Past Tense

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Dear Readers,

We are thrilled to share the ninth volume of *Past Tense Graduate Review of History.*

Volume 9 features two articles that raise thought-provoking questions about the connections between commerce, colonialism, and the marginalization of women and children, from tropical Havana to frosty northern Ontario. Ruby Guyot's article examines a range of tourist guidebooks written for white American tourists travelling to Cuba in the Interwar years. Guyot's thoughtful analysis of these guidebooks draws out the role of American imperialism in the 1920s in the construction of Cuba as the "brothel of the Caribbean."

Robert Olajos' award-winning article follows the fascinating story of the "Indian day-school" on Bear Island as it adapted to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai's seasonal way of life. Through an in-depth study of the Bear Island Day School archive, Olajos crafts a subtle and powerful argument about the "nomadic colonialism" of settler societies and colonial governments in northern Canada, and its role in the destruction of the seasonal mobility of the Anishnaabeg.

Volume 9 of *Past Tense* also includes a critical commentary by Ari Finnsson on the question of "normality" emergent in our two-year struggle with the COVID-19 pandemic, meditating on Walter Benjamin's conception of temporality and the responsibilities of historians working in a moment of flux. We are also pleased to feature three excellent reviews of recent works on historical memory, globalization, and intellectual curiosity. Connor Thompson reviews Alan MacEachern's *The Miramichi Fire: A History* from McGill-Queen's University Press' series on Rural, Wildland, and Resource Studies. Aaron Molnar reviews Valerie Hansen's *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World - and Globalization Began* from Scribner Press. Alexander James Collin reviews Peter Burke's *The Polymath: A Cultural History from Leonardo da Vinci to Susan Sontag* from Yale University Press.

These pieces draw on a diverse array of disciplines and methodologies, raising a number of thoughtful questions about the ways that we remember, construct, and litigate the past. Our authors call on us to scru-

From the Editors

tinize the dominant representations of those marginalized by centuries of direct and indirect coercion, and to consider how these representations contribute to ongoing structures of dispossession and forgetting.

This has been a difficult year for us all as we continue to process and grieve the lives and communities lost to COVID-19, Canada's residential school system, and climate-related disaster. Here at *Past Tense*, we decided to use this as an opportunity to launch our new online platform. Past Tense Online expands the scope of the journal by offering young historians a year-round venue to reflect on current scholarship, graduate student life, and our place in a shifting academic and economic landscape. We are excited about the future of Past Tense Online and continuing to highlight the work of up-and-coming scholars in History and related disciplines across the humanities.

We are deeply indebted to the work of former editors Katie Davis and Hannah Cooley for their past (and ongoing) work on *Past Tense*, and their continued assistance with the production process. We are excited to announce Siddharth Sridhar as a new Co-Editor and we look forward to the continued development of new projects like Past Tense Online. We also thank Associate Editors Benjamin Holt and Graeme Sutherland. The editorial team recognizes the invaluable contributions of our volunteer peer reviewers, faculty reviewers, proofreaders, and copy editors from both the University of Toronto and abroad. Without the work of our fantastic team, we could not publish *Past Tense*.

Thank you for supporting *Past Tense Graduate Review of History* and the engaged scholarship of our contributors.

Sincerely,
Nastasha Sartore and Siddharth Sridhar
Editors, *Past Tense Graduate Review of History*
Toronto, Canada

Land Acknowledgement Statement

Past Tense is supported by the History Department at the University of Toronto. We wish to acknowledge the land on which we operate. For thousands of years it has been the traditional land of the Huron-Wendat, the Seneca, and the Mississaugas of the Credit. Today, this meeting place is still home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work on this land. It is a sincere privilege to learn from this land and from those whose relationship to it spans time immemorial. As uninvited guests, we also wish to acknowledge the violence that colonialism has committed to (and continues to wage against) this land and the communities who call it home. *Past Tense* is committed to highlighting the work of Indigenous students and scholars, and aims to challenge the colonial paradigms and knowledge systems that ground our discipline and continue to marginalize the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people of Turtle Island.

Research Article

"Swooning Beneath the Ardent Blaze of a Passionate Sun": Representations of Women in Tourist Guidebooks to Cuba, 1918-1926

Ruby Guyot
Freie Universität Berlin / Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

Focusing on tourist guidebooks to Cuba during the Long 1920s, this paper critically examines the ways in which Cuban women featured in tourist guidebooks authored by Americans. Using the tourist guidebook as a tool of analysis, the touristic power dynamic in Cuba is complicated by emphasizing the roles of guidebooks in the industry's construction. By looking at instances of gendered and exoticized language as well as specific references to Cuban women in romantic and sexual contexts, this paper demonstrates the ways in which tourist guidebooks utilized gender, sex, and ethnic appearance as key attractions in selling Cuba as a pleasure paradise. The choice to represent Cuban women in specifically sexualized terms is also situated within the perspective of the US imperial dynamic, paying attention to how American men influenced the portrayal of Cuban women for the benefit of the burgeoning tourism industry.

A 1926 American tourist guidebook to Cuba waxes poetic about the myriad reasons why a traveller might choose to visit. It includes the basic assurances that "travel is cheap, easy, and safe," "American money is used and much English is spoken," and "people [are] friendly and helpful."[1] Following these guarantees that the tourist's needs for safety and familiarity would be met, the guide also promises "there is much of touristic value to be seen in small compass, where unusual and unexpected pleasures await the traveler."[2] The guide does not define these "unusual and unexpected pleasures," but readers might draw connections to later sections in the guide featuring, among other attractions, Cuban women. The guidebook features descriptions of physical attributes of women from different parts of the island, phrases to use to charm a lady, and where to find the island's red-light district, alongside sections on food and transportation. These "unusual and unexpected pleasures," then, were likely describing more than just the island's unique terrain and Caribbean cuisine.

While the emphasis on Cuba's ability to please the tourist demonstrated the island's newfound popularity as the North American tropical playground by the 1920s, much of this perceived pleasure came from the depiction of the Cuban woman in tourist promotional materials such as guidebooks. These texts sold the island to male travellers in search of foreign adventures, both through gendered, hedonistic language and in explicit descriptions of the types of women Cuba had on offer. This paper critically examines tourist guidebooks to gain a deeper understanding of how American guidebook authors used Cuban women to market Cuba as a tourist paradise.[3] In addition, this paper situates these guidebook representations within a colonial perspective, exploring the power dynamic between foreign men and local women amidst the wider context of US hegemony over Cuba. By looking at tourist guidebooks dating from 1918 to 1926, this paper will demonstrate how their authors represented Cuban women as sexualized, exoticized beings to market Cuba as a top travel site. Through their representation in tourism advertising, Cuban women became just another tool to promote Cuba as a "pleasure island," while their own role in these representations was ambiguous, if not absent entirely. The choice of guidebook authors to represent Cuba and its women in such gendered, sensualized terms demonstrates the importance of the sexual narrative to the economics of the tourism industry, providing a clearer understanding of how gender and sexuality function in the production of guidebooks and under the neo-colonial setting of tourism.[4]

Few studies have thoroughly reviewed the growth and establishment of the tourism industry in Cuba, as the majority of the literature focuses on tourism post-1990.[5] The standout monograph on the subject is Rosalie Schwartz's *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*, which follows the growth of the tourism industry in Cuba and the way it evolved until the 1990s.[6] Following similar histories of tourism, Schwartz examines the Cuban industry's founding, peaks, and declines, connecting its development to a variety of local and global factors.[7] While Schwartz's study also engages with tourist promotional materials such as guidebooks in constructing its argument, it does not examine how guidebooks were con-

structed for a tourist audience. Schwartz also does not apply a gendered approach to her work, making only occasional reference to the sexualization of women in touristic Havana. Focusing on one critical source base, this paper locates the Cuban tourist industry in the context of the imperial and gendered power dynamics of the Long 1920s.

"A complete and trustworthy Guidebook has become a necessity": The Tourist Guidebook as an Analytical Category[8]

Although many different types of promotional tourist materials exist and form a part of the industry at large, this paper focuses on the American tourist guidebook as a means to understand Cuban tourism. The tourist guidebook as a genre of travel literature has a vivid history. Abridged travel suggestions can be found in ancient literature from the Middle East and the Mediterranean.[9] Guides about suggested routes and necessary etiquette also circulated in the age of the Grand Tour, or the travel rite of passage engaged upon by elites in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the tourist guidebook did not emerge as a distinct genre until the rise of the package tour in the nineteenth century, alongside the general development of mass tourism. Improvements in transportation technology brought people to destinations farther away in shorter times than ever before. Emergent middle-class populations around the globe, but particularly in Europe and the United States, developed new ideas of health, leisure, and culture that drew them beyond their native lands. Finally, imperialism in the nineteenth century inspired more Europeans and Americans to travel into the lands they colonized, thereby facilitating the growth of tourism industries. The oft-cited example of British-controlled Egypt and its connection to the Thomas Cook enterprise demonstrates how tourism could fall under the imperial toolkit as a means of cultural control, connecting the business of tourism with the apparatus of the colonial state.[10]

Tourist guidebooks were born out of the demand for accessible, affordable destination knowledge, and took off in earnest in the early nineteenth century. Publishing pioneers such as John Murray in Britain and Karl Baedeker in the German Rhineland gained notoriety for producing pocket-sized informative guides on specific routes or locations, opening a new market for travellers with the means for mobility in search of concise, trustworthy books to take on their journeys.[11] Guidebooks indeed often functioned alongside other types of travel literature, such as travel writings and advertisements published in newspapers and magazines, to provide would-be travellers with both the incentive and the information to undertake trips of their own. By the beginning of the twentieth century, guidebooks were a veritable literary genre, relied on by travellers and published by those seeking profit and recognition.

Scholars have frequently used guidebooks to explore sociohistorical elements of the tourist experience and the ways in which particular destinations were framed for foreign eyes.[12] They often factor as primary sources in a variety of studies, but

have only recently been critically examined as an analytical category themselves.[13] In these studies, the guidebook has been separated from other types of tourist literature, such as travel writing and short-form advertisements, distinguished by its audience, format, and intended use. Guidebooks were not written for local inhabitants and instead typically catered to foreigners. Moreover, they were often written by authors who spoke the tourist's language, on both literal and cultural levels. Guidebooks existed as tentative roadmaps for how to navigate a new place, with specific instructions or suggestions on what to see and how to see it. Finally, guidebooks also acted as both explicit and implicit curations of a foreign place. They included detailed information on a destination's history, culture, and people, constructing a specific vision of an area the traveller expected to see upon their arrival. In this way, guidebooks helped cultivate a national identity, and encouraged tourists to contend with the things that made their destination foreign and unfamiliar. In other words, guidebooks not only guided tourists on their pursuits for leisure abroad, but also constructed difference, positioning tourists in opposition to the people and cultures they would encounter.[14]

Utilizing the guidebook as an object of analysis allows us to explore the intricacies of the tourism dynamic in greater detail, particularly when it comes to tourism as a form of power relations. While early literature understood tourism through a bipolar power structure between "hosts" and "guests," recent scholarship has diversified the perspective of who wields power within a touristic setting.[15] Rather than focusing solely on travellers and locals, some have argued for the inclusion of a third group: brokers, or any individuals, mechanisms, or larger entities involved as middlemen within the business of tourism.[16] This would necessitate the integration of guiding materials into the evaluation of power, as Erik Cohen has argued in his work on the role of tourist guides.[17] Tourist guidebooks fit seamlessly into this discussion: their role as intermediary between tourists and destinations negotiates the relationships between them, while also serving as an extension of power, arming the tourist with knowledge and images of their travel destination.

Understanding that guidebooks contribute to and uphold touristic power structures, guidebooks can then be read as discursive materials that are part of larger processes, including imperialism. Historians of tourism have long argued that tourism and imperialism are simultaneous developments of modernity, as they embolden and fortify each other; once an area has been colonized, tourism industries accommodating foreigners easily follow.[18] This was true in Cuba, where the tourism industry developed alongside growing US influence in the country following Cuba's independence from Spain. Schwartz's study details the role of American capital in developing the tourism industry, and as Christine Skwiot has shown, the promotion of tourism to Cuba was a key facet of the American imperialistic program.[19] Although the US did not formally colonize Cuba, American influence and power had concrete implications for the development of tourism to the island, and American writers, proprietors, and companies created many of the promotional materials for tourism. Cuba's tourism industry was thus designed within "the fabric of the colonial," demonstrating how tourism functions as an expression of neo-col-

onialism.[20] As such, by encouraging the exploration of faraway destinations under the political and economic control of their home government, guidebooks facilitate the cultural colonialism that tourism enables.[21]

Tourist guidebooks can also be read as critical representations of gender and sexuality. Understanding gender as a continually negotiated social performance, where roles both signify power and structure ways of being, tourist guidebooks often both implicitly and explicitly used gender and (hetero)sexuality to reinforce the tourist's authority in a new destination.[22] Guidebooks catered specifically towards the needs of the male traveller, emphasizing his comfort, pleasure, and control even in the most foreign of locations.[23] Language that gendered and exoticized the tourist experience—emphasizing romantic, alluring destinations that were available to be explored, penetrated, or conquered—further promoted a dynamic which positioned masculine domination over feminine submission.[24] Given the image of Cuba as a pleasure island, or later as the "brothel of the Caribbean," there is a need for a more critical, historicized analysis of gender and sex in Cuban tourism. Schwartz's examination of pleasure focuses on class, exploring how wealth and class status were connected to the pursuit of pleasure for bourgeois Americans.[25] But pleasure, similar to other emotions, is a highly gendered concept, suggesting romantic and sexual fulfillment, as defined from a male perspective. By deconstructing the imperialist, gendered, and exoticized nature of tourist guidebooks to Cuba, one can unveil the underpinnings of the tourist industry's rise and the impact of guides and brokers in creating images of the Caribbean for American consumption.

Standard Guide to Cuba, 1918: Cuban Women as Tourist Attractions

The tourism industry in Cuba developed initially rather slowly, owing to violent conflict and a lack of touristic infrastructure in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.[26] In spite of these obstacles, however, some Americans still made the journey. Individuals with chronic illnesses occasionally made trips to Havana and the Cuban inland for purposes of recuperation.[27] As they did so, they established connections with wealthy plantation owners and created demand for improved travel conditions through their travel accounts, which, as Richard Morris argues, facilitated the birth of the tourist industry in Cuba at-large.[28] As wealthy Americans increasingly pursued travel in the United States and beyond, and as their trust in travel literature increased, the Caribbean island soon became a destination of interest.[29]

Only after the Cuban independence of 1898, and the subsequent American military and political interventions, did tourism brokers begin to transform the island. Changes came rapidly in the period between 1907 and 1919, with real estate developers and politicians seeking to take advantage of potential financial gains.[30] In just over a decade, the Cuban state, in cooperation with foreign investors and tycoons, implemented new developments to accommodate tens of thousands of prospective visitors. For example, new luxury hotels sprang up across Havana,

boasting hot water and electricity for all rooms as a result of public works projects designed to make Cuba a more comfortable travel destination.[31] Improvements to the island's transportation infrastructure and sanitation were explicitly billed by the Cuban government as not only beneficial for Cubans, but also in support of the tourism initiative.[32] Railways and steamship companies also increasingly promoted voyages to the island, emphasizing the fast, enjoyable experience of taking a well-equipped, modern vessel.[33] Journeys to Cuba from ports in New York and Florida provided ease of access for urban travellers, who could expect a certain standard of comfort from established transportation lines backed by American and foreign financiers. It was these investments and collaborations, spurred on by American capitalists and the Cuban government, that allowed for Cuba to be made into a holiday destination, whilst also further embedding the US into the island's economic structure.

US influence in Cuba at the beginning of the twentieth century was heavy-handed, with military occupations and direct political interference under the guise of the Platt Amendment.[34] The US also exerted influence in Cuba's legal debates over the growth of tourism, specifically regarding proposed legislation to increase the construction of leisure sites such as casinos. A so-called "Monte Carlo bill" introduced in 1910 was met with widespread disapproval from the US, the tension of which contributed to the bill's ultimate failure.[35] For the most part, however, American influence in the growth of Cuban tourism favoured its development, with US investors pouring money into buying up land, building new leisure sites, and improving the material conditions of Havana in particular.[36]

Guidebooks catered specifically towards the needs of the male traveller, emphasizing his comfort, pleasure, and control even in the most foreign of locations.

As tourism promoters and the Cuban government primed the country for visitors, tourist guidebooks began to cater to a larger market. Previous guidebooks to Cuba tended to be written for specific kinds of tourists—the wealthy Havana-goer, the adventure-seeker, or the "invalid"—and they offered scant, outdated advice, often combining Cuba with other Caribbean islands.[37] Newer versions of guidebooks instead emphasized the changing political situation since Cuban independence (and American interference) and improved infrastructure that allowed for more extensive travel. The *Standard Guide to Cuba*, published by two American proprietors who organized tourist activities in Cuba, was one such guide that met this need.[38] The guide was written by Charles Reynolds, one half of the Foster and Reynolds publishing duo, who had been publishing the *Standard Guide* since at least 1905.[39] At under 200 pages and costing only 50 American cents, the guide

was intended to function as an easy-to-consult, inexpensive overview of Cuba, to prepare the tourist for travel abroad, and to inspire interest and intrigue in the destination.

As a guidebook, the *Standard Guide* lives up to its name, providing a standard overview of Cuba for a general audience. It contains concise yet detailed descriptions of the island's history, and provides cultural tidbits appropriate to the traveller, from stories on Havana in the days of Spanish rule to the increasingly popular pastime of baseball.[40] The guide appealed to the tourist who was comfortable but still careful to find the best value, since it notes the prices of rail tickets while still featuring advertisements for goods such as pianos.[41] It also presents the view that US intervention in Cuba was not only for the best, but that it was supported by many Cubans.[42] In subtle ways, however, the guide seems to cater especially to the male traveller. Although the guide contains two advertisements for women's clothing, it otherwise envisions its audience as primarily male, with the use of masculine pronouns in conjunction with "the traveller." The guide also describes the island using exoticized language, presenting it as "seductive," "soft and balmy," and "alluring and delightful."[43]

Other sections of the guide explicitly discuss Cuban women, further connecting the romance of the island to the "pretty girls" who inhabited it.[44] Alongside a note on the common behaviour of leaving windows open for the circulation of air, for example, the authors state that this lifestyle "has an effect on the physique of the people."[45] They suggest this sentiment is so common that it is "a subject of frequent remark by travelers," before then quoting a famous American poet, who noted, "The girls as well as the young men have rather narrow shoulders, but as they advance in life, the chest, in the women particularly, seems to expand from year to year, till it attains an amplitude by no means common in our country."[46] This sensualized depiction of Cuban women entices the tourist by comparing their bodies to those of women from their own country. By insisting that this observation about Cuban women's physique was shared frequently by other presumably male visitors, the guidebook sanctioned the tourist's desires, thus inviting him to experience Havana and its women for himself.

Scattered descriptions of Cuban women and their typical mannerisms also ap-

...sections of the guide explicitly discuss Cuban women, further connecting the romance of the island to the "pretty girls" who inhabited it.

pear throughout the guidebook. One such reference is part of a small section on the behaviour of women who carried fans. The paragraph is mostly descriptive, elaborating on the various moods a lady might express by wielding a fan, but the authors also note that "the language of the fan in the Cuban's hand is an adroit and expressive pantomime that requires no foreign interpreter."[47] This suggests that a traveller could expect to communicate easily with Cuban women, giving tourists in pursuit of female company more reason to visit Havana. In case the subtle cues of the fan were not enough, the guidebook also includes a small Spanish-English dictionary, which contains useful words and phrases for everyday encounters. However, amidst the rather mundane sections like "Washing List" and "Food," one section, ambiguously titled "Personality," offers an interesting set of vocabulary words. The section, although short, features words such as *una rubia* (a blonde), *tez blanca* and *moreno* (fair complexion and "swarthy"), and *hermosa*, *bella*, and *bonita* (beautiful and pretty).[48] The guidebook thus prepared the tourist with phrases that could be useful in charming a Cuban woman, or in asking for a woman of a specific hair and skin colour, all for his pursuit of pleasure. A tourist reading this guide could thus feel at ease knowing Cuba and its women would be available for him to discover.

While the guide does not make many explicit reference to the diverse racial makeup of the Cuban population, it does make one specific remark related to the city of Camagüey.[49] Described rather romantically in the guide as a destination of "attractive pictures which lure the visitors to extended explorations," the section goes on to discuss race in Camagüey's population.[50] In particular, the guide notes that Camagüey is one of the least racially mixed parts of the island, containing the highest population of white settlers. Immediately following this information, the guide also remarks that Camagüey is reputed for its "beautiful women, more than any other town on the island."[51] Although the author does not make the connection explicit, the juxtaposition of these statements suggests that female beauty is connected to whiteness. Such a statement, alongside other descriptions of Cuban women, reflects the intended reader—an educated, upper middle-class American male, who was curious enough about the alluring nature of the island but not yet enticed by more blatant sexualization and exoticization.

The *Standard Guide to Cuba* is a concise advertisement for the island, focusing on the most important details a traveller would need to know in planning a trip. Suggestive references about white Cuban women are telling, as they demonstrate the possibilities for romance and sex during travel, albeit in a veiled way. In this regard, the guide contributed to the cultural colonization of Cuba, as it aimed to open up the island for further visitors, with careful, deliberate details on romantic encounters. Indeed, the *Standard Guide* provides a glimpse of what was to come for promotional tourist materials to Cuba, as the tourism industry continued to expand. Cuba's passage of a tourism bill in 1919 allowed for the construction of new lodgings, roads, and "recreational centers," which encompassed, among other things, movie houses and casinos.[52] In addition, the bill established a committee for the promotion of tourism known as the Cuban Tourism Commission, which was made up of government officials, business proprietors, investors, and promoters,

ensuring the island would continue to be marketed to wealthy Americans looking for pleasure abroad.[53] Future marketing efforts continued to capitulate to the desires of tourists, and as Cuba was increasingly identified with vices such as gambling and drinking into the 1920s, promotional materials used Cuban women to tempt tourists and market the island.[54]

Terry's Guide to Cuba, 1926: Selling Sex under the Sun

By the mid-1920s, tourism to Cuba had increased rapidly, with the 1919 tourism bill incentivizing the construction of new leisure sites and easier travel routes. The years between 1924 and 1931 saw the peak of early tourism in Cuba, with the industry experiencing steady growth and revenue until the arrival of the global economic depression.[55] Americans were lured to Cuba for a variety of reasons, among them the steady economic boom in the US, which provided the middle and upper classes with an influx of cash to spend. Cuba was also elevated to the spotlight after a series of particularly devastating weather seasons in Florida, a previous hotspot for sun-seeking travellers.[56] Hurricanes that destroyed and killed thousands of people on the Florida coastline merely knocked over a few lampposts in Havana, making it a more attractive destination for cautious visitors.[57] Finally, Americans could count on Cuba as a place where alcoholic drinks could be easily procured, as Prohibition shuttered bars back home.[58] As such, the development of the industry was intricately linked to the emergent travel desires of an increasingly mobile group of adventurous Americans.

The increase in the number of tourists travelling to Cuba during this time period—with statistics being unreliable, but suggesting vacationers exceeding hundreds of thousands in any given season—was not merely due to material improvements in Cuban touristic facilities or in conditions at home.[59] Their arrival was engineered in large part by the burgeoning market in travel literature, including magazine columns, advertisements, and the now-ubiquitous guidebook.[60] Articles dedicated to selling Cuba as a must-see destination, promising lavish entertainment and picturesque sights, appeared frequently in the pages of popular travel magazines. Stories of elegant social gatherings after a day at the horse track or of ringing in a new year under the sun circulated widely in travel literature, luring Americans with means to Havana and beyond.[61]

Although the audience of travel literature represents a broader demographic, as women were also fervid magazine readers, the ideal tourist in many guidebooks was still male and white. In his exemplary study of travel literature in early twentieth-century Germany, Rudy Koshar highlights the proliferation of "by gaslight" guidebooks, which were designed for male travellers.[62] Originating in the mid-nineteenth century, these guides show the "underworld" of the city in question, particularly its seedier spots and activities, catering specifically to businessmen on sojourns in new locales. These guidebooks were especially popular in the Interwar era, when leisure culture and changing perceptions of gender and sexual behavior made seeking out romance and sex while travelling an especially exciting holiday

Amidst a sea of colourful Cuban characters, Terry observes "that under this quickening sun the Cuban girls are almost as generously developed at 14 as their pale Northern sisters are at 20, and also that genuine beauties are more common than in the colder regions."[71]

venture. The Cuba of the 1920s, which had been primed for nearly two decades as a site for pleasure, made a perfect destination for such "by gaslight" guidebooks.

It was in this context that *Terry's Guide to Cuba* (1926) was published by the major publishing company Houghton Mifflin, as part of a series of T. Philip Terry's travel guides for destinations ranging from Mexico to Japan.[63] The Cuba guide, at over 500 pages and costing $3.50, served as a comprehensive tool for Americans planning a trip, from a name and imprint that might have been familiar to vacationers. Although more expensive than the *Standard Guide*, *Terry's Guide* is packed with information, including extensive sections on the history, art, culture, fauna, and cuisine of Cuba, from Havana to lesser-known cities and towns. With plenty of attention to money-saving tricks, it also appealed to the middle-class traveller, suggesting that the market for tourist guidebooks was diversifying its audience by seeking to accommodate differing types of individuals.

But if *Terry's Guide to Cuba* appealed to a broader market, it still centred the male American as its target audience. Like other tourist guides, the opening pages offer brief glimpses of the various destinations a tourist might visit during *his* stay, and all of these descriptions include alluring and sexually suggestive language. For example, Terry recommends an area called the Isle of Pines, arguing that "No traveler who loves romanticism and tropical beauty charmingly blended […] will omit a visit."[64] Another site, Ancient Santiago, features as "one of the loveliest and most romantically historic bays in the southern world, [and] possesses a lure which the most blasé traveler finds difficulty in resisting."[65] Finally, for the athletically inclined, Terry suggests Pico de Turquino and its "virgin fields of such richness that a long lifetime will not suffice to exhaust their interest."[66] The guidebook's references to an area's romantic charm, its temptation and lure, and its unexplored potential denote male desire. Even in its descriptions, the guidebook centres Cuba's romantic and sexual charms before it even mentions Cuban women.

Terry dedicates an entire section to "The Cuban People," quickly jumping to a discussion of Cuban women. This section sits between the typical topics of guidebooks, like recommendations for restaurants, travel routes, and public safety. The paragraphs on Cuban women are mostly fawning, characterizing them as "noted for their beauty, vivacity, and charm."[67] The descriptions focus almost entirely on

their winsome appearances and affable personalities, providing an image to tourists of what may await them on their visit. Terry even includes a section on Cuban women's desires, describing them as fond of "bonbons, bright colours, music, dancing, and flowers" rather than the more scholarly pursuits of "books and reading."[68]

Although the section aims to "correct" stereotypes about the Cuban woman, portraying her as "by no means the passionate creature she is sometimes represented to be," Terry goes on to detail when Cuban women become available for romance.[69] Immediately following a line on how the Cuban woman is maternal and well-suited for marriage, Terry suggests that "In Cuba women mature early, and at 16 the alluring tropical bud is ready to evolve into a winsome and adorable flower."[70] He makes a similar comment on the sexual maturation of Cuban girls later in the guide when describing the types of people the tourist might encounter at a train station. Amidst a sea of colourful Cuban characters, Terry observes "that under this quickening sun the Cuban girls are almost as generously developed at 14 as their pale Northern sisters are at 20, and also that genuine beauties are more common than in the colder regions."[71] The obvious sexual connotations and the depiction of Cuban women's suitability for marriage and motherhood are striking in a tourist guide. Terry's remarks on the sexual availability of Cuban girls have seemingly little to do with the typical tourist pursuits of sun and sand, but were still considered important enough to note more than once in the guide. While other sections throughout the book also focus on ostensibly non-essential information, including those on art or national history, these deliberate representations of Cuban female sexuality sell the island to tourists seeking pleasures beyond alcoholic beverages and late-night gambling.

The frequent references to Cuban women in *Terry's Guide to Cuba* are also punctuated by explicit discussions of their racial backgrounds. Although the *Standard Guide* is reticent to make remarks about non-white women, *Terry's Guide to Cuba* does not hesitate in using the image of *La Mulata* (the mixed-race woman) to show off the island's allure.[72] The famous nineteenth-century Cuban play *Cecilia Valdés,* for example, is mentioned throughout the guidebook, in various historical and literary asides. The story portrays a beautiful mixed-race woman who falls in love with her half-brother, a white Spaniard, while rebuking the advances of a Black lower-class musician. Although the play ends in tragedy for Cecilia, who is thrown in prison after attempting revenge on her former upper-class lover, Terry deploys the allure of *La Mulata* Cecilia to encapsulate the island as a land of romantic availability. The guide lauds the play as perfectly portraying "Cuban life, feminine intrigue, slavery and Spanish colonial episodes," the central charms of the island to American tourists.[73] Indeed, Terry presents *Cecilia Valdés* as "a masterpiece of power, beauty and charm; fairly drenched with tropical grace and a woman's consuming love of love."[74] In this way, the guide invokes the celebrated and widely-known image of the sexualized, mixed-race Caribbean woman to invite the tourist to seek out his own Cecilia Valdés in the harbours of Havana.

Aside from preparing the tourist with descriptions of Cuban women's appearances, personalities, and desires, as well as their sexual availability, the guide also

directly informs travellers of amorous entertainment in Havana. Some of these remarks warn the tourist of particularly seedy establishments, where the pursuit of pleasure came at a cost. For example, Terry alludes to certain theatres "for men only (*para hombres solamente*)" where one could find "vulgar pantomime and obscene suggestion."[75] The "plays" at these establishments were performed by "globular females with violent complexions and belladonna eyes" that only a truly desperate or "prurient" man would desire.[76] The guide emphasizes that visits to such establishments, although technically legal, could land the tourist in hot water. Patrons could be subjected to police raids, having their wallet stolen, or perhaps worst of all, exposure to "an entomological congress in which *pulex irritans* or *Phthirius pubic* are inconspicuous but hungry elements."[77] Informing the tourist of the potential for public embarrassment or even parasites, Terry takes responsibility for protecting travellers from their unchecked impulses, or at least by suggesting which establishments were not worth the risk while still providing the details for said pleasure dens.

While the guide warns the tourist against seedier or more dangerous destinations for sexual pleasure, it also hints at where to go or what to look for instead. When describing the intricacies of windows in Havana, Terry notes in an aside that in "certain naughty places where the bud and blossom of the half-world foregather and practice wicked arts," a tourist might find himself greeted by "an impish courtezan face" who calls "*venga para acá* (come here!)."[78] Immediately following this passage is another picture of what the tourist might see through an open window, from "generous, fugitive glimpses of alluring interiors" to "feminine forms in provocatively revealing negligee."[79] Although these sentences describe different scenes, one suggesting a potential brothel and the other detailing an accidental intimate glance into a regular home, both rely on sexualized representations of Cuban women. The tourist is thus primed to see Cuba's culture of open windows as not just an interesting example of cultural difference, but also as an opportunity for voyeurism, to spot beautiful women in a state of undress—or, depending on the neighbourhood, to purchase sex.

In its dedication to informing the tourist about everything he could desire during his trip, the guidebook also addresses prostitution directly, despite its taboo status. Prostitution in Cuba was dubiously legal and deregulated at the time although it was looked down upon by many Cubans and, in Havana, restricted to a specific area of town.[80] The guide includes several paragraphs on prostitution in its section on Havana's nightlife, teasing that "those in the know easily find delirious haunts where star-eyed, radiant-faced *señoritas* and surprisingly emancipated demoiselles dance the winsome and beguiling *habanera* without fear of being pinched by some horse-faced minion of the law."[81] Indeed, to further assure the tourist that local police would employ a hands-off approach, the guide stresses the authorities' "solicitude for one's safety rather than an inquisitional boring into one's private affairs."[82] The tourist might thus conclude that he could pursue his desires without fear of the repercussions he might experience in North America, making Havana an attractive destination for those seeking out sexual encounters.

Allusions to Havana's "many beautiful Cuban women" and boasts that travellers would be "swooning beneath the ardent blaze of a passionate sun" alongside explicit guides to Havana's sex trade were meant to draw men to Cuba as a pleasure destination.[88]

Finally, for ever-curious travellers explicitly looking for sex, the guide provides more specific information on where to find brothels or prostitutes in Havana. While remarking that "hetairism" remains a "delicate sociological evil," and that "brothels and harlotry are not supposed to exist in Havana but it is believed that they do," Terry seemingly ignores his own moral judgement and his supposed doubt of the industry's existence to provide further information. Terry then lists a series of roads and wharves where "the salaciously-inclined may witness startling scenes in the flesh or by means of moving pictures."[84] In case the exact roads were not enough for the tourist to find his way, the guide also provides a helpful hint to look for "the cryptic number *soixante-neuf* (sesenta y nueve, or 69)" on the houses in order to locate said establishments with ease.[85]

These pseudo-warnings against Havana's nightlife continue, as the guide illuminates the particular perils of the women on the wharves. Terry describes these areas after dark as "a prurient spot resorted to by courtesans varying in complexion from peach white to coal black; 15-year old flappers and ebony antiques […] studiously displaying their physical charms."[86] The women are portrayed as "gossamer wantons with loving dispositions, who are brutally referred to as p—s and p*rostitutas*," known to "practice the scarlet arts of Aspasia and sacrifice themselves on the altar of Aphrodite."[87] Despite a tepid suggestion that tourists avoid these areas, Terry includes precise details on where to find women selling sex, indicating that readers desired such information despite prevailing North American social mores regarding prostitution. Regardless of how Terry might have personally felt about the trade, evidenced by his numerous cautions against seeking out sex workers in Cuba, prostitution was relevant enough to the tourist experience that he includes it amongst more banal travel tips. In other words, Terry's considerable effort in marketing Cuba as a lust-filled destination required the commodification of Cuban women's bodies through advertisements for Havana's sex trade.

Terry's Guide to Cuba demonstrates succinctly how tourist guidebooks both created and facilitated male visitors' desires. While emphasizing repeatedly the beauty of the island through enticing feminine descriptions, as well as the physical beauty of Cuban women, the guidebook creates a sexual expectation for men travelling to Cuba. Allusions to Havana's "many beautiful Cuban women" and boasts that travellers would be "swooning beneath the ardent blaze of a passionate sun"

alongside explicit guides to Havana's sex trade were meant to draw men to Cuba as a pleasure destination.[88] These guidebooks contributed to the sexualized, exoticized representation of Cuban women in the promotion of the tourist trade, as their bodies became intimately tied to the landscape of tourism and the entertainment that tourists sought out during their short stays.

Conclusion: Women's Agency in the Tourism Dynamic

During the golden years of Cuban tourism in the Long 1920s, tourist guidebooks relied heavily on sexualized, racialized representations of Cuban women. Painting Cuba as a land of beautiful and sexually available ladies, promoters of tourism enticed male travellers to the island, so they might empty their wallets for the possibility of a romantic or sexual encounter. Through a mixture of coy descriptions of Havana's maidens' sexual availability and appearance and explicit information on the sex trade, these guidebooks constructed Cuba as a pleasure island filled with seductive landscapes and irresistible entertainment, as well as alluring, racially diverse women, eager to satisfy North American men's desires. In doing so, these guidebooks centred the pursuit of sex as a mainstream tourist attraction in Cuba, giving the island its long-lasting reputation as the "brothel of the Caribbean," which haunted it throughout the twentieth century.

Given that tourism advertising was developed, promoted, and written by a select group—namely, the Cuban Tourism Committee, foreign industry investors, and private guidebook authors—the Cuban women whose representations were central to the industry's marketing strategy likely had little to do with their depictions. Although it is impossible to ascertain how Cuban women felt about their representations in guidebooks, it is unlikely that they had much input on decisions to portray them as physically attractive, romance-seeking, and sexually available. Promotional materials like guidebooks were usually written by "experienced travelers," who, in the interwar years, were mostly men. In other words, these guidebooks were written by and for white American men. The authors spoke their audience's language and shared similar cultural understandings and social expectations, making them a trustworthy source for would-be travellers. Besides relating the benefits of the US intervention in independent Cuba, and the supposedly near-universal consent of the Cuban people to American intervention, these authors harnessed the image of Cuban women to further a narrative of American sexual domination over the island, in both metaphorical and literal terms. Although it is possible that guidebook writers consulted with local Cubans and had an understanding of Cuban culture—as suggested by the many pages dedicated to explaining cultural and social intricacies to a foreign audience—ultimately, they wrote from their own perspective as privileged foreigners. The fetishization of Cuban women as objects of desire and adventure for American men thus reflects the power imbalance maintained by foreign, American men over the local population, entrenching these specific roles for Cuban women in the burgeoning tourism industry for decades to come.

Understanding the significance of representation in the tourist dynamic in independent Cuba is an ongoing process. We may never know, for example, how American men who consulted these guidebooks actually used them, and whether guides to romance on the island truly inspired dogged pursuers to roam the wharves looking for sex. Even the women who were represented may have had their own stake in these representations—some Cuban women may have benefitted from the increased tourist attention, whether financially, socially, or even personally. However, it is clear more work must be done to understand how women in particular experienced the emergence of the tourism industry in Cuba and their representations within it. The conventional portrayal of women as supposedly lacking engagement with historical processes—women as spectators, or as counterparts to the transformations driven by men—continues to be an untenable and uncritical way of examining the past. A more thorough examination of tourism in Cuba, which fully incorporates the perspectives of locals, and more specifically local women, is necessary to understand the complex power dynamics at play in the cultivation of the industry.

The tourism boom in Cuba did not last forever, with the economic depression of the 1930s temporarily tapering the desire for international travel, and the 1920s represented the peak of the island as a tropical playground. Nowhere else could Americans find salacious entertainment so close to home, with tourists lured into casinos and clandestine movie houses throughout the decade. For eager travellers and industry makers alike, the construction of Cuba as a pleasure island through the proliferation of guidebooks provided ample opportunity for sun, sand, and sex, where American men could fulfill romantic fantasies sold to them by clever advertisers. For the women on sale, however, the realities of having their bodies exhibited as attractions for the benefit of foreign men were not as idyllic as these advertisements made them out to be. ◆

Endnotes

[1] T. Philip Terry, *Terry's Guide to Cuba* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926), iii, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89064200611.

[2] Terry, iii.

[3] Several sparse references are made to middle- and upper-class travellers to Cuba from other regions, such as Canada, France, and Germany, in the secondary literature I consulted. However, because none of these sources provide concrete information on these travel groups, because the guidebooks referenced in this paper are marketed at and written by Americans, and also given that transportation connections were mentioned only from American ports and railway stations, this paper will limit itself to the demographic of Americans travelling to Cuba.

[4] Several critical works in the history of tourism have influenced the direction of my study: see Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589–603, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2776259; John Urry, T*he Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990); Erik Cohen, "The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches,

Issues, and Findings," *Annual Review of Sociology* 10 (1984): 373-392, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2083181; and David Engerman, "Research Agenda for the History of Tourism: Towards an International Social History," *American Studies International* 32, no. 2 (1994): 3–31, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41279226.

[5] For some of the available literature on later histories of tourism in Cuba, see for example Evan R. Ward, *Packaged Vacations: Tourism Development in the Spanish Caribbean* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008). Some of the literature is not explicitly historical, falling more into the social anthropology or marketing fields of scholarship. For example, see David Duval, ed., *Tourism in the Caribbean: Trends, Development, Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2004); Valerio Simoni, *Tourism and Informal Encounters in Cuba* (New York: Berghahn, 2016); and Florence E. Babb, *The Tourism Encounter: Fashioning Latin American Nations and Histories* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[6] See Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

[7] Schwartz, xi-xv.

[8] Terry, iii.

[9] Eric G. E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 6-9.

[10] See Waleed Hazbun, "The East as an Exhibit: Thomas Cook & Son and the Origins of the International Tourism Industry in Egypt," in *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith, and History*, ed. Philip Scranton and Janet F. Davidson (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3-33; Zuelow, 1-59, 91-111.

[11] Zuelow, 78-79.

[12] Several highly informative studies that use tourist guidebooks as primary sources in the history of tourism are worth noting here. They include John M. MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guidebooks and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Century," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict*, ed. John K. Walton (Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2005), 19-38; Rudy Koshar, "'What ought to be seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 323–340, https://www.jstor.org/stable/261119; Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Ben Looker, *Exhibiting Imperial London: Empire and the City in Late Victorian and Edwardian Guidebooks* (London: Centre for Urban and Community Research, 2002); Alan Sillitoe, *Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1995); and Mary Louise Pratt, I*mperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[13] See Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks* (Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2016); Maya Mazor-Tregerman, Yoel Mansfield, and Ouzi Elyada, "Travel Guidebooks and the Construction of Tourist Identity," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 15, no. 1 (2017): 80-98, https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2015.1117094; Nicholas T. Parsons, *Worth the Detour: A History of the Guidebook* (Sutton, UK: Stroud, 2007); Zuelow, 76-90.

[14] Peel and Sørensen, 15-29; Koshar, "'What ought to be seen,'" 325-326.

[15] On the hosts and guests paradigm, see Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

[16] This argument is detailed in So-Min Cheong and Marc L. Miller, "Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation," *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 2 (2000): 371-380, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00065-1.

[17] Erik Cohen, "The Tourist Guide: The Origins, Structure and Dynamics of a Role," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 5-29, https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(85)90037-4.

[18] A thorough and engaging panel of several prominent and emerging tourism scholars provides much food for thought regarding tourism and imperialism: see Shelley Baranowski, Christopher Endy, Waleed Hazbun, Stephanie Malia Hom, Gordon Pirie, Trevor Simmons, and Eric G. E. Zuelow, "Tourism and Empire," J*ournal of Tourism History* 7, no. 1-2 (2015): 100-130, https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2015.1063709.

[19] See Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: US Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawaii* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 1-2. For more on the theoretical framework of cultural imperialism between North and Latin America, also see Ricardo D. Salvatore, "The Enterprise of Knowledge: Representational Machines of Informal Empire," in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 69-104.

[20] Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989): 322, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2155895.

[21] Crick, 322-323. It is also important to note, as ever, that tourism is not solely a colonial endeavour dominated by one powerful actor, but rather it sees multiple forces engage with each other in a sort of struggle for influence and control. See Dennis Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). For more studies specifically using guidebooks as tools to examine colonialism under tourism, see Aparajita Mukhopadhyay, "Colonised Gaze? Guidebooks and Journeying in Colonial India," S*outh Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 37, no. 4 (2014): 656-669, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00856401.2014.952972; Gerrit Verhoeven and Nina Payrhuber, "'Les pèlerins de la saison sèche:' Colonial Tourism in the Belgian Congo, 1945-60," *Journal of Contemporary History* 54, no. 3 (2019): 573-593, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009418761215.

[22] Studies on gender and tourism, particularly in history, are continually being undertaken, although the field is still in need of development. Some important texts include Cara Aitchison, "Theorizing Other discourses of gender, tourism, and culture. Can the subaltern speak (in tourism)?" *Tourist Studies* 1, no. 2 (2001): 133-147, https://doi.org/10.1177/146879760100100202; Margaret Byrne Swain, "Gender in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 2 (1995): 247-266, https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(94)00095-6; Soile Veijola and Eeva Jokinen, "The Body in Tourism," *Theory, Culture & Society* 11, no. 3 (1994): 125-151, https://doi.org/10.1177/026327694011003006; Vivian Kinnaird and Derek R. Hall, ed., *Tourism: A Gender Analysis* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley, 1994); Cynthia Enloe, "Lady Travelers, Beauty Queens, Stewardesses, and Chamber Maids: The International Gendered Politics of Tourism," in *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014); Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Tamar Diana Wilson and Annelou Ypeij, "Introduction: Tourism, Gender, and Ethnicity," *Latin American Perspectives* 39, no. 6 (November 2012): 5-16, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41702290; and Barbara Grubner, Kerstin Tiefenbacher, and Patricia Zuckerhut, "Transnationale Intimbeziehungen: Zur aktuellen Transformationslogik von Gender und Sexualität im Ferntourismus," *Anthropos* 108, no. 1 (2013): 205-218, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23510272.

[23] Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, "Privileging the Male Gaze: Gendered Tourism Landscapes," *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (2000): 885-886, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00113-9.

[24] Pritchard and Morgan, 889-895.
[25] Schwartz, 1-15.
[26] Schwartz, xxi, 5-6; Richard E. Morris, "Hosts and Guests in Early Cuba Tourism," *Journal of Tourism History* 8, no. 2 (2016): 172-175, https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2016.1212936.
[27] Morris, 182.
[28] Morris, 182-183.
[29] For more on how tourist guidebooks became relevant in American tourism, see Will B. Mackintosh, "The Prehistory of the American Tourist Guidebook," *Book History* 21 (2018): 89-124, https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.2018.0003.
[30] Schwartz, 17-38.
[31] Schwartz, 17-20.
[32] Schwartz, 17-20.
[33] Examples of these advertisements can be found in both tourist guides (no pagination).
[34] Louis A. Perez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 151-159.
[35] Schwartz, 26-27.
[36] Schwartz, 42-47.
[37] A good example of this type of guidebook was one such text that included Cuba as a part of several other islands, focused on Havana, had a section specifically for "invalids," and implored the traveller to take firearms with them on their journey, as safety was a prime concern. See C.D. Tyng, *The Stranger in the Tropics: Being a Hand-Book for Havana and Guide Book for Travellers in Cuba, Puerto Rico and St. Thomas* (New York: American News Company, 1868), 14, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89095796835.
[38] Charles B. Reynolds, *Standard Guide to Cuba* (Havana, Cuba and New York: Foster & Reynolds Co. Publishing, 1918).
[39] It appears as if Reynolds was the author of the duo, while Foster was the "on the ground"'source; the book contains many instructions that if the tourist has any want or need, to simply "Ask Mr. Foster" at his traveller's office in Havana. The duo also published guides to Florida and St. Augustine from the 1890s. The earliest catalogued version of the *Standard Guide to Cuba* I found was from 1905; see Charles B. Reynolds, *Standard Guide to Cuba* (Havana, Cuba and New York: Foster & Reynolds Co. Publishing, 1905), https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100489610.
[40] Reynolds, 29, 99.
[41] Reynolds, 12-13, advertisement without pagination.
[42] Reynolds, 49-50.
[43] Reynolds, 172, 175, 183, and advertisements without pagination.
[44] Reynolds, 175.
[45] Reynolds, 22.
[46] Reynolds, 22-23.
[47] Reynolds, 44.
[48] Reynolds, 143.
[49] Reynolds, 98.
[50] Reynolds, 146.
[51] Reynolds, 154.
[52] Schwartz, 31-33.
[53] Schwartz, 33.
[54] Schwartz, 31-34, 44; Tony L. Henthorne, *Tourism in Cuba: Casinos, Castros, and Challenges* (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2018), 11-12.

[55] Schwartz, 80.
[56] See Tracy J. Revels, *Sunshine Paradise: A History of Florida Tourism* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011), 63-78.
[57] Schwartz, 62.
[58] Henthorne, 12. For a closer look at Prohibition and its connections with Cuba, see Eduardo Sáenz Rovner, "U.S. Prohibition and Smuggling from Cuba," in *The Cuban Connection: Drug Trafficking, Smuggling, and Gambling in Cuba from the 1920s to the Revolution*, trans. Russ Davidson (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 17-30.
[59] Statistics are found sporadically in Schwartz's text. For example, one sentence mentions 600,000 tourists to Cuba between July 1928 to July 1932, and another mentions at least 80,000 tourists per year in the 1920s. More tangible breakdowns of these numbers are not available. See Schwartz, 68.
[60] Schwartz, 55.
[61] Schwartz, 80-82.
[62] See Koshar, "Sex and Class," in *German Travel Cultures*, 81-97.
[63] Not much else is available on his background, other than advertisements for his other books in this one.
[64] Terry, 12.
[65] Terry, 12.
[66] Terry, 12.
[67] Terry, 37.
[68] Terry, 37.
[69] Terry, 37.
[70] Terry, 37.
[71] Terry, 313.
[72] By the 1920s, this mixed-race woman as a symbol of (specifically Latin American) sexuality had become commonplace in tourism advertising. See Schwartz, 86; L. Kaifa Roland, *Cuban Color in Tourism and* La Lucha*: An Ethnography of Racial Meanings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 9; and Catherine Cocks, "Lands of Romance," in *Tropical Whites: The Rise of the Tourist South in the Americas* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 124-149.
[73] Terry, 102.
[74] Terry, 102.
[75] Terry, 54.
[76] Terry, 54.
[77] Terry, 54. The Latin terms in italics are house fleas and pubic lice, respectively.
[78] Terry, 193.
[79] Terry, 193.
[80] Tiffany A. Sippial, *Prostitution, Modernity, and the Making of the Cuban Republic, 1840-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 163.
[81] Terry, 200.
[82] Terry, 200.
[83] Terry, 200. "Hetairism" has several meanings, but in a general sense it refers to sexual relations outside of wedlock.
[84] Terry, 200.
[85] Terry, 200.
[86] Terry, 200-201.
[87] Terry, 201. The word censored by the book, by my educated guess, is likely *putas*. The

name Aspasia references an Athenian woman who was the lover of Pericles, reputed to have been a prostitute.
[88] Terry, 333, 480.

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Research Article

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The Bear Island Day School, Anishnaabeg Seasonal Migrations, and Nomadic Colonialism, 1903-1951

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In 1903, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai lived a seasonal life. Family groups spent winters together on their hunting territories and summers in community on Bear Island. By 1950, most lived on Bear Island year-round. This period coincides with the operation of an "Indian day school" on Bear Island. Operated by the Federal Department of Indian Affairs, this seasonal school became a model for similar schools across Canada. Drawing primarily on Department archives, this article investigates the relationships between the Bear Island Day School; the "nomadic colonialism" of church, state, and Canadian society; the end of Anishnaabeg seasonality; and the Province of Ontario. Using anti-colonial methodologies for settler scholars, I demonstrate that Ontario's natural resource and northern development policies made it nearly impossible for the Anishnaabeg to continue living seasonally with the land and forced them to settle on Bear Island year-round, thus removing the rationale for seasonal schooling. Despite the absence of a provincial role in Indigenous education, Ontario assumed control of local schooling from the federal government in 1950 and opened a year-round school with compulsory attendance. This ended a system of schooling adapted to Anishnaabeg and nomadic colonial seasonality.

It took the unveiling of over a thousand unmarked graves on the grounds of former residential schools in 2021 for many settlers to comprehend the reality of Canada's genocidal program of Indigenous child assimilation. Still, few know that from Confederation to 1947, most Indigenous children did not go to residential schools; rather, they went to either year-round or seasonal day schools. Drawing primarily on federal Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) archives, this article considers the relationships between the seasonal Bear Island Day School (1903-1950); the "nomadic colonialism" of church, state, and Canadian society; the end of Teme-Augama Anishnabai (TAA) seasonal migrations; and the Province of Ontario.[1] I find that Ontario's natural resource and northern development policies made it nearly impossible for the TAA to continue living seasonally with the land. The province forced them to settle on Bear Island year-round, thus removing the rationale for seasonal schooling. Despite the absence of a provincial role in Indigenous education, Ontario assumed control of local schooling from the DIA and opened a year-round school with compulsory attendance, ending a system of schooling adapted to Anishnaabeg and nomadic colonial seasonality.

Like residential schools, day schools attempted to assimilate Indigenous children into Canadian society by stripping them of their language and culture. Unlike residential schools, which were financed by the DIA but managed by churches, most day schools were both financed and managed by the DIA, with church representatives playing only an advisory role. Year-round day schools were open from the beginning of September to the end of June, and usually had one teacher who taught all the children up to about grade six. Hundreds of these schools operated across Canada between 1867 and 2000.[2]

Besides the year-round day schools, there were a few dozen seasonal day schools. Open for a few weeks or months a year, usually in the summer, and often located in boreal forests without year-round rail or road access, these schools were established for Indigenous children whose families migrated seasonally across their lands. In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, some day schools were operated seasonally with the expectation that they would eventually become year-round institutions. When the Bear Island Day School opened in 1903, it was the first to be established specifically as a seasonal school. Designed to accommodate both Anishnaabeg and colonial seasonalities, the Bear Island school became a model for seasonal schools across Canada. In Ontario and Quebec, seasonal schools were most common in Anishnaabeg, Cree, and Algonquin communities where the system of Algonquian family hunting territories was still intact. Under this system, small kinship-based groups stewarded family lands in the winter, often at significant distances from their nearest neighbours.[3] When river and lake ice melted in the spring, family groups gathered to spend the open-water months together.

Centred on Lake Temagami, k'Dakimenan, the unceded homeland of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, covers about 10,000 square kilometres straddling the height of land between the Ottawa Valley and the Lake Huron watershed about 400 kilometres north of Toronto.[4] The TAA are a borderland people whose unique dialect combines the Ojibwe, Algonquin, and Cree languages.[5] In 1900, they numbered about 100, div-

ided into 14 families, each caring for a hunting territory of 500 to 800 kilometres squared.[6] Before lakes froze in the autumn, each family travelled to its hunting territory for the winter, returning to Lake Temagami after the ice melted in the spring. When the Hudson's Bay Company moved their local post to Bear Island in 1876, it became the most common summer rendezvous for the TAA. Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations to family hunting territories began in time immemorial.[7]

In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, winter's ice, snow, and frigid temperatures inhibited settler mobility in northern Canada so much so that colonial society there was seasonally nomadic, unlike the Indigenous peoples it denigrated as nomads. For Indigenous peoples, with their snowshoes and toboggans, and the skills to use them, the same ice and snow enhanced mobility, allowing access to areas not visited in the summer.[8] Across Turtle Island's northern forests, Indigenous peoples enjoyed seasonal autonomy and ease of movement across landscapes that were inaccessible to settler-colonists.[9] Instead, Indian agents, missionaries, teachers, surveyors, traders, developers, and tourists advanced north after spring breakup and retreated south before freeze-up, a phenomenon I call "nomadic colonialism." I introduce this term to highlight that settler societies and colonial governments are both hypocritical and unjustified in expropriating Indigenous lands by denigrating Indigenous peoples as nomadic. K'Dakimenan, with its 14 family hunting territories, is the permanent home of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai.

Nomadic colonialism brought profound changes to k'Dakimenan and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai family hunting territories. In 1903, the TAA lived the seasonal life described above. Their interactions with state, church, and settler-colonists were seasonal; who was in Temagami, when, and for how long, affected the area and the people in important ways. For the Anishnaabeg, the relative inaccessibility of their hunting territories shielded them from state and church, allowing them to raise their children as they always had, at least in the winter. Cold weather, difficult transportation, and Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations made winter church missions, state diplomacy, or schooling all but impossible. Nomadic colonialists could exert influence only in the summer. Seasonality shaped settler-colonialism in k'Dakimenan as well as Anishnaabeg responses to it. The seasons influenced when state and church had access to the Anishnaabeg, and conversely when the Anishnaabeg had respite from interference.

Beginning in 1898, the TAA and the local Oblate missionaries lobbied a reluc-

Across Turtle Island's northern forests, Indigenous peoples enjoyed seasonal autonomy and ease of movement across landscapes that were inacessible to settler-colonists.[9]

tant DIA to establish a day school fitting Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations and the church's nomadic colonialism. This followed a long tradition of Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island seeking European education to supplement, but not replace, Indigenous education, and to help "navigate the developing settler-colonial state."[10] Despite there being no role for provincial governments in the education of Indigenous children under Canada's federal system, the Ontario government played a key role in the establishment and subsequent dismantling of seasonal schooling on Bear Island. During the Bear Island Day School's 48 years of operation, provincial natural resource and northern development policies disrupted Anishnaabeg subsistence activities and forced them to stop migrating seasonally and settle on Bear Island. Once most Anishnaabeg lived there year-round, the rationale for seasonal schooling disappeared. Ontario took advantage of the situation it created to gain control of education on Bear Island. The federal school closed in 1951 and was replaced by a provincial year-round school with compulsory attendance.[11] There is a lack of scholarship on the role of Canadian provincial governments in the genocide of Indigenous peoples.[12] Ontario's role in Anishnaabeg land dispossession and seasonal schooling suggests that more research is required.

Historiography

The Canadian government, supported by the Canadian people and the main Christian churches, used education systems to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the country's body politic. Day schools, whether year-round or seasonal, were integral to these systems. Federal schools aimed to erase Indigenous spiritualities, cultures, languages, bodies, lands, and seasonalities. Unlike residential schools, day schools have received little scholarly or popular attention. Only a handful of books, chapters, journal articles, and graduate theses deal with local or regional case studies. None attempts a national overview or a regional comparison. None centres seasonal day schools and the provincial role in federal Indigenous schooling, or connects these to the dispossession of Indigenous lands. Seasonal day schools remind us that the forms of schooling employed in Indigenous communities were the product of choices and adaptations on the part of both colonial and Indigenous societies.[13]

The dominant approach to Indian day schools suggests that they were dysfunctional and failed to either educate Indigenous children or assimilate them into society.[14] This dysfunction resulted from power struggles between federal, provincial, and church bureaucrats, as well as those far from the centres of power, from Indian agents, missionaries, and teachers, to Indigenous chiefs, parents, and children. These struggles contributed to indifference and underfunding from Ottawa, under-qualified teachers, high teacher turnover, and run-down buildings, which fed low attendance and poor academic achievement. Contrary to perceptions within the Department, Indigenous parents and leaders across Turtle Island were not neglectful with their children's education. When Ottawa failed to meet expectations, chiefs were not hesitant to lobby for the establishment of new schools, the hiring or firing of teachers, seasonally-adapted school terms, or the construction and maintenance of school

buildings.

Wherever Indigenous peoples practiced seasonal migration, sporadic or low attendance in year-round schools frustrated church and state alike. According to Helen Raptis, parents on the Pacific coast took their children out of school when they travelled for seasonal work in fish canneries or logging camps.[15] According to Brittany Luby and Kathryn Labelle, some children in northern Ontario left town to help with family hunting and trapping, while others stayed back to attend classes.[16] In Yukon, Ken Coates indicates that some Anglican teachers demonstrated autonomy from a disinterested Ottawa by following migratory bands on their seasonal cycles.[17] DIA attempts to manage Indigenous seasonality through education likewise frustrated parents. In Quebec, Anny Morissette finds that the Department occasionally accommodated the Indigenous calendar by scheduling holidays to coincide with fishing or hunting seasons, but in the Maritimes, as W.D. Hamilton notes, Ottawa was unwilling to "alter the school calendar to fit the circumstances of the pupils."[18] Martha Walls suggests that was an attempt to undermine day schools in the hope that parents would send their children to the more forcefully assimilative Shubenacadie residential school.[19] In Manitoba, Susan Gray argues that parental frustration led to requests for on-reserve boarding schools, believing these would facilitate seasonality by allowing them to hunt and trap away from home while their children stayed safe in the community.[20] But when Ottawa forced families to choose between year-round schooling and seasonal mobility, most chose mobility, resulting in low attendance.[21]

Indigenous worldviews emphasizing individual autonomy allowed children to attend school, or stay away, as they wished.[22] Low attendance and slow advancement does not suggest indifference or lack of intelligence; it illustrates that children could and did choose to resist assimilationist schooling and engage with Indigenous pedagogies instead; they wanted Euro-Canadian education, not assimilation. One of the reasons Indigenous peoples sought such education was to learn the ways of the colonizers. TAA Ogimaa (Chief) Gary Potts put it this way: "Only by acquiring a new language could we find a way to protect ourselves, to seek protection from governments, and hope to be able to continue the life that we had always lived."[23] When Ontario began expressing interest in Temagami in the late-nineteenth century, the TAA correctly predicted this would come at their expense.[24] Anishnaabeg Elders and scholars emphasize that, after living as a self-governing people in relationship with k'Dakimenan for over 6,000 years, everything — education, identity, language, government, communal law — is connected to the land and to non-human life.[25] These were the connections that assimilation aimed to break, but while assimilation was a federal policy, the Province of Ontario provided much of the groundwork. In the words of the Anishnaabeg, Ontario committed human rights abuses by harassing, oppressing, prosecuting, and jailing them. It removed them from and then stole their homeland and resources. It committed genocide.[26] But, says Potts, "We were determined to get along with our neighbours."[27] Potts suggests that the TAA saw their struggle as against the provincial government, not the settlers; they wanted co-existence with the citizens of Ontario, whom they believed were fundamentally in agreement with Anishnaabeg principles of land stewardship.[28]

For many Ontarians, "wilderness" is fundamental to perceptions of stewardship. Jocelyne Thorpe argues that in Temagami, settler society constructed wilderness as feminine, virgin, savage, and quintessentially Canadian.[29] This racialized and gendered construction distorted Anishnaabeg presence while enabling (masculine) Canadian settlement, resource extraction, and recreation.[30] Thorpe's view dovetails with Patricia Jasen's, that turn of the century tourism constructed a perception of wilderness as white and Canadian, allowing for colonization and control of land.[31] Indigenous peoples were part of this imagined wilderness, but only insofar as they illustrated a savage past fading before an unstoppable "civilization."[32] Bruce W. Hodgins does not disagree with Thorpe or Jasen, but he makes it personal by considering how he — an outdoor recreation enthusiast, environmentalist, and lover of wilderness — can reconcile these constructed beliefs with Indigenous perspectives and presence. Hodgins refigured his notion of wilderness over time, "from one comprising little or no human presence to a conception that includes a vital and permanent aboriginal presence."[33] For me, as with Hodgins, refiguring wilderness is essential to my historical methodology.

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Methodology

I am an activist environmental historian who draws on Elizabeth Carlson's anti-colonial methodologies for settler scholars. These methodologies aim "to help settler scholars work in concert with the resurgence work of Indigenous scholars towards relationally accountable decolonial change."[34] As a white male settler, this approach reminds me to push back against colonial institutions, structures, practices, mentalities, and land theft while not occupying spaces of Indigenous resurgence.[35] Carlson reminds me that, as an uninvited resident on Indigenous lands and a treaty partner, I am accountable to Indigenous peoples. I must ground my research in place; I must remain present in the research; I am responsible for learning the Indigenous teachings and languages of this place; I must give, not take.

For over 30 years I have lived in relation with Temagami and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. My desire to deepen this relationship led me to the Bear Island Day School archives on the Library and Archives Canada webpage.[36] These records are more complete than those of most day schools. They begin five years before its estab-

lishment and end in 1952 with the provincial takeover of schooling on Bear Island. They cover a broader range of issues than do other day school records, including: the establishment, construction, and maintenance of the school; the procurement of and payment for school supplies; the determination of opening and closing dates; the hiring and firing of teachers; teacher salaries, accommodation and expenses; and teacher reports and attendance returns. This range allows me to do three things: first, I situate the Bear Island Day School within the DIA policy of assimilation; second, I situate the TAA within a nomadic colonial society which was remaking Temagami to suit its desires; and third, I draw connections between these two processes. Because the most frequent contributors to the archive are Indian Affairs secretaries, Indian agents, Oblate missionaries, and teachers, I could piece together a broad understanding of school management, the relationship between teachers and headquarters, and the role of the church. The records do not provide much detail on curriculum, students, student-teacher interactions, or the typical school day. Anishnaabeg voices are nearly absent, and where present are often filtered through Indian agents, teachers, or missionaries. An anti-colonial approach tries to read these records through Anishnaabeg ways of knowing, being, and thinking about the past, and considers how the work they intended to do shapes the truths they represent.[37] I believe in truth and reconciliation, but many Canadians bypass truth and attempt reconciliation with half-hearted apologies. Part of my role is bringing Canadian settlers to truth by connecting theory, practice, and land, and by avoiding the detachment and abstraction of Eurocentric academia.[38]

The Bear Island Seasonal Day School

At the end of the nineteenth century, k'Dakimenan was within the federal government's nomadic colonial periphery, but provincial developments such as the railway, forestry, mining, and tourism were still a few years away. The main competitors for influence over the Teme-Augama Anishnabai were the Department of Indian Affairs, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate order of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Hudson's Bay Company. That these institutions helped create a seasonal day school on Bear Island is unsurprising, but it is surprising that the Province of Ontario, with no constitutionally mandated role in Indigenous education, also played a role. When the province realized that northern Ontario was full of mineral, timber, agricultural, settlement, and tourism potential, it began to view the region as a provincial colony to exploit.[39]

Though the TAA were not signatories to the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850 and thus did not have a reserve, they were in contact with the DIA annually. Ogimaa Ignace Tonené first asked to be taken into treaty in 1877.[40] Beginning then, the TAA consistently pressured federal and provincial governments for two things they saw as connected and necessary to protect against colonial encroachment: a reserve and a school. On his annual visit to Bear Island in 1889, Indian superintendent Thomas Walton and the TAA leadership spent a long time discussing ways and means for the schooling of Anishnaabeg children.[41] Seven years later he reported that they

> would willingly erect a school-house and appropriate a portion of their annuity money towards the salary of a teacher if they could have a school built on land that was part of their reserve. The want of the reserve is the impediment in educational as well as other matters.[42]

The Department shelved the issue until 1898, when its second-in-command, Secretary J.D. McLean, asked Walton's successor, W.B. MacLean, for a report on the "lack of educational facilities at Bear Island."[43] Superintendent MacLean suggested, "It would be very difficult to get a white teacher to remain there" due to difficult access with the "outside world."[44] Two years later, the Oblate from nearby Temiscamingue, Quebec, Father Beaudry, indicated that there were 35 school-age children on Bear Island and that a school there could be kept open from June to September.[45] DIA Clerk Martin Benson suggested that when similar experiments were tried elsewhere, they proved unsuccessful due to the difficulty of finding a competent teacher, the expense of a building, and the lack of care for school supplies over the winter.[46]

In 1902, an unlikely combination of personalities collaborated to push the issue: first, Ogimaa Tonené; second, Anishnaabeg hotelier John Turner; third, the "rebel Oblate" Charles Alfred Paradis, known for his frequent run-ins with authorities; and finally, prospector, lumberman, and government Member of Provincial Parliament for Lanark, William Clyde Caldwell.[47] Caldwell vacationed on Lake Temagami that summer; perhaps he stayed at Turner's hotel and hired Turner's guides.[48] Father Paradis, who operated a mission at the north end of Lake Temagami, paddled a 50-kilometre round trip every Sunday to give mass at Bear Island. Perhaps Paradis or Turner thought Tonené should meet the visiting politician.

However it came about, the TAA decided to petition provincial Minister of Education Richard Harcourt for a grant of $300 to build a school, land on which to put it, and $200 per year for a teacher. Paradis penned the letter; Tonené, Turner, and 29 other Anishnaabeg women and men signed it, and copied it to "W.C.C.," i.e. William Clyde Caldwell.[49] They wanted funding for a four-month summer school on Bear Island, built and run by the TAA. This proposal was radical for two reasons. First, it suggested that the TAA, not the DIA, run their education system, predating "Indian Control of Indian Education" by 70 years.[50] They wanted a school that fit their seasonal lifestyle and allowed them to immerse their children in Anishnaabeg culture, without state interference, in the winter. Second, the petition was sent to the provin-

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cial Ministry of Education, not the federal Department of Indian Affairs. Surely they knew that Indigenous education was a federal, not provincial, responsibility. Bear Island's leadership discussed a school with the DIA's Walton as early as 1884, even using it as a bargaining chip, suggesting that once they received a reserve, they would build a school and set aside one dollar per capita per year for a teacher.[51] Perhaps they knew that the Department saw seasonal schools as precursors to year-round schools (which the TAA had not asked for), or that federal schools were for so-called "treaty Indians," not "non-treaty" children, of which there were many on Bear Island.[52] Did they feel they had reached a dead end with the DIA on the school file? Were they trying to curry favour with Ontario, anticipating its growing influence? Did the MPP imply that involving the province might spur the federal government to act?

Involving an MPP known to be "independent in thought and straightforward in manner" did not immediately lead the province to intervene in federal jurisdiction over schooling for Indigenous peoples.[53] The Ontario deputy minister forwarded the petition to Ottawa, where Secretary J.D. McLean wrote his subordinate, superintendent W.B. MacLean. He wrote that Father Beaudry thought the idea impossible — recall it was the Oblate who first suggested a seasonal school — and added that "unless the conditions have greatly changed since that time, I do not see how the wishes of the petitioners can be met."[54] Superintendent MacLean's reply overlooked the seasonal part of the seasonal school proposal when he wrote that the children

> are frequently absent from Bear Island for long periods with their parents who roam through the Temagami country hunting. A considerable number live at White Bear Lake distant about 20 miles so that the children of the Indians could not attend the school if established at Bear Island unless their parents settled down at this place which I think is hardly likely.[55]

Once more the issue seemed dead. At this juncture, MPP Caldwell, apparently without cabinet approval, suggested that Ontario would pay for a building and school supplies if the DIA would pay for the teacher.[56] Minister Harcourt's secretary, H.M. McKinnon, dismissed the idea, saying that "owing to the migratory habits of our northern Indian people, the erection of a permanent school building would scarcely be warranted. In no case does the Department of Education give grants for building purposes." But then McKinnon made an unexpected suggestion:

> Would not a camp school answer the immediate necessities of the case? A suitable tent could be provided by the Federal Government, and its equipment and maintenance for the Spring, Summer, and early Fall would not be a great expense. I understand that in other parts of Canada provision is made by the Dominion Government for grants to various organizations for the education of its wards. Would not the case of the Temagami Indians, who are on an Indian Reservation, under the control of your government, come under your general provisions?[57]

The school worked as intended, complementing Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations and state and church nomadic colonialism.

Benson thought an experiment might be worthwhile.[58] A month later, McKinnon offered school supplies if the DIA would pay for the tent and teacher.[59] That sealed it. The Bear Island Camp School, as it was first known, opened on 21 July 1903. Twenty-three pupils enrolled, though attendance averaged 13.[60] The tent was not used; the TAA rented a "large, bright, clean room" instead.[61] By Ottawa's metrics, the school was a success. Over the next ten years, attendance averaged 57 per cent of enrolment, higher than the national day school average of 48 per cent. It was open an average of 20 weeks a year, roughly mid-May to the end of September, though opening was often delayed by late ice-out on Lake Temagami. The school worked as intended, complementing Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations and state and church nomadic colonialism.

Bear Island was the first DIA day school intended to operate seasonally; it was not a temporary solution. After the experiment proved successful, Ottawa adapted the model for use across Canada. Over the next five decades, it opened more than sixty seasonal day schools concentrated in two geographic areas: first, boreal Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba; and second, coastal and northern British Columbia, Yukon, and the southwestern Northwest Territories. Despite this, misgivings about the effectiveness of seasonal schools soon emerged. By 1925, Secretary J.D. McLean thought them "more or less unsuccessful."[62] The number of seasonal day schools reached a peak in the late 1940s and were all closed by the mid-1960s.[63]

Only about half of all TAA children attended the day school, even if they lived on Bear Island in the summer. For example, Madeline Katt Theriault, who was born in 1908, lived on the Katt family hunting territory in the winter and on Bear Island in the summer, but never attended the school. Instead, she stayed at home to look after her great-grandmother:

> In my time, there was not much schooling, just four months a year and you only could go up to Grade Five. An Indian Affairs representative said that was the highest school of all, and we believed him for the longest time. Anyway, I regret to say I did not go to school at all. My great-grandmother was very old and she needed looking after. So, my grandfather wanted me to watch her. She smoked a pipe and we were afraid she might set fire to herself. She was also stone deaf. Grandpa thought it was more important for me to watch over her than go to school. Anyhow, the Indian children did not learn much during four months

> of schooling.[64]

But staying out of school does not mean Theriault was uneducated:

> Indians were highly educated in their own way of life. They used their own experience to do many different things and knew how to survive and exist in the wilderness. There is so much to learn about bush life. You have to know what game to get at what time of the season and what animals are ready for the season. As well it is necessary to know what animals are good to eat and at what time of the year, what kind of animal furs are good to sell and what time of the season they are good to kill. All those things have to be remembered.[65]

Much of Theriault's early education came from Elders:

> When I was around six or seven years old, I remember this particular time. There was an old gentleman by the name of David Missabie living on Bear Island in a birch bark tepee. It is said he lived to be one hundred years old, if not more…. Anyway, this old man Missabie used to sit beside his tepee with an open fire in front, smoking his clay pipe. We Indian children used to gather around at his open fire and sit beside one another. He would be telling us his life story which was very interesting to hear.[66]

Theriault's education illustrates that the Anishnaabeg saw federal day schooling as optional, something they could engage with fully, partly, or not at all, depending on individual or family preference or circumstance.

Ontario Forces the Anishnaabeg off k'Dakimenan

Despite Ontario's role in the establishment of the federal school in 1903, provincial natural resource and northern development policies soon undermined Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations, k'Dakimenan, and the Bear Island Day School. Over the next 48 years, the province's push to develop northern Ontario, its interference with Anishnaabeg land stewardship, and its refusal to allow a reserve for the Teme-Augama Anishnabai forced increasingly more of them onto Bear Island year-round, eliminating the rationale behind seasonal schooling. These actions led to the demise of the seasonal school and the establishment of a year-round school run by the province.

Because the TAA were not signatories to the Robinson-Huron Treaty, they did not have a reserve. Lands not part of a reserve fell under provincial authority, meaning the federal government could no longer unilaterally negotiate a reserve with the TAA. The province needed to surrender its interest in the proposed land, which it was unwilling to do. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, reports from provincial surveyors, foresters, and geologists described Temagami's economic potential in glowing terms.[67] Despite legal and moral appeals from the federal government and

the TAA, Ontario was inflexible, citing rich pineries as the main reason to deny the TAA a reserve over their lands. Lobbying visiting federal and provincial representatives for a reserve and a school became a summertime affair for the TAA, a seasonal activity like maple sugaring or beaver trapping.[68]

Ostensibly to secure a sustained yield of pine, Ontario created the Temagami Forest Reserve in 1901 and the Anishnaabeg felt the influence of the provincial government for the first time.[69] From its experiences in the southern part of the province, Ontario knew that settlement and agriculture could destroy valuable timber. For this reason, the forest reserve excluded competing resource uses.[70] In the eyes of the province, the Anishnaabeg became squatters on k'Dakimenan. In 1910, new regulations restricted timber harvesting for construction or firewood, which harmed Anishnaabeg families on Bear Island.[71] Because students needed accommodation, the timber restrictions undermined the day school, especially in spring and fall when cool weather is common. By restricting homebuilding, Ontario's prohibitions also ran counter to its desire for the Anishnaabeg to "stop being 'scattered.'"[72]

Construction on the provincially-owned Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway began in 1903 and reached Lake Temagami the following year. Northeast of k'Dakimenan, railway construction crews discovered silver on Temiskaming Algonquin land, sparking a stampede to the Cobalt mining camp. As Cobalt's surface silver depleted, miners dug deeper, requiring more electricity for underground lighting and air compressors. Developers turned to nearby rivers for hydroelectric power.[73] The province permitted the damming of two rivers in k'Dakimenan, the Montreal and the Matabitchuan. To regulate flow on the Matabitchuan, developers dammed Rabbit Lake, flooding Ogimaa White Bear's village, destroying buildings, gardens, traplines, spiritual sites, a graveyard, and a rich lake trout spawning site.[74] Ottawa secured financial compensation for White Bear, but Ontario still prohibited rebuilding within the forest reserve. At least four other families lost their villages to dams. In 1921, the Cross Lake Dam flooded the Nebenagwune, Egwuna, and Mathias family settlements, and in 1948, the A.B. Gordon Lumber Company flooded Madeline Katt Theriault's cabin on Diamond Lake.[75] There was no financial compensation for these families. In this way, provincially regulated activities forced Anishnaabeg families off their winter hunting territories and onto Bear Island year-round, where the children lived from October through May without schooling of any sort.

Steamer service began on Lake Temagami in 1905 and the province began

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leasing cottage lots the next year.[76] Temagami soon became one of central Canada's preeminent tourist destinations, with dozens of cottages, youth camps, and resorts occupying prime Anishnaabeg campsites.[77] Without access to these sites, more families and schoolchildren were forced onto Bear Island. Though Ontario prohibited settlement in the forest reserve, there were exceptions, including Bear Island and the other islands of Lake Temagami, the town of Temagami, railway service stops, mine and sawmill company townsites, as well as Paradis' mission. Because Bear Island was not a reserve, Ontario decided in 1929 to charge Anishnaabeg residents rent. The TAA and DIA objected, suggesting that the Anishnaabeg should remain until the province allowed a reserve for them. Throughout the 1930s, Ontario maintained that Temagami's pineries were too valuable to give up any portion. In 1943, Indian Affairs, using $3,000 they held in trust for the TAA, purchased Bear Island from the province.[78] While not officially a reserve — that did not happen until 1971 — at least the Anishnaabeg were free of provincial harassment there.

Outsiders had severe impacts on the fish, game, and furbearer populations of k'Dakimenan. As early as 1879, Ogimaa Tonené warned his people that "the white men were coming closer and closer every year and the deer and furs were becoming scarcer and scarcer as each year passed so that in a few years more Indians could not live by hunting alone."[79] In 1905, the province prohibited beaver and otter trapping except under regulation, eliminating a major source of Anishnaabeg food and income.[80] Six years later, Ontario established the Temagami Game and Fish Reserve and prohibited all hunting and fishing. Anishnaabeg travelling on their family hunting territories had their nets, guns, furs, and game confiscated by government agents. The province ultimately backtracked after public (i.e. white settler) outcry.[81] Regardless, some Anishnaabeg were prosecuted and jailed under this regulation, reducing their ability to support themselves on their hunting territories. More families and schoolchildren moved permanently to Bear Island.[82]

Railways, and beginning in 1931, provincial highways, also brought white hunters, anglers, and trappers into k'Dakimenan. In 1913, Ogimaa Aleck Paul told anthropologist Frank Speck that it was not the Anishnaabeg, but

> the white man who needs to be watched. He makes the forest fires, he goes through the woods and kills everything he can find, whether he needs its flesh or not, and then when all the animals in one section are killed he takes the train and goes to another where he can do the same.[83]

Tourists and market hunters depleted the animals the Anishnaabeg depended upon. Unable to support their families by hunting and trapping, many entered the summer wage economy as guides or hotel maids. With their parents working off the island, some children lived with relatives while attending school. Family hunting territories were visited less frequently. A memo written by DIA deputy superintendent general Harold McGill in 1933 illustrates this shift:

> Formerly the Indians at this point were at Bear Island only during the summer

> months, going to their hunting grounds in the fall and winter. As the hunting is gradually becoming exhausted, the Indians are more and more remaining the entire year at Bear Island.[84]

The TAA's forced abandonment of family hunting territories, the end of seasonal migrations, and their reluctant settlement of Bear Island was not sudden. It took place during the 48-year life of the Bear Island summer school and was exacerbated by global events such as the Great Depression and the two world wars. Many Anishnaabeg men volunteered for service in the First World War, "an entirely predictable response to the disruptive impact of the war on the fur trade economy and, at Temagami, the sense of dislocation occasioned by the Ontario government's management of the forest reserve."[85] While these men were overseas, some of their families moved to Bear Island for social and economic support.

In 1939, with Anishnaabeg men heading to war once again, Ontario began requiring trappers to be licensed. It also created traplines based on geographic townships, squares of land six miles by six miles bearing no semblance to family hunting territories based on natural landscape features. Upon returning from overseas, some Anishnaabeg veterans found that the province had allocated their traplines to white trappers, "losing both their cabins and their hunting territory."[86] Anishnaabeg war veterans were not shown leniency under Ontario's game laws either. For example, shortly after returning from overseas, veteran Bill Twain was jailed, with neither charges nor a trial, for hunting out of season; he had cut the leg of a drowned moose for dog food.[87] By the late 1940s, most Anishnaabeg and their children lived on Bear Island year-round because provincial regulations made it impossible for them to survive on the land. Some families even put a new spin on seasonal migration by moving to nearby towns for the winter so their children could attend school.[88] A summer school no longer made sense. With these developments, the province saw an opportunity to take control of education on Bear Island.

Ontario Takes Over Schooling on Bear Island

According to DIA annual reports from 1903-32, average attendance at the Bear Island school was 122 per cent of the national average, indicating a sustained high level of community engagement. Headquarters, Indian agents, the Oblates, and crucially, Bear Island leaders, were generally happy with the school, at least according to the archives. Despite this, Indian Affairs closed the school in 1933, at the depth of the Depression, citing budget restraint.[89] Less than a month later, William Finlayson, Ontario's minister of lands and forests, wrote to his federal counterpart about year-round schooling on Bear Island.[90] Note that this proposal came not from Ontario's Department of Education, but from Lands and Forests, showing that the province saw schooling in Temagami as primarily a natural resource, not an education, issue. Perhaps alarmed by Ontario's interest, the DIA reopened the Bear Island school the next year.[91] That summer, provincial inspector Dr. J.B. MacDougall visited the school. MacDougall's report led Ontario's chief inspector of public schools, V.K.

Greer, to offer provincial funding for non-treaty children if the DIA were to institute a year-round term.[92] Indian Affairs offered only to consider the offer.[93] Unsatisfied with this response, Ontario launched a takeover bid in February 1935:

> At the request of several people of the community in the Bear Island vicinity who think that the children of that area are not receiving an adequate education, the Department of Education has deemed it wise to establish a public school there…. [W]e are now taking steps to have a trustee board elected…. This school, like all public schools, will be open to all children of school age who are not Separate School supporters, and that will include the Indian children…. We intend to put a fully qualified teacher in the school and give the children as good a chance as possible for an education.[94]

Ontario's deputy minister of education, Duncan McArthur, suggested that Temagami's tourism potential influenced the decision: "[I]n a district which is becoming so widely known through its tourist connections in the summer months, this community should be brought into harmony with other schools of the Province."[95] At this point, the DIA records fall silent on the issue of a provincial takeover. Perhaps it was a mid-Depression bluff. Regardless, Ontario did not lose interest in the school.

Ontario finally took over the Bear Island school in 1952, likely with the cooperation of the DIA. That year "severe difficulties" led the province to assume control of the school as "part of a general trend toward greater provincial involvement in the social life of native communities across Ontario."[96] Classes were year-round, went from grades one to nine, and attendance was no longer optional. Provincial authorities threatened Bear Islanders: put your children in school or else they will be taken.[97] That year, the DIA negotiated several agreements with provincial governments to "increase the number of Indian pupils attending [provincial] schools."[98] There are no documents in the Bear Island school archive pertaining to the provincial take-over.

Conclusion

Federal day schools were key to the Department of Indian Affairs' policy of assimilation through schooling. When the Bear Island Day School opened in 1903, the Teme-Augama Anishnabai lived a seasonal lifestyle, spending winters on their family hunting territories and summers together on Bear Island. The school fit Anishnaabeg seasonal migrations as well as nomadic colonialism, allowing children to receive Anishnaabeg education primarily in the winter and Euro-Canadian schooling in the summer.

Ontario soon began exerting more control over natural resources and development in northern Ontario. Because the TAA did not have a treaty or a reserve, the province harassed, arrested, prosecuted, and jailed Anishnaabeg in order to stop their seasonal migrations, force them off k'Dakimenan, and end their centuries-long relationship with family hunting territories. Ontario refused to provide a reserve; regulated wood harvesting for construction or firewood; flooded villages in the name of

hydroelectricity; regulated or prohibited fishing, hunting, and trapping; built a railway, then highways, through k'Dakimenan; leased campsites for cottages and resorts; gave traplines to settlers; allowed, or failed to stop, white hunters and trappers from depleting animal populations; and tried to charge Anishnaabeg rent for living on Bear Island. In the mid-1930s, it tried, unsuccessfully, to take over the Bear Island school. By the late-1940s, decades of provincial oppression had forced most Anishnaabeg onto Bear Island year-round. With no rationale for a seasonal day school remaining, Ontario opened its own school on Bear Island, likely in collaboration with the DIA. The province was the primary contributor to the collapse of the system of Teme-Augama Anishnabai family hunting territories, the end of their seasonal migrations, and the end of federal day schooling adapted to those migrations. This examination of the provincial role in Anishnaabeg land dispossession and seasonal schooling illustrates that the Province of Ontario is implicated in the genocide of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai.◆

Endnotes

[1] "Teme-Augama Anishnabai" is an autonym for the Indigenous people of the Temagami region, as well as the name of a political organization with an elected chief and council and consisting of status and non-status Anishnaabeg. "Anishnaabeg" is the plural of Anishnabai and is the most common spelling in Temagami. The abbreviation TAA can be either singular or plural depending on whether it refers to the people or the organization. In this paper, the word "Indian" is used in historical context; "Indigenous" generally refers to non-TAA first peoples of Turtle Island (North America).

[2] Gowling WLG (Canada), "Schedule K," *Federal Indian Day School Class Action*, Ottawa: Gowling WLG (Canada), (2020), http://indiandayschools.com/en/.

[3] Toby Morantz, "Foreword: Remembering the Algonquian Family Hunting Territory Debate," *Anthropologica* 60, no. 1 (2018), 15, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/705320.

[4] The TAA refer to their homeland as n'Dakimenan, which can be translated as "our land." Because I am not Anishnabai, I refer to this area as k'Dakimenan, which can be translated as "their land." I intentionally do not italicize words in Indigenous languages because they are not foreign to Turtle Island. This practice was introduced to me by Katrina Srigley in "The Ethics of Zaagidwin: Relational Storytelling and Story Listening on Nbisiing Nishnaabeg Territory," *Studies in Oral History* 42 (2020), 6-7, https://oralhistoryaustralia.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020_journal_Srigley.pdf.

[5] J. Randolph Valentine, "*Ojibwe Dialect Relationships: Volume 1*," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1994), 32.

[6] Mary Laronde, "The Teme-Augama Anishnabay at Bear Island: Claiming Our Homeland," in *Justice for Natives: Searching for Common Ground*, ed. Andrea P. Morrison and Irwin Cotler (Montreal: McGill Aboriginal Law, 1997), 83; June Twain, "The Joy of Unfolding Commitment: A Woman's View of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai Blockades," in *Blockades and Resistance: Studies in Actions of Peace and the Temagami Blockades of 1988-89*, ed. Bruce W. Hodgins, Ute Lischke, and David T. McNab (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2002), 18.

[7] For more on Algonquian family hunting territories as practiced in Temagami, see Frank G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley*, Memoir 70, no. 8, Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1915.

[8] Craig Macdonald, "The Nastawgan: Traditional Routes of Travel in the Temagami District," in *Nastawgan: the Canadian North by Canoe and Snowshoe*, ed. Bruce W. Hodgins and Margaret Hobbs (Toronto: Dundurn, 1987), 185.

[9] Thomas Wickman, "'Winters Embittered with Hardships': Severe Cold, Wabanaki Power, and English Adjustments, 1690–1710," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (2015), 60, http://doi:10.5309/willmaryquar.72.1.0057.

[10] Thomas Peace, "Want to Understand Egerton Ryerson? Two School Histories Provide the Context," *Active History* (blog), 12 July 2021, http://activehistory.ca/2021/07/want-to-understand-egerton-ryerson-two-school-histories-provide-the-context/.

[11] Bruce W. Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson, T*he Temagami Experience: Recreation, Resources, and Aboriginal Rights in the Northern Ontario Wilderness* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989), 219.

[12] National Inquiry Into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, *A Legal Analysis of Genocide: Supplementary Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* (Canada: 2019), 5, https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Supplementary-Report_Genocide.pdf.

[13] Miigwich (thanks) to the anonymous reviewer who pointed this out, and for providing much useful feedback.

[14] For the dysfunction of federal day schools, see Ken Coates, "'A Very Imperfect Means of Education': Indian Day Schools in the Yukon Territory, 1890-1955," in *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy*, ed. J. Barman, Y. Hébert and D. McCaskill (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 132-49; Susan Elaine Gray, "Methodist Indian Day Schools and Indian Communities in Northern Manitoba, 1890-1925," *Manitoba History* no. 30 (1995), unpaginated, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/30/methodistdayschools.shtml; W.D. Hamilton, *The Federal Indian Day Schools of the Maritimes* (Fredericton, NB: Micmac-Maliseet Institute, University of New Brunswick Press, 1986); Anny Morissette, "'*Il connaît le chemin de l'école, il peut y aller s'il veut': écoles de jour indiennes et vie scolaire chez les Anichinabés de* Kitigan Zibi *(1853-1958)*," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 46, no. 2-3 (2016), 125–44, https://doi.org/10.7202/1040441ar; Martha Walls, "'Part of that Whole System': Maritime Day and Residential Schooling and Federal Culpability," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 30, no. 2 (2010), 361-85, http://www3.brandonu.ca/cjns/30.2/07walls.pdf.

[15] Helen Raptis, "Exploring the Factors Prompting British Columbia's First Integration Initiative: The Case of Port Essington Indian Day School," *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2011), 538, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5959.2011.00356.x. See also this autobiography of a teacher at BC's Village Island Day School, 1935-36: Hughina Harold, *Totem Poles and Tea* (Heritage House, 2006).

[16] Brittany Luby and Kathryn Labelle, "'The New Generation': Cooperative Education at the Day School on Dalles 38C Indian Reserve, 1890-1910," *Ontario History* 107, no. 1 (2015), 103, https://doi.org/10.7202/1050680ar.

[17] Coates, "A Very Imperfect Means," 140.

[18] Morissette, "'*Il connaît le chemin de l'école*,'" 129; Hamilton, *Federal Indian Day Schools*,

18.

[19] Walls, "Part of that Whole System," 371.

[20] Gray, "Methodist Indian Day Schools," unpaginated.

[21] Gray, "Methodist Indian Day Schools," unpaginated.

[22] Morissette, "'*Il connaît le chemin de l'école*,'" 136.

[23] Gary Potts, "Bushman and Dragonfly," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 33, no. 2 (1998), 190. https://doi.org/10.3138/jcs.33.2.186

[24] Bruce W. Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson, "Resource Management Conflict in the Temagami Forest, 1898 to 1914," *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* 13, no. 1 (1978), 175, https://doi.org/10.7202/030482ar.

[25] Potts, "Bushman and Dragonfly,"190; Laronde, "Teme-Augama Anishnabay," 83.

[26] Laronde, "Teme-Augama Anishnabay," 84, 88.

[27] Potts, "Bushman and Dragonfly," 191-92.

[28] Potts, "Bushman and Dragonfly," 187.

[29] Jocelyn Thorpe, *Temagami's Tangled Wild: Race, Gender, and the Making of Canadian Nature* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 4.

[30] Siobhan Angus, "El Dorado in the White Pines: Representations of Wilderness on an Industrial Frontier," *Radical History Review* 132 (2018), 59 and 61, http://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-6942391; Kirsten Greer and Sonje Bols, "'She of the Loghouse Nest': Gendering Historical Ecological Reconstructions in Northern Ontario," *Historical Geography* 44 (2016), 53, https://ejournals.unm.edu/index.php/historicalgeography/article/view/3573; Alexandra Kahsenniio Nahwegahbow, "Springtime in N'daki Menan, the Homeland of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai: Babies, Cradleboards and Community Wrapping" (MA thesis: Carleton University, 2013), 75, https://doi.org/10.22215/etd/2013-10668.

[31] Nahwegahbow, "Springtime in N'daki Menan," 81-82.

[32] Nahwegahbow, "Springtime in N'daki Menan," 83.

[33] Bruce W. Hodgins, "Refiguring Wilderness: A Personal Odyssey." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 33, no. 2 (1998), 12. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/673053.

[34] Elizabeth Carlson, "Anti-colonial Methodologies and Practices for Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 7, no. 4 (2017), 496, https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2016.1241213.

[35] Carlson, "Anti-colonial Methodologies," 500, 503.

[36] As a master's student during COVID-19, I needed a major research paper topic that would work regardless of ever-changing pandemic restrictions. This is why I did not attempt to interview former Bear Island Day School students for this research, though that is an obvious next step.

[37] Despite being digital scans of old papers, these records contain information about the children who attended day schools, such as attendance or promotion reports. Though they rarely appear, the children are still there. Moreover, some of them and many of their descendants are alive today. I need to treat these archives with respect, as I would an Elder. Anti-colonial methodologies employ research ethics and protocols both when reading digital archives and when conducting in-person interviews.

[38] Carlson, "Anti-colonial Methodologies," 496.

[39] H.V. Nelles, *Politics of Development: Forests, Mines, and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 51.

[40] Gary Potts, "Last Ditch Defense of a Priceless Homeland," in *Drumbeat: Anger and Renewal in Indian Country, ed. Boyce Richardson* (Toronto: Summerhill, 1989), 212.

[41] *DIA Annual Report for 1889*, 86, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?id+1889-IAAR-RAAI&op=pdf&app=indianaffairs. Indian superintendents were the forerunners of Indian agents.

[42] *DIA Annual Report for 1896*, 107, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?id=1896-IAAR-RAAI&op=pdf&app=indianaffairs.

[43] J.D. McLean to W.B. MacLean, Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), 21 November 1898, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00484.pdf.

[44] W.B. MacLean to J.D. McLean, DIA, 29 November 1898, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00485.pdf.

[45] J.D. McLean, DIA, 17 September 1900, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00486.pdf.

[46] Martin Benson to J.D. McLean, DIA, 24 September 1900, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00487.pdf.

[47] For Ignace Tonené, see Bruce W. Hodgins and James Morrison, "Tonené, Ignace," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tonene_ignace_14E.html; for Charles Paradis, see Danièle Lacasse and Bruce Hodgins, *Le Père Paradis: Missionnaire Colonisateur* (Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2014); for William Caldwell, see Larry Turner, "Caldwell, William Clyde," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/caldwell_william_clyde_13E.html.

[48] Turner, "Caldwell, William Clyde."

[49] Email communication with author, 20 July 2020. Paradis biographer Danièle Lacasse recognizes Paradis' handwriting in the TAA petition.

[50] National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations, *Indian Control of Indian Education: Policy Paper Presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development*, Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations, 1972, https://oneca.com/IndianControl ofIndianEducation.pdf.

[51] *DIA Annual Report for 1884*, 94-95, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?id+1884-IAAR-RAAI&op=pdf&app=indianaffairs.

[52] Treaty Indians here refers to people considered Status Indians under the *Indian Act, 1985*, while non-treaty refers to Indigenous people without Indian status, sometimes referred to in the archive as "half-breeds." Over the life of the Bear Island Day School, the student body was roughly split between treaty and non-treaty children, with a small number of white children.

[53] Turner, "Caldwell, William Clyde."

[54] J.D. McLean to W.B. MacLean, DIA, 18 September 1902, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1,

part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00496.pdf.

[55] W.B. MacLean to J.D. McLean, DIA, 26 September 1902, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, p. 1, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00499.pdf.

[56] Francis Pedley, DIA, 8 April 1903, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00501.pdf.

[57] H.M. McKinnon to Francis Pedley, Ontario DIA, 25 April 1903, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00506.pdf. Despite McKinnon's statement, Bear Island was not at the time a reserve. While a tent may sound insufficient, even condescending, such schools were common at the time in logging and mining camps; see James Brown MacDougall, *Building the North* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 150.

[58] Martin Benson to Francis Pedley, Ontario DIA, 28 April 1903, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00508.pdf.

[59] H.M. McKinnon to Francis Pedley, DIA, 19 May 1903, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00510.pdf.

[60] *DIA Annual Report for 1904*, 799, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?id=1904-IAAR-RAAI&op=pdf&app=indianaffairs.

[61] Quarterly return from Mrs. Woods, DIA, 10 November 1903, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00535.pdf.

[62] J.D. McLean to Jos. E. Guinard, DIA, 16 March 1925, LAC, RG10, vol. 6111, file 335-1, part 1, reel C-8188, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-8188/pdf/c-8188-02230.pdf.

[63] *DIA Annual Report for 1965-1966*, 64, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?id=1965-ARFY-RAAF-e&op=pdf&app=indianaffairs.

[64] Madeline Katt Theriault, *Moose to Moccasins: The Story of Ka Kita Wa Pa No Kwe* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1992), 116.

[65] Theriault, *Moose to Moccasins*, 33-35.

[66] Theriault, *Moose to Moccasins*, 18-20.

[67] For example, see R.W. Demorest, G.E. Silvester, George R. Gray, and J.L. Rowlett Parsons, "Report of Exploration Survey Party No. 3," in *Report of the Survey and Exploration of Northern Ontario, 1900* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1901), 83-113, http://www.geologyontario.mndmf.gov.on.ca/mndmfiles/pub/data/imaging/NSP014/NSP014.pdf.

[68] Laronde, "Teme-Augama Anishnabay," 85.

[69] Hodgins and Benidickson, "Resource Management Conflict," 150; Laronde, "Teme-Augama Anishnabay," 84.

[70] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 76-77.

[71] Potts, "Last Ditch Defense," 216.

[72] Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson, "Resource Management Conflict," 171-72.

[73] Colin Campbell and Robert Olajos, "International History of Silver Mining in Cobalt" (MA paper, Nipissing University, 2020), 4.
[74] Jamie Friday, *Dams on n'Daki Menan* (Bear Island, ON: Temagami First Nation, 2015), 2, http://temagamifirstnation.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Dams-on-nDaki-Menan-Draft.pdf; Thor Conway, "Whitebears Go Fishing for Lake Trout," *Temagami Secrets* (Facebook page), 27 July 2019, https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=2311599332437336&id= 2234579350139335.
[75] Friday, *Dams on n'Daki Menan*, 2.
[76] Bruce W. Hodgins, Jamie Benidickson, and Peter Gillis, "The Ontario and Quebec Experiments in Forest Reserves: 1883-1930," *Journal of Forest History* 26, no. 1 (1982), 26, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4004566.
[77] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 117-18.
[78] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 216. The DIA moved to the Department of Mines and Resources in 1936 and became known as the Indian Affairs Branch. For simplicity, I will continue to refer to it as the DIA.
[79] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 43-44.
[80] David Calverly, *Who Controls the Hunt: First Nations, Treaty Rights, and Wildlife Conservation in Ontario, 1783-1939* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 48.
[81] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 142.
[82] Laronde, "Teme-Augama Anishnabay," 84.
[83] Speck, *Family Hunting Territories*, 294.
[84] Harold McGill to George F. Buskard, DIA, 15 May 1933, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, p. 1-2, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00970.pdf.
[85] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 147.
[86] Laronde, "Teme-Augama Anishnabay," 85.
[87] Thor Conway, "An Indigenous Veteran's Bitter Return to His Land," *Temagami Secrets* (Facebook page), 13 November 2019, https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=2395744114022857 &id=2234579350139335.
[88] Thomas McGuire to Philip Phelan, DIA, 17 July 1947, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, p. 1-2, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-01092.pdf. See also Bernard F. Neary, DIA, 27 May 1948, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, p. 1-2, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-01102.pdf
[89] A.F. MacKenzie to George Cockburn, DIA, 13 April 1933, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00965.pdf.
[90] George F. Buskard to Harold McGill, DIA, 12 May 1933, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00968.pdf.
[91] George Cockburn to Secretary, DIA, 17 July 1934, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00985.pdf.
[92] V.K. Greer to A.F. MacKenzie, DIA, 6 September 1934, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1,

part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00986.pdf.

[93] T.R.L. MacInnes to V.K. Greer, DIA, 10 September 1934, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00988.pdf.

[94] P.W. Brown to George Cockburn, DIA, 16 February 1935, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-00999.pdf.

[95] Duncan McArthur to A.F. MacKenzie, DIA, 10 April 1935, LAC, RG10, vol. 6172, file 439-1, part 1, reel C-7910, https://data2.archives.ca/microform/data2/dm09/d09/006003/c-7910/pdf/c-7910-01005.pdf.

[96] Hodgins and Benidickson, *The Temagami Experience*, 219.

[97] Potts, "Bushman and Dragonfly," 191.

[98] *DIA Annual Report for 1950*, 44, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?id=1950-IAAR-RAAI&op=pdf&app=indianaffairs.

Robert Olajos grew up near Peterborough, Ontario on the land of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg and now lives in the homeland of the Nbisiing Nishnaabeg, Robinson-Huron Treaty territory, and the homeland of the Moose Cree, Treaty No. 9 territory. He is a zhaaganash (settler) and a MA history student at Nipissing University in North Bay, Ontario. Robert holds a BA in international development from the University of Guelph (2000). As an activist environmental historian, Robert uses anti-colonial methodologies to respectfully and meaningfully refocus post-Confederation Nishnaabeg-zhaaganash relations.

Critical Commentary

When Will We Return to Normal? The Pandemic, Normalcy, and the Practice of History

Ari Finnsson
University of Toronto

The past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption. There is a secret agreement between past generations and the present one. Our coming was expected on earth. Like every generation that preceded us, we have been endowed with a weak Messianic power, a power to which the past has a claim.[1]

Walter Benjamin (1942)

I have heard and you have heard and we have all heard directly from friends, loved ones, Canadians in general, how eager everyone is to get through this, get back to normal*, get to a better summer, end this pandemic once and for all.*[2]

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (2021)

A striking feature of the COVID-19 pandemic is that, since its start, it arrived with the promise of a "return to normal." This commonplace assertion contains an important question revolving around the nature of COVID-19 as crisis. To what extent will the post-pandemic world resemble the one we left behind more than 18 months ago? These are questions with a historical character. This crisis has always been bracketed by the assumption of its essential ephemerality, of the way in which it represents only a brief but painful interruption to normal life. This normal has been built into the experience of the pandemic all along; while we await the return of the old normal, we live in the "new normal." At this juncture, then, it is worth asking some important questions about what "normal" should look like in a post-pandemic world. Ultimately, the pandemic affords no return to the imagined paradise of 2019. Instead, along with the other events of the past year, COVID-19 has made clear that the real crisis is the old normal. In order to reckon with these ghosts, the emerging post-pandemic world needs history more than ever.

The pandemic has been most devestating to those communities already made vulnerable by the old normal. A long and ongoing history of the unequal distribution of resources, care, and power has meant that decisive factors in shaping infection rates and outcomes are socio-economic and racial.[3] In Canada, the most racially diverse neighbourhoods have seen mortality rates more than double those of majority white neighbourhoods—women in majority minority communities reporting mortality rates nearly three times higher than in predominately white areas.[4] Violent colonial practices continue to create precarious conditions for Indigenous peoples, including housing shortages, overcrowding, water shortages, and other infrastructure gaps, such as those in health care.[5] As of January 2021, this inequality has manifested in a 40 per cent higher rate of COVID-19 infection among Indigenous communities than among the general Canadian population.[6] Throughout the pandemic, the ongoing opioid crisis has intensified. Tragically, the number of opioid-related overdose deaths in Ontario doubled among unhoused people.[7]

The "shock" of the pandemic, then, is not at all shocking. Decades (and longer) of systemic injustice is the root cause of the appallingly unequal tragedies resulting from the pandemic. Considering only the narrow realm of health care, a report published by the Ontario Hospital Association just before COVID-19 reached Canada, in December 2019, warned that decades of cuts to provincial healthcare had stretched the system to its limit. The province's failure to expand its number of hospital beds since 1999—a 20-year period during which Ontario's population grew by 27 per cent—is particularly chilling in the context of Ontario's third wave, during which a shortage of ICU beds brought the prospect of rationed health care close to home.[8] Reports that the province underspent its planned health budget by over $450 million in the lead-up to the pandemic speaks to just one piece of a much larger pattern.[9] The magnitude of the COVID-19 crisis, then, is the symptom of a much greater, and longer, crisis of inaction and defunding that cannot be separated from another upshot of the violent structures of the old normal: the social justice movements gathered broadly under the banner of Black Lives Matter.

The BLM protests of this past summer in the United States were most immediately sparked by specific instances of police violence. While the murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery (among countless others) deserve in themselves the kinds of responses (and more) that we saw over the past year, it is clear that the protests are rooted in long-standing and ongoing systemic oppression of BIPOC folks in the USA, Canada, and elsewhere. What both crises discussed here show, then, is the striking revelation of what was already here: the crises that confronted the world in 2020 are just more visible statements of the normal state of affairs. In the same way that BLM has confirmed the injustices in our everyday lives, the pandemic has brought into stark relief the real crisis of the present: the ongoing failure of our society to afford everyone an equal chance at a flourishing life. The current crisis has made it impossible to ignore that there can be no return to normal because we have never left the normal. The task of the post-pandemic world is to come to grips with this reality and seek to change it.

What does this mean for those who study history? First, we should begin to understand the pandemic as a break in this historical narrative. Rather than seeking to return to the old normal, to bracket away the pandemic as just a brief interruption to the celebrated "End of History,"[10] we must use our understanding of the past to forge a future anew. Second, this understanding of crisis makes clear that the present is a historical object. Today's crises blur the line between past and present, giving visible demonstration to the ways in which the past continues to shape and haunt the present. The traumatic events of the past year did not happen in a vacuum: they are all products of much longer processes which must be approached through a historical lens. In the same way that crisis reveals the truth of the reality in which we have always been living, the solution to crisis must look first to the past in order to understand the present and strive towards a better future.

Finally, our ongoing crises point to another conclusion, to the ways in these critical events remind us of our *responsibilities* to the past. The past is not simply something to overcome, to solve and cast aside. Walter Benjamin argues in his *Theses on the Philosophy of History* that we have a responsibility to redeem the struggles of past generations.[11] For Benjamin, the claim the past exerts on us "cannot be settled cheaply." Benjamin's famous "Angel of History" sees in the past "one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet." In this way, "the 'state of emergency' in which we live is not the exception but the rule."[12] In short, history is a story of oppression where the sad ending of each chapter is already known. The present has a duty to acknowledge this past and to seek to redeem its sacrifices through historical practice and social action.

The BLM movement and the coronavirus pandemic are pressing reminders of Benjamin's injunction to the present. Through their activism on behalf of the oppressed in the present and past, BLM and related movements engage directly with our responsibility to redeem the struggles of our past.

We have a duty to rescue the past from the present. If we are to emerge from today's crises, we must deepen our ability to recognize the uses and responsibilities of reaching into the past. Only with this kind of historical sensibility can we begin to address the structural problems of which these crises are merely visible expressions. More than ever, we are called to use history for the here and now, to use the hard truths of the COVID-19 pandemic to break with the old normal. We must "seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger"[13]—it is time to cast off from the past precisely because we owe something to it. ◆

Endnotes

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[10] Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest*, no. 16 (Summer 1989).

[11] Benjamin, *On the Concept of History*.

[12] Benjamin, *On the Concept of History*.

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Book Reviews

Peter Burke. *The Polymath: A Cultural History from Leonardo da Vinci to Susan Sontag.* **New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020. Pp. 352. $39.00 (cloth).**

Peter Burke's most recent contribution to the history of knowledge is a curious artifact. *The Polymath: A Cultural History from Leonardo da Vinci to Susan Sontag* is a book about people who exhibited erratic, superficial, and incomplete proficiency in many disciplines. It is written, however, by an author committed to a deep, systematic, and authoritative mastery of a single discipline. *The Polymath* is best understood in light of Burke's oeuvre as a whole. His first work of cultural history appeared in 1972, and since then he has contributed prolifically to the field, especially to the history of knowledge. Nominally an early modernist, his research has made forays into the twentieth century, as in his 1990 book on the Annales School,[1] and even up to the present, as in his two volumes on the social history of knowledge.[2]

The Polymath is principally a survey of polymathy's development over time, and as such favours gentle guidance rather than provocation in its argument. Since the historiography of polymaths is limited, there are few debates that Burke could engage with even if he were inclined to. Of the book's ten chapters, six are mainly chronological and three mainly conceptual, with a mix in the final chapter. The first chapter, "East and West," is an acknowledgement of polymaths' existence beyond Burke's chronological and regional areas of expertise. He notes a number of classical and early medieval Europeans, as well as several Asian and African scholars, whose broad learning would have to be encompassed by any definition of polymathy. The second chapter on "the renaissance man" opens with pre–printing press efforts to

[1] Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929-89* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[2] Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000) and Peter Burke, A *Social History of Knowledge II: From the Encyclopédie to Wikipedia* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

master all available knowledge — an endeavour helped by the smaller volume of information and hindered by the logistics of transmitting it — and closes with the famous Italian cohort of polymaths: Alberti, Leonardo, and Brunelleschi, among others.

The third chapter covers eight early modern "monsters of erudition": Alsted, Comenius, Peiresc, Caramuel, Rudbeck, Kircher, Bayle, and Leibniz. In these scholars Burke sees the high point of the polymathic project. The next two chapters trace polymathy's decline in the face of social and intellectual pressures. He first covers the rise of the "Man of Letters," whose diverse knowledge was tempered by decorum and civility, before turning to the disciplinary territoriality of nineteenth century academia. In the final chapters, Burke discusses the experience of contemporary polymaths, which he suggests is characterized by interdisciplinarity and the challenges presented by the internet's mass of information.

Burke's chronology of the European polymath is logical, clear, and generally hard to dispute; it is certainly well evidenced by his lists of polymaths and their works. The book's most compelling elements, however, are its three conceptual chapters: "Introduction: What is a Polymath?," "A Group Portrait," and "Habitats." As Burke notes, polymathy as a phenomenon has been understudied, despite individual polymaths' popularity with biographers. He offers three typologies of polymathy as an organizing schema and as a set of tools for future scholars. First, he distinguishes "simultaneous" from "serial" polymaths. Simultaneous polymaths develop skills concurrently and amalgamate them freely, as in the case of Leonardo's artistic and anatomical interests. Serial polymaths successively, and successfully, pursue careers in multiple disciplines, each time neglecting the earlier line of work. Vilfredo Pareto, for example, transitioned from engineering to economics, and Jared Diamond from ornithology to history.

One can further divide polymaths into "centrifugal" and "centripetal" types. Centrifugal polymaths acquire disparate knowledge, often for the sake of its diversity, sometimes leading to expertise spread so thin that a great many projects are left incomplete or unsuccessful. Centripetal polymaths seek to synthesize their broad knowledge into a universal theory, a pursuit characterized by Johann Alsted as "the beauty of order." Finally, Burke highlights the distinction made by Isaiah Berlin between Foxes and Hedgehogs: "foxes" will have many small insights while "hedgehogs" will have one big one. For example, the collector Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc was fox-like, coming to ideas via various items in his collections. Economist Herbert Simon, on the other hand, claimed to be a hedgehog with a "monomania" for the study of decision-making.

Surveying over five hundred polymaths, this book is currently the most exhaustive account of change over time in the experience and manifestation of polymathy. It successfully drags this obscure topic into the spotlight of scholarly analysis, even if it can be a little dense in its desire to illustrate each point exhaustively. For anyone wishing to work on the topic, *The Polymath* is indispensable; and for intellectual and cultural historians in general, it is certainly a useful guide, especially for the list

of polymaths in the appendix. The book's real merit is Burke's competing typologies of polymaths — serial vs. simultaneous, centrifugal vs. centripetal, fox vs. hedgehog — and his evenhanded analysis and lucid explanation of each paradigm. These typologies offer new tools with which scholars can begin to examine polymaths more systematically. This is a promising topic for future study, to be developed further by comparative intellectual and cultural historians as they consider polymaths and their practices across regions, periods, and cultures.

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Valerie Hansen. *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World –and Globalization Began.* **Toronto: Scribner, 2020. Pp. 320. $26.00 (paper).**

Globalization and interconnectivity have become bywords for the digital age, synonymous with the human mobility, commercial exchange, and intellectual cross-fertilization that form the texture of lived experience. This global reality is often posited as emerging out of (early) modern imperialisms and colonialisms. Valerie Hansen in *The Year 1000* challenges us to look beyond these familiar colonial and post-colonial modernities toward the medieval global circa 1000 CE.

The book is divided digestibly into chapters both thematic and episodic. Chapter one outlines agricultural surpluses, demographic shifts, knowledge exchange, voyages of exploration, and increased trade that undergirded 1000 as a watershed in globalization. Chapters two and three challenge Eurocentric Age of Discovery (AofD) globalization narratives by arguing that earlier Viking voyages first linked European and American trading networks and "kicked off globalization," while trans-American networks themselves were both indigenous and pre-Columbian (52). Chapter four then breaks to discuss how European networks were tempered and expanded as plundering chieftaincies transformed into monotheist monarchies through the example of the Rus. Chapter five resumes the argument for pre-AofD connectivity in Africa by linking the spread of Islam, material exchange, and the trans-Saharan gold trade along mature continental and maritime routes. Chapter six pivots to Central Asia, arguing that Eurasian material and cultural exchange persisted despite the Islamic-Buddhist ecumene split, while chapter seven weaves Indian Ocean merchants and Polynesian navigators into the argument for intensified material and cultural mobilities. These themes culminate in the final chapter on Song China where the concentration and maturity of networks of exchange made China "the most globalized place on Earth," challenging previous Yuan-Ming periodization (1271-1644). Therein, Hansen highlights the Song dynasty's globally linked maritime network, vastly exceeding Columbus', and its proto-industrial ceramics export industry.

A key strength of this narrative, and overdue historiographical corrective, is Hansen's inclusion of the Americas, Polynesia, and Australia in the story of pre-Columbian globalization. Previous studies treated these territories as marginal to

larger politics that served as antecedents to modern nation-states, a discourse still geographically anchored in Eurasia.[1] However, the inclusion, for instance, of Vikings as capable navigators of the North Atlantic, and Mayans as both intensely commercial and expansionary, even possibly enslaving Vikings, allows the shedding of that vestigial husk of Eurasia-centric historiography. Hansen's medieval globalism is thus decidedly multi-polar and regionally dynamic.

Accordingly, this work serves as a watershed in the periodization of globalization and historiography of Afro-Eurasian exchange. To date, studies have focused on Mongol Eurasia (1206-1368) as the pivot point to globalization processes across Afro-Eurasia. Janet Abu-Lughod's oft-cited study emphasizes how the Mongols linked discreet global regions of interaction and exchange, broke down barriers, and intensified interaction.[2] Hansen, instead, demonstrates that by at least 1000 human society was already experiencing a surge in these processes. Thus, the Mongol Empire was not so much a radical departure from previous historical trajectories, but their culmination. Here geographical knowledge is instructive: Arab, Indian, and Chinese traders accumulated knowledge of coastal seas and routes that informed the intensification of maritime trade under the Mongols and further, made European explorations possible.

However, pushing back the start of globalization comes with risks. If global connections and cross-fertilizations with impacts down to "ordinary people" are the benchmark for globalization, why not start earlier? David Christian's call to contextualize trans-Eurasian exchange as subject to steppe nomad mobilities since the Bronze Age, and archaeolinguists' mapping of language onto the prehistoric global spread of agriculture, complicate any specific inception date for globalization.[3] More recent research shows the first iteration of the Silk Roads (100BCE-250CE) witnessed the transformation of an exchange system from small-scale and regional to transcontinental. For example, Chinese silk and weaving technology spread all the way to the Syrian city of Palmyra where raw silk from tribute payments to the Xiongnu Empire ended up woven into textiles for the local market or transshipment.[4] This too meets the criteria for diverse, vast linkages broadly affecting locals. Admittedly, these were slower mobilities, but if intensity and speed is the primary metric, then does that mean geography at scale is immaterial? That would be counterintuitive, rendering, for instance, archaeobotanical histories explaining the unhurried diffusion of foodways across Afro-Eurasia as non-global. Perhaps

[1] Thomas Allsen, *The Steppe and the Sea* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 2019); *Peter Stearns, Globalization in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2020).

[2] Janet Abu-Lughod, B*efore European Hegemony* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 154 and 182-183.

[3] David Christian, "Silk Roads or Steppe Roads? The Silk Roads in World History," *Journal of World History* 11, no. 1 (2000): 1-26.

[4] Craig Benjamin, *Empires of Ancient Eurasia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1 and 133-137.

the solution lies in a big-tent approach to histories of globalization that remains tolerant of diverse manifestations, chronologies, and outcomes.

Hansen has provided yet another highly readable work on the medieval world of global exchange circa 1000. Its challenge to the boundaries of pre-modern globalization and intuitive use of richly detailed historical episodes make it of interest to specialists as well as an accessible and well-designed teaching resource for global history. As with her work on the Silk Roads, *The Year 1000* will be a guidepost for future research on globalization and human mobilities.

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Alan MacEachern. ***The Miramichi Fire: A History.*** **McGill-Queen's Rural, Wildland, and Resource Studies Series 13. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020. Pp. 288. $110.00 (cloth).**

A thorough analysis of one of North America's worst natural disasters, Alan MacEachern's *Miramichi Fire: A History* offers an account both of the fire itself and its immediate impacts, as well as the later processes by which the fire was remembered, and ultimately, largely forgotten. Sweeping through the town of Miramichi, New Brunswick in 1825, the blaze was part of a particularly awful forest fire season throughout Eastern Canada and the north-east United States, with the town becoming a particularly potent symbol of its devastating effect on the region. The "forgetting" of the Miramichi fire is as worthwhile an investigation as the fire itself; while it was devastating, and reduced an entire community to ashes in a matter of perhaps fifteen minutes, its scant memorialization astonishes. In the years immediately following, the fire was the subject of numerous literary works and an international relief effort, but was not a major subject of discussion afterwards. MacEachern offers a valuable contribution on processes of historical memory, as well as a work of environmental history.

Certainly, MacEachern provides a thorough account of the fire, and marshals a significant number of contemporary sources to reconstruct the events of the catastrophe. Evidence tracking how little burning there had been in previous years (thus allowing for the ample accumulation of vegetation), the pattern of burning, and even the movement of a hurricane's remnants north on the coast, all illustrate just how unusually powerful the set of circumstances were that produced the Miramichi fire. Moreover, the transnational relief efforts directed towards aiding the communities affected are surveyed with erudite brevity, offering substantial but not miring detail. MacEachern's study illustrates, as much astute environmental history does, how arbitrary national boundaries can be: fires burning simultaneously with the conflagration in Miramichi on both sides of the border factored into how people responded to the situation in New Brunswick. The at-times distracting

humour in the book (among a multitude of examples, the book's third chapter is entitled "Leafs vs. Flames") and lack of a clear estimation of the fire's overall impact are relatively minor faults in the otherwise thorough account of the fire's immediate and long-term effects.

The issue of historical memory is a major component of the book, and provides an excellent illustration of how the subfields of historical memory and environmental history can work effectively together. Despite the nearly apocalyptic events of the day, the fire itself was not as terrible a disaster in the long term as might be assumed. To the contrary, thanks in part to post-fire relief efforts and the pattern of burning, a considerable level of continuity in Miramichi life before and after the fire was ultimately possible. The timber industry, the main economic engine of the colony, revived shortly after the blaze thanks to the numerous unburned trees, a common aspect of forest fires (132–133). This, ultimately, is the groundwork for MacEarchern's argument regarding historical memory: the remarkable degree of continuity in Miramichi after the conflagration, despite the devastation of the fire, contributed to its "forgetting." Memorialization of the event was also hampered by a simple lack of repetition, which is strange in that such memorial efforts may well have occurred despite the timber industry's swift reemergence; while commemorations had been undertaken in the immediate wake of the fire, and on its anniversary (October 7th), only a decade after 1825 these days of commemoration were no longer observed (134–137).

A methodological element of MacEachern's study that he foregrounds is the importance of online databases to the way in which the book's research was undertaken. The amount of international press about the fire is integral to the book's positioning of historical memory, as well as the aid efforts directed towards Miramichi's rebuilding. This allows for discussion of some interesting events not previously mentioned in any North American accounts of this event. As MacEachern writes, "I learned that some would-be British immigrants sailed to the Miramichi region in early October 1825, found it in flames, and sailed right back, reporting what they had seen in local British newspapers" (12). Such an appreciative account of the possibilities online databases provide for research is welcome, and draws the historian's attention to these new avenues by which research may be undertaken with a greater attention to the global context.

The Miramichi Fire offers an engaging example of how the subfields of environmental history and historical memory can work together. Its writing style is accessible for undergraduate courses in Canadian history, while its analysis is sophisticated enough for graduate seminars on environmental history and historical memory.

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