Saulteaux land use within the Interlake Region of Manitoba: 1842-1871

By

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A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Native Studies and
Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Interdisciplinary Master of Arts in Native Studies
At The University of Manitoba

Department of Native Studies, Political Studies and Anthropology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

August 28, 2000

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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MASTER OF ARTS

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Acknowledgments

Writing this thesis has not been a individual effort as the sole authorship might imply. In fact, the support I received from a number of people during the last eighteen months was integral to the completion of this project. I would like to acknowledge the assistance provided by my thesis committee: my advisor Dr. Chris Trott, Dr. Marek Debicki, Clifford Anderson of the Interlake Reserves Tribal Council (IRTC) for his continued support and tour of the region, and, in particular, Dr. Leigh Syms of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, whose patience and assistance helped shape this project throughout the writing process and subsequent revisions.

I owe sincere thanks to many other scholars who provided me with a solid foundation in Native American Studies at the University of Lethbridge, many of whom continue to follow my advancement: Dr. Leroy Little Bear, Dr. Craig Womack, and Professor Russell Barsh. Special thanks to Dr. Alfred Young Man, my teacher, my friend, and my most vocal supporter of the last five years and a man who provided me with advice and words of encouragement during the darkest hours this project. To Carolyn Lastuka, thanks for the unofficial mail box and our discussions which forced me to see that there were events happening beyond the University's confines that affect us all. Also, I appreciate the time Skip Koolage took from his schedule to discuss the politics that surround such university-based projects; and to Liz Barron, thank-you for involving me with a project that has opened my eyes to what is currently occurring in Manitoba's Aboriginal communities, a side of life that many scholars often do not get the opportunity

to see.

This study could not have been conducted without the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company to research in and quote from their archives; without the financial assistance provided by a University of Manitoba Graduate Fellowship; or without the permission to conduct archive research pertaining to the Lake St. Martin region granted by the IRTC. I am grateful to the University of Manitoba, Inter-Universities North and the University of Lethbridge for the providing me with the opportunity to teach a number of undergraduate classes during the last twelve months, an experience that has taught me much about patience, how to better express myself, as well as the opportunity to visit and meet many interesting and friendly people throughout western Canada.

Finally, I would like to thank my extended family for their encouragement and furthering their own understanding of Aboriginal issues in Canada. To my wife, Tammie-Jai, my true love and the inspiration behind my work – thank-you for being part of my life.

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to identify and map Fairford Saulteaux land use in the Interlake Region of Manitoba between 1842-1871 using archival source material. This time period has been described as one of declining opportunities, yet the Saulteaux were able to persist in this environment. A series of maps demonstrating land use patterns were produced to give a clearer sense of how the Fairford Saulteaux came to define and specifically demarcate their territory.

Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Overview

In 1871, seventy Saulteaux from the Lake St. Martin region in central Manitoba indicated to the Canadian government their desire for a formal treaty, stating an interest to sell their land in return for a reserve (Figure 1.1) in anticipation of upcoming treaty negotiations (Provincial Archives of Manitoba 1871). In return for this concession, the Saulteaux demanded protection of their fishing and hunting rights as well as the right to cut timber within the region. Also requested was the creation of "a very large reserve" (Tough 1994: 86), a request that was not uncommon during this period. What is important about this request made by the seventy Saulteaux is that specific boundaries can be derived from their correspondence indicating a very clear understanding of where their traditional lands lay (Figure 1.2). The Saulteaux utilized the land base surrounding Lake St. Martin for camping and fishing, gardening, sugar production and religious ceremonies (Peers 1994, 1991, 1987). Saulteaux land use patterns were conceived according to their local economy which required the maintenance of subsistence hunting and fishing while they incorporated the most worthwhile aspects of the mercantile economy, or the fur trade, since the arrival of the North West Company in 1795 (HBCA B51/a/1). The Hudson's Bay Company took over this post following their merger with the North West Company in 1821, and by 1842 the Anglican Church had established a mission a few miles from the post. By 1842, seasonal camps had been established at the trading post site as Church

Missionary Society (CMS) officials began to build the region's first permanent structures at their Lake St. Martin mission site.

It was during the period 1842-1871 that the Saulteaux began to view the Fairford Mission as a site of importance, a location that was also a centre of communications linking the broad Interlake Region (Brown 1985: 1). The Saulteaux during this time also developed precise ideas of their territory's outer boundaries as evidenced by the 1871 request. This time period is one in which neighboring groups throughout the Interlake Region were forced to expand hunting territories, thereby increasing competition for resources among all groups. This would have affected the Fairford Saulteaux, forcing them to determine how much territory they required for their day-to-day activities. By 1871, the Fairford Saulteaux economy had evolved to the point that local resources were utilized in combination with trade with the Hudson's Bay Company to provide a comfortable lifestyle (Peers 1994, 1987, Tough 1994).

The purpose of this research is to identify and map Fairford Saulteaux land use in the Interlake Region of Manitoba during this transition period 1842-1871, prior to their becoming Treaty 2 signatories, using archival source material. Ray (1974) describes this time period as one of declining opportunities due to fewer available resources and increased dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company. Two questions are then raised: 1) if this is period of declining opportunities, how were the Fairford Saulteaux able to adapt? Answering this will lead to: 2) how did the Fairford Saulteaux come to define and specifically demarcate their territory? This study will outline the variety of ways land was utilized to provide an overall sense of land use within Manitoba's Interlake region

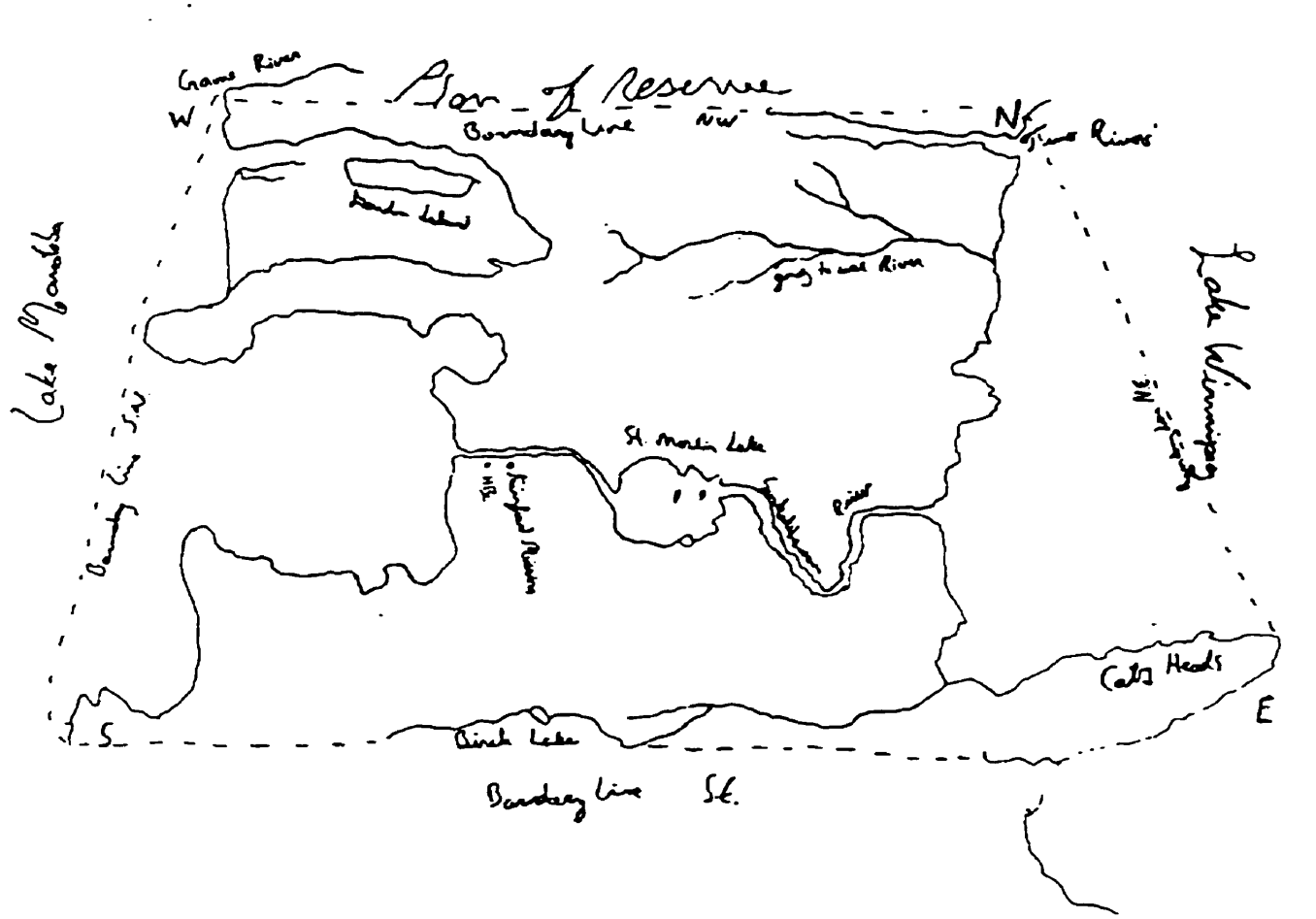

Figure 1.1 – 1871 Reserve request of the Fairford Saulteaux

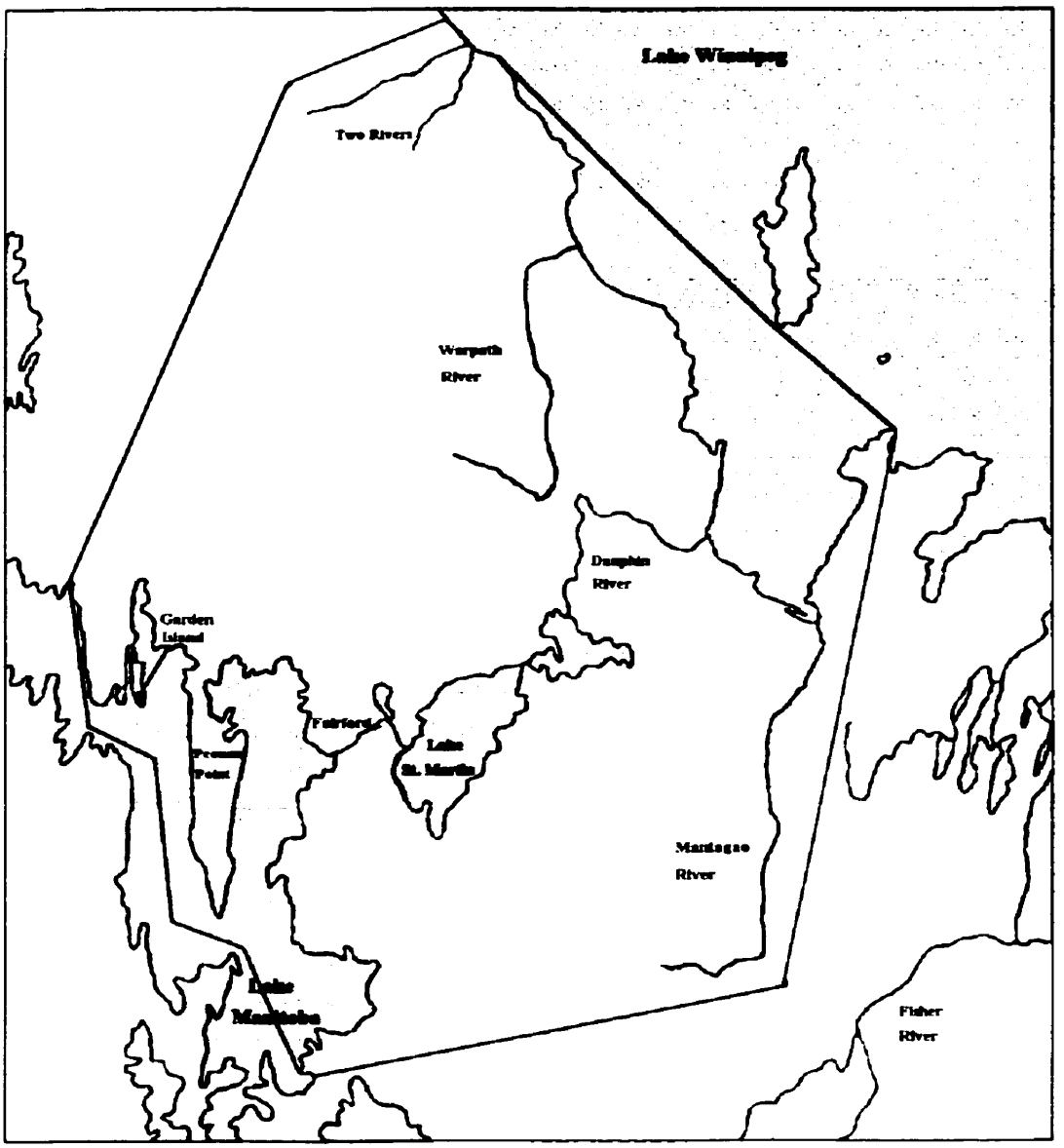

Figure 1.2 – Reserve Request Boundary

and how the Fairford Saulteaux came to advance their ideas of what constituted their territory. A series of maps demonstrating a variety of land use patterns have been developed to demonstrate a clearer sense of how the initial 1871 treaty request boundaries came to be demarcated.

1.2 Parameters

For the purposes of this study, the word, Fairford, represents the Fairford Anglican Mission and all of the proposed reserve boundaries that the Saulteaux utilized during the transitional period 1842-1871. Fairford was originally named Partridge Crop (Pinaymootang) and went by that name until 1851 when the name of the mission was formally changed to Fairford (CMS A-86 March 10, 1851). Today, Fairford is officially recognized as a First Nations community located on the shores of Lake St. Martin that came into existence when the original reserve was granted by the Canadian government in 1871. This would later change in the mid-1970s, when the reserve was divided into three separate communities, the other two being the First Nation communities of Lake St. Martin and Little Saskatchewan.

The Fairford Saulteaux are the focus of this project due to the availability of primary and secondary source materials. The correspondence of local missionaries who worked at converting the Fairford Saulteaux to Christianity constitutes the primary data source for this project. These journals and letters contain information about specific locations used by the Fairford Saulteaux and the time periods they were used and they

provide a broad understanding of how land was used at various times during the year. Additional primary sources that were consulted include the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM) in Winnipeg, although limited amounts of information was extracted from these sources for the purposes of this project. The main secondary source that was consulted was the ethnohistorical record. This information was then evaluated to define the historical context, and archaeological material was used whenever possible to show continuity of occupation and forms of land use within the Interlake Region. Oral histories were not used in this study although ethnographic information was utilized where applicable.

Recent ethnohistorical works that have been produced that involve analyses of the Interlake Saulteaux include Peers (1994, 1987) and Tough (1994), the former providing an historical analysis of Ojibwa land use in Manitoba and the latter dealing with the social and economic land use patterns within the Interlake between 1870-1930. Through these works, combined with excerpts from the Hind (1969) expedition that travelled through and briefly camped at Fairford in 1858 and missionary records, we know that the Saulteaux lived at and travelled throughout the Fairford region prior to European movement into the area. Unfortunately, there is little written material specifically about the Fairford Saulteaux. Available material that does mention the Ojibwa of Manitoba, also known as the western Ojibwa, fails to convey whether the Fairford Saulteaux identified themselves as a separate political entity related to the larger Ojibwa nation or whether they distinguished their identity "on the basis of separate territories they occupied" (Hickerson 1974: 39, Fogelson 1998, Rogers & Rogers 1982, Sieciechowicz 1986). While we know

that the Saulteaux occupied the Interlake region prior to European encroachment. Greenberg and Morrison argue that the name Ojibwa was nothing more than a diffusion of the term Ojibwa "to ethnic units known at contact under a host of different names, among them Kilistonin or Cree, Monsoni, Muskego, and Gens des terres" (1982: 75). This makes it difficult to ascertain with any certainty an extended Saulteaux occupation. Fortunately, the success of this project does not depend upon proving extended regional occupation due to the chosen chronological boundaries of 1842-1871.

The use of archaeological material provides some interesting information that is at the same time of limited use. For example, the Laurel Configuration discovered in the Interlake region has been dated between 100 B.C. and 900 A.D., indicating a period of extended regional occupancy (Syms 1977a). Further evidence indicates that the Interlake Region had been the continuous home to a variety of Aboriginal groups from 900 A.D. to the present (Bryan 1991, Riddle & Pettipas 1992, Lenius & Olinyk 1990, Syms 1977a, 1977b). The assemblages, including fragments of distinctive pottery that have been discovered to date, cannot be identified specifically as Saulteaux. We know, therefore, that there is a continuity of occupation within the region, but we do not know specifically what groups (e.g. Cree, Ojibwa) utilized these sites. Due to this lack of group identifiers, archaeological material is not utilized for this project.

The time period, 1842-1871, begins with the establishment of the Fairford Anglican Mission and ends with the Saulteaux signing Treaty 2. This period also corresponds with the arrival of Mission founder, Reverend Abraham Cowley, followed by Reverend William Stagg in 1854 and Reverend David Hale in 1867. The records of

Cowley and Stagg, in particular, provide a wealth of information pertaining to Fairford Saulteaux land use throughout the region. Cowley produced 1,385 pages of correspondence and journal entries between 1842-1854, and Stagg produced 437 pages between 1854-1867. The information from these missionaries' journals and correspondence is valuable because both men traveled extensively throughout the region surrounding Fairford Mission and recorded various Saulteaux land use sites. These data were triangulated, or compared for accuracy, with the available ethnohistoric record and the published accounts of the Hind expedition. Due to the small size of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post located at Fairford, detailed records were not kept so trader's records could not be utilized. Fortunately, the available information details Fairford Saulteaux land use patterns in the Interlake Region.

It has been determined that as early as two years after his arrival at Fairford, Cowley was able to differentiate between groups such as the Swampy Cree and the Saulteaux (CMS A-86 27 July, 1844). Because it has also been determined that there was Saulteaux occupation of the region in conjunction with the Ojibwa, Dakota, and Cree occupations prior to extended European contact, the issue of how the variety of terms associated with different groups developed or are related is not moot; however, it does not directly apply to the success of this project due to the fact that the resident missionaries had an understanding of what political groups they were dealing with during 1842-1871. Fortunately, most of the available material does differentiate between Saulteaux, Ojibwa and Cree as both Cowley and Stagg learned quickly which groups comprised the local populations, which in turn led to their ability to identify ethnic groups on sight.

By signing Treaty 2 in 1871, the Saulteaux were making a concerted effort at providing themselves a more stable lifestyle since the large game numbers had diminished and starvation was becoming a more prevalent factor (Peers 1994). A wage economy was also developing in the region and many Fairford Saulteaux were now being employed as steamboat operators, commercial fishermen, and loggers by 1871 as reliance upon traditional means subsided (Tough 1994). Tough (1994) has already provided an analysis of the economic and social repercussions that followed the transitional period. This thesis will deal specifically with how the Sauleaux land patterns indicate detailed knowledge of the region and detailed knowledge of their land needs in terms of area and available resources.

1.3 Limitations

Field research was limited to the study of archive source material available at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. Beyond Church Missionary Society records, only selected papers such as the Archibald Papers (Provincial Archives of Manitoba 1871) were utilized, as references to the Fairford trading post and mission were limited. The Fairford Hudson's Bay Company trading post was manned infrequently and regularly opened once every two years resulting in few if any usable records produced for the purposes of this project. Even the available archival records are incomplete which in this case necessitated the reconstruction of history using only the brief explanations of events that occurred for which information is available. Non-

Native people generated these documents for particular purposes, and caution must be exercised when utilizing this information. Most, if not all, of this information was written by men whose cultural background prompted them to record only certain facts; gender bias is apparent as women were rarely mentioned. European presumptions regarding Native society and its mores are impassioned and found readily in these records. Therefore, caution must be exercised and individual distorted records are combined and cross-checked to produce a more holistic picture.

Chapter II: Methodology and Methods

2.1 Overview

Ethnohistory methodology was used in this study to facilitate the collection and interpretation of all information. The findings of the study are those of the author. In addition, this material was made available to an IRTC member for his input and eventual community use. The methodology and analysis of ethnohistorical, ethnological, and archaeological material utilized to develop this project were chosen to facilitate in the collection, analysis, and synthesis of data into a concise and useful document

2.2 Methodology: Ethnohistory

Ethnohistory methodology is an interdisciplinary approach to research that was first recognized as a viable methodology for studying Aboriginal history as early as the 1950s (Axtell 1979, Hackett 1992, Richter 1991). Concerned with particular ideas about the degree of change that occurs in cultures and with the need to comprehend the historical factors involved in and determining change (Axtell 1979: 3), each ethnohistorical study varies in approach conceptually, thus requiring clarification of these concepts prior to attempts at data analysis.

Axtell (1979: 2) states that ethnohistory is the "use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture

defined by ethnological concepts." Ethnohistory seeks to combine the historical record with anthropology, a discipline that focuses on writing about non-Western peoples in a timeless "ethnographic present," an approach that effectively places Aboriginal people in an "eternal pre-Columbus stasis" (Meyer & Klein 1998: 184). What has evolved is a methodology that focuses on "the whole culture of an ethnic group or society as a developing entity over space and time" (Axtell 1979: 2) which in turn requires the analysis of historical documents combined with anthropological insights to provide greater flexibility in more accurately writing about Aboriginal cultures.

Within ethnohistory, two approaches of study have evolved: a) the reconstruction of pre-contact Aboriginal societies; and b) the study of colonial encounters between Aboriginal peoples and Europeans. In either case, when oral tradition is not utilized, as is the case with this study, data must be culled from a variety of sources including traders' journals, explorers and settlers' personal diaries, and missionary reports. In this study, which will reconstruct Fairford Saulteaux pre-reserve land-use patterns, journals provide the bulk of primary data that can be tied directly to the study period to determine land use patterns prior to extensive contact between the Fairford Saulteaux and encroaching Euro-Canadian populations.

This use of documentary evidence ultimately leads to a problem inherent in attempting to recreate the history of a specific Aboriginal group from the writings of individuals "whose cultural backgrounds and careers predisposed them to record certain facts rather than others" (Peers 1987: 13). A complete understanding of Aboriginal attitudes, beliefs, and values is often difficult to comprehend and impossible to fully

develop from archival material written by missionaries, traders, and early ethnologists. This is due to non-Native authors often times being completely ignorant of the Aboriginal cultures that they were observing and writing about and whose work also reflected agendas that did not specifically pertain to the welfare of the cultures they were observing (Deloria 1968, Little Bear 1993, Manuel & Posluns 1974, Meyer & Klein 1998, Morrison 1997, Peers 1994, 1987, White 1998, Young Man, 1998).

While these archival documents do provide us with "rare glimpses of past land use which can, in some instances, be traced to the present" (Petch 1998: 30; Morrison 1997, Schlesinger 1991), it is vital to realize that the description of Saulteaux history in this instance will be created primarily from records written by authors of European descent. It is important to examine these records as pieces of a greater cultural puzzle rather than representing the "total corpus of information about the past" (Trigger 1982: 5), and to be aware that these sources can be utilized provided these analyses remain critical (Axtell 1979). For example, missionaries tended to outline the deplorable conditions that the "savages" were living in order to secure additional funding to remain in the region (Grant 1984, Huel 1996). In addition, Hudson's Bay traders would often limit their observations to how little the "Indians" of the area were producing in order to justify their low output levels to head office in London (Peers 1994, 1987). By recognizing the potential bias in the available data, the result of this study will be a "snapshot" of Saulteaux culture, as it existed between 1842-71 based upon the writings of CMS missionaries who had first hand dealings with the local Aboriginal populations. The Stagg, Cowley, and Hale journals represent the best available evidence of what occurred at Fairford during each man's

tenure between 1842-71. Therefore, careful analysis of all available records will result in both cultures being understood according to their own terms and in a more rounded history being produced (Axtell 1979).

For the purposes of this study, an ethnohistorical approach provided the opportunity to evaluate European/Aboriginal relationships while also permitting an analysis of the transformation and development of Saulteaux culture due to this extended intercultural contact. From an examination of related historical material, a chronology of occupancy of the region can then be developed and cultural change and European impact more accurately assessed (Schlesinger 1991, White 1998, Woolworth 1967).

Ethnohistorians currently use field, library, and museum studies, which encompass a variety of techniques such as archival source material analysis, use of narrative used by European cultures, and triangulation of oral tradition, history, and anthropology. Each approach is designed to address the problems associated with studying culture history (Fenton, 1962). For example, Hickerson (1988) produced one of the first ethnohistorical studies examining how documentary sources could be used to study the evolving relationships in Chippewa social structure, resource use, trade, and warfare. This study relied upon historical material such as archival source material and the journals of fur traders, military leaders, and trading post managers to reconstruct political and territorial land use patterns. Hickerson, however, chose to view Chippewa culture as static and unable to grow and evolve while at the same time portraying these people as particularly susceptible to influences from other cultures (Brown & Peers 1988). It is vital to recognize the dynamic nature of Saulteaux culture and its adaptability when approaching

older ethnology, traders' journals and missionaries' diaries in order to avoid classifying the Fairford Saulteaux as a stagnant culture stuck in the "ethnographic past" and unable to recognize the benefits of trading with the Hudson's Bay Company. Hickerson presents the false idea that "people in the past did not struggle to find answers, did not search to identify solutions to their problems, and did not endeavor to create order in their world" (Morrison 1997: 5).

Peers (1994, 1987) utilized triangulation of oral history and archaeological data, in addition to archival source material which included visual material such as photographs in her study of the Ojibwa's emergence in Manitoba and western Canada. Peers (1994: xxi) chose triangulation to deal with the "topical gaps and bias" in her research and utilized this framework to allow herself the ability to piece together and reconstruct a brief yet incomplete history of the Interlake Saulteaux using oral tradition, historical texts and ethnographic material, and archaeological data. This approach allowed Peers to compensate for her own bias as well as that of past authors who may not have been as sensitive to Aboriginal culture. Triangulation also allowed Peers the latitude to develop a framework of Saulteaux land use in Manitoba and the ability to reconstruct the patterns that led to the Saulteaux emergence in western Canada.

Brown and Matthews (1994) utilized the records of A.I. Hallowell, fur traders, missionaries, and others who visited the Interlake Region and Berens River area on the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg to develop a life biography of Fair Wind and to explore the nature of his (and the general) religious leadership at Berens River. Triangulation of source material was required in order to compare the observations of a variety of sources

to provide an accurate account of whom Fair Wind was and to catalogue the movement of his ceremonial drum from northern United States tribes through Manitoba's Interlake in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This time line would have confirmed the drum's placement throughout the region indicating areas that were no doubt of religious significance to the Saulteaux of the region. This could upon closer study provide us with a noticeable pattern of religious land use within the Interlake Region which may reflect how the Fairford Saulteaux utilized their surrounding territories and how they associated specific territories with a variety of spiritual and economic activities.

Tough (1994) reconstructs the traditional economy of the fur trade era and the transformation of Manitoba's Native population from fur trade middlemen to wage laborers in the new resource industries of commercial fishing, transportation, agriculture, and lumbering. This was accomplished through the use of a variety archival and published primary sources in order "to reconstruct changes at the local and regional level, while at the same time remaining cognizant of external political and economic forces" (Tough 1994: 9). The effect is a well-documented and varied work which in addition to offering a detailed outline of the development of commercial industries in Manitoba also provides an examination of Saulteaux culture in transition and what led to this transition following their signing Treaty 2 in 1871. While Tough's work is more concerned with the linkage of local economies with the larger economy, it does outline the varied and diverse history of land use within the Interlake Region by comparing how the Hudson's Bay Company and various bands of Saulteaux used the land base in Manitoba which provides us with the effect that contact had upon the Fairford Saulteaux between 1842-71.

2.3 Methods in this study

The methods for this study were archival source material research and a review of previously published ethnohistorical material pertaining to the Saulteaux of Manitoba's Interlake region, all of which resulted in the production of a number of maps of corresponding land use for evaluative purposes. Archival source material provided the bulk of data for this study. In addition, the personal letters and correspondence of Reverends Abraham Cowley and William Stagg were reviewed to provide evidence of and insight into Saulteaux land use patterns in the Fairford region. Triangulation, or the comparison, of these data against the published report of the Hind Expedition of 1858 and the ethnohistoric record followed, and the accuracy of all commentary and observations were compared as an internal check of the various written sources. Cowley and Stagg, in particular, kept personal journals of their daily activities and also engaged in prolific correspondence with Church Missionary Society officials and personal friends. The excursions of these two men into Manitoba's interior in search of 'Indians' to convert followed by their observations of their daily activities provided information about Saulteaux land use patterns required verification for accuracy and proof that the events did occur as described.

2.4 Mapping

A series of maps were produced from the material collected which show the areas utilized by the Saulteaux for hunting, fishing, camping, and spiritual use. These data illustrate Saulteaux land use and occupancy patterns focusing specifically on the region surrounding Fairford. Following the collection and analyses of all data, 1:500,000 scale maps were utilized to categorize each class of land use followed by the consolidation of all information onto one comprehensive map outlining Fairford Saulteaux land use, establishing an approximation of customary land use patterns (Brody 1988, Freeman 1976).

2.5 Ethnology Review

Ethnographic research has been undertaken within central Manitoba since the 1880s (Rogers 1981) although little work has been written about the Fairford Saulteaux. Most of the written material available was accomplished by A.I. Hallowell who was also one of the first ethnographers to publish descriptive accounts of the northern Saulteaux of central and northern Manitoba (Rogers 1981). Over a period of years, Hallowell examined the cultural characteristics of the Ojibwa (1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1952, 1976) and these studies were utilized as background material for this project to help develop a preliminary understanding of Saulteaux land use.

Steinbring (1981), who also worked among the northern Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg, provides an analysis of the historical movement of the Ojibwa into Manitoba and the various relocations of the Saulteaux within central and northern Manitoba. Interestingly, Steinbring (1981) deals with the issue of Saulteaux movement within tracts of previously utilized territories to aid in their access to resources, stating that almost all Saulteaux groups who migrated beyond the limits of one ecological niche, which provided specific resources, returned each year. This indicates that these niches existed within the larger Saulteaux territory and that the whole territory would have been utilized regularly at various time intervals. It appears that the work of both Steinbring and Hallowell is of importance as foundational material since preliminary archive research indicates that the Fairford Saulteaux had extended contact with the Berens River Saulteaux and engaged in expeditions to this community for ceremonial and political purposes. Understanding how the Saulteaux utilized the available resources and how they conveyed their relationship with the land to local missionaries provided an appreciation of the observations contained within the archival source material that were used to categorize Saulteaux land use within the region.

Chapter III: Literature Review

3.1 Interlake Setting

Little has been written about the Interlake Region and its inhabitants. Prior to the late eighteenth century there are almost no explorer records regarding the Aboriginal population in Manitoba. It is possible, however, to trace through archival records the influx of fur traders into Manitoba's Interlake region. This region was a resource rich area that had been utilized by the Dakota, Chippewa, Nakota, and Cree (Hickerson 1970, 1974, Peers 1994, 1987, Ray 1974). Many academics claim that the Ojibwa migrated into the region in the late eighteenth century (Bishop 1976, Bishop 1974, Ray 1974, Peers 1994, 1987, Ritterbush, 1990). Peers (1994, 1987) and Ray (1974, 1971) maintain the westward moving trade opportunities (the fur trade) and a high quality of life awaited the Ojibwa in northwestern Ontario and Manitoba. Although a similar migration may have occurred, there are archaeologists who believe that the Ojibwa were already present in Manitoba dating back to 900 A.D (Bryan 1991, Riddle & Pettipas 1992, Lenius & Olinyk 1990, Syms 1977b) with some estimates dating to at least 100 B.C. (Syms 1977a); that there were seasonal migration patterns of human population occurring since 900 A.D. (Bryan 1991); and that there existed significant communication networks (Syms 1982). It is vital to recognize an alternate viewpoint indicating that the Interlake region may have been utilized by various Native groups, including members of the Ojibwa nation, prior to significant European occupation that began in the late eighteenth century.

The Saulteaux traveled throughout the Interlake Region for at least twenty years prior to the establishment of the North West Company post in 1795 at Fairford (Peers 1994). It is likely that various Native groups, including the Saulteaux, used the region surrounding Lake St. Martin as a resource zone. The Native people of the region were at the time classified under the blanket tribal designation of Ojibwa, and there is no mention of Saulteaux in the official record prior to the early 1800s (Brown & Brightman 1988). Greenberg and Morrison (1982) outline the difficulties in attempting to untangle the designations of Native groups within the ethnohistoric literature. They also state that blanket tribal designations such as Cree and Ojibwa create a false impression of cultural homogeneity that disguises local ecologies and social variability in ethnic categories such as the Saulteaux.

The ethnohistoric record of the Fairford Saulteaux is limited. While Skinner (1912), Steinbring (1981), and later Bishop (1982, 1981, 1976, 1974) and Brown (1994, 1991, 1987, 1986) provide a wealth of general information about the Saulteaux and their closest neighbors (Nakota, Chippewa, Cree, Metis), Peers (1994, 1987) and Tough (1994) provide the best available view of what Saulteaux life was like at Fairford in the middle part of the nineteenth century. For a little more than four decades prior to the establishment of the Church Missionary Society's Anglican mission in 1842, the Saulteaux were trappers who hunted, fished, produced sugar and grew vegetables throughout the Interlake until the 1830s. It was during this period when the region surrounding Fairford began to experience diminished numbers of fur-bearers and prime game animals used for food (Peers 1994, 1987). Peers (1994) claims that the Saulteaux no longer viewed this

region as the prime resource area it once was, an ambiguous assessment since the Saulteaux did not leave the region, and, in fact, flourished well into the 1850s. What this drop in animal numbers did necessitate was to force the Saulteaux to move throughout the surrounding territory and expand their land-base for fishing, agriculture, and sugar production, as well as hunting, thereby, diversifying their economy. According to Peers (1994, 1987), regional starvation was rare, even though claims of starvation are at time prominent (Peers 1994, Ray 1974, Tough 1994). Black-Rogers (1986) states that the Saulteaux may have believed that they were starving when moose were unavailable. The Saulteaux may simply have been manipulating the use of the term starvation for the betterment of the community. This was done primarily to gain additional provisions from local Hudson's Bay Company posts without falling further into debt (Black-Rogers 1986, Peers 1994, Ray 1974 Tough 1994).

The Saulteaux faced a changing lifestyle toward the end of the 1830s, and Ray (1974: xi) states that this period for all Native groups in Manitoba was a "time of cultural change" in which these groups were "continually adjusting to the transformations of their environmental and cultural surroundings." Ray also contends that the advent of the fur trade and its westward migration into Manitoba and the plains altered the Native relationship with their environment by forcing their dependence upon trade goods rather than the traditional reliance upon game animals for food, clothing, and shelter. Peers (1994: 73) opposes this view stating that the fur trade "remained one part of their seasonal round" but that more time was spent hunting, fishing, and gathering as a "coping mechanism." The Saulteaux of the region brought past experience of working with the

Hudson's Bay Company with them to their new surroundings. They understood that trade goods were available to them from the company posts in Fairford, Dauphin River, Manitoba Post, and Swan River while also realizing that additional resources were required to ensure survival. This realization required a working knowledge of the new territory and the available resources, and the only way to obtain this information was through constant movement and traveling within the Interlake Region. Ray (1996: 84) states that this constant movement "exposed them to a wide variety of ecological niches, any one of which could be resorted to in times of need" and that these niches would have been mapped mentally and used in times of need.

By the 1830s, the Saulteaux had a firm grasp of what areas within the Fairford region were resource-rich which was vital information because by the end of the decade they faced "mild resource deprivation, their decline of fortunes in the fur trade, and pressures from competing missionaries" (Peers 1994: 170). Food resources that the Saulteaux could rely upon when trade with the Hudson's Bay Company slowed were game, fish, berries, sugar, and wildfowl from around the lake (Peers 1994, 1987, Ray 1974, Hind 1969, Tough 1994). Neither Cowley nor Stagg's journals mention the Fairford Saulteaux hunting waterfowl. Garden plots, used to further supplement Saulteaux food stuffs, also began to appear at each home of the newly established Fairford Anglican Mission in 1842, and Peers' (1994: 185) description of Saulteaux life and their seasonal rounds in the 1850s and 1860s also involved a spring "muskrat hunt, the duck and goose hunt, and the sugar camp; summer, more hunting and fishing; autumn, the Midewiwin ceremonies, the crucial fall fishery and sporadic trapping." The Saulteaux had an intimate

knowledge of this region that ultimately resulted in less dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company for goods, as Ray (1974) claims occurred, but rather a growing reliance upon the surrounding territories and the available resources to provide what the Fairford Saulteaux required.

Toward the end of the 1850s, Peers (1994) states that outside pressures such as the movement of the Dakota into the Interlake region would have had an effect upon land use as competition for the resources increased. Interestingly, there is no mention of this territorial overlap or direct identification of the Dakota in the Cowley and Stagg journals and so the Dakota presence cannot be confirmed. Further complicating matters were the penetration of the whiskey trade into the region complemented by diminished game numbers, factors which increased competition for resources resulting in neighboring tribes utilizing regions previously claimed by the Saulteaux (Peers 1994). The movement of the Hind expedition through Fairford in 1858 to assess the region's agricultural potential and to survey the area for future annexation may have also played an integral role in the Saulteaux solidifying their notion of territory. The Saulteaux viewed the encroachment of the expedition into their territory as a move that threatened any future working relationship with the government, a relationship the Saulteaux viewed as necessary to fully develop the region to the benefit of all involved (Peers 1994). This encroachment may have provided an impetus to firmly establishing territorial boundaries and marking of these boundaries on a map according to European tradition prior to any further influx of settlers and government officials into the region.

Following the signing of Treaty 2 in 1871, the Fairford Saulteaux had moved from fur trade middlemen who utilized their surrounding environment for sustenance to participating in the new economy as commercial fishermen, lumber workers, and in some cases steamboat captains (Tough 1994). Little has been written about the transitional period of 1842-71 and how the Fairford Saulteaux moved from a resource-based economy where there were definite territorial boundaries involving extensive outside links to becoming involved in the commercial and industrial development of northern Manitoba by the signing of Treaty 2. Tough (1994) states that by the 1870s, the regional economy of northern Manitoba was a confederation of a number of local economies and that the Fairford Saulteaux had a very clear understanding of their traditional boundaries. Peers (1994: 206) supports this in her analysis and adds that during the government/Saulteaux treaty negotiations "many bands retained a sufficiently rich resource base that they were secure enough to negotiate quite aggressively, and in several instances they disrupted or held up treaty negotiations as part of their bargaining strategy" (also Foster 1980). The works of Peers (1994) and Tough (1994) provide an incomplete outline of Fairford Saulteaux political and economic status prior to 1871, and further research is required to examine Fairford Saulteaux land use patterns in order to expand the current body of knowledge. Peers (1994) and Tough (1994) state that the Fairford Saulteaux economies were established and based upon extensive land use and entrenched notions of tribal territory throughout the Interlake Region. This project is a local case study which could lead to further research that could provide additional insight into how these particular boundaries came to be established.

Chapter IV: Change and Development in the Fairford Area: 1842-1871

4.1 Introduction

In order to determine Fairford Saulteaux regional land use patterns, it is necessary to reconstruct an ethnohistory of the Fairford Region. This ethnohistory is a chronological summary of the archival source material, focussing specifically on Saulteaux land use patterns within the Interlake region. Prior to the transitional period of 1842-1871, there had been contact between the Saulteaux and non-Native fur traders and explorers. Unlike many of their neighbors, the Fairford Saulteaux never became dependent solely upon trade goods for their survival. They continued to rely upon seasonal rounds within the Lake St. Martin region, an area that provided everything the Fairford Saulteaux required for a comfortable existence. Fish were plentiful, sap was available for sugar production, small game animals such as rabbits were abundant, and from local gardens a variety of vegetables were grown, all of which combined to provide the Fairford Saulteaux with all of their dietary needs (CMS A-86 27 July, 1844, Peers 1994, 1987). The region boasted a wide variety of natural resources that the Fairford Saulteaux utilized regularly, including birch trees, which were used to build lodges and canoes (Hind 1969). Lake St. Martin was also the main conduit for communications that linked the broad Interlake Region in central Manitoba (Brown 1985: 1). As of 1842, the Fairford Saulteaux had a communication system and travel network in place and an established economy, all of which prospered

despite limited contact and trace with Hudson's Bay Company employees, free traders or missionaries.

4.2 Extended missionary contact after 1842

Despite infrequent contact with Europeans, the Fairford Saulteaux did understand that missionaries would eventually move into the region. Chief Peguis of the Red River Valley first came into contact with Church Missionary Society (CMS) representatives in 1820 (Podruchny 1986: 350) and travelled extensively throughout the Interlake Region in the years leading up to 1842. The Saulteaux of the Interlake Region regularly travelled south so it is likely that meetings would have occurred with Chief Peguis, who converted in 1840 and had become a vocal proponent of Christianity, regarding the missionaries' role and imminent encroachment. The main CMS goal was to assist the 'heathen' in converting to Christianity, which was to then be followed by helping with the establishment of their own self-supporting and self-generating church (Nock 1980, Stock 1899).

Competition between French Catholics and the CMS escalated in the late 1830s as both organizations waged an aggressive campaign to quickly establish missions throughout western Canada (Grant 1984). CMS officials knew that there was a large band of Saulteaux residing in the central Lake Manitoba region and in March 1842, sent Reverend Abraham Cowley, aged 25, to establish a new mission at Lake St. Martin (Boon 1962, CMS A-86 23 March, 1842). Cowley was a well-respected student who graduated from Islington College in 1841, the CMS school located at Gloucestershire, England

(Stock 1899: vii). Upon arriving in Canada, he was immediately dispatched to the Lake St. Martin region without any briefing regarding what he was to expect from the Saulteaux upon his arrival (Peake 1991). "As this is without parallel in all the Society's missions, I have nothing to guide me save the long and varied experiences of dear Mr. Cockran," the missionary who first contacted Chief Peguis in 1820 (Boon 1962: 52). Cowley arrived at Pinaymootang (Partridge Crop, later changed to Fairford in 1851) in March 1842 and found a number of "Indians" camped nearby on the banks of the Little Saskatchewan River (Boon 1962, CMS A-86 23 March, 1842).

Cowley introduced himself and outlined his intention of establishing a mission. He was then directed by some Saulteaux present to a site located to the north and around the lake where it was suggested he build the mission. Cowley agreed to this site due to the abundant fish available (CMS A-86 24 May, 1842) and because it "afforded plenty of pastorage and the soil appears good" (CMS A-86 26 July, 1842). It is apparent that the Saulteaux would only let Cowley build his mission nearby, and not within, the community. Cowley had one ally in a Saulteaux named Attchak, who suggested that the community leaders allow the mission to be built nearby as he had heard stories of missionaries providing seed for farming while also assisting with the raising of the children by providing clothing and food in times of need (CMS A-86 20 October, 1842). It would be December 1843, before the Saulteaux relented and allowed Cowley to move his mission "a little farther around the Lake to a river called Partridge Crop on account of its being more frequented by Indians that the place already occupied" (CMS A-86 December, 1843).

4.3 Cowley's introduction to Saulteaux land use

Establishing a day school was Cowley's first act after he built a new mission at Fairford in 1842. Despite his optimism, Cowley was disappointed that he was unable "to trevail any Indian to yet give up his children for instruction" (CMS A-86 26 July, 1842). Those Saulteaux parents who did allow their children to briefly attend often removed their children prior to leaving to move to seasonal camps. Cowley quickly surmised from the constant removal of children from his care that the Saulteaux did not remain at Fairford year-round, commenting that the "Indians of the tribe among which I have built are scattered over a vast extent of territory/ for they are literally men of the woods/ or their country, it being so extensive" (CMS A-86 30 November, 1842). During his first three years at Fairford, Cowley's journal entries are rife with commentary regarding how the Saulteaux utilized local resources; when something was required that was not readily available, the Saulteaux would simply pick up and leave the area for a site that contained what they sought. Cowley commented in a letter to a superior at the Red River Settlement:

> During the open water id est the summer months each hunter provides himself with a canoe or two according to the number of wives & family & in this manner call at the post by families & live by hunting their migrations are necessary to their very existence . . . (CMS A-86 14 July, 1848).

Fairford was a natural choice for the Saulteaux due to the abundance of small game animals that were used to supplement the fish catch. It was also a region "that teemed with abundance, all that is necessary to obtain a livelihood in a year . . . so that the Indian is perfectly independent and satisfied in his own way" (CMS A-86 26 July, 1842). Wildfowl, deer, moose, beaver, rabbit and other small game animals were available. The Saulteaux supplemented these food sources with syrup and berries, which were then retained for the lean winter months when food could become scarce (Kohl 1985). The Saulteaux cultivated small gardens in which corn, turnips and potatoes were grown, a practice that predated the arrival of Cowley to the region. One chief frequently spoke with Cowley of how he had in the past cultivated the ground and harvested vegetables for use in the winter while also encouraging the younger men around him to do likewise (CMS A-86 13 February, 1843).

The Saulteaux seasonal round was as follows: in the fall an extended fishery took place as foodstuffs in preparation for the return to the winter hunting territories; in the winter rabbits would be hunted as the primary food source. As well, a moose or elk may also be captured. Following the winter, the Saulteaux would return to Fairford and fish while they prepared for summer gatherings, trade, and religious events. Sugar was processed and gardens were planted. Fish provided most of the required summer food stock and were supplemented by deer and smaller game animals until it was once again time to return to the fall fishery; white fish was the most sought after fish, averaging three and a half pounds per fish (CMS A-86 September, 1844). The numbers of fish in Lake St. Martin were so great that Cowley estimated that he and the Saulteaux had combined to

catch "forty to fifty thousand without the slightest dimunation of their numbers" (CMS A-86 27 July, 1844).

Locating the Saulteaux during spring, summer and fall through the archive source materials was not difficult as they were usually at Fairford due to the abundance of local resources; determining winter camping and hunting sites is more difficult. With the exception of rabbits and limited number of deer, other food such as berries, syrup, vegetables, and fish were not readily available, necessitating relocation into the surrounding woods to hunt for elk and moose. The Saulteaux would break up into smaller groups consisting of a family or two. These smaller groups allowed for easier movement into ecological niches, or areas that had greater numbers of game animals, when the area being exploited reached a point of scarcity (Ray 1974, Peers 1994, 1987, Tough 1994). This movement prevented over hunting in key regions, a traditional strategy of the woodland Native populations (Jochim 1976). Although Peers (1994: 165) contends that "large game was unreliable," the paramount importance the Saulteaux placed upon the fishery indicates that the Saulteaux were concerned with maximizing energy use and that fishing was a more efficient means of procuring the food they required than hunting larger animals. During the summer of 1850, Cowley wrote that "rabbit which is generally a staple article of food to the hunter failed & the poor Indians were reduced to great straights" (CMS A-86 8 July, 1850). The following winter, the Saulteaux returned to the woods, also indicating that the winter hunt was at this point still an important aspect of Saulteaux lifestyle.

Most of the small hunting groups would begin migrating back to Fairford following the winter hunt. The arrival of these various hunting groups was staggered over a period lasting from the end of February to the end of May. The purpose of this return was for the Saulteaux to fish and replenish food stocks that had been depleted during the winter (Peers 1994). Gardens were also tilled and seeded and various neighboring tribes such as the Cree and Nakota would begin to gather in the region in preparation for summer trade. Garden Island, also known as Sugar Island, Big Tent Island and Potato Island, was a popular gathering spot for the purposes of trade and performing religious ceremonies. According to Cowley, the Saulteaux were consistent in their seasonal movements, stating that they are "continually passing and repassing" (CMS A-86 28 December, 1844) while also insisting that this patterned movement "is the nature of Indian life and that they cannot remain in one place" (CMS A-86 28 January, 1843).

4.4 Ceremonial Land Use

Hunting, fishing, collecting, and gardening were not site-specific activities that required the Saulteaux to return each season; rather they were spread out over a large land base. Conversely, religious ceremonies such as the Midewiwin were often site specific and regions that local bands of Saulteaux would return to yearly. Viewed by Cowley as heathens whose "spiritual darkness is almost indescribable" (CMS A-86 19 September, 1843), the Saulteaux explained that they did not accept Christianity, although they were a spiritual people who held great reverence for the sun and moon (CMS A-86 6 February,

1843). Cowley did show respect for the faith they did display for their own way of life, placing "great confidence in their medicine, both for good and bad purposes, rely much upon their dreams & conjugations, pray divine honours to their familiar spirits & worship their image" (CMS A-86 27 July, 1844). Moreover, Cowley recognized that these "conjugations" were annual religious events and began to detail their frequency and locations in his journal.

The main annual religious event of this period was the Midewiwin, also known as the Grand Medicine Society. This ceremony was performed to cure serious illness and to provide the teachings that, if adhered to by the Saulteaux, would ensure success in life and prepare for the afterlife (Benton-Banai 1981, Hoffman 1885-86, Peers 1994, Vecsey 1983). The Midewiwin also ensured the recounting of stories, which contained the beliefs, attitudes, and cultural practices that provided the Saulteaux with a common historical experience and cultural identity (Benton-Banai 1981, Deloria 1994, Hoffman 1885-86, Peers 1994, Vecsey 1983). Fairford was an important site for the perpetuation of not only the Midewiwin but other religious ceremonies as well. Midewiwin sites located close to Fairford included Manitoba Post, Jack Head, Dog Head, Black Island, and Fort Alexander (Peers 1994, Vecsey 1983). Vecsey (1983) states that Berens River and Fort Pelly were the most important regional Midewiwin sites, although he fails to include Fairford in his assessment. Although it took Cowley two years to realize that the Midewiwin was taking place, he did make note of its annual occurrence between 1845-1851.

4.5 Return of the Hudson's Bay Company to Fairford

The Hudson's Bay Company returned to Fairford in July 1845 and following the immediate construction of a trading post, the post manager began recruiting the Saulteaux as hunters and trappers (CMS A-86 4 July, 1845). By the end of the year, Cowley was regularly complaining that the traders and the post manager were purchasing furs with rum and distributing alcohol among the Saulteaux as incentives to increase production. The Saulteaux increased their trapping in order to satiate their collective thirst even as the number of furbearers began to drop. Cowley commented that since the arrival of the alcohol "the Indians have almost deserted us. They seldom or never come to hear indeed their great desire for rum has driven them all into the woods to hunt the means of obtaining it" (CMS A-86 17 December, 1846). The demand for alcohol was so great that the Saulteaux sold off personal possessions and the wood that had been collected for the purposes of constructing homes at Fairford. Those who chose to build a home at Fairford began construction in 1846. The Saulteaux, who tended to abandon their homes each fall and return to their winter hunting grounds, used these homes more or less as summer cottages.

By the end of 1846, the Hudson's Bay Company had closed the post and the Saulteaux were once again relocating to Fairford each spring. Cowley was intent on generating accurate census numbers to determine how many potential Saulteaux converts were in the region. Cowley took to traveling throughout the Interlake Region extensively and maintained contact with a number of Native groups, including the Nakota and Cree.

This regional movement provided Cowley with the skill to discern the different groups with which he was in contact with early in his stay. By the time he finished his census in 1854, he recorded that there were 178 Saulteaux residing within a sixty-mile radius of Fairford. Given his ability to distinguish culture groups, it is likely that this number represents only Saulteaux populations. Because it was Cowley's job to travel and meet the local populations, it is unlikely that he would have counted people twice during his census. It was during this census that Cowley also became further aware of Saulteaux territorial placement and the locations of various campsites.

It is apparent from Cowley's journals that the Saulteaux frequently utilized campsites along waterways during both the summer and winter. The Dauphin River, from its mouth at Lake Winnipeg to its entrance at Lake St. Martin, was the main source of travel from Lake Winnipeg to Lake Manitoba. It also provided abundant quantities of fish. Plotting winter campsites and hunting territories is problematic due to the fact that Cowley ventured into the woods less frequently following the first snowfall. When he did visit the woods, he was often traveling to Berens River, Swan River or the Red River Settlement along previously established routes, allowing for little time to be spent in the Fairford area woods seeking out Native groups. Even when Cowley did make a trip into the woods, he often had difficulty locating anyone. On one four-day journey around Lake Manitoba covering approximately 130 square miles in March 1845, Cowley came upon only fifteen Saulteaux. Yet just four months later, he wrote that there were 30 families trading at the Hudson's Bay Company post.

In summary, between 1842-1850, the Saulteaux were influenced little by the presence of the Anglican Church and maintain their traditional lifestyle. Little changed as the Saulteaux continued to rely upon small game animals, fish, moose, elk, and deer while supplementing their diet with berries, sugar, and vegetables from local gardens. Until 1850, Fairford was utilized as a spring, summer, and fall camping centre where family gatherings and inter-tribal trade would take place. In June and October religious ceremonies such as the Midewiwin would occur. The nearly constant presence of Cowley had done little to dissuade the Saulteaux from abandoning their traditional religion and lifestyle, because they claimed they "could not leave off the religion in which they had been reared" (CMS A-86 29 May, 1847).

4.6 Interlake Prophecy 1850-51

Following the fall fishery of 1849, the Saulteaux broke into their smaller winter groups and moved to the winter hunting camps. Usually, the winter would be spent hunting moose and elk; however, bringing down large game animals was rare so the Saulteaux relied upon rabbits as the principal food source. During the winter of 1849-1850, the rabbit population virtually disappeared resulting in a region-wide hunger the likes of which had not been seen in decades. The Saulteaux recognized that the Hudson's Bay Company was primarily responsible for the depleted rabbit population. Community leaders then decided that the Fairford Saulteaux could now do without "white people" (CMS A-86 8 June, 1850). Saulteaux outrage was directed at Hudson's Bay Company

employees, although few non-Native settlers in the region felt safe. This apprehension turned into fear after a Berens River religious leader arrived at Fairford stating that the Saulteaux "are hence forth to receive supplies from the clouds that all white people are to die, & that the Indians are to be in affluent circumstances & inter alia to find their tables furnished every morning with bread & butter & tea" (CMS A-86 15 June, 1850). The Saulteaux began to act independent of the non-Native settlers, further exasperating the situation. Cowley meanwhile attempted to placate community members by stating that the Berens River religious leader had simply "endeavored to spread the most absurd tales among the Indians" to discredit those among the Saulteaux who may have been responsible for their hardships (CMS A-86 8 June, 1850). By the end of the summer, there was no uprising as had been feared since the Saulteaux increased their farming efforts to secure a solid crop in preparations for the winter.

Environmental stress was becoming apparent and was attributed to an increasing population resulting from non-Native immigrants to the region. Saulteaux leaders expressed little concern regarding the movement of settlers although they could not have anticipated the steady regional population growth after 1851. The failure of the rabbit population was the first indicator of resource over exploitation. Fish numbers also diminished every year after 1848, and by 1851 it was apparent that the number of fish being caught each successive year was lower than previous summers (CMS A-86 19 July, 1851). The Saulteaux realized for the first time that the Fairford fishery that they had utilized since at least 1842 was no longer the dependable food source it had once been, thereby, necessitating a move to an alternate site.

The fish shortage forced the Saulteaux to relocate the fishery 25 kilometers across Lake St. Martin to the Narrows at the Kisaskatchewan River (Figure 4.1), only two days travel from Fairford. The Saulteaux established their fall fishery at this site. Stocked with an ample supply of whitefish, the main difficulty experienced with relocating the fishery to this site was that the Saulteaux had to travel two days back to Fairford with hundreds of pounds of fish. The Saulteaux devised various means to make the transportation of their season's catch easier such as pounding the fish to extract the oil, and then drying the fish. The pounded fish could then be handled easier and shipped by birch bark canoe back to Fairford. The oil was then processed into pemmican on site and at Fairford. The pemmican would last well into the winter, thereby providing quantities of preserved food for the winter. The fall fishery remained central to the Fairford Saulteaux economy.

Following the failure of the rabbit population in 1850, relations between Cowley and the Fairford Saulteaux became strained. The Saulteaux refused to supply Cowley with the 15,000 whitefish required over the winter at the mission, something that they had been doing since 1843. The influx of settlers was negatively affecting the surrounding environment. By 1854 there were approximately 163 settlers in the region of Fairford and 175 Saulteaux (CMS A-97 29 March 1854). Twice as many people were now utilizing a resource base that had previously been able to support the Saulteaux sufficiently. Hunting close to the settlement rather than moving throughout the territory to avoid over hunting resulted in the reduction of local animal populations. Eventually,

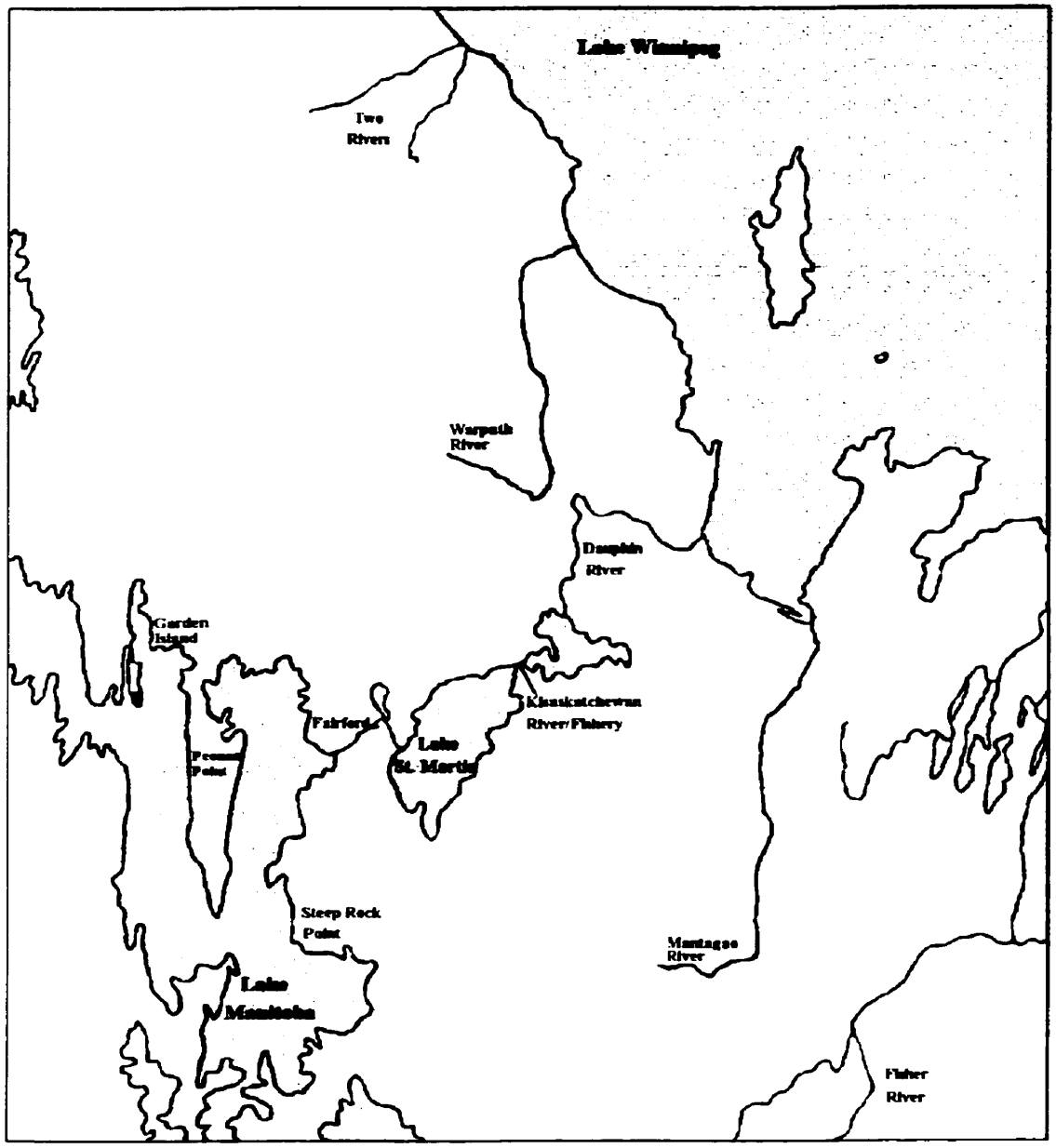

Figure 4.1 – Location of Kisaskatchewan River

these same settlers encroached into traditional Saulteaux hunting regions thereby depleting the game resources that had been traditionally been utilized while allowing little or no time for their numbers to replenish themselves.

4.7 Stagg replaces Cowley: 1854-1867

Reverend William Stagg arrived at Fairford in 1854 to work with Cowley as he made preparations to leave the region. And while more settlers flooded the region, seasonal migrations were still the primary food gathering method for the Saulteaux (CMS A-86 12 February, 1854). Stagg quickly discovered, as did his predecessor Cowley, that the Saulteaux utilized the entire region and that the only way he would be able to convert the Saulteaux would be to first reach each individual group by traveling throughout the region. It was apparent in the summer of 1854 that the food resources, in particular the fish stocks, were in jeopardy. In addition to a forced relocation of the fall fishery to the Kisaskatchewan River, there was a concerted effort made at hunting throughout the Interlake region. This resulted in the Saulteaux spending less time at Fairford and more time in the woods hunting. The noticeable drop in fish stocks resulted in the Saulteaux leaving in August to travel to the fall fishery, one month earlier than they had to prior to the relocation. This not only resulted in fewer people at Fairford, but obtaining provisions for the mission from the Saulteaux became increasingly difficult (CMS A-97 25 July, 1854). An indication at how concerned the Saulteaux were at the diminishing returns occurred during the mid-summer of 1854. For the first time since Cowley's arrival, the

Saulteaux began fishing in July in anticipation of the fishery failing in the fall, fears that were confirmed in October. By anticipating this failure and heading to the Kisaskatchewan River that summer, the Saulteaux were able to avoid winter starvation. Ironically, both Cowley and Stagg believed the Saulteaux decision to be somewhat impulsive even though both men recognize that the fish stocks had dwindled (CMS A-97 4 November, 1854).

Life carries on during the next four years in similar fashion as the Saulteaux leave for the fall fishery in August, continue on to their winter hunting territories, and return to Fairford in the spring. More Saulteaux chose to remain at Fairford as the permanent population consistently grew. In 1858, the Hind Expedition passed through Fairford, conducting a regional survey for the British Government for the purposes of opening the region to settlement and annexation (Hind 1969, Dickason 1994: 265). Fairford Saulteaux took in expedition members and supplied them with potatoes, turnip, onions, fresh bread, and butter. The Saulteaux, led by Chief Papernas at Garden Island, greeted Hind and his party. The chief then informed Hind that he owned the Island and all the land extending from Fisher River to Fairford (Hind 1969)(Figure 4.2). Hind listed the Fairford population at 120 people while also recognizing the community's strategic importance, claiming that it would one day "become an important centre" (1969: 37). In addition, Hind listed fifteen houses, one church, a flourmill, a day school, and one large farm as the community's primary structures. The Fairford Saulteaux also took time to speak with Hind about the region's geography and the stories attached to each area. One example was the story about the "little men" who lived along Steep Rock Point and how this area, although it ran adjacent to a popular hunting area, was to never be entered (Hind 1969: 39). Hind stated

that there are "so many places on lake Winnipeg and Manitobah which the Indians who hunt and live on the shores of those inland seas dare not visit. There is scarcely a cave or headland which had not some legend attached to it, familiar to all the wanderers of these coasts" (1969: 133). The Saulteaux also took time to explain that the name Manitobah was a term used to describe a Manitou that dwelled on Manitobah Island, located approximately 50 kilometers south of Fairford (Figure 4.3). Upon closer inspection it became obvious to Hind that there were people in the region who did venture on to Manitobah Island for its excellent quality oak and birch trees, although no one Saulteaux would admit to visiting the Island (1969: 69).

Even as the Fairford population continued to steadily grow during the 1850s, there were still many independent groups living in the Interlake Region who were still relying upon fishing and hunting as the main food gathering method. The main difference from previous years was that these camps were smaller, rarely approaching more than ten tents, whereas the older camps tended to number upwards of thirty or more. There were also fewer sightings of these camps in a region where they were once found quite regularly (CMS A-97 14 January, 1859). One constant that remained was those who chose to live in these camps, in addition to the Saulteaux living at the Fairford settlement, moved each August to the fall fishery. This seasonal exodus resulted in Fairford being left a virtual ghost town until the Saulteaux returned at the end of October. What did change was that many of the Saulteaux would return to their permanent

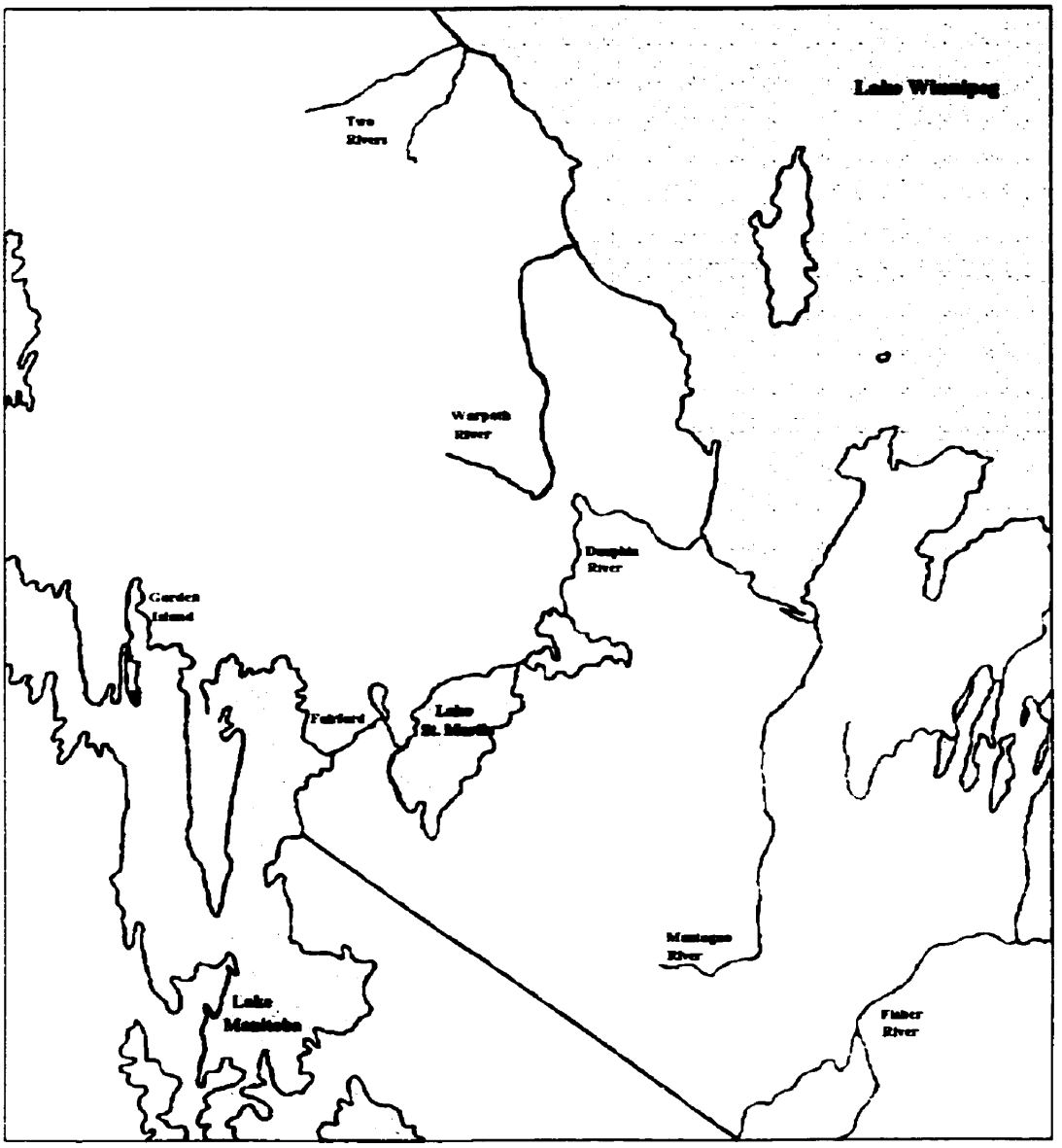

Figure 4.2 – Chief Papernas's Territorial Claim

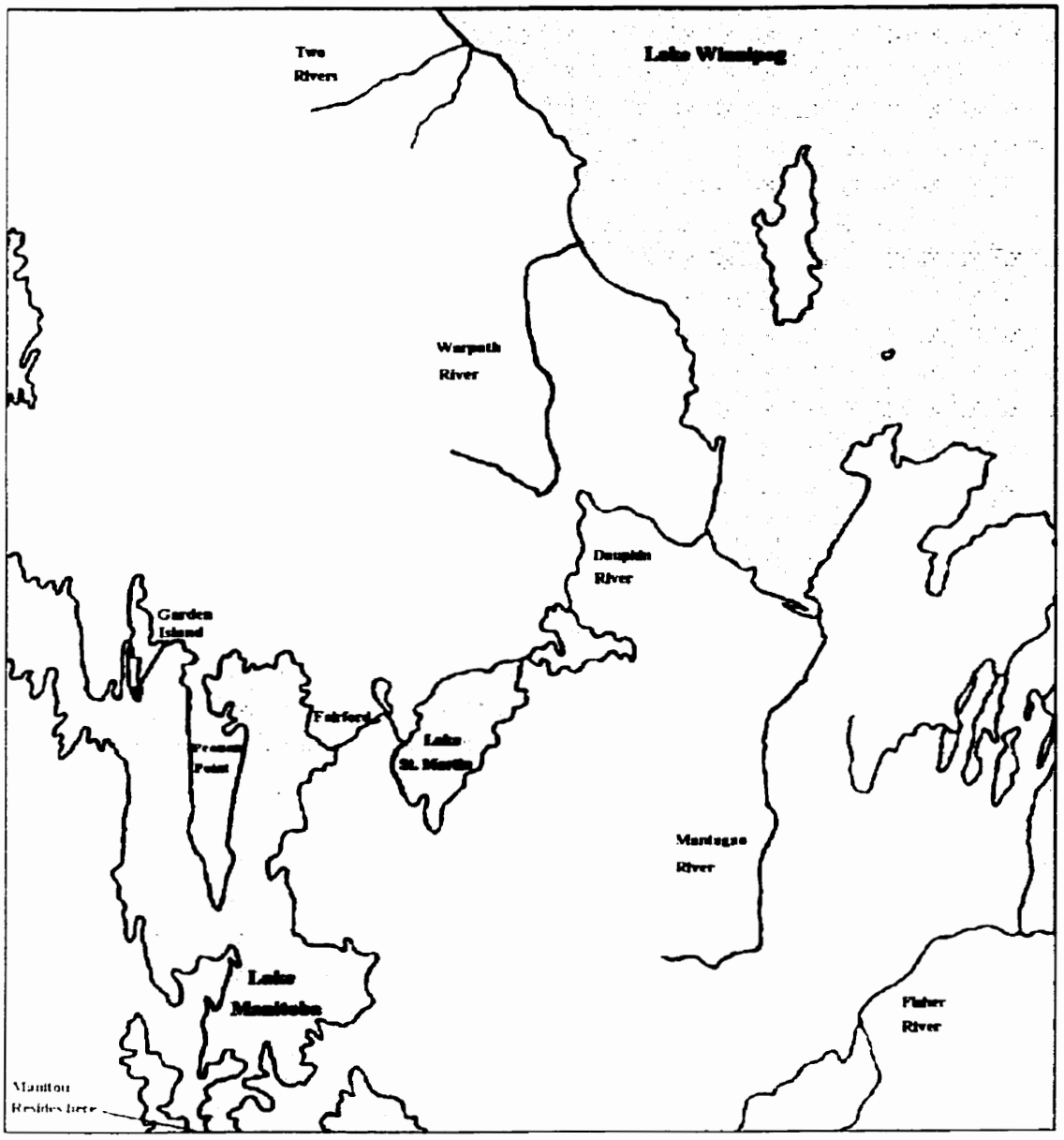

Figure 4.3 – Where a Manitou was thought to reside

residences at Fairford rather than moving on to their winter hunting territories as they once had. Many preferred to stay close to the community and hunt nearby.

The decline of traditional lifestyle which can in this case be described as the maintenance of seasonal rounds in order to obtain the necessary food resources required for survival, is apparent. There were still small pockets of Saulteaux spread throughout the region that were clinging with great difficulty to a traditional hunting and fishing lifestyle. The growing population and the corresponding over hunting of the surrounding region also demoralized some Saulteaux to the point where they decided to forgo tradition and move permanently to Fairford. The result was a growing number of unemployed Saulteaux looking for work in a limited market. Some found work as casual laborers at the mission or among homesteaders, or as Hudson's Bay Company employees working on river barges (Tough 1994). Some men went so far as to learn carpentry or boat navigation; however, finding work was difficult due to the ever increasing surplus of skilled and semi-skilled laborers combined with a lack of available work (CMS A-97 16 August, 1862, Tough 1994). Those who tried to hunt and fish to supplement their wage labor discovered that by the early 1860s the Fairford region was virtually hunted out. Most hunters experienced miserable returns during the winter of 1862 (CMS A-97 16 August, 1862). The fishery at Fairford, which had not been very productive since at least 1854, had by 1862 all but failed. In addition, game animals such as deer, elk, and moose had all but disappeared from the region. Diminished numbers of fur bearers resulted in a poor trapping season, leaving the Fairford Saulteaux unable "to pay the small advances" they received from the Hudson's Bay Company (CMS A-97 16 August, 1862).

4.8 Hale replaces Stagg: 1867-1870

By the fall of 1867, Stagg had left the region and was replaced by Reverend David Hale. Upon entering the community, Hale was physically threatened as the Saulteaux tried to intimidate him into leaving. The Saulteaux threw rocks through the windows of his home, vandalized the school, and at one point set fire to his house. The Saulteaux were desperately trying to expel any European missionary influence from their presence and to return to a more traditional hunting and fishing lifestyle. At one point, when Hale attempted to bury a community member, the Saulteaux informed the missionary that they would not permit a Christian burial. It was explained to Hale that Fairford was an important site where the Saulteaux chose to bury their dead and that the next acceptable site was more than 80 kilometers away (CMS A-97 14 December, 1867). Custom dictated that the dead were buried "in the woods until the winter when the bodies are exchanged and taken to Fairford an expensive & most unpleasant undertaking" (CMS A-97 14 December, 1867). The bodies were then re-interred in preparation for the four-day journey to the land of the souls, where the souls would dwell "in happiness, hunting and feasting and dancing as on earth" (Jenness 1977: 281). Unfortunately, Hale did not list any of these sites in his journals.

Other than a brief mention of events that Hale finds fascinating, there is little mention in either his journals or correspondence of events at Fairford. Hale does mention that he came upon small groups of Saulteaux when he was traveling to the Red River Settlement to attend meetings. He also mentions that more people at Fairford were

hunting in an attempt to return to a lifestyle based upon seasonal the round. Game also appear to be replenishing themselves, as there was little starvation during the harsh winter of 1868. In keeping with the tradition of following seasonal rounds in the reserve request boundary, Fairford was all but abandoned the next spring as nearly every community member "marched off" to familiar hunting territories in search of food (CMS A-97 14 March, 1869). Hale did not indicate how long the Saulteaux remained at these sites. For the first time since the 1840s, disease and its decimating effects were being felt among the Saulteaux as everyone in the region had fallen ill with the exception of two traders at the Hudson's Bay Company post and Hale (CMS A-97 28 December, 1869). Fear of the influenza that was sweeping through the region led the Saulteaux to submit pleas for help, written on birch bark scrolls, to Hale. A community member died later that April and many Saulteaux renounced Christianity.

4.9 Conclusion

In summary, between 1842-1871 the Fairford Saulteaux witnessed total upheaval of their lifestyle. At the time of Cowley's arrival in 1842, the Fairford Saulteaux followed seasonal rounds to procure the required foodstuffs and resources needed for their day-to-day activities. The fall fishery was used in preparation for the return to the winter hunting territories, at which time rabbits would be hunted as the primary food source and occasionally supplemented by moose or elk. The Saulteaux would return to Fairford in the spring and fish while they prepared for summer gatherings, trade, and religious events.

Sugar was processed and gardens were planted. Fish provided most of the required summer food stock that were supplemented by deer and smaller game animals until it was once again time to return to the fall fishery. By 1871, diminished small game numbers and reduced fish stocks led the Fairford Saulteaux to rely more heavily upon agriculture and less so upon the seasonal round. The wage economy was expanding throughout the region, replacing the seasonal round concept. Despite a brief respite in 1868, there were also fewer furbearers and large game animals available to support this lifestyle. The Fairford Saulteaux attempt to re-establish an economy based upon a seasonal round in the late 1860s failed. A large static population utilized the surrounding region as its primary resource base and the once abundant animal populations were no longer available. Many of the Fairford Saulteaux who had retired from the land earlier in the decade had lost knowledge required to hunt and trap effectively.

Chapter V: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

When the Fairford Saulteaux submitted a petition to the Canadian government in 1871, calling for treaty negotiations, they clearly established territorial boundaries in their correspondence (Provincial Archives of Manitoba 1871; Tough 1994)(Figure 5.1). This area was the land base that the Fairford Saulteaux considered to be necessary and territory that was to be formally recognized as such by treaty, thereby ensuring a resource base for future generations while prohibiting settler encroachment into the region. Unfortunately, a clear discussion of why these boundaries were chosen was excluded, as no mention of traditional fisheries, frequently utilized hunting territories, or even customary campsites was forthcoming. A review of archival source material indicates that between 1842-71, the Fairford Saulteaux material and cultural needs could be met using land within these boundaries; this review also provides a good overview of the Saulteaux economy in transition. This boundary mapped fishing, camping, moose, elk, and deer hunting sites. Provisions were also made for gardening, trading, religious ceremonies, sugar production, and travel routes that were required for ease of access to sites within the Fairford Saulteaux territory.

5.2 Water claims

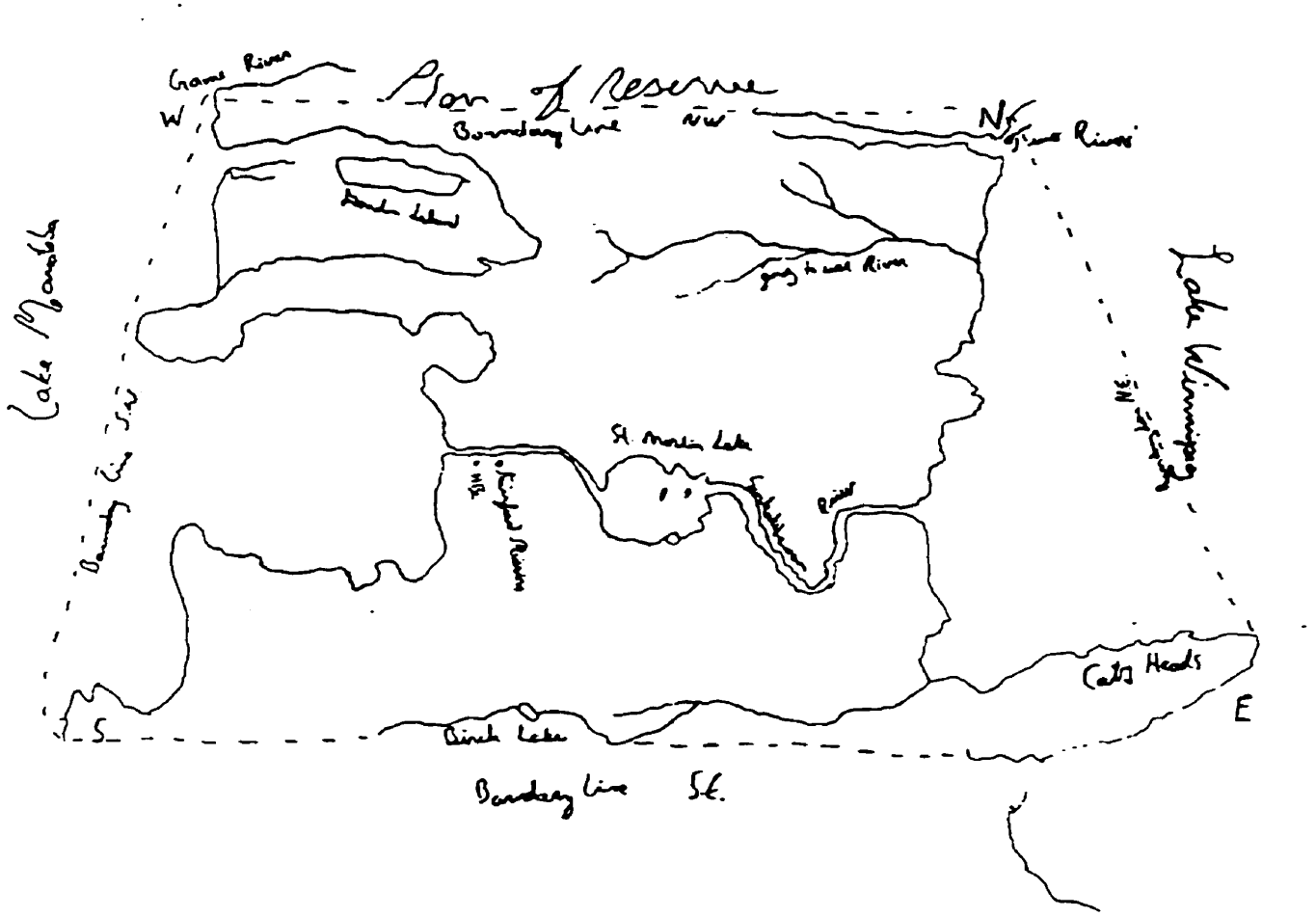

Figure 5.1 – Reserve request of Fairford Saulteaux

Included within the original demarcation are the Dauphin, Warpath, and Two Rivers, as well as Lake St. Martin. Various other water bodies are also included within these boundaries, specifically, all territorial waters extending from Lake Winnipeg and a portion of Lake Manitoba. The water claim is logical as the Saulteaux utilized various water bodies within the region for community subsistence, as fisheries were critical to their survival. The best fishing was at Lake St. Martin but other sites located along the shores of Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba and the Dauphin River were also utilized when Lake St. Martin fish stocks dwindled. The fall fishery enabled the Saulteaux to survive the winter when game populations were low, providing a constant source of high protein food stuffs prior to the return of game animals and the maturation of potato and turnip crops in the fall.

Examining the 1871 request (Appendix A), it is apparent that the Saulteaux were concerned with transportation routes throughout the region. Almost every point within the demarcated territory was accessible by water, making it possible to travel from the Mantagao River to Dancing Point down to Garden Island unimpeded (Figure 5.2). Garden Island is located within the 1871 boundary request and is mentioned prominently in various works about the Ojibwa and Saulteaux of the central Manitoba region (e.g. Brown 1985, Peers 1994, 1987, Tough 1994). For those sites that were not easily accessible by water, traveling within close proximity was still possible. As Brown (1985: 4) states, "To the Saulteaux and their trading associates . . . waterways, even if large and sometimes rough, were opportunities, not impediments." In addition, George Nelson, Peter Fidler, and a number of nineteenth century explorers and traders clearly indicated that "people, goods, and information readily crossed the lake by boat and canoe in summer, and over

the ice in winter" (Brown 1985: 4). Unimpeded travel was necessary due to situations such as the need for frequent renewal of familial ties extending to Berens River across Lake Winnipeg. Access to hunting territories was important and provisions for this were made in the 1871 request. Fairford was also a Midewiwin site where Saulteaux from the region met each June and again in October for religious ceremonies (CMS A-86 Cowley papers 1842-54). Garden Island (located off the northwest coast of Peonan Point) was a popular gathering spot for inter-tribal trading in which the Fairford Saulteaux frequently participated (CMS A-86 Cowley papers, 1842-54, Peers 1994, 1987).

5.3 Contact with Hind and Saulteaux Metaphysics

Further evaluation of archival source material and secondary sources provided more precise information on how the Saulteaux defined their territory. During the Hind Expedition of 1858, Saulteaux Chief Papernas informed the expedition's members that Garden Island belonged to him but expressed no objection to expedition members exploring the region (Hind 1969: 30). Chief Papernas further stated, "that as chief of the band he claimed the whole country from Fisher River, on Lake Winnipeg to the mouth of Partridge Crop River" (Hind 1969: 30). This region parallels the amount of land later requested in 1871, although the 1858 boundaries differ significantly (Figure 5.3). Land use derived from the 1871 request is more focused to the region north of Fairford whereas Chief Papernas claimed the region south and to the east of the community. It is plausible to conclude that this territory was used at one point and that by the time the

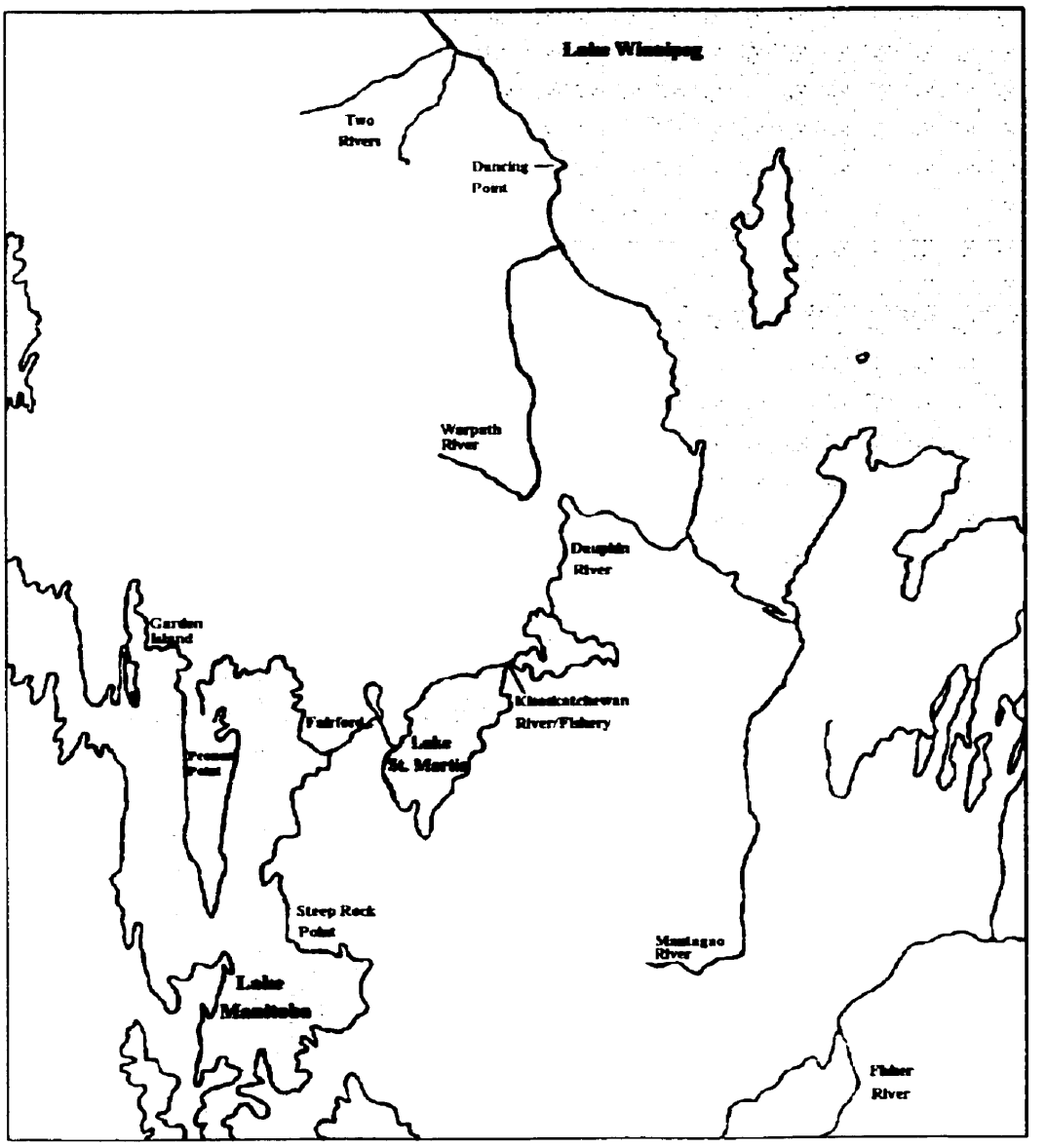

Figure 5.2 – Interlake Region water access routes

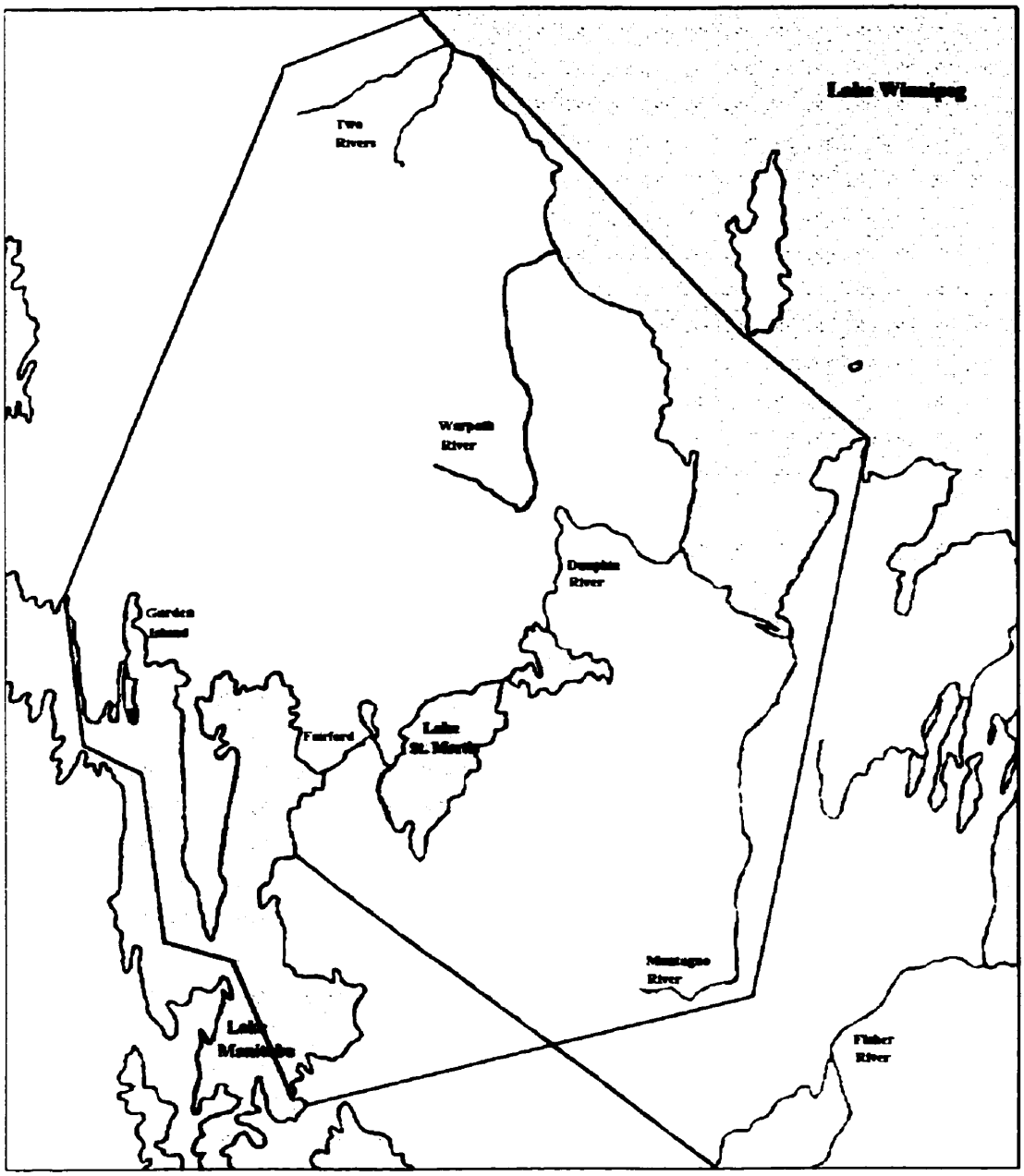

Figure 5.3 – Chief Papernas's territorial claim compared to the 1871 request

seventy Saulteaux outlined their territorial boundaries in 1871, the seasonal rounds had been altered due to increased resource exploitation due to greater numbers of settlers and diminished game animal populations in frequently utilized hunting territories. The record is limited, and beyond his territorial claim, Chief Papernas provided little more detail, resulting in a statement of ownership and no explanation for how those boundaries were defined.

Chief Papernas's territorial claim differs from the 1871 boundary in that it extends south of Fairford and Lake St. Martin whereas the 1871 claim is concentrated on the region north of Fairford. Missionary records offer no evidence that the region south of Lake St. Martin was ever utilized. This period does coincide with the Hind Expedition surveying the region in anticipation of increased numbers of settlers. This is also a period of extensive settlement in the Red River Settlement and surrounding area resulting in the displacement of and northwest migration of Native groups. It is likely that the Saulteaux's 1871 claim was an alteration of their territory due to pressure exerted by the northern movement of Native groups into the southern Lake St. Martin region.

Hind collected from the Saulteaux during his brief stay at Fairford, stories about Manitous and the little men who lived off of Steep Rock Point just south west of Fairford (Figure 5.4). The little men were feared according to Hind (1969: 39), who stated "the Indians who hunt in this part of the country do not visit, being persuaded that "little men" live in the caves and holes into which the rock has been worn by the action of the waves." Known to lurk in the water's depths, little men were lost souls who lived in cliff faces of lakes and rivers that the Saulteaux would have actively avoided (Asikinak 1995: 97). The

Saulteaux went on to detail many stories indicating where the little men dwelled, to which Hind (1969: 133) commented that "there is scarcely a cave or headland which had not some legend attached to it, familiar to all the wanderers (Saulteaux) on these coasts."

Interestingly, Hind (1969) displayed the same attitude when told of the Manitou that inhabited Manitobah Island, located beyond the 1871 boundaries. Hind (1969) did also state that the Saulteaux "could not be persuaded to land" upon the island due to the presence of a Manitou, indicating knowledge of the region and a fear of reprisal should any Saulteaux set foot upon the island, explaining also why it was left out of the 1871 claim. Manitobah Island was an area of avoidance and land use within this region was limited due to a respect of the Manitou; Steep Rock point was an area that was also avoided due to the little people living there. Although these regions were avoided, the Saulteaux were aware of many similar sites within the region as evidenced by the many stories connected with these areas as told to Hind and his expedition members. These stories help to explain this apprehension, an indication that this was at one time familiar territory that had been mapped mentally, the knowledge of which was passed on through oral tradition in much the same way the stories were conveyed to Hind. The Saulteaux did not communicate reasons for their apprehension for entering these sites and regions; Hind (1969) indicated a lack of Saulteaux cooperation in elaborating on their beliefs. In each story told to Hind, the little men and the Manitou were regarded as unfriendly supernatural spirits that were to be avoided (Jenness 1977). Hind (1969) also mentioned

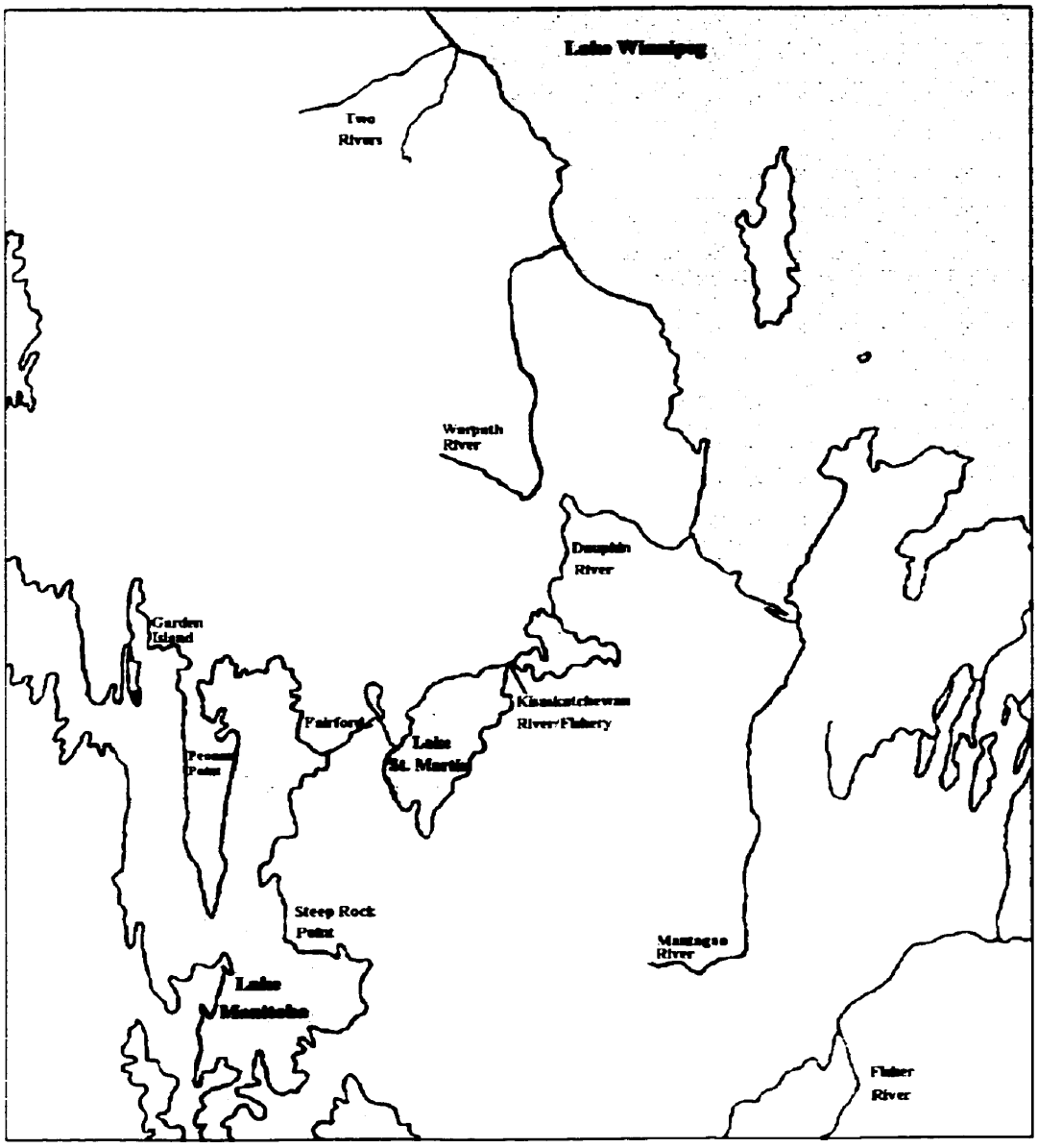

Figure 5.4 – Steep Rock Point: Home of the Little Men

that Manitous lived in the west side of Lake Winnipeg, although minimal detail is provided making the locating of any of these sites impossible.

5.4 Inter-tribal trading and hunting territories

During discussions with the Saulteaux in 1858, Hind and expedition members were told that Dancing Point, which makes up the northeast corner of the 1871 boundaries, was a ceremonial spot, but beyond this brief description no other information was provided (Figure 5.5). Located along Lake Winnipeg coast are a number of Saulteaux and Cree communities that are relatively close to Dancing Point, where summer trading, ceremonial events, or other inter tribal gatherings likely took place. For example, to travel from Norway House to Dancing Point is approximately 170 kilometers, and if Cree from The Pas traveled to Garden Island (Tough 1994: 31), then it is reasonable to consider Dancing Point to be an accessible site to many Aboriginal groups located throughout the region. The continued importance of Dancing Point is indicated by its inclusion in the 1871 reserve request.

Chief Papernas (Hind 1969) explained that a war road once followed the area located between the Warpath River and the Two Rivers (just south of Dancing Point) (Figure 5.5). This was the "war-road of the Ojibways and Swampys of Lake Winnipeg when they proceed on their periodical excursions against the Sioux" (Hind 1969: 28). The Nakota and Sioux also used the river 'road' when they occupied the region (Hind 1969: 29). In addition, the land located along the Warpath River was also utilized. The

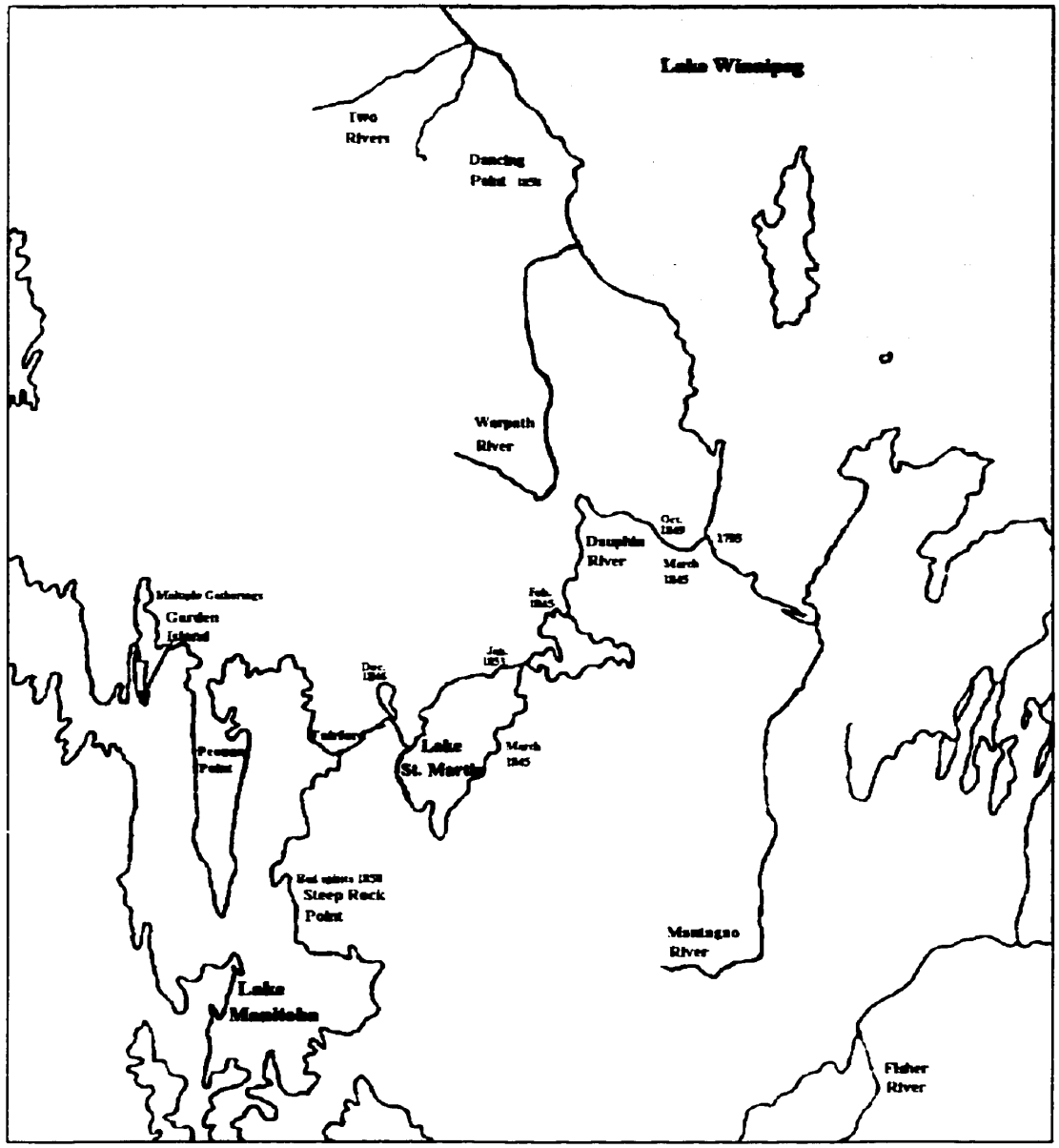

Figure 5.5 – Inter-tribal trading and hunting territories

Warpath River was included in the 1871 request as Going to War River, indicating its historical importance and that it was recognized as part of the overall Saulteaux land base (Hind, 1969).

With the exception of Manitobah Island, every spot catalogued by Cowley and Stagg between 1842 and 1871 fall within the 1871 requested boundaries, including Garden Island, Dancing Point and Steep Rock Point. Garden Island was where Hind first came into contact with Chief Papernas who claimed ownership of the island (Figure 5.5). Historically, Garden Island, which is also known as Big Tent Island, Potato Island, or Sugar Island (Peers 1994: 168) had been a Midewiwin site as well as an annual gathering place for summer trade (Peers 1994, HBCA B.122/3/1 fos. 9-10), gathering maple syrup (Kohl 1985), and camping in the area (CMS A-86 19 May, 1842). Maple sugar was used as a preservative and could be sprinkled over meat, boiled fish, or wild fruit for added sweetness. It was mixed with wild plums and then buried until winter when the plums were divided and boiled with dry meat for added nourishment in lean times (Kohl 1985: 319). Fairford was a site "of great resort among the Indians of this part of the country, and hence the probable reason why a selection of this site was made for the establishment of a mission" (Hind 1969: 34-35, CMS A-86 23 March 1842).

The remainder of the sites listed by Cowley and Stagg (Peers 1994) (Figure 5.5) were recorded a result of the two missionaries looking for Native people to convert and frequently encountering Saulteaux campsites. Many of these sites were located along waterways such as the Dauphin River or located on the shore of Lake St. Martin that provided easy access to fish and primary water routes critical to summer transportation.

The dates when the missionaries reached these sites indicates that most were fishing sites, as spring and fall fisheries were usually held beginning in March and October respectively. Interestingly, there is one site located a short distance north of Fairford that Cowley visited in December 1846 which does not fit into the overall pattern due to it being the only one not plotted along a waterway. This could be due to the fact that during this period dysentery followed a measles outbreak and that many of the Saulteaux sought respite from the diseases' effects (CMS, A-86 October 1846). Also, Cowley stated that since "the arrival of the rum (from bootleggers) the Indians have almost entirely deserted us. They seldom or never come to hear indeed their great desire for rum has driven them all into the woods to hunt the means of obtaining it," including selling their household possessions to purchase alcohol (CMS A-86 17 December, 1846). It is also possible that the site was either a family winter hunting camp or a site found because Cowley ventured further into the bush than he normally explored.

Hunting also played an integral role in the Saulteaux lifestyle (Figure 5.6). Moose, deer, and elk meat were used for food, and skins were used for clothing and shelter. The major summer deer hunting regions were located at Peonan Point as well as on the landmass north of Garden Island; falling within the 1871 boundary request is a minor overlap of hunting territories also utilized by the Anishinaabe from Waterhen, located northwest of Fairford at Waterhen Lake (Stock 1994). Deer were attracted to waterways in the morning and evening to drink while seeking relief from the heat (Boulanger 1972). They stood in shallow water for hours during the day, seeking relief from insects, where they were descended upon by Saulteaux in canoes or ambushed by Saulteaux stationed in

trees and bushes located alongside the waterway (Kohl 1985: 311). Dead animals were then transported back to Fairford in birch bark canoes which could effectively transport "heavy loads of poultry, provisions, flour, salted meat, and other heavy goods," (Kohl 1985: 169).

Elk meat supplemented the resources from the fall fishery as annual preparations were made for winter. The main elk hunting regions were located at Peonan Point (also the site of the summer deer hunt) and a small region to the northeast (Stock 1996). Elk were hunted by "running down the game," until it was trapped or stumbled, at which time it was killed (Kohl 1985: 122-123).

Two main regions within the 1871 boundaries were for moose hunting in winter, spring, and fall (Stock 1996)(Figure 5.6). The spring and fall moose-hunting region makes up the northwest corner of the Saulteaux's 1871 boundary request and the winter hunting site also falls within this boundary. The spring and fall hunting site was also shared with the Waterhen Anishinaabe (Stock, 1996), although the Saulteaux recognized this region as part of their territory according to the reserve request of 1871. In the fall, moose were tracked and hunted along the shoreline of a regional water body by boat (Boulanger 1972). In the winter, moose were run into deep drifts, which required great skill to keep the moose from escaping (Boulanger 1972). Once a thick ice crust had formed, it was easier to hunt moose as they were chased over the crusted snow, tiring more quickly by constantly breaking through the crust (Fidler 1820, Maclean 1896).

A Fairford Saulteaux hunting territory was contained within the 1871 boundaries that followed the length of Steep Rock Point and doubled back to the south tip of Lake

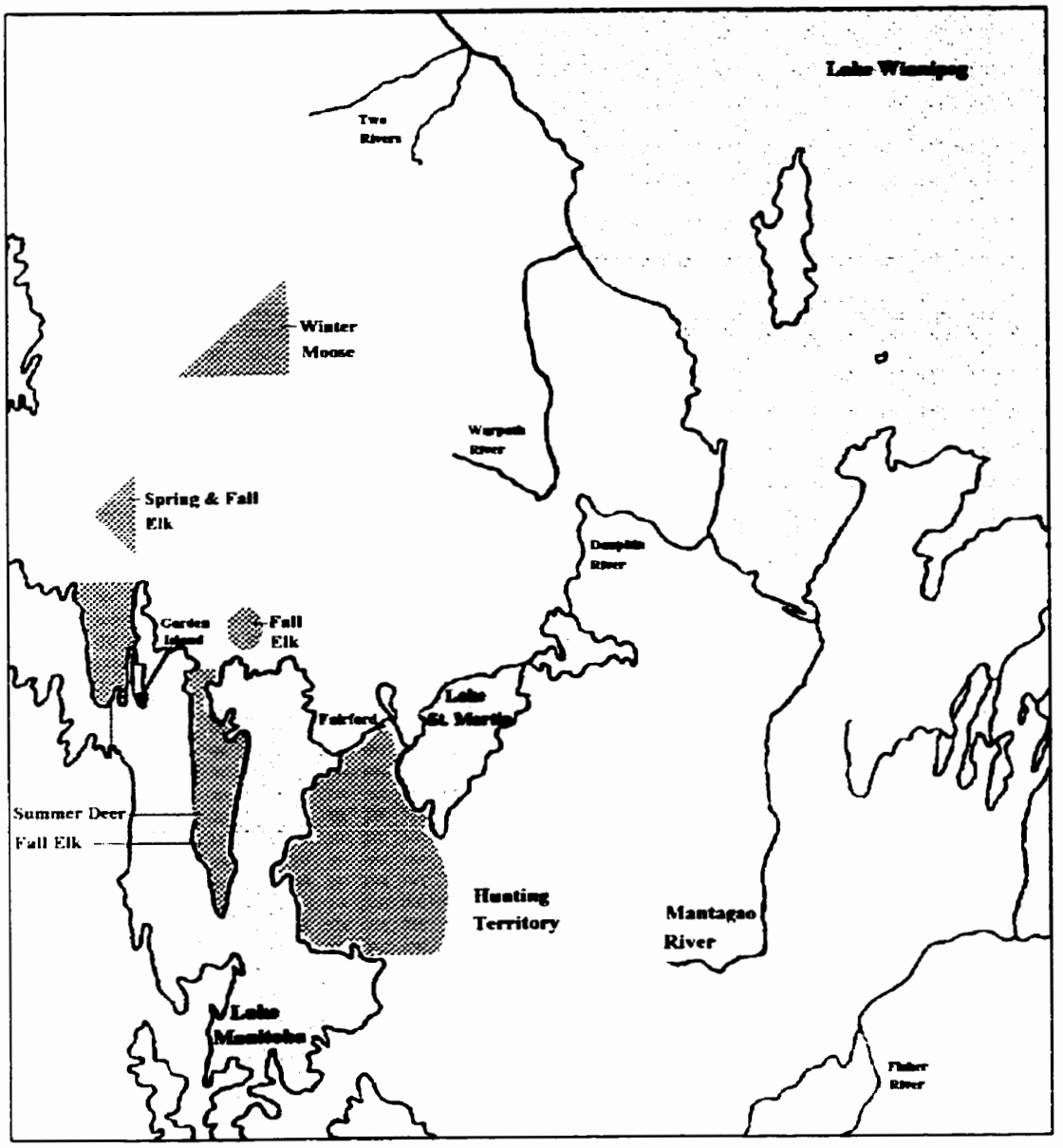

Figure 5.6 – Hunting Territories

St. Martin (Hind 1969). Although within Chief Papernas's 1858 territorial claims, the Fairford Saulteaux hunting territory extending from Fairford all the way to the Fisher River. By 1871, the Fairford Saulteaux were more concerned with claiming the territory north of Fairford and Lake St. Martin.

The only continuous-use site located within the 1871 demarcation is the fishing site at the Kisaskatchewan River, located at the Narrows of Lake St. Martin about 25 kilometers east of Fairford (Figure 5.4). Cowley first catalogued this site in January 1853, the period when the fish stocks at Fairford had disappeared and a new site was required for the fall fishery in order to acquire the fish needed for their winter subsistence (CMS, A-97, 6 September, 1854). The Kisaskatchewan River was the primary fall fishing site where the Saulteaux prepared great quantities of pounded and dried fish, as well as fish oil. This transition from Fairford to the Kisaskatchewan River fishing site occurred with relative ease, even though both Cowley and Stagg experienced difficulty procuring the quantity of fish numbers they required for their winter survival. In contrast, the Saulteaux were fully aware the fishery could easily be relocated to the Kisaskatchewan River indicating a far-reaching knowledge of the region.

5.5 Conclusion

The Fairford Saulteaux were cognizant of what constituted their territory but they were also aware of regions that extended beyond their 1871 boundaries. There is little conclusive evidence indicating that the Fairford Saulteaux utilized land outside the 1871

reserve request boundaries (Figure 5.7). Everything the Saulteaux required for survival was found in this territory. Within this territory, the resource base was used extensively as exemplified by multiple fishing, hunting, and camping sites. From 1842 to 1871, land use patterns indicated minor alterations to seasonal rounds rather than complete usurpation of existing ways. It appears that the reserve request was a well-thought out representation of Fairford Saulteaux territory whose designers took into account what would be required from both the land and the government to ensure future generations success and happiness.

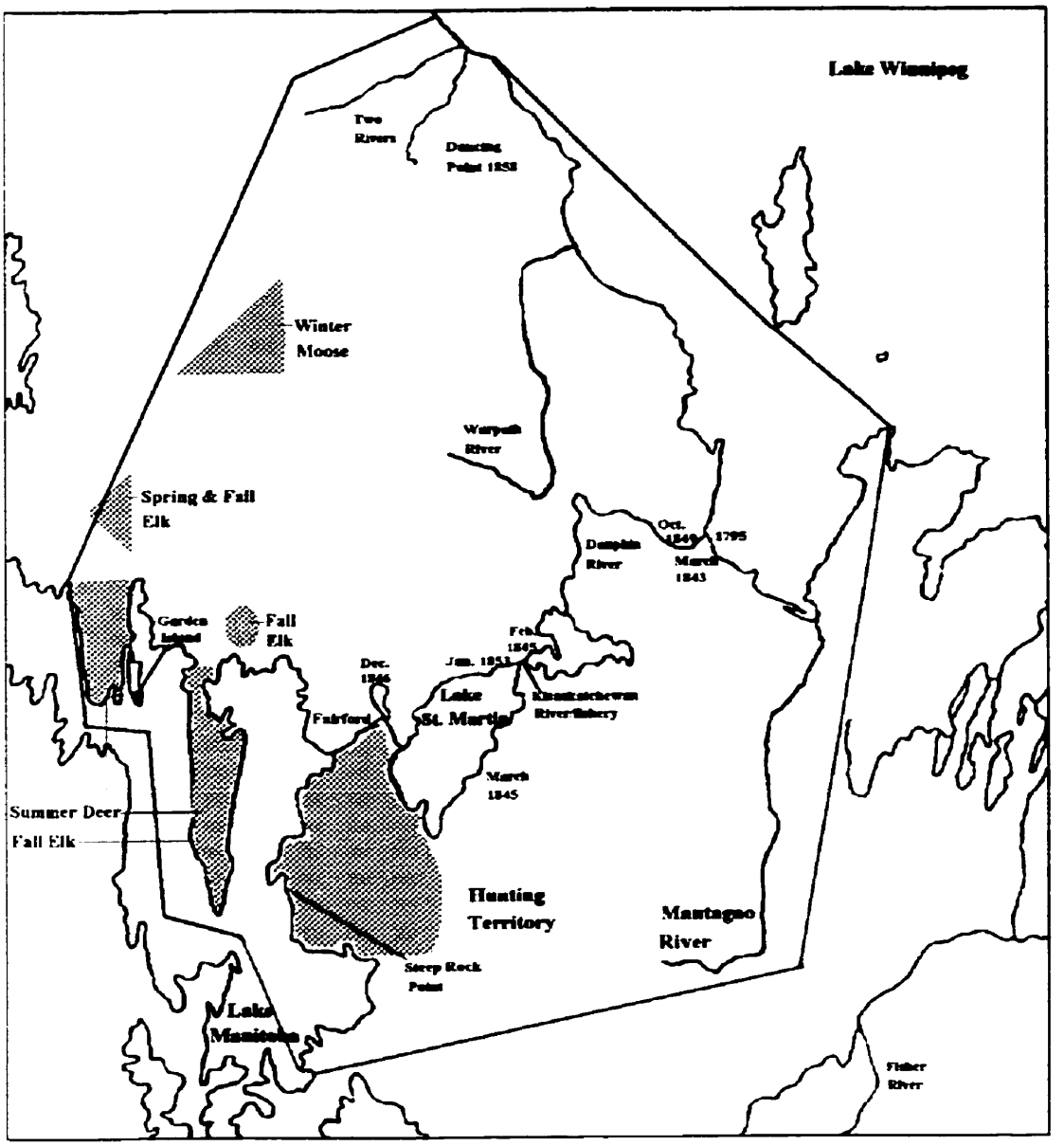

Figure 5.7 – Extent of land use beyond 1871 reserve request boundary

Chapter VI: Conclusion

6.1 Summary

It has been the aim of this thesis to present a comprehensive ethnohistoric reconstruction of Fairford Saulteaux land use within Manitoba's Interlake region between 1842-1871 in order to identify and map land use patterns. This transitional period was an episode of significant change that affected Fairford Saulteaux land use patterns, due primarily to an influx of settlers into the region, which resulted in diminished resources. It was during this period when the Fairford Saulteaux articulated precise ideas of their territories' outer boundaries as they expanded their hunting territories as competition for resources increased. It has been concluded that this is period of declining opportunities and that the Fairford Saulteaux were able to adapt. Chapter 5 outlined how the Fairford Saulteaux came to define and specifically demarcate their territory, thereby providing an overall sense of land use within Manitoba's Interlake Region and how the Fairford Saulteaux came to advance their ideas of what constituted their territory.

The Saulteaux at Fairford were year-round residents of the boreal forest, specifically the region surrounding Lake St. Martin. They ranged as far south as Fisher River, but Saulteaux land use was centred in Manitoba's Interlake Region. Occupation of the forest was only a seasonal component of a larger system of land use, which included the use of the Interlake's extensive system of waterways. From November to roughly the end of February, large and small game animals were hunted by small groups of Saulteaux

located at seasonal hunting camps in the forest. Pemmican and dried fish supplemented what was captured during the winter and was utilized as the sole food source in times of scarcity. Upon the arrival of Reverend Abraham Cowley in 1842, he documented that between March and October there were ample food resources available, which only began to diminish toward the end of the 1860s.

The Saulteaux travelled throughout the Interlake Region along water routes in summer by canoe. Seasonal camps were found along major water routes during spring, summer, fall and winter, although it does appear that winter camps were found inland on occasion, due primarily to the availability of water that could be melted from snow. The Saulteaux utilized the land surrounding the lakes, rivers, and streams, as well as the territory between water bodies. Fish were an ample food source that the Saulteaux relied upon quite heavily necessitating the location of spring, summer, and fall campsites along water bodies. Only after the rivers froze over did the Saulteaux venture into the forest to their winter hunting territories.

It is apparent that Ray (1974) was accurate in his assessment of this period as one of declining opportunities. The archival record demonstrates that between 1842-1871, resources diminish gradually to the point that by the time of Treaty 2 negotiations, the Fairford Saulteaux faced difficulty securing the foodstuffs needed for survival. This forced the Saulteaux to alter their subsistence strategies. It is evident that the Saulteaux travelled to different positions within the Interlake Region in different seasons, exploiting different resources, and moving to resource-rich regions when it was required.

The economic, social, political, and spiritual activities the Saulteaux also varied according to season. The Midewiwin, for instance, took place each October. Fishing took place until winter freeze-up occurred necessitating movement into the forest to hunt larger game animals. The Saulteaux tended to remain at one site during the spring and summer, engaging in inter-tribal trade and fishing, only to disperse when food resources lessened. Saulteaux land use patterns were affected little by the movement of the Hudson's Bay Company into the Fairford region. In fact, with the exception of one eighteen-month period in the 1850s, the Saulteaux did not alter their land use systems to engage in extensive trapping and trading. During this period, however, the Saulteaux literally disappeared from Fairford to trap; this was an isolated occurrence in the transitional period of 1842-1871.

With the increasing scarcity of local game and fish stocks in the mid-1850s, the Saulteaux were forced to capture more small game animals such as rabbit while altering their land use patterns to move into different, rarely utilized regions. For example, the 1871 claim indicates territory north of Fairford was most desired. This differs from Chief Papernas's 1858 claim, where the region to the southeast of Fairford is the territory of choice. Facilitating this northern expansion into relatively unused territory was the northwest movement of other Aboriginal groups and growth of populations in the southern region. What did remain constant was the Saulteaux continuing to locate their campsites alongside waterways for ease of travel and access to fish almost year-round. There was, however, no increased reliance upon the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts for food, although the Saulteaux approached Reverend Cowley of the Fairford Mission

during the winter of 1850 for assistance after the rabbit populations failed. The economic shifts became more prominent toward the end of the 1850s, beginning of the 1860s, due primarily to availability of fewer large game animals and diminished fish stocks at Lake St. Martin. Saulteaux began to take jobs as farm laborers, barge captains, or general laborers at the mission.

6.2 Use of ethnohistory methodology and territorial definition

Ethnohistory methodology was utilized for this thesis to aid in presenting Fairford Saulteaux land-use patterns. As mentioned, the available archival source were quite extensive in both detail and quantity; unfortunately, as useful as the archival source material was, it is impossible to deduce a definitive overall land use pattern due to the variables involved. This reconstruction aids in expanding our awareness how the Fairford Saulteaux came to demarcate and utilize their territory. These data also contribute to the argument concerning northern Algonkian land tenure, demonstrating in this case that the Fairford Saulteaux viewed their land base as encapsulated within a boundary. It was clearly evident following analysis of the Archibald map (Figure 6.1), and the boundaries as presented by the Saulteaux in 1871 translated into distinctive lines of demarcation on a scale map of the Interlake region. A careful study of the archival sources was conducted followed by the mapping of seasonal campsites, hunting territories, travel routes, and sites of spiritual importance.

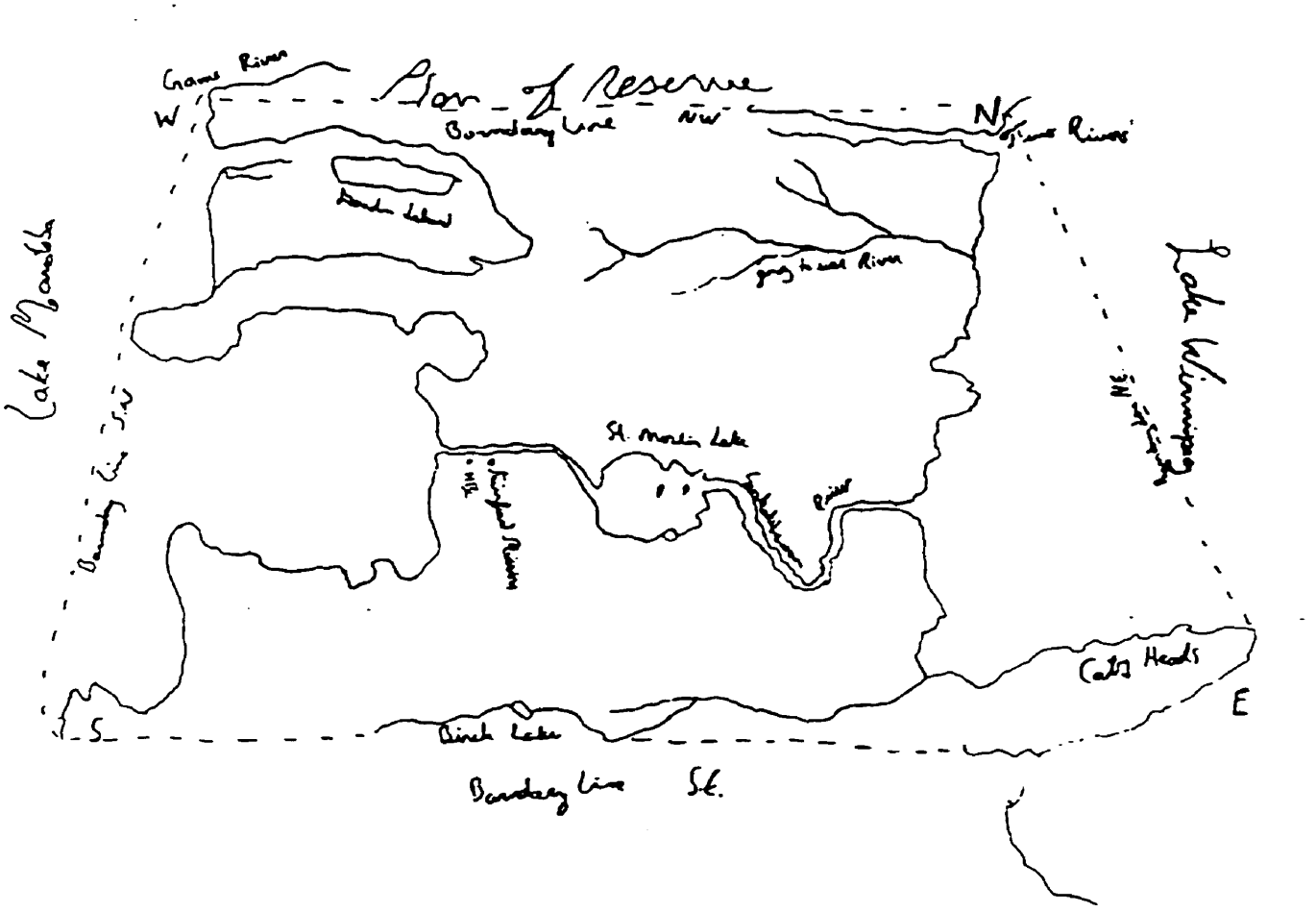

Figure 6.1 – Archibald Map

Figure 6.2 is a consolidation of all maps, clearly demonstrating that the Fairford Saulteaux remained within their territorial boundaries according to the 1871 request. The only site that does fall within the boundary is Manitobah Island on Lake Manitoba, a site where a Manitou was presumed to live and an island to be avoided and therefore not included in the boundary request. The hunting territories plotted all fall within the 1871 boundary request, as do all camping sites, fishing sites, and the Fairford settlement. The movement into the region north of Fairford as compared to the region Chief Papernas claimed as exclusively Saulteaux territory appears to be a response to settler movement into the Interlake Region. As the settler population expanded in the late 1850s, following the movement of the Hind Expedition through the Lake St. Martin region, the Saulteaux begin utilizing the land base more north of Fairford. Although no reason is presented in the archival record, it is logical to conclude that growing populations were taxing the local animal population numbers thereby forcing the Saulteaux to seek resource-abundant regions.

It is at this point unclear why the difference exists between the 1858 claims of Chief Papernas and the later claims made by seventy Saulteaux who submitted the 1871 petition. There are two hypotheses that could explain these discrepancies. First, the claims of Chief Papernas are one man's perception of the land base that may have been required for his band's survival. This land base may have also been traditional family territory that Chief Papernas continued to utilize. When compared to the request made by the aggregate of seventy Saulteaux, there are noticeable differences. This territorial claim extends north, away from Chief Papernas's land claim. The reason for this may have had

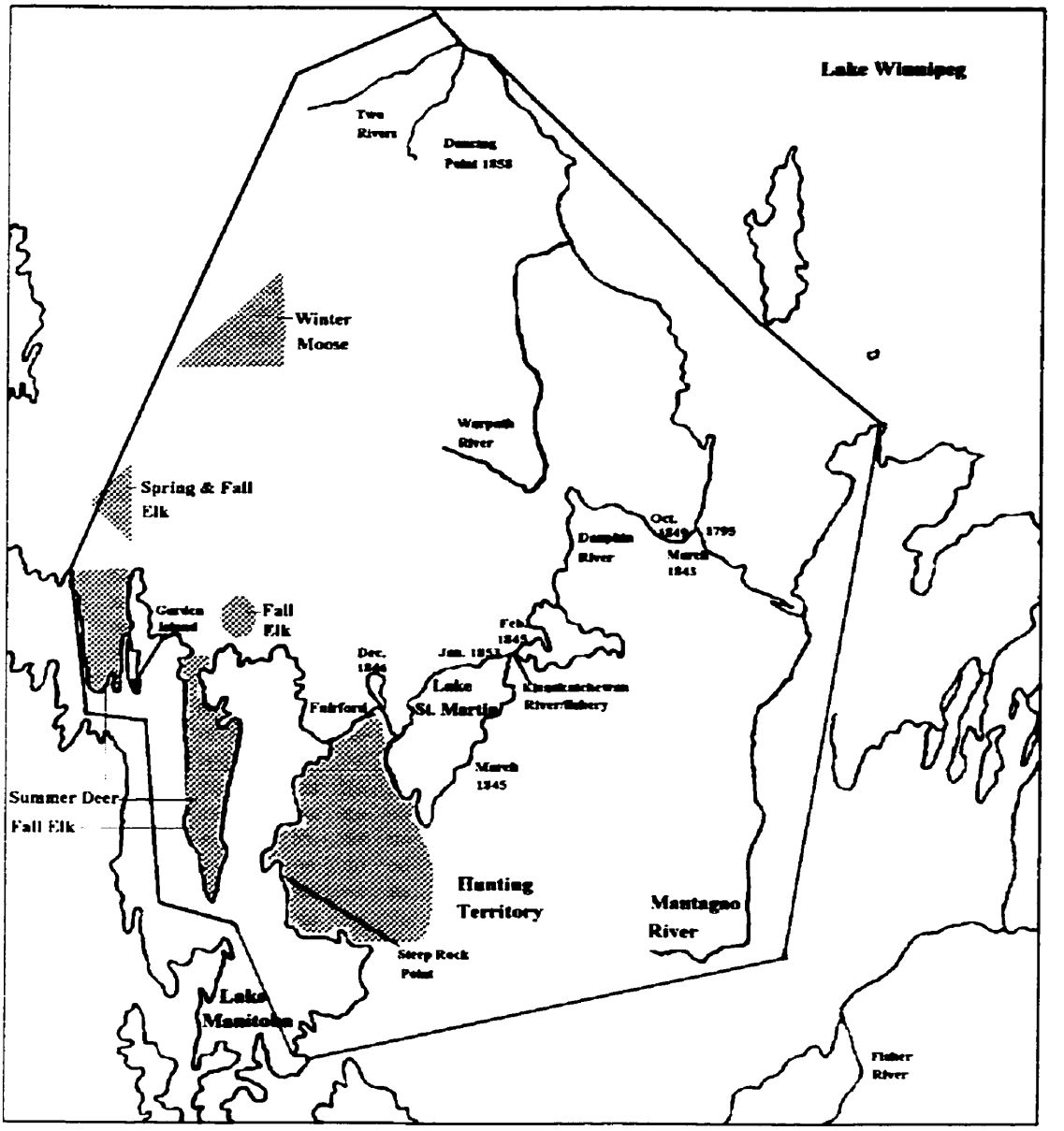

Figure 6.2 – Saulteaux land use within the reserve request boundary

to do with settler encroachment and the movement of various tribal groups into what had been previously exclusive Saulteaux territory forcing a northward dispersal. The reserve request represents a decision that was made by a group of seventy people who had come to a consensual agreement as to what territory would comprise their reserve request. It appears that these differences represent how individuals viewed territory versus how the collective viewed the overall land base.

The northern expansion required the Saulteaux to utilized a region that also fell within the territory claimed by the Waterhen Anishinaabe Nation. The boundary that extended south from Dancing Point and Two Rivers to the east of Fairford overlapped the outer boundary of the Waterhen Nation (Stock 1996). During this period, it is evident that the movement of the Saulteaux into the northern Lake St. Martin region was displacing the Waterhen people, who began utilizing the region north of their settlement (Stock 1996). The archival record does not indicate any hostilities regarding territorial claims between the Fairford Saulteaux and the Waterhen Anishinaabe, indicating that as the Saulteaux moved north, the Waterhen followed suit and also moved north. Tough (1994: 4) states that the Waterhen had "seasonally made use of the plains" to the west of the study region, indicating that this region was the extreme outer Waterhen boundary and not one worthy of battling the Fairford Saulteaux for exclusive rights.

6.3 Conclusion

The reconstruction presented in this thesis demonstrates that the Fairford

Saulteaux had a clearly defined sense of territory. The zone of demarcation as presented by the Fairford Saulteaux is evident on the handwritten map presented to Governor Archibald in 1871, indicating that the territory was viewed as a number of land use sites encapsulated within an overall boundary. This defined region was one of a number of local economies that contributed to make up the northern Manitoba economy (Tough 1994: 299). It is apparent that the Fairford Saulteaux were slowly adapting to the new economy that was moving into the northern regions, all the while maintaining an economic independence (albeit stifled) due to a variety of existing economic alternatives such as wage labor. However, this decline of resources toward the end of the 1870s placed the Fairford Saulteaux in a weak bargaining position, as evidenced by what they requested for a reserve and what they settled for (Figure 6.3).

The Fairford Saulteaux coped effectively with the changes that the establishment of the Fairford Mission brought. Unfortunately, the period 1842-1871 was one of upheaval, with decreasing game populations, epidemics, and the influx of settlers all combining to affect how the Saulteaux came to define, and re-define, their territory. Although the Saulteaux people were resilient, by the end of 1871 the old way of life had all but disappeared. The seasonal round was replaced with a more sedentary localized lifestyle centred at Fairford. Hunting and fishing, when possible, was supplemented with what as earned from wage labor, when obtainable.

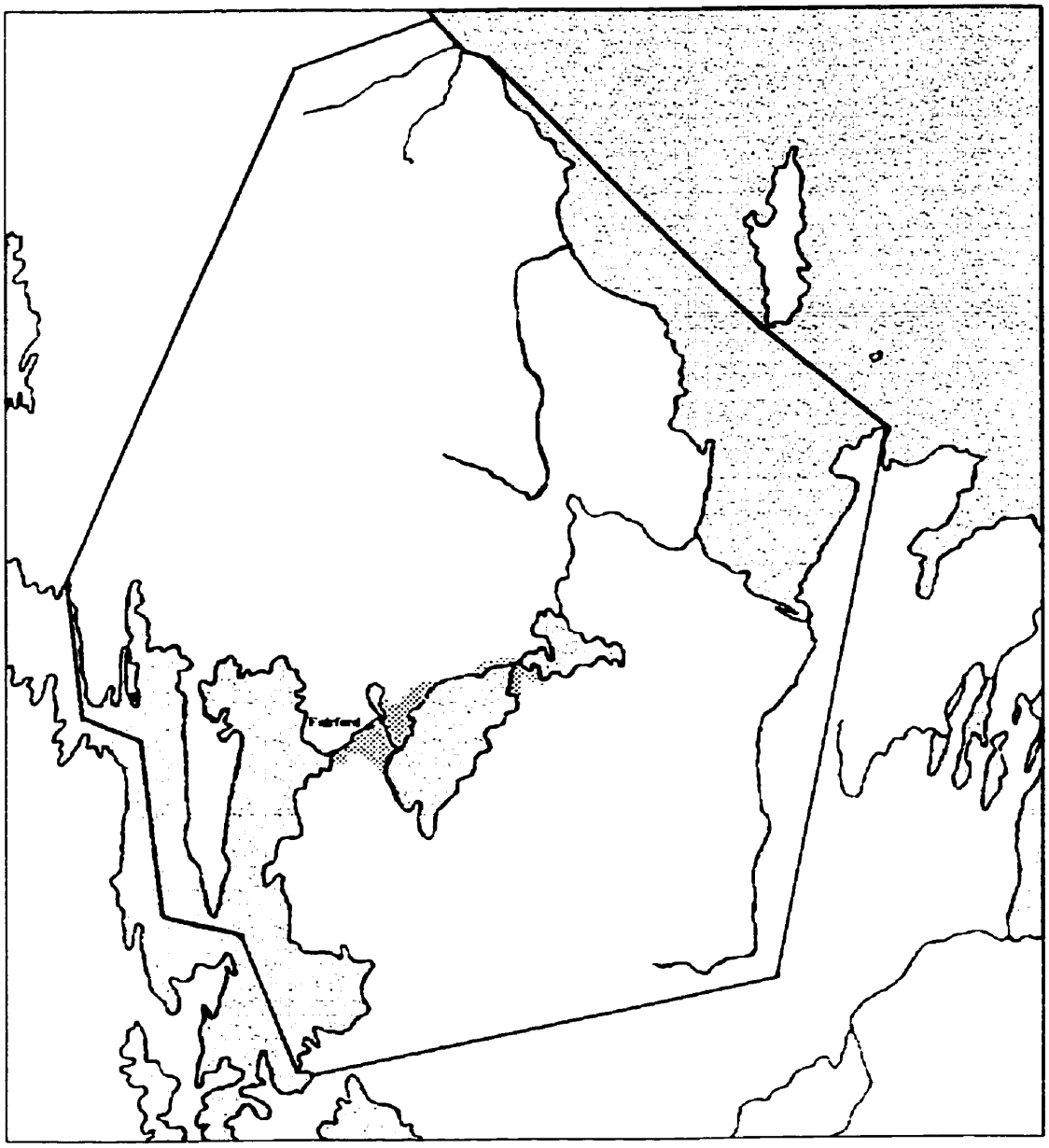

Figure 6.3 – Reserve received compared to reserve request

APPENDIX A

Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Archibald Papers reel 1, no. 164, notice from Fairford Indians, 1871

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Archibald

Notice

To his Excellency the Governor and Council of Manitoba and all whom it may concern.

In respect to Certain Indian Lands of the Fairford Manitoba and other Indians as known to be inhabiting this section.

Be it known to his Excellency and Council of Manitoba and all whom it may concern that We the Indians Civilised and others now resident in on the above named Section of Land have in Council held on the day of January One thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy One

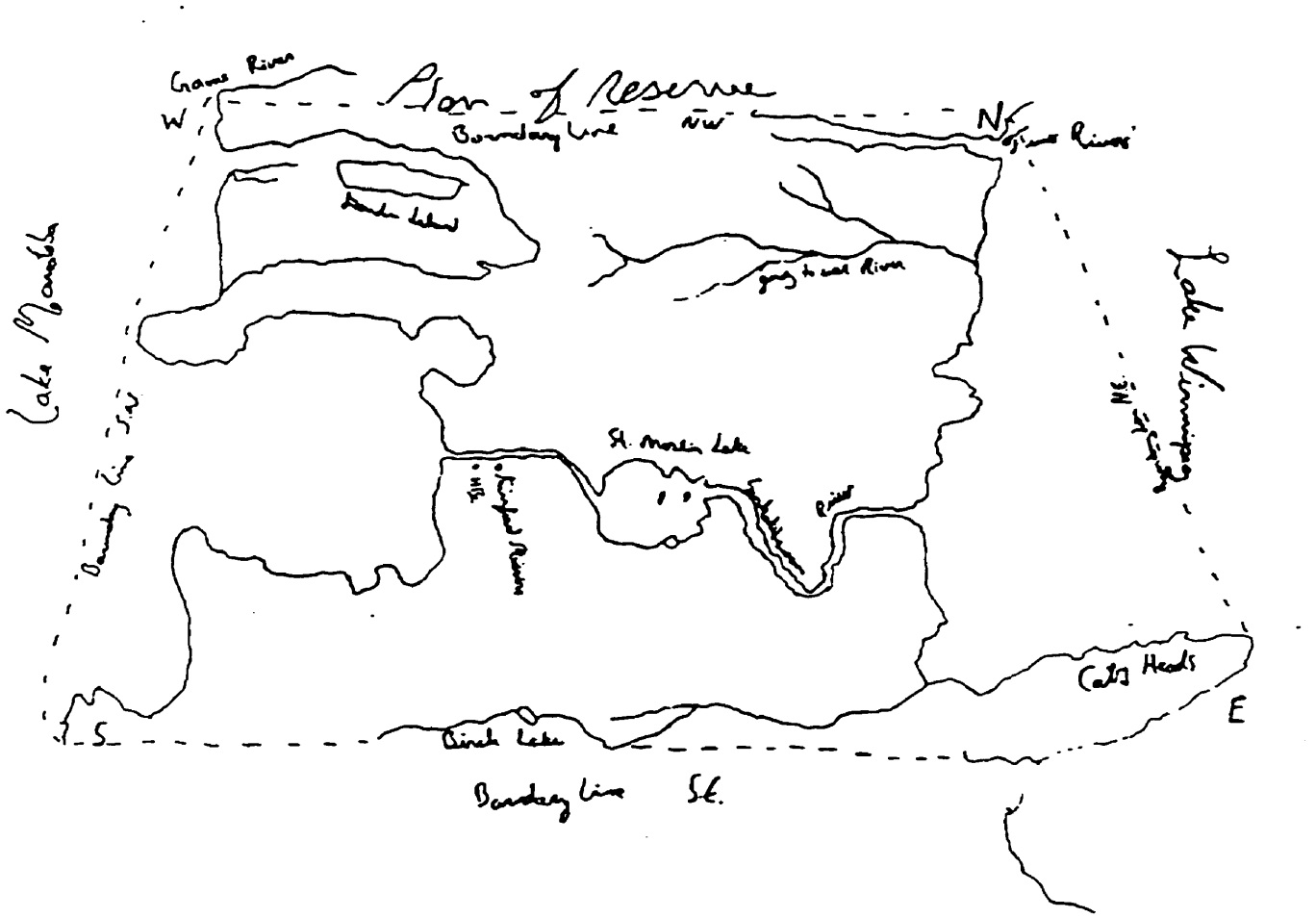
Decided by the voice and advice of our Chiefs and leading men of our Tribe that certain information of Notice be given Your Excellency and the Council of Manitoba Notifying Your Excellency and all whom it may concern

That We the above named Indians in Council as of above date did decide and appoint this certain Section of Land with its boundaries as shall be set forth and shown on a plan of the same for Your Excellency to see and to be a continual Reserve according to the Reserves of Ontario Department for Indians.

We do desire of Your Excellency and Council to take notice of this our desire in all Peace and Quietness to you warn and that it may please your Excellency as Acting for the Dominion of Canada to take cognizance of this our notice to the prevention by your Excellency's Notice of all infringements on our Reserve Rights of Fishing Hunting cutting of timber and taking up Claims on this our Reserve by the Hudson's Bay Company on any other Individuals' so Trespassing

And that We the above named Indians as in Council to agree to Sell by Treaty when the appointed time for such Sale shall arrive all such Lands as may be desired by Your Excellency and Council sane this our Reserve as within notified of for which we now adders your excellency and Council to take notice of on our behalf.

And your Humble Servants will ever pay and thank Your Excellency the Governor and Council.



1871 reserve request map

List of Indians Names that Claim the within named Reserve and living on said Reserve.

1) Robert Sanderson 2) LaKiome 3) Francis Frost 4) Wakemawaskiarth 5) John Robert Anderson 6) Annaskiat 7) Nsout 8) Thomas Surchial 9) Sakousat 10) James Anderson11) Masuckoiuniakonias 12) Francis Stork 13) Joseph Deafy 14) Joseph Denicha 15) Pesakanapo 16) John Thompson 17) Tatapakesick 18) Charles Anderson 19) George Anderson 20) Kanetanesa 21) Samuel Geay 22) William Anderson 23) Peter Pruden 24) John Pruden 25) William Pruden 26) Wapanakut 27) Wakakesick 28) Kakewasa29) Poosatak 30) William Deafy 31) David Marsden 32) William Summer 33) William Stagg 34) David Anderson 35) Henry Stagg 36) Joseph La tundra 37) James La tundra 38) William Sebaston Sr. 39) William Sebaston Jr. 40) George Sebaston 41) William Anderson 42) David Cummings 43) Henry Summer 44) Josiah Summer 45) Samuel Summer 46) Moses Thour 47) Benjamin Thour 48) James Summer 49) Wanasair 50) Sedepas 51) Wapamasnang 52) Kakewas 53) Toches 54) Sakechekapoo 55) Kakpenas 56) James Harrison 57) Richard Woodhouse 58) Harley George Woodhouse59) Nicholas Vern 60) Joseph Summer 61) Alexander Charles Ryle 62) Duncan Fravels63) Daniel Iron 64) Nawechewas 65) Petapannapee 66) George Anderson 67) Mistookinai 68) Nekuttoome 69) Kastak 70) Noontakoas . . . and others names are not???

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