

**FOX LAKE FIRST NATION LAND USE
AND OCCUPANCY: LIVING MEMORY
OF THE FOX LAKE CREE**

by

Stewart Lloyd Hill

April, 1993

**A Practicum Submitted
In Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree,
Master of Natural Resource Management**

**Natural Resources Institute
The University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada**



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-32129-0

FOX LAKE FIRST NATION LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY:

LIVING MEMORY OF THE FOX LAKE CREE

BY

STEWART LLOYD HILL

A practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

(c) 1993

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this practicum, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this practicum and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this practicum.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the practicum nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Abstract

Historical and contemporary land use and occupancy patterns of the Fox Lake Cree, a First Nation of Manitoba, Canada, have never been documented. The present study reveals that historically, the Fox Lake First Nation membership resided at various locations along a Canadian National (CN) Rail Line and within the vicinity of York Factory on the Hudson Bay lowlands. Prior to the closing of York Factory in 1957, the Fox Lake Cree led a nomadic lifestyle. They eventually settled in a permanent community within the vicinity of the present-day town of Gillam, Manitoba.

Throughout their history, numerous events have affected the Fox Lake Cree, such as the signing of the Adhesion to Treaty Five, the construction of the CN Rail Line, the closing of the York Factory trading post, the formation of the Fox Lake First Nation, the creation of the Registered Trapline system, and large-scale hydroelectric development. Of these events, hydroelectric development had the most significant and irreversible impact on the traditional lifestyle and resource areas of the Fox Lake First Nation.

Today, despite the high level of development activity within Fox Lake Cree traditional territory, traditional land use activities are still conducted from the town of Gillam and the Bird Reserve located along the CN Rail Line. Members of the Fox Lake First Nation currently reside within their traditional territory at the town of Gillam and the Reserve at Bird.

Acknowledgements

During the course of this study, several individuals and organizations contributed valuable direction and support. First, I would like to thank the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, Inc. and its Natural Resources Secretariat and the Chief and Council of the Fox Lake First Nation for making this study possible. These groups provided their consent, technical support and secured the necessary funding. I would especially like to thank the MKO Natural Resources Secretariat for funding the printing costs of this practicum and providing the results of earlier research regarding the Fox Lake Cree.

More specifically, I would like to thank the following members of the Fox Lake First Nation who participated in the study and contributed their knowledge and time: Percy Anderson, Stewart Anderson, Elizabeth Beardy, Robert Beardy, Rodney Beardy, Samuel Beardy, Peter Massan, William Massan, Zach Mayham, George Miles, John and Mary Neepin, Norman Nepitabo, Frederick Ouskan, Stanley Peters, Alfred Thomas, Robert Wavey and Dorothy and William Wavey. I would also like to thank some members of the York Factory First Nation who provided information relevant to this study during map biography interviews and personal communications.

The financial support of the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies and the Northern Studies Committee of the University of Manitoba was greatly appreciated. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the Keewatin Tribal Council for sponsoring me throughout my entire post-secondary studies.

Further, I would like to thank my committee members: David Young, Michael Anderson, Murray Wagner, Fikret Berkes, and my advisor, Thomas Henley. I would like to acknowledge the support and special interest in my progress by Michael Anderson and Thomas Henley.

With respect to map production, I would like to recognize the abilities of Talbot Saunders and Michael Anderson. I would also like to extend thanks to Alison Haugh for editing this practicum.

Finally, I am indebted to the support of my wife, Aggie, and my two children for enduring the moves between Winnipeg and Thompson for the three years necessary to complete my studies.

Ekosi!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page #</u>
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Figures	vi
List of Maps	vi
Appendices	vi

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0	Background	1
1.1	Issue Statement	5
1.2	Objectives	5
1.3	Scope	6
	1.3.1 Definition of Terms	7
1.4	Study Approach	9
	1.4.1 Technical Preparation	9
	1.4.2 Project Phases	11
1.5	Clients and Importance	14
1.6	Conclusion	17

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW/ LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0	Introduction	19
2.1	The Cree: Pre-Contact	21
2.2	Post-Contact, 1600-1910	26
	2.2.1 The Fur Trade, 1668-1870	27
	2.2.2 The role of the Homeguard Cree at York Factory, 1788-1870	34
	2.2.3 The Decline of York Factory and the Signing of the Adhesion to Treaty Five, 1870-1910	37
	2.2.4 Port Nelson and the CN Railway, 1912-1929	40
2.3	Conclusion	43

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW AND LAND USE METHODOLOGY

3.0	Introduction	46
3.1	Methods - Literature Review	47
	3.1.1 Data Reliability	50
3.2	The Interview	52
3.3	The Map Biography Technique	53
3.4	Project Design	55
3.5	Sample Design	56
3.6	The Documentation Process	57
	3.6.1 Map Overlays	57
	3.6.2 Ground Truthing	57
	3.6.3 Geographic Information System	58
3.7	Researcher Background	58
3.8	Conclusion	59

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0	Introduction	60
4.1	Fox Lake Cree Traditional Territory	61
4.2	Fox Lake First Nation History at York Factory - Ki Che Waska He Kun	66
	4.2.1 Land Use Patterns at York Factory	67
	4.2.2 Land Use at York Factory	72
	4.2.3 Wage Labour at York Factory	74
	4.2.4 Port Nelson	75
	4.2.5 Abandonment of York Factory	76
4.3	The Bay Line - Habitation History	76
	4.3.1 "Mile 34"	77
	4.3.2 The "Gillam" Townsite	79
4.4	Historic Land Use Patterns from the "Gillam" Townsite	81
	4.4.1 Atkinson Lake	82
	4.4.2 Moose Nose Lake and Cow Moose Lake	83
	4.4.3 The "Former" Nelson River	84
4.5	Gillam and Bird - Land Use Patterns	84
	4.5.1 Gillam	84
	4.5.2 Bird Reservation	87
4.6	Discussion	90
	4.6.1 Trapping	90
	4.6.2 Hunting, Fishing and Other Traditional Pursuits	92
	4.6.3 Land Use Data vs. Trapline Districts	93
	4.6.4 Traditional Knowledge and Ecological Change	94
	4.6.5 The Scientific Method vs. Traditional Ecological Knowledge	95

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPLICATIONS OF MAJOR EVENTS

5.0	Introduction	97
5.1	The Major Events	98
	5.1.1 Imposition of Registered Traplines	98
	5.1.2 Closing of York Factory	100
	5.1.3 CN Rail	101
	5.1.4 Hydroelectric Development	102
5.2	Conclusion	107

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0	Summary	109
6.1	Conclusions	110
6.2	Recommendations	111

REFERENCES	114
------------	-----

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS	117
-------------------------	-----

List of Figures

Figure 1	- Stephens Lake	3
Figure 2	- Northern Flood Agreement Communities	4
Figure 3	- The Study Area	8
Figure 4	- Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Communities	15
Figure 5	- Boreal Forest Occupation by the Cree: 1200 years ago	22
Figure 6	- Rupert's Land (1670)	29
Figure 7	- Forts of the Hudson's Bay Company	32
Figure 8	- Fox Lake Cree Traditional Territory	62
Figure 9	- Land Use Map Areas	65
Figure 10	- Location of White Bear Creek and Whitefish Lake	69
Figure 11	- Old Settlement at "Gillam"	80
Figure 12	- Registered Trapline Districts	89
Figure 13	- Flow Chart of Major Events	99

List of Maps

Map 1 - York Factory Land Use	71
Map 2 - Gillam Land Use	85
Map 3 - Bird Land Use	88

Appendices

Appendix One:	Land Use Mapping Methodology (Information Collected, Basic Questions and General Rules)
Appendix Two:	List of People Interviewed - Gillam, Bird and Thompson

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND

Northern Manitoba is home to about twenty-five First Nations whose traditional resource use areas extend over great distances. Traditional resource use is mainly in the form of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering, activities which contribute to the lifestyles, culture and economy of the people. In recent years, this way of life has come under increased pressure from hydroelectric development, mining, forestry and tourism¹. Since such development activities impact upon the northern environment by significantly altering ecosystems, a conflict occurs with the First Nations whose land uses rely heavily on the resources of an ecosystem. While various large- and small-scale developments in mining, forestry and tourism have contributed to detrimental effects upon the northern First Nations², it was hydroelectric development that exerted irreversible impacts upon the lifestyles and economies of the First Nations located along the Churchill and Nelson Rivers³. The construction of hydroelectric dams on these rivers has severely disrupted traditional land uses and in some cases, the habitation of First Nation members.

¹ Hilderman, Witty, Crosby, Hanna & Associates [HWCH], *Northern Flood Committee Land Exchange and Land Use Study*, 1983(b).

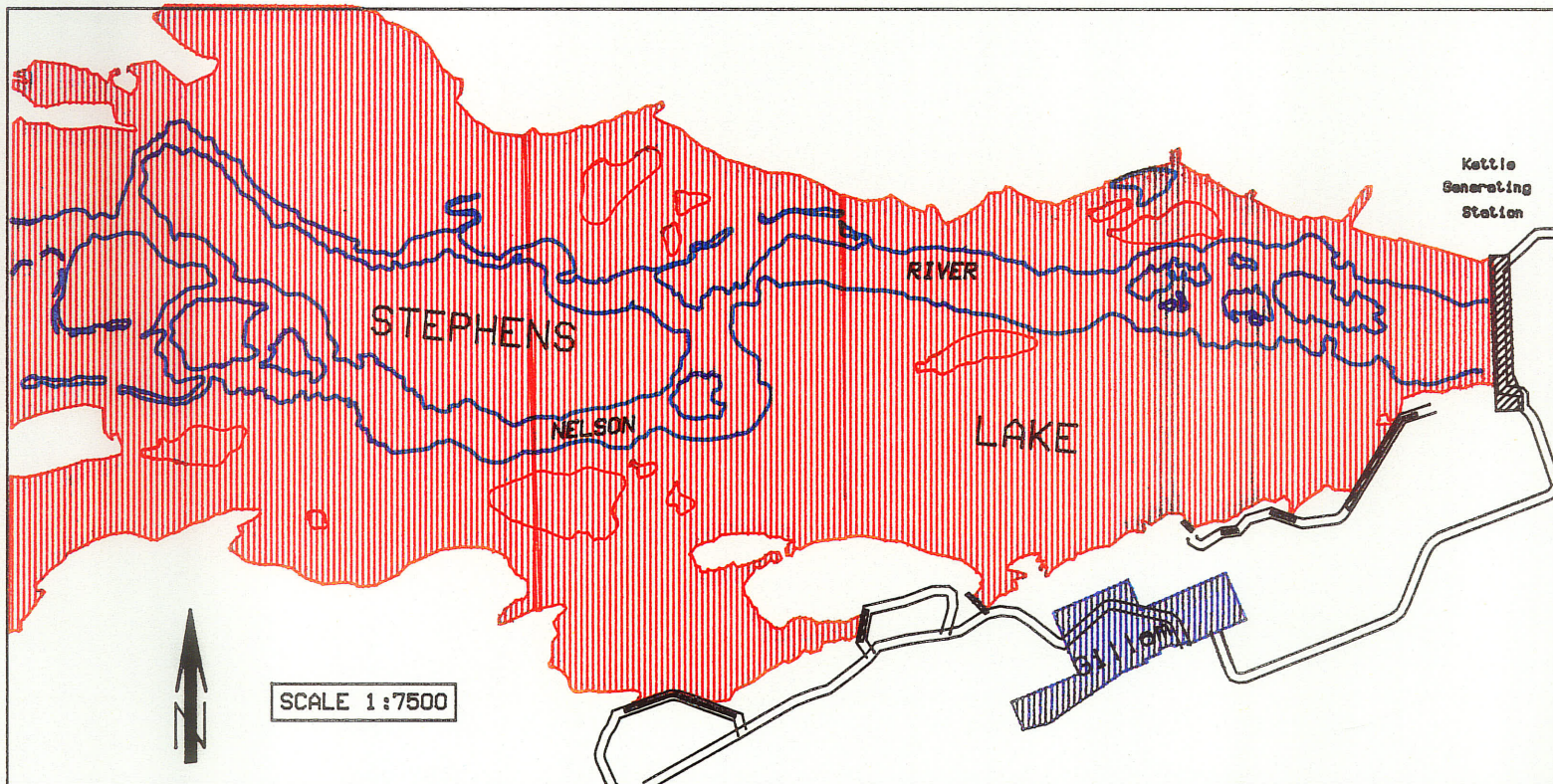
² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

In the case of the Fox Lake First Nation, their traditional land use area to the north of Gillam was flooded by the reservoir of the Kettle Dam. This dam was built on the Nelson River in 1966, and subsequently created a large reservoir which is identified in **Figure 1**. Since that time, two other dams have been built downstream; namely, the Longspruce and Limestone Dams. Given that the Fox Lake First Nation did not have a reserve⁴, they were not included in the 1977 Northern Flood Agreement (NFA) even though they live in an area where hydroelectric development has severely disrupted the local ecology and patterns of land use and occupancy.

It is apparent that the traditional land uses of the Fox Lake First Nation have been impacted upon but there has been no real effort to document them. Several resource inventory and socio-economic studies have been done for the First Nations most affected by hydroelectric development such as the ones who are party to the NFA, but any description of historical and existing land uses is minimal or limited. One notable project that used limited land use information was the Land Exchange and Land Use Study by Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates on behalf of the Northern Flood Committee. This study determined suitable land exchange areas based on land use and resource inventories for four of the five First Nations who are party to the Northern Flood Agreement. **Figure 2** identifies the Northern Flood Agreement First Nations.

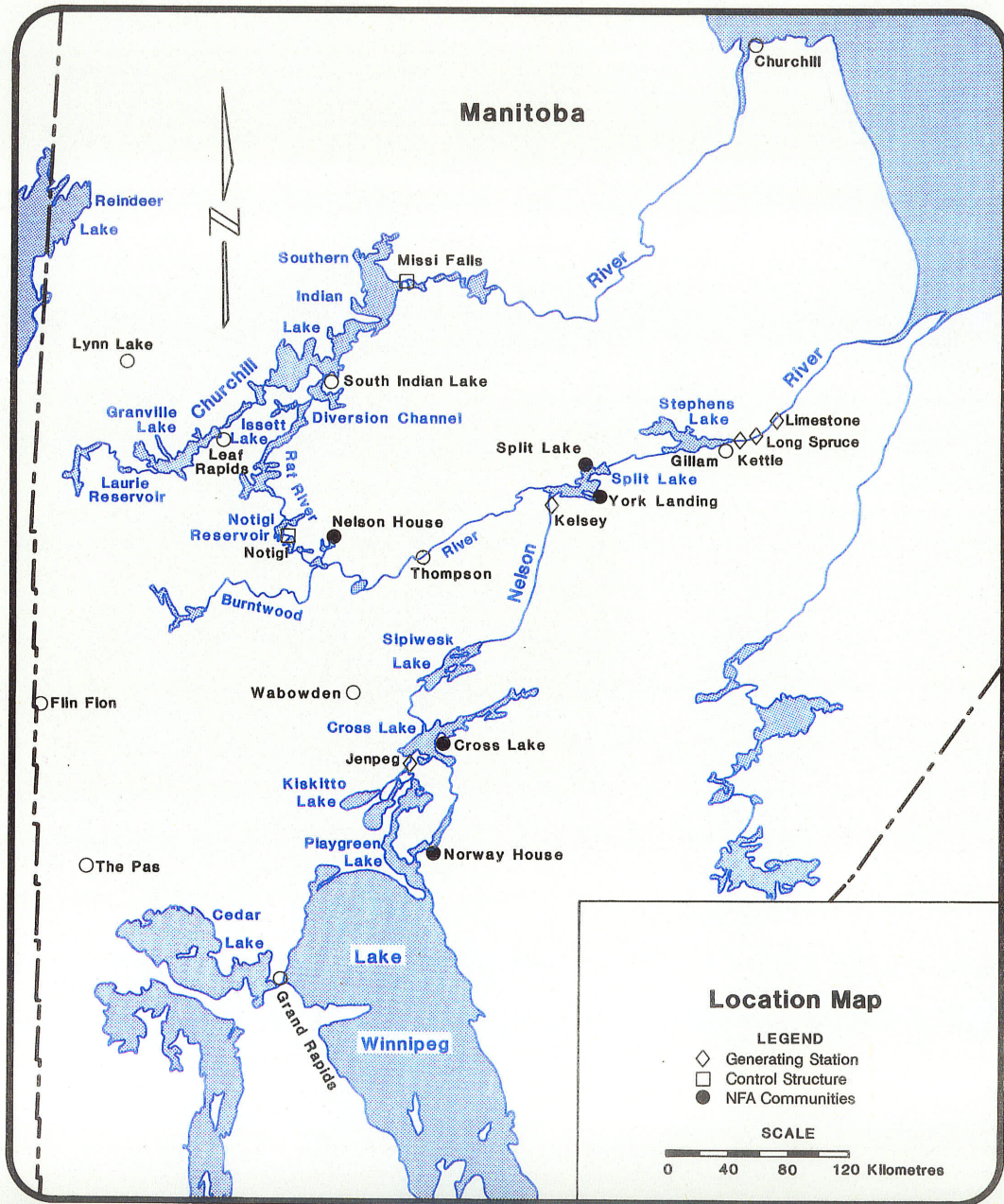
⁴ As defined by the *Indian Act*, 1985, at section 2.(1) "reserve".



Stephens Lake: areas hatched in red indicate the present extent and shoreline of the Stephens Lake forebay at Gillam, Manitoba; the former shoreline of the Nelson River is shown in blue. Source: MKO Natural Resources Secretariat

FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2



SOURCE: Environment Canada, *Northern Flood Agreement Manitoba*. Ecological Report Series No. 89-1.

1.1 ISSUE STATEMENT

There is presently a lack of documentation concerning the historic and existing land uses of the Fox Lake First Nation. In the future, it is expected the documentation contained in this report will be used to identify past and potential impacts on the Fox Lake First Nation members from development activities such as hydroelectric generation. Other potential uses include the support of land claim negotiations and selections, resource inventory studies, other socio-economic studies, and the identification of areas for future economic initiatives. The end result of the Fox Lake First Nation Land Use and Occupancy study was the conversion of land use and occupancy information from an oral to a documented form.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are:

1. to collect information on the historic and existing land uses and occupancy of the Fox Lake First Nation;
2. to trace the history and traditional land use patterns of the Fox Lake First Nation, using map biography interviews as an information source;

3. to support the land use and occupancy information of the Fox Lake First Nation with:
 - photographs (aerial/other photographs),
 - oral history of the Fox Lake Cree,
 - personal records and correspondence,
 - government and other organizational material,
 - archival material, and
 - anthropological research and studies;
4. to identify areas where flooding and other ecological disturbances from hydroelectric development have affected the land uses of the Fox Lake First Nation; and
5. based on the study results, to make recommendations with respect to the Fox Lake First Nation and its traditional land use activities.

1.3 SCOPE AND DEFINITIONS

The geographic study area included all the historic and present areas of land use and occupancy by individuals and families within the Fox Lake Cree genealogy group. Genealogy is defined as a record or account of a group's descent or ancestry. The Fox Lake Cree genealogy is rooted to the Homeguard Cree who resided in the York Factory area prior to 1957.

Documentation of Fox Lake Cree land use and occupancy required research and mapping over an area extending east from Split Lake to the shores of Hudson Bay. The study area is identified in **Figure 3**.

1.3.1 Definition of Terms

The following are some key concepts and terms used throughout this report:

Land Use - refers to what is documented by means of map biographies, in particular, a land use map⁵. Land uses include traditional hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering;

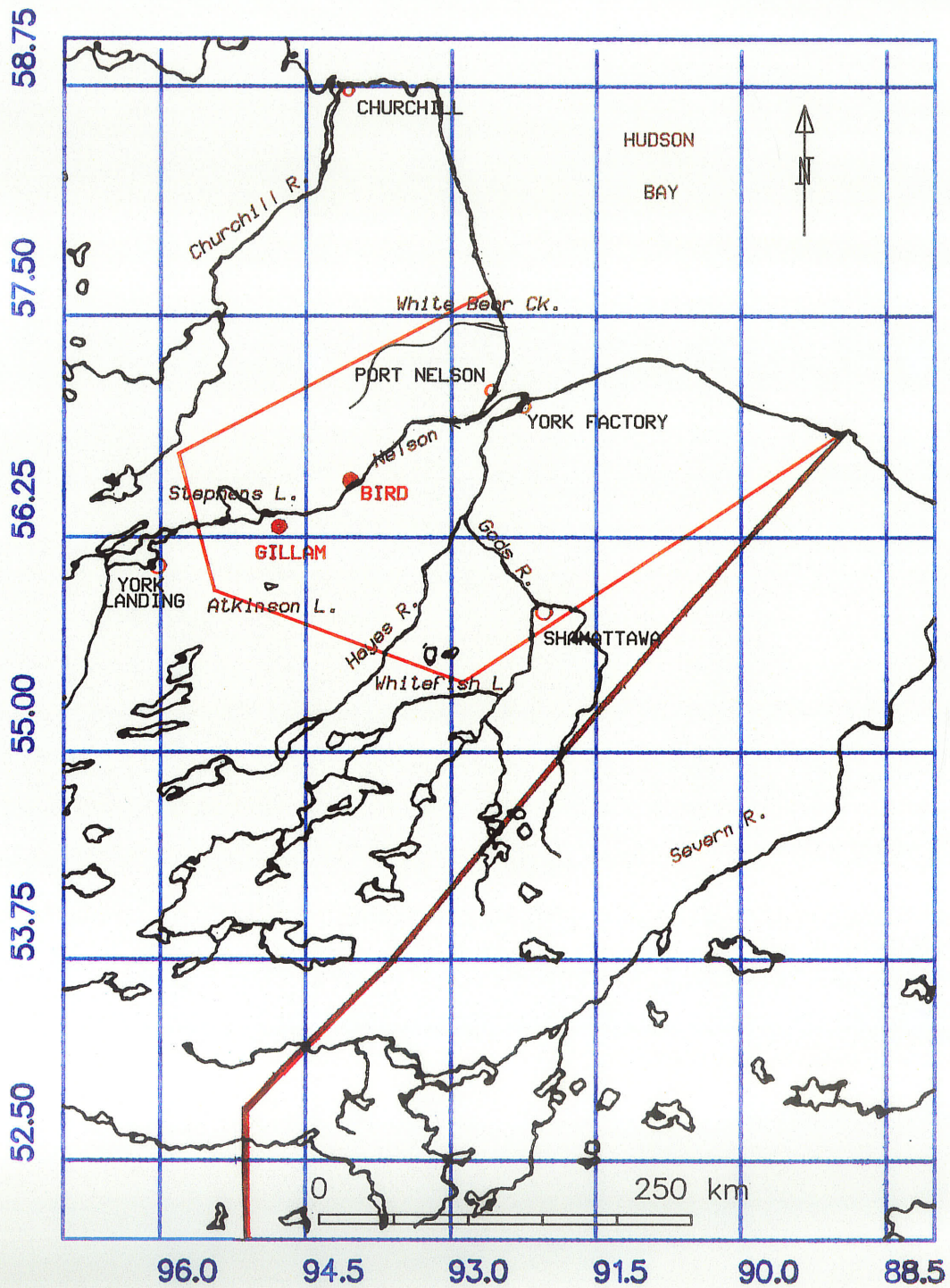
Occupancy - refers to the territory that a particular group or First Nation regards as its own by continuing use, habitation, naming, knowledge and control⁶;

Historical Land Use - refers to the use of land for several generations, or land that was historically used within the limits of living memory by a certain First Nation. This may or may not be the same as existing land use. For example, the land use areas of the Fox Lake Cree prior to the closure of York Factory in 1957 are not the same as those land use areas in the vicinity of Gillam or Bird.

⁵ Peter J. Usher, *Principles for Determining the Territorial Extent of Land Claim Settlement Areas* (1991).

⁶ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 3



The Study Area
Source: MKO Natural Resources Secretariat

For the purposes of the present study, with reference to historical land use and occupancy within the living memory of the Fox Lake First Nation, historical will mean prior to the closing of York Factory in 1957;

Existing Land Use - refers to land that is presently and actively used by the Fox Lake First Nation. Again this may or may not be the same as historical land use;

Habitation - refers to land use that leaves a permanent mark upon the land, such as winter and summer camps, semi-permanent settlements and burial sites⁷; and

Traditional (as in traditional interest, traditional use, traditional occupancy) - refers to the land base with which a group identifies itself and to which it expresses attachment in legend and ideology as well as by long-standing use which may be documented over time by archaeological and historical evidence in addition to map biographies⁸.

1.4 STUDY APPROACH

1.4.1 Technical Preparation

In order to initiate the map biography interview process, several materials were required. These included:

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

- mylar overlays;
- fine point marking pens (eight different colours);
- tape recorder for interviews; and
- other miscellaneous equipment (i.e. masking tape, pen knife, map holders, brush, etc.).

Topographic maps were also required at the following scales:

- 1:250,000. Nine of these maps were used to document the historic and contemporary Fox Lake Cree land use and occupancy; and
- 1:50,000. Fifteen of these maps were used where greater detail was required, such as high activity areas and specific sites.

A series of aerial photographs were also used for the following purposes: to confirm sites, examine areas before hydroelectric development occurred, and to act as memory aids in the mapping and interview process. The aerial photographs utilized in this study date back to 1962.

All copies of archival material in the form of photographs, personal records and correspondence were filed at the project base in Thompson, Manitoba. They remain the property of MKO and the Fox Lake First Nation.

1.4.2 Project Phases

Phase One:

Selection of Liaison Person

A member of the Fox Lake First Nation was hired to act as a liaison between the mapper (the author) and the Fox Lake First Nation members interviewed. The liaison person was also instrumental in identifying the key interview subjects. Because the author is a Cree Indian who was raised in northern Manitoba and speaks the Cree language fluently, interpretation during the interviews was not required. The author was also able to directly analyze the interview results, including the audio tapes.

Community Preparation

In order to inform and explain the project to the Fox Lake First Nation membership in advance, a community meeting and informational workshop was held and all members were invited. The community liaison person was given adequate time to make any advance arrangements, such as identifying the key interview subjects and securing a work area before the mapper travelled to the community.

Phase Two:

Mapping and Interviews

With the assistance of the community liaison person, the mapper interviewed individuals with knowledge of specific resource use areas (as determined by the community liaison person) and instructed them to provide separate colour-coded polygons and other appropriate marks as required on a map and overlay.

Each individual provided historic and existing land use information of land areas and lakes used for:

1. Hunting (various game and wildfowl);
2. Fishing (winter and summer);
3. Trapping (pre- and post-registered traplines);
4. Berry Picking and other plant gathering;
5. Cabin and Camping Sites;
6. Travel Corridors;
7. Timber Harvesting;
8. Burial and Spiritual Sites;
9. Youth Training Areas; and
10. Recreational Sites/Areas.

Participants were advised that there would be a second map biography interview if information not provided during the first interview was recalled at a later date. Interview subjects who had limited map literacy, or none at all, were asked to record the information on an audio tape. By naming lakes, rivers and sites, or by describing patterns of movement, these participants were able to provide the necessary land use and occupancy information.

Phase Three:

Initial Review

This involved the collection and review of completed maps by the mapper, community liaison person and key client representatives.

Evaluation and Remapping

Evaluation was an ongoing aspect of the mapping activities. The evaluation process identified areas where necessary information was non-existent, or required verification. Additional mapping was conducted at larger scales in areas of considerable activity and where greater detail was required. Corroborating information was then reviewed and catalogued. This information was in the form of:

- aerial photographs/ photographs;
- personal records and correspondence;
- archival material;

- government or other organizational material; and
- anthropological research and studies.

Phase Four:

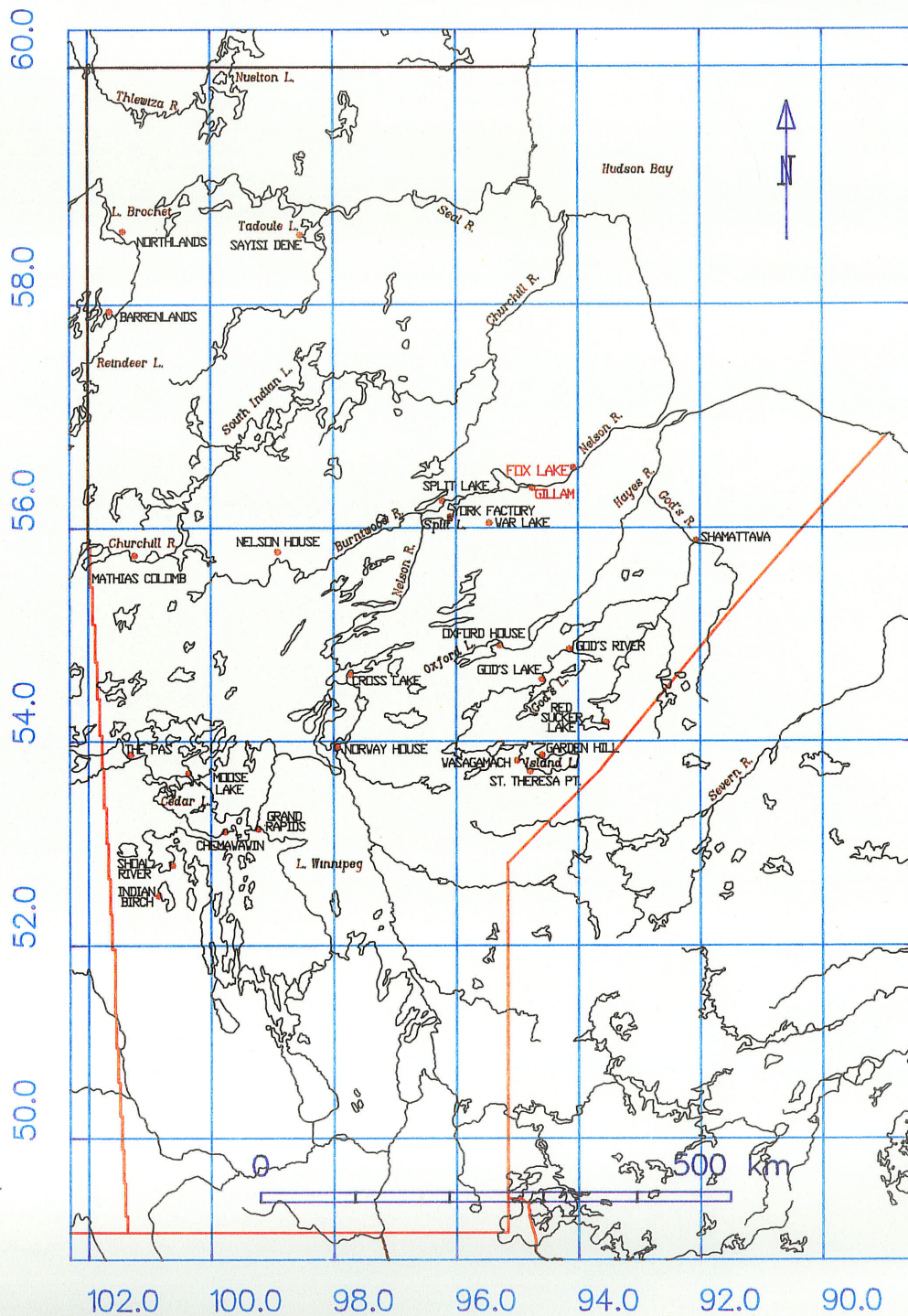
Compilation of Summary Reports and Final Maps

This stage involved the compilation of the historic and existing land use and occupancy information in the form of this final report. The specific land use and occupancy maps and other information collected throughout the conduct of this study remains the property of the Fox Lake First Nation.

1.5 CLIENTS AND IMPORTANCE

The present study was initiated at the request of two client groups. One client is the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, Inc. (MKO), which is a native political organization representing twenty-five First Nations in northern Manitoba. The twenty-five MKO First Nations are identified in **Figure 4**. MKO's mandate is to improve the services and conditions in northern Manitoba reserves in terms of education, health, child care, social services and economic development. In 1988, MKO formed a Natural Resources Secretariat whose purpose is to provide a research function for the organization and to promote economic development in MKO First Nation communities.

FIGURE 4



Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Communities

Source: MKO Natural Resources Secretariat

At present, the Secretariat is working toward the establishment of a natural resources data base in northern Manitoba as well as the development and refinement of its capability to record and document traditional land use and occupancy information. In order to meet the latter objective, the Fox Lake First Nation was selected as the pilot project upon which this report is based.

The other client group, the Fox Lake First Nation, is a member of MKO. Members of the Fox Lake First Nation currently reside at the town of Gillam and the Reserve at Bird. According to the 1988 Community Profiles of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the population of the Fox Lake Band is 107 on-reserve; 140 on crown land; and 202 off-reserve, bringing the total to 449. The "on-reserve" population is situated at the Bird Reserve and the "on crown land" population is situated at the town of Gillam.

Since the traditional territory of the Fox Lake First Nation is highly developed for hydroelectricity generation, the work to record their historical and existing land uses is very important because it will assist in the assessment of hydroelectric development impacts upon the Fox Lake First Nation in the future. Such information will also assist in giving a specific indication of impacts from hydroelectric development upon the land use and occupancy of the First Nation as a whole and upon individual members and families. This is crucial because the Fox Lake First Nation was never included in the 1977 Northern Flood Agreement and hence, does not benefit from any of the provisions in the Agreement including compensation.

Once recorded, the potential future application of the information contained in this report includes land claim negotiations, identification of land areas important to the Fox Lake First Nation, resource inventory studies, future economic development initiatives or other socio-economic studies.

For MKO, this research further refined and field-tested a methodology developed by its Natural Resources Secretariat for recording and documenting land use and occupancy patterns among the First Nations it represents. Since resource inventories are declining in parts of northern Manitoba⁹, land use and occupancy information will become very important in terms of protecting and representing the interests of affected First Nations. Such potential uses demonstrate the value of such research to an organization like MKO.

1.6 CONCLUSION

At present, the record of land uses of northern Manitoba First Nations do exist in an oral form but not in a written form. The need to document land use information is important if these First Nations are to present and protect their interests in the land through the traditional use of natural resources. Extensive hydroelectric development in northern Manitoba has occurred where land use interests of First Nations, such as the Fox Lake First Nation, were never truly considered. The documentation process followed by the present study has assisted in the refinement of the map biography methodology,

⁹ HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

and has facilitated the application of this methodology to other First Nations. This process may be a first step toward the effective representation of Aboriginal land use interests in future developments, especially if the process is implemented with the direct participation and control of the First Nations.

CHAPTER TWO - HISTORICAL OVERVIEW/ LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The subject of the present study is the Fox Lake First Nation membership, a group who has a long history of occupancy in northern Manitoba both in the interior and along the Hudson Bay coast. The Fox Lake Cree are the direct descendants of the Homeguard Cree from York Factory. The Homeguard Cree later became known as the York Factory Band and as such, signed the Adhesion to Treaty Five in 1910. The Cree of the present day Shamattawa and Fox Lake First Nations broke away from the larger York Factory Band in 1947 and acquired separate Band status under the *Indian Act*.

The operation of the York Factory post played a very significant part in the history of not only the Fox Lake Cree but also the Canadian Fur Trade. York Factory was constructed in 1684 by the Hudson's Bay Company as a fur trading depot on the north shore of the Hayes River¹⁰. After several decades of decline, the York Factory trading post closed in 1957¹¹. The Cree people who historically took up residence in proximity to the York Factory post and traded pelts for European goods and services were known as the Homeguard Cree by Hudson's Bay Company employees¹².

¹⁰ Peter C. Newman, *The Company of Adventurers* (1986).

¹¹ Frank Tough, *The Demise of the York Factory "Homeguard" Cree with the Decline of the Kihciwaskahikanihk* (1987).

¹² Michael Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory* (1989).

A detailed study of the Homeguard Cree still awaits an author but a study of Cree life at York Factory during the years 1788-1870 makes a number of passing references to them¹³. Similar references are made in a study of women in the fur trade society of 1670-1870¹⁴. One author describes the years when York Factory was in decline and the effect this decline had on the Homeguard Cree¹⁵.

In order to better understand how York Factory came into existence, it is necessary to provide an historical overview of the events and conditions of the Canadian Fur Trade. Because the Fox Lake First Nation are the direct descendants of the Homeguard Cree at York Factory, it is necessary to put the role of the Homeguard Cree at the post into perspective. This includes a literature review of the lifestyles of the Cree prior to contact, a brief history of the early Canadian Fur Trade, why and when York Factory was built, in addition to the role of the Homeguard Cree at York Factory. Furthermore, it is necessary to provide a brief historical overview of the construction of Port Nelson on the north shore of the Nelson River estuary and the coming of the Canadian National (CN) Rail Line to northern Manitoba since these two events played a major role in the history of the Fox Lake First Nation.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society* (1980).

¹⁵ Frank Tough, *The Demise of the York Factory "Homeguard" Cree with the Decline of the Kihciwaskahikanihk* (1987).

2.1 THE CREE: PRE-CONTACT

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Cree people had occupied the boreal forest for a long period of time. As far back as twelve hundred years ago, people identifiable as early Western Woods Cree were firmly established in much of northern Manitoba and were interfacing with the Dene further north (**Figure 5**). This population of Cree people continued to inhabit and expand in northern Manitoba establishing boundaries between themselves and other aboriginal groups resulting in the boundaries known today.

The Cree lifestyle prior to European contact was nomadic, heavily dependent upon the resources of the land, and was characterized by a strong sense of religion about the natural environment¹⁶. The term nomadic does not mean that the Cree wandered aimlessly throughout the boreal forest hoping to find whatever resources they could utilize for survival, but rather, the seasonal camps and travel routes were well known and located in the most resource rich areas during each given season¹⁷. The nomadic lifestyle was one form of conservation where groups moved from an area that was being depleted of its resources to another where resources were abundant¹⁸. In this way, the resources in a given area were never completely exhausted¹⁹.

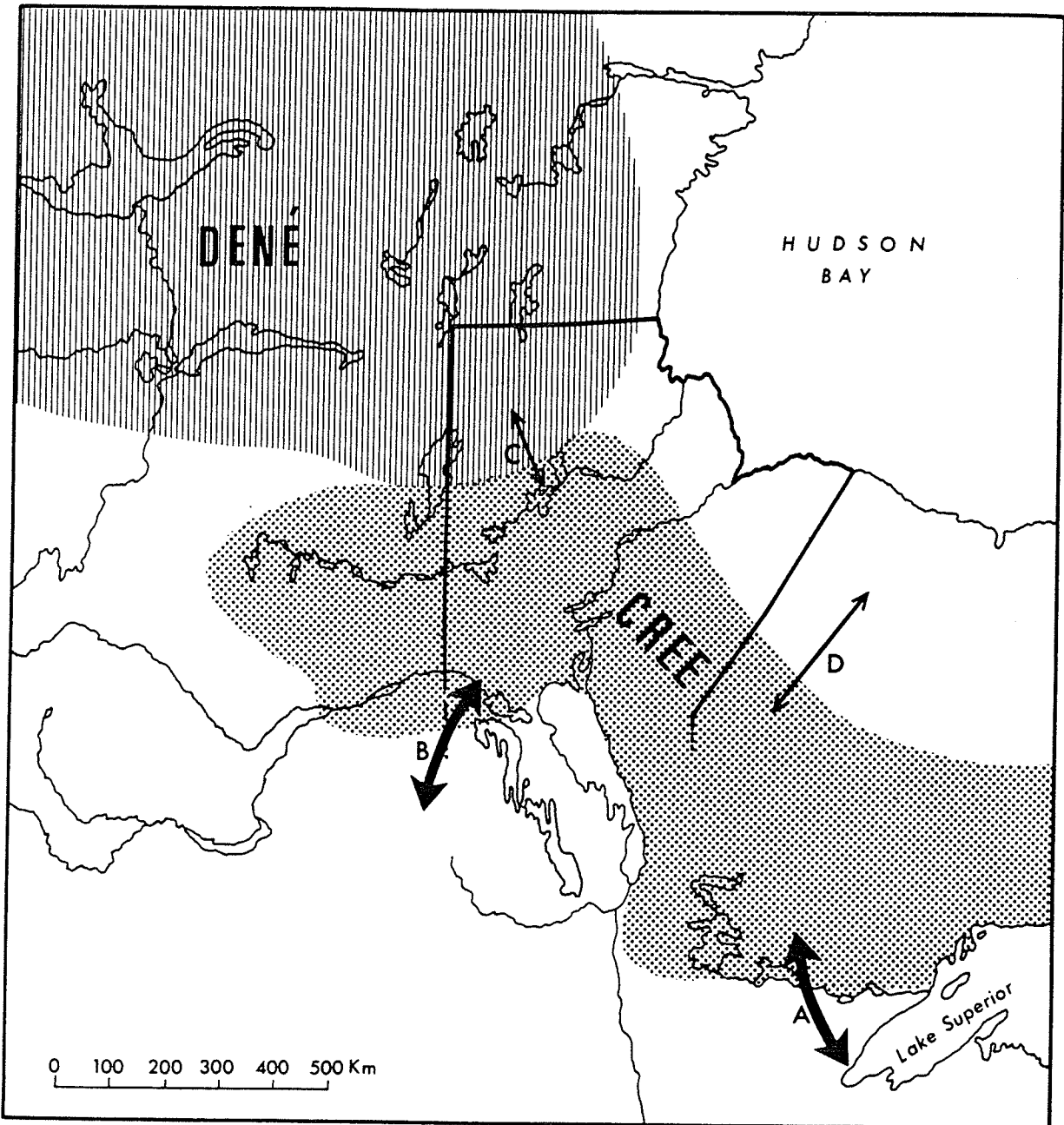
¹⁶ Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation [MCH&R], *The Oldtimers* (1989).

¹⁷ Michael Anderson, personal communication, 1993.

¹⁸ Island Lake Tribal Council [ILTC], *God's Lake Narrows: Community Information* (1984).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 5



SOURCE: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation (Historic Resources), *The Oldtimers* (1989).

- KEY:
- A Movement of Blackduck Pottery Makers
 - B Direct Line of Descent: Forest Dwellers to Present-Day Cree
 - C Influence of Climatic Fluctuation on Dene-Cree Interface
 - D Movement of Cree to the Northeast

The survival and well-being of the aboriginal people were also dependent upon several generations of accumulated knowledge of the natural environment. This knowledge was faithfully remembered and passed on to the next generation through practical training and oral tradition²⁰. Often the knowledge was improved upon as it passed through the generations²¹, although the change was not drastic and sudden, but rather, slow and incremental.

The aboriginal way of life required the harvesting of large quantities of meat, and thus the various resources of each season had to be efficiently exploited in order to sustain the protein requirements of the Cree people²². For this reason, big game animals such as moose, caribou and bear were pursued year-round²³. Small game species such as rabbits, ptarmigan, spruce hens and grouse were also harvested year-round²⁴. Other species were also harvested according to their seasonal availability and abundance.

In the spring, people gathered in camps situated at fish spawning areas to harvest the abundant fish usually found at the mouths of streams and rivers²⁵.

²⁰ MCH&R, *The Oldtimers* (1989).

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

²³ MCH&R, *The Oldtimers* (1989).

²⁴ HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

²⁵ MCH&R, *The Oldtimers* (1989).

Weirs were constructed to concentrate the fish in one small area where they were caught using a harpoon or spear. The fish were then brought to camp where they were eaten or dried for later consumption²⁶. As soon as the spawning season ended, nets were made out of spruce roots and willow and were utilized all summer to harvest fish²⁷. Spring was also the season when geese and other waterfowl returned from their wintering grounds in the south. Waterfowl was harvested in large quantities with stone-tipped arrows and nets²⁸. Beavers, muskrats and other small game were also harvested during the spring season for food or other purposes²⁹.

The transition between spring and summer witnessed the movement of Cree families to summer camps³⁰. Here, the harvesting of fish continued and berries and other edible plants became available. The spring and summer seasons were a time of abundance, renewal, and the preparation of food and clothing for the winter season³¹.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ ILTC, *God's Lake Narrows: Community Information* (1984).

³¹ MCH&R, *The Oldtimers* (1989).

The fall season witnessed the return of geese and other waterfowl from the north, as well as the related Cree harvesting activity³². The fall season also signalled the rutting season for moose which were also harvested at this time of year³³. Moose meat and hides provided most of the approaching winter's provisions.

At the onset of the winter season, the family groups that had formed and stayed together for spring, summer and fall broke up into several small bands and began to move to their winter camps³⁴. Winter was a time of scarcity, and therefore the people had to migrate from one area to another in order to realize the full resource harvesting potential³⁵.

Cree lifestyles throughout the seasonal cycle did not begin to drastically change until the arrival of the Europeans. This period was characterized by a new form of resource exploitation inconsistent with that of the traditional Cree lifestyle.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ ILTC, *God's Lake Narrows: Community Information* (1984).

2.2 POST-CONTACT, 1600-1900

The search for the Northwest Passage brought the first Europeans to northern Manitoba³⁶. There were several expeditions into what is now Hudson Bay at the time of the search for the Northwest Passage. Henry Hudson sailed into Hudson Bay in 1610, followed by Captain Thomas Button and Francis Nelson in 1612³⁷. Button was forced to winter at the mouth of the Nelson River because of the early onset of cold weather. After having lost several crewmen, he returned to England the following year³⁸. In 1619, a Danish explorer by the name of Jens Munck, sailed into Hudson Bay and the Churchill River³⁹. As Button was before him, Munck was forced to winter on the Bay because of the early onset of cold weather⁴⁰. Only Munck and two crew members survived the winter and sailed back to Norway the following year⁴¹. Both Button and Munck saw no Indians or Inuit during their winters on Hudson Bay but Munck did discover many signs of human activity⁴².

³⁶ Carl L. Wall, *North-East Planning Zone: A Resource Information Package* (1976); HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

By 1631, following the voyages of Luke Fox and Thomas James, it was discovered that Hudson Bay was just an indentation in the North American continent, and not the Northwest passage. It was also realized at this time that there was considerable potential in the natural resources of the area, especially with respect to fur⁴³. The first step towards an organized fur trade by the early explorers was the establishment of a relationship with the native people of the area.

2.2.1 The Fur Trade, 1668-1870

With the realization that the area around Hudson Bay had considerable fur harvesting potential, two Frenchmen by the name of Radisson and Groseilliers began seeking support in France for a trading expedition to Hudson Bay. French support, however, was never given⁴⁴. Radisson and Groseilliers were able to generate support for their scheme from Charles II in London⁴⁵. In 1668, Groseilliers sailed the *Nonsuch* to James Bay where he wintered and traded with a band of about 300 Indians⁴⁶. In the following year, the *Nonsuch* set sail for England with a rich supply of furs⁴⁷.

⁴³ C. L. Wall, *North-East Planning Zone* (1976).

⁴⁴ HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

In 1670, as a result of the Groseilliers expedition, King Charles II granted a Royal Charter to the "Governor and Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay"⁴⁸. This formed the Hudson's Bay Company which later became a trading monopoly in the Hudson Bay area. The territory granted by the Charter became known as Rupertsland, named after Prince Rupert, the Governor of the Company⁴⁹. Rupertsland, contrasted with the study area, is identified in **Figure 6**.

The Hudson's Bay Company was granted remarkable powers by the Royal Charter. Pursuant to the Charter, the company was designated the "true and absolute Lords and Proprietors" in the entire Hudson Bay drainage basin and was given the exclusive right to conduct trade and commerce, ownership of the mineral rights, authority to appoint Governors and make and enforce laws⁵⁰. For the next twelve years, the Company made little effort to establish trade on the west coast of Hudson Bay⁵¹. In response to competition from the French, the Company constructed York Fort (later known as York Factory) on the north shore of the Hayes River in 1684⁵².

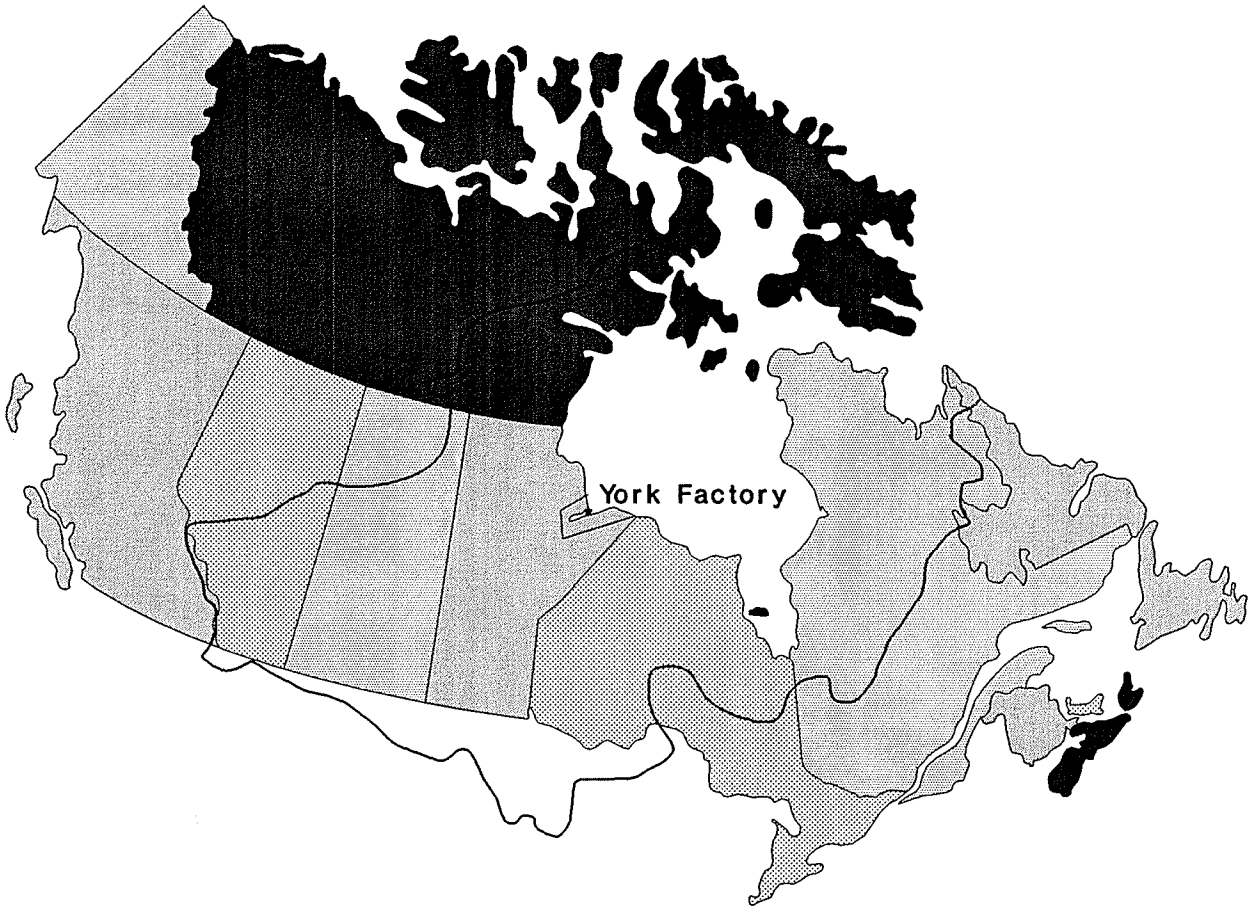
⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ ILTC, *God's Lake Narrows: Community Information* (1984).

⁵⁰ D. Francis and T. Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870* (1983).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² P.C. Newman, *The Company of Adventurers* (1986).



- Fox Lake Land Use Study Area
- Rupert's Land (1670)

FIGURE 6

In 1686, the trade rivalry between the English and the French turned to open hostility which resulted in the French defeat of the English and the capture of English posts on Hudson Bay⁵³. Victory in Europe by the English over the French and the resulting Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 led to the restoration of the English posts in Hudson Bay⁵⁴.

Surrounding the Hudson Bay coast and the English posts was the traditional territory of the Cree-Assiniboine. Demarcation of this territory meant that these groups could control the trade of any interior groups since the interior groups were obliged to pass through Cree-Assiniboine territory⁵⁵. The Cree-Assiniboine played a role in the Fur Trade as middlemen by trading the pelts provided by the interior groups for European goods⁵⁶. Easy access to European goods gave the Cree-Assiniboine an advantage over other groups in the interior, and enabled the Cree to expand their territory⁵⁷. The Cree became accustomed to the European provisions and the uses to which they could be put, and as a result, began to rely more heavily on the posts for supplies and services⁵⁸.

⁵³ D. Francis and T. Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870* (1983).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

While the Treaty of Utrecht gave control of the posts along the Hudson Bay coast back to the English, it failed to establish the boundaries of the English and French territories in the Hudson Bay region⁵⁹. As a result, between 1731 and 1749, the French established a chain of posts in the interior from Lake Superior to the Saskatchewan River watershed⁶⁰. This diverted much of the trade in furs from the Hudson's Bay Company and renewed the rivalry between the English and the French in the fur trade⁶¹.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 merged Rupertsland and New France under the British Crown and effectively eliminated the French as a trading rival⁶². However, the French were replaced by a group of independent traders who organized themselves into the North-West Company in 1774 and went into direct competition with the Hudson's Bay Company, challenging their charter⁶³. In the same year, the Hudson's Bay Company established its first inland post at Cumberland House⁶⁴. This was the first of a number of inland posts established by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company posts are identified in **Figure 7**.

⁵⁹ C.L. Wall, *North-East Planning Zone* (1976).

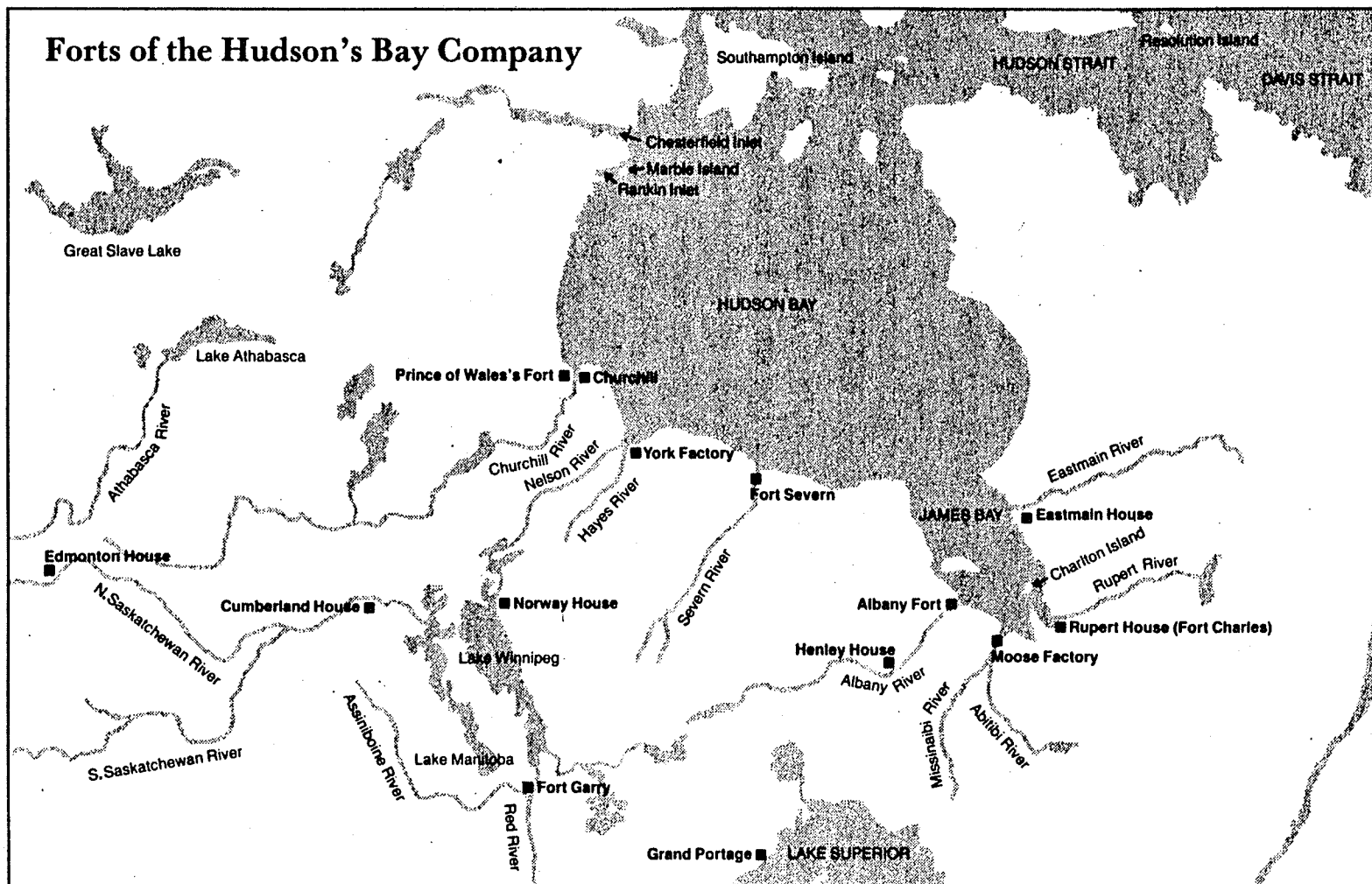
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*



Source: Peter C. Newman, *Company of Adventurers*, 1986

FIGURE 7

As these inland posts went into full operation, the Company was required to supply them with provisions⁶⁵. The Company set up a provision base at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers which became known as the Red River Colony⁶⁶. The Company's plans to unite the Hudson Bay and Plains regions for the trade in furs became a deadly threat to the North-West Company⁶⁷. In 1816, the Nor'Westers, with the aid of the Metis, destroyed the Red River Colony⁶⁸. The Colony was restored a year later and in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company merged with the North-West Company⁶⁹.

From 1821-1870, the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed a monopoly in the Fur Trade combining North-West Company skills and Hudson's Bay Company stability⁷⁰. The Hayes River became the main artery of transport to and from York Factory with Norway House acting as the distribution point. Goods and supplies coming from York Factory were dispatched to the Red River, Saskatchewan River and Athabaska River boat brigades⁷¹.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

During this time period, the Royal Charter enabled the Hudson's Bay Company to develop a favourable balance between trade and agriculture⁷². The Company also encouraged the entrance of missionaries and aided inland expeditions in search of the Northwest Passage⁷³. The Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed a monopoly based on the isolation of the area but a railway built across the northern United States created a new pull to the south⁷⁴. The Hudson's Bay Company succumbed to this southern influence since the Hayes River no longer held its importance as a transport route⁷⁵. In 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its Royal Charter to the Dominion of Canada⁷⁶.

2.2.2 The Role of the Homeguard Cree at York Factory, 1788-1870

York Factory was constructed in 1684 on the north shore of the Hayes River by the Hudson's Bay Company in response to French fur trade competition⁷⁷. As mentioned above, the Cree people who resided around York Factory became known as the Homeguard Cree by the Company officers and employees⁷⁸.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ HWCH, *Nelson House Plan*, 1983(a)

⁷⁸ M. Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory* (1989).

According to the available literature, one must conclude that the Homeguard Cree played a major role in the operation of the York Factory post and in the life of the company employees stationed at York Factory. Payne specifically mentions the Homeguard Cree in his discussions of the social structure and social relations, work, leisure, education and religion, and the standard of living at York Factory.

The most significant role played by the local Cree in the operation of the York Factory post is likely in terms of the labour they provided: there were very few aspects of work at York Factory in which the local Cree did not participate⁷⁹.

Seasonal employment included such tasks as haying, rafting wood, loading and unloading ships, transporting goods and hunting⁸⁰.

Local Cree hunting activity was very important to the occupants of York Factory since it provided them with a source of fresh meat⁸¹. Country provisions were essential in the prevention of scurvy which was a serious problem prior to 1821⁸². The two key periods when the local Cree were employed to hunt was during the spring and fall migration of geese and other waterfowl. The Cree also hunted other game at other times of the year for the Company employees.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

In a study of women in the fur trade, the chief employment of the Homeguard Cree at York Factory is identified as hunting⁸³. Indian women hunted and provided for the company men to whom they were married through "the custom of the country": these marriages were often used to establish or improve trade relations with various Indian groups. She also notes that Cree, as well as other Native women, accompanied and assisted the company men on inland journeys, journeys that may otherwise have failed or been very difficult.

The local Cree were also employed as messengers between trade posts: they delivered correspondence packets and transported geese and fish from other camps to York Factory⁸⁴. In the late 1820's, the local Cree at York Factory were employed in canoe brigades to transport goods between York Factory and Norway House via the Hayes River⁸⁵. The reliability, honesty and efficiency of these Native freighters impressed some company officers⁸⁶.

References to the Homeguard Cree are also made with respect to leisure, standard of living, education and religion⁸⁷. Both of these authors refer to the same source when they discuss leisure but each describes a different purpose.

⁸³ S. Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society* (1980).

⁸⁴ M. Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory* (1989).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; S. Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties"* (1980).

Payne uses the Christmas dances at York Factory to demonstrate the role played by the local Cree in the leisure activities of the company employees. Van Kirk uses the dances to point out the relationship between European and Native women. Payne notes that there was a mutual cultural transfer between the European population and the local Cree which contributed to the standard of living of both parties. In the areas of education and religion, Payne indicates that early attempts by the Hudson's Bay Company to educate and Christianize the local Cree population were not very successful because the Cree were very independent in terms of setting their own laws, practising their own religion and having control of their own lives in general. Another reason was that Company time and resources were limited and not willingly committed.

2.2.3 The Decline of York Factory and Signing of Treaty, 1870-1910

After the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its Charter to the Dominion of Canada in 1870, the York Factory post began to decline as a major depot for the Northwest region⁸⁸. In the 1870's, York Factory lost the major sources of revenue generated by the old system, such as those resources realized in its capacity as headquarters for the Northern Department, as a supply depot for the Northwest, as well as in its ability to secure "free" labour from new recruits and retiring servants.

⁸⁸ F. Tough, *The Demise of the York Factory "Homeguard Cree"* (1987).

In addition, the end of major inland shipping was compounded by increased expenses such as the new requirement to pay Canadian import duties⁸⁹. A reduction in the non-aboriginal trade post labour force coupled with the need for a supply of "country food" and other necessary changes increased the demand for native labour⁹⁰. This labour was provided by the Homeguard Cree. The demand for native labour encouraged longer residency at the post, a phenomenon that witnessed a reduction in the amount of resources around the post. As a result, the area could not support the Homeguard Cree who took up residence near the post⁹¹. The result was an increased dependency on the Company for rations and greater suffering among the people⁹².

In the 1880's, caribou and small game species in the York Factory post vicinity became increasingly scarce⁹³. As a result, this period also witnessed a reduction in the native labour force⁹⁴. The suffering and hardship experienced by the Homeguard Cree due to these factors required them to return to the bush or migrate out of the region to Churchill or other areas to the south.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

At this time, however, the major destination was Split Lake⁹⁵. The return to the bush and migration was encouraged by the Hudson's Bay Company since the Company could not incur the cost of providing the Homeguard Cree with rations⁹⁶.

By the late 1880's and into the 1890's, most of the Homeguard Cree had returned to the bush. The population that stayed as a surplus labour pool around the York Factory post continued to suffer because of the scarcity of resources and York Factory's inability to provide for them⁹⁷. The adjustment by the Homeguard Cree continued through the 1890's, and by the turn of the century, they were considered self-supporting⁹⁸.

In 1910, the York Factory Band, as they were then known, signed the Adhesion to Treaty Five. One consequence of the signing was the alleviation of the social costs of the fur trade from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Government of Canada⁹⁹. Another consequence of the "treating" was a restriction in the spatial mobility of the Homeguard Cree at York Factory¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

The pattern of seasonal movements that emerged after the signing of the Treaty is most likely the pattern identified by the present study of the Fox Lake First Nation which dates from the early 1900's until the closing of York Factory in 1957.

2.2.4 Port Nelson and the CN Rail, 1912-1929

With the construction of Port Nelson, evidence from the present-day Fox Lake First Nation indicates that some of the population of Homeguard Cree took up residence here. There is no record of Homeguard Cree employment in this region. After the abandonment of the port, only the York Factory trappers remained there. Similarly, the Canadian National (CN) Rail Line in northern Manitoba played a major role in the history of the Fox Lake First Nation: it provided (and continues to provide) economic opportunities for the Fox Lake Cree. As a result, the Fox Lake Cree have inhabited the area since at least the 1920's.

Port Nelson was originally intended to be the port for the CN Rail Line, since grain from western Canada could be shipped from the port to markets overseas. Construction of Port Nelson occurred from 1912 to 1917¹⁰¹. At peak construction, Port Nelson consisted of large dining halls and residences, private dwellings, a two storey Engineering Building, a twelve bed hospital and a wireless radio station¹⁰².

¹⁰¹ D. Malaher, *Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay Railway* (n.d.).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

In 1908, an engineer from the Department of Railways and Canals received orders to conduct surveys for a rail line to extend from The Pas to either Churchill or Port Nelson¹⁰³. When construction on the Rail Line from The Pas began in the fall of 1910, no terminus had been chosen¹⁰⁴. Finally, in the autumn of 1912, Port Nelson was named the port for the CN Rail Line¹⁰⁵. This decision was made despite the preference among mariners for Churchill over Port Nelson¹⁰⁶.

The shallow water of the Nelson River estuary, combined with a strong river current, a short shipping season and unpredictable weather conditions made the port dangerous for ships at times. Several ships and other vessels sunk, broke up and scattered, and ran aground while bringing construction supplies to Port Nelson from Halifax and other destinations¹⁰⁷. Due to these experiences, the engineer at Port Nelson called for a revision of the original plans for the port in 1914. The proposal described a 3000 ft extension of the existing bridge into the Nelson River estuary, and the creation of a man-made island about half a mile long to support the foot of the bridge¹⁰⁸. The rail extension was completed in 1916, and still exists today.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Between 1912 and 1917, a series of events strongly influenced the progress of Port Nelson. These events include political pressure exerted by the media, federal election promises, the entrance of Canada into World War I in 1914, and a shortage of money for investment¹⁰⁹. Consequently, after the summer of 1918, no work was authorized at Port Nelson¹¹⁰.

Prior to 1917, the winter population at Port Nelson was approximately 200 men, and the summer population consisted of 500 to 1000 people¹¹¹. In the winter of 1917-1918, a caretaker was the only resident of the Port¹¹². The next summer there were 100 men conducting soundings on the Nelson River¹¹³. The bridge at Kettle Rapids for the Hudson Bay Rail Line had been completed but there were no crews or rails to complete the connection to Port Nelson. Port Nelson was abandoned in 1918, and in 1920, a Senate Committee concluded that the route to Churchill was more feasible. This finding was later confirmed by an engineer in 1927¹¹⁴. The Hudson Bay Rail Line was completed to Churchill and the first shipment of wheat came to the port of Churchill in 1929.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Port Nelson was scavenged for equipment to assist in the construction of the port at Churchill¹¹⁵.

Following the abandonment of Port Nelson, only Homeguard Cree trappers remained¹¹⁶. The majority of the Cree people residing at Port Nelson never abandoned the port until about 1945, and a few families continued to reside there until the closing of York Factory in 1957.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Cree people had been occupying the boreal forest of North America for a long period of time, living off the resources of the land as dictated by the seasonal cycle. Because of their strong direct dependence on the natural resources of the land, their lifestyles and religion had a strong orientation to the natural environment. Survival was dictated by generations of accumulated knowledge about the natural environment which was sometimes improved upon and passed on to the next generation.

The traditional lifestyles of the Cree changed dramatically with the arrival of the Europeans and the emergence of a new economy in the form of trading furs for European goods and services. The fur trade played a very significant part in the history of Canada.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Throughout its history, the Canadian fur trade was influenced by activities and events within Canada, Europe and the rest of North America. Aboriginal people in general played a significant part in the fur trade since they provided the European trading posts with furs¹¹⁷.

For the Cree in northern Manitoba, the most significant trading post established by the Hudson's Bay Company was York Factory. Prior to the spread of the fur trade into the interior, York Factory was a major depot for the Hudson's Bay Company. As the Cree became familiar with European goods and the benefits they provided, York Factory attracted a population of Cree people who centred their activities around the post. These Cree people were known as the Homeguard Cree by Hudson's Bay Company employees.

The subjects of the present study, the Fox Lake Cree, are the direct descendants of the Homeguard Cree of York Factory. Consequently, a major portion of the history of the Fox Lake Cree includes their land use and occupancy in the York Factory vicinity, prior to its closing in 1957. However, this does not capture the whole story of the Fox Lake Cree land use and occupancy, since they also had a history at Port Nelson and along the CN Rail Line in the northern Manitoba interior. Areas along the CN Rail Line eventually became the main settlement areas of the Fox Lake Cree.

¹¹⁷ D. Francis and T. Morantz, *Partners in Furs* (1983).

The Fox Lake Cree are a party to Treaty Five since the York Factory Band signed the Adhesion to Treaty Five, and the Fox Lake Cree were once part of the York Factory Band. In 1947, the present-day Fox Lake and Shamattawa First Nations broke away from the main body of the York Factory Band and gained Band status the same year as recognized by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

CHAPTER THREE - LITERATURE REVIEW AND MAPPING METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Data was collected for the present study through the use of map biography and oral interview processes. The information collected from the interview subjects was limited to living memory supplemented by archaeological, anthropological, government or other organizational material and archival information. Material such as photographs, aerial photographs and correspondence was also used to assist or stimulate the map interview process. Photographs were used to record data and to verify information provided by the interview subjects.

The interviews and map biographies recorded the land use, habitation and occupancy of the Fox Lake Cree during different time periods. As defined in the first chapter, historical land use includes land use in the York Factory area as well as land use from the various sites along the CN Rail. Present-day land use occurs from Gillam and the Reserve at Bird. It is important to note that the land use areas during these two general time periods may or may not be the same. For example, land use areas along the coast used prior to the closing of York Factory in 1957 are generally not the same as the areas used from the Gillam townsite. The areas around York Factory were, however, traditionally used by the Fox Lake Cree and are considered to be within their territory.

The map biographies recorded land use information that is within living memory of each individual interviewed. The aggregation of all the individual map biographies and interviews demonstrates the extent and type of land use, various land marks such as cabins and graves, and other specific habitation sites of the Fox Lake First Nation used during different time periods.

The technique employed in the present study is similar those methods described in studies cited below, although there are some differences. The map biography technique and the interview process are described in detail in this chapter. The project design and other aspects of the study are also mentioned briefly.

3.1 METHODS - LITERATURE REVIEW

Aboriginal land use studies in Canada have been completed in a number of regions. The most commonly used method of documenting aboriginal land use and occupancy information is interviews and map biographies¹¹⁸. Similar to anthropological studies of societies that possess an oral, as opposed to a written history, this method relies very heavily on the interview subjects¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁸ Milton Freeman (ed.), *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976); Peter J. Usher, *Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories by Chipewyan (Denesuline) Bands* (1990); Carl J. Hrenchuk, *South Indian Lake Land Use and Occupancy* (1991).

¹¹⁹ Carol Brice-Bennett (ed.), *Our Footprints are Everywhere* (1977).

In the use of the map biography approach, informants are asked to convert spatial and temporal oral information onto a two dimensional surface¹²⁰. In other words, interview subjects are asked to record their knowledge of land use and occupancy on maps, a practice that departs from their oral tradition. The data obtained by the map biography method does not record the intensity of land use but rather, the type, the extent and the patterns of land use and occupancy over time¹²¹.

Even though the use of map biographies is the same for all the studies cited above, the techniques of collecting information vary. This variance ranges from the sample design to the scale of the maps, and to the categorization of the information collected. In a recent report of Chipewyan land use and occupancy¹²², three basic methods of data collection that correspond to time horizons are identified:

1. Within Living Memory

-interviews: informant recall, broad coverage;

¹²⁰ M. Anderson, personal communication (1991).

¹²¹ Milton Freeman (ed.), *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976); Peter J. Usher, *Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories by Chipewyan (Denesuline) Bands* (1990); Carl J. Hrenchuk, *South Indian Lake Land Use and Occupancy* (1991).

¹²² P.J. Usher, *Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories by Chipewyan (Denesuline) Bands* (1990).

2. History Since Contact

- interviews: elders' knowledge, selected coverage,
- primary and secondary documents; and

3. History Before Contact

- archaeology and legends (oral history).

In an application of the map biography approach to the "within living memory" time horizon, the role of the community liaison person is very important. This person is familiar with the local conditions, the local people and speaks the native language¹²³. "The local person has the advantage over a stranger in that he does not have to establish rapport with the community (often a difficult task for an outsider) because he is already an established member of it"¹²⁴. Thus there are many benefits associated with the placement of a local person in the role of the community liaison person. In the present study, the community liaison person was able to identify the people who could potentially contribute the most valuable information, and act as a liaison between these people and the project mapper. In addition, the community liaison person was responsible for interview schedule coordination.

¹²³ M. Freeman (ed.), *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976); C. Brice-Bennett (ed.), *Our Footprints are Everywhere* (1977).

¹²⁴ C. Brice-Bennett, *ibid.*

3.1.1 Data Reliability

"Anthropologists and others have often pointed out the remarkable preoccupation among hunting peoples with literal truth"¹²⁵. In other words, the accuracy of the information can mean the difference between life and death, and thus errors in judgement cannot be tolerated. Furthermore, for a society that has depended so heavily on detailed knowledge of the land and highly accurate recall, it is not surprising to find that details of the land have been faithfully remembered over time¹²⁶. Both of these authors note that in some hunting societies, there is no difference between a mistake and a lie. Thus, in such a context, it is expected that the information displayed in map biographies is accurate, although other factors come into play.

These factors include misreading the map, recall failure or misrepresentation¹²⁷. But even under such circumstances, mistakes merely translate into tiny imprecisions or omissions that can be corrected through verification procedures such as the superimposition of completed overlays or follow-up interviews¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (1981).

¹²⁶ M. Freeman, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ M. Freeman, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976); P.J. Usher, *Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories by Chipewyan (Denesuline) Bands* (1990).

In other words, uncertainties of location on the map and poor recall usually result in omissions rather than errors in the land use information provided ¹²⁹. It is the experience of one researcher that a follow-up map interview yielded the same information as the initial interview, with some additions, probably because of stimulation caused by the first interview¹³⁰. Additions may also result from a different interview technique or by asking additional questions about different areas of land use.

Another area that requires careful consideration is the sample design. In selecting informants, age and experience in hunting, fishing, trapping and other traditional pursuits must be considered¹³¹. Hunting, fishing and trapping are most likely to be male-dominated, and thus if the study centres around these activities, a major portion of land users (ie. women) are excluded¹³². Although the hunting and trapping experiences of women are limited, they present the domestic side of traditional life¹³³. The sample composition and structure is, however, dependent on the information desired by a study or researcher. Such land use and occupancy information is a form of traditional ecological knowledge.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ P.J. Usher, *Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories* (1990).

¹³¹ C. Brice-Bennett, *Our Footprints are Everywhere* (1977); M. Freeman, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976).

¹³² C. Hrenchuk, *South Indian Lake Land Use and Occupancy* (1991); P.J. Usher, *Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories* (1990).

¹³³ C. Brice-Bennett, *Our Footprints are Everywhere* (1977).

3.2 THE INTERVIEW

The most basic information that is sought in each map biography interview consists of the informant's travels and traditional activity experiences that are within the informant's living memory¹³⁴. It is preferable for the informant to do the marking of sites and area lines, although this is not always possible. Some elderly informants have limited map literacy, unsteady hands or poor eyesight which makes drawing extremely difficult or impossible. In such situations, the language fluency and familiarity of the community liaison person with the informants becomes valuable in assisting the demarcation of areas on maps.

Another aspect of the interview process is the need for informality and an open-ended approach¹³⁵. An informal approach puts the informant at ease during the interview. This allows for greater concentration on the mapping process and the information requested. An open-ended approach ensures that the type of information collected is not limited or pre-determined¹³⁶.

In the present study, those people who had very little or no map literacy were asked to provide a recorded interview. During these interviews, respondents were asked for their perceptions and descriptions of cultural activities and patterns of movement. Although the time periods described may not be precise, the historic patterns of movement during different seasons emerge.

¹³⁴ M. Freeman, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy* (1976).

¹³⁵ M. Freeman, *ibid.*; C. Brice-Bennett, *ibid.*, at note 133.

¹³⁶ M. Freeman, *ibid.*

When recall was accurate, the time sequence was also recorded. In those cases where a time period could not be identified, a general time frame was recorded. The general information obtained during such an interview was later supported by another informant or other information source.

The map biography interview technique utilized in this study was successful in recording individual land use and habitation information. The recorded interviews (i.e. those without the assistance of a map) were conducted with good results, especially with respect to the elderly respondents. The information provided in this type of interview proved valuable in defining the extent of travel by some family groups, information that was later verified by other interview subjects.

3.3 THE MAP BIOGRAPHY TECHNIQUE

The map biography technique applies 1:250,000 scale and 1:50,000 scale maps of the National Topographic System. The 1:250,000 scale maps were used for all map biographies and the 1:50,000 scale maps were used in when there was a higher level of activity and a need for greater detail. The information provided by the informants was marked on mylar overlays using colour-coded felt pens. Each colour, whether a line, area or mark, represented a specific land use or site.

Labels were developed for the overlays to provide the name of the informant, community, date of birth, place of birth, date of interview, interviewer's name, the code for audio recordings, and the colour code for each type of land use.

These labels were very convenient, time-saving and helped to maintain consistency in the coding employed. Any variations from the label were noted on the overlay. Once the interviews and the labels were completed, the labels were attached to a blank area on the overlay.

It is also important to note that "bomb sites" were used to locate the mylar overlay on the map. Bomb sites are marks, usually crosses at the map corners, which indicate the position of the overlay on the map. Marking the degrees of latitude and longitude on the corners of the bomb sites and indicating the north direction on the overlay ensured that the position of the overlays on the maps was accurate.

For the purposes of this study, all map interviews were recorded. It has been argued that recording the map interviews is of minimal value since most information is not specified or discussed¹³⁷. For example, the recording may contain such statements as, "I went here" or "I hunted here", without reference to a particular location on the map. In these cases, the value of the recording is minimal.

In the present study, the rationale for recording map interviews was to obtain proof that the informant did provide the information. In addition, the information recorded was not always vague, since informants typically made comments about their perceptions, mentioned cultural activities, provided names of people, and identified structures, sites, routes, lakes and rivers.

¹³⁷ C. Brice-Bennett, *Our Footprints are Everywhere* (1977).

Such information may not appear in the field notes, especially if the mapper is concentrating on the mapping process or does not understand the Cree language and depends on an interpreter. Furthermore, a recording documents the dialogue that occurs between the mapper and the informant which may be used in the future as a tool to train community or other mappers. Finally, in the analysis of map overlays, a recording allows a mapper to remember or "re-live" the interview by playing the recording and examining the lines and notes on the mylar overlays. This is especially important if a lengthy time period has elapsed since the interview.

The information collected, the basic questions asked and some general rules followed during the conduct of the map biography interviews can be found in **Appendix One**. The questions outlined in Appendix One are the basic questions only and were applied to all areas of land use and other information provided during the interview. The interview process was not limited to these questions but rather, the researcher used them as a guide and adjusted them to the type of information provided by the interview subject.

3.4 PROJECT DESIGN

The present study design incorporated a project mapper (author), community liaison person, the Fox Lake First Nation, and the Natural Resources Secretariat of the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, Inc. The funding for this study was secured by the Fox Lake First Nation and was administered by the Natural Resources Secretariat.

The project mapper was responsible for conducting the map biography and other interviews and co-ordinating the field work. The community liaison person was responsible for co-ordinating the map interview schedule and assisting the project mapper within the community. The Fox Lake First Nation and the MKO Natural Resources Secretariat provided overall direction and management throughout the study process.

3.5 SAMPLE DESIGN

The present study sample design was not a rigid set of categories but rather an "open" system in which the community liaison person and other members of the Fox Lake First Nation functioned to identify the people who are knowledgeable of the history of the Fox Lake First Nation and who have experience with traditional activities.

In the first summer (1990), two community liaison persons were selected from the Fox Lake First Nation. One was the Band Manager and the other was a councillor, both of whom were very familiar with the Fox Lake community. In the second summer (1991), the community liaison person was another councillor from the Fox Lake First Nation. All of these individuals provided names, and accompanied and introduced the project mapper (author) to the interview subjects. Due to the small population of Fox Lake Cree at Gillam and the Bird Reserve, this sampling method proved to be effective. A list of the Fox Lake Cree interviewed and the information they provided can be found in **Appendix Two**.

3.6 THE DOCUMENTATION PROCESS

3.6.1 Map Overlays and Interview Information

In the present study, the map biography technique (described in Section 3.2) was utilized to record "raw" land use data on mylar map overlays. Each overlay represented the land use of one individual or more than one individual if the people interviewed were close partners in land use activities. Any deviations in land use by one partner from the other were noted on the overlay. One example where two individuals were interviewed at the same time was a young individual who was learning traditional activities by accompanying his father on trapping, hunting and fishing trips.

In addition to the map biography overlays, information was also recorded in field notes and on audio tapes. As a result, the extent of the area used in the past is not always reflected in the map biography information provided on land use map overlays.

3.6.2 Ground Truthing

Wherever possible, the author ground truthed some of the sites in proximity to the town of Gillam. For example, the author was accompanied by a member of the Fox Lake First Nation to two old settlement sites and a gravesite located along the CN Rail Line, both of which are in close vicinity to the town of Gillam. Pictures were taken of one old settlement site and the gravesite. These sites are described in Chapter Four of this report.

3.6.3 Geographic Information System

Once the "raw" land use information was recorded, the mylar overlays were evaluated and analyzed by the researcher for clarity and any necessary revisions. Following the evaluation, these overlays were given to the Geographic Information System (GIS) technician of the MKO Natural Resources Secretariat, and were digitized using the TerraSoft program. The information was then printed by a plotter using colour-coded pens, each representing a different land use or symbol associated with different sites and locations. The map boundary of land use and occupancy of the Fox Lake First Nation identified by this study was also produced. The entire documentation process, from the collection of the "raw" land use data to the computer "end-product", was developed and produced by the MKO Natural Resources Secretariat using its various resources and computer hardware and software.

3.7 RESEARCHER BACKGROUND

The researcher is of Cree descent and is fluent in the Cree language. Born and raised in northern Manitoba, the author is also a Treaty Indian from the God's Lake First Nation. As a result, the author is very familiar with hunting, fishing and trapping land use activities, and required no English translation while conducting the map biography interviews with Fox Lake First Nation members.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The methodology utilized in the present study is similar to those employed in past studies, although there are variations in technique. Data reliability is not a major concern since land use studies completed to date indicate that such information tends to be highly accurate. The actual experience of researchers in this field indicates that there is a strong cultural predilection among interview subjects for accuracy.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The results of the field work generated by the Fox Lake First Nation Land Use and Occupancy study reveals a very complex history of the Fox Lake First Nation. The list of the Fox Lake Cree who provided historical and contemporary information can be found in **Appendix Two**. The field map interviews indicate that the Fox Lake Cree resided in the York Factory area and at least two main locations along the CN Rail. In order to effectively trace and present this complex history with land use and habitation data, the main sites, events and time periods need to be highlighted. These sites and events affecting the Fox Lake First Nation vary tremendously through the time period covered by the study because of the historic nomadic lifestyle of the people. In other words, the Fox Lake people were scattered throughout their traditional territory.

With the decline and eventual closing of the York Factory trading post, the Fox Lake people residing in the vicinity of York Factory had to relocate inland to join Fox Lake First Nation members residing along the CN Rail. This marked the evolution of the Fox Lake First Nation from a nomadic people to a more permanently settled community. The tradition of moving groups of families to winter hunting grounds continued up until the 1950's, but the intensity of the movements decreased over time because of the more permanent nature of the settlement near Gillam and other factors such as employment with the CN Rail.

Despite this fact, traditional pursuits such as hunting, fishing and trapping continue to the present day.

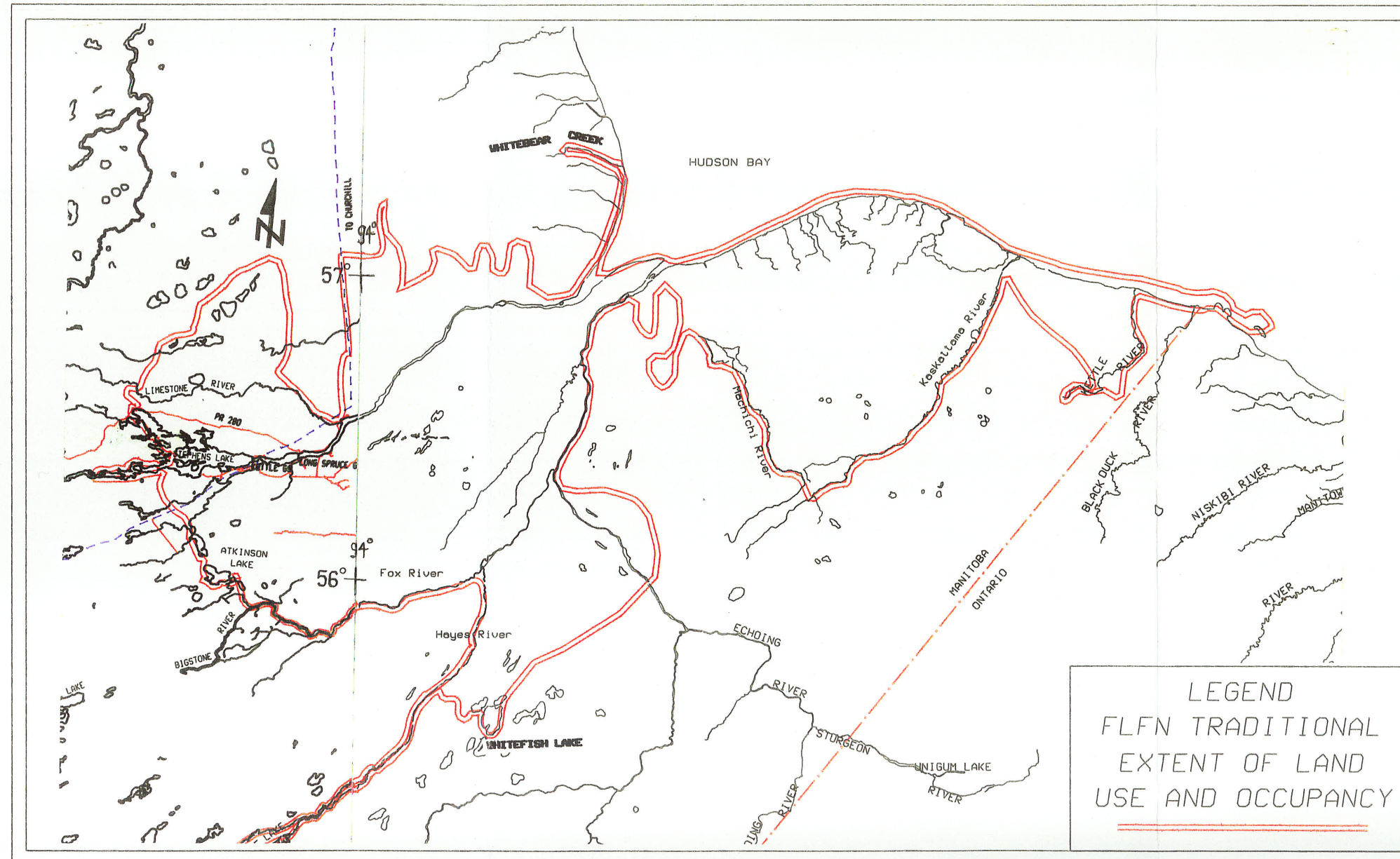
An attempt will be made to highlight the time periods covered by the study and the major events which influenced the Fox Lake people throughout their history. This will be accomplished by describing and outlining movements of the Fox Lake people throughout different time periods from the two main areas of habitation; namely, the York Factory area and along the CN Rail in the vicinity of the present-day town of Gillam.

4.1 FOX LAKE CREE TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

The total area of land use and occupancy including travel, habitation and traditional pursuits identified by the Fox Lake Cree extends over a wide geographic area. Fox Lake Cree traditional territory is identified in **Figure 8**. While the land use information in the form of land use map overlays does not cover this entire area, the information provided through oral interviews indicates that this boundary represents the extent of movement and use by the Fox Lake First Nation. As mentioned above, oral interviews were done without a map for those people who had little or no map literacy. Information provided during these interviews includes descriptions of land use and travel patterns, place of birth as well as information related to land use by people who are now deceased.

FOX LAKE FIRST NATION TRADITIONAL EXTENT OF LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY

FIGURE 8



The areas not filled by map biography information merely indicate that more interviews need to be completed and that the York Factory and Shamattawa First Nations use these areas. But one thing is certain: the entire territory in the York Factory area was used at one time or another, even to very recent times or the present by either of the First Nations mentioned.

This territory does not represent exclusive use by the Fox Lake Cree in the York Factory area but overlaps with the use and occupancy of the Shamattawa and York Factory First Nations. One must remember that these three First Nation communities formed one group prior to 1947 when Fox Lake and Shamattawa broke away from the parent York Factory Band. The areas surrounding the present-day communities of Gillam and Bird are used heavily by the Fox Lake First Nation, even though the land use information does not represent the total area used: additional interviews are required to determine the actual extent of land use.

The present study has revealed that Fox Lake Cree traditional territory extends from the York Factory trading post, Port Nelson and other seasonal settlements such as the Kettle River, the Kaskattama River, White Bear Creek and Whitefish Lake. In the interior of northern Manitoba, Fox Lake Cree territory is within the vicinity of the CN Rail Line, the Nelson River, the Hayes and Fox Rivers as far as the present-day town of Gillam. The land use information which falls within the boundaries of the traditional territory was collected from two main areas.

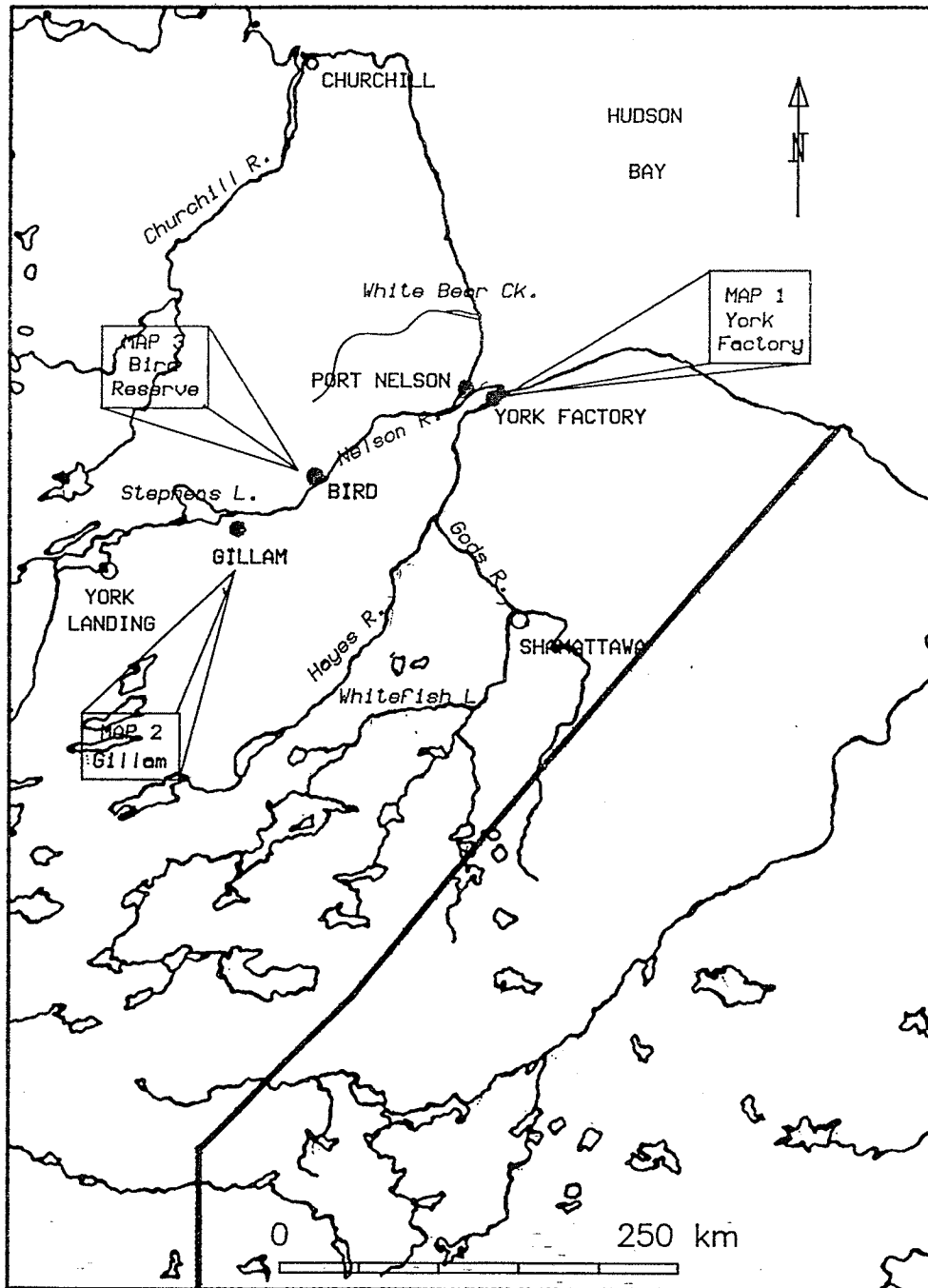
The first area is situated along the Hudson Bay coast described here as the York Factory area. Prior to 1957, the areas within the vicinity of York Factory, as well as seasonal camps (e.g. camps at the mouths of the Kettle and Kaskattama Rivers) were heavily used. Today, trips from the interior at Gillam, Bird and other station sites along the CN Rail Line are made to the York Factory area. The York Factory area may not be as heavily used today as it was prior to 1957, although the Fox Lake Cree still identify the area as being within their territory or "homeland"¹³⁸. Just as the York Factory First Nation has made land selections in the Port Nelson area under the terms of the Northern Flood Agreement, the future selection of land under Treaty Land Entitlement in the York Factory area by the Fox Lake First Nation is still a possibility¹³⁹.

The second area for which land use information was collected is in the interior of northern Manitoba along the CN Rail Line. In this area, traditional land uses occur from the town of Gillam, the Bird Reserve and various sites along the CN Rail Line. At present, the land use in this area is active and there is no indication that it be interrupted in the foreseeable future. The land use maps for these two areas are summarized in **Figure 9** and are discussed in the following section.

¹³⁸ Robert Wavey, personal communication (1993).

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

FIGURE 9



Land Use Map Areas

Source: MKO Natural Resources Secretariat

4.2 FOX LAKE FIRST NATION HISTORY AT YORK FACTORY -

KI CHE WASKA HE KUN

In Cree, York Factory is called "ki che waska he kun" which means "Great House". This phrase was probably used to describe the fort-like structure of York Factory when it was first built back in the 1600's. The Fox Lake people are descendants of the Cree Indians who inhabited the York Factory area while trading furs for goods with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The York Factory people consisted of three distinct clans¹⁴⁰. Collectively these three clans became known as the York Factory Band. The York Factory Band eventually split up and formed three Bands in 1947; namely, the Shamattawa, York Factory and Fox Lake First Nations. Prior to 1947, they were not recognized as three Indian Bands by the Department of Indian Affairs, and as a result, only one chief and two councillors were designated to represent and sign the Adhesion to Treaty Five in 1910¹⁴¹. During the field mapping interviews, one member of the Fox Lake First Nation indicated that they had a designated chief prior to 1947. This indicates that the designated chiefs of the three clans prior to 1947 did not sign the Treaty.

¹⁴⁰ F. Tough, *The Demise of the York Factory "Homeguard" Cree with the Decline of the Kihciwaskahikanihk* (1987).

¹⁴¹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, RG 10, volume 4009, file 249, 462-1A.

It must also be noted that the Fox Lake Cree had individual hunting territories belonging to family groups and these were well established according to custom and tradition. These were evidenced by seasonal community sites at the mouth of the Kaskattama River, Kettle River, Whitefish Lake and other winter hunting territories used by various groups from York Factory.

4.2.1 Land Use Patterns at York Factory

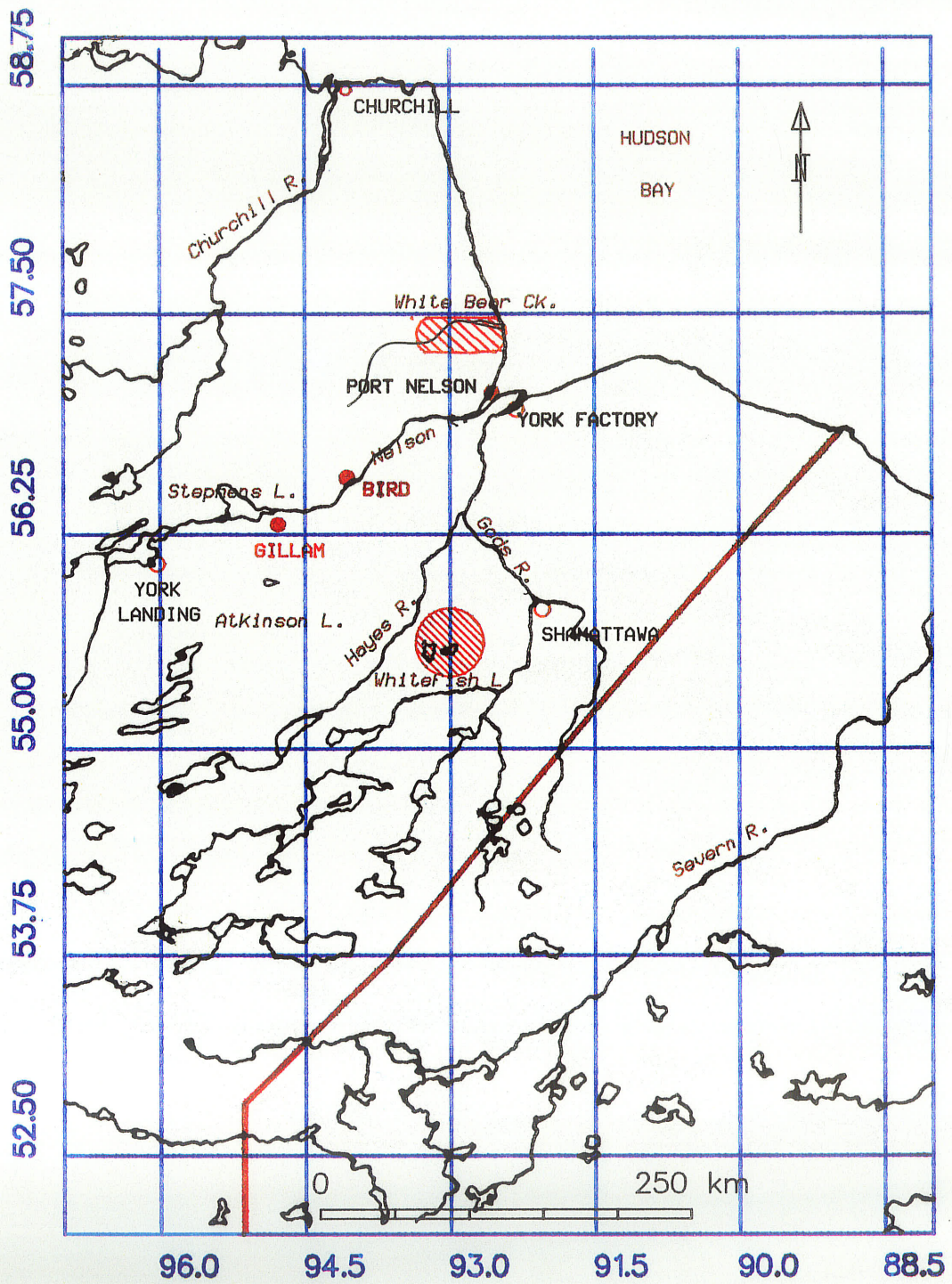
In the field mapping interviews, there was an indication of land use patterns and movements of the people prior to the designation of Registered traplines. These land use patterns of the York Factory people had an established system of land use usually by family group and were maintained by custom and tradition. The people gathered at York Factory during the summer months and moved in family groups to their respective winter hunting grounds in the fall.

Five areas were identified during the field mapping interviews with Fox Lake First Nation members, although there may have been more. The main winter settlements were located at the mouth of the Kettle River and the Kaskattama River. Other settlements were situated along the Machichi River from York Factory, Whitefish Lake and White Bear Creek. Land use areas at the Kettle, Kaskattama and Machichi Rivers were mapped and the Whitefish Lake and White Bear Creek land use areas were identified through oral interviews, and are not represented in map biography form.

The location of Whitefish Lake and White Bear Creek is shown in **Figure 10**. One Fox Lake First Nation member indicated that he used to trap at White Bear Creek with an individual who is now a member of the York Factory First Nation. For these individuals, trapping was conducted from the York Factory area during the winter. It was indicated by two individuals from the Fox Lake First Nation that Whitefish Lake was used as a wintering ground by families from York Factory. It was also indicated by one of the same individuals that Whitefish Lake was also used as a summer camp, and that there were at least four families residing in cabins on the Lake. One individual recalled seeing the winter camp at Whitefish Lake three times; twice while accompanying a Hudson's Bay Company fur trader by the name of Walter Gordon and once while passing through on his way home from school.

As can be observed from the maps, the movements to the winter settlement areas during the fall season originate in the York Factory area. The return of the Fox Lake Cree to York Factory occurred in May. This movement into York Factory for the summer was done by all the people which eventually formed the three present-day First Nation communities of Shamattawa, Fox Lake and York Factory. This movement into York Factory not only occurred in the spring but also on religious holidays such as Good Friday. During these holidays, the entire group of people travelled to York Factory to attend Church. They stayed about a week before returning to their wintering grounds.

FIGURE 10



Location of Whitefish Lake and White Bear Creek
Source: MKO Natural Resources Secretariat

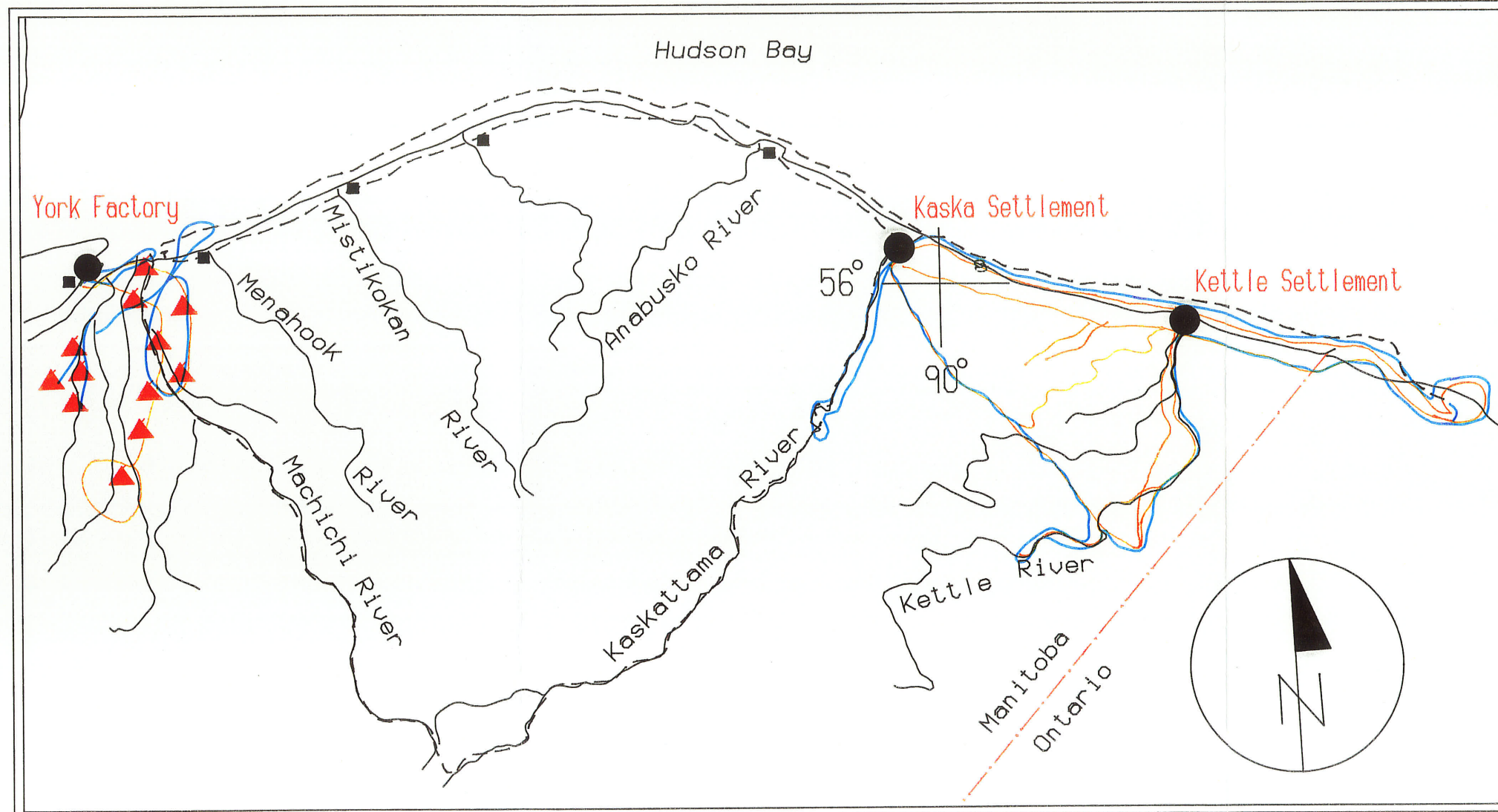
The main settlement area at the mouth of the Kaskattama River (Kaska) contained a small Hudson's Bay Company-operated store where supplies and other goods could be purchased. People from the surrounding winter camps travelled to Kaska to purchase goods from this store. There are several accounts of travel by people who resided at the winter camp located at the mouth of the Kettle River.

People who resided at the settlement in Kaska tell stories of obtaining supplies at York Factory using dog teams and travelling along the Hudson Bay coast. These supply trips were taken for the Hudson's Bay Company store at Kaska and also for themselves. The store was closed in 1951.

With the coming of the spring thaw, the travel routes along the Hudson Bay coast could neither be utilized by dog team nor by boat. For this reason, the route to York Factory during the spring season was the Kaskattama River, a portage to the Machichi River, and then down the Machichi River to the coast. The map biographies of two Fox Lake First Nation members and descriptions of the travel routes along the Hudson Bay coast and the Kaskattama - Machichi River spring access routes to York Factory can be observed in **Map 1**.

The imposition of the Registered Trapline Districts interfered with the established traditional territories of family groups to some extent. However, the people adjusted and maintained their land use system that radiated from York Factory by going to their designated traplines in the fall and winter months or by continuing the traditional patterns of land use.

Fox Lake First Nation Map 1 - York Factory Land Use Prior to 1957



LEGEND			
HUNTING	— (blue line)	CABINS	■ (black square)
FISHING	— (black line)	CAMPS	▲ (red triangle)
TRAPPING	— (orange line)	TRAVEL ROUTES	- - - (dashed line)
		PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY	- · - · - (dash-dot line)

Produced By : MKO - Natural Resources Secretariat
Thompson, Manitoba

In addition, the establishment of schools meant that some families were forced to stay at York Factory instead of moving to their wintering grounds. In these cases, traditional activities occurred from the York Factory trading post: the men made extensive trips to more productive areas for harvesting activities or to their designated Registered Traplines after they were established.

These land use results do not represent the complete land use and habitation of the Fox Lake First Nation at York Factory. It must also be realized that the Fox Lake people were not the sole inhabitants of the York Factory area but shared it with members of the present-day Shamattawa and York Factory First Nations. For this reason, land use information collected from each of these communities provides only a partial picture of the total historic land use in the York Factory area: the overall resource area was collectively utilized by the three First Nations.

4.2.2 Land Use at York Factory (Map 1)

The members of the Fox Lake First Nation described the movement from York Factory in the fall and winter months to their surrounding wintering grounds. These grounds were named in Section 4.1.1. Some resource harvesting activities during the summer months from York Factory were also recounted. Fishing occurred at the deeper parts of the Hayes River estuary, primarily for whitefish. Brook trout fishing occurred at the mouths of the small tributary creeks and rivers into the Hayes River estuary and along the Hudson Bay coast.

Fishing was conducted with line and hook or with nets. The nets were set at low tide between two poles so that fish could be caught during high tide. The nets were then checked and cleaned of their catch during the next low tide.

Strawberry, cranberry and blueberry picking areas were identified along the shores of the Hayes River close to Marsh Point. Labrador tea is also abundant in this area, as it is in most areas that are covered with muskeg. Therefore, there was no need to establish special areas for harvesting labrador tea.

During a number of interviews with York Factory First Nation members, the fact that beluga whales, seals and polar bears were occasionally hunted was disclosed. One York Factory First Nation member indicated that he ate the meat of the beluga whales, seals and polar bears but others indicated that they only used the meat for dog food. Beluga whales were also harvested to sell the grease to the York Factory trading post. The extent to which the Fox Lake First Nation membership participated in the harvesting of these species was never disclosed during the two summer field seasons of this study but the information is undoubtedly similar and available from the Fox Lake First Nation. The harvesting of these species ceased when York Factory closed in 1957 and the people of the Fox Lake, Shamattawa and York Factory First Nation relocated inland.

4.2.3 Wage Labour at York Factory

There were few of aspects of work at York Factory in which the local Cree did not participate¹⁴². The information collected during the present study indicates that freighting was a source of wage income. Freight was transported by York boat to York Factory from the CN Rail Line drop-off at Limestone Rapids.

Once the CN Rail Line extended to Churchill, the freight was transported to Churchill and shipped along the Hudson Bay coast to York Factory. Small freight shipments were still picked up and transported to York Factory from the Limestone Rapids but this route was eventually phased out for preference of the Churchill and Hudson Bay coast route. The Churchill route made year-round shipments of freight into York Factory possible except during the spring thaw and fall freeze-up. Most of the shipments into York Factory were earmarked for the trading post itself and were shipped by the Hudson's Bay Company from York Factory to the store at Shamattawa and the Kaska settlement. This occurred during the decline of the York Factory trading post until its eventual closing in 1957. Many Fox Lake Cree indicated that they left York Factory a few years prior to its closing. The remainder abandoned the post in 1957.

¹⁴² M. Payne, *The Most Respectable Place in the Territory* (1989).

4.2.4 Port Nelson

During the interview process, several individuals indicated that they resided at Port Nelson for the reason that they could benefit from the transport of freight coming in from the Limestone Rapids and later, from Churchill as described in Section 4.1.3. The settlement at Port Nelson was on the north shore of the Nelson River, and was adjacent to York Factory. Similar to York Factory, Port Nelson was a major encampment of Homeguard Cree.

One individual indicated that he resided at Port Nelson, but frequently transported freight between Port Nelson and the Fox Lake encampment at the rail bridge site. This individual further indicated that he moved from Port Nelson to Gillam. Since this individual was very elderly with a failing memory and seemed to have been very transient or nomadic, no clear dates or time period could be established for this travel. The respondent did, however, provide a very good description of the utilization of economic opportunities arising from the transport of goods out of Port Nelson.

According to a one member of the York Factory First Nation (now at York Landing on Split Lake), Port Nelson was abandoned in approximately 1945. This individual identified the superior supply of goods and services at the York Factory trading post as the reason for the departure. It was also indicated by the same individual that there remains at York Factory twenty-five gravesites of Homeguard Cree who are ancestors of the present-day York Factory, Fox Lake and Shamattawa First Nation.

Another individual from York Landing indicated that he moved to York Factory when he married a woman who was a member of the family group residing in the York Factory area.

4.2.5 Abandonment of York Factory

Prior to 1957, when the York Factory trading post closed, the Homeguard Cree had no permanent or year-round settlements such as those ones now established at Gillam and Bird. Cree dependence on the natural resources of the area, such as wildlife, wildfowl, plants and fish, meant that they were required to move constantly throughout their entire territory in order to realize the maximum resource harvesting potential.

With the closure of York Factory came the relocation of the people of Shamattawa, York Landing and Fox Lake inland. This relocation was initiated by the Department of Indian Affairs, although some members of the Fox Lake and York Factory First Nations claimed during the map biography interviews that they were not forcibly relocated. In any event, the interview subjects from the Fox Lake First Nation have fond memories of York Factory and their life during that era.

4.3 THE "BAY LINE" - HABITATION HISTORY

The "Bay Line" is the name given to the Canadian National Rail Line (CN Rail) that links Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan and the town of Churchill, Manitoba.

Throughout its history, the Bay Line has provided many employment opportunities for the Fox Lake First Nation membership. All of the male interview subjects from the Fox Lake First Nation indicated that they had worked for CN at one time, some for extended periods of time (i.e. thirty to thirty-five years or more), depending upon their age and the year they began to work. Although many respondents indicated that they substituted working for CN Rail for trapping, the traditional hunting, fishing and trapping activities of the Fox Lake First Nation membership were not completely abandoned. The fact that members still actively hunt, fish and trap to the present day confirms this. Given that the Bay Line played an important role in the history of the Fox Lake Cree, it is not surprising that the Fox Lake First Nation membership settled along the CN Rail Line. This settlement pattern still exists today.

4.3.1 "Mile 34"

The term "Mile 34" derives from a description of both a point on the rail line and an old settlement of the Fox Lake First Nation membership that existed at "Mile 34". Accompanied by a member of the Fox Lake First Nation, the author visited Mile 34. The locations of the log cabins that existed at this site are presently overgrown with brush. There are reports from Fox Lake First Nation members of a store that was located at this old settlement, but no mention of who owned and operated this store was made.

One individual recalled selling firewood to the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1940's and 1950's. This information reveals that the Hudson's Bay Company was present in the area in the 1940's and 1950's and most likely operated the store at Mile 34. Another indication of the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company at Mile 34 was provided in section 4.1.1 where it was mentioned that one Fox Lake First Nation member accompanied a Hudson's Bay Company fur trader from Mile 34 to Whitefish Lake. Also associated with the old settlement site at Mile 34 is an old graveyard about half a kilometre from the site to the south along the rail line. During a visit to the old gravesite, the author and a Fox Lake First Nation member identified at least three Fox Lake Cree predecessors, although the exact number is unknown. At present, one feature that the old settlement and gravesite share is a Manitoba Hydro transmission line and corridor crossing.

Photographs of the old settlement site and the gravesite, as well as one aerial photo of the gravesite and the transmission line were taken by the author. The aerial photo identifies the graveyard as a growth of vegetation inside the boundary of the transmission line corridor to Manitoba Hydro's Raddison Converter Station.

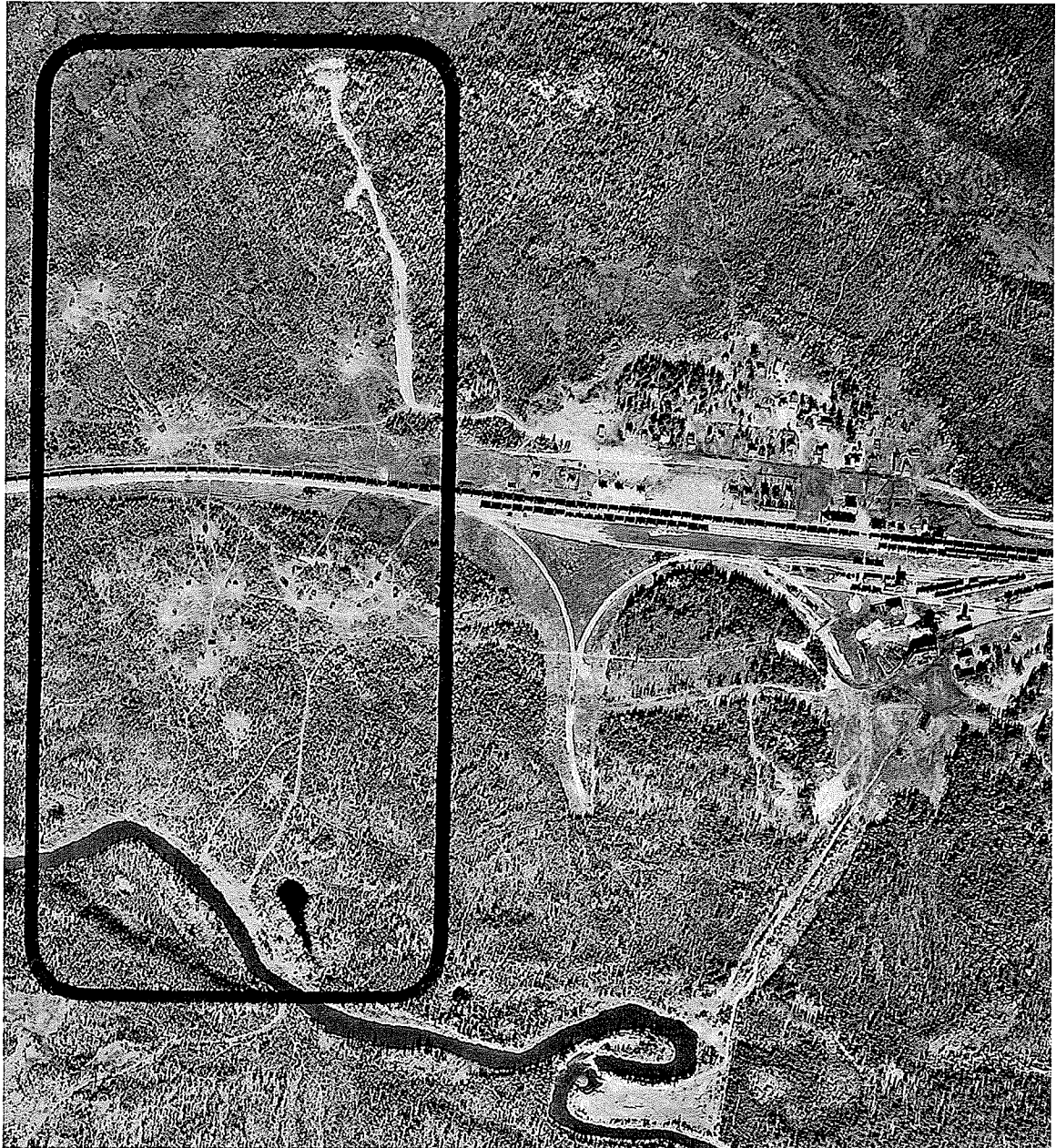
It is clear that the reason the old settlement site was established by the Fox Lake Cree at Mile 34 was to realize the economic opportunities provided by CN Rail. None of the interview subjects could ascertain when the old settlement was established, although one Fox Lake First Nation member recounted many stories of Fox Lake Cree assisting in the CN Rail construction in the 1920's.

4.3.2 The "Gillam" Townsite

During the interview process, one Fox Lake First Nation member indicated that in 1939, as the CN Railway established its repair and work yards to the west of Mile 34, members of the Fox Lake family group gradually moved to this site from Mile 34. This site eventually became the Gillam townsite. The interview subject identified the year of the relocation as 1939, a date that is supported by information from interviews with other Fox Lake First Nation members. For example: the individual who accompanied the author to Mile 34 disclosed that he was born there in 1937; another Fox Lake First Nation member indicated during an oral interview that he arrived at the Mile 34 site in 1941 and discovered that the people were no longer residing there; and a further respondent indicated that she travelled from the Kaska settlement and York Factory to the "Gillam" townsite in 1941 and discovered ten cabins which she associated with names of the owners. It is clear from the interviews that the settlement was established sometime during the construction of the Bay Line, and was located on the south side of the tracks across from and within the present-day town of Gillam.

Aerial photographs taken in 1962 clearly display the log cabins of the old settlement at the "Gillam" townsite. The old settlement at Gillam is identified in **Figure 11**. All of the owners of these cabins were identified by Fox Lake First Nation members during the interviews. Gillam has been described by interview subjects as a permanent settlement, a description that is supported by recollections of firewood harvesting in the 1940's and 1950's.

FIGURE 11



Gillam, Manitoba, 1962 (Old Fox Lake Settlement Site and Cabins)
Source: Manitoba Department of Natural Resources, Surveys and Mapping Branch, 1962

Two Fox Lake First Nation members recalled cutting firewood along the Kettle River, upstream from the old settlement site at "Gillam". Firewood harvesting was conducted in the late summer and fall just before the people returned to their winter hunting grounds. One of the individuals stated that the firewood was sold during the winter to the Hudson's Bay Company and other interested buyers. The fact that some individuals remained at the old "Gillam" settlement during the fall and winter months to harvest and sell firewood indicates that this was a permanent or year-round settlement.

4.4 HISTORIC LAND USE PATTERNS FROM THE "GILLAM" TOWNSITE

During the course of this study, interview subjects were asked to describe the specific land use areas of the Fox Lake Cree from the old "Gillam" settlement. Respondents identified two areas that were used by families in the winters of the 1940's and 1950's. One of these two land use areas extended to the north of present-day Gillam to a lake known as "moo soo ko tew - sah kih kan" or Moose Nose Lake. This lake was later flooded by the Kettle Dam reservoir. Another smaller lake, "noo seh - moo soh ko tew - sah kih kan", which means Cow Moose Nose Lake, also formed part of this historic land use area. The second land use area extended to the south of present-day Gillam to a lake called "ma keh soo - sah kih kan", or Fox Lake, the lake after which the Fox Lake people are named. Today, Fox Lake is known as Atkinson Lake.

Oral and map biography interviews with the Fox Lake First Nation membership indicate that at least five families travelled north to the Moose Nose Lake area, and at least five families travelled south to the Atkinson Lake area. Log cabins were built at both locations, and families are reported to have spent the winters in both locations until the late 1950's. As more and more people settled at the "Gillam" townsite, and welfare, alcohol and other factors were introduced, many families remained at the townsite. However, male interview subjects reported taking extended trips to their traplines during the winter months.

4.4.1 Atkinson Lake

Atkinson Lake was and remains one of the principle land use areas of the Fox Lake Cree. Primarily used as a wintering area, Atkinson Lake delineates the southwest extent of the Fox Lake Cree traditional territory. In addition, a Fox Lake First Nation Reserve is presently situated on its north shore.

Only one map biography interview was obtained for the Atkinson Lake area prior to 1942. Other individuals who used the Atkinson Lake area during the 1940's and 1950's were not available to complete map biographies during the two summer field seasons of this study.

Although very little map biography information was available for the Atkinson Lake area, oral information was provided by several Fox Lake First Nation members. All of these respondents identified Atkinson Lake as a principle land use area, and some identified it as their birthplace.

In addition, the family groups that moved to this wintering area were known and named by the individuals providing the information. It was also determined whether the named individuals were deceased. However, a genealogical study is necessary to identify individuals who are descendants of the people who historically used the Atkinson Lake area.

During the oral interviews, it was indicated that a commercial fishery was established at Atkinson Lake between the 1940's and 1950's. Thus, of all the lakes in the Fox Lake Cree land use area, Atkinson Lake was the primary fishing location, both in terms of domestic and commercial fishing.

4.4.2 Moose Nose Lake and Cow Moose Nose Lake

Situated to the northwest of the "former" Nelson River, Moose Nose Lake and Cow Moose Nose Lake were inundated in 1966 when the Kettle Dam reservoir was filled. As a result, these two lakes now form part of Stephens Lake.

Prior to 1966, the Fox Lake Cree travelled across the "former" Nelson River and into Cow Moose Nose Lake by boat. From there they followed "ah li koh chas shi - o ni kaf", or the Squirrel Portage, to reach Moose Nose Lake. Winter log cabins were located along the north shore of Cow Moose Nose Lake close to the Squirrel Portage. An additional cabin was situated at the mid-point of the Portage between Cow Moose Nose Lake and Moose Nose Lake. Confirmation of the cabin sites along the shore of Cow Moose Nose Lake was provided by a 1962 aerial photo.

A comparison of the aerial photo taken in 1962 with an aerial photo taken in 1982 revealed the extent of inundation in the area. In addition, one individual identified the gravesite of a former Fox Lake First Nation member on an eroding island in what is now Stephens Lake.

4.4.3 The "Former" Nelson River

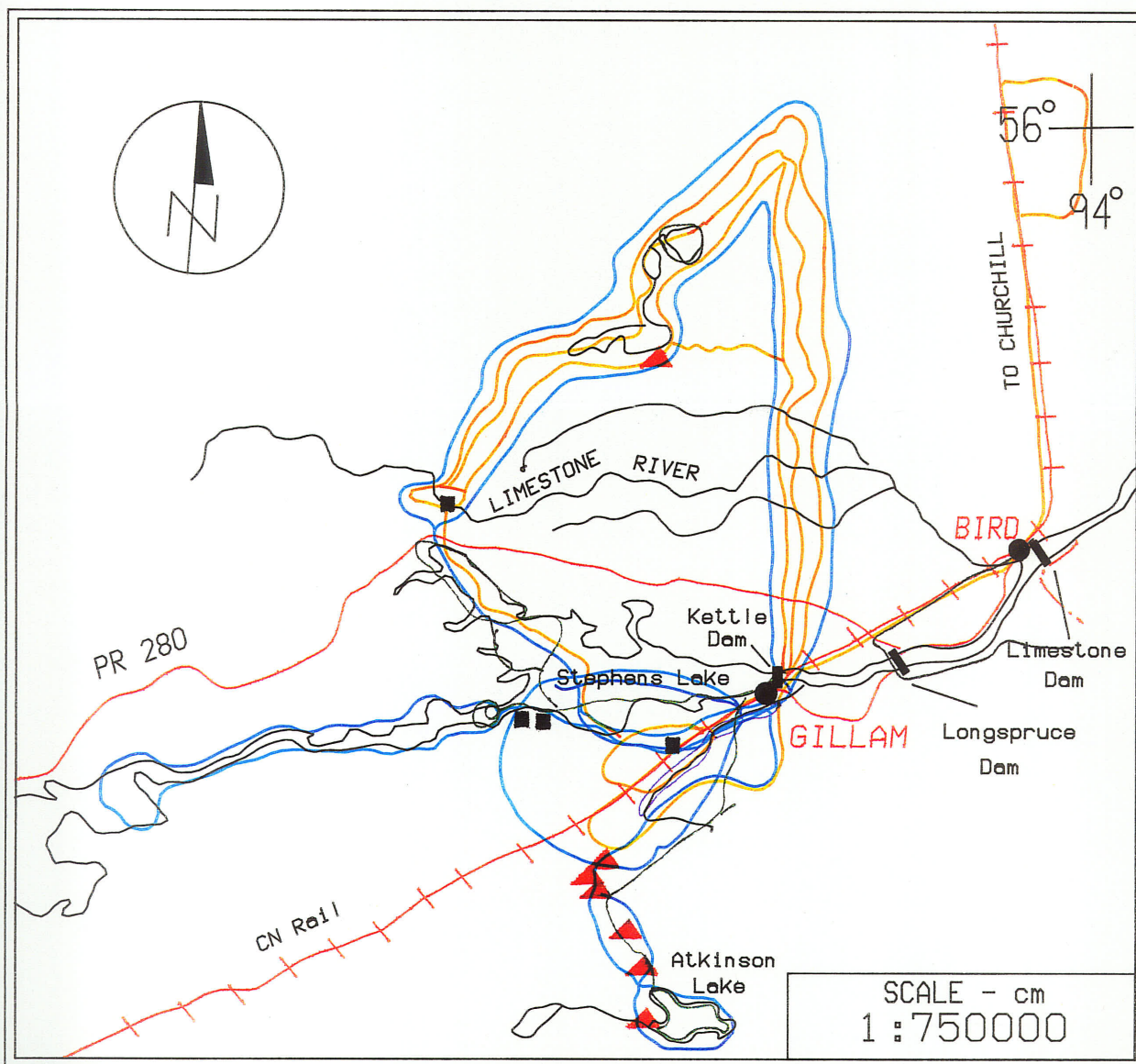
The portion of the Nelson River that was inundated by the Kettle Dam reservoir in 1966 was used extensively by the Fox Lake Cree for hunting, fishing, trapping and other traditional activities. Using a pre-inundation map obtained from Manitoba Hydro, a map biography interview was completed with one member of the Fox Lake First Nation. This respondent identified those sections of the "former" Nelson River that correspond to the fishing and boat launching areas used during travel from the old "Gillam" settlement site.

4.5 GILLAM AND BIRD - LAND USE PATTERNS

4.5.1 Gillam

The Fox Lake First Nation members currently residing at the town of Gillam continue to utilize their traditional territory to the south of the townsite. The Stephens Lake fishery is still utilized by some members, although others fear that the fish have been subject to mercury contamination. The combined land use information of all respondents covers the period from the 1940's to the present and is summarized in **Map 2**.

Fox Lake First Nation Map 2 - Gilliam Land Use 1940-1944 & Present Day



LEGEND			
HUNTING		CAMPS	
FISHING		TIMBER HARVESTING	
TRAPPING		TRAVEL ROUTES	
CABINS		ACCESS ROUTES	

Produced By : MKO-Natural Resources Secretariat

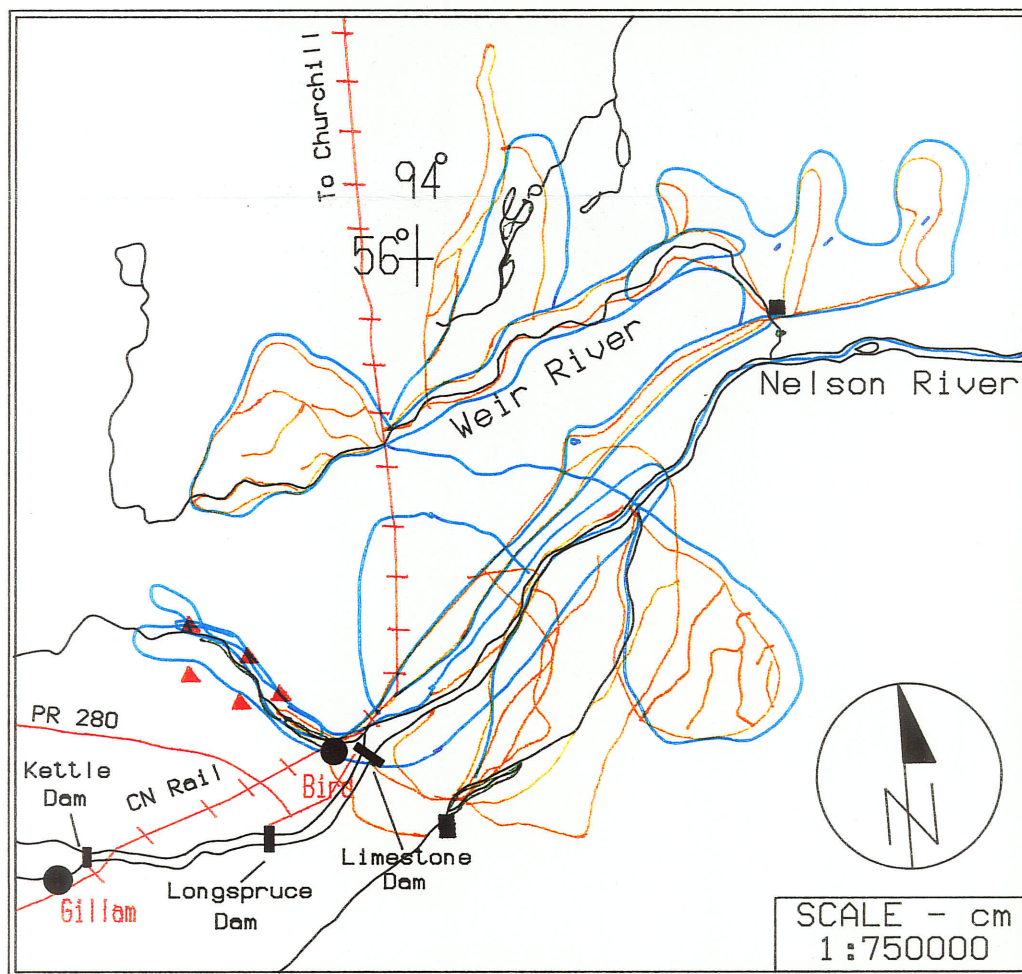
Thompson, Manitoba

All land uses recorded on this map originate in the present-day townsite of Gillam and extend as far north as the Weir River. For Fox Lake First Nation members resident at Gillam, map biographies indicate that current and recent hunting, fishing and trapping activities take place in an area bounded by the Weir River, Atkinson Lake, Gull Rapids and the Limestone River. Numerous cabin and camp sites are located south of Gillam toward Atkinson Lake and along the south shore of Stephens Lake.

Prior to the establishment of Registered Trapline system and during the period when the Moose Nose Lake and Atkinson Lake areas were utilized as winter camps, the land use area to the north of Gillam was used extensively by Fox Lake Cree. The extent of land use during this period of time was limited only to the degree that other harvesters used the same or adjacent areas. Following the imposition of the Registered Trapline Districts, harvesters were confined to geographically-delineated, individual traplines that were established in the absence of detailed information regarding the land uses of individual harvesters. As a result, the Registered Trapline system served to constrain the overall extent of Fox Lake Cree land use. Furthermore, since the Registered Trapline system was being established at the same time the Homeguard Cree were relocating outside of York Factory (and appeared to government to have no defined traditional territory), there was no Registered Trapline District established specifically for the use of the Fox Lake First Nation. At present, the Split Lake, Limestone, and Oxford House Registered Trapline Districts overlap Fox Lake Cree traditional territory.

Fox Lake First Nation Map 3 - Bird Land Use

PRESENT DAY USE

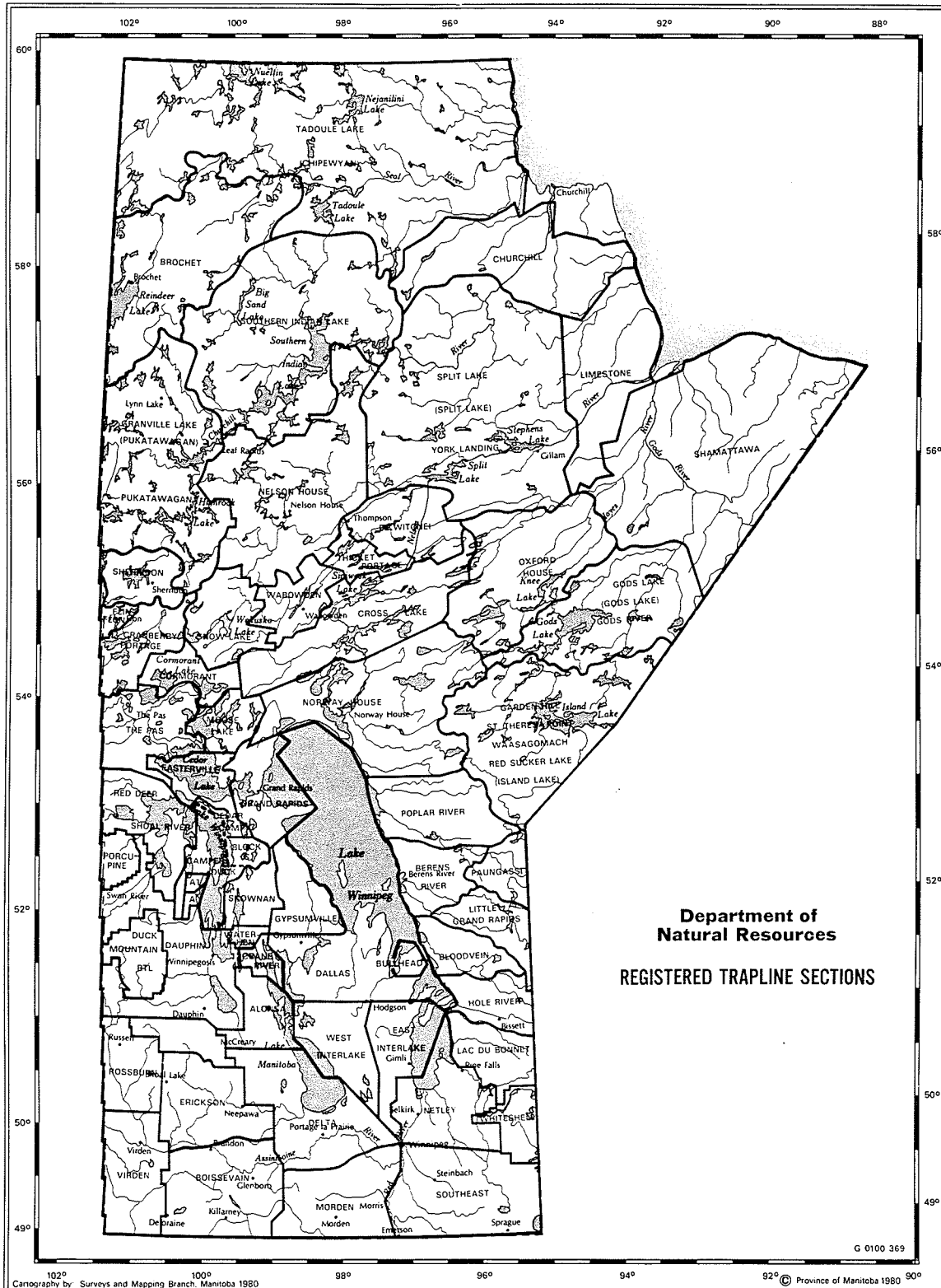


LEGEND		
HUNTING		TRAPPING
FISHING		CABINS
CAMPS		

Produced By : MKO - Natural Resources Secretariat

Thompson, Manitoba

FIGURE 12



The concentration of camp sites in this area indicates that the Fox Lake Cree residents of Bird utilize the Limestone River area extensively.

Five Mile Hole is the most intensively used fishing site on the Limestone River. Here, Fox Lake Cree fish primarily for brook trout. Winter fishing activity is directed to the southwest of Bird at a lake known as Angling Lake. During the map biography interviews, one trapper in this area indicated that gill nets are used in the winter, although the ice-fishing method is also employed by individuals from the Limestone camp and the town of Sundance.

4.6 DISCUSSION

4.6.1 Trapping

The map biography technique utilized in the present study is an adaptation of several approaches¹⁴³. The Fox Lake First Nation was used as a pilot community to refine the map biography technique and mode of data collection for the client groups; namely, MKO Inc. and the Fox Lake First Nation itself. Throughout the two summer field seasons, the map biography technique was modified whenever any deficiencies were identified. The refined methodology has been applied by MKO's Natural Resources Secretariat to collect land use data from other MKO First Nations.

¹⁴³ The map biography technique utilized in the present study is an adaptation of the approaches taken by H. Brody, *Maps and Dreams* (1981); M. Freeman, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (1976); and P.J. Usher, *Principles for Determining the Territorial Extent of Land Claim Settlement Areas* (1991).

In a study of land use and occupancy in the South Indian Lake area¹⁴⁴, current land use patterns have been strongly influenced by Registered Trapline District boundaries. Prior to the establishment of Registered Trapline Districts (RTD), the land use patterns and travel distances for trapping purposes were linear and extensive due to the absence of established boundaries.

As mentioned above (Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2), Fox Lake Cree land use and occupancy patterns changed significantly in the post-Registered Trapline system period. In general, Fox Lake Cree trapping territories became concentrated in one area or were displaced to another area. The high concentration of trappers in one area was and still is associated with an awareness of the Registered Trapline District boundary and an attempt by each individual trapper to stay within it.

For the Fox Lake Cree, hunting often occurs in conjunction with trapping. This hunting method is generally opportunistic and successful only with respect to small game harvesting. Hunting trips that are incidental to trapping are generally taken to acquire food for immediate consumption or for later consumption by the community.

¹⁴⁴ C. Hrenchuk, *South Indian Lake Land Use and Occupancy: Kayas Akwa Wapahki* (1991).

4.6.2 Hunting, Fishing and other Traditional Pursuits

It must be reiterated that traditional land use activities other than trapping (i.e hunting, fishing and berry picking) are not restricted to a particular portion of a community's resource area. By contrast, a given trapline is not representative of a Fox Lake First Nation member's entire traditional land use area. Thus, the entire community resource area is utilized for hunting, fishing and gathering, and trapping activity is concentrated in the areas surrounding the town of Gillam and the Bird Reserve. Community resource areas are identified in Maps 2 and 3.

Hunting centres on the harvesting of moose and caribou, and takes place primarily in the fall and early winter. The hunting of migratory birds is also an important seasonal activity, with peak hunting periods in the spring and fall. Small game species such as rabbits and chickens are harvested primarily during the trapping season, although snaring is practised near the communities and throughout the year.

The size of hunting areas and the extent of travel vary with each individual harvester. Hunting areas and species harvested are good indicators of habitat types or conditions. For example, waterfowl hunting areas coincide with wetlands, shallow creeks and grassy vegetation.

Hunting and fishing are typically isolated activities, although on occasion, they are combined. When the two activities are linked, hunting is generally opportunistic. Both hunting and fishing may also be combined with other traditional activities such as berry picking or smoking fish.

All of the traditional activities mentioned in the present study can occur in any combination depending upon the person, the season and the availability of resources. According to Cree culture and history, the practice of combining land uses evolved in response to a need to maximize the resource harvest, and minimize the amount of effort expended.

4.6.3 Land Use Data vs. Registered Trapline Districts

In an effort to determine the type and extent of land use by individual harvesters, map biographies typically provide more information than the use of individual Registered Traplines. A comparison of Registered Traplines with recorded land use information reveals that:

- a) Land use data collected through the map biography process are far more detailed;
- b) the Registered Trapline system is characterized by artificial, static boundaries imposed by an "outside" authority;
- c) not all traditional land use activity by an individual occurs within the Registered Trapline boundary; and
- d) the map biography process captures the actual land use of the people, although underestimation of the size of the land use area can result.

These conclusions were drawn while collecting, compiling and analyzing the map biography information.

4.6.4 Traditional Knowledge and Ecological Change

Aboriginal land uses are very sensitive to changes in ecosystems. Adaptation to such changes may or may not be possible depending upon the nature, scale, scope and timing of the change.

During the International Conference on Indigenous Knowledge and Community-Based Resource Management, former Fox Lake Chief Robert Wavey emphasized that "major ecological disturbances have profound cultural impacts by obliterating the reference points and actual resources the [map biographies] are intended to share. Resource developments convert highly valued and sought after family and community knowledge into memories."¹⁴⁵ It was also suggested that many resource developers and government planners incorrectly assume that aboriginal peoples are highly adaptive (i.e. they can survive abrupt relocations), and that traditional knowledge is transferable to new or altered harvesting locations¹⁴⁶. Although forcibly relocated aboriginal harvesters can adapt to such changes in the resource base, their well-being will be affected for many generations while the patterns of experience and observation develop into detailed knowledge of the new or altered ecosystem.

¹⁴⁵ R. Wavey, (1991), at p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, at p. 6.

4.6.5 The Scientific Method vs. Traditional Ecological Knowledge

The process of collecting traditional land use data is one of discovery for the researcher. For the aboriginal land and resource user, the information provided "just is"¹⁴⁷. For example, the interview subject may assume that the interviewer is aware of the seasonal availability of resources. In addition, the researcher must set aside the "scientific method" (i.e. the conduct of research and the development of research findings based on an initial hypothesis) in the conduct of research involving traditional knowledge. Patterns, relationships, and phenomena which are generally not apparent to the researcher prior to the initiation of field studies become evident through the course of research and analysis. In other words, researchers who are not themselves holders of traditional knowledge cannot predetermine the scope and detail of research findings. An adaptive and open-minded approach is required: the researcher must initially assume the role of a technician and faithfully reproduce the research findings as they are discovered. Subsequently, the researcher must review the findings with an eye to discovering what patterns, relationships and phenomena are understood by the interview subject. Thus, the researcher must approach the collection of traditional knowledge with an understanding that the research process will create a "bridge" between the Cartesian-based scientific method and the traditional knowledge system. In effect, the researcher must link two entirely different knowledge and value systems.

¹⁴⁷ M. Anderson, personal communication (1992).

Throughout the conduct of this study and interviews with other First Nation memberships, the author was surprised at the level and detail of knowledge possessed by the land users of the various First Nation communities. These findings and conclusions are supported by the authors of other land use studies¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁸ C. Hrenchuk, (1991); M. Freeman, (1976); and P.J. Usher (1990).

CHAPTER FIVE - IMPLICATIONS OF MAJOR EVENTS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

There were several major events in the history of the Fox Lake First Nation. First, the closing of York Factory in 1957 coincided with the movement of Fox Lake Cree inland from the Hudson Bay coast. Prior to 1957, one group of Fox Lake Cree occupied the area surrounding York Factory, and another group resided at various locations along the Bay Line. The latter group inhabited the area adjacent to the Bay Line since at least the 1920's when the Line reached the present-day Gillam area. Thus, the construction of the Bay Line was another event which influenced the history of the Fox Lake Cree. One feature that these two influences shared was the creation of economic opportunities: both the York Factory post and the Bay Line provided a source of income for the Fox Lake Cree, income that supplemented the income-in-kind generated by the traditional vocations of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering.

A third event which influenced the history and land use of the Fox Lake Cree was the establishment of Registered Trapline Districts. As mentioned above, the Registered Trapline system significantly altered the well-established and custom-based pattern of Fox Lake Cree land use and occupancy.

With respect to these three events, the Fox Lake Cree successfully adapted to the changes in the resource base that accompanied them.

However, one event, namely hydroelectric development, was on a much larger scale and did not allow for immediate and successful adaptation. In the present study, the term hydroelectric development not only refers to dams and the flooding associated with them, but also includes such phenomena as increases in area populations, the excavation of borrow pits, the establishment of the local government district (LGD) of Gillam, and the development of work camps and roads. At present, the Fox Lake First Nation is still adapting to the adverse impacts associated with hydroelectric development in their traditional land use area.

A summary of the major events identified above are presented in flow chart form in **Figure 13**.

5.1 THE MAJOR EVENTS

5.1.1 The Bay Line

As mentioned throughout this report, the Canadian National Railway (CN) employed several Fox Lake First Nation members for extended periods of time. As a result, the Fox Lake First Nation members who inhabited the area adjacent to the Bay Line enjoyed the benefits of a mixed economy. During the 1940's and 1950's, this economy consisted of employment with CN, the sale of firewood and furs, and commercial fishing.

Fox Lake First Nation - Selected Major Events

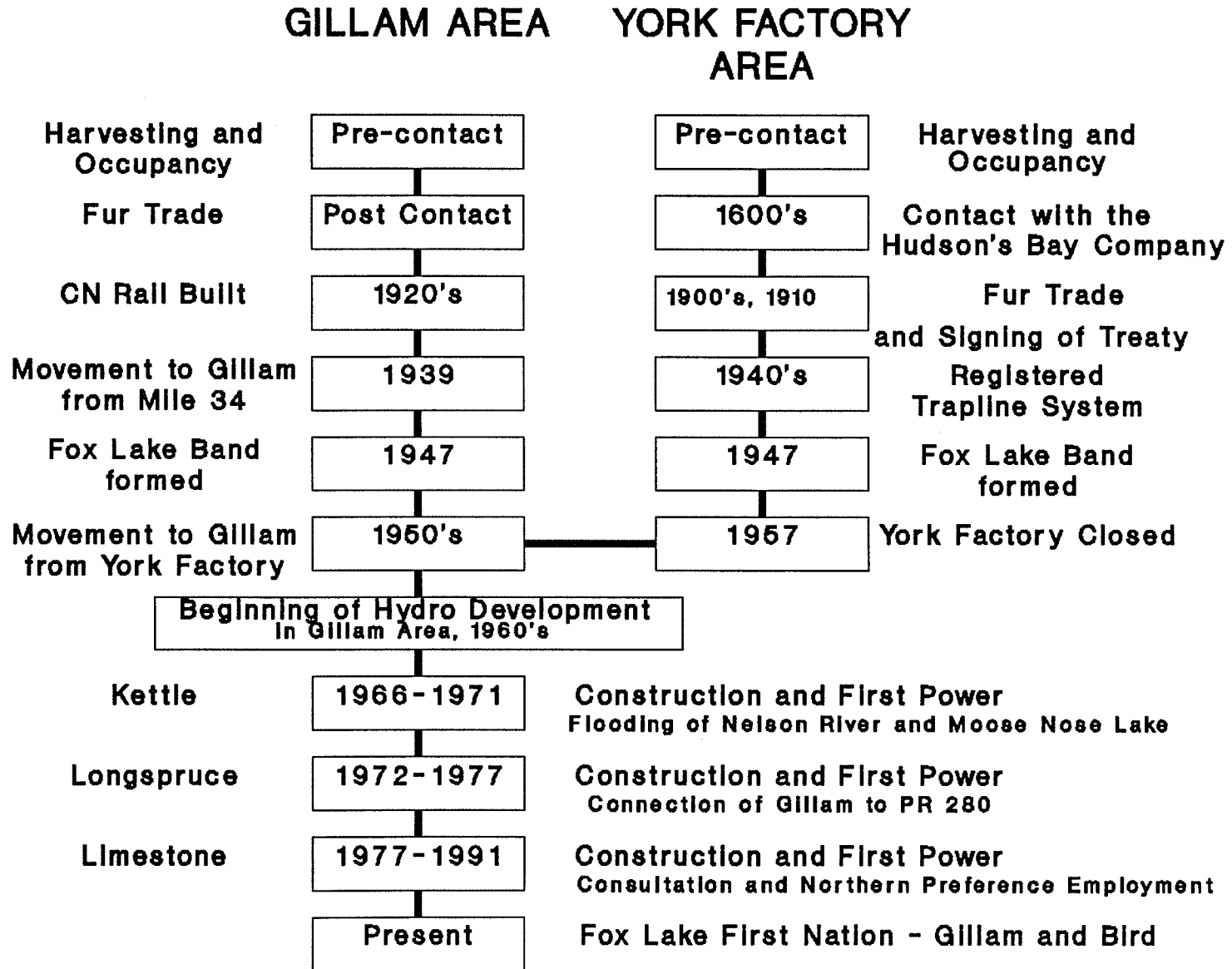


FIGURE 13

5.1.2 Imposition of Registered Traplines

During the 1940's, Registered Trapline Districts (RTDs) were established throughout northern Manitoba. As mentioned above, RTDs were established without any knowledge of the established traditional land use areas of the Fox Lake Cree and other First Nations. Traditional land use areas were utilized by family groups, and depending upon the productivity of the areas, some interchange between families occurred.

Following the imposition of RTDs on traditional land use areas, community land use areas were often disrupted or displaced by a neighbouring community's RTD. With respect to the Fox Lake Cree, the traditional land use areas to the north and south of Gillam (i.e. the Moose Nose Lake and Atkinson Lake areas) were designated as part of the Split Lake RTD. RTDs are identified in **Figure 12**.

During the interview process, a number of interview subjects furnished the author with examples of displacement from one harvesting area to another. For example, one respondent recalled using the Moose Nose Lake area during the winter for hunting, fishing, trapping and other traditional pursuits prior to the establishment of RTDs. Once the RTDs were established, an area approximately 250 km to the north along the Bay Line at the Weir River was designated as his land use area. Another interview subject who used the same area at Moose Nose Lake at the time the RTD's were imposed was obliged to "borrow" a Registered Trapline from the Split Lake RTD.

Following the establishment of the RTDs in the Gillam area, the Fox Lake First Nation was left without an RTD or designated land and resource use area. At present, Fox Lake Cree residing at Gillam utilize parts of the Split Lake RTD to the south and west of Gillam and members living at the Bird Reserve utilize the Split Lake, Shamattawa and Limestone RTDs.

5.1.3 Closing of York Factory

The Fox Lake First Nation members who resided in the York Factory area moved inland from the Hudson Bay coast after the York Factory post closed in 1957. This move was precipitated in part by the loss of one source of income for the Fox Lake Cree, namely the fur trade. Other members were forcibly relocated from the York Factory area by the Department of Indian Affairs.

During the operation of the York Factory post, many Fox Lake Cree became accustomed to and in some respects dependent upon European goods and services¹⁴⁹. Thus the closing of the post translated into a loss of certain goods and services as well as a source of income. In pursuit of these goods, services and a source of income, the Fox Lake Cree moved inland to join other Fox Lake First Nation members occupying the Bay Line area.

¹⁴⁹ F. Tough, *The Demise of the York Factory "Homeguard" Cree* (1987).

5.1.4 Hydroelectric Development

As stated in Section 5.0, hydroelectric development is defined in the present study to include all associated activities and their impacts. In this section, two implications of hydroelectric development for the Fox Lake First Nation are examined, namely traditional land use and the creation of additional reserves, or "Treaty Land Entitlements". An additional purpose of this section is to provide a foundation upon which further research regarding hydroelectric impacts on the Fox Lake Cree can be conducted.

5.1.4.1 Land Use

The Moose Nose Lake area was used extensively by the Fox Lake Cree during the 1940's, 1950's and early 1960's. In 1966, this area was inundated by the Kettle Dam reservoir, and as a result, the area could no longer sustain the extensive land use network established by the Fox Lake Cree. Cabins, wintering grounds and travel routes were flooded by the reservoir, known today as Stephens Lake. The traditional knowledge of the area prior to inundation became a collection of memories as new areas were explored for their resource potential.

Current Fox Lake Cree land use areas are identified in Maps 2 and 3. The Stephens Lake area is currently used by a number of Fox Lake Cree, although many are inconvenienced by fluctuating water levels and are apprehensive about consuming the fish harvested.

The construction of roads to the Kettle Dam area and the proposed Conawapa Dam site has improved access for residents of Sundance and the Limestone camp to some Fox Lake land use areas. As a result, increased hunting and fishing pressure is being exerted in the areas identified in Maps 2 and 3: they are no longer the exclusive land use areas of the Fox Lake Cree.

The impacts of hydroelectric development have severely disrupted Fox Lake Cree traditional land use areas and the land use activities these areas support. An assessment of the environmental and socio-economic impacts of hydroelectric development on Fox Lake Cree land use is beyond the scope of the present study, but will be the subject of further research by MKO.

5.1.4.2 Treaty Land Entitlement

Since at least the 1920's, the Fox Lake Cree have occupied the area within the present-day town of Gillam. Hydroelectric development, combined with the creation of the LGD of Gillam, served to encumber portions of Fox Lake Cree traditional territory in the Kettle Rapids area. In addition, area populations increased dramatically. These events have not only had significant implications for Fox Lake Cree land use, but have also influenced the process of establishing additional reserves for the use and benefit of the Fox Lake First Nation.

An adhesion to Treaty 5 was signed by the York Factory Band in 1910. By virtue of their affiliation with the York Factory Band, the Fox Lake First Nation is a signatory to Treaty 5, and as such, is entitled to select additional reserves for its continuing use and benefit. Treaty 5 contains a clause stating that "Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves ... provided all such reserves shall not exceed in all one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five."¹⁵⁰ This clause translates into a lawful obligation on the part of the Crown to add a quantum of land to a given reserve in satisfaction of a treaty, or a "specific claim" settlement. Such a claim may arise when there is a shortfall between the amount of land that has already been reserved and the amount of land that the treaty specifies must be reserved for the claimant group. Such a shortfall is termed an outstanding Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE). At present, a shortfall exists for the Fox Lake First Nation and the obligation to fulfil it has not been satisfied by the Crown.

The Fox Lake Cree have indicated that they wish to select additional reserves within the LGD of Gillam. Their preference for lands in this area is not surprising, given that the area was used, occupied and inhabited by the Fox Lake Cree for many years prior to the establishment of the LGD of Gillam.

In a letter to the Regional Director General of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the Fox Lake Chief and Council articulated their concerns:

¹⁵⁰ Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada* (1991), at p. 331.

"We feel the most important thing for us right now is to get a piece of land made sure to us---this is what we feel entitled to as we have long lived in this area. And with so much land being taken up for other purposes rezoned in such a way that our Band members could not live on it, we anxious to get land itself: land freed from the zoning regulations that would rule out our use of it. Then once we had a piece of land, hopefully services could be provided and the general standards of housing, etc. for our Band members would improve."¹⁵¹

Between August 8, 1953, and February 2, 1970, various attempts were made to provide the Fox Lake First Nation with reserve lands within the LGD of Gillam. On November 19, 1968, a meeting was held between Mr. Connelly and the LGD of Gillam. Following this meeting, the Gillam Co-ordinating Committee recommended that "there should be no Indian Reserve within the boundaries of the Local Government District of Gillam [emphasis added]."¹⁵²

To date, no reserves within the LGD of Gillam have been created for the Fox Lake First Nation. In 1970, in an attempt to fulfil its lawful obligation to the Fox Lake First Nation, INAC purchased land adjacent to the town of Gillam and designated it as land for the use and benefit of the First Nation.

¹⁵¹ Letter to Mr. R.M. Connelly, Regional Director of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, from: the Fox Lake First Nation Chief and Council (9 November 1968).

¹⁵² Letter to Mr. R.M. Connelly, Regional Director of INAC, from: the LGD of Gillam (19 November 1968).

This initiative was also precipitated by the fact that the LGD of Gillam and Manitoba Hydro relocated a number of Fox Lake Cree from their cabins in the Stephens Road area to houses on Kettle Crescent in the centre of Gillam, a move that was necessary to complete the construction of a trailer park. The lots designated for their use and benefit in 1970 are still occupied by Fox Lake First Nation members today. This land does not, however, have reserve status.

To summarize, efforts to select outstanding TLEs in Fox Lake traditional territory within the LGD of Gillam have been frustrated by a number of events. Hydroelectric development, the establishment of the LGD of Gillam and the creation of a trailer park encumbered the initial Treaty Land Entitlement selections of the Fox Lake First Nation. Had the Fox Lake First Nation been granted their preferred selections, it is likely that the Fox Lake First Nation would at least have been compensated for the development of their traditional land use area. Compensation for the taking of reserve lands for public purposes (e.g. hydroelectric development and road construction) is required under section 35(1) of the *Indian Act*, 1985.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The events identified in the present study had profound impacts on the historical and contemporary land use patterns of the Fox Lake Cree. The advancement of the Bay Line through Fox Lake Cree traditional territory in the 1920's has, and continues to provide employment opportunities for the members of this First Nation. As a result, a mixed economy of wage labour and income-in-kind from traditional pursuits emerged. The Bay Line also enabled the Fox Lake Cree to expand their hunting territory north to the area between Port Nelson and Churchill, inland from the Hudson's Bay coast. In addition, the Bay Line did not adversely affect the surrounding natural environment. Thus, this event in the history of the Fox Lake Cree provided many benefits for the area population.

By contrast, the establishment of the rigid Registered Trapline system throughout northern Manitoba in the 1940's served to disrupt, and in some cases, obliterate existing Fox Lake Cree traditional land use and occupancy patterns. In the absence of detailed information about these patterns, the Fox Lake First Nation did not receive a Registered Trapline District.

The closing of the York Factory trading post in 1957 also disrupted the traditional land use and occupancy patterns of the Fox Lake Cree. Members of the group who witnessed this closure either migrated inland or were forcibly relocated by the Department of Indian Affairs. The seasonal patterns of land use and occupancy established by the Fox Lake Cree residing in the vicinity of the post are now only traced through living memory.

In the mid-1960's, hydroelectric development came to the Gillam area with the construction of the Kettle Dam. From this time to the present day, the shape of the Fox Lake Cree traditional land use area has changed dramatically. This change is perhaps the most evident in the area to the north of Gillam.

Hydroelectric development also contributed to the establishment of the LGD of Gillam. The ramifications of this legislative act extend to the pattern of Fox Lake First Nation traditional land use and occupancy and outstanding Treaty Land Entitlements in the Gillam area.

CHAPTER SIX - SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 SUMMARY

The Fox Lake First Nation currently has an on-reserve population of 311 and an off-reserve population of 255. The majority of the Fox Lake Cree reside in northern Manitoba at the town of Gillam and the Bird Reserve. The Fox Lake Cree are the direct descendants of the Homeguard Cree who resided in the York Factory area and travelled between seasonal camps and the Gillam area. Historically, the Cree were a nomadic people who sustained themselves on the land by hunting, fishing, trapping and pursuing other traditional activities.

During the summers of 1990 and 1991, eighteen people ranging in age from 18-90 years, were interviewed to determine the extent of historical and contemporary Fox Lake Cree land and resource use. These interviews were conducted in either Cree or English and formed the basis for the development of map biographies depicting past and current traditional land use and occupancy. The results of the map biography interviews were input into the Geographic Information System at the offices of the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, Inc. (MKO). Ground truthing and photographs were used to document and confirm settlement sites in the Gillam area. Aerial photographs and supplementary maps were also used to illustrate the interaction of the Fox Lake First Nation people with the industrial and business development in the same region.

6.1 CONCLUSIONS

Throughout its history, the Fox Lake First Nation has used and occupied a substantial land area extending from the Gillam area to the Hudson Bay coast and inland to Whitefish Lake and Atkinson Lake. Fox Lake Cree traditional territory is identified in **Figure 8**. Hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering are not practised as extensively as they were in the past, largely due to the impact of modern industrial development and changing lifestyles. These activities have not, however, lost their importance to the present-day Fox Lake Cree.

Figure 1 identifies the change in the Nelson River shoreline before and after the flooding resulting from hydroelectric development. Development impacts include loss of wildlife habitat, reduced hunting, fishing and trapping opportunities, interruption of traditional travel routes and a general disruption of environmental and social conditions. Additionally, impacts associated with roads, camps, airports and municipal development have displaced the Fox Lake Cree from their traditional settlement area in the present-day town of Gillam. In addition, the benefits associated with hydroelectric development, such as long-term employment, community development or a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by the non-aboriginal residents of Gillam, have not accrued to the original inhabitants of the area. As a result, the Fox Lake Cree have been described as a people "living in the shadow of the dams"¹⁵³.

¹⁵³ M. Anderson, personal communication (1991).

The evidence of Fox Lake First Nation land use and settlement patterns was collected from oral histories, archival records and other material on file at the MKO offices in Thompson. The evidence presents a clear picture of land use and occupancy in northeast Manitoba that spans several generations of Fox Lake Cree, a picture that has emerged through the use of the map biography methodology. Although many Fox Lake Cree currently reside in permanent communities, they continue to use the resources of their traditional land use area. Patterns of land use and occupancy may change in response to a changing environment, but given that many Fox Lake Cree maintain strong ties to the land and an intimate knowledge of it, it is unlikely that their traditional land use activities will ever be abandoned.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of the research in this study should be used to further identify and examine the environmental and socio-economic impacts of hydroelectric development on the Fox Lake First Nation membership. More specifically, the following initiatives should be taken:

1. the map biography methodology developed by the MKO Natural Resources Secretariat should also be applied to other MKO First Nations that have experienced the impacts of natural resource development activities;

2. a genealogical study of the Fox Lake First Nation should be completed in an effort to identify additional sources of information about the history of the Fox Lake Cree and the socio-economic impacts associated with hydroelectric development;
3. the land use data collected from the Fox Lake First Nation should be integrated with historical land use data from the Shamattawa and York Factory First Nations and possibly, the War Lake Band (with the consent of these First Nations). This would serve the purpose of identifying land use interests in the York Factory area in isolation from the Registered Trapline system;
4. the land use of the Fox Lake First Nation in the Moose Nose Lake-Nelson River area (i.e. the Stephens Lake area) should be further examined to determine the role it played in the lives of the Fox Lake Cree before the area was inundated. Such research will also contribute to a determination and quantification of socio-economic impacts on the Fox Lake First Nation from hydroelectric development;
5. any future resource developments, policies, regulations, legislation or other formal processes affecting lands in northern Manitoba should take into account aboriginal land use interests.

This will allow for an identification of impacts on First Nation communities before such processes are established, not after, as has been the case in the past. More specifically, the effects of the Registered Trapline system and municipal development on Treaty Land Entitlement and traditional resource areas should be examined in this context.

REFERENCES

Brice-Bennett, Carol (ed.).

1977 Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador.
Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Brody, Hugh.

1981 Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier.
Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.

Environment Canada.

1989 Environment Canada's Federal Ecological Monitoring Program. Number 89-1. Environment Canada and Fisheries and Oceans.

Francis, D. and Morantz, T.

1983 Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870. Kingston/Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Freeman, Milton (ed.).

1976 Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project. 3 vols. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Hilderman, Witty, Crosby, Hanna & Associates.

1983(a) Nelson House Plan. Prepared for the Nelson House Indian Band. Winnipeg, Manitoba: December.

1983(b) NFC Land Exchange and Land Use Study. Prepared for the Northern Flood Committee. Winnipeg, Manitoba: September.

Hrenchuk, Carl J.

1991 South Indian Lake Land Use and Occupancy: Kayas Akwa Wapahki. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

1984 Development of the Lake Winnipeg Regulation Churchill/Nelson River Diversion Project and the Northern Flood Agreement. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

1989 1988 Indian Reserve Community Profiles: Manitoba Region. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
RG 10 Files. Public Archives.

Files 501/30-1-305-1 (57) E-4058-5-305.

Information North.

1985 Our Land, Our Life: The Role of the Subsistence Economy in Native Culture. Special Issue of Information North, University of Calgary and Alaska.

Inglis, J. T. (ed).

1993 Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases. Canadian Museum of Nature/International Development Resource Centre.

Island Lake Tribal Council

1984 God's Lake Narrows: Community Information. February.

Kayahna Tribal Council.

1985 The Kayahna Land Utilization and Occupancy Study.

Malaher, D.

n.d. Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay Railway. Manitoba History Magazine - Article. Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation (Historic Resources).

1989 The Oldtimers: First Peoples of the Land of the North Wind. Manitoba.

Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, Inc. (Natural Resources Secretariat).

1991 Fox Lake Band: Preliminary Assessment of Socio-Economic Impacts of the Nelson River Hydroelectric Developments. Thompson, Manitoba. Unpublished.

Morris, Alexander

1991 The Treaties of Canada with The Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories including The Negotiations on which they were based. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers. First Printed in 1880.

Newman, Peter C.

1986 *The Company of Adventurers.* Markham: Penguin Books Canada Ltd.

Payne, Michael.

1989 The Most Respectable Place in the Territory: Everyday Life in the Hudson's Bay Company Service, York Factory, 1788 to 1870. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

The Lower Nelson River Overview Study Team.

1981 The Lower Nelson Overview Study: Appendices. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Manitoba Hydro.

Tough, Frank.

1987 The Demise of the York Factory "Homeguard" Cree with the Decline of the Kihciwaskahikanihk. Saskatchewan: University of Saskatchewan.

Usher, Peter J.

1991 Principles for Determining the Territorial Extent of Land Claim Settlement Areas Based on Land Use and Occupancy: Chipewyan and Other Aboriginal Rights in the Northwest Territories. Ottawa: P.J. Usher Consulting Services.

1990 Recent and Current Land Use in the Northwest Territories by Chipewyan (Denesuline) Bands: Saskatchewan Athapasca Region. Ottawa: P.J. Usher Consulting Services.

Van Kirk, Sylvia.

1980 "Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd.

Wall, Carl L.

1976 North-East Planning Zone: A Resource Information Package. Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Wavey, Robert

1991 Presentation to the International Conference on Indigenous Knowledge and Community-Based Resource Management. Winnipeg: 24 September.

Weinstein, M.S.

1976 What the Land Provides: An examination of the Fort George Subsistence Economy and the Possible Consequences on it of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project. Montreal.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

York Factory First Nation Membership, Land Use Mapping Sessions, 1991.

Wavey, R. (Pers. Comm. 1993), Former Chief of the Fox Lake First Nation (during the 1990-1991 summer field seasons of the present study).

Committee Members:

Anderson, M. (Pers. Comm. 1991, 1992 and 1993). Research Director, Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak, Inc. - Natural Resources Secretariat. Winnipeg.

Henley, T.J. (Pers. Comm. 1992). Assistant Director, Natural Resources Institute. First Draft Practicum meeting, Natural Resources Institute (NRI), University of Manitoba.

Wagner, M. (Correspondence, 1992). Project Manager, *Migratory Birds Convention Act* Amendments, Canadian Wildlife Service. First Draft Practicum meeting, NRI, University of Manitoba.

Young, D. (Pers. Comm. 1992). Principal consultant, Symbion Consultants, and Associate Professor, NRI. First Draft Practicum meeting, NRI, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX ONE: LAND USE MAPPING METHODOLOGY

**(INFORMATION COLLECTED, BASIC QUESTIONS
ASKED AND GENERAL RULES AND
INFORMATION)**

MANITOBA KEEWATINOWI OKIMAKANAK, INC.
NATURAL RESOURCES SECRETARIAT
LAND USE MAPPING METHODOLOGY

SUMMARY:

Land use mapping attempts to record all the travels, activities and experiences of the interview subjects (the informants) on map overlays. The end product is usually in the form of a "map biography" supplemented by notes and/or recordings of the interview.

The methodology employed by the Natural Resources Secretariat has been field-tested on both the Cree and Chipewyan people who are residents of Manitoba, and members of MKO. This methodology involves the use of 1:250,000 scale maps for all mapping, 1:50,000 scale where greater detail is required, mylar overlays, labels and felt pens of various colours.

The informant is instructed to mark in the areas and sites he/she can identify and uses according to a colour coding system:

Areas Hunting

fishing
trapping
berry picking/gathering
timber harvesting
youth training areas
community areas
recreational areas

*note: **travel corridors are marked with the colour of each activity/area and with the type of travel.**

Sites cabins

camp sites
community gathering site
burial site
spiritual site

Any variations from the label, in terms of the color and symbols used, must be noted on the overlay. It is also very important to mark the travel route used by the informant to reach the area/site from the community since **travel is a land use.**

Once all the information has been collected from each informant, an idea of the **duration** of land use must be generated. This is achieved by asking how long the area has been used by the informant, whether he/she was taught the land uses as a child, and whether the area was used by his/her parents or grandparents. These are the temporal aspects of land use.

After the interview is completed, the informant is notified that there will be a second interview if information is recalled at a later date. To end the interview, a statement that the interview is over, an identification of the name of the informant and the number on the tape counter is recorded onto the audio tape.

GENERAL RULES/ INFORMATION:

1. It is acceptable and beneficial to mark "cabin site", "fishing site", "tent site", "gathering site", types of fish and wildlife harvested, and the calendar year corresponding to the land use activity (e.g. "1961") on the overlay with a fine point pen. Such identification marks must be written neatly and must not obscure the existing information on the overlay.
2. It is very important to concentrate on recording the land use information of the individual being interviewed and not information provided by an individual outside the interview. This information should be recorded on one map overlay for each informant.
3. It is helpful to stratify the informants as **active, partially active and non-active** in traditional pursuits before initiating the interview.

For those informants that are active and partially active, areas that are presently used and areas that were used in the past must be mapped separately. Indicate whether the land use is contemporary or historical on the overlay and in field notes.

For those informants that are not active, ask them about the areas they used to use. This group generally consists of the elderly and more experienced individuals who may have a lot of land use information and knowledge to share. These individuals usually take longer to interview. Other factors may dictate the length of the interview, such as poor eyesight, unsteady hands or difficulty reading the map.

4. It is important to note that each mylar overlay should represent the land use and knowledge of one individual but each individual may require more than one overlay. During the interview, concentrate on the land use and knowledge of the individual you are interviewing. Do not record land use information of a person observing the interview unless the informant is reminded of knowledge he/she possesses.
5. Trapping partners can be interviewed together if they use the same area and/or trapline but it is preferable to interview them separately because they may not possess the same land use information. If partners are interviewed together, ensure that they are both present and encourage them to state that their land use is similar or the same. In addition, note land use information that is unique for one partner and not the other on the overlay.

In such a situation, prepare a label for both individuals and attach them to the overlay they have completed.

6. Encourage and stimulate the informant's knowledge and memory by asking questions. As a general guide, ask the following questions **where applicable but do not limit** yourself to them. Other forms or other combinations of questions may be more suitable for a given situation and the type of information the informant is providing.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Where | - do you hunt, fish, trap, etc.
- is the site? |
| When | - did you use the area?
(are you currently using the area and will you continue to do so in the future?)
- was the last time you went? |
| What | - do you harvest?
(e.g. do you hunt moose, ducks, geese in this area?) |
| Who | - did you hunt or travel with?
- taught you?
- can provide other land use information? |
| Why | - was the area abandoned? (if abandoned)
- did your patterns of land use change? |
| How | - do/did you travel?
(e.g. by dog team, skidoo, boat, or by foot) |

7. For elderly informants, attempt to record any traditional sites, areas, activities, or events that they may mention and remember from long ago (cultural information).
8. Remember that not all traditional activity occurs/occurred within the boundaries of the trapline. Trapline areas are mainly used for trapping and associated hunting and fishing but the person can and may choose to hunt, fish and carry out other traditional activities elsewhere other than the trapline area. For example, which areas were used before the trapline boundaries were established? Also, areas easily accessible and within the vicinity of the community may presently be used for hunting, fishing and other traditional pursuits.

Traditional land use activity is by no means limited to or limited by the trapline boundary.

**APPENDIX TWO: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED -
GILLAM, BIRD AND THOMPSON**

**STUDY PARTICIPANTS IN THE
FOX LAKE BAND LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDY**

THE FOX LAKE BAND - BIRD RESERVE

1. Informant Name: **Anderson, Percy**
Date Interviewed: August 21, 1990
2. Informant Name: **Anderson, Stewart**
Date Interviewed: June 07, 1990
3. Informant Name: **Beardy, Elizabeth**
Date Interviewed: August 21, 1990
4. Informant Name: **Beardy, Robert**
Date Interviewed: June 07, 1990
5. Informant Name: **Beardy, Rodney**
Date Interviewed: June 07, 1990
July 04, 1990 (infill mapping)
6. Informant Name: **Miles, George**
Date Interviewed: July 06, 1990
7. Informant Name: **Ousken, Frederick**
Date Interviewed: July 04, 1990
8. Informant Name: **Peters, Stanley**
Date Interviewed: August 21, 1990
9. Informant Name: **Thomas, Alfred**
Date Interviewed: August 22, 1991
10. Informant Name: **Wavey, Dorothy**
Date Interviewed: August 21, 1990
11. Informant Name: **Wavey, William**
Date Interviewed: July 06, 1990

THE FOX LAKE BAND - GILLAM

12. Informant Name: **Beardy, Samuel**
Date Interviewed: July 05, 1990
13. Informant Name: **Massan, Peter**
Date Interviewed: July 05, 1990
14. Informant Name: **Massan, William**
Date Interviewed: July 24, 1991
15. Informant Name: **Mayham, Zacharius**
Date Interviewed: July 05, 1990
16. Informant Name: **Nepitabo, Norman**
Date Interviewed: August 22, 1990

FOX LAKE BAND - THOMPSON

17. Informant Name: **Neepin, John**
Date Interviewed: August 16, 1990
18. Informant Name: **Neepin, Mary**
Date Interviewed: August 16, 1990