Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study of Cahcakiwsakahikan (Pelican Lake) First Nation: A Woodland Cree Community in Northern Saskatchewan

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A thesis 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 Resources Management.

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The undersigned certify that the oral examination presented has been approved and that they have read, and recommend, to the Faculty of the Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled: "Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study of Cahcakiwsakahikan (Pelican Lake) First Nation: A Woodland Cree Community in Northern Saskatchewan."

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the Pelican Lake First Nation's (PLFN's) traditional land-use and occupancy within the past century, during which adhesion to Treaty 6 occurred (1928) and the reserve's boundaries were surveyed. The research involved documenting the past and present hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering-of-plants areas, as well as areas where cabins were and/or are located. This study also involved developing geographic maps that depicted the specific areas of land use, many of which PLFN's members would like to see protected. The historical use of the land and water provides a basis for determining the area of land defined as the PLFN's "traditional territory." In this study, "traditional" refers to areas of historical use and the traditional activities that continue to be practiced by PLFN members. Additionally, this study examines the current resource-based development activities being conducted by the PLFN, and briefly discusses the legislation that affects the PLFN's ability to continue to practice its traditional land-use and cultural activities. The final section of the study provides recommendations that may be considered by PLFN when engaging in economic and resource development activities and land management planning.

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ACTC: Agency Chiefs Tribal Council

FMLA: Forest Management License Area

FNLMA: First Nation Land Management Act

GIS: Geographic Information System

GPS: Global Positioning System

PAR: Participatory Action Research

PLFN: Pelican Lake First Nation

PRA: Participatory Rural Appraisal

TLE: Treaty Land Entitlement

TLUOS: Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aboriginal peoples: "Aboriginal peoples" is a collective expression for the original people of North America and their descendants. The Canadian Constitution (Canadian Constitution Act of 1982) recognises three groups of Aboriginal peoples –Indians, Métis and Inuit. These are three separate peoples with unique heritages, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs.[1]

Culturally Sensitive Areas: "Areas of traditional use such as trapping, fishing, hunting, or berry picking; may be areas of outstanding scenic value, recreational or wilderness potential; and may be areas from which ceremonial materials such as sweet grass and medicinal products are gathered. Culturally sensitive areas may be further defined by considering and respecting community values; drawing upon scientific information; mapping a specific area for protection and identifying a buffer zone; rating a protective area with respect to sensitivity to forest stewardship activities by defining activities within the protected area."[2]

Culturally Significant Areas: "May include, but are not restricted to, areas of spiritual or religious value such as burial sites, spirit caves, vision quest areas, ceremonial

[1]Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Words First: An evolving terminology relating to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Communications Branch Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. (2002; Ottawa) 7.
[2]Russell Collier, Ben Parfitt and Donovan Woollard, A Voice on the Land: An Indigenous people's guide to forest certification in Canada. Ecotrust Canada and National Aboriginal Forestry Association (2002; Vancouver and Ottawa) 85.

grounds, lands containing unique historical, archaeological and architectural sites and areas of specific claim or comprehensive claim."[3]

First Nation(s): A term that came into use in the 1970s to replace the word "Indians," which today some people find offensive if not used in its legal sense. Although the expression "First Nation" is widely used, no legal definition of it exists. Among its uses, the expression "First Nation peoples" refers to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, both Status and Non-Status. Some Aboriginal people have adopted "First Nation" to replace the word "band" in the name of their community.[4]

Indigenous Peoples: "The existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement, or other means reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form a part, under State structure which incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which are predominant."[5]

Intellectual Property Rights: "Ownership rights over ideas and inventions. For Indigenous communities in Canada, these may include knowledge of medicinal

[3]Collier, 85.
[4]INAC, 10.
[5]Working definition adopted by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, and subsequently by the FSC-AC, February (2000).

properties of various fungus and plant species, and other traditional ecological knowledge of their territory."[6]

Non-Timber Forest Products: "Any natural item obtained from the forest that does not necessitate harvesting trees. Typically includes wild edible mushrooms, floral greenery, medicinal and nutraceutical products, wild crafted products, and eco-tourism."[7]

Land-Use and Occupancy Study: "The recording of the lands and resources that a certain Indigenous group has traditionally used (i.e., for hunting, transportation routes, etc.) and occupied (i.e., village sites and/or a more intensive presence) often called a Traditional Use Study or a Cultural Resource Inventory."[8]

Traditional: As defined by the PLFN Elders, "traditional" refers not only to the past, but also to the future and how life is presently lived on the land. The way of life for Aboriginal people has changed, however, the traditional principles learned from living on the land continue to be expressed in the community's current beliefs.

Traditional Territory: As defined by the PLFN, this expression refers to the territory used by PLFN members for hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering plants, and obtaining water. This area has also provided the members with the means to conduct their economic and cultural activities such as tanning hides, drying fish, and making moccasins and birch bark baskets. The traditional territory also includes the lakes (*Sâkâhikan*), rivers

[6]Collier, 87.
[7]Ibid, 89.

(*Sîpîy*), and creeks (*Sîpîsis*) that the members use to sustain their life on the land. The PLFN members also buried their ancestors in the traditional territory, indicating use and occupancy of the area. The traditional territory also provides a spiritual space for people from PLFN people to interact with nature by participating in ceremonies.

[8]Collier, 88.

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a traditional land-use and occupancy study of the Pelican Lake First Nation (PLFN). This study consists of a community profile of the PLFN and includes maps depicting its location and traditional land-use activities. The first two chapters of this thesis are dedicated to discussing the rationale and context for this study, providing a review and analysis of some completed land use and occupancy studies, and identifying the research methodology and methods used in this study.

These are followed by several chapters that present the findings of the research conducted with PLFN and discuss legal instruments that influence traditional land use activity. The thesis concludes with recommendations designed to assist the PLFN with future endeavours in its traditional territory.

STUDY RATIONALE

The goal of this project was to work with community members to identify and document their traditional land-use practices. On a broader scale, the aim of this study was to provide a resource for the community to draw upon for educational, historical, natural resource, and land-designation purposes. The Chief and Council requested that this study be conducted and recognised that the resulting information from community members could serve as an invaluable reference source with many applications. Until this study,

PLFN did not possess a documented account of its members' land-use activities or the areas in which these activities are conducted.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

The main objectives for conducting this study were:

- To develop an interview survey instrument acceptable in terms of leadership protocols and methods;
- To determine the members' past and present traditional land-use activities in terms of hunting, trapping, fishing, and harvesting of plants;
- To document past and present land-use practices through interview and map biographies;
- To depict the results of the interviews by using regional maps and aerial photos to illustrate the scope and extent of traditional land-use activities;
- To work with the Chief, the Council, and the members to verify the maps;
- To provide recommendations for sustainable development based on the past, present, and future traditional land-use practices; and
- To build the skills of community members through their participation in the research process (e.g., interview skills, introductory mapping skills).

A related objective of this study was to assist PLFN to achieve its long-term goal of becoming self-reliant. This goal can be achieved in part through an understanding of the

community's natural resources and land-use needs and developing a plan for achieving the community's goals based on these needs.

Further, through the identification of culturally sensitive areas and the provision of a community document that provides oral histories and historical information, the study can be used to educate present and future generations.

ANTICIPATED RESULTS OF STUDY

It is anticipated that the results of the PLFN TLUOS will serve many purposes. First, this study will assist the community in natural resources management decision-making and the development of specific natural resources management plans. Once the leadership is more fully aware of the breadth of land-use activities, they will be able to draw upon this information when developing a natural resource management plan. It is anticipated that economic development activities that do not compromise traditional activities may result.

Second, this study may be used to inform and plan for the establishment of protected sites and conservation areas based on the information provided by interviewees.

Third, it is hoped that the results of this study can be used to educate the youth about traditional land-use activities. This information could be transmitted to the youth through an elementary or secondary school curriculum that could be developed based on the findings of this research.

Fourth, it is anticipated that the PLFN will develop proposals to assess the feasibility of alternative natural resource development options, including harvesting of non-timber forest products and eco-tourism, and development and implementation of related pilot projects.

Finally, adoption and enforcement of community land codes under the First Nations Land Management Act is probable. (Enforcement of these codes would give the community complete control over its reserve lands.)

CHAPTER TWO – A REVIEW OF TRADITIONAL LAND-USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDIES AND GUIDES

WHY TRADITIONAL LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY STUDIES?

Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Studies have been conducted since the late 1970s, with the first known documented study being the Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project conducted by Milton Freeman in 1976.[9] Since that time, a number of these studies have been conducted throughout Canada.

An overriding goal of all of these studies has been to preserve the knowledge and ways of life of the Elders, and ensure that this knowledge is passed on to the youth and will be made available to future generations to learn from.[10] Given that this knowledge is potentially lost with the passing of each Elder, these studies have had an important role in cultural survival efforts.

With the increasing amount of resource development activities, communities have conducted these studies to determine the size of their land use areas and extent of land use.[11] The information gathered through the studies has been used to inform industry and other users about the historical and contemporary uses of the land by the community

[9]Milton Freeman, Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project (Ottawa: Thorn Press Ltd, 1976)
[10]Government of Alberta Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Best Practices Handbook for Traditional Use Studies. (Edmonton: Alberta Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development 2003) 9.
Terry Tobias, Chief Kerry's Moose: A guide to land-use and occupancy mapping, research design and data collection. (Vancouver: Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs and Ecotrust Canada 2000) 34.
Terry Garvin et al., A Guide to Conducting a Traditional Knowledge and Land-Use Study. (Edmonton: Northern Forestry Centre 2001) 2.
[11]Government of Alberta. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, 9.

members in order to prevent the destruction of burial sites and other significant areas.[12] Further, these studies have been drawn upon in the establishment of co-management agreements between communities and industries.[13] Additionally, the information gathered has later been used to inform decision-making relating to community land-use planning. The South Indian Lake Land-Use and Occupancy: Kayas Akwa Wapahki, conducted by Carl Hrenchuk, sought to determine the present and past use and occupation of the area by the community, as well as document the location of hunting, fishing, and trapping resources. Through this exercise it was expected that this would assist with determining how resource-harvest activities have changed within a changing environmental and social context. Another objective of the study was to investigate the vitality and importance of resource-based activity within the community's current life and culture.[14]

Finally, some land-use studies have been conducted to address land claims issues.[15] One of these studies was the Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project,[16] which assisted in resolving issues regarding the area of land allocated to the Inuit people. Specifically, the

[12]Government of Alberta. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, 9.
Garvin et al., 2.
[13]Garvin et al., 2.
[14]Carl J. Hrenchuck, South Indian Land-Use and Occupancy: Kayas Akwa Wapahki. (University of Manitoba, NRI. Winnipeg, 1991), 8.
[15]Andrea J. Hoyt, Opportunities for Integrated Management: A perspective on Inuvialuit attitudes towards development and subsistence land-use in the Husky Lake area (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, NRI 2002) 43.
Garvin et al., 2.
Tobias, 34.
[16]Hoyt, 43.

study assisted with "the land claims process and negotiations between Inuit claimant groups and the Federal and Territorial governments."[17]

A Description of Methods Used in Three Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Studies

Based on a review of three traditional land-use studies, it was found that several research methods were commonly used: informal interviews with open-ended questions, map biographies, and archival research. Further, all of the studies followed a process, and the majority involved a capacity-building component. These methods and processes will be briefly described as they relate to each study.

The Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project involved conducting interviews with Inuit people and using maps to document the data collected. These maps depict approximately 1600 respondents' knowledge of the hunting areas used to hunt different species.[18] The individuals interviewed for the study were adult Inuit males.[19] Social scientists conducted the informal interviews and posed open-ended questions that "attempted to record the hunting range for most species of animals, together with trapping, fishing and camping locations."[20] The local people were not trained in advance on how to conduct interviews, but local individuals teamed up with non-local people in each of the thirty-three communities involved in the project. Before beginning the interviews, attempts were

[17]Ibid, 43.
[18]Freeman, 47.
[19]Freeman, 19.
[20]Ibid, 19.

made to make the communities aware of the land-use study. Some of the methods used consisted of radio announcements and community meetings.[21]

Initially, the local communities were not interested in the project. However, once the interviewing process commenced, community members began to see and understand the purpose of the project. They became interested in the project and became involved. The result was a large body of data relating to their culture and environment.[22]

The results of the map biographies were produced in a final report and stored in a computer database completed by the non-local participants on each team. When the final report was concluded, the study assisted the community with establishing its claim to the territory for harvesting purposes.

The South Indian Lake Land-Use and Occupancy: Kayas Akwa Wapahki, was conducted by Carl Hrenchuk as part of his graduate thesis and was concluded in 1991. South Indian Lake is the fifth largest lake in northern Manitoba. The Cree component of the study's title – *Kayas Akwa Wapahki* – means "long ago tomorrow." Specifically, it refers to the South Indian Lake peoples' knowledge of the land in the past and present, and also to how knowledge from the past can inform the future. Similar to the Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project, this study also involved conducting interviews with community members and key information holders within South Indian Lake (SIL)."[23] The interviews used open-ended questions. The participants were forty-seven individuals at SIL who

[21]Ibid, 47.
[22]Ibid, 48.

were interviewed in their homes, at fish camps, and at the SIL community council offices.[24] The sample group consisted of male trappers, hunters, and fishers, ranging in age from 20-65+. Community members did not conduct any of the interviews and were not taught about interviewing. However, to facilitate communication between the researcher and the respondents, two male interpreters aged sixty-five and twenty-five assisted with translating the Cree into English.[25] In addition to the interviews, data was also gathered through searches of government sources.

Similar to the Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project, the data collected from the interviews was compiled on maps. The maps used were at scales of 1:50,000, 1:250, 000, and 1:1,000,000. Whenever possible, participants documented their own map biographies. Acetate was put over the maps to allow the respondents to use felt markers to indicate the location of harvesting activities.

The same techniques were used in a land-use study completed by Michael Robinson in 1998 entitled Sami Potatoes: Living with Reindeer and Perestroika. The title illuminates the study's meaning and purpose. The words "Sami Potatoes" suggest the saying that "Potatoes are to the Russians what wheat is to Canadians."[26] Potatoes have also been a staple item for the survival of the Sami people for many years. The "Living with reindeer and perestroika" phrase indicates that "reindeer herding is not only a source of income

[23]Hrenchuck, 32.
[24]Ibid, 32.
[25]Ibid, 35.
[26]Michael Robinson, Sami Potatoes: Living with reindeers and perestroika. (Calgary: Bayeux Arts, 1998) 15.

and food: it is a way of life."[27] Second, the final word, "perestroika," which means "rebuilding," was used by former Soviet President Gorbachev to describe his radical policies for economic change."[28] Thus, this title suggests the importance of past natural resources (potatoes) and the focus on present natural resources (reindeer) to help with rebuilding for the future.

This study was integral to rebuilding the Sami community after its members realised how the data collected could be used. Through documentation of the Samis' herding practices and land-uses, the Sami were able to see representations of their land-use. This project differs from the Inuit Land-Use and Occupancy Project and the South Indian Lake study in that it used Participatory Action Research (PAR), a method that enabled the local people to be involved with the research and to learn skills associated with conducting it. According to Robinson, this approach, "involved training local people to conduct interviews that met basic social science standards for qualitative and exploratory research."[29]

The community was able to develop a management strategy utilising their own knowledge and skills with the assistance of researchers. There was a renewed sense of worth in what was perceived to be old knowledge, especially knowledge about how the reindeer migrated across the territory.

[27]Robinson, 15.
[28]Ibid, 96.
[29]Ibid, 31.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDIES

The three studies discussed had several strengths. All of them involved the participating communities in the research, though to varying extents, with the most extensive participation of community members occurring in Robinson's study. Second, all of the studies gathered information through personal interviews using open-ended questions. Doing so facilitated greater community participation and allowed participants a degree of flexibility in their discussions with the interviewers. Mapping was another activity that was conducted as part of these studies. Mapping is an effective way to combine large amounts of land-use data and results into a visual medium that can later be used by communities. The oral tradition is strong in Aboriginal communities and tools and media that depict events and activities are often preferred to written documentation. Finally, all of the studies were comprehensive and conducted over several years, therefore, allowing time for communities to learn about the projects and engage in them.

Despite their contributions, there were some limitations to these studies. First, these studies did not discuss the importance of confidentiality and intellectual property rights. All of the studies published information about harvest areas, but did not address how the researchers reached a publishing agreement with the participants. Only Robinson's study indirectly refers to the issue of information security when stating "GPS technology would not be permitted in Russia for reasons of state security."[30] Security became an issue in Robinson's study because U.S. satellites could be used to collect GIS information, but this did not pertain to the study itself, and the issue of publishing community knowledge

[30]Robinson, 39.

was not addressed. However, a participant in Robinson's study commented, "The Elders refuse either to talk about them (sacred sites) or to reveal their location," which illustrates that information security was an issue for the participants.[31]

Ultimately, a researcher should explain to a study's participants how the research data will be used, where the data will be published, and who will have access to the information. A researcher can accomplish this task in several ways. For example, a researcher can use an agreement like the "Indigenous Research Protection Act" that was created by Indigenous groups in the United States. This act covers all aspects of data sharing, including intellectual property rights, proposal requirements, the review of research proposals and the research process, and research agreements."[32] Another example of a signed agreement is "The Charter of Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests" that was signed in Penang in 1993 as is referred to by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her book Decolonizing Methodologies.[33]. According to Smith, the charter

> includes statements referring to collective rights of peoples to intellectual and cultural property, participation by indigenous peoples in the management of projects, promotion of health systems, control over own knowledges, and an insistence that 'all investigations in our territories should be carried out with our consent and under the joint control and guidance (Article 45)'.[34]

[31]Ibid, 80.
[32]Indigenous Research Protection Act: http://www.ipcb.org/pub/irpa.htm (2002) 4-8.
[3333]Linda T. Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (New York: University of Utago Press, 1999) 119.

Other agreements and declarations exist, and essentially, they call for communities and Indigenous groups to be part of the research process and to have a say in how their knowledge systems are used.

In most situations, when a community has complete understanding of the use of the information gathered during the research, an agreement is signed. The signing then authorises the publication of sensitive data or limits/prohibits the presentation of certain aspects of the data. For example, the researchers may be forbidden to indicate the location of specific sacred sites on maps made available to the public. Another approach is the use of a consent form which provides the interviewee with a written agreement assuring that his/her knowledge will only be used for specific purposes.

A second limitation of the three studies reviewed was that they either failed to include women as participants or did not explain how women's knowledge was used in the research. Further, none of these studies indicated whether a different approach was needed or used to attain knowledge from women about traditional land-use practices. Most land-use studies involve only the men in the communities being studied, seldom considering the roles of women in the harvesting of animals and plants. When conducting land-use studies however, the researcher must ensure that the research is gender-sensitive. Including women in this research is important because women provide a different perspective about the land and "from a development perspective, gender should

[34]Smith, 119.

be considered in research and development to improve the status of women."[35] The methods of ensuring that women are included in land-use research are for the most part common-sense approaches. Grenier states that "Researchers should consult the women to find out when, where, and how to schedule research activities and who should conduct the interviews."[36]

TRADITIONAL LAND USE STUDY GUIDES – ADDITIONAL ASPECTS FOR CONSIDERATION

The three studies reviewed shared similar research methods and provide a good framework to draw upon when conducting a traditional land-use and occupancy study. Additionally, several guides have been developed that outline key aspects that ought to be considered when conducting this type of study. These include: Chief Kerry's Moose: A guide to land-use and occupancy mapping, research design and data collection by Terry Tobias, the Best Practices Handbook for Traditional Use Studies by the Government of Alberta Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, and A Guide to Conducting Traditional Knowledge and Land-Use Study by T. Garvin, S. Nelson, and B. Redmond.

The guides suggested that when conducting a traditional land-use and occupancy study, consideration be given to hiring or training individuals to conduct the research and interviews.[37] Further, they identified the importance of having researchers/interviewers that are fluent in English, but also familiar with the community's language. Not only does this contribute to a smooth interview process, but also eases the process of translating

[35]Louise Grenier, Working with Indigenous Knowledge: A guide for researchers (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1998) 38.
[36]Grenier, 40.

audio recordings of the interviews.[38] The Government of Alberta guide also identified that being respectful, a good listener, experienced in the bush and knowing how to conduct archival research were essential skills for any researcher conducting this type of study.[39] Finally, the guides raised the issue of data collection and storage. Specifically highlighted in the guides was the need for the researcher to back up all of the data collected or make copies of maps, decide if the data will be digitised and determine how and where the raw data will be stored and managed over time.[40]

[37]Government of Alberta, 24; Tobias, 5; Garvin, 4.
[38]Government of Alberta, 23; Tobias, 6; Garvin, 18.
[39]Government of Alberta, 24.
[40]Government of Alberta, 38; Tobias, 7; Garvin, 38.

CHAPTER THREE - RESEARCH METHODS

This research involved using Indigenous research methods that respect Indigenous Knowledge. The study was approached in this manner because it coincides with community protocol for conducting research and also with the perspective of the researcher, who wanted to use an approach that was holistic and flexible, addressed the needs of the community and sought to support the community in its goals. The Indigenous research methods satisfied these criteria by allowing for interactive participation by the community members, decision-making by consensus, and building capacity of community members to conduct their own research.

The specific methods of the research included consulting community leadership to develop a survey instrument acceptable to leadership protocol and methods and then conducting interviews with the PLFN's members to determine land-use activities in terms of hunting, fishing, trapping, and harvesting of plants, etc. The results of the interviews were depicted on regional maps to illustrate the scope and extent of traditional land-use activities and were later verified by Chief and Council.

The formal process of using these methods involved being gender-sensitive, addressing the issues of intellectual property rights, and ensuring participation by the community.[41] The questions asked of the interviewees were open-ended and guided by the interviewer, who was aware of the important topics that needed to be addressed (see Appendix B: Interview Schedule). For example, the interviewer had a sheet of paper listing the types

[41]Grenier, 13, 37.

of information relevant to the research. This list included the topics of hunting, trapping, fishing, and plant-gathering areas; cabin locations; and camp-sites. The questions asked that were of importance to the community focused on the locations of the traditional activities and the history of the reserve. Other questions focused on the methods community members used to harvest a natural resource to maintain its long-term sustainability. For example, the participants were asked where they hunt, fish, trap or harvest plants, and how often they participate(d) in these activities. The additional questions included, "What areas would you like to see protected and what animals should be protected?" Other topics that arose from the open-ended questions included water use and gravesites.

Prior to asking the questions outlined in Appendix B: Interview Schedule, informed consent was attained through the use of a consent form (see Appendix C: Consent Form). The consent form provided the interviewees with information about the study and assured them that their names would not be included in the final report. Moreover, before the interviews were conducted, a pretest was completed to ensure that the questions were relevant and flowed during the interviews. This pretest also assisted with determining if the interviews would be too long or involved too many questions. The person chosen for the pretest was not a key respondent, but an individual who provided some information about the traditional activities that occur(ed) within and around the PLFN's territory.

The pretest determined that there were too many questions involved in the interview schedule and as a result the number of questions were decreased. Further, it was found

that the scope of the interview schedule was too broad. Therefore, it was modified further to focus on acquiring basic information about hunting, trapping and fishing areas, along with information about the harvesting-of-plant sites, cabin sites, protected areas and animals, and Cree names for lakes and rivers.

The on-reserve PLFN Cree speaking population is 300 of the total on-reserve population of 793.[42] All of the interviews were conducted in English except for one group interview with female Elders. However, all interviewees were encouraged to speak Cree and were informed that the audio recording would be translated into English. A translator was not available during the interviews, but a fluent Cree speaker translated the Cree portions of the audio tapes.

Twenty-two individuals (see Appendix D: Interview Demographics) or 2.6 percent of the total on-reserve population were interviewed as part of this study. On-reserve band members were the primary focus of this research because they had lived on-reserve for most, if not all, of their lives. The people interviewed were predominately the adults and Elders of the community. These individuals were able to provide historical knowledge of how the community has changed over time and to identify the catalysts for the changes. In total, three individuals were interviewed that are not band members. Two of these individuals are non-Aboriginal.

Initially, the researcher intended to interview the youth, but the Elders revealed that few youth are regularly involved in traditional activities. For the purpose of this study,

"youth" were defined as those individuals aged 16 to 30. This designation of "youth" corresponds to the Government of Canada's definition. The definition of an "Elder" was determined by the community's definition and recognition of people who are respected as "Elders."

A core study team was established to assist the researcher with the study. Team members included the PLFN Chief and the Council and Natural Resources Institute advisors. This team provided advice on issues relating to the administration of the research, accounting processes, and research processes. Some specific aspects that the team provided advice to the researcher on included:

- Storing of information (i.e., deciding to use either an electronic or hard-copy database, for storing the data);
- Retrieving the data and completing the mapping (i.e., deciding to use acetate mapping and digitising), deciding upon the maps' scale and how the data would be represented on them (i.e., deciding to use lines, polygons, symbols or point data);
- Cataloguing and recording of the data (i.e., deciding to audio-record, video-record, or take notes);
- Cross-referencing the data from existing sources with the data collected from the interviews.

[42]Statistics Canada, http://www.statscan.ca. 2001.

The team also provided advice regarding the community members to interview and the types of questions to ask during the interviews.

With the assistance of the Chief and Council, individuals from the community were designated to assist with the project, but were not always available. Some individuals not chosen by Chief and Council were interested and assisted in some of the interviews. Specifically, a female individual assisted with conducting a group interview with two female Elders.

In partnership with the PLFN's Chief and Council, the Natural Resources Institute, and the University of Manitoba, a data-sharing agreement was established to ensure that the designated data would remain confidential. Some of the data that will remain confidential refers to the location of culturally significant sites. Also, this study's participants will remain anonymous. This agreement outlined the terms under which the information was distributed and utilised and also addressed the issue of security and copyright.

Four research techniques were employed to complete this study:

1. Literature Review: A review of current sources of documents and a comprehensive survey of maps was conducted to identify historical uses of the land within the region.

2. Community Meetings: Two community meetings were conducted to introduce the community members to the research and to allow them to share their perspectives

and knowledge of land-use activities. During these meetings, community members were also informed about what the study entailed and the purpose for the study.

3. Individual/Group Interviews: Community members who had been involved in land-use activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering were approached to participate in this study. All of the interviews were audio-recorded, except for one interview that was video-recorded, and one interview that was recorded by taking notes. All of the interviewees were asked if they would be willing to go out into the field to show the researcher where specific areas were located. In total, two individuals were available to take the researcher to significant areas that included for hunting, trapping, and gathering sites, and cabin locations. All of the data gathered were transcribed and then synthesised into this study report and used in the creation of maps depicting land-use activities and occupancy.

4. Mapping: Ethnographic mapping was conducted to depict land-use activities in the community and its traditional territory.

IDENTIFICATION OF EXISTING DATA

At the offices of PLFN, the ACTC, and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, research was conducted to determine what information existed about and within the

community. This process included a comprehensive survey of maps, previous interviews, and projects completed by the community or outside groups.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

The qualitative method of research for land-use studies most often involves a series of designed questions focusing on the retrieval of specific information. In the Freeman's study of Inuit land-use and occupancy, two of the questions asked of the hunters were "Where do you hunt seals and how important is location A?"[43] These open-ended questions allowed the hunters to express what they had experienced while hunting seals in a particular location. Other forms of qualitative research methods involve having a community advisory committee to define the research focus. This type of committee work is one aspect of Participatory Action Research (PAR).

PAR is often most suited to communities that are fully involved in the decisions and focuses on ensuring that the communities drive the research. This method of research requires a community to have a high level of involvement, and is guided by a community advisory committee, that is established as part of the research process. The committee's role is to provide advice and guidance to the researcher to ensure that the researcher focuses on the community's interests.

When a community is not fully participating in the research, PAR becomes more difficult to implement. When Indigenous communities have many different researchers often coming to them to do research, these communities do not have enough human resources

[43]Freeman, 47.

or time to fully participate. When a research project does not have money allocated for community participation, the research may become difficult to complete. Oftentimes, Indigenous communities have limited human resources and budgets and cannot afford to reallocate financial or human resources to meet the needs of research projects.

A research method that involves the community to a greater depth than PAR is the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method. This method involves learning from, with, and by people from the community.[44] This method is similar to PAR in that local advisory committees in the community become the researchers and set the direction of the research, ultimately enabling the community members to "implement the solutions based on their findings."[45] However, where they differ is that PAR might involve community members to set the direction and conduct the research, but PRA requires this. With PRA, "rural people themselves becoming the main investigators and analysts. Rural people set the priorities; determine research needs; select and train community."[46]

CONCLUSION

Aboriginal communities have the opportunity to use traditional knowledge that continues to be orally transmitted to their own benefit. This knowledge has existed for centuries. Since 1975, when Freeman completed one of the first studies, many others have documented traditional knowledge. Since then, more reasons for conducting land-use studies have emerged, and they have provided greater benefits to the communities. Land-

[44]Grenier, 41.
[45]Ibid, 42.
[46]Ibid, 42.

use studies have also been adapted to the changes in technology by using new forms of data storage and mapping techniques.

Land-use studies are still being used in comprehensive land claims and are also being carried out to assist with Treaty Land Entitlements, resource and environmental management, "compensation claims," historical documentation of family trap lines, harvest areas, and educational purposes.[47] Traditional land-use studies are excellent tools for illustrating how "traditional territory has been reduced over time, as other land-use activities have affected [First Nations'] ability to hunt, fish, trap and gather from the land."[48] By carrying out these studies, communities can measure the amount of land they have lost. Communities can take this data to industries and governments and negotiate land claims. These studies also provide the basis for developing economic ventures such as eco-tourism, cultural centres, hunting lodges, and harvesting of non-timber forest products.

Current technologies like Geographic Information Systems, Global Positioning Systems, and Remote Sensing provide a means to efficiently represent traditional knowledge in detail when collecting and organising data. However, many concerns have been raised about the publishing of information collected during a study. The key to overcoming this challenge is to have continuous communication between the researchers and the community members on how the data will be used. One way to alleviate any concerns about the profits resulting from the publication of research is to establish a scholarship

[47]Hrenchuck, 22.
[48]Garvin, 1-2.

program, as Peter Kulchyski and his co-editors did for profits from their book In the Words of Elders.[49]

These studies assist with defining the historical uses of the land by Aboriginal peoples, and the extent of the land base used in their daily lives. Traditional land-use and occupancy studies assist Aboriginal Nations with providing proof of historical use and occupancy of the land. When comparing the number of land-use studies that have been completed with the number that have not, it is apparent that many more land-use studies are needed.

The number of land-use studies needed becomes clear from the Specific Claims Branch Report, which indicates that 1089 land claims across Canada are waiting to enter the legal process.[50] In Saskatchewan, 120 Specific Claims are waiting to enter the Specific Claims process.[51] The communities that entered and completed the land-claims process have secured their reserve land base and resources. However, only fourteen communities have gained legal control of their reserve lands under the First Nations Land Management Act.

[49]Pauloosie Angmarlik, Peter Kulchyski, Don McCaskill, David Newhouse. et al. (1999). In the Words of Elders: Aboriginal Cultures in Transition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
[50]Indian Northern Affairs Canada. Public Information Status Report - Specific Claims Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (Ottawa: INAC, 2001) 369.
[51]INAC, 363.

CHAPTER FOUR- PELICAN LAKE FIRST NATION TLUOS FINDINGS

This section explains the types of activities PLFN members participated in. Some of these activities were hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering of plants. This chapter will also discuss the use of historical trails, the areas accessed for water use, and the harvesting of plants and animals for food and clothing. These items are often referred to as "crafts," but they are more than crafts, as they are culturally significant items that were used and continue to be used in daily life. Many other topics relating to land-use and occupancy, the building of cabins, and areas and animals PLFN members would like to see protected, were discussed by the participants.

During an interview, when an individual did not continue on with a story or a memory of specific activities, he or she was prompted with a question. Most often, the interviewee was able to answer the most important questions without having to be specifically asked. When a question was asked of an interviewee, it often involved whether he or she could recall any other important activities relating to hunting, trapping, fishing, or the gathering of plants. In some situations, the interviewee was able to recall another fact that added more detailed information during the interview. In other instances, the interviewee was unable to recall any more information about traditional activities. When asked to relate any other thoughts about traditional activities or any message they would like to present, almost all the interviewees expressed their concern for the protection of the environment and their hope that these traditional activities would continue to be taught to the youth.

BACKGROUND/HISTORY OF PLFN

The PLFN is located 160 km northwest of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. The community became a Reserve under the Indian Act after the signing of Treaty 6 in 1876. During the time of treaty-signing 114 people lived in the Pelican Lake area. Pelican Lake was founded in 1917, however the land designated through a survey for reserve No. 191 was not determined until 1927. Some of the original founding occupants of PLFN's traditional territory, which is now part of the reserve because of treaty land entitlements, were Charlie Bill, Walter Beeds, William Joseph and Tom Thomas, (who later became one of the PLFN's chiefs). These individuals also had traditional Cree names. For example, Interviewee A2 stated that, "Charlie Bill was known by Piceses," the correct spelling of which is Pîwâyisis (a small bird).[52] The PLFN did not fully adhere to the treaty until after 1928.

Since being designated as a reserve, the PLFN has had seven chiefs. The first chief was Chief Louis Chamakese, who was elected by band custom in 1929 and was chief until 1937. In 1938, the PLFN became registered as a reserve in Ottawa. The second chief was James Whitehead, who was elected by the community along with Pete Thomas and Ike Thomas as the first Councillors.[53] The third chief was Tom Thomas, followed by Leo Thomas, who was an elected chief for many years. Three elected chiefs followed him: Jacob Bill, Edward Bill and the current chief, Peter Bill, who has been re-elected for three

[52]Interview A2, 2005.
[53]John Gaumond et al., eds. After the dust: A history of Leoville and community; Leoville, Laventure, Ranger, Junor, Penn, Chitek Lake, Pelican Reserve, Spruce Creek, Timberland, Timberlost and Capasin. (North Battleford, Saskatchewan: Turner-Warwick: 1979), 558.

terms of three years. During Chief Peter Bill's second term, the Band Custom voting process was introduced, and continues today.[54]

The total registered population of the community today is 1,222, approximately 793 of whom reside on-reserve.[55] The PLFN has a land base of approximately 33.91 square kilometres located in four different areas, resulting from Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE) selections.[56] The one TLE selection that is of great significance to PLFN for the vast amount of traditional activities that occur there is the Clearwater area. PLFN had been attempting to secure this land for more than 30 years.

The PLFN consists of approximately 8,379.34 acres, and its traditional territory around the reserve consists of approximately 3000 square kilometres or 741,316.14 acres. PLFN is situated in the north central region of Saskatchewan, an area characterised as a boreal plain, mid-boreal lowland, and upland geographic region.

The PLFN's opportunities result from its location; for example, the PLFN has been negotiating with a logging company to log in the traditional territory of the Agency Chiefs Tribal Council (ACTC) (see Figure 1: ACTC Traditional Territory Map). The communities in this tribal council include the Big River First Nation, the Witchekan Lake First Nation, and the Pelican Lake First Nation. During the on-going negotiations for logging in certain areas and establishing a sawmill for these communities, some natural occurrences have influenced the negotiations. For example, a lightning strike in 2001

[54]Pelican Lake First Nation Band Custom Election, 2001.
[55]Statistics Canada; http://www.statscan.ca, 2001.

caused a forest fire (known as the "Chitek Forest Fire") that burned the area under negotiations for the establishment of a timber harvest regime. Approximately 12,000 m^3 were affected by the fire. The result is that the forestry company is unable to harvest that area, but the ACTC has negotiated to harvest it as salvageable timber instead, as stipulated in the Partnership Agreement between Saskatchewan Environment and the three ACTC communities. ACTC has been allotted 25% of the available timber as salvageable timber.[57] The Elders' decision not to sign a co-management agreement has also hindered the ACTC communities' involvement in how the forest company's harvest regime is conducted. Therefore, this present traditional land-use and occupancy study is timely. This study has the potential to provide the PLFN with the information needed to participate effectively in further negotiations for a co-management agreement or future partnership agreements.

[56]Ibid, 2001.
[57]Ken Thomas, Co-Management Report, Neegan Burnside, (Saskatoon: 2001), 4.

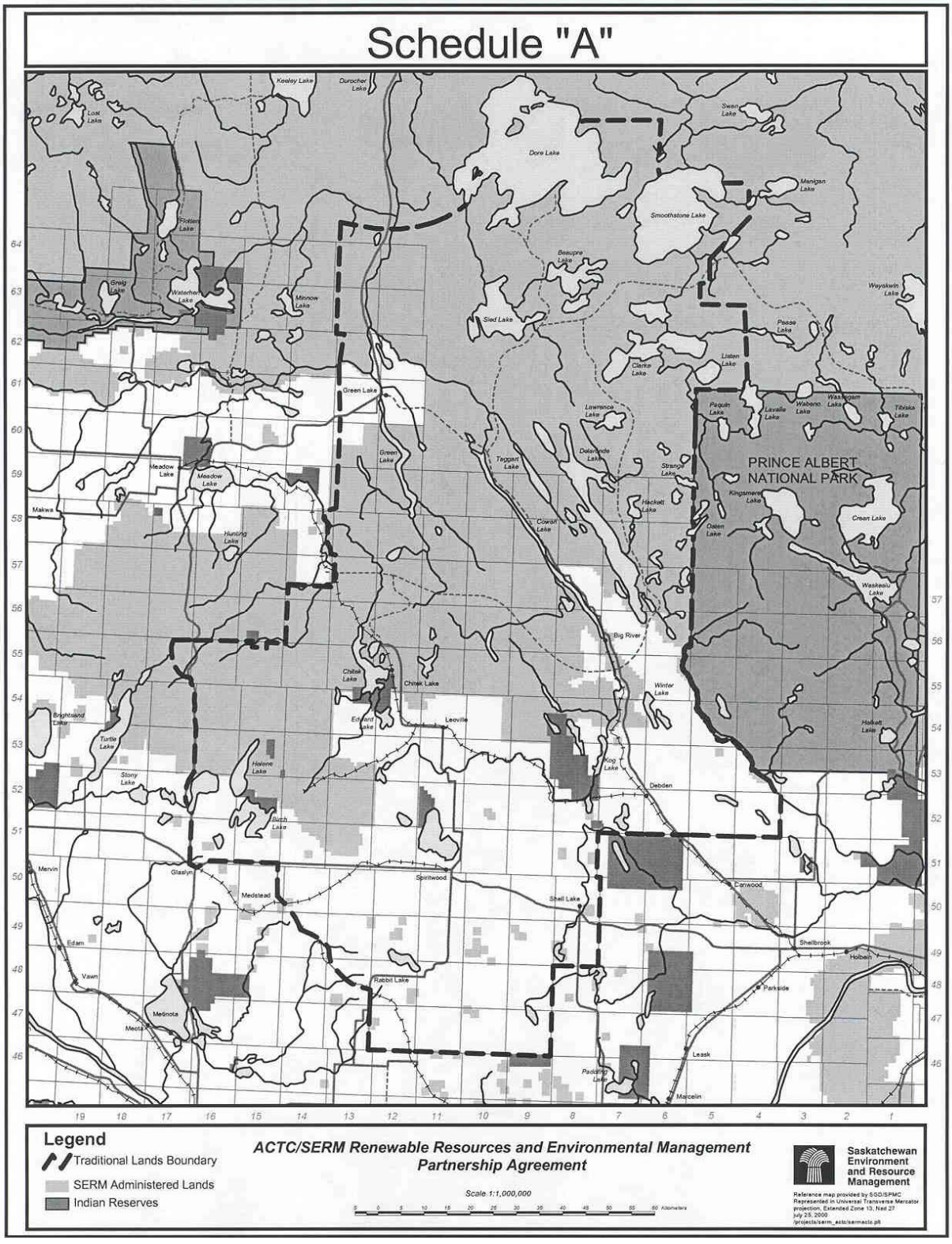

Figure 1: ACTC Traditional Territory Map
(Used with permission from PLFN)

The author worked with the PLFN to conduct a traditional land-use and occupancy study. The research involved conducting a total of twenty-two interviews with community members (see Appendix D: interview Demographics), including twelve male and ten female Elders, hunters and trappers. In the first three interviews the individuals were asked about some of the original inhabitants of the PLFN and how large of an area the people used to travel. Interviewee A2 stated, "[PLFN reserve] [Clearwater, Kawasegamik] right down to Grandpa Wilfred Boon's place [Barnes Lake]. Charlie Bill, one of the original inhabitants of the traditional territory, stated, 'This is my land, this is reserve land, he always claim.'"[58] Interviewee A2 also indicated that some maps at one time showed that the reserve extended south to Barnes Lake (see Figure 1: Barnes Lake).

Figure 2: Barnes Lake (East View)
(Photo Taken by Author)

This interviewee also went on to say that, "Then Witchekan Lake First Nation would come right up against it, [PLFN] they were both kind of like one reserve." Although Interviewee A2 indicated the length of the reserve from north to south, he did not specify

[58]Interview A2, 2005.

the length from east to west. However, he did state that, "They [Charlie Bill and other original Aboriginal inhabitants of the traditional territory] used to talk about going over as far as Otter Lake [east of PLFN], because over here on this side here was what they called that ['*Mihikgan*']."[59]

Interviewee A2 believed that the PLFN's reserve should have been much larger than it was originally surveyed. He believed that the reserve went as far north as Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, as far south as the Ranger area *(Kanaweyicikew)*, as far east as Otter Lake *(Nikikowayânsakahikan)* and as far west as Birch Lake *(Waskwaysakahikan)*. He also believed that there are maps in existence which predate the one from which the present reserve was created. These maps depict a much larger area of reserve than is presented today. However, there is one document called The Report on the Treaty Land Entitlement of the Chitek Lake Band indicating that there was a misunderstanding between the First Nation and surveyors who came out to do the survey for what was believed to be the original survey, but was actually a survey to create the forest reserve. It was called "The Big River Forest Reserve Survey." The forest reserve was created for a forest harvest regime for Big River *(Misâwsîpîy)* sawmill located in Big River *(Misâwsîpîy)*. The reserve closest to Big River is known today as Whitefish Lake First Nation (also known as The Big River First Nation).

Interviewee A2 also stated, "I knew of some of the older guys from PLFN that would go as far east as Prince Albert National Park to hunt for elk *(Wâwâskesiw)* and deer

[59]Ibid, 2005.

(Âpisimôsos) and moose *(Môswa)."*[60] They would hunt during certain times of the season. They would sneak into the Park and hunt, making sure that they were not noticed by any of the Park Wardens at Prince Albert National Park. This occurred in the 1940s and 1950s. There was one specific area mentioned called "Cookson" where they would camp and sneak into the park. Cookson is located east of Big River by Debden.

The accounts of the participants along with a document written by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations provide the best understanding of how the reserve was surveyed. However, the information presented in this thesis contributes to knowledge of the area not surveyed as reserve land.

WAY OF LIFE

Before adhesion to Treaty 6 (1928), the lives of the PLFN's members consisted mainly of hunting, trapping, fishing, and the gathering of plants and medicines for their own personal use. All the species that they hunted, trapped and gathered were used; nothing was wasted. The members' way of life before the adhesion to Treaty demanded a lot of work, but they were able to live off the land without any restrictions from the government on where they could go. They lived and acted according to the seasons. At a specific time during each season, they would do certain things. This way of life was challenging, but for the most part, the PLFN's people enjoyed it and there was never a recorded period where people went hungry.

[60]Ibid, 2005.

Working on Ranches

As more settlers entered the region, the PLFN peoples' access to some areas was limited, but they adapted by working with the ranchers and the farmers who had settled in the region. Some of the original settlers that came into the area were the Boon's who lived at Barnes Lake. Wilfred Boon was a cattle rancher who bought the land from one of the original settlers, Dick Ray, who came from England. There was also an individual with the nickname of "Shorty" who's last name was Abbott. He also worked for Dick Ray and stayed on with Wilfred Boon after Dick Ray sold the farm and the ranch to Wilfred Boon.

Interviewee P1 indicated that many of the original members of the PLFN worked with the first settlers and ranchers in the area, "helping them to bring cattle from as far north as Ross's ranch, located 15 miles south of Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*, down south to North Battleford."[61] Interviewee D also remembered a time when he and his family worked at Ross's ranch near Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*. According to the interviewees, Ross was an Aboriginal person who had a ranch with wild hayfields. PLFN people worked for him to help with the cattle and haying and they traveled by horse and wagon to Ross's ranch. Ross understood Cree and could speak Cree with the PLFN's members, so they and Ross easily accepted each other.

Interviewee A3 also remembered another settler by the name of George Solnick, who had lived just south of where the reserve is located today, close to a small lake. He was a

[61]Interview P1, 2005.

rancher and farmer who also received help from the PLFN people who are living on the reserve today.

Some other families that lived in and around PLFN were the Lavin's. Their land was surrounded by reserve land and over time the PLFN bought the land from the Lavin's. Interviewee A2 also discussed how PLFN members were involved in mink ranching. Although the First Nation people were not directly involved in selling mink furs, they helped and worked with the mink ranchers. The Aboriginal people supplied fish and did manual labor for the mink ranchers in the area. Billy Lafleur's grandparents, who first came to the area in 1928, were two of the main people who provided work for the PLFN members. The Lafleur family had a logging camp where many of the older PLFN members worked and were provided with food and cabins to stay in. The grandmother in the Lafleur family was also a midwife and nurse who cared for the sick during the time influenza and flu spread throughout the area. As well Interviewee A3 remembered that his grandmother had taken care of any sick people in the area.

Though some community members worked for non-Aboriginal ranchers, Interview A3 identified that one of the PLFN members, Harry Harris, was a rancher and farmer. Another chief, Jim Lewis was also a rancher and farmer. The Aboriginal ranchers and farmers not only farmed, but also hunted and trapped to provide for their families.

Working at Sawmills and Lumberyards

Though most of the PLFN's members hunted and trapped for food and income, Interviewee F explained that some Aboriginal people made a living by working for sawmills and lumberyards. Interviewee D and F also remembered that many people from the PLFN's reserve worked with non-Aboriginal peoples. For example, Mike Swytik had a sawmill that helped provide logs and lumber for some of the homes in the area. Any extra wood was sold to the railroad. Interviewee F stated that, "During the 1930's, another person, whose last name was Pearson, also had a sawmill."[62] He made a trail into his logging camp and provided railroad ties for the railroad. He employed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people at his sawmill for a few years. Tools used to harvest the trees were broad axes and long saws.

Interviewee F stated that, "One of the main reasons why the railroad was constructed in this area was to bring supplies to the trading post and to access timber."[63] The local sawmills were established along the railroad tracks; so that lumber could be easily loaded into the boxcars. Other interviewees confirmed that the sawmills were located near the railroad. Interviewee F had worked at one of the sawmills manufacturing railroad ties. Horses were used for hauling the ties out of the forest to the railroad. Interviewee F indicated, "A man nicknamed 'Lofty had a 15/30 international IH track tractor that was also used for hauling railroad ties."[64] Interviewee F remembered that when he went trapping, he would find broken tractor wheels that were made of logs.

[62]Interview F, 2005.
[63]Ibid, 2005.
[64]Ibid, 2005.

White spruce *(Minyk)* and poplar *(Intmeetoos)* were the main woods used in manufacturing railroad ties. Interviewee F recalled, "You were only allowed to use a thousand feet of a spruce to be cut and used."[65] He also recalled a time when "You weren't even allowed to sell any spruce. You could only use it for your personal use."[66] This was due to the change of government in 1930, when the Certified Canadian Federation (CCF) came into power in Saskatchewan. The lumber was used mainly for farm use and buildings. The new CCF government did not impact the PLFN directly, but did impact it indirectly through the regulations the government imposed on the sawmills. Later, after the regulations were no longer imposed, spruce *(Minyk)* could once again be sold to the sawmills.

Food and Food Preparation

Today, the way of life for the people is similar to that of the past, but they have also adapted to many of the changes that have occurred. PLFN members continue to enjoy wild meat such as ducks, some geese, and rabbits. The amount of wild meat that some PLFN members consume is abundant. For example, a family with two parents and children could consume all the dry meat from a moose in about two weeks. In the spring and summer ducks and geese are hunted and fishing also occurs. PLFN members conducted their activities according to the season.

In the past this method of subsistence, living off the land, provided families with a variety of food sources. Meat from a variety of animals, fish, birds, wild fruits and berries were a

[65]Ibid, 2005.
[66]Interview F, 2005.

source of food. Berry picking occurred in the summer months. Some of the wild berries and fish were also used for ceremonial purposes.

The members of the PLFN consumed, and still do to some degree, traditional foods including beavers, muskrats, and muskrat tails, which were baked or roasted. Interviewee I recalled,

> My mother used to put the tails into a wood stove so they would lie flat inside the oven. My mother also put them on top of the oven, where they made strong smell while they cooked. Once they were cooked my mother used to peel back their skin, and then her family ate the meat on the inside. It is a nice meat, good to eat, both muskrat tails and the beaver tails.[67]

She did not recall her family eating porcupine, but she remembered eating gophers. Some families also ate skunks. Similar to Interviewee I, Interviewee G1 stated, "My family ate a variety of wild meat off the land, we used to eat gophers and muskrats and we still do today sometimes, and we also ate beaver tails and made medicines out of beaver."[68]

Today most people in the community prefer wild meat (e.g., deer, elk, moose, bison, duck, geese, crane) rather than store bought (e.g., beef, chicken, pork), but the younger people do not always prefer wild meat. Interview I believed that wild meat is better than store bought. This preference is evident in her family that eats a lot of wild meat today. In

[67]Interview I, 2005.
[68]Interview G1, 2005.

a household of six to seven people, a hindquarter of a moose will be consumed in two days.

Drying meat, especially moose meat is a preferred method of preparation. Interviewee I recalled that the grandmothers always asked the children to help with work that was being done. She recalled her grandmother asking her to haul wood for making dry meat and smoking deer meat. When they finished drying the meat, they would eat it right away because this was one of the preferred ways of eating meat. The families also cut-up the meat and made it into pemmican to help others who needed food. None of the interviewees mentioned making a cache of meat, but they did state that they needed to have enough to last through the winter. Each family would help the others with the moose hides, scraping them up and hanging them to dry. Most of the preparation of the meat was done at the camps, and then the meat was brought home to be stored for the winter. Camps were located all around Pelican Lake and Clearwater Lake. These camps were used mainly for hunting, berry picking, fishing, and trapping.

Interviewee I's family eats wild meat about three times a week, and everyone particularly enjoys eating dry meat. Once while she was away from home, they ate three entire hindquarters in two days. Interviewee O said, "The ladies nowadays, they don't know how to make dry meat out of moose."[69]

[69]Ibid, 2005.

Interviewee O indicated that certain "Traditional foods such as moose fat from the moose's bladder were consumed and still is today."[70] Her family also stored its food in birch bark baskets and placed the baskets in the cold muskeg to keep it fresh during the winter. Two of the main staples were flour and potatoes. Her family used to have large gardens that were mainly of potatoes and also carrots, onions, and turnips. At Clearwater, her family picked blueberries and these were used to make pemmican. When community members had finished preparing their food, they would eat together, sharing their harvest. They were never selfish, and they always shared what they had with other families or any other people who were with them. In general, Interview O's family never had to depend on money from the government.

Interviewee C indicated she still does a lot of sewing and making of moccasins and as well as preserving food and preparing hides, drying meat, and providing things for her family and herself. She and her siblings were never too young to help their parents, even if "helping" meant digging up potatoes one at a time. She and her siblings were never lazy and were always helping and doing things for their family so that everyone would have enough food to eat, especially during the winter. As well she gathered vegetables from her garden to be canned and prepared for the winter, canned fruits and made jams. Her family did not have a deep freezer when she first moved to the PLFN's reserve so food had to be canned and preserved. Interviewee C indicated she prefers this method of preserving food because she does not like to wait for food from the freezer to thaw.

[70]Interview O, 2005

Interviewee C recalled when she first came to Pelican Lake First Nation, her husband made a storage bin for food. Her family always had fresh wheat and cream and took any extra cream to the Penn store. She remembered that the train would pick up the cans of cream that her family left at the store and then take them to Meadow Lake. The next day, their empty cans were dropped off to be filled up with cream again. She remembered being paid up to $12 for a whole can of cream. The only items that Interviewee C recalled having to buy were sugar, flour, and necessary articles such as tools. Her family always had an abundance of food and provided for itself.

Interviewee C stated that, "Having a garden, tanning hides, and preparing wild food were very important activities."[71] She had noticed that today, not many people share this belief because buying ready-made food at the store is easier and faster than processing and preserving food. She still prepares many wild meats, wild fruits, and vegetables. She believed that years ago, people were very conscientious and multitalented, and knew how to preserve food and make good use of all of the parts of the animals and plants that they could gather from the land. Some of the main animals that her family ate were rabbits, muskrat, moose, and deer. These animals were important not only from a nutritional standpoint, but also as a source of materials for making clothing and accessory tools such as hide scrapers. In the 1970s, women not only gathered food from the land, but also dug up sugar beets. Many traveled to Alberta to the sugar beet fields to earn money for extra income for their families.

[71]Ibid, 2005.

Interviewee D also recalled canning and preparing vegetables so that his family could eat when it was traveling long distances like the distance between the reserve and Ross's ranch. He remembered that before his family went on a journey all the food was prepared in advance. His family's way of life provided the members with healthy foods free of harmful chemicals and other contaminants. He also remembered a time with no cancer or diabetes.

When items were not available to be gathered from the land, the people from PLFN would visit various trading posts or depots. One was the Hudson Bay Trading Post located on the south shore of Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*. Here, they bought sugar, flour, and other necessary staples. Interviewee A3 referred to another location for buying goods as a "depot not a trading post," and explained that it was located at Siding, called "Chitek Siding." There, the PLFN's members purchased items they required and sold and traded products such as moccasins, jackets, and gloves, in exchange for things that they needed. Another post was located at the current site of the Penn store where people from Pelican Lake in 1934 began to farm more and stay in the area. The fourth trading post was located along the railroad due south and was called the Junor Trading Post. Interviewee A3 also explained that at the Penn and Junor trading post they also provided salt and tea. They also either sold their butter for money or traded for other items. All of these trading posts or depots were located along the railroads.

Values and Ethics

Interviewee C stated that, "My family originally came from the Birch Lake area, moved back and forth from Birch Lake to Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, and then finally resided in the Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* area where I live today."[72] She was never poor because she had been taught to work hard, a practice that she continues today. She stated that, "It is this way of life that has helped me continue on and be successful."[73] Her work ethic has provided her with the things she needs in life.

Her family instilled in her important values such as sharing. Her family was always willing to help others when needed. Interviewee C had four brothers and one sister, and she always made sure that they were fed first before she fed herself. She grew up believing in sharing and being unselfish, and even today, she believes in these cultural values. However she commented, "Now today, if you want a piece of dry meat, you have to trade something. Not many people would share like they once did when I was young."[74] Her family was also very open to visitors and she recalled there always being a pot of tea ready in case visitors came by her home. She described her family members as unselfish people.

The people from Pelican Lake respected plants and animals and continue to do so. As children, people were taught by their mothers and grandmothers to respect Mother Nature. Children were taught not to step over significant medicinal plants or sacred items. The people were taught to respect all the animals, those eaten for food and those not

[72]Interview C, 2005.
[73]Ibid, 2005.

eaten for food. All roots and medicines were respected. Interviewee I stated that, "Medicines and animals would be plentiful if people took care of them better."[75] This Elder believed that not many people remember the traditional beliefs about how to prepare and take care of medicines or plants and animals for eating. She recalled some of her aunties teaching her these traditional ways and beliefs. When her family killed an animal, even accidentally, all of it was used. For example, when one of the trappers accidentally caught an eagle in a trap, her family made sure to use all of it and not throw any of it away. Interviewee I was told that if an eagle does not want to be killed, it will not be and no one will be able to shoot it. The same could be said about other animals that her family killed. It never threw out anything or let it go to waste.

This belief is one of the traditional beliefs about eagles. People from Pelican Lake do not hunt eagles, but only collect the feathers around an eagle's nest for personal use and for profit. The Elders from PLFN were taught not to hunt eagles and to pass this teaching on to others.

Sickness and Disease

Interviewee G1 recalled when, "One disease spread in 1920 so quickly that the members of the PLFN did not have time to adapt to it."[76] This sickness continued spreading among the people. Interviewee F believed that it had been influenza or was smallpox. It was most likely influenza as this corresponds with the time period that the Spanish Influenza

[74]Ibid, 2005.
[75]Interview I, 2005.
[76]Ibid, 2005

spread. Many people died during this particular sickness and during this period, a burial was held every day. Interviewee G2 stated,

> Towards the end, the graves were not dug very deep, they were only dug about a foot and they had to put them there because it was during the winter time that this sickness had gone around, and some of the people had to dig these graves with hatchets, and they would wrap the bodies in a blanket and you would still be able to see bones from the grass during the next few years as the body was not buried very deep.[77]

Despite this sickness, the people were able to continue on with what they had. It was very distressing to the community and left the community feeling very desolate.

Farming and Modernisation of Farming

The PLFN peoples' way of life began to change more dramatically after 1876 when Treaty 6 was signed. PLFN people were forced on to reserves and were not allowed to leave the reserve without specific permission from the Indian agent. Therefore, PLFN people could not continue their practice of traveling to areas according to the seasons for subsistence. Since then, agriculture has become formalised and a major occupation for the people at PLFN reserve: "The First Nation people began to be more involved in farming after they watched how the settlers had come in and set up their ranches and

[77]Interview G2, 2005.

farms."[78] The PLFN's members looked for natural hay fields or meadows and would cut hay, piling it in certain areas for the winter. The cattle would feed at these piles of hay.

Some of the first machines to be used in the community were thrashing machines. Interviewee C remembered having one of the first thrashing machines in the area. After the hay was cut down, a tractor pulled this machine while belts activated it to accept the bundles of hay:

> The men, they would have to haul the bundles and pitch them into the thrashing machine, bundles of hay and the straw comes out one end and the grain would come out another side, and that's how the grain and the straw were split. The square balers were the first machine balers. The workers took turns standing behind the baler as the bales came out and then stacked them behind the baler.[79]

Each person pushed them out and started another pile. In later years, combines began to be more widely used. Interviewee C continues to farm today using current farming technology.

The previous paragraphs provide an example of how the PLFN has adapted to become increasingly involved in farming and new farming techniques. However, despite adapting to modern technologies and farming techniques, the community continues to maintain its

[78]Interview P2, 2005.
[79]Ibid, 2005.

traditional beliefs, values, and activities, which will be discussed further in the sections that follow.

Women's Roles and Responsibilities

Prior to the signing of Treaty 6 in 1876, women's responsibilities included preparing food, tanning hides, sewing, making and beading moccasins, and trapping small animals. Interviews revealed that women not only prepared food, but also helped hunt some of the smaller game when they were out camping or when their fathers and husbands were out in the fields. On these occasions, the women provided necessary small game for their families. For example, Interviewee C recalled, "I used to go with my husband to hunt and trap muskrats. I carried all the necessary tools like the snares and traps and also some other supplies."[80] She worked with her husband all of the time.

Some of the other female interviewees also stated that they used to snare rabbits. Specifically Interviewee I stated, "I used to snare rabbits and I used a .22 rifle to hunt small game like prairie chickens."[81] She did not hunt by herself, but went with either her mother or father when they went camping. She also recalled doing some of the small-game hunting when her father was working at farming activities; she used the .22 to shoot rabbits.

When the men were away doing other manual labor the women were the primary providers for their families. This became an even greater responsibility for them when

[80]Interview C, 2005.

their husband's or father's were physically incapable of doing the manual labor due to sickness or disability. One specific example was explained by Interviewee O who stated, "I had to do a lot of manual labor because my father was often sick."[82] In the wintertime, she gathered wood for the fire or melted snow for water. She recalled that as a young girl, she also worked with the men in the hay fields.

Women's responsibilities in the 1930s included not only manual labor and management of the home, but also the passing on of oral traditional beliefs and customs to the younger women. Interviewee I recalled being taught by her grandmother, her mother, and her aunties to respect women, her own body, and Mother Earth. She recalled her grandmother telling her that when a young woman was having her first menstrual cycle, people would take sick children to the women because they believed that during this special time she was able to heal children. Interviewee I's grandmother believed that the women were strong enough at this time to be able to heal the sick. Interview I was unsure if this belief persists and stated,

> Many young women do not know about it [importance of menstrual cycle] or how to care for themselves and their bodies. I have been trying to teach the youth, especially the young women, how to continue to act according to traditional beliefs and ways of understanding. I know these traditional beliefs are important because they may help the young women in the future.[83]

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[81]Interview I, 2005.
[82]Interview O, 2005.
[83]Interview I, 2005.

Although the women's roles and responsibilities involved a great deal of hunting, trapping, and food preparation, some women were also involved with farming and gardening. For example, Interviewee C stated, "I remember stoking bundles of hay and hauling grain and as farming became more modernised, I learned to drive a tractor and also had my young boys help with milking the cows, separating the milk, and taking care of the chickens and the pigs."[84] She remembered the old methods of farming and also recalled the point where farming became modernised with the purchase of a combine. Her family had its own threshing machine, which was used to do most of the swathing. Later, her family had a grain auger, which was used to swath the hay and haul the grain. Prior to the introduction of the grain auger, her family had to shovel the grain by hand in and out of the back of a wagon. Now the grain auger loads and unloads the grain. She has learned to adapt to the modernisation of farming.

CULTURALLY SENSITIVE AREAS

The land is not only important to the PLFN people for what it provides through the planting of seeds for gardens and hay fields, but also what is naturally on the land. The information provided in this section illustrates the types of activities that PLFN people have done in the past and present. The expression "culturally sensitive" area was coined by the National Aboriginal Forestry Association to describe the types of areas used by Indigenous people. For Indigenous people, a "culturally sensitive" is defined as "Areas of traditional use such as trapping, fishing, hunting or berry picking; may be areas of outstanding scenic value, recreational or wilderness potential; and may be areas from

[84]Interview C, 2005.

which ceremonial materials such as sweetgrass and medicinal products are gathered."[85] The culturally sensitive areas used by the PLFN include the sites discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

Hunting

Hunting has occurred for many generations in and around the PLFN's reserve, but other present-day activities are impacting the use of the land for hunting. For example, access to lands is impacted by private land owners, forest reserves, provincial parks, legislation, Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Association pastures, as well as jurisdictional issues.

Since logging and trapping zones (see Appendices E and F: PLFN Traditional Territory Maps) were introduced into the hunting areas, many of them have been made off-limits for hunters. Interviewee A2 mentioned that Ross's ranch. Ross's ranch was one of the northern-most areas that PLFN's people went to hunt during the wintertime, and west of Ross's ranch, an area called "Island Lake" (*Ministikwaskweyamsakahikan*) was also good for moose hunting. Interviewee A2 also indicated, that "Some of the people hunted in the Prince Albert National Park on the other side of Debden in the Cookson area. They often sneaked into this park and hunted there."[86]

Another area that Interviewee A2 indicated as a hunting area was the south end of Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* along the railroad tracks. He recalled that when his grandfather was first homesteading, he went to the Lynn Lake area to hunt. Interviewee D

[85]Collier, 2002.

also indicated that Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* was an area for hunting and confirmed that Island Lake was used in the past and is still being used for hunting today. He also believed that a hunting cabin existed near the south end of Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*, and that close to Island Lake, hunting has occurred and still occurs near a lake called "Hunters Lake" north of PLFN. Interviewee D went on to indicate that, "West of Pelican Lake was also used for hunting, and there's also another area called Siding or Mulloson, they call it Stamp. We hunted along the railroad in the forest there and another area is known as Meetoos and also Huard Lake."[87] All of the sites that Interviewee D indentified are still used as hunting sites today.

Many areas for hunting were mainly along creeks and areas where muskeg is located. Interviewee D referred to one area in particular west of the PLFN as the "Big Muskeg" and said, "About fifteen miles from there, the PLFN's members go hunting in the wintertime."[88] At the specific spot that the interviewee indicated, a cut line exists, and on its other side there used to be a cabin. Interviewee D also recalled that hunters from Neeb went hunting west of PLFN.

Interviewee D also indicated that Junor and Meadow Lake were two areas where the PLFN's members hunted. These two areas could be used for hunting during the summertime and; trapping also took place in these same areas. Interviewee D also indicated that a story was attached to this area west of Pelican Lake describing how some of the old men played hand games in this area. A Cree word indicated that these men

[86]Interview A2, 2005.
[87]Interview D, 2005.

played these games during the evening. Spelled phonetically, this Cree word is (*Wapameetagweet*). Interviewee D also hunted moose in an area just north of Leoville, "Because there was a lot of moose in that area and also an area called Vimy Tower where there used to be an old fire tower."[89]

Despite these local moose hunting areas being used in the past and today some people from PLFN have needed to travel great distances to hunt. Interviewee D stated, "Long ago, they did not have to travel out of province to go hunting, whereas, now they do."[90] He explained that some people from Pelican Lake now travel as far south as Maple Creek to hunt and also into the Cypress Hills. These people did not have to do so previously, but now, many of the areas in and around the PLFN are off limits due to other activities and interests such as outfitting and logging. Interviewee D went further to explain that, "Many of the animals are not as plentiful as they used to be because of the outfitting and logging."[91]

Nevertheless, according to the Elders, animals that are not usually seen in the area, for instance caribou, have been sighted in the area. Interviewee D stated that he was with people from PLFN who had killed a Woodland Caribou: "I was by Huard Lake which is also another hunting area. We were out there doing some camping and also hunting."[92] Interviewee D saw some of the PLFN members heading up to another area to go hunting, and when he saw them the next day, they had a caribou with them that they had killed

[88]Ibid, 2005.
[89]Interview D, 2005.
[90]Ibid, 2005.
[91]Ibid, 2005.

north of Huard Lake. When they came back to camp with the caribou they shared it with everyone who was there.

Many of the areas discussed by Interviewee D were the same hunting areas mentioned by many of the other interviewees. These areas are part of the collective knowledge of people living in and around the PLFN reserve.

Interviewee F described the mode of transportation PLFN's people would use to travel to these different hunting locations. He stated that the people usually walked from one location to the other, taking a few days hunting and trapping at the same time. These types of hunting trips occurred in the 1930s to 1940s before skidoos began to be commonly used in the winter, and before all-terrain vehicles and other vehicles began to be used in the summertime. Historically, PLFN members hunted in the bush and tracked animals in the forest, whereas today, animals are most often hunted in the open fields where the grain farming has occurred. Hunting today is much easier than it was previously.

The PLFN's members have used and continue to use many other different hunting areas. Many of the sites have been used for a variety of activities during many seasons. One area of great importance to the PLFN members is Clearwater Lake. This is an area that was used for hunting and is still used. As well, many other activities occurred in the Clearwater Lake area such as camping.[93]

[92]Ibid, 2005.
[93]Interview G2, 2005.

Interviewee H stated that on the south side of Clearwater Lake were many of the salt lakes where people from the PLFN usually went to hunt and conduct other traditional activities: "Clearwater was the main camp and the salt lakes back there were a good spot for hunting moose."[94] When people were young they hunted squirrels on either side of the trail going to the Clearwater area.

Hunter's Lake and the Island Lakes were also hunting areas and they still hunt in these areas periodically. Other lakes that Interviewee G1 discussed include "Old War Horse Head Lake" (*Amustuwatsakahikan*). The story of how this lake was named is discussed further in the Cree place names section. This lake was one area where people hunted ducks, geese, moose and deer. One of the furthest places that Interviewee D recalled going hunting is west of PLFN beside the Birch Lake reserve. He also recalled hunting north east of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* at Lac La Jones (Bullrush Lake), as well as north at Coyote Lake.[95]

Located north of Leoville were also hunting areas, (Otter Lake and Moose Creek).[96] Another aspect that was discussed in connection to the areas used for hunting was the number of families that continue to hunt, and who in each family hunts to provide the immediate and extended family with wild meat. For example, in a family of five to ten people there were usually one or two hunters that hunted for the family and provided moose and deer meat. Ducks and geese where usually hunted in small quantities, enough to provide sustenance to the hunters and those at the base camp. Hunting for ducks and

[94]Interview H, 2005
[95]Interview D, 2005.

geese was done around small lakes or creeks or small ponds. Mud hens and great Canadian geese were also hunted for sustenance. Interviewee D stated, "When we caught ducks or mud hens we preferred to have them as a soup rather than roasting them on a fire, but we would also roast both ducks and geese. Other birds that were hunted were cranes."[97] In Cree, cranes are referred to as "long legged bird" *(Ouchichak)*. They would hunt cranes to eat the meat and use the bones for ceremonial purposes as well as for making whistles and fans.[98]

Specific birds were used for ceremonial purposes and have great cultural significance in different dances and healing ceremonies such as the sand hill crane. The use of specific animals in ceremonies illustrates a spiritual connection to animal and plants that occur naturally on the land. The connection to the land is witnessed through the understanding the PLFN have about the use and preparation of animals for both food and ceremony.

In the springtime all around Pelican Lake people would hunt ducks, geese and prairie chickens. They used to hunt them with a .22 and pick off the feathers to roast the prairie chickens over a fire or make soup. Interviewee J recalled near Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* along the rivers was a feeding site for the ducks and geese and was a great area for hunting. Interviewee C stated that her father used to hunt ducks in the fall. She stated that, "Any other time of the year, they are not good, and it was the fall

[96]Interview D, 2005
[97]Ibid, 2005.
[98]Interview G2, 2005.

time when they were the best."[99] Her husband also used to hunt a lot of ducks. She recalled that geese were not so plentiful before, but now there are a lot more.

Interviewee G1 told a story about when they had returned from hunting, they often hid their meat so that the conservation officers would not confiscate it. This was during the time when the Province instituted trapping zones to limit the areas where First Nation people could trap. She remembered her dad would hide the meat on top of the barn and cover it with hay, and she recalled being afraid that the meat was going to be taken by conservation officer. She stated, "A conservation officer actually came into our house when I was young and looked all over to find the meat because at that time it was illegal to have wild meat even though we hunted it ourselves."[100] Today, the areas where hunting or trapping is prohibited are active logging sites and private lands.

One of the Elders interviewed believed that many more wolves have occupied the area due to the logging activities. Another animal that had not been seen in the area before, but has been witnessed within the past 3 years around PLFN, is the cougar. The only animals that they have seen consistently over time are coyotes, and fox, and although they do not see wolves, they have heard them and seen signs of them. The signs left by cougars are more noticeable within the community of PLFN, which has caused some concern with some of the community members.

[99]Interview C, 2005.
[100]Interview G1, 2005.

Egg Gathering

Many egg collection sites were identified during the interviews. Prime sites for egg gathering included: Barnes Lake which is south of Pelican Lake, some of the sloughs around Pelican Lake, Bug Lake (which is north of Pelican Lake) and Huard Lake (which is north east of PLFN), Edward Lake, Junor Lake, Witchekan Lake (Smelly Lake) and Clearwater Lake.[101] People today continue to collect duck eggs at these same sites. There are families that are known for collecting duck eggs and share them with other families. All of these respondents mentioned that they were taught how to gather duck eggs at a young age by their parents and grand parents.

The spring and summer seasons are the times of year that duck egg gathering was/is done. This is when the ducks lay their eggs. Usually people from PLFN would gather as much as they needed for the year, which would generally be two birch bark baskets full of duck eggs per person. In the past, this amount of eggs would last them through the wintertime. They were stored in birch bark baskets in a cool dry area so they would not become damaged. They would go into the areas where the lake was shallow, collecting eggs by walking into the lake. Parents would paddle the canoe to allow their children to collect duck eggs. They collected mud hen eggs specifically because these eggs tasted the best, but some of the people would also collect pelican eggs. Other neighboring First Nation communities also used some of the same sites.

[101]Interview H, I, J, O. 2005.

One of the main methods for preparing duck eggs is by boiling them. This method was preferred over frying them or cooking/baking with these eggs. Interviewee K stated, "I would go with my brother and my family collecting duck eggs, and we would have a fun time with this. It was an anticipated annual event and would be a source of fun activity for the young children."[102] Unlike hunting, this activity involved the youth and they would go with their parents and grandparents. Today, this continues as an annual family event. All of these activities can only occur during specific seasons because any other season the quality of the eggs is not good or the eggs are unavailable.

Trapping

Trapping is a prime example of a land-use activity that occurs during the winter season, and has been an integral part of the PLFN's use of the land. Through the interviews it was found that trapping is no longer a primary source of income. However, First Nations people feel it is important to continue this cultural practice to secure their rights to hunt and trap as well as their Treaty and Aboriginal rights to the land. The act of trapping assists communities with maintaining their connection to the land. The time that is required to be on the land to set traps in the correct place at the correct time requires knowledge that is learned over time and passed on by those that have the experience. Those community members that continue this practice of trapping also assist other members by providing the necessary hides, meats and other materials needed for making culturally significant items. Not only are these items important, but some of these animals serve specific ceremonial purposes. For example, when a feast is held certain traditional

[102]Interview K, 2005.

foods are required at a feast that only a person knowledgeable about where to find this food and how to prepare it. It is more important to maintain this knowledge as less people have this knowledge and not all areas are accessible resulting from the establishment f trapping blocks

Trapping blocks were first created for PLFN in 1930. The blocks were initially open blocks where people from the area, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, could trap as long as they had a registered license (see Appendices E and F: PLFN Traditional Territory Maps) for trapping blocks, M-58, M-59, M-68 etc. Aboriginal people were issued licenses, (called: Saskatchewan Trapping Association Licenses) but did not have to pay for them. This practice continues today. There are trapping block meetings to discuss trapping issues such as current trapping methods and trapping quotas. The trapping blocks do not have guidelines that indicate the rules and regulations for trapping in the blocks, but operate under the Saskatchewan Wildlife Act (see Section on Legislation Affecting Traditional Activities). The trapping blocks later changed to Zones. Each Zone was created to permit a certain number of trappers to trap in each area.

Historically, individuals trapped anywhere and everywhere, however they did have a specific location that was known to be their area resulting from frequency of use and the location of their trapping cabin. They did trap in one location, but not too much or too often as to deplete the species in that location. Traditionally, First Nations practiced a seasonal round approach to trapping. One location may be returned to over several

seasons, but would be given a period of rest to replenish. During that period, other areas would be utilised to sustain their families.

Some of the methods used for trapping involve the use of snares or metal traps. The types of animals that are still trapped today are coyotes, minks, beavers, rabbits, fox, muskrats, skunks, wolves, badgers, fishers, wolverines and weasels. Some of the interviewees discussed how there has been a difference or change in the availability of certain animals. For example, Interviewee F and G stated that there were many muskrats and beavers in the area historically, but today there are not as many. Interviewee F and G stated that there are still quite a few porcupines in the area and there are many skunks.[103] To indicate how many skunks used to be available historically Interviewee F stated that in one season his brother trapped 300 to 400 skunks.[104] Interviewee F also stated, "There were no otters or cougars at this time (1960s), but there were mink and other fur bearing animals in the area. Marten were the ones that first appeared then the raccoons and then the fisher. About six years later, otter starting showing up in about the seventies."[105]

The main season that people trapped was in the wintertime, but they would also trap in the fall and then into the beginning of spring. Interviewee D stated, "We used to trap all winter, we used to go and see the traps once in awhile in the wintertime."[106] In the spring mainly beaver and muskrat were trapped. Interview D could not recall there being any wolverines in the area because he could not remember seeing one. Interviewee D could

[103]Interview F and G, 2005.
[104]Interview F, 2005.
[105]Ibid, 2005.
[106]Interview D, 2005.

not remember seeing a cougar either until recently. Interview D said, "There was not much mink in the area either."[107] Interviewee J also stated, "I usually go in the spring and probably up until mid-September, January, and I go after coyotes and beaver mainly and fisher, mainly the fur bearing animals that I trap."[108]

Trapping activities occurred in a number of locations. Interviewee A2 stated, "I used to go trapping at Ross's ranch and set snares north of PLFN in the wintertime."[109] Interviewee C and D also stated, "Around Pelican Lake was the main area for trapping."[110] They would do a lot of trapping in this area because it was their main trap line. When they first started trapping it was from as far south west as the town of Glasslyn. There were also some people from Neeb that would sometimes meet them when they were trapping. Additionally, there are different creeks where they would go to trap beaver. Interviewee D also stated, "Junor area was our trap line, and sometimes we would go as far north as the south side of Meadow Lake. Also, Vimy Tower was a place for trapping."[111] They would trap beavers along the Vimy Tower area because there were some creeks and ponds in that area.

Interviewee F indicated that Aboriginal trappers would go as far west as Birch Lake to trap and camp.[112] Interviewee G2 and H also relayed, "Clearwater was a trapping area in the past and is still used a little bit today."[113] Interviewee H indicated that, "Chitek River

[107]Ibid, 2005.
[108]Interview J, 2005.
[109]Interview A2, 2005.
[110]Interview C and D, 2005.
[111]Interview D, 2005.
[112]Interview F, 2005.
[113]Interview G2, 2005.

was an area for trapping beavers and muskrats as well as on the west side of Barnes Lake is also an old trapping area that Aboriginal people would use."[114] Edward Lake was also an area that Interviewee O stated was, "An older site where they would trap muskrats and snare rabbits."[115]

Prior to signing of Treaty 6, there were no fur conservation blocks. Individual trappers would trap anywhere around Pelican Lake, rotating areas where they felt that animals were being depleted. They practiced a seasonal round, trapping areas that they would normally trap ensuring not to go into other peoples trapping area. Some of the first trappers in the area were from Pelican Lake. They also came from Birch Lake and trapped around Pelican Lake. Charlie Bill was one of the first trappers along with Gilbert Moccasin who was from Birch Lake and later became a resident of PLFN.

The way that the trap lines were passed from generation to generation was through the young men as they were being taught by their fathers and grandfathers. This is how trapping continued on throughout the family. Once young men knew how to trap as taught by their parents and grandparents they would automatically start on their own learning the skills that they needed to take care of their family and make a living on their trap lines. Today, Saskatchewan Environment (SE) manages the two main fur conservation blocks (Junor and Chitek) (see Appendices E and F: PLFN Traditional Territory Maps) including the rules and regulations with regard to how each person traps within their blocks. Each area is marked off into zones so each individual has their own

[114]Interview H, 2005.
[115]Interview O, 2005.

zone that they have to stay within and trap. Specifically, SE controls trapping by regulating the types of traps used and issuing quotas to trappers in each Zone. Trappers must maintain these quotas for fear of losing their trapping license, which prevents PLFN members from their traditional way of trapping. The traditional method would be to follow the seasonal round approach. Now, they are confined to one location and have to try to maintain quotas, but also make sure that they do not deplete their fur in their trapping zone. Many PLFN people trap in these two blocks (Chitek and Junor) and have grandfathers and fathers that trapped the same area before them. Not many people continue trapping because they believe that wildlife or fur bearing animals are not as plentiful enough in these blocks to make a living. Also, it is a lot of work compared to the amount of money that an individual spends to trap and sell their furs. Some PLFN members have also been removed from the group conservation block. It is unclear as to the exact reason, but one speculation is that they did not maintain their quotas, and therefore, were voted out of the fur conservation block.

Individual trappers from PLFN are allowed to camp in these trapping zones with tents and in cabins. If they do not have a cabin on their trapping zone they are authorised to build one, but do not have to pay for a permit to do so. There is one specific court case that deals with the building of cabins on Provincial Crown lands which is discussed further in the sub-section dealing specifically with cabins.

Many of the areas have changed where PLFN members are allowed to trap as well as the availability of fur bearing animals. Unlike the past, people cannot trap full time. People

trap for part of the season during a few of the winter months and try to supplement their income with the furs that they trap. The furs are often sold to other Aboriginal peoples to support the cultural creations of other surrounding communities. In the past, the trapping areas that were traditionally used would overlap with the Big River First Nation or Whitefish First Nation trappers and they would also share their knowledge of the areas they would trap. Today this is different, and specific trapping zones are within these separate trapping blocks, preventing people from PLFN and Whitefish First Nation from getting together to share and trap like they did in the past. Since the decline in value of the furs, the reasons for trapping have also changed. One of the main reasons that people continue to trap is to supplement their income. Other reasons are that trapping helps community members maintain their cultural knowledge and cultural teachings that are based on the land. Being out on the land provides recreational enjoyment, rather than as a means of survival, because many people that trap have full time jobs, and do not trap for the entire winter season.

One example of the change in value of fur and how it provided for the family was stated by Interviewee C, "One coyote fur would provide $15 to $20 per coyote, and this would allow the family to buy groceries for an entire month and if they were to get many coyote furs, this would help them buy a lot of groceries for their families, unlike today a coyote will only provide about $20, but that $20 today does not go as far as it did in the past."[116] The change in dollar value for furs has forced people to trap as a means to sustain their cultural values. Interviewee H indicated that, "When I first trapped, I used to make a

[116]Interview C, 2005.

living and had money through the furs that I trapped, now it is not even worth the time or the gas that I have to [spend] to go trapping."[117]

In the past some of the original trappers from PLFN, Walter Beeds, and Pete "Homebrew," and a trapper from the Birch Lake area, were able to sustain their families by trapping. However, they did not rely solely on trapping as a means of providing for their families. They also harvested timber in the winter months and farmed in the summer. People from Witchekan Lake First Nation located directly south of PLFN, trapped together as well. Many of the areas that people trapped overlapped with the hunting areas, but have changed today since people are specifically designated to one or two trapping blocks. Not only did the communities trap together they also camped together.

Camping

The areas for camping in the past have changed over time as well as the perspective about how camping is done. In the past it was not viewed as a recreational activity although people enjoyed going out to camp in the forest. Camping was viewed by Aboriginal people as a time for subsistence hunting, gathering of medicines, plants, berries, as well as trapping, and being out on the land. The campsites referred to here are areas where tents were set up, but not permanent structures. Many different activities took place at these campsites as was mentioned earlier such as berry-picking, harvesting of medicines, hunting, and trapping. These were the more common activities that took place at these

[117]Interview H, 2005.

sites. Some of the main traditional camping locations were at the south end of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, which is now part of the reserve of PLFN. Interviewee A2 recalled, "My uncle said when they camped there they had to run out of the area because [for some reason] the red coats, or [RCMP] chased them out of the camping area."[118] Another area for camping was west of PLFN, Birch Lake. Usually PLFN members would travel from one campsite to the next not necessarily staying at one campsite for too long. At the south-end of Huard Lake people would camp and rest as they were traveling through to other areas. Further to the east of Huard Lake is Otter Lake; this was a stopping place where PLFN members would rest and camp while participating in traditional activities. They would take the Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* trail up north to travel to Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* via horse and wagon. On their way up, they would stop at two other locations, Island Lake and Hunter's Lake. Just before they would reach Ross's ranch, they would camp, hunt, berry pick and fish in the lakes along the way. They would camp at Ross's ranch, and also areas about 20 kilometers north of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*. Clearwater was the main camp for picking cranberries, choke cherries, blueberries, and fishing. These camps would mainly be used in the springtime or throughout the summer months in preparation for the winter months.

Barnes Lake was also an area for camping including areas north of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, specifically, "Siding," which was used in the summer months. When PLFN people would camp in the fall or close to winter months, they would make bedding with hay in their tents. They would use hay and then place a canvas on top and

[118]Interview A2, 2005.

then the blanket. This would keep them warm and keep the frost from the ground from affecting them. Some individuals would also bring a wood stove out to their camp and store it in their tent. The tents used were referred to as coalminer's tents.

Usually, the length of time that they would stay at one camp would be anywhere from two days to two or three weeks. The individuals that first started to camp at Barnes Lake were Charlie Bill, Jacob Bill, Leslie Bill, Gilbert Thomas, Tom Thomas; and Ike Thomas. Some other individuals that use to camp at Barnes Lake were Leo Thomas, Gilbert Thomas, Mike Bear and Wilfred Bear.

Cabins

Similar to campsites, cabins also served more than one purpose. The cabins were used primarily as a location to bring animals back for processing. The cabins discussed in this section were built by Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people and are indicated on the map (see Appendices E and F: PLFN Traditional Territory Maps). Many cabins built on-reserve and around PLFN belonged to non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal hunters and trappers. Cabins were also built by Forest Rangers in specific locations to watch for forest fires and ensure that camps in the forest did not leave campfires unattended or litter in the forest.

During the interviews with Elders, hunters and trappers many cabins were identified, though the interviews were unable to identify whether the cabins were built by Aboriginal or a non-Aboriginal people. However, the interviewees indicated that one of

the oldest cabins which still stands belonged to an individual originally from PLFN. Another cabin not on-reserve was also thought to be one of the oldest standing cabins in the area. However, there are many other cabin foundations present, but given that the foundation only remains little is known about who actually occupied these cabins.

Cabins were mainly used during hunting and trapping seasons although log cabins were the permanent residences for families prior to the signing of Treaty 6. It was common practice for people to share their hunting and trapping cabins when it was not in use by the original owner or builder. This practice is continued today with the outfitters and other hunters and trappers that have built new cabins in the area. The cabins on-reserve were mainly for living, and not hunting or trapping cabins. Some of these cabins are located in the areas that correlate with hunting, trapping and fishing areas. The main cabins that were used for hunting and trapping are located off-reserve.

Some of the different materials used to build cabins on-reserve consisted of spruce logs, and mainly peeled spruce for making the walls. Also, they would attach a barn for horses. They did not usually put cattle in these since the cabins were quite small. The cabins that were built off-reserve were even smaller. The first cabin built at “Ranger” was built by a farmer/rancher from England who lived there for many years. There is also believed to be a cabin at a place called “Caribou Cabin.”

Other cabin locations identified by Interviewee A3 were cabins built by non-Aboriginal individuals and the Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The DNR built cabins along with a fire tower to watch for forest fires, as well as to ensure that people had a

place to stop if they were traveling up north or down south. The cabins were strategically placed along routes for people that needed assistance along the Green Lake/Carlton Trail. Another DNR cabin was located at Clearwater, built by an Irish individual with the last name "Stuart." He lived at this cabin for a number of years with his Aboriginal wife. It is believed that Stuart is buried in this location. Interview A3 stated,

> There is one cabin that was built by an individual by the last name "Tremblay" who was the original owner of this cabin which is located across from Hunter's Lake and it is still visible across the lake. Another cabin was built by a person with the last name "Dutches." Dutches was a non-Aboriginal person who built one cabin there that rotted and fell apart. After that, another one was built. It remained there for a long time and then somebody burned it down.[119]

Interviewee C talked about a cabin that her father had built right on the edge of the reserve which is now reserve land. It was built off-reserve because at the time he was not a member of the PLFN. He was originally from the Birch Lake area. Now all of his family lives at PLFN. His family used this cabin during the wintertime and raised his family there. They used the logs from the area around PLFN to build this cabin.

One cabin, located at Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*, is a cabin that the PLFN built. It is unknown if this cabin is the same cabin that Interviewee C indicated that her husband built and equipped with materials such as a propane stove, cupboards, wood heater, pots, plates, pans and bedding. Interview C said, "This cabin was on the south

side, southwest side of Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*, and it was a cabin that my husband had built."[120] Many interviewees indicated they are aware of this cabin and use this cabin. The band cabin was built about 15 years ago to replace the use of tents so people would use it when they would go up there to camp. Interviewee D also indicated that, "There was a cabin located by Island Lake. It was not too far from the turn off, the road that turns to Island Lake."[121] This is the same area that Interviewee C stated. Other locations of cabins Interviewee D stated were "Ross's ranch." Ross was a Métis person and there was believed to be one individual who lived there before Ross by the name of "Julip." Julip was a non-Aboriginal individual who built the cabin located north of PLFN close to the Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* area. This cabin was originally built for his ranch where he raised cattle. Other cabin locations that Interviewee D spoke of was one at "Roy Lake."

Some other cabins that were built by Aboriginal people include a few built by Charlie Bill. He built a cabin off-reserve for during the winter months and another one located at the south end of Barnes Lake. He also had a few cabins that were on-reserve in later years. The first cabin he built on-reserve was his family's second house. In the 1970s his first house was a lumber house that was built in the same location for him and his family. He also had a log cabin on-reserve close to where Leslie Bill lives today.

Another individual that used to have a cabin by Birch Lake is Walter Beeds and his family. They were originally from the Birch Lake area, but they have now become

[119]Interview A3, 2005.
[120]Interview C, 2005.

members of PLFN. They had cabins in the Birch Lake area and then later built cabins for living year round on the PLFN reserve.

Interviewee I stated, "My Dad used to build cabins for people. He built one where Sandy Beach is, which is now where the old ball diamond is located."[122] This was a log cabin that was used by their family to live in all year round. Interview I stated that, "There were two log cabins he had built where behind where the group home is now located."[123] Her father built these two cabins as well as other cabins located on-reserve.

At Barnes Lake there was a non-Aboriginal individual that built a few cabins there. One of the first individuals that lived and owned land at Barnes Lake was Dick Ray. Wilfred Boon was the second known farmer and rancher to occupy the cabin. One of Wilfred Boon's cabins burnt down, but was rebuilt in the same location. These are very old cabins and the family used to live there throughout the year.

There are also some very old cabins in the Otter Lake area, on the east side of Otter Lake, and on the northeast side of the lake. It is believed that the foundations of the cabins at Otter Lake are still visible. The same was said about cabins located at Sulby Creek. Interviewee J stated, "The cabins by Sulby Creek are at the area where the two rivers join together by Sulby Creek; not the main river, but the river that Sulby Creek flows into. It is not far from the cut-line on that north side of the river."[124] It is unknown if this cabin

[121]Interview D, 2005.
[122]Interview I, 2005.
[123]Ibid, 2005.
[124]Interview J, 2005.

was built by an Aboriginal or a non-Aboriginal person, but it was indicated that the foundations are still there. Interviewee J stated, "There are many new cabins such as the outfitters cabin near Wes Lake. This cabin is northwest of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, and just west from Wes Lake there is another cabin there."[125] He believed that this was an outfitter cabin. Also, on the south end of Otter Lake there are old cabins and around Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*, there are some old and some new cabins that are still visible. Interview J also indicated, "There are some new ones also by Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* still being used."[126] Interviewee J also identified an old cabin north of Sulby Creek and another cabin located at Hunter's Lake.

Interviewee J also stated, "Near Round Lake there is a cabin, outfitting cabin located in that area."[127] There are believed to be other older cabins close to the Chitek River, they are not too close together at Round Lake and along Hunting Lake and at *Meetoos Sakahikan* (Spruce Lake). Other cabins that Interview J discussed were at Alcott Creek and right in the Lac la Jones area. There are some old cabins there and also old cabins at a site called Chitek Siding. Interviewee J also agreed with other interviewees that there were some cabins located by Ross's ranch. Many of the interviewee's discussed Ross's ranch as being an area where cabin(s) had been built.

Interviewee O talked about some other log cabins all along the south side of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* that were built on-reserve. The old cabins located on the south side of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, were cabins for the original homestead of the

[125]Ibid, 2005.
[126]Interview J, 2005.

reserve. Some of the first people that built cabins on-reserve were Charlie Bill, Pete Thomas, Tom Thomas and the Harris family.

After PLFN became a signatory to Treaty 6 Tom Thomas, one of the first chiefs, was provided with nails, lumber and roof shingles from the Indian Affairs office that was once located in Shell Lake to build some of the first houses on the reserve. It was not until later, when a saw mill was established close to Jacob Bill's house, that lumber homes were built. The houses later became the numbered houses that some people continue to live in today.

Fishing

This section discusses the major areas for fishing without providing exact locations of historical and present day fishing sites. Included in the discussion is the reason there are very few commercial fisher people in the community presently.

The discussion on fishing has been organized by lake names, types of fish caught at the lakes, and the different methods used to fish. For example, in some of the areas nets were only used and some areas were only used during the winter months for ice fishing; either by hook and fishing rod or by setting a net under the ice. Included in the discussion of methods are the seasons fishing is done as well as frequency of fishing at certain sites. The frequency discussion may not be consistent with every site, but those sites that are discussed will provide a general understanding of how often each area is fished. Also,

[127]Ibid, 2005.

certain lakes were preferred locations for preparing fish that was caught. Certain types of methods of preparing fish will also be addressed based on the function or gathering the fish were to be provided for.

Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* is the main lake that is used by all PLFN people, for fishing. Many people from the surrounding area fish at this lake. The types of fish that are caught here include whitefish *(Atihkamek)*, jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)* and pickerel *(Okâw)*. These fish are caught at Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* year round by the PLFN people. Very few people set nets on this lake, but when they do it is usually in the winter season. There are locations where people go ice fishing on the lake which are known only to members of PLFN. Most people that fish there prefer to catch pickerel *(Okâw)*, though some people catch suckers *(Namepiy)* there as well.

Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* was historically a fishing area. The way that people would prepare the fish as explained by Interviewee C is, "We would smoke and dry the fish."[128] jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)* was smoked over a log fire and eaten when they were finished. At the north-end of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* people fish(ed) for pickerel *(Okâw)* or whitefish *(Atihkamek)*. In the past when people fished at Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* it was a family outing. Families and friends would help each other as they fished and worked together, especially when they were setting the nets under the ice. Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* people would go up to the Chitek River to fish for jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)*, whitefish *(Atihkamek)* and pickerel *(Okâw)* as well as suckers *(Namepiy)*. A net would be set across the river to catch fish. If

the net was not as wide as the river, the net would be placed on one section of the river so that fish could still swim around, but they would still catch the larger fish because of the size of net. The spring season is when nets were used which corresponds to the spawning period of fish.

Another lake historically fished was Edward Lake which was stocked by fish that would swim through a creek that would run out of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* and join with Edward Lake. There are no longer fish in this lake because it has become too shallow, however there are a few minnows that inhabit Edward Lake. Various interviewees that have lived near the lake all of their lives stated that the lake is no longer suitable for large fish because the stream does not fill up as it once did to allow for larger fish to swim the creek. Additionally, they identified that lake conditions do not allow them to grow. Edward Lake is also known as "Moving Stone Lake" *(Ahcipicowin Asinîysakahikan),* which will be discussed further in the section about Cree Place Names. People would catch minnows from Edward Lake to use for bait for fishing larger fish because as stated before, this lake can no longer sustain fish once it became too shallow, but in the past jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew),* whitefish *(Atihkamek)* and suckers *(Namepiy)* inhabited the lake.

Another lake that is known for fishing by PLFN people is Lac La Jones Lake. On the map it is known as Lac La Jones, a French name, but the First Nation people from Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* have a Cree name for this, that when translated means "Bull Rush Lake." This is discussed further in the Cree Place Names section. This lake is

[128]Interview C, 2005.

habitat for the same fish found at other lakes including; jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)*, pickerel *(Okâw)* and suckers *(Namepiy)*.

Before discussing the lakes north of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* there is one lake located southwest of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* that should be mentioned, Birch Lake. This lake historically has been used for fishing as well as camping by members of PLFN. At Birch Lake the types of fish that were found and are still found today are whitefish *(Atihkamek)* and jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)*. In Cree, Birch Lake is referred to as "*Wakwaigan.*" Many of the people from Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, specifically those people that used to live in Birch Lake, would fish in this area. Interviewee C stated, "My husband and I used to go and do a lot of ice fishing in this area and would have fish for the winter."[129]

On the northeast side of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* close to Bullrush Lake is Shell Lake, which is another source of fish for PLFN people. The Cree word for Shell Lake, is pronounced "*Esagigun.*" It is called this because there are many shellfish that inhabit this lake. This lake is also known to have jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)*, whitefish *(Atihkamek)*, and suckers *(Namepiy)*.

Clearwater Lake was/is a major source of fish for PLFN people and is also used for many other activities. This lake is located north of the community and along the Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* Trail, also known as the Carlton Trail that goes northwest to Meadow Lake. Clearwater Lake has different types of fish including trout *(Namekos)*, pickerel *(Okâw)*, jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)* and suckers *(Namepiy)*. There is also a

French name that was given to this lake and is indicated on the on the map as Lac Éauclaire. In Cree, it is known as "*Kawaseegamik*" (phonetic), which means "Clearwater." The reason it was named Clearwater is because of the green/blue clear color of the lake. Clearwater was a year round fishing area.

Huard Lake is also a known fishing location used by PLFN members. This lake has the same fish as most of the other lakes, which include pickerel *(Okâw)*, jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)*, suckers *(Namepiy)* and whitefish *(Atihkamek)*. There are believed to be trout in this lake as well. Huard Lake is located northeast of PLFN, along the Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* Trail/Carlton Trail which leads to Meadow Lake. One of the most northerly lakes that is used today and has been used in the past by PLFN people is Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*, also known in Cree as Long Lake *(Kîkway kâkinwaksakahikan)*. This lake is longer than all of the other lakes in the area and is fished during the winter, summer and spring seasons. In the wintertime, people put nets under the ice to catch fish. In the past there were a lot of fish, but today the fish population is reduced. This lake is also the only lake in the area where commercial fishing is permitted. One of the main types of fish caught at this lake is pickerel *(Okâw)*. People believe that it is one of the best places to fish for pickerel *(Okâw)*, but the lake also is habitat for jackfish *(Osowskap/Iynikinosew)*, suckers *(Namepiy)* as well as trout *(Namikos)*.

One type of fish that is not present in some of the other lakes discussed, but is present in the Island Lake area is perch *(Asâwesis)*; there are believed to be a lot of perch in the

[129]Interview C, 2005.

Island Lake area. Perch *(Asâwesis)* is also one of the preferred fish of First Nation people from Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan).*

There are many other lakes that are fished and have been a source of sustenance in the past. These lakes include Coyote Lake *(Mîstacakansakahikan)* as well as Old Muskeg Lake *(Kayâsâyiwiw Maskeksakahikan),* which is close to PLFN. Further east of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* is Otter Lake *(Nikiowayân Sakahikan),* which was historically fished and remains a source of food today. Closer to Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* is a lake called "Bug Lake" *(Manicôs Sakahikan)* and some other lakes, which include Miko Lake that were fished and continue to be. Many of these lakes listed are well known by PLFN people, but some of the other lakes that are not as well known include one lake called "Jumbo Lake," and an area called Whalen Bay. There is also another "Sandy Lake," which is different from the one close to the PLFN. It is further north of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan).* There are two other lakes where trout *(Namekos)* are fished, one is called "Mckay Lake" and the other is "White Swan Lake." There is a lot of "white fish" in these lakes.

Although the lakes around Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* provide an abundance of fish sometimes people would go to the La Ronge area to fish. There is also a lake called *(Pikatowsakahikan)* Lake, this lake is habitat to mostly jackfish. There is also another fishing area called Helene Lake located west of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*. In the 1930s Interviewee F said, "A lot of non-Aboriginal people would fish in this area."

The settlers frequently fished this lake when they first came to the Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* area.

The main method that was used traditionally by PLFN members was fish weirs that were constructed to trap fish, making it easier to net or spear the fish. Along the Chitek River there used to be a lot of fish especially during the springtime. This is when Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* people would make rock dams to capture the fish. Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* historically has provided some of the best fish. They would throw them onto the banks and people would be waiting on the banks to knock the fish out. Then they would prepare the fish for eating, usually by drying them or having a fish fry on the banks of the river. When the preparation of fish occurred along the banks or river, this also provided the opportunity for people to harvest plants in the forest. Today the only lake that is used for commercial fishing is Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* as it is large enough to place nets. There is only one known member of PLFN to own a commercial fishing license to fish this lake.

Gathering of Plants (Berries, Wild Rice, Medicines and Willows)

There are many people in the community that still collect plants for medicinal purposes today. The types of plants that are now gathered are not the same as the plants that were gathered in the past. One of the primary examples is seneca root *(Minseekees).* In the past, PLFN people would collect Seneca root *(Minseekees)* and sell them to the local store or trading post. They would receive payment based on the weight of a bag of seneca root *(Minseekees)*. Today this no longer occurs, but community members continue to dig

the plant for medicinal personal and communal use. Interview H stated, "If we dried it and have it cleaned we would get more money for it."[130]

Many of the traditional harvesting areas around PLFN overlap with some of the hunting, trapping and fishing areas. One of the first areas discussed by many interviewees is the Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* area. The types of plants that were gathered around the area and are still gathered include sweetgrass *(Sîwâyi Maskisy)* and seneca root *(Minseekees)* as well as some blueberries *(Nimna/Nikoman)*, Saskatoon berries *(Misâskwatômin)* and chokecherries *(Tawahiminânâhtik)*. From Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, people would go up to Chitek River. Along the river there was an area that was well known for picking rat root *(Weekas)*. This area is also known for picking seneca root *(Minseekees)* as well as picking sweetgrass *(Sîwâyi Maskisy)* and blueberries *(Nimna/Nikoman)*.

Another place just east of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*, called "Edward Lake" or "Moving Stone Lake" *(Ahcipicowin Asinîysakahikan)*, was where chokecherries *(Tawahiminânâhtik)*, and Saskatoon berries *(Misâskwatômin)* were picked. "Birch Lake" is also another area where people would pick chokecherries, Saskatoon berries, and blueberries. One of the more well-known and well-used areas is Clearwater Lake. Berry-picking usually occurred in the summer months in preparation for the winter months. In the springtime, people would also pick cranberries at Clearwater Lake. A hill located near Clearwater Lake is where Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* people would gather all types of fruits and plants both for food and medicinal purposes. PLFN people would

[130]Interview H, 2005.

camp at “Clearwater Lake” during the summer months and go berry picking all the way up toward “Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)*.” Other berries that were found in that area were blueberries, chokecherries and raspberries *(Ayoskan)*; all the natural berries were found along and around “Clearwater Lake.”

Another area that was and is still known for picking berries and medicines is at “Vimy Tower,” it is east of PLFN and north of the town of Leoville. This is an area that the Elders recalled as being an important area for picking medicines. One of the specific medicines that were found is the Balsam Fir *(Napakâsihta)*. Interviewee H stated, “The Balsam is good medicine used for cleansing or healing of individuals. This was a good source for finding this Balsam tree."[131]

Huard Lake is also an important area for gathering medicines and berries. PLFN people picked in that area in the past, however, today the medicines and berries are not as plentiful. This may have changed recently due to forest fires that occurred around Huard Lake in 2003. The PLFN people continue to gather medicines in general but, not as much as they gather berries. This could be because less people know the specific uses and preparation methods for the medicinal plants whereas most people know how to prepare berries for jams and baking. Other areas known for gathering berries and medicines are the Hunter’s Lake area, Ross’s ranch area, Mullosson, and the east side of Sandy Lake.

The Edward Lake area does not have as many berries as it once did, but there are some medicines there like Balsam Fir and Spruce, which are medicines that people use to a

limited degree. Other areas include *Meetoos* Lake which has been seeded with wild rice. Although wild rice did not exist naturally in this area in the past, people harvest it. It is also grown in the Twin Lakes area, north of Clearwater Lake, and in the Hunter's Lake area and *Meetoos* Lake (White Poplar). This plant has been adapted to become part of the traditional plants harvested by the PLFN people.

Other types of plants that are harvested include Labrador tea, also known as Muskeg tea *(Maskekopak)*. This is a medicine to some people, whereas to others it is simply a tea. Interview C stated, "It's a tea for drinking because it is nice and good tasting."[132]Other types of plants and trees that continue to be gathered for medicinal purposes are black poplar *(Mymeetos)*, tamarack *(Wâkinâkanâhtik)*, spruce tree *(Minahik)*, and white poplar *(Meetoos)*. There are some people in the community that know how to use these plants and know what they are used for. People in the community also know some specific stories and teachings on how to pick these medicines and their uses. Many of these teachings that the Elders know have been passed down to them from their Elders and their Grandparents. The knowledge comprises of the use, respect of these plants and how to take care of them.

Other plants that continue to be harvested today are mint, "Frog Pants" *(Iketasook)*, spruce gum *(Minykpeegoo/Sihtipikow)* and red willow *(Mihkwâpemak)*. All of these plants are gathered as medicines. Red Willow *(Mihkwâpemak)* is boiled and made into tea. The bark of the red willow *(Mihkwâpemak)* is also used for making tobacco

[131]Interview H, 2005.
[132]Interview C, 2005.

(Ocitemawinihkew) and the tree itself is used in the construction of lodges. Diamond willow *(Nîpisîskâw)* is used for making lodges as well as some other willows. The people would also make fences with the willows because they would last a long time in the ground and sometimes they would re-root, growing in the ground while being used as a fence.

A lot of these medicines are used on their own, but those people that know how to prepare them know how to mix them with the proper amount and combine the correct plants. The two main plants that are used for ceremonial and spiritual purposes are sweetgrass and sage. These are more commonly used for smudging and cleansing ceremonies, though some people also use sweetgrass to make sweetgrass tea. Most of the plants that are used by Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* people are made into teas and have healing qualities. Some people also used to find strawberries *(Otehimin)* that grew abundantly along the roads.

A lot of the people do not like to sell the plants and medicines they gathered, rather they would prefer to trade them for other plants within the community. It is not viewed as an appropriate thing to sell medicines or sell plants. This is one teaching that the Elders learned from their parents and grandparents about the respectful use of plants. However, they did sell some plants when needed. Some Elders believe that sweetgrass is declining in the community because it is being sold by some of the younger people that do not know this teaching, in order to make money. With the increase in the selling of plants and medicines the Elders have to go further away to gather them.

Historical Trails

The trails used by PLFN members are very significant as they were routes that allowed the people to travel the land to fish and gather plants. The trails were used as walking trails and later accommodated horse and wagons as well as sleighs. Today many of these trails have been adapted to highways and major roads. These trails illustrate the extensive use of the land and how the trails formed according to camping and cabin locations. An interesting aspect of these trails is the way that they lead to muskegs and lakes and how the muskegs were used as natural trail clearings to travel from one location to the next in the winter months. These forms of trails illustrate that people did not see the need to clear trees to create trails, but adapted to the natural land formations. As people needed to, trails were cleared, but the main routes would wind from lake to creek through sloughs and muskegs.

Some of these trails received heavy use. For example when people would travel to Clearwater Lake they would travel in large groups. There would be a number of people on these trails at one time, especially when they were preparing for winter. They would all travel in a large group so they were quite well known by many of the community members.

People would also clear trails through sloughs and hay meadows following one another when they were creating these trails so that they would map out an area to cut while they were haying. They did not have tractors to pull equipment to clear trails. They used to do it all by hand and with a team of horses. Once the trails were complete they were often

named. Usually these trails were named by the features of the location. In other examples trails were named after an occurrence that took place on the trail.

One of the main trails located near PLFN is a trail leading from Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* north toward Meadow Lake. It is called the Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* Trail also know as Carlton Trail. This trail originally went through muskeg, lakes and rivers winding through the forest all the way up to Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* where a depot was located. Interview A3 stated, "This was not a trading post, but a food storage site where individuals could purchase food supplies when needed."[133]

The trail was developed into a gravel highway in the 1970s. The current road does not follow the exact route the original trail followed. The Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* trail was created by Aboriginal people that lived in the area. There are some cabins located along the trail as well as many camps and stopping areas. Parts of the Green Lake Trail are now used for Skidoo rallies.

Other trails that exist on the PLFN include an unnamed trail that leads west from the south side of Pelican Lake. This trail used to go through part of the lake and still does during certain periods. The water in that part of the lake would get up to about six feet and PLFN members would cut across with wagons driving in the water.

[133]Interview A3, 2005.

There are other trails that were in PLFN that members would traverse with a team of horses and cut across from one area to another. These trails would also lead to logging camps where PLFN people worked. One in particular went from a non-Aboriginal logging camp known as "Mike's Camp" (Mike Swytik), roughly 29 kilometers across from the west side of Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* all the way to Barnes Lake roughly 16 kilometers from Andrew Swityk's house.[134] This trail originated in the 1950s. Interviewee F stated, "There was five feet of snow one time and we had to travel this trail with horse and wagon and the snow was so deep that it had left the horses very tired."[135] After a few years, he said he went to look at the trail where they used to have a sawmill and they needed to make more trails because they were beginning to grow in due to lack of use.

Another trail, known as the "Moose Cabin Trail," that went west toward Birch Lake from Mike Swityk's camp, this trail was mainly used in the early 1930s, for hauling lumber and ties across the swamp. It went across the number four highway. Interview F indicated, "There used to be about eight feet high moss in the swamp, you could see the ruts where the wagons had gone through because the moss was very spongy and it gives away when you travel over it with a horse and wagon."[136] This trail was also used in the wintertime, but because the moss was brittle when it froze, the crust would usually break making it difficult to travel. In the springtime, this trail was traveled by PLFN people traveling south west of Andrew Swityk's place. The trail going from Andrew Swytik's home has been converted into a grid road that runs directly to the provincial forest.

[134]Interview F, 2005.
[135]Ibid, 2005.

There is one trail that Interviewee H indicated, “It went from Barnes Lake west to Birch Lake known as the “Birch Lake Trail.”[137] Interview H also spoke of another road that runs through the provincial forest on the west side. Interview H stated, “I know this trail personally because I used to run this trail from Barnes Lake to Birch Lake. It took me about 10 to 11 hours to run the length of this trail from start to finish.”[138]

Numerous trails exist throughout the area which are not named. Around the Junor area it is unknown how many trails exist, though many of these trails are noticeable in the forest. They were traveled on and known only by the people that traveled on them. Many of the trails were used with a team of horses. One specific trail that went to Clearwater passing by the Chitek Lake general store and the railroad tracks was used quite often.
The trails tended to be wide enough for a horse and wagon and were not very deep in the ground. They tended to be a few inches deep with ruts. These ruts would become more noticeable in the spring and the wet seasons. Some parts of the trail were unnoticeable in the summer because they would be mainly used in the winter and would lead across lakes and rivers. Many of these trails are still used today by quads, hikers, and skidoos during the winter and summer months.

One trail known was known for a long bridge that was created across the muskeg with logs. Slats of logs were placed across the muskeg so that people could cross with horse and wagon and not sink into the muskeg. Interviewee I stated,

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[136]Ibid, 2005.
[137]Interview H, 2005.

> It was a well-known trail where wagons would cross, and the trail was maintained by Aboriginal people that used the trail. At times they would also take hay and put hay on some of the wet trails so it would cover the pathway so it would not be too wet and muddy for people traveling on the trail.

There is an increasing concern expressed by members from PLFN over the use and access of these trails by PLFN members as forestry operations occur. The main concern expressed is that the trails are blocked off, unintentionally, with earth mounds because they are thought to be logging roads, when in actuality, these are traditional trails for accessing cabins and traditional use areas. When these trails are blocked off, access is limited and the ability to continue traditional activities is further impacted.

Cree Place Names

When a place is named the name provides insight into the importance of a location and the knowledge associated with the location. There are many Cree names that the interviewees recalled for lakes, rivers, trails and muskegs. A lot of these places are hunting, fishing, trapping and plant gathering areas. In some cases the Cree names describe the features of the landscape of if a particular activity or event occurred at the location. Most of the place names that are identified within this section are within the PLFN traditional territory. More research needs to be undertaken to acquire a comprehensive listing of the Cree place names in the PLFN traditional territory. Please

[138]Interview H, 2005.

refer to Appendices E and F: PLFN Traditional Territory Maps for the locations of the places discussed within this section.

Many water bodies have been given Cree names. Pelican Lake or *Cahcakiwsakahikan* in Cree, derives from the Aboriginal people that first came to this lake and are now members of PLFN. The lake was given this name because there were many pelicans in the area. The pelicans came back every summer to the south side of the lake specifically along the banks of the lake where the First Nation community shores meet.

Edward Lake, also known as “Moving Stone Lake” or “Carrot Lake”, is called *Ahcipicowin Asinîysakahikan* in Cree. This lake received this name from the belief that a rock located in this shallow lake moved across the lake to its eastern shore. Interviewee A2 stated, “There used to be a rock that was in the lake, it was a big rock and you were just able to see the top sticking out of it and over time, this rock it was believed moved from the center of the lake to the edge of the lake and it is now located on the edge of the lake bordering one of the highways that goes to PLFN.”

Clearwater Lake is known as *Kawaseegamiksakahikan* in Cree. On the topographic map it is indicated in French as Lac Éauclaire. As previously discussed, this is a main area for hunting, trapping, fishing and berry picking. Many of the community members indicated that Clearwater Lake is a very special place for camping and participating in many of the traditional activities. It was designated as part of the reserve through the Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE) process in 2004 (see Figure 3: Signing of Clearwater Lake TLE).

Figure 3: Signing of Clearwater Lake TLE

Another Cree name is associated “Shaking Lodge Creek” located west of PLFN. It is called *Tsasapakunsipi* and was given this name after an Elder held a shaking lodge ceremony in the area.

Huard Lake and Green Lake/Long Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan/Kaganogoomaksakahikan)* were given the same name, which translates into “Long Lake” in English. These lakes are north of PLFN in an area where many of the traditional activities (hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering of plants) occur(ed).

Amustuwatsakahikan, when translated into English is Old War Horse Head Lake. A similar reference is made to *Amustuwat* Beach, located between the PLFN and the non-Aboriginal community of Chitek Lake.

One lake, *Eyapawutik,* has a Cree name, but the origins of this name are unknown. Some interviewees translated it to mean "Buck Lake" in English. Other interviewees believed it had to do with games that were played there. What is known is that the area was a meeting place for older men. Further research is required to determine the correct translation and the correct Cree word for this lake.

Another lake known as "Round Lake" or *Notimâwsakahikan* in Cree is in the same location as Mullosson, which is also called Siding or Chitek Siding.[139]

Other water bodies with Cree names include: Birch Lake (*Wakwaigansakahikan),* Huard Lake (*Ignogomaksakahikan),* Shell Lake (*Esatisakahikan),* Lac La Jones Lake/Bull Rush Lake (*Pikwanâhtiksakahikan),* Sandy Lake *(Kikway ka yikawihksakahikan),* Jumbo Lake, *(Misikamâw or Pikatowsakahikan),* Meadow Lake *(Yihkatawâwsakahikan),* and White Swan Lake *(Wâpisiwsakahikan).*[140]

Cree names were also given to areas where activities were conducted. For example, there is an area northwest of PLFN where some Elders and men were playing hand games. The area is called *Wapameetagweet,* which refers to the types of games that they played there during the evening. Additionally, one of the oldest ceremonial sites in the community is called *Wawepaskwats,* a name that loosely translates into "round clearing surrounded by trees".

[139]Leclaire 1998, 34.
[140] Ibid, 58.

Water Use

The next section deals with water use, specifically how the PLFN members used this resource and where they accessed it. Water was and continues to be used by the community for a number of activities. In addition to the ongoing usage of water for drinking, cooking and cleaning, water has been used by the community for ceremonial purposes such as during the sweatlodge, and to water horses, and in later years, cattle. People would carry the water in buckets or pails and pour it into troughs or store it in larger barrels.

One of the main lakes where the PLFN people collected water from is Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)*. Pelican Lake continues to be a primary source of drinking water, but the water is now treated. Other areas that people would use water or collect water included various sloughs and rivers located within the reserve and around the reserve boundaries. Interviewees also identified some specific spring water sources located off-reserve that were drawn from. One such source is located northeast of PLFN and north of Leoville. Interviewee F indicated, "There was a spring also west of my brother's camp, which is west of PLFN."[141] Interviewees also identified an underground spring further north where people would gather fresh water for personal use. Community members also identified that they collected rain water to water their gardens; some members continue this practice. Today, water is collected from Pelican Lake *(Cahcakiwsakahikan)* through a water pumping system. Almost everyone on the reserve receives water from a water

[141]Interview F, 2005.

truck that collects the water from the pumping station. Some homes have wells which are tapped into an aquifer.

However, most of the lakes, rivers and sloughs that were once used when camping, hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering are no longer relied upon due to concerns with water quality. The Elders indicated that they can no longer dip a cup into the lakes or rivers, because they would become sick from the contaminants in the water. Interview H identified that water quality has changed over time from agricultural practices, logging and other developments that have polluted the water with various contaminants.

The importance of water to the community cannot be understated; it is critical for engaging in traditional activities, but also for the continued survival and health of the community. Interviewees voiced that the water is very important to them and felt it ought to be protected from future developments.

Protected Areas

Not only do the people want to see the water protected, but also the lands and the species that they rely upon for subsistence, recreation, and traditional land-use activity. The areas that interviewees identified for protection are those where traditional land-use activities are conducted and where diverse habitats exist. Interviewees also identified that certain development activities have rendered some sites unusable (as they relate to traditional land-use activities). For example, Vimy Tower has been logged out using a clear-cut method, making the area unrecognisable to some of the interviewees when they went there to pick medicines. With the hope that further destruction of areas and habitats might

be prevented, the interviewees identified areas that they would like to see protected. These areas are depicted in Appendices E and F: PLFN Traditional Territory Maps. Interview D summed up the current situation when he stated, "If we as humans do not treat Mother Earth with respect these necessities will no longer be available to us as they are now and have been in the past."[142]

One of the main areas identified for protection, the Clearwater Lake area, has recently become reserve land and is located north of the community. Interview D states, "This area is very important to protect because a lot of our traditional activities take place there and people still go there to camp and so this is the reason why we should protect this place."[143]

Other areas include west of PLFN. Interviewee C stated, "I would like to see this area protected from logging and the other development practices right from PLFN all the way up to the number four highway."[144] Community members from PLFN would also like to see areas north of Pelican Lake, such as Sandy Lake, protected because these are also part of their traditional use areas, for hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering of plants. They would also like to see specific fur conservation blocks protected, such as Junor, which is south of PLFN, and Chitek, which is north of PLFN.

Interviewees also expressed their desire to see specific species accorded greater protection. For example, the questionable health of the animals is reflected in the

[142]Interview D, 2005.
[143]Ibid, 2005.

increased occurrence of diseases, such as Chronic Wasting Disease (CWD), which is evident in deer population. It is unknown at this time if human consumption of these diseased deer impacts humans. One interviewee stated,

> These animals of cultural significance are not protected; namely the deer, which is affected by chronic wasting disease. This may be an infraction on the Treaty Rights of Aboriginal peoples because it states in the treaties that Aboriginal people have the right to hunt, trap and fish, if there are no animals to hunt then it may be up to the federal government to ensure that there is a healthy population of deer and moose and fish to ensure that these Treaty Rights are not infringed.[145]

The Elders also understand that without a healthy environment it becomes more difficult for animals to remain healthy. The main animals that the respondents identified as important to PLFN people and require protection or conservation are moose, deer and fur-bearing animals. The respondents also indicated that conservation measures need to be in place to ensure that edible fish remain plentiful for PLFN members.

Most, if not all, of the areas identified were multi-use areas that were habitat to a number of important species. It is unknown what the best method would be to designate or recognise these areas as protected areas, and there are a few possibilities that may be available to PLFN. The Species at Risk Act (SARA) may allow for these areas to be designated under federal legislation as protected areas. There may also be a process

[144]Interview C, 2005.
[145]Interview Sample, 2005.

through the provincial government using a heritage designation for sites or protected areas. Ultimately, further research is needed to determine if there are specific species in these areas that can be protected or if there is legislation that can be utilised to protect the required areas. There also may be specific restrictions placed on the lands depending on the method of protection the area or site is provided (i.e. limited hunting and trapping).

The main reasons that PLFN would like to see these areas protected are: to ensure that future generations can enjoy these areas, and that people can continue to practice their cultural ways and retain cultural knowledge about the land. PLFN members would like to see the traditional values maintained and carried on in today's youth and future generations.

CULTURALLY SIGNIFICANT ITEMS

Many of the interviewees discussed the importance of protecting the lands because all of the materials they use to make the items derive from the land. These items are usually referred to as crafts, but will be discussed using the reference to "culturally significant items", to illustrate the great importance these items have. These items were not leisure items created to pass the time as the term craft suggests. These items were created to be used by the people to assist with survival and provided a means to generate money to purchase items that were needed.

Some of the culturally significant items include moccasins, birch bark baskets and canoes. Other items that were made include gloves, jackets and tents or teepees also mukluks and mitts; these items were all made of moose hide, deer hide or sometimes elk

hides. Birch bark baskets as well as carvings made from items that are found naturally in the environment (antlers, bones and wood) are made. More contemporary culturally significant items that people trade include barrettes, key chains and handbags.

These culturally significant items have played an important role in the survival of PLFN members and have provided people with the means to buy items they could not create themselves. In the past and to some extent today they continue to create some of these culturally significant items to sustain an income for their families and for themselves.

Most of the people that create these items try to teach the young people in the community. Interviewee I stated, "I tried to teach some of the youth and offered to teach them, but they have yet to ask me to teach them."[146] Many of the items are created with different types of material, but the most common material is tanned hide. The process of creating a tanned hide for use involves a lot of work. The hide preparation usually takes two to three days to complete depending on their experience. People from PLFN have been known to complete two or three hides in two to three days. It is a lot of hard work which is why some people believe the youth are not eager to get involved. When people make moccasins, jackets, vests, and gloves; most often, people bead them using contemporary and traditional designs. The traditional design involves a lot of flowers and the contemporary designs are images of animals such as eagles. The flowers range in colors from blue, yellow, and red. People also make star blankets as well as pouches.

[146]Interview I, 2005.

There are only a few people that continually tan hides and there is only one specific store where people can sell their hides and culturally significant items. The store is located on the northern edge of the reserve bordering the non-Aboriginal community of Chitek Lake. Many people from PLFN sell their items to people that come to their houses or they bring them to Pow-Wows or gatherings. They also tan hides and sell the tanned hides in completed form rather than creating culturally significant items with the hides. The hides or culturally significant items are in high demand allowing the items to be sold quite easily. The community members are able to gather or attain the necessary materials to create the significant items without difficulty. It is important for the continued production of these items that PLFN people be able to gain access to the raw materials necessary to create the culturally significant items. It is important for the survival of these culturally significant creations.

CULTURALLY SIGNIFICANT AREAS

Separate from the culturally significant items, but connected in importance are the culturally significant areas. The term "culturally significant areas" are defined as, but are "not restricted to, areas of spiritual or religious value such as burial sites, spirit caves, vision quest areas, ceremonial grounds, lands containing unique historical, archaeological and architectural sites and areas of specific claim or comprehensive claim."[147]
These areas are significant because of the importance they hold for the community. To respect the sensitivity of these areas they are not revealed in this study, also to prevent vandalism or disturbance of these areas.

[147]Collier, 85.

Although they are not depicted on the maps they do exist within the Traditional Territory of PLFN. The areas consist of burial sites, archeological sites, ceremonial and sacred sites. The burial sites are indicators of use, life in the forest and on the land. Historically, PLFN people would place the deceased body in a scaffold to represent and assist with the journey of the spirit to the spirit world. Over time this practice changed as a result of European settlers introducing the practice of placing the deceased body in the ground. It is believed that the practice of placing the dead in a scaffold occurred up until the 1950s.

The traditional burial included the use of a scaffold where the deceased would be placed in a scaffold made of wood; spruce or pine, and the body would be wrapped in a blanket or hide and placed on top to be laid to rest. It was believed and still believed that it would be easier for the spirit to travel into the spirit world if it was placed on these scaffolds. The body would decompose at these sites and would not be touched or bothered by people passing by because it was understood that this scaffold represented a sacred site. It would be left there until nothing else remained. One of the specific sites where some individuals from PLFN were buried a long time ago was along the trail toward Sandy Beach. The trail went south through the "Big Muskeg." Other areas included places where houses are built today; Interviewee I stated, "We experienced some activities in our basement when nobody was down there. We ensured that the spirit was respected despite our house unknowingly was built on a burial site. We gave offerings and prayers for the spirit to leave us alone and not bother us and we had a feast and paid respects to the burial site that exists there."[148]

Culturally significant sites also refer to burial or gravesites associated with a group of people that traditionally occupied the land. A prime example of the use and occupancy of the land are the many unmarked graves within the Traditional Territory, most of which are known, but many are unknown. Many of the gravesites are very old and were a result of the deaths caused by influenza. The time period that influenza struck PLFN was in 1916 to 1918 period. Many of the burial sites were located along trails because people were traveling from one location to another when people died. People that died on the trail were brought into the bush off the trail and buried at particular sites. Interviewee H stated, "Some of the deaths occurred in the wintertime and towards the end of the influenza, not everybody was buried at the proper depth because the ground was frozen. The healthy individuals were only able to dig one foot into the ground and then they had to bury the bodies at this depth because they were too weak to dig deeper."[149]

Some of the main locations that people recalled where people were buried are in the northern portion of the reserve, close to Pelican Lake and also along the Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* or Carlton trail. The PLFN people adapted the traditional method (scaffold) to a way which involved wrapping the body in a blanket and placing wood horizontally across the top of the body so that earth would not fall directly onto the body. This practice was detailed by a Reverend who lived on the Reserve and witnessed this type of burial occur. Specifically reverend Fr. J. Daniels stated,

> They wrapped their dead in blankets, and put them in the grave on top of hay that was put on the bottom [of the] grave. They made a partition over

[148]Interview I, 2005.
[149]Interview H, 2005.

> the body, so that the mud would not be right on it when thrown in. When the grave was filled they sat around and smoked a big pipe handing it to each other after a few puffs, until all had partaken thereof. Then the officiating man began to make a speech. Orators were very eloquent, and could hold the attention of their listeners for a long time. Then all was over, and the assembly went sadly away, without saying a word.[150]

A feast ceremony would be held to respect the dead when it was discovered that a site had been altered, damaged or unknowingly built over. They would have fish at these types of feasts, and they would set nets at Green Lake *(Askihtakwâwsakahikan)* during certain times of the year for whitefish or pickerel.

Other ceremonies like the Sundance; people would also have fish at feasts and get ready by setting a net a couple of days in advance. This same preparation would occur for Giveaway Dances.

Ceremonies held at burial sites were held to acknowledge the person that was going to be buried. Once that ceremony was complete people seldom visited these sites because they did not want to disturb them after they had been laid to rest. Over time family members do not continue to visit on a regular basis and burial sites become forgotten. It is believed that because they have been left unattended these burial sites are no longer important. On the contrary these burial sites are very important. When family members become aware

[150]John Gaumond, 1979.

of these burial sites often family members will continue to leave offerings to acknowledge and pay respect to the deceased family member.

The majority of the sites discussed in the interviews are historical/culturally significant areas associated with burial sites and ceremonial sites. There are many different ceremonial sites, but the majority of them are located on-reserve and there are specific stories associated with one particular site located on the northern boundary of the reserve. Interviewee A2 stated, "The red coats or the RCMP used to chase the people from their ceremonial site because at that time it was illegal to perform certain ceremonies; namely The Sundance."[151] After the site located on the north end of the reserve was destroyed for farming purposes another site was created. It was located directly behind a house which is diagonally located from the PLFN Band Office. This area is one of the oldest Sundance grounds, but the very oldest and the first ceremonial site was created near Pelican Lake. This site was not only used for Sundances, but many other ceremonies including chicken dances, round dances as well as giveaway dances. This site is no longer used to today because it was cleared out for farming purposes by a PLFN member. It is unknown who cleared out this area, but it was done five to ten years ago. Many of the people are disappointed that this site was destroyed this way and would like to see the site rebuilt for ceremonies.

Today many Sundance sites are being created on-reserve specifically the west side of the reserve. People do not feel very comfortable having so many different ceremonial sites because traditionally only one site was used; one or three at the most were used for

Sundances and other ceremonies. People feel today that there are too many ceremony sites, which is moving away from the traditional approach or conduct of ceremonies on-reserve.

Other ceremonial sites were located at Witchekan Lake First Nation directly south of PLFN. People from PLFN would go to Sundances at Witchekan Lake during the summer months.

People from PLFN would also go to another neighboring community called Whitefish Lake First Nation or Big River First Nation for ceremonies in the past and continue to go there today. Many of the types of ceremonies that have occurred on-reserve in the past still occur today, only at different locations. One of the oldest sites is located along Pelican Lake. There are two other old sites that were created shortly after the oldest site. One is located across the road from what is now known today, as the PLFN Mall. There are three sites that are old sites, but only one out of the three is still used today. The types of ceremonies that would occur at these sites include Sundances, Pow-Wows, Giveaway Dances, Round Dances, Chicken Dances and other types of ceremonies. In comparison to the number of ceremonial sites there are definitely more burial sites.

People would have a feast at these dances as well as use tobacco, prints such as prayer clothes and medicines that they needed throughout the ceremonies. Culturally significant sites are very important part of PLFN people's lives, because of the many aspects of maintaining culture and daily life that these ceremonies fulfill. The ceremonies associated with the burial sites and the ceremonial locations require respect as much as the sites

[151]Interview A2, 2005.

require protection. The ceremonial sites where Sundances, gatherings and round dances are held are used the most frequently.

The Sundance ceremony is different in comparison from the northern regions to the southern regions. In the north it was and is still not customary for piercing to occur. In the southern regions people would be pierced and they would drag either buffalo skulls or be attached to the center pole. This is not the case for PLFN. What occurs is fasting for four days and singing and dancing in a circular formation, in a structure made of poplar trees and poplar branches.

CHAPTER FIVE - DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the importance of traditional activities for the survival of Indigenous culture and values. These activities are learned by spending time on the land, but as time passes, young people are becoming less and less inclined to learn about the old ways of doing things. There are many possible reasons why youth are not becoming involved. For example, trap lines can be owned only by individuals over the age of eighteen, and those under the age of sixteen cannot use firearms without supervision of an adult. This is not to say that youth should be permitted to use firearms unsupervised, but to encourage youth to understand their Treaty Rights to hunt and trap. As well, the adults are not taking the youth on hunting trips or to check traps. The youth are involved in berry picking and medicine gathering as well as beading and making moccasins. However, the Elders do need to interact with the youth consistently enough to teach the culture to them.

It would be beneficial if the community had their own community trap line. This would limit the areas that non-Aboriginal people could go, and it would allow PLFN to share their community trap line with those members in the community that used to trap in the past. Also, this would allow the PLFN to manage the trap line they way they traditionally managed it, using the seasonal round approach. This is one suggestion that would ensure the PLFN has an opportunity to trap in a trapping area into the future without fear of being pushed out by other interests.

The importance of traditional activities for the survival of the community's culture and values is learned mainly by spending time on the land, and the Elders have indicated that the only way that a person can learn their teachings is from experience. Learning many of their teachings, even about activities such as tanning hides, requires first-hand experience. Interviewee C indicated,

> "In order to really learn how to [tan hides], I had to [practice] over and over again and that's only with practice that you become an expert at [performing these traditional activities]. Learning from a video or just watching somebody will not ensure that a [person can perform a] traditional activity such as tanning hides or sewing or making moccasins."[152]

Moreover, the Elders believe that they must continue to teach the youth so that the youth become more involved in some of the traditional activities like hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering berries. It is important that the youth know their land and its importance so that they can protect it for present and future use. The Elders also believe that the types of development that occur must not impact the land negatively, that its resources must be used in a sustainable manner. The decision making process should factor this belief into the process so that the future generations are provided with jobs and economic-development opportunities. The community has many opportunities to become involved in economic development, but the community needs to be aware of them so that it can make choices that do not exhaust the land.

Some of the potential economic opportunities that exist within the community have been acted upon by few PLFN members. The opportunities that exist are based on harvesting of non-timer forest products. The harvesting of non-timber forest products is a seasonal operation, but can and does provide members with work to supplement their income. One specific example of a community in Northern Manitoba that has created a business from harvesting non-timber forest products is Opaskwiyak Cree Nation. The business that they have created involves many community members in all stages of managing the business which include training, marketing and production. The community created this opportunity for their people over a long period of time with a lot of hard work and determination.

The other opportunity is to harvest wild mushrooms and wild rice. PLFN members have started to participate in these activities, but have not yet transformed these opportunities into lucrative businesses.

Interviewee C stated, "That working hard and doing hard work is very important because although we can have whatever we want in life, we can achieve our goals only through work."[153] She stated that she learned to work to survive and can survive on almost anything, she has been able to live off the land and is still doing this today. She would like to teach the youth this traditional value of working hard to achieve their goals and learn how to incorporate this value into today's way of life.

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[152]Interview C, 2005.
[153]Interview C, 2005.

In the past Interview C indicated that the work she used to do helped her to survive. Her family survived by eating rabbits and muskrats when they did not have very much food. Through the knowledge that she gained from her grandparents and parents, she was able to survive and learned to never be wasteful. She believes we can always get what we need in life, but today people are wasting many things and getting them in return for very little work.

Other interviewees also stated that they are afraid the community's land will be destroyed. They want to ensure that this land is used in a good way so that the community members do not have to move from their homeland to survive. Furthermore, they believe that the community can live on its own land without destroying or misusing it. They also want to teach the youth to respect the land and not to disregard garbage and other things that may not be needed or useful. The Elders do not want to see the youth lose respect for the land and follow the conventional methods of development that currently occur in the PLFN Traditional Territory.

Interviewee D, an Elder, voiced these sentiments by saying, "I am afraid for the area north of Pelican Lake and concerned that it may no longer be able to be used for hunting or trapping because logging might destroy this area."[154] He also believes that if the people in the community stand up for this area, they will be able to protect it from the American hunters and the outfitters that come into it and hunt animals. To protect the animals, the people need to stand up to these hunters. Not only are hunters impacting the area, but provincial regulations. The community itself must try to ensure that these

animals will be available for future generations. The community must teach others about the proper use of these animals and the need to respect them.

Thus, it is very important for the community members that their traditional territory be acknowledged as their historical area. Not only the youth, but also other users in the area like logging companies, mining companies, oil and gas companies that may be interested in developing in the community's territory must be made aware of the importance of this area. Only through communication and further negotiations can the community members, other surrounding First Nations, and interest groups manage this territory for the benefit of future generations.

CURRENT RESOURCE ACTIVITIES AND LAND-USE

The activities discussed in this section include the PLFN's use of natural resources and other resource based activities that have been identified. There are also some eco-tourism activities that will be discussed.

The natural resources referred to in this section include wild rice and bison ranching. The wild rice planted within PLFN's traditional territory includes four leases with SE on four northern lakes, which produces an annual harvest of 27, 500 pounds. The equipment used to harvest the wild rice is owned by PLFN and the product is sold to La Ronge Wild Rice.

[154]Interview D, 2005.

Aside from wild rice harvesting PLFN is also invested in bison ranching. The operation is a joint venture with Witchekan Lake First Nation which employs one full-time herd manager and three full-time labourers. The size of the herd at PLFN consists of approximately 145 cows, 13 bulls, 140 yearlings and 10 calves.

Other economic-developments include eco-tourism, which involves renting houseboats that are located at the Chamakese Resort, owned by the PLFN. The community also manages the Lac Eau Claire or Clearwater Lake campsite as well as the Chamakese Resort campsite. These campsites usually employ about twenty youth during the summer months.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES

Although the PLFN continues its traditional activities, many pieces of international and national legislation have been created to control them. The main provincial legislation impacting PLFN's rights to hunt, trap, and fish is the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement of 1930 and Amendment 1989. This legislation brings into the discussion the jurisdictional relationship that First Nations must contend with when working with Provincial and Federal governments. As well, The Saskatchewan Wildlife Act, The Provincial Fisheries Act, and The Outfitters Act; and many other provincial regulations that impact First Nations' rights by limiting the areas that they can use. The Fisheries Act also affects specific traditional methods of fishing and is discussed further in this section. Some of the main concerns that PLFN have expressed are access to lands, specifically, the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Association's (PFRA) pastures. According to provincial

legislation regarding the use of these pastures, First Nations have a right to hunt in them when no cattle are there; however, the members of PLFN have been locked out of these areas even when no cattle are in them. Many of the access roads for traveling from one provincial crown land to another have been blocked off and gated by farmers who do not understand the regulations. The regulations stipulate that length of time cattle can remain on these pastures is usually until the end of November. First Nation hunters are unable to go into these areas because the farmers are extending their use of them.

Other legislation impacting the traditional activities includes federal legislation, The Species at Risk Act. This piece of legislation is intended to protect species of plants, animals, fish, amphibians, and birds; however, it limits the species that PLFN may use for ceremonial purposes. If a species is designated as "protected," some of the ceremonial uses of this species might be prohibited, for example, the Sand Hill crane is believed to be on the endangered species list, but some community members use this bird for ceremonial purposes like making Sundance whistles. Other sacred items are created from different species like the eagle; although people do not hunt the eagle, many eagles on the west coast of British Columbia have been killed and then sold to the US.[155] Aboriginal people do not customarily hunt eagles, but usually obtain their feathers by applying to the provincial or federal park services to receive the remains of eagles that have been found by conservation officers or park wardens. Other methods of gathering these sacred feathers is to locate an eagles nest and gather the feathers from around the bottom of the

[155]More Eagle Remains Discovered: B.C. Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection Vancouver. March 18, 2005.

nest after the eagles have gone through their molting process and shed their feathers and become adults.

Another federal piece of legislation impacts traditional forms of fishing. This legislation is The Federal Fisheries Act, which prohibits Aboriginal people from snaring fish. This act prohibits the traditional technique used for catching fish although condones more harmful techniques which involve the use of hooks. Many of the Elders indicated that snaring fish is less harmful than using a hook because a hook can break off the line and stay in the fish's mouth for a long period of time causing infection or great discomfort to the fish. In contrast, snaring fish requires only a piece of wire, and a fish swimming through this wire is snared up quickly and brought onto the shore. If a fish is not snared, it may get scraped on the side or part of the fin may get caught and tear it, but such injuries are believed to be less harmful for a fish than having a hook in its mouth for the rest of its life. As well, being scraped by a snare is quite similar to being scraped by a rock because the fish remains in the water and is not touched by human hands until it is actually caught. The Elders believed that snaring is a better form of fishing than the catch-and-release method of sport fishing because it requires a fisherperson to handle the fish, and doing so causes stress and can also possibly infect the sides of the fish. Human hands carry many different bacteria on them, and they pass these bacteria onto the fish.

Other legislation impacting traditional activities is international legislation such as The Migratory Birds Convention Act. This act prohibits First Nations from hunting geese and ducks throughout the year and also from subsistence hunting on geese, ducks and other

birds. Many of the Elders believe that this act infringes on their treaty and Aboriginal right to hunt these birds.

Despite the numerous legislation that regulate how traditional activities should occur and when, there are also numerous court cases that have validated and affirmed Aboriginal traditional uses and activities on the land. One of the court cases was a result of a cabin being built in a provincial park in northern Saskatchewan which found that Aboriginal people have a right to build cabins in provincial parks. This ruling came out of the R v. Sundown decision and indicated that if an Aboriginal person is building a cabin in connection with the Treaty right to hunt, trap and fish then it is permissible to build the necessary shelter to process the meat or fish.[156]

The acts discussed above are just a few of the pieces of legislation that impact the First Nations traditional activities. Many other pieces of legislation exist that regulate land-use practices however, on piece of legislation in particular will be discussed in the following section. This act is more relevant to current land management and resource development activities on-Reserve, but connects to some components of traditional use activities.

FIRST NATION LAND MANAGEMENT ACT

Under this act, a First Nation community has the right to manage its own natural resources, but only, on-Reserve. Chiefs from across Canada proposed The First Nation Land Management Act to allow their communities greater control over lands and natural

[156]R. v. Sundown, Supreme Court of Canada. March, 1999.

resources. The legislation for this act was introduced into the House of Commons in the early 1990's, and this legislation became ratified in 1995. This Act specifically relates to land use on reserves and allows the First Nations to keep the profits directly derived from their lands, without the approval of the federal Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs. The First Nations must adhere to numerous requirements, but these are necessary for proper land-management. Once the majority of the community members have agree on the land codes and the voting process has been completed, then the community can begin to engage in resource development of their own choosing and under their own authority. Along with this development, the community becomes responsible for everything associated with it, including both federal and provincial environmental regulations and standards. However, if a community has developed their own environmental assessment act the community can use this process when developing on reserve.

However, this legislation establishes some limitation in regard to the rights of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women when land ownership is affected by marriage and divorce. The First Nation Land Management Act does not indicate that married women can receive part of the land or monetary support from the sale of the land since it cannot be sold to a non-Aboriginal person, although it can be leased to a non-Aboriginal person. In the case of a divorce, the act does not specify how this land should be divided or whether a wife should receive any monetary compensation. The First Nations, not the act, determine what happens to a married couples land following a divorce. The act does not stipulate if the divorced couple is to evenly distribute the assets garnered from the land.

Without specific regulations developed by First Nation the wife of a married couple has not legal rights to receive payments upon their divorce.

The second concern raised by the First Nation Land Management Act is that its Amendment does not include traditional territory as a part of the lands that the First Nations may manage. The Act is limited to the management of “reserve lands.” A separate agreement between a First Nation and the relevant province is required to co-manage any traditional territory within provincial crown lands. The community defines this territory as “historically used,” and currently used lands, not designated as “reserve lands.” These lands can be properly managed only after a First Nation and a province develop a partnerships or co-management agreement to work together.

The First Nations Land Management Act despite the missing components discussed provides a process for communities to develop and accomplish land management and resource development opportunities. As communities begin to realise their own economic freedom through development of their own systems and processes more opportunities will also exist for the community.

CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSIONS

This study, Traditional-Land Use and Occupancy of the PLFN, began with a number of objectives established as a result of working in consultation with the PLFN Chief and Council. PLFN has occupied a significant area of Saskatchewan since time immemorial and has conducted traditional land-use activities associated with hunting trapping, fishing and gathering. The product of this land-use and occupancy study is depicted on maps in Appendices E and F, which is the copyright of the author. As a result of this TLUOS PLFN members have identified individual and collective Treaty Rights that are important and must be recognised.

The objective of gathering data about the PLFN's members' traditional land-use of the land was achieved and yielded information about the following uses of the land and water: hunting, trapping, fishing, harvesting of plants, locations of campsites, cabins, trails, protection of areas and species. The twenty-two participants (see Appendix D: Interview Demographics) completed interviews which provide a reference or starting point to which additional information can be added to provide greater detail and knowledge about traditional land-use and occupancy activities.

The study area originally thought to be the area of the PLFN's traditional land-use activities (see Figure 1: ACTC Traditional Territory Map) increased by 21,760 acres or 34 sections. This increase is based on the depictions of PLFN's members' traditional land-use activities as documented on their biographical maps. Given that this study is a

representation of 22 PLFN members the complete traditional territory of PLFN cannot be defined. The first few interviewees indicated that the area used and continues to be used for traditional activities exceeded the mapped boundaries. This finding required a new base map for conducting the interviews to ensure that when the interviewees discussed areas of traditional and present-day land-use, the map would provide a reference for the interviewees to pinpoint specific locations. A larger base map was necessary because the interviewees had relatives residing in the surrounding reserves. During the interviews, map biographies were created for each interview. In some cases the map biographies depicted more than one interviewee's knowledge. The interviewees did not use the markers to indicate the areas they were most familiar with, but pointed these areas out on the map and the researcher labeled them by writing in the Cree names and name of the activities performed and the location.

The results of this include the maps described and illustrated in this thesis. The regional maps were digitised for their inclusion here to illustrate the scope and extent of the PLFN's traditional land-use activities across the land and waters. The maps have been reviewed by the Chief and Council and labeled according to each activity.

The research project succeeded in meeting all its objectives; including assisting with building capacity/ awareness about how interview research is conducted and basic mapping knowledge. More importantly the people became aware of the size of territory that PLFN used in the past and continues to use today. Their memories of locations and the names of places and people resurfaced providing the interviewees with memories

about their life journeys. As well, the interviewees may have also learned how to read maps and identify specific locations on maps in scales of 1:50,000 and 1:1,000,000, as well as on a 1:15,000 aerial photo of the PLFN's territory. This study's full potential to help the community will not be realised until the results of this project are used to educate the youth and to develop proposals for economic-development projects or for further research and making land management and resource development decisions.

The final analysis has shown that the frequency of and areas for participating in traditional activities have changed over time, mainly because the area of land once used by the PLFN has been clear cut, changing the landscape so that it is now unrecognisable to some of the Elders. Moreover, different animals inhabit a clear-cut forest compared to a non clear-cut forest, so that specific animal and plant species are now inaccessible to the community. Understanding the importance of the different natural species' habitat for survival, the members of the PLFN believe that the only way to preserve these areas is to ensure that they are not clear-cut by logging. The Treaty and Aboriginal Rights associated with PLFN's traditional land-use are an important mechanism for protection of their continued use and occupancy of their traditional territory.

CHAPTER SEVEN - RECOMMENDATIONS

PLFN intends to use the information in this thesis to create a sustainable development and natural resource management plan. The opportunities to be considered will require further research and analysis to ensure that a project achieves its potential. The community will be able to draw upon the traditional land-use data to create of a natural resources management plan that meets the community's present needs without compromising those of the future. Examples of new projects include the development of proposals to assess the feasibility of alternative natural resource development options, including the harvesting of non-timber forest products, eco-tourism, and the development and implementation of related pilot projects.

The development of an elementary or secondary school curriculum to educate the youth residing on-Reserve about traditional land-use activities should be pursued to ensure that the community's cultural practices and values are taught to the youth. Further research may be required to determine if the youth have been learning this knowledge and have a desire to learn it.

Finally, the PLFN could adopt and enforce community land codes under the First Nation Land Management Act (doing so would give the community complete control over its Reserve lands). The information gathered in this study should be used as the starting point for designating areas of land for specific uses as required under the First Nations Land Management Act. The community will need to decide if it would like to pursue this

option, for much time and energy would be required to gather the data necessary to become a signatory to this Act.

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APPENDICES

A- University of Manitoba Ethics Review Board Approval
B- Interview Schedule
C- Interview Consent Form
D- Interview Demographics
E- Pelican Lake First Nation Traditional Territory Topographic Map
F- Pelican Lake First Nation Traditional Territory Satellite Map

APPENDIX A: UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA ETHICS REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introductory Questions
Age/DOB: **Gender:** **Occupation:** **Education:**

Band Member: **On Reserve/Off Reserve:**

1. Have you heard about the traditional land-use and occupancy study that is being done? If yes, continue if no, explain the project.
2. We wish to talk to you about how you and your family did things (or lived) in the past and today. Your information is important and valuable. Do you mind giving us this information? If no, continue. If yes, take time to explain the project, it's importance and benefits to the community and encourage their participation.
3. Would you be willing, after we have written and recorded your information, to mark on the map the different locations of important sites, such cabins, trails and other locations? If no, explain mapping plan.
4. We were wondering if you would like to take us to some of the places you will be talking on?
5. May we use a tape recorder to record what you say? May we take a picture of you? May we video record this interview?

Life Biography
1. How long have you or your family lived in this area? Where are some of the places your family has lived?

Homes, Cabins, Land Sites, Traditional Place Names (toponyms) and Trails
2. Do you know the location of any new or old cabins? (indicate on map)
3. If new cabin, was it made by an Aboriginal person or non-Aboriginal person?
4. Which cabins are still being used?
5. Do you know where the oldest cabin is in this area?
6. Do you know the location of any old camps?
7. Do you know of any special meeting or celebration places that were used in the past or are used today, by your family or friends, or the community? (indicate on map) What were these places used for i.e. wakes, dances etc?
8. Was this a permanent community or was it a seasonal camp?
9. Do you remember the names of any trails that you used or are still using to get to the cabins? Where are they located (draw in)? Where is the furthest you would go by dog team, snowmobile, or canoe?
10. Do you know some of the traditional names for the lakes, rivers, creeks etc.?
11. Were traditional places named after the first families in the area?

Fish
12. Where are the current fishing places? What type of fish are caught there? Where were the best fishing place?
13. What type of fish do most people like to eat?
14. Are there special places where the community goes to fish or hunt? What season do they go?

Birds

15. What kinds of birds are most commonly used for food?
16. What birds do you hunt or use for special purposes? Where?
17. Have bird eggs been used for food in the past? Are they still used today? What types of eggs?

Traditional Foods

18. What animals, birds, fish, insects, and plants (berries, herbs, trees, or shrubs) were used for food, or other special occasions?
19. Do people in your community eat beaver, muskrat, porcupine or other fur bearers?
20. For example, would you say that your family, eats wild/traditional food regularly?
21. Would you say that the amount of country food eaten in your home is high (say 5-7 X per week), medium (say 2-3 X per week), low (say 1-2 X every couple weeks)

Mammals – Big Game/Fur Bearers

22. Big game (by species i.e. deer, elk, moose etc.) range in townships ___ to ___ and ranges ___ to ___?
23. Fox are known to be in the general area along the___River.
24. Animals that are rarely seen, and then only in specific areas, are___.
25. Have porcupines been seen in recent years?

Hunting and Trapping

26. Where do you do your trapping?
27. Did you, your grandparents, or grand parents hunt and trap full time? Where did you trap (draw on map)? How long? What is the number?
28. Which months do you go out to your trap line? For example do you go out in spring, summer or fall for a couple of weeks at a time or on one or two day trips during the week or on weekends?
29. What animals do you or did you trap on your trap line? When and where?
30. Does the community have a community trap line?
31. Does your family have at least one hunter, or are there key families that do most of the hunting for the community?
32. Where does most of the hunting take place within your territory?
33. What animals do you hunt or catch for food? Where? (try to get a sense of the relative importance both in terms of preference and the volume)
34. Are there any constraints that would discourage people from hunting or trapping? Do you know what they are?

Protection of Species and Habitat

35. Are there any animals, birds, fish, or insects that should be protected in the territory?
36. Are there any special areas that should be protected for animals, fish, birds or plants?
37. What are the types of increased access to the bush-land place negative pressures on the animal population?
38. How soon after a forest fire or clear-cut will animals return?

Medicines, Berries, Herbs, Plants Trees, Shrubs and Crafts

39. How were trees and shrubs used in the past?
40. Was there a specific place that trees and shrubs were chosen from?
41. Do know of any places where plants are collected for medicine, food, or other purposes? Where are they located? For example, berry patches? (Indicate on map)
42. Do you know of any fruit bearing plants and how they were used?

43. Are the medicines sold commercially? Do any families harvest for their own use?
44. Do you know people in the community doing medicinal harvesting?
45. Do you know of people doing crafts?
46. Is craft (moccasins, paintings, carvings, gloves, and jackets, dream catchers, shawls, other) making important in your community?
47. How do the people sell their crafts? (through the local grocery store, gas station, hotel, restaurant, from their homes, wholesales)
48. What is the main market for the crafts that people make?
49. What is the main material being used to make these crafts?
50. Are the people that are making the crafts independently working or are they in partnership with other organisations?

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM

Consent Form for Participating in Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study

The purpose of this project is to acquire information on the areas used for harvesting and types of animals harvested by individuals in the past and present. Through an interview and video documentation process, your feedback will be used in the creation of a Masters Thesis that will be available to the public to build awareness and understanding about traditional activities on traditional territory in the north. This Thesis will also be used to assist Pelican Lake First Nation (PLFN) with educating youth, creating an economic or resource management plan. This project has received funding from the Pelican Lake First Nation, and Agency Chiefs Tribal Council (ACTC) National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation (NAAF), Natural Resources Institute (NRI), Manitoba Provincial Grant and the Kiwanis Club of Winnipeg Foundation Inc.

The interview will take approximately one hour 30 minutes. During the interview, if you do not wish to answer a question, you may decline. If you would like to discuss something, but do not want it video-recorded or audio recorded you may request that recording be stopped. You may also withdraw from the interview at any time.

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Anticipated Outcomes:
The research and information collected from Pelican Lake First Nation is expected to be utilised in the creation of a Masters Thesis and a VHS video that documents Aboriginal people's experiences on the land. Pelican Lake will receive a final copy of the Masters Thesis and video once completed. Further outcomes from this work may include publishing of papers by the researcher on the data collected through the interviews. This research project has been reviewed by the Natural Resources Institute at the University of Manitoba. If you have any questions, you may contact Professor Thomas Henley by phone at (204) 474-8373.

By signing this form, you are providing your consent:
To have your interview documented by video or audio,
To have the final video disseminated to the public and respective communities.

Informed Consent:
I agree to participate in this interview, which is part of the Traditional Land-Use and Occupancy Study with Pelican Lake First Nation. I understand that this is voluntary, that I can refuse to answer any questions and may withdraw from the interview at any time. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this form.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

I, the undersigned, have, to the best of my ability, fully explained the nature of this project. I have invited questions and provided answers. I believe that the person whose signature appears above understands the implications and voluntary nature of their involvement in this project.

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEWEE DEMOGRAPHICS

Interviewees	Date Of Birth	Male/Female	On Reserve	Off Reserve	Band Member
Sample	November 30, 1967	M	Yes		Yes
A1	August 5, 1962	M	Yes		Yes
A2	September 28, 1955	M	Yes		Yes
A3	September, 1936	M		Yes	No
B	September 10, 1934	F	Yes		Yes
C	June 15, 1937	F	Yes		Yes
D	June 20, 1939	M	Yes		Yes
E	October 10, 1945	M	Yes		Yes
F	November 26, 1926	F		Yes	No
G1	September 5, 1934	F	Yes		Yes
G2	October 17, 1932	M	Yes		No
H	September 1, 1960	M	Yes		Yes
I	September 27, 1940	F	Yes		Yes
J	November 30, 1971	M	Yes		Yes
K	May 15, 1938	F	Yes		Yes
L1	June 20, 1941	F	Yes		Yes
L2	May 20, 1938	F	Yes		Yes
M	May 20, 1926	M	Yes		Yes
N	August 8, 1936	M	Yes		Yes
O	March 9, 1932	F	Yes		Yes
P1	October 14, 1962	M	Yes		Yes
P2	October 3, 1946	M	Yes		Yes

APPENDIX E: PLFN TRADITIONAL TERRITORY TOPOGRAPHIC MAP

APPENDIX F: PLFN TRADITIONAL TERRITORY LAND SATELLITE MAP