ANISHNABE HOMELAND HISTORY:
TRADITIONAL LAND AND RESOURCE USE
OF
RIDING MOUNTAIN, MANITOBA

BY:

MARILYN K. PECKETT

A Practicum
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The Anishnabe of the Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations have historically held a long-standing relationship with their territorial land base, a majority of which is now within Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba. Traditional land use in the national park has been restricted for almost seventy years and, over time, these communities feel that their knowledge, perspectives, and relationship to the land have been "overlooked" and "forgotten" by Parks Canada. Significant issues of concern for these First Nations include the facts that First Nations were not consulted during the process of establishing this national park; First Nation participation has not been integrated in the development of management and stewardship policies; and First Nations history is not presented at the Park's interpretive centre.

Parks Canada made a commitment to a Task Force convened jointly by the Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations in 1990-92 to improve and extend the current application and presentation of Aboriginal history and traditional knowledge at the parks and sites under its management. Motivated by this commitment, Riding Mountain National Park administration and the two First Nations expressed an interest in developing a new relationship and effecting partnership activities for the future. As a first means to communicate the historic relationship of the Anishnabe to the area, research was undertaken to compile the oral history related to the traditional land and resource use of Riding Mountain. Data were gathered for the "Pre-Settlement", "Pre-Riding Mountain National Park", and "Post-Riding Mountain National Park" time periods during videotaped interviews. Map biographies were compiled on 1:50,000 mylar-overlain base maps and were generated from the oral histories shared by the First Nation community Elders. A set of four computer generated maps illustrate the traditional land and resource use before and after Riding Mountain National Park was established; ecological and cultural knowledge; and toponyms (place names).

The maps summarize the knowledge and historic relationship of Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations to the Riding Mountain National Park land base. The maps are an excellent communicative tool that can assist a broad audience to understand the dynamics and implications of establishing a national park within an existing social and economic landscape. The maps also provide a new source of baseline information about the area, and will be used as an educational tool in the communities' schools. Recommendations have been developed from the results of this research to enhance the relationship between First Nations and Park administration; to reestablish First Nations' sense of place and dignity within the national park; to negotiate changes in policy; and to identify meaningful partnership activities that enhance future community well-being. This research will help prevent further attrition of the communities' knowledge base associated with the traditional use of Riding Mountain, and help to recapture the sense of pride and place in the Anishnabe homeland history of *Wagiiwing*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The rich history contained in this report is a direct result of the concerted efforts and support of a number of key persons and agencies whose contributions are respectfully recognized. The support of Chief Morris Shannacappo and past-Chief Dennis White Bird (Rolling River First Nation), and Chief Murray Clearsky (Waywayseecappo First Nation) provided the mandate for this research. Their continued support has helped ensure the success and completion of this important work. The oral histories provided by Elders are the most important components of this research. From their stories, the researching partners were able to share in the experiences and learn from the knowledge gathered during years of traditional use of their *Wagiiwing* homeland. The Elders' openness, patience, and knowledge offered to the researcher were gratefully appreciated. The oral histories were expertly illustrated in GIS by Ms. Wendy Creed. Thank you all for helping me to present the *Anishnabe Homeland History*.

The researcher respectfully acknowledges the work on my behalf undertaken by my academic committee. Dr. Fikret Berkes (Natural Resources Institute), provided leadership, encouragement, graduate student opportunities, and his years of international experience to enrich both this research and my learning experience. Dr. Rick Riewe (Department of Zoology) shared years of teaching, opportunities for practical learning on the land, and a long-standing friendship to both the student and person that I have become. Dr. Helen Fast (Department of Fisheries and Oceans) has been a respected role model, as a woman dedicated to excellence and thoroughness of the student research process and product. Mr. Greg Fenton (Parks Canada) has been dedicated in his support of this research and of the First Nation communities. His sensitivity and commitment should prove invaluable as the research partners move together into the future. I am indebted to my academic committee for their collective inputs to the written practicum. Any remaining deficiencies are completely my responsibility.

The research was financed through a number of funding contributions. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Resource Access Negotiations Funding Program) was the main funding source. West Region Economic Development Corporation, on behalf of the First Nation communities, accessed and administered these funds. Riding Mountain National Park (Parks Canada) provided the initial funding support for the research. My academic advisor, Dr. Fikret Berkes, provided funding from his SSHRC research grant. I also received Manitoba Hydro's 1996 Natural Resources Institute Entrance and Duff Roblin 1997 Graduate Fellowships. The research could not have been completed without such generous support.

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My family must be commended for enduring eight years of my schooling. It will take at least this long to compensate for choosing to sit in front of the computer, or with my textbooks, instead of beside you. Thank you for the freedom and support to start a new and better life. Thanks must be extended to one special friend, Sheila Hinds, who believed in me and encouraged me to take that first step and apply to university. Thanks must also be offered to one who did not believe in me, as this instilled a stubborn sense of commitment to complete my degrees to the best of my abilities. For guidance along my winding path, my utmost respect to Elder Alfred Redsky. To the many friends and instructors that I have shared my years with at university, you have contributed to making the learning experience one of the richest and most fulfilling times of my life.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In 1895 and 1906, almost 420,000 ha (4,200 km^2) of land within the Riding Mountain district received the designations of Riding Mountain Timber Reserve and Riding Mountain Forest Reserve, respectively. At that time, these lands were withdrawn from *Dominion Lands Act* jurisdiction and placed under the *Dominion Forest Reserves Act.* Over the intervening years, the area of the Forest Reserve had been reduced to about 309,000 ha (3,090 km^2). In 1929, these lands were reserved for a national park by an Order in Council and were entrenched as a national park by a Privy Council Order that added these lands to the *Dominion Forest Reserve and Parks Act* on 30 May, 1930 (Doré, pers. comm). On July 26, 1933, the new Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) was officially opened and today remains a national protected heritage area (FNC 1981, RMNP 1996) (Figure 1.1).

Riding Mountain region has been occupied as a traditional land use area by different Aboriginal societies over time. The Ojibwa[1] migrated into this area circa 1830 (FNC 1981). In the present, four First Nation communities are located adjacent to or within RMNP on Indian Reserve (IR) lands: Keeseekoowenin (IR 61, 61a, and 61b); Waywayseecappo (IR 62, and 62a); Tootinaowaziibeeng (IR 63, and 63a); and Rolling River (IR 67) (Figure 1.2).

[1] The locally preferred spelling of Ojibwa (versus Ojibway) is used in this report.

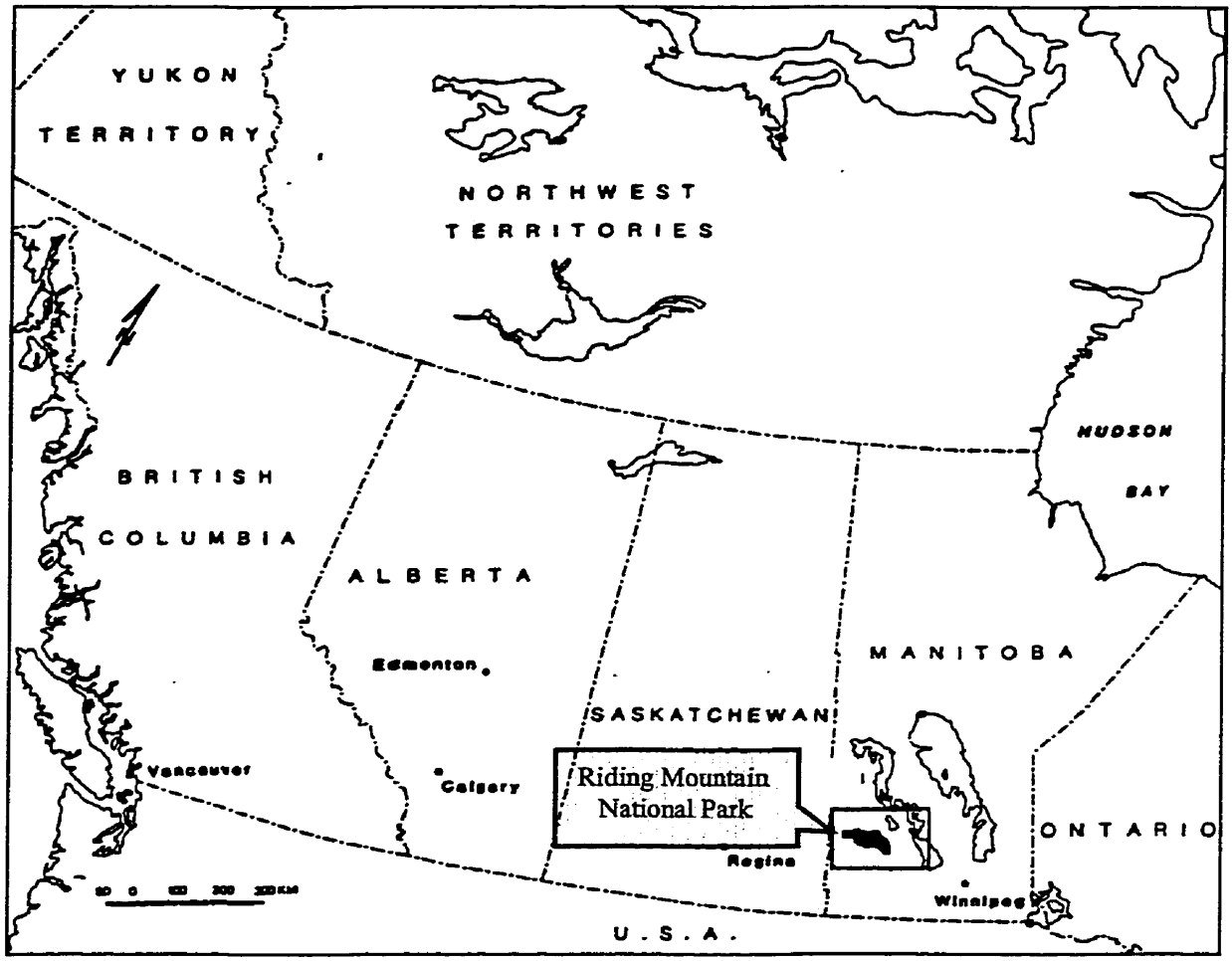


Figure 1.1: Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba, Canada
Source: Adapted from Parks Canada 1987.

Traditional land use of the area within RMNP was documented extensively by Keeseekoowenin First Nation to support its Specific Claim for lost IR land[2]. The land claim process resulted in the successful reclamation of IR 61a lands (located on the northwest shore of Clear Lake) that had been mistakenly included in the schedule appended

[2] The Specific Claim was validated when the First Nation established a grievance that Canada had a lawful obligation, yet conducted an illegal surrender of Indian Reserve land (INAC 1998).

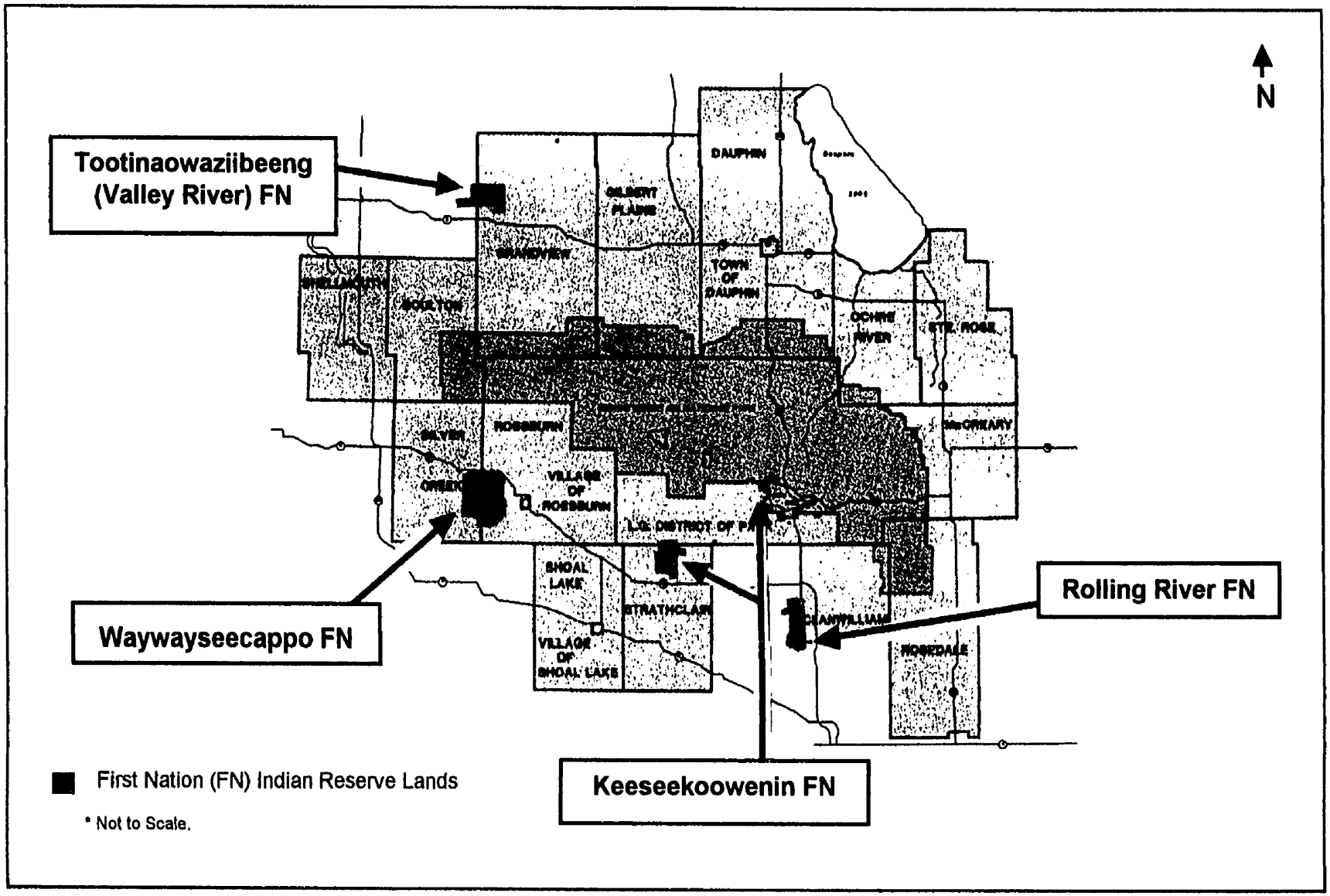


Figure 1.2: Riding Mountain National Park and Adjacent First Nation Communities

to the statute that described the Riding Mountain Forest Reserve, and subsequently the RMNP land base. Through this process, evidence was provided that the lands in and around RMNP had been used over time for hunting, trapping, fishing, and cultural purposes such as burial grounds (FNC 1981). Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations indicated similar historic land uses, both before and continuing after, the protected area designation was instituted at RMNP.

1.2 Issue Statement

RMNP has been managed for approximately seventy years in a way that has precluded resource use and policy influence by the Riding Mountain Anishnabe[3]. Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations feel that there is a lack of recognition for their long-standing intimate relationship with Riding Mountain and a lack of opportunities to make meaningful contributions of their knowledge, perspectives, and human resources to on-going management and planning activities within RMNP. There is a need to develop more harmonious and dynamic partnerships between adjacent First Nation communities and RMNP. Meaningful partnerships should incorporate First Nation rights and responsibilities, as well as enhance opportunities, capacities, interests, and Aboriginal presence as the partnerships evolve over time.

1.3 Research Goals and Objectives

The goals of this research were to preserve the existing historic knowledge of Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nation Elders related to their Riding Mountain

[3] The locally preferred spelling of Anishnabe (versus Anishinabe or Anishinaabe) is used in this report.

homeland, and to use this information as the basis to facilitate the development of meaningful partnerships related to on-going management and planning activities between adjacent First Nation communities and RMNP.

The goals were achieved through the application of the following specific objectives:

1. To compile land use maps and produce GIS thematic maps containing traditional land use areas, activities and resources utilized within the RMNP area, based on oral history interviews with self-selected Elders from the Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations;
2. To establish the significance of the mapped information to Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nation communities and determine the RMNP issues of interest in order to identify partnership opportunities;
3. To develop recommendations with the First Nation communities to integrate traditional cultural and ecological knowledge into protection and management activities, and effect meaningful partnership activities related to natural and cultural resource stewardship between adjacent First Nation communities and RMNP.

The results of this research recommend practical and innovative ways of expanding on the commitment to create new partnerships between Aboriginal peoples and Parks Canada within the existing regulatory framework.

1.4 Benefits of a Research Partnership

The partners of this research, Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations and Parks Canada (Riding Mountain National Park), find separate and mutual benefit in documenting the Anishnabe Homeland History as told by the Elders of the participating communities.

The research enables Parks Canada (RMNP) to be responsive to a mandate that requires an ecosystem-based approach to conservation management (Parks Canada 1994). In 1994, RMNP developed an Ecosystem Conservation Plan. "Key components in this plan include an ecosystem-based approach to park administration and involvement from the public, local stakeholders, and the scientific community in plan development and implementation" (RMNP 1996b:1). Within this plan, the ecosystem-based management approach includes a greater emphasis on co-management and partnerships (RMNP 1996b). This research provided an opportunity for the partners to initiate involvement and partnership activities at RMNP.

In addition to enhancing involvement and creating new partnerships, the RMNP and First Nation partners were interested in developing more harmonious relationships. An important part of forming new relationships will be to build a common base of understanding. This research facilitates understanding by providing historic information about the neighbouring Anishnabe people and their long-standing relationship to their traditional land use area, much of which has been incorporated into RMNP.

The products of this research, compiled from the First Nation Elders' knowledge, can be used as an educational tool by the partners. The members of the two First Nation communities, and particularly their youth, are afforded a chance to more fully understand the value, significance, and cultural importance of the Riding Mountain land base as seen through the eyes of their Elders. RMNP staff can learn of the human vitality that once pulsed through this area, where use of the lands was governed by Aboriginal rules of respect and stewardship that came before laws, regulation, policy, and enforcement. Through oral histories and mapped information of the historic land and resource use, RMNP and other natural resource managers can gain insight into the traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) that was once an integral part of managing this area.

As a final rationale for conducting this research, Parks Canada made a commitment to the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples convened jointly in 1990-92 by the Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations:

> "Historical presentations of Canada's special places are incomplete unless they explain any past experience and present roles of aboriginal peoples at that place. All Canadians will benefit from a more complete, honest and sensitive presentation of First Peoples' history at appropriate sites. First Peoples possess information that is essential to any effort to explain their history and culture. Co-operation in the collection and presentation of that knowledge will only be earned by persons and agencies that are willing and able to learn from First Peoples how their traditional knowledge and associated objects are to be treated. The Canadian Parks Service will consider its stewardship of Canada's special places incomplete if it fails to pursue this essential element of co-operation with First Peoples. (30 April 1991)". (Buggey 1995:iii)

Within this commitment, a clear desire was expressed to improve and extend the current application and presentation of Aboriginal history and traditional knowledge at the national parks and sites managed by Parks Canada.

Following this commitment, an extensive review of the existing treatment of Aboriginal history across Canada was conducted between 1991-94 by the Historical Research Branch, Parks Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage (Parks Canada 1995). The findings of this review identified "various shortcomings in the way Aboriginal history is presented or overlooked" (Buggey 1995:iv).

One of the challenges to be addressed at RMNP is to incorporate more and better Aboriginal history, knowledge and perspectives within its park and associated sites. This research addressed that challenge by providing information about the Anishnabe relationship to their traditional lands in order to more effectively integrate and promote the cultural history and diversity of RMNP. Finally, as a means to reestablish their sense of place and identity, this research has provided recognition to the Riding Mountain Anishnabe by indelibly embedding their historic presence onto the RMNP landscape.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

This chapter provides a description of the methods used to preserve the existing historic knowledge of Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nation Elders related to their Riding Mountain homeland, and develop recommendations related to partnership activities between adjacent First Nation communities and RMNP.

The objectives of the research were fulfilled in a three phase approach. Phase One was directed at data acquisition and consisted of videotaped interviews with community Elders and map biography compilation. Phase Two addressed data processing and analysis. This phase included database compilation, Geographic Information System (GIS) map production, and data verification. Phase Three established the significance of the gathered information and interests of the research parties. The information gathered in this phase was used to develop meaningful recommendations that could be implemented within the existing regulatory framework of RMNP.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the history and applications of land use research to establish the relevance of recording land use information and the broad methodology. The scope of the study area and the specific methods used in each of the three phases of the research follows this introduction. Historic facts about the land base and resource characteristics, along with historic documentation about "Indian" activities and interactions were gathered through a literature review. The facts and documentation supplement the interview-generated research data and are integrated into the research results. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of cross-cultural research protocol.

2.1 Aboriginal Land Use Research

In its most restrictive form, a land use study is a tool used to document Aboriginal occupancy and use of land within an associated traditional territory. Inquiry can be directed to determine the geographic distribution, levels of participation, productivity, contribution to the domestic economy of subsistence harvesting and activities associated with occupancy and use. While land use studies were originally used primarily for two purposes, Aboriginal land claims and impact assessments (Berkes *et al.* 1995), these also have practical applications for self-governance, resource planning and allocations, economic development initiatives, regional planning, intra-cultural learning and cross-cultural communication.

The focus of any particular land use study may differ from the next depending on the context of how the results will be applied. For example, when used to support a comprehensive land claim (related to unextinguished Aboriginal ownership of land), documenting the geographic range of occupancy provides the legal proof or evidence for such a claim (Freeman 1976). The *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* is a relevant example of such an application (Freeman 1976).

The early work of Freeman to compile land use information for the Inuit in the Northwest Territories was catalyzed by the federal government's willingness to settle Aboriginal land claims after the 1973 Supreme Court of Canada decision in the *Calder*[4] case

[4] Calder. 1973. *Calder* v. *Attorney-General of British Columbia.* In:Supreme Court of Canada Reports [1973] S.C.R. Queen's Printer for Canada, Ottawa, ON. Pp. 313-427.

(Freeman 1976). The research process developed by Freeman has served as the foundation for and model of the working methodology and rationale for many of the land use studies that have followed. Modifications of the methodology have been made as appropriate to meet specific geographic and objective needs.

Modifications were introduced in land use research done by Riewe (1992). This research is another significant example of land use research. The compiled land use maps were ultimately published in the *Nunavut Atlas* (Riewe 1992). The atlas was used by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut to assist the Inuit with the identification of their lands as the basis for their comprehensive land claim, and for their future land use planning activities. Modifications were made to the methodology by using larger scale maps than those used by Freeman. Greater detail could be incorporated on the larger scale maps. Further modifications were required to elicit information regarding the intensity of land use, critical wildlife areas and competing land uses within the Nunavut territory (Riewe 1992).

Current applications for land use studies can be found in British Columbia (B.C.) where no Treaties had been made on the mainland, west of the Rocky Mountains. Treaty negotiations are now ongoing with many of B.C.'s First Nations to define their Aboriginal rights to lands and resources. To begin the six-stage negotiations process, a statement of intent must be submitted to the B.C. Treaty Commission. "This statement must be accompanied by a map of the First Nation's traditional territory. This map depicts the territory a First Nation occupied historically. It is used to provide negotiators

with a general idea of the area of land in question" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, undated).

To shift the focus from land claims, other issues where land use studies have practical value include regional planning, renewable (and non-renewable) resource planning and allocations, economic development initiatives, and community needs. Land use studies that focus on quantifying harvest activities and discerning the magnitude of land use by those dependent on a certain land and resource base are valuable in assessing or predicting the impacts of developments. Results obtained from land use studies can be used by First Nations to establish compensation amounts (for the loss of lands, benefits and rights) and to develop mitigation measures (for proposed developments to reduce potential environmental, economic, and social impacts) (Chemawawin First Nation 1986, Berkes *et al.* 1994, Berkes *et al.* 1995, George *et al.* 1995, Stock 1996).

Land use studies can be used to provide a comparative understanding of change (environmental, economic, and social) brought on by forestry, mining, energy and tourism developments as experienced in Aboriginal communities (Weinstein 1976, Berger 1977, Hrenchuk 1991, Hill 1992). Additionally, Aboriginal communities and resource managers can gain a better understanding and appreciation of the value that subsistence harvest contributes to the 'hidden" (domestic) economy (Wolfe and Walker 1987). An example of such evidence was presented in conclusions of the Wildlife Harvests in the Mushkegowuk Region (Berkes *et al.* 1994) study:

> "At the time Cummins started his work in Attawapiskat, he was told that hardly anyone lived off the land anymore. Yet, his studies showed that bush life was active, and that hunters obtained even more food from the land than they did in historical times ... These findings indicate that the traditional economy is still the cornerstone of the regional economy" (p. 67).

Finally, land use studies can be a valuable tool for education, in both cross-cultural and local settings (Brody 1987, Hallowell 1992, and Berkes *et al.* 1994). Land use maps express many aspects of Aboriginal culture and traditional ecological knowledge. For example, so-called 'wilderness areas' have been shown by Usher, another pioneer in the field of Aboriginal land-use and occupancy studies, to have been occupied by Indigenous people for hundreds, even thousands of years. Sites of burials and habitation; toponyms (place names) for trails, portages, and landscape features; the associated stories and legends: all serve to highlight the cultural significance of traditional land use areas (Usher 1987, 1991, 1992).

Within the milieu of traditional land use and occupancy, there is evidence of a subsistence environment permeated by a cultural interpretation of use. Land use maps provide the non-native with the opportunity to gain insight into culturally influenced uses of land and the application of traditional ecological knowledge. However, the significance of such use and knowledge, the most critical aspect to understanding, can only be interpreted and shared by the Aboriginal themselves. Aside from cross-cultural communication, materials such as land use maps can be used at the local level by the Aboriginal "as a means of strengthening land use and harvesting traditions" (Berkes *et al.*

1994:1). Such are the lessons sought by the Cree to be incorporated into their education system for the Mushkegowuk region.

Whether used as a means to substantiate comprehensive, specific or treaty entitlement land claims; to assess or predict the impacts of developments; to place the value of the current or historic subsistence land and resource uses within a meaningful context; or to educate across or within the generations and cultures, land use studies have a practical value.

The land use studies reviewed in this section have been heavily weighted in terms of the northern experience. In most cases, those land use studies which lead to protection of Aboriginal rights for continued subsistence harvest and devolved decision-making authority within parks and protected areas have been, or are, catalyzed by the land claims process (WWF 1993). Similarly, during establishment of Wapusk National Park, land claims processes[5] with a number of First Nation communities enshrined the legal right to select lands within the new protected area. Agreement was obtained from the First Nations to establish the protected area and treaty rights to continued traditional use of Wapusk National Park were not extinguished. The directly affected First Nations, along with other interest groups, participate on an Advisory Board to guide use and management of the area.

[5] These included outstanding Treaty Land Entitlements, land entitlement provisions under the Northern Flood Agreement (1977), and a claim by the Fox Lake First Nation for compensation related to hydroelectric development impacts (Hill 1992).

While land claims, or their settlement, most frequently provide the leverage for continued use and participation in management of protected areas, more and better research is required in the area that promotes government-to-government co-management partnering based on mutual need, rather than legal requirement. This research attempted to target that gap, to seek ways to create mutual and complementary benefits in the areas of ecosystem-based management and community participation.

2.2 Research Scope

The current boundary of RMNP provided on National Topographic Series (1:50,000) map sheets was used to delimit the geographic extent of land use data collection. Research inquiry was limited to two of the four First Nations adjacent to RMNP: Rolling River and Waywayseecappo. Keeseekoowenin First Nation had already undertaken land use research to support their recent land claim and was therefore not included. Funding and logistical constraints precluded the possibility to expand the research effort to include Tootinaowaziibeeng First Nation on the northwest side of RMNP.

The physical locations of the two participating First Nation communities (each being at opposite ends of the southern side of RMNP) and the contrasting size of their populations[6] provided the opportunity to contrast land use patterns and orientations between the two communities.

2.3 Methodology

The methodology has been organized and presented in the three phased approach used to complete the research. Phase One included the data acquisition process. Phase Two addressed data processing, confidentiality, and verification activities. Phase Three was directed to establish the significance of the traditional land and resource uses to the First Nations, and identifying partnership interests with the First Nations and RMNP staff.

2.3.1 Phase One: Data Acquisition

Data on traditional land and resources use were collected from the oral histories and histories within living memory of Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nation participant Elders. Oral histories were recorded on videotapes and map histories were recorded in individual map biographies. The methodology for data acquisition followed that developed by Freeman (1976) and included modifications to achieve the objectives of this research. Following the lead of Ferguson and Messier (1997), based on Woodman (1991), the researcher assumed that the traditional knowledge, gathered from the Elders as primary data, was factual.[7]

2.3.1.1 The Interviews

➢ Participants

Primary data was collected from male and female Rolling River and Waywayseecappo

[6] Rolling River First Nation: 219 on-reserve, 468 off-reserve, 687 total members. Waywayseecappo First Nation: 1197 on-reserve, 520 off-reserve, 1,717 total members. (DIAND 1997).

[7] A necessary part of the scientific method of research requires the researcher to state the assumptions under which the research is approached, to establish its validity under those conditions. Such a statement is not meant to disrespect or raise doubts as to the veracity or truthfulness of Elders' statements.

First Nation Elders and other non-native informants who held primary knowledge germane to the research. Elders were chosen as the primary respondents to share their knowledge since they have respected positions within their communities and are recognized as valued historians. Elders' participation can help to preserve knowledge for future community benefit and cultural well-being (Ferguson and Messier 1997).

The list of Elders to be interviewed was compiled with the assistance of the respective communities' Chiefs and Councils, Elders, and Land Managers (Appendix C). Non-native informants were identified by First Nations, RMNP staff, and opportunistically by the researcher. There were a limited number of Elders available to participate in the research since the research is historic in nature. Only a few remaining Elders held direct knowledge about the oral histories and traditional uses from the timeframe of concern for this research. Those knowledgeable individuals who were not interviewed personally had the opportunity to share their knowledge during community workshops. This research effort has proven timely. By the time of printing, two of the participating Elders have since passed away.

Informed consents were obtained from interview participants. A methodology that observed Anishnabe traditional protocol was used to obtain consent from the Elders. Elders were visited twice by the primary researcher and the community Land Managers before the actual interview took place. On the first visit, the Elder was introduced to the community research initiative, passed tobacco, and asked to consider participating in the

research. On the second visit, if the Elder agreed to participate, an interview date was scheduled.

➢ Interviewers

Interviews were conducted by the primary researcher, in partnership with the Land Managers of the two First Nations. The partnership approach provided a number of benefits for the community and the research product. Working in partnership enhanced the transfer of skills in conducting land use research from the primary researcher to the Land Managers. This approach also enhanced the transfer of traditional knowledge about the Anishnabe homeland history from the Elders to the Land Managers, a benefit that will increase with time as the direct involvement of the primary researcher diminishes.

The Land Managers were able to provide language and contextual interpretation within the data collection process and permitted the use of the Elders' language of preference. Using the language of preference is particularly important where the informant (Elder) may have little or no map literacy. Using the language of preference will permit more precise descriptions of activities or patterns of use. If the informant requires assistance in drawing out map areas, the interpreter can be more closely instructed.

Hill (1993), a Cree researcher who conducted land use studies in his language, was able to record land use information that was useful, though not necessarily precisely located on a map. In these instances, informants were asked to provide "their perceptions, describe cultural activities or patterns of movement by naming structures, routes, rivers and lakes" (p. 23). Greater accuracy in transcribing the information can be achieved with

the assistance of a liaison person or translator who is fluent in their language and familiar with the local culture and dialect.

Even though the majority of the interviews were conducted in the English language, the Land Managers were highly instrumental to the interview process. The Land Managers were able to reduce errors in communication, increase the specificity of the recorded information, and supply additional culturally appropriate explanations or questions to clarify meanings and intent between the primary researcher and the Elders.

➢ The Interview: Recording Traditional Knowledge

Most interviews were videotaped since taping ensures that the many details provided in the interview are available for analysis (Ferguson and Messier 1997). Videotaping also ensures that traditional knowledge can be preserved intact and for use in other venues, such as education. Following completion of data analysis, the set of videotapes was sorted by community and were returned as property of the respective First Nations.

Elders were able to use their language of choice during the interviews. In some instances where an Elder felt that (s)he had limited information to offer but still wished to participate, an unstructured oral interview was conducted and handwritten notes were taken. Videotaped interviews were conducted at the Elders' preferred location, either at their home or at the Band Office.

An open-ended question interview approach has been found to be the most culturally-appropriate and optimum way to record oral traditional knowledge (Freeman 1976,

Riewe 1991, Hill 1992, Stock 1996, Ferguson and Messier 1997). Using this approach, interviews can be more informal, procedures less rigid, and time more flexible. An open-ended format allows for maximum freedom of responses (Haring *et al.* 1992). As a result, the type of information collected will be less limited and pre-determined. Within this research, interviews to document Elders' oral histories were semi-structured to assist participant recall through specific time periods and activities.

The interview instrument used as a guide during the semi-structured interviews was developed by the primary researcher with community assistance. The areas of inquiry were organized into three time periods, or blocks of "social time". Blocks of "social time" (Freeman 1976, 2:49) that parallel chronological time situate land uses temporally by providing reference points within socially significant time periods. In this research, the use of social time blocks was found to improve informant recall. Additionally, the use of social time blocks to structure the interview and organize data facilitated temporal comparisons. Comparisons between the time periods revealed how the intensity of land and resource use changed over time, as well the social impacts that resulted from diminished use and access.

The social time blocks used in this research were: "Pre-Settlement", "Before RMNP", and "After RMNP". The "Pre-Settlement" period focussed on the time prior to settler arrival and the treaties, i.e. before the 1870s. Information collected from this time period was transmitted through oral histories. The time period "Before RMNP" included the time after treaties were signed to when RMNP was established, i.e. after about 1870 to

1930. The time period "After RMNP" extended from 1930 until the time when the informant ceased being traditionally active in RMNP. No current traditional uses were solicited or recorded. Information from the last two time periods included both oral histories and histories from living memory.

During an interview, the interview instrument (Appendix B) was used to guide data collection. Questions related to the spatial use of land, types of resource harvested, as well as cultural and ecological knowledge were mapped. Elders were also queried about other topics, including contextual information related to land use activities, change over time, the use of fire, teachings related to environmental stewardship, and cessation of use.

Toponyms (place names) were originally to be collected either during or at the conclusion of an individual interview. This approach to gathering historic place names was found not to be effective: the duration of an interview would often exceed physical or mental endurance and a lack of recall lowered the personal comfort level of participants. For these reasons and to approach this task in a more culturally appropriate manner, toponyms were gathered in a group setting at the conclusion of a community meeting.

2.3.1.2 Compiling Land Use Maps

The mapping technique employed in this research follows the basic methodology of Freeman (1976). The land use data generated during the interviews were recorded, directly by the participant or with assistance, onto clear mylar sheets. National

Topographic Series (NTS) 1:50,000 map sheets were placed under the mylar overlays and used as base maps.

Map management was aided by the use of labels. A label containing the following information was affixed to each mylar overlay: the NTS map sheet number, the time period, the map code (map set and map sheet numbers), the interview date, the participant's name, the participant's community, and the four sets of NTS map sheet coordinates to indicate the position of the "bomb sites" (crosses at the four corners of the overlay) on the base map.

Separate sets of mylar overlays were generated for each time block of inquiry and each map within the set was numbered. Due to the low number of occurrences, Pre-Settlement data was often labeled and included on the Pre-RMNP mylar overlays. Activities and resources used were individually colour-coded. Each colour represented a specific land or resource use and was defined in an appropriate manner by area, line, or point. Cultural and ecological knowledge was labeled on the mylar in black where the location of the site, feature, or attribute was known.

2.3.2 Phase Two: Data Processing, Confidentiality, and Verification

2.3.2.1 Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Map Processing

Four steps are recognized in cartography to sequence the production and analysis of maps:

1. Collecting and selecting the data for mapping;
2. Manipulating and generalizing the data, designing and constructing the map;
3. Reading or viewing the map; and
4. Responding to or interpreting the data (Robinson *et al.* 1984:17).

GIS use a series of thematic layers for mapping and analysis. The hand mapped information collected on mylar overlays served as the inventory of data for GIS map production. The inventory was archived into a database produced in Microsoft Access 1997 software.

After each map set and mylar sheet were recorded in the database, each element of colour coded and labeled data from the individual mylar overlays was consecutively numbered and entered as either area, line, or point data. Each entry was given a unique identifier and the descriptive attributes of each element were recorded in eight additional fields. Element descriptions were provided in the attribute fields, such as the purpose of the element, what activity the element described, and specific descriptors of the element. Attributes, such as the cultural sensitivity of the element, reliability of the information, and the accuracy of the location were provided where relevant.

Each entry was digitized from the mylar overlay to orient its spatial location and configuration using SPANS GIS (ver. 7.0) software. SPANS Explorer was used to import and link database attribute data directly to its mapped element located on the base map. The base map was produced from the RMNP GIS and consisted of the RMNP boundary, water, road and historic trail layers.

Individual layers were created for the components of the inventory and the layers were imported into ArcView / ArcInfo to produce a set of four maps. Two maps, Pre-RMNP and Post-RMNP, were compiled from the renewable resource harvest data sets. These maps illustrate the spatial extent of each type of renewable resource harvest that occurred

during the two time periods. A third map, Cultural and Ecological Knowledge, was compiled from data set layers related to these components of the inventory. This map does not distinguish between the Pre-RMNP and Post-RMNP time periods. A fourth map, RMNP Toponyms, illustrates the Anishnabe place names associated with RMNP.

2.3.2.2 Confidentiality

Measures were implemented in the research process to maintain confidentiality related to information considered sensitive by the participating First Nations. One measure was controlled by the Elders during the interview process since it is assumed that some of the sensitive information was not provided.

A second measure to maintain confidentiality was controlled by the primary researcher. The primary researcher recognized that sharing of culturally sensitive information must remain in control of the First Nations and be shared at their discretion. For this reason two versions of the inventory database were produced: one complete version was supplied to the First Nations, and an edited version appears in this research (Appendix E). The edited version does not include the specific information provided during interviews about individual culturally significant sites. A sensitivity ranking for cultural sites has been assigned as a useful surrogate, in *lieu* of specifically disclosed information, to provide direction on appropriate procedures for site management. In this case, sites ranked by the First Nations as having a high cultural sensitivity can be approached and managed in a different manner than sites of lower cultural significance.

The final measure of control was retained by the First Nations. All information that appears in this research has been approved for inclusion by the First Nation Chiefs.

2.3.2.3 Data Verification

Freeman (1976) states that a verification process of the information contained in aggregated data is necessary since not all community members were to be interviewed. A community meeting open to all members of the two communities was held with each First Nation to verify the data contained in the draft versions of the maps. During the meetings, maps were revised and additional information was provided by Elders who had not been personally interviewed. An Elder from Keeseekoowenin First Nation was also present at the community meeting with Rolling River First Nation.

While it was anticipated that certain sites would be verified in the field, this aspect of the research was not undertaken due to logistical constraints related to the remote nature of the landscape and the age of the Elders. RMNP has agreed to provide support to field verification and the First Nations desire that plans be developed to complete this aspect.

2.3.3 Phase Three: Establishing Significance and Interests

This phase of the research was completed with the First Nations in community meetings after data verification had taken place and at a separate meeting with RMNP staff. An unstructured group interview process was used in the community meetings. Participants were asked to identify the significance of the traditional land use activities and resources, as well as the land base and access and how these aspects contributed to individual, community and cultural wellbeing. After identifying the contributions and in response to

the current situation and their interests, the participants generated specific activities or changes that could be implemented at RMNP to improve the current situation and make partnership activities meaningful. The specific activities and changes are discussed as recommendations in Chapter 7.

A workshop was held to familiarize RMNP staff about the findings of the traditional land and resource use research and generate specific partnership activities and changes that could improve First Nation relations. The workshop was facilitated by the primary researcher. A set of five questions was used to help the primary researcher learn about staff perceptions, needs, and interests as they applied to partnering and improving relations with First Nations (Appendix D). An assessment of the influences that adversely affected or prevented Aboriginal involvement and working relationships was made and solutions were generated to address the negative factors. The activities and changes suggested by RMNP have been integrated into the recommendations.

2.4 Protocol

The success of cross cultural research depends to a large degree upon following the proper protocols (Kakwirakeron and Good 1996, Castleden, pers. comm., Greene, pers. comm., Johnson, pers. comm.) and ethical guidelines (RCAP 1993) when interacting and researching with the Aboriginal communities, Elders and individuals. The comments of Kakwirakeron and Good (1996) are instructive in this regard:

> "... (P)rotocols exist within First Nations and ... an honest effort must be made to observe them. ... Understanding and respecting Native ways, the protocol that has been developed and in use for thousands of years, is the first step towards

> working together for the environment. ... Native protocol is not difficult or complicated, it requires only commonsense. Knowing that it exists is the way to get to first base. But, there isn't just "Indian" people in North America, there are many nations. Each has a different language, different environment, and a different culture. Begin with a basic understanding of protocol and then realize that there are protocols unique to the different nations. It is very basic, but if people aren't even aware of it and they try to accomplish things with Native people and they don't succeed, it is probably because they have (failed at) the initial protocol (p.1).

The commitment to the principles of protocol and ethical research practices by the primary researcher was the initial step in the methodology for completing this cross-cultural research. These principles were integrated into the methodology as described in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORIC BACKGROUND

3.1 The Study Area[1]

Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP) is Manitoba's oldest national park. The only other one is the newly-created Wapusk National Park in the Churchill region. RMNP lies 265 kilometres (165 miles) northwest of Winnipeg and 200 kilometres (125 miles) north of the international boundary (Figure 1.1). "It is a crossroads where habitats characteristic of eastern, western, and northern Canada meet and mingle in a diverse pattern of forest and grasslands, hills and valleys" (Ringstrom 1981:1).

The backdrop for the RMNP site is the Manitoba Escarpment. This dominant topographic feature is responsible for an elevation change within the park of about 365 metres (1200 feet) over a distance of six km (3.6 miles). Associated with this abrupt change of elevation are climatic and geographic variations that support diverse and complex communities of flora and fauna, including some rare or endangered species.

Along the base of the escarpment is found the Park's lowest and warmest region. Characterized as a "deciduous tree-dominated plant community" (RMNP 1996a:6), the forest supports a variety of tree species, shrubs, vines, and ferns (Ringstrom 1981). The remnant grasslands more commonly found in the western portions of the Park are "important contributors to the biological diversity of the Park as a whole" (RMNP 1996a:6). For this reason, certain management activities are devoted to the grasslands'

[1] Scientific names for flora and fauna species of the report are included in Appendix F.

protection and enhancement. The environment also includes wet bogs containing black spruce and tamarack trees. Highlands are covered with boreal mixed forest in various stages of succession.

Ernest Thomas Seton compiled an early physiographic diagram that shows the distribution of forest in Manitoba in 1885 (Manitoba Naturalist Society 1980) (Figure 3.1). His portrayal clearly illustrates Manitoba's natural regions and the climatic and vegetative transition zone in which the Riding Mountain region exists. The forested area of Riding Mountain interfaces with the prairie grasslands to the south.

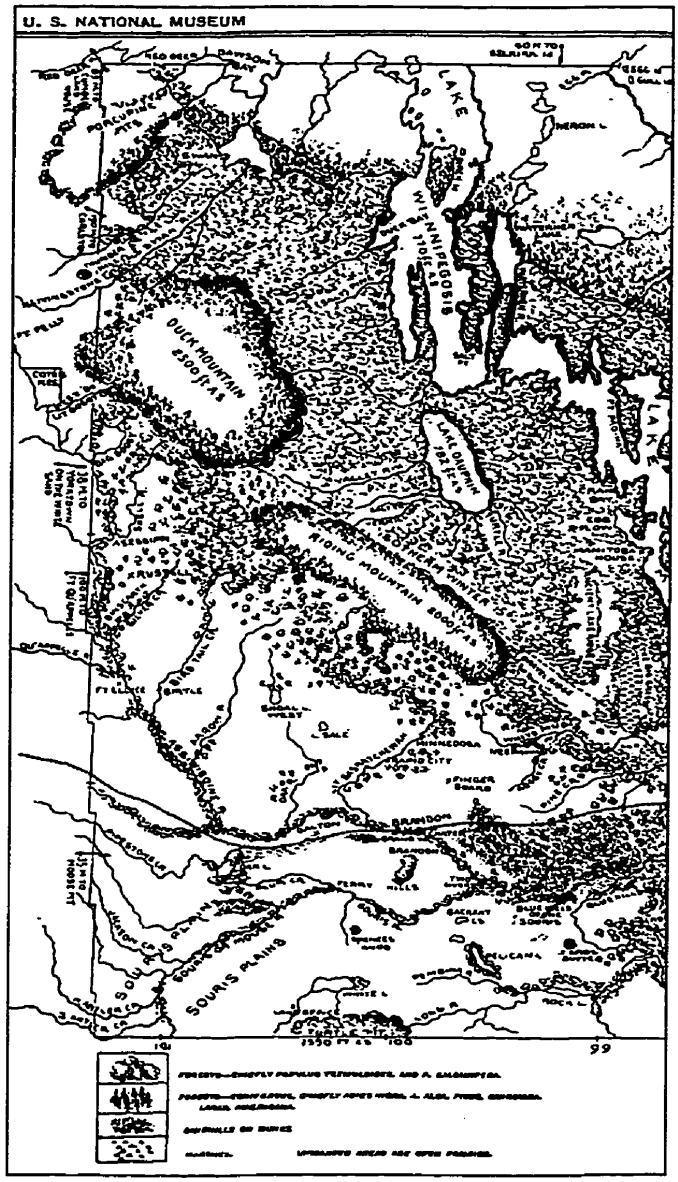
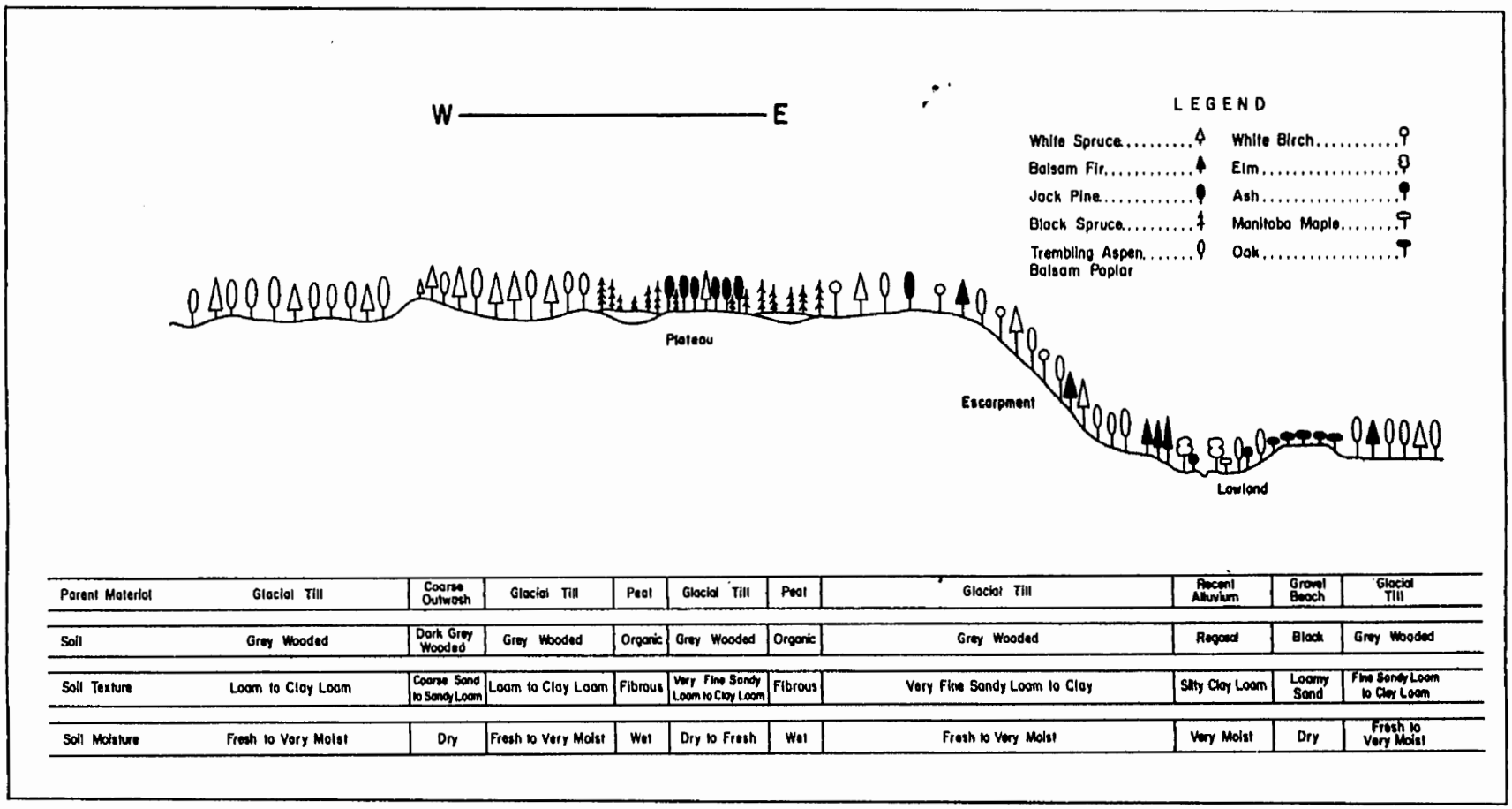


Figure 3.1:
Ernest Thompson Seton's Map: Distribution of Forest, Etc. in 1885.
Source: Manitoba Naturalist Society, 1980.

Differing climatic exposure on north and south-facing slopes yield different expressions of vegetation: white birch and balsam poplar occur on the north and balsam fir and bur oak occur on the south-facing slopes (RMNP 1996a) (Figure 3.2).

Within the years between 1870 and 1901, the lands in the southwestern portion of the province near the railroad became quickly settled and placed ever greater pressures on the lands and natural resources. Colonists settling in the area required lumber for houses, barns, fences and firewood. Residential and commercial tree harvesting operations were rapidly depleting local timber supplies (Tabulenas 1983). By 1895 when the Riding Mountain area came under federal government control as a Timber Reserve, there were already at least two stationary saw mills in the area. Nearly twenty portable saw mills are known to have been operational in the Timber Reserve within the first decade of this century (Ringstrom 1981).

In 1906 the Riding Mountain Timber Reserve was redesignated, becoming a Forest Reserve, although still under federal jurisdiction (Ringstrom 1981; Parks Canada 1984b). "In terms of wildlife ... the designation of the forest reserve did not alter the status of Riding Mountain as an area for hunting and trapping, and the Forestry Service could not interfere with these activities except to report abuses" (Tabulenas 1983:188). Similarly, the Forest Reserve continued to service the timber and wood needs of local populations living out in the plains (Tabulenas 1983).



Parent Material	Glacial Till	Coarse Outwash	Glacial Till	Peat	Glacial Till	Peat	Glacial Till	Recent Alluvium	Gravel Beach	Glacial Till
Soil	Grey Wooded	Dark Grey Wooded	Grey Wooded	Organic	Grey Wooded	Organic	Grey Wooded	Regosol	Black	Grey Wooded
Soil Texture	Loam to Clay Loam	Coarse Sand to Sandy Loam	Loam to Clay Loam	Fibrous	Very Fine Sandy Loam to Clay Loam	Fibrous	Very Fine Sandy Loam to Clay	Silty Clay Loam	Loamy Sand	Fine Sandy Loam to Clay Loam
Soil Moisture	Fresh to Very Moist	Dry	Fresh to Very Moist	Wet	Dry to Fresh	Wet	Fresh to Very Moist	Very Moist	Dry	Fresh to Very Moist

Figure 3.2: Relationship of Tree Species to Physiographic Features of Riding Mountain National Park
Source: Parks Canada. 1984a. *Notes on the Vegetation of Riding Mountain National Park.*(after Bailey)

Grazing and haying practices began in 1909 and initiated an expanded period of extractive resource use that was not phased out until around 1970. Experimental reforestation activities were conducted as early as 1918 in the Forest Reserve. Efforts were intensified over time and, in 1927, fifteen thousand five-year-old spruce were planted at the Lake Audy Nursery. Cedar trees, an endogenous (non-native) species, were translocated to the area by settlers and the Eastern white cedar specimens are still found in the Wasagaming townsite (Vanderschuit, pers. comm.). Birch trees are not well represented in RMNP but are an important species traditionally used by the Anishnabe for canoe- and container-making. Birch trees were logged at the western periphery of RMNP between 1940 and 1960 (Parks Canada 1984a).

In addition to land based modifications of ecosystems, the aquatic ecosystem of Clear Lake was likewise altered. The lake was stocked with pickerel fry in 1921, 1925 and 1927-8. In 1926-7, 125,000 salmon fry were released (Tabulenas 1983). The fish stocking program was expanded with lake trout from British Columbia. In 1936 there were 150,000 and, in 1937, a further 250,000 lake trout eggs were released into Clear Lake (Tabulenas 1983, Bidnosti 1990). The harvesting of timber, reforestation experiments, and agricultural activities that occurred in the RMNP during these decades have "delayed (the) recovery of ecosystem integrity (structure, composition, and processes)" (RMNP 1996a:10) that management is mandated to preserve within the National Parks policy (Parks Canada 1994).

After active political lobbying and overwhelming support from the settled residents, land was formally set aside for a national park on 28 December 1929. One particular meeting that had been held to advance the national park designation was apparently viewed as being particularly successful. Ringstrom (1981) writes that "judging by the wide representative gathering, enthusiastic and purposeful discussion, (and) the leadership of two federal members present, Manitoba had every reason to hope for a favorable reply to the resolution when it went before the next session of Parliament" (p. 90).

Like other national parks already established, emphasis was placed on the recreational and economic benefits to be secured to the local region. As cabins and cottages were built, those first settlers recruited others to visit and build in the area. The townsite of Wasagaming quickly grew to accommodate the needs of the new residents and tourists (RMNP 1996a). Evidence of the attitude towards the land use of this burgeoning period is reflected in Ringstrom's (1981) comments that follow:

> "(The) period (from 1935) was a long step in bridging the gap between the facilities of the Riding Mountain Reserve and those of the national park. The wreck of a forest emerged as a beautifully treed park with reforestation and clearing, with landscaping, swamp drainage and construction, with favorable publicity which attracted tourists. Nature had given a good start but it was man's labor which completed the program" (p.96).

In light of current thinking regarding planning and management and as evidenced by recent agreements in establishing new national parks and existing policy, such a history for RMNP could not be repeated in present times.

3.2 Aboriginal Occupation and Traditional Use of the Region

The Riding Mountain region is considered a transitional parkland, a combination of both the forest and plains ecosystems. This region has continued to attract traditional land and resource use over time since the transitional parkland belt is considered to be richer than either singular environment. Through seasonal migrations, optimum harvesting can occur in each ecosystem and together a full rich complement of resources are available. Forested areas are harvested for their abundant small game and fish species and provide a sheltered environment throughout the winter. The plains held a wide variety and number of large game and the open, breezy areas provided relief from hordes of mosquitoes. The transitional parkland that combines the features of both ecosystems offered optimum resource and habitat availability for exploitation within a seasonal round of traditional land use (Chabot 1988).

From historical records, Assiniboine, Cree and Ojibwa societies occupied the Riding Mountain area as a land use territory at different periods over time. There appears to be agreement regarding the order in which occupancy occurred. The first were the Assiniboine, who were the most fully acculturated to the plains, followed by the Cree from the western boreal area. For a time, these two groups jointly inhabited this region (Ray 1971, Peers 1987, Pettipas 1994). During the period from 1763 to 1821, the Assiniboine and Cree abandoned the Red River Valley, the lower Assiniboine River, and the Manitoba interlake regions (Ray 1971).

Peers (1987) states that the Ojibwa began moving westward from the western end of Lake Superior and surrounding regions during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Motivations for the migration are cited as over-hunting, epidemics, and the draw of westward-moving fur trade opportunities. The region left by the Assiniboine and the Cree was taken up by the Ojibwa (Ray 1971, Peers 1987) who, by 1860, were established as the dominant society of the Riding Mountain region (Figure 3.3).

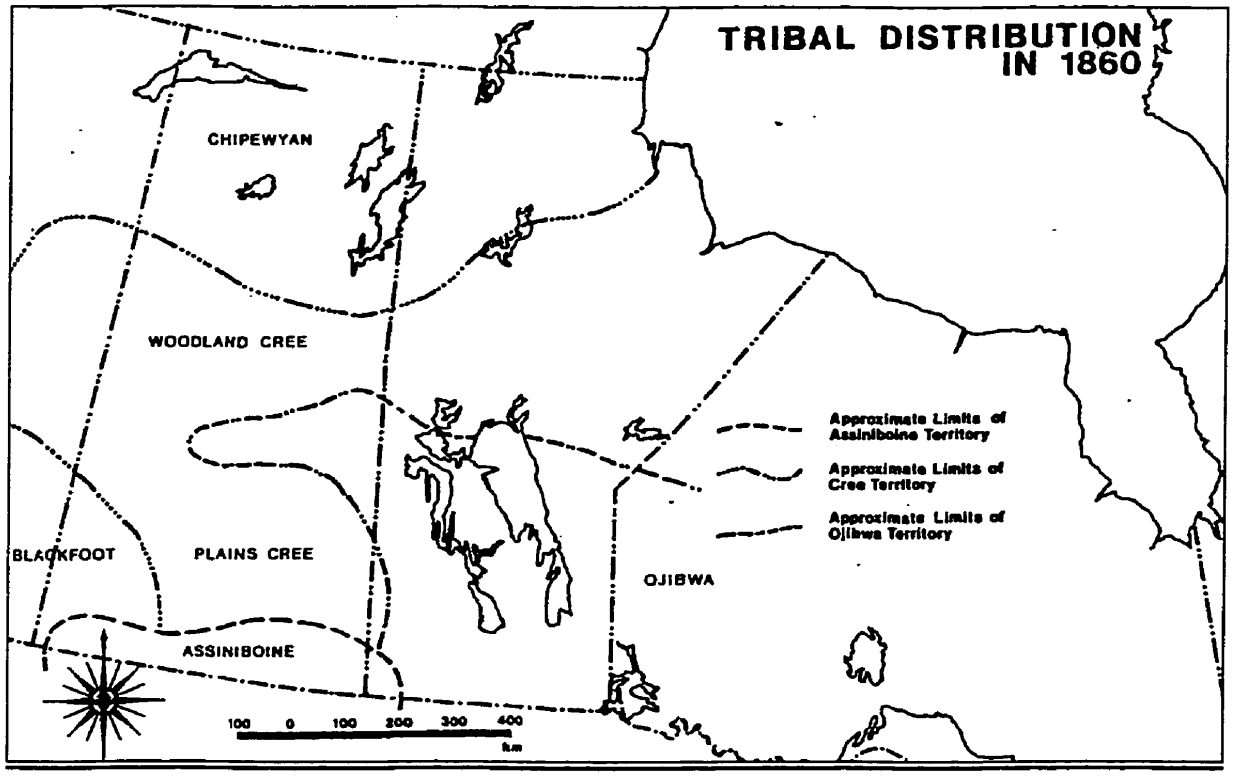


Figure 3.3: Tribal Distribution in 1860
Source: Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation 1983

At this time, migration was no longer simply motivated by trading activities or pursuit of what Hallowell (1975) referred to as the concept of *pimadaziwin* (the good life, in simple terms) (Peers 1987). Now Ojibwa families traveled west to visit their relatives; some

subsequently stayed (Peers 1987). John Tanner, a non-native captured by a Band of Shawnees from his Kentucky home and sold to the principal chief of the Ottawwaws (who became his foster mother), is recognized to be the first "white" man to walk on the shores of Clear Lake (Ringstrom 1981). His foster father was an Ojibwa from Manitoba. Tanner's family came to the area to visit relatives in 1799 and built winter lodges at Riding Mountain. In his narrative written in later years, he writes of their buffalo pound used to capture buffalo and of using moose-skin canoes (Ringstrom 1981).

At about this time, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post of Fort Ellice was established near present day St. Lazare (a small town southwest of RMNP) to capitalize on the bison herds in the area. From 1794 to 1880, Fort Ellice served a dual purpose in this parkland region as both a provision post and relay house to advance the fur trade. Both fur and pemmican were collected and trafficked. Indians delivered furs from distant posts in Dauphin, Swan River, and Riding Mountain House (Tabulenas 1983).

By the late 1850s, buffalo in the area had become increasingly scarce (Ringstrom 1981). As the bison herds declined and the range regressed to the south and west, the post continued to collect meat provisions from local Indian hunters. Birdtail Creek and Riding Mountain were relied upon as favoured hunting areas to maintain the supply of elk and deer (Tabulenas 1983). In 1885, Seton (Manitoba Naturalists Society 1980) described the moose populations of Riding Mountain as plentiful and therefore were also likely harvested.

The Cree and Ojibwa of the Riding Mountain region frequented the HBC trading post, Riding Mountain House I, after it was established in the early 1860s (Peers 1991) (Figure 3.4). Pemmican and provisions were offered in exchange for trapped furs as a means to entice the Aboriginal people away from hunting for food (Atwood 1970). Riding Mountain House I is reported to have been burned to the ground (RMNP 1996a) because the Aboriginal were not pleased with the provisioning of the post and also due to its premature abandonment by HBC for poor performance (Atwood 1970). Only after conditions were settled with the incoming trader was a new post built near Elphinstone.

Figure 3.4: Billy Longclaws and Wife[2] at Fort Ellice
Source: Abra, M. *1974. A View of the Birdtail.*

[2] This couple was likely from the Waywayseecappo Band.

Trail systems were established during Pre-settlement times and would have been used by the Aboriginal for inter-community trading, visiting, subsistence hunting, and to travel to destinations for ceremonial purposes (Longclaws, pers. comm.). As settlement began to occur, the trails were used by settlers making their way to their new destinations. Barely wide enough for a wagon, two trails on Riding Mountain were widened after 1891 to facilitate colonization and became known as the Birdtail and Strathclair Trails (Tabulenas 1983).

3.3 Treaties, Settlement, and Land Allocations

In 1871, Treaty #2 was signed near Grand Rapids. Keeseekoowenin First Nation is represented among the signatories and Indian Reserve (IR) lands were provided near Elphinstone. In 1874, Treaty #4 was signed at Fort Ellice. Waywayseecappo, Rolling River, Gamblers and Tootinaowaziibeeng First Nations are included within this treaty. Originally all four Bands were placed at the Lizard Point (Waywayseecappo Reserve). Over time, however, independent IR lands were established for the other First Nations near Erickson, Rossburn, and Grandview respectively.

Pressures on the resources, particularly those harvested for the fur trade, increased during the nineteenth century (RMNP 1996a). However, after the signing of the treaties, pressure on the Aboriginal also increased. The once fluid and dynamic geographic expression of traditional land use and occupancy of the Aboriginal societies was halted. Aboriginal people were bound to their reserves, an unchanging, restricted-in-size piece of

land. By constraining their connection to the land, the cultural evolution and traditional practices symbolic of the Aboriginal lifestyle would have been disrupted.

Colonial settlement began in the area after the province was officially surveyed in the 1870s. Access was facilitated by Aboriginal land use trails (Ringstrom 1981; Tabulenas 1983); Hudson Bay Company trails; steamboat service via the Assiniboine River to Fort Ellice; and the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR) which, by 1882, stretched to Brandon (Parks Canada 1984b). "Land was disposed of in many ways during the settling of the West: through homesteads, pre-emptions, sales of government owned land to individuals and to land companies, sales of Hudson's Bay Company lands, reserves for colonies, and by grants to railroad companies. The CPR received 25 million acres of land, as well as $25 million, as a result of its agreement with the government of Canada" (Warkentin and Ruggles 1970:324).

Within the years between 1870 and 1901, the lands in the southwestern portion of the Province near the railroad became quickly settled and increased pressures on lands and natural resources. Settlement pressures impacted the Aboriginal. For example, according to oral history, the leader of the Rolling River Band experienced great difficulty in selecting a full complement of IR lands as a result of the competition for parcels of land that were required for settlement purposes. The leader was pressured to avoid selecting lands in their preferred location, that of Riding Mountain (White Bird, pers. comm.). Natural resource pressures were also evident. The buffalo were gone by 1880 (RMNP 1996a, Ringstrom 1981), "the result of purposeful extermination to cut off Plains people

from their traditional food supply, and to open the way for Euro-Canadian settlement" (RMNP 1996a:10).

After the signing of the Treaties, great efforts were invested by the government to have the Aboriginal rely on agrarian rather than subsistence pursuits. Information provided from the Annual Report of Department of Indian Affairs (1882) offers some insight into activities of the time. The following quotation, dated the 1st of January 1882, reported the progress that had been made with the "Indians" from the North West Territories and Manitoba:

> "I am glad to be able to state that during the last season, the efforts made by the Government to induce a greater number of the wild Indians to remain on their Reserves and work, has not been without success; while in certain districts, where active interest has been taken by the agents in charge, and where the chiefs have realized the advantages to be derived from tilling the soil, a very marked progress has been made" (p. 37).

For the Waywayseecappo farm lands (those overseen in whole by Waywayseecappo, The Gambler, and Charles Lawford) in 1881, 96 acres were reported to be under crop. This amount increased from 42 and 1/ 2 acres under cultivation the year previous. In 1881, there were 160 acres of fenced land and 188 tons of hay cut in total. Eight (8) acres of potatoes and 1/ 2 an acre of carrots had been sown. The harvest of grain and roots were reported as follows: wheat, 456 bushels; oats, 644 bushels; barley, 394 bushels; potatoes, 750 bushels; and turnips, 550 bushels (Department of Indian Affairs 1882:44-45).

During 1881, four men were employed to work on the Waywayseecappo farm lands. Buildings erected on Waywayseecappo IR lands included: "1 dwelling house, 1 granary

and barn, 2 stables, 1 interpreter's house, 1 Indian waiting house; and 1 Indian sleeping house" (Department of Indian Affairs 1882:49). On December 31st, 1881, the total population of the Waywayseecappo Band was 220 and the population of The Gambler Band (a now separated entity of the Waywayseecappo Band) was 140.

There is evidence that the Anishnabe continued their dependence upon Riding Mountain and that the significance of this area endured for years after IRs had been established. When the annual tally was done on the 31st of December 1881 to establish and record the numbers and whereabouts of the Indian Band members, it was recorded that 190 of the 220 Waywayseecappo Indians were absent from the reserve, "(h)unting at Riding Mountain" (Department of Indian Affairs 1882:56). For The Gambler Band, a majority of Band members (90 of 140) were also accounted for as being "(h)unting at Riding Mountain" (Department of Indian Affairs 1882:56).

Therefore, even though reserves had been established eight years earlier, more than 86 percent of the Waywayseecappo and 64 percent of The Gambler Band members were hunting at Riding Mountain in the middle of the winter, 31 December 1881. Only four men were employed on the IR farms. Riding Mountain remained a focal point for traditional land and resource use. It is assumed that, in similar fashion at this same time, other First Nations in the area would have been active in comparable pursuits.

In 1896, the application of Keeseekoowenin First Nation to include the lands occupied for a fishing station on the north-west shore of Clear Lake within their IR holdings provides further evidence that the Anishnabe still used the Riding Mountain area many

years after IRs were established. As the non-native busied themselves with settling into the area, establishing commercial and agricultural enterprises, and planning for a new national park, there is scant information available about Aboriginal peoples during this time.

Another significant occurrence would further separate the members of Rolling River First Nation from their preferred land use territory. Land grants were made to reward returning soldiers from the First World War (Tabulenas 1983, Tyman 1972). A Soldier Settlement Board was established to reserve Dominion Lands and to recommend individuals deserving of free grants. "In 1918 the Board reserved all quarter sections available within fifteen miles of any railway and, under the Forest Reserves Amendment Act of 1919, it was empowered to withdraw from forest reserves any lands suitable for settlement" (Tyman 1972:135).

Soldier settlement lands were then allocated from sections of the Riding Mountain Forest Reserve on the northwest end and the southern flank below Clear Lake (Tyman 1972). As a result, unoccupied Crown lands between Rolling River IR and the Forest Reserve became privately held lands and treaty rights to hunt, trap, and fish on those lands were effectively extinguished. The boundary of RMNP that existed by 1930 has remained fixed for the most part up to the present (Tabulenas 1983) (Figure 3.5).

On a final note, the designation of the Forest Reserve did not alter the status of Riding Mountain as an area for hunting and trapping (Tabulenas 1983). However, the history of Forest Reserve includes a period when a game preserve was established some time after

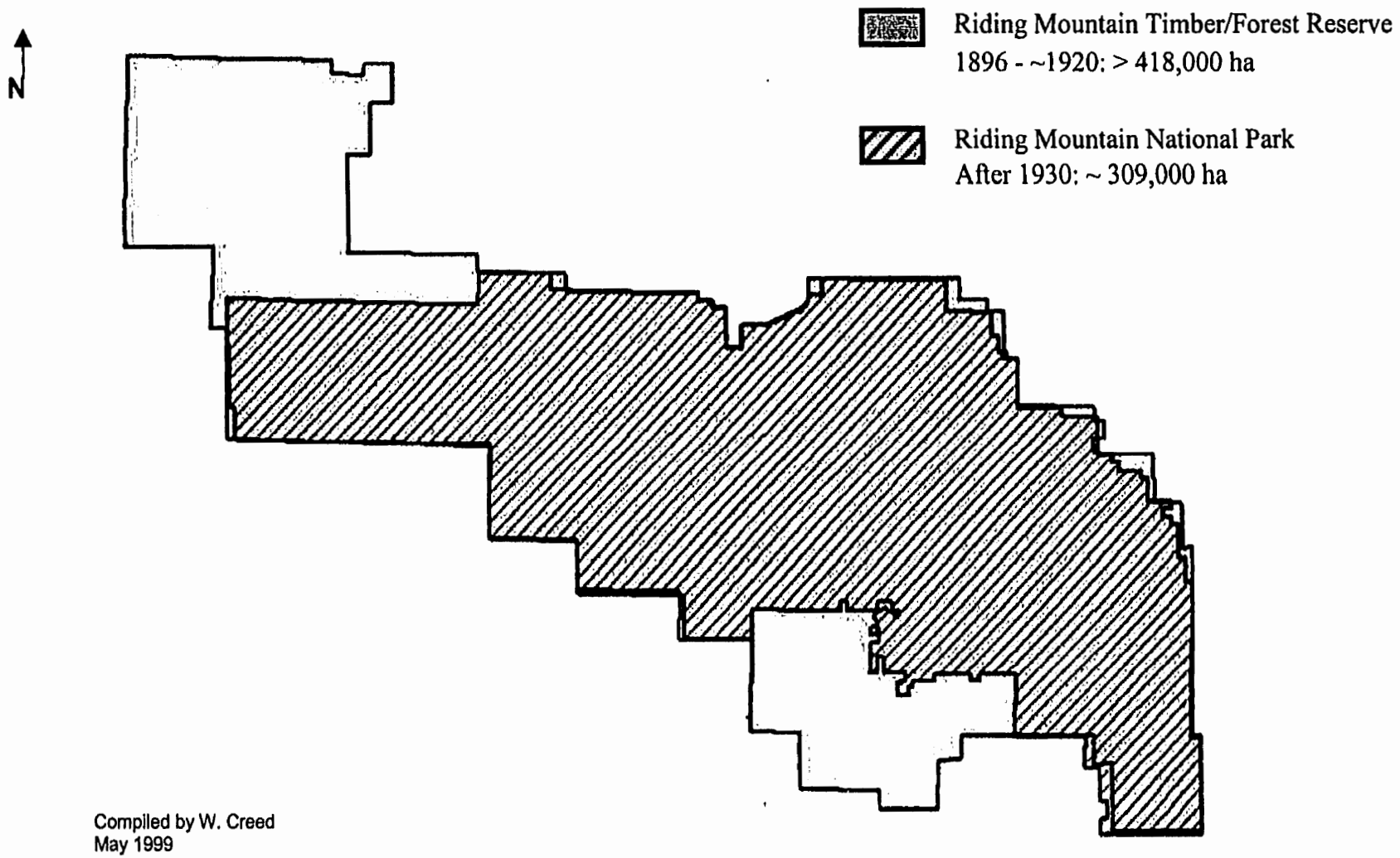


Figure 3.5: Comparison of Riding Mountain Timber/Forest Reserve and Riding Mountain National Park Boundaries

1907. The preserve covered about nine townships in the south central portion of the Forest Reserve (Tabulenas 1983). While hunting and trapping was prohibited in the game preserve (Tabulenas 1983), Elders did not mention that traditional uses were restricted anywhere in Riding Mountain until after the national park was established.

3.4 Perspectives on Aboriginal Land and Resource Use

"Land is absolutely fundamental to Aboriginal identity ... (L)and is reflected in the language, culture and spiritual values of all Aboriginal peoples" (RCAP 1996:425). On this basis, the relationship of Aboriginal people to the land is a major factor in perpetuating distinct societies and can be linked to functional wellbeing. This statement also serves to illustrate another point: land is critical to Aboriginal people for more than simply defining economic sustainability through concepts such as territory, property and tenure, resource management and ecological knowledge.

"One criticism that Aboriginal people make of the current comprehensive claims process is that federal policy reduces the geographic basis for claims to evidence of economic use, without recognition of the more fundamental connection with sites and areas of cultural, spiritual and community significance" (RCAP 1996:456). The definition of land use provided by Hrenchuk (1991) is instructive in this regard:

> "Land use is the component which defines the characteristics of occupancy of the region: how the land and resources are used. Land use as a term is intended to be comprehensive...(A)n investigation of land use becomes a tool for both economic and cultural inquiry" (p. 15).

Harvest studies and impact studies that likewise focus on the economic significance of such inquiry often fail to appreciate the perspective regarding the cultural significance that the Aboriginal place on those lands. Condon *et al.* (1995) finds this Aboriginal perspective to be much more complex, more intimately enmeshed, and less easily studied. The significance in this instance deals with those things that money can not buy. The focus on land and resources as simply physical entities fails to recognize the ideology, cosmology, and worldview of the Aboriginal. Gaining greater control over the land and resources is not the only issue: "to Aboriginal people, land is not just a commodity; it is an inextricable part of Aboriginal identity, deeply rooted in moral and spiritual values" (RCAP 1996:430).

Romanowski (1993) argued that "any people occupying a territory in their quest for survival ... will evolve not only a material culture but also a spiritual culture" (p. 287) which reflects their coexistence with the environment. The constructs of land and resource management are defined and empowered by world view. For the Aboriginal, this world view is based on tightly woven human, animal, spiritual and material interdependence and appropriate standards of behavior (Brody 1987, Wenzel 1987, Stairs 1992). RCAP (1996) reports this world view is consistent for Aboriginal peoples across this country.

Stairs (1992) provides the following excellent example of the Inuit world view which is grounded in the traditional concept of *inummarik*:

> "Becoming *inummarik* is a lifelong process of developing correct interaction, through both attitude and skill, with people and animals, community and environment.

> *Inummariit* (plural) see themselves as people of particular places and cling to their mobility even in the face of settlement pressures. *Inummariit* are essentially generous, not out of personal largesse but out of the need to maintain identity through right relationship with the world. Cohesion of community underlies the *inummarik* manner of tolerant, quiet distance from others while maintaining connection, as seen in the periodic greeting among members in a work group. *Inummarik* hunt and distribute food not only to eat, but to structure their society, and ultimately to build a cognitive model of the world by which they are defined. This model is expressed in particularly *inummarik* forms of language, consisting primarily in highly specific naming of people and the non-human environment" [p. 118].

Approached from an Aboriginal world view that is grounded in the recognition of an individual's interdependence and requirement for appropriate behavior within the natural environment, concepts such as land and resource management that imply human superiority within this realm become difficult to reconcile (Berkes 1988, Shapcott 1989, Notzke 1994, RCAP 1996). However, it is due in part to this cultural approach to the natural world that the value of traditional knowledge (TK) can be appreciated. TK guides traditional forms of land and resource management.

TK is defined by RCAP (1996:454, after Berkes), "as a cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment." The documentation of TK is an ever-growing field of research. The Dene Cultural Institute is developing methods to integrate TK and western science for use in community-based natural resource management (Notzke 1994).

Berkes and Henley (1997) cite a number of applications using TK: to document environmental change from cumulative impacts; to predict impacts of development projects; to provide understanding of the natural environment; to develop mitigative

measures; and to provide baseline data where no scientific data exists. Consequently, TK can be and has been used in a broad range of research, planning, development, and management projects (Berkes and Henley 1997).

TK is recognized for its value. The federal government in the North West Territories recently placed a requirement that TK be used as a source of knowledge in the environmental impact assessment for a diamond mine development (Howard and Widdowson 1996). RCAP (1996) and Notzke (1994) articulated the concern that TK is an ambiguous term. The confusion may be found in this interplay between knowledge and beliefs, between individual (including humans) and environment. Different cultures hold different beliefs; different individuals exist in different environments. Therefore, there can be no precise meaning of the term TK and, consequently, its value may be questioned and even rejected (RCAP 1996).

Howard and Widdowson (1996) are of this latter belief. They maintain that to advocate "religion", believed to be manifest in TK, contravenes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and further state that "TK hinders the ability of the government to more fully understand ecological processes" (p. 35). Whichever the view, one cannot ignore the tangible contributions that TK has already made across fields of inquiry and this country.

3.5 *Wagiiwing*: The Riding Mountain Area

From the oral histories of the Riding Mountain Anishnabe, the word used by the people to describe the Riding Mountain landscape is *Wagiiwing*. The following is a composite definition of *Wagiiwing* as provided to the primary researcher by the Rolling River and

Waywayseecappo First Nation Elders. The locational descriptor, *Wagiiwing*, will be used in the balance of this research.

Wagiiwing is the Indian vision of a mountainous terrain or mountain landscape. As a part of that landscape, the descriptor transmits the information that the land holds a wealth of resources. *Wagiiwing* is a place that holds everything that the Anishnabe people need to survive and, as such, during times of strife it is a viable location that can be relied upon as a sanctuary. A special feature about *Wagiiwing* is that this mountainous area was known as the 'Hill of the Buffalo Chase'. The name derives from long ago when the people used to chase buffalo during hunts on the prairie landscape found in the southern portion of *Wagiiwing*. In summary, *Wagiiwing* is a place name that communicates what is important, special and unique about this area. From the definition, the reader is offered insight into the Anishnabe world view to establish the context for traditional use and knowledge recounted from the oral histories of the Elders.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has provided the historic context of Riding Mountain, known to the Anishnabe as *Wagiiwing*. The description of the land base, Aboriginal occupation, settlement pressures, traditional knowledge and the region's identity enable the reader to understand the influences that affected the lives and land use patterns of the local Anishnabe. The results of the research are presented in Chapter 4 that describes how traditional use patterns changed over time and Chapter 5 provides information about land and resource use, teachings, and traditional knowledge related to *Wagiiwing*.

CHAPTER 4:
RESULTS: LAND AND RESOURCE USE OVER TIME

This chapter provides an overview of each time period, or social time block, conveyed through oral histories that were shared during interviews with Elders from Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations. Maps 1 and 2, located at the end of the chapter, illustrate the change in traditional land and resource uses for the communities before and after RMNP was established.

Traditional land and resource use of the Anishnabe was influenced over time with each successive change in circumstance experienced in the *Wagiiwing* area. Over time, the people were able to spend less and less time at *Wagiiwing*. Livelihood opportunities, all the activities that the people undertook to ensure the means to make a living, became severely constrained. In the end, enforcement of no-harvest rules by Park wardens was only one of many reasons the Anishnabe eventually stopped depending upon RMNP to meet livelihood and cultural needs.

4.1 Pre-Settlement Period (Before ~1870)

Dynamic occupation and use over space and time characterize the Pre-Settlement period by Anishnabe within their territorial landscape. During this time period, *Wagiiwing* was not considered to comprise the entire traditional use territory and travel for subsistence and cultural purposes was known to have occurred outside of the area. However, *Wagiiwing* was said to be richer in resources than adjacent land areas and was therefore an integral component of the entire traditional use territory. The Anishnabe occupied

Wagiiwing as their focal core within a broader territory. Groups of families, organized into Bands within the society, traveled the *Wagiiwing* landscape extensively on foot to meet livelihood and cultural needs.

Wagiiwing, being rich in resources, was highly valued for its ability to provide all the necessities of life to ensure the long-term survival of the Anishnabe people. Oral history relates that community leaders, before and after settlement, relied upon this area as a social 'safety net'. For example, Waywayseecappo Band members retreated to this area to seek sanctuary from a great sickness that was decimating Aboriginal populations in the latter portion of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, in this case, the retreat came too late and almost the entire Waywayseecappo population was said to have perished at a historic community site now within RMNP.

From the interviews, Elders conveyed that their people were healthier long ago and attributed this to their traditional lifestyle of living on the land. Diabetes was unknown, diets were more nutritious and included less fats and sugars. Bodies were stronger and more fit, not soft from sitting indoors in climate controlled environments. Mental attitudes benefited from the therapeutic atmosphere of the land. Abra (1974), who compiled a history of Birtle, provides insight into the Pre-Settlement health and activities of the community's Indian neighbours from Waywayseecappo First Nation:

> "An elderly Chief of the Lizard Point Reserve had some words to say about the Indian way of life before the coming of the white man. "We were never sick, unless we met with an accident. We killed the deer, moose, and buffalo with bow and arrow, and made our knives from the rib bones. Our clothing was found in the hide of the jumping deer, and our homes were made from buffalo skins. Dry yellow birch wood rubbed between two stones produced first a spark, then a flame for our fires. We made necessary articles

> from wood and bark, horn and animal bones. Perhaps it was freedom and lack of restraint that made life so wonderful" (p. 6).

Anishnabe Bands traveled extensively within *Wagiiwing* to harvest and transform natural resources into household goods and services. People moved with the seasons throughout an extensive resource-rich territory and 'home base' locations were seasonally returned to. Aboriginal inhabitants of the *Wagiiwing* landscape relied upon a well-established resource base derived from both the grassland and woodland environments (Tabulenas 1983). Archaeological evidence confirms a seasonal round of migrations and activities for subsistence users of Riding Mountain.

> "Beginning in the summer, their camps were located on the banks of Parkland rivers or the shores of forest lakes where fish and other aquatic species were available. From mid to late summer, they moved onto the open plains and took exclusive advantage of bison grouping for the rut. By fall, (they) had returned to the Parkland where they hunted bison, moose and elk for the duration of the year" (Tabulenas 1983:19).

What could be considered as a management technique, some groups chose to travel greater distances to more marginal areas for their harvest, but returned to their 'home base' location when resources became scarce. For example, *Astagiisik,* father of first Chief Waywayseecappo, traveled north regularly from *Wagiiwing* to hunt in the Duck Mountain area, as well as south to the Turtle Mountain area. This strategy would have had the effect of dispersing harvest impacts while ensuring that richer areas were not over-harvested.

During the Pre-Settlement period, many Anishnabe occupied the *Wagiiwing* landscape on a continual basis and considered it to be their 'home'. The Elders' ancestors shared the history of their homeland through their stories. In one example recalled from the oral

history of an Elder's great-grandfather's time, it was told that there was a war amongst the different Indian nationalities in the *Wagiiwing* area. As a result, the Cree moved north. It was also known that further down south (in the United States) during that time period, different nationalities were fighting wars with their knives and bows and arrows.

The oral history also related that the *Wagiiwing* area was protected by the Anishnabe to exclude intruding non-member groups. A descendant of Waywayseecappo recounted a conflict that occurred before the time of treaties at a location within the land base now encompassed by RMNP. Hand-to-hand combat to maintain occupation of their homeland was fought with spears and other hand-weapons between the Elder's great-grandfather's Band and a group of Sioux Indians originating from the south. Other wars also occurred with the Sioux who were pressuring from the south to establish a bigger land base.

Also from the time of the great-grandfathers, a Waywayseecappo First Nation Elder was told that a lot of buffalo roamed all around the Riding Mountain area, particularly just to the south because it was mostly open prairie at that time. Similarly, an Elder from Rolling River First Nation used to be told stories by his grandparents about their family hunting area located south of the IR lands. Of all the stories told, the grandparents mostly talked about hunting buffalo in the old times before Treaty. This Elder's grandparent's people used to live on the buffalo. Hides were used for clothing and shelter.

The Anishnabe (or Saulteaux) that migrated to this area, being of woodlands origin from the east, evidently adapted to the transitional Parkland environment and learned to exploit

the buffalo of the open plains. It is also evident that not only the hunting technology of the Anishnabe changed upon arrival to the Riding Mountain area. The language also evolved to include *Wagiiwing,* a place name that incorporates the hunting technology of 'chasing buffalo'. From an additional source, Riding Mountain was also known as *Naowawgunwodju*, 'The Hill of the Buffalo Chase' (The Centennial History Committee 1970).

The Pre-Settlement time period offered the least amount of mapped information from the Elders of the two communities. Attrition of the knowledge base through death of Elders, coupled with the loss of intimate contact on the land since the establishment of RMNP, adversely impacted the ability of Waywayseecappo and Rolling River First Nations to sustain their oral histories associated with the *Wagiiwing* territorial landscape.

4.2 Pre-Riding Mountain National Park Period (~1870-1930)

Map 1 at the end of this chapter presents the traditional land and resource use for the communities before RMNP was established. The map provides references to the information presented in this section. The Pre-RMNP period reflects the efforts of the treaty nations to define a new order in their relationship with their *Wagiiwing* territorial landscape.

From their oral history, Rolling River First Nation Elders reported a similar reliance in considering *Wagiiwing* as a sanctuary as that of the Waywayseecappo Band. After Treaty #4 had been signed in 1874, South Quill (Chief of the Rolling River Band at that time) had attempted to designate IR lands within the Riding Mountain area. His

objective was to provide a safe refuge for his people as a defense against the warring confrontations associated with the Riel Rebellion that were occurring in Manitoba in the mid 1880s. The primary concern was to secure a land base that was known to be secluded, yet rich in resources, to ensure the safety of his people. Therefore, in the oral histories of both Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations, the *Wagiiwing* area with its abundant source of life-giving resources was relied upon as a place that afforded security to safeguard the long-term welfare and sustainability of the Anishnabe people.

During this time period, treaties were made with the Anishnabe Bands of the Riding Mountain Region. Both Waywayseecappo and Rolling River Bands are included by Treaty #4 signed in 1874 at Fort Ellice. Treaties were made to facilitate the peaceful settlement of colonists. Treaty #4 provided Indians with a secured base of land as well as continued rights to hunt, trap, and fish on unoccupied Crown lands. Long after IR's were established, oral history relates that the *Wagiiwing* territorial landscape continued to be a significant focal point for sustaining livelihoods and socio-cultural well-being. This was confirmed by statistics that reported over 84% of the Waywayseecappo Band members were "(h)unting on Riding Mountain" on 31 December 1881 (Department of Indian Affairs 1882:56).

As settlement pressures increased from newcomers and as Aboriginal communities were persuaded to adopt agrarian livelihoods by the Department of Indian Affairs, Band members selected differing land use and lifestyle options. These options included persistent occupation on the territorial landscape, intermittent occupation between the

territorial landscape and the IR lands, and persistent occupation within their IR lands. It was noted from the research that the demographic structure of those making traditional use of the landscape during this period selected against the accompaniment of aged, infirm, and pregnant members of the community. These members of the family would have remained at their homes on-reserve.

During the Pre-Settlement period, all family members traveled together, worked together, learned together, and shared together. During the Pre-RMNP period, individuals who traveled to *Wagiiwing* experienced greater absences from their families left on-reserve and functional relationships between family members in relation to their roles and responsibilities on the land were altered. Segments of the Anishnabe population began experiencing an increased disconnection from the knowledge of, and skills required to live from, their homeland.

In the early 1800s, a small number of Anishnabe in the Red River region had acquired horses (Chabot 1988). Until the more widespread introduction of horses and wagons, Elders noted that draft dogs had been used to carry loads on their backs and by travois. Draft dogs were replaced by horses and wagons before RMNP was established. This proved advantageous to families traveling through the Forest Reserve, both in pursuing livelihoods and in maintaining kinship ties. By this time, relatives had been separated into a number of distant IR lands around the Forest Reserve. One Elder recalled that, when people were traveling to Tootinaowaziibeeng IR to attend ceremonies and visit relatives, there was an area on Riding Mountain where people used to camp overnight.

The location was about half way from Lizard Point IR and is likely at the historic community site. After leaving from the campsite, travelers would arrive at Timberton (Tootinaowaziibeeng IR) about 3:00 or 4:00 p.m.

A highly developed trail network had been established to facilitate travel. Harvest efforts became more efficient as roads were widened for wagons, allowing greater access to resources and seneca root picking areas. Sacred sites on *Wagiiwing* may have assumed a heightened importance since these could have been attended to with greater frequency. This may have had the effect of strengthening cultural awareness and affiliations during the period when outside religious teachings were being introduced and imposed on-reserve. In addition to increasing harvesting efficiency and reducing travel time, the new mode of transportation also expanded opportunities to select between spending time on-reserve or in the traditional territory. Improved transportation offered the Anishnabe an additional benefit: a greater ability to avoid the non-native who were settling in and also using the area.

Elders spoke with great pride about the intimate knowledge their parents had in navigating around *Wagiiwing*. The old people were said to never get lost, not even at night. One Elder from Rolling River First Nation related that the IR on Clear Lake was his father's reserve. His father knew the *Wagiiwing* landscape so well that, "if he was still living, he wouldn't get lost if you put him in the middle".

Another Elder had an uncle (Andrew McKay, died in 1969 at age 90) who had been born partially blind. He used to walk from Rolling River First Nation up to Dauphin and back

by himself. He was recognized as the healer of the Clear Lake Band[1] and used the plants of *Wagiiwing* to make his medicines (Erickson Collegiate 1970). In making his way to Dauphin, he used to follow a river and was very skilled in setting up his camps. Elders now lament their lost familiarity in the *Wagiiwing* area where they once also intimately knew their way around.

Seasonally-defined land use activities were reported. While the most productive hunting was done in late October, much of the trapping and hunting occurred throughout the winter. One Elder's father trapped extensively in the area and was lucky to be home once every two weeks during the winter months. Before leaving to go north to hunt and trap, the men would fix up their houses in the community during the fall. Pelts would often be sold for cash, and money was also received for bounties on timber wolves, coyotes, and foxes.

In the spring, when trapping was finished and the tree sap started to flow with the warm weather, people traveled to the upper reaches of the Ochre River valley. Here, maple trees were tapped and syrup was made. People moved out of the more forested areas

[1] The Clear Lake Band resided at a small Indian Reserve, IR 61a, allocated in 1896 to the Keeseekoowenin Band. IR 61a has been referred to by several names over time: Clear Lake, Mekis, Riding Mountain, and Okanase Reserve (Tabulenas 1983). It is uncertain whether Andrew McKay was a registered member of the Keeseekoowenin or Rolling River First Nation. All three First Nations immediately south of Riding Mountain reported being directly related to members of the Clear Lake Band. The residents of Clear Lake IR did not appear to be a static group and people from other bands reported also maintaining temporary residence at this location.

with the warmer weather to hunt, fish and gather berries and vegetables. Berry picking and vegetable gathering were done by the women and children. Many families came together on the land during the warm summer months.

An expeditionary traditional method of land use was noted to have been used by the Anishnabe of this research. This method of land use follows a 'hub-and-spoke' style in which a base camp was set up for some extended period of time ranging from overnight to a couple of weeks. Each day, the people would move out from the location, the men to hunt and the women to gather, and then return to the base camp in the evening. People would travel only far enough to enable their return to camp at night.

Elk and moose hunting were reported to be primary activities of the men. Alternative protein sources (such as jumper (deer)[2], rabbits[3], and grouse[4]) were harvested if not enough larger game was available. The people used weirs to catch fish. From the interviews, it appeared that fishing was done to supplement those times when meat was scarce. People would not travel to the *Wagiiwing* area for the sole purpose of fishing. The exception were the Anishnabe living at Clear Lake who had fish, such as whitefish, jackfish, and suckers year-round. In the spring, the people at this location worked together to spear fish in the lake (Chabot 1988).

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[2] Interview respondents were uncertain whether the deer harvested in earlier times were mule or white-tailed deer. Although white-tailed deer have outcompeted mule deer historically in this area, mule deer were not completely extirpated. South of RMNP at Rossburn this year (1999), two mule deer were recorded in sampling that occurred (1999) south of RMNP at Rossburn (Frey, pers. comm.).

[3] Snowshoe hare.

[4] Sharp-tailed and ruffed grouse.

There were numerous accounts of meat being processed by the women. Foods were dried during the summer time in preparation for winter. Food caching was not remembered to have been routinely used. However, there is evidence that caches were used since an old pemmican bundle had been found on agricultural land to the south of RMNP's boundary.

Lake Audy was fondly spoken of by a number of Elders as a favoured land use and living site. Some of the Elders had parents or family members who were born, lived or camped regularly there. The eastern shoreline of the lake is elevated and receives a partial south exposure. Assuming that the area has remained environmentally similar, Tabulenas (1983) recorded that the area affords a variety of habitats for exploitation: grassland, Parkland, boreal islands, marshes, lake and riverine niches. This highly productive area was known for its high density of moose. The elevation of the site would also provide good vantage for siting wildlife and other travelers on the land (Tabulenas 1983).

Two particular areas were identified where wildlife resources were processed: Moon Lake and Bald Hill, just outside of RMNP. Moon Lake was a preferred hunting area (Tabulenas 1983) and, beside the lake, was a large open prairie area. The Moon Lake area was noted by the Elders to be very spiritual or sacred. People from all over (other Saulteaux First Nations) gathered in this area during the summer. While other processing activities were undertaken at this location, specific reference was made to the fact that, in particular, wild meat was dried and ground up to make pemmican in this area. The Bald

Hill location (originally within the Timber and Forest Reserve boundaries) was used extensively as a processing area both before and after the establishment of RMNP.

During this time period, those Anishnabe who maintained their contact with *Wagiiwing*, either continuously or intermittently, could opportunistically choose their level of dependence upon the land to supplement their livelihood needs. The presence of the Euro-Canadian introduced new resources such as bannock and farm goods (Notzke 1994) and trade between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal occurred.

Locally, trade most often involved wild meat harvested by the Anishnabe from the Timber or Forest Reserve that was traded for milk or eggs. Tabulenas (1983) reported that annual trips were made by the Anishnabe of Clear Lake to Minnedosa for shopping and trading. Dried fish was noted to be traded for bread and eggs. Additional items were exchanged and included pelts, moccasins, vests, willow baskets and mats and the ivory teeth of elk. Items gained in return from the local settlers were flour, potatoes, tobacco, and tea. Old Mrs. Blackie (Waywayseecappo First Nation) used to make hide coats with beads on them for sale and charged thirty dollars for a coat like that.

Although no information was provided from the oral histories, it may be possible that the Anishnabe used buffalo hides, not only to provide clothing and shelter for themselves, but also to make robes for sale. In 1885, Ernest Thompson Seton recorded the values of a buffalo hide as being worth about $1.50 and, when made into a robe, was worth about $10 (Manitoba Naturalists Society 1980).

The Anishnabe further participated in a cash economy at this time by harvesting seneca roots that today continue to be highly desired for their medicinal properties. Even though most of this resource was sold, a certain portion was usually kept for household use. Animals were sometimes found to have eaten this root as well. People learned about the medicinal properties of resources on the land by watching animals to see what they would eat or use to heal themselves when sick or injured.

The Anishnabe Elders revealed that their ancestors were exceptionally knowledgeable in the identification and use of a wide variety of medicinal plants that were, and potentially are, still available within the RMNP land base. Those who possessed this knowledge and administered healing were afforded a highly respected status within the community. Such was the case of Mrs. Mentuck, the medicine woman and wife of Joe Mentuck. This Anishnabe couple and their family lived by two non-Aboriginal families (Mr. & Mrs. Jim Audy and Mr. & Mrs. Clement Kinnis). She provided healing and midwife services to these people of the Kinnis Creek and the Lake Audy area.

Even with the traditional medicines, during this Pre-RMNP time period, sicknesses struck the people. It was told that a bad flu once went through the Clear Lake IR.[5] There were many burials and ceremonies there at that time. Recreationists from neighbouring villages and towns were already at Clear Lake by 1913. It is possible that the sickness experienced at the IR coincided with the tourists' arrival. The Anishnabe people left

[5] Lord Elphinstone, in his journey to this reserve in 1879, noted that many of the people "were suffering from measles and were almost starving" (Centennial History Committee 1970:21).

that IR, with most going to the Keeseekoowenin and Rolling River IR's. A few people went to Waywayseecappo and Valley River IR's, as well as one community northwest of Dauphin (Pine Creek?). In 1906, the population of the Clear Lake IR was 138. By the time the national Park was to evict the people who remained on that IR, there were only 24 people living there in 1935 (Chabot 1988).

A number of dwelling structure types were used during this time period. For example, it is known that there were a number of cabins located in the Forest Reserve. People also used to use their canvas tents or tipis and would stay on the land in these until after Christmas. One Elder noted that her grandparents lived in their tipi all year round. Another type of structure was located by the Birdtail River and had a mud roof that was only suitable for use in the winter. One old man, known to have lived near "the line" (either the Forest Reserve or RMNP boundary), built himself a cave to live in. This was the only information provided about anyone living in a cave structure.

During this time period, the only employment noted in the Forest Reserve area for any of the members of Waywayseecappo or Rolling River First Nations was one Elder's aunt who had taught day school at the Clear Lake IR. No other employment opportunities were noted.

From information provided during the interviews, it appears that the pattern of land use was, to a degree, territorial. The area used by those from Waywayseecappo First Nation appeared to be more localized in the western end of *Wagiiwing* and flowed in a generally north – south orientation. The area used by those from Rolling River First Nation

appeared to be localized in the eastern end and flowed in a northwest – southeast orientation, following the constraints of the escarpment.

In both cases, travel was reported across the landscape either through or across the land to visit kin outside or to access areas within *Wagiiwing*. It was noted that the length of stay in the area and the amount of area traveled less than that of the Pre-Settlement period, yet much more extensive than the years following the establishment of RMNP.

During the Riel Rebellion years, Indians of the area were described as "restless" (Minnedosa Women's Institute 1948:25) and this may have prompted the Chief of the Rolling River Band to seek the sanctuary of a land base on Riding Mountain. For the most part, the relations between the settlers and the Anishnabe were cordial in the early years. The Elders recounted stories about the mutual respect between the two groups. The settlers were said to be thankful to the Indians for sharing their lands and enabling them the opportunity to settle on the new lands to begin a new life.[6]

Community histories from towns near Riding Mountain contain further insight into the Indian – settler relations within the first few decades. A woman, born in Minnedosa in

[6] When referring to their territorial use outside of Wagiiwing, Elders are saddened by the deterioration of the relationship between their people and the land owners that has occurred over time. Elders noted that successive generations of land owners have forgotten this part of their history and the proprietary practice of fence building has effectively distanced the Anishnabe from both the settled people and the lands.

1880 and who lived in Gilbert Plains since 1889, was asked if she had been afraid of the Indians. She responded, "No, as they were very friendly" (Brown 1953:33). Similarly from Birtle in the early years of their district after 1878, women at home alone were said to have little fear of the Indians. In fact, one woman reminisced that their house was used as a halfway sleeping house for the people from Lizard Point IR (Waywayseecappo First Nation) (Abra 1974).

Information about business relations with the Indians was found in the historical memoirs of Gilbert Plains, a small town just north of Riding Mountain. Brown (1953) provides evidence of the manner used to conduct business with the Indians circa 1900:

> "The stores also did quite a business with the Indians in seneca root and furs. The main essential in trading with them was first to give them a generous supply of sweets to eat and some tea. When they had fully satisfied the inner man they were ready to do business. The next essential was to allow a big price for the fur, then it mattered not what you charged for the goods exchanged as all the Indians would ask was "How much more is coming to me?" (p. 16).

Relations between the settlers and the hunters were more direct. The Anishnabe on their hunting travels would be called aside by a farmer and told that there was game in a certain bluff on their land. They would be encouraged and welcomed to hunt on the settler's land. In exchange, farm products were traded for wild products. A genuine warm rapport with the Ukranian settlers has been maintained through the generations and a number of longstanding friendships continue.

4.3 Post-Riding Mountain National Park (After 1930)

Map 2 presents the traditional land and resource use for the communities after the RMNP was established. The map provides references to the information presented in this

section. Data were collected from this social time block up to the point when the Elders' traditional use of RMNP ceased. The length of time varied significantly between respondents. Discussion regarding the reasons for cessation of use is provided in Section 4.6. Vegetation harvest (other than seneca root) was the first activity to cease. Trapping activities that necessitated extended periods of time on the land ceased long before that of hunting. Reports of opportunistic seneca root harvesting persisted until the 1970s. Current activities, if they persist, were not solicited and are therefore unknown.

During this period Waywayseecappo and Rolling River First Nation communities became permanently defined as being adjacent to the protected area of RMNP, rather than being immersed in their territorial landscape. This fact serves as a continued source of frustration and resentment on the part of the Anishnabe people. The most calamitous impacts to the Anishnabe were noted to have occurred during the period following establishment of RMNP. Included among these impacts were discordant relations with the Park wardens, dietary changes, and the alienation of a homeland.

Before RMNP was established, the boundary of the Forest Reserve was adjusted. The total land base was reduced through land allocations made as compensation to returning soldiers for their service in war. Originally, the boundary of the Forest Reserve extended well to the south, close to Rolling River IR. However, after the lands were withdrawn in 1920 for the soldiers (Tabulenas 1983), privately held land separated the Rolling River Anishnabe from the Forest Reserve and limited opportunities for local land use. The

length of travel and amount of preparation required for land use activities became greater as the people's connection to *Wagiiwing* distanced.

If South Quill (first Chief of Rolling River First Nation) had been allocated IR lands in the original location requested, the IR would have connected with and extended up into the Riding Mountain Forest Reserve. Instead these lands became occupied through soldier settlement and land use changed in the area south of RMNP. Although the area was not said to be well suited for most wild meat (elk and moose) harvest, muskrat, rabbit and deer were available. Elders remembered that, in RMNP and immediately south, trapping areas yielded mostly muskrat and weasels, while beaver were difficult to trap because they were not easily found.

Elders offered many examples from the decades that followed the establishment of RMNP to demonstrate that the relationship between the Anishnabe and the Park wardens was highly adversarial. As a result of these experiences and as Park wardens attempted to gain more complete control over protected area lands in *Wagiiwing*, the Anishnabe increasingly moved on-reserve. The people became more judicious and guarded when choosing to undertake subsistence harvest to meet their household requirements.

The need to avoid the Park wardens and the speed required to accomplish this contributed to a further change in the demographic composition of those participating in traditional land and resource use. For the most part, it was the men and young males most frequently reported as those who traveled to RMNP to hunt and trap. After the

establishment of RMNP, whole families (that would have included the women, young children, and elderly) usually only spent their summers in *Wagiiwing*. This change was also due, in part, to children's more frequent attendance at on-reserve schools.

Cash cropping of seneca root persisted long after RMNP was established. When people traveled to get food (primarily meat), this activity was often combined with seneca root harvesting. Seneca roots[7] were harvested in many areas of RMNP. People would often stay to pick for the whole summer, or for periods of two to three weeks at a time. During the later years, it was common for people to go in for just a day or two.

Seneca root harvesting contributed the primary and most substantive source of cash into the household economy. There were hardly any jobs available and the sale of farm crops or stock depended on approval being given by the local Indian Agent. Many stories were related about the unfair decision-making practices of the Indian Agents. Due to the change circumstance following the establishment of RMNP, lack of other economic opportunities and the uncertain practices of the Indian Agents, seneca root harvesting was relied upon as a stable and certain source of income for the people.

To illustrate this point, one Elder revealed that her mother took all her children to RMNP as youngsters to teach them how to dig seneca roots in order to teach them how to earn a living at that time. In this family, the children were allowed to keep all the money they

[7] Seneca (snake) root is an erect, low-growing (10-30 cm high) perennial ... that produces a long-lived, slender, branched and aromatic taproot. The dried root ... has a faint, pleasant aroma reminiscent of wintergreen (Turcotte and Kenkel 1997:18).

made from their digging. Nearly every individual interviewed dug seneca root during their childhood and continued to do so well into their adult lives.

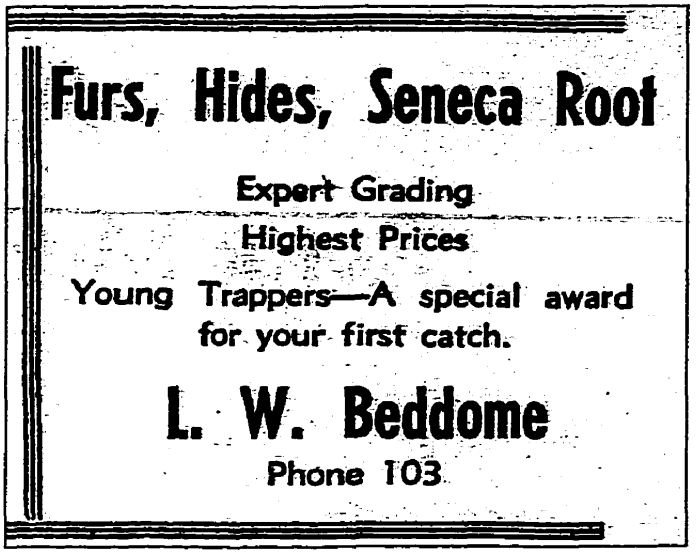


Figure 4.1: Advertisement from 1948.
Source: Minnedosa Women's Institute. 1948. *A History of Minnedosa: 1878 – 1948.*

In addition to providing a livelihood and an employment skill, seneca root picking strengthened social relations. For example, it was remembered that neighbouring and other First Nation families from the north side of RMNP came and met for seneca root picking.[8] The people preferred to harvest in the *Wagiiwing* area because the roots were much bigger than outside of this area. In essence, more roots could be harvested in less time and the quality of the roots, away from farmer's chemicals, were thought to be of higher and more robust quality.

[8] Nepinak (pers. comm.), Pine Creek First Nation, provided a number of examples of traditional use at RMNP. Activities included hunting and seneca root harvesting. Discontent in this community continues to the present following the decision to establish RMNP and separate First Nation people from traditional use of these lands.

The last seneca root prices remembered were consistent between both Waywayseecappo and Rolling River First Nation communities: the buyers would pay $2 a pound for the root dried, and $1 a pound for the root green. One Elder recalled that, after two days of picking (between her children, husband and herself), 2 one hundred pound grain sacks had been filled with seneca root. Parents could dig about fifty pounds of roots themselves each in one day.

After RMNP was established and after road-building began to occur, those wishing to harvest seneca root had to obtain a harvesting permit from the "Indian Agent". Seneca root picking then continued through the use of the permit system until the 1950s when the system was discontinued. After this time, the harvesting continued (albeit on a surreptitiously guarded basis) by some until the 1970s under the threat of being caught by a Park warden.

The Anishnabe dietary regime also changed most rapidly after RMNP was established. Wild meat had been the main dietary staple of the people, with elk, then young moose, and finally deer being the order of dietary and harvest preference. Wild potatoes, turnips, carrots and onions (wild chives that could be found in shoreline, prairie and parkland environments), as well as a variety of berries completed nutritional requirements. The wild vegetables were country foods harvested on the land as opposed to garden varieties introduced by settlers that had become feral.

Although new types of food were available (from gardening, animal husbandry and trade), wild meat maintained its position as being a primary staple for many decades after RMNP was established. One Elder revealed that, although their family kept fifty head of cattle on-reserve, these were never eaten; meat requirements would be met with wild game from RMNP. On the one hand, it could be said that this strategy merely protects the financial interest in cattle as a cash crop. However, the Elder stressed that their family did not view beef as a substitute to wild meat since they were unaccustomed to, and disliked, the flavour of this meat. Beef was not part of, and had no place in, their traditional culture.

In order to keep wild meat in the preferred diet and since permits (which were often indiscrimanently withheld) had to be obtained from the Indian Agent to sell anything (such as cattle or grain), men routinely travel over 14 km (9 miles) to RMNP with their wagons to hunt and provide wild meat for their household. Although the primary interest by the hunter was to meet the family's nutritional requirements, other benefits accrued to the hunter and his family.

All meat obtained in RMNP was brought back to the community and distributed. Sharing harvested resources lessened the work required in preparation and processing for an individual family. Sharing ensured that the family participated in the reciprocity economy whereby the harvests of others would likewise be shared with them at another time. This would help to mitigate the uncertainties of food provisioning for the family.

Since the harvest was most often shared with kin relations, this action also served to maintain and strengthen social bonds.

In the decades that followed the establishment of RMNP, elaborate and well-orchestrated hunting strategies were developed to avoid detection by Park wardens. The following are a number of ways that hunters would go in to RMNP (hopefully undetected) and bring back food back for their families. Men would travel by wagon up to the Park boundary and leave the wagon either just inside, or at a trusted friend's farm, just outside of the Park. The horses would be unhooked and ridden into the Park during the night. As soon as possible, an animal would be taken and immediately skinned and cut into large pieces. The pieces of meat would then be covered over with the animal's hide and the hunters would leave the killsite. The men would travel a couple of miles away to remove themselves from the harvest area. They would then sleep for the day, with only their bannock and tea for sustenance while they were gone.

When night returned, the hunters would travel the couple of miles back to retrieve their harvest. They would not approach the pile directly until it had been circled completely to investigate for signs of disturbance indicating that someone (the Park warden) had come around and knew of its existence. Once things were thought to be safe, the harvested animal would be loaded on the horses and taken back to the wagon for the return trip to the IR. Another Elders' family would go in to the Park on one trail but always leave on another, in case someone was waiting for them on their return trip back.

One man was known to follow this grueling routine: he would leave in the daytime and walk the 14 km (9 miles) up to RMNP from Lizard Point IR; that night he would kill an animal and leave it safely cached; he would then walk home and arrive during the day; he would go to sleep for a time, then borrow a wagon and horses; he would return for the animal the night of the second day; and arrive back home in the early morning of the third day.

The strategies to obtain meat were highly time and labour intensive. Men often suffered personal hardship and harsh conditions. For these reasons, attention focused on harvesting wild game since it returned the highest benefits in terms of food and other products (such as hides for clothing, sinew for thread, and bones for tools). Wild game provided more benefits than other country foods (such as wild vegetables and berries), in relation to the costs of time and labour, and risk of detection and arrest by Park wardens. Therefore, as people became increasingly bound to their IRs and as the costs and risks more greatly countered the benefits from resource harvest, communities became less dependent on all other country foods (such as wild potatoes, turnips, carrots, and onions, as well as berries) and resources during this period.

In addition to noting impacts resulting from an inability to obtain a full complement of dietary resources, other social impacts were noted. Community social structure was impacted as persons who were skilled in traditional medicines found it increasingly difficult to obtain their stocks and conduct healing practices. Skilled hunters increased their status providers in the community in relation to the empty-handed medicine people.

Cultural learning opportunities and social identity were also impacted by a reduced dependence on a traditional lifestyle. As families increasingly abandoned their traditional hunting and trapping areas, the centers for practice of traditional and cultural learning, the knowledge base of the community was diminished. Further, since hunting areas were used by successive family generations, direct ancestral links to *Wagiiwing* were being severed.

The summer season predominated in providing renewed opportunities to retain individual connections to the historic territorial landscape, even if it were only on a seasonal basis. When an individual family group traveled to *Wagiiwing*, the group would be comprised of about ten to fifteen people from multiple generations and sibling families. Larger gatherings of multiple family groups would aggregate on the land in the summer so that the entire gathering would often total about five to six families. Such gatherings would bring about fifty or more people together.

Anishnabe harvesting methods were not the only activity to be modified during this summer time on the landscape. Being guarded and cautious of the new restrictions and monitoring by Park wardens, cultural behaviors of the people also underwent a change practice. Certain sacred areas continued to be used for ceremonial purposes. However, the children (now the Elders participating in this on-going research) were kept from attending at these sites or knowing what transpired during ceremonies. As a result, the Elders did not know the locations of the ceremonial sites or the teachings associated with particular ceremonies.

Different reasons were offered to explain the lack of participation and opportunity. Some Elders felt that this may have been done to safeguard these ceremonial activities from discovery by Park wardens. Others felt that they had not yet earned the right to participate due to their young age. In the end, they never got the chance. As a consequence, this cultural knowledge has been almost completely lost to successive generations of Anishnabe.

A few Elders talked about jobs they had at the Park. Although this is not traditional land use, it is important to mention the types of more recent opportunities in RMNP that have been experienced. One Elder was employed as a carpenter and participated in constructing the washroom at Big Lake. Others also had temporary employment doing road clearing, among other seasonal jobs. One Elder held a position as an Aboriginal Resource Officer Trainee for sixteen months during the late 1970s to 1980. The Elders spoke about these positions with a certain sense of pride in their skill and accomplishments. Additionally, these were satisfying opportunities because, as the people said, they were "not allowed to go there (traditionally) anymore". In addition to having a contemporary place in the history of RMNP, employment provided these Elders with the opportunity to purposefully and respectably return to their homelands once more.

Two unanswered questions from Post-RMNP period were raised by the Elders. It was felt that the Indian Agent had a higher authority over issues relating to Aboriginal people than the Park administration in the earlier years of RMNP. For this reason, the First

Nations question the rationale and decision-making process that ended the seneca root harvest abruptly and without consultation. The second question relates to why admission charges must now be paid by First Nation individuals from adjacent communities that wish to return to their homeland. When admission charges had originally been instituted and for many years following, the people from the IR communities were exempt from the admission fees charged to all other visitors to RMNP. Therefore, the First Nation communities question when did this policy change and why do they now have to pay to enter their ancestral home?

4.4 Ecological Change Over Time

Elders identified a number of ecological changes that had occurred over time related to the land and resources of RMNP. The following is a list of the changes noted:

- **Biodiversity** alongside lakes has dropped. In earlier times otter, fisher, marten, and different kinds of "coyotes"[9] could be found there. Presently, it is primarily the beaver that inhabits these environments.
- **Loss of prairie areas**: There used to be more open prairie (meadow) areas long ago. Many of these have simply grown in, while others (as populations of beaver have increased over time) have been flooded over as a result of beaver dam construction.
- **Loss of fish populations**: There used to be a lot of fish that would come down the Little Saskatchewan and Rolling Rivers and pass through the IRs. During the winter, many people used to fish through the ice of these rivers and relied upon the steady

[9] It is quite likely that these different types of coyotes included both coyote and wolf sub-species.

supply of fish to supplement their household food basket. As beaver populations increased at RMNP and eventually expanded into the surrounding areas, beaver created new wetland habitat and these rivers were dammed. Now hardly any fish, if any fish at all, migrate down these rivers. The people suffer from the loss of this resource and fishing opportunity. As well, it was noted that fish stocks in some of the lakes on the west end of RMNP had died after the number of beaver increased in the area. It was felt that, after the lakes were inhabited by beaver, a parasite may have affected the fish stocks and caused them to die.

- **Smaller animals**: The wildlife appears to be smaller in stature than in earlier times. The cause was thought to be related to the application of farm chemicals on agricultural lands surrounding RMNP upon which animals directly or indirectly feed. The chemicals are thought to adversely affect, i.e. retard, animal's natural growth patterns.[10]
- **Smaller wolves**: Elders noted that wolves are smaller in present times than they were long ago. Wolves were adversely affected by a loss of habitat after settlement occurred in the region and agricultural practices that changed the structure and function of the prairie lands. The prairie wolf (sub-species *Canis lupus nubilis*) that inhabited the southern grassland areas of the province was subsequently extirpated from Manitoba (Banfield 1981). Wolves in general were under intense hunting pressure years ago and bounties had been offered to reduce their numbers. As a result

[10] This is a widely held belief expressed by First Nations in agricultural areas.

of habitat changes and hunting pressures, the wolves were said to have became scared and so moved away to the Duck Mountains.

The wolves migrated back to the Riding Mountain area in the 1930s, but were said to be smaller in stature now. If prairie wolves of this area were larger than timber wolves to the north, the following may explain this phenomenon. It is possible that it was primarily the prairie wolf that had been pressured to vacate the Riding Mountain area and, during their time at the Duck Mountains, became extirpated. The historic range of the prairie wolf may have then become occupied in its northern limit by the smaller timber wolf.

Another explanation may be found in recent research to provide evidence of anecdotally reported but previously undocumented wolf sub-species, the "bush wolf". The "bush wolf"is said to have a reported range that includes the Duck Mountain region (Stardom, pers. comm.). It may be possible that bush wolves interbred with timber wolves and altered their size during their time in the Duck Mountains. This hypothesis could be supported by the change noted in the wolf's behaviour after the animals returned. The Elders said that wolves now lived "too much in the bush" (rather than the open areas) in an effort to seek safety. It had been their observation that, characteristically, wolves did not like living in the bush and attributed this as the cause of the wolf's smaller size.

4.5 The Land Ethic

When asked how people were taught to look after the land of *Wagiiwing*, the Elders replied that they had been taught to respect the land. As children in the area with their parents, they were told not to destroy anything. Some Elders specifically said they were taught to keep the land clean. Families were taught to bury or burn their garbage so that they left nothing behind.

Even when a mess had been left behind from other communities that had come down to dig seneca root or camp, the parents ensured that littered areas were cleaned up. In one particular case, some people came, peeled and cut down trees, left garbage behind and their tent poles standing upright after they had left for home. The Elder's family had been blamed by the Park warden for the mess. In order to avoid future trouble, the family always cleaned up any areas that were out of order.

There were a number of lessons provided involving the use and respect of trees. Firstly, children were taught that the trees didn't belong to any one person. As well, one Elder was told by his father, "Don't cut the spruce or green trees!" A further warning was noted: not to even climb the trees because branches could be broken and the tree might die. Many Elders noted that they had been taught not to cut trees unless absolutely necessary. If trees had been cut to make tent poles, when families left an area and if they didn't take the poles with them, these were placed out of the way and would be used on the next return trip. It was interesting to note that, whether influenced by the Park rules or cultural ethics, the families mirrored the Park rules by default.

4.6 "The Road Too Wide": Cessation of Traditional Use

Most of the Elders no longer use or go to RMNP, except to attend the pow-wows at the traditional camp *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. One of the questions asked in the research attempted to explore the reasons why individuals ceased their traditional land use of this area and when this occurred.

While it was clear that enforcement of 'no harvesting' policies were in effect at RMNP, this did not discourage the people from still obtaining their wild meat from this location for many decades after the Park was established. In fact, some wardens actually showed concern for the people when they came upon them. In one incident that occurred in about the 1950s or 60s during the winter months at their camp, the Park warden told them to "be sure you don't go hungry". They understood this cryptic message as his way of indirectly acknowledging that they should feed themselves if necessity required it and the opportunity presented itself. Another Elder said that the wardens did not mind if you "slip in (to the Park) for a moose just as long as you did not sell it".

All in all, Park boundaries were said to be respected except when a person needed to sneak in for meat. The Anishnabe were not the only local group to harvest wild meat from RMNP:

> "The Wardens knew the farmers took elk from the Park, but they also knew farmers suffered crop losses due to the elk and looked after the elk during the hard years. (One) farmer recalled the Wardens saying "Only one elk per farmer, otherwise I'll be after you!" (Schroeder 1981:101).

Schroeder's research (1981) on public perceptions, relations, and communication associated with RMNP found that, when strict 'no harvesting' enforcement policies were implemented, tensions with local groups were created and community relations deteriorated. The same findings are reported for this research with First Nations adjacent to RMNP. It is evident that when strict enforcement was initiated at RMNP, as opposed to a more cooperative approach that recognized people's needs and conditions, relations worsened between RMNP administration at all other local groups.

From mapped evidence, it is shown that even after RMNP was established, large hunting and trapping areas were maintained. Trapping areas were abandoned in large part by the end of the 1950s since this activity required extended periods on the land and there was great risk of detection in returning to check traps. Certain areas continued to be trapped until the 1970s. Hunting efforts were discouraged over time as enforcement intensified and individuals were charged and convicted of hunting in the Park. In many ways, increased enforcement caused the people to be more creative in developing ways to continue their traditional use of the Park. A number of Elders spoke about secret compartments being built on their wagons to hold their guns. Another Elder who is now deceased used to leave his gun right in the Park in order to not be troubled with the risk of its detection when entering or leaving the Park.

Enforcement activities were conveyed to be more a means that interfered with or discouraged, rather than stopping, hunting efforts. From this perspective, enforcement could be inferred to have infringed on treaty rights. The Anishnabe did not consider their

treaty rights to have been extinguished as evidenced on Map 2 by continued subsistence use on the unoccupied Crown lands of RMNP within their traditional territory of *Wagiiwing*.

A few Elders did say that, when the intensity of enforcement increased and the risks became greater, their use did stop out of fear of punitive measures (arrest and detention). On the other hand, more Elders expressed that the reason they stopped hunting in the area was that, as they got older, it became too hard for them to endure such rigourous pursuits. As a result, they simply stopped going when hunting parties left for the Park. The last time an Elder from this research participated in a hunting expedition occurred in the 1970s.

Female Elders provided additional and different reasons as to why use stopped. One family no longer felt comfortable in the Park because there was too much development on the land. Another said that her family knew that "the white people didn't want us there". Another Elder from Rolling River First Nation revealed that when the Park undertook development to widen the roads to accommodate visitor's increased vehicular traffic, the road that is now Provincial Trunk Highway 19 became too wide to cross undetected. For this reason, much of the land use associated with Rolling River First Nation family groups continued in the area south of this road.

When asked if they still go to the Park or used the area in the more recent decades, one Elder mentioned that he had thought about taking his family in to camp again at RMNP. However, after being part of the warden's services, he changed his mind because of all

the restrictive rules and regulations. The rules have changed the way his family could experience the land and, as such, the rules effectively severe people from their traditional teachings and experiences. Misperception was expressed by one Elder who adamantly stated that he could not go there anymore. In fact he thought that, if he went there, they would likely arrest him and even if he went without a gun, he would likely be pulled aside for questioning.

It is evident that the people have lost their sense of home and security within *Wagiiwing*. Of all the statements made about the area now within RMNP, the following eloquent statement made by a female Elder of Rolling River First Nation was a most telling insight into the relationship of the Anishnabe to that land:

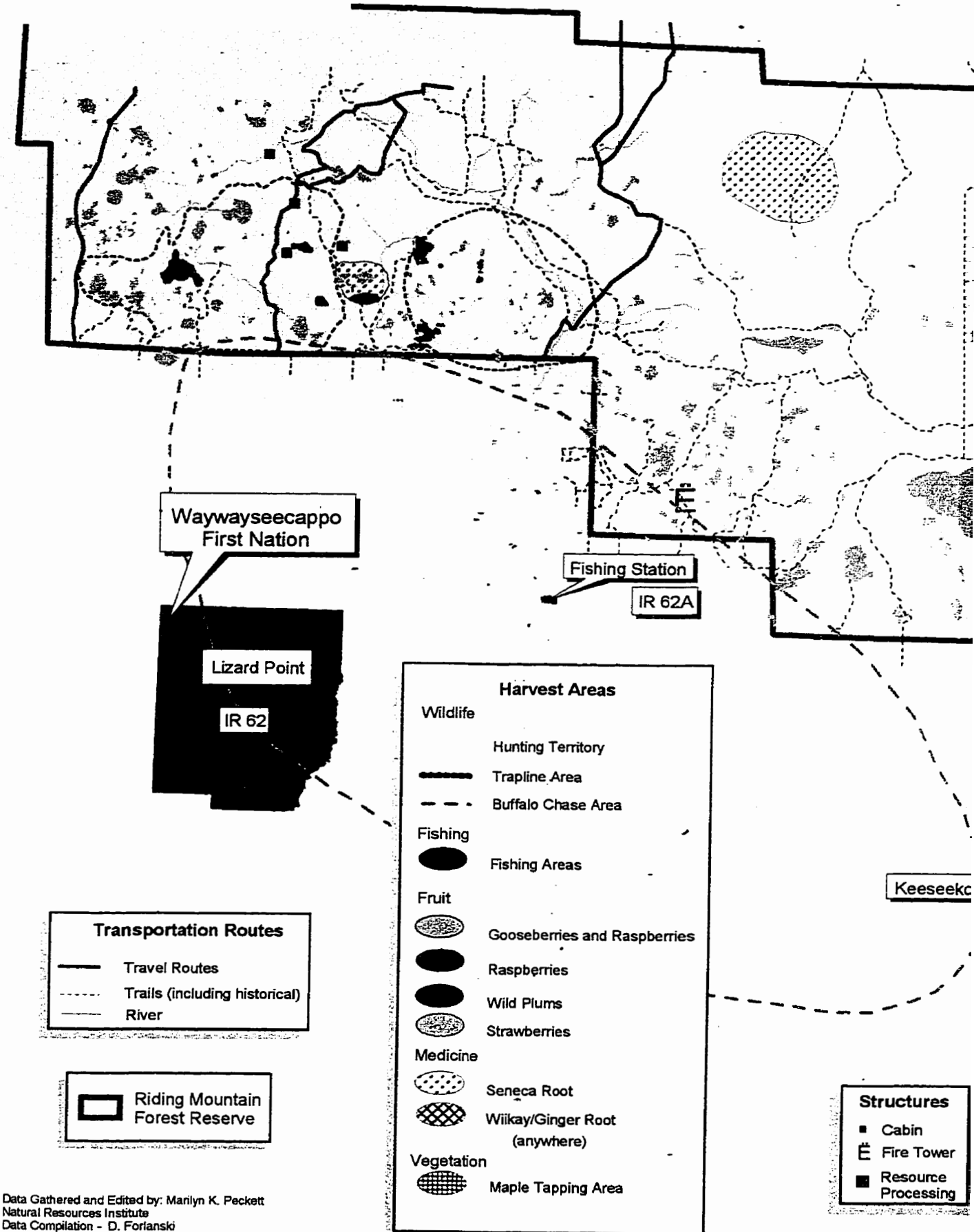
> "It is like a home to me...like a home that I left a long time ago. The last time I went there I felt so peaceful."

4.7 Summary

Over time, RMNP management and enforcement practices negatively impacted treaty harvest rights and the people's access to their homeland. Additionally, the ability of the people to maintain transmission of their skills and knowledge has become significantly impaired. Direct community health, labour, livelihood and cultural impacts have been experienced. Further impacts will continue without directed efforts to renew the Anishnabe relationship within the *Wagiiwing* landscape before the wisdom of the Elders is threatened to be lost forever.

Historic Renewable Resource Harvest

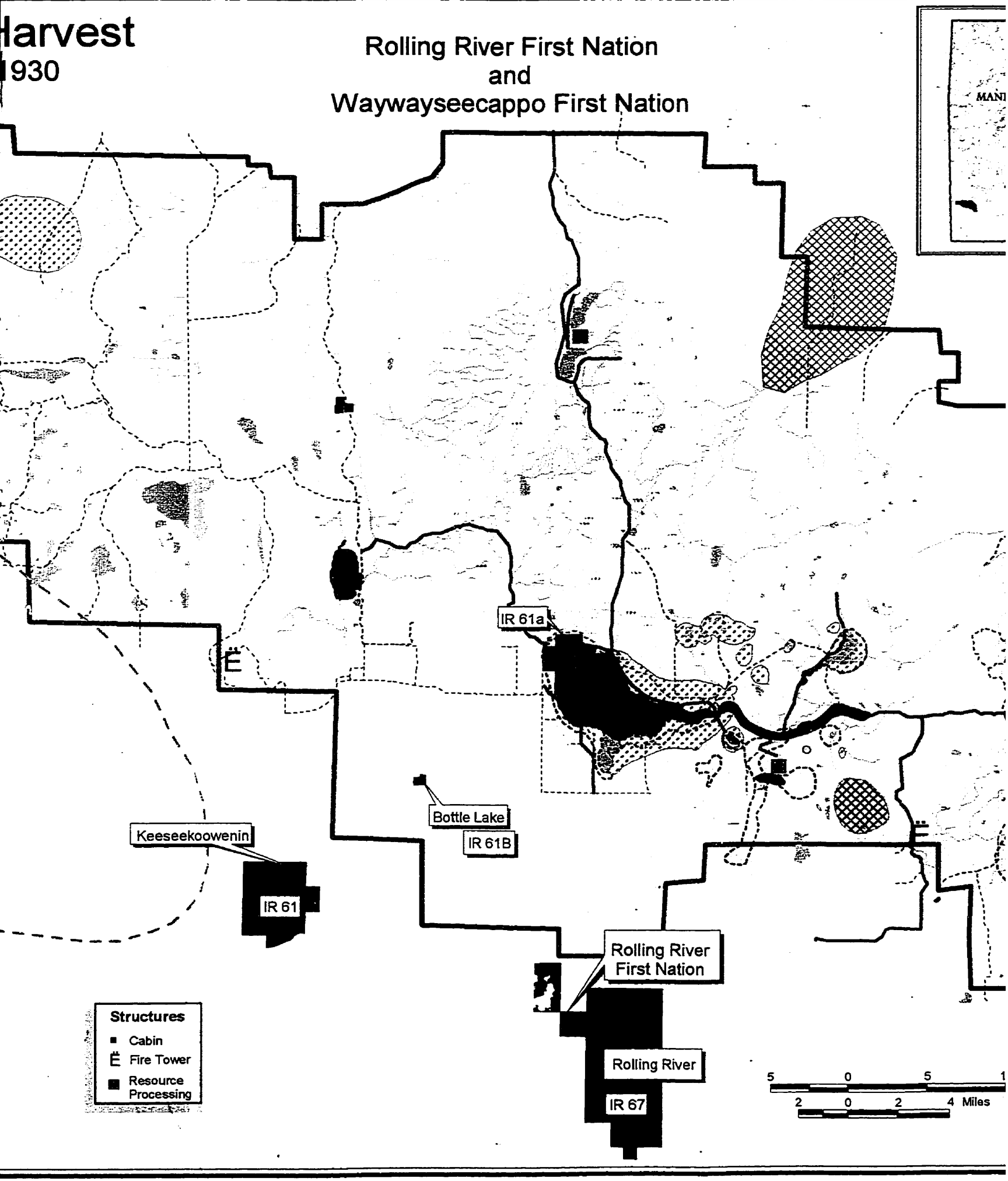
Pre - Riding Mountain National Park: Before 1930



Data Gathered and Edited by: Marilyn K. Peckett
Natural Resources Institute
Data Compilation - D. Forlanski
Map Production - W.Creed
May 1999

Harvest
1930

Rolling River First Nation
and
Waywayseecappo First Nation



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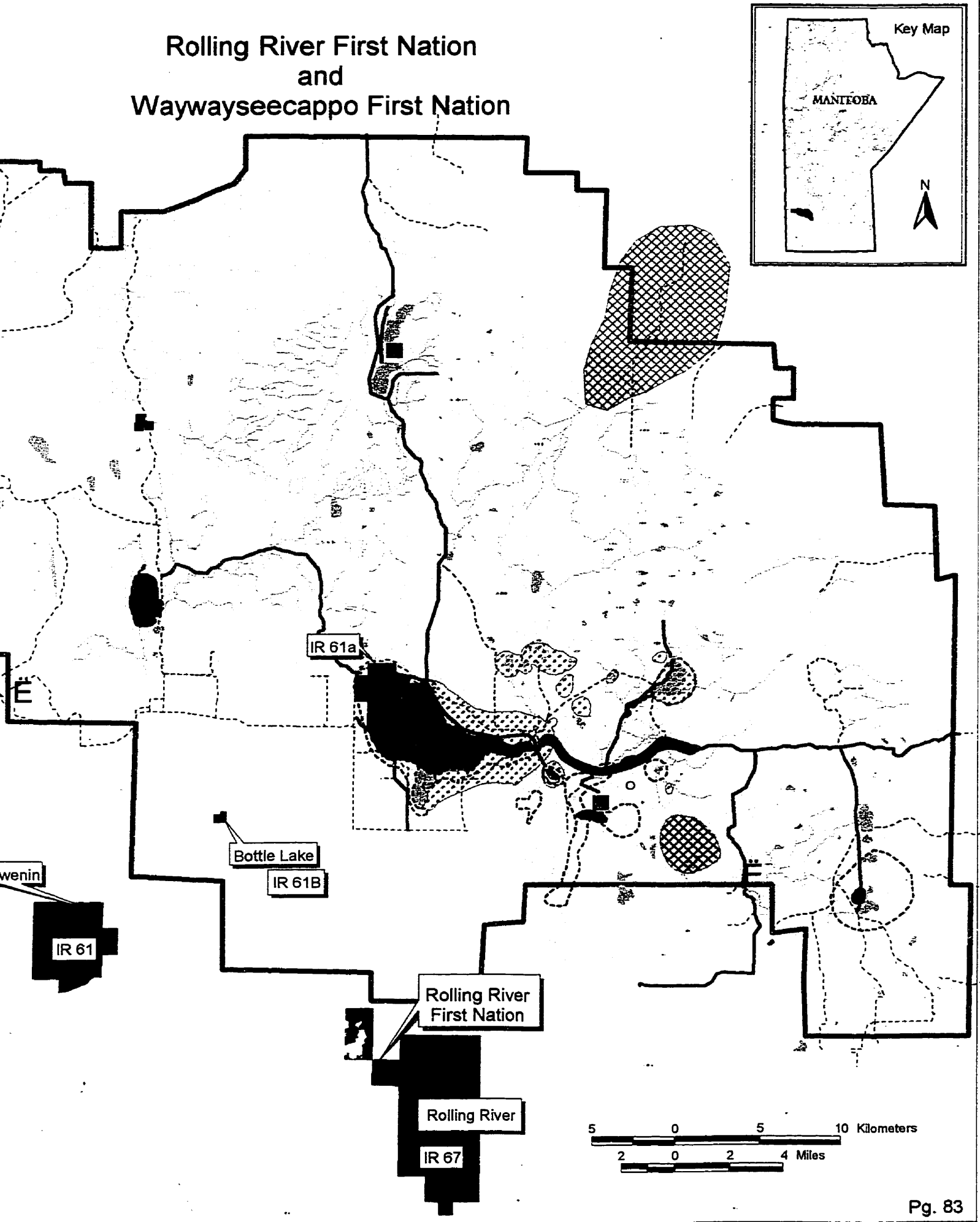
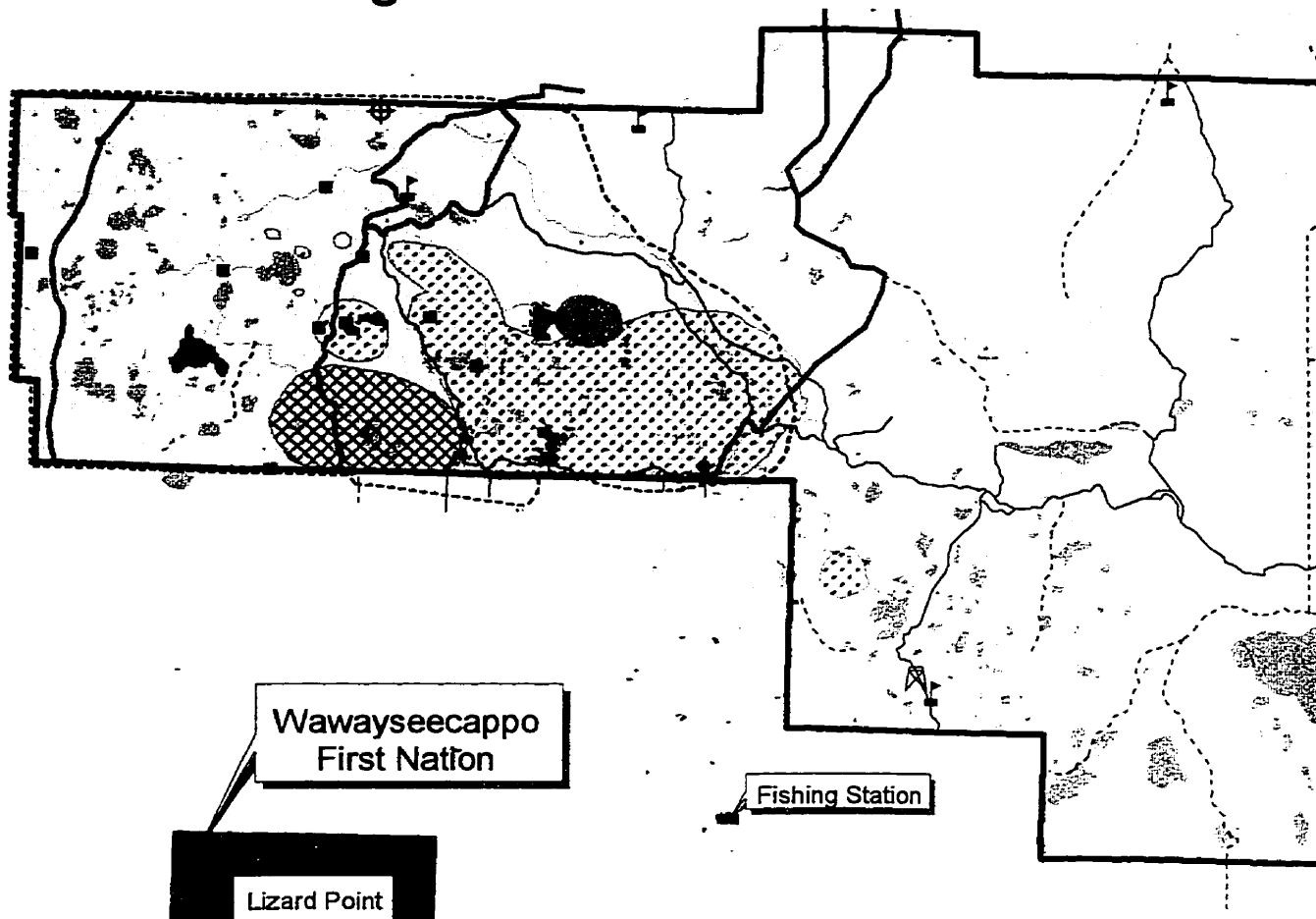


Historic Renewable Resource Ha

Post - Riding Mountain National Park: After 193



Structures

- Cabin
- Fire Tower
- Lookout Tower
- Kippen's Saw Mill
- Warden Station
- Winter Camp
- Resource Processing

Harvest Areas

Wildlife
- Hunting Territory
- Trapline Area

Fishing
- Fishing Areas

Fruit
- Raspberries
- Gooseberries + Raspberries
- Strawberries
- Mossberries

Medicine
- Seneca Root
- Wiikay/Ginger Root (anywhere)

Vegetation
- Muskeg Tea
- Timber Harvest

Tra

Data Gathered and Edited by: Marilyn K.Peckett
Natural Resources Institute
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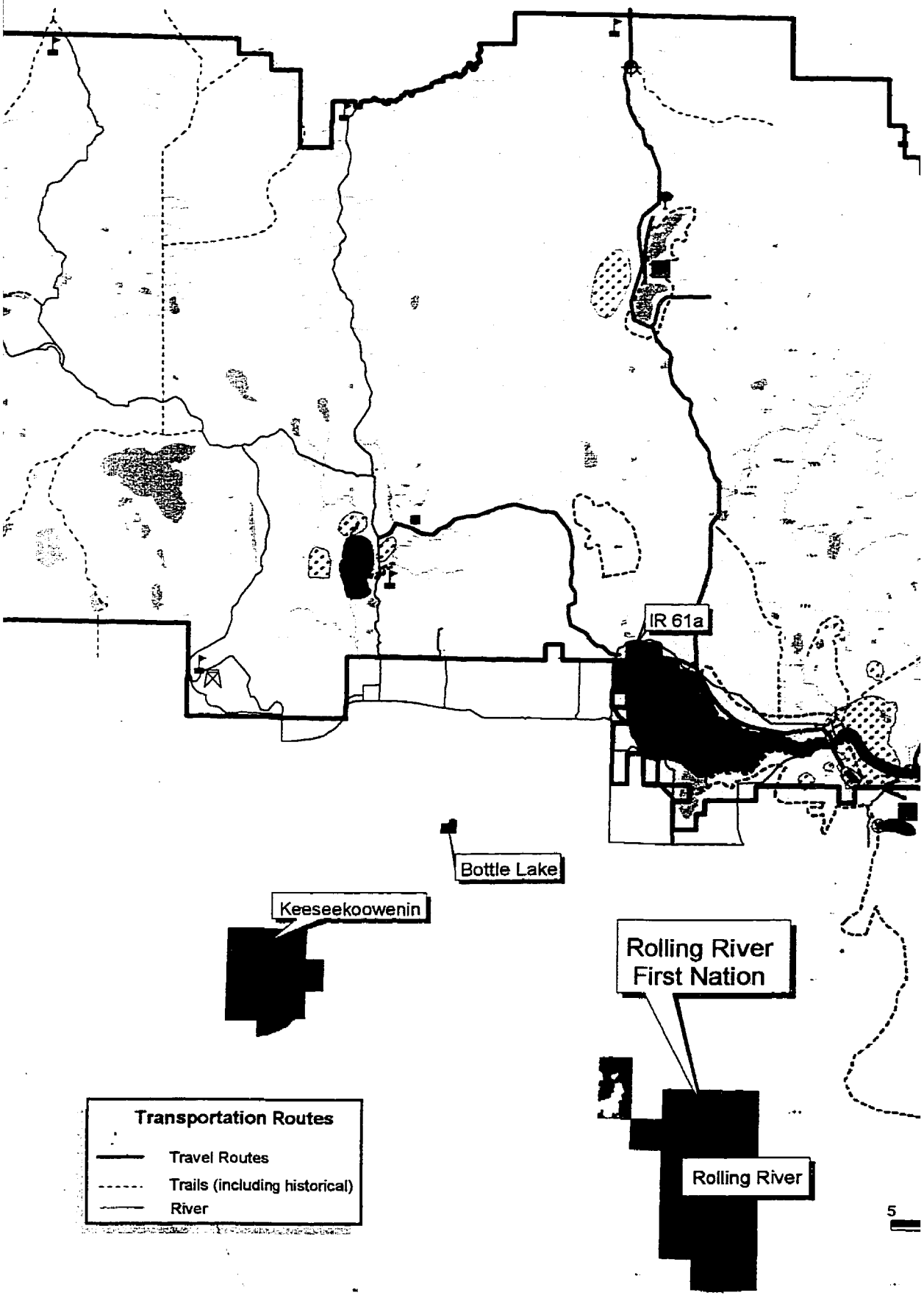
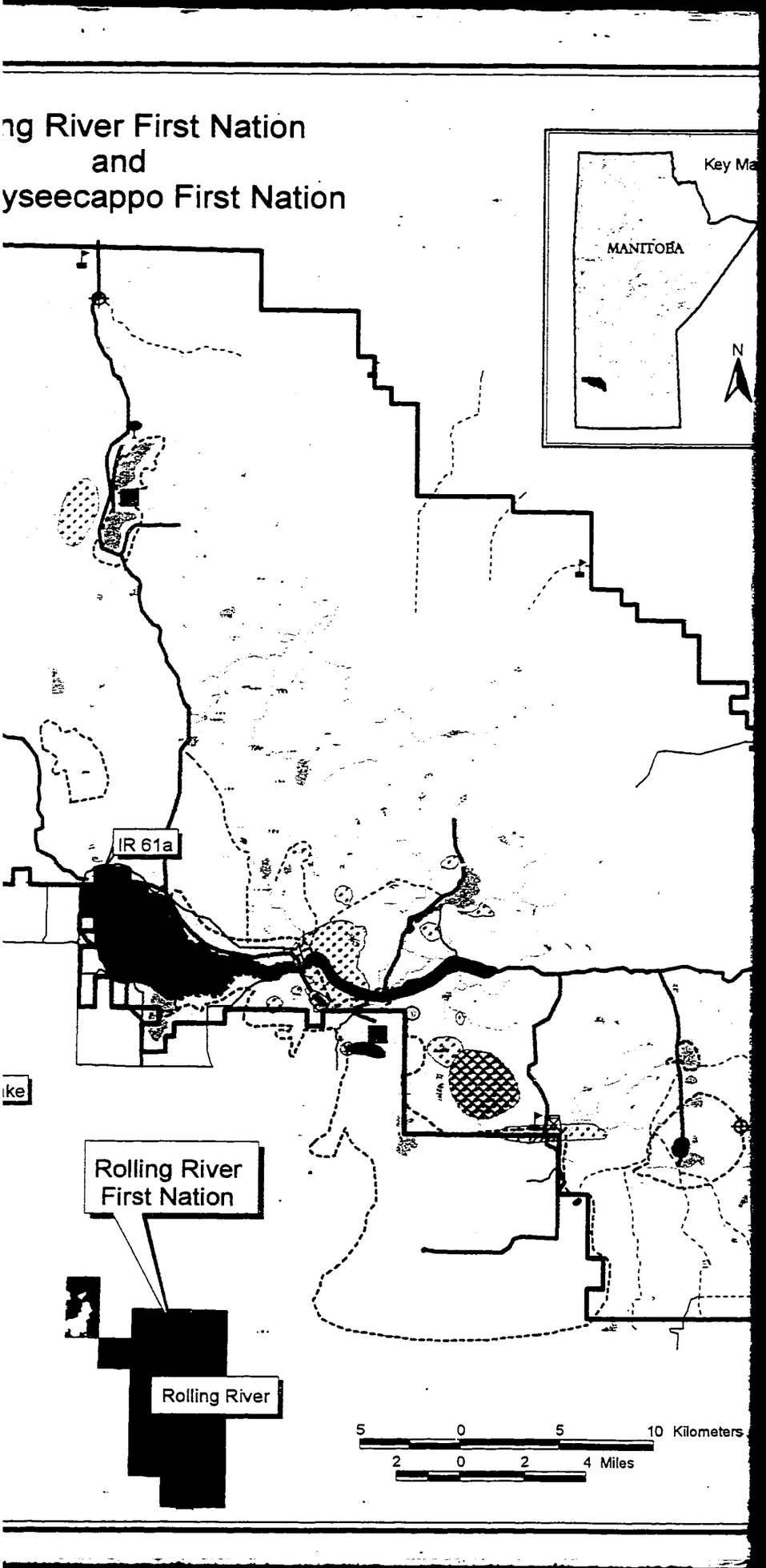
Rolling River First Nation and Waywayseecappo First Nation

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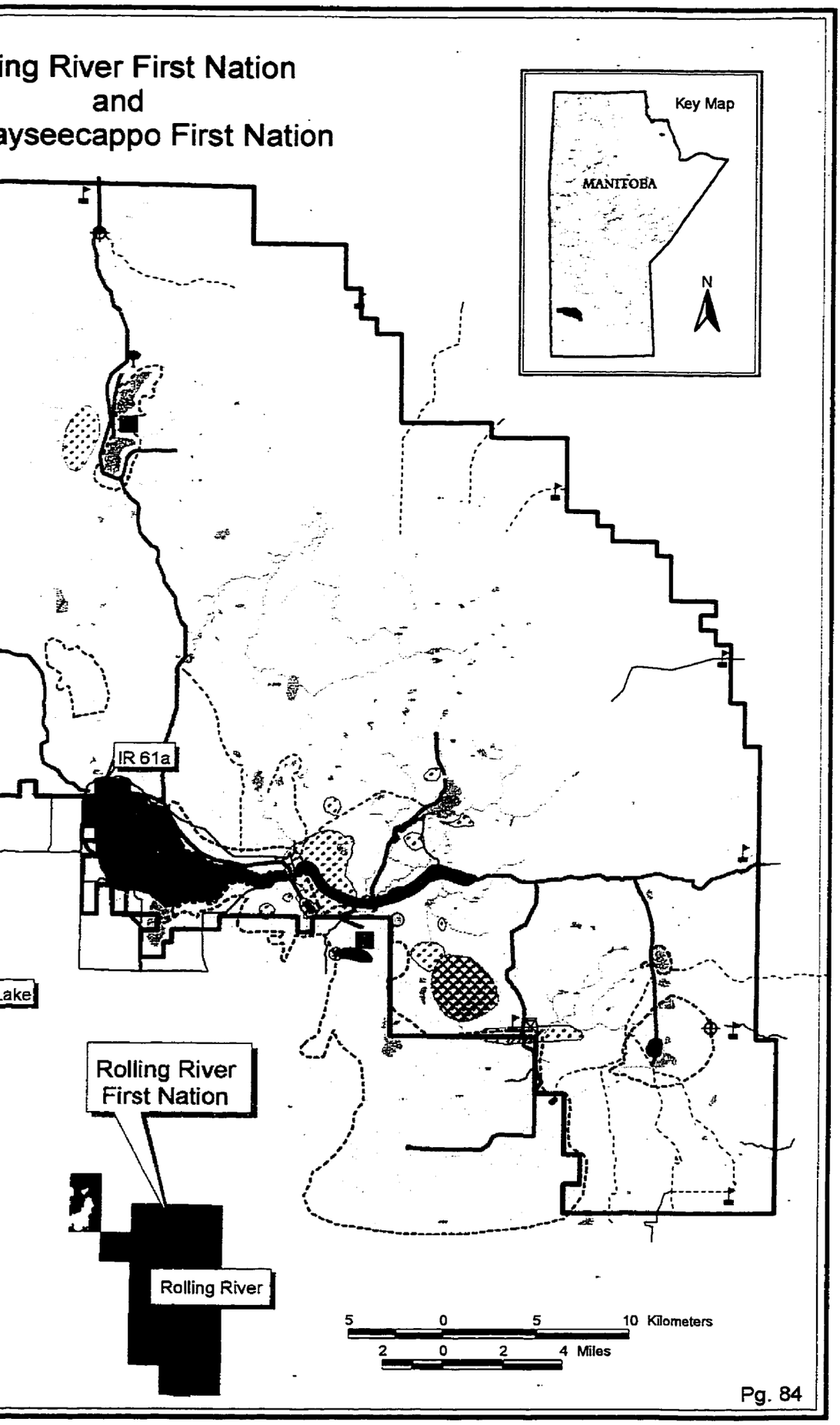
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CHAPTER 5:
RESULTS: LAND AND RESOURCE USE OF *WAGIIWING*

This chapter is devoted to providing specific information about resources and places talked about by the Elders from their oral histories. The significance of the information was gathered during community meetings by asking about the importance of these things and activities to the people. From their words, we can learn about the people's seasonal movements, what places and resources were important, and generally about the culture of the people who lived on the land of *Wagiiwing* in the not too distant past. Toponyms (place names) further provide a glimpse into the rich Anishnabe history of the area. It was clear that the whole of *Wagiiwing* was important, not simply because it was the place where they made their living, but also because this area encapsulates the culture and heritage associated with the Anishnabe homeland.

Chapter 5 has been organized in the following manner: the first section provides an understanding about the land relationship; the second section reveals how resources were used; and the third section reveals certain elements of the cultural landscape, including culturally significant sites, heritage sites and Anishnabe place names (toponyms). The fourth section provides a discussion on the Aboriginal use of fire to consider if this technology was used in *Wagiiwing*. From the information provided in the oral histories of Waywayseecappo and Rolling River First Nations, *Wagiiwing* was considered to be a rich cultural ecosystem of Anishnabe travel, place and narrative.

5.1 Land Use

Whether it was used for travel, as a place with ecologically unique features that people relied upon to pursue their livelihoods, or for areas that could be visited or should be avoided for cultural reasons, the land was respected by the people. This respect was explained to be a fundamental aspect of the relationship between the people and the land. No rigidly defined territories were noted to have been occupied by separate communities. Rather, land use was cooperative between communities. In this section, the types of ways that land was used and how the land was useful to the people is examined.

5.1.1 Environmental Landscape

The environmental landscape was important to the people for what it held, how it could be used, and also just for the fact that it existed. The existence of, and access to, *Wagiiwing* for the Anishnabe was a significant factor in the mental, physical, and spiritual health of the people. People knew this area as their homeland and maintained their spiritual connections to this landscape. Through a person's relationship with the area, a family could be provided for, people could survive in times of strife or conflict, and health was more assured since there was always a ready supply of food and medicines.

Wagiiwing provided the people physical benefits through their activity on the land and the food they ate. People had healthy bodies without diabetes or heart troubles. People received mental benefits from the area in that stress levels were lower when out on the land. Elders still refer to the sense of peace they feel when they return to *Wagiiwing*.

Culturally and socially the people benefited from their relationships to the land, the spirits of the land, the wildlife, their ancestors and from each other, in gathering for ceremonies or simply in being together during their traditional pursuits. *Wagiiwing* provided the people with a sense of belonging.

5.1.2 Traditional Technology and Environmental Attributes

Traditional technology (TT) includes and integrates both traditional ecological and cultural knowledge that has been retained and applied as an adaptive strategy to mitigate the possible relationships between people and the natural environment. For the purposes of this discussion, technology is defined as knowledge, "specifically, a system of knowledge used for practical purposes" (Lewis 1992:18).

Oral histories contained evidence that Anishnabe TT was employed on the *Wagiiwing* landscape. Within the system of TT, the Anishnabe used their ecological knowledge in combination with their knowledge about the environmental attributes to lower personal survival risks in providing life necessities and to increase the amount of benefit gained in relation to the amount of harvesting effort expended. Map 3 provides illustration of the ecological knowledge about the *Wagiiwing* environment that the Elders have retained over time. Environmental attributes used by the people used to assist them in their traditional pursuits are also found on Map 3 and their explanation is found below.

- **Elk Jump Area**: One of the Elder's uncles (father to another Elder at Rolling River First Nation) grew up on *Wagiiwing* and had a cabin on the east side of Lake Audy.

His hunting territory extended from Lake Audy to the edge of the escarpment on the east side. Before his death, he told his nephew of a buffalo hunting technique that was used instead to harvest elk at *Wagiiwing* long ago.

An area on the east side of the escarpment with a steep ridge was used as an elk jump. Hunters would chase the elk towards the edge of the bank. The elk would run over the edge and fall to their death, or be killed by the hunters at the bottom. Unfortunately, the story was told in very old Indian language and the Elder had great difficulty in understanding everything he was told. This hunting technique had an Indian name but it is not remembered. The uncle had tried to share many important stories about places in the *Wagiiwing* area before his death but these were also not well understood.

- **Water Sites**: Water was not routinely used as a medium of travel; most travel occurred on foot, horseback, wagons, and then cars. Travel routes, however, did often follow stream and river courses. For travel on land, camp sites were located where good water was within easy access, such as locations with an underground spring or by a lake with an open prairie. The open area would reduce the amount of mosquitoes, horseflies and other insects that bothered the people and their horses. Often a smudge would be made to control these pests. The open areas also provided safer places to let the children play although children were warned not to enter wooded areas alone for fear of the bears. From the oral history already shared with

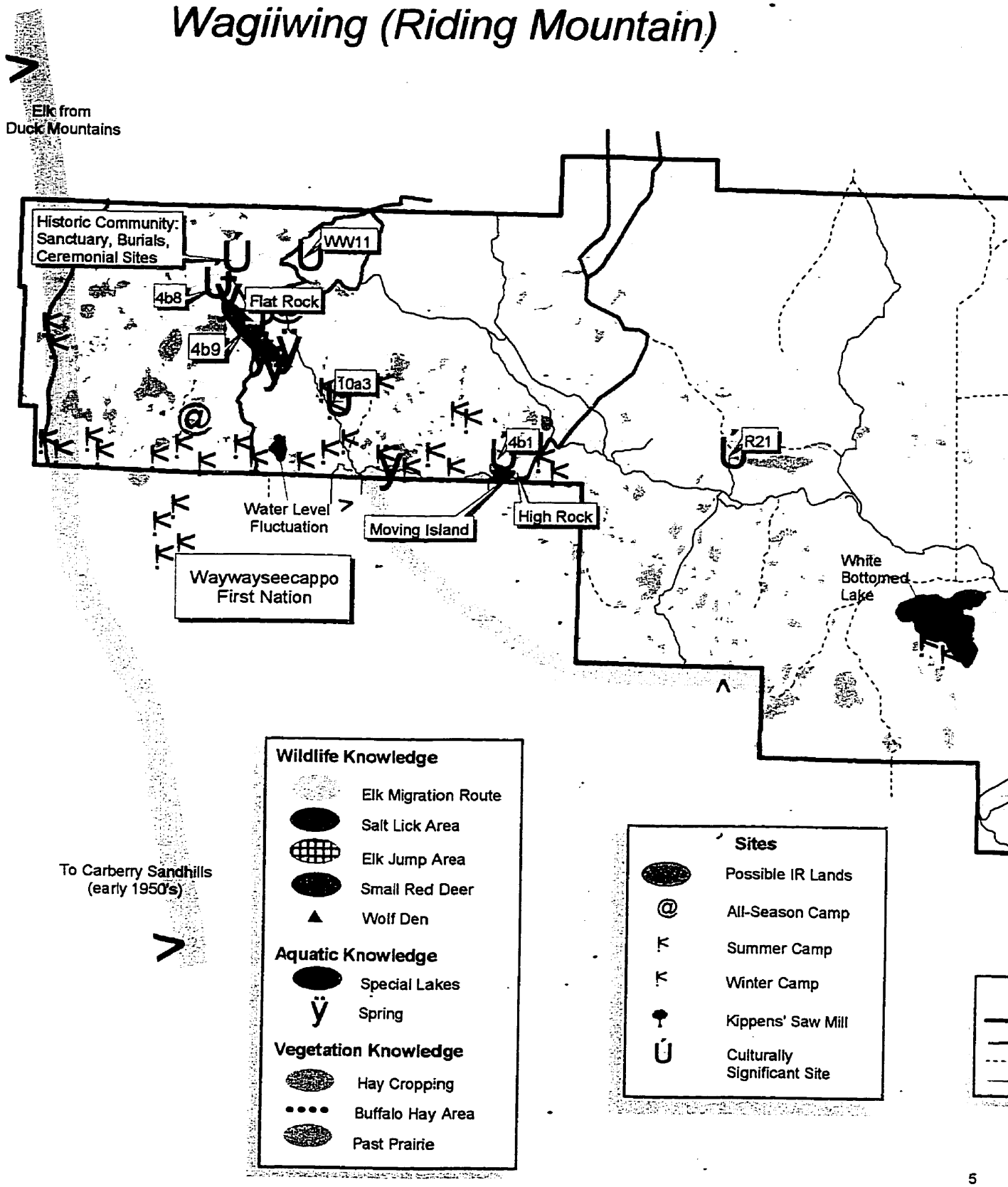
Parks Canada, it was noted that "the sacredness of the mountain is linked to its abundant water" (Parks Canada 1996b:9).

- **Salt Licks**: People relied upon the areas with salty soil (salt lick areas) that would attract elk that came to eat the mud. The use of these areas provided a more assured harvest in lean times.
- **Locational Markers**: Large rocks and hills were frequently used to positionally orient the traveler on the landscape. Hills were also climbed to provide a better vantage point for long distance travel and to spot wildlife in the areas below.
- **Unique Vegetation**: A unique stand of white birch is found in the northeastern quadrant of RMNP. This stand is of great significance to the Anishnabe since it is the only one remembered to have an important source of birch bark for making canoes and dishes or baskets. Additionally, this area was also used for other cultural purposes and has retained its place in the Elders' oral histories. People had to travel a long way on horseback to arrive at this area, but people also went there because it provided a better vantage point to look for game. Thomas Shannacappo's (Land Manager, Rolling River First Nation) grandfather used to go there. A map produced circa 1970 identified two additional locations of white birch stands that were logged between 1941 and 1960 (Parks Canada 1984a).

TT was applied in a practical way. The people utilized the environmental attributes of the area to provide novel ways of hunting, such as the use of the elk jump. People knew where water springs were located to provide themselves with high quality running water

Cultural and Ecological Knowledge

Wagiiwing (Riding Mountain)



Data Gathered and Edited by: Marilyn K. Peckett
Natural Resources Institute
Data Compilation - D. Forlanski
Map Production - W. Creed
May 1999

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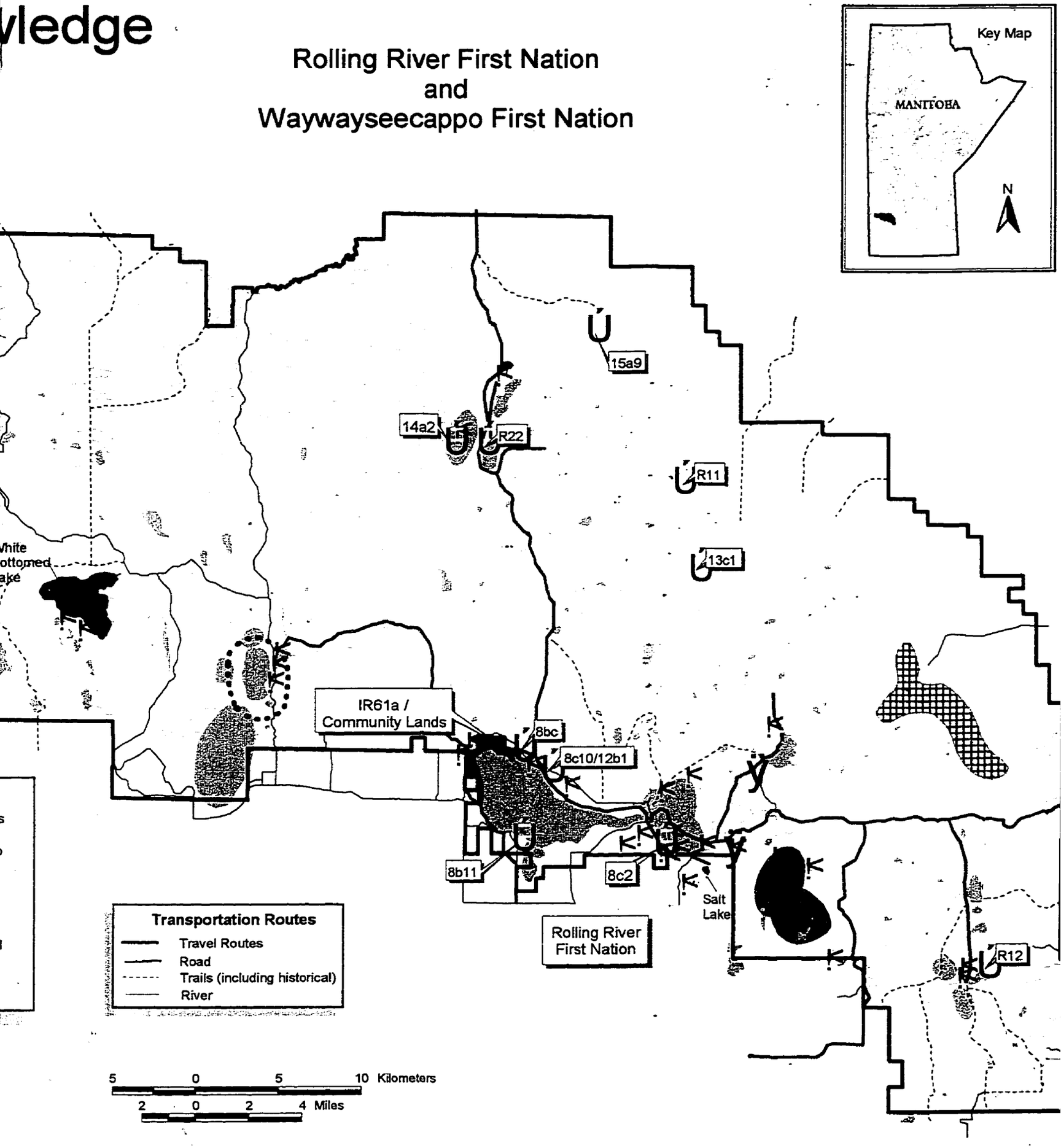
Rolling River First Nation
and
Waywayseecappo First Nation



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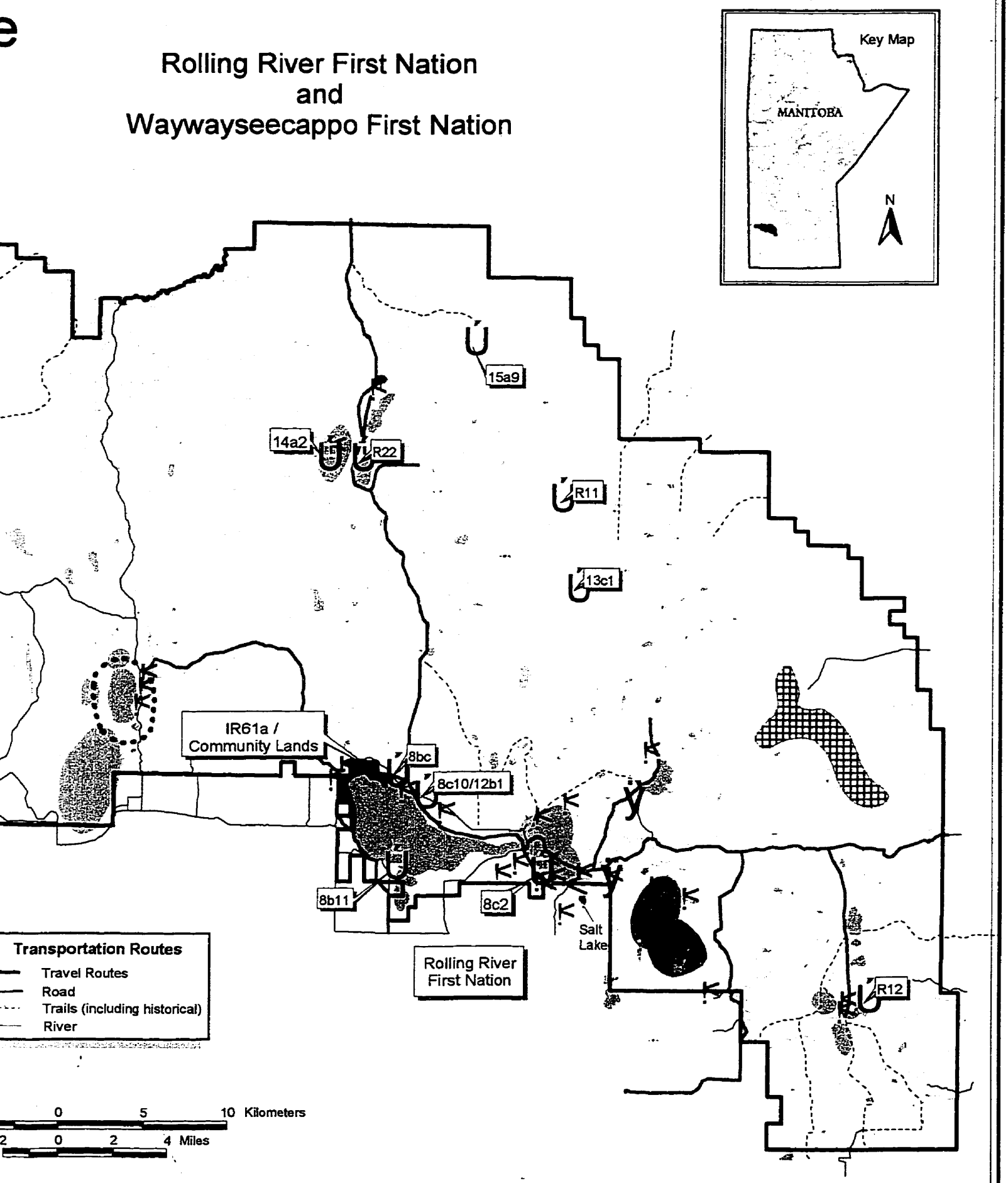
Rolling River First Nation and Waywayseecappo First Nation



throughout the year. Although the people did not harvest large quantities of fish, the people trapped in areas with good populations of fish because these would attract furbearers that relied upon the fish as a food source. Certain areas that had open meadows and were close to water were used in the summer for processing the resources harvested from the land. Many people gathered in those places, such as at Moon Lake, Bald Hill, and Bob Hill.

TT is argued to be a resource. TT is a system of knowledge cultivated by an historic relationship to the natural environment. TT is a valued intellectual property resource owned in this case by the Anishnabe of *Wagiiwing*. Anishnabe TT has deteriorated over time from its suppression and loss after enforcement activities began to restrict access and use of *Wagiiwing*. TT is another Anishnabe resource that diminished after the establishment of RMNP.

5.1.3 Trails

The people traveled mostly on land and, except for the fact that canoes were made, there were no other indications of water travel. Travel occurred mostly on foot with dogs as their first pack animal. After horses were introduced, the dogs were replaced in this capacity and finally wagons were used to travel on *Wagiiwing*. Travel was noted to have occurred to access resources in different areas, but also to maintain kinship ties with other family relations that may have been south or north of *Wagiiwing*.

There were many stories of travel to the northern side of Riding Mountain to get to Timberton (Tootinaowaziibeeng / Valley River IR), Dauphin, or Sandy Bay IR. In

addition to long distance travel to maintain kinship relations, people also traveled long distances to attend ceremonies in other locales. Trade often occurred during these visits. People also traveled to go to camp when they were going through a life change or to do a fast. Fasts would go for days.

There was a highly developed trail system in place on *Wagiiwing* when the settlers came. The trails that existed at this time, however, would have been smaller in nature than those of later times, like the Birdtail Trail and Dauphin-Strathclair Colonization Road that were made wider and sturdier to accommodate colonization efforts (Tabulenas 1983). The effect of widening the trails on the east side of RMNP was to reduce the land use to the north side of the trail. With having such a wide, open gap to cross to get to the other side, people felt vulnerable to the risk of being detected by Park wardens as they slipped into the Park to continue their traditional activities.

5.2 Resource Use

This section provides an overview of the types of resources that people used and why they were important. The country food that was depended upon in past times remains highly valued by the people as a healthier choice than that available in the present. There were no chemicals added to the meat to make animals grow bigger or fatter and the meat was very low in cholesterol. The people feel that they are less healthy today and suffer from conditions unknown in the past because they have been separated from their country foods. The overview provided in this section includes information about the country foods and other resources used by the Anishnabe of *Wagiiwing* (Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

5.2.1 Wildlife

5.2.1.1 Trapping Activities

The Elders trapped, or remembered that their parents or grandparents had trapped, the following species of furbearers: muskrat and beaver (mainly in the spring), mink, weasels, squirrels, a few otter in some years and more in others, martin, fisher, coyotes, timber wolves[1] (when stretched out, hung nearly as high as the wall), and a yellow animal, a little smaller than a mink[2]. Before the non-Native came to the area, logs were used to trap furbearers like the wolverine.[3]

Muskrat populations were high in the 1930s and there were known to be a lot of muskrat at MacArthur Lake. Pelts were sold to buyers that came from Winnipeg. In years past, there had been bounties on wolf, coyote, and fox. In the west end of RMNP, the areas used for trapping were virtually the same as the hunting areas. There was not much trapping at Whitewater Lake because it has a white (lime?) bottom. While water quality was said to be very good, there were no fish in the lake. Fish were a food source known to attract furbearers, therefore lakes with healthy fish stocks were extensively trapped.

5.2.1.2 Hunting Activities

Hunting provided the people with the opportunity to maintain their sacred relationship with the wildlife. Kinship relations were strengthened by the hunting activity. Clan

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[1] Timber wolf reported, but possibly also may have been a Prairie wolf.
[2] This furbearer is likely a male long-tailed weasel.
[3] The range of the wolverine historically extended into the United States and was thought to be extirpated below the southern end of the boreal forest in Manitoba (Banfield 1981). There have been isolated reported sitings of the wolverine during the last three years to the immediate south of RMNP (Berezanski, pers. comm.).

group members hunted together and a number of related families made up a hunting party. Hunting occurred in pairs while hunting parties usually consisted of about three or four families. A hunter used to pray before departing on his hunt and would ask his family to pray too.

During the summer, when the men went out hunting, the women and children would stay back and dig for seneca roots around the camp in their absence. Hunting organized the people into gender roles with associated gender-specific knowledge and skills that were learned. In this case, the men hunted and the women processed the meat that was killed by the men. Other female activities undertaken while the men were hunting included rabbit snaring, berry picking, fishing and weaving willow baskets and mats (Tabulenas 1983).

The preferred wild meat hunted was that of ungulates: elk, then moose (if not too old), and finally jumper (either mule or white-tailed deer), in that order of preference. Tabulenas (1983) provides insight on the significance of elk to the Anishnabe of Clear Lake and Lake Audy:

> "The most important animal was elk. The meat was hauled back to the encampments by dog team and toboggans. Women prepared it in the manner associated with the pemmican trade. It was cut into strips and smoke-dried over white poplar fires. When the process was complete, the meat was pounded into powder. When eaten, fat was added, the extract coming from bones and other animal parts boiled by the stone method. Hides, also prepared by women, were used to make moccasins and beaded vests" (p.66).

Elk would routinely be spotted at salt licks. Although it was known that there was a steady supply of elk in these areas, people only hunted there when they were not

successful elsewhere. Lake Audy and Whitewater Lakes were known to be high density elk areas, providing shrubby treeless habitats preferred by elk (Parks Canada 1984a).

A lot of moose lived along the big lakes on the west end of RMNP, north of Silver Beach and the Birdtail River. These were known to be good moose habitat areas. One hunting technique mentioned on a number of occasions was to shoot a moose when it was in the water and could not run away quickly. The meat was usually dried right away. Deer (white-tailed or mule deer) were taken only opportunistically since they provided less meat from the kill.

A unique variety of small rĕd deer was said to inhabit a small area on the west side of RMNP. These have been seen only twice in the last twenty years (Nahurniak, pers. comm.). Explanations for this phenomenon include may include the occurrence of fallow domestic deer[4], young white-tails or elk calves that can both have a red appearance at certain times of the year.

The length of fallow deer is on average shorter than the white-tailed deer. Mule deer are larger and stockier than white-tailed deer. The summer coats of both are a reddish colour but the antlers of the mule deer are quite distinct from those of the white-tailed deer (Banfield 1981). Caribou are clove brown in the autumn and lighter in the winter. It is unlikely that the sightings were of caribou since the unusual but characteristic creamy

[4] Fallow deer (*Cervus dama*) have unusual antlers, which are characterized by a terminal flattened spade, carried above the head rather than laterally, as in moose antlers. The antlers are shed in March and April" (Banfield 1981:398). The Department of Agriculture may have records of the locations of fallow deer on farms near RMNP (Stardom, pers. comm.).

white neck and mane were not mentioned. Therefore, it is suggested that the sightings were either of young mule deer that are rarely seen in the area or escaped fallow deer. The exact type of deer reported as a unique variety cannot be discerned without more information.

Pruitt (1996) noted an historical interest in the question of whether Woodland Caribou ever inhabited the Riding Mountain region, an area considered to be within its possible range. It was therefore significant to note two separate incidents of caribou harvesting recorded during the oral interviews.

When one of the Elders was a child, her father shot a caribou at Riding Mountain. The flesh was said to be much darker than the meat they were used to. After an initial meal, the family was said to not like the taste. As a result, the mother dried the rest of the meat, pounded it up and mixed it with other more common meat to mask the flavour. The other Elder also remembered that their family did not favour the taste of the caribou meat. Since each hunter was from a different community and their hunting areas were reported as one being largely in the eastern portion of Riding Mountain and the other in the west, it is unlikely that both Woodland Caribou were harvested from the same area.

Moose meat was said to be more palatable if it was not too old. A recipe for moose nose was among the recipes for cooking wild meats. The moose nose was thrown in the fire to bake. Afterwards, the blackness was scraped off. It was then boiled for a long time before it was taken out and eaten. Beaver was prepared in the same way. The most preferred method to prepare beaver and muskrat was smoking. Although porcupine was

found, it was not eaten. Other less utilized wildlife species, like the rabbit, provided resilience during lean times and complemented the basic food basket.

Almost every week, *koskiyoke* (dry meat) was made from hunted or trapped animals in preparation for winter. Further processing of the dried meat would sometimes be done to make *nokiiogwanuk* (pounded dry meat). From the *nokiiogwanuk*, *pemmika'agun* (pemmican) would be made by adding tallow and fruit. The Elders were taught to have respect for the bones of the hunted animals. Specifically, they were told to burn them so dogs did not get them. They were also taught to never throw anything away from those animals and to use everything.

Hides were used to make clothing, moccasins, and drums. Clothing items would be made for personal use or were sometimes sold for cash. "The women of the tribes were adept at making the finished leather into fine beaded moccasins, leggings and other necessary garments. A pair of these beaded moccasins or leggings are highly prized today by anyone who is fortunate enough to possess them" (Brown 1953:5). Long ago, buffalo hides were used for robes and shelters. Clothing made from traditional products are highly coveted today as they help individuals to maintain their cultural ties to the wildlife and a time long past.

Shaaganape (raw hide) was used for lacing or straps to tie things down, to make harnesses for draft dogs and thongs for bows. Bones were used for tools like *meygoss* (needles), *mika'agun* (scrapers), and *mikingway* (fleshers). Bones were also crafted into

weapons like knives and spearheads, and were also used for fishing and hunting. Sinew was used to make *atiss* (thread).

5.2.2 Birds

There was not a lot of discussion about duck hunting at RMNP but, when this did occur, it took place in the spring. Partridge[5] and prairie chicken[6] could be found in the bush anywhere and were mentioned as substitute food sources that would be taken when meat supplies were low.

5.2.3 Fish

Although not reported to have been done extensively, people fished at both *Wagiiwing* and on-reserve.[7] Fresh fish was often smoked as a processing method and was done both at *Wagiiwing* and on-reserve. Weirs (fish traps made out of willow) were often constructed during the summer in the mouths of creeks that flowed into lakes and also in the creek that flowed through the IR. Ice fishing was done in the winter on-reserve but was not reported at *Wagiiwing*.

A lot of fish used to be found in Lake Audy and Clear Lake. Tabulenas (1983) reported that Lake Audy was preferred to Clear Lake because jackfish were a sure catch at that location. However, Clear Lake afforded greater variety, including whitefish and suckers

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[5] Partridge: Ruffed and / or sharp-tailed grouse (Baydack, pers. comm).
[6] Prairie chicken: Sharp-tailed grouse or greater prairie chicken found in old tallgrass prairie habitats. The greater prairie chicken was extirpated in the late 1940s (Baydack, pers. comm.)
[7] On-reserve fishing used to take place in the Rolling River, a creek that runs from RMNP through Rolling River IR, before beaver populations rose at RMNP and the surrounding area.

as well as jackfish. Fish from Clear Lake were either boiled and added to soup or dried (Chabot 1988).

Fish were also plentiful at Deep Lake. However, water levels have lowered over time along with the amount of fish. At Deep Lake, fish could be seen jumping out of the lake. People of all ages, including the children, used to fish in Whirlpool Creek. However, it was only the parents who would eat the fish (suckers) since many youngsters did not like this food.

5.2.4 Vegetation

5.2.4.1 Trees

Trees were used in many practical ways. Trees could be used for poles, wood for houses, fuelwood, as a message centre and the bark could be made into containers and canoes. The following provides specific information about the use of trees on *Wagiiwing*:

- **Birch Bark** was used in the production of canoes, containers, and tent coverings. Birch bark was also used as a writing surface in the production of birch bark scrolls, although these were not mentioned during data collection.
- **Birch trees** were used as a communication centre where individuals would leave their mark to let others know they were, or had been in the area. The birch bark was used in canoe-building and to make baskets for food and supplies.
- **Corduroys**: Trees served an important role in facilitating travel through muskeg areas of *Wagiiwing* / RMNP. Trees were cut down and lain side-by-side to make a track of corduroy that horses and wagons could travel over without getting stuck.

- **Firewood:** Deadfall was used for firewood.
- **Lumber** was made from timber that had been harvested under permit at RMNP in the later years. The logs were taken to a local sawmill just outside of the Park and cut into lumber. In this case, the wood was used for to construct on-reserve housing at Waywayseecappo First Nation.
- **Maple trees** in the northern portion of the Ochre River valley were tapped and maple syrup was made in that area. Maple sugar was poured into baskets of birch bark.
- **Poles:** Trees were cut and used for tent poles. The poles were also used to make drying and smoking racks for meat and fish.
- **Poplar trees** when decaying give off a luminous glow, and following an Indian method, pieces were broken off and had been used to mark a path in the night (Ringstrom 1981).
- **Willow** provided springy wood that could be woven into baskets and used to construct animal traps. Willow branches were also used to form the framework of a shelter to be used when ice-fishing.

5.2.4.2 Vegetable Plants

Vegetable plants provided variety in the diet and offered a source of essential nutrients. The vegetables[8] described as being used from the *Wagiiwing* area were wild potatoes, carrots, turnips, onions, and cattail roots (that were ground into flour or boiled as vegetables). One of the Elders commented on how much she missed having green

[8] The wild vegetables were country foods harvested on the land as opposed to garden varieties introduced by settlers that had become feral.

(Labrador[9] / muskeg) tea. The wild vegetable plants are the resource that has been gone from the diets of the people for the longest amount of time.

5.2.4.3 Fruits and Nuts

Berries were prepared and used in many different ways. Sometimes they were eaten fresh or were crushed and dried for future use. Bannock was sometimes flavoured with chokecherries or saskatoons. Fermented berries made an alcoholic beverage. Berries were also used to make dye for the ladies' fancy work. To make this fancy work, beads were strung on horse hair in the old days.

The only place noted for strawberries in the oral histories was on the hill by Moose Lake. From a scientific survey of RMNP, the herbaceous stratum of white spruce stands were found to be dominated with strawberries (Parks Canada 1984a). "Huge strawberries" (Brown 1953:152) were found in 1916 along the old Strathclair Trail during wagon travel through Riding Mountain Forest Reserve mid-way through the trip from Gilbert Plains to Lake Audy.

Saskatoons appeared in the more southerly areas. Cranberries were interspersed all over the place. Raspberries were found in a number of spots and were plentiful along what is now Highway 19. Raspberry was the most frequently occurring shrub found in aspen / spruce communities on very moist sites (Parks Canada 1984a). Gooseberries and raspberries can be found at Lake Katherine. Elders remembered harvesting wild plums

[9] Labrador tea: *Ledum groenlandicum.*

(red, blue and yellow varieties) (Tabulenas 1983). Mrs. Mary Bone from the Clear Lake IR 61a (Chabot 1988) and other Elders remembered blueberries being found in a number locations. Mooseberry, (with a white flower and an orange-red fruit) has been found on the west end of Riding Mountain (Nahurniak, pers. comm).

From memory, the people said there were no berries by Whirlpool Lake. However, a Parks Canada report (1984a) mentioned that raspberries, gooseberries, and snowberries had established themselves in a jack pine stand that succeeded a clear cut at Whirlpool Lake. Chokecherries (Parks Canada 1984a) and pincherries (Tabulenas 1983) are found in RMNP, but were not mentioned in the interviews. Wild hops for yeast was reported by Tabulenas (1983) but was not mentioned during data collection. Parks Canada (1984a) referred to nut gathering activity in the past and Tabulenas (1983) specifically mentioned hazelnuts. Nut gathering was not mentioned by the Elders.

5.2.4.4 Medicinal Plants

Medicines are important because they keep people healthy. Medicine keeps traditional knowledge with the people and provides important training for youth. Elders that work as medicine healers are respected and their abilities are a source of pride for the healer.

Wagiiwing is an area preferred for its medicine because the land is pure. In this pristine condition, medicines are untainted by chemicals thereby preserving their quality, i.e. medicines are not weakened or destroyed. Seneca roots were said to be much larger at Riding Mountain than in the surrounding areas because they were not affected by

chemicals and were not over-harvested. People from great distances made special trips to this area to gather medicines found throughout the *Wagiiwing* area.

There are many different types of traditional medicines. The following provides a few examples of the ways that traditional medicines are used. Some medicines are used in healing to directly attack a sickness, while others are used to prevent sickness. Still other may be used to enhance performance of some nature. Medicines are also used in ceremonies or may be placed in bundles and carried on the person. The list of medicines harvested at *Wagiiwing* is not complete and has been augmented with cited reports, but provides an idea of the range of medicines people spoke about or were known to use:

- **Cat Tails** were ground into flour or boiled as vegetables. When carried in the pocket, the root was considered a medicine against snakes (Erickson Collegiate 1970).
- **Jack pine** was used to help "break a fever or relieve a headache" (Chabot 1988:122).[10]
- ***Mush-ki-gosh*** "(which is probably yarrow) would have been given to those suffering fits" (Chabot 1988:122).[11]
- **One type of medicinal leaf** was mixed with the tobacco to prevent cancer from occuring.
- **Seneca Root** is an important medicine favoured by many Aboriginal groups.[12] It could be prepared in different ways and used to treat different ailments. Seneca root

[10] From an interview with Mrs. Mary Bone who was approximately 118 years of age when interviewed by Chabot (1988) in November 1986.
[11] Chabot (1988) interview with Mrs. Mary Bone.
[12] Turcotte and Kenkel (1997) provide an excellent description of the medicinal uses of seneca root.

was one type of medicine that was used in both the cash and traditional economies. Seneca root helped the people look after themselves.

- **Sweetgrass** was also used.
- **"Tobacco"** could be made from sweet grass or the leaves of wild bushes. Tobacco was also said to be made from *semas* or from a combination of red-osier dogwood and berriberry leaves (Erickson Collegiate 1970).
- ***Wiikay*** is also a root that, like seneca root, can be prepared in a number of different ways and be used to treat different ailments. Also known as wild ginger, this medicine was used to fight colds.[13]
- **Wild Sarsaparilla,** known by the primary researcher to be a medicinal plant used by the Anishnabe, was not mentioned in the interviews but is found in aspen / spruce stands of RMNP (Parks Canada 1984a).

Use of medicines by the people has not just decreased because people cannot get medicines from the Park. Elders note that, because things are commercialized today, there are substitutes available for everything including the medicines. Further, peoples' lifestyles have changed and, as less time is spent on the land, there is less opportunity and desire to learn about medicines. For these reasons, the number of people practicing traditional medicine has diminished significantly. More research should be done to record the types and uses of traditional medicines of RMNP. The research would help

[13] Chabot (1988) interview with Mrs. Mary Bone.

preserve this valuable information for the Anishnabe people and could support a change in RMNP policy related to access and harvest of medicinal plants.

5.2.4.5 Wild Rice

Wild rice, a long-standing dietary staple of the Anishnabe, was harvested at Riding Mountain, albeit in limited quantities and for a limited time (Chabot 1988). Five hundred pounds of wild rice were planted in Lake Audy some time before 1933 to attract ducks and geese back to the area. By 1933, the Lake Audy shore was covered with one or two acres of wild rice. While initially successful, the ducks kept eating off the rice as it grew above the waters surface. Since new growth was effectively curbed by the ducks, efforts to cultivate wild rice at Lake Audy was soon abandoned (Tabulenas 1983).

5.2.5 Other Resources

When Henry Youle Hind explored the Riding Mountain region, he noted that the Indians had made clay pipes from soft shales that outcropped near the summit of Riding Mountain (Ellis 1934). In addition to pipe bowls, local stone was also reported as being used to make cutting and scraping tools. Small sharp stones, *kiinisid assin*, were used as cutting instruments in healing practices (Erickson Collegiate 1970).

5.3 Cultural Use

The culture of a people is expressed in ways such as through naming of places; stories of their history; heritage sites; and behaviours that are associated with sacred sites. This section provides an overview of the cultural landscape that is illustrated in Map 3.

5.3.1 Culturally Significant Sites

Two versions of the Anishnabe traditional land and resource use database were produced in this research. The First Nation communities were provided with an unedited version containing the complete history of the culturally significant sites of *Wagiiwing* as generated in the interviews. The published version of this research includes the edited version of the database that is supplied in Appendix E.

The objective in generating two versions of the database was to protect the integrity of this information on behalf of the First Nation partners. It was envisioned that the First Nation communities themselves could share appropriate amounts of this knowledge with RMNP staff after entering a collaborative partnership agreement related to Aboriginal cultural resources at RMNP.

The culturally significant sites that were shared by the Elders are illustrated in Map 3. Sites are identified by coded numbers, rather than names. The histories associated with a select number of these sites have been shared in a generic and locationally unspecific way in this section to provide some insight to the reader about the types of culturally significant sites found in RMNP. The First Nation partners have reviewed and edited this section.

- **"Bone Hill" (Elk Sacred Grounds):** There is a sacred area known to the people where elk used to go to die. Bone Hill was spoken of with reverence for the departed animals. In addition to the sacredness of the site, the Anishnabe would visit the site

for practical reasons. Antlers were collected there, as well as rib bones that were used to make tools for hide tanning and cutting.

The fact that the elk would go up to this hill for their passing, leaving behind their bones, is reminiscent of Seton's reference in 1886 to the shed elk antlers that were found primarily on hills. Seton postulated that this was due to antlers being shed in the winter when the depth of snow compelled elk to frequent comparatively bare elevations (Manitoba Naturalists Society 1980). In this case, it may be likely that older elk sought out environments that were less energetically demanding for movement during the winter. Areas with less cover and less snow may have exposed the older elk to greater environmental stressors and contributed to a winter's passing on this hill.

- **Thunderbird Nesting Sites:** There are thunderbird nesting sites found on *Wagiiwing*. These areas are within the spirit world and are highly respected. In contrast to cultural sites that are visited, thunderbird nesting sites are considered to be areas that should be avoided.
- **Vision Quest Site:** One particular site was visited by Anishnabe to conduct a vision quest. A person who went for a vision quest would stay at the site for a period of days and nights.
- **Rock Painting (Petroglyph):** In addition to the petroglyph known by Scott Creek, another rock painting was thought to exist in a particular area. The location of this site should be verified through field investigation.

- **Burial Grounds:** A number of individual burial locations were identified, as well as one area with multiple burial sites (not including the historic community site). The Elders did not desire that these areas be identified to the management staff of RMNP or the general public in order to preserve the privacy of the sites.

  Elders, as well as a cited source (The Centennial History Committee 1970), provided evidence that burial was not the only way people were laid to rest in the Anishnabe culture. Elevating the deceased in a tree or structure was another traditional method used. A homesteader about to clear an area for buildings in the Strathclair region found a deceased baby wrapped in its cradle, hanging in a tree (The Centennial History Committee 1970). In the past, when passing or coming upon an interment site, people used to clean the area and leave flowers or other offerings at the site.

- **Life Stage Initiation Area:** Part of the oral history of the Anishnabe culture relates that there was a location in *Wagiiwing* that was used by young women who were experiencing their change in life stage to womanhood. A long time ago, the young girl was taken to stay alone in her tent away from the other members of the Band. The young woman had her own stock of kitchen ware that was used solely by her at that time. Old ladies used to visit to counsel the young woman about things for her future. While it was known that such an area did exist and that it had been used for this purpose, none of the Elders or their family members directly participated in this practice. The location of the area is no longer known.

- **Legend Sites:** Areas associated with particular legends, i.e. actual occurrences, were identified in RMNP. It was noted that Anishnabe appear reluctant to share this information, fearing ethnocentric ridicule for their beliefs by the non-Native. In one example of this circumstance, an Elder (who was then a younger man employed at RMNP) was requested by a co-worker to share a story from his people about the Park. While he was telling the legend, the co-worker interrupted him and laughingly questioned whether or not he actually believed that story. As a consequence, the story did not continue and was never again shared at RMNP. Of the legend sites, the Elders were very specific in stating for the primary researcher's understanding that these stories are NOT myths. The legends are real accounts of their Anishnabe history and are maintained through their transmission from oral history.

5.3.2 Heritage Sites

In addition to culturally significant sites, there are other places in *Wagiiwing* that capture the heritage of the Anishnabe people. The heritage sites are gathering places, or community sites, where people lived either continually or intermittently within an annual cycle. The historic community in the northwest corner of RMNP is one such site.

Clear Lake IR 61a was another area that was frequently spoken of, particularly because this was the originating home for a number of the Elders' relatives. Many people used to travel to this site with their kin and would stay for periods of varying length to hunt and

fish. Even without family members living at this IR, people would go there to camp and live for the summer.

Lake Audy, as a more permanent type of living area, was spoken about by the Elders in a similar way to that of the Clear Lake IR. More uniquely, however, many people spoke about the peaceful feeling of being at Lake Audy which may be attributed to its more remote location and aesthetically different environment.

Moon Lake was also an important heritage site frequented for cultural and traditional use purposes. This site differs from Lake Audy and Clear Lake heritage sites in that people would reside at Moon Lake on a seasonal basis. First Nation people from all over (distant locations) used to gather during the summer at this site. In addition to ceremonies that were practiced, it was also a place used to process harvested resources in preparation for winter.

Lake Katherine was referred to on numerous occasions as being a highly valued and visited place. The resources were particularly rich within a close radius of that location. Berries, such as gooseberries and raspberries, were picked. Seneca root was harvested. People stayed and camped by the lake and the Elders remembered swimming there as children with their whole families (mom, dad, kids, and grandparents) in attendance. This was also a favoured place to stay when traveling from Rolling River IR on the way to the IR at Clear Lake.

5.3.3 Toponyms: Place Names

> "The names of places of the land represent the intricate and intimate relationship between people and their environment in many ways and dimensions. The names identify exact geographical locations and their spatial extent. Due to their content and application they convey the knowledge, use and occupancy of named space by the people to whom this land is their own, their homeland. Place names are thus markers and symbols for knowing and using the land in its quality and importance to a particular culture and its territory. Furthermore names and their places are interrelated in a network of land forming spatial systems whose geographic extent can be clearly discerned and identified" (Muller-Wille 1987:1).

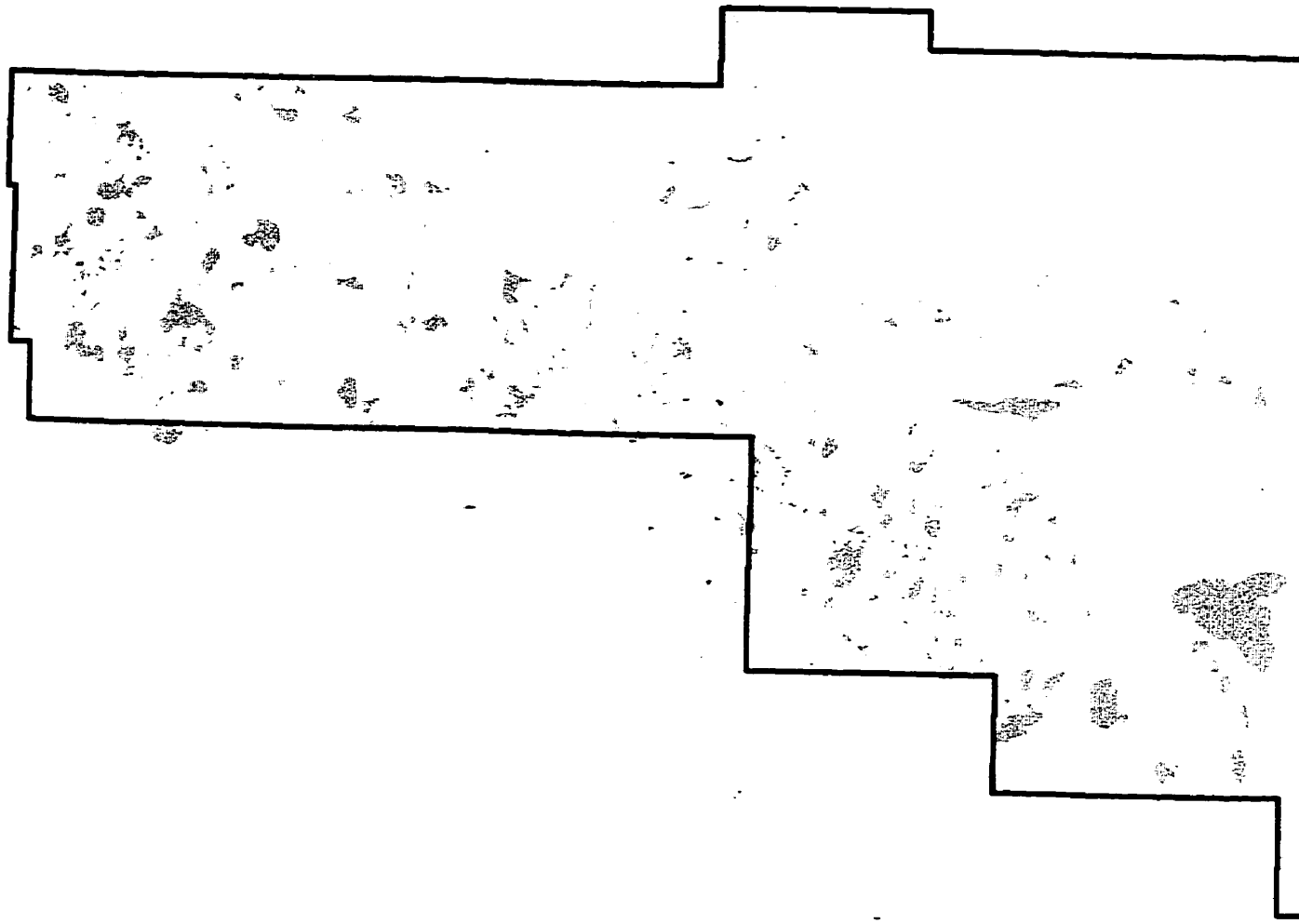
Anishnabe history of their homeland would not be complete without an attempt to gather information that specifically revealed the knowledge, use and occupancy of the people within their territorial spatial system. This section provides an unique glimpse into the rich traditions, world view and oral history associated with *Wagiiwing* and the vestiges of the culture that was once defined by the 'Hill of the Buffalo Chase'.

Place names appearing on Map 4 were provided by the Elders from Rolling River First Nation. The list is incomplete and additions can be added over time. Waywayseecappo First Nation community Elders had a more difficult time in remembering the specific names of places in RMNP. While they knew that there were many stories and place names, most of these have been lost because of the amount of time that they have been disconnected from their cultural and environmental ecosystem.

Oral histories are better maintained within territorial lands. Being present at the actual location where the original story took place helps enmesh people in a physically tangible way to their history of travel, place, and narrative. Without travelling on the land, to

Wagiiwing Toponyms

Wagiiwing (Riding Mountain)

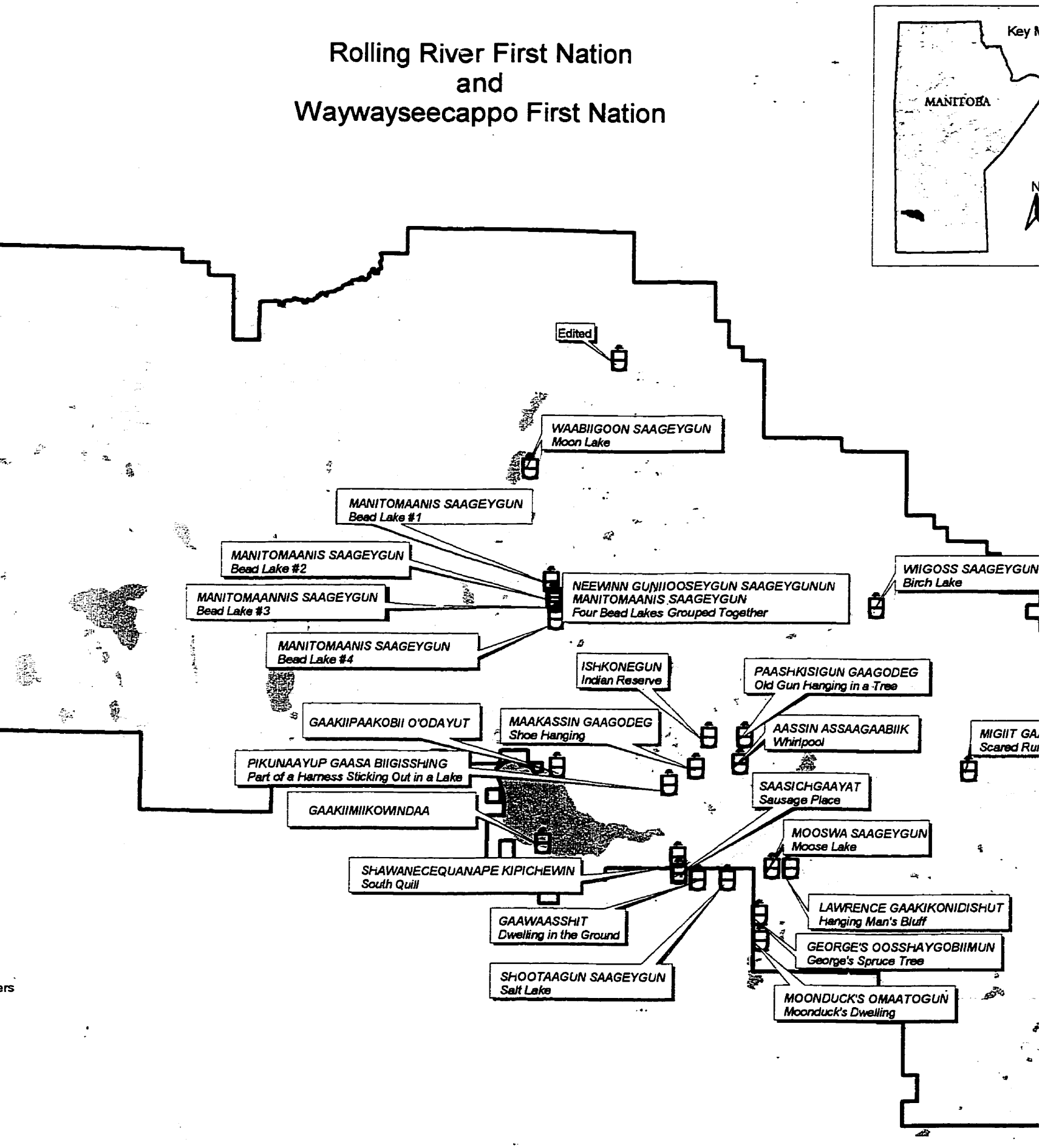


5 0 5 10 Kilometers

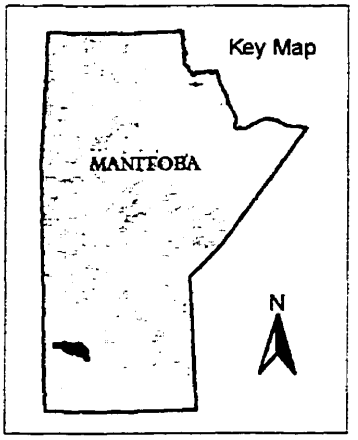
2 0 2 4 Miles

Data Gathered and Edited by: Marilyn K. Peckett
Natural Resources Institute
Data Compilation - D. Forlanski
Map Production - W. Creed
May 1999

Rolling River First Nation
and
Waywayseecappo First Nation



Rolling River First Nation
and
Waywayseecappo First Nation



Edited

WAABIIGOON SAAGEYGUN
Moon Lake

MANITOMAANIS SAAGEYGUN
Bead Lake #1

MANITOMAANIS SAAGEYGUN
Bead Lake #2

MANITOMAANNIS SAAGEYGUN
Bead Lake #3

MANITOMAANIS SAAGEYGUN
Bead Lake #4

NEEWINN GUNIIOOSEYGUN SAAGEYGUNUN
MANITOMAANIS SAAGEYGUN
Four Bead Lakes Grouped Together

WIGOSS SAAGEYGUN
Birch Lake

ISHKONEGUN
Indian Reserve

PAASHKISIGUN GAAGODEG
Old Gun Hanging in a Tree

GAAKIIPAAKOBII O'ODAYUT

MAAKASSIN GAAGODEG
Shoe Hanging

AASSIN ASSAAGAABIIK
Whirlpool

MIGIIT GAASAYGEYSIT
Scared Rump Road

PIKUNAAYUP GAASA BIIGISSHING
Part of a Harness Sticking Out in a Lake

SAASICHGAAYAT
Sausage Place

GAAKIIMIIKOWINDAA

MOOSWA SAAGEYGUN
Moose Lake

SHAWANECEQUANAPE KIPICHEWIN
South Quill

LAWRENCE GAAKIKONIDISHUT
Hanging Man's Bluff

GAAWAASSHIT
Dwelling in the Ground

GEORGE'S OOSSHAYGOBIIMUN
George's Spruce Tree

SHOOTAAGUN SAAGEYGUN
Salt Lake

MOONDUCK'S OMAATOGUN
Moonduck's Dwelling

Table 5.1: *Wagiiwing* Toponyms (Place Names)

Saulteaux / Ojibwa Toponym	English Translation
Pikunaayup Gaasa Biigisshing	Part of a harness sticking out of a lake
Maakassin Gaagodeg	Shoe Hanging
Paashkisigun Gaagodeg	Old Gun Hanging in Tree
Aassin Assaagaabiik	Whirlpool
Wiigoss Saageygun	Birch Lake
Mooswa Saageygun	Moose Lake
Lawrence Gaakikonidishut	Hanging Man's Bluff
Migiit Gaasaygeysit	Scared Rump Road[14]
Waabiigoon Saageygun	Moon Lake
Shawanecequanape Kipichewin	South Quill
Shootaagun Saageygun	Salt Lake
Gaawaasshit	Dwelling in the Ground
Saasichgaayat	Sausage Place
Ishkonegun	Indian Reserve
Gaakiipaakobii o'odayut	Culturally Significant: edited.
Gaakiimiikowindaa	Culturally Significant: edited.
Neewin Guniiooseygun Saageygunun	Four Bead Lakes Grouped Together
Manitomaanis Saageygun	Bead Lake #1 (428350, 5629700)[15]
Manitomaanis Saageygun	Bead Lake #2 (428500, 5628700)
Manitomaanis Saageygun	Bead Lake #3 (428600, 5628400)
Manitomaanis Saageygun	Bead Lake #4 (428650, 5627300)
Mooduck's Omaatogun	Mooduck's Dwelling
George's Oosshaygobiimun	George's Spruce Tree
Shaawinoobiniik[16]	No information at this time.

[14] The road where your rump gets tight on the seat of a wagon because the road slopes so much to the side that you are afraid you will tip over.
[15] Map coordinates.
[16] Appeared in researcher's notes but the location has not yet been mapped.

different places, and accounting the stories of each place passed or rested at, memory fades over time.

Serving as a further stimulant to forget the old and adopt the new, Euro-Canadian names have been labeled on the landscape and on the maps that now guide people in their travels. Replacement of the original places names could be considered a systematic erasure of Indian presence. As data collection with Waywayseecappo has shown, the result has been a dispossession of the Indian territorial identity.

Delaney (1972) identifies five reasons that result in the loss and replacement of place names on the landscape:

1. Changing population patterns, with the identification of geographic features responding to the predominate language useage in any given time period;
2. Substitution of a new name in ignorance of the existence of a former one;
3. Deliberate substitution because of greater ease of usage in the language of the user, or because of prejudice;
4. Translation of descriptive names; and
5. Manipulation of geographic names to serve semi-political ends (p. 319).

Even though Indian (mostly Anishnabe) place names have been incorporated for use at RMNP, there is evidence that the loss and replacement of Anishnabe toponyms was aided *en masse* by the range of reasons provided above. One place name of note stands as a prominent example of an Indian name that continues to be widely used at RMNP: *Wasagaming* or "clear water".

A competition to choose the new name for this National Park was instituted in 1932 by the Honourable T.G. Murphy, then Dominion Minister. Conducted through the provincial Department of Education, the competition was used as a means to create widespread interest in the Park. The newspaper article, of unknown origin but dated 28 June 1932, proclaimed the winning name and conveyed the policy of National Parks in selecting new names as related by the then commissioner of National Parks, J.B. Harkin. "(T)he policy of the National Parks wherever possible is to select names that are attractively euphonious and so are an asset in the publicity for tourists" (Green 1990:n.p.).

In an attempt to regain a measure of the lost history and presence of the Anishnabe at RMNP, it has already been recommended to promote or interpret Indian toponyms (RMNP 1996b). This is recommended to be a partnership activity between the First Nations and RMNP. An excellent research project is further identified for the youth of the two (or even all) adjacent First Nation communities. A more complete description and history of the remaining named places in RMNP could be compiled from direct interviews with the Elders by the youth. This research is recommended to be a priority activity to preserve this historic knowledge before the Elders, the repositories of community historical knowledge, pass on.

5.4 The Use of Fire

While no information was revealed in the data collection to conclusively state that fire, as a traditional technology (TT), was applied to enhance the ecological environment, it is

likely that this technology did exist. The use of fire by hunter / gatherers has been well documented (Lewis 1977, 1980, 1992; Lewis and Ferguson 1988, Pyne 1982, 1993,).[17]

Fire technology has been used to burn and care for a variety of natural landscapes to enhance habitats for preferred species. Fire has also been used to flush out small game (Pyne 1982), "to reduce fire hazards, facilitate travel, improve berry patches, provide a source of (pre-dried) firewood, and decrease (pest) populations" (Lewis 1980:78). Other domestic uses include cooking, and the production of light, heat and ceramics (Pyne 1982). Fire technology has been found to express the practical, ritual, and aesthetic stewardship responsibilities of its Aboriginal practitioners (Lewis 1992).

The use of fire technology on the landscape would have required the Anishnabe to have an extensive ecological understanding about fire, including:

> "how, when (and when not), where (and where not), and why to use fire for bringing about and maintaining a number of environmental conditions that were, and in many remote areas ... still are, central to the relationships between Aboriginal people and the environment... (Integral components to this understanding are) the effects that fires of variable intensity, frequency, and seasonality have for a range of plants and animals in particular kinds of habitats, all at various stages of regrowth (Lewis 1992:19).

Lewis (1992) found that low to moderate fires are considered *management* technologies. Conflagrations are included within fire technology, but these large-scale fires are considered to be ecologically *corrective* technologies. Conflagrations have been known to be applied to maximize an environmental 'cleaning' effect as these result in the

[17] Lewis provides an excellent discussion on the development of academic inquiry and discourse related to burning as part of hunter-gatherer subsistence strategies.

removal of climax vegetation and accumulations of forest litter. The effect of this release and use of stored energy results in the rejuvenation of unproductive and over-aged forest environments (Lewis 1992).

Oral histories gathered in this research did not reveal that fire technology was used to enhance the ecology of the *Wagiiwing* area. All Elders stated adamantly that, to the best of their knowledge, they did not use fire to modify their landscape. The people were very careful about using fire since "Mother Nature has her way of looking after things in a natural way." Man-made fire was not said to be the Anishnabe way for this area.

As children, Elders were taught to make sure that all fires were out before leaving an area. Water would be placed on the fire and the fire pit would be dug up all around. Fire was remembered to be used for other purposes, however. Big fires (bonfires) were used for navigation, to help hunting parties return to their camp. Smaller fires were used for cooking and as a smudge to keep down the mosquitoes and horseflies.

Even though no information was uncovered during the interviews, it is likely that the use of fire as an Aboriginal management technology had been employed until some point to enhance the ecology of the *Wagiiwing* area. References were made from a number of sources, including Anishnabe research participants, warden staff (retired and existing) (Bergeson, pers. comm., Rousseau, pers. comm.), and adjacent residents (Nahurniak, pers. comm., Medaniuk, pers. comm.), pertaining to the fact that RMNP used to have more open prairie than is presently the case.

It was noted that many areas of "past prairie" illustrated in Map 3 are adjacent to water bodies. Camps were preferentially located near water sources used for domestic purposes and to water stock, and were often situated within high density wildlife habitat. In Alberta, for example, burning was often done near shorelines of ponds and lakes to enhance habitat for ducks and geese (Lewis and Ferguson 1988). This may provide evidence that fire was once used as a TT by the Anishnabe of *Wagiiwing*.

Fire could have been used to maintain favourable conditions for game animals, like elk, that exploit edge habitats between forest, grassland, and water areas (Lewis and Ferguson 1988). Fire maintains open areas by preventing the woody growth associated with later successional stages and maintains the benefits of maximum productivity that are gained through early successional stages. Burning has been noted to increase browse forage species and changes in animal distributions (Ratti and Garton 1994).[18] Burning would have increased the availability of browse and optimized summer foraging habitat for elk, a preferred hunting species by the Anishnabe.

Fire could increase the diversity of suitable local habitat over an annual cycle for elk on *Wagiiwing*. Migration distances could have been concentrated by reducing the distance elk would have to travel to access open browse areas in the summer months and more sheltered forested areas during the winter months. Since hunter / gatherers are dependent upon the natural distributions and occurrences of resources, maintaining optimum habitat

[18] Population increases in relation to prescribed burning have not been adequately documented or thoroughly studied (Ratti and Garton 1994).

for the elk in a more concentrated spatial arrangement would have lessened outputs of hunting effort and reduced travel distances between summer and winter camp areas.

It is unlikely that the use of fire as a TT to enhance the ecology of *Wagiiwing* did not exist. Rather, it is more likely that knowledge of its use has been lost over time due to long-term enforcement to suppress fire in the area. The current environmental state of increased forestation in RMNP has been attributed to long-term, active fire suppression (Parks Canada 1984a). After Riding Mountain Forest Reserve was designated in 1906, much of the work of forest rangers was related to fire prevention. To facilitate their work, fire towers were erected at strategic points around the Forest Reserve (Tabulenas 1983) Fire was considered to be the most destructive force affecting Riding Mountain (Tabulenas 1983:178).

Fire suppression record keeping was established in 1940 and, since that time, it has been documented that average annual burns have decreased. While the fire rotation period[19], or the fire cycle (Payette 1992), during the years 1940-49 was determined to be 134 years, by 1965 this period had increased to 409 years (Parks Canada 1984a).

Tangible evidence does indicate that Aboriginal burning had been practiced. J.R. Dickson who directed the general inventory of the Riding Mountain Forest Reserve in 1906 recorded the following in his records:

> "(T)he devastation wrought by fire in the previous twenty-five years (was) due to the carelessness of lumber men, settlers, half-breeds and Indians. For miles and

[19] Fire rotation period (fire cycle) is the time required to burn an area equal in size to the study area (Johnson 1994).

> miles along old Indian trails stretches open prairie or desolated waste of blackened stumps. Ground fires around the outskirts of the reserve, especially those bordering settlements, are annual inflictions. All around Clear Lake denuded semi-prairie conditions exist indicating fire destruction. ... (However,) (t)he fires have not impaired the producing power of the soil." (Ringstrom 1981).

It is quite clear that burning as a TT did occur. It is surmised that the practice of burning was actively repressed by the people in order to avoid enforcement actions. Over time, this knowledge has apparently been lost.

Summary

This chapter has provided an examination of the land and resource uses, as well as the knowledge base of the Anishnabe as these related to their territorial landscape of *Wagiiwing*. Chapter 6 that follows provides discussion and conclusions related to the first objective, to create GIS maps based on oral histories and information compiled in individual land use maps.

CHAPTER 6:
DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters fulfill the goal of the research to preserve the existing historic knowledge of Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations related to their Riding Mountain homeland. To complete this effort, videotaped interviews were conducted with the Elders of the participating communities. A set of the videotaped interviews were provided to the Elders' respective First Nations and each Elder received a copy of their videotape as a gift from the researcher. In cases where an interview was not videotaped or where the videotape was technically flawed, other appropriate gifts were given to the Elder in recognition of their contribution.

Individual land use maps gathered from oral histories were synthesized into a set of four GIS maps and a database to address the first objective of the research. The Pre- and Post-RMNP Renewable Resource Harvest maps appear between Chapters 4 and 5. The Cultural and Ecological map appears in Section 5.1.2 and Section 5.3.3 provides insight into the cultural ethos and history of the Anishnabe through a map of *Wagiiwing* Toponyms (place names). Each of the four maps were mounted on large poster boards and both First Nations received a complete set for use and display in their community. The edited database is located in Appendix E. Altogether, these research products help to share the rich history and intimate relationship of the Riding Mountain or *Wagiiwing* Anishnabe and provide evidence of the lifestyle and livelihood change that befell the people after the establishment of RMNP.

The discussion section of this chapter addresses the second objective of the research, to establish the significance of the mapped information to the participating First Nation people. The significance is discussed in relation to the results of the research. The balance of the chapter examines the limitations of the research through an evaluation of the potential sources of error and conclusions are presented in the last section. The final research objective is fulfilled in the final chapter that present the recommendations from this research.

6.1 Discussion

Gathering factual information from Elders during oral interviews, while providing data, did not establish how or why this information was important to the Anishnabe, i.e. the significance of their traditional land and resource use of *Wagiiwing*. To place the data into context and better understand the consequences to the Anishnabe of establishing a national park within the *Wagiiwing* traditional territory, establishing the significance of the mapped information was the first part of the second research objective.

The components of the mapped information were reviewed during a community meeting that was held in each of the participating First Nation communities. From the review, the significance of these components within their traditional lifestyle, livelihood and cultural history was established. The balance of this section summarizes these results and places them in context to the information presented in earlier chapters.

The land of *Wagiiwing* provided the people with a sense of identity and a homeland where spiritual connections were maintained and the sustainability of the people was

assured. *Wagiiwing* provided physical, mental and spiritual benefits in addition to a sense of belonging.

Through their historic relationship to the natural environment, traditional technologies developed for *Wagiiwing*, such as the elk jump hunting technique, and were practiced by the Anishnabe. Trails were a cultural expression of the historic Indian societies, including the Assiniboine and Cree, that used and maintained them over time. As the trails were altered to facilitate settlement and park development, the relationship of the people to their trails was changed and modifications threatened the people's safety.

In addition to the importance of wildlife for practical necessity, sacred relationships were maintained between Anishnabe and wildlife. Wildlife also helped to define male / female identities and skill development. The loss of intimacy with the wildlife resource base that defined social organization and provided people with a sense of purpose has had adverse social, spiritual, and economic effects.

The disconnection with the traditional resource base has resulted in a diminished food basket of high quality, preferred country foods and a depleted medicine chest of healing goods, along with the services of those who once could heal. It was felt that there had been a deterioration of physical health through dietary and lifestyle change associated with the loss of traditional use and access after RMNP was established.

Cultural knowledge has been lost over time. Elders did not remember how a number of resources, like the rocks and stone, were used in traditional craft and practices, although

found in the historical written record. The locations of ceremonial sites and practices were likewise lost over time, along with much of the Indian territorial identity that could have been revealed by the many now forgotten place names.

The TT of using fire to modify and enhance the ecology of the environment was most notably absent and has been effectively extinguished from the Anishnabe knowledge base. Although evidence exists that the use of fire was practiced historically in Riding Mountain by the Anishnabe, no evidence was produced of its use through the oral interviews with Elders. If this TT was exercised, the knowledge of it has now been lost.

Research to compile the oral histories of Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations has served to gather known facts into one place. At this same time, it has served to highlight unanswered questions about the process used to establish the National Park:

- Why were the Anishnabe not included in the decision-making to establish a protected area around the core of their traditional territory and many of their most sacred sites?
- What changes occurred in the relationship that appeared to place the Indian Agent in a higher position of authority over the activities of the Anishnabe in relation to Park administration or policy?; and
- What has been the fate of the IR lands said to be located in RMNP?

Only further research may potentially addressed these unanswered questions.

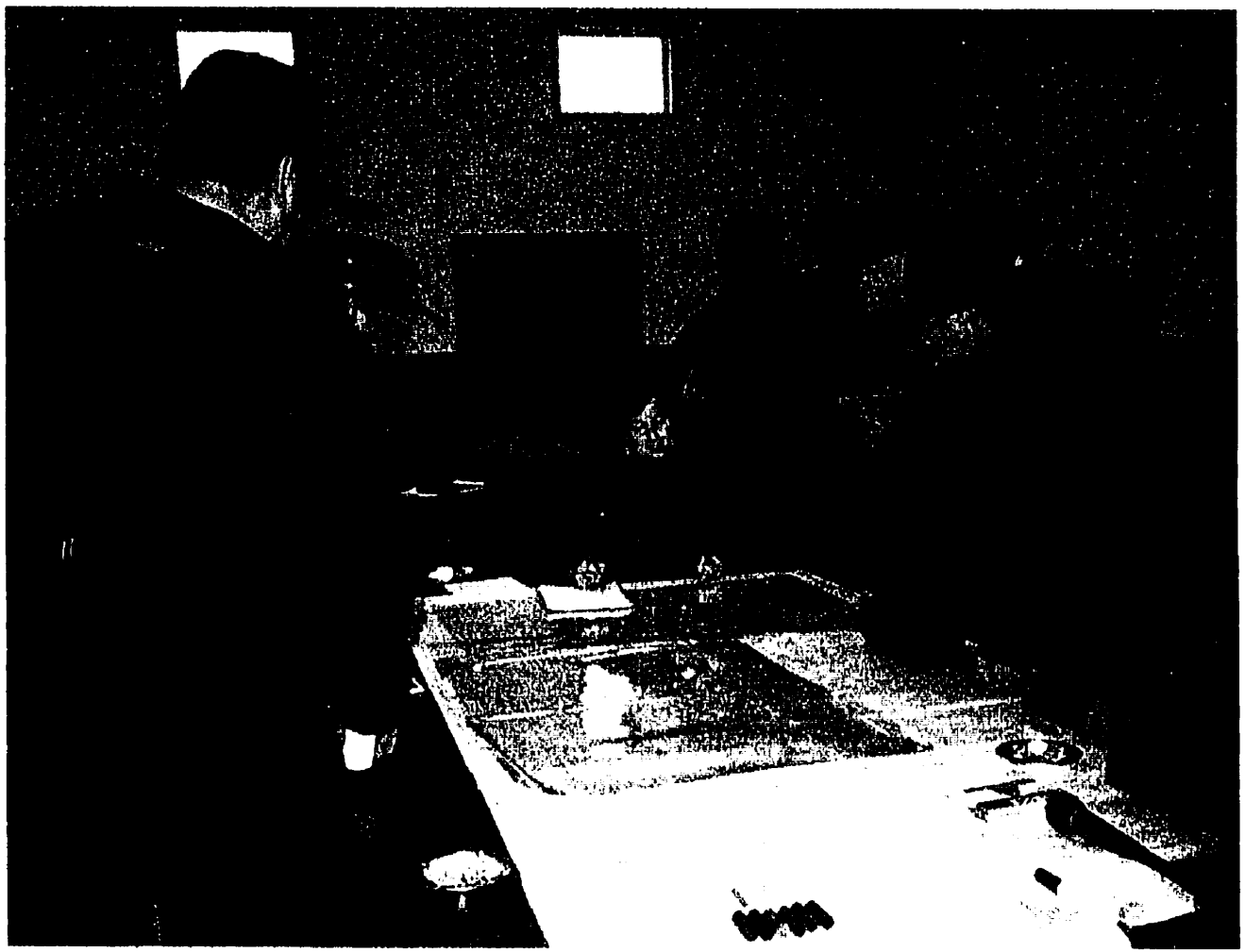


Figure 6.1: Recording *Wagiiwing* Toponyms at Rolling River First Nation

From left to right: Willard Huntinghawk, Elder Walter Scott (Keeseekoowenin First Nation), Thomas Shannacappo (Land Manager), Marilyn Peckett (Researcher), Elder Francis Shannacappo, Eric Shorting, Dennis McKay, Elder Herman McKay, and Virgil Kirkness.

6.2 Evaluating Sources of Error

Anishnabe traditional land and resource use of the Riding Mountain region was a historic account of the oral histories of the remaining Elders in Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations. Unlike similar land use studies that report current uses and harvest levels, data collected in this research were based on stories passed down from ancestors and information that reaches back into memories that have been held in some cases over seventy years.

For these reasons, much of the specificity that can be achieved in land use research conducted on current practice and occupancy could not be achieved in this research. However, this collection is invaluable to preserve the last vestiges of the distinctive culture and way of life that defined the Anishnabe of *Wagiiwing*. Cited sources were used to supplement this information and confirm points of reference provided in the oral histories.

The current boundary of RMNP was used to delimit the geographic extent of the land use area in the research. Two deficiencies were noted from the use of this boundary. The first deficiency was methodological. The wrong boundary was used to define the land use area for the time period before RMNP was established. In this case, the Riding Mountain Forest Reserve boundary was not used during data collection but was applied as the base layer during GIS map compilation. The Forest Reserve boundary was larger than the RMNP boundary, including sections of land now privately held in the area south of Clear Lake and at the northwestern tip of RMNP. Since data were not collected in

those areas, gaps occur where the current RMNP boundary does not match the Forest Reserve boundary.

The second deficiency is a result of practical considerations to focus data collection on the area of RMNP. To focus on the politically-defined area does not situate traditional use within its larger ecological setting. Use did not begin, nor end, at the boundary of RMNP. Therefore, where Elders mapped use areas that were outside of RMNP, these have been included in the final maps and have reduced the effect of the methodological data gap mentioned above. Future research to include the historic land use of Tootinaowaziibeeng First Nation and integrate the findings of the Keeseekoowenin First Nation land use research results would provide a more complete record of the Anishnabe homeland history of Riding Mountain.

A number of factors that stem from the data acquisition process can influence the results of the study. Under-reporting of information is a significant factor. Freeman (1976), Ferguson and Messier (1997), and the primary researcher (pers. obs.) have experienced the following situations associated with under-reporting: participants were often careful about revealing information perceived to be sensitive or proprietary; a respondent might not mention information assumed already known or obvious; individuals deferred repeating information they felt others were more qualified to share; and lack of recall.

Freeman 1976, Ferguson and Messier (1993), and Berkes (pers. comm.) noted the likelihood of under-reporting of land uses. For example, Freeman (1976) found in his research with the Inuit that, owing to reasons of personal integrity and cultural

manifestation, their concern for honesty and accuracy outweighed the possibility to overstate use. Berkes (pers. comm.) advised that interviewing too few Elders could lead to gaps left unreported for use within the territory being researched. The effect would be to bias the results and possibly affect the research conclusions. Other reasons for under-reporting may be attributed to the interviewer and the interview process. Some examples include poor communication between the interviewer and respondent, and lengthy survey instruments that confuse or exceed the endurance of the respondent during an interviews (Dixon and Leach, undated; Ferguson and Messier 1997).

It was expected that under-reporting was a possibility within this research and, in fact, did occur. In the first instance, many of the Elders who had specific and intimate knowledge about land and resource use before and after 1930 had already passed away. Data collection was therefore based on a small number of research participants who may or may not have been born before RMNP was established. For this reason, both oral histories and experiential knowledge were gathered as data.

Areas appeared on the GIS maps (Maps 1 and 2) that lacked reported usage. The lack of data collected for those areas was not assumed to mean that those areas were not used. This may have been an expression of bias in the results, as suggested by Berkes (pers. comm.), introduced by interviewing the limited number of Elders with knowledge about *Wagiiwing*. Alternatively, it was found that the Anishnabe of Riding Mountain held territorially-defined areas of land use that were respected between the groups, accounting for areas appearing unused. In this case, the gap appearing in the centre of the RMNP

harvest maps represents the land use area reportedly associated with the Keeseekoowenin First Nation.

Cultural sites did not appear to be similarly territorially defined. Therefore, even those areas not identified as use areas were traveled through, to reach cultural sites or when traveling outside of *Wagiiwing*. Further research with the remaining First Nations adjacent to RMNP could provide a more complete and specific description of traditional land and resource use of *Wagiiwing*.

Under-reporting also occurred in data collection related to culturally-significant sites. While a number of sites of this nature were provided within the research process, some remained unreported because the mapped location was unknown. Additionally, in the case of some burial sites, participants in some instances preferred to not have the location reported. Lack of trust in the primary researcher may have also precluded reporting. However, those culturally significant sites shared with the researcher were indeed extremely significant. The edited database and First Nation review of pre-published research drafts have ensured the confidentiality and integrity of this important information.

The method of individually interviewing research participants likely also contributed to under-reporting of data, due to reasons such as deference to others perceived to be more knowledgeable and lack of recall. A contributing factor not mentioned in other studies is the fact that individually interviewing Elders may be considered as being inconsistent with Anishnabe culture and tradition, and subsequently may have led to under-reporting.

In Anishnabe tradition, information sharing was undertaken in a group fashion. The synergistic effect of group sharing enhanced recall of historic events and specific details, as well as reinforced the respect accorded to individuals for their knowledgeable contributions.

If under-reporting occurred due to individually interviewing Elders, this effect was mitigated through community meetings to confirm the completeness and accuracy of the results, and provide clarification of details. Community meetings provided another opportunity and means to fill data gaps where under-reporting had occurred. By conducting the research using a participatory approach with the Land Managers during data collection and with the community to verify the information, establish the significance of traditional land and resource uses and develop recommendations, the expectation remains that significant gaps in the research will have been minimized.

6.3 Conclusion

The approach used to establish RMNP held the Anishnabe peoples and perspectives in disregard. The loss of Crown lands to meet subsistence needs that had been guaranteed under the Treaties has left the First Nations impaired. The rationale for National Park protection (recreation, enjoyment, and natural resource exploitation, such as timber cutting and grazing); regulated control; and payment for use: these approaches hold contrary and distasteful to traditional beliefs, and occurred with little regard for Anishnabe well-being.

As traditional use lessened over time through new regulations and enforcement activities, the Anishnabe became less able to meet their social, cultural, and livelihood needs and perpetuate their knowledge of *Wagiiwing*. Additionally, disharmonious administration / community relations have led to a lack of trust between the two groups. Of significance was the loss of economic opportunity that resulted when seneca root harvesting permits ceased to be issued and, since then, sufficient opportunities for meaningful contemporary employment at RMNP have not been provided. In consideration of the past history, the First Nations and RMNP desire to establish a renewed relationship based on partnership and respect.

Having achieved the first goal of preserving Anishnabe historic knowledge as provided by the Elders from their oral histories, the second goal is to use this information as the basis to facilitate the development of meaningful partnerships between adjacent First Nation communities and RMNP. Chapter 7 addresses the balance of the research objectives that focus on the management of RMNP, and reviews the desires and means to establish better working relationships and partnership the First Nations and the Park administration.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapters of this report have been based on the historic account of the Riding Mountain region with specific reference to the Anishnabe now defined as adjacent communities of RMNP. The final goal of this research is achieved in this chapter. The information that has been gathered from oral histories, published sources, personal communications, community meetings and a workshop with the staff of RMNP is used as the basis to facilitate the development of meaningful partnerships between the First Nations and National Park partners.

Section 7.1 of this chapter establishes the issues of interest to RMNP concerning First Nation communities adjacent to the National Park as defined in the second research objective. Based on the current situation and perspectives of the First Nations and RMNP administration, Section 7.2 is devoted to the final research objective: to present research recommendations for integrating First Nation knowledge and effecting meaningful partnership activities at RMNP. Summary remarks conclude the chapter in Section 7.3.

7.1 Establishing Significance and Partnership Interests

The specific components of the mapped information were reviewed during meetings held in each of the participating First Nation communities. From the review, the significance of these components within their traditional lifestyle, livelihood and cultural history was established. The discussion of significance, in context to gathered data related to

Anishnabe traditional use of *Wagiiwing,* was presented in Section 6.1. During the community meetings, the First Nations and primary researcher developed a list of partnership activities of interest to the communities. It was envisioned, and expected, that aspects of social, cultural, and economic community well-being could be enhanced through these partnerships. These recommendations are provided in Section 7.2.

The balance of the second research objective was to determine the RMNP issues of interest in order to identify partnership opportunities with the First Nations. To address this part of the second objective, a workshop was held, 10 March 1999 at RMNP, with the Park's administrative staff. After findings of the research were presented, the primary researcher used a set of five questions to lead discussion and learn about staff perceptions, needs, and interests as these applied to developing partnerships with First Nations.

An assessment of the influences that adversely affected or prevented Aboriginal involvement and working relationships was made. This was an important step in generating practical recommendations with a high potential to be implemented and that matched the interests of both groups. The activities and changes suggested by RMNP staff have been integrated into the recommendations presented in Section 7.2. The balance of this section summarizes the outcomes of the workshop.

RMNP staff identified a number of benefits arising from establishing partnerships with First Nations. To support ecosystem-based management (EBM), the legislated policy that guides management of RMNP, cooperative relationships in the region are an

imperative. Cooperative relationships aid ecological management efforts that extend beyond Park boundaries. Staff articulated their concern and desire to develop partnerships with adjacent First Nations to ensure participation of those who influence, and are influenced by RMNP, and enhance the relevance and sustainability of the protected area.

Working together with the First Nation communities lends a measure of credibility to EBM, both in the development of management practices and in the expansion of the knowledge base to support such development. Merit was identified in maintaining both biological and cultural diversity in RMNP. Educational and interpretive materials pertaining to the resources and history of RMNP can be richer, more accurate, and more appropriate when developed with, or by, First Nations.

The staff of RMNP acknowledged a responsibility to not perpetuate past practices that may have been discriminatory and improper. Staff felt that they had a role to honor existing legislation within its current application. The ability for First Nation people to exercise their rights in relation to traditional places and ceremonies was one example mentioned. Additionally, there was a desire to increase the social and economic benefits for First Nations at RMNP and support First Nation interests. The development of trust and better working relationships with First Nations was noted to be a most significant desire and benefit. The focus on developing trust and better relationships recurred throughout the RMNP workshop session and the First Nation community meetings. The

following section presents the recommendations for future partnerships between Parks Canada at RMNP and adjacent First Nation communities.

7.2 Recommendations

Participation in this research expresses the desire of the Anishnabe to define a new order and integrated relationship within their territorial landscape of *Wagiiwing* and of RMNP to work together with the First Nations to facilitate change. The final research objective was to develop recommendations for this change. Approaches used in the recommendations include modifying existing policy, restructuring the current relationship of the Anishnabe to the area of *Wagiiwing* now inside RMNP, and establishing partnerships with RMNP administration.

The recommendations were developed in a participatory approach with the First Nation communities to ensure that the activities would be meaningful. The interests of RMNP staff presented in Section 7.1 have also been integrated. A number of the recommendations are based on First Nations' perspectives that may, or may not, be consistent with perspectives held by the National Park staff. In some instances, the benefits deriving from the recommendations are mutual to both parties, are directed solely at the First Nations and the impacts to the Park are minimal, while some could be considered to be counter-productive to National Park policy objectives.

From the First Nations' perspective, no recommendations were made that could be considered harmful to protecting the sustainability of the resources of the RMNP. For example, recommendations were not voiced by community members to promote open

hunting of wildlife populations that now exist on an 'island of forest in a sea of agriculture'.

The people recognize the difficulty in maintaining wildlife populations in a regional land base that has been severely modified and bears little resemblance to its historic past. Some Elders expressed that the presence of the National Park has prevented a more complete devastation of their traditional territory that could have occurred through more extensive agricultural land use change. For the most part, the community recommendations can have meaningful and long-lasting benefits for both the RMNP and First Nation partners. The recommendations are practical and innovative ways to expand Parks Canada's commitment to create new partnerships and strengthen particular areas of well being for Anishnabe communities of Riding Mountain.

7.2.1 The Sense of Home: Re-establishing Homeland Relationship

Community members talked fondly about their memories of their "home". It was evident that people wished to re-establish their ties to the area, and the best way to do this is to get people into the Park. The first recommendation is directed strictly to the communities, and is not meant to relate to the recommendations between the communities and Park administration.

- **Annual Event**

Many Elders expressed interest in the annual pow-wow held at the traditional village, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. While the Elders enjoyed this event, it was at times too physically exhausting due to the crowds, noise, and the difficulty of access because of the long walk in to the village site. Another activity that could be done on an annual basis

with community support (such as transportation) may be a picnic in a setting such as Lake Audy.

Elders talked about their past experiences on the land in a more slow and gentler time. This was said to bring a sense of peace to the soul. With this type of picnic activity, the pace could be slower, providing opportunities for quiet contemplation and reminiscencing. Story-telling would fit well into this activity and provide the youth with opportunities to learn about their history. This type of activity could enhance mental health while increasing the knowledge base of the community. A site assessment with RMNP staff and the First Nations may be necessary to determine the facilities required to support such a gathering.

- **Research Site Validation and Visitation**

Each community expressed an interest in putting together an expedition to visit a site or area to validate data. The Elders were keen to have a chance to be out on the land again in a manner that was safe for them, yet would allow for the opportunity to revisit their heritage area. The primary researcher has been offered this type of support from the Park administration, therefore it is recommended that during the spring (perhaps during the period when the seneca root is ripe) two such expeditions be organized that would target a particular area of immediate concern, one per research community.

- **Ceremonial Use**

Elders were interested in obtaining formal recognition from RMNP administration of their right to freely exercise sacred traditions within RMNP. The right would include

unrestricted access for ceremonial purposes and the ability to conduct ceremonial religious practices in the manner that is consistent with their teachings. A point of note, practices that are consistent with tradition may not be consistent with established Park policy, for example burning fires that are not located indesignated areas.

7.2.2 The Sense of Place and Identity: Enhancing Aboriginal Historic Presence

This is an initiative that has support in Parks Canada policy and is directly related to the finding that Aboriginal history is not well represented in Canada's National Parks or heritage sites. In addition to enhancing the visibility of Aboriginal history in RMNP, there is the opportunity for tangible economic development opportunities to be realized through historic interpretive activities with Park visitors.

- **Aboriginal Interpretive Centre**

An Aboriginal Interpretive Centre could be established in the Park within the Wasagaming townsite. Within the Centre, the local Anishnabe history could be interpreted to visitors through the use of pictures, artifacts, and personal storytelling along with the sales of hand-crafted items. The Centre could be used to whet visitors' appetite to learn more about First Nation traditions and culture. The Centre would not take the place of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, the traditional village. Instead, it should be designed to be complementary to eco-tourism objectives, while targeting a wider audience who may not have the time, or desire, to attend the traditional village.

- **Aboriginal Interpretive Staff**

The Centre would be staffed with local Anishnabe, both young and old. The communities were particularly interested in providing opportunities for Elders to share their history with visitors.

- **Aboriginal Interpretive Activities**

Community members felt that it was important that the public become better educated about the history of RMNP, as well as about Aboriginal people in general. Activities could be developed to build upon the knowledge gathered in this research related to what people used to do, how they would do it, or may include tours to particular sites in RMNP for interpretation. Information and learning activities could be developed about the many special places and activities that were part of the Anishabe homeland history.

Actual demonstrations of smoking meat or pemmican making may be some examples. In these cases, beef could be substituted for wild meat since it is the meat processing *technique* that would be shared with visitors. Samples could then be sold without difficulty.

- **Aboriginal Interpretive Resource Development**

Specific resources could be developed to enhance interpretive activities. For example, a book could be written that would include the following types of information: historic pictures of the Anishnabe people on the land, pictures of actual areas used in RMNP that people cannot visit because of remoteness (such as the birch tree stand), the research maps to illustrate the extent of land use, pictures of important plant species (like the wild vegetables, among others), and pictures that show people doing traditional activities like tanning a hide or smoking meat.

A few other ideas are presented. An audio tape containing Elders' stories about the Park could be made and sold at the centre. The tape could also provide information on

specific areas within the Park that people will likely visit. Additionally, a map and tape set could be produced. The map would provide the locations of sites with Anishnabe toponyms (place names) and accompany a tape that recites the story of the site.

A specific research project could be done to identify the medicinal plants found in RMNP. A small booklet could be produced for sale that has pictures and a description of the plants and their use. Since there is no harvesting of plant material allowed in the Park, exploitation should not be feared. Attractive books of this nature have been produced in other areas of the world.

- **Interpretive Signage of Aboriginal Cultural Sites and Use Areas**

More Anishnabe place names could be placed on signs within the Park to increase the presence of the Anishnabe culture and history. Signs could be done in Saulteaux and English and some areas could have text boxes placed in the area to tell people more about each site. It was not desired that any burial areas be indicated for the general knowledge of the public.

7.2.3 The Sense of Knowledge and Dignity: Enhancing First Nations and Park Administration Relations

These recommendations address the feeling that the people have been "overlooked" by Park administration. In some cases, this lead to a feeling of frustration when, even though community representatives had been invited to participate in forums such as the Round Table, their issues and concerns did not get addressed. It was felt that there should be more opportunity to improve relations and understanding between the communities and Park staff. As well, it was felt that there were benefits from learning more about the knowledge that the Park has about the area, in addition to the Park learning more about community knowledge.

- **Development of an Ethics Policy**

An ethics policy should be developed for use by RMNP staff that incorporates lessons learned and best practices to ensure respectful relationships and meaningful opportunities between the parties.

- **Standing Place on Agendas**

In order to make participation meaningful on committees or advisory groups, a standing place on agendas would help ensure that time and energies were allotted to hearing and addressing First Nations concerns related to Park issues.

- **Visiting**

Communities were interested in having Park staff visit the communities. In this way they could learn about their First Nation neighbours while at the same time providing information concerning RMNP to the communities. For example, when the recent Ecosystem-based Management Plan was shared with the public, information sessions did not occur in any of the neighbouring First Nation communities. Such visits and exchanges will facilitate better working relationships and help to build trust between the parties.

- **Cross-Cultural Workshops**

Community members thought there was value in helping the staff at RMNP to get to know and understand the First Nations who were intimately related to the land base that staff is now administering. As understanding is developed, trust may also develop. The goal would be to develop a mutual appreciation of the strengths of both groups, facilitate information-sharing, as well as develop ways to meaningfully work together.

- **Annual Trek**

An annual trek or retreat on the land is one option for getting community members and Park administration to share experiences and knowledge in a more culturally appropriate way, i.e. outside of boardrooms and without the use of paper. It would provide an excellent opportunity for mutual learning and focus attention on a shared interest: caring for the land. This could be another delivery mechanism for a cross-cultural workshop.

- **Newletter Distribution**

Quantities of the newsletters generated at RMNP should be regularly sent (or taken) to the local First Nations for distribution. Good locations to have the newsletters available would be the Band Office, the Post Office, stores, and schools. Communities should be personally invited to submit articles for inclusion in the newsletter. Partnership activities undertaken by the Park and the First Nations (or other types of support) should be promoted in the newsletter to keep local residents and cottagers informed.

- **Mutual Learning: Open discussions of past concerns**

An opportunity should be provided for both parties to speak openly about the past concerns, hear responses, and work together to develop strategies to address these concerns.

7.2.4 The Sense of Restored Health and Sustainability: Policy Changes

The communities felt that the policies of RMNP should not have to be as restrictive as they are because the resources of RMNP, like those of other areas, were a gift from the Creator to their people. The Anishnabe have a stewardship responsibility towards these gifts and do not want to destroy them. RMNP is where their ancestors have been for many years. These recommendations are made with the respect in mind for the land and the peoples' ancestors.

- **Entrance Fees**

The fact that community members have to pay entrance fees to return to their ancestral land was a great source of consternation to the people. For many years after the Park was established, First Nation people did not pay admission fees. At some point, the policy changed. It may be argued that it is morally wrong to charge admission to people to visit their ancestors' final resting place. Both communities unanimously felt that the policy to collect entrance fees from these First Nations should be rescinded.

No completely acceptable means was found to ensure that this benefit is directed only to those people of the First Nation communities. Some suggestions were to issue a Park pass or have people identify themselves as a community member at the front gate. There were problems noted with each way of implementing this policy and it was felt that this matter would best be negotiated between the parties.

- **Sustainable Harvesting of Renewable Vegetation**

The healing plants of RMNP are a very near and pure source of medicine. Currently healers from the communities have to travel great distances to obtain their roots, leaves, and other medicinal products that are otherwise available very close to home. Some plants are simply not available in other locations, to the best of the Elders' knowledge.

The fact that harvesting cannot occur in RMNP makes it difficult for healers to practice, requires additional travel costs to obtain their materials, and places additional hardship on Elders as travel becomes more difficult with age. Through time there are very few people left with the skill to practice traditional medicine. Communities are in danger of

completely losing this skill due to the difficulties in accessing medicines and therefore being able to pass their knowledge on to younger people.

Protected areas facilitate the protection of biodiversity. The loss of traditional medicines due to changes in land use through development and loss of the ecological conditions that foster the production of these products is reduced or halted through regulation of a protected area. On the other hand, some medicinal plants are only maintained through active husbandry of the environment (Anderson, pers. comm.). The rationale for protecting the biodiversity of vegetation, such as medicinal plants, is questioned if the people that need them for healing cannot access and use them. Some important medicines were known to exist in RMNP, such as ones that can cure or prevent illness, such as cancer.

It is recommended that an agreement be made with RMNP Park administration to permit the harvest of medicinal plants. This type of agreement has been negotiated with Keeseekoowenin First Nation and includes a list of the medicinal plants to be harvested, as well as the limits of harvesting amounts. In a similar manner, other traditional wild vegetation (wild potatoes, carrots, turnips, and onions)[1] may be desired for sustainable harvest.

- **Harvesting Out Timber Blow-down Areas**

It was requested that the communities be afforded the opportunity to clear out timber from areas where blow-down has occurred and to obtain interest in this forest product

[1] Naturally occurring plant species harvested as country foods.

after harvest. There is little certainty about the validity of this recommendation if Park policy no longer allows modification of natural disturbance events, unless it was to be undertaken for purposes of personal safety or property protection.

7.2.5 Sense of Brotherhood and Respect: Partnership Activities MOU

The following recommendations provide ways for the First Nation communities and Park administration to work together on initiatives of mutual benefit to both parties and, ultimately, the health of the Riding Mountain ecosystem.

- **Memorandum of Understanding**

It is firstly recommended that the communities develop a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to formalize a relationship to work together in meaningful ways and undertake partnership activities, with associated rights and responsibilities, that meet the interests and needs of both parties.

- **Board with Community Contact for Information Dissemination**

A First Nation / RMNP management board (or other appropriate structure) should be established in order to provide a means for on-going consultation and the sharing of information to occur between the parties. In this forum, both parties would have the opportunity to have concerns addressed, as well as plan future activities that could enhance the integrity and health of the RMNP ecosystem. The management board would provide more certain opportunities for mutual learning to occur between the parties.

- **Incorporating Traditional Knowledge and Stewardship Practices**

Elders spoke about their desire to share their knowledge with the Park staff as their duties relate to Park visitors. Elders felt there was merit in developing interpretation activities

that would educate people about the local community customs that apply to the land base, wildlife, and their traditional land ethic.

Additionally, with the facilitation of the management board, appropriate and knowledgeable community members could be chosen to work together with the Park staff to provide another source of understanding concerning the complexity of ecosystem health and the health of individual components within the ecosystem. Working together with knowledgeable community members can provide Park staff with a new source of baseline information.

While the mapped areas provide an indication that traditional ecological knowledge still exists in this area, there has been no attempt to transmit the peoples' understanding of this knowledge within this report. Traditional ecological knowledge is understood to be intellectual property that belongs to its holder. The knowledge must be interpreted and shared, as would be appropriate, by these individuals.

- **Corridor Reestablishment**

The loss of wildlife corridors that would link RMNP with other areas (such as the Duck Mountains or the Carberry Sandhills) are critical to maintaining the long-term health of wildlife populations. This is a shared concern identified by First Nations and within RMNP management objectives. Communities expressed an interest in participating in the RMNP initiative to re-establish the wildlife corridors. The objective of this initiative is to increase the amount of forested areas around the Park, particularly in known wildlife migration routes such as the one identified for elk within this research.

- **Problem Animals, Wounded or Dead Wildlife**

Communities' expertise could be used in partnership with RMNP staff knowledge to cooperatively deal with problem wildlife, as well as the handling of wounded animals. In the event that an animal has to be taken, communities should have the opportunity to take possession of deceased animals for traditional use by their people. A separate initiative could be developed to provide opportunities to access other items, such as feathers and antlers, that could be used in ceremonies.

- **Cultural Heritage Co-management**

A formal MOU should be undertaken by the First Nations and RMNP Park administration to effect co-management of the Aboriginal cultural heritage resources within the Park. Co-management should ensure that rights and responsibilities are afforded to both parties.

- **Summer Student Placements**

The communities recommended that the selection criteria for summer students to work in the Park should be modified. Experiential knowledge about the land should be weighted more favourably in relation to academic standing than is the current practice. While the Elders did not discount the value of a school education, it was felt that hiring practices only based on schooling unfairly disadvantaged their youth from employment, and did not provide opportunities for young people who were skilled on the land to make use of their traditional knowledge.

- **Research Internships**

RMNP is fertile ground for research activities that are either routinely conducted or done through developed proposals. Community youth expressed an interest in the development of a research internship program. The program would have a Grade XII (Secondary Four) student or other community youth act as a research assistant to a researcher or researching group conducting field research in the Park. In this way, youth would be exposed to new areas of learning. This may enhance the desire to further their education, while obtaining valuable work experience of benefit to the individual and First Nation community.

A further component of the program would have the young individual learning about scientific research while also receiving traditional instruction from an Elder acting in a mentorship role. The initiative could partner with Work Experience programs that are offered in schools or be proposed in conjunction with other funded programs. Research interns could be an in-kind support offered by RMNP to external or Park researchers.

- **Future Research Activities**

The following is a non-exhaustive list of valuable research activities that could be undertaken:

1. Identification and inventory of the medicinal plants found in RMNP.
2. Archaeological research to identify the location of the elk jump site and learn more about this practice.
3. Exploration of the identified cultural sites to ensure their integrity is protected.

4. The locating and repatriation of artifacts belonging to the Aboriginal cultural groups of *Wagiiwing*. In one example, a human skull was found on the west end of RMNP about twenty years ago. The skull was determined to be of Aboriginal origin. (Burgeson, pers. comm.). The author was unable to locate where this artifact has been stored.
5. A community research project would have the youth interview the Elders to compile the complete story that may remain about each toponym in Section 5.3.3.
6. Historic land and resource use research of the Riding Mountain region should be undertaken with Tootinaowaziibeeng (Valley River) First Nation. Following this, a comprehensive research initiative should be conducted to integrate and analyze the results of the three land use studies conducted with the Keeseekoowenin, Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations. Using this comprehensive approach could provide greater insights into the ecological history of the region, as well as the cultural significance of *Wagiiwing* and RMNP to the Anishnabe. Both communities, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal could benefit from increased knowledge of the history of the Riding Mountain region.
7. Feasibility research may be of value to determine the benefits of promoting the centrally-located RMNP for greater use by a wider audience of First Nations in Manitoba and elsewhere. It is the personal recommendation of the primary researcher to urge Parks Canada to address the extremely negative perceptions that First Nations have in relation to national parks in this and other provinces. Maintaining the past

restrictive practices that infringed or extinguished treaty rights will continue to convince First Nations that national parks mean parks without "Indian" people.

Two particular groups could be targeted: the urban Aboriginal and the youth. In promoting this Park, activities such as wilderness camping experiences and ceremonial gatherings may be appreciated. These activities may also be timely considering the renewal of interest by the Aboriginal in relearning their culture and traditions and the new-found interest of the non-Aboriginal in the ways of our First Peoples.

7.2.6 The Sense of Certainty: Answering Outstanding Questions

The following issues require more investigation because they are important concerns to the people of the communities and have the potential to provide significant future changes:

- **Potential Indian Reserves Lands Within RMNP**

  Both Waywayseecappo and Rolling River First Nations related in their oral history that they have 'forgotten reserve lands' within the boundaries of RMNP. The Elder who had worked as an Environmental Trainee in the late 1970s was at the location of one such IR. The fact that the IR existed was confirmed on-site by the Park warden he had been working with at that time. Unfortunately, he cannot remember where this location was, as he was on horseback at the time and was unfamiliar with the area. Old maps and other pertinent sources of information have been researched but no evidence has been found to substantiate these claims. The search was not

thorough since it was outside of the objectives of this research. It is recommended that a formal land claim process be initiated through Indian Affairs.

- **Cessation of Seneca Root Harvest Permitting by Indian Agent**

  The validity of the Indian Agent decision to stop allocating seneca root harvesting permits (in the 1950s) without compensation is a matter that should be investigated from a legal perspective. The objective would be to establish if there was a fiduciary obligation on behalf of Indian Affairs to provide compensation for the loss of this harvesting revenue. In this case, permitting of the harvest provided tangible cash benefits and the action of permitting the harvest by Indian Affairs superceded the *National Parks Act*. Although the federal government does have the authority to change its policy in regards to continuing to provide access to this benefit, it is not clear that this could be done without compensation.

- **Infringement of Treaty Rights**

  During the data analysis phase, it became apparent that a legal analysis should be conducted to address questions related to the Government of Canada's standing to restrict treaty rights to hunt, fish, and trap for food at RMNP. The initial justification and the enabling federal Act for establishing the National Park should be examined in relation to Constitutionally protected treaty rights and case law.

- A final recommendation is that First Nation partnerships with RMNP should be consistent between communities. In this way, all communities would receive the same benefits and have the same responsibilities. Consistency would help to ensure that negotiations with the Park administration does not generate competition between

communities or within kinship groups now living in different communities. With consistency, all communities would be afforded the same level of respect by Parks Canada.

7.3 Summary

This research has been a valuable exercise in compiling the Anishnabe Homeland History related to traditional land and resource use of *Wagiiwing* (Riding Mountain). Throughout the research, it was evident that the people have retained a close affinity for their homeland. Although traditional use no longer occurs as it was before RMNP was established, it is clear that the cultural heritage remains alive and vibrant in the minds of the Elders. This research has been a first step towards renewing the Anishnabe relationship to the landscape of *Wagiiwing* and, through establishing partnerships with RMNP, defining a new stage in the *Anishnabe Homeland History*.

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APPENDIX "A":

Glossary of Terms

Glossary of Terms

Anishnabe: Literally, *the original people*, in the Saulteaux (Ojibway) language.

Culture: A complex whole that encompasses knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by an individual as a member of a society.

Ecosystem: A three-dimensional, spatially explicit unit of the earth that includes all the organisms, along with all the components of the abiotic (non-living) environment within its boundaries.

Elders: "Respected and cherished individuals who have amassed a great deal of knowledge, wisdom and experience over the period of many, many years. ... They are individuals who have also set examples, and have contributed something to the good of others. In the process, they usually sacrifice something of themselves, be it time, money or effort" (Lusty 1993:1and3).

Endangered Species: A species threatened with imminent extinction or extirpation throughout all or a significant portion of its range.

Escarpment: A steep slope or bank.

Extirpated Species: A species that no longer survives in a particular country or region.

First Nation: An Aboriginal community which has a traditional territory and a mandated executive which represent the community's interests.

GIS (Geographic Information Systems): A system of hardware, software and procedures designed to support the capture, management, manipulation, analysis, modeling and display of spatially-referenced data for solving complex planning and management problems. GIS uses a series of thematic layers for mapping and analysis.

Heritage: The set of all things, places, and ideas inherited from the past which are of special significance to the collective life of a community, including noth natural and human-built structures.

Mother Earth: The earth, as giver and sustainer of life.

Ojibway: Common English term used to refer to Anishnabe or the language of the Anishnabe.

Partnership: "A partnership is an undertaking to do something together. A relationship that consists of shared and/or compatible objectives and an acknowledged

distribution, among participants, of specific roles and responsibilities which can be formal or informal, contractual or voluntary, between two or more parties. The implication involves a cooperative investment of resources (time, funding, material) and therefore joint risk-taking, sharing of authority, and benefits for all partners" (Parks Canada 1997:7,2).

Protocol: Rules of diplomatic etiquette.

Saulteaux: Common French term used to refer to Anishnabe (specifically those who historically were found living at present day Saulte Ste. Marie and who later migrated to present-day Manitoba and Saskatchewan) or the language of the Anishnabe.

Subsistence Use: Traditional, non-commercial hunting, fishing, gathering and trapping, and uses of the products of the land for spiritual, cultural and life sustaining purposes in a defined area, where such activities were practiced by the ancestors of current Aboriginal users.

Sweetgrass: One of four sacred cleansing medicines used by the Anishnabe.

Toponyms: Place names.

Tradition: Body of beliefs, facts, acts handed down from generation to generation without being reduced to written form.

Traditional Territory: Lands and waters contained in the boundaries of an area historically used or occupied by a Band or First Nation.

Vegetation: Refers to major plant communities within a forested or cultivated landscape (mosses, grasses, herbs, shrubs, trees); and includes forest insect disease.

Wildlife: Refers to any mammals (carnivores, omnivores, smaller furbearers), avifauna, aquatic biota, amphibians & reptiles, and butterflies and skippers.

World View: 1 Cosmology, study of the order of the universe. 2 A perception of the world in which one lives.

APPENDIX "B":

The Interview Instrument

Anishnabe Homeland History:
Traditional Land and Resource Use of Riding Mountain, Manitoba

Interview Instrument

Sample Guide Sheet for Video-taped Interviews

I. PRELIMINARY

(Interviewer to begin the tape with this information.)

1. Date of Interview
2. Location of Interview
3. Individuals Present at Interview

II. INTRODUCTION

(Prompt the respondent to provide the following information to introduce themselves.)

4. Name: ***(English)*** and ***(Anishnabe)***
5. Birthplace: Year: ***(If Known)***
6. Parents Names:
7. Parents' Birthplace: Year Born: ***(If known)***

III. PRE-SETTLEMENT PERIOD

(Clarify time frame: the time before or around the signing of the Treaties.)

(Map any information given using a different coloured pen for each type of activity and a new overlay labeled "Pre-Settlement".)

8. Could you tell us any stories that your parents, grandparents, or Elder community members told you about using, traveling around, or the importance of Riding Mountain at the time before or around when the Treaties were made with your ancestors?
9. From this time, do you know of any areas of Riding Mountain that were important spiritual or gathering areas?

(Locate on map, if possible.)

10. Also from this time, do you know of any important areas for use by wildlife or to gather natural resources?

(Locate on map, if possible.)

11. Do you know of any important things that happened there at that time?

IV. PRE-RMNP

(Clarify time frame: After treaties were made, but before the Park was officially designated. These are questions about your parents' activities and knowledge that you would have been told about or experienced, if you were born before 1930 but still considered a youth, i.e. not a head of your own household.)

(Use the chart to guide mapping on overlays labeled "Pre-RMNP". Use a different coloured marker for each use classification.)

(Once finished using the chart, proceed with question #12.)

12. Were there recognized territories in your Riding Mountain traditional land use area?

(If "Yes" to question #12, proceed to question #13. If "No", go to question #15.)

13. Where are they?

(Outline territories on 1:50,000 map; identify and name community areas.)

14. How were these territories defined? (Type or amount of resources? Type of landscape? Natural boundaries?)
15. Did individual First Nation communities in the area occupy certain territories in the Riding Mountain traditional land use area to the exclusion of other neighbouring First Nations? And, if so, why?
16. Were there any types of activities that were restricted to just one special place?

(Locate on map, if possible.)

17. Were there any types of resources that were available from just one special place?

(Locate on map, if possible.)

18. Were there any important things that happened in the Riding Mountain area during your parents' time that you were told about or know of?
19. As told to you from your parents' time, could you tell us any stories about how the land, plants, water, or wildlife have changed over time in this area?

V. POST-RMNP

(Clarify time frame: This is the time after the Park was designated. You may have been head of your own household, perhaps with children, and would extend until you no longer used this area traditionally.)

20. How old were you when you first camped in the area now called RMNP?
21. What were the reasons you left the reserve to camp in this area?
22. How did you travel to this area?
23. When you came to camp in this area, how many families also camped at the same place then?
24. Did you always go to this area with your whole family?

(Use the chart again to guide mapping on overlays labeled "Post-RMNP". Use a different coloured marker for each use classification.)

(Once finished with the chart, proceed with Question #25.)

Say: **"Now we are going to ask you some questions about caring for your traditional territory at Riding Mountain."**

(Continue with questions.)

25. How were you taught to steward, or take care of, the land and resources in your traditional area? What sort of things were you responsible to do that showed you that you were caring for these things?
26. From your parents' time or after, did you or anyone you know use fire to change the land of Riding Mountain?

(If "Yes" to Question #26, continue with Question #27. If "No", proceed to Question #33.)

27. Why was fire used?
28. How many people generally helped with the fires?
29. At what time of the year was this usually done?
30. About how many times in all do you remember this done?
31. Can you locate any of these fire areas on the map?

(Locate on map, if possible.)

32. At what point did you stop making traditional use of the lands and resources in the Riding Mountain National Park?
33. Why did you stop using the lands traditionally?
34. Do you still visit Riding Mountain National Park?

(If "Yes" to Question #34, continue with Question #35. If "No", proceed to Question #36.)

35. What do you do now at Riding Mountain National Park?

36. Before we finish the interview, is there anything you would like to share about your traditional land use area, what you did, or anything about what you think about Riding Mountain National Park?

(This concludes the interview. Thank the participant for their generosity in sharing their knowledge with us.)

Guide Sheet for Mapping Traditional Uses

Geographic Uses	Cultural Uses	Natural Resourc Uses
Trapping: - Where? - Species? - Uses?	Burial Sites	Berries: - Where? - What kind?
Fishing: - Where? - Species? - Uses?	Sacred Sites: - Petroforms - Petroglyphs	Medicinal Plants: - Where? - What kind?
Hunting: - Where? - Species? - Uses? - Clothing made?	Ceremonial Sites - Gathering (1 or many families; 1 or many communities?) - What purpose?	Roots
Camps: - Where? - Seasonal (W or S) - Year-Round (YR)	Life Skills: (Different areas used or lessons learned by sex?)	Rocks - Pipes - Ceremonial - Healing?
Travel Routes: (Land and Water) - Where? - Why?	Other?	Wood: Uses? - Pipes - Smoking Meat - Dishes - Shelter - Tools
Toponyms: (Use separate overlay)		Feathers?
Other?		Other?

Additional Notes:

APPENDIX "C":

Interview Participants
Community Meetings and Workshops
Research Presentation

ELDER INTERVIEWS BY COMMUNITY

Waywayseecappo First Nation

Name	Interview Date
Howard Mecas	29 July / 14 August 97
Stewart Oudie	12 January 98
Wilfred Blackie	13 January 98
Tom Rattlesnake	19 January 98
Arthur Brandon	19 January 98
Darcy Mentuck	20 January 98
Louis Bird	3 February 98
Phillip & Lizzie Oudie	16 February 98
Leo Brandon	3 March 98
Don & Annie Cooke	3 March 98

Rolling River First Nation

Mervin Hunting Hawk	1 August 1997
Herman McKay	5 August 1997
Rose White Bird	8 August 1997
Sam McKay	15 August 1997
Alice McKay	20 January 1998
Clara Shannacappo	3 February 1998
Solomon & Marina McKay	2 March 1998

COMMUNITY MEETINGS AND WORKSHOPS

March 7, 1997:	Rolling River First Nation, Chief Dennis White Bird and Elders from the Rolling River and Waywayseecappo First Nations.
December 3, 1998:	Map Validation and Data Gathering Session Waywayseecappo First Nation
December 8, 1998:	Map Validation and Data Gathering Session Rolling River First Nation, Elder (Keeseekoowenin First Nation)
March 10, 1999:	Riding Mountain National Park Staff Workshop

RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

10 July 1998:	Riding Mountain National Park Cultural Heritage Study Group
27 January 1999:	Parks Canada Ecological Integrity Panel

APPENDIX "D":

Riding Mountain National Park Staff Workshop Questionnaire

Riding Mountain National Park Staff Workshop
Boardroom, Riding Mountain National Park Administration Building
Wednesday, 10 March 1999, 1:30 p.m.

Research Goal: Develop recommendations to incorporate Traditional Ecological Knowledge and develop partnership activities on cultural / natural resources and environmental stewardship.

Fundamental Premise:

1. What are the benefits of Aboriginal involvement in Ecosystem-based Management, and in relation to RMNP park system planning and management?

Assessment of Gaps and Needs:

2. What specific issues or aspects of research planning and / or management would benefit from increased Aboriginal involvement or more positive working relationships?

Influences:

3. What adversely affects or prevents Aboriginal involvement or more positive working relationships at RMNP?

Solutions:

4. How do we address these negative factors? (Creativity Counts!!)

Perceptions:

5. From your experience, what do you think Aboriginal people want in relation to RMNP?

APPENDIX "E":

Riding Mountain National Park Edited Database

ID	ID1	Key	Map No.	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Boundary	Category	Activity	Attribute	Priority	Rank	Buffer	Notes
1	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	1			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Wildlife Health	Salt Licks		1	~ 250 meters	This was a favoured hunting spot due to game species use of the salt licks. Hunting success was enhanced here.
2	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	2			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting			1		
3	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat				
4	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	4			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activitiv	Trapping	Muskrat				
5	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	5			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk				
6	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck		1		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties		1		This was the main trail followed when travelling through the park to Timberton (Valley River / Tootinaowaziibeeng Reserve).
7	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck		2		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties		1		This was the more difficult path to continue northwards through to Valley River / Tootinaowaziibeeng Reserve.
8	2	D	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck		3		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties		1		This was an easier path to Valley River Reserve.
10	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon	1			< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter and Summer Camp				
11	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon	2			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, mink, beaver				
12	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, mink, beaver				
13	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon	4			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer				
14	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon	5			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, mink, beaver				
16	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon			1	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter and Summer Camp				Used this camp area when trapping and hunting in the area.

ID	ID#	Map	NTS Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Domain	Activity	Attribute	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Notes
17	7	A	62K15	WW	Louis Bird			1	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose				
20	6	A	62K15	WW	Phillip & Lizzie Oudie	1			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
21	6	A	62K15	WW	Phillip & Lizzie Oudie	2			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose				
22	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	4			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Raspberries				
23	6	A	62K15	WW	Phillip & Lizzie Oudie	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
24	6	A	62K15	WW	Phillip & Lizzie Oudie			1	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp	Low	1	~ 100 meters	Camped at Kippen's Mill during travel north.
25	6	A	62K15	WW	Phillip & Lizzie Oudie			2	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp	Low	1	~ 500 meters	Camped at this location during harvesting / collection activities.
26	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	7			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					Trapping area of Wilbur Cook.
27	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	4			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping			2	Unknown	Trapping area of Prince, father of Annie Cook, son of Waywayseecappo.
28	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	6			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, Moose, deer		1	~ 1000 meters	Hunting area of Don Cook.
29	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	8			Pre-contact	Domestic	Dwelling	Home base	High	2	~ 60 meters	Home base of Waywayseecappo's father, Astagiisik. Hunting occurred all over as far as the Duck Mountains north, east, south and west.
30	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	9			Pre-contact	Culturally Significant			High			Edited.
31	14	C	62J12			3			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Gooseberries,				This was an important area to gather vegetation (fruits) for the diet.
32	14	C	62J12			4			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Prairie				This area once was an open prairie.
33	14	C	62J12			5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Harvesting	Trapping					
34	14	C	62J12			6			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Prairie				This area once was an open prairie.

ID	Loc	Map	Map Ref	Community	Informant	Area	Use	Point	Location	Purpose	Activity	Name	Priority	Res	Area	Comments
35	14	C	62J12				1		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties & Resource Access		Medium	~ 100 meters	This was a fire trail in the 1970's.
36	14	C	62J12					1	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Fish		High	0 meters	This lake was used for winter fishing.
37	14	C	62J12					2	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Sucker +++, trout, pike +++		High		This lake was used for summer fishing.
38	14	C	62J12					3	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter Camp		High	~ 250 meters	This area was used as a winter camp when hunting or trapping.
39	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	1			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose +++, elk				
40	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	2			< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp	Low	3	~ 1500 meters	This camp was situated by a muddy lake.
41	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	3			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, otter, mink, beaver, martin		1		
42	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	4			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose +++, elk +++		1		
43	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	5			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk				
44	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	6			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Wild plums		1	~ 250 meters	
45	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	7			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root		1		This was a favourite seneca root picking place.
46	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck	8			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Raspberries		1		Raspberries were collected at the south end of the seneca root collection area.
47	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	1			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer				Winter hunting territory.
48	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	2			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer				Summer hunting territory.
49	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat +++				
50	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	4			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine collection	Seneca Root				
51	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine collection	Seneca Root				
52	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	6			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine collection	Seneca Root				

ID	ID2	Site	Resource	Community	Interviewee	Area	Area2	Point	Boundary	Category	Activity	Attribute	Value	Rank	Area	Note
53	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	7			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine collection	Seneca Root				
54	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	8			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine collection	Seneca Root				
55	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake	9			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Harvest	Tree Cutting				
56	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake			1	> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Wagon Depot				This is where the wagon was left when entering the park to hunt and trap.
57	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake			2	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
58	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake			3	> RMNP	Culturally Significant			High			Edited.
59	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake			4	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
60	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake			5	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill				Brykalock's Sawmill.
61	4	A	62K14	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	1			> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Camped anywhere in the south end of the park.
62	4	A	62K14	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	2			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk				Don Cook
63	4	A	62K14	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	3			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk				
64	2	C	62K15	WW	Darcy Mentuck			1	< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp		1	~ 250 meters	This was the area that families camped when collecting in the area.
66	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			1	< & >RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter and Summer Camp	Low	1	~ 30 meters	Owner unknown; likely non-native.
67	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			2	> RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	Low	1	~ 30 meters	McLannin's Camp; Lived there 1/2 the time; Used for hunting and to keep horses.
68	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			3	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 30 meters	MacArthur's Mill; Timber processing.
69	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			4	> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water supply	Underground Spring	Low	1	~ 500 meters	The spring starts here.

ID	[illegible]	[illegible]	Base Map	Community	Informant	[illegible]	[illegible]	Point	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
70	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			5	Pre-contact	Cultural Landform	Marker Site	Rock	High	2	~ 500 meters	This is the high, flat rock spoken of many times by WW band members. The ceremonial area is near here and the rock is also used for navigational purposes. The lost 1/4 section has been mentioned being near this rock.
71	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			6	Pre-contact	Traditional History	Dwelling	Community Area	High	1	~ 500 meters	Settlement area where WW and other bands often gathered. During travel, this was used as a stop-over place. Parents used to leave their children here (after RMNP established) to attend at ceremonies in secrecy. The location of the ceremonies is unknown
72	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			7	< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 250 meters	Deering's Mill; Early 1900's.
73	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			8	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	Low	1	~ 30 meters	Unknown cabin.
74	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			9	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	Low	1	~ 100 meters	Cabin in existence from approx. 1926 - 32.
75	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			10	> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water Supply	Underground Spring	Low	1	~ 100 meters	6" spring located by three noles; always has running water.
76	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			11	> RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	Low	1	~ 30 meters	Unknown cabin.
77	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			12	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	Low	1	~ 100 meters	Unknown cabin.
78	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			13	< RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water Supply	Underground Spring	Low	1	~ 30 meters	On lake side of Bob Hill.
79	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			14	> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Habitat Function	Wolf Den	Low	1	~ 30 meters	
80	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			15	< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water Supply	Underground Spring	Low	1	~ 30 meters	

ID	ID#	Map	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Date	Point	Timeframe	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Severity	Rank	Accuracy	Notes
81	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			16	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Nthn Pike; Sucker	Low	1	0 meters	Used to be good fishing here. When increased numbers of beaver occurred, water became dirty, fish tainted with methyl-mercury.
82	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			17	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	High	1	~ 60 meters	Old Mr. Blackie's cabin (WW Band member) was used extensively for hunting. He had a black tanned rabbit blanket on his bed that was very warm.
83	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			18	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Deformed fish	Low	1	0 meters	After increased numbers of beaver, this lake was the first to be destroyed in the area as evidenced by deformed fish and the subsequent fishery collapse.
84	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			19	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Dead lake	Low	1	0 meters	This lake died shortly following Tilson Lake death.
85	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			20	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Perch / Pike	Low	1	0 meters	Used to have good fishing here.
86	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			21	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Perch / Pike	Low	1	0 meters	Used to have good fishing here.
87	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			22	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Pike / Perch	Low	1	0 meters	Used to have good fishing here.
88	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			23	> RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin	Low	1	~ 100 meters	Unknown cabin.
89	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			24	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Dead lake	Low	1	0 meters	Dead lake due to increased beaver populations.
90	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			25	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Dead lake	Low	1	0 meters	Dead lake due to increased beaver populations.
91	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			26	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Dead lake	Medium	1	0 meters	Used to be a spawning bed.
92	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			27	<? & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 60 meters	Creer's Mill.
93	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			28	< RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water Supply	Underground Spring	Low	1	~ 60 meters	

ID	IDr	Map #	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Domain	Activity	Attribute	Sens	Scale	Accuracy	Note
94	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			29	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 60 meters	Adolph Bijou Mill. Operated around 1936-37. Logs came from Gunn Lake area.
95	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			30	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 30 meters	Bill Hera Mill. Operated in the early 1930's (~ 1932-35).
96	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			31	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 30 meters	Alec Mazura Mill. Operated in the early 1930's (~ 1932-35).
97	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			32	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Processing	Mill	Low	1	~ 30 meters	Unknown Mill.
98	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			33	> RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Homestead	Low	1	0 meters	Andy Nahurniak's homestead.
99	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	2			> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Camped anywhere in the south end of the park.
100	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk	2			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Meadow				Beaver damaged this open area meadow.
101	14	C	62J12	RR	Sam McKay	7			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
102	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay		6		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties				This was the trail used to travel to the reserve lands on the west side of Clear Lake.
103	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			7	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
104	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk	3			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Hunting Technology	Elk Jump area	High	2	Along this escarpment edge	
105	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk	4			> RMNP	Renewable Resource	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				Picked here in the 1940's.
106	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk	5			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Open area				This area was covered in shrubs in the 1940's and was a dry, open area. You could see the golf course from here.

ID	ID#	Map	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Notes
107	13	B	62K9	RR	Herman McKay				< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit / Medicine Collection	Strawberries, Saskatoons, Blueberries, Raspberries; seneca root; wild ginger.				Fruits were dried to used directly or in pemmican. Seneca root was found to be larger in the area that is now RMNP. Wild ginger could be found anywhere. Medicines were collected all over the park and special trips were made.
108	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk			1	< RMNP	Domestic	Birthplace	Cabin	Medium	1	Around lakeshore	Birthplace of Dan Gaywish, uncle of Mervin Hunting-Hawk, who was born pre-1900's.
110	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	1			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Agriculture	Hay Cropping	Low	1	0 meters	Broad Foot Meadow.
111	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	2			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Agriculture	Hay Cropping	Low	1	0 meters	Boggy hay cut in the early 30's to about 1936.
112	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	3			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Small red deer	High	1	~ 100 meters	Rare occurances of small red deer were noted in this area.
113	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	4			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Mossberries	Low	1	~ 100 meters	These yellow mossberries have only been mapped through interviews in this one area.
114	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	5			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Water Level Fluctuations	Low	1	1 meters	During the drought years in the 1930's, this lake was reduced to a small puddle.
115	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	6			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Small red deer	High	1	~ 100 meters	During about 1961 - 1964, this area was known to have the rare small red deer inhabiting this region.
116	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	7			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Mule deer	Low	1	~ 250 meters	This area was known for its high occupation of mule deer.
117	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak	8			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Timber Harvest	Logging	Low	1	~ 60 meters	This area was logged in the 1940's.

ID	IDr	Map	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Source	Rank	Accuracy	Notes
118	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahumiak	9			< RMNP	?Indian Reserve Lands			High	3	~ 3000 meters	Knows there is a 1/4 section belonging to WW FN. Believes land is located in this area. This area is noted for its high game density.
119	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahumiak		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties	Medium	2	?	Route to Timberton and rest area.
120	8	B	62K9	RR	Alice McKay	1			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					On-route to IR61A.
121	8	B	62K9	RR	Alice McKay	2			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Nthn Pike, any others available				
122	8	B	62K9	RR	Alice McKay	3			< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter & Summer Camp				Rolling River Band members came for extended stays at this reserve to maintain kinship ties. There were behavioural prescriptions for use of the water here.
123	8	B	62K9	RR	Alice McKay	4			< & > RMNP	Culturally Significant			High.			Edited. This is the same as Entry # 252; two different map sheets.
124	8	B	62K9	RR	Alice McKay		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties & Resource Access				This was the route followed to get to Indian Reserve lands. Trapping and hunting was done on-route.
126	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	1			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
127	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	2			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
128	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	3			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
129	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	4			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
130	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	5			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					

ID	IDS	Map	Bkgrnd	Contributor	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Area Type	Category	Activity	Attribute	Quality	Rating	Accuracy	Note
131	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	6			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
132	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	7			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
133	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	8			< RMNP							
134	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk		1		> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Trail Clearing				Mervin Hunting-Hawk worked on this hiking trail in the 1980's.
135	13	C	62J13	RR	Herman McKay			1	< RMNP	Traditional History	Communication	Marked Trees	Low	1	~ 1000 meters	There are some white trees carved with initials or markings to denote who was in the area hunting. These trees were on top of a ridge.
136	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	1			Pre-Contact	Traditional History	Burial	Community Area	High	1	~ 500 meters	There are said to be markers on graves in this area which was a "healthy living" area; a sanctuary place.
137	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	2			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Smaller deer				These smaller deer have been noted in this area twice during the last twenty years.
138	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource	Hunting	Ungulates				Howard Mecas and family. In ~1950's, for about 2 - 3 weeks, the Indian Agent and Ranger distributed permits for Seneca Root gathering and hunting privileges. Hides were tanned to sell.
139	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	4			> RMNP	Renewable Resource	Trapping	Furbearers				Opportunistic selection of furbearers. Furs were tanned or sold.

ID	IDA	Map	1:50k Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Period	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Site W	Site H	Area	Notes
140	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource	Vegetation Collection	Muskeg Tea				Many types of vegetation was collected from the park area. It was traditionally seen as a very clean source of plant life. Both roots and tops were used as well as water plants.
141	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	6			> RMNP	Renewable Resource	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
142	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas		1		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties				Trips to Valley River and Pine Creek were made to visit family, promote family gatherings, and participate in ceremonies such as the sun and rain dances.
143	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas		2		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties				This was another route to Valley River and Pine Creek. There was a fork in the road where you could go straight (?) or by the high rock sticking out.
144	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas			1	Pre-Contact, < & > RMNP	Cultural Landform	Orientation	High Rock				There is a high rock sticking out that was used to orient direction of travel. The exact location is not certain.
145	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas			2	< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Unusual occurance	Moving Island			~ 500 meters.	This island is said to "float" or move about on the water according to the winds.
146	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas			3	< RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Homestead				This was the site of a homestead and log shack belonging to an old native man who had been in this area for a long time.

ID	Trip	Map	Base Map	Community	Interviewee	Area	Line	Point	Line From	Subject	Activity	Attribute	Scale	Rel	Accy	Note
147	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahumiak											The 1930's were very dry years, particularly as the years went on. Wet marshy areas dried up, along with the hay land and many small lakes.
151	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping			2	Unknown	Trapping area of Prince, father of Annie Cook, son of Waywayseecappo.
152	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay					Food Harvesting	Fishing	Northern Pike, Suckers				Hand nets were used to catch fish from Gertrude Lake.
153	6	A	62K15	WW	Phillip & Lizzie Oudie		1		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties				Traveled this trail to Grandview.
154	7	A	62K15	WW	Louis Bird	1			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer				
155	8	A	62K16	RR	Alice McKay											Her grandfather was a respected medicine man who used to attend regularly to collect medicines. In her grandfather's time, everyone used to travel all over. She was given advice to "leave items from before", e.g. old beads, etc. Do not disturb!
157	9	A	62K15	WW	Arthur Brandon											
158	10	A	62K15	WW	Tom Rattlesnake											
159	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose White Bird	1			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer				This was the hunting area used by the father of Rose Shannacappo. There were about 5 different families (~10 - 15 people / family) that travelled and hunted together in this area.
163	12	A	1:125,000	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk	1			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Buffalo Hay area	Low	1	0 meters	Beaver damaged Buffalo Hay area.
164	12	B	62J12	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk											

ID	ID2	Map	Area/Map	Community	Interviewee	Age	Time	Point	Boundary	Theme	Activity	Attribute	Quality	RAS	Area	Note
165	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	1			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
166	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	7			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Saskatoons				
167	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay		5		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				
168	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay		4		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Food Collection				
169	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay		3		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Renewable Resource Activity				
170	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			5	< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water Supply	Underground Spring			~ 500 meters	
171	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay		2		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				
172	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	2			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	1st: Moose, elk; 2nd: Rabbits, deer, partridge.				
173	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				
174	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			9	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
175	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			8	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Used during seneca root harvest. Groups were composed of about 5 - 6 families with about 10 - 15 people / group.
176	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	1			< RMNP	Culturally Significant			High	1	~ 1500 meters	Edited.
178	4	B	62K15	WW	Donald & Annie Cook	3			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting					Hunting area of Prince, father of Annie Cook, son of Waywayseecappo.
180	14	B	62K9	RR	Sam McKay	1			< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer & Winter Camp				This was a gathering area for many families used to maintain kinship ties and for food harvest. On one hunting trip, the uncle of Rose Shannacappo went out with his dogs. The dogs returned but the uncle never did. Search parties did not find the uncle.

ID	IDX	Map	NTS Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Area Type	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Year	Role	Age	Note
181	14	B	62K9	RR	Sam McKay	2			< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer & Winter Camp				This was an important gathering place for families to spend extended periods of time to maintain kinship ties. Community members have been buried in this location.
182	14	B	62K9	RR	Sam McKay		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship ties				
183	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	10			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
184	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	11			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
185	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	12			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
186	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	13			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
187	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	14			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
188	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	15			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting					Continued along the north shore of Clear Lake west to the area just north of Moon Lake.
189	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay			1	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter Camp				Winter
190	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay			2	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Summer
191	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay			3	> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Salt	Lake				
192	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay			4	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
193	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay			5	< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing					

ID	IDA	Map	Area/Map	Community	Informant	Area	Item	Point	Timeframe	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Seas	Reli	Ass	Note
194	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay			6	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
195	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	1			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting					
196	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	2			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
197	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	3			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting					
198	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	4			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
199	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
200	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	6			> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
201	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	7			> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
202	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	8			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
203	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	9			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
204	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	10			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
205	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	11			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
206	5	A	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	12			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
207	8	A	62K16	RR	Alice McKay	1			< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Always used to camp near some water for the horses and cooking.
208	14	B	62K9	RR	Sam McKay			1	> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Suckers				Now bigger than before.

ID	IDX	Mark	Map Ref	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Theme	Activity	Attribute	Start	End	Age	Note
210	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay			1	< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Description	Lake				Lime bottomed. No fish, no real trapping. Good water here.
211	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	2			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Prairie				
212	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
213	8	A	62K16	RR	Alice McKay	2			< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
215	3	A	62K14	WW	Leo Brandon	1			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk, deer				Wildlife was hunted opportunistically during travel to Timberton. One particular trip occurred in 1948 or 1949.
216	3	A	62K14	WW	Leo Brandon	2			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk				Hunting occurred around the entire perimeter area of Silver Beach Lake.
217	3	A	62K14	WW	Leo Brandon	3			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Elk Migration	Elk				In 1950 or 1951, a large herd of elk left the park and headed southeast. It was found that the elk passed through Lizard Point Reserve where they were hunted as they migrated and moved down to the Turtle Mountain area. The herd was too large to count.
218	3	A	62K14	WW	Leo Brandon	4			> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				This area was favoured for camp-overs as families travelled north to Timberton.
219	3	A	62K14	WW	Leo Brandon		1		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship ties				This was the path taken to Timberton (Valley River / Tootinaowaziibeeng Reserve).

ID	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Direction	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Notes
220	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon				> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Caribou				During the 1950's, Leo Brandon's father and Joe Cook shot and killed a caribou in this west region. Leo remembers not favouring the taste of the meat.
221	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon	1				Environmental Attribute	Elk Migration	Elk				About 10 years ago, during the 1980's, a large herd of elk exited the park. The Park wardens judiciously followed the group to make sure no one shot at them until they reentered the park to the southeast.
222	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon	2			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Fishing	Nthn. Pike				This was an important fishing spot.
223	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Hunting					
224	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon	4			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Raspberries, Strawberries, Saskatoons				
225	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon	5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
226	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon	6			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat				Around entire periphery of lake.
227	3	B	62K15	WW	Leo Brandon			1	> RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabin		1	~ 30 meters	Roy Halouski's shack.
228	2	A	62K14	WW	Darcy Mentuck	1			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, otter, mink, beaver, martin		1		
229	2	A	62K14	WW	Darcy Mentuck	2			< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer		1		
231	2	B	62K14	WW	Darcy Mentuck	1			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk, moose, deer		1		
232	2	B	62K14	WW	Darcy Mentuck		1		> RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access		1	~ 30 meters	
234	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	4			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Prairie				

ID	ID	Map	Site Map	Community	Informant	Age	Time	Event	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Artifact	Safety	Party	Area	Note
235	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	5			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
236	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	6			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Prairie				
237	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	7			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
238	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	8			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, beaver				
239	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	9			> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Prairie				
240	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	10			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
241	12	B	62J12	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk			1	Pre-Contact	Culturally Significant			High			Edited
242	12	B	62J12	RR	Mervin Hunting-Hawk			2	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter Camp		1	~ 60 meters	This was the stop-over camp area when the families were on-route to their winter camp area on the west side of Clear Lake (Reserve lands).
243	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay			1	> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Resource Processing	Hide tanning	Medium	1	~ 1000 meters	This area was used specifically because it was outside the boundaries of the park. Here the people could work and live undesturbed to complete their tasks and socialize.
244	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay			2	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
245	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay			3	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				
246	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay			4	> RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				This camp was used during the times of seneca root harvest.

ID	Box	Map	BH Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Direction	Category	Activity	Artifacts	Scale	Relia	Accu	Notes
247	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay			5	< or > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Environmental Modification	Dam				This dam was built in about 1930 (or 1960's is another account) by Robert Shannacappo, Stanley McKay, and Sam McKay to provide greater trapping areas.
248	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay			6	> RMNP	Domestic	Food Processing	Meat smoking, Pemmican made.	Medium	1	~ 1000 meters	This area was used specifically because it was outside the boundaries of the park. Here the people could work and live undesturbed to complete their tasks and socialize.
249	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	7			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk, deer				
250	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	8			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
251	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	9			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
252	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	10			Precontact	Culturally Significant	EDITED		High			Edited. This is the same site as Entry # 123. Two different map sheets.
253	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties	High	1	~ 30 meters	This was the route taken to the reserve lands on the west side of Clear Lake. Kinship ties were maintained there. Respectful behaviour was followed when travelling the north shore of Clear Lake.
254	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	1			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Rabbits, mink, Weasel.				
255	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	2			< & > RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.		High			Edited.
256	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	3			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				

ID#	ID#	Map	Grid Ref	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Category	Activity	Attribute	Sens.	Rel.	Age	Notes
257	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	4			< RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Winter and Summer Camp				This was an important living and gathering area for the people of this and other Bands.
258	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	5			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping					
259	8	C	62J12	RR	Alice McKay	6			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Gooseberries				
260	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	5			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
261	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	6			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
262	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	8			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose				Salt licks in this area.
263	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	9			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Blueberries				
264	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	10			< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Wildlife Health	Salt Licks				
265	13	B	62K9	RR	Herman McKay		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties & Resource Access				This is the general trail used to go around Clear Lake and head back again to Rolling River Indian Reserve.
266	13	B	62K9	RR	Herman McKay	1			< RMNP	Traditional History	Health	Community Area				Long ago there was a bad flu and many people died in this location.
267	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	7			> RMNP	Renewable Resource	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
268				WW	Howard Mecas				Pre-contact, < & > RMNP	Traditional History	Cultural Activities		High			High point in park used for vision questing and fasting. Many people gathered during the summer at Clear Lake for a summer camp. Fishing was never the primary reason for going.

ID	ID#	Map #	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Season	Party	Access	Notes
269	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	8			< RMNP	Traditional History	Proposed Reserve Lands	Community Lands				This area, 18 miles long and 2 miles wide on either side of the river, was originally proposed for the WW reserve lands as requested by Gambler some time around 1874-1877. Unfortunately, when the surveyers (or authorities) came around to designate the
270	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas	8										(Continued) reserve lands, Gambler was absent and Waywayseecappo? permitted the designation of the square parcel in the current location to the south.
271				WW	Howard Mecas				> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Flooding				Howard reports that this area was subject to a flood in 1946 - 1947.
272	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay	3			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
273	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			6	< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Water Supply	Underground Spring				
274	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			4	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Food Processing	Meat Smoking, drying			~ 1000 meters	This area was used specifically because it was outside the boundaries of the park. Here the people could work and live undesturbed to complete their tasks and socialize.

ID	ID#	Map	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Season	Freq	Accu	Notes
275	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			3	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Food Processing	Meat Smoking, drying			~ 1000 meters	This area was used specifically because it was outside the boundaries of the park. Here the people could work and live undesturbed to complete their tasks and socialize.
276	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			2	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Used during seneca root harvest. Groups were composed of about 5 - 6 families with about 10 - 15 people / group.
277	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay			1	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				Used during seneca root harvest. Groups were composed of about 5 - 6 families with about 10 - 15 people / group.
278	13	A	62J12	RR	Herman McKay				< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource	Trapping	Muskrat, weasel, beaver				
279	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	2			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Fur bearers				
280	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	3			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root		1	~ 100 meters	
281	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	4			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Strawberries				
282	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	6			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Wiikay Root				This is a boggy, muskeg area good for medicines.
283	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	5			< & > RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Wildlife Health	Salt Lick				This area was frequented by the elk to use the salt licks. It was also an area relied on for hunting success in leaner times.

ID	IDG	Map	Base Map	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Time Frame	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Notes
284	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	7			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Winter: Fox Wolf, Coyote, Otter (occ.), Marten, Mink, Measel, Squirrel. Spring: Muskrat, Beaver.				All furs would be processed. Some sold, some used for clothing, etc.
285	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	8			< & < RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp				This was where a base camp would be made when families would arrive to stay for an extended period. At this time, all goods were transported by travois. After Wasagaming townsite established, food supplies were purchased and seneca root sold there.
286	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	9			< & > RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				Sold at the townsite of Wasagaming.
287	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo	10			< & > RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fruit Collection	Gooseberries, Raspberries, chokecherries, cranberries, and occasionally saskatoons.				This was an excellent fruit harvesting area.
288	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo		1		< RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				Long ago, this area was accessed on foot using a travois.
289	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo		2		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				Once families had wagons, travel was quicker and therefore extended to this further reach. Hunting and collection occurred on route.
290	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo		3		> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Fishing	Fish		1	0 meters	Fishing was done in the creek at the south end of Whirlpool Lake.

ID	IDC	Map	Tile Map	Community	Informant	Age	Line	Point	Location	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Sensitivity	Rank	Area	Note
291	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo		4		< RMNP	Trail	Travel	Kinship Ties		1	1	This is the route taken by Andrew McKay, who was blind, to travel to Timberton (Valley River Reserve) to maintain kinship ties. He died at 81 years old in about 1967.
292	11	A	62J12	RR	Rose Shannacappo			1	< & > RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Summer Camp			~ 500 meters	Summer camp area that was accessed by wagon. Approx. 5 different families traveled here together (~ 10 - 15 people / family).
293	5	B	62J12	RR	Solomon & Marina McKay	9			< RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				
294	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	11			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat				Beaver all trapped out.
295	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay		1		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				Would follow this trail to access next trapping area.
296	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay		2		< & > RMNP	Trail	Travel	Resource Access				Would follow this trail moving to the west from Clear Lake.
297	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay	1			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Muskrat, beaver				
298	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay			2	< RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.		High	2	~ 100 meters	Edited.
299	14	A	62K16	RR	Sam McKay			3	< RMNP	Domestic	Seasonal	Winter Camp				
300	14	C	62J12	RR	Sam McKay				> RMNP	Environmental Attribute	Change	Creek				There used to be a creek flowing out of Lake Katherine from the southeast bay.
301	14	C	62J12	RR	Sam McKay	1			> RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Moose, elk				The area around the north shore of Clear Lake (~ 1 mile inland) was used extensively for hunting moose or elk. The area to the southeast (~ 1 mile away) was noted for elk hunting.

ID	Dist	Area	Grid Ref	Community	Informant	Area	Line	Point	Direction	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	Status	RANK	Accuracy	Notes
302	14	C	62J12	RR	Sam McKay	2			> RMNP	Renewable Resource Activity	Trapping	Fur bearers				
303	1	A	62K15	NN	Andy Nahurniak			6	Pre-contact	Traditional History	Burial	Community Area	High	1	~ 500 meters	Settlement area where WW band members fled for sanctuary from the killing sicknesses that arrived with the European. Many people died here; many graves. Located in a large hardwood / cedar stand.
304				WW					< RMNP	Renewable Resource	Medicine Collection	Seneca Root				Revisions from Community meetings, December 3, 1998.
305				RR					< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Elk				Revisions from Community meetings, 8 Dec. 1998
306				RR					< RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabins				Two Cabins at Lake Audy near the junction where Jackfish Creek drains into Lake Audy. Revisions from Community meetings, 8 Dec. 1998.
307			R1	RR				2	< RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.		High			Edited.
308			R1a3	WW					< RMNP?	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
309				RR					< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Buffalo Hunt				"Wagiiwing" includes the meaning "hill of the buffalo chase" and occurred on the western side of RMNP near Russell and Rossburn. Revisions from Community meetings, December 8, 1998

ID	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Community	Informant	[illegible]	[illegible]	Point	[illegible]	Purpose	Activity	Attribute	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
310				RR					< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Maple Sugar processing	Maple syrup				Walter Scott's info – Ochre River valley was used as an area to make/process maple sugar (syrup) after the trapping season was finished. Revisions from Community meetings, December 8, 1998
312				RR					> RMNP	Traditional History	Communications	Marked Trees				Stand of white birch trees in this area where people carved their initials; Birch bark containers and canoes were also made.
313		R2		WW	Community				< RMNP	Renewable Resource	Resource Processing	Pemmican				
314				RR	Community				< RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabins				Walter Scott's info. 3 cabins located at the junction of Strathclair Trail and Kinnis Creek, belonging to Jim Audy, Kinnis and Joe Mentuck (and wife).
315		R1		RR	Community			1	< & > RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
316		R2		WW	Community			1	< & > RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
317		R2		WW	Community			2	Unknown	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
318	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas			9	< RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.	High Point	High			Edited.

309				RR					< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Hunting	Buffalo Hunt				"Wagiiwing" includes the meaning "hill of the buffalo chase" and occurred on the western side of RMNP near Russell and Rossburn. Revisions from Community meetings, December 8, 1998
310				RR					< RMNP	Food Harvesting	Maple Sugar processing	Maple syrup				Walter Scott's info – Ochre River valley was used as an area to make/process maple sugar (syrup) after the trapping season was finished. Revisions from Community meetings, December 8, 1998
312				RR					> RMNP	Traditional History	Communications	Marked Trees				Stand of white birch trees in this area where people carved their initials; Birch bark containers and canoes were also made.
313		R2		WW	Community				< RMNP	Renewable Resource	Resource Processing	Pemmican				
314				RR	Community				< RMNP	Domestic	Dwelling	Cabins				Walter Scott's info. 3 cabins located at the junction of Strathclair Trail and Kinnis Creek, belonging to Jim Audy, Kinnis and Joe Mentuck (and wife).
315		R1		RR	Community			1	< & > RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
316		R2		WW	Community			1	< & > RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
317		R2		WW	Community			2	Unknown	Culturally Significant	Edited.					Edited.
318	15	A	62K15	WW	Howard Mecas			9	< RMNP	Culturally Significant	Edited.	High Point	High			Edited.

APPENDIX "F":

Scientific Names
of Plants and Wildlife in Riding Mountain National Park

PLANTS OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Common Name	Scientific Name
Trees	
Balsam fir	*Abies balsamea*
Balsam poplar	*Populus balsamifera*
Black spruce	*Picea mariana*
Bur oak	*Quercus macrocarpa*
Eastern white cedar	*Thuja occidentalis*
Green ash	*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*
Jack pine	*Pinus banksiana*
Manitoba maple	*Acer negundo*
Tamarack	*Larix laricina*
Trembling aspen	*Populus tremuloides*
White (American) elm	*Ulmus americana*
White spruce	*Picea glauca*
Shrubs / Herbs	
Alder	*Alnus* spp.
Hazelnut (American)	*Corylus americana*
Hazelnut (Beaked)	*Corylus cornuta*
Blueberry	*Vaccinium myrtilloides*
Chokecherry	*Prunus virginiana*
Cranberry	*Vaccinium vitus-idaea*
Dwarf birch	*Beluta glandulosa*
Gooseberry	*Ribes oxyacanthoides*
Hop	*Humulus lupulus*
Labrador Tea	*Ledum groenlandicum*
Mooseberry	*Viburnum edule*
Pincherry	*Prunus pensylvanica*
Plum (Wild: red or yellow)	*Prunus americana*
Plum (Canada: yellow to orange)	*Prunus nigra*
Prickly rose	*Rosa acicularis*
Red-osier dogwood	*Cornus stolonifera*
Saskatoon berry	*Amelanchier alnifolia*
Seneca Root	*Polygala senega*
Snowberry	*Symphoricarpos albus*
Snowberry (creeping)	*Gaultheria hispidula*
Stemless Raspberry	*Rubus acaulis*
Strawberry	*Fragaria virginiana*, ssp. *glauca*
Wiikay (Wild ginger)	*Acorus americanus*

PLANTS OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK: (CONT'D)

Common Name	Scientific Name
Wild onion (prairie and parkland)	*Allium stellatum*
Wild onion (shoreline)	*Allium schoenoprasum,* var. *sibiricum*
Wild parsnip	*Psoralea argophylla*
Wild potato (land)	(see Wild turnip)
Wild potato (water)	*Sagittaria latifolia*
Wild Red Raspberry	*Rubus idaeus*
Wild sarsaparilla	*Aralia nudicaulis*
Wild turnip	*Psoralea esculenta*
Willow	*Salix* spp.
Yarrow	*Achillea millefolium*
Bulrush	*Scirpus* spp.
Cat-tail	*Typha latifolia*
Reed grass	*Calamagrostis* spp.
Sedge	*Carex* spp.
Sprangle-top	*Leptochloa fascicularis*
Wild rice	*Zizania aquatica*
Grasslands	
June grass	*Koeleria cristata*
Kentucky bluegrass	*Poa pratensis*
Rough fescue	*Festuca scabrella*
Sweetgrass	*Hierochloe odorata*
Wheatgrass	*Agropyron* spp.

Source: (Bailey 1968, Shay 1984, Agriculture Canada 1988, Stock 1993)

WILDLIFE OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

MAMMALS:

Family/Common Name	Scientific Name
Family: Soricidae	
Masked Shrew	*Sorex cinereus*
Vagrant Shrew	*Sorex vagrans*
Water Shrew	*Sorex palustris*
Arctic Shrew	*Sorex arcticus*
Pygmy Shrew	*Sorex hoyi*
Short-tailed Shrew	*Blarina brevicuada*
Family: Talpidae	
Star-nosed Mole	*Condylura cristata*
Family: Verspertilionidae	
Little Brown Bat	*Myotis lucifugus*
Big Brown Bat	*Eptesicus fucus*
Red Bat	*Lasiurus borealis*
Silver-haired Bat	*Lasionycteris noctivagans*
Family: Leporidae	
White-tailed Jack Rabbit	*Lepus townsendii*
Snowshoe Hare	*Lepus americanus*
Family: Sciuridae	
Eastern Chipmunk	*Tamais striatus*
Least Chipmunk	*Tamais minimus*
Woodchuk	*Marmota monax*
Richardson's Ground Squirrel	*Spermophilus richardsonii*
Franklin's Ground Squirrel	*Spermophilus franklinii*
Thirteen-lined Ground Squirrel	*Spermophilus tridecemlineatus*
American Red Squirrel	*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*
Northern Flying Squirrel	*Glaucomys sabrinus*
Eastern Gray Squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*
Family: Geomyidae	
Northern Pocket Gopher	*Thomomys talpoides*
Family: Castoridae	
Beaver	*Castor canadensis*
Family: Cricetidae	
Deer Mouse	*Peromyscus maniclatus*

MAMMALS OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK: (CONT'D)

Family/Common Name	Scientific Name
Family: Cricetidae (cont'd)	
Heather Vole	*Phenacomys intermedius*
Meadow Vole	*Microtus pennsylvanicus*
Muskrat	*Ondatra zibethicus*
Northern Bog Lemming	*Synaptomys borealis*
Northern Grasshopper Mouse	*Onychomys leucogaster*
Prairie Vole	*Microtus ochrogaster*
Red-backed Vole	*Clethrionomys gapperi*
Family: Muridae	
House Mouse	*Mus musculus*
Norway Rat	*Rattus norvegicus*
Family: Zapodidae	
Meadow Jumping Mouse	*Zapus hudsonius*
Family: Erethizontidae	
American Porcupine	*Erethizon dorsatum*
Family: Canidae	
Coyote	*Canis latrans*
Gray (Timber) Wolf	*Canis lupus*
Prairie Wolf	*Canis lupus nubilis*
Red Fox	*Vulpus vulpus*
Family: Ursidae	
Black Bear	*Ursus americanus*
Family Procyonidae	
Raccoon	*Procyon lotor*
Family: Mustelidae	
American Badger	*Taxidea taxus*
Ermine	*Mustela erminea*
Fisher	*Martes pennanti*
Least Weasel	*Mustela nivalis*
Long-tailed Weasel	*Mustela freneta*
Marten	*Martes americana*
Mink	*Mustela vison*
Otter	*Lutra canaden*
Striped Skunk	*Mephitis mephitis*

MAMMALS OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK: (CONT'D)

Family/Common Name	Scientific Name
Family: Mustelidae (Cont'd)	
Wolverine*	*Gulo gulo*
Family: Feliae	
Canada Lynx	*Lynx canadensis*
Cougar	*Felis concolor*
Family: Cervidae	
Caribou†	*Rangifer tarandus*
Fallow Deer‡	*Cervus dama*
Moose	*Alces alces*
Mule Deer	*Odocoileus hemionus*
Wapiti (Elk)	*Cervus canadensis*
White-tailed Deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*
Family: Bovidae	
Bison	*Bison bison*

Source: Parks Canada 1984, Banfield 1981.

* Thought extirpated from the area, wolverine have been reported in isolated cases south of RMNP during the past three years (Berezanski, pers. comm.).

† Not within the historically known range, two separate occurrences of caribou harvest were reported during the 1940's in the research oral histories.

‡ A species included as a hypothetical explanation for the report of a unique variety of "red deer" that have been seen twice in the past twenty years.

PARTIAL BIRD CHECKLIST OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Common Name	Scientific Name
Early Spring:	
American Kestrel	*Falco sparverius*
Canada Goose	*Branta canadensis*
Fox Sparrow	*Passerella iliaca*
Lesser Yellowlegs	*Tringa flavipes*
Mountain Bluebird	*Sialia currocoides*
Northern Harrier	*Circus cyaneus*
Northern Pintail	*Anas acuta*
Pectoral Sandpiper	*Calidris melanotos*
Rough-legged Hawk	*Bueto lagopus*
Yellow-rumped Warbler	*Dendroica coronata*
Late Spring:	
Broad-winged Hawk	*Buteo platypterus*
Chestnut-sided Warbler	*Dendroica pensylvanica*
Common Goldeneye	*Bucephala clangula*
Mourning Warbler	*Oporornis philadephia*
Olive-sided Flycatcher	*Contopus borealis*
Red-eyed Vireo	*Vereo olivaceus*
Ruddy Duck	*Oxyura jamaicensis*
Western Wood Pewee	*Contopus sordidulus*
Summer:	
American Redstart	*Setophaga ruticilla*
American White Pelican	*Pelecanus erythrorhynchos*
Black Tern	*Childonias niger*
Cedar Waxwing	*Bombycilla cedrorum*
Common Loon	*Gavia immer*
Common Merganser	*Mergus merganser*
Eastern Kingbird	*Tyrannus tyrannus*
Forster's Tern	*Sterna forsteri*
Killdeer	*Charadrius vociferus*
Red-tailed Hawk	*Bueo jamicensis*
Spotted Sandpiper	*Actitis macularia*
White-throated Sparrow	*Zonotrichia albicollis*
Fall:	
Snow Goose	*Chen caerulescens*
Mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*
Green-winged Teal	*Anas crecca*
Blue-winged Teal	*Anas discors*

PARTIAL BIRD CHECKLIST OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK: (CONT'D)

Common Name	Scientific Name
Fall: (Cont'd)	
Northern Shoveler	*Anas clypeata*
Gadwall	*Anas strepera*
American Widgeon	*Anas americana*
Canvasback	*Anthya valisineria*
Redhead	*Anthya americana*
Ring-necked Duck	*Anthya collaris*
Lesser Scaup	*Anthya affinis*
Bufflehead	*Bucephala albeola*
American Coot	*Fulica americana*
Northern Flicker	*Colaptes auratus*
American Robin	*Turdus migratorius*
Dark-eyed Junco	*Junco hyemalis*
Pine Siskin	*Carduelis pinus*
Winter:	
Northern Goshawk	*Accipiter gentilis*
Ruffed Grouse	*Bonasa umbellus*
Spruce Grouse	*Dendragapus canadensis*
Sharp-tailed Grouse	*Tympanuchus phasianellus*
Gray Partridge	*Perdix perdix*
Great Horned Owl	*Bubo virginianus*
Pileated Woodpecker	*Dryocopus pileatus*
Gray Jay	*Perisoreus canadensis*
Blue Jay	*Cyanocitta cristata*
Black-capped Chickadee	*Parus atricapillus*
Boreal Chickadee	*Parus hudsonicus*
Pine Grosbeak	*Pinecola enucleator*
Evening Grosbeak	*Cocothraustes vespertinus*
Greater Prairie Chicken (Extinct)	*Tympanuchus cupido*
Other Species of Interest:	
Double-crested Cormorant	*Phalacrocorax auritus*
Osprey	*Pandion haliaetus*
Bald Eagle	*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*
Swainson's Hawk	*Buteo swainsoni*
Great Gray Owl	*Strix nebulosa*

Source: after Weedon 1987

FISH OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Common Name	Scientific Name
Bigmouth Buffalo	*Ictiobus cyprinellus*
Blacknose Dace	*Thinichthys atratulus*
Blacknose Shiner	*Notropis heteroplepis*
Blackside Darter	*Percina maculata*
Brassy Minnow	*Hybognathus hankinsoni*
Brookstickleback	*Culaea inconstans*
Brook Trout	*Salvelinus fontinalis*
Brown Trout	*Salmo trutta*
Burbot	*Lota lota*
Carpt	*Cyprinus carpio*
Cisco	*Coregonus artedii*
Common Shiner	*Notropis cornutus*
Creek Chub	*Semotilus atrmaculatus*
Emerald Shiner	*Notropis atherinoides*
Fathead Minnow	*Pimephales promelas*
Finescale Dace	*Chrosomus neogaeus*
Golden Shiner	*Notemigonus crysoleucas*
Goldeye	*Hiodon alosoides*
Iowa Darter	*Etheostoma exile*
Johnny Darter	*Etheostoma nigrum*
Kohanee	*Onocorhyncus nerka*
Lake Trout	*Salvelinus namaycush*
Lake Whitefish	*Coregonus clupeaformis*
Largemouth Bass	*Micropterus samoides*
Log perch	*Percina caprodes*
Longnose Dace	*Rhinichthys cataractae*
Northern Pike	*Esox lucius*
Pearl Dace	*Semotius margarita*
Quillback	*Carpiodes cyprinus*
Rainbow Trout	*Oncorhynchus mykis*
River Darter	*Percina shumardi*
Sauger	*Stizostedion canadense*
Shorthead Redhorse	*Moxostoma macrolepidotum*
Silver Chub	*Hybopsis storeriana*
Silver Redhorse	*Moxostoma anisurum*
Slimy Sculpin	*Cottus cognatus*
Smallmouth Bass	*Micropterus dolomieui*
Spottail Shiner	*Notropis hudsonius*

FISH OF RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK (CONT'D):

Common Name	Scientific Name
Trout Perch	*Percopsis omiscomaycus*
Walleye	*Stizostedion vitreum*
White Sucker	*Catostomus commersoni*
Yellow Perch	*Perca flavescens*

Source: Anonymous 1989[§]

[§] Data base records.