Indigenizing the Academy: The case of Grenfell Campus of Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq resurgence

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Abstract: This paper examines several key elements in the history of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq through the Federation of Newfoundland Indians: how the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq were understood and how they understood themselves; how past government policies have influenced scholarship; and, how changing relationships have been reflected in and shaped the "Indigenization of the academy" of Memorial University's Grenfell Campus in Corner Brook, western Newfoundland. The West Coast of the island of Newfoundland is the administrative hub of Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation and the area is still largely unrecognized publicly as having one of largest concentrations of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, many now with status under the Indian Act. In order to examine these themes, it has been necessary to do a review of the existing literature on the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq and how it has changed; this is a type of analysis that has not previously been carried out. By doing so, this paper provides an overview of how public perception and the status of the Mi'kmaq have moved from one of near invisibility to one of important historical proportions.

The now outdated historical characterization of the Aboriginal population of the island of Ktaqmkukewaq (Newfoundland) as consisting only of the culturally extinct Beothuk peoples has been laid to rest but only in the past generation. The reluctance and even refusal to officially recognize the existence of many Newfoundlanders of Aboriginal descent – the Inuit, the Innu, the Mi'kmaq, and Metis peoples – resulted in 1949 in their omission, as "Indians" under the *Indian Act*, when in 1949 the province entered into Confederation. (Hanrahan, 2003; Tanner, 1998; Tompkins, 1998; Tompkins, 1988); they were again overlooked in 1951 during a national census taking of Aboriginal peoples. In regard to the Mi'kmaq population, the main focus of the following paper, the position of the government of Newfoundland remained one of official resistance until 1987, when the Conne River reserve was established by the federal government. While the Inuit and Innu of Labrador received federal recognition (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs 2004a; Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 2004b; Department of Indian and Northern Affairs 2002), twelve different Mi'kmaq bands under the Federation of Newfoundland Indians were not recognized until an Agreement-in-Principle was reached in 2006-07 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador – Labrador and Aboriginal Affairs, 2007; Kruzenga, 2002; Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 2006). The consequences of this historical dynamic continue to resonate into the present and will likely do so into the foreseeable future.

This paper is divided into two interrelated parts: first, *invisible no more* explores how Newfoundland Mi'kmaq history and culture came to be understood by the academy and the Mi'kmaq themselves, in a dialectic fashion, reflecting the search for Aboriginal knowledge, history, cultural identity, but also status recognition under the *Indian Act*; and secondly, *Indigenizing the academy* shares how recent developments which attempt to incorporate this scholarly and Mi'kmaq knowledge have contributed to the formation and activities of the Aboriginal Initiatives Committee at Grenfell Campus. This committee has attempted to address some of the issues of Indigenizing the academy, address Aboriginal student needs both in pedagogical and institutional terms, and look beyond the academy to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities for Indigenous knowledge and support.

Invisible no more

The lack of visibility of Mi'kmaq population of Newfoundland (Ktaqamkuk) had much to do with factors common to other Indigenous peoples in mainland Canada; they had been colonized informally and largely assimilated through institutionalized religion, education, and marriage and their traditions and identity had been suppressed. The Anglicization of Aboriginal surnames and the wholesale loss of language among the Ktaqamkuk Mi'kmaq were noted as early as the 1920s by the anthropologist Frank Speck (Speck, 1922) which was already commonplace among the Mi'kmaq population of the Maritimes (Wallis and Wallis, 1974; Paul, 1993). In these years, Mi'kmaq individuals and their families faced subtle and overt racial discrimination which prompted many of them until quite recently to hide and deny their Aboriginal background, sometimes even from other family members. Negative connotations, the "shame" of "being Aboriginal," were most manifest in once common usage of the term "jack-o-tar" (also jackytar, jackatar) referring to people of French-Mi'kmaq ancestry, particularly stereotyped persons from the Port-au-Port peninsula and Crow Gulch near Corner Brook, and labelled as poor, lazy, and dirty (Robinson, 2012; Baehre, 2010b).

For these reasons, "Mi'kmaq" remained largely invisible in public discourse, though references were always to be found in fragmented forms, such as early twentieth century census information with an occasional reference to "Indian." References in newspapers and magazine articles also sometimes noted Mi'kmaq guides used by outfitters for recreational tourism, such as hunting and fishing, which were traditional Mi`kmaq pursuits (Chute, 1998). The noted guide Mattie Mitchell, for example, who led the way to the discovery of copper, lead, and zinc ore and the Buchans mine, was recognized as "Micmac." Thus, despite official refusal to acknowledge their collective existence, many residents of the island, especially in central, southern and western Newfoundland, remained well aware of their Aboriginal roots through stories (Woodrow, 2012; Coish, 2000) and family ties (Butt, 2007; Bartels and Bartels, 2005).

The controversial federal White Paper of 1969 recommended eliminating the *Indian Act* and its accompanying state paternalism in the interests of Aboriginal equality, but such a sudden change was regarded in many First Nations community as premature, assimilationist, and a threat to cultural survival. In the wake of the White Paper, some Newfoundland Mi'kmaq, like Calvin White of Flat Bay, were determined to rediscover and assert their distinct heritage in order to avoid complete assimilation. Influenced by the American civil rights movement, the American Indian movement, and the formation of the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador at Memorial University, Chief White and like-minded supporters organized the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI) in 1973 (Lyon, 1997; Hanrahan, 2003). As a result their efforts, the isolated Mi'kmaq community of Miawpukek (Conne River) situated on the south coast at Bay d'Espoir and its roughly 800 inhabitants were tentatively recognized by the federal government in 1979; Miawpukek began receiving some initial funding by the Department of Northern and Indian Affairs (DIAND) under the Canada-Newfoundland Native Peoples Agreement. This qualified but formal recognition of an Aboriginal presence on the island was essential to the FNI in its efforts to gain wider recognition for all Mi'kmaq peoples of the province under the *Indian Act.*

This was not a new but an old struggle. Conne River had first been set aside in 1872 by the provincial surveyor Alexander Murray, as a "reservation" and again recognized as a "Micmac" community in 1908 by Governor William MacGregor (MacGregor, 1908). However, there the matter rested. Except for the occasional short article early in the century (Millais, 1908; Power, 1910; Anger, 2006), the Mi'kmaq disappeared from view. In a sense, what happened between the turn of the century and the 1960s was typical of the cultural loss and "acculturation" noted in the work of the anthropologists Wilson and Ruth Wallis in their studies of the mainland Mi'kmaq. They were among a small handful of scholars interested in documenting the history and lives of the Mi'kmaq in eastern Canada but, except for Speck, had little to

say about Newfoundland (Speck, 1922; Hoffman, 1955; Wallis and Wallis, 1955; Wallis and Wallis, 1959; Wallis, 1959).

This marginalization and denial of the Mi'kmaq in Newfoundland history can be attributed to a number of factors: intermarriage, church repression, economic change, and racism. However, when the Mi'kmaq attempted to reassert their existence, the main source of resistance was the Newfoundland government. They were often regarded as small in number, and a mixed population, or metis peoples, who were not then recognized federally under the *Indian Act*. Also, for a long time government officials saw them as more-or-less assimilated, one of many immigrant groups who had arrived in Newfoundland, who therefore belonged to the newcomers; they also relied on "the Beothuk myth" and regarded Newfoundland's Mi'kmaq peoples as responsible for the Beothuk's demise. The omission in school textbooks of Aboriginal peoples even existing on the island at Confederation only contributed further to their public invisibility (Mackenzie, 2010). The little that the public knew about the Mi'kmaq could probably be found in a short entry in *The Book of Newfoundland* which characterized them as "happy and cheerful" (St. Croix, 1937).

Their relative invisibility had political consequences. During Newfoundland's negotiations with Canada to join Confederation in 1948-49, Aboriginal issues were "pencilled out" (Tompkins, 1988). The failure to achieve consensus and who would have responsibility over Native affairs in Newfoundland flowed out of the assimilationist mentality which dominated Canadian Indian policy. Most importantly, these issues were "not deemed of sufficient importance to hold up the Confederation negotiations" (Mackenzie, pp. 41, 44), and no further reference was made by either jurisdiction to address these questions. Rather, Newfoundland and the federal government looked to some later unspecified date to revisit the matter and worked at "glacial speed." Tellingly, a federal government publication on Canada's newest province made not a single reference to the province's Aboriginal peoples except (and incorrectly) that in 1692 "Indians" from the mainland and allies of the French had attacked the island; there was also the usual acknowledgment of what had happened to the Beothuk (Canada, Department of External Affairs and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1950).

Aboriginal politics helped to change the academy's approach to Newfoundland Mi'kmaq history. The political lobbying efforts by the FNI during the 1970s and the need to document the history of all Newfoundland's Aboriginal peoples fostered a slow but growing interest in researching the prehistory and history of the Beothuk, Mi'kmaq, Inuit, and Innu, including by several scholars associated at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College (now Grenfell Campus) of Memorial University. Their interest paralleled scholarly efforts in Native studies elsewhere in Atlantic Canada which included work by anthropologist Harold McGee and historian Leslie Upton (McGee 1973; McGee 1974; Upton 1977; Upton 1978). While McGee reconstructed the ethnic history of Micmac-White relations in Nova Scotia, Upton was the first modern historian to pay attention to the demise of the Beothuks and the history of Mi'kmaq encounters with Europeans.

In 1978, anthropologist Dennis Bartels at Grenfell began to examine the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq "use and occupancy" of the land, employed oral history to establish how long they believed themselves to have inhabited the island, or "time immemorial," and subsequently refuted the prevailing "myth" that the Mi'kmaq were responsible for the extermination of the Beothuks (Bartels, 1978; Bartels 1979; Bartels 1988). Two other scholars also contributed to reconstructing the Mi'kmaq's past. Anthropologist Ralph Pastore pieced together the more recent history of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq (Pastore, 1978a; Pastore, 1978b), and much later, historian David McNab, who briefly taught at Grenfell, provided a report on the impact of British colonization upon the Mi'kmaq Nation (McNab, 1995). Collectively, they added a Newfoundland dimension to other research on the Mi'kmaq of Atlantic Canada which had until then little to say about the province's Aboriginal history and culture.

Aboriginal politics and issues in Newfoundland continued to shape scholarship in the 1980s, especially in the wake of changes in constitutional law and major court decisions. The federal government's slow progress during the early 1980s in giving formal recognition to the Conne River band prompted the FNI to challenge DIAND through the courts in the wake of the newly passed Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The challenge of court action was averted in 1983-84 when the Miawpukek band was made an *Indian Act* band; this came about, mostly because newly uncovered documents by a provincial archivist supported the Conne River claim of having been recognized as a Mi'kmaq community well before 1949. It achieved formal status in 1987 as an Indian reserve together with a small amount of land.

In 1983, the FNI had decided to disassociate itself from the Conne River band in order to facilitate the latter's recognition, as "Indian," and instead to become the principal advocate of ten other landless and unrecognized Mi'kmaq communities. While several federal ministers between 1979 and 1987 did give some support FNI's efforts to research and document the status the history and status of individual bands in order to establish their eligibility under the *Indian Act*, the Newfoundland government resisted any form of cooperation out of an apparent concern that an expansion of Aboriginal rights would result in delays of major projects and create unspecified costs for the province. Premier Brian Peckford spoke openly in the House of Assembly in 1981 against expanding Aboriginal status to Mi'kmaq residents, a position outlined in a subsequent government report (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1982). Five years later, the Newfoundland government still "declined to join the process" though now the FNI continued to prepare for its members to register. This political impasse put a temporary end to any more tripartite negotiations and DIAND was pressured in 1988 to end its support for the FNI's call for further Mi'kmaq recognition and research necessary to achieve this goal.

The provincial and federal government's intransigence now led to a report for Newfoundland MP Jack Harris reminding the federal government of its constitutional responsibilities (Moss 1988), and in 1989 the FNI launched a constitutional challenge against the federal government based on Indian rights under the Charter. Initially, DIAND argued that this court action constituted merely a class action suit because, in its view, these bands had no formal or official recognition (McNab, 2005; Hanrahan, 2003). Not long after, a joint report between FNI and DIAND for a possible out-of-court settlement was prepared, though this initiative was squelched when the Newfoundland government refused to cooperate.

The academy was involved in a number of ways during this decade. The failure of governments to address Aboriginal needs led to the founding in 1983 of the St. John's Native Friendship Centre, a volunteer organization supported by Memorial University and church-based sources. Its board of directors consisted of members from the FNI, the Labrador Innu communities and local residents. Political developments and DIAND funding for the FNI also made it possible for several scholars to carry on the much needed research of reconstructing Mi'kmaq history and culture necessary to the process of status recognition and land claims.

Of particular note, Dorothy Anger, graduate student at Memorial University, who completed a M.A. thesis in anthropology on the island's Mi'kmaq, published several articles and wrote a series of reports on Mi'kmaq culture, political identity, and historical presence (Anger, 1982; Anger and Clark, 1982; Anger, 1983; Anger, 1984). She examined the FNI's likely eligibility under the Indian Act, its "resurgent culture," and "traces" of its material culture; she also authored and compiled the first collection of documents ever published to affirm the longstanding Mi'kmaq presence in Newfoundland (Anger, 1980; Anger, 1988). Best known for her work on the Beothuk, Ingeborg Marshall challenged the older Beothuk myth that placed blame on the Mi'kmaq for their disappearance, citing instead mixed responsibility that included Europeans and suggesting that disease was the most likely major cause (Marshall, 1988). Dennis Bartels likewise repudiated this myth and, in so doing, argued in favour of Mi'kmaq Aboriginal rights in Newfoundland (Bartels, 1988).

A continuing question for the Newfoundland government and the public was when and how long there had been a Mi'kmaq presence in Newfoundland and whether this was before or after the arrival of Europeans. In this regard, Bartels and historian Olaf Janzen, a colleague at Grenfell Campus, explored the written documentary record to determine when the Mi'kmaq arrived on a permanent basis in Newfoundland, suggesting that it was sometime in the mid-eighteenth century (Bartels and Janzen, 1990). Regardless of the exact date of their arrival, Bartels also contended that, regardless of whether the Mi'kmaq arrived before or after the first European explorers and settlers or were brought by the French to trap, their presence had been longstanding and merited land and Indian status (Bartels, 1991). For those who remained sceptical about the Mi'kmaq ability to cross the Cabot Strait without European maritime vessels, work by Ruth Whitehead and Charles Martijn indicated that the Mi'kmaq were quite capable, as seafarers, to have such voyages between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, even before European arrival (Whitehead, 1986; Martijn, 1986). In these years, members of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq also began to present their history of their own, when the Conne River band produced a self-published overview and rationale for its right to exist (Wetzel, Anderson, and Sanders, 1980). This contributed to other related efforts, such as those by Phil Jeddore of Conne River who later wrote a series of short pieces "in celebration of Mi'kmaq identity" as well as helping to carry out a traditional land use study" and a Master's thesis on Miawpukek language and culture (Jeddore, 1996a; Jeddore, 1996b; Jeddore, 1996c; Jeddore, 1996d; Jeddore, 1996e Jeddore, 2000).

The 1990s proved a watershed in relations between the federal and provincial governments and First Nations bands that, in turn, also fostered additional research and interpretation on the history of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq. National consciousness was raised on Aboriginal issues during and after the Oka crisis, an event which contributed directly to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs and a report in which Indigenous peoples throughout the country participated and were given an unprecedented voice (Government of Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs, 1996). Interest in Aboriginal issues was also spurred by public revelations regarding the former government-supported residential school system and the physical, psychological, and sexual abuse perpetrated by clergy and other authority figures upon Aboriginal children. These developments contributed to a deeper understanding of what it meant to be an Aboriginal person in Canada as well as who had contributed to and what constituted "cultural genocide." As the Nova Scotian Mi'kmaq writer Daniel Paul proclaimed in an unprecedented book which examined these historical issues from an Aboriginal perspective, "We Were Not the Savages" (Paul, 1993). Responding to a submitted report, *Aboriginal Peoples and Governance in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Tanner, Kennedy, McCorquodale, and Inglis, 1994), the Royal Commission supported the recognition of the Labrador Metis and FNI member communities, as Aboriginal communities, though these were not immediately acted upon.

However, shifts in public attitudes, constitutional challenges and court decisions, and policy change affecting First Nations peoples throughout the country were well publicized and provided models for action. This became evident in Newfoundland and Labrador as the Labrador Inuit Association and the Innu Nation began their negotiations with the federal government to secure health benefits, research, and land claims which eventually resulted in federal recognition and Indian status (Hanrahan, 2003). Nevertheless, the same degree of progress was not made between the FNI and DIAND who considered finding ways outside of the *Indian Act* to recognize and compensate Mi'kmaq communities, even a possible out-of-court settlement with some form of self-government. The Newfoundland government continued to resist any participation in this process and the federal government refused to proceed without them.

The Final Report of the Institutional Framework Project prepared by the FNI stated that its member bands displayed "both the will and the capacity to exercise the inherent right of self-government" and to identify its membership, as required under the *Indian Act*, as a step towards formal recognition (Lyon, 1997, p. 7). In 1996, DIAND had provided some renewed support for research on Mi'kmaq ancestry to facilitate the

required documentation process. Then, in 1997, when progress towards Indian status again stalled, the FNI appealed to the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC), following in the strategic footsteps of the Labrador Inuit. Noel Lyon, a Queen's University professor, investigated the FNI's claims, issued a report, and concluded, "these Mikmaq [sic] communities have been denied recognition as human communities and their fundamental right of self-determination, the very foundation of international human rights law, has been systematically suppressed" (Lyon, 1997, p. 1). As part of the process of revitalization, he argued, they needed "to restore their language and culture and regain control over culture-related aspects of their communities such as education, health and social services, while continuing to live in harmony and to share facilities with their non-aboriginal neighbours" (Lyon, 1997, p. 2). Lyon, in regarding the FNI's situation as comparable to the James Bay Cree who in the early 1970s had been forced to resort to the courts for redress, called upon the federal government to exercise "the political will to do its constitutional duty" (Lyon 1997, p. 4). This was the same year that the Conne River band redefined itself as the Miawpukek Mi'kmaq (Miawpukek First Nation, 1997).

Meanwhile, when the government opposition in the House of Assembly asked Newfoundland's premier what he thought about Lyon's conclusions and recommendations, Brian Tobin circumvented the question and refused to commit his government to recognizing any Mi'kmaq communities beyond Conne River because of what he claimed "self-government" would do to the province: "One hundred million, $200 million, $300 million, $1 billion, $2 billion, $3 billion? How much land? Ten thousand square miles, 100,000 square miles?" He also asked which communities would be directly affected by any land claims agreement, whether it was Stephenville, Gander, Deer Lake, or Corner Brook (Government of Newfoundland, 1997). This response prompted the Ktaqamkuk Mi'kmaq Alliance of the FNI to bring Lyon's report to the attention of Doudou Diene, the United Nation's Special Rapporteur to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 2003).

The letter written by Chief Bert Alexander on behalf of the Alliance brought to the United Nations official's attention, "A Policy of Cultural Genocide in Canada Applied to the Newfoundland Mi'kmau [sic], 1949-2003, by the Government of Canada," based on the lawyer Jerry Wetzel's paper, "The Hidden Terms of Union" (Wetzel, 1999). Alexander charged that Canadian officials had consistently promoted a racist and discriminatory policy of assimilation in an effort "to make us vanish as a distinct cultural group in Newfoundland [and] . . . deprive our people of the federal programs for health, education and welfare that would have provided a measure of protection and dignity for the Mi'kmaq people on the island of Newfoundland." Worrisome was that this remained "an ongoing policy that is still pushing our people to the brink of cultural extinction today."

The continuing need to construct a clearer and more detailed sense of Newfoundland Mi'kmaq history was reinforced by the government inaction over the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq question (Bartels, 1991; Bartels and Janzen, 1990; Stone, 1997). Because of research carried out in the 1970s and 1980s, the long term and continuous presence in central and western Newfoundland of the Mi'kmaq was now irrefutable. Anthropologist Adrian Tanner and Anger prepared a series of reports on contemporary Mi'kmaq communities of the FNI (Anger and Tanner, 1992-96). As questions remained, a number of studies now increasingly concentrated on local knowledge, genealogy and cultural identity – what it meant to be a Newfoundland Mi'kmaq (Anger 1997). Anthropologist Harald Prins conceptualized these developments in the broader context of the history of Mi'kmaq peoples in Atlantic Canada, as representing resistance, accommodation, and cultural survival (Prins, 1996). Aboriginal lawyer Jerry Wetzel completed a graduate thesis in law and argued for Ktagmkuk (Newfoundland) Mi'kmaw history to be decolonized (Wetzel, 1995) and reminded readers of the "hidden terms" of Union and the abandonment of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq at Confederation (Wetzel, 1999). In a different vein, folklorist Barbara Rieti, looked to intangible culture and related Mi'kmaq stories of "witching" to gender-related issues of the colonization process, in particular, the nature of violence against Mi'kmaq women by non-Aboriginal men (Rieti, 1995; Rieti, 2008).

The FNI began conducting its own in-depth research in order to meet the federal requirements of Indian status. Rather than rely solely on text-based documents, there was a concerted attempt to explore intangible history and oral history as well as new methodologies to advance Mi'kmaq claims. The *Delgamuukw* decision in British Columbia had suddenly given oral history and local knowledge greater credibility in court cases involving Aboriginal status and land claims and determined that Indian title was not to be sold, surrendered or extinguished with First Nations' consent under the authority of the federal government. The influence of this decision also left its imprint on the FNI (Tanner, 2000; Tanner, 1992; McNab, 2005). In 1999, a broad-based traditional land use study was conducted based on 682 interviews taking into account all forms of harvesting. These interviews were used to chart the locations of Mi'kmaq sacred grounds, traditional medicines, and toponyms, as well providing gender-based and cultural information. This data was then mapped to provide exact locations. Nothing on this scale had ever been attempted before. A study was also done on establishing the survival and continuity of Mi'kmaq culture (Anger and Tanner, 1994). In this regard, genealogical research was essential. Mi'kmaq family history tied together individuals and their communities over time (Anger and Companion, 2002).

This history has since become increasingly part of the province's cultural memory (Jackson, 1993; Hanrahan, 2003; CBC, 2011). Dorothy Anger spearheaded an hour-long CBC documentary on the "forgotten" Mi'kmaq past and contemporary situation (Anger, 1998). Also the Newfoundland and Labrador heritage site was established with three entries by Pastore on Mi'kmaq history, society and culture (Pastore, 1997; Pastore, 1998a; Pastore, 1999b). Ten years later, Jenny Higgins added three more sections on pre-contact Mi'kmaq land use, organization, land claims, and non-Aboriginal impact (Higgins, 2008a; Higgins, 2008b; Higgins, 2008c). During the past decade, the history of the once "invisible" Mi'kmaq came full circle when, in 2000, the Miawpukek began to share their knowledge of traditional healing practices (Miawkpukek Mi'kamawey Mawio'Mi, 2000; Jeddore, 1996b). Two years later, the band issued a study of the Mi'kmaq people and celebrated the role of women (Wetzel 2006; Miawpukek First Nation, 2006). This cultural revival also extended to public events and activities in the form of pow-wows to celebrate Mi'kmaq identity (Jeddore, 1996a; Jeddore, 1996d; Jeddore, 1996e) and an interest in material culture (Benwah, n.d.).

Over the past decade, the lure of Newfoundland Mi'kmaq history and culture has continued to attract scholars, not only the anthropologists and historians already mentioned but a new generation of folklorists (Sharpe, 2007; Rieti, 2008). In particular, ethnomusicologist and folklorist Janice Tulk has documented and analyzed traditional and contemporary cultural aspects of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq and their search for official recognition. Her work includes a doctoral thesis from Memorial University, "*Our Strength is Ourselves": Identity, Status, and Cultural Revitalization Among the Mi'kmaq in Newfoundland*, which reflects the growing confidence and pride of Mi'kmaq communities (Tulk 2008). She has also written published and unpublished studies of recent powwows, recordings of traditional and contemporary music, musical language, story-telling and dance as examples of Mi'kmaq expressive culture and as ways to maintain cultural integrity (Tulk,2012a; Tulk, 2012b; Tulk, 2011; Tulk, 2010a; Tulk, 2010c; Tulk, 2009a; Tulk, 2009b; Tulk, 2009c; Tulk, 2007a; Tulk, 2007b; Tulk, 2006; Tulk, 2004). With the support of the FNI and Memorial University, Tulk has also recently supervised a project for transcribing the hundreds of oral interviews carried out in the 1990s which had helped to establish the long term presence of the Mi'kmaq in western Newfoundland. More will be said on the role of the academy in understanding the place of the Mi'kmaq in the following section.

Out of frustration with the province's continuing intransigence on the recognition of the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq, the Ktaqamkuk Mi'kmaq Alliance (KMA) formed in 2002 to press its claims out of a coalition of former FNI members and other Newfoundland Mi'kmaq descendants. Despite the precedent of the Donald Marshall case in Nova Scotia a few years earlier that upheld established Mi'kmaq treaty rights

extending back to the mid-eighteenth century (Wicken, 2002), 2002 saw the Supreme Court of Newfoundland turn down the Miawpukek First Nation's right to hunt and trap in the recently created Bay du Nord Wilderness area, a traditional Mi'kmaq hunting area, because the reserve lacked similar treaty or Aboriginal rights, an argument upheld by the Newfoundland Supreme Court three years later. The judicial process refused to hear oral history but wanted written documents which would establish that the Miawpukek First Nation had used this land prior to European contact – an impossible task.

Maura Hanrahan prepared a lengthy submission to the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our [Newfoundland's] Place in Canada in which she reviewed the history of Aboriginal peoples in the province and consequences of their omission at Confederation. In her report, she provided a comparative analysis of what could be done based on developments in British Columbia and the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development in terms of sovereignty, state institutions, and culture placed under Aboriginal control. Hanrahan made twenty-one recommendations including one that Aboriginal Nations in the province be constituted as nations and that the province should officially recognize and support this initiative, including land claims, and plan strategically to meet Aboriginal goals, including making sure that all Mi'kmaq peoples achieve recognition under the *Indian Act*. In addition, she recommended making sure that Aboriginal people be accurately and fairly represented in the school curriculum (Hanrahan, 2003). In light of the provincial government's continued reluctance to act, the KMA joined with the Sip'kop Mi'kmaq Band of St. Alban's to sue the federal government for its long-time abandonment of its fiduciary responsibility to the Mi'kmaq of the province. The Alliance and the Sip'kop looked to the Supreme Court of Canada for possible redress and launched an application to take the federal and provincial governments to court in a class action suit to establish bands and reserves (CBC 2007). It also considered approaching the federal government to ask for recognition as a landless band.

In 2004, a referendum was called among 700 eligible voters of the Kitpu First Nation on the Port au Port peninsula in pursuit of Indian status, as a landless band, but there appeared to be little interest – few voted (CBC 2004). However, these developments did catch the attention of the federal government. Late 2005, Ottawa hired a negotiator to begin discussions with the FNI and work towards an Agreement-in-Principle (CBC 2005) Two years later, the Newfoundland Supreme Court turned down the four-year old application to initiate a class action suit arguing that any action needed to be done through the *Indian Act* (CBC 2007) but on November 30, the federal government decided to respond. Prime Minister Stephen Harper and the FNI signed an Agreement-in-Principle in 2008 which recognized the newly founded Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation Band. An Order-in-Council created the band in September, 2011. In October, 2012, the Qalipu band held its first elections signifying that a new era had begun (CBC 2012). However, these elections were controversial, even among band members, because they took place while registration was ongoing and with limited time for mail-in-ballots to reach the returning officers.

As positive as these developments appeared, they were not without some serious problems. The agreement meant that Indian status had been achieved for the all Mi'kmaq in the province. Yet not everyone was included in the band. In 2007, roughly 7,800 people became potentially eligible for status which many believed would bring some health, education, and tax benefits. The determinant for status under the FNI-Ottawa agreement was that applicants be able to demonstrate Mi'kmaq ancestry, lived in a current or pre-1949 Mi'kmaq community, and live "a Mi'kmaq way of life" (CBC 2011). Not all eligible Mi'kmaq were able to apply during the initial period and pressures were put on the FNI to allow them to do so. In an extraordinary and unexpected result following a second deadline for applications, the numbers of applicants began to soar, reaching over 100,000, including from many persons who had outmigrated from Newfoundland usually to find economic opportunities off the island. While there are applicants who are motivated by the promise of financial benefits, others sought to affirm their identity; most applicants appear to be seeking both elements. Some applicants have only recently learned of their

Aboriginal heritage and now have been forced to rethink their own identities. These developments, in turn, have forced western and central Newfoundland to re-examine their own Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal past.

In light of these unexpected numbers, however, the federal government has begun to question the legitimacy of the application process and hint at having to renegotiate the original agreement. However, this situation was aggravated by the entire process. Some applicants were accepted, and others not processed or rejected entirely, even within the same family. Further, the now closed deadline for application has left potential applicants out of the process and many applications unprocessed. Also the large numbers who have met status qualifications now threaten to derail decades and more of lobbying and negotiations, as Ottawa begins to balk. The questions that these issues raise are profound and have already attracted new directions in Mi'kmaq scholarship including "being and becoming Indian" (Robinson, 2013a; Robinson, 2013b; Robinson, 2012; Robinson, 2011).

The once invisible Newfoundland Mi'kmaq have thus become very visible. What has happened is a major remaking of history and, in an ongoing way, the remaking of peoples whose heritage and culture has been colonized, reduced, repressed, and ignored. To understand how the past has left its imprint on the present has required and will continue to require scholarly research and education – not only of Aboriginal students, but the public. This task means examining this past from a variety of disciplinary angles: political, economic, anthropological, ethnographic, sociological, historical, and psychological. In the reconstruction of this identity, it is also necessary to engage, as equals, with those from the Aboriginal community whose traditional knowledge, stories, and values are distinct. From the point of view of the university it requires welcoming, and learning from, the Aboriginal community, allowing for Aboriginal voices to be heard and Indigenous culture and values to be shared. How this might be accomplished and some of the challenges inherent in the attempt are discussed in the following section.

Indigenizing the academy

What does it mean to "Indigenize" the academy? A recent roundtable (University of British Columbia, 2013) addressed six "core themes": community engagement, teaching/learning, research, governance, Indigenous student success, and Indigenous cultural determination. It is aimed at "creating culturally appropriate education for Indigenous students" (Kuokkanen, 2007, p. 1) by countering the dominant intellectual culture of the traditional western university and its hegemonic role in colonization with its interpretation of Aboriginal history and cultures (Mihesuah, 1998) and allowing for alternative philosophies and epistemes into the pedagogical conversation in meaningful, reciprocal, respectful, and ongoing fashion (Russell, 2013; Robie Liscomb, 2012; Vetter and Blimkie, 2011). At Algoma University, the symbol of such an approach was "a teaching wigwam lodge," inspired by nineteenth-century Anishinabe (Ojibway) Chief Shingwauk who wanted a place where his peoples could maintain possession of their world by importing skills, not abandoning their culture and identity (Algoma University and Shingwauk Kinoomaage Gamig, 2013).

These themes have begun to resonate at Memorial University of Newfoundland, as they already have at other Canadian universities (University College of the Fraser Valley, 2003; Russell, 2013). The importance of making a campus not only more aware but engaged with the emerging Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation band and its members in a spirit of mutual learning and respect is the thread which ties together the following description of Grenfell's past and current Indigenization efforts (Kuokkanen, 2007; Mihesuah and Wilson, 2004; Fenelon, 2003; Mihesuah, 1998).

The Grenfell Campus is situated in Corner Brook, Western Newfoundland where the FNI established its headquarters several decades ago. Initially, upon opening in 1975, it was a two-year service campus for Memorial University. The first degree programs came into being during the mid-1980s with others following in the 1990s. The number of scholars interested in Aboriginal history, including Bartels and the

author, were few. The first and second-year courses that they taught sometimes included Aboriginal content, but it was not until the early 1990s that occasional upper level undergraduate courses on the ethnohistory of Canadian Native peoples were offered on a regular basis. In a nutshell, there was no interest on campus to expand the offerings in Aboriginal studies and little contact with the FNI Mi'kmaq communities, except on an individual basis. There was also little acknowledgment by students of their Aboriginal heritage. It was the rare student who willingly admitted to such a background. Conversations with students have since revealed that this was not accidental, for their parents often advised them strongly not to let anyone know of their heritage. Sometimes, this was based on a sense of shame, other times out of a fear of discrimination.

Developments on campus since mid-1990s, especially during the past few years, have been remarkable and changes coincide with a growing literature on Aboriginal histories and cultures, the Mi'kmaq awakening, and recognition of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation band. Progress was initially slow. An Aboriginal Art exhibit took place in 1996 at the Grenfell Art Gallery and in 2004 Memorial University honoured the Conne River Sagamaw and Chief, Misel Joe, with an honorary doctorate at a Grenfell Convocation (Anderson and Crellin, 2009). During the oration, it was noted that in 1999 a small group of Mi'kmaq had paddled a traditional canoe from Cape Breton to Newfoundland, demonstrating not only that it could be done but more importantly that it had, according to Mi'kmaq oral history, been done long ago. Chief Joe's appeal to the academy emphasized the importance of education, spirituality, and protection of the environment. He also contended, "Education – if there is one aspect of our society that is truly important to the future of my people, and all peoples, it is education. It opens the doors to opportunities: the knowledge that comes with education brings understanding and eventually, acceptance. Education is, in fact, the great equalizer" (Memorial University, President's Report 2004). Both the Aboriginal art exhibit and the honouring of Chief Joe were unprecedented and illustrated a growing awareness, respect, and willingness to engage with the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq.

Memorial University had attempted to address the problems facing Aboriginal students as early as 1980 and in 1987 had tabled a major report at Senate which looked at needed improvements in undergraduate education relating to Native and Northern programs, including teachers' education. It was not, however, until 2009 that a Presidential Task Force on Aboriginal Initiatives consisting of leading members of the university and the Aboriginal communities was established. In a list of twenty-two recommendations, it called for fundamental change in how Aboriginal students were served and taught (Presidential Task Force on Aboriginal Affairs, 2009). Part of this initiative resulted in the hiring of a Special Adviser to the President for Aboriginal Affairs, Dr. Maura Hanrahan.

Late in 2011, Special Adviser Hanrahan and Dean of Education, Kirk Anderson, visited the Grenfell Campus to discuss how the campus might fit into the strategy of the Aboriginal Task Force, namely to give Aboriginal students full access to what the academy had to offer by creating an environment which welcomed and promoted their success. The St. John's campus had already been part of some developments in this regard including an Aboriginal Studies minor program, as well as the creation of a Canada Research Chair in Aboriginal Studies, an Aboriginal Seminar Series, an expanded Aboriginal Resource Office, and a high-level Aboriginal Space Working Group. The development of the university's Engagement Framework involved Aboriginal governments and organizations.

The Grenfell Campus had at this point recently undergone major administrative restructuring and expansion of infrastructure. Nevertheless, it remained a small campus in Corner Brook with a student population of 1,300 students. Geographically, it was over four hundred miles distant from St. John's, making communication and the sharing of new resources created for Aboriginal students on the larger campus irrelevant to its circumstances. Yet, in being on the west coast of Newfoundland where Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation had its headquarters and in a region with the heaviest concentration of Aboriginal peoples in the province, Grenfell Campus appeared a logical place to be included more directly in

Memorial's strategic plans; it was an attractive option for Aboriginal students on and off the island based on its small campus setting, interdisciplinary offerings, and existing student support.

Some Grenfell faculty members in Social/Cultural Studies, Historical Studies, and Visual Arts were already active in integrating Aboriginal content in their courses; the anthropologist Angela Robinson and historian Rainer Baehre had also been discussing for several years ways in advancing Aboriginal Studies at Grenfell. This interest and collaboration resulted subsequently in the formation of an informal Aboriginal Studies minor committee with Robinson, as chair, and representatives from historical studies, social/cultural studies, visual arts, English, business, and nursing. The arrival of the delegation from St. John's to discuss where the campus might fit into the university's overall Aboriginal strategy came at a fortuitous time.

Of particular note in early 2011, and a source of pride to the campus and the Aboriginal community, was the awarding of a Rhodes Scholarship to Gabrielle Hughes, a visual arts student and a member of Cape Sable Bank of Wampanoag[15], who upon graduating from Grenfell went to study art history and visual culture at Oxford University with a focus on "the discourse of academic/First Nations relations and the transcendent qualities of the museum space as an artwork in and of itself." As a student, Hughes had been involved in the Newfoundland Aboriginal Women's Network (NAWN) Violence Prevention Initiative, the local Aboriginal community, and performed as a traditional Mi'kmaq drummer.

In November 2011, this committee kept in contact with both Hanrahan and a group in St. John's involved in developing an Aboriginal Studies major program headed by Lianne Leddy. Out of this contact came another meeting at Grenfell with Hanrahan, Anderson, Robinson, Baehre, and business program faculty member, Jose Lam, to discuss how the Grenfell campus might involve itself in Aboriginal initiatives at Memorial; this was followed by a subsequent meeting with senior administration where Vice-President Mary Bluechardt who gave her full support for the initiative. These meetings together led to the formalization of the ad hoc Aboriginal Initiatives Committee at Grenfell with Robinson, as chair, and included faculty members and the curator of the Grenfell Art Gallery but also representatives from the Grenfell Campus Student Union, Student Affairs, and the Qalipu band. Baehre and Lam then met with the Senior Planning Group on the Grenfell Campus to inform them of the committee's activities reviewing what had been available in the past including a summary of courses taught, the hiring of recent faculty who had an active interest in Aboriginal topics, and events at the Grenfell gallery such as several exhibits and panel discussions. The latter included a Forum on Aboriginal Identity and Language held in September 2011 with representatives from the Labrador Interpretation Centre, the Newfoundland Aboriginal Women's Network, Saqamaw Calvin White of Flat Bay, and Anne Hart, who is Mi'kmaq, of the Southwestern Coalition to End Violence.

In addition, contact was made in November 2011 between Grenfell, the Labrador Institute, and College of the North Atlantic (CAN), in Happy Valley-Goose Bay to explore common grounds, including providing services for Aboriginal students. Vice-President Bluechardt and Special Adviser Hanrahan also met with representatives of the Innu Nation, the Nunatsiavut Government and the NunatuKavut Community Council in Labrador. This was followed by a workshop held in January, 2012 on Community Engagement organized by Hanrahan and Keith Goulding, Director of Workforce Qalipu. The promise of adding to the Indigenization process at Grenfell to fulfill Memorial's Task Force on Aboriginal Initiatives now encompassed student and faculty recruitment possibilities, additional program development, community engagement, and research and teaching potential across the disciplines.

Several key initiatives settled upon by the Grenfell Aboriginal Initiatives Committee (AIC) came to fruition during this first year. This included determining the number of Aboriginal students at Grenfell with the help of Student Affairs, the GCSU, and the Registrar's Office. Only 65 Grenfell students self-

[15] Formerly the Southwest Nova Scotia Metis Confederacy.

identified as Aboriginal on the application for admissions form in 2011. The Registrar's Offices on both the St. John's and Grenfell Campuses, working with GCSU president and Aboriginal student, Robert Leamon, spearheaded an initiative to encourage other students to self-identify as Aboriginal. It was successful with 280 self-designated Aboriginal students registered in the Fall semester of 2012. There are probably another 100 if one included those who did not self-identify. The AIC made the case for a dedicated Aboriginal student space on a campus where space was at a premium. Grenfell's administration set aside an office area as an Aboriginal Resource Centre, a room placed under the authority of the Grenfell Campus Student Union. Another major step was to create an Aboriginal Liaison Coordinator position to foster "a supportive environment for aboriginal students" by offering cultural appropriate resources, conducting assessment needs, facilitating social and cultural activities, promoting cultural awareness of Aboriginal matters on Campus, and linking the campus in this regard with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. Finally, the committee lobbied for Aboriginal speakers and visitors to come to the campus.

In the academic year of 2012-13, the AIC was reorganized to make it more efficient in meeting the objectives begun during its first year. The committee consisting of 15 active members was divided into three subcommittees – community, student, and academic, as well as maintaining the overall general committee structure in order to focus its activities. In a number of instances, individuals served on several sub-committees in order to meet the AIC's goals. A new committee chair, Rainer Baehre, was appointed when Angela Robinson left for a sabbatical.

Another AIC objective was to involve the Grenfell Aboriginal student body. During the second year Matthew Hughes, a member of the GSU council and a Cape Sable Wampanoag member, was chosen chair of the AIC *Student* Sub-committee; he successfully found a way to organize Aboriginal students formally under the governance of the GCSU. By year's end, these efforts had resulted in the creation of an Aboriginal student caucus to oversee student-related activities and secure some funding. Younger Aboriginal students were also brought into the caucus to ensure continuity from year to year. These students also participated on campus in Aboriginal movie nights, healing circles, pow-wows, potlucks, and smudging ceremonies.

A widely acknowledged and essential element in recruiting and retaining Aboriginal students was to provide student services specific to their needs. To meet this need, Grenfell hired Janine Lightfoot, the institution's first Aboriginal Liaison Coordinator in Student Affairs. Lightfoot worked closely with all three sub-committees of the AIC in order to create more awareness about Aboriginal peoples and practices across the campus. An Inuk from Makkovik in Nunatsiavut (Northern Labrador), Lightfoot holds a degree in Political Science and Native Studies from St. Thomas University, where she had chaired the Native Student Council. In collaboration with Matthew Hughes and his student group, Lightfoot has created an Aboriginal Student page on the Grenfell website, featuring information on programs, services, housing, scholarships and other items important to support Aboriginal students. Of further note, one of the results of Memorial's Task Force was the designation of seats for Aboriginal students in specific programs, an initiative supported by Grenfell's administration and protected by the Newfoundland and Labrador Human Rights Commission – two seats in the Visual Arts program, one in the Masters of Environmental Policy program, and three seats shared between the Western Regional Nursing School and the St. John's campus[16].

Over the years, the Grenfell Art Gallery under curator Charlotte Jones has been quite active in including Aboriginal themes and content. Jones sees such contributions as "an important part of the exhibition and outreach programming needs to reflect current and traditional and Indigenous cultural and creative practices." She regards the gallery as an opportunity in providing national and international forums for

[16] These seats complement the range of designated seats on the St. John's Campus and at Memorial's Marine Institute.

contemporary Indigenous artists as well as serving as a resource and support for local Aboriginal artists. In this regard, the gallery has already provided a number of forums for discussing Indigenous issues of identity including Engaging Aboriginal Communities hosted by the Atlantic Provinces Art Gallery Association at which Chief Calvin White and the Mohawk artist Stan Hill offered overviews of their respective Flat Bay and Six Nations Reserve communities; there were also conversations at the workshop about such important related matters as repatriation of Aboriginal artifacts and the need to hire and retain Aboriginal curators. Upcoming exhibits at the Grenfell Gallery include "Inner Works: North" to show the works of Aboriginal artists from Labrador, Cape Dorset, and Pagnirtung, Nunavut.

AIC had hoped to bring in well-respected and accomplished Aboriginal persons to the campus to give talks. It was thought that such an activity would link the academy, including faculty, students, and staff, with the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community. One of the highlights was the launching in October, 2012 of the Aboriginal Speaker Series at Grenfell. This event required complex negotiations and assistance in order to succeed; it was funded by Memorial's Vice-Presidents' Council Cross-Campus Initiatives Fund with the assistance of other academic and non-academic units on various campuses. The evening guest speaker who also met with Grenfell students during the day was the distinguished and acclaimed documentary filmmaker of the National Film Board Dr. Alanis Obomsawin, an Abenaki of the Odanak reserve in Quebec, whose work on the Oka (Kanehsatake) and Burnt Church fishery crises, had contributed to a profound and better understanding of Aboriginal issues in Canada.

This event was introduced by Keith Cormier, a Qalipu member and an AIC community sub-committee member who believes in the academy as an essential resource to help Aboriginal communities "explore, uncover, and discover" and promote mutually beneficial Aboriginal self-discovery and scholarly research. Cormier and other Qalipu members, including Elder Odelle Pike, offered traditional drumming and sang the Mi'kmaq Honour song, as had been done during the previous year with the building opening of Grenfell's Arts and Science extension. A Mi'kmaq welcome and prayer offered by Qalipu Western Vice-Chief Kevin Barnes also preceded Obomsawim's talk. In these ways, in an overflowing lecture hall, Grenfell faculty, staff, students, and both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community members, all participated. Through teleconferencing and webcasting, the event welcomed participants from the St. John's Campus and the Labrador Institute in Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

Another way in which the AIC *Community* Sub-committee helps the Indigenization of the academy is through the members themselves; they represent a source of information based on personal knowledge and experience. For example, Linda Holwell Tibbo, a Grenfell staff member with Community Education, was born in Labrador of an Aboriginal woman and "adopted out" as an infant. Though unaware of her ancestry, Tibbo noted that, during her childhood, "I soaked up knowledge of everything First Nations and Aboriginal." As a girl guide, she represented Newfoundland and Labrador on the National Aboriginal Council to promote anti-racism in Canada. Yet Tibbo was not made aware of her ancestry until her early twenties. The loss of her family cultural ties through adoption, a widespread phenomenon of the past, has resulted in a personal journey to find and restore that lost identity, a process that many other Aboriginal children have faced. Another example is Linda Wells from Bay St. George and the executive director of the Newfoundland Aboriginal Women's Network; Linda's knowledge has caused us to reflect on the place and role of Aboriginal women in society and the obstacles they face by virtue of their gender. A third example is Raymond Cusson from Shoal Brook, Bonne Bay, who had previously been responsible for First Nations programs at the Canadian Police College in Ottawa. He served as a Policing Advisor to the federal government's First Nations Policing Policy/Nishnawbe-Aski Police Service, worked as senior consultant to the Department of Justice in Nova Scotia on First Nations policing, and co-founded and still advises the First Nations Chiefs of Police Association.

Equally important to the Indigenization of the academy at Grenfell is the role of the AIC *Academic* Sub-committee whose faculty members reflect a range of disciplines including anthropology, art history and visual culture, business, education, English, history, and sociology. However, unlike the St. John's

Campus which is much larger and relatively rich in resources, this campus had to find a way of serving Aboriginal students and the community with a smaller faculty and less flexibility in terms of curriculum offerings. Nevertheless, in recent years, especially through new hirings, the campus had developed and grown to the extent that interested faculty started to believe that there were indeed ways of Indigenizing the curriculum above and beyond individual research and the occasional invitation sent to local Aboriginal leaders to come and talk.

The consensus within the AIC Academic Sub-committee was to concentrate on developing an Aboriginal Studies minor as the most appropriate and realistic option for Grenfell. It was doubtful whether an Aboriginal major program at a small campus would attract sufficient students to sustain the program at this stage in the history of the campus which had comparatively fewer faculty and fewer courses to offer. In contrast, a minor program would allow both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students to major in more traditional but related programs and to develop a background on Aboriginal Studies potentially useful to them in graduate and professional schools or in occupations where such a background was considered helpful. Another consideration in supporting an Aboriginal minor rather than major was whether sufficient courses would be offered regularly enough to allow students to finish their degree requirements within the usual four-year period. To this end, therefore, the committee drafted a program proposal for an Aboriginal Studies minor that is currently under consideration. The proposal reflects the credentials, background, research interests, course instruction, and disciplinary perspectives of the Grenfell Campus faculty willing and available to make such an interdisciplinary program attractive for interested students. All faculty members at the campus willing to teach specific courses or offer other pedagogical benefits to Aboriginal students participated in this AIC Academic Sub-committee. Their publications on Aboriginal and related studies are listed in the references. The following overview introduces not only their work but how they tie into the broader objectives of the Aboriginal Initiatives Committee

The first AIC chair, Grenfell anthropologist Angela Robinson has worked with Mi'kmaw communities throughout Atlantic Canada. She has numerous conference papers and publications to her credit, including *"Ta'n Teli Ktlamsitasit (Ways of Believing):" Mi'kmaw Religion and Identity in Eskasoni, Nova Scotia* (Robinson 2005). In recent years, she has been carrying out ethnographic work in Newfoundland examining Mi'kmaq rituals, religion, identity, marginalization, and cultural revitalization. She belongs to the Newfoundland Aboriginal Women's Network and the Corner Brook Aboriginal Women's Association. Her regular teaching includes Anthropology 2012 (Threatened Peoples) and Anthropology 2412 (Regional Studies: Aboriginal Peoples of North America) as well as other courses with substantial Aboriginal content.

Art historian Gerard Curtis spent five years living and working in the Little Red River Cree First Nation of Northern Alberta, and also with the Sahtu Dene of Deline, NWT. He has been strongly influenced by the critical work of Canadian First Nations artists like Jane Ash Poitras and Joane Cardinal Schubert, to the Urban-Native work of Brian Jungen and Jordan Bennett, and the historical works of artists like Charles Edenshaw, Bill Reid, and Norval Morrisseau. For Curtis, Indigenous Art has played a central role in the development of a post-colonial approach to culture and documents the historical issues faced by Indigenous peoples in Canada and North America; it represents a form of resistance to repression and domination. Specifically, Visual Arts 3712 (Indigenous Art: Global Contexts) and Visual Arts 4740 (First Nations, Inuit, and Metis Art), as well as other visual arts courses, explore visual culture "as a political nexus point in resistance to colonization," course content which challenges Western views of Indigenous imagery and how Indigenous art becomes commercialized and characterized with misnomers like "primitive art," "tourist art," and "outsider art." Other topics include issues of postmodernism, cultural appropriation and repatriation, and the ethnographic role art has played traditionally in typecasting Aboriginal cultures.

Historian Rainer Baehre has taught History 3520/3525 (Ethnohistory of North American Native Peoples) at Grenfell for over twenty years. He has also regularly incorporated the history of European-Aboriginal

encounter into his History 1100 (Introduction to History), History 2200/2210 (Canadian History) and History 3030 (Environmental History). His interest in researching on Aboriginal history extends back to graduate school and resulted in a series of articles for Saskatchewan Aboriginal high school students as well as a number of conference papers (Baehre 1990; Baehre 1992). More recently, he has also published studies on how medical and anthropological views of the Labrador Inuit developed during the nineteenth century, contributing to racial stereotyping and influencing the work of the anthropologist Franz Boas (Baehre 2008; Baehre 2010a). In addition, Baehre has conducted research for Nuntukavut on archival records relating to European/North American encounters of Aboriginal peoples in the Strait of Belle Isle during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Most recently, he has been exploring the Aboriginal presence in the history of the Bay of Islands, as reflected in the former "jackatar" community of Crow Gulch (Baehre 2010b).

Stephanie McKenzie, a member of Grenfell's English program, is an expert in Aboriginal and Canadian literature but also has extended her interests to include the Indigenous peoples of the West Indies, such as the Maroons. Her present interests in Aboriginal literature focus on international connections between Aboriginal art and aesthetics, as well as the pragmatics of grass roots production and funding practices which serve to include – or exclude – Aboriginal production and, in particular, Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal combined efforts. She is the author of *Before the Country: Native Renaissance, Canadian Mythology* (McKenzie 2007a), a study of First Nations writing in Canada of the 1960s and 1970s and Canadian mythology following this Native Literary Renaissance, and numerous conference papers on Native literature and issues of publishing (McKenzie, 2009; McKenzie 2008; McKenzie 2007b; McKenzie, 2004; McKenzie 2001). Recently, she delivered a paper on Haisla First Nations author Eden Robinson's *Blood Sports* and issues of addiction, trauma, truth and reconciliation (McKenzie, 2013). In addition, with colleague Ingrid Percy, Visual Arts, McKenzie organized a symposium on Emily Carr in 2013 which included a talk by Haida/Tsimpshian author Marcia Crosby "Engaging Carr In Relation To Indigenous Peoples." While McKenzie does not teach dedicated courses on Aboriginal literature, she does offer a special topics course on Eden Robinson and incorporates Aboriginal-related topics into her English other literature courses.

Cultural sociologist Marie Croll teaches courses on the social construction of gender and sexuality, social inequalities, and social theory. Before becoming a sociologist, Croll had been a psychotherapist and counselled mostly girls and women, including those of Aboriginal heritage, who had been sexually abused and/or victims of violent crime. Her ten-year private practice and doctoral work in applied sociology led to *Following Sexual Abuse: A Sociological Interpretation of Identity Re/Formation in Reflexive Therapy*, a narrative and account construction about the private and social negotiation of identity following trauma (Croll 2008). Currently, her research explores the impact of forced institutionalization on identity and her focus is the survivors of the Roman Catholic Magdalene Laundries in Ireland, Canada, and Australia – the latter two settings where Aboriginal and Aborigine children were frequently housed. This research helps scholars and respective communities to better understand gender and institutionalization and can readily be applied to Native Residential Schools experiences. She teaches Sociology 2210 (Social Inequality) and Sociology/Anthropology 3314 (Gender) where such issues are addressed. Croll has also previously conducted "Relationship Violence/Sexual Abuse Healing Circle, a Workshop for the Native Women's Group, Corner Brook," and participated in January 2012 in the "Engaging Aboriginal Communities" workshop, which was part of Memorial University's Engagement Framework development process.

Three other faculty members of the AIC do not teach courses specifically related to Aboriginal Studies but have work experience in the area and teach in disciplines which increasingly attract Aboriginal students. Cathy Stratton, Associate Director at Western Regional School of Nursing, became involved in Aboriginal Nursing education in the 1990s when the School developed and implemented the first Nursing Access Program to address the shortage of Aboriginal nurses in coastal Labrador communities. In 2005

the School partnered with the College of the North Atlantic (Happy Valley-Goose Bay) to offer the second program, enabling students to complete a bachelor of nursing degree. Jose Lam, whose research interests are in the fields of entrepreneurship and family business, teaches primarily in the areas of family business, small business management, regional economic development, and international business. He teaches Business 1600 (Introduction to Entrepreneurship), Business 6600 (New Venture Creation), and welcomes assignments and business plans that deal with Aboriginal business, as well as local economic development courses (Business 4010 and Business 4020) that incorporate case studies on community sustainability including the Voisey community and the Inuit of Labrador. He has also taught professional development courses in entrepreneurship and starting a business at the John Molson School of Business, Concordia University, where he delivered outreach workshops on entrepreneurship and local economic development to Aboriginal and minority groups through the Entrepreneurship Institute for the Development of Minority Communities, as well as in Val d'Or for the James Bay Cree and Innukjuak (Northern Quebec) for the Inuit. Finally, Sharon Langer of Grenfell Campus Fast Track Education Program, who also works as a Vice-Principal and Grade 5 teacher at St. Gerard's Elementary in Corner Brook, teaches Education 3951 (Curriculum), Education 3322 (Children's Literature) as well as Education 3312 and 3542 (Language Arts). She has made numerous presentations surrounding the promotion of Inclusion and Differentiation in the Classroom, Enhancing Literacy Development, and the Importance of Play in Learning. Her thirty years of public school teaching have taken her to the coast of Labrador, the Northern Peninsula, and Ramea on Newfoundland's South Coast, where she has taught all grade levels from Kindergarten to Grade 12. Her interest in Aboriginal education stems from a strong desire to learn about her own Aboriginal ancestry; she recognizes the need to empower others of similar background to develop a greater awareness and understanding of the value of Aboriginal studies – a perspective shared by all members of the AIC committee.

Conclusion

It is unlikely that Grenfell would have seen the same level of organized involvement of faculty in an effort to Indigenize the small campus without the current revitalization and resurgence of Newfoundland's Mi'kmaq and political dynamics related to the formation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation. The history and objectives of the Mi'kmaq in seeking recognition and status underscore not only how government but the academy has responded to the Mi'kmaq realities in the past and in the present. Suddenly, from not knowing that so many people in western and central Newfoundland have an Aboriginal background and barely recognizing that Aboriginal students exist on campus, the academy is discovering more than ever before that what has happened to the Mi'kmaq, and why this deeply affects many students, staff, faculty, administrators, and the wider community. The sheer numbers of Aboriginal applicants seeking status under the *Indian Act* with the Qalipu band is beginning to leave its mark on campus, and has become a source of identity and pride. The institution needs to welcome the presence of these students and our own fundamental change in perception. Through teaching, research, and engagement, this campus can help students to understand who they are as Mi'kmaq peoples who have experienced what many other Indigenous peoples have experienced. In turn, through the teaching of Aboriginal elders and other sources of Mi'kmaq knowledge and culture, researchers and faculty can also explore, learn and explain what constitutes both our common and different identities in a respectful and constructive fashion. By extending our welcome to all Aboriginal and Indigenous peoples, it becomes possible to truly learn from each other. In this sense, our common humanity can become a source of knowledge that benefits everyone.

[1] I would like to thank Angela Robinson, Stephanie McKenzie, Marie Croll, Jose Lam, Sharon Langer, Gerard Curtis, Cathy Stratton, Linda Holwell Tibbo, Charlotte Jones, Janine Lightfoot, Matthew Hughes, Linda Wells, and Keith Cormier for generously providing me with information on their background, research, and teaching used in this section.

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