the long run than face painting and loincloths and whooping and hollering. So.

CML: 38:57

But I think that's one of the most important things is that I don't think that summer camps meant it in any harm, no. Right. And it had become so entrenched in camp culture, that that is what you did. And if it's framed in a way that like this is how you can be a respectful person. I can understand that. But that, as you said, like consciousness changes over time. And you can see the shift in consciousness when indigenous people are able to participate, because we never were. When we're able to participate when we're able to share things about our culture when we're able to share parts of our history. And then you see that there is a required shift, because all of this before was done without any, I can't say without any, I don't know, but without engagement of, especially local indigenous people, right, like those whose territory that summer camps are located on. And so I think there's a very big difference and it's like that very sensitive balance between all right, those things that are done, but then shifting into new consciousness and knowing that those shifts need to happen. And I think, like, the biggest thing is that for, you know, these newer generations who are now taking over and like running camp, and who are the new directors and so on, it's their responsibility to shift those practices. And you can see it. Yeah,

I: 40:29

Yeah. And I think it's a lot easier for us to do that than it might have been in the past. I had a really good interview a couple days ago, where we talked about Toncadoo, and just like, what is

going to happen with Toncacoo in the future. But he made a really interesting point that Toncacoo is supposed to represent, just like keeping the camp spirit alive in the winter, and just sort of keeping that community going all year round. And that is an inherently good thing, like that's a positive thing that you can take from camp in the summer, and then bring it home and still stay excited in the winter about it. But there's just, we just have to think of a new way to foster that excitement in the winter, that's not using a made up indigenous icon that's supposed to live alone in the woods, and their only job is to hold the coals for us the entire winter. So I think a lot of the work is going to come from is just like stripping these traditions down to like, their very basics about what it is that makes us feel attached to them, and then building on new ones from there. Absolutely. And it's like any, any situation where indigenous artwork is involved, like it's like. So I just finished a big report for a summer camp, like basically shifting their traditions away. But it's like, anything to do with names, anything to do with artwork, anything to do with like, place names, and like looking even at the name of certain camps, right? And where they came up with those names and so on like, well, I don't think it's doable to shift a whole camp name, right? Because that's a whole identity. If there are say, like, certain locations, on the camp property, like a point of land, like if it's an indigenous point of land, like, Is that an appropriate name? Or, you know, can you shift it so that if it's in a language, can it be closer to what the actual language is? Yeah, yeah. But I think, with the and I don't know as much about this like overwintering idea, but like, it almost sounds like this, like, hermit of an old Indian man who has to like sit by himself and like, hold on to these dire little coals. But meanwhile, like, that's not how indigenous people live, we move somewhere where like, you get full sun and you're like, so then you see the fault in all of that, because it's still based on that idea of like the Indian as like a poor vanishing race. Right. And all the idea a lot is brave men, never women never. Right? So that's a whole other ballgame. Yeah, and so it's just you can see that there is fault in that. But why do you need it to be like an Indian man who's going to to carry this through? Why can't it be like the founding Person of the camp itself, who is there in spirit to take care of things or whatever it is, right? It's like an Indigenous man in like a servant position for our pleasure for the winter. And that's just in general, I think something that needs to be avoided from now on. But I think there's so many great ways that you could do away with it, like have the youngest camper light the fire and the oldest camper put it out at the end. Like there's so many, like, representations of continuity that we can definitely come up with if we put our minds together. But it's not reliant on this caricature. Yeah, absolutely.

CML: 44:31

Yeah. And like the thing is to me, like even though I'm not like I didn't go to summer camp, other than like a day camp. But there are so many easy fixes. It's like literally just take the take the indigenous part out of it, right and making

I: 44:45

your own like,

CML: 44:47

it's still it's not, it's not that hard. It just requires an openness to shift. Yeah.

I: 44:54

One thing that I do, here, I'll pull this out. One thing that I do think is going to be more difficult in sort of shifting how camps view themselves. I have a screenshot of this somewhere, right? It's just like the sense of entitlement to land that it's our island. This is our, like, untouched wilderness. The second chapter of the Pathfinder history book is literally called we all own this land. And I think that there's there's removing appropriative traditions, which is just like an easy fix thing to do. But there's also this deeper and more insidious colonial power structure that remains at camp through these feelings like wilderness has been untouched, or only keewaydin trippers have ever been on this river, even though it's clearly an indigenous campsite. Like, I can find this. Oh, yeah, there's in the keewaydin history book, I have both now for my research. But there's a cartoon with a quote next to it that says, Who could ask for better than a house that's a tent and 1000s upon 1000s of square miles of untamed territory to call your own. And, like, even when we get rid of Toncacoo and rename the section groups and do as much as we possibly can in terms of like tangible camp traditions? Is there really any way that camp in the future can remove this settler nativist ideology that's sort of like endemic to the camp experience.

CML: 47:07

And so that's like, to me, that's a longer term change. Again, one of those necessary changes. But that's like you said it's very, very systemic, right? Like, it's so entrenched, even and like, I know, some of the other summer camps in the area. Any decisions are only ever made, like top down, right? So you have this hierarchy that exists rather than actually, like, if you want to hold a council fire, the whole point of a council fire is that everybody in that council fire has the Equal Opportunity and respect and ability to talk and to make decisions, right, like, that's what that's for. And so, like, part of that is having indigenous people as part of staff, of them being the ones to help to like, but then it's also a lot of, I got to think of how I phrase this, I have indigenous people on staff who can help to direct the ways that camp needs to change in a very meaningful way. And like paid to do that and so on. But then also, those also on staff who are willing to work with and change camp culture as a whole. And I don't know, I want to say it was ___ maybe who told me I don't know if it was ___ or someone else. But they said after they came back from trip and they were up north. And before when they had been there, they had that whole like, Oh, I'm the only person that's been here in so long. And then he said he looked a little bit deeper. And he thought, you know what, like, people have been here like, this is someone's trapline. Yeah. Right? And so but I mean, right? Yeah. And so no matter like, no matter where you go, North America, South America still on, you are on indigenous indigenous territory, period. And people have been through there, all parts of there, like, we live with land, like not on land, and we don't own land, but we live with land. And so part of that is traversing the land. And like certainly, we didn't go down those those rivers that are super Rocky and whatever, right, like we might have stayed on certain travel routes that were better to to traverse the land. But we would have been there to trap and we would have been there in the winter. And like, you know, so we're certain like, That's such a colonial thing, right? It's like conquering the frontier or like conquering the wilderness. I just, I took a course this semester, that's called environment and place. And it's all about issues of colonial relationships with land and like that whole idea of conquering so if you want more reading from me, I'll send you some of the more like prevalent readings that have stuck out in my mind about both issues with colonial relationships to land,

but then also looking at indigenous relationships to land. So you kind of get that contrast, but I'll send you some some readings perfect.

I: 50:20

That's when I first started laying down this framework for my project, because obviously I didn't, I wasn't thinking about every individual action that I took part in as a camper, and then on staff. But the one thing that really continued throughout all of my consciousness when I think back on camp is that, you know, all the lakes that we travel on, we use English names for and there's no awareness on a trip setting, even about why this trail is here and not somewhere else. And it's not just because it's shorter, it's probably because someone realized that there's a hill or a valley or something that's easily avoidable on this trail versus a different one. And I think that that's something that staff on trip can very easily talk about, if we're put in a position to just do the research as part of our trip planning. Like, if we are outfitting and we're making the group and we're doing all this other preparation. Like, I think that understanding the name, the place names and the human history beyond just, we've been here since 1914. And this is our park now. And you know, we're the stewards of this land, can go a long way and changing the tonality of how land is talked about at camp. But then I fear that camp counselors come to camp, to hang out with their friends and not to like really work as hard as this project is necessary to make meaningful change. That's a better

CML: 52:22

part of that is just at the very, like, at the very, very least, it's encouraging the consciousness that it's someone's territory, and that you are a guest on that, like, we're always, you know, unless like for me, like being here, this is my territory. But as soon as I go to say, like, Peterborough, which is a couple hours away, that's someone else's territory, and then I am a guest on that territory. And so the consciousness that you're on someone else's territory, but that you have a responsibility to be respectful of that territory, and those people in those animals that are there, and the waters and the land, and so on, right, all of those, like those human and non human relationships have to be upheld.

I: 53:08

Before when you mentioned having paid indigenous staff on at camps all the time, I'm curious as to whether it's possible to foster this level of change without placing an undue burden on indigenous people as the sole teachers of unmaking a colonial mindset. Because I feel like even now, in this project with my advisor, who's an indigenous woman, I feel like sometimes I'm getting my hand held in a way that like, makes me fearful of tokenizing indigenous people as solely people that come in and tell us like what this lake was called, and then nothing really beyond that is gonna change. Do you think there's a meaningful way to continue indigenous education without all of that burden going to indigenous people?

CML: 54:11

So I think so. I don't have a straightforward answer. I'll start with that. But I think it's important that indigenous people are able to do that paid work, right? Like, because we're the ones that have that knowledge, and that knowledge needs to be honored. So that's one thing. And then

there's also the issue of non indigenous people benefiting especially financially or otherwise, from indigenous knowledge that they've appropriated and taken on as their own. Yeah. So to me, that's extremely problematic. So, I mean, my ideal situation would be that there would be a number of indigenous staff who are there who are genuinely supported by non indigenous staff who are able to uphold those respectful relationships and so on. And so it's that kind of difference between like, genuine allies ship or performative ally ship, right. And so it shouldn't just be the responsibility of the indigenous person to like, this is not a good term, but like to enforce that way of being, but rather, the indigenous person, if they're comfortable, can be there to to teach and to share. But then it's it's kind of the responsibility I would say, of Camp as a whole to uphold those values. And, and that knowledge, but I mean, Oren and I talked about, you know, what, what kind of programming can be done sort of off? Off camp, probably, like when when trips are happening, and he's very interested in like, constellations and star stories, but then like, I'll show you this book. So this book, which I thought would be decent, it's not. So what it was, was like, a husband and wife team came in and like, took all of these stories from an archive. And it's all like, past tense sort of stuff. So then it's like, if you perpetuate that extractive research for your own benefit, yeah. Especially monetary benefit, then you're still carrying on those, those very hurtful practices. Yeah. And so I think that there is that line, and it's often case by case basis of like, what, what is okay to pass along? Like, I would say, no legends, no, no, things like that. Like, that's not a non indigenous story to tell ever. But then, that consciousness of, of place and of territory, but then talking about, like, what is our responsibility? How can we take care of that land? Right, and like carrying on that idea of stewardship of land and care for land? Which I think in the Pathfinder land acknowledgement. That's a very big thing. So it's all that caring for land. And I think that's a better way for, I think, to even tackle that, like, systemic issue of Camp culture. Like both on and off camp property. Yeah,

I: 57:58

I think there's a clear way to foster care for land and the basics, like not leaving food in the water and not leaving trash around, but also tying that into rather than it being our land, us being guests and you wouldn't mistreat someone else's home or territory.

CML: 58:25

Yeah, and like, you know, they usually don't cut down trees for your fire, like the kind of usual stuff, but then a further dive into like, why is that important? Why do we do this rather than just like, it's just something that we do? Yeah.

I: 58:40

Yeah. And that's something that I struggle with when I talk about Leave No Trace practices is that I am totally on board with not leaving any trace from myself. But I feel like it comes usually in the context of because no one has been here before so we want to, like keep it looking like no people have ever been here. And I that's where I think like the good intentions of just packing out everything you take in then gets conflated with this colonial wilderness context that negates the fact that the trail is here for a reason and not and it's not because of me personally, it's because of a long history of before and after. So Well, a lot

CML: 59:32

Of course, the portages that we go on, but then further like even some of the streets are old portages like Yonge street in Toronto, that goes from Lake Simcoe down to Lake Ontario. Like that's a portage. Right. And so we don't even realize that we're actually still on those old trails. Yeah. Yeah. I'm trying to find I don't know if I have a picture of it anywhere. But there's an Old Algonquin Park garbage bag like the yellow garbage bags? Have you seen the one where the guy's like tossing the garbage behind him and hits the moose on the head? And the moose lives on that? Well, that's fine. But it's really funny. But it would just be like such a good visual, if you're putting visuals in there. Yeah.

I: 1:00:23

Yeah, well if you find it send it to me. I was struggling, people started sending me photos. And I don't really want to get into photos, because I don't really feel like tracking down four or five people at a time to get consent for photos. But it is. I mean, the number of pictures of white men with face paint on them and feathers in their hair is astronomical. And I have also been struggling with then being in interviews with groups of people from these generations who like claim to not remember anything like particularly going on at camp, there's a bit of a disconnect between the material evidence and the storytelling and memory of it. In terms of, like, I'll use pictures from the books and stuff, but I just don't want to have to do that level of digging around myself for an undergraduate project.

CML: 1:01:37

Oh, yeah. And at some point, you have to like, you have to call it right. I don't know if it's even available at all anymore, but Camp Ponacka has one of those camp books. And in so my my sister in law's best friend, that's her family that runs camp Ponacka, but then her dad, there are pictures of him, like full out like riding a horse with a headdress on and like all of that, right. Everybody all painted up. And they I don't think that they've actually stopped that practice yet. So it's kind of scary. Yeah.

I: 1:02:16

I start my introduction with my first memory from Camp, which is Keewaydin and the four winds ceremony. And that is four white staff in loincloths and painted bringing torches into the campfire, and then lighting the fire and then passing a peace pipe around a circle, which they stopped doing in 2012. So it took Yeah, it took quite a long time for that to stop. There's still some, they still do it and like, not overtly dressed up way, but it's still very much pretending to be a closed practice. So there's a little bit of work there. But then it follows up with the camp director telling the story of Kokomis that is a Teme Augama anishnaabe story and telling us, like, how did that story get there? Who was the one to tell it to us, and we clearly didn't make it up on our own. And it's great working at Pathfinder, where we have a little bit more consciousness about that, id all I'm gonna say.

CML: 1:03:53

Pathfinder does stand out. I mean, I'm not saying that other camps aren't accepting. But Pathfinder seems to really embrace like doing the right thing. Yeah. And being respectful.

I: 1:04:05

Yeah. Yeah. I feel like the culture at Pathfinder, as I've observed it over a couple of generations now through talking is like a lot of traditions have come and gone, like there was a secret society, and then that kind of fizzled out. And I think that while there are still some, like central tenets that are going to be a little harder, I think, generally, the culture at Pathfinder has been a little less entrenched in like this is how we've always done things. And maybe that's partially because like, the season is flexible and trip groups change around and you sort of are seeing and interacting with everyone all the time, whereas places like Keewaydin you're in the same group, you go on a five day in a 10 day, and then you go home. So it's a little more like rigid in that. But it is really, it's nice having Pathfinder working as like more of the framework, we are doing some, we're doing some things well, and it's working to a degree. And that feels nice.

CML: 1:05:33

The one thing that I'm just thinking of when we when we were talking about, you know, how do you not put undue stress on indigenous stuff? I think one of the big things is like if, if someone say, like, how I come in, and I helped to identify those things, and then directly tell you what to do, and then like, I leave, right, like, I'm a consultant. So I come in, and I go out, so then like, I know that that's my responsibility, whereas I don't have those same personal level relationships with everyone, and everyone's going to be looking to me, like, why are you changing? So I think perhaps, what I would suggest is like having, having someone hired either staff or on contract, to be that person to come in to change things so that you're not putting that undue stress on that one staff person who has to be around for the whole entire summer and gets like ostracized because they change the traditions or something. Yeah, yeah. But I think very much it's like, whatever you have to, like, look at everything at camp and like, what the practices are, and so on. And I find for me, like, it's very hard. Because I don't, I don't know the day to day, like, everything that happens throughout the course of the day. And instead, I rely on like, what, what people tell me and often what, like directors and management level Tell me needs to be changed. So then there could be something that's missed. Right? So where's that? Where's that control that if there's something that's missed in recommendations, how do you also take care of that, too? Yeah.

I: 1:07:15

And the cyclical nature of camper, the camper staff, and then senior staff pipeline, the, you, if you brought an indigenous camper in to an environment that wasn't culturally, like ready for that, and then try and get them to come all the way through to be a staff person to like, then take on that role as the contracted person that has the relationships with everyone in the community like that, very easily can turn into like 12 years of trauma, that would just be right. So like, there's the problem of diversifying and being inclusive, today and tomorrow, so that we can build better and more culturally aware staff. But then the staff that we have today, and tomorrow may not be fully equipped to handle leading and stewarding nonwhite campers through that process. So like, either way, there's going to be someone experiencing trauma on either end, like we bring in a new staff person that has to come in and work from the top down and try and make the space better for a camper in the future or a camper has to go through all of those years of identity

politics just to get to the staff level to then be the like one person that seems prepared to do all of that work for us. So it's gonna be collaborative.

CML: 1:08:56

Well, it has to take place over a number of years, too, I think. And so, like, I think this for me would be what year two, three, there, three, maybe for Pathfinder. So, like, it takes a long time, because I still feel like, I don't know. But then Pathfinder is kind of like the exception to the rule, because everyone's been, you know, very open to embracing at least current stuff. Certainly. And like, I've done a number of things where, like, I've gone in and done some talks, right, so then that elevates consciousness. So it's almost like priming camp to make the change, but then so like, say, like Tanamakoon. I've been working there since either 2012 or 2013. And only Now am I at the point where we're changing these traditions. Yeah. So it takes a long time. Yeah. So I think like one thing that I would say is, know that it's going to take a while and like it's a long term investment but like a necessary one. Yeah. And then the other thing I was going to mention is that if there are indigenous kids who are coming to camp, thinking of like, there's the Algonquin campership Award for Pathfinder. But what would a kid feel like if they go to camp? If they're exposed to these appropriated traditions? Right? Like that's, that's going to cause some severe trauma? And how many times has that happened in the past? I know that camps, perhaps are, like cost prohibitive to a lot of families. But that's not to say that it hasn't happened. Yes, certainly. Yeah. Yeah. So that's a whole other thing.

I: 1:10:44

I have an interview tomorrow with Demi Mathias, who is from Bear Island in Temagami and was a camper and a staff at Keewaydin. So maybe I'll have some answers tomorrow, and I find out but yeah, I think Keewaydin's a little different. Because there were indigenous guides for a long time. And there are some Bear Island families that were very closely related to the camp for a while. But I I just really don't think Pathfinder has any of those connections established at all.

CML: 1:11:23

I know, I know, a long time ago there were Algonquin guides came in. I don't know who they would have been. I don't think that they're still around anymore. But then you still have that like, 15 year period where there was no one no one. Yeah. I'm sure that you've probably seen this article. But I'm going to send you one that just popped up when I was looking for the Ponacka book earlier. So this is for Kilku.

I: 1:12:00

Oh, no. Oh, God.

CML: 1:12:10

But it's good because it has an actual chief. Talking about why it's offensive. So might be helpful. Yeah,

I: 1:12:16

I got this picture from Kilku. That the face paint and the red hair. And well,

CML: 1:12:23

it's also it actually has Algonquin on the on the flag.

I: 1:12:28

Wow. The lack of consciousness sometimes is really yeah, they're saying like, you would think that when every October, the article comes around about why you don't dress up as an Indian Princess, when like, I don't understand how that doesn't immediately get transferred to you should not do the same thing at summer camp just because you're outside and it's more amount. But people still do it.

CML: 1:13:03

I'm going to send you and I think do you have pathways outdoor educators journal articles?

I: 1:13:13

No, I don't think so. All I've seen in terms of Camp programming, from Ontario camping Association. There was one article put out about ways that you can replace certain sessions with more culturally aware ones. Okay.

CML: 1:13:43

I will find the right one. I know it's there. But this was something from there. There are four different essays in this. They have to do with Ahmek. But I did write one of them. So this was like, back in 2018.

I: 1:14:09

Yeah, I heard the I've done a lot of reading from Sharon walls books about camp and she talks a lot about the Taylor Statten camps and the work that they had to do much earlier on because it was so bad that they really had to kickstart that earlier. Because Taylor, Taylor Statten was friends with Seton. I feel like I remember reading that somewhere.

CML: 1:14:42

I could be wrong, but I want to say that Seton may have even owned it. Seton at least owned Arowhon at one point. Yeah, yeah, but Seton was certainly around a lot. Yeah. So I'm going to send you some of my presentations. But I just ask of course you don't don't share them. And then what I'm what I'm also going to send you, but like you literally cannot breathe a word of this because it's not published yet. But there's a an almost finished draft of my camp, Tanamakoon report. And so, like, feel free to like, say that, I don't know. If you're going to use anything out of it, just check with me to make sure that it's okay. But I'll send it to you because it might have some things and know that this is very much directed by what what camp wanted sort of thing?

I: 1:14:57

Yeah, of course.

CML: 1:15:30

And so it's only I only have it in PDF, unfortunately. So you might have to transcribe a little bit of stuff. Yeah. Yeah. So I'll send you those things. And then like, feel free to even reference like the I'm sending you one keynote speech from the Horwood conference, which is for the council of outdoor educators. And there's also the discussion that I did at Pathfinder from spruce root, okay, so you can reference those directly. And then anything for Tanamakoon just check with me personally, we'll find a way to kind of talk about it differently. Yeah, I guess no,

I: 1:16:38

no problem. That's super helpful. Thank you.

CML: 1:16:43

You're welcome. And I'm going to send you that link again, for pathways just so you have it an email stuff. Sounds good.

I: 1:16:54

Oh, yeah, I was gonna do first two chapters. But now. Because you're on my committee, I'm not actually sure if I'm allowed to do that yet. So I'm gonna check on that. But I would if I am allowed to love for you to read the first two, because I'm proud of it. So far.

CML: 1:17:14

Yeah, no, absolutely. And like any, anytime that you can send anything over, or if I'm able to kind of help you in any way, like, if you're allowed to read,

I: 1:17:14

this is all I'm just getting information like flung at me at this point, I'm just sort of like letting it absorb, because I don't really self identify as an academic. So now that I'm being forced to self identify as an academic in this context, there's a lot of new things happening.

CML: 1:17:22

Like you're going through imposter syndrome in a while, like you're in. You're in the academy and writing a thesis. So I think you are whether you like it or not, yeah.

I: 1:18:00

Maybe it's just that I don't like. Yeah, I mean,

CML: 1:18:04

I, so I never had the intention, I had my intention of like, going to get my masters at some point, but never, never PhD and like, getting into this master's degree. And I'm just like, now like, this is, I'm done. And it's not it's not very nurturing atmosphere at all. And I think it just gets worse, like, the higher up you get, because then you have to get your funding and everything else. And I just, we actually had to we, so we have a core course. But we're Canadian Studies and Indigenous Studies mixed together. And first semester was great. And we had a non status indigenous person teach us and she was absolutely fantastic. Because she could tell us both like the Canadian side, and then the indigenous side, and she understood it well. But then in

second semester, we had a Canadian Research Chair in Canadian Studies come in and teach us and he was so problematic and so racist, that he actually got, like, taken away from our program, and now we're being taught by someone else. So bad. Yeah. Yeah.

I: 1:19:21

I've spent four years talking about critical race theory, and none of it ever ends up talking about colonialism. And it's the harder the longer I get the more into this project I become, especially after I read, decolonization is not a metaphor. It's really causing me to question everything that I was being taught about inclusivity and anti racism because if you don't put inclusivity in the context of stolen land, like who is included when this land is not ours to begin with? It's making academia as a whole, even like my most anti racist possible major at Bates, it's like you really can't get much more left than that. Still has to buy into a very white academia setting. So that's the thing,

CML: 1:20:30

right? You're still in academia. It's true. Yes. And those, unfortunately, those questions don't really go away. No, I don't think I know. Yeah. And so I, what I'll do is I'll try to send you some articles just on like, there, there might be one or two on what is it called? Basically, like, anti oppressive research methodologies. And maybe that'll just give you a little bit of hope, because it made me feel a little bit.

I: 1:21:06

I have Shawn Wilson, research is ceremony. Yeah. I love that book is really wonderful.

CML: 1:21:18

Yeah, I mean, I don't know if you can see. So like, my top two in the middle, are all like, basically, like, why indigenous literatures matter and indigenous research methodologies and so on. And that's mostly just this past year. Yeah, of what, but once you get into it, like, there are so many good resources, and I mean, you're at the end of your, toward the end of your, your degree, so I won't overload you with stuff. But I will send over like one or two things that you might find helpful, of course,

I: 1:21:52

thank you. I know, once I, once I realized that, after reading this book, that storytelling is valid and that people's experiences are in all likelihood going to be way more authentic, if you just allow them to talk openly about it, rather than sort of shortlisting a set of questions that need to be answered for the sake of academia's value set on data collection. It really opened up my hope in this process by realizing that not every single person is going to have the same questions because they won't have the same answers anyway. So there's no point in forcing every single person I talked to to answer the same questions.

CML: 1:22:46

Oh, absolutely. 100%. And when you talk about like storytelling, you know, as valid research, so the link I just sent you is Rubina, Thomas. And so a lot of like my thesis research has to do with

storytelling. But then this article is one I was going to send you anyway about, like those research methodologies. And this is what I went to, like, this makes sense to me. This is what I need to be doing. Yeah. Yeah, there's so much good stuff out there. And like so many good ways of like pursuing it. And I think I think as long as we're not perpetuating some of those things that have been so aggressive in the past, I think that we're at least making suffered. Yeah,

I: 1:23:32

I hope so. Right? hope in the future American Studies at least requires you to take one class on indigenous history. Those were all electives for me, were the ones about indigenous history and methodology is

CML: 1:23:53

at least you have them like I hear it like stuff and this scares me a little bit more. Yeah, it's Canada's bad but the US is worse.

I: 1:24:05

It's 100% worse, like believes Canada like not even acknowledges there's a problem but set out to try and acknowledge that there was a problem. Like here, apart from when indigenous people actually set up a barricade and are actively protesting a pipeline like there's really no talk about it whatsoever. Like they're, I feel like the American image of an indigenous person as like solely someone, like hanging on to like the last few miles of territory and like slowly getting evicted is like still very much alive and well here. It's terrifying. Um,

CML: 1:25:01

And then there are a lot of really great Instagram accounts too. I'm not I'm too old for Tiktok, but there's some really good Tik Tok account and stuff like that. So, I mean, the information is all there. But it's just like it can be, it can be so overwhelming, right? Like to learn to pace yourself. The way that I kind of describe this is like, all of this is emotional work. Like everything, everything is like, hard to do. But then you do it with knowing that like, you're going to make a difference at some point. And if you can, like help help kids, I think, to to learn to change and to, you know, to evolve, then I think that it's probably doing work. Yeah,

I: 1:25:50

I hope so. I can't imagine staying involved in the canoe trapping community into like, later adulthood, if it remains a white space than it is right now. I just, yeah, in good conscience, it's very difficult to go from my predominantly white educational institution to my predominantly white summer camp and back and forth for my entire life.

CML: 1:26:22

But then you find like your your niches, right like and as bad as it is to say they're only niches at this point. But there's a person that works for native land digital, who I worked for, but she does a lot of like indigenous outdoor photography. And so like Rei, and a few of these other major organizations are actually picking up on a lot of the work that she and some other indigenous

women are doing. So I think that there's a shift. But of course, it's not. Not quick, but at least it's there. Yeah. Yeah. I think that's one of the hardest things is like having to step back for a second and let things go.

I: 1:27:08

Patience, patience is hard. Patience is hard. Makes Yeah. Sometimes you just want to shake people. But luckily, we're in a pandemic. So no one's close enough to me to get shaken anyway,

CML: 1:27:22

you're gonna feel that way for quite a while, tell you that this really go away. And if it's not a thing, it's another.

I: 1:27:32

I have no other questions, we covered 100% of what I've prepared. And I'm sure as I read and re watch some of these interviews later on, more will come up. But for today, I think that's all I have this Friday morning. And I don't want to keep you already 30 minutes past my original hour long window. But it's always a pleasure. I'll make sure, as I tell everyone, any quotes or excerpts that I use, everyone gets a copy of the draft of that chapter before it officially becomes part of the project. And transcripts of interviews, we can share back and forth to if that's if anyone's interested, and anything. Oh,

CML: 1:28:30

Might need only one thing. And I don't know if this is something that you're going to want to dive into or not. But at the very beginning, you've had mentioned like indigenous stereotypes of men, right? So with indigenous stereotypes, you have the noble Savage, or whatever we want to call it, or then you have the like the stupid drunk Indian. So there are two very big distinct stereotypes. And then, like this might be outside of the scope of your research, but just be conscious that those stereotypes have a very real influence on indigenous men. Anywhere from you know, it's too girly to have for men to have long hair, right? And like men cutting their hair even though traditionally that's something that men always have. And then just that it's sometimes hard for indigenous men to lead up to that noble savage stereotype, when, you know, we're in a colonial system that is literally built to break down indigenous people. So, like whether or not you want to actually go go into that. That might be too much but know that something I'll send you. Where are we here? Yeah, I was gonna say like they're actually I will send you one. Soon. It's someone from the like Woodstock thing. First Nation around Perry sound area. So it's, it's a little bit relevant but it might help so this is just like this it actually can be the actual link, but you have the link right here join me just

I: 1:30:37

Oh perfect yeah no that works.

CML: 1:30:41

He talks about like digital stereotypes and how harmful they can be

I: 1:30:58

yeah it seems like Seton set out for people to pretend to be the noble savage for the summer and the camp thing often turns into drinking and partying outside and it's almost too perfect the way the two somehow realign themselves in the outdoor community. Yeah.

CML: 1:31:26

No, it's a lot. It's a lot. Yeah. Honestly,

I: 1:31:31

I could do a whole other project solely about funding camps and how traditions are kept alive through people that hold the purse strings but I don't I'm not really looking to do a New York Times level expos I have all of the racial political leanings major donors at summer camp at the moment, maybe in the future.

CML: 1:32:00

I would wait until you kind of break this barrier down a little.

I: 1:32:05

Maybe a couple years removed from Camp before I started coming after my friend's parents.

CML: 1:32:12

Yes, yes, I would too.

I: 1:32:15

For sure. All right, well, I'm going to run because I really need to go to the bathroom. perfect. This is awesome timing Okay, I'm going to talk and anything you find that you think you want to pass on to me Go for it. There's never too much reading honestly. That's why I'm in one class because then I guess all my other time to read. But thanks so much.

CML: 1:32:51

better you than the me I couldn't do it.

I: 1:32:54

Awesome. Keep in touch.

CML: 1:33:04

If you have questions or anything, just even like if you have an idea that you know, you wanted to touch base on or something just didn't send an email, of course. Perfect.

I: 1:33:13

I will. Okay.

CML: 1:33:15

Well, good to see. Good to see you.

Appendix B: Consent Forms

Appendix B.1: Consent to Participation

Consent Form

Bates College Department/Program of American Studies

Title of the Study: Boys to Braves: Performing an Idealized Colonial State at Ontario Canoe Tripping Camps

Researcher Name(s):

Helen Bruckner, Student Researcher

Cell Phone Number: (216) 767-3339

Primary Email: hbruckne@bates.edu

Dr. Kristen Barnett, Research Advisor

Primary Email: kbarnett@bates.edu

The general purpose of this research is to critically engage with one's experience in the canoe tripping and outdoor communities ranging from childhood and through adulthood, in hopes of identifying harm reduction techniques that can be applied within these communities in the future. Participants in this study will be asked to speak and reflect openly on difficult topics such as gender, socioeconomic class, and race in the canoe tripping and outdoor communities. Findings from this study will be used as qualitative evidence in an undergraduate thesis with Honors designation, and will be presented to a closed panel during the thesis examination period between May 10th and May 21st, 2021. The project may also be submitted to relevant scholarly publications as well as for award recognitions from American and Canadian camping associations.

I hereby give my consent to participate in this research study. I acknowledge that the researcher has provided me with:

- A. An explanation of the study's general purpose and procedure.
- B. Answers to any questions I have asked about the study procedure.

I understand that:

- A. My participation in this study will take approximately 2 cumulative hours.
- B. The probability and magnitude of harm/discomfort anticipated as a result of participating in this study are not greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.
- C. The potential benefits of this study include time to reconnect with friends and peers in the camp community, qualitative discussion on current issues, and the potential betterment of the camp experience for future generations.
- D. I not will be compensated for participating in this study.

E. My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time. My refusal to participate will not result in any penalty or disadvantage.

F. My responses in this study will be kept confidential, to the extent permitted by law. The data will be stored on a password-protected computer and Google Drive, will be available to the researcher and research advisor exclusively, and research reports will only present findings on a group basis, without any personally identifying information.

Name (printed): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B.2: Consent to Audio/Video Recording

Additional Consent Form for Recordings of Interviews

Title of the Study: Boys to Braves: Performing an Idealized Colonial State at Ontario Canoe Tripping Camps

In addition to agreeing to participate, I consent to having the interview video recorded. I understand that the recording of my interview will be transcribed by the researcher and erased following the submission of the written project and the project's defense. Transcripts of my interview may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study, but will not be linked to my name. Neither my name nor my voice will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study, unless I give my explicit permission. Photographic images of me may prove useful to the project, but will not be included without signed consent.

A. I consent to having the interview video recorded.

Name (printed): _____

Signature _____ Date _____

B. I consent to having my name associated with my responses. (If I do not sign, my name will not be used.)

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix C: Google Form

Preliminary Interview Survey

Thank you for your interest in participating in my undergraduate thesis! Responses to this form will be used to create groups of participants with common experiences that will then be interviewed together via Zoom. Once responses have been categorized, follow up emails will be sent out containing consent forms and other information regarding future interviews. Please respond to the survey by Friday, February 12 to help ensure participation in the project.

* Required

1. Email *
2. I consent to the use of my responses for the purpose of creating interview groups and my responses may be used in the final project anonymously. (Type Full Name) *
3. What canoe tripping camp did you primarily attend? (Choose 1) * *Mark only one oval.*
Keewaydin Temagami
Camp Pathfinder, Algonquin Park
4. At what age did you begin attending camp? *
5. What years did you attend canoe tripping camp as a camper? (Ex. 2009-2015)
6. What years, if any, were you a staff member at canoe tripping camp? (If not applicable, respond N.A.) *
7. If you completed a trip to the Hudson Bay, at what settlement did the trip conclude? (If not applicable, respond N.A.) *
8. Did you have any relatives that also attended the same canoe tripping camp? (Select all that apply, if other, please specify) *
Check all that apply.
Father
Mother
Siblings
Grandparents
Extended family (Uncles, cousins)

None

Other:

9. How did you find out about camp? * *Mark only one oval*

Family connections

School

Church/Religious Institution Boy Scouts/Woodcraft groups Camp recruitment event

Other:

10. How involved in the canoe tripping community would you categorize yourself, whether it be visiting camp, canoe tripping with friends or family, attending camp reunions, etc.?

Mark only one oval.

Not involved at all

12345

Heavily involved

11. What day(s) of the week would be best for an interview of 1-2 hours? * *Check all that apply.*

Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday Sunday

12. What time of day works best for an interview of 1-2 hours? (If other, please specify) *

Check all that apply.

Morning Afternoon Evening

Other: