Whose Home? Who's at Home? Encountering Indigenous Presence and Dispossession

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I am a member of Home Street Mennonite Church in Winnipeg, Treaty One territory. We are a community of about two hundred people. The majority are white, middle-class settlers, though there are also African, Asian, Métis, Cree, and Anishinaabe members and participants. Our church, located in a low-income neighbourhood with a rich history, is close to the downtown core. This location has had a significant impact on how we understand ourselves as church.

Our church building is 103 years old. It was constructed in 1920 as Home Street Presbyterian Church at 318 Home Street,[1] just north of Portage Avenue, Winnipeg's most important east–west corridor. This Presbyterian congregation became known as Home Street United Church after joining the United Church of Canada in 1925. In 1973, our congregation purchased the building and moved in. Previously known as the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Winnipeg, our congregation began in 1957 as an urban outreach of the predominantly rural Bergthaler *Gemeinde* (conference) of Manitoba. It rented worship space in a variety of locations before purchasing a small church building at St. Matthews and Simcoe in the city's West End in 1958, moved to a larger facility at Sherbrook and Ross in the North End in 1962, and relocated again when a planned freeway expansion threatened expropriation and demolition of the building. With the move to Home Street in 1973, we adopted the name Home Street Mennonite Church (HSMC).

Figure 1. Home Street Presbyterian Church as it appeared in the early 1920s. Rob McInnes Postcard Collection, PastForward: Winnipeg's Digital Public History, https://pastforward.winnipeg.ca/digital/collection/robmcinnes/id/6707/rec/1.

The word "home" evokes images and emotions conveying belonging, comfort, safety, and security. For many of us at HSMC, this is how we feel about our congregation and even the old building where we gather, worship, and fellowship. It is a home for us—a spiritual home—but our encounters with Indigenous neighbours have challenged this idea of home. Whose home is this? Who is at home here? Who welcomes whom? These are questions that increasingly trouble many of us.

About fifteen years ago, our congregation encountered a challenge. A growing number of neighbourhood folks came by the church on Sunday mornings requesting help: for food, money, bus fare, or other things. These requests were perceived as a burden on pastors and ushers who had other responsibilities on Sundays, and congregants approached requests inconsistently—some giving, some declining to give, and some responding rather inhospitably. Following significant research, consultation, and discernment, the congregation responded to the challenge with a ministry eventually known as Coffee and Conversation (C&C). Each Sunday, three or four volunteers invited neighbours into the building to offer coffee, sandwiches, and a safe, respectful place to talk. Over the years, C&C has continued to operate every Sunday of the year except at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. On any given Sunday, from two to a dozen or more people show up and often linger at round tables for more than an hour.

Most of the people who come to C&C are Indigenous. Many of them bear the wounds of colonization: poverty, residential schools, family breakdown, addictions, mental health struggles, and homelessness. For volunteers (mostly non-Indigenous people), hearing the stories of our neighbours over coffee is often a holy time. Some significant friendships have formed as a result of these sacred encounters. Beyond Sunday mornings, volunteers connect with neighbours through phone calls, visits, deliveries of food, and rides to the hospital, as well as attending funerals and wakes of friends who die.

The sacred space of C&C also highlights the social and economic inequity that exists between volunteers and participants. The space repeatedly confronts volunteers with the systemic injustice and oppression that maintains relationships of inequality between Indigenous peoples and white settlers. Does Coffee and Conversation actually help to dismantle that inequity or does it replicate it? Does it move toward true and just reconciliation or is it just another example of paternalistic Christian charity?

These relationships—and the questions they give rise to—have spurred the congregation to support advocacy campaigns focused on systemic change such as joining a campaign pressing for a road linking Shoal Lake 40 First Nation (where Winnipeg obtains its drinking water) to the Trans-Canada Highway and supporting the movement calling on Canada to fully adopt and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. After the Truth and Reconciliation Commission released its report in 2015, HSMC established an Indigenous-Settler Relations working group (ISRG), to deepen our learning—and "unlearning"—and to commit as a congregation to an ongoing journey toward right relations with our Indigenous neighbours. This group has, among other things, spearheaded educational events, provided regular opportunities to hear from Indigenous elders and leaders, pushed members to learn the history of the land, and encouraged discussion on the topic of reparations.

Aware of the dispossession of Indigenous peoples through settlement and colonization, the working group wanted to learn the story of the specific piece of land on which our church building stands. In 2019, in anticipation of the one hundredth anniversary of the building, we undertook to research the history of the larger context, as well as the micro-history of the land occupied by our building—known as 318 Home Street, or, in its legal designation, Lot 66 St. James parish, Block 12, Sub-lot 111-112. Would the story of what happened to the land deepen our understanding of ourselves as treaty people and strengthen our commitment to seeking right relations?

The history of Treaty One territory (most of southern Manitoba) is a story of the dispossession of the First Nations and the Métis peoples of their land, homes, cultures, and identities. This dispossession is rooted in the Doctrine of Discovery and *terra nullius.* The Doctrine of Discovery is a series of fifteenth-century papal bulls giving European explorers the right to claim sovereignty over lands beyond Europe. The concept of *terra nullius* was the idea that land not sufficiently "used" (in European constructs of "use") was available for the taking. These concepts provided the legitimizing framework for the colonization project in the Americas and elsewhere.[2] They constituted the basis for the dispossession of Indigenous peoples in southern Manitoba and across Canada—through settler colonialism.

This story of dispossession in Treaty One is also the story of 318 Home Street. In many ways, 318 Home Street is a microcosm of that larger narrative of settler colonialism. In what follows, I offer the broad strokes of the larger context and also the story of this specific plot of land. Although the experiences of First Nations and Métis people are intertwined in this history, I deal with them separately for purposes of simplification.

Dispossession of the First Nations

Winnipeg emerged at the confluence of the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers, a place known to this day as *La Fourche* or The Forks. Prior to European settlement, the vast surrounding tall grass prairie was home to the Cree, Dakota, and Anishinaabe peoples. They hunted, they fished, and they participated in the fur trade as trappers, scouts, guides, and translators. They also engaged in agriculture well before white settlers appeared.[3] The Forks area was a special gathering place for these peoples—a site for trading, socializing, and engaging in ceremony. It is the site of ancient burial grounds.

Winnipeg's roots are linked to the commercial fur trade beginning in 1670 when King Charles II of England granted a "company of adventurers" exclusive fur trading rights over the vast territory of land drained by Hudson Bay. The company was called the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the territory named Rupert's Land. The land extended from what is now northern Quebec and Labrador, northern and western Ontario and the Prairie provinces, and parts of Nunavut and the Northwest Territories—about one third of the area of Canada today. The creation of the HBC is a clear example of the Doctrine of Discovery and *terra nullius* at work in that a European monarch assumed the right to claim and control distant lands.

Figure 2. Ojibwa tents on the banks of the Red River, near the Middle Settlement, 1858. Photograph by H. L. Hime. Archives of Manitoba (P8290/17).

In 1811, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk and a major shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company, received a massive land grant of 116,000 square kilometres covering much of what later became Treaty One territory. Douglas was an entrepreneur and a philanthropist. As a way of improving the fortunes of the HBC while assisting destitute Highlanders emigrate from his native Scotland, he established the Red River Settlement. The first group of settlers arrived in 1812 and others in subsequent years.

The new colonial settlement created conflict with the local Indigenous peoples. Chief Peguis of the Anishinaabe community near Netley Creek, north of The Forks, initially welcomed the settlers and kept them from starving during those first years, but he also pressed for a treaty that would formalize a land-sharing agreement. In 1817, Lord Selkirk signed the Peguis-Selkirk Treaty. The treaty allowed settlers access to thousands of acres of land directly along both the Red and Assiniboine Rivers for agricultural settlement. Different intentions soon collided. Selkirk's people and the HBC maintained that the land had been purchased and the Indigenous claim to it extinguished. Peguis and the other chiefs viewed the treaty as confirmation of an ongoing relationship, an agreement to *share* the land.[4] In their cosmology, land ultimately belonged to the Creator; it was not theirs to sell or to cede. The chiefs requested an annual payment of tobacco as an acknowledgement of their stewardship of the land.

As the decades passed, Peguis became increasingly concerned about the arrival of more settlers and the HBC's apparent disregard for the treaty.[5] In the 1850s, when it became clear that Red River and the surrounding area would be inundated with white settlers from Ontario and elsewhere, Peguis again pressed for a treaty to formalize a relationship and a land-sharing covenant, stating, "We never sold our land to the said Company, nor to the Earl of Selkirk; and yet the said Company mark out and sell our land without our permission. Is this right?"[6] Peguis and his son published an "Indian Manifesto" in a settler newspaper and insisted that anyone who cultivated Indigenous land should make annual payments in recognition of aboriginal title.

Treaty One was not signed until 1871, *after* the chief's death, *after* the handover of Rupert's Land to Canada, *after* the Red River resistance, and *after* the creation of the province of Manitoba. Again, the chiefs who signed the treaty understood the agreement to be one of sharing. In the words of Indigenous scholar Aimée Craft, "Treaty One was understood by the Anishinabe not as a surrender of land, but as an agreement to share the land and its resources in the following way: plots of agricultural land for the White settlers and continued use of the land for harvesting by the Anishinabe."[7]

Tragically, Canada (and Manitoba) did not honour the sharing provisions of Treaty One. The federal government encouraged white Euro-Canadian settlers to populate and cultivate the "empty" lands of the West and passed the Indian Act in 1876. The Indian Act undid any spirit of sharing and reciprocity conveyed by the treaty. With its main goal of forcing First Nations people to assimilate to Euro-Canadian society, it severely restricted the lives of First Nations people, pushed them onto reserves, determined who could receive rights and benefits, and controlled their elections. Somewhat later, it forced First Nations children into residential schools, outlawed the practice of traditional ceremonies, and disenfranchised individuals or groups who made land claims. After 1885, a pass system required individuals to get approval from an "Indian agent" to leave their reserve.[8] All these measures had devastating impacts on First Nation cultures, economies, families, communities, and identities—impacts which continue to the present.

Into the 1870s, First Nations peoples continued to camp at The Forks and nearby, as they came to fish, trade, and socialize. Photos and artists' depictions from that era typically include the lodges and teepees of First Nations families. However, as the small town of Winnipeg grew, the immediate area around The Forks became railway yards and immigration sheds. As the Indian Act was implemented, First Nations peoples were pushed out. Mary Drever, a

Scottish-descent child of the Red River Settlement, returned for a visit in 1879. She noted that "where hundreds of Salteaux[9] had once roamed around [the family cottage], only an occasional Indian mother and papoose were seen."[10]

The town of Winnipeg was incorporated in 1873. Its western boundary was at Sherbrook Street. According to local historian Christian Cassidy, a small encampment of Indigenous families was located inside the incorporated boundaries near Sherbrook. This group was relocated—perhaps forcibly removed—to the Home Street area (River Lot 66, see below) which was still outside city limits at the time.[11] In 1882, when the city extended its western boundary, Home Street became part of Winnipeg. The land was surveyed, streets and lots were laid out, and the Indigenous community of Home Street vanished. I have tried to find information about this community—who these people were, where they went, what happened to them—but I have been unsuccessful. Likely they were sent to a reserve, since by the early 1880s the federal government was actively pressuring First Nations peoples onto reserves with promises of food rations. By 1880, many Indigenous peoples across Manitoba and further west were starving. The bison were gone, the fur trade was in rapid decline, and the "social safety net" provided earlier by the Hudson's Bay Company (liberal terms of credit, as well as aid for the sick, elderly, and destitute) had ended.[12] The arrival of steamboats and railways curtailed wage employment for Indigenous hunters and food producers. Crop failures, tuberculosis, and smallpox added to the epidemic of hunger and desperation. Prioritizing settlement and development of the prairies, the federal government used food rations to control and remove Indigenous peoples to tiny reserves under the administration of the Department of Indian Affairs.[13] The community that encamped for a time on Home Street likely ended up at the St. Peter's reserve (home of Chief Peguis's people) near Netley Creek or the Long Plain reserve near Portage la Prairie. The First Nations peoples—the very people for whom The Forks and surrounding area was home—were no longer welcome in that home.

Dispossession of the Métis

The fur trade gave rise to the Métis people—the offspring of Indigenous women and European voyageurs. By the early nineteenth century, established Métis communities existed at Pembina (in what would become US territory) and along the east side of the Red River near the mouth of the Assiniboine River. Prior to 1821, many of the

Métis aligned themselves with the North West Company, HBC's primary rival. Like the North West Company, they saw the establishment of the Red River Settlement in 1812 as a serious threat. A violent clash in June 1816 escalated the conflict. An encounter between a party of sixty Métis led by Cuthbert Grant and a group of twenty-eight Hudson's Bay Company men and Selkirk settlers led by Governor Robert Semple resulted in the deaths of twenty-one people—all but one of them on the HBC side.[14] The overwhelming victory of the Métis group helped to solidify and strengthen Métis identity and their sense of nationhood.[15] In 1821, after years of tension, the two fur trade companies merged under a reorganized Hudson's Bay Company.

The Red River Settlement, though founded by Europeans without any consultation with the local First Nations or Métis peoples, quickly became a predominantly Métis community with a thriving culture and collective identity. By 1870, 80 percent of Red River's population of twelve thousand was Métis (both French Métis and English Métis).[16] According to Métis lawyer and scholar Jean Teillet, the Métis regarded the vast Northwest "as their motherland, and Red River was the beating heart of that motherland."[17] They lived on the land according to their customary laws and traditions: occupying long narrow river lots through the winters, travelling with the buffalo hunt in summers, and disregarding the HBC's insistence on land titles and property deeds. Through the 1830s and 1840s, many Métis continued to resent the HBC and its intrusion into their lives.

Nevertheless, some of the Métis who made Red River their home were the families of retired Hudson's Bay Company employees. Like the original Selkirk settlers, retirees were granted long narrow river lots along first the Red and then the Assiniboine rivers. One such family was that of Jean-Marie Boucher and Catherine Minsey.[18] Jean-Marie was a francophone from Lower Canada. Born in 1797, he signed up to work with the North West Company in 1820. A year later, as a result of the merger, he found himself an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. He worked throughout Rupert's Land as a "middleman" or intermediary between Indigenous trappers and the company. By 1828 he was building boats for the inland trade at York Factory on Hudson Bay. He moved to the Red River Settlement around 1836 with his Métis wife, Catherine, onto what was then a portion of HBC Lot 1212. The lot portion extended northward from the bank of the Assiniboine River. It was approximately eighty metres wide and two kilometres long and was bisected by the Portage ox cart trail heading west (later, Portage Avenue). This is the lot upon which our church building was eventually built.

Figure 3. The dot in the centre is the approximate location of 318 Home Street, marked on a section of a 1836 survey. George Taylor, "Plan of Red River Colony Surveyed in 1836, 7 & 8," Archives of Manitoba (H4-MB1-B1-3 (E.6/14)).

Jean-Marie and Catherine eventually had five sons: Isidore (b. 1833), Jean-Baptiste (b. 1838), Louis (b. 1841), Joseph (b. 1846), and Hilaire (b. 1849). The 1840 and 1843 census documents of the Red River colony offer a glimpse into how the Boucher family supported itself.[19] In 1840, the family reported two acres under cultivation. In 1843, they were farming twelve acres and likely growing food for their own subsistence and perhaps for the growing Red River community. They kept cows, pigs, some horses, and several oxen. Their implements included a plough, a harrow, and several carts. These carts were the famous Red River carts used in the bison hunt, as well as for freighting goods to and from St. Paul, Minnesota. The fact that the Bouchers possessed three oxen and three carts by 1843 suggests that the bison hunt and/or the freighting industry provided a significant source of income for them—these were common Métis occupations.

Late in 1869 the Bouchers' portion of Lot 1212 transferred to the family of an "old white settler" from Scotland, William Drever.[20] Catherine Minsey Boucher died in 1869. Her husband died the following year. At least three of the sons, married and with their own families, had already settled further west in the St. François-Xavier

area where a major Métis community had existed since the 1820s.[21] And by the time of the 1870 census, all five sons and their families were listed as living in St. François-Xavier.[22] The family's reasons for selling their portion of Lot 1212 are unknown but they may relate to the larger Métis exodus from Red River in the years after the crushing of the Red River Resistance.

The Red River Resistance emerged in 1869 because the Métis people were threatened by significant change. The bison had virtually disappeared and several years of drought and grasshopper infestations resulted in crop failure and hunger. The growing influx of white settlers from Ontario was threatening to become a flood with a resultant shift in the local demographics. Most urgently, negotiations between Britain and Canada were underway concerning the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company to the new dominion and no one was consulting the people of Red River about their wishes and how their land rights might be protected.

The event precipitating the Resistance was the appearance in the fall 1869 of a Canadian survey team to survey lots for soon-to-arrive agricultural settlers from Ontario. When the survey crew moved onto the "hay privilege" extensions of existing and already-occupied lots, the Métis sprang into action. In a few short weeks they stopped the surveyors, seized control of Fort Garry (seat of the HBC government), and established a provisional government under the leadership of Louis Riel Jr. By the spring of 1870, Riel and others had identified their terms for the Red River Settlement becoming a part of Canada. The main terms included: provincial status with an elected legislative assembly (Canada hoped to assume Red River as a colony not a province with an elected government), guaranteed protection of Métis land rights, and negotiated treaties with the First Nations.[23]

The Manitoba Act, negotiated in Ottawa by three delegates of Riel's provisional government passed in Ottawa on May 12, 1870. It promised the Métis people titles to land they already occupied, and guaranteed their children right to 1.4 million acres of additional land in reserves—about 240 acres per child. A system of scrip was developed for Métis people to make their land claims. Scrip was a certificate that could be exchanged for up to 160 acres of land or $160. This system was supposedly intended to ensure the protection of Métis land rights in the face of the looming influx of settlers.

However, very few Métis received the land promised them.[24] Canadian Prime Minister John A. Macdonald was intent on having the land settled by "actual settlers."[25] He therefore made sure his government altered laws, statutes and regulations to delay the distribution of land to the Métis and make it easier for white settlers to claim specific pieces of land—often, prime agricultural land.[26] Mennonites

from Imperial Russia, settling on the East Reserve beginning in 1874, were among those who benefited from this.[27] According to Jean Tiellet, the Manitoba Act was a "master stroke" for the government in that it "gave the illusion—an illusion sustained for about five years—that the government was actually going to provide land for the Métis children and protect existing Métis lands and resources."[28] In addition to government action, unscrupulous land speculators worked against the interests of Métis individuals and families by speculating—and making a great deal of money—on the buying and selling of scrip.[29]

In the years after 1870, many Métis abandoned Red River with some moving south to the U.S. and others into what was now called the Northwest. The dispersal of the Métis began gradually but increased steadily over the years. D.N. Sprague estimates that by 1885 more than 4,000 of the Red River Métis had left what had been their homeland.[30] Adam Gaudry claims that more than two thirds of the Red River population of 10,000 mixed-race people eventually departed.[31] Those who remained mostly ended up on the edges of towns and on road allowances—essentially "squatting" on their own land. The story of Rooster Town which emerged on the edges of Winnipeg was one such community where the majority of its residents never received title to any property.[32]

The loss of their land was probably the key factor motivating many Métis to leave their homeland. Historian D.N. Sprague asserts that the opening of the Métis land base at Red River to newcomers between 1870 and 1874 was more traumatic for the Métis than their defeat in the Northwest in 1885.[33] But other factors also played a role. The Canadian expeditionary force sent by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald to put down the Resistance was intent on avenging Riel's execution of Ontarian Thomas Scott.[34] Members of this force unleashed a two-year "reign of terror"—looting, assaulting, raping, abducting and murdering Métis citizens with impunity. Moreover, most of the incoming white anglophone and Protestant settlers were racists and white nationalists and intent on re-making Red River into another Ontario; they were highly influenced by the Canada First movement (see below) and its vision of "a vigorous Anglo-Saxon and Protestant 'northern' race" that would populate the west."[35] As Métis writer Maria Campbell wrote in 1970s, her people left Red River for the Saskatchewan parkland a century earlier to "escape the prejudice and hate that comes with the opening of a new land."[36] For many reasons, Red River had ceased to be a place of belonging for the Métis.

By 1870 the Red River Resistance had been put down and Manitoba became a part of the Canadian federation. The Boucher parents

died and their portion of Lot 1212 had been sold. Again, it is not clear why none of the Boucher sons chose to remain in the heart of the Red River Settlement but the story of one son, Jean-Baptiste, is significant. Jean-Baptiste and his family had settled in St. François-Xavier in the 1850s. He and his wife, Caroline Lesperance, and several other families chose to move to the Northwest in 1882. There they founded a Métis community named "Boucher Colony," later known as St. Louis, on the South Saskatchewan River. In 1883, Jean-Baptiste signed an important petition opposing a government Order-in-Council turning over Métis lands at St. Louis to a colonization company.[37] During the 1885 Northwest Resistance, he served as a member of Riel's council at Batoche, and he, together with at least one son, fought under Gabriel Dumont, Riel's military commander. Interestingly, Caroline Lesperance was the daughter of Alexis Bonami Lesperance, one of Riel's key supporters in the 1869–70 Resistance at Red River.[38]

The choices made by Jean-Baptiste Boucher and Caroline Lesperance to relocate to the Northwest and to support Riel's 1885 movement there suggests that they—and perhaps the other Boucher brothers—chose to abandon the heart of the Red River Settlement because of the reality of Métis dispossession they saw unfolding and the sense of loss they experienced. Like so many other Métis families, their choices likely reflected Métis opposition and resistance to the wave of settler colonialism they witnessed. Red River no longer represented home.

Settler Colonialism Confirmed

After the province of Manitoba was created in 1870, the Dominion Land Survey continued the job begun by surveyors in 1869.[39] Under the system, the existing river lots received new numbers. The Bouchers' portion of River Lot 1212 now became St. James Parish Lot 66. As indicated, in 1869 Jean-Marie Boucher sold the lot to the family of William Drever, also a former Hudson's Bay Company employee. Drever was born in 1803 in the Orkney Islands of Scotland.[40] He signed up with the HBC in 1821 and worked as a carpenter at York Factory for about eighteen years. It is likely he became acquainted with Jean-Marie Boucher there since their time at York Factory overlapped. In 1839, William Drever was re-assigned to work at the HBC store at the "Stone Fort" (later known as Lower Fort Garry). A decade later, Drever and his wife, Helen Rothney, settled on HBC Lot 249, near the present-day corner of Portage and Main in downtown Winnipeg, and William eventually went into

business. Each summer, William and son Willie made the two-month long trek to St. Paul, Minnesota, with Red River carts laden with furs obtained from Indigenous trappers. They returned with consumer goods to be sold in the Drever store.

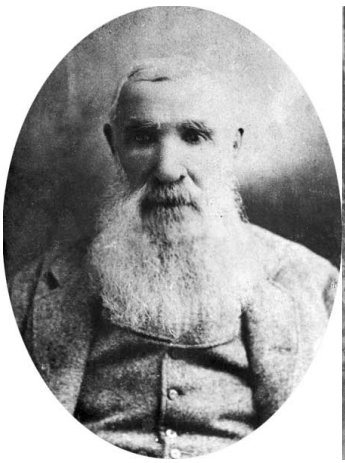

Figure 4, left. William Drever Sr. "Memorable Manitobans: William Drever (1803–1887)," Manitoba Historical Society, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/drever_w.shtml.

Figure 5. Helen Rothney Drever. Courtesy of St. John's Anglican Cathedral, Winnipeg. Both Helen and William Drever are buried in the St. John's cemetery.

The Drevers were fluent in Cree and were known for their generally respectful relations with their First Nation and Métis neighbours.[41] Like most of the "old settlers," they had learned much from Indigenous peoples. Young Willie became a scout, hunter, adventurer, and skilled horseman who typically wore the moccasins and buckskin clothing of his Indigenous friends. As children, he and his siblings chattered with their diverse playmates in "a polyglot Cree and French flavoured with a Scottish accent."[42] William Sr.'s wife, Helen Rothney, birthed her six babies with the assistance of a Métis midwife and adopted local domestic arts from other Indigenous women. She also insisted on teaching Bible lessons to the Métis servants she hired from time to time.[43] One time a Cree man appeared at the Drever home with the gift of a beautifully tanned deerskin claiming that fifteen years earlier William Sr. had saved him from starvation.[44]

Despite the Drevers' good relationships with their multiracial neighbours, they were drawn into the Canada First movement in the 1860s. This lobby group promoted the idea of Red River becoming

like Ontario—dominated by white, Protestant folks of British descent. The Drevers were strongly influenced by the leaders of Canada First, businessman John Christian Schultz (1840–96) and writer/propagandist Charles Mair (1838–1927). Both men arrived from Ontario in the early 1860s and soon began noisily promoting the idea that Canada annex the Red River colony and fill it with Protestant settlers from Ontario. They actively worked for the suppression of the Red River Resistance in 1869–70 and, in the wake of the killing of Thomas Scott by Riel's men, they and their Ontario allies drummed up a great fury against Riel and the Métis. Both Schultz and Mair held deeply racist views regarding the Métis and First Nations peoples. Mair was especially contemptuous of Indigenous women.[45]

Schultz and Mair fomented considerable division and strife within the community of Red River. Previously, a generally amiable spirit had prevailed between the French Métis, English Métis, and Scottish "old white settlers" like the Drevers. Now, the proponents of Canada First brought division and distrust. In particular, they used the threat of a possible US annexation of the entire Northwest and Louis Riel's brief association with Fenian-supporter W.B. O'Donoghue as a way to gain the support of the older settlers.[46] The Drevers, because of their long-standing loyalty to the Hudson's Bay Company, their involvement in the Anglican Church, and their general British sympathies, found themselves aligning with the Canada First group.[47] Despite his childhood friendship with Louis Riel, Willie Drever now became a close friend of Charles Mair, the enemy of Riel.[48] In fact, Willie acted as a kind of spy for the so-called "loyalists" by circulating petitions and delivering messages (he was known for his speed on horseback). On several occasions he helped Schultz and Mair escape when imprisoned by Riel's men. William Sr. was not as strident as his son in support of Canada First—in fact he tried to mediate between Riel and Schultz at points—but he also had little sympathy for the provisional government. Both William and Willie spent time in the Fort Garry prison as a result of their political activities.

How does the Drevers' story relate to the history of River Lot 66? It is part of the profound transformation that took place across the region in the years after 1870. What had been primarily Indigenous space in the years up to 1870 was transformed into space dominated by white, largely anglophone and Protestant settlers. Historian Alan Artibise describes the change in this way:

> The entry of Manitoba into Confederation in 1870 was followed by a mass influx of British and Ontario migrants into the province and as early as

> 1880 the original makeup of the community at Fort Garry—a balance of English, French, and Indian-Métis—was dramatically altered. The new majority of Anglo-Protestants quickly and effectively established their economic, social, political and cultural beliefs as the norm.[49]

Moreover, land originally belonging to Indigenous peoples was stolen through the mechanisms of the Hudson's Bay Company charter, the sale of Rupert's Land to Canada,[50] the disregard for treaties, and the political, legal, economic, and social arrangements that followed the Red River Resistance and the establishment of Manitoba. The First Nations and Métis people were—and remain to this day—marginalized in a space and on land that is their home.

The Drever family, by supporting the Canada First movement, participated in this transformation and this is reflected in the ownership of Lot 66. From 1869 to 1881, the land was held by various members of the Drever family.[51] A 1870s cadastral map of St. James Parish confirms William Drever Sr. as owner of the lot[52] and an early map of the city of Winnipeg, including unincorporated areas, indicates that at least a portion of the road later called Home Street bore the name Drever Avenue.[53] It is not clear whether any members of the Drever family actually lived on Lot 66. An encampment of First Nations families lived on a portion of the lot sometime between the years 1873 and 1881 and some of the land was possibly rented to a market gardener.[54] But things changed in 1881, when a major land speculation boom was underway and William Drever sold Lot 66 to a man named Arthur Wellington Ross (1846–1901).

Ross was a land broker. He had arrived in Winnipeg from Ontario in the 1870s to practice law but he quickly turned to land speculation and made a great deal of money in the process. At one time he owned most of the land of the neighbourhood of Fort Rouge and was one of the wealthiest men in Winnipeg. He was also known to speculate in Métis scrip. Though never proven, there was some evidence that he received insider information to be at the right place at the right time to benefit from the availability of Métis allotments.[55] When the land market collapsed in late 1882, Ross was ruined financially. He quickly found a new life in federal politics, serving as member of Parliament, first for the Liberals, then later—when he stood to gain—for the Conservatives.

Ross was precisely the kind of Ontario newcomer that the First Nations and Métis people feared: someone who had contempt for the Indigenous peoples of Red River and whose primary goal was to seek personal fortune while assisting white settler colonialism in transforming the Northwest. He joined that coterie of white Protestant and anglophone men who quickly came to dominate the

economic, social, political, and cultural life of Winnipeg. Therefore, William Drever's sale of Lot 66 to Arthur Wellington Ross in 1881 reflected the dramatic shift taking place through the city and beyond.

ST. JAMES BOOMING!

100 LOTS

ON

River and Home Sts.

TO-NIGHT! TO-NIGHT!

I am instructed to sell 130 of those Valuable Building lots situated on Home Avenue. This avenue has been very much improved lately, 20 houses being erected thereon during the past season, and contracts are already out for twice that number for next year. A large carriage factory, 75x100 feet, will be put up next season. Home avenue is the most improved street in the Parish of St. James, grading having been completed from Notre Dame Street to the Assiniboine River.

Parties desiring a fine building site should not miss this opportunity of securing a lot. The property I am going to sell is within fifteen minutes' walk of the Post Office, and the Street cars will run past Home Street on both Portage Avenue and Notre Dame St. by July, 1883. The new hotel erected by Mr. McKenzie, and the large block of stores by Messrs. Stobart, Eden & Co., will draw the attention of speculators to property in this direction, and St. James will no doubt be favored with a boom that will beat last February's prices.

Remember the Date, To-Night, Dec. 4th.

Figure 6. An advertisement for building lots on Home Street. *Winnipeg Free Press*, Dec. 4, 1882, 4.

What happened between the early 1880s, when Arthur Wellington Ross first purchased and then lost River Lot 66, and 1920, when the Presbyterians built their church at 318 Home Street? By 1882, the long narrow river lot had been surveyed and divided into blocks and sub-lots, and the West End, including Home Street, had been incorporated into the city boundaries. An economic slump from late 1882 to the mid-1890s meant the street neighbourhood was not built up quickly. An abattoir existed near the corner of Portage Avenue and Home Street for quite a few years, and there may have been a few other small businesses and homes. Nevertheless, the Winnipeg assessment rolls from the early 1880s show that for most of this period the land in Block 12 (north of Portage Avenue) was owned by a succession of business people with Anglo surnames—bankers, lawyers, and the like—most of them non-residents.[56] These men no doubt bought land and gradually built houses as investments. After 1900 residents of Home Street actually owned their own homes. By 1910 the portion of Home Street north of Portage was supposedly "crammed with middle class homes" owned by the families of bakers, butchers, carpenters, labourers, painters, plasterers, and others.[57] Like most of the West End, the population was primarily of

British descent.[58] The Presbyterians began a small mission not far from the corner of Portage and Home Street. They quickly outgrew it and through 1919–1920 built their large church at 318 Home Street on Block 12, Sub-lot 110-111.

The mechanisms of settler colonialism had transformed the city and the Home Street neighbourhood into "white space." These mechanisms had dispossessed the Indigenous peoples of their home.

A Struggle to Respond

Geographer Owen Toews describes the change across Manitoba and the entire Northwest between 1870 and 1900 in this way:

> The radical transformation of the human geography of the North-West . . . remains one of the most intense regional reconstructions in the history of the continent. . . . Canada stole virtually all of the lands of the Indigenous peoples of the North-West and gave them to white men.[59]

The story of 318 Home Street, placed in this larger context, is a microcosm of the larger story of settler colonialism, including the theft and dispossession of Indigenous land and the near-erasure of Indigenous people from that land.

For us at Home Street Mennonite Church, this story exposes a great contradiction. The place where we gather for worship, fellowship, and service is a place and space that has afforded blessing to many people for more than a century. The place is also a site where great harm has been committed, land was stolen, and Indigenous peoples were displaced, diminished, and erased. The contradiction is made even more ironic by the name "Home Street." Whose home? Who is at home here?

The story has given rise to all kinds of questions. How does a primarily settler congregation respond to the history and the ongoing reality of settler colonialism? What do we do with the knowledge that we have benefited enormously from "owning" the land our church occupies—not to mention the land our own houses occupy—while the First Nations and Métis had their homeland taken from them? How do we sit with the uncomfortable truths of what we have learned?

More questions. Within our Coffee and Conversation ministry, how do we understand the terminology of host and guest? Over fifteen years we have often referred to volunteers as "hosts"—after all, volunteers unlock the doors, make the food, and set the rules—and we have referred to the people who come for coffee as "guests." But,

considering the history and the larger context, we settler volunteers are the guests and the people we serve are truly the hosts.

A bigger question is, What is our responsibility today? Some within our congregation have said, "We didn't steal the land, so we don't have a responsibility." Others say, "We continue to benefit from the use of stolen land; therefore, we do have a responsibility—not only to pay a past debt but to build a more just future."

In partial response to these many questions, we as a congregation have begun a conversation about making reparations—in other words, making "an intentional choice to do something towards repairing a harm."[60] We have discussed making symbolic, but regular, monetary transfers to "pay the debt" or "pay the rent" for the use of the land. These payments would be in keeping with the expectations of Indigenous peoples at the signing of the Peguis-Selkirk Treaty in 1817 and of Treaty One in 1871 as well as the growing call of some Indigenous leaders like Adrian Jacobs for churches to join the Land Back movement.[61] We have not yet agreed to allocate a percentage of our annual budget to an Indigenous organization as a form of reparation, restitution, or rent. That conversation continues. But we recently decided to take the small step of seeking ways of sharing our building (not charging any rental fee) with Indigenous groups who might wish to use it. Manitoba Treaty Relations Commissioner Loretta Ross, a member of Hollow Water First Nation, recently said that the Land Back movement is less about ownership and more about access. She says, "It's about people being able to access the land in ways that First Nations people need in order for their societies to prosper."[62] Perhaps sharing the building is an initial step we as a congregation can take in providing access to the land the building stands on.

Members of Home Street Mennonite Church are on a journey of Indigenous-Mennonite encounters. Much of this essay has focused on the history of the land and how that has shaped our journey over the past few years, but, as indicated at the outset, our location near downtown Winnipeg is also a major factor. Since the 1950s, Indigenous people have been establishing themselves in Winnipeg in significant numbers. The Indigenous population currently stands at 12.4 percent, the highest percentage of any Canadian city.[63] In the words of historians Mary Jane Logan McCallum and Adele Perry, Winnipeg has been "re-Indigenized."[64] That re-Indigenization still replicates the social and economic inequities and segregation of the earlier history in that Indigenous people are concentrated in the poorer downtown neighbourhoods of the city.[65] Nevertheless, after having been essentially erased from the city in the late nineteenth

century, Indigenous peoples are returning to land and the space that was theirs in the first place.

Figure 7. Amelia Wesley sings and drums at Home Street Mennonite Church, 2021. Photo credit: Phil Campbell-Enns.

Even more than the physical proximity of First Nations and Métis peoples, Home Street Mennonite Church is being shaped by the resounding cry of Indigenous people to Canadians to address historic and ongoing injustices and to make things right. On an almost daily basis we hear of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, addiction and mental health struggles of Indigenous youth, over-representation of Indigenous persons in prisons, and the ongoing harmful legacy of Indian residential schools. We learn of continued encroachment on Indigenous land for resource extraction and we are reminded of the racist systems, structures, and behaviours for which our city and country are known.[66] At the same time, we are keenly aware of the resurgence of Indigenous identity, strength, and power. We witness Indigenous people boldly and non-violently resisting racism, prejudice, and settler colonialism. We see Indigenous leaders building community and charting a healing path forward for their own people and for all Canadians. We see elders restoring traditional ceremonies, languages, culture, and spiritual practices. We interact with Indigenous artists, educators, professionals, politicians, and others who are building a hopeful future. In short, we are witness to a movement rising and declaring "We are still here!" Through encountering both the struggle and the strength of our Indigenous neighbours, the white settlers at Home Street Mennonite Church are challenged to face our own power and

privilege, acknowledge ways we are part of the problem, and "show up" in support of decolonization and true reconciliation.

Our congregation's journey of encounter with our Indigenous neighbours and participants has been a blessing—a humbling and sometimes heartbreaking blessing. We as a mostly settler congregation are being transformed by this encounter. Our relationships with Indigenous friends and neighbours, our involvements and connections in the wider community, and our ongoing learnings are pushing us, in the words of one of our wise young members, "to be the people that we say we are." Our congregational values speak of justice, peace, neighbourliness, respect, and belonging. The Indigenous among us teach us what it means to embody those values and commitments and call us to be the people we say that we are.[67]

I have a vision of 318 Home Street as a place, with or without a church building, where Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples come together as relatives and as equals—where we share food, stories, spiritual traditions, and gifts. A place and a space where we help to right the wrongs of the past and the present to build right relations. A place and a space where we are all *at home*. This is my hope and prayer.

Notes

1 According to the Manitoba Historical Society, Home Street was named after Robert Henry Home (1862–1944), a farmer and, later, a sheriff in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. See "Memorable Manitobans: Robert Henry Home (1862–1944)", http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/home_rh.shtml. I have my doubts about this, as Robert Home was only twenty years old and still living in Ontario when Home Street got its name.

2 For more on the Doctrine of Discovery and *terra nullius*, see Cheryl Woelk and Steve Heinrichs, eds., *Yours, Mine and Ours: Unravelling the Doctrine of Discovery* (Winnipeg: Mennonite Church Canada, 2016).

3 Recognition by mainstream society of Metis, Anishinaabe, and Dakota involvement in agriculture prior to colonization is quite recent. See, for example, Jay Whetter, "Roots run Deep," *Winnipeg Free Press*, Oct. 8, 2022, https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/business/agriculture/2022/10/08/roots-run-deep-2.

4 Adam Gaudry, "Canada 150: Who do we think we are?," *Library and Archives Canada Blog*, July 20, 2017, https://thediscoverblog.com/2017/07/20/guest-curator-adam-gaudry/.

5 For the first decades of the Red River Settlement, the colony was administered by the governors of Assiniboia, who were appointed by the estate of Lord Selkirk. From 1835 until 1870, the colony was administered by the Hudson's Bay Company through an appointed governor and council.

[6] Quoted in Amiée Craft, *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty: An Anishnabe Understanding of Treaty One* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2013), 38.
[7] Craft, *Breathing*, 60.
[8] *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Pass System in Canada," by Rob Nestor, last modified July 13, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/pass-system-in-canada.
[9] Salteaux is an earlier name used for Ojibwa or Anishinaabe peoples in the area which became Manitoba. Saulteaux is a French term meaning "people of the rapids," referring to their former location in the area of Sault Ste. Marie.
[10] Sherrill MacLaren, *Braehead: Three Founding Families in Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 169–70.
[11] Christian Cassidy, "The history of Burnell Street – Part 1 (1896–1909)," *West End Dumplings* (blog), May 20, 2012, http://westenddumplings.blogspot.com/2012/05/early-burnell-street.html.
[12] James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013), 93–94.
[13] Daschuk, *Clearing*, 184. See also chapters 7 and 8 of this important work.
[14] The confrontation has been referred to as the "Seven Oaks Massacre" or the "Victory at Frog Plain," depending on perspective.
[15] Jean Teillet, *The North-West Is Our Mother: The Story of Louis Riel's People, the Métis Nation* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2019), 37.
[16] Owen Toews, *Stolen City: Racial Capital and the Making of Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2018), 32.
[17] Teillet, *The North-West*, 148.
[18] Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Archives of Manitoba) (herafter HBCA), biographical sheet "Boucher, Jean Marie (1797-1870) (fl. NWC, HBC 1820-1836)." It is possible that the Jean-Marie Boucher and Catherine Minsey were the first to settle, more or less permanently, on that portion of Lot 1212, but given the customary landholding practises of the Métis it is not possible to assert this definitively.
[19] HBCA, "Census Returns for Red River Settlement, Grantown and Salteaux Indian Settlement," Census Returns 1840, E.5/10 fos. 5d-6, and Census Returns 1843, E.5/11 fos. 2d-3.
[20] HBCA, "Land Register Book B, describing lots granted by Lord Selkirk and the HBC to various individuals, including the name of the grantee, the measurement of the lot in acres, rods and poles, the date of grant and the price per acres," H1-30-4 (E.6/2).
[21] Gail Morin, *Métis Families: A Genealogical Compendium* (Pawtucket, RI: Quintin Publications, 1996), 107–9.
[22] "Census of Manitoba, 1870," Library and Archives Canada, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1870/Pages/about-census.aspx.
[23] The terms also included equal rights for Catholics and French speakers, as well as an amnesty for Louis Riel. The amnesty was promised but never granted.
[24] According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples it was not until 1919 that all the land was distributed. Ninety percent ended up in the hands of persons other than Métis. Olive Dickason and David T. McNab, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009), 265.
[25] Teillet, *The North-West*, 277.

[26] The work of D. N. Sprague, *Canada and the Métis: 1869–1885* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1988), is important in uncovering this story. See also Teillet, *The North-West*, 268–90.

[27] See Donovan Giesbrecht, "Métis, Mennonites and the 'Unsettled Prairie,' 1874–1896," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 103–11, and Joseph R. Wiebe, "On the Mennonite-Métis Borderland: Environment, Colonialism, and Settlement in Manitoba," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 35 (2017): 111–26.

[28] Teillet, *The North-West*, 277–78.

[29] For an overview of the many problems associated with the scrip process, see Teillet, *The North-West*, 381–96.

[30] Sprague, *Canada*, 139.

[31] *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Métis," by Adam Gaudry, last modified Jan. 13, 2023, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/metis.

[32] See Evelyn Peters, Matthew Stock, and Adrian Werner, *Rooster Town: The History of an Urban Métis Community, 1901–1961* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018). See also Savannah Kelly, "Rooster Town: The Story of an Urban Métis Fringe Community on the Out-Skirts of Winnipeg," APTN News, https://www.aptnnews.ca/ourstories/rooster-town-the-story-of-an-urban-Métis-fringe-community/.

[33] Sprague, *Canada,* 89.

[34] Thomas Scott was an Irish-born labourer who moved from Ontario to Red River in mid-1869 and soon joined the Canada First movement. Riel had him arrested twice for resisting the provisional government. In jail he was known to hurl racist slurs and insults at his Métis guards. He was charged with insubordination and treason, sentenced to death, and executed by firing squad on March 4, 1870. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Thomas Scott," by John Boyko, last modified July 3, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/thomas-scott.

[35] *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Canada First," by B. I. Vigod, last modfied Mar. 4, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canada-first.

[36] Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 9.

[37] Between 1878 and 1885, the Métis sent 84 petitions to the federal government in defense of their land rights in the Northwest. Teillet, *The North-West*, 319.

[38] Lawrence J. Barkwell, "Boucher, Jean Baptiste Sr. (b. 1838), https://www.scribd.com/document/152218994/Boucher-Jean-Baptiste-Sr-b-1838.

[39] The Dominion Land Survey is the world's largest survey grid laid down in an integrated system. It covers 800,000 square kilometres. It was undertaken to facilitate the opening of Manitoba and the Northwest to agricultural settlement.

[40] Much of the information about the Drever family is drawn from MacLaren, *Braehead.*

[41] MacLaren, *Braehead,* 43, 100; see also chap. 6.

[42] MacLaren, *Braehead,* 50.

[43] MacLaren, *Braehead,* 90.

[44] MacLaren, *Braehead,* 50.

[45] For a story about Mair's writings on Métis women and how one woman, Annie McNab, responded, see Katherena Vermette, "Annie of Red River," in *This Place: 150 Years Retold* (Winnipeg: Highwater Press, 2019), 10–26.

[46] MacLaren, *Braehead*, 101. W. B. O'Donoghue was treasurer of Riel's provisional government. Irish by birth, he supported the Fenian Brotherhood, which conducted raids from the US into Canada between 1866 and 1871. In late 1871, he led a failed raid of Fenians from Minnesota into Manitoba for the purpose of establishing a republic with himself as president. By this time he had abandoned his support for Riel, who he felt was "too compromising and too British." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10 (1972), s.v. "O'Donoghue, William Bernard," by George F. G. Stanley, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/o_donoghue_william_bernard_10E.html.

[47] MacLaren, *Braehead*, 101.

[48] MacLaren, *Braehead*, 103. Willie's antagonism to Riel was likely exacerbated by the fact that his pregnant wife, Eliza, was at the home of John Schultz when Riel's men laid siege to it for three days in December 1869, cutting off the people inside from food, water, and wood for fuel.

[49] Artibise's analysis does not fully account for the predominantly Métis population in 1870. Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1977), 42.

[50] As part of the transfer agreement, the HBC received £300,000 from Canada, one-twentieth of the fertile land to be opened to settlement, and title to the lands where it had built trading posts. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. Hudson's Bay Company," by Arthur J. Ray, last modified June 10, 2022, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/hudsons-bay-company.

[51] William Drever Sr.'s 1881 application for patent for Lot 66 includes additional documents which indicate that the land changed hands as follows: sold by Jean-Marie Boucher to William (Willie) Drever Jr. on Nov. 11,1869; transferred to William N. Kennedy on Sept. 1, 1872; transferred to Jane Eliza Drever on Sept. 10, 1872; sold to William Drever Sr. on Feb. 11, 1873. I have been unable to ascertain why the land was transferred in this way over these two and a half years. There were likely financial benefits. Within the patent file is a document, dated 1881, which says that William Drever occupied the lot for thirty-three years (i.e., from about 1848). This information is unlikely to be true unless there was some arrangement between the Boucher and Drever families that is not reflected in the other documents. "Land Grants of Western Canada, 1870–1883," Library and Archives Canada, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/land/land-grants-western-canada-1870-1930/Pages/land-grants-western-canada.aspx.

[52] Archives of Manitoba, Parish Plan of St. John's, St. James, and St. Boniface, H9 614.11 gbbd, Series, 1 Sheet 10, Parish Plans, https://web.archive.org/web/20200127062803/http://www.stjamesanglicanchurch.ca/Historical_Documents.html.

[53] "Map Shewing the City of Winnipeg and Parts of the Parishes of St. Boniface and St. John in the Province of Manitoba from Actual Surveys, 1882," Manitoba Historical Maps, https://www.flickr.com/photos/manitobamaps/2339777134/in/photostream/.

[54] According to the local newspaper, a Mr. J. B. Clarke grew seven acres of turnips on the "Drever Farm" in St. James. *Daily Free Press*, Sept. 25, 1876, 3.

[55] *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (1994), s.v. "Ross, Arthur Wellington," by David G. Burley, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ross_arthur_wellington_13E.html.

[56] City of Winnipeg Archives, Tax Assessment Rolls for Ward 3, for the following years: 1882–84, 1886, 1888, 1890, 1893–94, 1896, 1888–1906.

[57] Cassidy, "Burnell Street." The Henderson City of Winnipeg Directory provides the occupations of the heads of families. I was able to access the directories at the Winnipeg Public Library for the following years: 1881–84, 1886–87, 1889–1900, 1905–1906.

[58] Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874–1914* (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 168.

[59] Toews, *Stolen City*, 31.

[60] This definition is provided by Share the Gifts—Honour the Treaties. https://honourthetreaties.ca/.

[61] In 2019, Adrian Jacobs (Ganasono) of the Haudenosaunee (Six Nations) Confederacy issued a specific call to churches to join a Spiritual Covenant with Six Nations. The covenant commits signatory churches, among other things, to: (1) acknowledge Six Nations "interest" in the land; (2) offer to Six Nations a 99-year "lease" payment as a goodwill gesture in exchange for permission to continue to use the land; and (3) ensure that, at a time when a church is "decommissioned," the building/land reverts to Six Nations, for possible use in educational purposes.

[62] Quoted in a radio interview with Michael Redhead Champagne, "We are all Treaty People Celebration," Sept. 27, 2020, https://umfm.com/programming/broadcast/umfm-special-broadcasts-september-27-2020, 1:50:10–1:50:50.

[63] Statistics Canada, *Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2021001, https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&GENDERlist=1,2,3&STATISTIClist=1,4&HEADERlist=0&DGUIDlist=2021A00054611040&SearchText=Winnipeg.

[64] Mary Jane Logan McCallum and Adele Perry, *Structures of Indifference: An Indigenous Life and Death in a Canadian City* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), 51.

[65] McCallum and Perry, *Structures*, 53.

[66] Nancy Macdonald, "Welcome to Winnipeg, Where Canada's Racism Problem Is at Its Worst," *Maclean's,* Jan. 22, 2015, https://macleans.ca/news/canada/welcome-to-winnipeg-where-canadas-racism-problem-is-at-its-worst/.

[67] Kelsey Enns, "Ethnotheology: Coffee and Conversation & Embodied, Communal Worship" (field research paper, Canadian Mennonite University, 2021), 3.