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THE RED EARTH CREES 1860-1960

THE RED EARTH CREES
AND THE MARRIAGE ISOLATE
1860-1960

By
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A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
McMaster University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1982)
(Anthropology)

MCMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Red Earth Crees and the Marriage Isolate,
1860-1960

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NUMBER OF PAGES: 361

ABSTRACT

This thesis is based upon ethnographic and archival research relating to the Crees of Red Earth in east central Saskatchewan. Ethnographic research was conducted at the Red Earth reserves for about a year, mainly in 1971 and 1972. Archival research was carried out at the Public Archives of Manitoba, utilizing documents of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican Missionary Society.

This research has been basically historical in orientation and directed towards obtaining information on the changing subsistence-settlement patterns and social organization of the Crees of the Red Earth region since about 1860. Culturally, the Red Earth people are Plains Crees, originally affiliated with those who centred their yearly activities about Ft. a la Corne, Saskatchewan. Of particular interest is the cultural and social affiliation of the Red Earth people with the Shoal Lake Crees, a Swampy Cree group who formed one segment of the large Indian group attached to The Pas, Manitoba.

A major theme of this thesis is the development of a high degree of in-marriage between the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees and the formation of an in-marrying group which is here termed the "deme" or "marriage isolate". It is postulated that the marriage isolate is a social form characteristic of hunter-gatherer society throughout the world and that it was present among Northern Algonkians in the early contact period (and, therefore, also in pre-contact times). Due to the environmental instability of the boreal forest, disruptions due to contact (introduced diseases, fur trade vicissitudes) and contemporary government policies, it appears that Northern Algonkian demes have been in a recurrent state of disruption and re-formation throughout the contact period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To help me to begin research in late 1970, the National Museum of Man provided \$500.00. Later, this institution provided a more substantial grant of \$2,090.00. Fortunately, the Canada Council also funded my project and I received \$2,412.00 from this source. I must express my gratitude to both of these granting agencies for their support. In the field this money was used for transportation costs, for equipment (stationary, recording tapes, camera film, etc.), to pay informant fees, and to support myself (food, rent).

At Red Earth and Shoal Lake I must note the patience and forbearance which the community members maintained towards my research activities. I especially prize the good humour and friendship of my principal informants, Joel Whitehead, George Head, Silas Head and Donald McKay. Others who supplied substantial information were Francis Daniels, Lazarus Nawakayas, Alex and Maggie Whitehead, Darius Nawakayas, Joseph Young and Nathan Garvin. Two brothers, Ralph and Abel Head, provided invaluable aid as occasional interpreters and translators. They are also the repositories of much traditional and historical information.

Mr. Ron Clancy, owner of the stores at Red Earth and Shoal Lake was very helpful in the early stages of the field work since he introduced me to many members of the community. He also maintained an active and encouraging interest in my work. The previous store owner-manager, Mr. Robert Hutton (now of The Pas, Manitoba), very kindly acted as an informant on several occasions. The teachers at Red Earth and Shoal Lake during the winter of 1970-71 must also be thanked for their kindness, helpfulness and interest in my work.

Another major institutional presence at Red Earth-Shoal Lake is the Anglican Church. I must particularly indicate my gratitude to the Reverend Kenneth Burningham, minister of the parish which includes Red Earth and Shoal Lake. We have been engaged in many stimulating conversations and I have come to appreciate his insights into the local society and his deep concern for his parishioners. As well, Canon W. Rowe of the Diocese of Saskatchewan has been very helpful in giving me access to parish records pertaining to Red Earth and Shoal Lake and kept in the Synod Office at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

I must also express my gratitude to the Hudson's Bay Company for the opportunity to utilize their archival documents. These have proved an important source of information on the history of Red Earth and Shoal Lake in the second half of the 19th century. For their support and interest in my work I thank Dr. John Matthiasson, Dr. Carolyn Matthiasson and Dr. H. Christoph Wolfart. Dr. Wolfart has been untiring in his efforts to aid my attempts to properly transcribe those Crees words I have recorded. My gratitude also is extended to my friends Mr. Dale Russell, Dr. Ian Dyck and Ms. Katherine Pettipas who have listened with great interest to my discourses on Red Earth and Shoal Lake history and have provided considerable useful information. In particular, Dr. Dyck has drawn my attention to Red Earth photographs held in the Public Archives of Canada. Special thanks are due my wife, A. Dianne Wilson-Meyer, who has aided greatly in many aspects of the preparation of this thesis. While conducting fur trade research in the Archives of Saskatchewan she found a manuscript by Reginald Beatty which provides unique and very important observations on the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees in the 1870's. She has also helped to organ-

ize the genealogical information and has drafted some of the kinship charts; however, I must thank Ms. Jacqueline Carter for drafting the bulk of the kinship charts and the maps.

Dr. Richard Preston, my graduate advisor, and the other members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Edward S. Rogers and Dr. Richard Slobodin, are much appreciated for their sympathetic criticism of my work, their interest in the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people, and their friendship. As well, Dr. David Damas very kindly reviewed early versions of this thesis.

Almost all of this thesis has been typed by Helena Klimko and I am much indebted to her for the great effort she has made in this regard. My thanks are extended also to Anne Childs for typing portions of this thesis. Elizabeth Weegar and Theressa Walker typed earlier drafts.

ABBREVIATIONS

- PAM HBC - Public Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company
CMS - Church Missionary Society
USA MM - University of Saskatchewan Archives, Morton Manuscripts

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Crees of Red Earth, who are the focus of this thesis, occupy the Carrot River valley of east central Saskatchewan (Fig. 1). My research relating to these Crees has been ethnohistorical in orientation and confined to the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. In the course of this research I have obtained information from two main sources: field work and archival documents. In the field historical accounts and personal recollections have been collected from informants and I have also obtained information from actual observations of the people and their activities. The archival documents that I have studied are those of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Anglican Church. As well, one pertinent document has been found in the archives of the University of Saskatchewan.

The information which I have gathered indicates that in the mid 19th century the people of this region lived in groups of families which appear very similar in composition to the local band as defined by June Helm (1965:375). In fact, I have identified the presence of six local bands here in the middle of the 1800's. The three most westerly of these local bands were oriented to the parklands and were involved in a Plains Cree cultural sphere while the other three local bands were Swampy Cree in culture and maintained ties with the Crees to the northeast. Those Crees with a Plains Cree orientation eventually had reserves established for

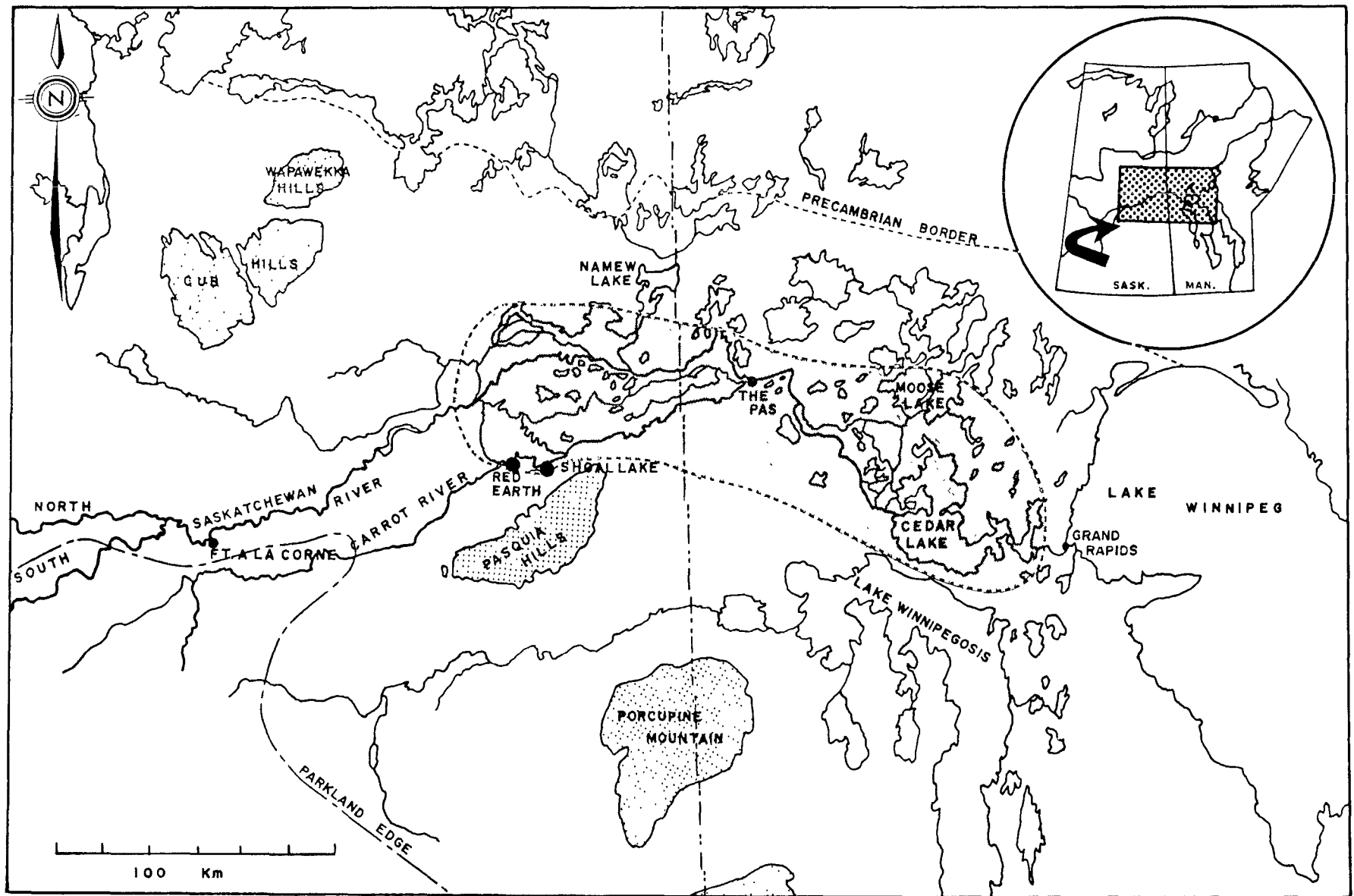


Figure 1. The Saskatchewan River valley. The shaded area delineates the Saskatchewan River delta.

them in the Red Earth area (Fig. 1) and this thesis is centred upon these people. However, the Swampy Crees who live in the Shoal Lake area have remained important to Red Earth society and culture for several generations and they are also considered, as a secondary focus, in this thesis.

In the mid 19th century the Red Earth Crees were enmeshed in a market economy through their participation in the fur trade. In this regard, the Hudson's Bay Company was the most important Eurocanadian institution, although in the late 1800's free traders became increasingly active. The subsistence economy of these Crees was based on moose and waterfowl hunting, along with some fishing. Some of the Red Earth people had lived in the parklands to the southwest where they had been involved in bison hunting. In summary, the Crees of the Red Earth region lived in local bands for much of the year, were involved in the fur trade and traversed a large area extending from Red Earth to the Ft. a la Corne parkland (Fig. 1), the northernmost edge of which is about 80 kilometers to the southwest of the study area. These Crees were familiar with horses, although few seem to have been available.

This thesis explores the social and economic adjustments of this group of Crees to the slowly changing conditions of the late 19th century and the early 20th century. The elements of change, all Eurocanadian imports, to which this group of Cree families reacted and adjusted included:

1. the establishment of a trading store in the area,
2. the establishment of the reserve system,
3. the introduction of potato horticulture and limited cattle husbandry,
4. the establishment of a church and school,

5. the establishment of farming settlement in the parkland by the first decade of the 20th century and the subsequent slow expansion of this farming settlement northeast towards the Red Earth region.

The reaction and adjustment of this group of Crees to these changes included:

1. a decrease in mobility and the development of stable home bases with log houses,
2. a decrease in territorial range,
3. an increase in population,
4. the development of a marriage isolate.

I believe that all of these adjustments to the changing conditions are inter-related. The increasingly stable population in a smaller territory appears to reflect the presence of a more productive subsistence base, or at least one which allowed or encouraged less mobility, since gardening and cattle raising were involved. The establishment of formal reserves in the 1880's and 1890's, followed by a school, church and store also encouraged increasing sedentary life. Beginning with the time of reserve establishment the population rose slowly.

Although the mortality rate was high, the population grew slowly through to the early 1950's (at which time the introduction of medical services resulted in a very rapid population increase continuing into the present). Presumably, a major factor enabling this slow population growth was an increased stability in the food supply. It is also possible that decreased mobility and better housing were of importance in this regard. The Department of Indian Affairs supplied small amounts of food to the elderly, disabled and chronically ill; however, it is doubtful if this

had any important effect on the dynamics of population growth.

In the mid 19th century the Red Earth Crees maintained marriage ties with the rest of the Ft. a la Corne people. This was the group within which spouses were normally obtained. However, by the end of the century, it is apparent that fewer and fewer Red Earth marriages were contracted with the Ft. a la Corne Crees. It is my contention that at this time the Red Earth group was not large enough to supply appropriate spouses for all of its maturing members and the break with Ft. a la Corne was only possible because the Red Earth Crees began to obtain spouses from Shoal Lake (and vice versa). For over a century now women (rarely men) have moved back and forth between these two communities as marriage partners.

In this thesis I argue that (together) these two groups of Crees came to form a deme or marriage isolate - a social entity within which any member normally obtains his/her spouse. By the early decades of the 20th century the percentage of spouses obtained outside of the Red Earth-Shoal Lake group had dwindled to about 15 percent. For instance, the marriages of the second generation peaked in the years 1910-1930. Of the 80 marriages on this generational level, 12 involved outsiders. The deme which developed in the study area can not be viewed as a necessary or forced result of the changed situation to which these Crees were adjusting. Conceivably, conditions which would force the development of the deme would include travel restrictions which would reduce outside contacts and marriages. However, this has never been the case in the Saskatchewan River valley. The Crees of the Red Earth region have never been made to remain on their reserves but have travelled to Ft. a la Corne, Cumberland

House, The Pas, Moose Lake and even to Nut Lake, a Saulteaux reserve to the south. In turn, members of these groups made visits to Red Earth and Shoal Lake.

On the other hand, conditions which would allow the development of a deme were becoming established in the study area. Perhaps the most crucial factor affecting the formation and maintenance of a deme is the existence of a population above a certain minimum size. The group must be large enough that it can supply each of its maturing members with an appropriate spouse.¹ Normally this requires that the deme should include a minimum of 175 persons (Wobst 1974a:173). By the early 1900's this requisite condition had been satisfied in the study region.

However, I do not believe that the development of the deme in the Red Earth region reflects the birth of a social form new or unique to these Crees. Rather, I think that the marriage universe has long been a characteristic feature of Subarctic Indian and Metis societies. The development of a deme in the study region, therefore, is not surprising in view of the fact that it appears to be characteristic of most hunting and gathering groups throughout the world, and of other Subarctic band societies.

COMMUNITY OVERVIEW

Red Earth, in this century, has been one of the more isolated Cree communities anywhere in Saskatchewan. Surprisingly, even many of the far northern Indian communities, accessible only by air or by arduous water travel, have experienced more effective contact with Eurocanadians than has Red Earth. Why this should be so is not immediately clear. However,

it is true that up until 1960 the Red Earth region was geographically inaccessible in the absolute sense of the word. For instance, a Revillon Freres trader stationed at Red Earth in 1921 expressed his sense of isolation in this way:

Fifty miles to the north as a crow would fly lay Cumberland House. The post at Cumberland sold tooth-paste, gramophone records, and sewing machines. Fifty miles to the south, beyond the Pasquia Hills, trains were running and sawmills were at work. Here, in a backwater between the two points, men used muzzle-loaders and lighted their pipes with flint-and-steel (Kemp 1956:89).

The Red Earth Crees could, then, be described as having the Pasquia Hills at their backs (a formidable forested range with the second highest elevation, 825 meters, in the province) and the marshes and muskegs of the Saskatchewan River delta at their feet. Both geographical features spelled isolation from Eurocanadians and apparently, a corollary, cultural security for the Indians of the region.

The Red Earth people have maintained considerable social distance between themselves and outsiders, Indians and Eurocanadians. No doubt this behaviour is simply an expression of the personal reserve or reticence (Preston 1975) which Crees or northern Algonkians in general exhibit in awkward social situations, particularly with strangers. Outsiders, Indian and Eurocanadian, often refer to the Red Earth people as being very shy, very withdrawn.

In 1971 the Red Earth population was 425, over half of whom were school children. These people were unequally distributed between the two reserves (Fig. 2) with the bulk of the population living on the north reserve, in one village and two hamlets. The occupants of the south reserve lived in seven households scattered along the main road and Red

Earth Creek. The residence pattern of these reserves will be discussed in some detail in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

FIELD RESEARCH

My work at Red Earth began on December 1, 1970 and continued through a nine month period to the end of August, 1971. The following summer, 1972, I again returned to Red Earth, this time for most of June, July and August. The initial intent of this research was to salvage ethnographic information. Only following my enrollment, in 1973-74, in the Ph.D. programme at McMaster University did I begin to collect informant and archival data oriented to the needs of a specific dissertation problem. In the summer of 1975 I once again returned to Red Earth, this time for July and August, supported by no grants but with the use of equipment supplied by the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History. I have, therefore, spent somewhat more than a year at Red Earth altogether.

My research orientation at Red Earth has, from the beginning, been historical and ethnohistorical. In the course of my field work I collected information on the past subsistence and market economy, on the founders of the community and on past marriages and family composition. The latter inquiries resulted in the construction of genealogies of all Red Earth (and Shoal Lake) families for the century-plus during which the community has existed. In the course of constructing genealogies I soon came to realize that the marriages of the Red Earth people were predominantly oriented to one other community. Marriages were not, as I had believed would be the case, randomly contracted with persons from neighbouring Cree communities such as Cumberland House, The Pas and Shoal Lake. Rather, out-marriages involved

Shoal Lake individuals much of the time. At this level of my research, therefore, I extended my inquiries to include Shoal Lake and obtained genealogical information from three persons there: Robert Bear (aged 78 in 1971), his son Howard (aged 53) and Gilbert Moore (aged 76), a former chief of the Shoal Lake band. Information from these persons was supplemented by that provided by Shoal Lake women at Red Earth- particularly the wives of three of my main informants. These women were Grace Whitehead, Matilda McKay, and Alice Amelia Head.

I chose to do historical research partly because I felt that the Red Earth Crees, like many contemporary Indian peoples, would be very sensitive to and even irritated by research involving present day life. The wisdom of hindsight now leads me to believe that, at Red Earth, a study of the contemporary society would have been acceptable to the community members. However, this does not cause me any particular concern since my overall interest orientation is historical and my training was best suited to ethnohistorical problem research.

In actual fact, I found that my research dealt almost as much with the present as with the past. I found that many of the activities which were described to me as characteristic of the "old people" were carried on to the present. In addition, all of my genealogical and kinship research dealt not only with the past but with lines leading to the present. I found that residence in the past was the key to the residence patterns of the present. As a result, my research rarely remained solely in the past and usually led to the present. In fact, this manner of approaching a discussion of the present seemed to be perfectly acceptable or perhaps even unnoticed by my informants.

My major informants at Red Earth are defined in my mind as those

with whom I carried out more or less formal interviews or tape recording sessions. These men were Joel Whitehead, George Head, Donald McKay, and Silas Head. Others who supplied substantial information were Francis Daniels, Lazarus Nawakayas, Alex Whitehead and his wife Maggie, Darius Nawakayas, Joseph Young and Nathan Garvin. Two brothers, Ralph and Abel Head, provided invaluable aid as occasional interpreters and translators. They are also the repositories of much traditional and historical knowledge.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The Hudson's Bay Company allowed me to carry out research in its archives in order to locate and record any information which would pertain to the study region. To do this I perused documents dating between ca. 1850 and ca. 1900 (a few items from somewhat later dates were studied also). These materials consist of business letters, ledgers and journals which record the conduct of the trade at Ft. a la Corne, Cumberland House and The Pas. In the last 15 years of the 19th century a trading post, Pas Mountain Post, was operated at Red Earth. However, none of the business documents prepared at this post during this time have survived.

Other archival sources which have been consulted are those maintained by the Anglican Church. The documents of the Church Missionary Society have been particularly useful. I have researched those pertaining to Ft. a la Corne, Cumberland House, The Pas and Red Earth-Shoal Lake between ca. 1850 and ca. 1900. Also very useful have been parish records of baptisms, marriages and funerals kept in the Anglican Synod offices in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan (see "Archival Sources", pages 271-278).

ORTHOGRAPHY

The system of writing Cree which is used in this thesis is that originally devised by Leonard Bloomfield (1934) and revised by H. Christoph Wolfart (1973:8-13). I have never become very proficient in the accurate transcription of Cree words so most of the terms which I have written in the body of this thesis should be considered as close approximations only.

Notes

- 1 In the context of this thesis the deme or marriage isolate is regarded as a human group which is small but large enough to supply each member, upon reaching marriageable age, with an acceptable partner. Implicit in this approach is the view that a deme is a group which is large enough to be able to survive in perpetuity. The actual size of a deme will vary according to the marriage practices and belief systems of a particular cultural group; however, computer simulations strongly suggest that in-marrying populations of much less than 200 persons are not likely to compose groups with a future longer than a few generations.

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY REGION

THE LOWER SASKATCHEWAN RIVER VALLEY

The lower Saskatchewan River valley straddles the Saskatchewan-Manitoba boundary and stretches from Squaw Rapids on the west to Grand Rapids on Lake Winnipeg, a distance of about 185 kilometers. The north-south dimension is shorter, extending some 80 kilometers from Namew Lake on the north to the Pasquia Hills on the south (Fig. 1). While only the southwestern corner of this region was utilized by the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees, all of it has some relevance to them and so is noted here.

This region is relatively simple in terms of terrain but is very complex in terms of plant communities and associated animal species. Two land forms are dominant; (1) the uplands of the Pasquia Hills, and (2) the lowlands of the Saskatchewan River delta. Although the latter term is in common scientific and lay use for the lowlands, it is really a misnomer (at least as the Saskatchewan River is conceptualized in the contemporary period). The mouth of the River is now considered to be at Lake Winnipeg, 195 kilometers east of the Saskatchewan-Manitoba boundary. However, in the 18th century the mouth was believed to be on the west side of Cedar Lake (e.g. Henry 1901:257-258). Here the river is truly delta-like, dividing into many channels.

This historic view of the river's mouth as at Cedar Lake with different rivers above and below, is more acceptable than the contemporary view. If it is reasonable to conceive of a delta which is over 145 kilometers long

and which varies up to 80 kilometers in width, the whole region from Cedar Lake to Red Earth could seriously be considered as such. Because of the homogeneity of this region, researchers tend to treat it as a unit and have dubbed it the "Saskatchewan River delta" (Fig. 1). On the north this delta gradually gives way to the northern coniferous forest while on the south it ends abruptly on the flank of the Pasquia Hills.

In terms of dominant vegetation zones, the Saskatchewan River delta is recognized as a part of the Manitoba Lowland Forest Section - a northwestern extension of a forest zone characteristic of a large portion of central Manitoba. This forest zone is characterized by a somewhat exotic (to central Saskatchewan) community of plants in which American elm, Manitoba maple and green ash figure prominently (for details see Appendix I). On the south and west of the Saskatchewan River delta is the Mixedwood Forest Section which extends in a wide band across central Saskatchewan (Kabzems et al. 1976:8). This is the most heavily wooded portion of Saskatchewan and a substantial pulp and logging industry is based upon this forest section. The territory of the Red Earth Crees straddles the contact zone between the southwestern edge of the Manitoba Lowland forest characteristic of the Saskatchewan River delta and the adjacent Mixedwood Forest Section. About 80 kilometers to the southwest of Red Earth is the northern edge of the aspen parkland.

THE RESERVES AND THEIR NAMES

The Red Earth Crees occupy two Indian Reserves in east central Saskatchewan. One of these is Carrot River Indian Reserve Number 29A and the other is Red Earth Indian Reserve Number 29 (Fig. 2). These, however,

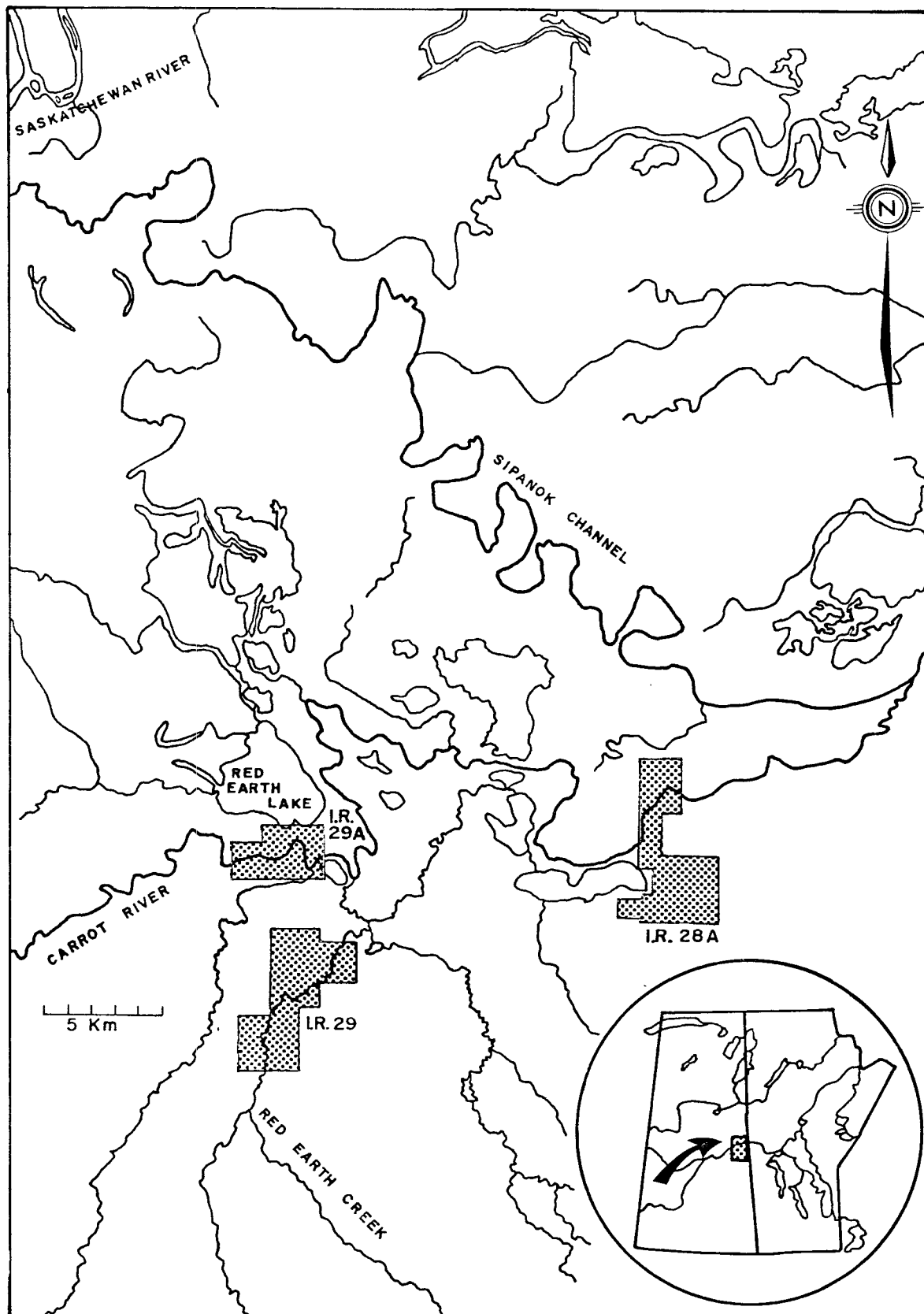


Figure 2. The Indian reserves of the Red Earth study area.

are the official names only. In practice the region surrounding the reserves is known by the name "Red Earth" and the reserves are referred to locally as the Red Earth Reserves. In addition, the main village, which is situated on the Carrot River Reserve, is generally known as "Red Earth Village" or, more usually, "The Village".

The name "Red Earth" has been long associated with this area. The earliest reference which I have found dates to 1820 when Lieutenant Robert Hood of Sir John Franklin's expedition sojourned through this region. On the map which Hood drew up of this region the "Red Mud Creek" appears (Franklin 1970: end maps). The English name "Red Earth" is a direct translation from the Cree mihkwaskiwahkähk¹ 'Red Earth Locality'. This name is now used more frequently by older than young persons.

I questioned one of my informants, Joel Whitehead, about the origin of the place name mihkwaskiwahkähk. My notes on his reply have been edited to read as follows:

By the marsh between the two reserves there is a separate slough, just off the northwestern corner of the southern reserve. This slough was the original Red Earth Lake but this name was transferred to the lake north of here.

Every spring this slough is filled with water and when it dries up during the summer, a layer of red clay is left in the bottom. This deposit is only about three inches thick and is a bright red colour. When the slough bottom dries up in late summer the mud cracks and pieces of the dry material can be easily picked up.

The selection of this geographical feature to name the region suggests that the historic (and prehistoric?) Crees of the region regarded this red slough bottom as remarkable. It is possible that it was utilized as a source of cosmetic paint and in this regard I asked Joel if the red mud had ever been

used for anything by people. He replied to the effect that some of the "old people" had tried it on their log houses but the rain had just washed it off. Body painting never seems to have been practised by the Red Earth people during the time they have been in this region.

The name "Carrot River" has historical attestation older than that of "Red Earth". Through much of the 19th century the Carrot River was named the Root River; however, it is clear that the name "Carrot River" was also in early and frequent use. For instance, on February 3, 1778, a clerk at Cumberland House, Joseph Hanson, made this journal entry (Rich 1951:213): "By the bearer Mr. Ross at River aux Carrot sent me a few lines". The name "Carrot River", then, has been in use for at least two hundred years. Both Carrot and Root River appear simply to be different translations of the Cree oskātāskwa sīpiy, carrot being the French version and root the English. The oskātāskwa is a marsh plant which has an edible root or clump of roots comparable to the domesticated carrot. As was the case with Red Earth, the Carrot River was named for a distinctive feature of the landscape with little or no cultural importance.

The most northerly reserve, Carrot River I.R. No. 29A, is the smaller of the two reserves at Red Earth (Fig. 2). It has an area of only 826 hectares (2,040 acres). This reserve is rectangular in shape, with a portion of the northwestern corner of the rectangle missing. Unlike the southern reserve, this reserve (No. 29A) is located within the Saskatchewan River delta and is thus low-lying and almost entirely covered by portions of the marshes and small lakes of this region. The only well drained land is that of the levees which border the Carrot River. The levee on the north side of the river is especially well elevated on the inside of a tight loop which

the Carrot River describes here. On this prominent point of land the original settlement was established over a century ago and here the main village is now located.

Just over two kilometers to the south of the Carrot River Reserve is Red Earth I.R. No. 29. The area between the two reserves is occupied by one end of a large marsh. This southern reserve is topographically very different from the northern since it is located outside of the Saskatchewan River delta and is, therefore, in an area of higher, better drained land with heavy forests of spruce and poplar. Most important to the original inhabitants was Red Earth Creek which meanders through the reserve, flowing north.

Red Earth reserve encompasses 1,456 hectares (3,596 acres) and is almost six kilometers long. Its shape is not, though, rectangular, but is irregular. The area along Red Earth Creek has long been a camping place of the local Crees, as is evidenced by Robert Hood's (1974:53) stay at a camp situated on Red Earth Creek (but apparently several kilometers south of the present reserve) in 1820. It is not surprising, therefore, that a reserve was created here. However, the fact remains that both of these reserves are only tiny bits of land carved out of what was, in the 1880's, a sparsely populated region. Understandably, the Crees of this region have never restricted their economic activities to the reserves alone.

Another reserve is also of importance in this context. This reserve is located on the Carrot River, some 20 kilometers downstream from Red Earth, and is officially known as Shoal Lake Indian Reserve Number 28A. The single village here is known officially as Pakwaw Lake after pāhkwāw sākahikan 'Shoal Lake' which is immediately adjacent to the western edge of the re-

serves. My research at Shoal Lake has been restricted to the gathering of a considerable amount of genealogical detail and some historical information concerning the founding of the community.

THE TERRITORY OF THE RED EARTH CREES

I define the territory of the Red Earth people as that region within which they normally travelled and camped in order to carry out the activities which maintained both their subsistence economy and their involvement with the Eurocanadian market system. The territory of these Crees is divisible into two portions: one within which they normally concentrated their activities and another, peripheral to this core area, into which hunting and trapping forays were made when shortages occurred in the core area (Fig. 3). For example, with the decline of the beaver population during the 1920's and 1930's, trappers travelled west and north into the peripheral area to search for these animals on the Petaigan and Torch Rivers. In this thesis, the territory of the Red Earth Crees will be referred to as the "study area".

TERRAIN

The Red Earth territory includes portions of four of the major terrain areas in this section of the province. One of these is the Pasquia Hills while the other three - the hill flank, the Carrot River plain and the Saskatchewan River delta - are found in the lowlands (Fig 3). These areas are defined on the basis of differing soils, elevations, drainage patterns and vegetation.

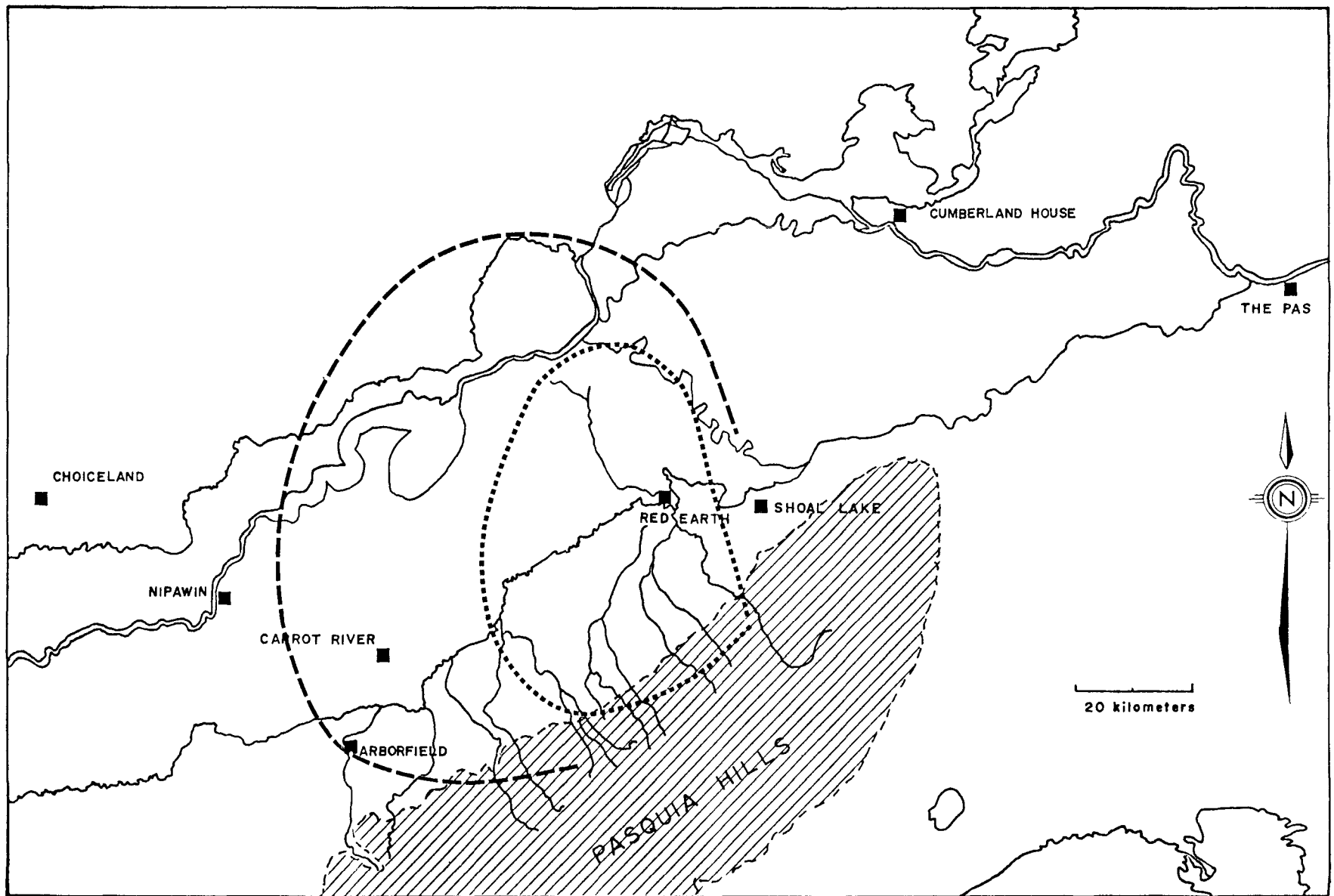


Figure 3. The territory of the Red Earth Crees: the dotted line indicates the normal range while the dashed line bounds the extreme limit of economic activities.

Pasquia Hills

The Pasquia Hills are geologically a part of the Manitoba or Cretaceous Escarpment. This escarpment consists of an elongated series of hill ranges which begin in southwestern Manitoba and stretch north for approximately 1,120 kilometers. Between each of these upland ranges is a huge valley and at present each of these valleys contains at least one stream. In two cases these are major rivers - the Saskatchewan and the Assiniboine.

The rolling hills of the Pasquia upland rise quickly from an altitude of 350 meters or less in the Saskatchewan River delta to a maximum altitude of almost 1,000 meters. The whole range trends southwest to northeast and is about 115 kilometers long. About 35 kilometers west of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border the hills terminate precipitously; however, their southwestern end merges gradually with the Saskatchewan Plain on the west. At their widest point the hills are 25 kilometers across.

Since most of the Pasquia Hills are still forested, they form the core of a formidable wilderness area which, to the present, has few trails and no all-weather roads through it. During the past 60 years logging activities in the hills have resulted in the penetration and exploitation of most portions of this wilderness.

The Manitoba escarpment with its associated valleys is of significance to human environmental adaptation since this complex of land forms roughly marks the boundary between the boreal forest on the northeast and the parklands and prairies to the southwest. The hills themselves are forested, the valleys between often parkland (or partly so). Human movement in this region has always been through the valleys since the terrain is level and navigable streams are present. The valley areas are also more attractive to human pop-

ulations because they are edge environments and are, therefore, rich in floral and faunal species (in the contemporary period these are the regions which support extensive farm settlement).

The Red Earth Crees originally called the hills opāskweyaw waciy or pāskweyaw waciy 'Pas Mountain'. Later, when they began to do most of their marten trapping there, they changed it to wāpiscānāciy 'Marten Mountain' (contraction of wāpiscānis waciy). To these people, the hills have never been of any particular economic importance. In fact, I could find no evidence that hunting and trapping activities regularly penetrated far into the hills. During the summer the hills appear to have been totally avoided. The reasons for this are numerous. Perhaps most important was the relative ruggedness of the terrain which made canoe travel impossible and, given the lack of adequate trails, horse travel difficult. Also, the food resources of the hills were not as rich or as varied as those of the lowlands. The waterfowl, muskrats and fish which were present in great numbers in the valley were all present in relatively low numbers in the upland.

In the autumn, hunting camps were established on or near the foot of the hills and in the winter some fur hunts were carried out into the Pasquias. However, such hunts were mainly for animals which, in the early decades of this century, were becoming extinct in the lowland. This was especially the situation with the beaver and marten. In both cases there is considerable evidence that the lowlands had, historically, supported very large populations of these two species. In this case the remote sections of the hills acted as game preserves.

There is evidence, too, that the Red Earth people had certain beliefs about the hills which made them uneasy about maintaining permanent residence

there. For instance, Kemp (1956:219) has written:

When he told me this, however, I thought of Josie Whitehead at Red Earth, Josie who used to hunt bears deep in the bush with a beat-up old muzzle-loader and an axe. But Josie was not a Northern Indian, and his fear was for timber wolves. Josie, like many another Red Earth or Shoal Lake Indian, would not camp alone in the Pasquia Hills for any price. That was timber-wolf country.

Of course, wolves are also found in the lowlands so this cannot be the major reason the hills were avoided. In this vein, Robert Hutton (personal communication, April, 1967) has noted:

"They used to tell stories of Grizzlies, Mountain Lions and, of course, the Great Thunderbird made his home there. A good place to stay away from".

The Lowlands

Ten thousand years ago the valley between the Pasquia Hills and the Wapawekka Hills to the north was inundated by the waters of Glacial Lake Agassiz. This lowland owes much of its present character to the actions of the waters of the ancient glacial lake.

In the lowlands of the Red Earth region there are three major terrain areas. These are composed of parts of the Saskatchewan River delta, the Pasquia Hills' flank, and the Carrot River plain. A geographer, J.H. Richards (1969:41) has described the Saskatchewan River delta in this way:

The Saskatchewan River enters the alluvial plain from the west; Squaw Rapids marks roughly both a change in elevation and materials, and from this point eastward stream deposition is dominant. The river divides into two main branches, the Old Channel entering the southern end of shallow Cumberland Lake while the New Channel (1870's) enters further north via numerous distributaries and a delta. The flat, waterlogged terrain with its reed-bound lakes and marsh, is interrupted by levees,

or flood ridges, adjacent to both active and abandoned channels. These tree-clothed levees, ranging from a few chains to a half a mile in width, rise abruptly from the river channel and slope gently away into the backswamp areas.

This region, then, is delta-like in its low-lying terrain, branching river channels and leveed stream borders. There is no land elevated above a few metres, the only dry land being the levees which border the water course.

This delta-like terrain is well suited to the environmental adaptation usual to northern Algonkians. During the summer people with small canoes can move almost at will. There are no rapids, the lakes are generally small and the portages from one body of water to another short. Referring to his Red Earth experience in the 1920's, Harold Kemp (1956:94) has written of canoe-use in this way:

Among these almost-primitive Indians, I do not think that six of them owned a factory-built canoe. The birch-bark canoe cost only the labour of making it, it was light for cross-country travel, and in a country where that travel was mostly on reedy lakes and on the narrow Carrot River, the birchbark was ideal. None of them ran to any great size; I doubt if any of them reached sixteen feet in length. Round-bottomed instead of flattish - as in the case of a factory-built canoe - they were treacherous in the extreme.

In that portion of the Saskatchewan River delta known to the Red Earth people there are several small lakes and streams (Fig. 4). The largest of these are:

mihkwaskiwahkay sakahikan 'red earth lake'

mistahi sakahikan 'big lake' - Kennedy Lake

kamaskekokamahk 'muskeg area' - Meadow Lake

mostosistikwan sakahikan 'buffalohead lake'

nape sakahikan 'man lake'

taskomawinanis 'short cut channel' - Kennedy Creek

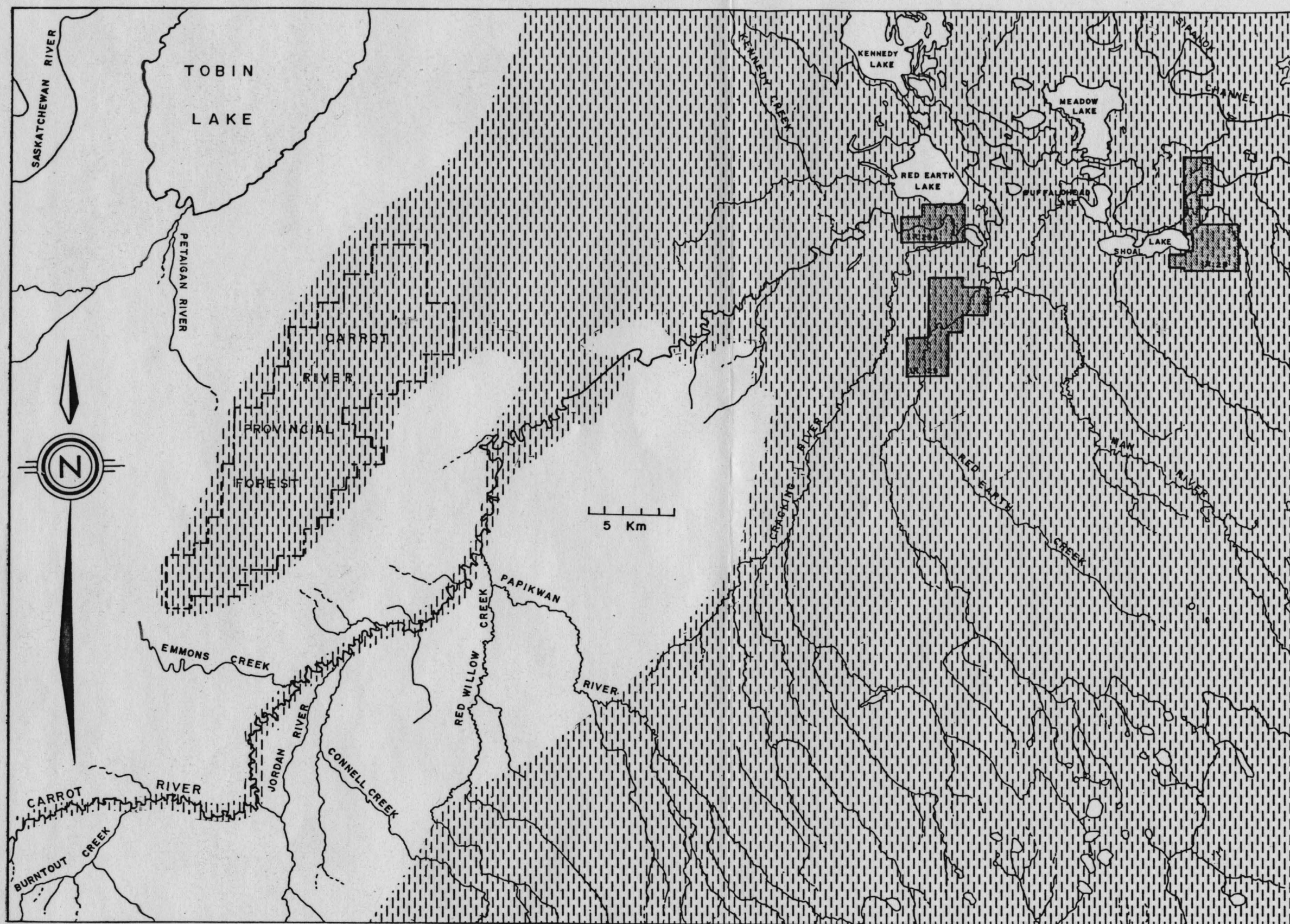


Figure 4. Rivers, creeks and lakes of the Red Earth region. The unstippled area indicates the contemporary extent of farm settlement.

kipōcakāy sīpīsis 'log jam creek'

The latter is a stream which leads from Kennedy Lake to the Carrot River while nāpe sākāhikan is a small lake to the east of Red Earth, on the edge of the territory of the Shoal Lake people.

The four largest streams are:

oskātāsko sīpiy 'carrot river'

sīpānak sīpiy 'channel between islands river' - Sipanok Channel

nāpe sīniy 'man river' (known in the Pasquia Hills as nāpe sīpīsis
'man creek')

kisiskāciwan sīpiy 'rapid current river' - Saskatchewan River

The Carrot River plain is that region to the immediate west of the Saskatchewan River delta. In this region the ancient Saskatchewan River emptied its waters into Glacial Lake Agassiz and an extensive, many channeled delta was formed in thick deposits of sand. These deposits were reworked by the waters of Glacial Lake Agassiz to form prominent sandy beaches. As the lake subsided, successive parallel beaches were formed, some several hundred meters wide and five to seven meters thick. They may be very near to one another or kilometers apart, but in any case they act as dikes and they pond water between them. As a result, drainage is impeded and marshes and muskegs predominate (or did until farm settlement).

The ancient strandlines of the Carrot River plain and of the hill flank were of considerable importance to the people of this region, especially during the summer. First, these were prominent, well drained areas in a generally waterlogged land. This, along with their relatively sparse vegetation which provided open grassy spots, made them attractive for camping. Second, since they extended, almost unbroken, for dozens of kilo-

meters, they provided excellent routes for trails. The open nature of the forest and the dry footing also enhanced this latter use. Two streams, other than the Carrot River, drain this area:

oskahtikav s̄ipisis 'jackpine creek' - Emmons Creek

patahikan s̄ipiy - Petaigan River

More relevant to the Red Earth people was the region which flanks the base of the Pasquia Hills. Topographically this area is relatively level, only slightly elevated above the Saskatchewan River delta. It slopes gently from the base of the hills to the delta edge and is about 15 kilometers wide, north-south, at Red Earth. The hill flank extends westward beyond the delta and here it separates the Pasquias from the Carrot River plain. The Carrot River forms, roughly, the line separating the two terrain areas.

This terrain area is composed mainly of clays deposited by streams which drained the north face of the hills and emptied into Glacial Lake Agassiz. However, sufficient sand and gravel was deposited for some beaches to form. These beaches are particularly large adjacent to the stream mouths of the period. Between the beaches the silty soil is not well drained and frequently supports muskegs, although, in general, this region does seem to be better drained than the Carrot River plain.

The hill flank was of considerable importance to the Red Earth people since its low relief and better drainage allowed easier summer land movement than was possible in any of the other local terrain areas. Numerous trails were present in this region and these were used by people with

horses or on foot. For instance the ayīsiyiniw meskanaw 'Indian trail' to the parklands led southwest along the hill flank. It is likely that the considerable use of horses by the Red Earth Crees would not have been maintained if this hill flank terrain had not been present.

Characteristic of the hill flank are the creeks which cross it at fairly regular intervals, flowing north out of the Pasquias and down into the delta (Fig. 4). Beginning on the western periphery of Red Earth territory and moving east, these are:

pakekinwa sīpiy 'leather river' - Burntout Creek

wāposaciṽ sīpiy 'hare hill river' - Jordan River

acikāsipakoskay sīpīsis 'bear berry creek' - Connell Creek

kakano āsokan sīpīsis 'long bridge creek' - Red Willow Creek

pepikwan sīpīsis 'flute creek' - Red Willow Creek - (alternate name)²

pepikwan sīpiy 'flute river' - Papikwan River

pikwaci sīpiy 'lonely river' - Cracking River

mihkwaskīwahkāy sīpīsis 'red earth creek'

nāpe sīpiy 'man river'

SUMMARY

The territory of the Red Earth Crees includes portions of each of the four major terrain areas that occur in this part of Saskatchewan. These are: (1) the Pasquia Hills, (2) the hill flank, (3) the Carrot River plain and (4) the Saskatchewan River delta. In gross terms there are two major units; the Pasquia uplands and the lowlands which extend north from the foot of these hills. However, in terms of the floral and faunal resources that were of importance to the Cree inhabitants and of the transportation

methods employed by these people, the most important division was between the delta and the other three terrain areas. The Saskatchewan River delta supports a flora which is unique in Saskatchewan. This environmental zone is a northward extension of the Manitoba lowland and because of its rich alluvial soils it supports plant communities more characteristic of south central Manitoba. The delta is characterized by small lakes and quiet streams, all ideally suited to small canoe travel. This is ideal habitat for aquatic mammals, and waterfowl as well as fish are present seasonally in large numbers. In contrast, the three terrain areas to the south and west are relatively well drained, unsuitable for travel by small watercraft, support much smaller numbers of aquatic mammals and are blanketed by trees typical of the southern boreal forest of the prairie provinces.

The Red Earth Crees, therefore, straddled two very different environmental zones. In the delta an aquatic, canoe-oriented summer adaptation was possible while on the hill flank horses were much used. Of course, in winter the regional environment is more uniform and horses might be used throughout (unless the snow became too deep). The Red Earth people, therefore, maintained, at different places in different seasons, environmental adaptations characteristic of both the Plains Cree and the Swampy Cree. As will become clear in the subsequent chapters, this was only one aspect of the intermediate (partially Plains and partially Swampy) nature of Red Earth culture.

Notes

- 1 Dr. H. Christoph Wolfart (personal communication, March 28, 1976) has suggested this analysis of mihkwaskiwahkähk:
 - mihkw- root 'red'
 - askiw- medial 'earth' (this is a combination form of the noun askiy)
 - ahka- VII verb final 'be land of such-and-such shape or quality'
 - hk locative

- 2 Red Willow Creek was originally known as pepikwan sip̄̄isis 'flute creek'. Later, when a corduroy road and a stream crossing were built through the valley bottom (on the route of the Ayisiyiniw Meskanaw) this creek became known as kakano asokan sip̄̄isis 'long bridge creek'.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS AND APPROACH

INTRODUCTION

The Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees have, throughout the period of their occupation of the central Carrot River valley, lived in social groups influenced by contact with Eurocanadians. Despite this contact, it is postulated that these Crees have maintained sociocultural features and subsistence-settlement patterns more akin to those of band society than any Eurocanadian societal type (Turner and Wertman 1977:78-81) have made a similar postulate as a result of their research into the social organization of the Shamattawa Crees).

This thesis sets out to outline the changing life situation of the Red Earth (and Shoal Lake) Crees from the mid 19th century to the mid 20th century. The social and economic adjustments made by these Crees to the changing conditions during this 100 year period are considered, particularly in relationship to marriage and settlement patterns. The social adjustment which composes the theme of this thesis is that which involved the formation of the marriage isolate, or deme, in this region. The term "marriage isolate" refers to a social unit, the members of which customarily obtain their marriage partners within the unit. One kind of marriage isolate is the deme, a small scale, face-to-face social unit which is characterized by bilateral kin ties (lineages and clans are not present). Of particular interest here is a presentation of the process by which the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees came to form a deme. In order to provide a framework of concepts and defi-

nitions with which these aspects of Cree life in the study area can be examined, the characteristics of band society in the world, and in the North American Subarctic, are discussed in the following sections.

BAND SOCIETY

By the phrase "hunting and gathering peoples", I refer to those human groups which are also termed "band societies". The level of sociocultural integration (Steward 1955) in which populations of hunters and gatherers live is often called that of "band society", because anthropologists have found that the nuclear or extended families of hunters and gatherers do not permanently or characteristically live in isolation. They form spatial and social units which are termed "bands". It is possible, therefore, to formulate generalizations regarding hunting and gathering peoples throughout the world (Murdock 1968:335-336). Excluded from these generalizations, however, are groups such as (1) relatively sedentary maritime or riverine hunters, fishers and shellfish gatherers and (2) the pastoralists of many areas of the world.

Lee and Devore (1968:11-12) have summarized the general characteristics of band societies in this way:

- (1) a "generally egalitarian system"
- (2) "the nature of the food supply keeps the living groups small, usually under fifty persons"
- (3) "several bands would come together on a seasonal basis, resulting in a division of the year into 'public' and 'private' periods" and "the local groups as groups do not ordinarily maintain exclusive rights to resources"

(4) "food surpluses are not a prominent feature of the small-scale society"

(5) "frequent visiting between resource areas prevents any one group from becoming too strongly attached to any single area"

Two main types of hunter-gatherer social organization have been discussed in the ethnographic literature. As noted by Murdock (1968:335-336), one of these is characterized by the presence of residence rules and lineages, the other by a lack of "rigid unilocal rules of residence" and a "bilateral type of society." More recently, Turner and Wertman (1977) also have discussed these two types of hunter-gatherer social organization. For example, they (1977:109) have identified the Bushmen and Cree systems as characteristic of the bilateral type, the Birhor and most Australian groups as of the lineal type. In North America the bilateral system is characteristic of most Subarctic Indian groups, as historically known. There is, however, considerable debate as to whether or not the pre-contact systems also were bilateral. For instance, Krech (1978b) has argued that, aboriginally, Mackenzie valley Athapaskans were characterized by matrilocality and matrilineages.

While I now turn to an examination of the social organization of band societies in the Canadian Subarctic, it must be recognized that the members of these societies have been involved in the fur trade for two to, in some cases, more than three centuries. The type of social organization that is summarized here is that which existed during the period which is termed the "contact-traditional". As originally defined by Helm and Damas (1963), this concept referred to Subarctic and Arctic communities in which people oriented their activities to more or less permanent settlements with established dwellings. However, these people continued to spend a

portion of each year in dispersed tent camps (see also Taylor 1972). Such people are still considered to be hunters and gatherers, living in band type societies, although they are less mobile than their immediate ancestors and they are much involved in the fur trade, being oriented to a specific trading post. Helm and Damas attributed this increased sedentary to the introduction of items of Eurocanadian technology which allowed a more stable food supply and less mobility. More recently, Helm has redefined the concept of the contact-traditional since she feels that it, "focusing on a community type and a dwelling type, is too narrow and specific" (Helm et al. 1975:311). She would now regard it as simply the "stabilized fur and mission stage" (Helm and Leacock 1971:353) and has redefined it in this way:

We take, therefore, as the short-hand marker of transition from the incipient-early contact stage to the contact-traditional the establishment of an enduring trading fort within or close to a particular group's territory. In certain cases we include easy access, with no danger of hostile neighbours or interruption of contact, to a point-of-trade outside of the traditional zone of the group. It follows that the contact-traditional era sees the establishment of permanently peaceable relations between Indian and white (Helm et al. 1975:316).

By the latter definition Crees of the study area have lived in a contact-traditional setting since the 1770's. However, only after the 1870's did their settlement pattern begin to approximate that of Helm and Damas' initial concept of a more sedentary type of contact-traditional.

In many areas of the Subarctic the contact-traditional lasted through to the middle of the present century. Most of the Subarctic ethnographic descriptions, therefore, refer to peoples who have lived for generations in the contact-traditional setting. Of course, a large proportion of the ethnographically known band societies have existed in some relationship with more powerful societies.

H.M. Wobst (1974b:x) has emphasized the idea that most known band societies must have been in contact with groups at a higher level of sociocultural integration for thousands of years. The fact that considerable numbers of hunting and gathering societies managed to continue to exist through to the 20th century indicates to Wobst that they incorporate "powerful mechanisms of change: simple persistence testifies to innumerable rearticulations relative to surrounding societies". The most usual direct relationship between band and other societies has involved trade. Wobst (1974b:x) has suggested that for band societies, this trade:

becomes a process that maintains their cultural systems and counteracts deviations in external relationships. The longevity of such trading patterns thus testifies also to the ability of Band Society to flexibly respond to changes in its environment. Similar processes of change, geared to the maintenance of Band Society in a changing cultural environment, may be expected in the areas of demographic structure, ritual, rules of kinship and marriage, population distribution, and exploitative patterns.

It is apparent, therefore, that known hunter-gatherer social organization, outside of Australia, is likely to differ in some ways from that of band societies existing prior to the rise of tribal organization, some 10,000 years ago.

BAND SOCIETY IN THE SHIELD SUBARCTIC

Julian Steward (1955) and later Elman R. Service (1962) grouped the Arctic Drainage Athapaskans and the northern Algonkians within their "composite band" category. To Steward (1955:144) the composite band consisted of "many unrelated families which may intermarry within the band". Steward believed these Indians to live in composite bands because aboriginally they followed the caribou herds in large bands of up to 200 persons:

Population, which otherwise had to be distributed over an enormous area, was able to concentrate during these hunts in a group having some temporary centralized control and thus constituting a political unit. The bands were generally so large that they comprised unrelated families. Local or band exogamy was unnecessary and consanguinity was the only bar to marriage (Steward 1955:147).

In fact, as Helm (1965:382) has shown, Steward's generalizations about the northeastern Athapaskans were based on misleading, largely non-anthropological data. For the northern Algonkians, Steward was aware of the historic and the contemporary social organization; however, he hypothesized (although presenting no supporting evidence) that for the aboriginal period the "composite band was probably not only the political unit but also the landowning subsistence and social unit" (Steward 1955:145).

Service, while accepting the northern Algonkian and northeastern Athapaskan bands as composite in the historic period, believed this to have been the result of disruptive conditions following European contact. He believed that the bands of both of these geographical groups were, aboriginally, patrilocal. The organization of this patrilocal band was based upon "reciprocal band exogamy and the associated virilocal marital residence mode" (Service 1962:54). Service's concept of the patrilocal band clearly does not encompass the full complexity of historically known Subarctic Indian band society, as described by a number of researchers (e.g. Helm 1965, Rogers 1969a, Rogers and Black 1976).

To decide whether a band is patrilocal, matrilocal, bilocal, etc., it is necessary to define what the band is. In the Canadian Subarctic two main kinds of bands are recognizable. This phenomenon has been outlined by June Helm, who has described the characteristics of the "local band" and of the "regional band" among the Arctic drainage Dene (Helm 1965). She defined the local band in this manner:

The local or linked-family band tends to form from or around a nuclear family set - a set of adult siblings, with the father and his wife, if living, included in the constellation. One male of the sibling set or the father of the set may be clearly the dominant figure (Helm 1965:375).

The local band, in its model form, endures for at least a few years as a community body resident in one settlement or in a series of relatively compacted camp areas and structured around one focal or dominant family (Helm 1965:375).

The local band is small in numbers and although 25 (Lee and Devore 1968:245-248) is often presented as being usual, these bands may be as small as 12 or as large as 40 or more people. Local bands may exist for several generations or for only a few seasons. As Helm has shown, their existence appears to be dependent upon the survival of the leader:

The ethnographic evidence available suggests that it is often the sentiment of primary consanguine solidarity, especially when focused about one dominant figure, that precipitates the formation of the linked-family band as a territorially and socially distinct entity, holds the band together through time, and serves as a point of recruitment for male affines (as wives' brothers and as husbands of the females of the sibling set) (Helm 1965:375).

When the leader has died, and if no other strong personality emerges, the group is likely to disband.

The local band, therefore, is the residential group - the group which is patrilocal, bilocal, or matrilocal. Helm has devised a method of calculating the predominant residence characteristics of a local band. Her (1969b:226) results indicate that the eastern Athapaskan local bands have a balance in male-female ties and those of the central Eskimo are slanted toward male-male linkages. For the Dogribs, "as with other Mackenzie Drainage Athapaskans," Helm (1968a:121) notes that, "it is impossible to elicit 'rules' regarding preferential marriage or local or regional band endogamy or exogamy". The local bands are neither exogamous nor endogamous. As a

result, the local bands appear as conglomerations of people, organized according to no apparent rules. Quite likely, this situation contributed to Service's concept of the composite band.

However, Helm has shown that there is order and structure in the social composition of these Athapaskan local bands. She (1965:364-365; 1969a:216) has noted that the local band is a group whose members are normally all connected by one or more primary kin ties. By a primary kin tie is meant that between spouses, between parents and children, and between siblings. Very often, then, the local band will appear as simply a large extended family that is composed of aging parents plus their married children and their grandchildren.

The core family of the local band is likely, barring serious disputes, to be stable. However, a family that has attached itself, such as that of a sibling of an individual who has married into the local band, may very well remain for a short time only. Not all of the families of a region are necessarily attached to any one local band since, among most hunters and gatherers, the nuclear family is occasionally found functioning successfully on its own (Helm 1965:371). However, the greater survival value of a group with several hunters is probably an important factor in the repeated occurrence of the local band around the world. For example, Edward Rogers (personal communication, March 1978) has indicated that among the Attiwapiskat and Fort Albany Crees of northern Ontario, the number of caribou or moose killed per person is greater when several men hunt together:

That is, where four or five men hunt together, the average number of moose taken per hunter is greater than when only two men hunt together. Maximum efficiency is attained when about six or seven men are involved (Bishop 1974:267)

The regional bands are usually conceived of as the groups that are made up of all the local bands or families in a given territory. Whereas

local bands may not be named, the regional bands are usually recognized by outsiders and named by them. It is often the regional band members who gather together seasonally at some especially productive food source. Helm (1968a:119-121) outlines the regional band among the Dogribs in this way:

In the persons exploiting the various and variable resources within a recognized range or territory, the regional band has its social identity as a "people". The total territory yields sufficient materials for the necessities of life (famine periods excepted) so that within its domain the regional band can endure as an identity for generations. ... Characteristically, the total constituency of the regional band is not physically together. The families that make up the regional band are most apt to come together when operating as a task group exploiting a resource which allows large assembly, as at a fall fishing camp.

In 1962 Helm recorded five regional bands among the Dogribs. At this time, after the introduction of medical services, the total population was 1,023. The average Dogrib regional band was composed of some 200 persons, therefore. In actuality, Helm found that the size of the regional groups varied from "12 to 50 conjugal pairs and dependents" (1968a:120). If the latter may be equated with her family-household unit which averages 6.24 persons, then regional band populations varied from 75 to over 300 persons. This, then, is the largest group of people that may be expected to meet face to face (prior to the growth of large contemporary villages). These annual aggregations are thought to be absolutely necessary for the efficient social functioning of hunting and gathering groups. It is at these periodic assemblages that important social activities take place. Here, courting may occur and, as well, religious ceremonies with their associated dances and feasts are celebrated. It is often at these assemblages that families, disgruntled with the members of their local bands, may make overtures to join other bands. Clearly, as Colin Turnbull (1965, 1968) has demonstrated, the aggregation and fission of band groups is an important factor in the resolution of conflict.

For the other major Subarctic people, the northern Algonkians, Edward Rogers has described social units comparable to those defined by Helm. His "hunting group" is similar to Helm's local band:

The hunting group was, ideally, composed of four nuclear families closely related through kinship although, in practice, of varied composition. It was the paramount economic, social and political unit by default since for nine to ten months of the year it was the largest residence unit (Rogers 1965:266).

also:

Ideally, it was composed of a man and his three married sons, in which case it could be equivalent to the extended family, but this was rarely so. Often other relatives were involved in the composition of the group and at times with individuals who could trace no kinship connection with other members (Rogers 1969b:30).

According to Rogers, therefore, this hunting group is male oriented and residence normally patrilocal (see also Taylor 1972:26). Helm (1969b:218-230) has shown that the Arctic drainage Dene tend to be bilocal in terms of residence.

Rogers' hunting groups were parts of a larger unit, the band, which he defined in this manner:

... a loosely structured unit with a patrilineal bias, comprising seventy-five to a hundred and twenty-five people, inhabiting a drainage basin alone or in conjunction with other such groups, uniting during the summer on the shores of a lake within the territory and dispersing for the winter in groups to hunting areas (Rogers 1969a:46).

The parallels between Rogers' band and Helm's regional band are obvious. Of course, the division of Subarctic Indian groups, especially Athapaskans, into two major sorts of social units has long been recognized; for example, Honigmann (1946:64) and Slobodin (1962).

The local band is differentiable from the short-lived task groups which have been observed among Subarctic Indians across Canada. Although

the local band is relatively long-lived compared to a task group, it may only last for a few years (Helm 1965:375); however, Slobodin (1962:73) has observed that it may endure "One or two generations" and this appears to be the usual case. Indeed, the very composition of the local band must encourage its dissolution after about a generation. As the members of the sibling core age and die, the local band may reach a point at which it no longer contains dominant personalities or a strong leader as a focus of the group. At this point, the attached nuclear families may activate primary kin ties elsewhere and join other local bands. Unlike the local band, the regional band endures for many generations. In fact, it probably would disappear as an entity only in the face of a disaster such as prolonged famine.

Of course, these social units should not be accepted automatically as necessary features of northern Algonkian and Mackenzie drainage Athapaskan populations. Helm (1965:379) notes that in the early historic period (for the Athapaskans) the local band is barely recognizable as a stable unit. On the basis of her own work and that of others, [e.g. Slobodin (1962:54), Honigmann (1946:45)], she (1965:377-378) also has indicated:

the weight of scanty evidence indicates that a significant portion of the Dene population lacked the minimum degree of group stabilization here attributed to the local band.

and:

The identification of the local-band level of organization, then, comes about not because it is demonstrably an imperative feature of Northern Dene life, but because such groups do exist, occurring frequently enough to command the attention of the ethnologist.

Recently, too, Rogers and Black (1976) have discussed the complexity of northern Algonkian social forms. They (1976:38) may be interpreted as emphasizing, "the sequence of adaptations that the Indians of the

Shield Subarctic have made to their environment". Rogers and Black have outlined the characteristics of the "fish and hare period" of the Weagamow Ojibwa subsistence economy, ca. 1880-1920. Significantly, they find that during this period these Ojibwa cannot be considered as living in a contact-traditional situation. Rather, the fish and hare period is a quite different, "form of ecological adaptation that Subarctic Algonquians have made during the course of their long residence within a harsh and restrictive environment" (Rogers and Black 1976:39).

However, there is little doubt that a contact-traditional life model such as Helm and Damas have presented reflects the historically known social and cultural situation of the Red Earth region very well. Indeed, the contact-traditional has characterized the study region for all of the past 100 years. As well, the concepts of the local band and the regional band have considerable utility in the Red Earth-Shoal Lake area. Both terms are used in this thesis, the local band being an obvious and, apparently, ubiquitous unit of social organization in my study area.

THE MARRIAGE ISOLATE

A social unit which is of importance in the context of this thesis is that of the marriage isolate. This is simply a human group which is predominantly in-marrying and is thus a genetic isolate to a considerable degree. The marriage isolate may be found in societies at any level of sociocultural integration and it has been documented for a number of band societies. It is known by several terms in the ethnographic literature (in reference to band society). For example, Damas has used the words "tribe" (1969a:129) and "marriage universe" (1975:410); Helm (1965:362) has suggested "'linguistic-tribal' divisions"; Birdsell (1968:232) has introduced

the term "dialectical tribe", Williams (1974:27) "connubium", Burch and Correll (1972:24) "deme" and Steward (1968:333) "maximum band".

Theoretically, an in-marrying group in band society could involve thousands of people in a large geographical area (e.g. all Cree speakers). In such a case, the members of each local and regional band would obtain spouses both from within their own bands and through exchanging marriage partners with the members of any neighbouring bands (as argued by Meiklejohn 1974:5-6). However, in most, perhaps all, band societies, it is postulated that this is not the case. Rather, the population of a large region is divided into groups of bands which are in-marrying. In this situation the members of local and regional bands inter-marry frequently with some of their neighbours but only rarely with individuals in other neighbouring local and regional bands.

In 1972, in order to complete the requirements of a graduate course, I carried out a study of the marriage isolate in hunting and gathering societies. I examined this social phenomenon on a world-wide basis and concluded that it was a frequent characteristic of band society and that it was possible to make some generalizations about the characteristics of marriage isolates among hunter-gatherers. There are two aspects which can be examined in some detail: (1) population size range and (2) percentage of in-marriage.

Actual marriage isolates range in size from less than 400 to more than 1,000 persons. In the ethnographic literature, some representative marriage isolate population sizes are: Pitjandjara - 600, Ngalia Walbiri - 400, Dogrib - 750, Netsilik Eskimo - 500, Iglulik Eskimo - 550, Copper Eskimo - 800 (Meyer 1972:49). The Australian ethnographies provide a considerable amount of information in this regard. The recognition of the

marriage isolate and of its basic characteristics was the result of the work of Tindale (1940) and Birdsell (1953) conducted from about 1930 to the middle 1950's.¹ Both early noted the central tendency of their "tribes" to number about 500 persons. Birdsell (1968:232) offers this more recent formulation:

In its clearest form, the dialectical tribe lacks all aspects of political authority, and simply consists of an aggregation of local groups in spatial proximity. The Australian data show a useful consistency in size for the dialect tribe, which statistically approximates 500 persons.

The reasons for this consistency in the size range of marriage isolates are not readily apparent. One approach to the study of the size of these in-marrying groups has been to employ computer models of band society. H. Martin Wobst (1974a) has conducted computer simulations of the population dynamics of hunters and gatherers, based on demographic data derived from ethnographically known groups. In general terms, his research has indicated that to operate as a permanent, self-perpetuating social entity, an isolated group must be composed of at least 175 individuals. For such a small group to maintain itself, marriage rules must be flexible.

In initiating his work, Wobst set out to test a number of hypotheses. These hypotheses may be placed in two categories, one dealing with marriage proscriptions, the other with life conditions. In the area of marriage rules, he (1974a:157) proposed "exogamy, age restrictions, and prevention of remarriage after widowhood" as factors which would tend to increase the size of the marriage isolate. Therefore, to determine the effects of various marriage rules, Wobst (1974a:161) simulated conditions of exogamy, endogamy, monogamy, polygamy, varying incest taboos and patrilocal and matrilocal post marital residence. In all cases, these populations were operated for 400 simulated years (three to four

minutes of computer time).

Wobst hypothesized that varying life conditions would also affect the size of the marriage universe. The factors that he considered in this regard included "life expectancy at age 15" and the juvenile mortality rate. Given increased life expectancy at age 15 Wobst (1974a:157) proposed that the marriage universe would be smaller in size since "more persons per given population size would be in the pool of potential mates". Wobst (1974a:157) also proposed that as juvenile mortality increased so would the size of the deme since "fewer persons per given population size would reach productive age. This would imply increased distance between potential mates, and thus cause an increase" in the size of the marriage unit.

The results of Wobst's computer simulations bore out the above noted proposals, although it is apparent that the effects of restrictive marriage rules are not as marked as might be expected. Interestingly, even in those simulations in which incest rules were much relaxed or removed entirely, the size of the marriage universe did not decrease dramatically:

The effect of incest is limited for 2 reasons: incest increases the number of potential mates only slightly and it does not increase the size of the mating pool. At the same time, while incest decreases the mean mating distance for some marriages considerably, it also can be expected to increase mating distances for the remaining matings once all incestual matings are removed from the mating pool. Therefore, while incest has little impact on the mean mating distance, it affects the variance of the mating distance (Wobst: 1974a:166-167).

However, Wobst (1974a:165) has made the general observation that the size of the marriage isolate "increases steadily from endogamy and incest to exogamy with strong incest taboo". He (1974a:167-168) also

found that when his computer simulations restricted the ages of the marrying partners, e.g. males must obtain wives at least five years younger than themselves, the size of the deme increased "drastically": a marriage group consisting of seven local bands of 25 individuals each (175 persons) would be increased to 19 such bands (475 persons). Wobst found, however, that the effect of this age restriction was considerably lessened if a man was allowed an indefinite period in which to marry (e.g. up to age 55). As he had postulated, Wobst's computer simulations also confirmed that decreased juvenile mortality and increased life expectancy at age 15 decreased the size of the deme.

J.W. MacCluer (1973) is another researcher who has carried out computer simulations of populations programmed to marry under varying conditions of incest or a lack thereof. She (1973:218) has concluded:

However even in populations as small as 100 incest prohibitions do not appear to result in a greatly diminished rate of population growth, and most individuals are able to find mates.

MacCluer's work suggests that even a population as small as 100 can function as an in-marrying group. This may seem to contradict Wobst's findings but the results are not directly comparable since the characteristics of the simulated populations are not the same. Wobst has attempted to simulate as closely as possible the demographic characteristics of band societies while MacCluer (1973:198-199) is not so specifically oriented. However, both simulations agree in indicating that quite small groups (100-175 persons) can be endogamous.

Kenneth Morgan (1973) has conducted computer simulations which differ from those of Wobst in that the runs begin with an initial population of either 100 or 200 persons. However, the simulations of both re-

searchers are based on similar demographic information. Morgan varied the "fertility-and-mortality regime" of his initial populations and allowed them to run for up to 1,000 years (unless extinction occurred first). Significantly, under conditions of high fertility and mortality, Morgan (1973:25) found that, "Initial populations of size 200 took almost twice as long to go to extinction as those of size 100..". These data support the hypothesis that a group must be above a certain critical number if it is to maintain itself in perpetuity.

Also pertinent is the evidence provided by human groups who have occupied isolated geographical areas, whether due to migration and colonization or stranding (e.g. as a result of post-Pleistocene rise in sea levels). For example, Diamond (1977:257) has written:

Other examples involved so-called land-bridge islands where human populations incapable of efficient over-water dispersal were faced with stranding by rising sea-level at the end of the Pleistocene and survived only on islands large enough to support more than about 500 people. Thus, aboriginal Australian populations survived as post-Pleistocene relicts on Tasmania and possibly on Bentinck and Bathurst/Melville, but disappeared on smaller islands (Kangaroo, King, the Furneaux groups, and the eastern islands of Torres Straits).

Obviously, therefore, human breeding isolates must be above a certain size.

The other end of the size range of marriage isolates is also of interest. These units normally have a population of less than 1,000 persons. Birdsell espouses the hypothesis that problems of communication limit the size of the "tribe". According to him there are several factors which influence communication and, therefore, the dialect homogeneity of a given human population. These factors are relatively straight-

forward:

Involved are (1) frequency of interaction, (2) intensity of interaction, (3) duration of interaction, and (4) facility of communication (Birdsell 1968:232).

If the dialect unit becomes too large, extending over an area larger than that in which visiting can be frequent, the dialect unit will begin to fragment: "Speech differentiation proceeds further, and in time will produce tribal separation through dialect fragmentation" (Birdsell 1968:232). An even more encapsulated summary of Birdsell's view is this statement regarding "dialectical tribe" formation: "Its primary determinants are competence in speech and mobility by foot" (Birdsell 1968:232). Birdsell appears to have overemphasized the importance of dialect divergence as a causal factor in the fragmentation of marriage isolates; however, it is likely that maintaining communications (social relations) is very important. Wobst (1974a:154-155) has presented the argument in this way:

Let us assume, for the sake of simplicity, that the units of a pleistocene society [the local bands] are evenly spaced over a territory, that a definite intensity of communication is required to maintain the maximum band as a social unit, and that the social units can spend only a finite amount of their time in communication as opposed to other tasks. As population density increases, a point will be reached at which it becomes impossible to maintain the necessary intensity of communication without impairing the probability of survival or without the social group breaking apart for lack of communication.

In other words, the marriage isolate must be of a size such that its members can readily maintain social contact - contact which will encourage co-operation in economic pursuits and which will, from time to time, result in the arrangement of marriages. There appear to be two main factors involved:

(1) Reasonable geographical proximity is necessary since, to maintain

social contact, people must be in one another's presence from time to time.

(2) Individuals can maintain social contact only with a finite number of persons. There is a point at which the group becomes too large for all of its adult members to relate to and effectively co-operate with one another as individuals. This critical point seems to occur when the group grows to between 500 and 1,000 persons.

The second aspect of the marriage isolate to be discussed here involves the degree of endogamy present. The percentage of in-marriage varies from a high of more than 90 percent among the central Eskimo tribes (Damas 1960:126, 1975:411) to more than 80 percent among the western Australian tribes (Tindale 1953:173). However, Tindale also recorded Australian tribes with in-marriage percentages as high as 92 percent (Ngalia Walbiri). Birdsell (1968:246) summarized Tindale's findings in this way: "Tindale's basic datum for precontact intertribal marriages was 14.7 per cent, greater in some areas and less in others (Tindale 1953)". Percentages of in-marriage vary, therefore, from 80 to 90 percent, with exceptions.

It appears that marriage isolates are a frequent characteristic of band societies throughout the world, whether these societies are of the unilocal/unilineal type, the bilocal/bilateral type, or some other type. A term which has sometimes been used to refer to the marriage isolate in band society is "deme". The latter term has seen limited use in reference to band society, its most prominent application, perhaps, that of Burch and Correll (1972) with reference to the western and central Eskimos and the Pacific drainage Athapaskans. The latter researchers have adopted Murdock's (1949:62-64) definition of the deme (see also Honigmann 1959:404):

This group is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be either of nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities .. (Murdock 1949:62-63).

Murdock's most concise definition of the deme is as follows:

Henceforth, therefore, we shall regularly employ "deme" for an endogamous local group in the absence of unilinear descent, especially when we are regarding it as a kin group rather than a community (Murdock 1949:63).

Interestingly, the earliest anthropological usage of the term "deme" was by A.W. Howitt and L. Fison (1885) in an article entitled, "On the Deme and the Horde". However, the term "deme" dropped out of use until reintroduced by Murdock. It appears that Murdock (1949:63) adapted his use of this concept from Howitt and Fison. Following Murdock's reintroduction of this concept, perhaps the most detailed examination of the deme and its applicability to anthropological use has been carried out by P. Morris in a 1961 Master of Arts thesis at Indiana University.

As defined by Murdock, the deme may be found in societies at any level of sociocultural complexity. However, it applies well to those Arctic and Subarctic peoples (band societies) studied by Burch and Correll and it appears that the deme concept is also suitable for use in reference

to northern Algonkian societies of the contact-traditional. For this reason this concept will be used with regard to the in-marrying Algonkian group which is the subject of this thesis.

In the above survey of the characteristics of marriages isolates in band society, the normal size range of this in-marrying group was determined. Therefore, in this thesis the deme concept as defined by Murdock will be used, but in reference to band society it will be considered as characterized by a population of not less than 200 persons and not more than 1,000 persons. Indeed, Murdock provides the impression that the "endogamous local community" is not of great size. Certainly, if the group was composed of many thousands, it is not likely that there would be any common feeling of consanguinous kin ties, "as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized" (Murdock 1949:62). In addition, the deme in band society will be considered normally to have an in-marriage rate of 80 to 90⁺ percent.

A deme among the contact-traditional Subarctic Indians, therefore, is composed of numerous local bands and, usually, more than one regional band. It is an endogamous, bilateral kin group, composed of about 200 to less than 1,000 persons. The deme is not only the in-marrying group but it is the total society from the point of view of its members:

Each unit was clearly a social system with a membership recruited to a very large extent via the sexual reproduction of its members. Each unit was further capable of existing long enough for parents to raise their children to be stable adults (Burch and Correll 1972:24).

As Burch and Correll also note, the deme forms a distinct cultural unit, a feature which also has been noted by Wobst (1974a:152):

The maximum band [marriage isolate] is, thus, a loosely interlocking network of minimum bands [local bands] main-

tained through ritual communication and exchange. The communication density within this network tends to level the social and stylistic idiosyncracies of the participating minimum bands and their members, and integrate them into a more or less coherent social unit. This unit, loose as it is, constitutes the highest level of social integration among hunters and gatherers. For this reason, it usually serves as the descriptive universe of² ethnographers (compare Murdock 1968).

DEME FORMATION

This thesis involves an examination of the process by which a deme is formed as a result of the "union" of two segments of previously separate social units. It is pertinent, therefore, to examine the ways in which new demes might develop away from previous demes. Two possibilities are immediately apparent: (1) the amalgamation of disparate band or deme fragments following a disaster, and (2) population expansion and budding. In the latter case it is postulated that a new deme may be formed by a sort of fissioning process by which it separates from an established deme which is growing in population. This would especially be the case with those demes which are composed of several (four or five) regional bands. If a marriage isolate grows to 1,000 or more persons, it is postulated that individuals will begin to marry predominantly within their own regional band, or within the regional bands in their area. In other words, one or more of the regional bands will have become sufficiently large to function as the marriage isolate. If this occurs, this regional band group will become progressively more isolated from its fellows until its separate status is achieved.

The Walbiri of north central Australia provide suggestive evidence in this regard. In the early decades of this century this cultural group

was divided into four tribal units with populations of 200⁺ (Yalpiri), 400⁺ (Ngalia) and about 350 each for the other two (the Yalpiri population is known to be too low and is a minimum figure only). These groups are small but large enough to operate as effective marriage isolates. Meggit's (1962: 48) comments in this regard are revealing:

The distinction between one's own countrymen and other Walbiri was to some extent sharpened by the recognition of minor cultural differences among the four local groups. Some of the most obvious of these diacritical marks concern linguistic variation. Thus, the Yalpiri or Lander Walbiri are said to "talk light", that is, to use unvoiced consonants, and the others to "talk heavy". The Ngalia vocabulary includes a great many words common to Pitjandjara languages, whereas the Waneiga frequently employ words derived from eastern Kimberley languages.

Differences of this kind helped to produce a mild local ethnocentrism in each group, and relations among the four groups in some respects resembled inter-tribal relations. But the residents of all the countries also thought of themselves as members of the superordinate Walbiri tribe which was distinct from all other tribes.

The Walbiri "tribes", therefore, appear to be demes in the process of formation. It seems that an original Walbiri deme grew sufficiently large that it became possible for it to split into several demes. The Walbiri situation is closely paralleled by that of the Aranda (Birdsell 1968:233). Similarly, in North America the Kutchin tribes may have been a case of a social unit in which the regional bands were in the process of becoming separate demes.

If the regional bands of a deme fission into a number of demes, all should be nearly identical in culture. The incorporation, through marriage, of culturally different outsiders into some of these demes and not others, would quicken the pace of cultural differentiation of these previously simi-

lar groups. However, the greater part of the cultural differentiation of demes is the result of social isolation and a process of slow cultural change or drift over succeeding generations. David Damas (1969b) has published a discussion of cultural drift and diffusion among the central Eskimos. In this case all three central Eskimo tribes are known, through archaeological evidence, to have sprung from a common Thule cultural base several centuries ago. At the time of European contact, each tribe continued to share a basically similar cultural system, although there were some important differences. The food distribution networks, the patterns of leadership, and the manners of same sex cousin classification all differed among these three Eskimo groups.

Demes also may be formed by the process of amalgamation of deme segments. In this case we may hypothesize that immigrants or survivors, of diverse origins, may come together to form an in-marrying group. In this case, after a few generations, relative homogeneity of culture may be expected. It appears that the social groups of Subarctic Indians were subject to occasional disruptions due to the instability of the boreal forest environment. This would have been the case in both the pre-contact and the historic periods. As Waisberg (1975) has outlined, cycles in animal populations, as well as climatic variations and the impact of extensive forest fires are among the factors resulting in variability in the environmental conditions of the boreal forest region. Even in periods of stability, it is apparent that episodes of near starvation were experienced annually although actual famine, resulting in the proven deaths of individuals, was rare (personal communication, Edward Rogers).

The marriage isolate would be particularly vulnerable to disruption since, in the face of severe environmental stress, the members of its local and regional bands would be forced to seek food animals outside of their home territories. In so doing they would enter regions occupied by other people, perhaps members of other marriage isolates. These new social contacts (if not hostile) would result in some change in the composition of the marriage isolates of a region. During this period of re-formation, the boundaries of the old demes would disappear and individuals drawn from several demes might begin to inter-marry and so form a new marriage universe.

In the fur trade period, other disruptive factors were introduced. The factor which had the greatest impact on social units was disease. For the Kutchin, Krech (1978b) has outlined not only the impact of diseases but has demonstrated that mortality due to starvation is coupled with the presence of epidemics. Although the nine tribes present at the time of contact may not all have been fully developed demes, this does not negate the fact that famine and introduced diseases depopulated several of the tribes and one of them actually became extinct (McKenna 1935) (but see also Krech 1978b). By 1947 only six Kutchin "tribes" were left (Slobodin 1962:7). The contact-traditional northern Algonkian populations, having survived repeated epidemics of European origin, also would appear to have experienced marked depopulation due to disease (although population recovery normally was rapid).

Another contact-traditional factor that potentially could influence the alignment of social groupings was the placement of trading posts.

These establishments could attract the trade of people who were not members of the same in-marrying groups. Social contacts resulting from seasonal aggregations at the trading centres might result in the rearticulation of these people into new marriage isolates - trading post bands.

THESIS APPROACH

As I have noted in the introduction to this thesis, the research which I have conducted with regard to the Red Earth Crees has been concentrated on detailing certain societal characteristics (most notably the local band structure in relationship to the hamlets), settlement patterns, demographic features and economic activities of the contact-traditional period between ca. 1860 and the mid 20th century. I have also outlined important factors contributing to changes in the life conditions of the Red Earth Crees during this 100 year period and the adjustments to these changes. These adjustments have included decreased mobility, a decrease in territory, a weakening of social ties with the group of origin, an increase in population and the development of a local marriage isolate or deme. The discussion of this last topic has necessitated the inclusion of Shoal Lake in this study since this community, together with Red Earth, composes the deme in this region.

Those ethnographers who have discussed the marriage isolate among Subarctic Algonkians appear to have attributed its formation solely to a social reaction of these Indians to the recent contact situation (e.g. Dunning 1959:164-165, Knight 1968:91-92). Although not explicit, it is implied that marriage isolates were not present before the contemporary

period. My approach to this social phenomenon is somewhat different. In this thesis I accept the deme as characteristic of band society, pre- and post contact, in the North American Subarctic. Centralization and increased populations have not imposed the deme on contemporary communities; rather, these are simply new factors which may disrupt existing demes and with reference to which other, new, demes may form. The presence of the marriage isolate among northern Algonkians in the present century, therefore, is considered as the maintenance of an ancient social form in a new situation.

It is likely that marriage isolates in the boreal forest region broke up and re-formed throughout the contact-traditional period. One constant condition for this instability was the environmental instability of the boreal forest. Inception of the Eurocanadian fur trade increased demographic instability. In the present century government policies and activities have become increasingly important and also have resulted in some re-orientation of social groups. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the sociocultural orientation of the Subarctic Indians appears to incorporate a strong tendency towards formation of marriage isolates. Although the latter might be disrupted by any of the above factors, there seems always to be a re-formation of marriage units. The formation of a marriage isolate in the Red Earth study area is not, therefore, unusual. The intent of this thesis is to outline the social characteristics and the factors involved in the formation of the deme in the study area and to discuss aspects of the process by which this social unit came into being in the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region.

SUMMARY

Prior to European contact the Subarctic peoples lived as hunters and gatherers in band societies. As studied in this century, however, the descendants of these people must be recognized as living in societies whose features are influenced by their involvement in the fur trade. One widely recognized type of adaptation is that known as the contact-traditional. Characteristic of the societies of this particular period is the local band, the regional band and the deme or marriage isolate. Presumably, these social forms also existed in the aboriginal period, albeit in a somewhat different form.

This thesis sets out to describe the major aspects of the society and the settlement and economic patterns of one group of boreal forest Indians - the Red Earth Crees. The factors important in stimulating and allowing change in these settlement and economic patterns of the contact-traditional in the study area are outlined and the adjustments to these forces are discussed. One of these adjustments involved the formation of a deme. Presentation of the characteristics of the deme and of the process by which it took form in the Red Earth region are the major concerns of this thesis.

Notes

- 1 It should not, however, be thought that the concept of the Australian tribe is accepted by all ethnographers involved in studies of aborigine society. For a dissenting view see Berndt (1959) and for a discussion of varying approaches see Peterson (1976:1-10).
- 2 Therefore, utilization of the deme concept potentially would be useful in discussions of the boundaries of ethnic units, e.g. Naroll 1964, Helm 1968b.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINS OF A SOCIETY, CA. 1850-1870

INTRODUCTION

The earliest historical records in the Saskatchewan River delta date to 1690 and 1691. At this time Henry Kelsey (1929) of the Hudson's Bay Company is believed to have passed through the region. He found Crees present but observed that Assiniboine territory began immediately to the southwest (Kelsey 1929:2). Through the middle 1700's, French Canadians (Champagne 1971) maintained a series of trading posts in this region and a number of English (Hudson's Bay Company servants) traders passed through the area. However, it is not until 1774, with the establishment of Cumberland House by the Hudson's Bay Company and the maintenance of detailed journals at this post, that the nature of the Cree occupation of the Saskatchewan River becomes clearer (Tyrrell 1934, Rich 1951).

At this time two named groups of Crees occupied this region; the Basquia Indians in the Saskatchewan River delta and the Pigogomew Indians upstream from them, apparently straddling the parkland-forest boundary (Fig. 5). To the south were the Cowinetou Indians and to the north the Grass River Indians. The Pigogomew and the Cowinetou appear to have been Cree groups that incorporated both parkland and the southern edge of the boreal forest into their territories. They probably shared the southern portions of their territories with Assiniboine groups, who, in turn, occupied the parkland and adjacent open prairie to the south

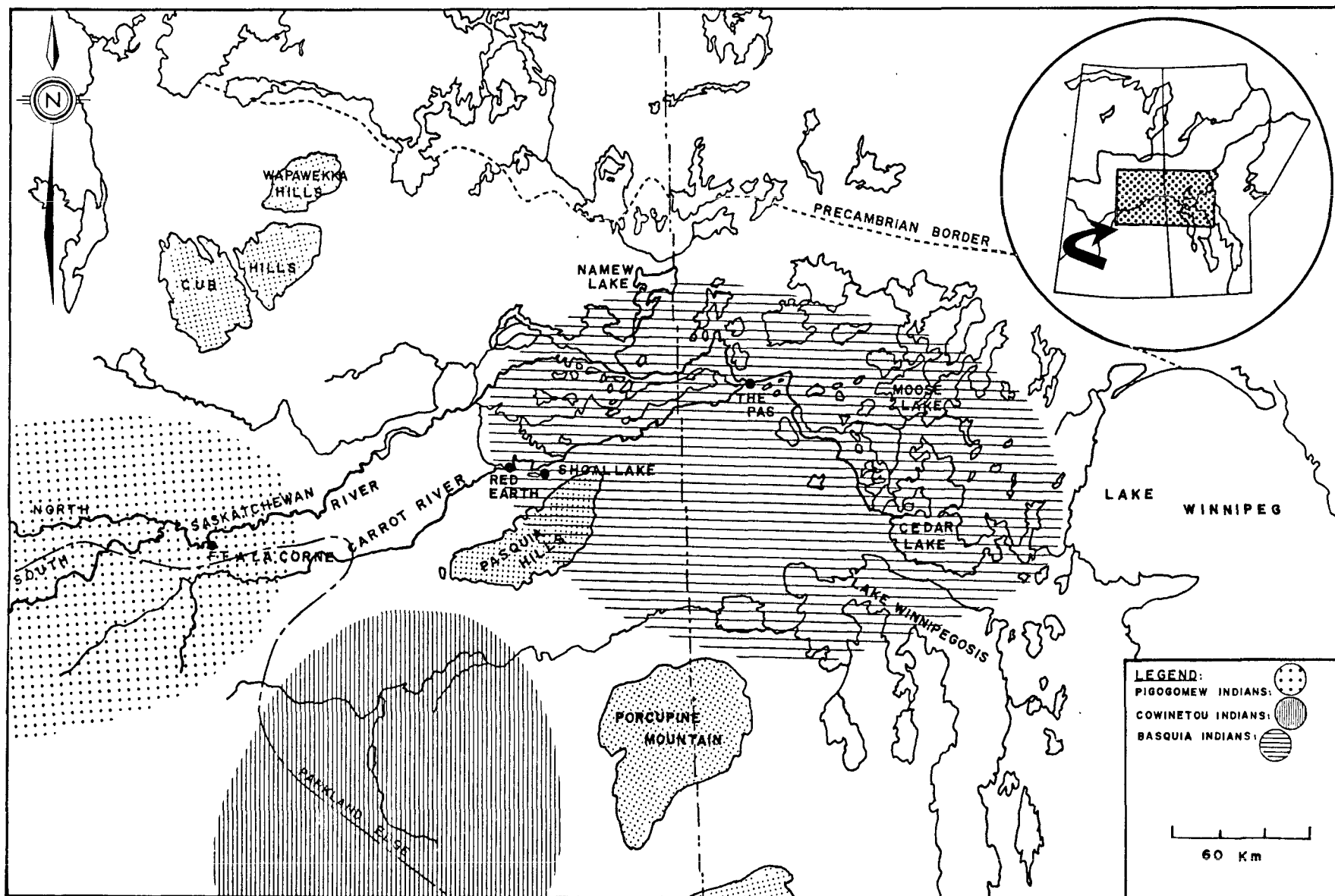


Figure 5. Approximate locations of Cree groups in the Saskatchewan River valley region in the 1770's.

and west. Arthur Ray (1972:112) has produced an elegant model of the subsistence-settlement pattern of such Crees and Assiniboinés in relationship to the seasonal movement of the bison in and out of the parklands.

The Basquia Indians held a prominent place in the fur trade of the last half of the 18th century since they manned many of the canoes that carried furs down to York Factory each summer. The most important gathering place in the Basquia Indian territory was opāskweyaw it is a wooded narrows' (Watkins et al. 1938:521). Opaskweyaw is now occupied by the town of The Pas, Manitoba, reflecting the fact that it has remained a strategic location to the present. The Basquia Indians took their name from Opaskweyaw, as did a stream which empties into the Saskatchewan River here and the hill mass to the south (Pasquia Hills).

In the winter of 1781-82 a smallpox epidemic swept north across the prairies and into the forest (Ray 1974:107). The Hudson's Bay Company trader at Cumberland House recorded the apparent complete extinction of the Basquia Indians (Tomison 1952:224-238). The neighbouring Cree groups were also severely reduced in numbers by this epidemic. This left the Saskatchewan River delta and the surrounding region largely devoid of inhabitants.

OCCUPANTS OF THE SASKATCHEWAN RIVER VALLEY CA. 1800-1850

As a result of the epidemic of 1781-82, the late 1700's and early 1800's saw a considerable influx of people into the Saskatchewan River delta. These were mostly Swampy Crees from the east (Nelson River

system) and Saulteaux (Ojibwa) from the south. The movement of Ojibwa into southern Manitoba and the adjacent portions of what is now Saskatchewan is partially documented in two works by Harold Hickerson; one is "The Genesis of a Trading Post Band: The Pembina Chippewa" (1956) and the other the "Journal of Charles Jean Baptiste Chaboillez" (1959).

By the late 1700's, Chaboillez provides information that one of the bands of Ojibwa trading into Pembina actually maintained their trapping grounds in the vicinity of Red Deer Lake and the northern end of Lake Winnipegosis. John Tanner's narrative also records the presence of Ojibwa (in 1804) in the Red Deer River valley (although Crees still occupied the upper Red Deer River valley). It was apparently these people who infiltrated the lower Saskatchewan River valley and thereby formed a substantial portion of the new population (see also Ray 1974:104).

These Ojibwa introduced many of their customs and modified the culture of the local Crees considerably. For instance, the Midewiwin was maintained throughout the lower Saskatchewan area for several decades in the early 1800's (Hallowell 1936). Cree culture remained dominant though, and by the middle of the 19th century the Saulteaux had been largely assimilated. However, the Cree culture of this period differed from that of the Basquia Indians, not only because of the Saulteaux influence: for instance, an 'n' dialect of Cree became established, reflecting the large numbers of more easterly Crees who had moved into this region (the Basquia Indians had spoken a 'th' dialect). By this time, too, the local population carried a considerable infusion of European cultural and biological characteristics.

By the 1840's a substantial population of Indians had come to inhabit the Saskatchewan River valley. Although Cumberland House was the major trading centre, the new inhabitants maintained an orientation to the older aggregating centres. For instance, Opaskweyaw remained an important seasonal aggregating site. It was so important that the Anglican church established a mission there in 1840 (Pettipas 1972:69). Similarly, the ancient gathering place known as pehonān 'the waiting place' (Watkins et al. 1938:409), about 20 kilometers below the forks of the Saskatchewan Rivers, appears to have remained a focus of local Cree activities. In 1846 the Hudson's Bay Company re-established a trading post there (Ft. a la Corne), after a hiatus of 41 years (Tyrrell 1934:19). Significantly, although Cumberland House remained an important trading centre throughout this time, it never became an important seasonal gathering place such as Opaskweyaw or Pehonan. This was partly due to a policy of the Hudson's Bay Company of discouraging any "long term" settlement by local Indians of areas adjacent to the posts. By the 1840's, therefore, two large groupings of Crees occupied the Saskatchewan River valley, one focused upon Opaskweyaw and the other upon Pehonan.

The Opaskweyaw Crees

In the summer of 1840 Henry Budd (later to be ordained an Anglican minister) established a mission at Opaskweyaw. Budd was a Swampy Cree and had been born near Norway House. The Anglican records which begin at this time provide some information on individual members of the reconstituted population of the Opaskewyaw region. For example, a leader of the

Opaskweyaw Crees at this time was "an old Canadian guide who had been in the Northwest since 1783" (Pettipas 1974:xxi). Rev. Horsefield, an Anglican historian, has provided additional information:

There was Joseph Constant, French-Canadian from Three Rivers, Quebec, with his Ojibway wife - their son Antoine became the first chief of the Pas Band of Indians. There was Joseph Lathlin, whose father was a Scot in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his mother a Cree - (Horsefield 1958:2).

By the middle of the 19th century the Crees and/or Metis of the Opaskweyaw region were divided into groups of local bands that occupied specific areas. The main areas occupied by these groups were (1) Shoal Lake, about 100 kilometers southwest of Opaskweyaw, (2) Birch River, about 35 kilometers west of Opaskweyaw, (3) Rocky Lake, about 40 kilometers northwest of Opaskweyaw, (4) Moose Lake, about 52 kilometers east of Opaskweyaw, and (5) Cedar Lake, about 60 kilometers southeast of Opaskweyaw. It is apparent from these figures that the Shoal Lake group was located almost twice as far from Opaskweyaw as any of the other groups. Significantly, reserves were eventually established in all of these locations.

By the middle of the 19th century, the population of the Opaskweyaw Crees was substantial:

By the summer of 1857 there was a total of seven hundred and forty-six baptisms listed in the register and approximately one hundred communicants. The school averaged a total of ninety pupils who attended regular day school as well as Sunday school (Pettipas 1974:xxxii).

The Ft. a la Corne Crees

The section of the Saskatchewan River about Ft. a la Corne was a major seasonal gathering location for the historically known Crees of this region. As well, the considerable richness of this location in terms of prehistoric remains indicates that the importance of this site has great time depth. In the late 1700's this area was the centre of a great deal of fur trade activity and, through to 1805, at least six trading posts were built here. Since the Hudson's Bay Company did not re-establish here until 1846, little is known about the occupants of this region during the first half of the 1800's. Although the post named Ft. a la Corne was built in 1846, the earliest surviving business records from this establishment date to 1851. Fortunately (for history), Henry Budd established a mission here in 1851 and much information also is available in his letters and journals.

It is clear that many of the patrons of Ft. a la Corne were Plains Cree in culture, although "Woods Cree" from the north did journey to La Corne to trade (Pettipas 1972:101-102). I am not certain of the extent of the territorial range of the Crees who were centred about Ft. a la Corne. However, their territory obviously extended south into the parklands. I have, though, gathered some evidence concerning the easternmost extent of the normal activities of these Crees. I believe that the informal boundary between the Crees of Opaskweyaw and those of Ft. a la Corne was located along the western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta (see following section). I believe, too, that this "boundary" was in place throughout the 19th century.

The first direct documentation of Cree life in this boundary area dates to the winter of 1819-20 and was made by Lieutenant Robert Hood. Hood was a well educated man with artistic abilities and in March of 1820 he accompanied a party which travelled south to the Red Earth region in order to obtain moose meat for Cumberland House. Hood and his companions visited three Cree camps in this region; the first that they encountered was located on Red Earth Creek, a few kilometers south of the present Red Earth reserve, the second seems to have been in the Cracking Creek area and the third near the Papikwan Creek. At the second camp visited (Plate 1) Hood was particularly hospitably received:

When I entered the tent, the Indians spread a buffalo robe before the fire, and desired me to sit down. They were eating and sleeping, many of them without any covering except the breech cloth and a blanket over the shoulders: a state in which they love to indulge themselves, till hunger drives them forth to the chase. Besides the Warrior's family was that of another hunter named Long Legs, whose bad success in hunting had reduced him to the necessity of feeding on moose leather for three weeks, when he was compassionately relieved by the Warrior (Hood 1974:54).

The man named Long Legs appears to be the key (albeit an uncertain one) to the identification of some or all of the families visited by Hood as Ft. a la Corne Crees. According to statements in the Cumberland House records of the 1860's, a man named Pootikat led a local band in the central Carrot River valley (this man and references to him are considered in some detail in a subsequent section of this chapter). Both the Cumberland House and Ft. a la Corne records identify Pootikat as a Ft. a la Corne Cree. Henry Budd confirmed this latter identifica-

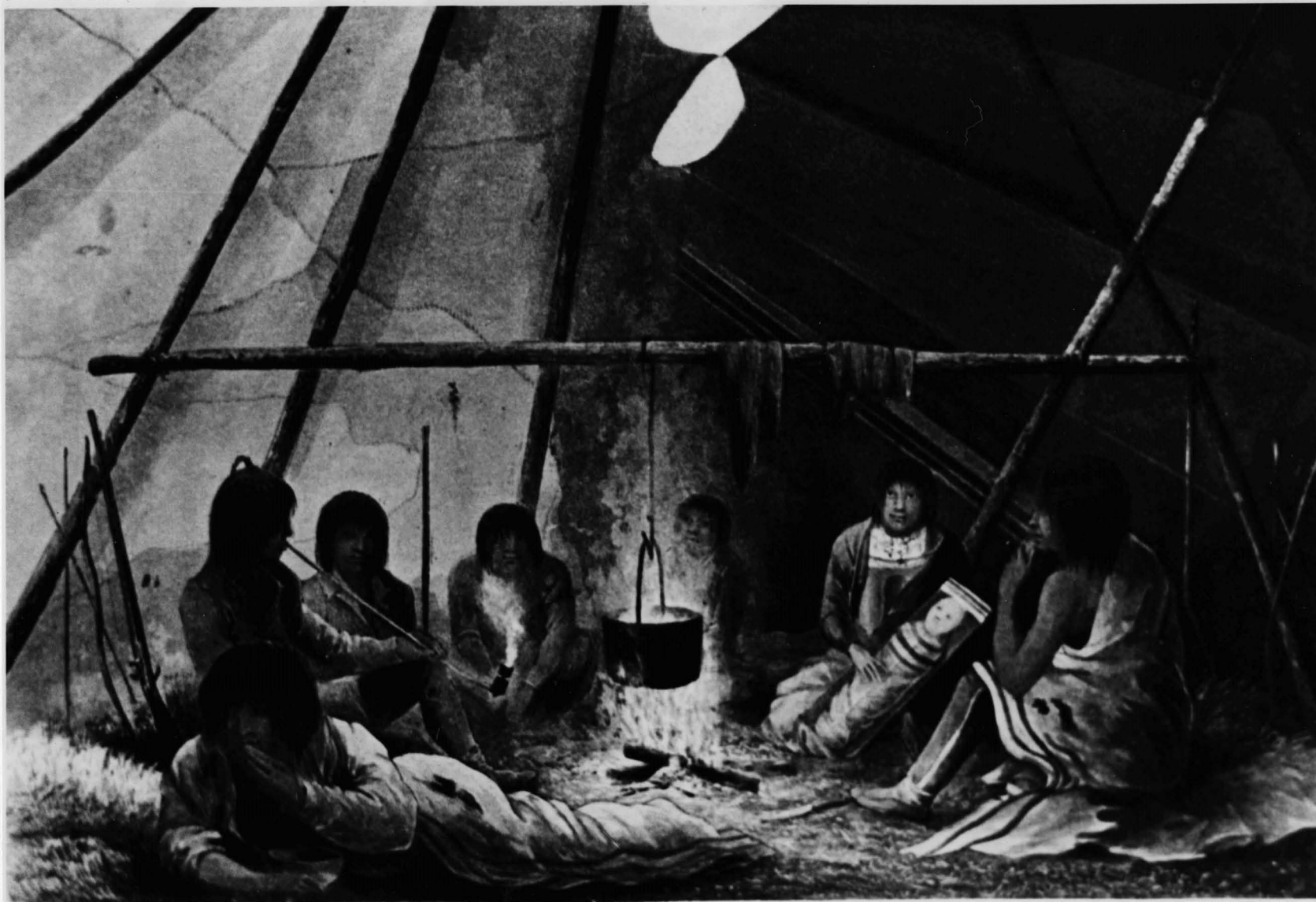


Plate 1. "Interior of a Cree Indian Tent, March 25, 1820" (Franklin 1970:169). Based on a drawing made by Lieutenant Robert Hood at the second camp he visited in the Red Earth region.

tion by writing of his efforts, while at Ft. a la Corne, to convert Pootikat:

Another old man named "Pootikas" or "Big Legs" with a very large family, he is also thing g (sic) to follow his neighbour McLeod and embrace the gospel of our Lord and Saviour.¹

Significantly, Budd translated "Pootikat" as "Big Legs" and noted that he was an old man. It is likely, therefore, that the man named "Long Legs" who occupied the Red Earth region in 1820 is the same individual as the old man named "Big Legs" who occupied this same area in the 1860's. If so, at least one (probably more since Long Legs was taken in by another family) of the families that occupied the central Carrot River valley in 1820 may have been oriented to the Ft. a la Corne region. This suggests that the occupation of the Red Earth region by Ft. a la Corne Crees in the last half of the 19th century (as is discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter) was not a new phenomenon but had occurred throughout the century. If so, the western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta may be regarded as a stable boundary between the peoples attached to Opaskweyaw and those oriented to Ft. a la Corne. through the first three-quarters of the 19th century.

LEADING MEN OF THE RED EARTH REGION, CA. 1850-1870

Introduction

While the Cree occupation of the Red Earth region during the first half of the nineteenth century can be determined only vaguely, after 1850 much more information is available. In the 1850's only a few family groups are known to have occupied the southwestern corner

of the Saskatchewan River delta. Small bands had formed around two brothers, ōsāwask 'brown (yellow) bear' and kise-mōswakāpaw 'old standing moose', and around a man named Okakeek. These men were Swampy Crees of The Pas region. At least one Ft. a la Corne family, led by Pootikat, was also present, occupying the Red Earth area or the central Carrot River valley (west of the delta). As a member of the Ft. a la Corne group, this family is identified as speaking Plains Cree.

By 1860 two more families had moved into this region. One was headed by a man named cecim, the other by kiseyinis 'little old man'. Both of these were la Corne Crees. At this time, then, life revolved about six men. Since at least three of these men were to profoundly influence the subsequent history of this area, all six are introduced in some detail here.

The Shoal Lake Leaders

Osawask

Osawask was prominently known among the bands of The Pas region. This was the case even though he spent his adult (and boyhood?) life upstream from The Pas, on the Carrot River. He was an active medicine man and his baptism in 1851 was sufficiently important to be recorded in the minutes of the Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church. (However, although baptized, Osawask remained a well known medicine man for another four decades) (Plate 2).

Osawask's birth and immediate ancestry lay completely within The Pas region. His wife, Mary, was from the Moose Lake band and so maintained his kin connections within The Pas region. Osawask's close ties with The Pas are also reflected in the fact that of all the Crees who came to permanently occupy the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region after



Plate 2. Osawask, photographed in his old age, at The Pas, ca. 1890 (Hines 1916:270).



Plate 3. Mihkwanakeskam, photographed in his old age, with his wife, ca. 1915. The two grandchildren with them are now Red Earth elders. Photograph by W. Hutton.

1860, his base camp was situated nearest to The Pas. Contacts with other bands about The Pas were frequent, therefore, and kin ties were strengthened by these visits and extended through the marriages of some of Osawask's children. The Pas Post archival documents and Henry Budd's 1870-75 journals (Pettipas 1974) record the frequent visits of Shoal Lake people to The Pas.

Osawask seems to have established a base camp (Fig. 6) at Shoal Lake by 1850. A grandson of Osawask, Robert Bear, informed me that his grandfather had picked Shoal Lake carefully, as a place where there was a great deal of game. As well, Osawask preferred Shoal Lake because it was remote from Europeans. Osawask's family does not seem to have built houses here until the reserve period began (1880's). In 1870 Henry Budd (1974:72) made it clear that Yellow Bear was in residence at Shoal Lake and that at this time everyone was living in tents.

Oswask and Mary had six children who grew to maturity and married (Fig. 7). Three of these were males and three females. Two of the daughters left the group upon their marriages; however, the remaining four brought their spouses to Shoal Lake and this group formed the core about which a band developed there. These individuals were married in the period between about 1875 and 1885.

Kise-moswakapaw

Apparently Kise-moswakapaw also attempted to establish a band and he maintained a base camp separate from that of Osawask. This camp was located to the west of Shoal Lake, on the Carrot River, near the mouth of the Man River. The little information which I have

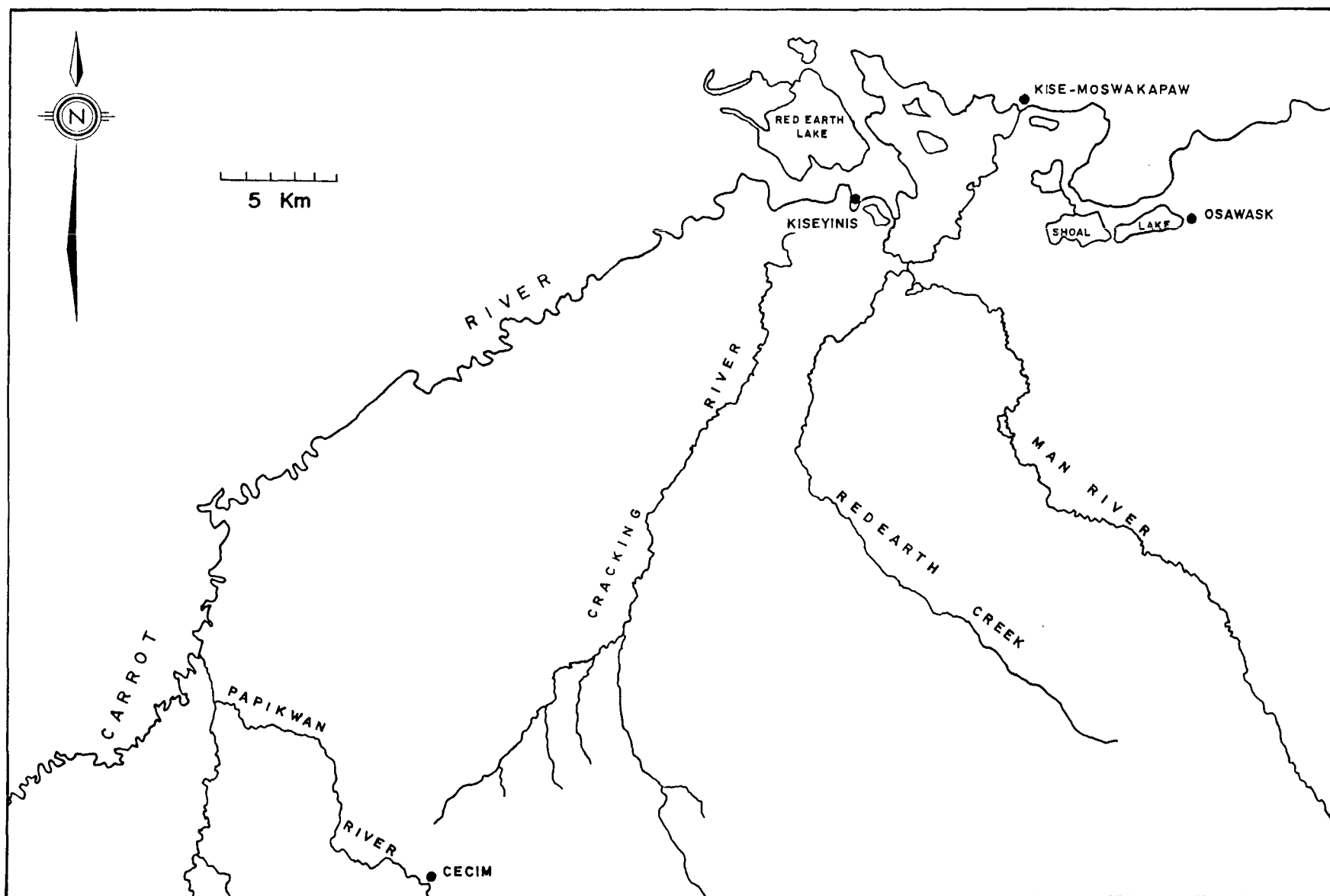


Figure 6. The base camps of Osawask, Kise-moswakapaw, Kiseyinis and Cecim, ca. 1860-1870.

gathered concerning Kise-moswakapaw was provided by Donald McKay in 1972. He had obtained this information from kiceyiniw 'old man', the father of his first wife. The following narrative is edited from notes which I took while Donald told me about Kise-moswakapaw:

Osawask had a brother named Kise-moswakapaw who used to camp on the Man River about two miles east of my camp (Donald is referring here to his summer hay camp where we were conversing). He trapped muskrats up there. He was the boss and lots of Shoal Lake people stayed with him. His camp was named Kasowaskay kanosihk and he is buried there. I have never seen that place but I have heard of it. Kiceyiniw talked about it lots of times. They put a net in the river there in the summer time, trapped muskrats in the fall and hunted ducks in the summer and fall. Kise-moswakapaw liked that place and he stayed there all the time before he moved to Shoal Lake. Robert Bear (Donald's present father-in-law) knew Kise-moswakapaw.

Since the Indian Affairs reports of the late 19th century make no mention of a separate Shoal Lake group, it seems that Kise-moswakapaw and his followers moved to the main settlement at or by the time of reserve formation. Strangely, this family does not seem to have produced any descendants as none of the contemporary Shoal Lake people were found to trace genealogical ties to Kise-moswakapaw.

Okakeek

There is evidence of one other leading man in the Shoal Lake region at this time. This was Okakeek, another prominent medicine man. His activities in this regard are noted as early as the 1840's:

In early June of 1848, Reverend James Hunter included a description of a Metawin ceremony which he had witnessed at The Pas Mission. At this time four medicine chiefs were present: Okakeek, Mistahpao, Kahneesokusquaoo, and Kewetnos (Pettipas 1972:83).

That Okakeek was resident in the Shoal Lake area is evidenced by the following excerpt from a letter written to James Todd at The Pas by R. Mackenzie of Cumberland House on May 13, 1864:

You will be disappointed about your Shoal Lake Indians a lot of them crawled across the Saskatchewan on broken Ice about ten days ago they came begging to be allowed to buy Ammunition and I could not send them back without a little as they declared they had nothing to live upon Your great man Okakuk sent two Fishers and 13 minks to buy a gun and some Ammunition: he is very much in debt here I will send them to the Pas in order to cover a portion of the large debt you gave him last fall for which you are responsible.²

This excerpt, of course, is focused about the constant attempt by the traders to confine the trade of specific Indian groups to the posts nearest to the territories of those groups.

One of the Cumberland House ledgers records the fact that "Okakeek, trades at the Pas, died spring 1868".³ By 1879, one of his sons, Samuel Okakeek, was trading for the Hudson's Bay Company at Shoal Lake. By the 1880's, Samuel was alternately surnamed "moar" and my genealogies indicate that his brother was the progenitor of the Moore family at Shoal Lake.

The Red Earth Leaders

Kiseyinis

In this section stories describing the establishment of occupation in the Red Earth region by Kiseyinis' family are presented and examined. I have recorded three of these narratives, all of which differ markedly in detail and the level of generalization maintained by the raconteurs. These stories are ācimōwin, a term which refers to a class of narratives, the events of which have occurred in the

everyday, mundane world. In English these stories would likely be referred to as anecdotal and historical. The Red Earth Crees sometimes translate the term *acimowin* as "news".

However, the stories under scrutiny here are not just any *acimowin*, they are *kayās ācimōwin*:

but there is an important subclass of historical narratives, called *kayās-ācimōwin* 'old-time story'. These deal with military exploits of the horse-raiding days, or with other historical topics; they may be personal recollections, or "recollections by proxy", passed on down the generations. That they contain magical experiences does not disturb their status as true stories (Wolfart 1973:12).

The other major class of Cree story is known as *ātayōhkewin* 'religious, sacred story'. The sacred story deals with the lives and experiences of supernatural beings, *ātayōhkan*. Human beings may interact with *ātayōhkanak*, but this normally occurs only in dream experiences while an individual is asleep (see also Preston 1975:288-293).

As oral history, the three old time stories presented in this chapter are absolutely necessary to any attempt to describe the founding of the Red Earth band. No written accounts are available. The journals kept by the Reverend Henry Budd do, of course, confirm that the members of Kiseyinis' family were occupants of the southwestern edge of the Saskatchewan River delta as early as 1870 (Budd 1974:72). It is apparent from his diary entries that these people were established occupants of the region and, therefore, had been there for some years prior to 1870.

The first narrative presented below was told by Lazarus Nawakayas. He was about 76 years old when this story was recorded in June of 1972.

Lazarus' grandfather, newakeyas 'four feathers', was one of those Plains Cree who joined Kiseyinis' family, as an in-coming son-in-law, early in the group's existence. A monolingual Cree speaker, Lazarus is a willing and ready story teller. However, his interpretations and versions seem to be his own and there is evidence that he does not meet the standards of accuracy expected by other community elders. Particularly with regard to Wisahkecahk stories I have noted his versions challenged on three different occasions by three different individuals. In one case a challenge arose from his parallel cousin who sat near him as he narrated during a tape recording session (this challenge and his response is preserved on tape). His competence in question, he quickly ended his story and the recording session. However, challenges regarding the accuracy of information are quite usual among the Red Earth Cree and evidently this point should not be overstressed.

On the other hand, Lazarus' vocabulary is large and his stories contain many unusual (esoteric?) and rarely used words.⁴ Clearly, his (oral) literary style is accomplished. Although my confidence in Lazarus' accuracy has suffered, the following story is at a high level of generalization (at least in the opening paragraphs) and there can be little doubt that the major themes are correct. In one case - Lazarus' description of the dispute over treaty terms - corroboration is possible. A report by the Eurocanadian negotiator (Morris 1880:162) who was involved in settling the terms of this treaty adhesion substantially agrees with that given by Lazarus.

This translation which has been made of Lazarus' story is a free, idiomatic one. It was done by Abel Head, a competent bilingual, aged 50

in 1972. To record Abel's translation, I had him listen to the tape, one sentence at a time (control of the machine was his own). He then dictated his translation to me, which I wrote down. In general, Abel's English vocabulary is similar to that used by the farming population of the local Carrot River region. His translation of Lazarus' narrative is as follows:

Down east, that is where Kiseyinis was born. Eventually he moved away beyond The Pas. He was just a young fellow when he came to The Pas. Then one of his relations came out this way (to the Red Earth area). When this fellow went back to The Pas, after being at Red Earth, he told how plentiful game, especially moose, were. So they sent word to other of Kiseyinis' relations at The Pas to come out. They were very anxious to come so they travelled out from The Pas with their families.

This older person looked for a place. He told his people that they would never get hungry. So after they moved in they started travelling from one place to another to where game was plentiful. So then he changed his mind. He didn't stay here in one place. He gradually moved farther and farther out towards the prairies (out in the open). All that was there was just waterfowl. He decided to come back again in the bush. And then he found out he couldn't make his living out there so he had to come back to where he started. And then he decided to stay here for good; where the whiteman wouldn't come closer. So it hasn't been very long ago when the whiteman first started living a little closer.

And finally they heard word that they were going to have their first treaty money so they had to go to The Pas to get their treaty money. This was their first treaty money to the Indians at The Pas. This councillor had been a pretty strict man and they had to have three days of meetings before they could get their treaty money. It was an Indian councillor. He was asking for \$10.00 a person; \$5.00 was too small. This is what the councillor asked for. This councillor's demands for \$10.00⁵ were refused and they had to accept \$5.00 treaty money. Every treaty day they had to go out by canoe to get their money. The first treaty day there were only a few people went, but the second year there were quite a number of them. These included kiseyinis, mihti-kiseyinis, Philip

Whitehead, John Whitehead (grandfather of Joel), newākeyas, necāwinaw, and mihkwanākeskam.

This Mihkwanakeskam was the first Red Earth councillor and the second councillor was my grandfather Newakeyas.⁶ That was when the population was getting a little bigger. Finally the Indian Agent came here and then the minister came out. That was the first treaty day. I saw the day when they had the first treaty at Red Earth. I think it must have been 68 years ago and that was the same year when they surveyed this reserve. When they surveyed this reserve my grandfather, Newakeyas, was a councillor at that time. First Mihkwanakeskam was the councillor and then second was my grandad, Newakeyas. When they first surveyed this reserve Newakeyas had wanted a large reserve but the surveyors reduced it three times. This is why they didn't want to survey too much land - there must have been a lot of timber down south at the time. And this is what you wanted to know about Kiseyinis.

At this point, having finished the main narrative, Lazarus digressed with an anecdote about Kiseyinis and the Reverend John Hines:

I must have told you this story already. [He had]. It was the first time when this priest came along. Kiseyinis was baptized here at Red Earth. He was religious, and when they asked him what his name was going to be the priest told him:

"I think I should give you my name, John Hines",

"Oh", he said, "I wouldn't be called John Hines".

He said, "I'll be called Jesus".

And then the priest told him that he couldn't be called Jesus. Ha, ha!

I must have nearly seen him in person, that Kiseyinis. He was my close relative, my great grandfather. He was my grandmother's Dad. And finally they settled here and then they had gardens and finally they had cattle. They didn't clear too much land in those days. I saw it myself. That was quite a while ago. It must have been 60 years ago. Right now I am 75 years old.

Lazarus' story is evidently weakest and most generalized in that portion concerning the period of establishment of occupation in the Red Earth region. It is likely that he had no set narrative in mind but that he was simply synthesizing information from stories and anecdotes he had listened to through the years. However, as with other story tellers, he does indicate that kiseyinīs 'little old man' was a major figure. It is also apparent that Kiseyinis took up residence with one of the bands of Opaskweyaw Indians. This may have been the Cedar Lake band since my genealogical inquiries have revealed that Kiseyinis had a married sister there. If she preceded him in marriage to Cedar Lake, it would have been possible for him to join her group. If this was the case, the relatives of Kiseyinis, of which Lazarus speaks, would have been his in-laws. According to Lazarus, Kiseyinis was first introduced to the Red Earth region when he accompanied his relatives there.

There is evidence, in the next story presented below, that the second paragraph of Lazarus' story should be treated as a separate episode not directly related to the episode described in the first paragraph. In other words, it appears that Lazarus has telescoped a longer story. Unlike that of Lazarus, the next two stories to be presented appear to be renderings of a set narrative, perhaps versions of a story told by Mihkwanakeskam, one of the accomplished Red Earth story tellers of the past (Plate 3). It is noteworthy, in this regard, that the narrators of the next two stories are descendents of Mihkwanakeskam; one, Donald McKay, a grandson in the male line. The fact that Nathan Garvin (Wīhciko 'cannibal'),⁷ a great grandson, is familiar with

Mihkwanakeskam's stories reflects the close relationship, including intermarriage, between the McKay and Garvin-Whitecap families through the generations. Lazarus is apparently not privy to the mini-tradition maintained by these families (which seems remarkable in such a small community).

Wihciko related the following story in July of 1975, at which time he was aged 62. This story was also translated by Abel Head, who happens to be Wihciko's brother-in-law and often lives with him.

There was an old - one of my grandfathers, you know. His name was sewevōtam. And there was one of our relations who came from the north, away up north. And this young fellow was named Kiseyinis and he used to come hunting and kill game - moose, wild game. And finally he got with this Seweyotam's daughter. They got married (there was no marriage certificate or minister, they just lived together - note by Abel). And as soon as the snow was gone, and the ice was gone too, Kiseyinis wanted to go up north. What he used to call the rocky land. This Kiseyinis he left the female behind. Her name was wāpistikwani 'white hair'. And after that he arrived and then before they had a baby they went up north. And he had a grandfather out there. His name was paspaskiw. The only food they had in summer time was wild fowl; loons and mergansers.

One time towards spring Kiseyinis told Wapistikwani, "I've got to go some place", and Kiseyinis told her to go out hunting beaver so they went out. He used to have a horn for black powder. They were travelling along the lake when all of a sudden his powder horn exploded. He had it in front of his canoe and it blew a hole in the canoe and the water came running in. Kiseyinis must have been a magician because he jumped out of the canoe and ran on the water, pulling the canoe to shore. Kiseyinis told Wapistikwani that if he hadn't been on top of the water they would have drowned. He patched the canoe.

Wapistikwani was getting starved because she couldn't eat fish. Another time they were going a different place where there was a lake and a slough which they portaged to. They were travelling on the slough. And he told Wapistikwani to get out and she was walking along the shore. She saw

an old crutch. The water was so shallow that only Kiseyinis could stay in the canoe and paddle. Wapistikwani was going to pick up the crutch but Kiseyinis told her not to touch it. Just about the other end of the slough was another portage where they were to cross. They had two beaver in the canoe and they started to portage so they put the beaver on their backs and started out. Kiseyinis told her to hurry - he was handling the canoe. As soon as they got across Kiseyinis told her not to look back. As soon as they started out on the lake Kiseyinis was in the back and she was in the front. She didn't look back but somebody splashed behind. It was a Wihtiko that went after them and just about caught the rear of the canoe. Kiseyinis must have looked back. And she paddled far out into the lake and Kiseyinis was out of his senses he was so scared. He returned to himself and said to Wapistikwani, "He just about killed us". And we went back, he said, and our grandfather Paspaskiw - So Paspaskiw asked Kiseyinis if he was a little bit scared of something but Kiseyinis said he didn't hear anything at all. But during the night, not long after, the dogs started howling. Now Paspaskiw told Kiseyinis there was something wrong with him that day.

(At this point Wihtiko asked me, through Abel, if I ever dreamed, and I told him that I dreamed all the time, every night. He seemed satisfied with this answer and continued).

That's what happened to Kiseyinis, he used to dream a lot. And then came another spring and Wapistikwani and Kiseyinis travelled out again. Wapistikwani didn't eat anything else, just beaver, moose, deer, - no fish. And it was getting night so they pitched up their wigwam just after the snow was melted. Well, as soon as they were just about bedded down, Kiseyinis began to wrap up the handle of his hatchet with moose thong. So Wapistikwani didn't know what was going to happen. So they went to bed and Kiseyinis started telling stories to Wapistikwani. It was getting pretty late so finally she pretended to go to sleep. She didn't answer Kiseyinis. Somebody came finally. She heard his footsteps. And here Kiseyinis tiptoed to the door of the wigwam and he was poking the coals of the fire. And here Kiseyinis knew the Wihtiko was nearby so he jumped up to meet Wihtiko. Kiseyinis met him and happened to miss it and they were running in the bush in the dark. In a few minutes Kiseyinis didn't catch Wihtiko and Kiseyinis told Wihtiko, "It's a good thing I didn't catch you, otherwise I would have killed you with my axe". Afterward Kiseyinis returned and he told Wapistikwani not to worry.

"I would have killed him but I couldn't catch him". So he went to bed.

(Wapistikwani didn't eat any fish. She was Saukteaux and grew up out on the plains and didn't see any fish in her lifetime. Nathan himself is half Saukteaux. Kiseyinis was born somewhere up north, but not by the ocean - note by Abel).

So Kiseyinis headed for Red Earth. He said, "There's lots of game; geese, ducks, all the waterfowl you can think of, and moose". So Paspaskiw was interested in it too. And here they started travelling. It was in the summer time and there was a place where they used to pick herbs. And here they camped right where Paspaskiw was going to pick up the herbs and Paspaskiw said the young girls shouldn't look at him while he was taking the herbs. And here Paspaskiw was supposed to go in a door in a cliff but the door didn't open as the girls were sneaking up on him and no one could let him in. So Paspaskiw got out of this cliff and somebody told him he was invited to go in but no females or young girls were supposed to look at him while he did. So these two girls were dead out of that. So Paspaskiw told Kiseyinis, "I can't go to Red Earth with you". So Paspaskiw told Kiseyinis he can't come because the girls were looking at him while he was trying to get the herbs. Not long after that Paspaskiw got pretty sick and finally he died. So Kiseyinis had to bury his grandad. They put him in a little wigwam and left him there.

So finally Kiseyinis came to Red Earth. They were camped south of the dike and then where Shem Nawakayas lives now. That's where they used to leave their canoes and go up into the hills. As soon as they got to Red Earth they started journeying out towards Fort LaCorne and there used to be lots of game there, a lot of elk. And finally Kiseyinis dreamed something. So Kiseyinis dreamed about the future while out on the prairies. He dreamed of Red Earth and he said, "That's the only place that people in the future can fish and get wild game. That's the only place they can live". After that Kiseyinis came back to Red Earth and the only place they used to live was in wigwams. They used to make those wigwams a little different. They set up the poles and covered them with wild hay and dirt. That's the way they used to live. This is where Kiseyinis settled down. There wasn't too many in the family. While Kiseyinis was here they took off on a journey towards the prairie. They had no horse so they had to pack everything. He got up there and found his brother-in-law who gave him a pony to use as a pack horse. And towards fall they headed out towards

the bush on this side (Red Earth) again. They had a pack horse and started hunting. And just about the end of spring Kiseyinis headed out towards the prairies. In those days they didn't have any tea or tobacco, just gravy that they fed on. It was quite early when they were taught how to smoke when these fur traders came around. They came back from the prairies. It was getting spring. They had a lot of furs so they decided to head for The Pas. But Kiseyinis found another brother-in-law. In those days the Hudson Bay Company used to give free whiskey. Kiseyinis got drunk and met his brother-in-law. As soon as his brother-in-law found out about his horse, he asked him about it as he had never seen one. So he thought it was a big dog. Kiseyinis told him, "That's no miracle. It's not a dog but it's an animal with four legs".

"Well, "Kiseyinis told his brother-in-law, "It's no dog. It's a pack horse to carry your meat and your grub". Kiseyinis told him that that's a useful animal so you can carry your stuff and your grub, this two year old horse. Kiseyinis went to The Pas with the horse and then another spring he went to Cumberland House and bartered his furs. Kiseyinis, he took his horse to Cumberland House and the H.B.C. man bought it from him but Mihkwanakeskam didn't want to let the horse go. (Mihkwanakeskam was the son of Kiseyinis - note by Abel). After Kiseyinis sold his horse he travelled out on the prairies again the next summer. And when he got out there he found his brother-in-law again and was given another two year old horse. (It's surprising that those ponies used to survive. They pawed for grass all winter - note by Abel). In the spring they headed for Cumberland and he left his horse where Shem Nawakayas is right now. That time this area wasn't flooded at all. It was mostly dry but there was water in the lake. He was going to sell his fur at Cumberland and as soon as he got rid of his furs he spent a lot of time at Cumberland House and The Pas and in the fall he returned to Red Earth. Mihkwanakeskam was getting a little older. He rebought his horse at Cumberland House so Mihkwanakeskam started riding from there. The horse swam across the Saskatchewan River and got on shore and Mihkwanakeskam rode the horse back, following the Saskatchewan. Finally he rode on the south side of the Saskatchewan and when he stopped, he got as far as Moose Call Slough. He portaged a little ways to this slough and then rode in the bush as far as the Sipanok Portage.

Then they went to the Sipanok, and took the horse across and then to another portage to Sipanok Slough. From this they had to portage again to the end of Kennedy Creek. That's about a one mile portage. They had to camp. So the next morning Mihkwana-keskam rode out on horseback along the east side of Kennedy Lake, along the meadows. Just about the end of where Kennedy Creek comes out of the lake there's a willow bush. That's where Mihkwana-keskam rode across. After he crossed that channel they called it "Horse Crossing". And then he came here to Red Earth and just about this side of the church there used to be a portage. There were very few people around then. As soon as they could portage he rode along this side of the river. This was before there was any washout at all. So he rode out as far as Shem Nawakayas' and he stayed there waiting for his parents. They lost the other pony there. The pony made trails because there were too many mosquitoes. So they knew where the horse was but it was making too many trails so they started tracking; stayed over night and the next morning. The old fellow knew where the pony was. It must be on the Cracking Creek somewhere. It wasn't bothered too much by the bulldogs. He made a smudge on the Cracking Creek and soon the horse came - as soon as he smelled the smoke. He had to have his so he took the horse. There were no bridles so he used moose hide thong (mouth thong) and he returned riding on horseback. He got back and the pony was sure happy to see the other pony.

In the fall Mihkwana-keskam was doing a lot of hunting and killing of wildfowl. Mihkwana-keskam went out hunting when the moose were calling and he found some fresh tracks around Simon and John McKay's place, right where there used to be a little spring. The moose started drinking this salty water and headed out for the bush. He tracked this moose. Then he found another spring and he saw a spruce bluff where the moose was headed. Then again he found a little slough where the moose had a drink. There were two calves, a cow, and a bull moose, in the fall. He had a muzzle loader. In those days they were just loaded with balls. All of a sudden he saw the moose sitting so he gave it a chance to stand up. As soon as it got up he shot it and reloaded, walked a little distance, saw another moose, a calf which he shot. Then he shot another moose, walked on farther and finally he found an opening where he could see the moose in the clearing. He shot the bull moose. Then he went after the last moose.

Then he went looking for the cow and found her dead.
He went looking for the last calf and found it dead,
too. Four moose, four shots.

He got back, taking some of the best pieces of
meat. His father told him to go and camp there and
then they dried the meat there and they returned here
with a lot of dried meat and his Dad told him not to
hunt anymore. So he didn't hunt.

Wihciko's story is an unusually long and detailed account of
the early occupation of the Red Earth region by Kiseyinis and his family.
Wihciko's knowledge in this regard is not surprising since he is a
member of one of the most conservative families at Red Earth. Certain
males of this family were the bastions of traditional Cree religious
belief. These males organized the very important niskisimōwin 'goose
dance' each year. Wihciko's father was the last leader of the Goose
Dance ceremony. (Meyer 1976).

Of course, by academic standards, Wihciko's narrative does not
appear to be entirely historical, nor wholly secular. However, it is
apparent that in the Cree frame of reference accounts of Wihciko en-
counters and magical happenings are considered historical. As far as
these people are concerned, these events did occur; they were marvelous
and important occurrences and therefore are recalled in the oral history.
In this regard, it should be noted that even though stories such as
this contain supernatural elements they are ācimōwin and not ātayōhkewin.

Wihciko's story lacks an introduction which would give us any
direct indication of Kiseyinis' geographical location, although it is
evidently in the south. Presumably it is in the parklands to the
southwest of Red Earth. This is likely since we learn that Wapisti-
kwani, whom Kiseyinis takes as wife, is a Saulteaux (Plains Ojibwa)

who has lived all of her life on the prairies. We are not told how or why Kiseyinis journeyed to the grasslands and for this information we must look to the first section of Lazarus' story which indicates that he first joined one of the Opaskweyaw bands and then accompanied relatives as they moved to the Red Earth region. Apparently Kiseyinis eventually moved out to the parklands and there met his wife.

It is clear that Kiseyinis' original home was within the Precambrian Shield. Information from other of the older Red Earth people indicates that this was in northern Manitoba, either in the Norway House or Oxford House regions. The latter is more likely since Norway House is on the southern edge of the Precambrian Shield. The first section of the narrative establishes Kiseyinis' considerable personal power, as evidenced by his ability to walk on water and his success in dealing with the Wihtiko. Kiseyinis' encounters with the Wihtiko likely reflect problems in obtaining an adequate food supply in the north. Of course, Wapistikwani experienced a particular problem since she was unable to eat fish. Her aversion to fish is not unusual for a plains Indian, although in her case it seems to have been carried to extremes.

It is likely that Kiseyinis felt under pressure either to remain with his grandfather (and other relatives presumably) in the north or to return to the prairies and parklands which his wife longed for. He eventually found a solution to this problem by having Paspaskiw accompany him to the south. Paspaskiw's attempt to obtain medicine is an account of the proper (stylized) manner in which medicine (or medical knowledge through dreams) may be obtained with the aid of the memekwesiwak. These are the dwarves or little people (without noses)

who dwell in cliffs or hillsides. These little people normally, upon the proffering of presents of tobacco, would open a cliff or hillside to admit a suppliant who desired medical knowledge (Mandelbaum 1940:263). Paspaskiw's attempt was profaned by the presence of girls (who were likely of menstrual age), not admissible to things sacred. This profanation not only resulted in the death of the girls but in Paspaskiw's death as well.

That portion of Wihciko's story which deals with the move to the Red Earth region parallels that of the second paragraph of Lazarus' story. The "older relation" of Lazarus' story is probably Paspaskiw, Kiseyinis' grandfather. According to Lazarus, this older relative made the decision first to remain at Red Earth and then to move out into the open country. However, in Wihciko's version, Paspaskiw has died by the time Kiseyinis had reached Red Earth from the north. Whatever the case, Wihciko corroborates Lazarus in indicating that the group soon journeyed out to the parklands (probably in the Fort a la Corne region). At this point in Wihciko's story Kiseyinis and not an older relative makes the decision, based on dream revelations, to return to and remain at Red Earth. Interestingly, though, Lazarus' version which includes an older relative (presumably Paspaskiw) as the guiding figure is corroborated in the next narrative to be presented below. This story, by Donald McKay, not only includes an older relative but it is the older relative and not Kiseyinis who receives the dream revelations.

Wihciko's narrative deals only with the events leading up to the establishment at Red Earth of a base camp used by Kiseyinis and

his family. It does not lead us into the reserve period as Lazarus' story did. The next story which I present below also brings us into the early settlement period and it provides detail on one portion (Kiseyinis' dreams) of Wihciko's narrative. This story was told by Donald McKay who learned it from his uncle, a son of Mihkwanakeskam.

This story was told by old Benjamin McKay, my uncle. The first man who came to Red Earth was a man from Oxford House. No one remembers his name. This man first camped on the ridge behind Arborfield.⁸ He stayed at this ridge behind Arborfield for three nights but he had a dream that the whiteman would come soon and would start to farm so this would not be a good place for the Indians to live. So he moved on to the Papikwan River⁹ where he stayed for three nights again. However, he again dreamed that the whiteman would soon come to farm so he left this place. From the Papikwan River this man moved to Red Earth. Here he dreamed that the whiteman would not come soon and that the Indians would have a place to stay where they would not be bothered. Also, there was a lot of game, lots of moose, geese, and fish.

This man had a son, Kiseyinis, who had a son Mihkwanakeskam and two daughters, Jessie and Harriet. Kiseyinis cleared a place in the forest - opened a place in the trees - in a place that is on the west side of the present bridge. He made his camp here so that he could get the clear water from the Cracking Creek which runs in there. He built a little log house with a roof of poles with earth over it.

When the decision to remain in the Red Earth area had been made, the father of Kiseyinis made a journey back to his home in northern Manitoba. He wanted to tell his friends (relatives) there that he had built a house at Red Earth and that he was going to live there from then on. He left Red Earth in the spring and he travelled all summer, a long ways to the north. Before he left he said, "Just once I am going to visit my old place". Before freeze-up the father of Kiseyinis returned to Red Earth.

Mihkwanakeskam, the son of Kiseyinis, married

and he had several sons including Donald, Geordie, Benjamin, and Simeon. Donald's mother gave him the name mākay 'McKay' and eventually they all took this name, as their last name. Kiseyinis had two daughters. He gave both of them to their husbands on the condition that the husbands would promise to remain at Red Earth. One of the sons-in-law was pāhkwayis 'Frenchman'; a man from Fort la Corne who married Jessie. The other man was Newakeyas, who married Harriet. He was from Fort la Corne too.

Kiseyinis told his sons-in-law to move up the Carrot River to where the Cut-off is now (where Joel lives now). Kiseyinis didn't want them to live too close. After a while Pahkwayis moved even farther up the Carrot River. At this place the grandfather of Silas Head came to stay with Pahkwayis. This man was named maskwacehikāpaw 'Standing Bear's Heart'¹⁰.

This account by Donald McKay was gathered in the second week of my Red Earth field work, December 10, 1970. Unlike the other stories it was collected in English and is an edited version of notes I took while Donald was speaking. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity, in more recent years, to record this information from Donald again, and in Cree.

It is apparent that in the middle of the 19th century the Red Earth region was simply one of several well known locations along a route which led from the parklands to the Saskatchewan River delta. Any emphasis on Red Earth in the historical accounts has likely been added by more recent narrators. As Wihciko has indicated, the present Red Earth village location is where travel methods changed. From Red Earth to the parklands an overland trail led south and west, following the base of the Pasquia Hills. This trail, called ayisiyiniw meskanaw 'Indian road', was used by persons on foot or with horses and was wide enough to use a travois on. It remained in use until the 1930's,

especially by those Red Earth Indians travelling out to do business at the Connell Creek store or to work for the farmers there who had been establishing themselves since the second decade of this century (Plate 4). To the west of the present town of Arborfield one branch of the ayisiyiniw meskanaw turned south to the region occupied by the Saulteaux of the upper Red Deer River. The other branch continued west to Fort a la Corne.

Red Earth, therefore, was the place where Crees with horses left their animals when travelling from the parklands to Cumberland House or Opaskweyaw. The route to Opaskweyaw was relatively simple - downstream along the Carrot River. However, to get to Cumberland House required some detailed knowledge of the western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta. It was necessary to portage from the Carrot River into Red Earth Lake, cross this lake to the mouth of Kennedy Creek and follow the creek north. At a convenient point this creek was abandoned and portages taken to the Sipanok Channel and hence to the Saskatchewan River. Upon reaching this river, the canoeist was still faced with a 75 kilometer trip down to Cumberland House so that, on the whole, this was not a particularly convenient or efficient route.

The Kennedy Creek route was that taken by Mihkwanakeskam upon his return journey to Red Earth by horseback. Wihciko has treated this journey as if it took place by canoe, reflecting the fact that this was a canoe route not normally traversed with a horse. Indeed, this adventure on horseback must be regarded as very unusual and was evidently a unique occurrence.

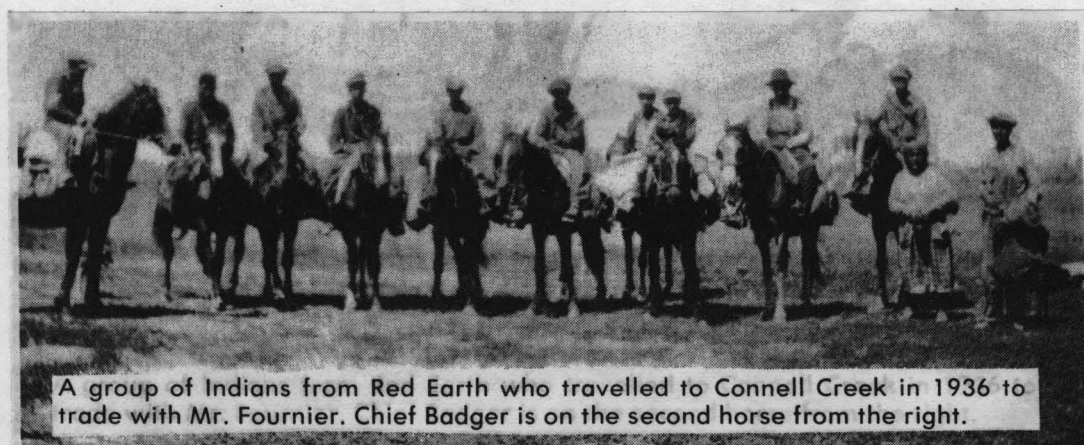


Plate 4. Red Earth Crees at Connell Creek in 1936. Photograph by J. Fournier.



Plate 5. A view of one of the Red Earth hamlets, summer of 1907. This is very likely Minawatimihk - see Chapter IV below. Photograph by W. McInnis, Geological Survey of Canada (Public Archives of Canada).

All three of the stories presented here concur in their utilization of Kiseyinis and his son Mihkwanakeskam as the central figures. This is perhaps not too surprising since these stories are probably all based upon one or more of the many that Mihkwanakeskam is renowned for having narrated. Significantly, though, none of the other Red Earth families maintain 'sagas' recording their travel to and reasons for coming to Red Earth. Especially noteworthy is the fact that Swampy Cree families already occupied this region when Kiseyinis and his followers took up residence. The families of Osawask and Kise-moswakapaw were present and that of Okakeek may have been in residence as well.

In the light of this evidence it is apparent that these stories can be regarded as a sort of charter by which Kiseyinis and Mihkwanakeskam (as well as their in-marrying relatives) explained and validated their movement to and establishment of residence in the Red Earth region. In particular, the use of dream revelations to justify their actions would have been acceptable to already resident Crees.

In summary, these stories outline the life history of a Cree (Kiseyinis) from northern Manitoba who journeyed southwestward into the Saskatchewan River delta and then onto the parklands, apparently in the Ft. a la Corne region. He married a woman from this parklands area, took up residence there and raised his children, as Plains Crees. The Saulteaux woman whom Kiseyinis married may have been from the upper Red Deer River region where Saulteaux now occupy the reserves known as Nut Lake and Chagoneess. However, there were also Saulteaux present in the Saskatchewan River valley (as outlined on page 63 above) through to the mid 1800's.

At least three of Kiseyinis' children married Ft. a la Corne Crees, strong evidence of the close association of this family with these people. In his move to Red Earth, Kiseyinis drew a number of the Ft. a la Corne band with him and in so doing helped to establish the most northeasterly Plains Cree community in what is now the province of Saskatchewan. This is made more remarkable by the fact that Kiseyinis was not a Plains Cree (no doubt his move back to the bush was prompted by his northern origin, though).

Kiseyinis' Children

Although Mihkwanakeskam was married at the time of the move to Red Earth, his brother and two of his three sisters were not. The third sister, p̄simohkan 'clock', had married a Fort a la Corne man, p̄cawīkwan, with whom she remained for a short time and then returned to Red Earth. She had no children by this man and remained unattached and childless for the remainder of her long life. The two sisters of Pisimohkan are known only by the English names Harriet and Jessie (which suggests that they had been baptized). Both married men from the west, apparently from the Fort a la Corne region, and brought their spouses to Red Earth.

The first man to come to Red Earth as an in-law of the Kiseyinis family was named p̄ahkwāyīs 'Frenchman' or 'Catholic'. He married Jessie and they took up residence on the Carrot River (at a site designated by Kiseyinis) about 3/4 of a mile upstream from Kiseyinis' camp at the mouth of the Cracking River. The birth dates of their three surviving children indicate that they were married about 1860. In the kayas acimowin by Lazarus Nawakayas which was related in a pre-

vious section of this chapter, a man named Necawinaw is noted as one of those who was a member of the first group to travel out to The Pas to take treaty. Other Red Earth informants, too, mentioned Necawinaw but they were unable to firmly place him genealogically. In an interview on another occasion, Lazarus stated that Necawinaw was simply an alternate name for Pahkwayis. The Cumberland House archival material provides confirmatory evidence. A debtor's list for 1866-69 notes several Red Earth people, including "Nahcawenaw - son-in-law to Keesaythenish".¹¹

Pahkwayis was followed in the marital quest by a man named Newakeyas. Newakeyas, a Plains Cree, is prominently mentioned in the Fort a la Corne customer ledgers of the 1860's (where he was also known as "Four Quills"). In 1865 it is noted that Newakeyas, "Lost his wife and children".¹² This signals the end of Newakeyas' patronage of la Corne Post and in a ledger dated 1867-69 it is noted that he has, "Gone to Cumberland, a useless beggar".¹³ Similarly, in a Cumberland House ledger of 1866-69, a "Newakiyask" is recorded whose debt is noted as, "Balance at Fort la Corne".¹⁴ It appears that Newakeyas' appearance in the Cumberland House debt book reflects the fact that he had joined the Red Earth group. At this time the Red Earth people traded at Cumberland House. Pas Post was only established in 1864-65 and it was not for some years that it took over the whole of the trade of the lower Carrot River valley. Newakeyas, therefore, following the loss of his la Corne family, moved to Red Earth. There, he married Harriet and established residence at the base camp of Pahkwayis. My records indicate that the first children of Newakeyas and Harriet

were born in the early 1870's, which information complements that from the archives. It appears, therefore, that Newakeyas and Harriet began living together in the late 1860's.

Pahkwayis subsequently left this camp which he shared with Newakeyas and established another base camp, half a mile up the Carrot River. As a result, three separate occupation areas were formed - settlements that were still important residential areas when I carried out my research a century later.

The memory of Kiseyinis' other son has nearly been lost. I never found anyone at Red Earth who could name this son, although it was known that he had existed, was a son of Kiseyinis, a brother to Mihkwanakeskam and begat four children (all of whom are known by name). The Pas Post archival documents suggest that this brother had an "English" name. In the 1880's a "Pete Kasaiineys" or "Peter Kasaeyinews" was a Company customer at Pas Mountain. Since both Kiseyinis and Peter Kasaeyinews are noted, it is very likely that these are father and son. However, the children of this son of Kiseyinis were surnamed Kitchener (a name which their descendents still bear). Therefore, this man will simply be referred to here as "Kitchener".

Kitchener married a woman, Mary Anne, from The Pas. Four of their children grew to adulthood and since the birth dates of two of these fall in the years 1867 and 1871, it seems that this marriage occurred in the middle 1860's. As a liaison with a member of The Pas Indian group, it was a harbinger of the many marriages, in subsequent generations, which were to firmly link Kiseyinis' descendents with the Swampy Cree population of this region.

Cecim

Cecim established his base camp on the Papikwan River, 32 kilometers southwest of Red Earth. This camp was located 20 kilometers south of the river's mouth on the Carrot River. The Papikwan River site was a traditional camping place, situated on the Ayisiyiniw Meskanaw, the route to the parklands. I have suggested, earlier in this chapter, that this site may have been the location of a camp visited by Robert Hood in 1820. This Papikwan River camping site is also noted, by Donald McKay, as the place where Kiseyinis' father experienced one of his visionary dreams.

Although the lower portion of the Papikwan River is now open farmland, Cecim's camping place is still within the forest and remains largely undisturbed. Trails (logging and hunting) have run through it, though, and a small bridge now spans the creek here. In 1972 I visited this location in the company of a local Eurocanadian trapper, Harold Stonehouse, who lives a solitary life somewhat farther up the Papikwan River. In 1972 this camping area was notable as a large prairie-like opening in the forest, about ten acres in extent. This meadow was halved by the creek which, at this point, flows in a northwesterly direction. That this meadow is not natural is evidenced by the fact that on all sides young trees are invading.

Stonehouse and his brothers first moved to this region in about 1938. He first visited the Papikwan River site a year later and noted that a pack horse trail crossed the northern end of the "prairie". In 1972 the remains of this trail were only discernible where they

had been deeply incised in the crest of the upper bank of the creek. Here, at a set of shallow rapids flowing over a firm gravel bed, the creek was readily forded. By the trail, on the east side of the river, was a tenting place, apparently a trapping camp since Stonehouse recalled that a few beaver pelt stretching hoops had been hung from the trees nearby. On the same side of the river, but at the southern end of the meadow had stood a wooden "tent".

Through the late 19th century and into the 20th, Cecim and his sons maintained a base camp, for hunting and trapping, at this Papikwan River location. According to Donald McKay they did have a problem obtaining sufficient food here. Compared to Red Earth this region did not have the multitude of waterfowl nor were the fish of the Carrot River available. The uncertainty of the food supply prompted Cecim to establish a second base camp on the Red Earth Creek, about four kilometers south of Kiseyiñis' Carrot River base camp. The ramifications of this decision have been far reaching and are considered in a subsequent chapter of this thesis.

The Papikwan River camping place does not offer any unusual attractions and its choice as a base of operations seems to have been purely based on the fact that the Indian road crossed the creek here. The considerable extent of the meadow here reflects habitation and firewood cutting over a long period of time - a longer period than that during which the Cecim family utilized this location. Of course, the presence of this large meadow in the forest did make this an attractive location to those Crees who brought horses to this region.

This camp does not seem to have been systematically used after the 1930's, but Red Earth people continue to regard it as an important site. They believe that this was once reserve land and claim is made to it as such.

According to Red Earth and Shoal Lake informants, Cecim's father was named wetiskawāpin and had grown up in what is now southern Manitoba, on the Red River near Winnipeg. Some informants stated that in adulthood Wetiskawapin moved to The Pas while other believed that he lived in the Fort a la Corne region. Archival evidence indicates that he did take up residence with the Fort a la Corne band. For instance, the customer ledgers kept at la Corne during the 1860's note a "Chachaim" prominently, along with his two brothers, "Yatta-coon-ha-way" and "Sa-cutch-ha-way-sis". These three were sons of a man named "Pop" who seems to have been dead by this time. Presumably, "Pop" was an English nickname for Wetiskawapin. By the 1860's, therefore, this family was well established at Ft. a la Corne.

Cecim appears to have grown to maturity in the Ft. a la Corne region. His wife was named keminōciwan and, although I have no direct testimony, she was apparently Saulteaux, a member of one of the bands that occupied the upper Red Deer River valley. The Saulteaux connections of this family are clearly evidenced by the kinship ties to the Nut Lake Saulteaux that were recognized by Cecim's children and grandchildren (and of which my informants¹⁵ have spoken). However, Cecim's family, like that of Kiseyinis must be considered as part of the Ft. a la Corne group.

By the 1860's Cecim's group included one son-in-law. Cecim's daughter Margaret married a man from The Pas, named Johnie Whitehead. The birthdates of their children suggest that they took up residence together ca. 1865. This is confirmed by the Ft. a la Corne customer ledger of 1864-67 where, at the bottom of Cecim's account page, a clerk has written:

"John Whitehead - say 3 Martens for debts at the Pas".¹⁶

Evidently, Whitehead's association with Cecim's family had begun by this time. He was eventually joined by his brother Philip from The Pas. Two other brothers, Adam and Steve, remained at The Pas.

Since Cecim's oldest child was not Margaret but a son named okiskamanasiw 'Kingfisher', we may assume that at least one adult son was also present. Possibly Okiskamanasiw was married by this time. My informants have indicated that he married a woman from "west of la Corne" and then left to go and live to the west. He apparently took his leave in 1886, since in that year a "King Fisher" appears in the Ft. a la Corne customer ledger¹⁷ for the first time.

Pootikat

It is noteworthy that the Ft. a la Corne man who is most prominently mentioned in the Cumberland House records (and who occupied the central Carrot River valley) did not remain in the Red Earth region and has never been mentioned by my informants. This man was named "Pootikat". During the winter of 1869-70 a camp trader named Sahys was sent out to the Red Earth area from Cumberland

House. Free traders were active in the area and Sahys traded with both The Pas and Ft. a la Corne Crees:

A short time since some of the Lacorne Indians who I fancy must have been outfitted by you, sent into Sahys requesting him to visit them, which he was obliged to do, as if he had refused to trade with them both Bear and Ballentine would have done so and we would have lost their furs. One of the Indians was called I think "Pootecat" so you will know the party I allude to (R. Hamilton at Cumberland House to H. Belanger at La Corne, Jan. 10, 1870).¹⁸

Pootikat also is noted prominently in the La Corne ledgers and appears to have been the leader of a band composed of the families of his sons and sons-in-law. However, Pootikat's group did not take up permanent residence in the central Carrot River valley and his name does not appear in the genealogies that I have collected here. Presumably, at the time of reserve formation at Ft. a la Corne, his group took up residence there.

THE SEASONAL ROUND CA. 1850-1870

In the period 1850-1870, therefore, three family groups cum local bands of Ft. a la Corne Crees are known to have occupied the central Carrot River valley. These bands were led by men named Kiseyinis, Cecim and Pootikat. These Crees of the mid 19th century lived as hunters and gatherers and were much involved in the fur trade.

The narratives which I have collected at Red Earth and the historical documents which I have researched provide some information on the seasonal round of these Crees. As the easternmost of the Ft. a la Corne bands, these people positioned themselves, in local band groups, in the

central Carrot River valley in the winter. The western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta seems to have been especially important to these people. In this region they had access to good populations of fur bearers and to substantial numbers of moose - especially those that moved off the Pasquia Hills each winter. These Crees were skilled trappers and the traders considered them to be attached to Ft. a la Corne;¹⁹ however, they sometimes traded at Cumberland House²⁰ and, after 1864, at the Pas Post. In the spring these people appear to have moved to the west, to the Saskatchewan River where they would have joined the large spring camps at either Nipawin or Ft. a la Corne.²¹ Here, large numbers of fish (especially sturgeon) were taken, as is made clear in Henry Budd's journals. For example, on June 24, 1857, he wrote: "No sturgeon catching at all, it is a serious matter for we have nothing else to depend on."²² Of course, the returning Swans, geese and ducks were also very important to the gathered Crees.

Significantly, substantial fish runs and large numbers of waterfowl also were present in the central Carrot River valley and the western edge of the delta at this time of the year. Presumably, social considerations were paramount in persuading these people to travel west to the Saskatchewan River in the spring. At Ft. a la Corne, major religious ceremonies such as the Goose Dance were held. Henry Youle Hind (1971:403) noted the remains of ceremonial lodges and ritual paraphernalia here in the summer of 1858. He also quoted a portion of one of Henry Budd's journals in his publication (this particular journal is not present in the Public Archives of Manitoba). In the spring of 1858 (?) Budd noted that

the "Thickwood" Crees began gathering by March 31. Ceremonies continued through to April 12, at which time the aggregation began to disperse. Years later, in the spring of 1867, Budd continued to record the annual round of aggregation, ceremonialism and dispersal. In 1867 he noted the first arrival of families on March 30 and on April 1 more Indian families arrived, including "Pootikat's party".²³ On April 15, Budd noted that there were 20 tents of Indians camped on the south side of the Saskatchewan River valley, opposite the mission:

They are waiting for the whole band to come, when they will commence some of their heathenish rites and superstitions.²⁴

By April 25 these people had begun to disperse for the summer.

It is noteworthy that the Red Earth bands do not appear to have followed exactly the model of seasonal movement which Arthur Ray has posited for Indian groups in association with the parkland zone. His research has produced a model in which both woodland and prairie Indians wintered in the parklands near the herds of bison that sheltered in the poplar bluffs at that season (Ray 1974:46). In the spring and summer, the prairie people followed the bison onto the open grasslands and the woodland people repaired north to fishing and hunting grounds. Interestingly, the attraction of the bison herds does not appear to have been sufficient to draw the Crees of the central Carrot River valley onto the parklands in the winter - indeed, this appears to have been the case even in the second decade of the 1800's (Hood 1974:53-60). Presumably, the provisions trade with Cumberland House and the large numbers of local moose were sufficient to counteract the attraction of bison herds less than 100 kilometers away.

The summer activities and travel of the Crees of the central Carrot

River valley appear to have been highly variable. At this season some families travelled out onto the prairies to hunt bison while others returned to the Red Earth region. In the autumn the Ft. a la Corne Crees again aggregated but at this season the timing of the gatherings appears to have been more variable and the ceremonial effort less intense. Perhaps most important at this season was the task of re-affirming ties with the traders and taking debt for the winter.

SUMMARY

The leading men resident in the study area in the 1860's were Kiseyinis, Cecim, Pootikat, Osawask, Kise-moswakapaw and Okakeek. These men appear to have been the heads of local bands, as defined in Chapter II. For instance, Donald McKay has indicated that a number of people lived with Kise-moswakapaw - people who seem to have moved between he and Osawask. The same was true of Cecim's camp which was composed of the families of John and Philip Whitehead and, possibly, that of Okiskamanasiw. As well, Henry Budd described Pootikat as an old man "with a very large family". Both Kiseyinis and Osawask were also in the process of gathering a group about them, composed of the families of their offspring. Before Okakeek's death in 1868 it is likely that he was also the focus about which a small band was organized. These leaders of the local bands were the individuals with whom the Hudson's Bay Company preferred to deal when providing debt and collecting furs.

Each local band appears to have maintained a base camp in the region and the locations of several of these are known from in-

formant testimony.

The Crees who occupied the study area in the mid 19th century were divided into two groups. One of these was oriented to Ft. a la Corne and consisted of three local bands, one led by Pootikat, another led by Cecim and a third led by Kiseyinis. These Ft. a la Corne people spoke Plains Cree (with the exception, presumably, of Kiseyinis), a 'y' dialect (e.g. kiseyinīs and not the Swampy Cree kiseninīs). The Ft. a la Corne people were culturally intermediate between the Plains Cree to the south (and west) and the Swampy Crees to the north and east; however, they maintained more features characteristic of Plains Cree culture than of Swampy Cree or Northern (Rocky) Cree.

The members of the other group of Crees were Opaskweyaw people and they composed three local bands, one headed by Okakeek, another by Osawask and a third by Kise-moswakapaw. These people spoke Swampy Cree and lived the sort of life normally thought of as typical of this branch of the Crees. Particularly prominent was their summer aquatic orientation and their dependence upon the resources of the Saskatchewan River delta.

The annual cycle of the 1850's and 1860's was one which positioned the easternmost of the Ft. a la Corne Crees in the central Carrot River valley during the winter. In the spring they joined relatives at Ft. a la Corne and took part in a series of religious ceremonies. During the summer they travelled widely, south into the parkland or northeast into the delta country. Presumably, in autumn they again gathered at Ft. a la Corne.

The little information available in the historical documents

suggests that the study area has been a boundary zone between Plains Cree on the west and Swampy Cree on the east at least since the very early 1800's. I believe that the Opaskweyaw Indians and the Ft. a la Corne Indians composed two distinct Cree societies through the nineteenth century. It is very likely that each was a deme. While the western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta was the boundary between these two societies through most of the 19th century, the changing conditions of the last decades of this century necessitated adjustments in the social and economic equilibrium which maintained this boundary. These adjustments are the subject of the remainder of this thesis.

Notes

- 1 CMS/A84, Reverend Henry Budd, Nepowewin journal, December 22, 1860.
- 2 PAM HBC, B.49/b/4, F.42d-43, Cumberland House correspondence book, 1863-64.
- 3 PAM HBC, B.49/d/99, F.29, Cumberland House account book, 1866-69.
- 4 This was also pointed out by Robert Hutton. Hutton spent his boyhood at Red Earth, as the son of the Hudson's Bay Company trader, and speaks fluent conversational Cree. Upon becoming a private store manager there, from 1943 to 1966, he maintained his contact with the people and his control of the language. During interviews at The Pas in the summer of 1975 he told me that Lazarus tends to use (in story telling) unusual vocabulary which does not normally occur in everyday speech. For this reason Hutton often had difficulty in comprehending Lazarus' stories.
- 5 The historical records indicate the Eurocanadian side of these negotiations:

They had heard of the terms granted the Indians at Carlton, and this acted most prejudicially at one time against the successful carrying out of my mission; but I at last made them understand the difference between their position and the Plain Indians, by pointing out that the land they would surrender would be useless to the Queen, while what the Plain Indians gave up would be of value to her for homes for her white children. They then agreed to accept the terms offered if I would agree to give them reserves where they desired; and to their demands I patiently listened, and having at last come to a satisfactory understanding I adjourned the meeting to the following day (Howard, T. in Morris 1880:162).

The problem here, from the Eurocanadian point of view, was that the Carlton treaty granted the Indians \$10.00 a year. Treaty Number 5 granted the Indians only \$5.00 a year.

- 6 The number of councillors is, of course, tied to population. In the late 19th century the Red Earth Cree were, for administrative purposes, members of The Pas band and there was only one chief (at The Pas). Red Earth's small population entitled it to one councillor and this was Mihkwanakeskam. As the Red Earth population grew the band became eligible for another councillor and so Newakeyas was elected.

- 7 Wīhciko is an endearing form of Wīhtiko 'cannibal being'. It is usual in personal names to palatalize /t/ to /c/, and thus produce an endearing or "sweet" quality to the word. According to Wolfart (1973:80):

"Palatalization of t throughout entire sentences or even speeches 'makes them sound pitiful' or overly sweet and effeminate. It is characteristic of the culture hero Wisahkecahk to occasionally speak this way."

- 8 The "ridge behind Arborfield" is not just any ridge. It is a low hill jutting out from the foot of the Pasquia Hills. This hill is not named by the people of the Arborfield district but the Red Earth Cree know it as Wapos Wachiy 'Rabbit Hill'. The summit is only about 30 meters above the almost perfectly flat plain (the former bed of a northern lobe of Glacial Lake Agassiz) which stretches to the northern horizon. However, this elevation is sufficient to make this an excellent look-out point and a high and dry camping site. An Archaeological site covers the top of this hill and artifacts collected from the cultivated field there date from the initial Palaeo-Indian occupation of the region through to the historic period. Stories gathered from the Red Earth Crees indicate that this hill has been a burial area and it is surrounded by a considerable supernatural aura, including the presence of ghosts (cipayak).
- 9 Just as the dream location at Rabbit Hill was highly significant, so is this site on the Papikwan River (Pipikwan Sipiy 'Flute River'). This was the base camp of Cecim, the leader of the large Cree family who may have occupied this region even before Kiseyinis and his followers arrived. The Red Earth people consider the area around this site as their territory and believe that it was once promised as reserve land. It was used by descendents of Cecim until the late 1930's.
- 10 I would analyze this personal name in this way: maskwa - 'bear', - cehe - 'heart' (palatalized form of the medial - tehe -), - kapaw 'stand'.
- 11 PAM HBC, B.49/d/99, F. 25d. Cumberland House account book, 1866-69.
- 12 PAM HBC, B.2/d/2, F.45. Ft. a la Corne account book, 1864-67.

- 13 PAM HBC, B.2/d/3, F.19. Ft. a la Corne account book, 1867-69.
- 14 PAM HBC, B.49/d/99, F.44. Cumberland House account book, 1866-69.
- 15 Donald McKay's grandfather, Okimay-pimohtew, was a son of Cecim. Donald related that when visiting Nut Lake many years ago he had stayed with relatives there. His host, an old man named anikwacas 'squirrel' referred to Okimay-pimohtew as niciwam 'cousin-brother'. Parenthetically, it may be significant that this Saulteaux had a Cree name. The surname (in English) Squirrel is now a prominent one in the Nut Lake region.
- 16 PAM HBC, B.2/d/2, F.17. Ft. a la Corne account book, 1864-67.
- 17 PAM HBC, B.2/d/17, Ft. a la Corne account book, 1886-87.
- 18 PAM HBC, B.49/b/5, F.16d. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1869-71.
- 19 PAM HBC, B.49/b/5, F.16d. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1869-71.
- 20 PAM HBC, B.49/d/99, F.20, 44, 25d. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1866-69.
- 21 PAM HBC, B.2/d/2, F.17. Ft. a la Corne correspondence book, 1864-1867.
- 22 CMS/A84, Reverend Henry Budd, Nepowewin journal, June 24, 1857.
- 23 CMS/A84, Reverend Henry Budd, Nepowewin journal, April 6, 1867.
- 24 CMS/A84, Reverend Henry Budd, Nepowewin journal, April 15, 1867.

CHAPTER IV
PAS MOUNTAIN INDIANS: THE FIRST GENERATION
CA. 1870-1900

INTRODUCTION

Whereas the preceding chapter dealt with the founders of the communities of Red Earth and Shoal Lake, this chapter is concentrated upon the "first" generation of individuals to mature and marry in this region. In the last decades of the 19th century the Crees of the Carrot River valley were usually referred to, by outsiders (such as Henry Budd), as the "Pas Mountain Indians". The implication was that these Crees formed a social entity with some internal unity or cohesion. However, when Budd used this term as early as 1870 the Pas Mountain Indians formed no such group. As I have attempted to demonstrate in the preceding chapter, the families in the study area at this time were not units integrated into a local society. Rather, these families were linked by kin ties to social groups elsewhere (Ft. a la Corne and The Pas). It was not until the marriages charted in Figure 7 were completed that the Pas Mountain Indians could have been conceptualized as a meaningful social entity. This had largely been achieved by the turn of the century.

GENERATIONS

Much of the remainder of this thesis involves the analysis of marriage patterns in the study area during the last 100 years. I have found it convenient and revealing to analyze these marriages

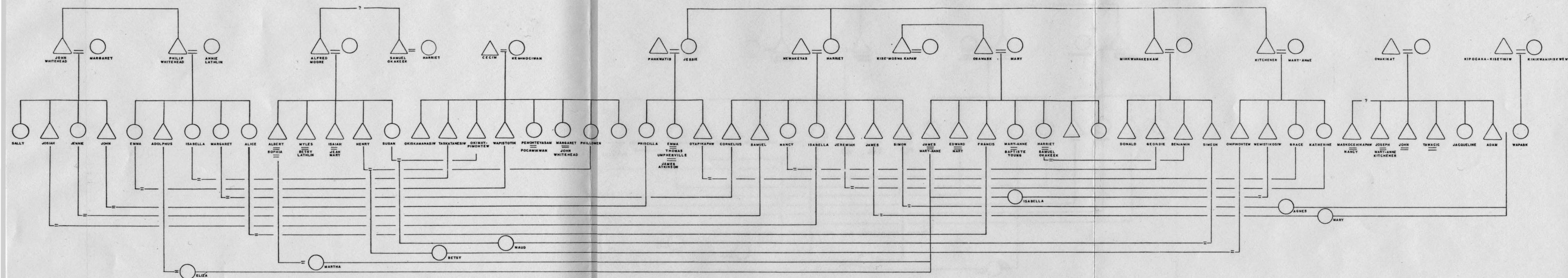


Figure 7. Marriages of the first generation.

generation by generation. Since generational levels are important in the Cree manner of organizing kin relationships, this method of approaching the marriage data seems to complement the cultural reality of the Pas Mountain people. My attempt to rationalize the generational levels of known individuals of the last half of the nineteenth century is illustrated in Figure 7. Since subsequent generations relate to it, the confident establishment of this first generation is important. As is shown by Figure 7, the first generation was composed of ten sibling sets and one lone daughter. I have assigned these sibling sets to this generation on the basis of one or more of the following criteria:

- (1) that the members of the sibling set chose spouses from the members of other sibling sets of this generation;
- (2) that the members of a sibling set are known to be first cousins of the members of other sets in this generation;
- (3) that the children of a sibling set eventually intermarried with the children of other sibling sets of this generation.

I have considered this group of sibling sets to be generation one, not only because it composes the first generation for which I have a good deal of kin information, but also because it includes those individuals who intermarried and began the process of cementing the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people into a single social entity, a deme.

Of course, this generational model fits reality only roughly and a continuing problem to the analyst is cross-generational marriage. The first born members of a generation may obtain some partners from the last born members of the previous generation while the last born

members of a generation may obtain spouses from the first born members of the succeeding generation. Of course, these individuals may trace no kin ties and so be unaware of the fact that they are marrying out of their generation. The problem (to the analyst) which results from cross-generational marriage is that of deciding to which generation the children belong. In general I have placed the offspring in that generation in which they have obtained their spouses. In other words, I would place such a sibling set in the generation into which most of the members have married. As is illustrated in Figure 7, three of the first generation marriages involved members of the previous generation and seven involved members of the following generation.

THE FOUNDING GENERATION

I consider the couples who produced the first generation to be the cultural and biological founders of the contemporary Cree population of the study region. Indeed, there have been relatively few immigrants since this founding generation. As is shown in Figure 7, the founding generation consisted of:

1. Mikhwanakeskam and wife
2. Kitchener and Mary Anne
3. Newakeyas and Harriet
4. Pahkwayis and Jessie
5. Cecim and Keminociwan
6. John and Margaret Whitehead
7. Philip and Annie Whitehead

8. Osawask and Mary
9. Kise-moswakapaw and wife
10. Alfred Moore and wife
11. Samuel and Harriet Moore
12. Owakikat and wife
13. Kipocaka-kiseyiniw and Kinikwanipiskwew

However, in another sense, the founders of Red Earth and Shoal Lake were the six leaders of the local bands that were present here in the mid 1800's. As noted in the preceding chapter, these were Kiseyinis, Cecim, Pootikat, Osawask, Kise-moswakapaw and Okakeek. Of course, these men were not all on the same generational level, with the result that only the three youngest, Osawask, Kise-moswakapaw and Cecim appear among the founding generation charted in Figure 7. As has been noted also, Pootikat apparently left the region completely.

Most of these thirteen couples were introduced in the preceding chapter; however, Alfred Moore and wife, Samuel and Harriet Moore, owākikat and wife, and kipōcaka-kiseyiniw 'log jam old man' and kinikwanipiskwew 'whirling woman' have not been discussed. Only one member of these couples, Samuel Moore, was a prominent figure and very little is known about the other individuals. Samuel Moore was a son of Okakeek and in the 1870's was known as Samuel Okakeek. By the end of the century the Hudson's Bay Company records give his surname more frequently as "Moar" than "Okakeek", although the reason for the change is not known. "Moar" eventually was changed to the present form "Moore". By 1879 Samuel Okakeek had been placed in charge of a trading outpost at Shoal Lake. This post was operated

by the Hudson's Bay Company and in a letter dated January 15, 1885 Chief Factor Belanger (stationed at Cumberland House) described Samuel Okakeek's situation in this way:

At Pas Mountain we have one regular outpost which is supplied, superintended and visited from Pas Post. This outpost is in charge of one of the Counsellors of the Pas band of Indians, and his position as Counsellor gives him considerable influence. He is an excellent Trader, keeps his accounts very correctly in Cree characters and gives good returns.¹

Samuel Moore continued to trade at Shoal Lake until his death in the spring of 1890. At this time he was married to one of the daughters of Osawask, a woman named Harriet. According to Donald and Matilda McKay, Samuel married Harriet in his old age. Donald and Matilda have also indicated that Samuel was too old to father any children when he married Harriet. When, as a widow, Harriet married Benjamin McKay (and became Donald's aunt) she soon became a mother. My informants have not indicated that Samuel had any children by a previous marriage. According to Donald and Matilda, Samuel had the Cree name 'okimācīc' 'little chief', which was appropriate to his position as councillor. Lazarus Nawakayas has indicated that Samuel Moore also had the name kicakipasis.

I have never established with certainty that Alfred and Samuel Moore were brothers; however, they both appear to be on the same generational level and they have the same surname. It is puzzling, though, that Alfred Moore's name does not appear in the Hudson's Bay Company trading lists of the 1880's and 1890's. These lists provide the names of 29 Pas Mountain men, some in Cree and some in English. I am unable to identify only two of these: Charles Head

and Charles Jebb. Significantly, these trading lists do include the names of Isaiah and Albert Moore, two of Alfred's sons.

Lazarus Nawakayas has provided the most detailed information regarding the Head family. In an interview in the spring of 1977 he identified the father of this family as Owakikat from Opaskweyaw. However, in a session two years before he had indicated, confidently, that the Head brothers were from Moose Lake. I interpret this to mean that Owakikat was from the Moose Lake area, but was considered to be a member of the Opaskweyaw group. Lazarus stated that Owakikat came to Shoal Lake in order to live with a woman (whose identity and kinship affiliation is not known) of this community. I do not know whether Owakikat brought his offspring to Shoal Lake as children or whether they were born here. However, there is little doubt that they became strongly identified as Pas Mountain Indians. Lazarus has identified Owakikat's children as including five sons and one daughter, the latter named Jacqueline or cākasis. The brothers were named Maskocephikapaw or Baptiste, Joseph or pīmanakōnanikamaw, Adam or pīyesiw 'bird', John and tawācīc.

The Hudson's Bay Company ledgers which record the Pas Mountain debtors of the late 1880's and early 1890's also provide some information in this regard. They list a number of men with the surname "Head". The earliest of these trading accounts is a "memo-randum for Mr. D. McDonald relating to the Winter Business at the Pas Mountain Outpost 1888".² It includes "Bapte head", "Joe Head", "Adam Head" and "Charles Head". These neatly parallel Lazarus' list, the only difference being "Charles Head". It is very likely that

Tawacic and Charles Head are names referring to the same individual.

I have been unable to identify the wives of two of these brothers, John and Tawacic, and I do not have any information concerning Joseph's first wife. One of the brothers, Maskocephikapaw, lived with the Red Earth people and this branch of the family now has the greatest number of descendants. The Shoal Lake brothers have few descendants - which may be one of the reasons that little information concerning them is available.

Adam Head's wife was wāpask 'white bear' or Mary. Her parents were Kipocaka-kiseyiniw and Kinikwanipiskwew. I have almost no information on this couple except that Kinikwanipiskwew was long lived and resided at Red Earth through the early decades of this century.

THE FIRST GENERATION

The (known) reproductive success of the founding families, in terms of raising offspring to maturity, varied from zero in the cases of Kise-moswakapaw and Samuel Okakeek to a high of eight in the case of Cecim. In total, 54 of the offspring of the 13 founding couples are known to have reached maturity. Fifty-two of these 54 are known to have married. They were involved in 38 first marriages and four (known) second marriages.

With regard to the time period involved, I have obtained actual dates of marriage for only eight of these 42 but for another 24 the year of marriage can be estimated from the birth dates of the children. For the remaining cases, even an estimation is not possible, although the marriages appear to fall in the last decades of the

19th century. Of the 32 unions for which a marriage date is known or estimated, one falls in the 1860's, three in the 1870's, 10 in the 1880's, 10 in the 1890's and eight are scattered through to 1919. Clearly, this is the generation which matured in the last decades of the 19th century.

As noted above, these 52 individuals were involved in 42 marriages. Twenty-four of these are known to have been contracted within the community while 15 of the 42 were unions with individuals from other areas. In another three cases I am not certain of the origin of the wife. Ten of the individuals who married outsiders brought their spouses to Red Earth or Shoal Lake while another five left to join their spouses elsewhere. One of these was Isaiah Moore, who joined his wife's groups at The Pas, and another was one of Osawask's sons who joined his wife in the Pelican Narrows area. The remaining three were Cecim's offspring: Okiskamanasiw, Pemohteyasam and a daughter whose name is no longer known. The latter is said to have married opāhosis of Ft. a la Corne. This is evidently the individual who appears in the la Corne customer lists of 1892-94 as "Oh pa hoo siss".³

On the whole, it is apparent that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the marriage universe of the Pas Mountain Crees was relatively open. Not surprisingly, the Red Earth people continued to intermarry with the la Corne Cree (six marriages); however, they obtained ten spouses from Shoal Lake and two from The Pas. Besides their involvement in ten Red Earth marriages, the Shoal Lake people obtained four spouses from The Pas and two spouses from the Pelican Narrows region. The latter involved a son and daughter of

Osawask and it appears that they married a sister and a brother, respectively, at Pelican Narrows. This appears to have been a unique case and is not repeated.

Although 42 is too small a number of marriages to treat statistically, it is worth noting the general trend of in and out marriages of the Pas Mountain Indians on this generational level. Fifteen persons are known to have married "outsiders" - in other words, about two-thirds of the marriages involved "insiders". It is apparent, too, that Kiseyinis' grandchildren had lost any orientation to Ft. a la Corne since only two (out of 18) acquired a spouse from there. In contrast, Cecim's offspring were involved in four marriages with individuals from the west. On the whole, however, it is clear that during this period the Red Earth Crees had loosened ties with Ft. a la Corne and were joining the Shoal Lake marriage universe.

POPULATION OF THE FIRST GENERATION

While it is clear that the population of the study region steadily increased through the last half of the 19th century, it is relatively difficult to determine the actual number of individuals present at any one time. Actual population enumerations did not occur until after the reserves had been established. The first census of which I am aware was taken by A. MacKay, an Indian Agent, who in 1882 counted 70 persons at Red Earth and 61 at Shoal Lake (MacKay 1883:47). These figures are suspect since, in this century at least, the population of Red Earth has been consistently nearly twice as large as that

of Shoal Lake. Near the turn of the century another Indian Agent, Joseph Reader, reported a population of 108 for Red Earth and 70 for Shoal Lake (Reader 1898:104). Referring to Red Earth he wrote that, "Twenty-two men, twenty-six women and sixty children make up this band" (Reader 1898:104). Reader's population figures may be accurate, especially since he appears to have made a careful count of men, women, and children. Presumably, at this time a band list was drawn up.

My own genealogical investigations tend to confirm Reader's enumeration for Red Earth (Table I). In the generation of young married adults ca. 1900, I have listed 17 married couples. To this number the members of the older generation must be added. At this point my data are inadequate since I know of only three of the older individuals who were certainly deceased by this time. Very likely there were others.

Where Reader has enumerated 22 men I have 23 and I agree with him in enumerating 26 women. Of course, this close matching of our figures may be due to chance but there is no doubt that our enumerations are comparable. Reader noted the presence of 60 children in 1897. I have no useful information in this regard. Families were very large, child mortality high and, in general, the recollection of children by Red Earth informants is very faulty.

TABLE I
RED EARTH ADULTS CA. 1900

-
1. Pahkwayis and Jessie
Oyapikapaw and Grace
James and Emma Atkinson
 2. Newakeyas and Harriet
Jeremiah and Catherine Nawakayas
Cornelius and Margaret Nawakayas
Samuel and Jennie Nawakayas
James and Mary Nawakayas
Simon and Agnes Nawakayas
 3. Mihkwanakeskam and Wife
Donald and Jane McKay
Geordie and Nancy McKay
Benjamin and Harriet McKay
Simeon and Maude McKay
Kise Nancy and Pisimohkan
 4. Cecim and Keminociwan
Taskatanesiw and Isabella
Okimay-pimohtew and Susan
Wapistotin and Emma
Pemohteyasam
 5. Johnie and Margaret Whitehead
Josiah and Isabella Whitehead
John and Priscilla Whitehead
Philip and Annie Whitehead
 6. Maskochehikapaw and Nancy
-

LOCAL BANDS AND HAMLETS

In Chapter III I presented data indicating that in the period 1850-1870 there were six local bands in the study area. Three of these were in the Red Earth region and were composed of Ft. a la Corne Crees. By the period 1880-1900 that local band led by Pootikat was no longer present; however, that which had been led by Kiseyinis had split to form three separate local bands. These were led by Kiseyinis' son, Mihkwanakeskam, and his two sons-in-law, Newakeyas and Pahkwayis. Cecim continued to lead his band into the 1880's, with the result that in the last decades of the 1800's, there were four local bands in the Red Earth area. Cecim appears to have been considerably younger than Kiseyinis and the fact that he led a local band as early as the 1860's is surprising. Cecim apparently accomplished this by requiring his first son-in-law, John Whitehead, to move to Red Earth. By this time Cecim's eldest son, Okiskamanasiw, was adult and a viable local band was evidently formed when John's brother and family also joined the group. Cecim's local band was eventually increased in size when two of his sons, Taskatanesiw and Okimay-pimohtew, married. This, however, did not occur until the 1880's.

Compared to the previous generation, the 1880-1900 generation was more stable and seems to have been less travelled and, by inference, more inward in world view. This may be related to the establishment of the reserve system. The Crees of the Saskatchewan River delta signed a treaty with the Canadian government on September 7, 1876. This was an adhesion to Treaty No. 5 which had been implemented the previous

year. The Indians included in this adhesion were:

the Band of Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Indians, residing at the "Pas", on the Saskatchewan River, Birch River, The Pas Mountain and File Lake, and known as "The Pas Band"; and at Cumberland Island, Sturgeon River, Angling River, Pine Bluff, Beaver Lake and the Ratty Country, and known as "The Cumberland Band"; and at Moose Lake and Cedar Lake, and known as "The Moose Lake Band", ... (Dawson 1905II:23).

Officially, then, the Pas Mountain Indians were a part of The Pas Band.

In terms of the imposition of government administration, The Pas Mountain Crees were little affected for more than a decade. Not until 1885 was a reserve, the southernmost, surveyed at Red Earth. The northern reserve here was surveyed in 1894.

It appears that in the Red Earth region the first two reserves planned by the government were to be situated on Red Earth Creek and the Papikwan River. This is evidenced by a Northwest Mounted Police map,⁴ dated 1888, which figures two reserves, one at the present location of the southern reserve (on Red Earth Creek) and the other in the area of the Papikwan River. Since the present northern reserve, located on the Carrot River (I.R. No. 29A), was not surveyed until 1894, it does not appear on this police map. The population figures placed on the latter map are 95 for Shoal Lake and 60 each for Red Earth and Papikwan River. These numbers seem to be too high, in light of Reader's 1897 census noted above. The Papikwan River reserve appears never to have been surveyed, but it did exist on paper and was known as the Flute Creek reserve. This reserve was exchanged for the present Carrot River Indian Reserve No. 29A in 1893, at which time the federal

government extinguished the Indian title to the Flute Creek reserve.

The establishment of formal reserves seems to have influenced the settlement patterns of these Crees, to the extent that their movements became centred about absolutely permanent home bases. It is possible, though, that the establishment of a Hudson's Bay Company post here in the summer of 1885 was of greater importance in this regard. The Reverend Henry Budd made no mention of the presence of cabins here in the 1870's, but there is evidence that log houses were being built by the late 1880's. For instance, in November of 1889 the Reverend John Hines wrote: "on Monday I left for Red Earth. Gave H.C. to Two and visited the heathen in their houses".⁵

It is apparent that by the late 1880's, the lives of the Pas Mountain Indians had begun to revolve about the sites of their cabins. These were of logs, usually flat roofed (covered with earth) and unsuitable for summer occupation. During the summer these Crees normally lived in tents, even while on the reserves. Some mihtikiwap 'wooden tent' were also built on the reserves, although these were more usually constructed on the trapping grounds. Although it is unlikely that every family had a cabin or mihtikiwap on the reserves, some of these more substantial structures were clustered at five locations in the study region (counting one at Shoal Lake). For ease of reference I refer, below, to the clusters of cabins at each home base as a "hamlet". At Red Earth the positioning of the hamlets was in no way influenced by the establishment of the reserves. Rather, the reserves were drawn up to include those areas in which home bases had already

been located.

For the last two decades of the 1800's, therefore, I have identified four local bands in the Red Earth area. These were led by Cecim, Mihkwanakeskam, Newakeyas and Pahkwayis. With the exception of Cecim's group which maintained two camps (one on the Papikwan River and the other on Red Earth Creek), each of these bands was focused upon a stable base camp. Except for that on the Papikwan River, each of these base camps became the site of a hamlet of log houses. These four hamlets (Fig. 8) and their associated bands, are the subject of the following section of this chapter.

Natimihk

natimihk 'upstream location' was the farthest upstream of the Red Earth hamlets. It is the location (Fig. 8) where Pahkwayis and his wife established a home base, after first living somewhat farther downstream. Three of their children, a son and two daughters, reached a marriageable age. All brought their spouses to this hamlet and established families here. One of these spouses (John Whitehead) was from Cecim's family, another (a cross-cousin) from that of Kiseyinis and the third from Fort a la Corne. The latter, Thomas Umpherville, married Emma (Fig. 9) and after his death she remarried, to James Atkinson of The Pas. Maskocephikapaw brought his family to live here as well. He had married a woman, Nancy, from one of the La Corne bands. There, apparently, they lived for some time before settling at Red Earth.

It is unlikely that Maskocephikapaw would have joined the

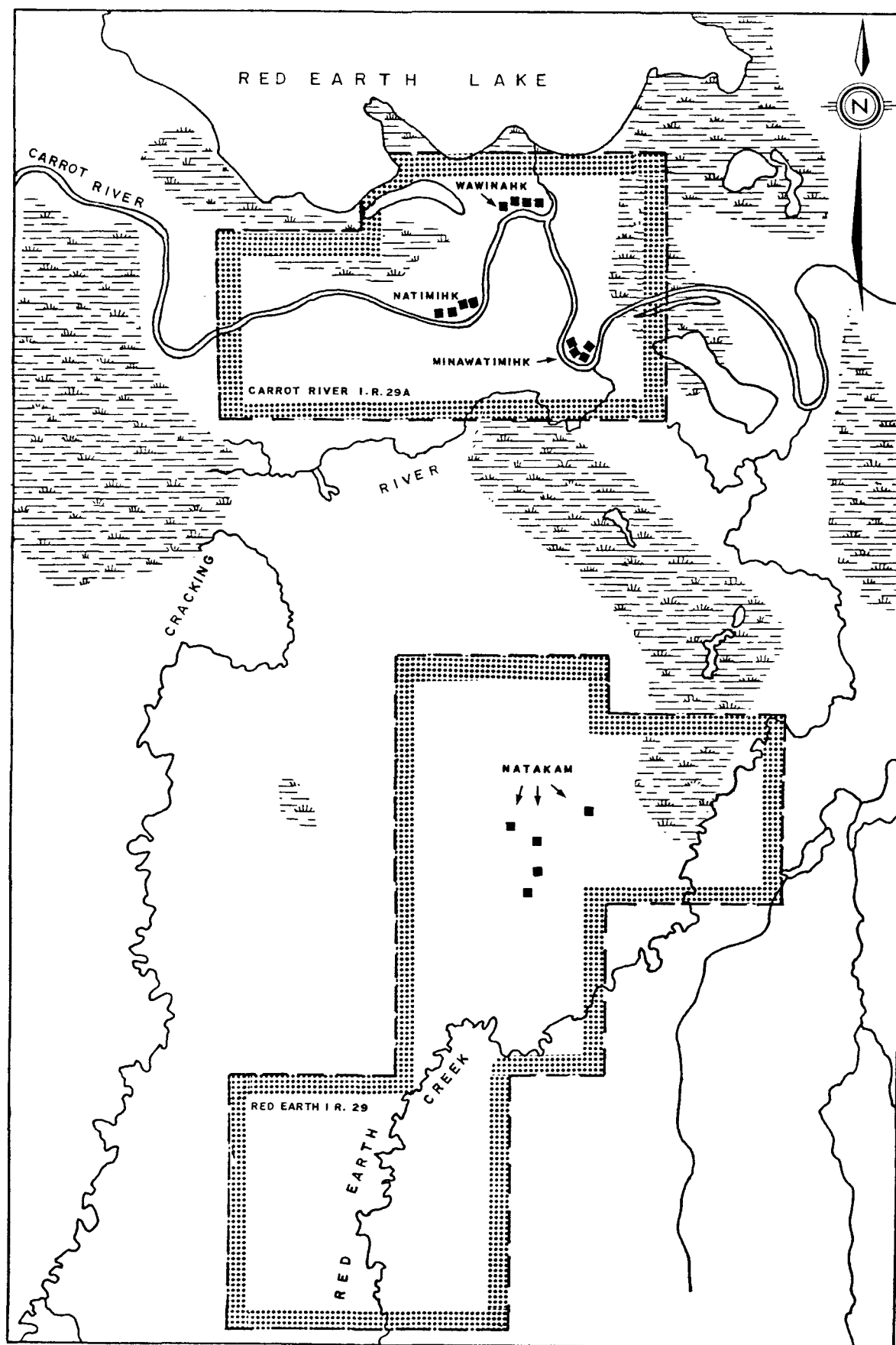


Figure 8. Hamlet locations on the Red Earth reserves.

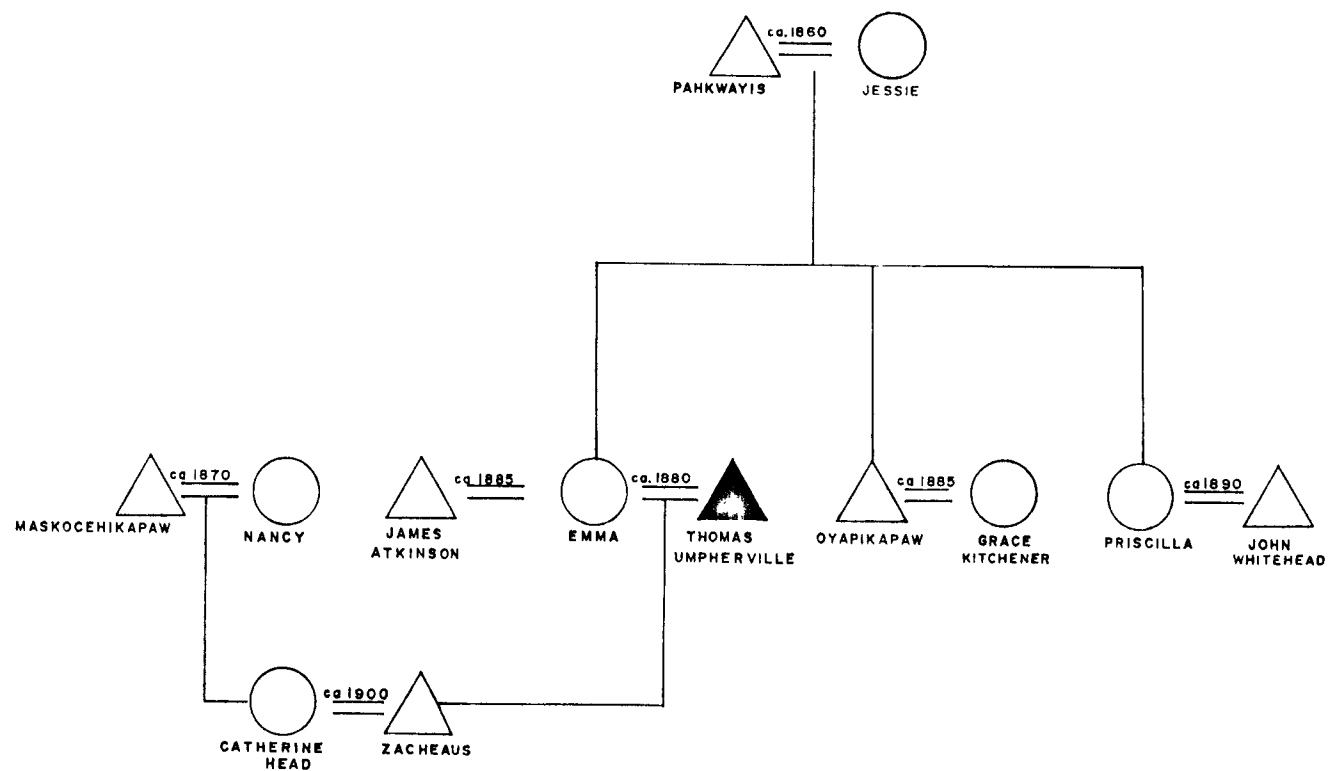


Figure 9. Married adults of the local band at Natimihk during the last decade of the 19th century.⁶

Natimihk group unless he, or his wife, was able to trace a primary kin tie to one of the resident individuals. I have never been able to obtain any information in this regard from my Red Earth informants but the fact that two persons of Fort a la Corne origin (Pahkwayis and Thomas Umpherville) were already present suggests the possibility that Nancy may have been related to one of these. Since Maskocephikapaw's brothers had taken up residence at Shoal Lake, it would be expected that he might also have gone there to live. The fact that he did not strengthens the likelihood of a close kin tie between Nancy and at least one of the Natimihk residents. Therefore, by 1890, Natimihk was the base camp of four married couples of the younger generation and at this time Jessie (who died in 1930) was present and presumably Pahkwayis was alive as well.

Wawinahk

wāwīnāhk 'circular bend location' was situated on a sweeping circular bend of the Carrot River (Fig. 10) about .8 kilometer downstream from Natimihk. This is the site where Pahkwayis first established a camp at Red Earth and where Newakeyas eventually took up residence. Newakeyas and Harriet raised a large family, most of whom established cabins here upon their marriages. Only one of the seven offspring left upon marriage. This was Nancy who moved downstream about .8 kilometer to join her husband near the next hamlet. The remaining sister brought her husband, a Whitehead, to live at Wawinahk. A sister of this Whitehead also married into this group as did one other Whitehead, a female parallel cousin of the aforementioned. Of the three remaining siblings (all brothers), one married a cross-cousin (Kitchener's daughter)

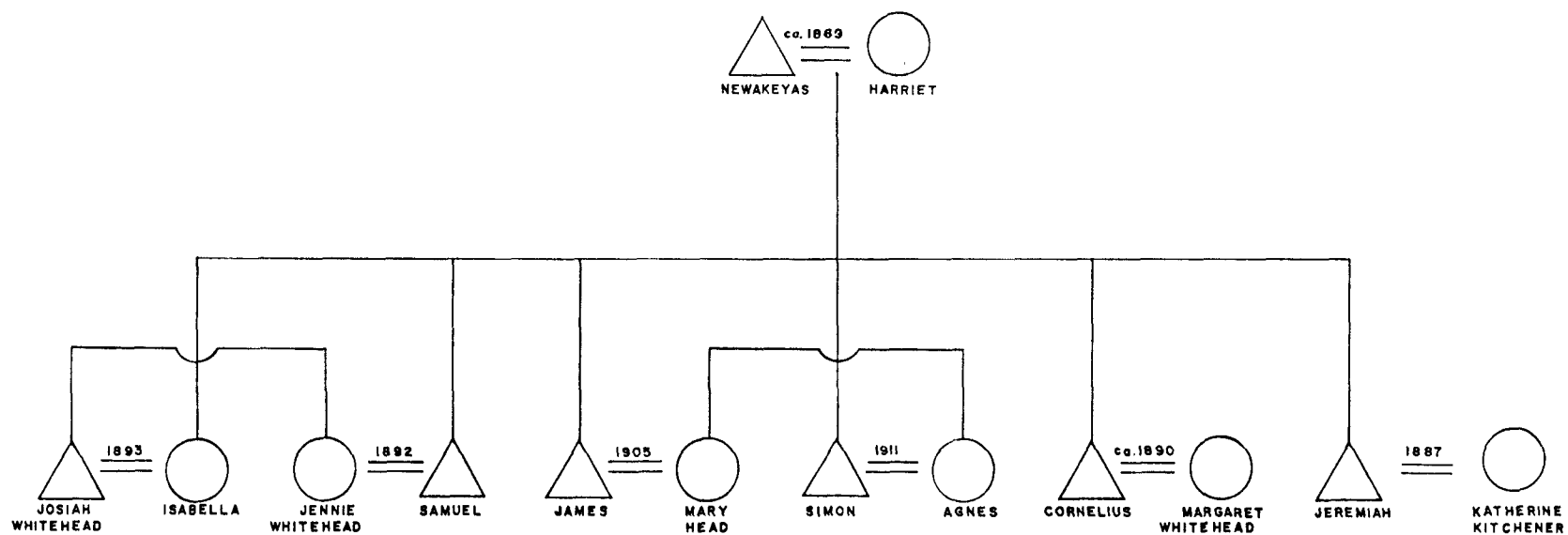


Figure 10. Married adults of the local band at Wawinahk during the last decade of the 19th century.

and the other two married women from Shoal Lake. These marriages took place between ca. 1890 and 1911.

By the early 1900's, therefore, the hamlet at Wawinahk was the home base for six couples of the younger generation. Harriet, who lived until 1928, was present and possibly Newakeyas was as well. Because of the greater reproductive success of Harriet and Newakeyas, this group was slightly larger than that at Natimihk. Around the turn of the century Wawinahk had become one of the most village-like of these hamlets since each of the families had built its own log house. Here, also, the first school-church building was erected.

Minawatimihk

minawātimihk 'sharp bend location' is situated about 1.25 kilometer downstream from Wawinahk. Here, the Carrot River which has been flowing in a southerly direction abruptly loops back to the north. As a result a "point" of land has been formed on the inside of this loop. Here, the levees which border the Carrot River in this region have coalesced to form a well elevated tongue of land. As a result, this is an unusually high and well-drained location. It is made doubly attractive for human occupation by the Cracking River which flows into the Carrot River here. Unlike the often muddy Carrot River, this smaller stream is clear and fresh.

The attractiveness of this location has been commented on by Eurocanadian visitors through the decades, with perhaps the earliest accolade being awarded by the Reverend John Hines in his book "Red

Indians of the Plains":

After spending some time with these Indians, we paddled on about fifteen miles further to a place called Red Earth. The Indians' houses at this place are built on a point of land almost surrounded by the Carrot River. The place is unique in the Saskatchewan country, and, personally I have not seen another place like it in all Western Canada, and it would compare favourably with any of our natural parks in England. The ground is perfectly level, and the trees, which are mostly maple and elm, grow to an enormous size. The Indians had cut off the lower branches of the trees to an even height from the ground so as to enable them to get about without interruption. When one ascended the banks of the river and entered the plateau where the houses and tents were standing, it was easy to imagine oneself under a huge canopy of evergreens, and the whole of the unoccupied ground was densely covered with huge bracken (Hines 1916:245-246).

In this quote Hines has described his impression of Minawatimihk upon his visit in 1889. Obviously, Minawatimihk was the major hamlet at this period (as it still is) although a reserve had not yet been surveyed there. Hines' diary entries make it clear that he visited at least one other Red Earth Hamlet, apparently Wawinahk.

As at Natimihk and Wawinahk, the hamlet at Minawatimihk was situated on the north bank of the Carrot River. Here were built the cabins of Mihkwanakeskam, his brother Kitchener, and perhaps of Kiseyinis as well. It is clear that Kiseyinis and his wife were both alive at the time of Hines' visits around 1890, since Hines directed much effort towards the conversion of Kiseyinis (see also Lazarus' story in Chapter III). The two sons of Kitchener did not marry until ca. 1910 (and then lived at Shoal Lake); however, three of Mihkwanakeskam's sons were married by 1890 and the fourth married in 1901 (Fig. 11). Therefore, at the turn of the century the hamlet at Minawatimihk was composed of the houses of four sons of Mihkwanakeskam plus

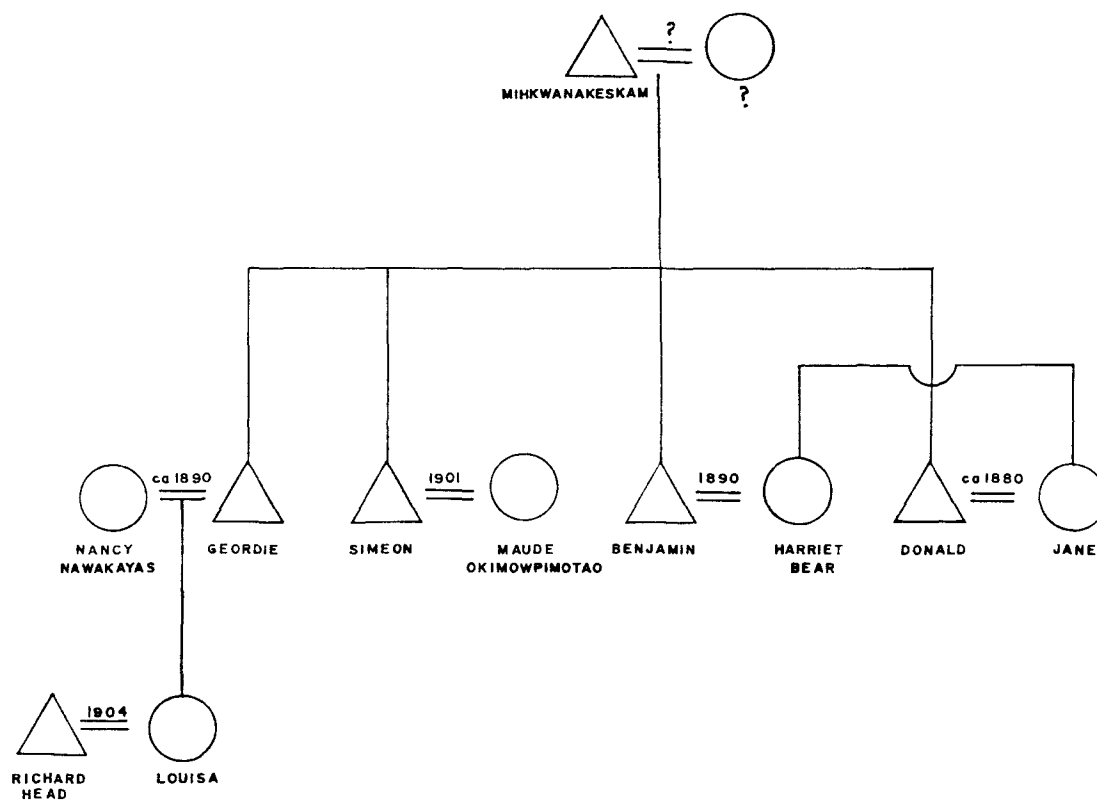


Figure 11. Married adults of the local band at Minawatimihk at the turn of the century.

those houses occupied by the older generation - an additional two houses at most. The 1894 reserve survey map indicates the presence of seven houses here.

By 1889 Kitchener was apparently dead for Reverend Hines wrote, of his April visit that year:

The Old man said when Mr. Reader was a minister & visited them, his son at that time was lying very ill. Mr. R. told him, if his son was baptized he would have life. The old man took it literally, thinking that if his son were baptized he would get well again. So he allowed him to be baptized. Within a day or two after he died.⁷

Hines also noted that; "His 3 daughters & son were then called into his tent. 3 are heathens & the other, the youngest daughter, is a Xtian, having married a Xtian some years ago (she is now a widow)". In this passage Hines has clearly described Kiseyinis' family which consisted of one surviving son, Mihkwanakeskam, and three daughters. One of the daughters, Pisimohkan, had once been married and had lived in the Fort a la Corne region (where missionaries had been active for some time).

Natakam

nātakam 'towards shore' was an area of residence located south of the hamlets on the Carrot River and separated from them by a marshy lake. The houses here were all built in a relatively small area along the western side of the Red Earth Creek. This region appears to have been one of the oldest camping places in the Red Earth area (Hood 1974:53). It was next to the Ayisiyiniw Meskanaw, the trail ,

which led to the parklands.

Although elderly Red Earth informants agree in emphasizing the attachment of Cecim's family to the Papikwan River, it is apparent that by the early 1880's, this family also resided at Natakam frequently. This is reflected by the fact that the earliest known reserve survey in this region occurred in 1885 and was a survey of Natakam. It appears that as the hamlets on the Carrot River became a population centre and the location of a sometimes operated Hudson's Bay Company store, Cecim's family was attracted to spend more time at Natakam. Donald McKay has also explained the problem of procuring an adequate food supply which Cecim's family experienced on the Papikwan River. The lessened importance of the Papikwan River base camp may explain why the proposed reserve there was never surveyed.

In the late 1890's, therefore, Natakam was the home base of a band consisting of seven families (Fig. 12). Three of these were of the older generation and four were of the younger. While the dominant family here was that of Cecim, very important were the families of two brothers, surnamed Whitehead, who had immigrated from The Pas. One of these brothers married a daughter of Cecim while two children of the other brother married two more of Cecim's offspring, both males. Cecim's third son married a member of the Moore family of Shoal Lake. Another member of this Moore family married one of Cecim's daughters (multiple marriages between sibling sets are quite common in this region). Cecim's third daughter, pemohteyāsam, married at Fort a la Corne but this union proved short-lived and she returned to Red Earth. One of the sons, Okiskamanasiw, having married a woman to the west of

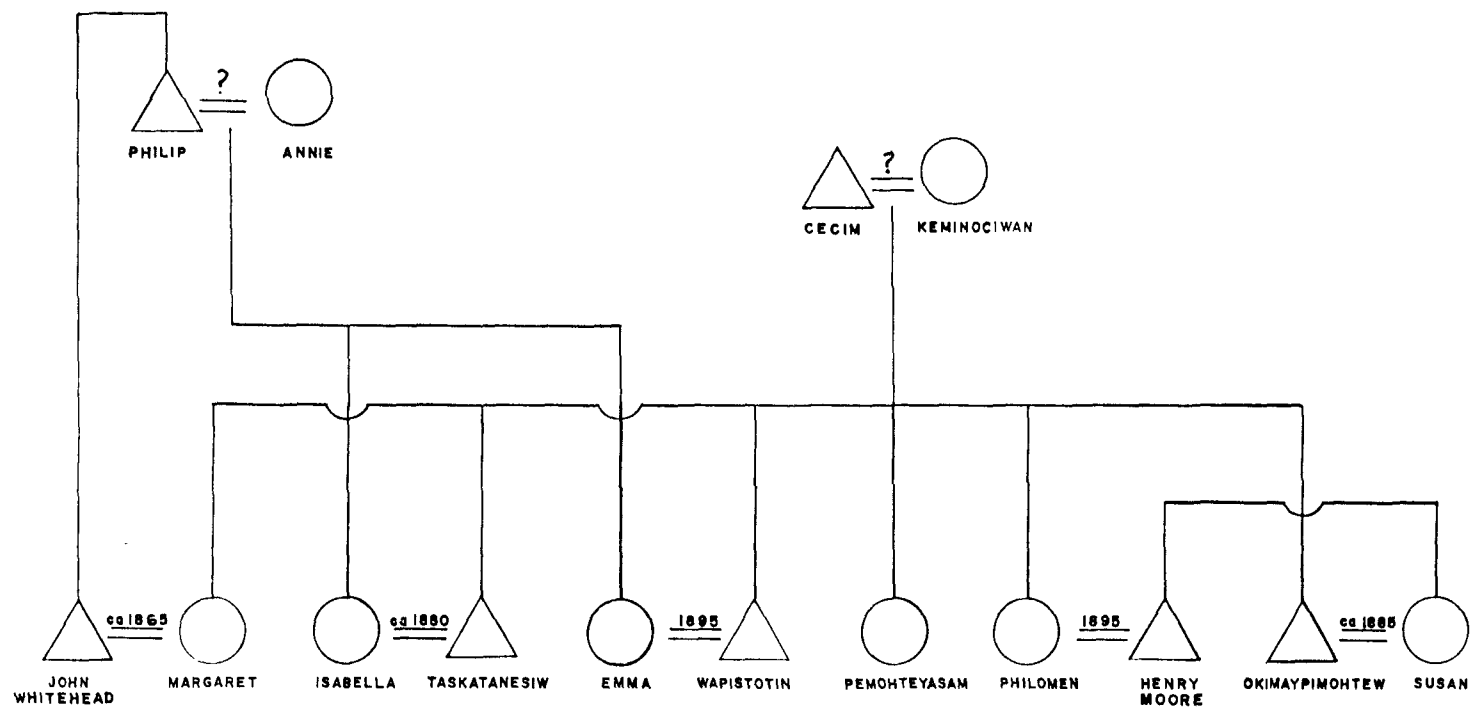


Figure 12. Married adults of the local band at Natakam in the last decade of the 19th century.

La Corne, left the group permanently.

Significantly, only one of the younger Whitehead males remained with the Natakam band, two of his sisters having married sons of Cecim. His third sister married into the Nawakayas family, as did two of his parallel-cousins, a brother and sister. These two joined the band at Wawinak while, their brother, John, having married at Natimihk went there. John's position, however, was interesting. His wife was from Natimihk, while 3/4 of a mile downstream at Wawinahk were two of his siblings. He seems never to have committed himself to one group or the other and when he built a house, he built it not in one of these two hamlets, but half way between them.

During the late 1800's, the Whitehead family was of particular importance to Red Earth society in that its members married into the families of both Cecim and of Kiseyinis. Perhaps significant is the fact that not until 1901 was a marriage contracted between the members of these latter two families. The Whitehead family bridged this gap and as a result, by the end of the 19th century, primary kin ties could be followed through the whole of the Red Earth population (with the possible exception of the family of Maskocephikapaw).

In the early 1900's two more hamlets developed on the Carrot River and were named. However, the description of these belongs to another chapter. All four of the hamlets discussed to this point are still important residential areas at Red Earth and they still bear the names used here.

A REGIONAL BAND

As I noted in Chapter III, in the mid 19th century the local bands in the Red Earth area were part of a larger Cree group centred about Ft. a la Corne. Similarly, the Crees of the Shoal Lake area were members of a marriage universe centred about Opaskweyaw. By the end of the 19th century it is clear that both the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees were loosening their ties with their parent groups. In fact, by 1900 the Pas Mountain Indians were obtaining the majority of their marriage partners from within their own ranks. At this point it is no longer possible to assign the Red Earth Crees to the Ft. a la Corne group, the Shoal Lake Crees to the Opaskweyaw group or the Pas Mountain Indians as a whole to either of the parent bodies. I believe, therefore, that the Pas Mountain population of this period was in the process of becoming a separate marriage universe. However, this transitional society of the Pas Mountain Indians was similar to that social entity known as the regional band.

The concept of the regional band was formulated by June Helm who has recognized, for the Arctic Drainage Dene, both the presence of "tribes" (Helm 1965:38) and of regional bands, a number of which compose the tribe (Helm's "tribe" is that social grouping here identified as the deme). According to Helm (1965:376), "the shared orientation of the regional band in toto is to an extensive exploitative zone or territory - its biotal resources, their sites, and the routes of access (mainly waterways) to those sites (cf. Honigmann 1954:18-20; Slobodin 1962:7), which determine the stations and movements of various groupings". Unlike the local band, the regional band is defined not on the basis of primary

kin ties but as the group of people that occupies a definable region (Helm 1968a:119-121). A regional band exists as a semi-autonomous unit, the members of which are able to supply the majority of their needs from their own territory. As a result, the regional band "can endure as an entity for generations" (Helm 1968a:119-121).

The Pas Mountain Indians, in the late 1800's, exhibited many of the characteristics of a regional band. They occupied a defined region of the lower and central Carrot River valley, positioned between the Saskatchewan River and the Pasquia Hills. Clearly, as I will discuss in Appendix IV, they found food and other resources more than adequate to meet their needs. Unlike local bands, the members of a regional band do not aggregate frequently, although gatherings of the whole regional band once or twice a year are usual. The Pas Mountain Indians are also characteristic in this regard. Once a year, spring or fall, a major religious ceremony was celebrated. This was the niskisimōwin 'goose dance' which was held at Natakam (Meyer 1976: 442-446). Although, by the early decades of this century, attendance at this ceremony was being affected by Christianity, normally everyone from Red Earth and Shoal Lake came to Red Earth Creek where members of Cecim's family conducted the observances. Feasting and smoking were very important aspects of this ceremony but singing and dancing also were prominent. The singers were respected older men and evidence of the participation of the Shoal Lake people in these affairs is provided in the lists of singers which I have collected from Red Earth informants. These included many of the men from Shoal Lake - of course the presence of the Shoal Lake people is directly attested by informants as well. In

this regard, Reginald Beatty, a Hudson's Bay Company clerk, has provided confirmatory evidence as a result of his attendance at a Pas Mountain Goose Dance ceremony in the 1870's:

The next excitement was an Indian feast to which I received a special invitation. Both bands were to meet at a specially selected spot about midway between the main camps. In the meantime hunters had to kill all game possible as there was no doubt every one would attend. Finally O-sow-usk moved camp (mine included) and we pitched again on the new community site. The name of the celebration was the "Goose Dance".⁸

By the turn of the century almost everyone in the Pas Mountain regional band could trace a primary kin tie to at least one other member. It is apparent that these kin ties were very important in maintaining the integration of the Pas Mountain group. These primary kin ties were the links which maintained this regional band as a unified social unit. Movement among the local bands was facilitated by the presence of widespread primary kin ties. Travel was particularly frequent during the summer when the hamlets were a focus of aggregation. At this time of the year families travelled to other hamlets where they pitched their tents and lived for weeks or months with close relatives. This was especially characteristic of movement between Red Earth and Shoal Lake.

In Chapter II I proposed the hypothesis that a marriage universe which has an increasing population may begin to fission as it approaches 1,000 or more persons. If the marriage universe is composed of regional bands I have suggested that the lines of separation will be between these bands. Each regional band will become increasingly autonomous socially and eventually will be recognized as a distinct

marriage universe. It appears that this type of process occurred in the study area as the Pas Mountain regional band gradually became more detached from its two groups of origin. Certainly, the Opaskweyaw group, with over 700 members (page 65) was likely to begin to split up - or, at least, would not be adversely affected by the loss of a small peripheral group such as the Shoal Lake Indians. At present, no population data are available for the Ft. a la Corne Crees in the 19th century.

THE SEASONAL ROUND 1870-1900

The seasonal round for the period 1850-70 was outlined in Chapter III. Changes in this round began in the 1870's. In the latter decade Reginald Beatty found the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people aggregating for their own spring ceremonial round. This consisted of a celebration of the niskisimowin 'goose dance'.

In the 1880's the annual round underwent additional changes but it is apparent that occasional spring visiting at la Corne continued. For instance, reporting on the year 1885, the Indian Agent Joseph Reader (1886:65) noted that, "Some Pas Mountain Indians who, I believe, had been living at or near Ft. a la Corne, fled back to the mountain, not wishing to join the rebellion". (The Riel Rebellion intensified in March and April of 1885). I believe that the most significant economic change in this decade involved the introduction of gardening and cattle raising. To some extent this reflected the adhesion of the Pas Mountain Indians to the terms of Treaty 5 in 1876 and the initial activities of the Department of Indian Affairs in the Saskatchewan River delta. By the early 1880's, log houses, gardens and cattle were present in the study area

(see Appendix III). None of these were unfamiliar to these Crees. Trading posts with log houses and with gardens had been present in the Saskatchewan River valley for over a century. Indeed, the post at la Corne was named nitawihkicikanis 'little garden'. As well, some Plains Crees are known to have gardened on their own as early as the 1850's:

Pis cha kaw a kis, or Magpies, count 30 or 40 lodges, are stationed at Tinder Mountain, live in log cabins covered with earth, till the soil to some extent and raise considerable quantities of maize and potatoes, hunt buffalo in the winter season and get their supplies from the English posts of the interior (Denig 1961:109-110).

However, in the Saskatchewan River valley, log houses, gardens and cattle were cultural phenomena which had always been maintained in the realm of Eurocanadian society. Now, the Crees of the Red Earth region took over these complexes themselves. It is apparent that the Red Earth people decided, on their own, to begin to build log cabins and keep cattle. It is very likely that the individual who was most influential in this regard was Kiseyinis. This was probably a result of his shrewd assessment of things to come (and he was very successful in dreaming of the future). Indeed, the historical narratives indicate that Kiseyinis was the first to build a log cabin in the area. The fact that these Crees adopted gardening quickly and successfully suggests that they also may have become involved in this pursuit on their own, rather than under pressure from the Indian Agents. However, I have no direct evidence in this regard.

The Department of Indian Affairs' reports of the late 1880's indicate that substantial amounts of food were being produced as a result of the gardening and cattle husbandry efforts (see Appendix III). This, coupled with the already productive natural resources of the region, must

have served to increase the total amount of food available and, perhaps more importantly, to provide a surplus in storage (either on the hoof or buried in pits) for lean periods of the year. Conceivably, such a stabilization of the food supply should have had an influence on population growth. Another factor which may have been important in this regard was the introduction, in the 1860's, of flour into the fur trade. For instance, on January 6, 1870, Robert Hamilton at Cumberland House wrote to William MacTavish at Ft. Garry:

I find that one of the best articles for trade in this district is flour, and the free traders are so well aware of this that they are generally pretty well supplied with it - the little we have to dispose of this winter we can dispose of readily for prime Furs at the rate of four pounds for a Made Beaver and by having it for sale we always have a better hold upon our Indians.⁹

There is no evidence that these Indians were short of food and needed to trade for it. However, they evidently desired a source of carbohydrates in quantity (which was not readily available from the natural flora of this region). I believe, therefore, that the steady increase in population which was maintained through the late 1800's and most of the first half of the present century was dependent upon the stabilization of the food supply.

By the late 1880's the reserve system had become obvious to these Indians, as evidenced by the actual survey of the reserves and visits by the Indian Agents (although occasional years passed without the agent making an appearance). As well, the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading house at Red Earth and it is clear that Red Earth and Shoal Lake began to be important centres to which the local Crees were oriented. The

annual economic round of the Red Earth Crees became one which positioned them in scattered trapping camps during the winter. It is likely that the local band continued to be the winter residential group, although I do not have pertinent informant or archival evidence. In the spring the Pas Mountain people gathered to stage the Goose Dance and, as the weather warmed, planted their gardens. In the summer they travelled widely but returned to the reserve areas to cut hay for their cattle and horses. It is evident that those persons who had begun to raise cattle could not be as mobile as those who did not. In particular, the winter movement of "cattle men" would have been curtailed. However, in the summer the cattle were left to roam free and were not actively cared for. Presumably, the autumn moose hunt was conducted at this period. It is significant that the annual cycle actually had not changed much through to the 1880's and 90's. Winter trapping, followed by spring aggregation, summer visiting and autumn debt-taking continued; however, these activities took place within a much smaller territory. The only real change involved some cattle husbandry and potato gardening, both of which simply introduced productive activities into what had previously been a leisure season - summer.

In the early decades of the present century the details of the annual cycle are quite well known and differ little from those of the preceding 1880's and 90's. However, throughout the present century the frontier of agricultural settlement has continued to push down the Carrot River valley, with the most recent expansion following World War II. This served to reduce the hunting and trapping territory of the Red Earth Crees although, in turn, it provided them with a source of summer wage labour.

SUMMARY

The first generation of Pas Mountain Indians (Crees of Red Earth and Shoal Lake) consisted of the offspring of 11 couples of the founding generation. Fifty-four of these offspring are known to have attained adulthood. Of these, 52 are known to have married. Nearly all of these marriages fall in the three decades between 1880 and 1910. Of the total of 42 marriages contracted by these individuals, only 15 are known to have been out-marriages. The Red Earth people obtained six spouses from Ft. a la Corne, two from the Pas and one who originally had been from Moosonee, while the Shoal Lake people contracted marriages with four people at The Pas and two at Pelican Narrows. The majority of the marriages, therefore, were contracted within the Pas Mountain group.

Compared to that of the previous generation, the population of the study area by 1900 appears to have doubled. At this time there were about 110 persons at Red Earth and 70 at Shoal Lake, for a total of 180.

By A.D. 1900 the population of Red Earth was grouped into four local bands. At Red Earth each of these bands utilized a hamlet of log houses as its home base. The names of these hamlets were (are) Natakam, Minawatimihk, Wawinahk, and Natimihk. Although each of the Red Earth local bands was focused upon a cluster of cabins, much of the year's economic activities took the people elsewhere so that, to some extent, these cabins were only symbols of a more settled way of life. As symbols, however, they are useful since they indicate which individuals preferred to live in close association - the members of the local band. In the Red Earth region the composition of the

local band hamlets clearly reflects the fact that persons joined these bands only if they could trace a primary kin connection with at least one other member. Although there appear to be some exceptions to this rule, these may seem to be exceptions only because the data which could demonstrate a primary kin tie are lacking.

The Pas Mountain Indians adhered to Treaty No. 5 in 1876. However, the two Red Earth reserves were not surveyed until 1885 and 1894. It is after this time that Red Earth and Shoal Lake became the sites of two distinct communities - population concentrations oriented to formal reserves. Before this time each location had simply been the site of an important base camp - similar to other such base camps in the region. I believe that by the turn of the century the Pas Mountain Indians were in the initial stages of deme formation and that at this time they exhibited many of the characteristics of a regional band.

Notes

- 1 PAM HBC, B.49/b/10, F.26, Cumberland House correspondence book, 1884-85.
- 2 PAM HBC, B.324/b/2, F.215, Pas Post correspondence book, 1886-91.
- 3 PAM HBC, B.2/d/28, Ft. a la Corne account book, 1892-94.
- 4 "Map Shewing Mounted Police Stations & Patrols 1888". Reprinted in 1973 from the archives of the Survey and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, to commemorate the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Centennial 1873-1973.
- 5 CMS/A116, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, August 15, 1889 - February 13, 1890.
- 6 Charts of the kin ties between members of the local bands may appear simplified and idealized; however, they represent an attempt to portray these social units during rather short periods of time (a decade or less). Therefore, only marriages known to exist during these periods are shown. My informants did not provide information on polygamous relationships, although I am aware that at least one such marriage unit existed in the late 1800's. It should also be noted that the kin connections indicated on the charts are sociological and not necessarily biological. My informants did tell me of illegitimacies but as the man to whom a woman is married is considered the father of her children (whether they are fathered by the husband or not), such individuals are not distinguished from their half siblings on my charts.
- 7 CMS/A116, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, May 2, 1889-August 13, 1889.
- 8 USA MM, C550/1/27.1, F.4, Reginald Beatty, "From the Diary of a Hudson's Bay Company's Clerk in the Seventies".
- 9 PAM HBC, B.49/b/5, F.14. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1869-71.

CHAPTER V

LIFE CONDITIONS AND EUROCANADIAN INSTITUTIONS CA. 1880-1930

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concentrated on the period dating from about 1880 to 1930. Population growth during this time appears to have been rapid in the last decades of the 1800's; however, population growth halted in the early 1900's and the population actually declined between 1917 and 1930. In an attempt to clarify the factors influencing these population trends, the life conditions of the Red Earth (and Shoal Lake) people are discussed in this chapter. The size of the population, of course, is of particular interest in the context of this thesis since a deme cannot be formed or maintained if the population drops below a certain necessary level.

It is noteworthy that the Pas Mountain population increased only slowly despite the increasing influence of Eurocanadian institutions and related attempts to improve living conditions and general health. In the last decades of the 19th century three institutions of the larger society were tentatively introduced to Red Earth and Shoal Lake and in the early decades of the 20th century these institutions became firmly established. These were (1) the store(s), representative of the national economic system, (2) the church, reflecting the firm introduction of Christianity and (3) the school, an extension of the state educational system. In these early decades any separation of the functions of the church and the school would be arbitrary since each was dependent on the

other. The school also reflected the influence of the Department of Indian Affairs since government money largely supported the teachers, both while in residence on the reserves and (in several cases) during their previous educational careers at residential schools in the south.

LIFE CONDITIONS

We know little about the life conditions of the Crees of the study area in the period ca. 1850-80. However, a number of very successful (in reproductive terms) families existed at this time. For example, seven of the children of Newakeyas married as did seven of Osawask. Cecim raised eight offspring, Owakikat six, Philip Whitehead five and Mihkwanakeskam and Kitchener each had four. On the other hand, there were some families that had no surviving children at all. However, it is true that, until the introduction of health services, no subsequent generation produced an equal number of large surviving sibling sets.

In contrast, the reproductive success of the first generation was not impressive since there was only one large family, that of Maskocheikapaw. This is surprising since, if the Indian Affairs reports are accurate, living conditions in the late 1800's were good in the study region. For instance, there is some indication that the sanitary practices encouraged by the Department of Indian Affairs were being followed by the Red Earth people.

For raising stock, agricultural operations, and carrying out the department's instructions of sanitary measures, Red Earth Band is an example to the whole agency. At the Pas Mountain there is comparatively but little sickness, so that the Indians are increasing (Reader 1893:165).

Reader also stated frequently that the Red Earth people were "thrifty", suggesting that they were much involved in preparation for the future - especially the storing of food for the hard seasons. This practice, of course, could have a substantial effect on child survival. In 1897 Reader (1898:104) wrote:

The blessing of good health is the rule at Red Earth, and the Indians are careful to carry out the sanitary instructions of the department around their homes, but are not all so ready to keep clean and tidy the inside of their houses.

In a similar vein, the Inspector of Indian Agencies, S.R. Marlatt (1899:83) made this reference to the Pas Mountain Indians in 1898:

The health of these people is remarkably good. During the past year only one death occurred. I attribute this state of affairs to the free use of vegetables and abundance of salt. I noticed only one case of scrofula.

In 1900 Indian Agent Joseph Courtney (1901:93) noted that; "This is a very healthy band of Indians, being almost entirely free of any hereditary diseases".

By 1903 the Red Earth people had begun to suffer the health problems which were to plague them for the next half century:

Early this spring the whooping-cough broke out on this reserve and the majority of the children were affected. Previously this disease has been very disastrous amongst the children of this agency, but in this case it passed off comparatively easily, only a few fatal cases occurring. There has been a good deal of other sickness here during the year, principally throat and lung diseases. These Indians were all vaccinated last spring and a general cleaning up enforced (Courtney 1904:93).

There is no evidence that living conditions had deteriorated at Red Earth or Shoal Lake at this time, neither was there any change

in the subsistence base; however, from this time on, apparent isolation did not save these reserves from the introduction of whatever epidemic diseases raged along the Saskatchewan River or in the farming settlements to the southwest. These epidemic diseases were particularly fatal to infants and small children. In 1903 there were, at Red Earth, "six births and six deaths" (Courtney 1904:91).

For a few years no direct information on health is available but in 1906 Courtney (1907:90) wrote:

The general health of this band has been better this last year than for some years past. These people live a good deal in tents, and their principal house cleaning consists of moving camp.

In 1907 we learn that an epidemic of "grippe" passed through the region, leaving two babies dead, but on the whole that "the health of this band has been very good" (Fischer 1908:136). In 1908 there was an epidemic of measles, which did not cause any deaths, but the following year nine children, including four infants, died of whooping cough (Fischer 1910:151). However, in both 1910 and 1911 the peoples of the study region were spared any epidemic.

After 1911 less information is available but we are told that in 1917:

There was, however, a serious outbreak of typhoid fever on the Red Earth Reserve, in the Pas Agency, which resulted in a rather heavy mortality. Every effort was made to prevent the spread of the epidemic, and the departmental medical officers displayed great efficiency in dealing with the situation (Scott 1918:27).

The funeral records kept by the Anglican Synod office in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, indicate that in the winter of 1916-17 there were no

deaths until December 20. From that date through to March 22, 1917, seventeen persons died. Seven of these were adults aged 18 to 80. In the winter of 1917-18 there were only two deaths; however, the following winter the influenza epidemic which was ravaging the world population reached Red Earth. In the Anglican records this is termed the "Spanish Flu". Six adults and seven infants and children died in this epidemic - fewer than died in the epidemic of typhoid. Together with a few other deaths from other causes, 36 persons had died in 31 months - this in a community where, normally, not more than five persons died in a year. These epidemics are recalled with horror and sadness by older Red Earth people. As the number of bodies grew, the corpses were laid in the church to remain frozen while graves were dug. Eventually the survivors were unable to dig all of the necessary graves and in some graves several individuals were buried. Only towards the end of the winter of 1918-19 was the study area supplied with a doctor - a man from Winnipeg. According to my informants, no one died after the doctor arrived but by that time the disease probably had run its course anyway.

Red Earth, then, suffered first a typhoid epidemic in 1917 and, with Shoal Lake, an influenza epidemic in 1918-19. While it is clear that the population was reduced, the morale and total psychological state of the survivors must have been dealt an equally severe blow. The Red Earth and Shoal Lake people mourn deeply and for many months. During this time individuals, especially women, appear in a downcast and dishevelled condition and although they are always with relatives - friends - they are not normally sociable. They are clearly in a state

apart and do not engage in their normal activities. Evidently this "broken" psychological state, when evinced by almost every member of the population, could have serious consequences on normal economic activities and, to some degree, this state could be self perpetuating.

Although the Indian Agents of the late 19th century wrote so consistently of the good health of the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees, in fact the population censuses, which begin in 1893 (Table II), indicate that there was very little growth from 1899 through to 1912. Beginning in 1913 there was a steady increase through to 1918. However, the epidemics of early 1917 and of 1919 severely reduced the population and sent it into a decline from which it did not recover for more than a decade. Presumably, this decline was due to the deaths of numerous individuals of child-bearing age.

The shocks caused by these two epidemics were succeeded by the demographic and psychological trauma of a consistently high death rate as a result of tuberculosis. For instance, 14 persons died in 1921 and ten of these deaths involved tuberculosis. It should be noted that the slow growth of the Pas Mountain population was not related to any lack of fertility. The family compositions which I have recorded for the first half of the 20th century indicate that Red Earth and Shoal Lake women bore children quite steadily from the time of their marriages through to the onset of menopause. Many women bore 12 to 15 children or more (figures based on family compositions constructed from informant testimony and school and church records). In most cases not more than three children survived to adulthood. Given this situation, these people did not and could not afford to practise any birth control measures - if they

hoped to perpetuate the group.

Table II¹

Year	Population*	Year	Population
1893	158	1906	190
1894	169	1907	196
1895	171	1908	203
1896	173	1909	202
1897	178	1910	193
1898	181	1911	200
1899	189	1912	207
1900	187	1913	215
1901	184	1914	223
1902	183	1915	229
1903	181	1916	235
1904	187	1917	249
1905	190	1918	261

*Figures taken from "Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs", Published in the Sessional Papers of the Government of Canada.

EUROCANADIAN INSTITUTIONS

Building Styles

The existence at Red Earth of representatives of three Eurocanadian institutions was symbolized by the substantial buildings that were erected to house their activities. These buildings are

worthy of note since they established the prevalent architectural style at Red Earth - the houses built by the Indians were simply smaller versions of the larger Eurocanadian buildings. The earliest and most influential force in establishing a building style was not the church or school, but the Hudson's Bay Company. The uniform architecture of Red Earth buildings was based upon that introduced by the Scottish employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. The buildings were made of one of the most abundantly available resources - logs. To prepare the logs for use they were first squared by the use of the broad axe. Foundations were not prepared for these buildings - the logs were simply placed on the cleared ground. Since the bottom logs rotted within a few years, these edifices had a life span of only two or three decades. The structures were built log on log, the corners locked together in complex dovetailed joints. While the institutional buildings were relatively large - perhaps as long as 10 meters - the houses built by the people were smaller, perhaps 5 by 7 meters (some of these now stand empty on the contemporary reserves). A house built at Red Earth in the second decade of this century is described in this way:

He built his own house, whipsawed all the lumber for the roof and floor with a hand saw, split all the shingles by hand, and finished with fancy scroll work, and here he lived until last spring, .. (Hutton 1925:143).

As Hutton has indicated in this quote, the steeply peaked rooves were shingled. The attics below these rooves were normally used as bedrooms. The boards and planks for rooves and floors, as well as for

window and door frames, were sawn by hand (Plate 6). In the early days many of these houses were heated by fireplaces of clay and sticks, devices that, although functional, were soon replaced by metal stoves. In the late 1800's and early 1900's, the Red Earth men completed their houses in the manner typical of the Hudson's Bay Company. The men paddled up the Carrot River to the first set of rapids and here they obtained limestones. These they burned in order to obtain lime. This was mixed with sand to produce a mortar with which the houses were plastered. The lime, mixed with water, was also used to white-wash the houses. In more recent times the cracks between the house logs have been stuffed with a mortar of clay mixed with hay. Every fall the whole of the outer walls was plastered with this mortar and then whitewashed.

Almost all buildings, therefore, were built in this style - the church, (Plate 7) school and store simply being larger. At The Pas and Cumberland House other styles of log houses were also built but at Red Earth the men built in only one style (Presumably learned when hired by the traders to assist in the construction of stores and residences). In contrast, the Shoal Lake men, who had much contact with The Pas, built in a variety of styles. Small houses of the sort described here remained in common use until the 1960's. By 1971 only a few families still lived in log houses, government programmes having resulted in the introduction of (usually) larger frame houses.



Plate 6. Sawing boards with the aid of a platform. Photographed at Red Earth in the summer of 1907 by W. McInnis, Geological Survey of Canada (Public Archives of Canada).

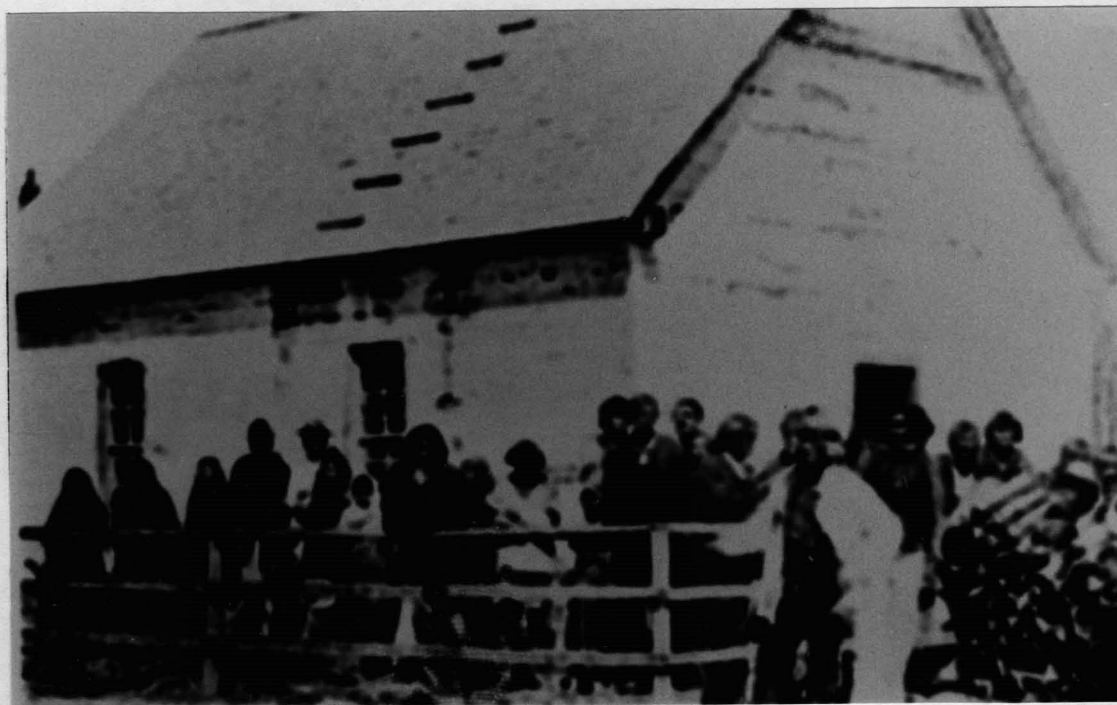


Plate 7. "'Yellow Bear' burns his idols outside the Mission Church at Shoal Lake" (Hines 1916:301). Osawask was much pressured by Reverend Hines to convert to Christianity. He finally made this conversion in about 1899 and Hines required him to destroy any ritual objects he possessed.

Trading Companies

My research in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company indicates that this Company constructed a store at Red Earth in the summer or autumn of 1885. I was unable to find any documents such as letters, ledgers, etc. which were written at this post in the late 1800's; however, the Cumberland House and The Pas archival materials provide considerable information - especially in the form of business letters written to instruct the managers at Pas Mountain.

This post at Red Earth was not, however, the first in the region. Since at least 1879 a store had been maintained at Shoal Lake by Samuel Okakeek or Moar, one of the sons of Okakeek. The "Pas Post Indian Ledger, 1885-92" provides an obituary reference for Samuel Okakeek:

Samuel Moar or Oke ke keek Pas Mountⁿ Indian. Traded for the HBC^o at Pas Mount. until the New Post was Established with decided success and honesty. Died 7th April, 1890.²

In fact, this obituary is not entirely accurate. Samuel Okakeek did not cease to trade for the Hudson's Bay Company after the establishment of the "New Post" (at Red Earth). The business records indicate that he was active through the winter of 1888-89. For instance, in a "Memorandum to Mr. D. McDonald relating to the Winter Business at the Pas Mountain Outpost 1888" the Pas Post manager, Colin Thomson, wrote:

Samuel Moar. Supply him with such goods as you can spare if he requires them for trade as well as his own necessities. Keep a record of what you give him and what he gives into your hands put to his credit. His a/c will be settled at the Pas. I will attend to the pricing of it.³

In the mid 1880's, therefore, it is apparent that the actions of the Hudson's Bay Company resulted, de facto, in the bypassing of the Shoal Lake outpost in favour of Red Earth. It seems, however, that Samuel Okakeek's successful trading record and his loyalty to the Company resulted in the maintenance of his Shoal Lake outpost even after the establishment of the Red Earth store, although the "true" Pas Mountain outpost became that at Red Earth.

The Red Earth outpost consisted of "a good house and a small trading store".⁴ In his 1885 annual report Belanger characterized this post, "Pas Mountain Post", as "open only when there is opposition"⁵ There was strong opposition, too, from independent traders. In the 1860's several of these were "Yankeys" but by the 1880's they were either locals or representatives of small companies with offices in Winnipeg. Interestingly, some of the competition was between Hudson's Bay Company posts. For instance, in a January 17, 1885 letter, Belanger noted, concerning Pas Mountain:

Here we are strongly opposed by traders from Fort a la Corne and Prince Albert, who since fall have been able to send horses with their supplies; but when the snows become deeper they will be obliged to use dogs and not so many will find their way there. Our company at La Corne look well after these men at a disadvantage to this District as the Saskatchewan Tariff is much higher than ours; but if they succeed in preventing the traders getting the furs our chief object will be accomplished.⁶

In an earlier letter, dated June 29, 1885, Belanger indicated why his company was so interested in the Pas Mountain trade:

It is at the Mountain we get the best furs in our Pas collection and to protect this I have had a flat boat built to bring goods there via Carrot River which will be much cheaper than by dogs - the only other way of getting goods there from the Pas. There are a

number of good hunting Indians at this place and in order to keep them loyal to us and prevent free traders taking their good furs I find it necessary to give them more accomodation for trading ...⁷

The Pas Mountain Post at Red Earth was managed by Mr. Donald McDonald from its inception in 1885 through to the spring of 1889. The diary of Reverend John Hines provides some details pertinent here. On December 20, 1888 he wrote:

Mr. Donald McDonald of the H.B. C^O who is about to leave the H.B. services for the church, takes great interest in these Indians & is very helpful in the work.⁸

Pas Mountain Post was not remanned in the winter of 1889-90, Samuel Okakeek was ill during much of the winter, and as a result several of the local Indians were forced to obtain debt at Cumberland House.⁹ However, the following summer a manager for Pas Mountain post was engaged and a Mr. E. B. Haight operated it during the winter of 1890-91. He was accompanied by his wife and children - the first Eurocanadian family to live at Red Earth. Although the surviving records are not complete, there is no indication that this post was operated during the remainder of the 1890's. I do know, though (personal communication, Mrs. Hutton Hyslop) that Pas Mountain Post was permanently reoccupied beginning in 1912. In that year another Scot, William Hutton, took up residence at Red Earth with his family. Hutton operated the Pas Mountain Post until the fall of 1928. At that time the Hutton family moved to The Pas and the post was taken over by an unmarried man who had previously served the Company at Montreal Lake in northern Saskatchewan. Robert Hutton (personal communication) has indicated that "the Hudson's Bay Company closed

out in the spring of 1935". Unfortunately, the Company seems to have records of only those last five years of business at Red Earth:

"The only records in our archives from the Company's Pas Mountain Post are four journals covering 1929-34" (personal communication, Mrs. J. Craig, archivist, 1972). Unfortunately, these journals were unavailable for examination at the time of my research in the Hudson's Bay Company archives.

In the early decades of this century a second trading post was established at Red Earth, this by the Revillon Freres. I am not certain of the date of this post's construction; however, Francis Daniels (an early teacher) indicated to me that it was in operation when he came to this area in 1908. At this time it was managed by a local man, Simeon McKay. The most detailed information on Revillon activities in this region is supplied by Harold Kemp in his book "Northern Trader". He was stationed at Red Earth, as Revillon trader, in 1921-22. The French Company's (as Revillon Freres was termed) small complex of buildings was located at the downstream end of Mamihk, as-stride the reserve boundary:

Perched on the steep, ten-foot bank, the buildings faced the river. There was a store, then a warehouse, an icehouse and the dwelling. The dwelling was comfortable, clean and convenient. I had seen to that, so I turned my attention to the store. This was of squared logs, low-raftered and quite old. There was a floor above for the storing of the finer goods and any fur I might obtain (Kemp 1956:88)

At the time of Kemp's sojourn here, the French Company officials were already considering the cessation of activities at Red Earth:

It was somewhat doubtful if the post would be maintained, due to the fact that the previous manager had, in the season just concluded, bought a mere two thousand dollars' worth of fur (Kemp 1956:88).

In fact, this company does not seem to have maintained its operations here for much longer.

The Schools

The annual reports tendered by the Indian Agents indicate that attempts to introduce school classes at Red Earth began as early as 1894, although there was no suitable building available. The annual reports for the next few years indicate that a school was first established at Shoal Lake, under the tutelage of a Mr. Thomas Bear. In 1897 it was reported, referring to Red Earth, that "there is no regular school at this place, but one is about to be started" (Reader 1898:104). In fact, this was done, as the new Indian Agent, J. Courtney (1900:90) indicated in his annual report. "The school here is held in the C.M.S. church, and has not been a success in past years; but since Mr. Robert Bear has taken charge, a marked improvement is visible, ..". By 1903 a school house had apparently been built at Red Earth (Courtney 1904:92). There seems to have been no school teacher here in 1904 and, in 1905, Courtney (1907:90) described the state of schooling at Red Earth in this way:

The day school here has been kept supplied with a teacher for many years, but outside of issuing supplies to the destitute and biscuits to the children that go to school, the Indians have no further use for him, and so long as they remain so isolated and self-willed as they are, very little change may be expected.

The teachers, through to the middle of this century, were mainly young Cree men from other reserves, and who had been educated at residential schools. Red Earth informants listed seven such men plus another, Louis Young, from Shoal Lake. Including Louis Young, four of these were to marry Red Earth girls and take up residence at Red Earth. Another, who did not marry locally, also took up residence here. One other teacher was a Metis who eventually became Indian Agent for The Pas Agency. An additional five teachers were of British or Eurocanadian origin.

The original school house at Red Earth was built at Wawinahk. However, by 1930 a school had been constructed about half way between Wawinahk and Sokawatikoskahk. On the whole, the influence of schooling on Red Earth children during the early decades of this century does not seem to have been significant. They learned very little English and as a result the only useful skill imparted was that of reading Cree, in syllabics and Roman characters. Presumably, some knowledge of Arabic numerals was also obtained, although the impression I have gained from elderly informants is that they have gained this information through dealing with the everyday practical problems of life.

During the first half of this century the school year at Red Earth and Shoal Lake was tailored to fit the seasonal movements of the children's parents. The children received their holidays in the spring, at which time they accompanied their parents to the "rat" trapping camps. School resumed through June, July and August,

although again there was a break as the teacher travelled out for a holiday and to obtain his year's supplies. School also continued through the winter.

The Anglican Church

The third institution of the larger society which established itself at Red Earth was the Anglican Church. Red Earth, as one of the most inaccessible Cree communities in the Saskatchewan River delta, was the last to be converted to Christianity. Perhaps the first proselytizer to visit the Pas Mountain Indians was the Reverend Henry Budd. Budd, of course, knew many of these Indians since they periodically visited Ft. a la Corne and The Pas. One of his contacts with them occurred on September 1, 1870, when he was travelling between Cumberland House and Ft. a la Corne. As a thunder storm passed over, Budd and his assistants made camp for the night when, unexpectedly, several men beached their canoes:

we heard some one coming ashore where our Canoe lay, & it proved to be some 5 or 6 men (Indians) from the Pas Mountain .. They came up to our fire all drenched through, and were glad for the nice fire we had. They would not leave our fire the whole night, which gave me an opportunity for speaking to them on all the important subjects; but alas! they seemed to listen with much indifference: .. The old man of the party has often come down to Devon, and our Indians have always tried to persuade him to leave off his heathen practises, but to no purpose it would seem (Budd 1974:38-39).

Budd does not identify these men as of Red Earth or Shoal Lake.

However, he knew the Shoal Lake elders very well and in his journals he normally referred to them by name (especially Osawask). The fact that he omits this information in this case suggests that these

were Red Earth men. It is evident that Budd and his fellow Cree paddlers considered these to be strange Indians.

A year later Budd made a more detailed observation of Red Earth people when he visited them in October of 1871. Unfortunately, his journal for the summer of 1871 has been lost and his daily account resumes abruptly on October 8, the day he arrived at Red Earth. For this reason, an introduction to his reasons for visiting Red Earth and perhaps a notation of the names of the leading persons (which may have been present in the previous day's journal entry) are not available. At Red Earth, Budd was evidently relying on the hospitality and aid of one leading, elderly, man. This was very likely Kiseyinis:

.., and having got a fire lighted I told the headman I wanted to see all the people, to make known them what I had come for. Accordingly he sent a message to all the Tents and summoned them all before my fire. Then I began to tell them the object I had in view for Coming to see them was, to make known to them the Gospel message of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I was not come for the object of Trade, or any suchlike but as there were some among their people who have been baptized by us, we consider them as belonging to us, and we wish to make known to these the Xtian Religion into which they have been baptized and I had come also with a view to encourage them in their temporal pursuits; such as growing some vegetable for their support. They set for a long time and listened attentively to the Word of God which I endeavoured to impress their minds with (Budd 1974:72).

At this time the only baptized persons were women who had gone to live at Ft. a la Corne as wives and subsequently returned to Red Earth as widows or "divorcees". Also, a few women who had married-in were baptized. These Red Earth Crees appear to have given Budd their usual politely reticent attention:

October 9, Monday. I had been so encouraged by the quiet hearing the Indians gave to the Word last night, that I resolved to see them again for a little while. .. The rest of the men came to my Tent, and I spoke to them for a little while. Then there was a stir among them getting their horses and putting down their tents. I waited till the old man was ready to go and went in company with him & his old woman. We came to their camp on the Carrot River and halted. .. After our dinner taken, we came off and left this party for the other camp at Shoal Lake towards our way home (Budd 1974:72).

The old man and "his old woman" are probably Kiseyinis and his wife.

At Shoal Lake, Budd's journal entry leaves no doubt as to the identity of the leading person:

October 10, Tuesday. I went to the Tents in the morning, and spent some time with Yellow Bear & family; these were our baptized Indians (Budd 1974:72).

It is noteworthy that at this period neither the Red Earth Crees nor the Shoal Lake Crees had constructed log houses or gardens for themselves.

Henry Budd died in 1875 and was replaced by his son-in-law, Thomas Cochrane. Cochrane's accounts of his activities are sparse but in a letter dated June 23, 1876 he noted that he had recently visited members of his congregation at Pas Mountain:

Baptized 2 heathen Indians. I went on to Red Mud and passed the Sunday with the heathen Indians
Baptized one heathern child.¹⁰

Cochrane also seems to have made a visit to Pas Mountain in 1877.

By 1880 Joseph Reader assumed charge of The Pas mission and he visited Shoal Lake and Red Earth in December of that year. Reader left the Anglican Church in April of 1883 and up to that time he had visited the Pas Mountain Indians several times. He encountered curing ceremonies in progress on two occasions, once at Shoal Lake

and once at Red Earth. He has left useful descriptions of the settings of these rituals and of his actions which were designed to terminate these activities. While Budd may have been diplomatic in his discouragement of traditional beliefs and ceremonies, it is clear that Reader was the opposite. The Reverend James Settee replaced Reader in 1884; however, by this time he was elderly and ill and soon retired. In 1885 the Reverend John Badger became active at The Pas, but there is no indication that he visited Pas Mountain during his residence in this region.

Therefore, through to 1888 when the Reverend John Hines was stationed at The Pas, Red Earth remained largely non-Christian. Although the introduction of Christianity was strongly resisted by a few individuals, it is apparent that many more converts would have been gained if there had been sustained contact by mission workers. In his writings, John Hines has made it clear that by the late 1800's mission workers at The Pas had given up on Red Earth:

It appears that my predecessors had seldom, if ever, visited these Indians, and when I asked the man I succeeded why he always returned to the Pas from Shoal Lake, he replied; he had no work to do among the Indians at Red Earth, they were heathen. That his object for going to Shoal Lake was to baptise, marry and administer the Holy Communion. I reminded him that as an agent of the C.M.S. his premier work was to evangelise the heathen. I told the Indians that so long as I was in charge of the district I should consider them a part of my flock, and should visit them each time I came to Shoal Lake (Hines 1916:246).

It is apparent that Red Earth would have remained predominantly non-Christian for decades longer if it had not been for John Hines. A dedicated English missionary, he began his work in Canada in the

1870's. At first he worked among the Plains Cree but later he was transferred to minister to The Pas and Cumberland bands. Hine's success as a missionary was not due only to his dedication. His was a powerful and charismatic personality and he impressed all whom he met. Also, one of the Red Earth elders (Louis Young) told me that John Hines spoke "splendid Cree".

Upon his arrival at The Pas in 1888, Hines was dismayed to find that one whole community within his parish remained unchristianized. Red Earth became a special target of his attentions. One of Hines' diaries indicates that he first visited Red Earth and Shoal Lake in August of 1888. On August 8 he wrote:

I left at once, (about 5, P.M. same day, for 'Red Earth' which is 15 miles further on. I had a service with these Indians in the evening. Many of the heathen were present. I had another service in the morning & Baptised one child. I also read the Funeral Services over the graves of 3 buried Indians. There are 15 Xtians at Red Earth. The rest (about 35) are heathens. I am told by these Indians, that they have not been visited by a missionary from the Pas since Mr. Reader left the church. It seems to me very strange that they should have been so neglected by our missionaries. I found them ready listeners. They say they do not dislike our Religion. They simply know nothing about it - !! They were glad when I told them I would visit them again in the first part of the winter.¹¹

At Shoal Lake the next day:

After the services were over, we had a meeting which lasted till 10 P.M. At which we had a general overhauling of things. We made arrangements for regular Sunday services to be held in my absence. Two of the band were chosen for this work. Two church wardens were also elected. We arranged, too, to put up a new building which is to serve as school house & chapel. There are 15 children of school age at this place & it is quite time they had a teacher given them. I am going to write the Indian Department on

the matter & if they will grant their usual salary to a teacher we can augment it - from our funds a little, & the one employed can act as catechist on Sundays. Of course I must rely on Archdeacon J.A. Mackay to supply the man as I have no chance of getting one here.¹²

It is apparent that Hines viewed the establishment of an educational system as an important adjunct to his mission duties.

As he had promised, Rev. Hines did visit Red Earth in the early winter of 1888, just before Christmas. Once again the non-Christians attended his services and demonstrated interest. Following this, it was not until break-up that Hines again journeyed up the Carrot River. This later April - early May visit was to be one of Hines' most important and most effective. He had started for the Pas Mountain reserves on April 25, 1889:

On Monday I went on to Red Earth - reached at noon - Had H.C. service at 1st end of settlement - The only 2 xtians at the place joined at the Holy Feast - I also gave an address to the Heathen Indians who listened attentively, I then went to the upper end of the settlement and spent several hours with the following happy results. The oldest heathen at the place was converted to Xtianity and was baptised. He has, as it were, held the key of the place, none caring to embrace xtianity, whilst he remained a heathen. I have every reason to believe now that many if not all will soon become xtians. The Old man said when Mr. Reader was a minister & visited them, his son at that time was lying very ill. Mr. R. told him, if his son was baptized he would have life. The old man took it literally, thinking that if his son were baptized he would get well agian. So he allowed him to be baptized. Within a day or two after he died. This old man said, "I did not tell anyone what I vowed at the time, but I will tell you now - I said to myself, this man says if my son does as he wants him, he will have life given to him. Well I will see, if my son gets better, then I shall know that baptism is a good thing & I will follow my son. But if he dies, I will never

be a xtian, because I shall know it is of no use - So when my son died I said I would never be a xtian. But now I understand that baptism is not a medicine for the body, but for the spirit world. Now I see where I have been mistaken, but I am not to blame as I was not told before. Now I seem to understand & to like the good news, & something is telling me that if I believe the good news & all what you say, this great master will give me a welcome into His home when I die. I would like to see all my children here, & speak to them". His 3 daughters & son were then called in to his tent. 3 are heathens & the other, the youngest daughter, is a xtian, having married a xtian some years ago (she is now a widow). The old Indian addressed them all and said, "My children don't think unkindly of your father for becoming a Christian. It is my desire to be one. No one is compelling me, but the words I have heard seem to compel me. I feel that had I heard them before, I should have been a xtian before. I would like you all to take this act of mine kindly and think about it of yourselves". Three of them expressed their pleasure at the wish of their father. One daughter who is married to the medicine man, was much opposed to it, but the old man only "pitied her". As he was ill & very old, I thought it not wise to delay the rite for I may never see the old man again on earth so I baptised him as he was lying on his bed in the tent. His wife has been baptized and has been a communicant for many years. I explained the H.C.ⁿ to him & asked if he would like to join his wife at the "Lord's supper". he said he would like to believe and do all that the great Master (God) wished him to believe & do & he wished to love him. You know I am an old man, yet I am only a Child in xtianity. But I am willing to do all you say I ought to do." So I gave him communion with his wife in the tent. I could not fail to notice the look of satisfaction, not only on the faces of the old couple, but on those of many present. The news of the old man's conversion was received with much pleasure by all whom I met on my way home. And we all believe that the time of harvest is near at Red Earth.¹³

It will be noted that one portion of the above quotation has already been cited in Chapter IV (where I also indicated that this old man, with whom Rev. Hines debated so successfully, was Kiseyinis). The vow which Kiseyinis made is characteristically Cree - and is especially well attested for the Plains Cree (Mandelbaum 1940:291).

Hines returned to the Pas Mountain reserves on the ninth of August, 1889. This was two days after treaty payments had been made. On this occasion he preached twice at Shoal Lake, noting that the non-Christians from Red Earth had waited two days to hear him. On November 21 he set out once again for the Pas Mountain communities, but stayed only a day because of a lack of dog food. In March of 1890 Hines made another visit to Red Earth and Shoal Lake. On this occasion everyone in the region was suffering from an illness which he termed "La Grippe". He travelled south from Cumberland House, holding a service at a trapping camp along the way. At the reserves he gave Holy Communion and performed a marriage ceremony but again was able to stay only two days because of a lack of dog food. Hines does not seem to have visited these communities through the summer of 1890, but in December he was back again. One of his more dramatic visits to the Pas Mountain occurred in late September of 1891. Unfortunately for these Crees, he found them in the midst of a Goose Dance ceremony:

I left on 22nd Inst. for Pas Mountain, & found the Heathen engaged in one of their Heathen ceremonies, & alas I found some of the Christian Indians participating in the same. I excluded all from H.C.ⁿ. and made them promise me in the presence of the Heathens not to join them again no not even to eat at their table at such times - they all promised not to offend in like manner again.¹⁴

That this was the Goose Dance is indicated by Hines' later reference to the "Half yearly feast" held in the fall by the "Heathens".¹⁵

Hines remained at The Pas through to 1902, but after 1894 the Church Missionary Society papers contain little pertinent information.

By the turn of the century a large portion of the Red Earth population had nominally accepted Christianity. The Department of Indian Affairs' census returns for 1902 indicate that there were 121 people at Red Earth at this time. Of these, 51 were recorded as Anglicans and 70 as pagans. Following this date, the number of converts grew year by year until, in 1910, 108 Anglicans and only 14 pagans were enumerated. Of course, the baptism of 108 persons did not necessarily bestow much knowledge of Christianity, nor did it prevent the continuance of traditional religious observances.

SUMMARY

Although life conditions appear to have been generally good in the last half of the 1800's (as reflected in large surviving sibling sets), in the first decades of the 20th century conditions seem to have deteriorated. The Pas Mountain population reached a high of 261 persons in 1917 and after this date it declined in the face of epidemics and endemic tuberculosis. Not until the 1930's was the 1917 population size regained and, following this date, slow growth continued. It should be noted that this slow growth was due not to food or social problems but to disease factors. Why these diseases, to which these Crees and their direct ancestors had long been exposed, should have been such a problem at this time is a puzzle. Perhaps the increasing sedentary of the population exacerbated the disease problem.

There is little doubt that the establishment of stores, churches and schools at Red Earth and Shoal Lake contributed greatly to the sense that the reserves were important locations. It was about these

centres that the local population became stabilized and increasingly sedentary. The stores, of course, simply maintained a market relationship long familiar to these Crees; however, the Department of Indian Affairs was also active in the economic sphere and to a considerable degree was responsible for the maintenance of gardening and livestock raising at Red Earth and Shoal Lake. Through to the middle of the 20th century the school system did not function to effectively introduce literacy or to induce significant cultural change by introducing the students to elements of Eurocanadian culture. After the 1880's, Christianity was established relatively rapidly and, apparently, successfully as by the 1950's few individuals consciously followed non-Christian religious practices.

Notes

- 1 Despite continuing attempts I have been unable to obtain year by year population statistics for the Red Earth and Shoal Lake bands following 1918. The figures which I have gleaned from published* census documents are:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Red Earth</u>	<u>Shoal Lake</u>	<u>Total</u>
1924	141	95	236
1929	144	77	221
1934	163	86	249
1939	185	87	272
1944	180	92	272
1949	194	94	288
1954	222	103	325
1959	266	125	391
1960-64	no information maintained		
1965	340	162	502
1966	347	174	521
1967	364	182	546
1968	379	187	566
1969	389	193	582
1970	400	205	605
1971	408	215	623

* Figures obtained from Government of Canada, "Census of Indians in Canada", published by the Department of Indian Affairs to 1936, the Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, to 1950, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, to 1965, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the present.

- 2 PAM HBC, B.324/d/1, F. 239. Pas Post account book, 1885-92
- 3 PAM HBC, B.324/b/2, F.216. Pas Post correspondence book, 1886-91.
- 4 PAM HBC, B.324/b/2, F.395. Pas Post correspondence book, 1886-91.
- 5 PAM HBC, B.49/e/9, F.5d-c. Cumberland House district report, 1885.
- 6 PAM HBC, B.49/b/10, F.26. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1884-85.
- 7 PAM HBC, B.49/b/10, F.317. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1884-85.
- 8 CMS/A113, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, December 20, 1888.
- 9 PAM HBC, B.49/b/16, F.218. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1889-90.
- 10 CMS/A525, Reverend Henry Cochrane, Devon Mission journal, June 23, 1886.

- 11 CMS/A113, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, August 8, 1888.
- 12 CMS/A113, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, August 9, 1888.
- 13 CMS/A116, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, April 25, 1889.
- 14 CMS/A118, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, September 30, 1891.
- 15 CMS/A118, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, September 26, 1893.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND GENERATION, CA. 1900-1930

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter IV I presented evidence supporting the identification of the Pas Mountain Indians as a regional band. At this time, the last two decades of the 19th century, the first generation to be born in this region had largely matured and married. The present chapter deals with the next generation to be born in the study region. Data are presented to support the hypothesis that by 1930 the Pas Mountain Indians had become increasingly disassociated from neighbouring groups. This is mainly evidenced by the fact that the frequency of out-marriage had declined significantly. Evidently, the population of the Pas Mountain group had become large enough to supply most individuals of marriageable age with partners from within the region. As was the case with the previous generation, though, some marriages did continue to be made with persons from neighbouring communities, especially Fort a la Corne and The Pas.

The social separation of Red Earth from Shoal Lake was maintained in the early decades of this century. It appears that the two major factors influencing this state of affairs were (1) the presence of two distinct reserve groups, as maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs, and (2) the existence of a variant of Cree culture at each reserve community.

MARRIAGE PRACTICES AND DEME SIZE

Since the preceding chapter and this chapter both discuss marriages, or the results thereof, some indication of the manner in which these Crees obtain their spouses is pertinent. Spouse selection at Red Earth and Shoal Lake has been, and is, largely a product of individual initiative. The actual push to legalize a match, however, may be supplied by others, especially parents. In other words, parents (or grandparents) usually provide pressure when it is clear that a match has been made and that, unless it is legalized, a child is likely to be born out of wedlock. In the contemporary community the latter situation is quite common as an introduction to marriage. Birth and marriage records suggest that this has been the case throughout this century. Of course, parents may sometimes discourage a match as well. In some cases, informal match making has occurred. This especially seems to have been carried out on the parts of outsiders, such as the teachers who came to Red Earth during the first half of this century. On the whole there has been (and is) considerable emphasis on marriage. The individual who does not marry is unusual and is under considerable pressure to do so. In this century only one person, now middle-aged, has remained permanently unmarried.

Contemporary marriages and the recorded marriages of previous generations make it clear that marriage to biological cross-cousins has long been acceptable to the Crees of the study area. The ethnographic literature on the kinship systems and marriages patterns of northern Algonkians indicate the importance of the differentiation of parallel and cross-kin relationships (Eggan 1955:520-538). As Dunning (1959:73) has noted:

Persons from the standpoint of Ego are in the category of either (1) siblings, parents of siblings, and

children of Ego's same-sexed siblings; or (2) parents' opposite-sexed siblings and their children, and Ego's opposite-sexed siblings' children; all non-related persons fall into this latter category.

and:

From the standpoint of Ego the system is essentially a dual organization. In one grouping are his kinsmen, who in his generation are siblings; in the other, his non-kinsmen, who in his generation are cross-cousins and/or siblings-in-law (Dunning 1959:74).

Dunning's observations at Pekangekum are similar to those made by Hallowell (1937) for the northern Lake Winnipeg Ojibwa/Saulteaux.

Among the Cree, including the Pas Mountain people, the term for cross-cousin is n̄itim (often palatalized, with diminutive/endeoring suffix, to the form n̄icimos "sweetheart"). Among the Red Earth people the term nitim includes not only actual, bilateral cross-cousins but also more distant cousins, such as second cousins. It is evident, therefore, that nitim, as used at Red Earth, is a classificatory term with wide applicability. Turner and Wertman (1977) in their detailed study of kinship among the Shamattawa Cree have provided relevant information in this regard. Their work confirms the dual division of this society, as has been recorded for other northern Algonkian groups. However, Turner and Wertman outline, in detail, the classificatory characteristics of these divisions. For instance, the cross-relative group includes not only actual cross-kin but "the offspring of males of the domestic groups of origin of females who married members of one's F's domestic group of origin the previous generation, or, offspring of females of the domestic groups of origin of males who married into one's M's domestic group of origin the previous generation" (Turner and Wertman 1977:59). These researchers go on to demonstrate that other "relatives" are included in

this group as well. It is likely that a similar classificatory system is present among the Pas Mountain Crees; however, my research did not concentrate on kinship patterns. Nevertheless, as noted above, I did find that at Red Earth the term nitim included relatives other than biological cross-cousins.

The Pas Mountain people, like other northern Crees, prefer to marry nitim and, since this category includes actual cross-cousins, some marriages of this type are contracted. For instance, of the 71 first marriages in which members of the second generation were involved, 13 were contracted between biological cross-cousins. The marriages of the contemporary period are also instructive in this regard. In a report entitled "The Red Earth Crees: History and Culture", I have written:

At Red Earth in 1971 there were 65 married couples. There were also another 10 marriages represented by widows and widowers. Of the 75 marriages represented, eight were between cross-cousins and 23 were between second cousins. Of the remaining 44 marriages, 35 were more remotely related than second cousin (or unrelated) and in nine cases insufficient information is available to trace kin relationships to the second cousin level. In the contemporary period cross-cousin marriage is about as common an occurrence as at any time since the late 1800's. (Meyer 1975:180).

Obviously, therefore, only a low percentage of marriages involve first cousins.

As was outlined in Chapter II, Wobst has indicated that the size of the marriage isolate will be increased by restrictive rules regarding marriage to relatives (such as cousins). The classificatory nature of the "cross-cousin" category among the Pas Mountain Indians and the fact that complete strangers may also be marriage partners reflects the fact

that the marriage customs of these people are not particularly restrictive. These marriage customs cannot be viewed, therefore, as necessitating the formation of a small in-marrying group at Pas Mountain.

Another factor, according to Wobst (1974a:167-168), that tends to increase the size of the in-marrying group is a rule that men should marry women younger than themselves. Indeed, patterning has been noted in the age differences between Pas Mountain spouses. The marriages which have been recorded for the period extending from the late 1800's through to 1971 include a number in which both individuals were of the same age, or in which the woman was one or two years older than the man. However, in the majority of cases the husband has been one to six years older than the wife:

In the late 1800's and to the present, marriages have normally taken place when the bride was in her late teens and the groom in his early twenties. Marriages earlier than this are rare, the earliest known being a girl who married in 1928 at the age of "14 3/4" years (Meyer 1975:182).

A third factor which would tend to result in an increase in the deme size was the high juvenile mortality rate (Wobst 1974a:157) among the Pas Mountain people (see page 45).

Wobst also has found that an increased life expectancy at age 15 results in a decrease in the size of the marriage isolate. The relatively long life expectancy of the Pas Mountain adults would, therefore, tend to decrease the size of the deme. Those individuals who reached adolescence tended to enjoy a long adult life, particularly in the cases of women.

There were, therefore, some characteristics of the Pas Mountain group which would tend to result in an increase in the deme size (marriage of older men to younger women, a high juvenile mortality rate) while other

factors would tend to decrease the deme size (such as long life expectancy and a certain amount of actual cross-cousin marriage). On the whole it would seem that the Pas Mountain deme would tend to be larger, rather than smaller. Therefore, it is surprising that a deme was formed with a population of only some 250 persons. Presumably, a 15% out-marriage rate was necessary, given this small deme size.

MARRIAGE TRENDS

In generation one, discussed in Chapter IV, only 54 individuals reached a marriageable age and they were involved in 38 first marriages plus another four second marriages. These couples are known to have produced 110 children who matured and married. This figure, of course, may well be less than half of the total number of children born to the first generation. (As I have noted on page 120 above, I have little useful information detailing the numbers of children born to particular couples during this early period.)

These 110 individuals of the second generation were involved in 80 known marriages. The actual marriage dates are known for 50 of these marriages, estimated for 27 and unknown in three cases. The second generation marriages begin in the late 1800's but most fall in the three decades between 1900 and 1930 (Fig. 13). Between 1900-09, 14 marriages occurred while in the period 1910-19, 25 marriages took place and from 1920 to 1929, 21. Only five marriages took place before this 30 year period although 12 occurred after it. I have been unable to ascertain even an approximate marriage date for three other couples.

During this generation there was a further decrease in the frequency of out-marriages. Twelve marriages involved members of other com-

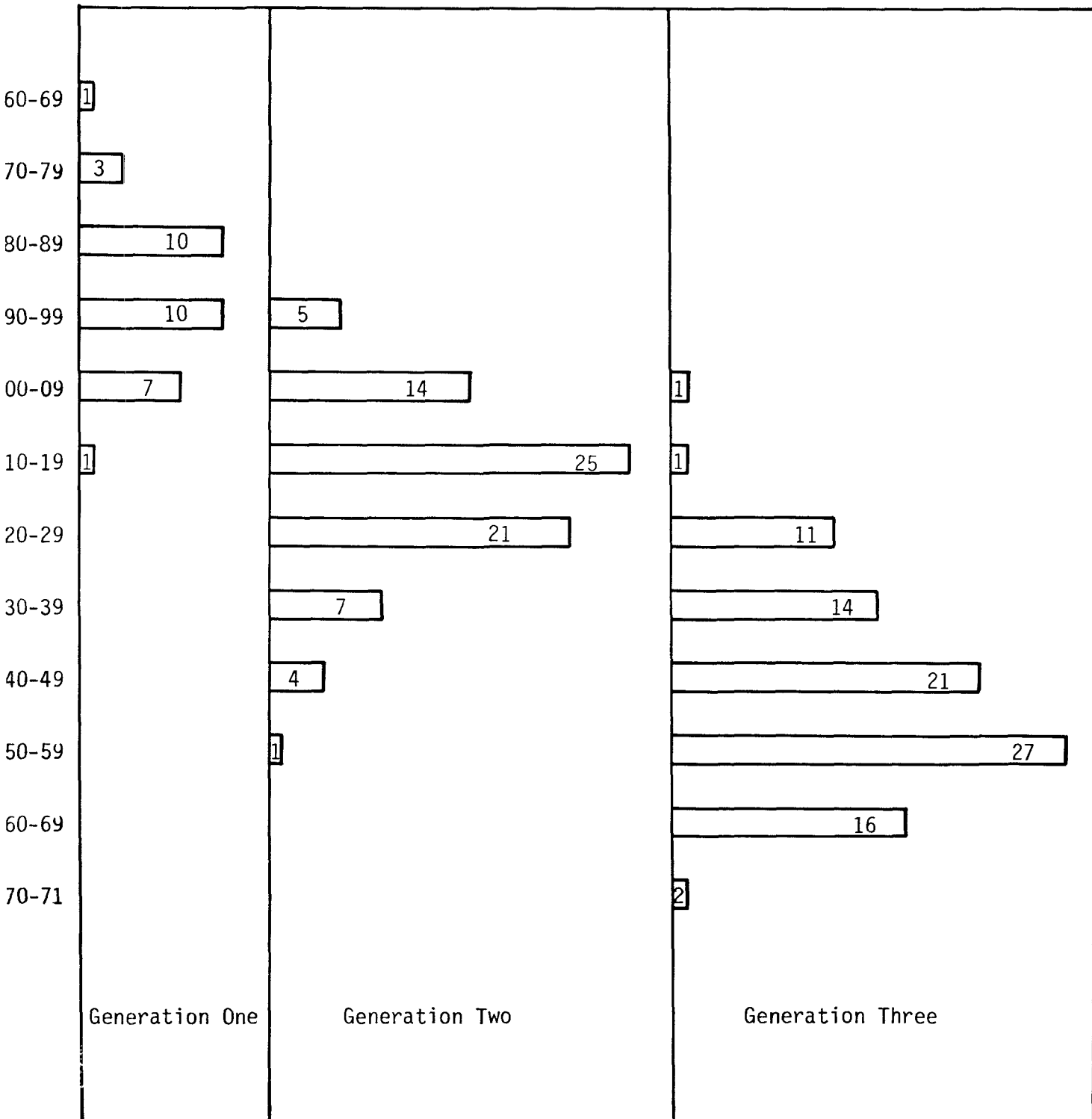


Figure 13. Graph illustrating the numbers of marriages of Pas Mountain Indians which occurred in each decade during the last three generations.

munities; four from Ft. a la Corne, four from The Pas, three from Cumberland House and one from Selkirk, Manitoba. Therefore, 68 of the 80 marriages involved spouses both of whom had been born in the study region. On this generational level, therefore, in-marriage occurred 85% of the time. It should be noted, too, that some of the out-marriage which took place was a result of outside forces. Two of the la Corne marriages and, also, the Selkirk marriage involved teachers whom the church and government had sent to Red Earth and Shoal Lake.

These figures indicate, therefore, that by 1930 the Pas Mountain Indians had become a separate marriage isolate, disassociated from the surrounding Indian communities. This is made more remarkable by the fact that the population of this region in 1930 was on the order of only 221 persons. The selection of potential spouses available to any one individual could not have been large. To some extent, cross-generational marriages must have increased the options available to some individuals. Four men married out of their generation as did 12 women. All four of the male marriages were to younger women in the generation below; however, the women's marriages patterned differently since five of these unions were contracted with members of the lower generation and seven with the upper. The cases of the women who married into the generation above them are not remarkable, since men usually marry women younger than themselves, but the women who married into the lower generation are noteworthy. These were individuals who were born late in their generation and so were of ages comparable to those of their spouses in the next generation.

RED EARTH SETTLEMENT PATTERN CA. 1930

The structure of the Red Earth local bands in ca. 1930 is examined here since by this time the peak of marriages of the second generation had passed and the general characteristics of the local bands in relationship to their hamlets had been established. As compared with the situation ca. 1900, the bands had not changed greatly in relationship to their home bases; however, their internal structures had, in some cases, become much more complex. Also, reflecting the increase in population, every band contained a few more families than was the case 30 years before.

Hamlets and Bands

By 1930 two more named hamlets had been established on the Carrot River. Both of these were simply extensions of Minawatimihk and so reflect the fact that this had become the major area of residential settlement. One of the new hamlets was named sōkawātikoskāhk 'little sugar tree place'. It was located immediately north of the Hudson's Bay Company compound, in a grove of young maples. To term this a hamlet is really a misnomer since only two houses were actually located here, those of Geordie McKay and his son-in-law. However, near this hamlet there was, by 1930, a scatter of houses occupied by families linked by primary kin ties (Fig. 14). This group I am identifying as a local band. This band was a direct outgrowth of that which had been based in the hamlet of Minawatimihk 30 years before - the locus of residence had simply shifted somewhat to the north.

The band centred about Sokawatikoskahk came to focus around four

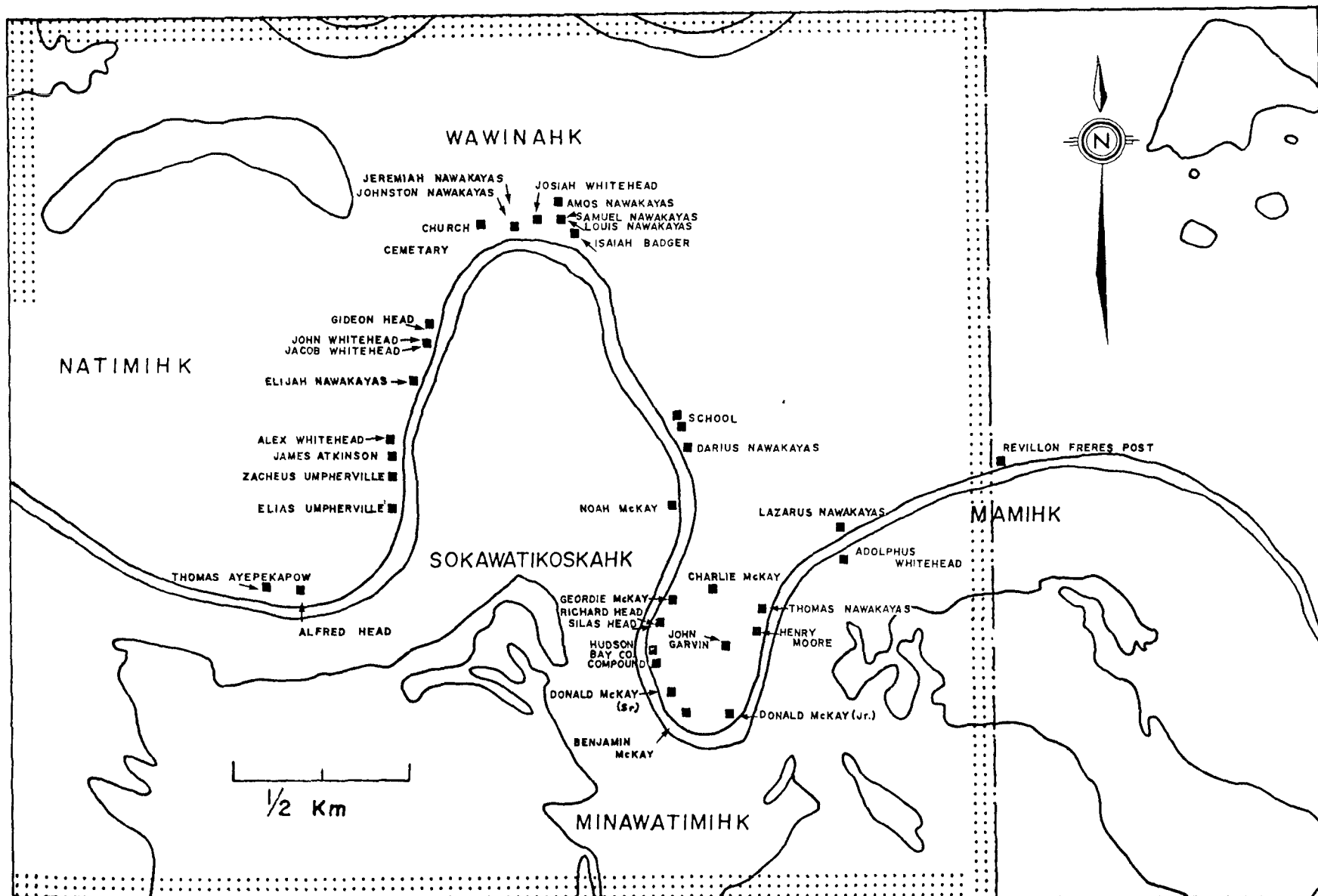


Figure 14. The hamlets of Natimihk, Wawinahk, Sokawatikoskahk, Minawatimihk and Mamihk, situated along the Carrot River on the northern reserve at Red Earth, ca. 1930.

siblings (who, in 1971, were still important residential foci). This was apparently a result of simple default - there was no other such group present. These were the offspring of Osimimaw 'younger brother' - Simeon McKay, who was the youngest son of Mihkwanakeskam and died in the typhoid epidemic of 1917. Two Nawakayas men also became attached, by marriage, to this group and a sister of one of these men eventually brought her husband into the group as well. By 1931, therefore, six families of the second generation, some families (or survivors) of the first generation and one family of the third generation composed the Sokawatikoskahk band. The third generation family plus two of the second generation families were loosely attached to this group and they often lived with other bands (Fig. 15).

The map (Fig. 14) of residence locations indicates that couples did not always live in the same hamlet or general area as the other members of the local band with which they generally associated. This seems to have been mainly because of the long lives of houses and their generally immobile nature. One son normally took over occupation of the parental home and in so doing might find himself living among relatively remote relatives.

The other hamlet that developed near Minawatimihk, was mamihk 'downstream'. Here, on the downstream side of settlement along the Carrot River, was a hamlet occupied by some members of the band that usually resided at Natakam. Many of these people had built houses at both Natakam and Mamihk. Depending upon their seasonal activities or their inclinations to visit, they might live at either location. In 1971 only one member of this group still maintained a house at both

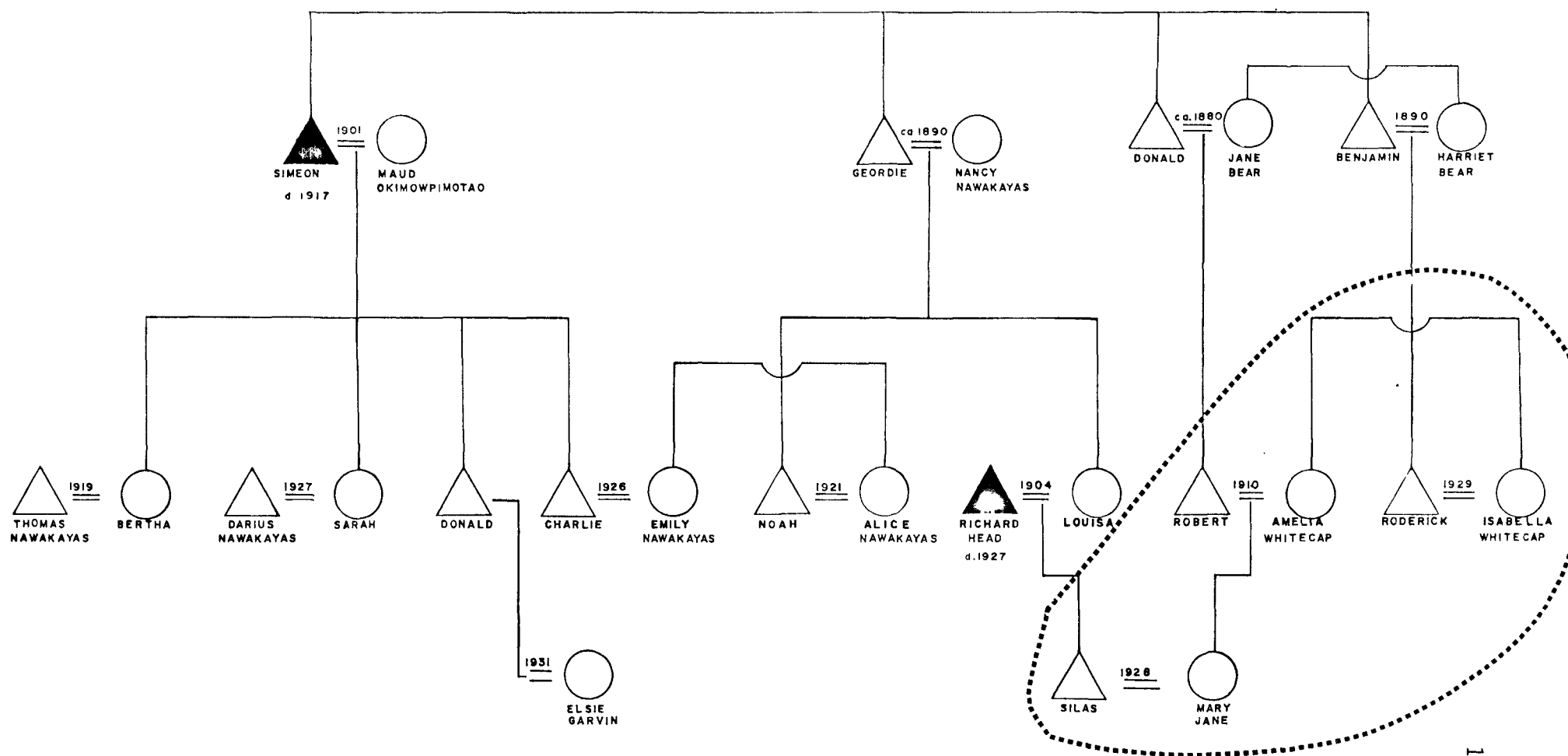


Figure 15. Married adults of the local band, the residences of which were located at or around Sokawatikoskakhk. The dashed line encloses those couples who sometimes associated with other local bands.

hamlets. The Natakam band (Fig. 16) was composed of seven couples of the second generation, three of which sometimes lived with other bands. Two of these associated with the Sokawatikoskakh band while the third frequently attached itself to the band at Natimihk. The latter couple, Alex and Maggie, were among my informants. In the 1930's they lived in a house at Natimihk while in the 1950's and 1960's they lived at Natakam. However, in 1971 they were living in a house at Mamihk and in the summer of 1975, because their house had burned, they had moved into a tent at Natimihk (among their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren). Clearly, they have been maximumly mobile considering their primary kin ties and the resulting residential possibilities. Five couples, or the survivors thereof, of the first generation were present, as were two couples of the third generation. One of the latter (Silas and Mary Jane) has already been noted as sometimes living with the Sokawatikoskakh group. In 1971 this past "indecision" was well reflected by the fact that Silas and Mary Jane lived in a house at Natakam while two of their married sons lived at Sokawatikoskakh.

One other couple of the second generation also lived in the Mamihk area. This was Lazarus and Caroline Nawakayas. Lazarus normally associated with the Wawinahk group, whence his deceased father and his wife came. Lazarus' occupation of this site downstream on the Carrot River (where he is now the patriarch of a considerable residential group) was a result of the intervention of outside forces. In the early decades of this century the Revillon Freres Company established a trading post on the downstream side of Mamihk, on the reserve boundary. A Cree from Moosonee, John Marcelle, happened to be hired to work in

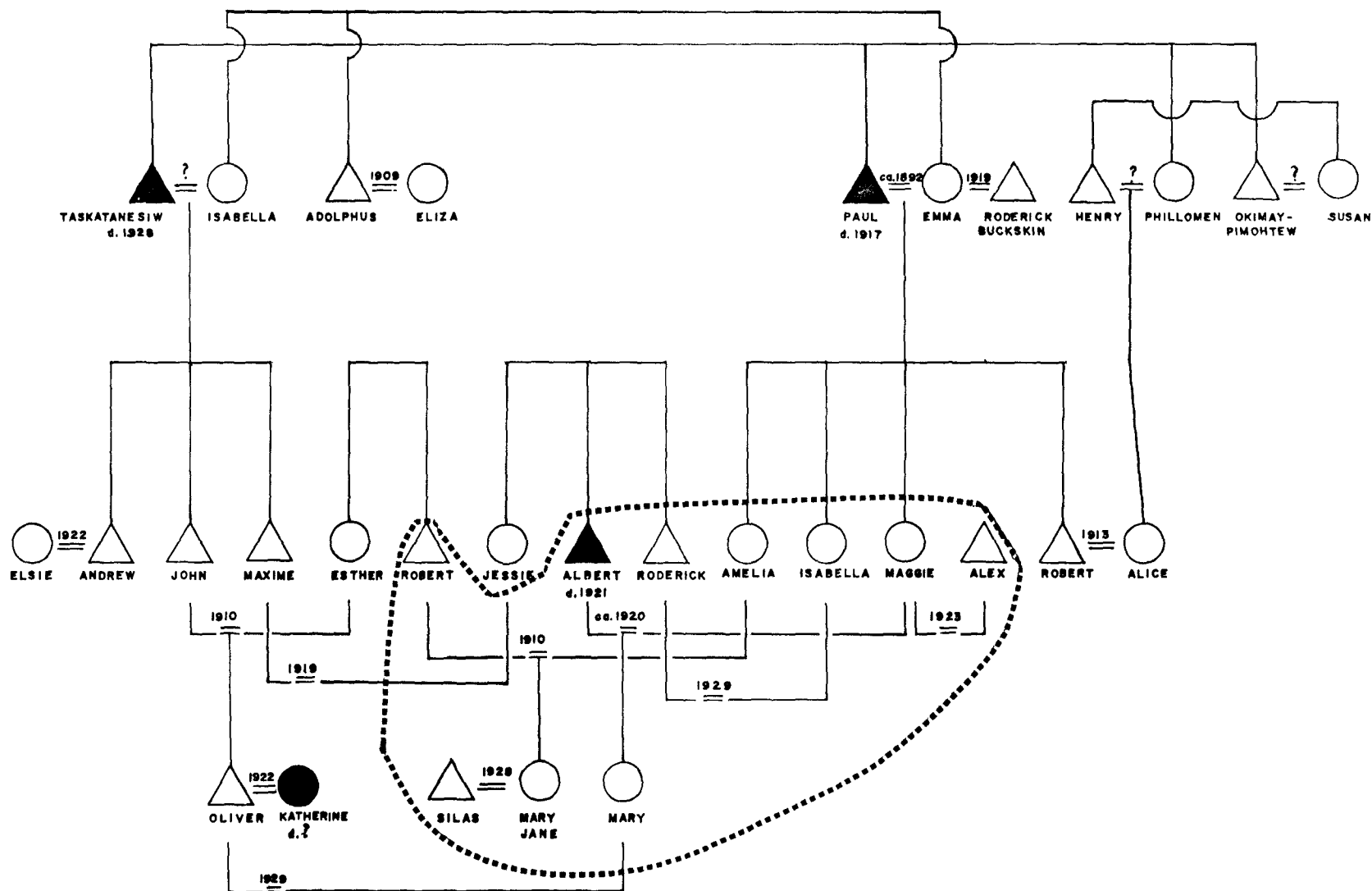


Figure 16. Married adults of the local band, the members of which maintained residences at Natakam, Mamihk, Wawinahk and Minawatimihk, ca. 1930. The dashed line encloses those couples who sometimes associated with other local bands.

the store (Hutton 1925). He established a residence near the store and married Lazarus' mother, a widow. As a result, Lazarus grew up at this location and remained here upon his marriage. The fact that he did not return to his wife's home (and his parental home), Wawinahk, upon their marriage in 1917 is surprising. However, he evidently preferred to live near his mother.

By 1930 the Wawinahk hamlet (Fig. 17) had decreased in size. This was mainly because of the poor reproductive success of the first generation inhabitants. Three of these first generation couples remained active through to the 1940's and they appear to have been the organizational core about which this band was maintained. Also present at Wawinahk was another couple, not attached to any of the other families by a primary kin tie. The husband, Isaiah Badger came to Red Earth from La Corne and he was a school teacher. Therefore, he lived in the teacherage at Wawinahk.

By 1930 the hamlet at Natimihk was occupied by a relatively large number of families of the second generation (Fig. 18). Whereas, in the first generation, Maskocephikapaw had not been obviously connected to the Natimihk band by kinship, in the second generation his offspring formed the core about which the group was formed. At this time the settlement at this hamlet was much elongated, extending north along the river, almost to Wawinahk. At least one couple, Elijah and Lydia, often associated with their primary kin at Wawinahk. Two other couples were also loosely attached to the Natimihk group. Alex and Maggie have already been discussed while Louis Young (a school teacher)

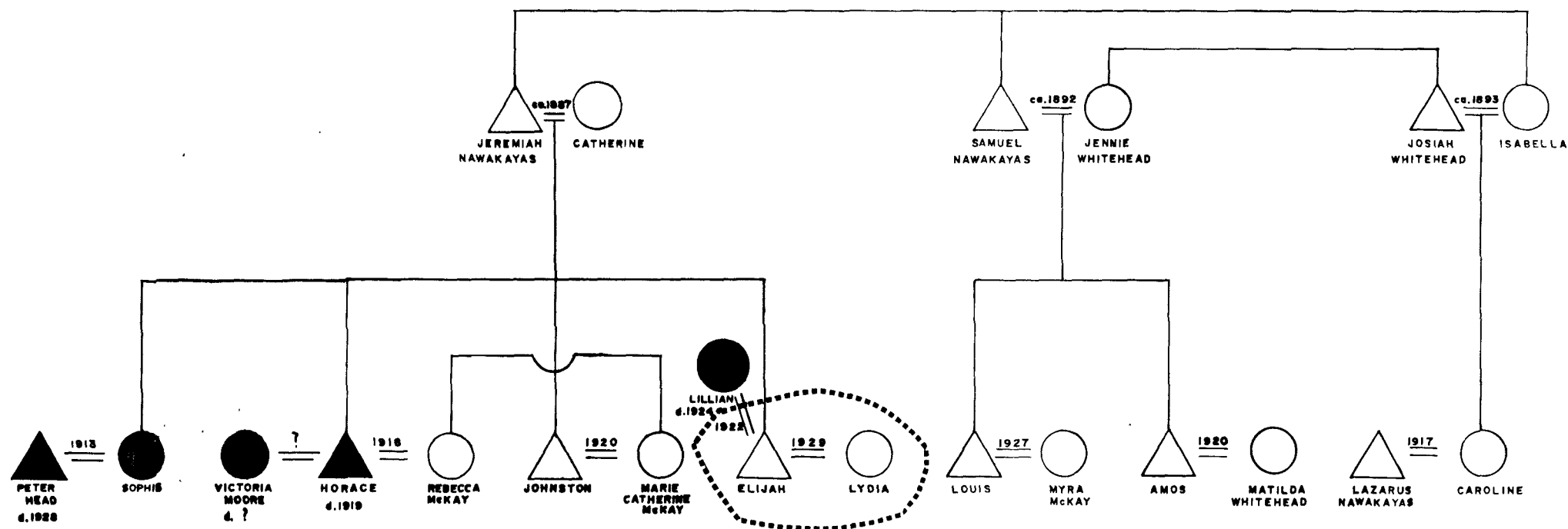


Figure 17. Married adults of the local band, the members of which maintained residences at Wawinahk and Natimihk, ca. 1930. The dashed line encloses those couples who sometimes associated with other local bands.

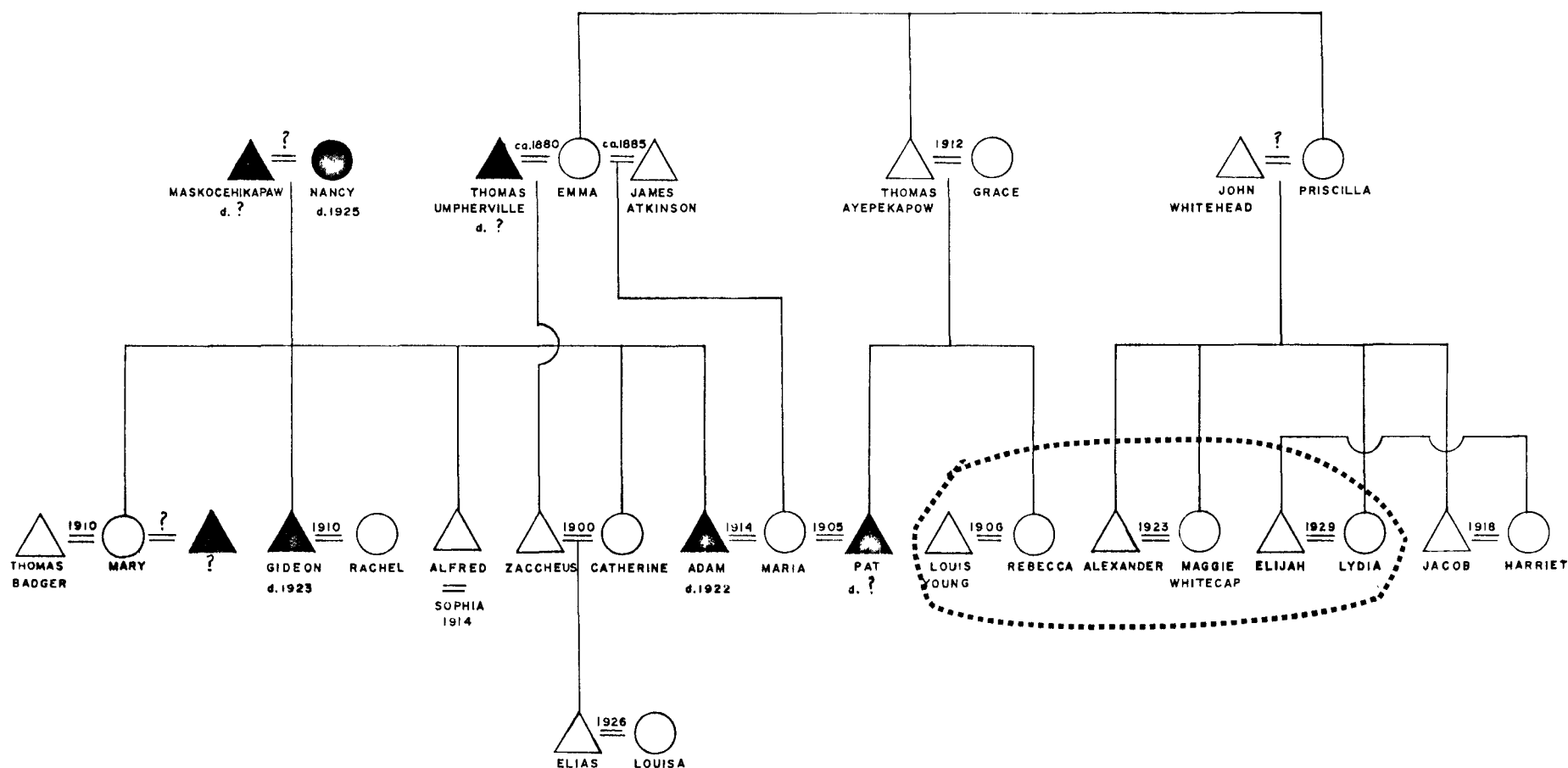


Figure 18. Married adults of the local band, the members of which maintained residences at Natimihk and Minawatimihk, ca. 1930. The dashed line encloses those couples who sometimes joined other local bands.

sometimes lived at Shoal Lake. Two couples, a widow of the first generation and a third generation couple also were present.

While the Red Earth population of ca. 1930 was divided among four bands, a two part division also existed. One of the latter divisions consisted of the bands at Natimihk and Wawinahk and the other division of those at Sokawatikoskahk and Natakam. The members of each pair frequently associated with one another as partners in the course of economic pursuits. In part, this association is obviously a result of simple spatial proximity. The members of each band occupied hamlets which were close together and, in addition, they hunted and trapped in areas that were adjacent to one another. Subsistence-settlement patterns are considered in some detail in Appendix IV, but it is pertinent to note here that the Sokawatikoskahk band trapped and hunted directly to the south of Red Earth, along the creek of the same name and into the lower reaches of the Pasquia Hills. They sometimes extended their activities as far east as the Man River. The Natakam band concentrated its economic activities to the west of the above outlined region and utilized the resources of the Cracking Creek - Papikwan River area. On the other hand, the Natimihk band hunted and trapped to the west and northwest of their hamlet and also many kilometers up the Carrot River. The territory of the Wawinahk band extended to the north of that hamlet, up Kennedy Creek and into the very productive Sipanok Channel area. The members of these paired bands frequently hunted together, in groups of partners associated for the duration of their tasks.

DEME COMPOSITION

While the Pas Mountain Indians of the late 1800's exhibited many of the characteristics of a regional band, by the time that the second generation marriages had peaked (ca. 1920), this Cree population is recognized as forming a deme. The two component parts of this deme maintained their physical and cultural distance. In an earlier period, each group would probably have been described as a regional band; however, by the early decades of the 20th century these two communities were more obviously Indian Affairs bands. Their existence was encouraged and moulded by this arm of the federal government.

However, despite the increasing influence of the Department of Indian Affairs, the Pas Mountain people maintained social relations and a type of social organization which I believe to be very ancient to boreal forest Crees. I know these social forms in greatest detail in the case of Red Earth. Here, the dominant social form by which nuclear families were organized continued to be the local band. In fact, Red Earth provides an intriguing example of the manner in which local band organization can influence housing arrangements (hamlets) in an increasingly sedentary society. However, second generation local band affiliation was not as directly reflected in hamlet composition as during the first generation. In fact, by 1930 hamlet composition only roughly corresponded to local band composition. Presumably, this was a result of the increasing importance of home ownership and the reluctance of couples to build a new house at some other hamlet simply because they were not surrounded by primary kin at their hamlet of

residence. In other words, within the reserve settlement it is apparent that primary kin ties were no longer of primary consideration in determining residential arrangements. However, as is noted in the following section, local band organization was maintained in the bush.

The factors relating to the development of the Pas Mountain deme will be discussed in a subsequent chapter; however, it is noteworthy that there are certain circular, feedback aspects to this development. As a result of the continuing in-marriage of the Pas Mountain Crees, an increasingly impervious social boundary formed about this population. People within it married persons with whom they were familiar, with whom they shared a similar cultural background and to whom they were related (or with whom they shared relatives). More and more of the kin ties of the Pas Mountain Indians were exclusively within the group. This obviously affected the social relations between these people and their neighbours. Most of the Pas Mountain people had no primary kin in Cree groups outside of their territory and thus travel to other regions was reduced. There was no one of interest to visit and no one to live with even if one did visit (unless some remote kin tie was operationalized). As a result, the likelihood of young persons meeting potential spouses in neighbouring regions was lessened and the endogenous nature of the Pas Mountain people emphasized.

THE ANNUAL ECONOMIC ROUND

The subsistence strategy of the Red Earth Crees during the first four decades of this century was based on a complex amalgam of elements adopted from at least three quarters: (1) a basic Swampy Cree type of debt-based trapping economy augmented by the traditional subsistence hunt-

ing and fishing, (2) a Plains Cree horse complex, and (3) an incipient agrarian complex including cattle raising and potato gardening (for details see Appendices III and IV). There was considerable variation in the extent to which any one individual became involved in all three of these economic activities. In fact, to have become actively involved in all three might simply have proved too much work for any one person.

With regard to the various settlements which formed through the year, two factors - primary kin ties and partnerships - determined the association of family heads. On the other hand the number of families in a settlement was directly related to the subsistence task at hand. The annual settlement pattern of the Red Earth Cree involved a continuing ebb and flow - aggregation and dispersal. During the haying season, which began in late July and extended through August, families were scattered in camps around the reserves. Following this, through to late September, they were even more dispersed in four relatively distant moose hunting camps. In this case, however, each of the camps was large, composing a local band group. This activity was followed by a general dispersal as the duck hunt was conducted. By the middle of October a brief period of hamlet aggregation occurred as men readied their buildings for the winter. Before freeze-up the families dispersed once again, this time to muskrat trapping camps to conduct the fall hunt through November. With the advent of winter, dispersal to winter trapping camps occurred and at this time of the year the population was maximally dispersed - in small camps distant from the hamlets. Around Christmas and New Years a brief aggregation of population occurred and most families then returned to their trapping camps.

The spring muskrat season was similar to that carried out in

the fall, but after break-up the nature of the hunt changed dramatically. With the normal spring inundation the rat hunt intensified and was carried out from canoes. When this activity ended in early May, the families once again gathered at the hamlets. Gardens were soon tilled and, by the end of May, planted. Summer was a time of dispersal and aggregation as people travelled widely to visit, to hunt and fish in isolated camps, or to take on any wage labour that might be available. Not until late July, at the beginning of the haying season, did subsistence activities carried out by camps of families (grouped according to prevailing norms of kinship and partnership), begin again.

To a considerable extent the necessity of feeding livestock conflicted with the mobility necessary to efficient hunting and trapping. Horses, though, were not a drawback since they were integrated into the trapping system, often being used on the trapline, as pack animals or for drawing sleighs. The main problem with horses was that late in winter the snow became deeper, at the same time as the animals became weaker. Eventually they could only be used on established, well-beaten trails. Horses, too, were necessary to the sort of overland hunting carried out by the Red Earth people in that they depended upon these animals to carry the meat back to base camps or the hamlets.

Potato gardening and haying seem to have conflicted not at all with those activities characteristic of the basic hunting and trapping pattern; rather, these gave people some employment during a slack

period - employment, the results of which, would be of benefit during the difficult winter period. The desire for employment during the summer was strong, as evidenced by the considerable distances travelled to work for the farmers. Of course, a few summer positions were also available with The Pas Lumber Company. Winter employment with the Lumber Company did not conflict with the trapping season; it simply removed men from this activity and placed them in a position where they could earn considerably more money. Men with cattle herds could not work for The Pas Lumber Company, though. However, wage opportunities were few at any season and subsistence hunting and fishing, gardening and cattle raising, as well as trapping for cash remained the basis of the total economy.

SUMMARY

The second generation of Pas Mountain Indians was that which matured in the decades between 1900 and 1930. The marriages of this generation peaked in the decade 1910-1919. In this decade, 25 of the 80 marriages of this generation were contracted. Sixty-eight of these marriages, or 85 percent, were in-marriages. This percentage would probably be even higher were it not for the intervention of outside forces - most notably the importation of young male Indians as school teachers. These men were eminently eligible bachelors and some of them married locally. I interpret this high percentage of in-marriage to indicate that at this time the Pas Mountain Crees had come to compose a deme.

The local band continued to be the major organizational force in Red Earth society throughout this period and at this time two new hamlets, Mamihk and Sokawatikoskahk, were established at Red Earth. During this period the one to one relationship which had existed between local bands and hamlets began to break down. However, local band composition continued to be obvious during certain parts of the seasonal cycle - especially the autumn moose hunt.

In the early decades of the present century the details of the Red Earth annual cycle are quite well known (see Appendix IV) and differ little from that of the preceding 1880's and 90's. However, throughout the present century the frontier of agricultural settlement has continued to push down the Carrot River valley, with the most recent expansion following World War II. This served to reduce the hunting and trapping territory of the Red Earth Crees although, in turn, it provided them with a source of summer wage labour.

CHAPTER VII

GENERATION THREE, CA. 1930 - 1960

INTRODUCTION

As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, a number of forces of change were introduced into the Red Earth region in the late 1800's and early 1900's. Those forces which stimulated cultural and social adjustments included the trading stores, the school, the church, and the reserve system. As well, the introduction of horticulture and animal husbandry, with the movement of Eurocanadain farmers into the Carrot River valley affected the Crees of this region.

In this thesis I have outlined some aspects of the social structure, subsistence-settlement patterns and demographic characteristics of the population of the Red Earth region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As I indicated in Chapter III, the population in the study area in the middle 1800's was small, consisting of only six local bands of people who lived in tents all year and engaged in a seasonal round which took them between the Ft. a la Corne parklands on the southwest and the Saskatchewan River delta on the northeast. These people had access to a few horses but had neither gardens nor cattle. They were, though, involved in the fur trade. A comparison of this socio-economic situation of ca. 1860 with that of ca. 1930 indicates that by the third decade of the present century important adjustments had been made to the changing conditions. Among these was a slow increase in population and the development of a single

marriage universe which included both the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees. The maintenance of this deme into the third generation and its characteristic features are the subject of the following sections of this thesis.

THE THIRD GENERATION

The marriages of the third generation peaked in the 20 years from 1940 to 1960 (Fig. 13). In this period the transition was made from a contact-traditional society to a contemporary society with ready access to the outside world. As well, it was during this period that the effects of the introduction of regular medical services (late 1950's) became felt - particularly in a dramatic drop in the infant mortality rate. The results of other changes in the 1950's, including much improved school facilities, are also felt in the 1970's. In addition, with the decline in trapping activity the economic base of the community has changed profoundly since 1960. However, even though the changes in health services, transportation facilities, education and economy have been substantial, the culture and world view of these Crees remain much the same.

During generation three there has been an increase in the number of marrying individuals, as compared with the previous generation. However, the total number of marriages of this generation can not yet be known. If the pattern characteristic of the previous generation is maintained, the marriages of the third generation will not be completed until the 1980's. To 1971, 137 members of the third

generation had been involved in marriages. These 137 individuals had (to 1971) contracted 93 marriages, 40 of which involved Shoal Lake Crees. In 14 of the latter cases both spouses were from Shoal Lake. The Shoal Lake Indians also contracted 18 marriages with Red Earth people while another five involved individuals from The Pas. Two other spouses came from Cumberland House and one from Ft. a la Corne.

While the Shoal Lake people married eight outsiders (Red Earth marriages are not counted as outside marriages), the Red Earth Crees became involved in six outside marriages; three at Fort a la Corne, two at Cumberland House and one at La Ronge. Therefore 14 of the 93 marriages contracted by the members of this generation involved outsiders. This yields an in-marriage rate of 85%. It is clear, therefore, that the Pas Mountain marriage universe has been maintained through the third generation. Percentages of in-marriage between 80 and 90 percent appear to be usual to marriages universes of this type, although cases above 90 percent (e.g. Damas 1975:411) certainly have been noted. It is noteworthy that in the mid 20th century the population of the Pas Mountain group was on the order of 325 persons (1954 census). This would appear to be a population level more suitable to marriage isolation - large enough to supply most persons of marriageable age with appropriate spouses.

In many ways, the marriages of the third generation have mirrored those of the previous generation. Red Earth has retained some marriage ties with Fort a la Corne, and Shoal Lake with The Pas. Interestingly, too, one Shoal Lake man obtained a wife at Fort a la Corne. Also, four marriages of Pas Mountain Indians involved persons

from Cumberland House.

In the contemporary period (1970's) Red Earth and Shoal Lake still exchange marriage partners (women) in the manner of a marriage unit. Through to 1971 the fourth generation had been involved in 34 marriages. Only four of these involved outsiders. If the same pattern is maintained as existed in the preceding generations, the fourth generation's marriages should peak in the present decade and many marriages should continue through to 1990.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

In the period ca. 1940-1960, the trend to increasing sedentary with decreasing mobility and territorial size reached its logical end. By the 1960's the Red Earth group had become as sedentary as the region's farming population and, to all intents and purposes, no longer exploited the local environment in a systematic manner, in pattern with the seasons. As might be expected, this has involved important social and economic changes.

In the middle and late 1930's the annual subsistence round of the Red Earth Crees changed somewhat. At this time the majority of the first generation had reached old age and the second generation had become predominant in the population. By this time many marriages of the third generation had also occurred, increasing even more the number of younger families. These younger people seem to have quite consciously abandoned some of the practices of the older generation. Silas Head, a member of the second generation, told me that although

he and his wife and small children had accompanied the older people on the annual fall moose hunt, once most of the older people were gone (middle 1930's), this hunt was not continued - as the group hunt it had been.

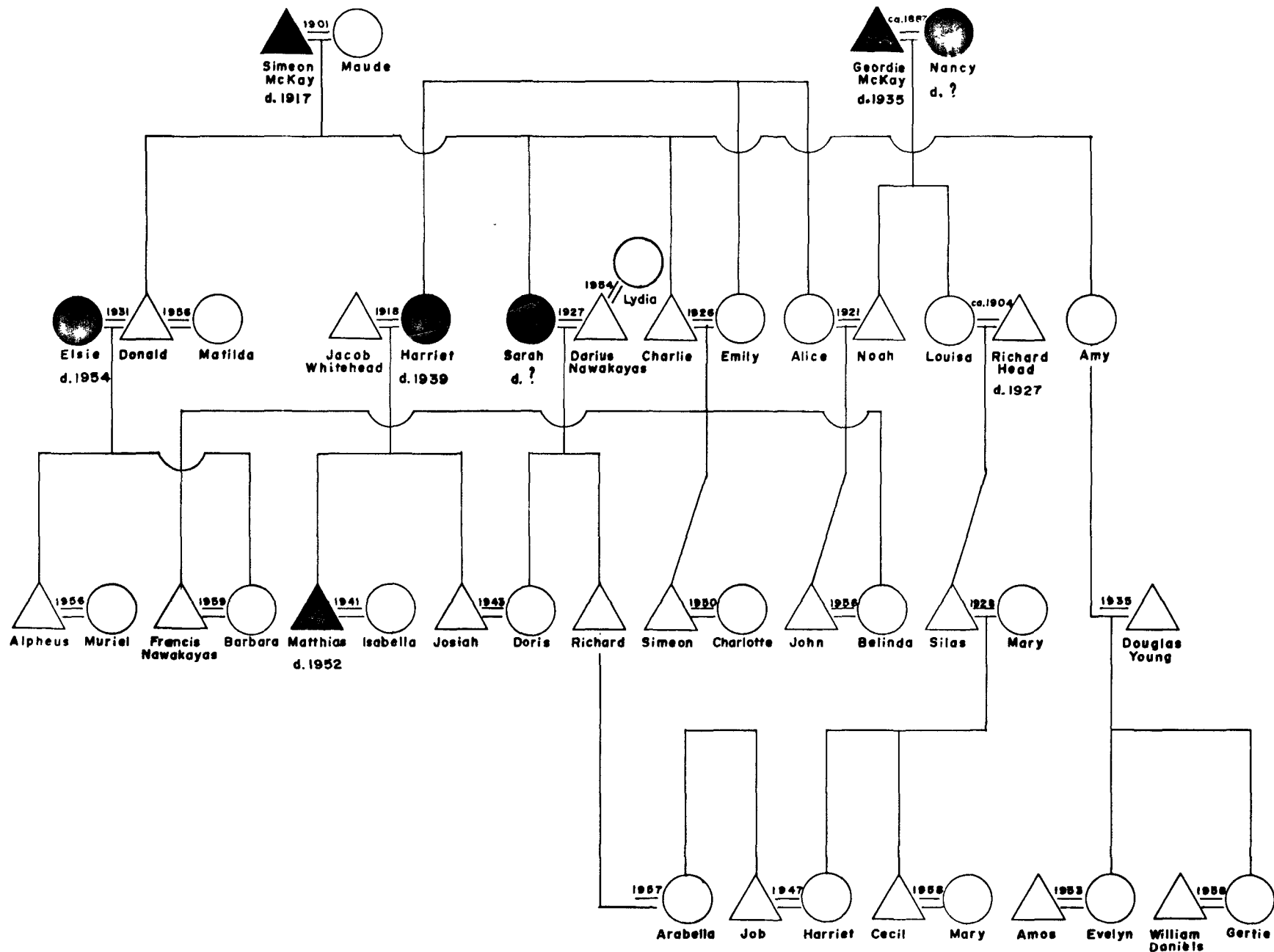
The termination of the autumn moose hunt by the local band marks the end of the importance of the local band as an organizing factor in Red Earth society. This does not mean, though, that some local band-like groups did not continue to exist; however, these were (and are) recognizable only as residential groupings on the reserves. This residential grouping never moves about as a unit, but does have a social make-up very similar to that of the local band. It should be noted that primary kin ties continue to be the major principle governing long term association of nuclear families with one another. The influence of these primary kin ties is especially obvious in the residential patterns of the contemporary reserves.

During generation three, ca. 1930-1960, the area encompassing Minawatimihk, Sokawatikoskahk and Mamihk became the population centre of the Red Earth reserves. Here, a recognizable village was formed. The Hudson's Bay Company store, as was noted in Chapter V, was originally located on the eastern bank of the Carrot River, between Minawatimihk and Sokawatikoskahk (Fig. 14). After the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned its operations here in the mid 1930's the Hutton family established their store at Mamihk where the earlier Revillon Freres store had been. The Department of Indian Affairs subsequently constructed its Agency House and offices on the location of the Hudson's Bay Company lot. With the construction of a large school at Minawatimihk in the late 1950's, this area was confirmed

as the focus of Red Earth life. (The previous school [and chapel] had been constructed on the east levee of the Carrot River, half way between Wawinahk and Sokawatikoskahk).

In order to simplify the following discussion of residence patterns in this main village area I will examine each of the named areas in turn. This is a somewhat arbitrary division although groupings of relatives, connected by primary kin ties, did coincide with these named areas in a general way. It should be noted that the residence characteristics as discussed below had changed very little through to 1970-71 when I undertook my field work. Almost all of the married couples were still present and the main changes had involved the addition of dwellings for the younger members of generation three (and some members of generation four) as they married.

Although the name "Sokawatikoskahk" is used here, by the time of my field work this name had dropped out of everyday use, although the other names remained in use. Those married adults who were resident in Sokawatikoskahk in the period 1930-60 are charted in Figure 19. Four of the children of Simeon McKay were important (as was the case in the preceding generation) since they formed a core group of families. The mother of this group, Maude, remained present and was still active at the time of my field work. Generation one was represented by one couple and a widow who resided here into the period 1930-60, as did six couples of generation two, seven couples of generation three and four couples of generation four. One cross generational marriage between generations two and three occurred, as well as one between generations three and four. In generation two, two men remarried following the deaths of their spouses.



Generation 2

Generation 3

Generation 4

Figure 19. Married adults of the Sokawatikoskakh hamlet in the period 1930-60.

The dominant personality in this residential group was Donald McKay and he has remained so through the 1960's and into the 1970's. His organizational abilities are particularly apparent in his handling of groups of nephews and other relatives who form haying gangs under his direction. Few of the adults of this group died in the period 1930-60 and nearly all of those living in 1960 were still present at the time of my field work, including the four (aging) offspring of Simeon and Maude McKay.

The kin composition of the Sokawatikoskahk group, with every member connected to at least one other member by a primary kin tie, is very like that of a local band; however, the sedentary nature and large size of this group are features not characteristic of such a band. This residential grouping is a different sort of social unit. House ownership clearly maintains the long term residential proximity of these families - in the course of my field work I observed conflict among some members of this group and it is apparent that if tents were still the main residences and if the population was less sedentary, some families would join other residential groups in which they have primary kin ties.

Two separate family groups occupied the Mamihk area. The store was (is) located here and straddled the eastern edge of the reserve, on the north levee of the Carrot River. To the west of the store John Marcelle, an immigrant Cree who worked for the Revillon Freres, built his house in the period 1910-20. An elderly man, he married a local widow. She brought her two sons by her first marriage here, one of them dying in childhood. The surviving son, Lazarus, remained in residence (Fig. 20). Upon their marriage, Lazarus' sons built houses nearby and by 1960 a small hamlet was in existence here. Some members of another family took

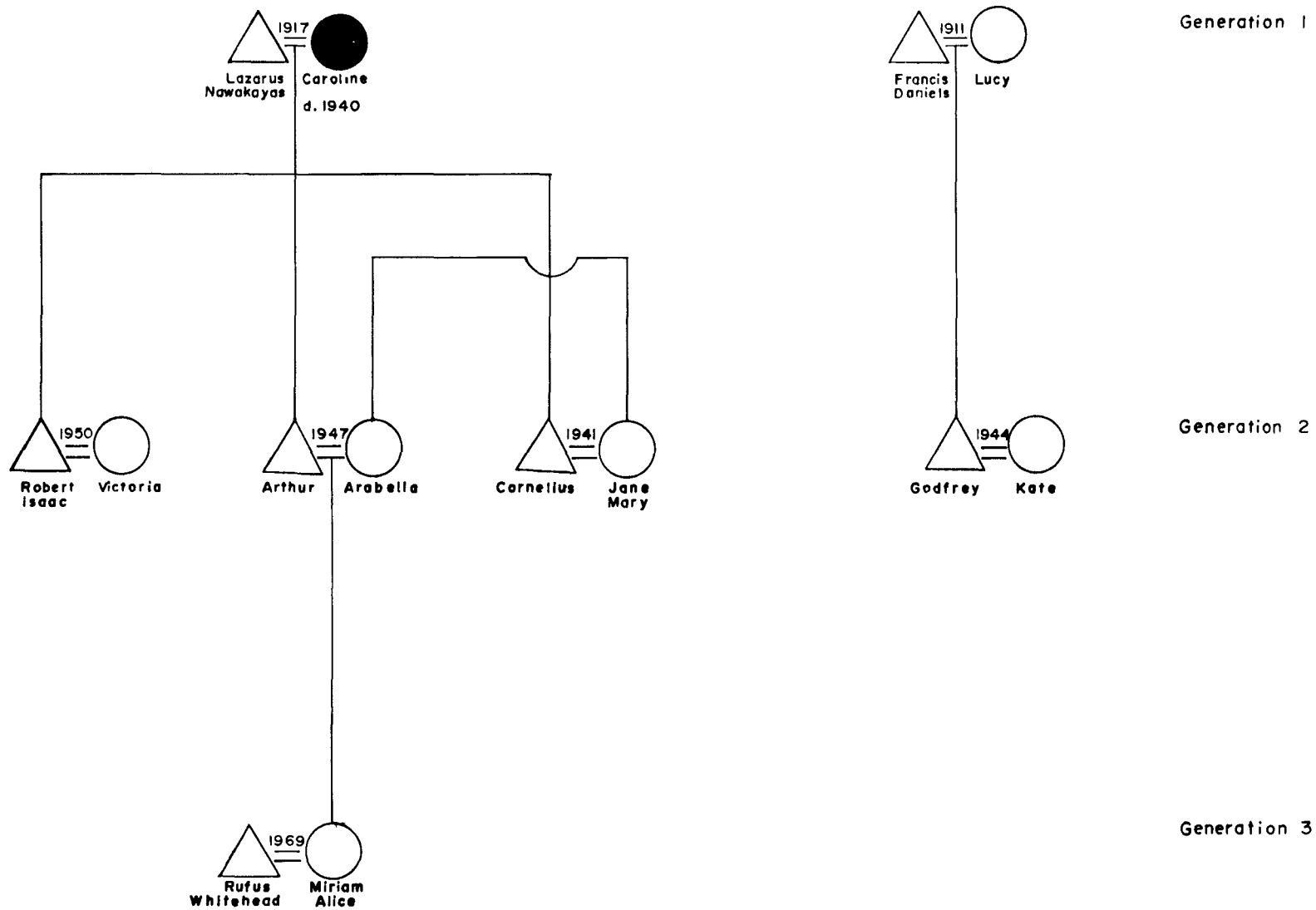


Figure 20. Married adults resident in the Mamihk area in the period 1930-60.

up residence to the east of the store, off the reserve proper. This was the family of Francis Daniels, a non-treaty Cree teacher who came to this region in the first decade of the 1900's. He married a Red Earth woman and in the first year of marriage lived for a time at Natimihk. Although Daniels spent many years of his life teaching elsewhere in northern Saskatchewan, in middle age he and his wife returned to Red Earth and all of his children (6) married either at Red Earth or Shoal Lake. One son lived at Mamihk, near Francis, another at Sokawatikoskahk and a third built a house on the Carrot River, a few kilometers upstream from Natimihk. The male members of this family, therefore, have tended to live off of the reserves proper.

Immediately south of Sokawatikoskahk is Minawatimihk. This is the most populous residential area at Red Earth. As is shown in Fig. 21, six couples, or survivors thereof, of generation one lived into the period 1930-60. On the level of generation two the beginning of the 1930-60 period saw the presence of eight married couples and two widows. In 1936 the last members of generation two married. Six of the generation two individuals died during the period 1930-60. On the level of generation three, only two marriages were contracted before 1930, both by the same man (Oliver Garvin). Following the death of his second wife in 1934, he remarried in 1936. Through to 1960, generation three adults were involved in 12 other marriages and towards the end of this period two generation four marriages took place.

Many of the couples charted in Fig. 21 had built their houses at Natakam and moved between there and Minawatimihk as hunting, trapping, gardening, etc., activities dictated or as they desired to visit relatives.

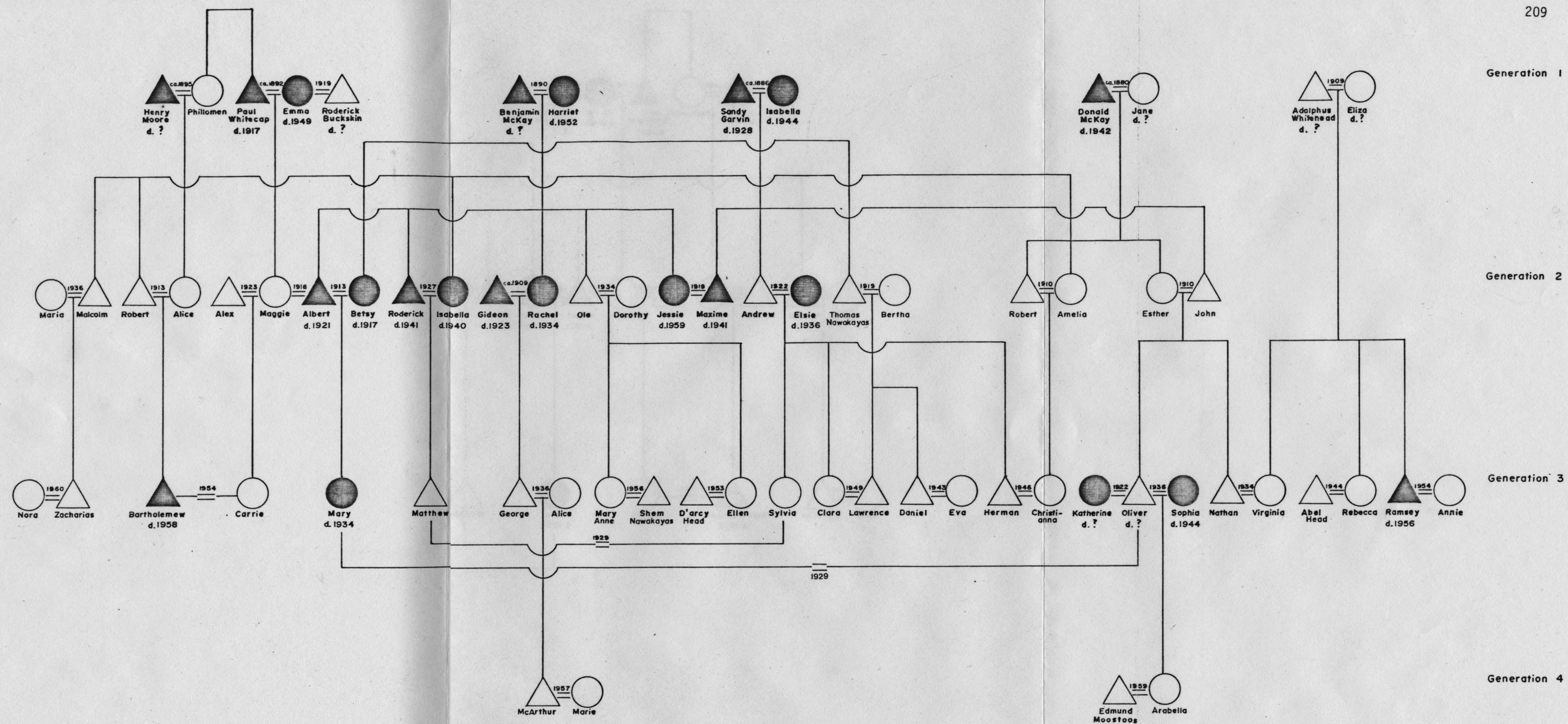


Figure 21. Married adults resident at the Minawatimihk hamlet, 1930-60.

It is apparent, however, that generation one and two members of the Garvin-Whitecap family considered Natakam as their "real" home. In contrast, generation three members of this family took up permanent residence at Minawatimihk on the east side of the Carrot River. As at Sokawatikoskahk, all the residents of Minawatimihk could trace a primary kin tie to at least one other member. Perhaps the most prominent personality in this group was Robert McKay who was Red Earth chief for many years. His brother-in-law, John Garvin, lead the Goose Dance ceremonies and was also an important figure.

It appears that in the period 1930-1960 Natakam was not regarded as a desirable residential area. It was distant from the services available in the main village and its members maintained houses both at Natakam and at Minawatimihk. Natakam was the area that was traditionally occupied by descendants of Cecim (Garvins and Whitecaps). While many of these families vacillated between residences at Natakam and Minawatimihk, Natakam was important since here they planted their gardens and cut some of their hay. Since the completion of an all-weather road to Red Earth in 1960, Natakam has become that Red Earth settlement which is closest to the towns in the farming region to the southwest (the road runs south from Red Earth village through Natakam). Also, a sawmill was located here, providing employment for a number of men. Hence, it has become a more desirable residential area and the population has increased somewhat. (See Fig. 22)

At Natakam, two widows of generation one lived into the period 1930-60, both dying in the 1940's. On the level of generation two, five couples were present and on generation three, four couples. One of the latter husbands was widowed in 1942 and remarried. Also present was Oli-

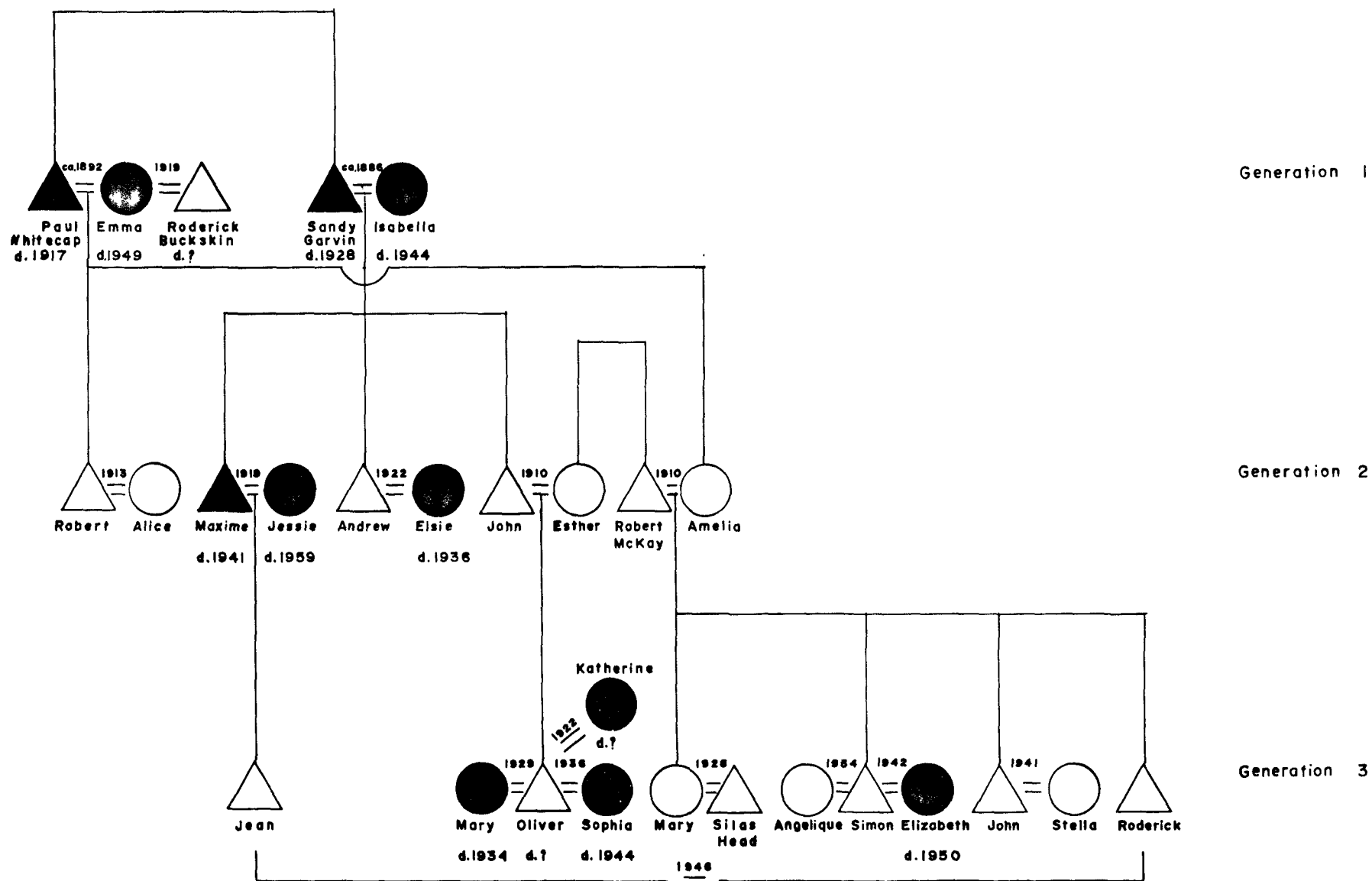


Figure 22. Married adults resident in the Natakam area, 1930-60.

ver Gervin, whose unusual marriage history has already been presented.

Wawinahk, in the period 1930-60, continued to be dominated by members of the Nawakayas family. One Whitehead family was present, as well as that of Isaiah Badger, school teacher from 1917-1920's and chief of Red Earth in the 1930's. Badger was married to a woman from the Natimihk group but he and his wife lived at Wawinahk because the school was there when he was a teacher. After the school was moved, he remained at Wawinahk. On the level of generation one (Fig. 23), three couples were present into the period 1930-60; however, all but one of these six people are known to have died in the 1940's. Generation two was represented by six men with their wives. Four of these men lost their wives and three remarried (one of the latter remarried twice). Towards the end of this period, two marriages of generation three took place. Through to the 1940's every person present here could trace a primary tie to at least one other resident. The case of Lionel Head is unusual. As an orphaned child he was taken in by the Whitehead family and came to be considered a sibling. In adulthood, he and Joel Whitehead established houses near one another.

In the period 1930-60 only a few families lived at Natimihk. Two couples and a widower of generation two were present into this period as well as four couples of generation three and one of generation four. Both Alfred Head and Zaccheus Umpherville were prominent figures although the former became the pivotal figure following Umpherville's death in 1942. (See Fig. 24)

Generation three, ca. 1930-60, therefore, saw the end of the local band as a recognizable unit at Red Earth. However, the hamlets which had

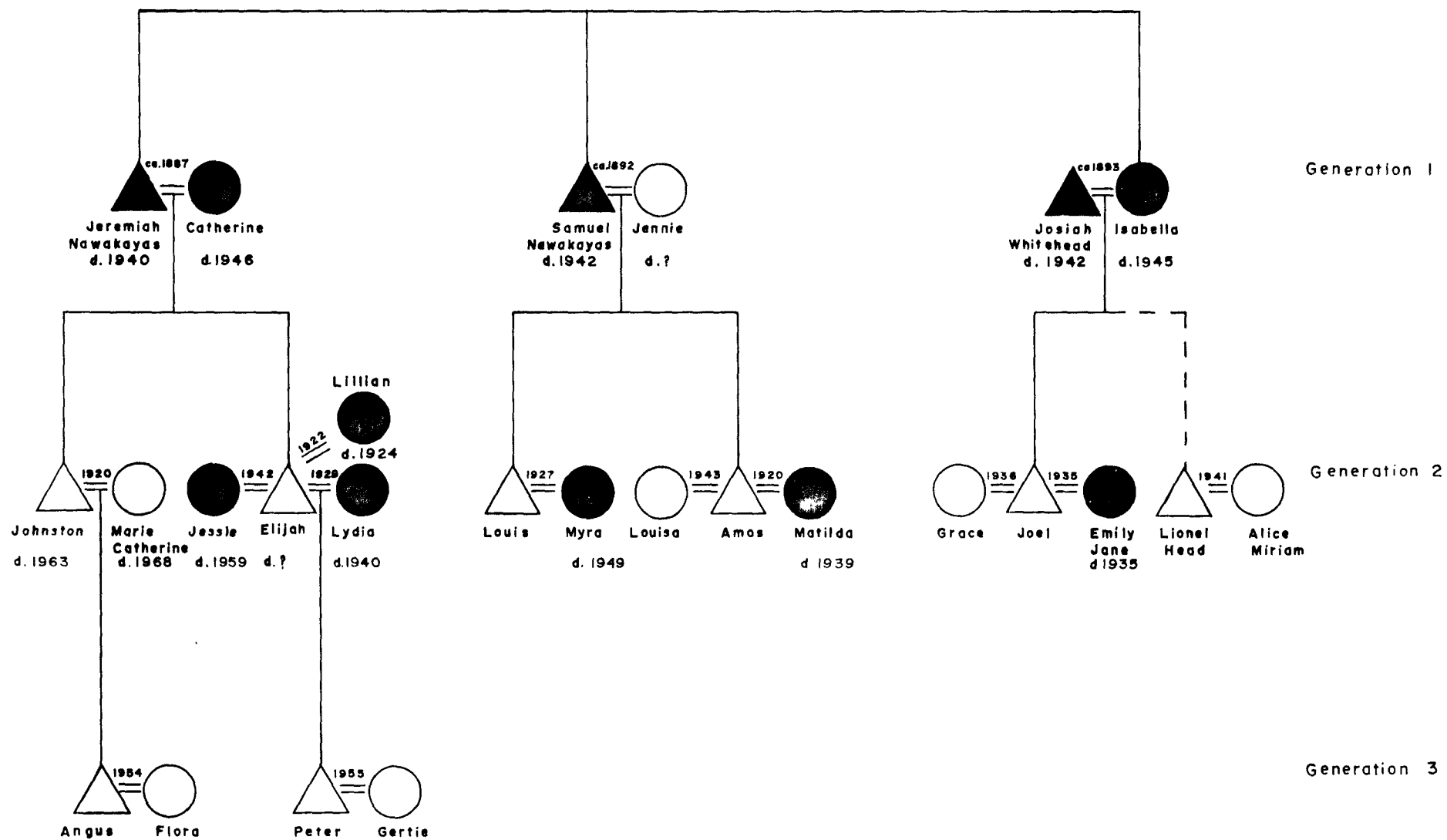


Figure 23. Married adults resident at the Wawinakh hamlet, 1930-1960.

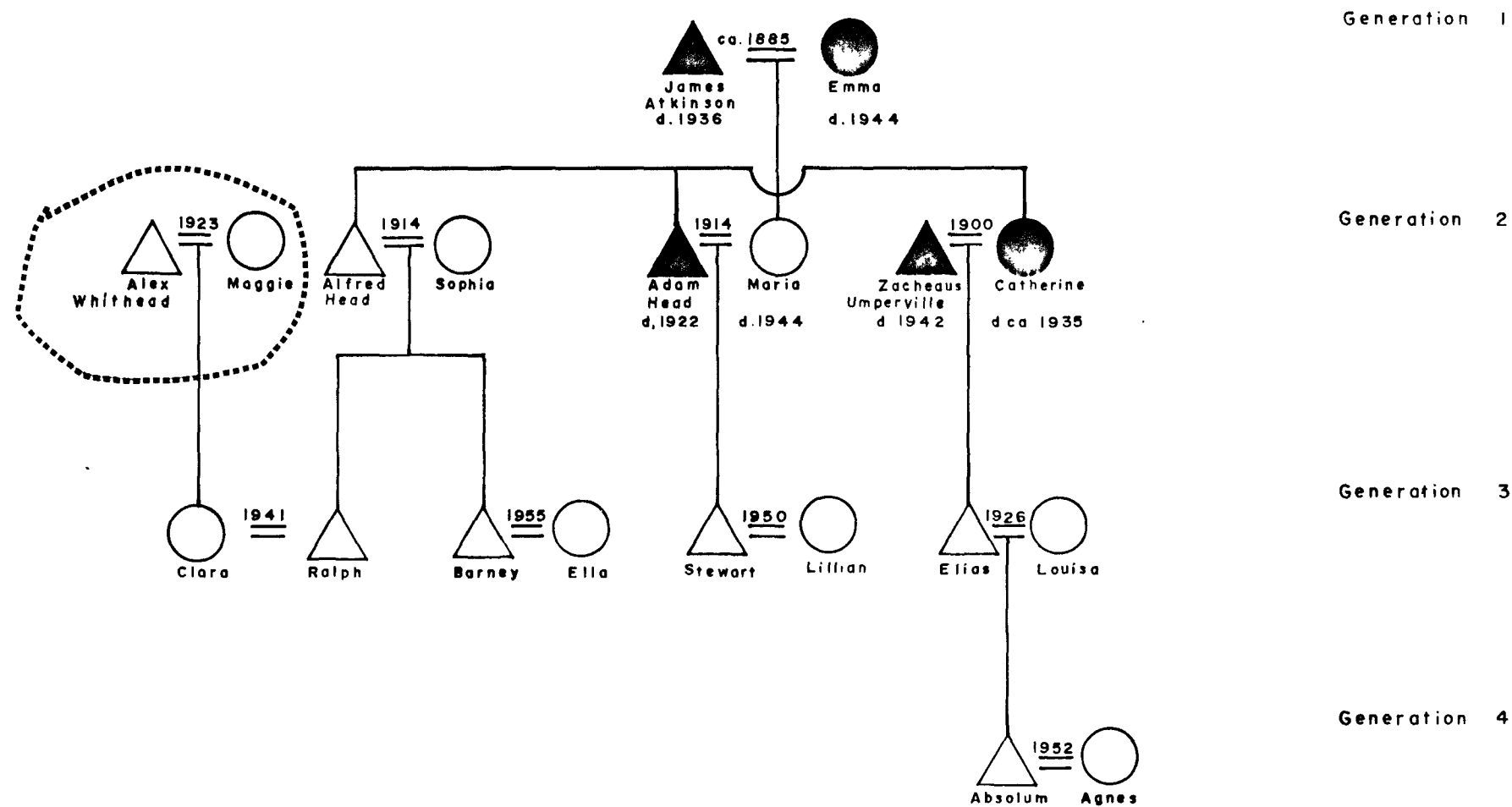


Figure 24. Married adults resident at the Natimihk hamlet, 1930-60. The dashed line encloses that couple which sometimes resided at other hamlets.

been the home bases of local band members retained their importance as house sites. Here the people settled as they became increasingly sedentary. However, it is evident that the primary kin ties which had been important in determining the composition of the local bands remained an important factor in determining in which settlements couples might take up residence. Primary kin ties and the "ownership" of property (houses, animal sheds, corrals, gardens) became the two major factors governing residence decisions. Upon marriage a couple exercised several options in deciding their place of residence. If one of them lived in a house with few others present (perhaps only a widowed mother and a few siblings) the newly married couple would probably decide to live in that house. If residence in the parental house was not possible, a new house was built within a few hundred meters (sometimes very close) of the parental home of either the husband or the wife. Normally, more than one newly married couple would not be found occupying the same house.

House occupancy has tended to prevent families from leaving hamlets in which they have no primary ties. As a result, by 1960 some "isolated" families were present at Wawinahk and Natimihk. However, by the 1970's some of these isolated families were becoming the cores of residential groupings consisting of the houses of married offspring. It is apparent that there is a consistent tendency at Red Earth for residential groups to consist of a number of families connected by primary kin ties.

ECONOMIC VICISSITUDES

Although the autumn moose hunt which was conducted by the local band was abandoned in the 1930's, no other aspect of the annual round was immediately altered. However, the local extinction of the beaver by the middle 1930's removed one of the important fur bearers. The provincial government reintroduced new stock throughout northern Saskatchewan in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The extinction of the beaver in the 1930's would probably have occurred even without the advent of the severe drought of this decade. This extended drought produced severe problems in the normally inundated (at least seasonally) lakes and marshes of the study region. Not only were the beaver gone but the muskrat populations declined precipitously. By 1934 the Hudson Bay Company was no longer obtaining its usual returns and, in the spring of 1935, it terminated its Red Earth operations. Although William Hutton had operated the Red Earth store from 1912 to 1928, from 1928 to 1935 another trader maintained the Pas Mountain Post. Hutton had taken a job at The Pas and lived there with his family:

Q. (David Meyer) So, for the summer of 1935 there was no store there?

A. (Robert Hutton) For the summer of 1935. The Hudson's Bay Company closed out in the spring of 1935. Quite by accident on the street in The Pas here, I was just wandering around one evening. I saw this fellow standing on the sidewalk and he was- I don't know what he was looking at. For some reason or other I talked to him. And he seemed to be friendly. We talked a little longer and all of a sudden it came out that he

was just down from Red Earth and waiting to get the train to go to Winnipeg. And as soon as he mentioned Red Earth, of course, my ears pricked up and I wanted to know what he knew about Red-Red Earth and so on. So he told me that he was the Hudson's Bay man and he'd been there for the last year. I think he said that he'd come from Montreal Lake- had been transferred from Montreal Lake to Red Earth and then he was closing out the post. And then, apparently, he left some things of value up there because the Hudson's Bay in The Pas here wanted somebody to go up and salvage this stuff and they came after Dad because Dad knew the way and Dad had an engine and a canoe. So he went up and back. I think he made two trips up there for the- for the Hudson's Bay Company and then that must be when he got the idea of maybe going up there and opening up a trading post. Possibly the Indians had approached him, you know, and asked him why didn't he come back or why wouldn't he open a store - something like that. He got the idea anyway.

However, William Hutton had included his son in the plans to open a privately owned trading post at Red Earth:

Well, he says, how would you like to go trading? Trading? Trading where? That's when he sprung it on me. How about we take that thousand dollars, buy an outfit of goods at the western groceries, get a new engine for the canoe. Let's go- or was it a canoe- a new canoe for the engine. I don't re- I think we had the engine but he'd sold his canoe. Get a new canoe and let's go trading at Red Earth.

I don't know. I'd always had pleasant memories of Red Earth as a- after I'd left there and I always had a feeling that it was kind of like- like home, you know. And I, I was quite anxious to go back (excerpts from tape recorded interview with Robert Hutton, August 1975).

So, after an hiatus of some years, the association of the Hutton family with Red Earth began again, to last through to the late 1960's. It is doubtful that the Red Earth people really did sug-

gest to William Hutton that he establish a store at Minawatimihk for, as Donald McKay has told me, the Indians experienced no problems during the summer they had no store - they simply travelled the 80 or 90 kilometers (the route used at this period may have been even longer) out to the new town of Carrot River more frequently.

While trapping suffered during the 1930's, livestock raising did not. The delta region was drier than it had been in living memory and marshes which had been unusably wet now became important hay meadows. Horses could be taken in places which would previously have been unthinkable and the usable pasture land for cattle was much enlarged. Although I have no direct evidence, it appears that there was a considerable growth in the numbers of cattle in the study area at this time. This is reflected in a cattle drive, to The Pas, which was organized in midwinter, about 1935. This drive was organized by the Department of Indian Affairs, probably as an attempt to introduce some cash into the reserves since trapping returns had fallen off.

In 1972 Silas Head described this drive to me. He had owned several of the cattle involved. The Red Earth men had set out first with their cattle and sleighs full of hay, drawn by horses. The time chosen for the drive was January - the safest time of the year for travel over the ice. When the Red Earth group arrived at Shoal Lake they were joined by men and cattle from this reserve and continued on to The Pas. However, a total of only about 25 animals was involved. This activity went on for several days, some men sleeping in tents, others in the open. The railhead at The Pas was reach-

ed without problem, but due to the depressed prices of this period the men received only a pittance for their animals. As a result, this was the first and last cattle drive to The Pas.

In the period 1940-1960 wage labour during the summer became increasingly important to the people of Red Earth and Shoal Lake. Every summer most of the men, with their families, travelled out to the farming region to work. This "migration" took place in early summer, or even earlier. During this period a fire tower (Summit Cabin) was situated on the Ayisiyiniw Meskanaw near Lost Creek. This was annually manned by an employee of the Department of Natural Resources and this man was accompanied by his wife. I conversed with the latter person briefly in 1972. She indicated that, over a period of several days, wagon after wagon passed the fire tower, carrying Indians bound for the agricultural districts.

In this period, too, several small sawmills had been located to the south of Red Earth and during the winter these employed a few of the Crees. However, from late autumn through spring, trapping remained the source of most of the cash that came into the community.

SUMMARY

As was discussed in Chapter V, population growth in the study region slowed in the first half of the 20th century. This appears to have been the result of frequent epidemics, of varying severity, and the introduction of endemic tuberculosis. As a result, compared with the second generation, there was an increase of only 29 persons (to 1971) who married in the third generation. These marriages reflect a continu-

ation of the pattern which was established early in the 20th century. To 1971, 93 marriages had been contracted by the members of generation three and in 85% of these both spouses were born within the study region. The Shoal Lake and Red Earth people have intermarried for over a century now and for several decades have formed a marriage isolate.

The members of generation three became relatively sedentary residents of their houses which were located at the various Red Earth hamlets. Residence decisions were based on two main considerations: (1) property ownership and (2) the presence of primary kin. Red Earth people tend to live in proximity to primary kin; however, the ownership of property in a certain hamlet sometimes influences a family to dwell there even if no primary kin are present.

CHAPTER VIII

DEME DEVELOPMENT: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I have traced some aspects of the history of the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees between ca. 1860 and 1960, for the purpose of demonstrating the factors which I believe to be central to the formation of the Pas Mountain marriage isolate, or deme. Counting the founding generation, four generations of Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees have been included in this study. With their Plains Cree orientation, the Red Earth people, during the century-plus of their existence, have formed a distinct cultural entity. In the late 19th century both the missionaries and the Indian agents remarked on the ways in which the Red Earth people differed from the other Crees of the Saskatchewan River delta. The Red Earth people were, on one hand, tenacious in their adherence to certain visible characteristics of Plains Cree life-ways (such as a great interest in keeping horses) while on the other hand they readily accepted gardening and cattle raising.

In contrast, the Shoal Lake people were Swampy Crees. Their life-ways were those characteristic of northern Algonkians, incorporating a summer subsistence pattern oriented to the exploitation of aquatic environments with the use of the canoe. The following sections of this chapter summarize the factors important in the initiation of close social relations (including inter-marriage) between these two Cree groups. Also outlined is the manner in which changing life conditions of the late 1800's and early 1900's allowed and encouraged these Crees to marry

increasingly within the Pas Mountain group, thus forming a deme (the "Pas Mountain group" consists of the Crees of Red Earth and Shoal Lake).

MARRIAGE ISOLATE

The marriage isolate appears to be common to many hunting and gathering societies around the world. For example, it has been described as characteristic of Australian Aborigines (Tindale 1940, 1953, 1974, 1976; Birdsell 1953, 1973, 1976), the central Eskimo (Damas 1975), the Alaskan Eskimo (Burch and Correll 1972), the Dogribs (Helm 1965) and the Nyae Nyae !Kung (Marshall 1976:19-22). However, the literature on some hunting and gathering peoples does not specifically address the subject of marriage isolates and so it is difficult to determine whether this social unit is present in all cases.

My interpretation of the available information is that in-marrying groups are characteristic of hunter-gatherer society and that this has likely been the case through the tens of thousands of years that Homo sapiens has lived in this type of society (Lee and Devore 1968:3). Martin Wobst (1974a, 1976) has certainly accepted this approach since he has applied the concept of the marriage isolate (which he terms the maximum band) to archaeological problems of the palaeolithic period.

In this thesis the term "deme" is used to refer to the marriage isolate among the Subarctic Indians (see Chapter II). It is a premise of this thesis that bounded marriage groups were characteristic of pre-contact Subarctic band societies. The presence of endogamous Subarctic Indian communities in the course of the past 100 years, therefore, I see as simply the maintenance of an ancient social form in a new situation. Directly relevant to the theme of this thesis is the work of F.G. McGee

(1977) in reference to the Micmacs, an eastern Algonkian group. McGee sees the deme as characteristic of aboriginal Micmac society.

It is my contention that a regional group must reach a minimal size for a deme to form. This is a pre-condition for the formation of a deme. Judging by the work of Wobst (1974a:166-167) it is apparent that even a hunting and gathering group with very lenient incest rules governing marriages (or no incest prohibitions at all) must still number at least 175 individuals. While the size of the marriage isolate may vary somewhat with different marriage practices, the in-marrying group must be large enough to provide all of its maturing members with appropriate spouses. Thus, a deme population provides a social framework for the biological continuity of the group.

There are, of course, other reasons for maintaining contacts beyond the small local group. In times of famine or other environmental stress, the survival of a small group may depend upon the largesse of neighbouring groups. The generosity of a neighbouring group is likely to be grudging unless primary kin are present. Such primary kin connections are predicated upon the presence of marriages between the groups. It appears, as well, that warfare characterized the life milieu of hunters and gatherers in some parts of the world (e.g. Lee and Devore 1968:158). Indeed, individual demes were sometimes at war with one another (Burch and Correll 1972). (However, warfare has not been recorded among western Cree groups in the contact-traditional period [personal communication, Dale Russell]).¹ When present, this factor also may have encouraged in-marriage, thus increasing the social integration and strength of the deme.

It is apparent, therefore, that the marriage isolate is a social grouping which fulfills a number of functions useful to the maintenance

of band society:

- (1) The deme is sufficiently large that approximately equal numbers of males and females are born within it and it is possible for any member, upon maturity, to find a marriage partner within the deme.
- (2) The deme is a social group which is small enough that members are known to one another as individuals, providing a good basis for cooperation in economic activities (or warfare).
- (3) The deme's component social units are connected by a web of marriages and as a result emergency assistance from primary kin is possible in many locations throughout the deme territory.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAS MOUNTAIN DEME

In the second half of the 1800's the pre-conditions for deme development were fulfilled in the study area and included the presence of a sufficiently large population, geographical proximity with social contact, and social separation from previous groups of orientation. The following sections of this chapter are focused upon the manner in which the pre-conditions were met and the actual process of deme formation in the study area.

Pas Mountain Occupation - Mid 1800's

As I have noted elsewhere in this thesis (pp. 54-56), through much of the 19th century two distinct Cree groups were present in the Saskatchewan River valley. The members of one group centred their activities about Ft. a la Corne while the lives of the members of the other group were focused upon Opaskweyaw (The Pas). In the central Carrot

River valley, the easternmost of the bands of the Ft. a la Corne Crees were in contact with the westernmost of the local bands of Opaskweyaw Crees. After the formation of the reserves in the 1880's the latter became the Shoal Lake Indians and the former the Red Earth Indians. It is very likely that the local bands occupying the Red Earth area in the mid 19th century were members of a Ft. a la Corne deme while those of the Shoal Lake area were members of an Opaskweyaw deme. Certainly, each group was culturally distinct, a situation which would have been maintained only if inter-marriage was infrequent.

The Indians who inhabited the Shoal Lake region were Swampy Crees, members of three local bands, headed by Okakeek, Osawask and Kise-moswakapaw. The western portion of the study area was occupied by three other local bands, led by Pootikat, Kiseyinis and Cecim. These Indians were affiliated with the Crees who patronized Ft. a la Corne and their culture was a Plains Cree variant, intermediate between that of the Swampy Crees and that of the Plains Cree to the south and west of Ft. a la Corne.

It is apparent that the western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta served as a natural boundary between the Swampy Crees of The Pas and the Plains Crees of Ft. a la Corne. This is, perhaps, not surprising since the delta provided a prime region for the Swampy Cree way of life - particularly the summer aquatic orientation. The Ft. a la Corne people, however, were more terrestrially oriented (reflected in their considerable use of horses) and mainly occupied the higher land to the west of the Saskatchewan River delta.

Although the evidence is incomplete (see Chapter III), it appears that the Red Earth people travelled west to Ft. a la Corne in the spring.

At this time they would have disposed of their late winter furs and taken part in the ceremonial round with the rest of the gathered Crees. Whether the Crees of the Shoal Lake area regularly moved to The Pas as part of their annual round is uncertain, although they certainly travelled to The Pas frequently in the open water season.

Therefore, through to 1870 the people of the study region do not appear to have been isolated socially. They frequently travelled to the trading posts and maintained social contacts with their groups of orientation. However, by the late 1860's the orientation of Kiseyinis' group to Ft. a la Corne appears to have begun to weaken. For instance, in the spring of 1886 Kiseyinis and his family are recorded as trading at Cumberland House.² The Cumberland House accounts also indicate that they were trapping at the mouth of the Sturgeon River, upstream from Cumberland House. (This is not surprising since this area is within the extreme limit of that region within which Red Earth people have trapped in the 20th century). It is apparent that, at this time, Kiseyinis and his followers had become involved in the fur trade to the extent that they were much interested in the spring hunt of beavers and, particularly, muskrats. The latter are particularly numerous in the Saskatchewan River delta. Involvement in spring trapping conflicts directly with the April gatherings which occurred annually at Ft. a la Corne. At this time, therefore, Kiseyinis appears to have made the decision to remain along the western edge of the Saskatchewan River delta through the spring rather than join the Ft. a la Corne gathering. This appears to mark the beginning of the development of social distance between Kiseyinis' group and those Ft. a la Corne Crees to the west. Whether the members of the local bands of

Pootikat and Cecim were also loosening their Ft. a la Corne ties is not known.

Inter-marriage Begins, 1870-1900

Therefore, through to ca. 1870, the Crees of the Shoal Lake area maintained close ties with the remainder of The Pas people and the Crees of the Red Earth area were affiliated with the Ft. a la Corne Indians. Of Pas Mountain marriages dating to the 1850's and 1860's, only two are known to have been between Ft. a la Corne and The Pas people. We must, then, consider the question, "why did the Crees occupying the Red Earth and Shoal Lake areas in the 19th century begin to intermarry in the last decades of that century?" It is possible that simple geographical proximity may have been a factor encouraging the inception of the exchange marriage partners; however, this is clearly not a sufficient reason since this proximity existed for several decades through to 1870 but inter-marriage occurred only rarely.

The Red Earth Crees appear to have been central in initiating the process which led to the formation of an in-marrying group in the study region. Theoretically, the Shoal Lake people could have maintained, to the present, their mid 19th century situation of close social relations and inter-marriage with the remainder of The Pas Indians. There was, however, a tendency on the part of the Shoal Lake people to remove themselves from the acculturative effects of the Eurocanadian institutions which were becoming entrenched at The Pas. By the 1870's The Pas had been the site of an Anglican mission for over 30 years and the Opaskweyaw Crees who lived at and in proximity to The Pas had become practising

Christians. As well, a Hudson's Bay Company post had been operating at The Pas since 1864. Therefore, The Pas had become the focus of a Christianized Cree group much influenced by the presence of two Eurocanadian establishments. Informant testimony at Shoal Lake has indicated that Osawask chose to live at Shoal Lake because it was remote from Eurocanadian influence. This may also have been the case with Okakeek who, like Osawask, was an active medicine man. Although Okakeek died in 1868, Osawask lived at least until the end of the century and was not converted to Christianity until 1899 when he yielded before the extraordinary persuasive ability of the Reverend John Hines (1899:190-191).

By the 1870's Ft. à la Corne, like The Pas, was the location of both a Hudson's Bay Company store (established in 1846) and an Anglican mission. This mission was established in 1851 but only slowly gained a following among the local Crees. It is apparent that in this period the pace of cultural change and the extent of Eurocanadian intervention into the activities of the Crees of the Saskatchewan River valley was increasing steadily. Among the leaders of the local bands of the Red Earth area, Kiseyinis (like Osawask) is known to have reacted negatively to the growing Eurocanadian presence on the Saskatchewan River. His decision to stay in the Red Earth area was at least partly motivated by his desire to isolate his group from these forces of change. Kiseyinis's commitment to remain in the Red Earth region is reflected in his dream revelation (see Chapter III) which indicated that Red Earth would long remain free from white encroachment and so be a desirable locality for Crees to live.

While Kiseyinis' rationale for remaining in the Red Earth area is discernible, at least in part, the reasons which led Cecim's group to

remain are not apparent. Cecim and his brothers are prominently noted in the Ft. a la Corne Hudson's Bay Company business records and they appear to have been firmly established members of the la Corne group. However, Eurocanadian encroachment may not have been the only factor influencing these la Corne bands to remain in the Red Earth region. Certain economic factors would have been equally apparent to both Kiseyinis and Cecim. By the 1870's the bison had disappeared from the parklands and the edge environment occupied by the Red Earth families was remarkably productive. These people straddled the contact zone between the Saskatchewan River delta and the higher forested country on the west and south. The delta was very important because of its periodic large fish populations and (usually) enormous numbers of muskrats. As well, it provided the marsh meadows which supplied these people with hay. On the other hand, the higher areas, including the Pasquia Hills, were the habitat of a large moose population and the location of productive trapping grounds.

Therefore, both a prominent Shoal Lake leader and a Red Earth leader were instrumental in keeping a number of Cree families in the Pas Mountain region. The decisions of both leaders to remain in the Red Earth and Shoal Lake areas appear to have been sparked by a common desire to avoid the increasing Eurocanadian influence at the Saskatchewan River trading centres.

Unlike the Red Earth people, the Shoal Lake Crees were nominal Christians and remained favourably inclined to the Hudson's Bay Company. Although at least one prominent figure (Osawask) was not a Christian, many Shoal Lake people were. In part this was because of the immigration of Christians from The Pas and, perhaps, because of contacts with Chris-

tian relatives at The Pas.

The Shoal Lake people remained on good terms with the Hudson's Bay Company and were served by a store (see Chapter V). Reginald Beatty has written of the Shoal Lake relations with the Hudson's Bay Company as follows:

... but for fine fur, such as martens, fisher, lynx and bear, the bulk of these were secured at the Mountain (Pasquia Hills), and here two bands of Indians divided the country into hunting grounds. One of these [Shoal Lake] was headed by O-sow-usk, who was on friendly terms with the Company, ...³ and most of whose followers were christianized;

Although the Shoal Lake leaders may have desired to maintain their cultural tradition and some semblance of economic independence from Eurocanadians, their only overt action designed to achieve such ends was to live distant from The Pas and thus to avoid "massive" Eurocanadian influence.

Unlike the Shoal Lake Crees, many Red Earth people were actively opposed both to the introduction of Christianity and the domination of their fur trade activities by the Hudson's Bay Company. This intransigence (from the Eurocanadian point of view) led to statements of exasperation on the parts of both traders and missionaries. A definite feeling is gained from the historical documents that these people were regarded as difficult or even "bad".

The Red Earth people maintained no loyalty to the Hudson's Bay Company and encouraged the visits of free traders who conducted business at more favourable rates than the Hudson's Bay Company (and the Company certainly improved its pricing structure when free traders were active in the region). Reginald Beatty's observations, referring to the early 1870's, reflect the Red Earth stance:

...; the other band [Red Earth] had for a leader Ki-say-the-nish and they were all still Pagans, but mighty hunters before the Lord, Like Nimrod of old. They were on bad terms with the Company at that time and had a resident free-trader living with them named Daniel [sic] from Red River.⁴

Beatty was accompanied to Red Earth by a Metis, Pierre Marcellais. The latter's reaction upon nearing Kiseyinis' camp speaks eloquently regarding the reputation of the Red Earth people in the delta country:

We made straight across the middle of the lake [Red Earth Lake] and just about half way the canoe was whirled round and I found myself facing homewards. "What is the matter, Pierre?" "I won't go to those Indians". They are bad,⁵ and will poison us both, "we are going back".

As is noted by Beatty (above), the Red Earth people remained mainly unchristianized. Many of these Crees, including the leaders, resisted the proselytizing of the missionaries. Missionary observations reflect the fact that traditional religious ceremonies and curing sessions were regularly held by the Pas Mountain Indians. Although Henry Budd made some visits to the Pas Mountain Indians in the early 1870's, these efforts of his old age do not appear to have resulted in any conversions. Reader, who followed Budd, made intensive efforts to gain converts, with some success, adding to the small Christian congregation which was present at Shoal Lake. Reader appears to have been particularly active in disrupting curing ceremonies since he describes, in some detail, his activities in this regard on two occasions (both at Red Earth).

From the time that Reader terminated his activities in this area in 1883, to 1888 when the Reverend John Hines took up his station here, there appears to have been little missionary contact with Pas Mountain. Hines soon remedied this state of affairs but found the conversion of the

Red Earth people a difficult task. He has left statements which reflect his feeling that many of the Red Earth people were obstinately "heathen" - they were intractable: "In the afternoon I baptized another heathen woman, an only daughter of one of the most bigoted heathens of the place."⁶ Also: "Some are really good people. I could mention a few at the Mountain Reserve who come behind in nothing -..."⁷ It can only be inferred from the latter statement that to Hines the Pas Mountain Indians, and especially the Red Earth people, represented a difficult problem.

During this period, therefore, the Shoal Lake and Red Earth Crees differed in a number of ways. The archival accounts indicate that they (1) each maintained a variant of Cree culture, (2) differed in their acceptance of Christianity and (3) differed in their relations with the Hudson's Bay Company. These last two differences, however, may be more apparent than real and can be related to differences in the ways in which members of each group attempted to manipulate their life situations to their best advantage. The Red Earth men appear to have been outgoing and relatively aggressive in their dealings with people, particularly outsiders. In contrast, the Swampy Crees seem to have been retiring and unaggressive. Therefore, while the Shoal Lake people accepted Christianity and the trading terms of the Hudson's Bay Company without protest, this did not necessarily reflect any active pleasure in so doing. Presumably, they acquiesced in order to avoid distasteful social discord with the Eurocanadians.

Ther archival accounts provide evidence that the Red Earth Crees had some success in attaining their goals of (1) maintenance of their

cultural (particularly religious) tradition and (2) the best possible trading terms. Their success in this regard could not have escaped the attention of the Shoal Lake people. Indeed, there is some archival evidence that the latter, following the 1870's, became involved with the Red Earth Crees in a common attempt to achieve these ends. For instance, on August 5, 1892, the Pas Post manager, Mr. McKay, wrote to Chief Factor McFarlane at Cumberland House as follows:

The Indians of Red Mud and Shoal Lake don't appear to be such a bad lot after all - I thing [sic] all they require is a little patience with them - They like to hear themselves talk but we get tired of it.⁸

Evidently, both groups had been petitioning for better trading conditions.

Similarly, although nominal Christians, the Shoal Lake people still valued traditional Cree religious beliefs. The Red Earth independence from Christianity appears to have been attractive to some Shoal Lake people. It even seems that the Red Earth group became a sort of refuge for a few Shoal Lake individuals. For instance, in 1892 Reverend Hines observed:

I learnt at Shoal Lake that one of the former residents of this place who went to live at Red Mud with the Heathens had given up Xtian ways of living and has taken another wife, thus having two at the same time - ..⁹

The most visible indication of the continuing interest of the Shoal Lake people in traditional Cree religion was their active participation in the annual or biannual Goose Dance ceremony held at Red Earth. For instance, in the early 1870's Reginald Beatty found the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people aggregating for the spring celebration of the Goose Dance.

The late 1860's and the 1870's, therefore, appear to have been crucial years in the inception of close social relations between the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people (for a comparison of the two groups, see Table III). The Red Earth people acted aggressively to maintain their cultural traditions and economic well-being. Their success appears to have attracted the attention of the Shoal Lake people and, in the 1870's, there is evidence that they joined seasonal gatherings of the Red Earth people for the celebration of the Goose Dance. The importance of this ceremonial aggregation cannot be overstressed because it must reflect and presage a number of changes:

(1) The Red Earth people were no longer journeying to Ft. a la Corne to join seasonal gatherings and, as a consequence, their contacts and ties there would have begun to weaken.

(2) The termination of regular seasonal travel to the parklands by the Red Earth people indicates lessened mobility as well as increased stability within the central Carrot River valley.

(3) The aggregation of the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees would have greatly increased contacts between these two groups and fostered the process by which they became integrated into a single marriage universe.

It is likely that the initiation of close social relations was a conscious, deliberate action on both sides. The decision of the Shoal Lake people to attend the Red Earth Goose Dance ceremonies must have been made after some thought since this action incurred the anger of the mission workers. The decision by the Red Earth people to hold the Goose Dance at Red Earth appears to have involved a conscious rejection of the need to renew,

regularly, social ties at Ft. a la Corne. Whatever the case, the seasonal aggregations and associated ceremonies did go forward at Red Earth and were to continue for almost 80 years.

TABLE III
Red Earth-Shoal Lake Comparisons, 1850-1900

	ca. 1850-1870		Generation One ca. 1870-1900	
	Red Earth	Shoal Lake	Red Earth	Shoal Lake
Cultural tradition (including dialect) marriage orientation	Plains Cree variant la Corne	Swampy Cree The Pas	Plains Cree variant Transitional to within the Pas Mountain popu- lation.	Swampy Cree within the Pas Mountain popu- lation.
Pas Mountain population	Probably less than 140		187 persons	by 1900
Percentage of Pas moun- tain in-marriage	low		about 66%	
Relations with Hudson's Bay Company	poor	good	guarded	positive
Attitude to Christian- ity	negative	positive	guarded	positive
Mobility	consider- able	consider- able	moderate	

The arrangement of the first inter-marriages in the 1870's also must have been the subject of some disquiet since the members of the two groups were relative strangers. However, marriages did take place and, of the 42 contracted by the members of generation one, 10 were Red Earth and Shoal Lake inter-marriages. The fact that three of Kiseyinis' grandchildren married two offspring and a grandchild of Osawask indicates that the families of these leading men were actively involved in this inter-marriage.

However, although inter-marriage did begin during generation one, the Shoal Lake and Red Earth people did not form a deme at this time. As outlined in Chapter IV, the Pas Mountain group had taken on the characteristics of a regional band, a social form intermediate between the local band and the deme. Normally, a number of regional bands make up an in-marrying group - the deme, but the Pas Mountain group of this period is unusual in that although it appears to be a regional band, it does not compose a part of some larger social grouping, such as the Ft. a la Corne or The Pas Indians. Evidently, the Pas Mountain group was in transition to a new social form, a marriage isolate.

Transition to a Marriage Isolate, 1900-1930

In the period 1910-1930 the marriages of the second generation reached their peak and on this generational level in-marriage occurred about 85% of the time. I have interpreted this as indicating that the Pas Mountain Indians had come to form a marriage isolate at this time. The process of deme formation had begun in the previous generation and its completion in the early decades of the 20th century may be related to changes which had begun in the last two decades of the 19th century.

It is, however, doubtful if the Pas Mountain deme would have developed out of this social union of the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees if their numbers had not increased. If this population growth had not occurred, I believe that the Red Earth Crees would have been absorbed into the Opaskweyaw marriage universe. The Pas Mountain Indians would simply have become one of the regional bands of the Opaskweyaw Crees. The earliest census of the Pas Mountain people dates to 1893 when their

combined population numbered 158. This is below Wobst's hypothesized lower limit at which a band society would normally compose a marriage isolate. In the 1870's, when in-marriage began, the population of the Pas Mountain area was probably less than 140, too small to have formed a marriage isolate. For the Pas Mountain Indians to form a deme their population had to be above a minimum level. Clearly, this minimum was attained as a result of internal population growth and limited immigration.

The Pas Mountain population increased from 158 in 1893 to 261 in 1917. In the latter year there was an epidemic, and another in 1919, both resulting in numerous deaths. This was followed by a continuing high mortality due to the presence of endemic tuberculosis, with the result that the population fell to a low of 221 in 1929. Not until the late 1930's was the 1917 population regained and growth resumed. It is uncertain whether population increase in the study area can be directly related to economic changes which were introduced in the 1880's. With the introduction of the reserve system in the 1880's, gardening and cattle husbandry were promoted by the Indian Agents. Both activities became well established at Red Earth (although the Shoal Lake people were slower to accept these pursuits) and potentially may have contributed to a more productive and stable subsistence base, allowing population growth.

While a direct link between new subsistence activities and population growth cannot be proven, the introduction of gardening and cattle raising appears to have influenced the development of the deme in another way. Both activities encouraged greater sedentism of the Pas Mountain Crees. Cattle raising, in particular, restricted the winter movements of herd owners while gardening required the owner's attendance, at least

occasionally, during the growing season.

Other factors also contributed to lessened mobility. The establishment of reserves in the 1880's and 1890's and the construction of a Hudson's Bay Company store, churches and schools all contributed to the importance of Red Earth and Shoal Lake as centres about which people focused their life activities. The reasons for the Pas Mountain people to visit outside communities became fewer (or less compelling) at the same time as they gradually became more sedentary within their region. However, despite this lessened mobility the Pas Mountain people certainly maintained some social relations with surrounding peoples. In fact, the annual economic cycle continued to bring Pas Mountain Indians together with their neighbours from time to time. For instance, in the first half of the present century, those Red Earth Crees who trapped north of Wawinahk often spent the winter in proximity to Cumberland House people (this was especially so during the spring rat trapping season). Silas Head told me of going to live with the Pine Bluff people (the westernmost Cumberland House group) for several months and Donald McKay lived with the Moose Lake people for an extended period of time. During this time he dwelt with a "brother". As well, visits of Pas Mountain people to The Pas and Ft. a la Corne were not infrequent and were reciprocated. Informants also told me of rare visits to the Saulteaux of Nut Lake, to the south. Clearly, then, the Pas Mountain Indians maintained contacts with surrounding Indian groups. Therefore, the formation of the Pas Mountain deme cannot be attributed to a termination of outside contact.

As noted above, Red Earth and Shoal Lake had become important centres to the Crees of this region. This undoubtedly contributed to

their sense of belonging to communities separate from those outside of the Pas Mountain region and appears to have encouraged the maintenance of social distance. The sense of social closeness between the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees, however, was clearly strengthened by the continuing seasonal aggregation of both groups at Red Earth in order to celebrate the Goose Dance. As well, there was frequent movement of families between Red Earth and Shoal Lake to make extended visits with relatives, particularly during the summer. By the early 1900's the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people were well known to one another and in the course of the preceding 40 years numerous individuals, mainly women, had passed as spouses from one group to the other.

The period 1900-1930 saw the completion of the social trends begun in the 1870's. Marriages within the Pas Mountain area rose to 2/3 of all marriages in generation one and to 85% in generation two. In the 1870's the population of the Pas Mountain area was too small to allow the formation of a deme. With slow growth a suitable population size was attained by the end of the century. However, while this pre-condition had been achieved, the establishment of reserves with stores, churches and schools served to focus people's lives about the reserves. One response of the Pas Mountain people to these conditions was to become a socially enclosed, in-marrying group.

As noted previously, the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people in the 1870's differed in culture, acceptance of Christianity and relations with the traders. By the turn of the century these two Cree groups had converged in their approaches to the latter two factors. Convergence also occurred in the adoption of the new economic activities. In the first

years of the reserve system the Red Earth people became active in gardening and cattle husbandry (indeed, they acquired some cattle before the reserves were established). The Shoal Lake people, however, were slower to take up these activities (see Appendix III) but by the beginning of the 20th century they gardened actively and had acquired some cattle and horses, like the Red Earth people (see Table IV).

TABLE IV
Red Earth-Shoal Lake Comparisons, 1900-1960

	Generation Two ca. 1900-1930		Generation Three ca. 1930-1960	
	Red Earth	Shoal Lake	Red Earth	Shoal Lake
Cultural tradition (including dialect)	Modified Plains Cree	Modified Swampy Cree	Modified Plains Cree	Modified Swampy Cree
Pas Mountain Popula- tion size range	187-221		221-391	
Percentage of Pas Moun- tain in-marriage	85%		85%	
Attitude to Christian- ity	increasingly positive	positive	positive	positive
Relations with Hudson's Bay Company	generally positive	generally positive	generally positive	generally positive
Horse husbandry	important	present	important	important
Cattle husbandry	practised by both		practised by both	
Gardening	well established at both communities		well established at both communities	

By the early 1900's, therefore, considerable convergence in the lifeways of the two Pas Mountain groups had occurred. Of course, some of this convergence involved Eurocanadian initiatives (and pressuring); however, the two groups differed in their readiness to accept Eurocanadian innovations and the process of convergence was apparently speeded by the exchange of marriage partners between the two groups and the great frequency of social contacts.

During generation two, therefore, the Pas Mountain Crees came to form a marriage isolate, composed of about 250 persons. This deme was divided into two sections, the Red Earth group about 50% larger than the Shoal Lake group. These two groups were analogous to the regional bands which might compose a contact-traditional deme; however, in actuality they had become reserve bands and the activities of individuals were coming increasingly under the direction of Indian Affairs personnel, store managers, school teachers and the church. Nevertheless, local band organization remained discernible through to the early 1930's, although during this period the local band apparently formed a camp unit at only one time of the year - the autumn moose hunt.

The Established Deme 1930-1960

During the depression of the 1930's and the war years of the 1940's, the attention of the larger society was diverted from the frontier regions. As a result, from the 1920's through to the 1940's there was little change in the level of Eurocanadian intervention into the affairs of the Pas Mountain Indians. Maintenance of social ties between these two Cree groups was aided by the continuing celebration of the Goose Dance at Red Earth through to the late 1940's; however, by the 1940's most Shoal Lake people had become strong Christians and no longer attended.

The depressed economic situation of the 1930's was paralleled by drought and consequent poor muskrat and beaver trapping. To compensate there appears to have been increased activity in gardening and cattle raising. Through to the late 1920's the movement of farmers into the upper Carrot River valley little affected the Red Earth people. Up to this time the farming frontier had moved northeast, down the Carrot River valley as far as the villages of Arborfield and Carrot River. This movement barely infringed on the western edge of the region customarily utilized by the Red Earth people. In the 1930's a few more farmers came into the region, displaced by drought to the south on the prairies. Following World War II there was a push of farmers down the Carrot River valley, stimulated by land grants to war veterans. By the late 1950's open farmland with farmsteads was present only 13 km southwest of Red Earth. Many Red Earth and Shoal Lake people began to spend part of the summer camped in the farming areas, working for the farmers (however, Indians were almost never seen in the farming area in the winter). This served to increase the contact of these Crees with Eurocanadians.

Also in the 1950's, the pace of change at the Pas Mountain reserves began to increase. Improved school facilities were constructed and medical evacuation services established. Then, in 1960-61 an all-weather road was built from the farming district to Red Earth and, shortly, Shoal Lake. Travel by motor vehicle from the Pas Mountain communities to the villages and towns to the southwest now became common, if not daily.

During generation three reserve life became increasingly sedentary and the attributes defining local bands disappeared. However, groupings of primary kin remained a prominent aspect of residence patterns in the reserve hamlets. Although the lifeways of the Red Earth and Shoal Lake people had converged in many ways, certain cultural differences were maintained through generation three. For instance, a Plains Cree dialect continued to be spoken at Red Earth and a Swampy Cree dialect at Shoal Lake.

Through to the time of my field work in 1971, 93 marriages of generation three had occurred, 85% within the Pas Mountain group. The marriage isolate had been maintained, therefore. The improved ease of contact with other Indian communities, such as Ft. a la Corne, might be expected to have increased the amount of Pas Mountain out-marriage. This has not yet occurred and it appears that two factors are important in this regard: (1) a marked degree of social distance now exists between the Pas Mountain Crees and their Indian (and white) neighbours and (2) there is a considerable cultural difference between the Pas Mountain Indians, who have maintained many aspects of contact-traditional Cree culture, and their (Indian) neighbours who are becoming highly acculturated.

Within the Pas Mountain group the patterning of out-marriages and the movement of individuals upon marriage is revealing. Both Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees have retained some contacts with their groups of origin. Most of the out-marriage which continues to occur involves Red Earth people marrying Ft. a la Corne people or Shoal Lake people marrying The Pas people. Marriages with Cumberland House Crees have been few. In the founding generation no individuals are known to have been members of the Cumberland House group and no marriages between Pas Mountain Indians and Cumberland House people occurred in generation one. It is noteworthy, however, that three such marriages occurred in generation two and four in generation three.

It is obvious that women are the individuals expected to be mobile in this situation. Males leave their reserve groups only rarely. In this regard, Red Earth men have been especially stable. One Red Earth man in the founding generation moved to Shoal Lake, as did one man in the first generation, and his son. Since the founding generation, only one man (Okiskamanasiw) has joined the Ft. a la Corne group. However, a number of men from the latter reserve have joined the Red Earth group or, at least, lived there for much of their adult lives. As well, a number of Shoal Lake men have joined the Red Earth group. No Cumberland House man has ever joined the Pas Mountain Indians and the marriages between these two groups have involved the movement of women.

These data, therefore, indicate that only women have moved freely between some of the communities of the Saskatchewan River valley. Reserve boundaries have not restricted the flow of marriage partners. However, among the Pas Mountain Indians and their neighbours, this

movement is strictly patterned. In at least one case the boundary between marriage isolates in the Saskatchewan River valley has been sufficiently rigid to keep inter-marriage at a very low rate. This has been the case with the Pas Mountain Indians and the Cumberland House people. This situation has continued for generations now, despite the fact that, by boreal forest standards, these groups of people are close geographically. Cumberland House is only 58 kilometers from Shoal Lake and 64 kilometers from Red Earth. Both The Pas and Ft. a la Corne are much farther away from the Pas Mountain reserves.

In general, the Pas Mountain people seem to have no strong feeling that marriages should be contracted within the local group although they certainly realize that the great majority of past marriages have been made within the community and that this is the normal situation. However, there are some individuals who are explicit in their belief that marriages should occur within the group. For instance, Donald McKay stated that Red Earth women should marry near home so that their welfare could be watched over. Apparently, this individual's feeling is that a woman who marries at The Pas, Cumberland House or Ft. a la Corne might be mistreated and find herself in a position in which her family of origin was not present to come to her support. An attitude such as this would tend to keep some women within the Pas Mountain group, but in itself, does not seem to have been sufficiently widespread to have maintained the marriage isolate.

The Pas Mountain Deme Development: Summary

To recapitulate in more abstract form, the process of deme formation among the Pas Mountain Indians involved first, the breakdown of social distance between two Crees groups. As postulated in Chapter II, a deme could be formed by either the fissioning of a large deme or the amalgamation of societal fragments. In the Pas Mountain situation deme formation occurred as a result of the amalgamation of sections of two different social groups. As posited in Chapter II, in the contact-traditional period environmental/economic and contact factors were important influences on the social integrity of marriage isolates. The major factor producing the Pas Mountain separations was not economic (although declining bison numbers may have been important to the Red Earth group) but contact related - a social withdrawal in the face of increasing Eurocanadian hegemony on the Saskatchewan River.

This withdrawal into the Pas Mountain area was paralleled by the development of social distance between the Pas Mountain people and their groups of origin. Social separation from the original groups of orientation was accompanied by the inception of social relations between the two Pas Mountain groups. These social relations were annually or biannually reaffirmed through the aggregation of the whole Pas Mountain population for the celebration of a major religious ceremony. An important aspect of these close social relations was the arrangement of increasing numbers of marriages between the members of both Pas Mountain groups.

The development of social ties and inter-marriage between the two Pas Mountain groups seems to have occurred in the course of only a few years. However, a deme did not automatically result. The group was small

and numerous marriages continued to be contracted with the original societies, outside of Pas Mountain. As the decades passed the Pas Mountain people took up gardening and some animal husbandry and their reserves became the locations of villages, with stores and churches. At the same time as their new economic pursuits confined their activities increasingly within the reserves and immediate surroundings, the reserve villages became important centres about which the people focused their life activities. Contacts with neighbouring peoples became fewer and social ties with the groups of origin became more tenuous. Marriages became increasingly confined within the two local groups. A deme had formed. Of importance at this time was the growth of the population to about 250 persons, a group large enough to provide spouses for all of its maturing members.

COMPARISONS

In Northwestern Ontario, studies of two Ojibwa communities have provided population information which can usefully be compared to that presented here for the Pas Mountain Indians. These Ojibwa communities are Round Lake (or Weagamow) and Pekangekum. Like the Red Earth Crees these peoples are northern Algonkians and they inhabit the boreal forest of mid Canada at about the same latitude (Red Earth is somewhat farther north than Round Lake). The characteristics of the marriages universes of these Ojibwa groups are of special interest here. The Round Lake Ojibwa have been studied by Edward Rogers. He (1969a:29-30) found that, in the 1950's, this group was composed of five named sections: the Caribou Lake people, the Round Lake people, the Windego Lake people, the Makoop Lake people and the Fisher Lake people. Rogers (1969a:29-30) found that they were distin-

guished from their neighbours by cultural features which included:

- (1) minor differences in kinship behaviour and terminology,
- (2) lack of a certain religious ceremony - manito.ki.wak,
- (3) lack of clan organization,
- (4) minor differences in curing paraphernalia.

Rogers (1969a:30) also noted that intermarriage among these five local groups was frequent and, "the movement was one of women rather than men". He (1962:A22) has discussed frequencies of in and out-marriage in this way:

Approximately one half of the wives at any one time came from surrounding bands. Each band intermarried most frequently with those closest to it and the five bands listed above tended to intermarry more frequently among themselves than with other surrounding bands.

This group of five bands, therefore, had the uniform cultural characteristics that I would expect of a deme but, more importantly, it composed an in-marrying group. However, the population was on the order of only 250 persons and this may have been why a certain proportion of spouses was obtained from groups neighbouring the Weagamow Ojibwa.

At Pekangekum, Dunning (1959:164) has traced the development of group endogamy to increasing government subsidies after 1940, coupled with policies encouraging the construction of dwellings at a central location. Just as I have noted for the Red Earth region in the late 19th century, he has found:

As a result of this concentration of the former isolated co-residential groupings at the larger centre, there is considerably less contact with the unit groups of other bands, while at the same time there is a greatly increased contiguity of Pekangekum co-residential units (Dunning 1959:164).

Dunning viewed the Pekangekum local bands as originally in equal contact with bands within and without the group; however, "in the space of a few years, perhaps only a dozen, this configuration has changed to one of a kindred or deme type of society, almost sedentary and socially enclosed within itself" (Dunning 1959:165). The Pekangekum group certainly maintained attitudes conducive to the formation of the deme:

But, given the population potential within the social group for complete endogamy, people prefer to marry a member of their own society, who though a non-kinsman is known to them and usually is genealogically related as well. ..Members of a given band desire their relatives to marry and remain in the band (Dunning 1959: 168-169).

Dunning does not attempt, though, to determine whether the late 19th century and early 20th century Ojibwa of his study region were part of a larger marriage universe. However, his remarks regarding earlier Pekangekum marriage patterns are suggestive:

Prior to 1920 a high percentage of marriages were contracted between members of Pekangekum Band and two neighbouring bands, Little Grand Rapids and the Red Lake segment of the Lac Seul Band. This accounted for a considerable proportion of both sexes moving into and out of the band at that time (Dunning 1959:65).

While Dunning attributes the development of the Pekangekum deme to contact influences, it is noteworthy that he considers population size also to be relevant:

[In the past] The proportion of marriages into and out of the area was about equal. Not until the population increased sufficiently to make up quantitatively for the random age and sex ratio of births could there be a closer integration of the band by in-band marriage. At the moment with a total of 382 persons it appears that the society is just within the minimum marriage isolate for the type of marriage practised in it (Dunning 1959: 167).

My interpretation of the Pekangekum data would be, therefore, that before the 1940's this group was one regional band of a marriage universe which also included the Red Lake and Little Grand Rapids Ojibwa. With population growth in the 1940's and 1950's and centralization, the Pekangekum Ojibwa began to restrict marriages within the 18 "co-residential" groups of which their society was composed. This process has obviously been very similar to that which occurred in the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region, although for the Pas Mountain Indians it occurred much earlier. Like the Pas Mountain Indians, the Pekangekum Ojibwa retained contact with the families of neighbouring local bands - particularly in the winter. However, by 1955 a social boundary of such rigidity had been established that these contacts no longer led to frequent inter-marriage (Dunning 1959: 165, 168).

Another northern Algonkian group for whom the details of in and out-marriage have been discussed are the Crees of Rupert House. In 1961 Rolf Knight (1968:74) found that the Rupert House population was 495 persons. However, this number was the result of rapid growth following the introduction of a nursing station in the late 1940's. Indeed, the population increased from 350 in 1947 to 490 in 1957, a jump of 40 percent in a single decade. However, Knight has noted that the population of Rupert House has been substantial (by Subarctic standards) throughout the 20th century. In fact, the Rupert House population numbered between 400 and 450 persons in 1912 (Knight 1968:74) and had, therefore, actually declined through to the 1940's (because of ongoing out-migration). It would appear, therefore, that the Rupert House population has been large enough throughout the present century to have functioned as a marriage isolate.

In fact, this appears to have been the case. For instance, Knight (1968: 91) has indicated that, before the mid 1930's, about 16 percent of the Rupert House marriages were exogamous. The in-marriage rate, therefore, was at least 80%.

Knight finds the idea of an early endogamous group to be disturbing and attempts to demonstrate that the rate of out-marriage may have been higher. It is apparent that this was a relatively open marriage universe. After the 1930's, however, Knight (1968:91) noted the "establishment of virtual band endogamy". He (1968:92) suggests, "that the development of band endogamy at Rupert House is an attempt to retain increasingly scarce and valuable resources exclusively for band members".

Both Rupert House and Pas Mountain Indians, therefore, experienced population growth in this century - through to the time of the introduction of medical services, when a very rapid increase began. However, the Rupert House increase prior to medical service seems to have been greater than that of the Pas Mountain Indians. Knight's comments with regard to this population increase are noteworthy:

Instances of early and relatively continuous population increase, along with regional emigration, may turn out to be more common for Canadian Indian communities than has been previously expected. This may call for re-evaluation of the demographic history of certain Indian communities, and a reconsideration of analyses of local social organization based on the belief that population increases are relatively recent phenomena (Knight 1968: 75).

Therefore, studies of the Pekangikum, Round Lake, Rupert House and Pas Mountain Indians indicate the presence of a marriage isolate in each case. Rogers (personal communication, February, 1979) has indicated that the Round Lake group has long formed an in-marrying social unit; however,

Dunning argued that Pekangekum endogamy was a recent phenomenon and Knight believed that the marriage isolate at Rupert House was also a development of the mid 20th century.

Therefore, the Pas Mountain marriage isolate is in no way unique. Indeed, there is some evidence that many Indian communities in northern Saskatchewan are endogamous (form marriage isolates). This is reflected in studies of congenital diseases in northern Saskatchewan and the observation by the medical researchers that the "population is markedly inbred" (Ives and Houston 1969). It is postulated, therefore, that there is a widespread tendency for northern Algonkians of the contact-traditional to form marriage isolates. As noted in the second section of this chapter, a basic premise of this thesis is that the marriage isolate also was characteristic of pre-contact northern Algonkian societies. The maintenance of this social form into the fur trade period appears to relate to the social and economic advantages incurred by members of demes.

SUMMARY

As noted above, the presence of marriage isolates appears to be characteristic of contact-traditional northern Algonkian societies. However, because of the instability of the Subarctic environment, actual marriage isolates were evidently repeatedly disrupted. The population cycles of several species of boreal forest animals, die-offs of game animals due to disease or climatic variation, as well as severe forest fires, could all adversely affect human groups. In the contact period additional disruptive factors were introduced, particularly European diseases and the establishment of trading posts. The former decimated

portions of the northern population and the latter sometimes drew sections of marriage isolates apart. All of these factors, therefore, whether native to the region or introductions, could result in the displacement of regional groups and disruption of the deme. During the contact-traditional, therefore, ongoing environmental instability, coupled with European diseases and the tendency to form trading post bands, is believed to have resulted in the frequent fragmentation of marriage isolates, followed by the reconstitution of these parts into "new" in-mar-rying groups. Indeed, marriage isolates in the process of formation may well have been a characteristic social form during the fur trade period.

If the Basquia and Pigogomew Indians of the Saskatchewan River valley formed marriage isolates, they were certainly disrupted due to depopulation resulting from a smallpox epidemic in 1782. The Saskatchewan River delta was repopulated by Swampy Crees and Saulteaux immigrants and a new social group, which appears to have been a marriage isolate, was formed about The Pas (directly replacing the Basquia Indians). The history of the Ft. a la Corne group is not as well known. These people were intermediate, culturally, between the Plains Cree proper and the Swampy Crees. However, they spoke Plains Cree, used horses and hunted bison. Their major gathering centres were on the upper Saskatchewan River at Nipawiwini (Nipawin) and Pehonan (Ft. a la Corne). It is possible that the Pigogomew Indians, who occupied this area in the 18th century were the ancestors of the Ft. a la Corne group. The establishment of Ft. a la Corne in 1846 appears to have provided a trading centre about which local Crees increasingly centred their social and economic activities.

The most easterly of the Ft. a la Corne Crees lived in the central

Carrot River valley, in the area about Red Earth and Papikwan Creeks. Both contact and economic factors appear to have been involved in the decision of these Crees of the Red Earth area to begin spending more and more time in the central Carrot River valley, and less time with their relatives in the Ft. a la Corne region. The increasing Eurocanadian hegemony at Ft. a la Corne appears to have been a contact factor to which one of the Red Earth leaders, Kiseyinis, reacted negatively, inducing his followers to spend more and more time in the Red Earth region. Economic factors included the demise of the bison in the parklands and the (compensatory?) interest of the Red Earth people in the productive trapping of the central Carrot River valley.

It appears that the Shoal Lake people, like the Red Earth Crees, took up permanent residence in the central Carrot River valley to remove themselves from the quickening pace of change on the Saskatchewan River. As in the Red Earth case, this decision was apparently taken by the most prominent leader, Osawask. Indeed, the two principal Pas Mountain leaders, Kiseyinis and Osawask, were very important in guiding the settlement decisions of their groups. Although direct evidence is lacking, the inter-marriage of some of the children and grandchildren of these two men suggests that they also were involved in initiating customary marriage between the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees.

Therefore, in the 1870's the Red Earth and Shoal Lake Crees came into continuous contact in the Pas Mountain area and found themselves with common cultural and economic goals. They began to join together for seasonal religious celebrations at Red Earth and established close social contacts, including the exchange of marriage partners between the groups.

This initiated the process by which these two groups eventually came to form a single marriage isolate. The process of formation of the Pas Mountain deme is seen as an occurrence usual to contact-traditional northern Algonkian groups. In brief, among the Pas Mountain Indians this process involved social separation from the groups of origin, paralleled by (1) the development of social ties between the groups in contact, (2) the inception of inter-marriage and (3) the growth of the population to a size at which maturing members could obtain spouses within the Pas Mountain group.

Notes

- 1 Russell is in the process of completing a Master of Arts thesis on the subject of Cree warfare and its effects on fur trade activities in the 18th century.
- 2 PAM HBC, B.49/d/99, F.20, 44, 25d. Cumberland House correspondence book, 1866-69.
- 3 USA MM, C550/1/27.1, F.1, Reginald Beatty, "From the Diary of an Hudson's Bay Company Clerk in the Seventies".
- 4 USA MM, C550/1/27.1, F.1, Reginald Beatty, "From the Diary of an Hudson's Bay Company Clerk in the Seventies".
- 5 USA MM, C550/1/27.1, F.3, Reginald Beatty, "From the Diary of an Hudson's Bay Company Clerk in the Seventies".
- 6 CMS/A118, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission Journal, September 24, 1893.
- 7 CMS/A118, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission Journal, September 30, 1891.
- 8 PAM HBC, B.324/b/4, F.250. Pas Post correspondence book, 1891-1901.
- 9 CMS/A118, Reverend John Hines, Devon Mission journal, October 4, 1892.

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ARCHIVAL SOURCES

My archival research has been restricted to the period ca. 1850-1900 and has been designed to obtain information concerning the actual names of individuals occupying the Pas Mountain study area at this time and, to a lesser extent, on the subsistence-settlement patterns of these people and the activities of the fur traders in this region. The sources which were found to be most useful in this regard were the documents prepared by the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and by the Anglican ministers of the Church Missionary Society, London. The Hudson's Bay Company sources which were found most informative were the account books, correspondence books and journals for Cumberland House and Pas Post. The Ft. a la Corne account books were found useful, but a brief examination revealed the other documents for this post did not contain information relevant to the study area. Ft. a la Corne is distant from the Pas Mountain study area and the post masters were oriented to the parklands and plains to the south. The very limited material held on Moose Lake Post also was examined.

The Church Missionary Society documents which were most useful with regard to Pas Mountain were those written at The Pas (Devon Mission) while the Ft. a la Corne (Nepowewin Mission) documents were less informative. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society materials are held by the Public Archives of Manitoba, the documents of the HBC consisting of originals, those of the Church Missionary Society of microfilm copies.

The Morton Papers, held in the archives of the University of Saskatchewan, have yielded one document referring to The Pas Mountain Indians. This is a manuscript written by a Hudson's Bay Company employee, Reginald Beatty, who was active in this area in the 1870's.

Hudson's Bay CompanyCumberland House

Post Journals

- B. 49/a/55, 1877-80 - not useful for Pas Mountain - a single reference to the "Mountain" noted.
- B. 49/a/56, 1888-91 - may be a Pas Post journal rather than a Cumberland House journal - three passages recorded concerning "acting Indian Agent Gow" (F. 1) who went to "the Pas Mountain Reserve" on January 2, 1888, returning on January 23.

Account Books

- B. 49/d/99, 1866-69 - a useful ledger of Indian debtors, including "Keesaythenish" (F. 20), "Newakiyask" (F. 44) and "Nahchawenaw" (F. 25d).
- B. 49/d/102, 1868-71 - Ft. a la Corne Indian and non-Indian debts.
- B. 49/d/112, 1877 - tripmen's accounts only, no social information.
- B. 49/d/113, non-Indian, steamboat, etc. accounts.
- B. 49/d/117, non-Indian and government accounts.
- B. 49/d/121, non-Indian accounts - missionaries, steamboats.
- B. 49/d/122, 1884-85 - missionary, freeman and Indian debts.
- B. 49/d/125, 1886-87 - missionary, freeman and Indian debts.
- B. 49/d/127, cash receipts.
- B. 49/d/129, correspondence referring to the accounts.
- B. 49/d/133, non-Indian accounts.
- B. 49/d/139, 1890-91 - Moose Lake Indian accounts.
- B. 49/d/145, 1894-95 - missionary, freeman and Indian debts.
- B. 49/d/149, 1892-1900 - Indian and non-Indian accounts (may be la Corne, no recognizable Pas Mountain names).

Correspondence Books

- B. 49/b/4, 1863-64 - 25 passages providing information on fur trade activities and individuals in this region were recorded.
- B. 49/b/5, 1869-71 - nine references providing information on Pas Mountain individuals and fur trade activities were recorded.
- B. 49/b/9, 1883-84 - eight passages recorded referring to supplying potatoes to the Indian bands of the delta, including Pas Mountain, the appointment of Joseph Reader as Indian Agent, trading competition from Prince Albert merchants and the need to establish an outpost at Pas Mountain.
- B. 49/b/10, 1884-85 - three passages recorded regarding distribution of supplies to relieve famine at Pas Mountain, the conduct of the trade at Pas Mountain and plans to establish an outpost there.
- B. 49/b/11, 1885-86 - contains three letters addressed to Mr. D. McDonald at Pas Mountain and provides information on the progress of the trade there.
- B. 49/b/12, 1886 - five passages recorded regarding the nature of the competition from free traders in the area and the amount of the treaty money that was obtained at Pas Mountain.
- B. 49/b/13, 1886-87 - three passages recorded indicating the names of the employees at Pas Mountain and the nature of the free trader opposition.
- B. 49/b/15, 1888,89 - two passages recorded concerning the free traders in the Saskatchewan River delta and the manning of "Pas Mountain Outpost".
- B. 49/b/16, 1889-90 - three passages recorded referring to the activities of the free traders, and the giving of debt to five named Pas Mountain men at Cumberland House.
- B. 49/b/17, 1890-91 - nothing recorded.

District Reports

- B. 49/e/9, 1885 - The Chief Factor, H. Belanger, summarizes the Company's Affairs in the district and proposes measures to combat the free trader competition. He notes that Pas Mountain post (and four others) are "open only when there is opposition" (F. 5d-6).

Pas Post

Post Journals

- B. 324/a/1, 1879-83 - very informative and many passages were recorded referring to visits to and from Pas Mountain.
- B. 324/a/2, 1889-91 - contains two passages briefly referring to a trip to Pas Mountain.

Account Books

- B. 324/d/1, 1885-92 - a detailed, very useful list of the names of Pas Mountain Indians and their accounts. Appears to name all adult, married Pas Mountain men.

Correspondence Books

- B. 324/b/2, 1886-91 - includes three very useful lists of the accounts of named Pas Mountain men in 1886, 1887, and 1888, also several other references to Pas Mountain Indians and the Pas Mountain trade.
- B. 324/b/3, 1896-99 - contain a limited amount of information concerning business activities involving Pas Mountain people, nine references recorded.
- B. 324/b/4, 1891-1901 - eight passages recorded referring to the conduct of the trade at the Pas Mountain.
- B. 324/b/17, 1890-91 - no useful references found.

Ft. a la Corne Post

Account Books

- B. 2/d/1, 1864-65 - a general account book which includes store inventories as well as employees debts and Indian ledgers. The accounts of "Chaichaim Pops 1st Son" (F. 80) and "Four Quills Newakeyass" (F. 80) are present.
- B. 2/d/2, 1864-67 - Indian debt book, including "Chaichaim, Pop's 2nd Son" (F. 17), "Four Quills - Newakeyass" (F. 45) and "John Whitehead" (F. 17).
- B. 2/d/3, 1867-69 - includes debts for Cecim and Newakeyas but notes that Newakeyas has left for Cumberland House.

- B. 2/d/4, 1869-71 - account book of the debts given out by the winter tripmen, including lists of the goods which they took out to trade at the outlying camps.
- B. 2/d/5, 1871-74 - store blotter.
- B. 2/d/6, 1875-76 - Indian and freeman debts - no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/7, 1871-74 - Indian debts; - Cecim and Newakeyas entered with balance due but no record of any transactions with them.
- B. 2/d/8, - Indian and freeman debts, no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/9, 1878-80 - Indian and freeman debts, no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/10, 1880-83 - Indian and freeman debts, no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/11, 1882-83 - Indian and freeman debts but no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/12a, 1883-84 - Indian and freeman debts, no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/12b, 1883-84 - Provisions Trade.
- B. 2/d/13, 1884-85 - Indian and freeman debts, no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/14, 1885-86 - Indian and freeman debts, no recognizable Pas Mountain names.
- B. 2/d/17, 1886-87 - Indian and freeman debts, a man named "King Fisher" has an account.
- B. 2/d/20, 1887-88 - Indian and freeman debts, a man named "King Fisher" has an account.
- B. 2/d/22, 1888-89 - Cash sales and "Prompt Barter" only.
- B. 2/d/24, 1889 outfit, Indian and freeman debts, "King Fisher" on account.
- B. 2/d/25, 1888 outfit, Indian and freeman debts, "King Fisher" on account.
- B. 2/d/28, 1892-94 - Inventories and customer debts, including Indian accounts.
- B. 2/d/30, 1894 - freeman and Indian debts.
- B. 2/d/41, 1900-03 - customer accounts and business expenses.

Moose Lake Post

Account Books

- B. 318/d/3, 1875-78 - Indian debts, not useful for Pas Mountain, several pages entered in Cree syllabics.

Church Missionary SocietyReverend Henry Budd

A83 - Nepowewin Mission journals and letters, 1852-53.

- Devon Mission journals and letters, 1854-55.

A84 - Devon Mission journals, 1856.

- Nepowewin Mission journals and letters, 1857-1867.
- Devon Mission journals and letters, 1867-68.

A98 - Devon Mission journals and letters, 1868.

A99 - Devon Mission journals and letters, 1869-70.

Budd's Nepowewin journals and letters provide little information on the Pas Mountain Indians, but are very useful in outlining the annual round of activities of the Ft. a la Corne Crees. Budd's Devon Mission accounts provide many references to visits from Pas Mountain people. Budd's ministry to the Pas Mountain people is recorded in his 1870-75 journals, edited by Pettipas (1974).

Reverend Henry Cochrane

A101 - In a Devon Mission letter of August 12, 1875, Cochrane reveals that he is taking over the position of Henry Budd, deceased.

A102 - In a Devon Mission letter dated June 23, 1876, Cochrane notes that he has recently visited members of his congregation at Pas Mountain.

- In a Devon Mission letter of January 13, 1877, Cochrane outlines plans to tour his parish, including a visit to Pas Mountain.

Reverend Joseph Reader

A109 - In a Devon Mission journal for the winter of 1880-81, Reader records his sojourn to Pas Mountain in the first week of December. He makes a very useful description of a native healing ceremony.

- A110 - In his Devon Mission journal for the winter of 1881-82, Reader writes of his travels, including to Pas Mountain which he reached in mid December. At Red Earth he again intervened in a healing ceremony and made determined efforts to bring converts to Christianity.
- In a Devon Mission letter to Archdeacon Cowly, dated January 10, 1883 Reader indicates that a Charles Jebb is acting as lay reader at Pas Mountain.
- A111 - In a Devon Mission letter dated April 12, 1883, Reader wrote his Archdeacon to indicate his desire to sever his connection with the Anglican Church.

Reverend James Settee

- A111 - In a letter dated November 5, 1883, Settee speaks of his journey to The Pas where he assumed his position as Anglican minister.
- A112 - Settee's journal of January 1 to August 6, 1884 reveals he is elderly and often ill. In May of 1884 Settee travelled to Shoal Lake where he held a church service and set out on a return journey to The Pas the same day.

Reverend J. A. MacKay

- A112 - In a letter of November 17, 1884, MacKay indicates he is well received at The Pas.
- A113 - In letters written in March and July of 1885, MacKay outlines the school and church situation at The Pas.

Reverend I. J. Taylor

- A113 - In a Devon Mission letter dated in May, 1886, Taylor writes of Church funds and other money matters.

Reverend John Hines

- A115 - In his Devon Mission journal of August 1888, Hines writes of his first visit to the Pas Mountain people, indicating that he is well received and that a school is necessary.
- A115 - In his journal of the summer of 1888, Hines indicates that he has appointed a lay reader to hold services at Pas Mountain.
- A116 - In his Devon Mission journal of the winter of 1888-89, Hines indicates his journey to Pas Mountain in the third week of December, where he held services.

- A116 - In his Devon Mission journal of the spring and summer of 1889, Hines reveals that he travelled to Pas Mountain in late April. On this occasion Hines converted an old man (probably Kiseyinis) to Christianity.
- In his Devon Mission journal dated August 15, 1889 to February 13, 1890, Hines records his visit to Pas Mountain in late November.
- A116 - In a Devon Mission letter of January 29, 1890, Hines describes the tasks and functions of the Hudson's Bay Company tripmen.
- In a Devon Mission letter of January 15, 1890, Hines indicates he has in his "charge" a settlement of "heathens" (evidently Red Earth) that he must give much attention.
- A117 - In his Devon Mission journal of February, 1890 to August 1890, Hines records his visit to Pas Mountain in late March where he holds services and gives holy communion.
- In his Devon Mission journal, October to December of 1890, Hines writes of his visit to Pas Mountain in mid December where he holds services and a marriage ceremony.
- A118 - In his Devon Mission journal of July 1891 - May 1895, Hines notes that in late September, upon travelling to Pas Mountain, he found a religious ceremony in progress (evidently the Goose Dance). Since Christians were attending, he scolded these individuals and excluded them from holy communion. In January of 1892 and May and August of 1892, Hines again visited the Pas Mountain people. In January and May of 1893 Hines again visits the Pas Mountain Indians and holds services as usual.
- In a Devon Mission letter, February, 1893, there is a good generalization of Hudson's Bay Company policy, attitudes, business activities, and of church affairs in the delta region.
 - In his Devon Mission journal for the autumn of 1893, Hines records his early September visit to Pas Mountain and a conversation with Yellow Bear who is considering converting to Christianity.

Morton Manuscripts

Reginald Beatty

- C550/1/27.1, a manuscript entitled "From the Diary of a Hudson's Bay Company's Clerk in the Seventies". Beatty appears to have based this manuscript on a diary which he kept during his period of employment with the Hudson's Bay Company and in the course of his subsequent homesteading career in the Melfort area. This volume provides very useful observations of life in the Carrot River valley during the last decades of the 19th century.

APPENDIX I

PLANTS, ANIMALS AND CLIMATE

INTRODUCTION

This discussion of the floral and faunal species of the Red Earth region is organized according to the major terrain areas, as noted in Chapter I. These are (1) the Pasquia Hills, (2) the Saskatchewan River delta, (3) the Carrot River Plain and (4) the hill flank. Since the plants and animals that do occur in this region are dependent on the local climate for their existence, this aspect of the environment is outlined first below.

CLIMATE

The Red Earth region has a continental climate characteristic of interior North America. The geographers classify this climate, according to the Koeppen classification, as Dfb or of the cold forest type. According to Chakravarti (1969:60):

This subhumid climate corresponds very roughly with the areas of aspen grove and mixed forest vegetation, and, thus, with dark-brown and black to dark-grey wooded soil zones. Its northern boundary, approximately the northern limit of cultivation, experiences 80 days of frost free period and about 2,200 degree days. The summers are cool with mean daily July temperatures between 60° and 66°F, and winters are cold with mean daily January temperatures between +4°F and -5°F.

Winters are long, beginning by the middle of November, often earlier, and ending about the middle of April when the streams once again begin to flow free of ice. During early winter, occasional thaws

may occur into the first weeks of December, but from this time to late March thawing temperatures are infrequent. The coldest nights of the winter occur in late January and early February when temperatures may dip below -45°C in calm, clear weather. Fortunately, less precipitation falls in winter than summer; however, by early March over a meter (an average of 127 cm) of snow will accumulate.

Most snow is received in late autumn or early winter and again in late winter or early spring. The midwinter minimum is due to extremely low temperatures and the effect of the continental high pressure system (Chakravarti 1969:60).

Significantly, snowfalls are higher in the Pasquia Hills where an average of 140 cm falls (Richards and Fung 1969:56).

Although winter temperatures are low, winds are generally light:

The winds in the northern part of the province are much less regular and weaker than those of the south, a result of the forest cover and its "sheltering" effect. For example the mean wind velocities at most stations in the forested area are between 5 and 10 miles per hour, while those of the grasslands are between 12 and 16 miles per hour (Chakravarti 1969:60).

The prevailing winds are from the west and northwest. The coldest temperatures at the height of the winter occur in complete calm and are, therefore, more bearable. In the Red Earth region the mean daily January temperature is -21°C (-5°F) (Richards and Fung 1969:54).

By late March and early April thawing temperatures may be expected and by middle and late April the snow has begun to rapidly melt. Almost immediately the small streams start to flow freely,

running on top of the winter ice. By the beginning of May the snow is gone, except for large drifts in sheltered locations. May is generally cool and windy, with some warm spells. During these warm spells, if early in the month, trees sometimes leaf out prematurely. When cooler temperature recur tree growth is arrested until late May, at which time the foliage assumes its normal summer form.

Light frosts may continue through late May and into the first week of June. During unusually cool summers light frosts may occur in all three summer months, June, July, and August. Summer, especially June, is wet but thunderstorms occur mainly during the hottest weeks of the height of summer. According to Chakravarti (1969:60): "Much of the precipitation is concentrated in the summer period, about 50 to 70 percent of the annual total falling in the growing season, May to September." The mean annual precipitation is 46 cm and, significantly, that received by the Pasquia Hills is higher, some 51 cm (Richards and Fung 1969:56).

Maximum summer temperatures occur during the first two weeks of August and reach into the 30's ($^{\circ}\text{C}$). The temperature probably never rises to 40°C (Richards and Fung 1969:53). The mean July temperature is 18°C although that of the Pasquia Hills is only 15°C (Richards and Fung 1969:54). During late August temperatures gradually decline and light frost generally occurs in the first week of September. The mean annual number of frost free days is 100, although only 60 in the Pasquia Hills. By the end of September the trees begin to lose their leaves and the first snowfall generally occurs around the end of October. By the middle of November freeze up is

generally complete and conditions are winter-like.

VEGETATION

In the Red Earth region the natural vegetation has remained largely intact since this area has not yet been reached by Euro-canadian farmers. The agricultural frontier has pushed steadily down the Carrot River valley throughout this century, with the most recent expansion of farmlands occurring in the middle of the 1960's. During the drought-stricken summer of 1961, much of the forest adjacent to the farming districts was burned. Because the forest had been destroyed, the provincial government opened a large area of the central Cracking Creek to farmers.

The Carrot River plain is now completely settled by farmers and has been for several decades. The original vegetation of this region probably consisted of two major plant communities. On the sandy beach ridges a plant community dominated by jackpine (Pinus banksiana) was present. In general the beaches are not arable and retain their normal vegetation, although often damaged by grazing domestic animals. Among these pines grow a few of the ubiquitous white poplars (Populus tremuloides). The usual undergrowth of plant communities on sand has been described in this way:

Characteristically the jackpine has an undergrowth of heath shrubs such as blueberry (Vaccinium myrtilloides) and bear berry (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi) together with feather mosses and lichens (Cladonia spp.) (Coupland and Rowe 1969:75).

The understory of the beach communities of the Carrot River plain also includes berry bushes, the saskatoon (Amelanchier alnifolia)

and the chokecherry (Prunus virginiana).

The muskeg which occupied the flatlands between the beaches was similar to muskeg elsewhere. Here peat moss over a meter in depth was present and rooted in this moss were black spruce (Picea mariana) and tamarack (Larix laricina). This particular plant community will be described in greater detail with regard to the Saskatchewan River delta.

The vegetation of the Pasquia Hills flank is similar to that of the hills proper. In the best drained areas are forests, dominated by white spruce (Picea glauca) and trembling aspen (white poplar). At present, these stands are frequently very old with the poplars approaching the end of their life span, 90-100 years. These trees are typically without limbs for about the first 20 meters and are crowned by a tuft of branches. In the normal process of forest succession, white spruce should now dominate but logging activities have thinned the spruce considerably. White spruce attain much larger sizes than poplars and live several decades longer.

A different plant community is found along the creeks and small rivers of this terrain area. On the banks of these streams grows a complex mixture of species, mainly those that require rich alluvial soils in moist but well drained locations. The dominant tree is the Manitoba maple (Acer nequundo) and the black poplar (Populus balsamifera). Some white poplars and spruce are also found here; willows (Salix spp.) are present in abundance as is the speckled alder (Alnus rugosa). Smaller shrubs which are also common are the

mountain ash (Sorbus scopulina), the mountain maple (Acer spicatum), dogwood (Cornus stolonifera), and the highbush cranberry (Viburnum trilobum).

In those portions of the hill flank where beaches are prominent, plant communities very similar to those of the fossil beaches of the flank differ in that, in addition to jackpine, they also support extensive stands of birch.

In the Pasquia Hills the forests are very similar to those of the hill flank but are less luxuriant. In the valleys between the hills extensive muskegs are present. In fact, topographic maps indicate that much of the upper portions of the hills is muskeg. However, the hills themselves are naturally well drained and they support stands of typical boreal forest, a mixture of white spruce and trembling aspen, with some paper birch. The forest floor is dominated by a shrub, the hazelnut (Corylus cornuta). This shrub is also common in the lowlands. The plant community of the alluvial stream edges, as described for the flank zone, follows the streams high into the Pasquia Hills.

The vegetation communities of the Saskatchewan River delta differ significantly from those of the other terrain areas. Detailed ecological studies of the delta were carried out by Dirschl and Dabbs between 1964 and 1968. They found four major plant communities within this region: (1) levee, (2) lake margin, (3) aquatic, and (4) bog. Dirschl and Dabbs (1969:215) describe the vegetation of the levees in this way:

Floristically, this is probably the richest forest vegetation in Saskatchewan. Mature, undisturbed stands - dominated by Picea glauca up to 100 feet (31 m) high and 27 inches (69 cm) in diameter, by slightly smaller Populus balsamifera or, more frequently, by mixtures of both - are among the tallest in the province. (Figs. 2 and 3.) Other common trees are Acer negundo, Betula papyrifera, Ulmus Americana, and Fraxinus pennsylvanica var. lanceolata. Predominant shrubs are Viburnum trilobum, Prunus pennsylvanica, Salix discolor, and Cornus stolonifera. Dense ground vegetation is variously dominated by Ribes spp., Equisetum pratense, Rosa acicularis, Aralia nudicaulis, and Matteuccia struthiopteris.

The common names, respectively, for the above named species, are white spruce, black (balsam) poplar, Manitoba maple, paper birch, American elm, green ash, high-bush cranberry, chokecherry, pussy willow, dogwood, currant species, meadow horsetail, wild rose, wild sarsparilla and ostrich fern.

The hard woods of this region, the elm, the ash, and the birch, were very important to the local Crees. Elm bark was frequently used as a lodge cover and the very large birch produced excellent bark for canoes. The importance of green ash is made clear in the Hudson's Bay Company records. Year after year boards of this wood were exported to The Pas. For instance, on December 29, 1887 Mr. C. Thomson at The Pas wrote to Mr. Donald McDonald at Pas Mountain (Red Earth):

You will please get Joe Head or some other competent person to chop (not saw) 10 to 20 ash Boards for dog Sleds which you will bring down in your skiff on your return in spring to the Pas.¹

The lake margin community is based on several meters of peat which frequently floats on the edges of the lakes. Here there are several species of willows, growing to a height of about two meters.

(Dirschl and Dabbs 1969:216). However, in the wetter areas, nearest the waters of the lake, sedges (Carex spp.) form the predominant vegetation. A characteristic reed of this region is the phragmite (Phragmites communis). It grows to a height of 3 to 4 meters and:

Phragmites communis commonly forms a dense band along the outer edge of the floating mat. It also occurs as an emergent in shallow and wind-protected bays (Dirschl and Dabbs 1969:216).

The aquatic communities are characteristic of "the shallower lakes of the Delta and near the shores of the deeper lakes" (Dirschl and Dabbs 1969:216). The plants which grow here are "floating aquatics" and include several species of pondweeds (Potamogeton spp.), yellow pond-lilies (Nuphar variegatum), water milfoil (Myriophyllum exalbescens), plus a number of other common aquatic species (Dirschl and Dabbs 1969:216):

This community occurs on deep Sphagnum peat whose surface appears to be slightly raised above the surrounding area. The overstory consists of stunted Picea mariana with Larix laricina usually associated around the edges.

Because Dirschl carried out his studies near the centre of the Saskatchewan River delta he did not write of the extensive meadow-marshlands which border parts of this lowland. In the study area these meadows are inundated every spring by flood waters, mostly of the Carrot River. By late spring the bulk of the water has drained back into the Carrot River and with the heat of July the meadows become relatively dry. At this time of the year these areas support a luxuriant growth of sedge and grass species. These meadows apparently exist as a result of a delicate ecological balance; they are too

wet to support trees but dry enough to allow the growth of sedges and certain grasses. One of the most important grasses is redtop (Agrostis stolonifera), a good horse feed. However, since this grass occurs in no particular concentration, when these meadows are cut for hay the resulting feed, while adequate for cattle, will not consistently support horses through the winter. These marsh-meadows have been crucial to the maintenance of cattle and horse herds at Red Earth.

ANIMALS

With the exception of the woodland caribou (and this is a contemporary phenomenon only), none of the species of animals in the Red Earth region is restricted to any one of the four terrain areas. However, depending on the suitability of the general environment, some species are abundant in one area and rare in another. All of the mammals remain in the area throughout the year.

Mammals

The most important game animal to the natives of this region was, and is, the moose. Although moose are numerous throughout the whole of the study area, they are particularly plentiful in the Saskatchewan River delta. Recent studies have shown that the population of the delta is about two moose per square mile (Dirschl et al. 1967:32). The high carrying capacity of the moose habitat of this area is reflected in this statement:

"That rate of harvest (1 moose per 1.7 square miles) is among the highest in North America" (Dirschl et al. 1967:188).

In 1971 the Red Earth men expressed the opinion that the moose moved down from the Pasquia Hills during the last months of winter. Certainly this seemed so to this writer since in January and February moose became a common sight on and along the roads to the south of Red Earth and Shoal Lake. I queried a biologist of the Fisheries and Wildlife Branch of the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources concerning this:

.. I can confirm that the moose do move off the top of the hills in winter onto the slopes and bottom land.

This movement appears to be from the top of the hills down past about the 2000 foot contour. The common belief has been that deep snow on top of the hills force the moose off the hills. This may not be the full explanation. This winter snow depth varied from 12" at the bottom of the hills to 20" on top. Since it usually takes about 30" of snow to restrict moose movements it does not appear that snow is the only factor involved. It may be that this is an evolved habit which is passed on from mother to calf. This habit may have been caused by deep snow in some winters but the moose move off in all winters. On the other hand browse on the slopes of the hills is quite good but under the heavy coniferous cover on the top of the hills browse is much scarcer. Thus winter food may well force the moose to move down. (personal communication, Ross MacLennan. March 12, 1973).

Moose populations are thought to have been substantial in this region throughout the historic period. In the late 1700's and through the first half of the 1800's the Cumberland House personnel relied on hired hunters in the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region to supply winter meat. Very likely, the late winter movement of moose from the hills to the lowland was the reason for the location of specialized hunting camps here. While I have found no reference to this region's moose population in the second half of the 19th century, Harold Kemp

(1956:98) has left this description for the 1920's:

Nowadays when moose have to be protected to save their thinning ranks, I marvel at their plentitude those few years ago. Not only did the Red Earth Indians subsist on moose meat but they fed it to their dogs. When the hunt was concluded I had so many hides that I was forced to ship out several bales for sale in civilization.

The elk or wapiti is not common and probably never was. It generally is restricted in its range to the better drained areas to the west and south of the Saskatchewan River delta. Since it is an animal not of the forests, but of the parklands, it is rare in this area. Small numbers of woodland caribou are present in the muskeg areas of the Pasquia Hills. Formerly they were also present between Red Earth and Cumberland House. However, the older Red Earth men report that since the muskegs in the Kennedy Creek area were burned in the drought years of the 1930's, no more caribou have been seen in this region.

The native deer of this area was the mule deer, a species now rarely seen. It appears to have given way in the face of competition from the Virginia white-tailed deer. The latter species has invaded from the farming districts to the south and west. White-tailed deer are now quite numerous although they tend to starve to death in large numbers during winters with deep snow.

The only other large mammal in the region is the black bear. These bears, which also occur in a brown colour phase (cinnamon bear), are numerous and inhabit the whole region. One Red Earth man, R.H. expressed the opinion that the bears hibernated not in the lowlands but in the Pasquia Hills since, to his knowledge, a winter den had

never been discovered below the hills. At one time the grizzly bear was also present in the region but now seems to be extinct although individuals of this species were shot in or near the Pasquia Hills well into this century (White 1967:84-89). Cougars are rare and probably always have been. At present, one or two are seen in the region almost every year and their numbers may be increasing due to the increased white-tailed deer population.

Beavers are now abundant throughout the whole of this region, including the farming districts. This species was essentially extinct by the middle 1930's; however, in the 1940's it was reintroduced with stocks from the Cypress Hills in the southwestern corner of the province. The fact that beavers are present even on the Indian reserves reflects the dramatic relaxation in trapping pressure during the last decade.

Muskrats are also a widespread species but are found in greatest numbers within the Saskatchewan River delta. Other fur bearing animals in this area include the red fox, the coyote, and the gray wolf. Marten and fisher are probably more common in the Pasquia Hills than anywhere else in the province. With regard to fisher, Beck (1958:17) writes that, "overtrapping has almost led to the extinction of this species". Two species of weasel are present as is the mink and the otter. The latter is rare in northern Saskatchewan. A much more common fur bearer is the lynx. Other mammals include the porcupine, the skunk, the badger, and the ground hog (woodchuk). The snowshoe rabbit is present as is Franklin's ground squirrel, the red squirrel, the chipmunk, and the flying squirrel. The northern

pocket gopher (mole), the deer mouse, the northern bog lemming, the heather vole, Gapper's red-backed mouse, and the meadow vole are also found. Two jumping mice, the meadow and the western, also occur in the region.

Table IV is intended as a total list of the animal species which occur in the study region. This list is divided into two parts, one including those animals that were sought for their fur and one composed of those that were not. The small, mouse-like creatures and the mice, along with the chipmunks, weasels, bats and flying squirrels, were not used for food. Foxes, coyotes and wolves were not normally eaten either. Every other mammal was eaten, at least by some individuals at Red Earth.

TABLE V
Animal Species in the Study Area

Fur Bearers	Non Fur Bearers
Beaver	Moose
Muskrat	Elk (wapiti)
Red Fox (in several colour phases)	Woodland Caribou
Black Bear (also in brown colour phase)	Mule Deer
Coyote	White-tailed Deer
Gray Wolf	Cougar
Marten	Grizzly Bear (extinct?)
Fisher	Porcupine
Weasel (two species)	Skunk
Mink	Badger
Otter	Woodchuck (groundhog)
Lynx	Varying Hare (snowshoe rabbit)
Red Squirrel	Franklin's Ground Squirrel
	Chipmunk
	Flying Squirrel
	Brown Bat
	Northern Pocket Gopher (mole)
	Deer Mouse
	Northern Bog Lemming
	Heather Vole
	Gapper's Red-backed Mouse
	Meadow Vole
	Jumping Mouse (two species)

Birds

Many more species of birds than of mammals occupy the Red Earth region. During the summer the Saskatchewan River delta teems with bird-life, especially waterfowl which have been of great importance to the Red Earth subsistence economy. The latter include 19 species of ducks and three of geese. According to the older residents of Red Earth, the Canada goose once nested in their area but now they breed mainly at Goose Lake north of Shoal Lake and are not found in proximity to the reserve communities. Both whistling swans and trumpeter swans were reported for the Cumberland House region in the 18th and 19th centuries. At present whistling swans pass through on migration and, while this appears always to have been the case (since they are Arctic nesters), the trumpeter swan nested throughout western Canada (Houston and Street 1959:42).

Thirteen other species of waterbirds include five of grebes, three of mergansers, and one each of loon, bittern, coot, cormorant and pelican. The large wading birds are the great blue heron and the sandhill crane, the whooping crane having abandoned this region by the late 1930's (Meyer et al. 1974). Twenty-two species of shore-birds include five plovers, three rails, six sandpipers, two yellow-legs, two godwits, a snipe, a dowitcher, an avocet, and a phalarope. Seabirds include five species of gulls, four of terns, and one jaeger.

The three species of grouse found here are the spruce, ruffed and sharptailed. These birds breed in the Red Earth region and remain through the winter. The willow ptarmigan is present only during the winter. These species were important since they were potential sources

of food during difficult periods of the winter.

The 27 birds of prey include 15 species of hawks and falcons, ten species of owls, and two species of eagles. The scavengers are the turkey vulture, the crow, the magpie, and the raven. The last two are year round residents. To this list should also be added the gray (Canada) jay and two species of chickadees. These are also present throughout the year but because of their smaller size are much less prominent in scavenging activities - being especially active around human habitations.

Ten species of woodpeckers are present in this region. The remaining 113 species of birds which have been recorded are predominantly song birds and a partial list includes 18 species of warblers, 14 song sparrows, six blackbirds, five flycatchers, four swallows, four grosbeaks, four vireos, three thrushes, two nuthatches, a hummingbird, a kingbird, and a kingfisher.

At Nipawin, 97 kilometers west of Red Earth, ornithologists have kept detailed records for most of this century. Less detailed records have been kept to the north at Cumberland House. In 1959 the results of these records were summarized in this way:

There are 241 species recorded from Nipawin, 230 species from Prince Albert, 197 species from Carlton and 140 species from Cumberland House. It should be noted that Street had found nests of 131 species within a 20-mile radius of Nipawin, and has records of flightless young for 10 more species, bringing his breeding species to a remarkable total of 141 (Houston and Street 1959:32).

With the exception of most birds of prey and of carrion eaters, the Red Earth Crees utilized all of these species for food. Small

birds were constantly hunted by children and when killed were cooked by their mothers. The birds of prey which were eaten included eagles and several species of owls.

Fish

The fish species of the Red Earth area have been the subject of some scientific investigation by a biologist, L.M. Royer. Royer conducted studies in the Saskatchewan River delta between 1964 and 1966. His studies were part of a larger biological investigation that was carried out throughout the delta at this time. According to Royer (personal communication, March, 1973):

The fish populations in Redearth and Kennedy Lakes appear to be dependent on periodic ingressions from the Carrot River during periods of high water. Both lakes were apparently barren of fish when examined in 1964. However, in 1965, following extensive flooding, both lakes were populated. Northern Pike (Esox lucius), Walleye (Stizostedion vitreum), and goldeye (Hiodon alosoides) were abundant in Redearth Lake and were being utilized by the residents of Redearth Settlement for domestic purposes. Gold-eye and Northern redhorse (Moxostoma macrolepidotum) = shorthead redhorse occurred in Kennedy Lake, but in very small numbers.

Royer indicated that the following fish species are found in the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region:

Northern pike	- <u>Esox lucius</u>
Walleye	- <u>Stizostedion vitreum</u>
Goldeye	- <u>Hiodon alosoides</u>
White sucker	- <u>Cattostomus commersoni</u>
Northern redhorse	- <u>Moxostoma macrolepidotum</u>

Sauger	- <u>Stizostedion canadense</u>
Burbot	- <u>Lota lota</u>
Fathead	- <u>Pimephales promelas</u>
Spottail shiner	- <u>Notropis hudsonius</u>
Log perch	- <u>Percina caprodes</u>
Trout perch	- <u>Percopsis omiscomaycus</u>
Johnny darter	- <u>Etheostoma nigrum</u>

The older Red Earth men have indicated to me that up to the early decades of this century sturgeon and whitefish also were present locally. The Red Earth Crees do not seem to have any particular species preferences concerning fish for consumption; the largest fish were kept for human food and the smaller ones were fed to the dogs.

As yet, studies of the patterns of seasonal movement of these fish have not been carried out. However, extensive spring and fall runs, involving several fish species, are well known to the Cree and Eurocanadian inhabitants of this region. In the autumn there is a movement of fish to deeper waters. In the delta this normally involves a migration out of the shallow lakes and streams, into the Saskatchewan. A September 12, 1883, journal entry for The Pas Post indicates that in this particular year drought had forced the fish down earlier than usual:

The water is lower now than what it used to be two months later killing any number fish in the Carrot River as the low water is forcing them to descend so that there is a likelihood of the Indians being hard up as they used to hang-up those fish in the fall that are passing now.²

However, the supplies of fish at Red Earth were always relatively small. There were no large lakes present and the Carrot River was too small to support large numbers. As a result, there was a near chronic shortage of dog food, which situation was commented upon by both 19th and 20th century writers. For example, Kemp (1956:92) noted (referring to the 1920's):

Lacking fish in the river, dogs were fed a straight diet of moosemeat. They took on all the characteristics of wolves. They had to be tethered the year around.

At Red Earth, therefore, large numbers of fish could be expected to be taken twice a year: in the spring during the spawning migration and in the fall when the fish moved to deeper waters which would remain oxygen rich through the winter.

Amphibians and Reptiles

Immense numbers of frogs and toads inhabit the Saskatchewan River delta. The leopard, boreal chorus and wood frogs are present, as is the Canadian toad. Although the range of the red-sided garter snake includes all but the northern 1/3 of Saskatchewan, it is not found in the immediate Red Earth region and snakes are not known (in the flesh) to the Red Earth Crees. No other snake is present in central Saskatchewan. None of these cold blooded animals are used for food, nor are the clams which are very common in the rivers and creeks of the region.

APPENDIX II

HOOD'S RED EARTH OBSERVATIONS

It is as a result of the presence of the Sir John Franklin expedition at Cumberland House through the winter of 1819-20 that we obtain the first direct description of the Cree occupation of the Red Earth region. This was provided by Robert Hood who was the first person to write about this area.

As was usual during the winter, a local Cree had been employed by the Hudson's Bay Company to hunt moose for the use of its servants. This hunter had established his camp in the Red Earth area. Franklin (1970:51) described this as follows:

The men brought supplies of moose meat from the hunter's tent, which is pitched near the Basquiau Hill, at the distance of forty or fifty miles from the house, and from whence the greatest part of the meat is procured. The residents have to send nearly the same distance for their fish, and on this service horse-sledges are used.

Hood accompanied two men who had been sent to obtain any meat the hunter might have obtained. His rationale for making this journey is contained in this quote:

Being desirous of obtaining a drawing of a moose deer, and also to make some observations on the height of the Aurora, I set out on the 23rd [in March] to pass a few days at the Basquiau Hill (Hood 1974:50-51).

These men took dog teams from the house and travelled south across Swan Lake and Goose Lake until they came to the "River Sepanach" where they turned up the mouth of the Carrot (Root) River, "having

made in direct distance not more than twenty miles since the 23rd" (Franklin 1970:168). The next day they continued their journey, up the Carrot River and:

From the Root River we passed to the Shoal Lake on the 25th and then marched 12 miles through woods and swamps to the hunting tent mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It was in a grove of large poplars, and would have been no unpleasant residence if we could have avoided the smoke. Three large stages supported by trees were covered with moose meat purchased from the Indians. (Hood 1974:53).

Hood took astronomical readings at three locations in the course of his sojourn. The latitude recorded for the hunting tent makes it possible to locate it almost exactly. Dr. C.S. Houston (personal communication, January 1975) has pointed out the fact that, "latitude estimations are always exactly correct and longitude estimations correct only by chance - in error up to 10 or 15 miles". The latitude of the hunting tent places it a few miles south of the present southernmost Red Earth reserve. However, Hood's longitude would position it many miles to the west, in what is now the farming region. Since Hood did describe Red Earth Creek (Red-Mud Creek by the expedition's map), the longitude reading can be ignored:

A small stream runs near the hunting tent, strongly impregnated with salt. There are several salt springs about it, which are not frozen during the winter (Hood 1974:61).

It is, though, difficult to ascertain which side of the stream the hunting camp was on since Hood oriented the creek as flowing from west to east rather than south to north. On the map the camp is positioned on the north side of the creek, suggesting that it was

actually on the west side. At present there are no creeks in the area that are salty, although salt springs are present in an area to the immediate east of the Red Earth Creek. At any rate, this camp was clearly outside of the delta marshland and on the higher land below the Pasquia Hills.

Hood and his companions were detained by a blizzard for a number of days and on the thirtieth the camp was visited by two men, one named "The Warrior". The next day Hood set out to visit The Warrior's camp and found it only about eleven miles away. This camp was apparently on the Cracking River, near the base of the Pasquia Hills. Here, Hood was hospitably received:

When I entered the tent, the Indians spread a buffalo robe before the fire, and desired me to sit down. They were eating and sleeping, many of them without any covering except the breech cloth and a blanket over the shoulders: a state in which they love to indulge themselves, till hunger drives them forth to the chase. Besides the Warrior's family was that of another hunter named Long Legs, whose bad success in hunting had reduced him to the necessity of feeding on moose leather for three weeks, when he was compassionately relieved by the Warrior (Hood 1974:54).

Hood made a useful drawing of a typical household scene within the tent (Plate 1) and spent an enjoyable day with these families while he waited for a moose to be killed so that he could sketch it as well. However, as no one seemed to be interested in his requests for a moose to portray, he and his companions walked south to another camp which they found recently abandoned. According to the map, they followed the trail of this group to the east.

catching up with them in the evening.

Here, Hood took another astronomical reading and found that, "The latitude of these tents was $53^{\circ}12'46''$ N., and longitude by chronometers $103^{\circ}13'10''$ W. (Franklin 1970:172-173). The actual location of this camp is more difficult to determine since Hood does not indicate whether it was near a stream or some other landmark. If Hood's readings are accepted they would place this third camp between the Papikwan and Red Willow Creeks in an unlikely situation, an extensive muskeg. Since this location is only about a half a mile west of a traditional camping place (of the contemporary Red Earth Creeks) on the Papikwan River, it is quite possible that the third camp was at the latter site.

This camp, although Hood noted the presence of several hunters, also seemed to have been comprised of only one tent. The men were actively hunting and:

They concluded, as usual when labouring under any affliction, that they were tormented by an evil spirit, and assembled to beat a large tambourine and sing an address to the Manito or deity, praying for relief, according to the explanation which I received, but it consisted of only three words constantly repeated (Hood 1974:56).

This ceremony took place in the morning and in the evening one of the hunters returned with news of a successful hunt; a large moose had been killed.

Hood and his guides returned to Cumberland House on April 7. They had apparently visited all of the people in the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region, three single-tent camps in all. Each

encampment seems to have been composed of at least two nuclear families. Whether these represented local band groups or simply extended families is not clear.

Hood does not indicate whether these people habitually lived and hunted in the Red Earth region or were simply chance occupants. However, it is likely that these people formed a band within the large Basquia Indian group. The occupants of each camp numbered, by Hood's comments, up to 15 or 20 persons. In this case, the total population of all three camps was in the order of 50 persons.

Hood's account, although sketchy, provides a valuable picture of Indian life in the Red Earth region during the early 19th century. By 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company had been established at Cumberland House for 45 years and competition with the Northwest Company was at its peak. However, in the relative isolation of the central Carrot River valley a whole band lived in apparent security, confident of its ability to live well and enjoyably in this region. Hood was envious of their efficiency in dealing with the local environment and noted that, "The Indians are vain of their local knowledge, which is certainly very wonderful". There is no indication that these people were involved in trapping. Rather, they preferred to carry on the traditional moose hunt and to trade provisions (meat) with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company.

APPENDIX III

GARDENS, LIVESTOCK AND WAGE LABOUR

THE INTRODUCTION OF LIVESTOCK AND GARDENS

Documentary evidence regarding the introduction of gardens and of livestock into the study region is provided by the annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. Throughout the Saskatchewan River delta the Cree bands were, in general, induced or pressured first by the mission workers and later by agents of the Department of Indian Affairs to take up some aspects of settled agricultural life.

As previously noted, the Anglican Church had established an agricultural village at The Pas as early as the 1840's. Even before this, though, the servants of both the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had maintained gardens at their posts. Therefore, by the 1880's, when the Department of Indian Affairs became active in this regard the Crees of the region were long familiar with the elements of agriculture, (although only a minority of Crees were directly involved). Stewart Raby has summarized the rationale for the attempt by the Department of Indian Affairs to introduce agriculture in this way:

As with all the reserves set up in Manitoba and the North-West Territories in the late 19th century, agriculture and stock-rearing were regarded as prime instruments in the struggle to civilize the Indian. Indeed, civilization itself tended to be seen in terms of such sedentary pursuits (Raby 1972:103).

Despite several decades of direct exposure to agricultural practices

at The Pas by 1880, the majority of the bands in the delta did not become much involved. However, the situation of the Crees of Red Earth and, to some extent, of Shoal Lake as well, was different. As I have indicated in Chapter III, the family of Kiseyinis maintained a tradition of horse-use and this appears to have been a crucial factor in their acceptance of animal husbandry of a more general nature.

In 1882 one of the first reports on Red Earth and Shoal Lake was forwarded to the Department of Indian Affairs by the agent for The Pas Agency, A. MacKay. Referring to Shoal Lake he wrote that; "They have several houses built and their potato gardens were looking very well". He continued in this way:

At the Red Earth Reserve, which is located about 170 miles distant from the Pas Village by the route travelled, they have a very nice potato garden in common, very good land and good enough timber.

The Indians here appear to take more interest in taking care of the implements supplied to them. This is the only reserve where [sic] I noticed that a building had been put up expressly for the purpose, and all the tools and implements snugly stored therein. Their cattle they had purchased themselves, and I must say that they were as fine a looking lot of animals of the kind as I have ever seen. They are also well stocked with native ponies of all of which they seem to take very good care (Mackay 1883:47)

It is apparent, therefore, that the Red Earth people had voluntarily become involved in raising cattle. Where they obtained the cattle, though, is difficult to ascertain but presumably their relatives at Fort a la Corne were raising numbers of these animals by this time. In this case, they would have been driven back to Red Earth along

the Ayisiyiniw Meskanaw. Potato gardening was probably taken up as a result of urging by the Dept. of Indian Affairs and seed would have been supplied by that agency. For instance, one document, prepared at Pas Post in May 29, 1880, indicates:

Boats from ID passed here last night on way
to G. Rapids. Gave out Potatoes to Indians 150
here 4 B River & 25 Mountain.³

Three years later, the Pas Post journalist noted, on June 11, 1883: "A few of the Red Mud Indians down for their potatoes".⁴ However, June 11 seems too late to plant and it is possible that these potatoes had been provided by the Department of Indian Affairs for the sick or elderly.

Two years later MacKay tendered a glowing report of the activities of the Red Earth Indians:

At the latter place the Indians are doing very well indeed; their cattle (which they purchased and raised themselves) are very fine looking; their gardens well attended to, with good root houses or cellars, and a building in which they store their implements in common.

They ask for more hoes, axes, hay forks, two cross ploughs, two harrows, and that permission be granted them to cut and sell cordwood along the banks of the Saskatchewan River (MacKay 1885:77)

Again, MacKay makes no mention of the actual living conditions of these people. However, despite the apparently buoyant condition of the Red Earth people, they suffered as badly during the winter of 1884-85 as the other bands of the delta. The summer had been drought-ridden and frosts had come early, with disastrous effects on crops. The fall fishing had been almost eliminated by the early onset of freeze-up and the staple of fall and spring diet, the

muskrat, was very scarce. The only mitigating factor was provided by the rabbit cycle, which happened to be at its height. However, near famine prevailed throughout the delta and, by mid-winter, the government provided a small number of supplies to the Pas Mountain reserves in order to relieve the Indians there (Reader 1886:65).

Little useful information is available for 1886 although Reader indicates that two oxen were delivered to the Pas Mountain Indians. This Agent was unable to find time to visit the remote Pas Mountain reserves in 1886. However, in the summer of 1887, the annuities were paid at Shoal Lake where the Red Earth people also gathered:

; we ultimately reached Shoal Lake the following Saturday morning, 14th August, As the supplies had not yet arrived, I examined the gardens and houses, finding a fair crop of potatoes, but the wheat and barley were a failure. The blackbirds made sad havoc, except in two gardens, where the wheat was excellent. These Indians will probably suffer from want of food next winter (Reader 1888: 85).

Again, Red Earth was not inspected. The visit made the next summer, 1888, was virtually identical to that of the previous year, although Reader (1889:72) made this general statement.

They put down last spring about one hundred bushels of potatoes, and three bushels of barley, in about thirteen acres of land.

In the summer of 1889 Red Earth was inspected by Joseph Reader. Again, the annuities were paid at Shoal Lake but Reader visited both reserves. He wrote:

The Indians at Shoal Lake have but poor gardens compared with their brethren at Red Earth: neither are they noted for thrift, as are those at the latter place.

The cattle on both reserves are in excellent condition, for it would be difficult to surpass the feed which is to be found at the Pas Mountain (Reader 1890:124).

The good impression which the Red Earth Crees made on Joseph Reader is obvious and the next summer he reiterated his observations of the previous year. To Reader, a former Anglican minister, the fact that the "heathen" Red Earth people were producing a substantial amount of their own food was remarkable and he repeatedly commented on this.

Reader's comments on his next summer's visit echo those of 1889 and 90, adding only that the Red Earth people, "present at the agent's visit of inspection tidy houses and premises generally" (Reader 1892:67). His inspection of the summer of 1892 led him to write:

For raising stock, agricultural operations, and carrying out the department's instructions of sanitary measures, Red Earth Band is an example to the whole agency. At the Pas Mountain there is comparatively but little sickness, so that the Indians are increasing (Reader 1893:165).

In 1893 Reader produced another glowing essay on the Red Earth Crees and noted that they had supplied potatoes from their surplus to the Shoal Lake people, both for winter food and spring seed. He also noted that at Red Earth the cattle and horses were acquired, "almost entirely by the Indian's own industry", and added: "The thought of one's own heart is - Would that they were all true Christians! for they are an interesting people" (Reader 1894:69).

Upon his visit to Red Earth and Shoal Lake the next summer

Reader repeated his comments in this vein. It seems, too, that he had asked the Shoal Lake people to go and live at Red Earth:

But it is clear that they would do better along with their thrifty neighbours at Red Earth. They do not, however, see their way to take this step (Reader 1895:192).

During 1895 little change occurred and Reader (1896:193) noted that at Red Earth; "They raise large crops of potatoes upon which and milk they chiefly live, for there are but few fish there, and those of an inferior kind". It is apparent that Reader's ideas about Red Earth diet were much influenced by the time of year he visited - the summer. While potatoes have been a staple of Red Earth diet from the 1880's to the present, milk never has been so, although it was relied upon in times of food shortage (as, interestingly enough, often occurred during the summer). Reader repeated these comments in his 1896 report. In 1897, the last year of his tenure as Indian Agent, Reader noted that; "Upwards of sixty head of cattle and some horses represent the livestock at Red Earth Reserve" (1898:104). For 1898 the new Agent, Joseph Courtney made only general statements and it appears that Red Earth may not have been visited. However, the Sessional Papers do indicate that in this summer seven acres were under cultivation at Red Earth and that the potato yield was 600 bushels. Courtney estimated that 50 tons of wild hay had been cut. The following summer (1899) Courtney, having visited Red Earth, was sufficiently impressed to write:

This reserve is beautifully situated at the foot of the Pas Mountain, with the Carrot River winding through a landscape growing with

shady maple, birch and elm trees, and is in reality an ideal outdoor park. The soil is all that could be desired, this being the north-eastern extremity of the fertile belt (1900:90).

In this year the statistical sheets indicate that eight acres were under cultivation at Red Earth, on which 700 bushels of potatoes were grown. Another $\frac{1}{4}$ acre was planted to turnips and 50 tons of wild hay were cut.

However, the fortunes of the Red Earth people appear to have been suffering a temporary decline:

The Indians are not so well off as they were years ago. Their cattle have dwindled down to thirty head, and their large band of horses have all but disappeared.

Of late years they have been depending on their potato crop and hunting large game (Courtney 1900:90).

Courtney's observations of the horse situation are not consistent for, as a result of his visit in the summer of 1900, he wrote that; "The cattle have not increased for some years, but they have a nice band of horses which they seem to prize more than cattle" (Courtney 1901:93). The following year he noted that potatoes were the year-round food staple at Red Earth and:

This is the healthiest lot of Indians in the agency. They lead a happy life, cultivating potatoes and hunting the moose and deer. In spring-time they make large quantities of maple sugar, but unfortunately they are entirely out of reach of a market for it (Courtney 1902:93).

Additional information regarding livestock and gardening is not available for 1902 but an inspection in the summer of 1903 revealed that the sedentary pursuits so lauded by Reader in the 19th century

were not as real as he had made them seem:

They raise large crops of potatoes, and with the aid of the gun and trap they can make a good living if so inclined.

Buildings - There are a few comfortable dwelling-houses here, but the tent is in use the greater part of the year, and, therefore, the houses are not much attended to.

Stock - A few individuals have cattle and horses of their own, but they are not enough interested to allow them to increase (Courtney 1904:92).

To the Red Earth people, there was no obvious reason why they should increase the numbers of their cattle. As far as horses were concerned, there were never enough of these and any reduction in their number was a result of bad fortune, not any lack of interest on the part of the Red Earth people. In this regard it should be noted that although Reader had included horses as one element of what he perceived as an increasingly sedentary orientation at Red Earth, in actuality, horses were an indication of the opposite condition. They allowed the Red Earth people to maintain mobility, probably with increased amounts of equipment and baggage.

In general, conditions at Red Earth do not seem to have been as good in the early 20th century as they had been in the previous century. By 1906 Courtney noted that; "The few cattle they have on this reserve seem to be more trouble than benefit to them, and until a radical change takes place, very little interest will be taken in stock-raising" (1907:90). However, the next year a new Indian Agent provided a slightly different view:

The members of this band, like the Shoal Lake Indians, follow the hunt for a living; they

grow large quantities of potatoes and have a number of cattle.

Buildings - They have good log houses, which in most cases are whitewashed, and have palisade fences around them. The stables are also well built and comfortable.

Livestock - The cattle on this reserve are well looked after and plenty of hay is put up for their use (Fischer 1908:136).

Fischer's next report, for 1908, virtually repeats that of the previous year, reiterating that these people "live by hunting" (1909:144). No new information is provided in the 1909 report but that for 1910 is more detailed than usual:

, these Indians live by the hunt, which this year has been very successful; they have also kept themselves supplied with moose meat, and fish for their dogs. A quantity of potatoes has been grown on this reserve, which has been a valuable addition to their food-supply.

Stock - Their cattle were well housed and fed, they had a quantity of hay over and the stock was in good condition. They also have a few good ponies, which they use in winter to haul hay and fire-wood, and which they also use on the mowers (Fischer 1911:142-143).

Fischer's annual reports continued to be composed of comments in this vein and in 1912 he noted that, "This band has the largest number of live stock in the agency" (1913:108). However, in 1913 stock raising at Red Earth was troubled:

I am sorry to report than many of the cattle on this reserve are dying, not from the lack of fodder, but from the poor quality of same. The hay-lands were flooded last season, and the Indians could not cut hay till the floods abated; then the nourishment was all soaked out of the hay. According to reports received, very few cattle will come through the winter (Taylor 1914:107).

After this time, the annual agency reports are not divided into individual descriptions of reserve conditions. After a few years annual reports are not published at all and so less information is available.

The Indian Affairs' reports indicate, therefore, that the Red Earth people became involved in cattle raising on their own, by the early 1880's. Of course, they had kept horses since the beginning of their residence in the Red Earth region. On the whole, the annual reports of the Indian Agents overemphasize the importance of cattle (and perhaps gardening too) at Red Earth. The Indian Agents were largely reacting to the fact that this was the only reserve group in the Pas Agency which evinced any interest in these activities.

GARDENING

Potato gardening at Red Earth appears to have been adopted as a result of the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs. In the 1880's and 1890's wheat and barley, as well as potatoes and other root crops were grown. However, since the grains require a relatively complex harvesting, threshing, and milling process to reduce them to an edible state, these were abandoned. On the other hand, potatoes had none of these drawbacks, the soil was suitable, the climate good, and they "grew to an enormous size" (Hines 1916:246). Potato horticulture became an integral part of the Red Earth subsistence economy (and has remained so for nearly a century

now).

In the 19th century seed potatoes were provided by the Department of Indian Affairs, as has been the case on occasion in the more recent decades. Initially, groups of men cultivated, together, large gardens which were called "farms". Joel Whitehead indicated that there had been three such "farms"; one at Wawinahk, another at Minawatimihk, and a third at Natakam. The men broke the earth of the farms by hand, using grub hoes supplied by the Department of Indian Affairs. When the government eventually supplied walking ploughs which were pulled by oxen or horses, individuals began to cultivate their own plots.

Gardens are often located on sites which were once the interiors of horse or cattle corrals. Here, there is a thick layer of well rotted manure which adds(unneeded) fertility to the already rich soils of the levee. In some portions of most gardens this layer of manure is too thick and the potatoes do not grow well. If a garden is not already surrounded by a corral, a fence is built to keep out livestock which wanders about the village. The garden plots are worked by men and owned by them. The system of preparing the earth for planting differs considerably from that familiar to this writer in the farming region to the west. At Red Earth, after the soil has been ploughed, and perhaps harrowed, shallow trenches are dug with hoes. These trenches are parallel to one another, about two feet apart, and they follow the shorter axis of the garden. The trenches are about four inches deep.

Ploughing and trenching is normally done by the men. The women cut the potatoes into portions with eyes and these are carried in pails to the garden where some of the younger women may help with planting. In planting, the eyes are placed every few inches along the trench which is then filled with earth. It seems likely that this method of planting potatoes is Scottish in origin since much of the European influence among the Red Earth Cree has been Scottish.

The men hoe these gardens as needed through the summer, hilling the plants and killing the weeds. In 1971 women were not observed working in the gardens. Most gardens are devoted completely to potatoes although corn, tomatoes, carrots, etc., are grown on occasion. Such plants, especially corn and carrots, often suffer from extensive predation by small boys and so people generally give up trying to grow them.

The potatoes generally were not taken up until early October when the men returned from the autumn moose hunt (see Appendix IV). They were dug with hoes and stored for the winter. To store the potatoes a pit four or five feet deep and about the same size in diameter was dug. This was lined with hay and in it were placed about ten burlap bags full of potatoes, about ten bushels in all (the usual harvest from a garden). These bags were then covered with hay and heaped over with earth to provide insulation from winter frost. The buried potatoes were also insurance that seed would be available to start the next spring's crop, for, as houses were abandoned for periods through the winter, their

interiors dropped to outdoor temperatures and it was not possible to store potatoes in them. However, several bags of potatoes were kept in a family's house following harvest in order to provide a supply through fall and early winter.

While potatoes were and are important as a food staple, they also provide the basic ingredient of a mildly alcoholic beverage. In the eyes of the Red Earth people, this use may be equal in value to that of a food source. This sourish beer, which looks like thin milk, is used in the same way as other alcoholic drinks, on party occasions or as refreshment for a work party.

LIVESTOCK

The origin stories presented in Chapter III indicate that the Red Earth people brought some horses with them from the prairies. Clearly, persons such as Mihkwanakeskam who had been immersed in Plains Cree culture, valued horses highly. To obtain horses it was necessary for the people of Red Earth to maintain contacts with their relatives in the Fort a la Corne region. With the advent of farmers in the Fort a la Corne region by the 1890's and the opening of the upper Carrot River valley to agriculture in the early decades of this century another, and more stable, source of horses became available. It is mainly from the farmers that the Red Earth Crees still acquire their horses.

Horses were not kept by every man and some men never owned a horse at any time in their lives. In 1971 the most any single man

had was four horses. Most individuals had a team that would draw either a wagon or a sleigh. A few riding ponies were kept for favoured sons. Horses were used about equally, winter and summer, their usefulness being curtailed only during the annual spring flood. In 1971 the number of horses at Red Earth varied between 60 and 70, owned by 34 family heads.

Through the summer, horses were used on trips to the west; to Fort a la Corne in the earlier periods and later also to the agricultural region to work for the farmers and to visit the towns which were established by or in the 1920's. The Indian trail which led southwest along the foot of the Pasquia Hills was a pack horse trail which was widened to accomodate the travois and, eventually, wagons. Although the travois was supplanted by the wagon, it continued in use for a surprisingly long time. The farmers of the region about the town of Carrot River observed these Crees with travois in the 1920's.

The older Red Earth men stated that in the early days horses were often allowed to fend for themselves through the winter. These animals spent this season around the edges of the marshes where they pawed away the snow and ate what grasses they could find. Usually the younger horses could survive the winter but the older horses had to be given more care. The survival of horses in this region was made more difficult by the poor quality of the hay which was cut. Most of the hay is simply a species of sedge which, when dried, lacks some minerals or vitamins vital to equine health. This

will not support horses through the winter although cattle do quite well. In fact, the chances of horses surviving winter were better if they were left to fend for themselves since they were free to choose the most nutritious grasses. At any rate, by the spring most Red Earth horses were starved skeletons and in need of lush summer grazing to regain their condition. In the last few decades a good deal of oats and tame hay have been available at the reserve store and so many horses have been maintained through the winter in improved condition.

The high mortality rate of Red Earth horses and the fact that horses could not be bred in large enough numbers to satisfy the constant need for these animals meant that a steady supply had to be available from the outside. In this the Red Earth Cree mirrored, in miniature, the Plains Cree in general who were horse poor and dependent upon a continuous stream of animals traded and raided in from the south and southwest. Mandelbaum (1940:197) found that the Plains Cree named their horses "according to their markings" and listed 25 such names. In contrast, I found that the Red Earth men did not use such names and also named only a few breeds, one of the latter terms (buckskin) being English. They generally do not name individual animals and when this does occur the names are English, reflecting the fact that this is considered a Eurocanadian custom.

In general, other than in feeding (which is generous but not nutritious), horses are well cared for. They are housed in small log sheds through the winter and watered at holes in the ice of the Carrot River every day. When being worked during the winter,

blankets are thrown over the sweating animals when a halt is called. People demonstrate considerable restrained affection for horses; both men and women occasionally may be seen playing with these beasts. The usual play gesture is to wave one's hand before a horse's face or eyes in order to make it react by rearing its head.

The other large domesticated animal kept by the Red Earth people was (and is) the cow. Early in this century and in the 19th century these were dual purpose cattle and some Red Earth people seem to have been convinced that they were worth keeping. The cows were milked during the summer as long as they lactated and the milk was collected in birch bark baskets. Since every house yard had an elevated cache platform on stilts, these basketfuls of milk were placed on the platform to sit overnight while the cream rose to the top. In the morning the cream was skimmed off and eaten by the children for breakfast. This rich fatty substance was the most prized dairy product. Those men who owned cattle had to cut large amounts of hay during the summer and enlarge their sheds and corrals. However, this seems to have been acceptable since some work in this regard was necessary for horses anyway. The meat from these cattle was never a major food source since most families kept so few that they could never kill more than one or two a year.

WAGE LABOUR

Beginning in the early decades of this century The Pas Lumber Company began logging operations in the Saskatchewan River

delta. As this company extended its operations into the Red Earth-Shoal Lake region, many local men were employed in the logging camps. These camps were maintained through the winter and the men worked in the forest, directed by foremen, at felling timber, loading it on sleighs, and dumping it on the ice of the Carrot River. Local men were also employed during the summer and travelled down the Carrot River on barges, untangling log jams and gradually working the logs down to the mill at The Pas. For Red Earth men who are now in their sixties, or older, this was their first exposure to a situation in which English was the working language. At this time (in their late teens) they learned the rudiments of the English they now speak.

With the growth of farming settlement in the upper portions of the Carrot River valley a new economic factor entered the lives of the people at Red Earth. The farmers were engaged in the process of reducing a heavily wooded area to open fields. During the last four decades the bulk of forest clearance has been by caterpillar tractor. However, even so, a great deal of human labour is needed to clear the fields of the roots, stumps, and sticks revealed by the first ploughing (breaking) and cultivating. The farmers found that the local Indians formed a convenient source of labour and began hiring the people of Red Earth and Shoal Lake for this work. In local parlance, this cleaning of fields by hand is termed "picking roots".

Farmers began hiring local Crees as early as the 1920's and this became an important source of summer employment through the

1940's, 1950's, and into the 1960's. Both men and women were hired to pick roots (or stones), the latter sex being paid less, although being almost as big and strong as the men they worked equally hard. Early each summer many of the Red Earth people took the Indian trail out to the edge of farm settlement and made themselves available to work in the farming districts of Connell Creek, Jordan River, Carrot River and even Arborfield. Of course, all of this region was well known (geographically) to the Red Earth people. The families traveled as units with their teams, wagons, and camping equipment. Camps of several tents were set up at some convenient spot near the fields where roots were being picked. By late July those Red Earth men with livestock had to return home to cut hay (to the consternation of farmers in need of labourers). Some younger men remained among the farmers through the autumn and worked on threshing crews. During the winter Red Earth and Shoal Lake people were rarely present in the farming region.

Notes

- 1 PAM HBC, B.324/b/2, F. 116. Pas Post correspondence book, 1886-91.
- 2 PAM HBC, B.324/a/1, F. 91. Pas Post journal, September 12, 1883.
- 3 PAM HBC, B.324/a/1, F. 32. Pas Post journal, May 29, 1880.
- 4 PAM HBC, B.324/a/1, F. 84. Pas Post journal, June 11, 1883.

APPENDIX IV

SUBSISTENCE - SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

INTRODUCTION

This section is concentrated upon the subsistence activities of the second generation of Red Earth Crees. Therefore, the time period involved here extends from ca. 1900 through to ca. 1930. Before 1900 I have little direct informant testimony and after 1930 changes in what had been a stable pattern began to occur. In broad outline, though, the subsistence settlement patterns outlined in this chapter apply to the whole of the contact-traditional in this region. Those changes which occurred after 1930 have been discussed in Chapter VII. In Chapter VI some aspects of the social structure of the Red Earth Crees during this period (ca. 1900-1930) were discussed. In this section I will attempt to describe the dynamics of this structure as it related to a functioning society involved in subsistence activities.

THE SEASONAL ROUND

Introduction

I have organized the following portion of this chapter within the framework of annual seasons which the Red Earth people recognize. This seasonal round is, of course, that within which these people organized their annual subsistence activities. Like Crees elsewhere the Red Earth people identify six seasons in the year.

Harold Kemp (1956:100) described the Cree seasons in this way:

The Crees also have two separate spring seasons, one for when the thaw begins, and another for that period when the rivers are actually running. Again, two seasons occur in the fall, the termination of autumn, and the actual freeze-up period.

Such a division of the year reflects a long occupation of the northern boreal forest by the Crees and their recognition of the important divisions of the year in the climate which is characteristic of this geographical region. The most important aspects of those portions of the year which Eurocanadians would designate spring and fall are, of course, break-up and freeze-up. In both cases these are critical periods when summer modes of transportation must change to winter modes, or vice versa. During break-up and freeze-up travel conditions may be extremely difficult and, if the period is lengthened through unusually warm (in early winter) or cold (in early spring) weather, the hunt may be disrupted and hunger result. In the historic period these were the times of the year for which the Crees of the Saskatchewan River delta stored food. If these parts of the year were successfully passed the remainder of the year's subsistence could be tackled with the usual methods and with the usual confidence. Parenthetically, it is noteworthy that both of these critical periods were preceded by population aggregations which, it would seem, must have placed unusual demands upon the food which apparently had been stored for these times.

Most of the information which I gathered on seasonal terms, as used by the Red Earth Crees, was obtained from my main 1971

informant, Joel Whitehead. Silas Head also supplied some information and Robert Hutton has kindly reviewed my summarization of this data. The Red Earth Cree recognize both six seasons and 12 months (although I collected 13 month names). Using these they can refer quite exactly to any part of the year desired. However, in addition to this naming system there is a third system of named points in the year; names which refer to specific times, usually not longer than a week and, in some cases (the solstices), particular days. As will be evident below, these named points are also used, to some degree, to indicate the beginnings and terminations of seasons.

In the study region pipōn 'winter' begins in early December. In the third week of December, near the time of the equinox, makokīsikaw 'Christmas' occurs - one of the named points of the year. Winter continued through to the spring equinox, during the third week of March. Early spring, which then extends from March 21-22 through to break-up, is known as sīkwan. Since break-up in the study region generally occurs about the middle of April, sikwan is a relatively short season - only about three weeks long. Break-up is known as macistan. The spring period after break-up is known as miyoskamiw and this extends through to late May, the time of the year known as macinipin 'beginning summer' when the leaves emerge.

Nipin 'summer' now begins and is soon punctuated by another named point, āpihtanipin 'half summer', the solstice. Summer ends with another named point, epinaskaw, when the leaves begin to change colour, about the second week of September. At this point fall

begins and its first stage, takwākin, lasts until late October when the leaves have all fallen and snow is about to appear. In this region the first snow normally falls in late October or early November (more likely the first week of November). This marks the beginning of freeze-up and the season known as mikiskāw. Mikiskaw lasts through November.

Although Harold Kemp has suggested that the Crees have two separate spring seasons and two fall season, this may not be an appropriate assessment. I would correlate the Cree seasons with those used by the Eurocanadians of the Carrot River valley in this way; summer correlates more or less exactly with nipin and spring correlates well with miyoskamiw while fall correlates with takwakin. English speakers of the region would very likely include sikwan and mikiskaw with winter and more accurate translations would then be, respectively, late winter and early winter.

Both the Crees and the Eurocanadians would agree that the two major - longest and most uniform - seasons are winter and summer. Of these, winter is longer, although in the study region it is not more than some three weeks longer. To the north, in the boreal forest of the Precambrian Shield, winter is longer. In this regard, it is worth noting that as early as the 1770's the Hudson's Bay Company men realized that the climate of the parkland-forest edge on the northern plains was considerably less rigorous than that of the Subarctic about Hudson Bay. For instance, Samuel Hearne wrote, at Cumberland House on May 4 of 1775:

Tho the Ice of the lake is not broke up as Yet,
 the Water is so deep allround by the Shore that
 several of the Indians this Day went ahunting
 in Cannoes and the snow is very near being all
 Desolv'd there being only a spot here and there
 to be seen, and tho this is reckoned by the Natives
 to be a backward spring, yet there is a full
 Months Differance between here and Churchill and
 the Winter which has ben Reckond very seveal ware
 not so cold by far as it is at Churchill or York
 Fort in the Mildest winter (Tyrrell 1934:148-149).

It is evident that the Crees of this period recognized this climatic difference equally clearly. For instance, Arthur Ray (1974:41) has made this observation about a group of Crees camped on the Swan River of east central Saskatchewan in 1757:

They camped there for two months staying until 5 May, or long after the snow had melted and the river opened. The later break-up dates for the rivers near the Bay undoubtedly favoured this delayed departure. By leaving during the first week in May they would have arrived at York Factory shortly after the ice had melted on the lower Hayes and Nelson Rivers.

Nipin

Summer, in the early decades of this century was a time of relaxation and travel, the latter mainly for recreational purposes - to visit. During this season people aggregated and lived either at their own hamlets or at other hamlets where they tented while visiting. This was normally the time of the year, too, when centres outside the study region were visited - places such as the farming region up the Carrot River, Fort a la Corne, and The Pas. Subsistence activities consisted of some fishing, (Plate 8) by the use of nets in the Carrot River, and of some duck and moose hunting.



Plate 8. Drying jackfish at Red Earth, summer 1972. Photograph by D. Meyer.

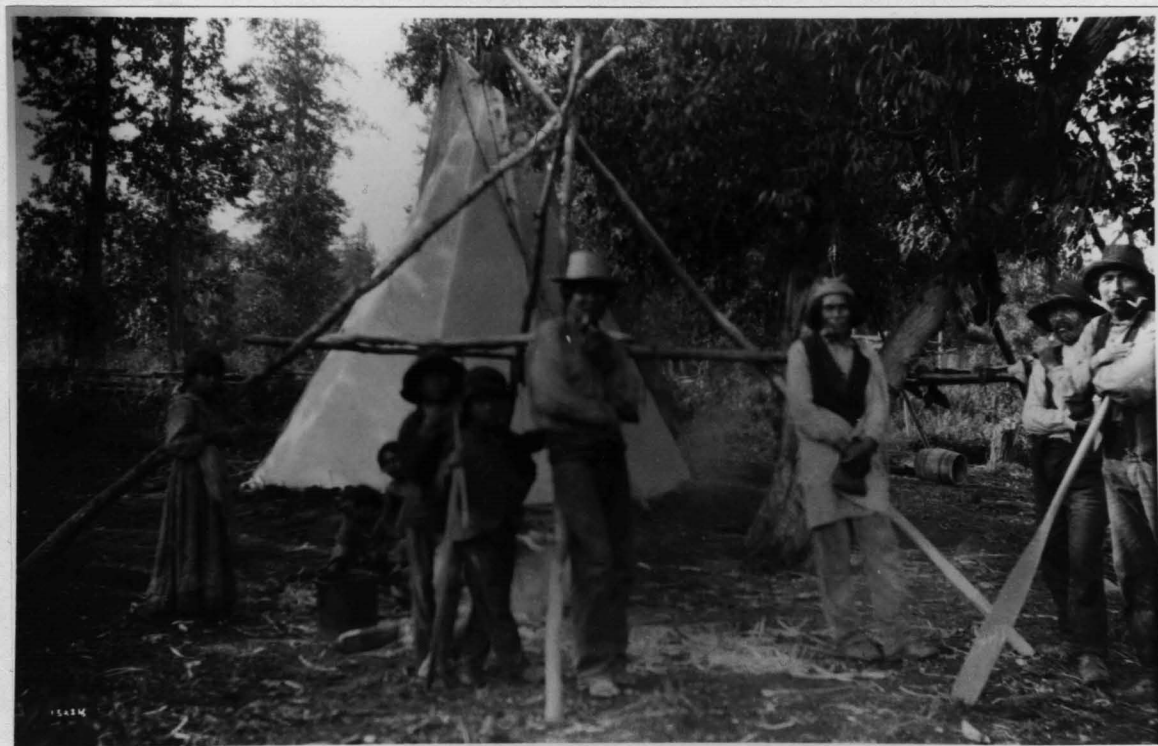


Plate 9. A Red Earth camp (probably at Minawatimihk) in the summer of 1907. Photograph by W. McInnis, Geological Survey of Canada (Public Archives of Canada).

Moose and deer hunting at Red Earth was conducted in a manner somewhat different from that employed by the Crees of the Precambrian Shield to the north. These Crees, some of whom I have observed on the Churchill River, hunt by following the shorelines in canoes and stalking any animal that has ventured to the water's edge. At Red Earth, Donald McKay made me particularly cognizant of this difference since, as a young man, he had lived for a time with some Crees north of Moose Lake. He was quite surprised that those people did not track moose over land as the Red Earth people did.

Through to the 1920's, muzzle loaders continued to be commonly used at Red Earth. Also, at least one man regularly used the bow and arrow, as his son, Silas Head, described to me and as Robert Hutton also observed (ca. 1922):

I remember too going to see a deer Richard Head (Silas' father) killed with a bow and arrow just back of John Marcelle's (Lazarus') house. His bow was taller than me at the time and the arrows were bone tipped. They would not let us kids touch that bow and arrow. (pers. com. R. Hutton, March 2, 1974).

Richard Head also used the bow to hunt waterfowl.

However, mosquitoes are so thick in the study region that people are reluctant to leave the hamlets for extended camping trips since, away from the smoke-filled clearings about the settlements, insect attacks are continuous. While complete clothing of the body and the use of switches is adequate to keep mosquitoes away, in some summers they are so thick that it is difficult to breathe properly. Insects are inhaled with every breath and become lodged in the wind-pipe

(this was the case in the summer of 1975). Europeans have complained of the mosquitoes in this region for centuries, with perhaps one of the earliest references by Anthony Hendry in 1754:

The Musketoos are now intolerable, giving us neither peace day or night; paddled 14 miles up the River West, when we came to a French House (Burpee 1907:325).

The problem in the delta is that it is low and wet, the vegetation lush, almost jungle-like, and at water level the air is still. Two centuries after Hendry, Harold Kemp was also to write of mosquitoes in the Saskatchewan River delta:

We learned most of all about the Red Earth mosquitoes.

Our house had screened windows and screened doors. The mosquitoes crawled right through them. They smothered us by day, they drove us mad at night. Only when Elsie had made big mosquito bars for the beds did we get any rest at all. Days were a torture. It was bearable if one kept moving around, but relaxation was out of the question. Spray insecticides were yet to be invented, so our only salvation was to smoke the pests out (Kemp 1956:91).

Lacking fish in the river, the dogs were fed a straight diet of moosemeat. They took on all the characteristics of wolves. They had to be tethered the year around. In the mosquito season, their muzzles were soon bare from scratching. When we discovered this, we had to build a big smudge fire for each dog. Day and night the fires were kept going. It was well that our property, including the dog kennels, was fenced; for all night long the Indian cattle and horses stampeded through the bush, berserk from the tortures of the mosquitoes (Kemp 1956:92).

It is little wonder, therefore, that the Red Earth people preferred to live in their smoke-filled tipis through the summer. (Plate 9).

During the summer some berry picking also occurred.

Berries which were and are eaten include chokecherries, saskatôons, raspberries, strawberries, blueberries, and bog and highbush cranberries. With the exception of chokecherries and the cranberries all of these are very tasty. Unfortunately, only the astringent chokecherries and high bush cranberries were available in quantities large enough to be a significant addition to the diet. Saskatoons are much esteemed but they often bloom so early (third week of May) that the blossoms are frozen. These berries are not only tasty but they ripen relatively early; by the middle of July. In these years they are gathered in large quantities, dried, and used in a variety of ways, including with pemmican. Blueberries are also a favourite berry but these occur mainly on the sandy beachlines along the base of the Pasquia Hills and expeditions to pick these were not often made.

While highbush cranberries are ubiquitous and may be found in any second growth, chokecherry copses in this area tend to be most abundant to the south, about and beyond Natakam where the land is higher and drier. Only rarely is there a failure in either berry crop and large quantities are gathered. The cranberries begin to ripen towards the middle of August while chokecherries do not ripen until late August or early September. Berry picking was normally a family project as members travelled to the berry patches by horse, canoe, or foot and spent the day there. Of

course, much of the berry picking was carried out from the haying camps. The chokecherries were crushed, whole, between flat stones (in 1972 I was shown two mano and metate-like stones used for this). (Plate 10). The crushed berries were then eaten with pounded meat, as pemmican. In later years jam was apparently made from cranberries but this was necessarily dependent upon the availability of large quantities of white sugar.

Until the late 1930's outside wage opportunities during this season were limited. A few men were employed by the (still distant) farmers (Plate 11) and, as well, The Pas Lumber Company hired some men to work on barges on the Carrot River. Other work, on the reserves, involved care of the potato gardens (Plate 12) and, possibly, the cattle and horses (for details concerning wage labour, livestock raising and gardening, see Appendix III). The Indian Affairs' reports indicate that the Red Earth people became involved in cattle raising on their own, by the 1880's. Of course, they had kept horses since the beginning of their residence in the Red Earth region. On the whole, the annual reports of the Indian Agents over emphasize the importance of cattle (and perhaps gardens, too) at Red Earth. For instance, in 1890 Joseph Reader (1891:50) noted:

At Shoal Lake I do not perceive much general advancement, except in raising cattle. There are, however, individual cases of decided improvement, but at Red Earth, where most of the Indians are still heathens, the advancement made towards self-support is remarkable. It is an excellent place for farming and cattle raising, and in these two things this band excels. One Indian informed me that he planted last spring thirty bushels of potatoes, and at my visit to the Mountain last



Plate 10. Stones used for crushing berries. Photograph by D. Meyer, summer 1972.



Plate 11. Red Earth workers in the Connell Creek farming district, summer, 1945.



Plate 12. Hilling potatoes. Photograph by D. Meyer, June 1972.



Plate 13. Raking hay to be stacked, at a marsh near the Man River. Photograph by D. Meyer, August 1972.

winter I learned that some families were still using potatoes grown the year before last.

The Indian Agents were largely reacting to the fact that this was the only reserve group in the Pas Agency which evinced any interest in keeping livestock and in gardening.

In the first decades of this century there were three or four men who kept relatively large herds of cattle (15 to 30 head) while most men had only two or three or none. Those men with fewer cattle were freer to carry out hunting and trapping activities and may have been able to obtain more cash. However, the "cattlemen" were not at a complete disadvantage in the cash quest since beef was placed in an economic sphere apart from that of wild meat. Whereas moose meat was (and is) completely shared, beef was (and is) normally sold. Although I have no evidence, I suspect that this practice was encouraged by the Department of Indian Affairs so that men would find it worthwhile to raise cattle. The Red Earth people found it possible to integrate this practice into a small local cash economy.

Late in the summer the most important activity of the season occurred - haying. (Plate 13). In 1971 I was told the haying should begin on July 20. In fact, no such precision in starting exists; however, by late July those men who intend to make hay will be found at the meadows (marshes). Hay making at Red Earth has apparently always been a happy, relaxed activity, accompanied by considerable excitement on the part of younger individuals. Depending on the weather, haying may be completed in a couple of weeks or

drag on for many weeks. In the latter case any level of excitement is soon smothered.

Haying at Red Earth is a group, co-operative, activity which involves several partners. These men bring their families and camping equipment to the hay marshes, which are normally not more than six or seven kilometers from a hamlet. Here, a single group camp or several isolated camps will be established, depending on the terrain and the inclination of the individual adults. It is apparent that the generally positive attitude towards the haying process is an old one, since my older informants spoke wistfully of the pleasant times at the hay camps early in this century.

Francis Daniels (an outsider who married-in) recalled that it was customary for all of the men and the older boys to work. The chief, Jeremiah Nawakayas, was particularly strict in ascertaining that everyone did do their share of work. Depending on the climatic fluctuations over the decades, various areas have been available for haying at different times. The hay meadows are simply marshes which hold water in the spring but by late summer are relatively "dry". There exists in these marshes a delicate ecological balance - wet enough to prevent the growth of trees but dry enough to allow the lush growth of sedges and certain grasses. If there is a series of dry years, willows will begin to invade the margins of these hay marshes. Although there have been attempts in the last two decades to introduce the use of tractors in haying, this has not proved generally successful - the tractors become stuck too often. As a result horse-drawn mowers and rakes continue to be used - as they

have been since at least 1910 (Fischer 1911).

Haying at Red Earth, then, has always been a co-operative activity. This was probably necessitated in the 1880's and 1890's when men attacked a marsh, all together, each with a scythe. When the grass was dry it was gathered into small piles with forks. These forks were frequently made of the forked branches of a willow. Two poles were then slipped under each of the small piles and in this fashion two men carried them to where a larger stack was being made. In later years the government supplied horse-drawn mowers and rakes, both of which greatly increased the amount of hay which could be made in a given time.

Reflecting the general division of the Red Earth people into four bands; during the first half of this century there were also four haying groups (this was also the case in 1971). Members of the Natimihk hamlet cut hay at marshes adjacent to their settlement or a few kilometers up the Carrot River. The members of the Wawinahk group were able to cut hay immediately to the north, about the south-western edge of Red Earth Lake in drier years but otherwise they cut hay on the northeastern side of the lake. The Sokawatikoskahk group maintained their haying camp to the east, along the Man River while the Natakam band cut hay to the east of the southern reserve, along the eastern side of Red Earth Creek or in the marsh separating the two reserves. This hay was piled in small stacks 10 to 12 feet high, each of which had a stake pushed through it to prevent wind loss.

Takwakin

When enough hay had been cut, the families returned to their hamlets and prepared to once again vacate them. Preparations were made for the autumn moose hunt. This fall hunt was again organized about the four band divisions at Red Earth and four camps were established in the various hunting grounds. These camps exhibited all of the characteristics of local band groups. Each was composed of a core of primary kin, usually siblings. Around this core there was considerable flexibility as to just which families might decide to join a camp in any given year. However, as is usual, one joined a camp in which one could trace a primary kin tie.

Two of these moose hunting camps operated to the south of Red Earth. In the late 1800's one of these was focused about the sons of Mihkwanakeskam. However, by 1930 this band had changed its personnel, to some extent, as outlined in Chapter VI. This band camped on Red Earth Creek, several miles south of the reserve there. The camping place had to have a good supply of dry wood (to smoke and aid in drying the moose meat). There also had to be plenty of feed available for the horses.

The other group which camped to the south was the Natakam band. One member of this group was Silas Head, one of my informants. These people camped on the Cracking River, to the southwest of Red Earth. In general there was a considerable exchange of families, from autumn to autumn, between the Cracking River and Red Earth camps.

The inhabitants of the Natimihk and Wawinahk hamlets also established autumn moose hunting camps. The people of Wawinahk travelled by canoe up Kennedy Creek, having first crossed Red Earth Lake. Obviously, horses could not be taken. Joel Whitehead, who had normally been a member of this group, stated that since there were no horses along, camp could be established in one place during the whole hunt - there was no necessity to move once the horses consumed all the local grass. However, since these people did not have horses, they were forced to carry the moose meat to their canoes themselves. A whole moose could be carried by five men.

The families of Natimihk also formed a fall moose hunting camp, but they travelled up the Carrot River, sometimes as far as the present farming district of Battle Heights. These families took both canoes and horses since the terrain allowed the use of both. Again, from year to year, there seems to have been a good deal of mixing of the personnel of the Natimihk and Wawinahk camps. For instance, when I asked a son of Adam Head who his father used to camp with during the fall moose hunt, he named every family head at both Natimihk and Wawinahk. He also stated the Alfred Head sometimes joined the Red Earth Creek camp.

These camps were composed of several nuclear families, therefore, each with its own tent. In the late 1800's these were canvas tipis but by the second decade of this century wall tents were becoming common. The camps had been established by the middle of September. However, Joel Whitehead stated that before the families established a base camp, a couple of men would first examine

the area for signs of moose. If these animals were not present, the camp would be set up where moose were believed to be available. However, these camps were always in the same general region and there were some places where moose were always present - here camps were established without any prior scouting.

If a family had many children, some of the smallest would be left at Red Earth with their grandparents. Nursing infants naturally accompanied their mothers. Every few days, individuals from the hunting camps would return to the hamlets, mainly to check that all was well with those who had been left behind. However, these trips were also used to convey moose meat back to the settlements and to obtain potatoes to take back to the hunting camps. In a good fall hunt up to 20 animals might be taken by the men of one camp. At this time of the year, moose were called within rifle range, by the use of birch bark cones, since this is the mating season. Joel Whitehead indicated that the moose could only be hunted at the beginning of the rutting season since after that the meat became rank.

As a result of the butchering process used by the Red Earth people, a moose is reduced to ten manageable pieces. Donald MacKay emphasized that all parts of the moose are eaten, including the innards and genitalia: "The whitemen, they leave the guts. The Indians, they eat everything. The white people waste meat". The butchered sections were packed to the base camp on horseback and the women, assisted by the older men, cut the meat from the bones. This was dried (Plate 14)



Plate 14. Smoking meat for a wedding banquet. Photograph by D. Meyer, summer, 1972.



Plate 15. Plucking ducks for a graveyard feast. Photograph by D. Meyer, summer, 1971.

and, if time allowed at the camp, pounded. The bones were also smashed and boiled to obtain bone grease.

At the end of September the fall moose hunt came to a close and the families returned to their hamlets with a large supply of dried meat and bone grease. That moose were actively hunted in September is to be expected since they are very fat at this time of the year. However, why the Red Earth Crees organized expeditions which left the hamlets almost deserted for some weeks is not clear. Harold Kemp also found this hunt puzzling:

Then they went on to tell me of a procedure that I had not previously encountered among any Indians I had had connection with. These were the "moose Hunt" and the "duck hunt".

Explained to me, the Red Earth natives went off in October - the Rutting Month - to hunt moose. The meat so acquired would either be dried, converted into pounded meat, or mixed with fat and cranberries and made up as pemmican. The hides of the animals would be for the natives' own use, the surplus turned in to one of the two stores (Kemp 1956:93).

Kemp is mistaken in stating that the hunt took place in October. In fact, it rarely extended into this month. Kemp's previous experiences among Crees had been in northern Saskatchewan where, apparently, this hunt was not carried out.

As Kemp has indicated, the moose hunt was closely followed by the duck hunt. However, the potatoes were dug between the hunts or during the duck hunt (if the older people had not harvested already). This hunt was less organized than the moose hunt and was confined to the marsh areas relatively near the settlements:

The duck hunt followed the moose hunt, reaching its peak when the northern ducks came south on their regular migration and stopped off in the swamps surrounding the settlement. Then the birds would be killed in great quantities. From what I was told, the natives would gorge themselves on the meat, use the feathers for robes and pillows, and put up the fat of the birds for winter consumption (Kemp 1956:93).

During this hunt shotguns were used to kill the ducks. The men generally went out hunting every day and some groups of hunters stayed out for a few nights. The ducks were brought back to the hamlets for the women to pluck and clean (Plate 15). They were then processed in any of three ways. Large numbers were plucked, gutted, split in half down the back bone, and then salted away in wooden boxes. These boxes were buried outside for winter use. Since the weather was quite cool by this time there was not much chance of this meat spoiling. On occasion ducks were also smoked and dried, and third, some ducks were boiled for their grease.

Waterfowl provide a highly esteemed feast food at Red Earth and, in the past, were the focus of considerable religious activity. In 1971 I did not observe any ritual involving waterfowl; however, these birds formed the most important course of all banquets. During and after such meals people frequently commented on how good the duck was. As in earlier years, ducks continue to be stored for important occasions such as Christmas and New Years. Although they are often stored in freezers now, they are still sometimes salted.

Although not frequently mentioned by my informants, of considerable importance to the Red Earth people, in terms of making

life more comfortable, were the great quantities of feathers plucked from the waterfowl. These were (and are) saved and used to stuff feather quilts (or robes, as Kemp terms them).

By the middle of October the waterfowl migration is largely ended, although geese do continue to pass through until the third week of this month. However, the latter have never been numerous in the Red Earth region. During this period of the fall, repairs to buildings were made, in anticipation of winter. Houses were plastered with a new layer of clay and chopped hay and this plaster was white-washed when it had dried. Animal sheds were also repaired or built and corrals were mended as well. The cattle and horses were rounded up and sorted, to be kept through the winter by their respective owners. After the duck hunt had ended, some men would ask for credit (from the H.B.C. or the Revillon Freres) to make an early hunt for fine furs. Especially important in this regard was the marten. In addition, lynx, fisher, mink, and weasels were taken at this time. After about two weeks the trappers returned to Red Earth, paid off their debts and used any money that was left over until it was gone.

Mikiskaw

Before freeze-up, families travelled by canoe to the early winter trapping camps, located in proximity to the muskrat marshes. During freeze-up the early winter trapping season began. Prior to the 1920's the government did not prohibit fall muskrat trapping and, during November, this was an important activity. This early winter "rat hunt" was quite literally a hunt since it was carried out largely

by the use of the rat spear: Harold Kemp also described this activity - as practised in the Cumberland House area to the north of Red Earth:

Napāo then took his rat spear, three feet long, barbed, and affixed to a slender pole, and probed the house till he found a spot where the wall was the thinnest (Kemp 1956:57).

Napāo showed me something else. He indicated one of the pushups. "I think a rat is in there".

Over the glare ice he tiptoed towards it, spear raised. Within striking distance, the spear drove down. There was a commotion within the push-up, a shaking of the spear itself. With two quick motions of his trapping hatchet, Old Napāo knocked the pushup apart and clubbed the squirming rat on the head (Kemp 1956:58).

Muskrats were also taken with the foot trap at this time and this activity was much the same as when it was carried out during the spring hunt (Fig. 16).

A minor activity, restricted to the late fall and early winter, was fishing with the use of a weir. At this time of the year, November, the ground is frozen but the creeks remain free of ice. Joel Whitehead knew of only one creek where this type of fishing was carried out. This was Kipocakay Sipisis (Jam Creek) which joins Kennedy Lake and the Carrot River. After the spring flood, water drains out of Kennedy Lake into the Carrot River and this continues through autumn and winter. In early winter, Joel explained, there is a run of fish out of the shallow lakes into the deeper waters. Since Jam Creek is fairly shallow, it is not difficult to build a weir there. First a "fence" of poles and sticks was built right across one part of the creek. Then another fence was built, somewhat upstream, and this fence had an opening in it through which the fish could enter.



Plate 16. Lazarus Nawakayas, Silas Head and Ole McKay with muskrats and trapping tools, ca. 1945. Photographer unknown.



Plate 17. A "Red Earth" sled dog, purchased from Cumberland House, winter of 1970-71. Photograph by D. Meyer.

A small party of men built the weir and during the day they collected the fish which were trapped. They used their rat spears to impale the fish. The fish were "cleaned out" of the weir about four times a day and between each cleaning everyone remained away from the weir in order that fish would not be frightened away. The wives of these fishermen gutted the fish and smoked them. These fishing families remained at Jam Creek for about a week and then transported themselves and their catch back to the hamlets, by dogteam.

In this regard the Indian Agent, Joseph Reader, made this observation during the course of his visit in December of 1884:

"At Red Earth most of the men were away trying to catch a few diminutive jack-fish they had discovered in a certain creek" (Reader 1886:65).

Although December is late for weir fishing, this was a famine winter and this is likely the activity referred to. Red Earth people have never set nets under winter ice and this would not likely be possible in a creek anyway.

Pipon

The use of dogteams at Red Earth has never been a universal or particularly successful custom. Such teams were first introduced in the late 1800's and at this time sleigh dogs were obtained from The Pas bands. Dogteams appear to have been used only because they were preferred to the horse for use on the trapline. However, dogs (Plate 17) proved a problem because it was difficult to obtain large

quantities of fish to feed them and, as Kemp has indicated, the insects severely tortured these tethered animals through the summer. In general, horses were preferred since they needed much less care, could generally be left to forage for themselves and, being less dangerous, did not have to be kept tethered. At Red Earth there are never more than a few dogs allowed to roam since free animals tend to form packs which attack cattle and horses. Horses, of course, are also preferable for winter chores such as hauling firewood and hay. They were also used on the trapline and, if hay was not taken along, would be left to forage for themselves about the trapping camp.

The trapping camps were composed of two or three families. The heads of each of these families were either partners or close kin - siblings or parents and offspring. Around the turn of the century the dwellings at the trapping camps were either tipis or mikiwap 'wooden tent'. By the 1920's these encampments had changed somewhat:

Unlike the trips I had made and was still to make in the northern rock country, these entailed little hardship. The trapping camps were only a few miles apart and the farthest not much more than a day from the village. Some of the camps were flat-roofed houses, some were tents, some smoke-yellowed tepees. Of the lot I preferred the tepees (Kemp 1956:104)

Kemp's paragraph reveals the relative richness of the Red Earth region - so productive that traplines were located quite near one another.

Men with cattle were not able to take their families out to isolated trapping camps. However, since fur was one of the major sources of cash, these men had to trap as well. They simply travelled out to their traplines every few days. If they camped out for a few nights their wives and older children would care for the livestock. However, the fur take of these men was probably not any less than that of trappers working out of camps. Most traplines were near the hamlets anyway.

Winter traplines were used by the same family year after year. They were normally established in the same regions that individuals of a given band exploited during the fall moose hunt. Thus members of the Sokawatikoskakh group had their lines scattered to the south and southeast of Red Earth - in some cases as far as the lower reaches of the Pasquia Hills along the Man River. The Natakam band continued to utilize the area around the Papikwan River and the headwaters of the Cracking River. On the other hand the members of the hamlet at Natimihk spread out to the west, generally not more than 15 kilometers from their settlement. The families at Wawinahk established their traplines to the north, sometimes as far as the Sipanok Channel. Although the metal foot trap was used to make most sets, lynx snares and wooden deadfalls were also in common use.

At times the men in all regions went on longer trapping-hunts. Those which were described to me were carried out by men from Natimihk and Wawinahk with the express purpose of procuring beaver (Plate 18). In the early decades of this century very few beaver



Plate 18. Stretched beaver pelts at Red Earth, ca. 1945. Photographer unknown.



Plate 19. Hares are shot and snared throughout the year. Photograph by D. Meyer, spring, 1971.

remained in the immediate Red Earth region. In fact, for all practical purposes, beaver in this whole region were extinct by 1935. Joel Whitehead described a journey undertaken by he and his father in about this year, to look for beaver. They executed a huge circle around Red Earth and found no sign of beavers.

However, beaver ponds were present on the Petaigan River 50 kilometers to the west and two or three men sometimes journeyed there in the winter to spend a few weeks killing beaver. These journeys were considered too arduous for women and children. Extended hunts were also carried out on the Torch River far to the north, reached by travelling north to the Saskatchewan River, and following this river north to the mouth of the Torch. This river was then followed to the west, almost as far as the present town of Choiceland and here beaver were trapped. At this point these men were almost 130 kilometers away from Red Earth, the greatest distance ever travelled in the course of trapping pursuits.

These trapping hunts could be carried out in any area which was not occupied by established traplines. Occasionally they were conducted much closer to Red Earth. For instance Donald McKay told of a trapping hunt which he and Josiah Whitehead organized when they were young men. The following account is taken from notes written while Donald told the story of the hunt:

When I was a young man I spent almost three weeks trapping with Jh.W.H. early one winter. We trapped hard (e.g. intensively) along the Sipanok Channel. Straight north of here there is a Pas Lumber Company camp, Number Six. We camped at Six and I set out a trapline to the east while Jh. went west of Six. This

was before Christmas and we had a hard time travelling there. We each took a small toboggan, about six feet long, and on these we placed our grub, traps, tent, etc. Jh. carried a little heater for the tent on his toboggan, along with his traps too. We took lots of bannock, milk, and sugar for two weeks. There was not much snow that time.

We call that Joel's slough. We camped there one night and the next day we put a few traps out as far as Camp Six and we took some things up there. We left our blankets at Joel's slough. We pretty near took everything, and just had a few traps left. The next morning we took everything to Camp Six. We started trapping the next morning. On the east side it was about four miles to the end of my trapline. Jh. trapped on the west side. There were three sloughs there to trap mink on. The next morning we moved again, to "Tar Paper Shack", three miles north of Camp Six. We did a little trapping on the trail. We put up a second tent one mile north of Tar Paper Shack. We camped there again. The next morning we trapped on the north side of the shack. Straight north of the Shack there is a slough on the middle (?) a half a mile long. We trapped together there and then returned to camp.

The next morning we went to the Saskatchewan Slough (by the present Cumberland road) at the end of the old Saskatchewan. Here we trapped mink. There were a lot of mink that time. Then, the next morning we shot squirrels. We did this everyday and got a lot of them, sometimes 70, sometimes 53 (D.M. has almost total recall for details such as this). We would check our traps every two days. We came back to Camp Six to see our traps the next morning. I would go east, Josiah west. We would spend three nights at Camp Six and the next morning shoot squirrels again. Then we went back to Tar Paper Shack to see the mink traps. I got eight mink, Jh. got six. A large mink at that time was worth \$35.00. After two weeks we came home. I got 380 squirrels, 4 fisher, 4 lynx, 9 mink, and 40 weasels. Jh. had 300 squirrels, 9 mink, no fisher or lynx, and 35 weasels.

We had taken 24 pounds of flour, 12 cans of milk, 6 pounds of sugar and lots of fruit (cans). We kept the bannock frozen outside and cut one in half and fried it to eat it.

Jh.'s father, Jb.W.H., worried about him since he was staying out so long. When we came home we found out that they had wanted to hunt for us. Jh's father and father-in-law. I was the boss but I told Jh. that it was up to him to say when he wanted to come home. Whenever I asked him he would say, always, "Oh, another two days". Jh, he liked to stay there. It is about 18 miles to Camp Six, 25-27 miles to Saskatchewan Slough. Jh. wanted to stay and make money, he didn't want to come home, ha, ha!

While the trapping hunt which these two young men carried out was not entirely usual - as evidenced by the anxiety of their families- it does indicate the manner in which traplines were established in an unclaimed area. Both men had traplines closer to Red Earth but they knew they could make an unusually good hunt in the relatively unexploited area to the north.

The families at the trapping camps returned to their hamlets before Christmas in order to celebrate that holiday and New Years. After New Years, during the coldest part of the winter, most animals do not move around very much. During this time some trapping was continued but it was generally not very productive. While trapping was not successful during this period, moose hunting, in contrast, was. At this time of the year the moose begin to move off the Pasquia Hills and down onto the lowlands. As a result a shortage of meat at Red Earth was unusual during the winter.

Some fishing was also carried out during the winter. The method employed was to cut a hole in the ice of the Carrot River and angle. When fishing, hay was piled around the hole and the fisherman kneeled on this while he dangled his baited hook in the water. Joel Whitehead stated that this method of fishing was adopted from

The Pas people and it is true that this procedure is well documented for those Crees in the late 1800's. The fish which were caught were impaled through the gills, on long sticks. These sticks, holding dozens of fish, were hung up to freeze, in which state they were stored on the cache platforms. The largest fish were kept for the children to eat; the remainder were used as dog food. These were mainly jackfish (northern pike), the remainder being pickerel (walleye).

Around all winter camps and around the hamlets, lines of rabbit snares were present. These snares were simple sliding loops of brass wire suspended over the paths made by these animals in the snow. If the population was high, this was a simple way in which to obtain substantial numbers of these small animals (Plate 19). These snowshoe hares were also shot and snared through the summer, but at this time the activity was much more desultory and opportunistic. Although Red Earth people seldom or never mention rabbits when describing the subsistence round early in this century, it is apparent that these animals were relied upon in times of food shortage. This was probably due to the general lack of fish in this region. Unlike many other Crees and Saulteaux, the Red Earth people seem never to have made robes of rabbit skins. Presumably the down quilts served this purpose.

Sikwan

Well before spring break-up, the winter traps were taken up and by the third week of March the first phase of the spring muskrat

hunt began. By this time of the year the activities of the muskrats through the winter have built up "pushups" under the snow (Plate 20). These pushups are composed of the leftovers of vegetable meals which these animals have brought up through openings in the ice. As this activity is continued the pile of plant refuse grows until a visible hump appears in the snow. These hummocks become especially obvious as the first thawing days begin to compact the upper layers of snow. Other humps under the snow contain the lodges which the muskrats have built the previous autumn. Foot traps are placed in both the pushups and the houses during this early part of the spring trapping season. During this season and the next, *miyoskamihk*, the men usually took their families out to trapping camps. There were, though, good muskrat marshes adjacent to the hamlets and some men would trap at these, using their homes as operational bases. Since muskrats are so widespread and numerous, established trapping territories did not exist during this season. Rather, each man simply found an area which was not already taken.

Miyoskamiw

Usually the trappers managed to gauge the time of the spring break-up accurately and pick up their traps in time. However, some years the headwaters of the Carrot River, to the southwest of Red Earth, received warm weather and the trappers in the delta did not realize that flood waters were on their way. Kemp wrote of the results of unexpected floods:



Plate 20. Late winter muskrat trapping. Photograph by D. Meyer, March 1971.



Plate 21. Women carrying firewood past the store complex. Photograph by D. Meyer, April 1971.

But the Indian, deferring payment until the spring, often found himself short; the beaver and muskrat hunts were not enough to cover his indebtedness.

This was especially true at Red Earth. Up the Carrot River from Red Earth, up in the farming country; lay Waterhen Lake. Every year or so, due to heavy snowfalls, Waterhen would overflow its limits and the resultant floods would inundate Red Earth. As the country was mainly swampy country - muskrat country - disaster for everyone followed. Muskrat houses disappeared, the traps inside them disappeared, the Indian made absolutely no hunt, and the traders were left holding the bag (Kemp 1956:92).

Kemp must be exaggerating when he states that disaster must necessarily follow the flood for the hunt following it was both extensive and intensive. This hunt was carried out from canoes, and traps were set along the edges of the lakes and inundated marshes, or on still visible lodge roofs. The men worked steadily day after day, as did their wives who might have to skin hundreds or even thousands of these small animals. Robert Hutton has provided some indication of the numbers taken:

Rats were on a decline when we went in on our own. Spring of 1936 we bought about 8,000 and the next year only half that number and in 1938 we only got about 800. The gov't closed trapping of rats for several years then. (Per. com. Robert Hutton March 2, 1974).

This period is a few years later than that under consideration here and provides an indication of the degree to which the drought years of the 1930's affected even the Red Earth region.

At this time of the year many men turned their cattle loose to fend for themselves since no one had time to look after them. Since there is not yet any new grass in late April and early May,

these animals sometimes starved, and a few died. In 1971 I noticed that during this spring trapping session the women were left to perform those chores which their husbands normally carried out. These included feeding the cattle (from stockpiled hay) and getting firewood. Through the winter the men had taken their teams and sleighs into the forest about once a week to cut dry logs for firewood. In the spring the women gathered firewood on a much smaller scale, with the help of their older children. Wives, in groups of three or four, walked away from the hamlets along the levees (Plate 21). Each woman carried an axe or a swedesaw. The wood that was gathered was tied up in a bundle and carried on the back.

While this muskrat hunt was in progress many of the women found time to tap maple trees. In this they were assisted by the older men. There were four areas near the settlement where trees were tapped. One extensive grove was to the east of Mamihk about a kilometer, another was along the Cracking Creek where it joins the Carrot River at Minawatimihk, a third was around the settlement at Wawinahk, and the maples to the west of Natimihk were also tapped. This activity began about the end of March and would continue until the leaves came out (about the third week of May).

The women did not lay claim of ownership to any of these groves, although they did choose trees near their homes. Joel Whitehead indicated that one woman would tap about 40 trees. To obtain the sap a small cut was made at a slant across the bark. At the lower edge of this slit a chip of wood was inserted to intercept the flow of sap

and lead it to drip into a container sitting below. In the earlier years birch bark containers were made to catch the sap. These were rectangular and folded from a single sheet of bark so that they would not leak. Also, in the early years before large numbers of metal containers were available, wooden troughs were hewn out of tree trunks and these were used to store the sap until it could be boiled.

The sap was collected three times a day, morning, noon, and evening. The morning collection might yield three five-gallon pails full from the night's flow and the process of boiling this was begun immediately. Joel Whitehead observed that there were several factors which affected the flow of maple sap. For instance, if there was no frozen ice along the river edge (e.g. it had not frozen over night) there would be hardly any sap flowing. If thin ice had formed during the night a great deal of sap would flow during the day. If it was very windy little sap would run. In addition, if it had rained or snowed through the night all of the sap was discarded since it could not be used if it was mixed with water.

The women generally made all of the sap into syrup while they were in the forest. Dead wood was gathered in the groves to keep the boiling-fires going. The syrup was stored in gallon jugs in a cool place. It could not be kept in this state through the summer as it would spoil. For this reason all of it eventually was boiled down to make sugar. To do this the women used a frying pan and boiled the syrup in small batches which were poured into enamel dishes. The women sold some of the sugar at the stores. The standard size was a portion which had been poured into an enamel cup to a depth of about

an inch. Two of these sold for one dollar. Most of the sugar was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company since the older women used the money so derived to buy "Company Tea". Some of this sugar also was sold at The Pas.²

This maple sugar also was kept through the summer and winter for use on special occasions. When the graveyard was cleaned in the spring some maple sugar was left on some of the graves. The sugar also was brought out at Christmas and New Years to be eaten at the holiday feasts. A certain amount was also pounded up and mixed with pounded meat to make sugared pemmican.

During the late spring, as the flood waters subsided, fish nets were set in the Carrot River. Twine was provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and the people made their own nets. Joel Whitehead indicated that early in this century the Red Earth people did not know how to make such nets; however, they had learned from the people at The Pas. An especially good river for netting fish was the Man River and some families camped near its mouth for part of the summer, fishing. These families were from Sokawatikoskahk and Wawinahk. The most important fish caught at this season was the goldeye. The women filleted these and carefully dried them. They then pounded the dried fillets into a powder which would keep indefinitely. After filleting, the remains of these fish were boiled up in pails. Before boiling the liver was removed from each fish. The grease which was released was collected for future use and, according to Joel, was comparable to cod liver oil.

When the spring activities were at an end most of the popula-

tion gathered in the hamlets and during the last two weeks of May the gardens were planted - and so the yearly cycle began again.

Notes

- 1 During the provincial moose hunting season in November, the Eurocanadian hunters kill significant numbers of moose around Red Earth. These hunters discard the innards of these animals in the snow. The Red Earth people often salvage such discarded intestines and organs and use them as food in the usual manner.
- 2 Robert Hutton has provided this information concerning maple sugar:

Maple Sugar. We bought a lot of this. One year I brought about 600 lbs to The Pas. One time I ran out of food on a trip and lived on maple sugar for three days. I got very tired of the stuff but did not lose any strength or suffer hunger pains. I don't know how long I could have gone on the stuff (pers. com. March 2, 1974).