

Research Report

An Ethnohistory of the Mikisew Cree First Nation

Prepared for Janes Freedman Kyle

Submitted by:

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1. Introduction and terms of reference

I was requested by Janes Freedman Kyle Law Corporation on behalf of Mikisew Cree First Nation to provide an ethno-historical report with respect to the following questions (e-mail message from Karey M. Brooks, 27 July 2010):

1. Provide an ethnographic description of the people who now form the Mikisew Cree First Nation, including an analysis of how traditional band structures are different from those created by virtue of the Indian Act.
2. Provide a description of the Mikisew traditional territory, including:
 - a. whether there was a pre-contact concept of a “Mikisew territory,”
 - b. the extent to which the Mikisew moved around their territory (including the amount of space required to carry out their traditional activities; the need to be respectful of others’ rights; and the depletion of resources), and
 - c. whether there was any amalgamation of groups (e.g., was there any overlap between local groups and bands through marriage and family connections?).
3. Describe the circumstances around the Mikisew presence in Wood Buffalo National Park in the 20th C and whether their occupation of the Park should be considered when defining the scope of their traditional territory.
4. Describe the Mikisew population growth between the early 20th C and now.
5. Describe how the Mikisew passed on their culture and cultural practices to succeeding generations (e.g., what were their oral history traditions?).

Summary responses

- 1. Provide an ethnographic description of the people who now form the Mikisew Cree**

First Nation, including an analysis of how traditional band structures are different from those created by virtue of the Indian Act.

The Mikisew Cree First Nation was an historic outgrowth of both Cree and Chipewyan people in the Fort Chipewyan region. It is a legal “Indian Band” that was created under the framework of the Indian Act in 1899, when Crees and Chipewyans at Fort Chipewyan negotiated their entry into Treaty No. 8, or, in the eyes of the treaty commissioners, took separate adhesions to the treaty that was first signed at Lesser Slave Lake. If the population had been smaller, there might have been only one Cree-Chipewyan Band, as there was at Fort McMurray. The size of the Cree and Chipewyan populations were sufficiently large that the commissioners created two separate bands, each with its own chief and two headmen, following a government formula. In the past, such Indian bands were administrative units for the convenience of the Department of Indian Affairs. They had no correspondence to the on-the-ground reality of the local bands in which Aboriginal people lived on the land.

The report focuses on the local band structure that was the everyday social reality in northeast Alberta for Crees and Chipewyans, both in the pre-contact past and in the years after they became involved as trappers in the fur trade. Local bands were small, autonomous, co-residential units of production and consumption. They had individual leaders, no single overarching “chief.” Members of the local bands were related to one another by a complex network of kinship ties. Local bands often came together in summer, producing a temporary larger grouping, sometimes called a “regional band,” but the so-called regional bands were not bounded. Membership was fluid between regional bands as well as between local bands.

- 2. Provide a description of the Mikisew traditional territory, including:**
- a. whether there was a pre-contact concept of a “Mikisew territory,”**
 - b. the extent to which the Mikisew moved around their territory (including the amount of space required to carry out their traditional activities; the need to be respectful of others’ rights; and the depletion of resources), and**
 - c. whether there was any amalgamation of groups (e.g., was there any overlap between local groups and bands through marriage and family connections?).**

There was no pre-contact concept of a Mikisew territory, in that there was no entity that could be called the Cree Band until after the signing of Treaty No. 8 in 1899. However, there were lands that Crees and Chipewyans respectively considered their lands to use. Crees and Chipewyans began to intermarry by the mid-19th century, which facilitated peaceful use of the entire northeast Alberta landscape and beyond, as individuals and local bands moved from place to place during the course of each year as well as longer-distance movements that were undertaken for a variety of subsistence and cultural reasons. People moved if they faced what has been called “the law of diminishing returns”: they had to put more effort into food production - hunting, fishing, and gathering - for decreasing results. This factor may have become more important once they became involved in the fur trade, because it can be easy to trap out fur bearers. However, the local bands also did considerable environmental management by using controlled burning, which produced rich habitats that were suitable for most of the animals they hunted or trapped. People and bands also moved for a broad group of reasons I have termed “cultural”: either the husband or the wife had to move at marriage; an internal conflict could lead to relocation of an individual or family group; people might move following a death; people

wanted to travel and see new country. Everyone had the right to live anywhere they had kinsmen or in land that no one else was using at the time. The kinship ties that joined together Aboriginal people from Fort Vermilion to Fort McMurray and points between can be found in genealogies and treaty pay lists that show the extensive connections over a broad landscape.

3. Describe the circumstances around the Mikisew presence in Wood Buffalo National Park in the 20th C and whether their occupation of the Park should be considered when defining the scope of their traditional territory.

Wood Buffalo National Park was created in two stages in 1922 (north of the Peace River) and 1926 (south of the Peace River). Members of both the Cree and Chipewyan Bands were allowed to remain in the portion of the park that was north of the Peace River, because they were covered by treaty. However, in 1926 government officials imposed a different access rule that allowed anyone to remain in the part of the park south of the Peace River if they were there at the time the park was created. All the members of the Cree Band were present in the park and acquired park privileges. Only half the members of the Chipewyan Band were in the park; they acquired park privileges, while their Chipewyan relatives outside the park boundaries did not, even if they had previously used park lands. Park users were economically much better off than First Nations people living outside the park in Alberta, because they were protected from the destruction of animal resources by White trappers who had no interest in conservation. This situation encouraged Crees and park Chipewyans to focus their land use in the park, and in 1946 the park Chipewyans were legally transferred to the Cree band. However, there is evidence for park users continuing to hunt elsewhere, even though new difficulties were introduced in the

1940s when first the Province of Alberta and then the park introduced systems of registered trap lines. The park boundaries do not define the limits of Mikisew Cree traditional lands, but the park remains a very important land use area for this First Nation.

4. Describe the Mikisew population growth between the early 20th C and now.

The Cree Band had a small population of 186 in 1899, when it was created. It suffered from several major epidemics during the first half of the 20th century, but the population recovered and slowly increased. In 1946 the park Chipewyans were transferred to the Cree Band, which was a major addition to Cree numbers.

In the second half of the 20th century, the Cree population began to expand, as did Aboriginal populations across Canada. It had another jump in population after the passing of Bill C-31 in 1985, when the Cree Band developed an “inclusive” membership code which welcomed back to the band people and their descendants who had been involuntarily enfranchised under the Indian Act. The Cree Band became the Mikisew Cree First Nation in 1992. The First Nation’s membership in 2010 is 2,574. but the majority of its members no longer live in Fort Chipewyan or its vicinity. Many of them now reside in Fort McMurray or Fort MacKay.

5. Describe how the Mikisew passed on their culture and cultural practices to succeeding generations (e.g., what were their oral history traditions?).

When Mikisew Cree members lived in local bands in the bush, passing on their culture was a seamless process. Children learned from watching and listening to their parents and grandparents and from taking part in all the activities that occurred. While transmission of

culture in that way is no longer possible, it is still very important to Mikisew members to pass on their culture to their children and grandchildren. While there are some initiatives in the schools, that is not seen as an adequate solution. A more appropriate place for children to learn traditional values is still in the bush, just as it was in the past. Children learn practical skills and a wide range of traditional Cree values that are considered very important not only for today but also for the future.

Presentation of Topics:

Following a short description of my own background as an anthropologist and ethnohistorian, I will address the questions in detail by presenting information and analysis of the information for the following broad topics:

- Who are the Mikisew Cree? Issues of terminology and origins
- Ethnography of people who now form the Mikisew Cree First Nation
- Mikisew Cree First Nation traditional territory
- 20th century restrictions imposed on Mikisew Cree First Nation traditional lands
- Mikisew population growth and relocation
- Maintaining tradition: passing on Mikisew Cree First Nation traditions and cultural practices

A Note on Terminology

In discussing the peoples of the Subarctic in this report, I utilize historically-rooted and often-ambiguous terminologies. The history of terminologies found in northern usages is

complex and little studied. Preferred formal terms today in Canada are “First Nations” instead of “Indian,” and “Métis” for “Half-breed.” These terms often bear little correspondence with the diversity of terms people living in Aboriginal communities use for themselves and others. They also misrepresent former ethnic identifications and cultural situations. The terminology followed in this report endeavors to respect documented historical usages, especially in the use of the term “Indian,” which was the normal term used to refer to Aboriginal people in both Canada and the United States until the late 20th century and was therefore the term used in the *Constitution Act 1982*. Since that time, it has been virtually replaced in Canada by the term “First Nation” for both popular and scholarly uses. I still use “Indian” at times as a collective noun when speaking about more than one group of First Natives, such as Chipewyans and Crees together.

Culturally specific terms are used when applicable, such as “Cree.” “Athapaskans” (as in people who speak Athapaskan languages) or “Dene” are also common terms for the people of the western Subarctic; increasingly, “Dene” has replaced “Athapaskan” in common parlance.

“Métis” is another collective term that commonly signifies people formerly called Half-breeds and Métis. In the north, they may also be Athapaskan or Dene people; the divisions drawn in southern Canada between First Nations and Métis are not as clear-cut or firm in the north (and in southern Canada they may be less clear-cut than they are often represented). “Aboriginal” and “Native” may be used interchangeably as terms for the totality of Aboriginal peoples in the region.

“European,” “Euro-Canadian,” “non-Native,” and “White” all indicate non-Aboriginal persons, most of whom have European ancestry. I normally reserve the term “Euro-Canadian” for non-Aboriginal persons present after Confederation.

2. Personal Qualifications and Areas of Expertise

As I understand what I have been asked to do in preparing this report, I am to provide ethnographic and historical information about the Mikisew Cree First Nation, formerly known as the Cree Band of Fort Chipewyan, with particular reference to their traditional lands. While there is a large literature about Fort Chipewyan, the history of and cultural changes experienced by this First Nation and neighboring First Nations are largely unknown to the general public and managers of industries, whose knowledge has been governed by a set of stereotypes about the nature of the Aboriginal society and what happened to the structure of that society after those people became involved with Europeans, first through the fur trade and later through other forms of involvement with agents representing Canadian federal and provincial governments. I will address these stereotypes and beliefs in the course of this report, because they are important to understanding the impacts on this First Nation of their history of contact with Europeans, especially in the 20th century and into the 21st century. My experience and research have led me to concur with what Hugh Brody wrote in 1981 about the Indians of northeastern British Columbia in his book *Maps and Dreams*: “The Indians’ use of the land, like every other aspect of their way of life, is little known and less understood by outsiders” (1981:146). And, “...the succession of frontiers [fur trade, agricultural, industrial] has not yet proved fatal to the life Indians regard as traditional. There is a strong Indian economy in the region, but it is hidden” (1981:211). This report will construct a picture of the way of life, economy, and pattern of land uses that were part of the life of the Mikisew Cree First Nation ancestors at contact with Europeans and that have persisted, though not unchanged, until today. It will address the impacts of different government jurisdictions and population changes on the First Nation’s pattern of land

use, and it will also outline the various ways in which First Nation members learn about their traditions.

My background for addressing these issues is long-term (41 years), extensive research experience in northern Canada that has comprised field work in communities in northern Alberta, the Mackenzie Valley of the Northwest Territories (NWT), and the Yukon, and related research in archives, museums, and libraries. Northern Alberta and the Mackenzie Valley are covered by Treaties No. 8 and No. 11. I have also done research in the Treaties No. 6 and No. 7 regions, working with both First Nations and Métis topics in the dual contexts of the European fur trade and the expansion of the Canadian nation-state into the Northwest. Much of this research is detailed in my *curriculum vitae* (Appendix 2).

Especially germane is my lengthy history of research and “lived experience” in Fort Chipewyan itself, a community I first visited in 1969. I have spent time “on the land” with various individuals and families, including two trips down the Athabasca River, one of them by canoe, at a time (1975) when some families were still living in small settlements along the river. My research has always been conducted with respect for the oral and written traditions of both community members and other people who have left some record about Fort Chipewyan. My primary goal has been to conduct scholarship of the highest caliber, which means that my own interpretations and understandings are ultimately my own, not dictated by community members, other scholars, or the people for whom I have undertaken related contracts. Conducting ethno-historical research as an academic is a privileged position, and my personal philosophy is that I can best serve everyone’s interests by attaining to scholarly excellence; that is, by striving to achieve the highest possible standard of scholarship in the ways I present and interpret historical

and ethnographic information. Such interpretations may differ from community knowledge or the “conventional wisdom,” whatever its source.

The products of scholarship are not fixed, because the “business” of scholarship is an open-ended and on-going process. Scholars “discover” new knowledge in the process of working with materials such as this report contains. My own interpretations about Fort Chipewyan history have become more sophisticated over time as new information has become available and as I have thought about old problems in new ways. This report is another step in narrating the history of Mikisew Cree First Nation in the broad context of the history of the Fort Chipewyan region, and its content relates directly not only to earlier publications but also to two new books. The first is a major study about Fort Chipewyan (ethno)history that will be published this fall by UBC Press, entitled *Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, 1788-1920s* (McCormack 2010). A second book that continues this story is nearing completion; it will consider the years from the end of World War I until the 1970s, and much of its content derives from my 1984 Ph.D. thesis (McCormack 1984). This two-part case study contains information related to the questions I have been asked to address for this report. Appended to this report is a list of publications and exhibits directly related to some dimension of Fort Chipewyan history (Appendix 1), along with my *curriculum vitae* (Appendix 2). Many of the other publications and papers listed in the c.v. have helped me to think about Fort Chipewyan history and the cultures of its various members in new ways.

In the past, anthropological research among northern Athapaskan and Algonquian peoples relied primarily on both short-term (survey) and long-term fieldwork to learn about the cultures of Aboriginal peoples at or prior to contact and later. Anthropologists relied primarily on

“participant-observation” - living in the community they were studying - and interviews. They heard and sometimes collected formally narratives by Native and non-Native people, although narratives from non-Natives were rarely acknowledged as a source of data. Such observations and stories were supplemented with what they learned from published literature. I am probably the first generation of anthropologist not only to use these traditional approaches but also to make extensive use of archival documents, which has greatly expanded and transformed the field of historical analysis for Aboriginal people.

This approach to anthropology as a discipline is broadly *ethnohistorical*. Multiple definitions of ethnohistory abound, but basically ethnohistorians work in an interdisciplinary fashion, utilizing a wide range of resources and methodologies to produce (ethno)historical narratives, especially (but not exclusively) about groups of people who have been marginalized or excluded from the standard histories of nations. This report is an example of an ethno-historical narrative, and it relies on both ethnographic and documentary evidence to understand the history and evolving culture of people now known as the Mikisew Cree First Nation within the contexts of the European fur trade, the nation-state of Canada, and the Province of Alberta.

Some of the questions I have been asked to answer for this report also relate to subjects about which I teach at the University of Alberta, including: what were the cultural and economic structures of Aboriginal peoples prior to contact with Europeans, how did contact change those Aboriginal people (e.g., what transformed and what persisted), what was their relationship with fur traders and later with agents of the federal and provincial governments, what do we mean when we talk about traditional societies and traditional lands, why do stereotypes about Aboriginal people still persist today, and what impacts have these stereotypes had/continue to

have on policy development?

3. **Who are the Mikisew Cree? Issues of Terminologies and Origins**

The Mikisew Cree First Nation (also, MCFN) has a complex set of origins. Its history reaches back over 300 years to the histories of several diverse Aboriginal and European groups which met and became involved with one another at various times along the lower Athabasca River (from what is now Athabasca, Alberta), the lower Peace River (from what is now Fort Vermillion), the Slave River, and Lake Athabasca, especially its western end. They included:

- Western “Creeps,” a term used as a broad gloss for those speakers of multiple Cree dialects who lived in the parkland belt of the North Saskatchewan River and in portions of the subarctic forest west of Hudson’s Bay. Cree is a language in the Algonquian language family.
- “Chipewyans” (now also known as *Dene Suliné*), people speaking an Athapaskan or Dene language, who lived to the north of these Algonquian-speakers. The lands occupied by Chipewyans and their close relatives, Yellowknives, extended from the eastern portion of Great Slave Lake to Lake Athabasca through the northern portions of what are now Saskatchewan and Manitoba to the west coast of Hudson’s Bay in the Churchill region. The term “Chipewyan” is a Cree term that evolved as a broad gloss for a large number of Athapaskan-speaking peoples living north of Algonquian-speakers whose pre-contact ethno-cultural divisions and identities are not clear to us today.
- People of mixed Aboriginal-European ancestry, commonly called “Half-breeds” or Métis, whose origins were at Fort Chipewyan and other northern locations.

- Other Aboriginal peoples, such as Ojibwa, Iroquois, and people who had mixed-ancestries from other regions (especially the Great Lakes), whose own histories brought them to the Athabasca River and Lake Athabasca region, where they were eventually either absorbed into local Indian societies or contributed to evolving Métis populations, or both.
- European fur traders: Scots, Orcadians, English, French, and French-Canadian men who arrived with the fur trade. Many of these men married women from local Cree and Chipewyan families. Some of these families were absorbed into Cree and Chipewyan societies and identities, while others contributed to evolving Métis identities.
- Euro-Canadians, who were Canadians of European origins who entered the region after the creation of Canada. They dominated federal and provincial administrator sectors that affected the region after 1870.
- Miscellaneous others, including French and English missionaries; fur traders originally from Canada, Lebanon, the United States, and other locations; White trappers with diverse European origins.

In this section I summarize portions of histories of these groups and their social structures and cultures that are relevant to understanding the question: who are the Mikisew Cree? The report will later explain the relationship of these people to the legal bands that were produced in 1899 when local Cree and Chipewyan leaders signed Treaty No. 8 in Fort Chipewyan and neighboring settlements and other Crees and Chipewyans had their names added to the treaty list

and by doing so to the Indian Registry provided for by the Indian Act.¹

The people who became known as Crees were one of the founding populations of a region of the Mackenzie Basin in the vicinity of Lake Athabasca and three rivers: the Slave River and the lower parts of the Athabasca and Peace Rivers. The term “Cree” is historically problematic, and it seems to be an historic extension of a name for one group of Algonquian-speakers to many other groups of people with closely related languages or dialects. The post-contact population now called Crees probably reflected the coalescence at Fort Chipewyan and other western locations of people from different Cree populations. There is evidence for three Cree dialects at Fort Chipewyan itself: /r/, /th/, and /y/. The /y/ dialect, today known as Plains Cree, is the Cree that is spoken there today. Until the fur trade began, the Crees in or on the fringes of the Lake Athabasca region represented the most northwesterly extension of those language speakers in North America.

Crees may have had a toehold in this region for a long time, though whether they were truly established as far north as Lake Athabasca itself prior to the advent of the fur trade is

¹This report does not discuss the process of treaty itself, but it does draw on an extensive literature about Treaty No. 8 that is relatively recent and that is discussed in my forthcoming book, which also presents Aboriginal perspectives (McCormack 2010:chp. 8). Presenters at the Treaty No. 8 Centennial Conference, held in 1999 at Grouard, near the site of the first signing of the treaty, addressed a wide range of related questions, and their papers were published in the conference proceedings, *Treaty 8 Revisited* (Crerar and Petryshyn 1999-2000). From 1999 to 2001, preparations for *Benoit et al. v. The Queen*, a court case arguing the interpretation of a statement in the 1899 report of the treaty commissioners resulted in the production of numerous expert reports about the historical background to Treaty No. 8, the process of making treaty, and oral traditions about the treaty (Irwin 1999; 2001; McCormack and Drever 1999; 2001; Asch and Aasen 1999; Ens 2000; Flanagan 2000). This recent spate of intense public, scholarly, and legal scrutiny highlights diverse and conflicting interpretations about the terms of the treaty and its “spirit,” defined by Richard Price as its “true intent or meaning as opposed to outward formal observance” (Price 1979:xiii).

disputed, thanks to limited and ambiguous archaeological and documentary evidence (Mackenzie 1970:132; Thompson 1962:72-73; J. Smith 1981b; 1987; Wright 1975). Crees have a long history of residency in north central Saskatchewan, and their territories of use may have extended at least to the Lac La Biche and Clearwater River area of northeastern Alberta in the years prior to European arrival (e.g., Russell 1991; Pollock 1978:134). We know little to nothing about their very early relationships with non-Cree peoples with whom they were in contact. Crees and Chipewyans have a lengthy history of enmity, but that may well stem from events of the fur trade itself. While there may have been a hostile interface between them that pre-dates the fur trade, it is more likely that at least some local bands lived harmoniously with one another, facilitated by marriages and possibly partnerships across band lines and producing some interdigitation of local bands within the broad expanse of the interface between Crees and Athapaskan-speaking people. This possibility fits with what we know about relations among local bands elsewhere with more than one language and identity. Conversely, just because people spoke the same language (e.g., Cree or Chipewyan) did not preclude warfare among them.

In 1682, the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Nelson at the mouth of the Nelson River on the west coast of Hudson's Bay (Innis 1964:48). It initiated a period of nearly 100 years during which European influences reached the Athabasca region but before Europeans actually arrived on the scene. Fort Nelson was later replaced by nearby York Fort (later, York Factory) at the mouth of the Hayes River. These early posts were in lands used by Crees, whose proximity to European traders gave them the advantage of location and preferential access to trade goods, including firearms. Crees from this area, possibly joined by more westerly Cree-speakers as well, began to undertake distant trading and raiding trips to Lake Athabasca and beyond. This

period was one of active warfare and hostility. Alexander Mackenzie recorded an oral tradition about a major alliance or peace that Crees made with Beaver Indians (another Athapaskan-speaking group) at “Peace Point” on the Peace River (Mackenzie 1970:238), probably in the mid-1700s.

By the time the first European (Peter Pond) arrived on the Athabasca River in 1778, Crees were established on the Athabasca River down river from the mouth of the Clearwater River. They were named specifically in the English River Book Journal from 1786, which was kept at Peter Pond’s “Old Establishment,” also on the lower Athabasca River (Duckworth 1990:9-11, 13-15). Usefully, Harry Duckworth, who edited the book, included in the publication brief biographies of “Voyageurs and Traders” that also includes Chipewyan and Cree men. Later, Paul Saint-Germain, a North West Company employee, built a “trading house for the Crees” on the Athabasca River near the confluence with the Clearwater (Tyrrell 1968:392; see also Duckworth 1990:168). A post was maintained for their trade long after Fort Chipewyan itself had been established in 1788.

Unraveling the complex history of Cree movements and relocation over the period since first contact and before is probably not possible. Crees have gradually moved into most areas of northern Alberta. In many places, they live beside populations of Athapaskan speakers, who were the occupants of most of northern Alberta prior to the fur trade. For example, in the 19th century and continuing into the 20th century, some Crees who had settled in the Lesser Slave Lake region moved farther north to the Little Red River vicinity of the middle Peace River, which was then occupied by Beavers. The Crees of Little Red River intermarried with and contributed some members to the Cree population of the Fort Chipewyan region (Little Red

River Cree Nation members, personal communication; McCormack n.d.; LAC RG10, Treaty pay lists). People moved about the land by means of foot travel on overland trails and by canoe travel on rivers and lakes. The northern landscape did not impose a barrier to movement to people who enjoyed specialized knowledge about the boreal forest and its features at different times of the year. Moreover, much of northern Alberta and the southern Northwest Territories appears to have been more open - less densely wooded - in the past than it is today, thanks to the maintenance of grasslands and parkland environments by systematic Aboriginal burning practices. None of these Cree populations was so isolated that interaction could not occur among them. The dynamics of Cree population expansion are unclear but relate to both the fur trade and to internal cultural dynamics. Today, Aboriginal people with a Cree identity dominate much of the northern Alberta population landscape.

Chipewyans were the other founding Aboriginal group of this portion of the Mackenzie Basin. Like the Cree, they may have been relative newcomers to the lands west of Lake Athabasca. The original Athapaskan occupants are usually considered to have been the ancestors of the Beavers, who either retreated or were driven westward out of the region by incoming Crees and Chipewyans by the early 19th century (Mackenzie 1970:238; Ridington 1981:357; Wright 1975; McCormack 1984:165; see J. Smith 1987).

Chipewyan movements in the late 1700s were generally south and southwest, from what are commonly considered to have been their former ranges in the transitional tree line bordering the barren grounds into the northeastern corner of Alberta, occupying lands extending from what is now Wood Buffalo Park to the Fort McMurray-Fort McKay area, to Janvier, and to Cold Lake, in response to the presence of fur traders (Thompson 1962:72-73; Mackenzie 1970:125; Simpson

1938:355-6; Gillespie 1975; McCormack 1984:164-7). This statement implies that traditional Chipewyan occupancy was farther to the north than it has been post-contact. However, it is also possible it appears this way because they had retreated northward to avoid warring Crees in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and in the late 18th century to avoid the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1780-82, which was said to have killed large numbers of Chipewyans (Innis 1964:152; Mackenzie 1970:149; Decker 1988). If this were so, they would have been re-occupying lands they used formerly. As with early Cree population dynamics, the details of early Chipewyan expansion will probably never be fully known.

Fort Chipewyan was established on Lake Athabasca in 1788 to accommodate the Chipewyan trade. A 1824-25 report for Fort Chipewyan distinguished between Chipewyans who were “more settled” and those who were “migratory” (HBCA B.39/e/8:fo. 28). This distinction may have been between two groups of Chipewyans that were often distinguished in the fur trade literature: the Chipewyans and so-called “Caribou Eaters,” who made “frequent visits” to Fort Chipewyan both to trade and to visit relatives but who lived elsewhere (HBCA B.39/e/6:fo. 5), especially in the lands surrounding the east end of Lake Athabasca. Chipewyans in the immediate Fort Chipewyan region maintained family connections with both “Caribou Eater” Chipewyans and Chipewyans farther south in the boreal forest, connected by travel routes of lakes, rivers, and especially overland trails.

As it was for Crees, there were no barriers to movement by Chipewyans over extensive regions. In fact, among Chipewyans, it was a source of personal prestige to have had experience with long-distance travel. It enabled the traveler to see first hand new lands, to meet new peoples, and to explore new opportunities for alliances and livelihood. Chipewyans and other

Dene considered such first-hand, experiential knowledge to be the most important and reliable form of knowledge, with knowledge learned by observing others and hearing stories from others vying for second place (e.g., Jean-Guy Goulet 1994; 1998; Henry Sharp 2001; Scollon and Scollon 1979). For instance, in 1717 the “Slave Woman,” a Dene woman also known as Thanadelthur, who had been captured by Crees and escaped to join the English at York Fort, attested to the importance of a “Northern Indian” man who had entered into an alliance with Crees by saying that he was the “Greatest Traveller in ye Country” (March 31, 1717, HBCA B.239/a/3:fo. 38d). In the early 1770s, Samuel Hearne (1958) traveled from the mouth of the Churchill River to Slave River, Great Slave Lake, and the mouth of the Coppermine River, an immense country, with Chipewyans and Yellowknives. Until then, Chipewyans who wanted European goods had to either make long journeys to Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill) or trade locally with Cree middlemen, who themselves made long journeys. Even after the arrival of European traders, Chipewyans continued to be highly mobile, both yearly and over longer periods of time, such as when families would live for a time in the Fort Chipewyan region and at other times in the Fond du Lac/Black Lake region at the east end of Lake Athabasca or in the Namur Lake area on the southern slope of Birch Mountain. Until the mid-20th century, Chipewyans dominated the Aboriginal population of the Fort Chipewyan region (e.g., HBCA B.39/e/6:fo. 3; “Recapitulation: Census of the Population of Athabasca District in 1873,” PAA A.245/1; McCormack n.d.; Govt. of Canada 1966).

The newly-arrived Europeans, virtually all men, were similar diverse. The North West Company was dominated by Highland Scots at Montreal, with a labor force comprising Scots, French-Canadians, and mixed-ancestry people (from fur trade developments in the Great Lakes).

The Hudson's Bay Company recruited heavily in the Orkney Islands, and after 1821 it recruited also from Stornoway, in the Isle of Lewis, and elsewhere (McCormack 1996).

Many of these men married local women, especially Chipewyan women, which began a process that would generate a local "Half-breed" population; Half-breed was a term commonly used in the past in the north for people of mixed Aboriginal-European ancestry, though its meaning did not necessarily refer to cultural distinctiveness. While the term "Métis" is commonly used today for and by that group of people who are not First Nation (i.e., not on a Treaty No. 8 pay list or on the Indian Registry) but are of mixed-ancestry, they should not be confused with Métis of the Red River or Batoche regions of the prairies. Instead, they emerged as a distinctive population of mixed-ancestry people who remained closely connected to their Chipewyan and Cree relatives. Many mixed-ancestry families assimilated into Chipewyan or Cree local bands and today have a Chipewyan or Cree identity; the descendants of other mixed-ancestry families are now considered to be Métis. It is important not to overemphasize an historic distinction between "Indians" and "Half-breeds" in northern Alberta in the 19th century. There is no evidence that the people themselves drew such firm boundaries until after Treaty No. 8 was negotiated. Such an emphasis reflects a European racial consciousness, fostered by political situations at Red River and in the Saskatchewan basin, where in the 19th century "Métis" became politically and militarily powerful. The ethnic distinctions imposed in northern Alberta by government policies at the time of Treaty No. 8 in 1899 were consequences of these developments elsewhere (McCormack 1998).

4. Ethnography of the People who now Form Mikisew Cree First Nation

Both Crees and Chipewyans, as discussed above, must be considered when addressing the ethnography of MCFN, for the following reasons that will be discussed in more detail later in this report:

- In the mid 19th century, if not earlier, Crees and Chipewyans began to intermarry, which provided them access to all the lands that each was using (these lands included as well those lands they had used in the region in the past and that they might reasonably use in the future).
- In 1899, Treaty No. 8 was negotiated with Aboriginal people of northern Alberta. Legal bands under the Indian Act were created at multiple locations in northeast Alberta and adjacent regions:²
 - At Fort Chipewyan, a Cree Band and a Chipewyan Band were created, many members of which had mixed Chipewyan-Cree ancestry (see the point above).
 - At Fort McMurray “and the country thereabouts,” a band was created that contained both Chipewyan and Cree Indians, later known as the Cree-Chipewyan Band.
 - At Fort Vermilion, a band was created that contained both Beaver and Cree Indians.

²In a 1994 paper, Neil Reddekopp called these bands “the fundamental administrative units through which the federal government carried out its functions with regard to Indian people.” “The characterization of Bands and Band membership in the [Indian Act] legislation was incorporated into the numbered Treaties” (1994:2). While “the Treaties presumed the pre-existence of Bands” (*ibid.*:3) with formal leaders and that were presumably ethno-culturally homogeneous, the Indian Act required stand-alone bands to have a minimum membership. In northern Alberta, where numbers of people with specific cultural affiliations were sometimes too small to meet that requirement, people with different cultures or identities were cobbled together to construct legal bands, as they were at Fort McMurray and Fort Vermilion.

- At Smith's Landing, a Chipewyan Band was created.
- At Fond du Lac, a Chipewyan Band was created.
- In 1946, about half the members of the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan were removed from the Chipewyan Band List and added to the Cree Band list, thereby becoming members of that band. That means that the Mikisew Cree First Nation, which is the renamed Cree Band, actually consists of many people who were Chipewyans by culture and in terms of original formal treaty assignment.

The broad structures of Cree and Chipewyan life were, however, the same. I find it useful to think of these structures by using an analytical structure called *mode of production*, which is one way to talk about the internal workings of the Cree and Chipewyan societies, both before and following their integration into the northern fur trade. It includes "...at the most fundamental level both the 'physics' of production and the social relationships human beings enter into in order to motivate (or operate) the technical dimension of production." It is "a structure of material reproduction [that] incorporates both technical and social components" (Asch 1979:88-89). It encompasses the *forces of production* and the *social relations of production*.

The forces of production are the manner by which natural resources are transformed into products for personal use or for exchange and acquire value. They comprise three sets of factors: the raw materials necessary for production; technology, including the infrastructure of production and circulation; and labor, or the organization of labor in the productive process. Resources plus technology are jointly termed the *means of production* (Asch 1979:89).

The social relations of production represent this same set of traits as relations of appropriation between persons. Humans work together in the productive process, but their

relationship to the means of production and their control over their labor and their production vary considerably. The relations of production are concerned with ownership and control of the means of production and of labor and its products. They provide the framework for the network of power that determines who benefits from productive efforts.

The other side of the equation is those institutions collectively termed the *superstructure*, which provides for the reproduction of the system as a whole: “juridico-political and ideological relations that suppress, displace, or misrepresent basic conflicts” (O’Laughlin 1975:349).

Superstructural elements enter into people’s *consciousness* or awareness about their situation and are often expressed as *ideology*, or “an articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs of a kind that can be abstracted as [the] ‘worldview’ of any social grouping” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:24). Such structures are the vehicles by which members of the society recognize the legitimacy of their institutions. They undermine support for challenges from other sectors of the society. In short, the reproduction of a system of relations of production requires the support of and acquiescence to the status quo by the members of the society.

The Domestic Mode of Production

Before they became engaged in the fur trade, the Aboriginal peoples of the Mackenzie Basin had a use-oriented or “domestic” mode of production, in which the primary goal of production was family survival. Asch’s description of this mode of production for the Mackenzie River Dene (1979:90-91; 1977:47-49) can be applied to both Crees and Chipewyans. The forces of production were based on the resources or raw materials comprising the flora and fauna of the boreal forest and transitional tree line biomes. There was considerable diversity of

animal populations regionally and seasonally, and some animals were always considered more important for food as well as for spiritual reasons. For example, moose and caribou were particularly significant species, and they remain so to this day. Some species also fluctuated in number over time. Aboriginal technology was dominated by apparently simple tools for snaring and entrapment and for processing of raw materials. The successful use of these tools was predicated on a rich knowledge of animal behavior and appropriate uses of tools and spiritual power, what Robin Ridington calls “artifice” as well as artifacts (1982:470). People also had the capacity to create and manage landscapes by using fire, another technology requiring extensive, detailed knowledge of ecosystem relationships (1977; 1978; 1982). Travel was by foot and canoe, with limited use of dogs as pack animals, which meant that transport capacity was restricted. People solved the “problem” of the variable availability of game, combined with their limited transportation abilities, by traveling through their lands in search of game, rather than by moving game killed to a central camp. Finally, there was a simple division of labor based on gender and generation, though such a statement overstates the differences between the activities of men and women.

The social relations of production were broadly egalitarian. The unit of production and consumption was the local band, a group of related people who lived together as a co-residential unit or in the immediate vicinity. While this group varied in size over the course of a year and its social history, it was typically a small, face-to-face social unit of approximately 25-50 people. The members of each local band normally produced only what they needed for their own use and were “collectively responsible” for their own physical survival (Asch 1979:90). Together they “owned” and controlled the means of production: the land and its resources, the technology

necessary for production, and all crucial basic knowledge. Henry Sharp points to the portability of such knowledge: “Knowing a territory is not memorizing where things are but understanding how things relate to each other” (2001:38). Mechanisms of reciprocity and sharing, as well as expectations that all persons would learn basic life skills and knowledge, prevented any individual or family from monopolizing crucial resources or products. Leadership reflected an on-going demonstration of personal competence and authority but did not confer coercive power. Leaders led because people chose to follow them (e.g., MacNeish 1956; Goulet 1998:36; Preston 2002:78-9). As James Keith described the Chipewyans in 1825, there were few who warranted the title of “Chief”: “their influence & authority being little known beyond the circle of their own Family” (HBCA B.39/e/8:fo. 28). Little had changed in this regard by the time of treaty in 1899, as the treaty commissioners remarked: “The chiefs and headmen are simply the most efficient hunters and trappers” (Govt. of Canada 1966:8). Every local band had its own leader. When that leader died or became unable to fulfill that role, a relative in the local band would become the new leader; each leader enjoyed personal autonomy; each local band made its own decisions about every aspect of life. People who were unhappy with leadership in any way were free to relocate to other local bands or establish their own bands. There was no paramount “chief,” although there would have been a hierarchy of sorts of influential people that would have changed over time as young people acquired appropriate leadership skills, became older, and demonstrated their worth, and their elders passed away.

Local bands were tied to one another by multiple bonds of kinship, creating social and political interconnections which afforded them a safety net for dealing with variability in resource availability (e.g., Jarvenpa 2004). The regional network of local bands, which was also

the usual marriage universe, comprised what has been termed the “regional band.” While their members occasionally assembled temporarily for seasonal hunting, fishing, or socializing, it was a co-residential unit only briefly. Regional bands did not form cohesive social groups, nor were boundaries drawn between local bands in one regional band and those in another (Helm 1968; Rogers and Smith 1981:141; J. Smith 1981a:276; 1975:439; n.d.:11).³ More important was the network of kinship ties, which reached out in every direction. Marriages could and would occur among members of local bands from different regional bands, especially those whose members met occasionally or regularly.

Asch (1979:91) has summarized the superstructural elements that contributed to the reproduction of this system:

These relations of production were expressed juridicially by a kinship system that, through the use of lateral extensions, incorporated the rights of local production group membership to all Slaveys (and indeed all Dene); an inheritance system that forbade the transmission of land, raw materials, technology, and, indeed, “special” hunting knowledge from one generation to another; and a marriage system that required for its operation the continual outmovement of members of each local production group.

Children were expected to seek their own sources of power and personal ties to the spiritual world, acquiring knowledge independently. This quest for greater knowledge continued through one's life (e.g., D. Smith 1973; Sharp 2001; Preston 2002; Bird 2005; Ridington 1982; Goulet 1998:chps. 2, 3; Asch 1979:91).

The Fur Trade Mode of Production

³This section does not attempt to review the ample literature describing the social structures of Crees and Chipewyans.

When Aboriginal and European peoples met at posts along the Athabasca, Peace, and Slave Rivers and at Lake Athabasca, they had to build bridges between their separate systems of production and meaning, to create a new space that would allow them successfully to negotiate exchanges of furs, foods, and goods. The mode of production introduced by Europeans was a capitalist one. European traders were merchant capitalists, and mercantilism persisted as the dominant form of capitalism in northern Alberta and the rest of the Mackenzie Basin until after World War I. Its goal was to produce profits for the owners of the trading companies.

Merchants are traders, agents of the marketplace. They buy goods from a vendor and sell them to a buyer. They do not engage in direct production and therefore cannot increase the value of the commodities which they buy and sell (Kay 1975:65, 86). Instead, they realize profit by engaging in unequal exchange with producers. At least one transaction “must take place at a price that is not equal to value” (*ibid.*:87).

It was merchant capitalism that “created the framework of the world market and laid the foundations of underdevelopment as well as development” (Kay 1975:94). Merchants broaden their investment possibilities by fostering the expansion of markets and commodity production. In the fur trade, they encouraged the people with whom they traded to expand their production of commodities and their consumption of imported goods, and they also encouraged more people to become involved. In northeast Alberta and elsewhere in the Northwest, an ever-enlarging number of Indians who had formerly produced strictly for their immediate needs also began to produce for exchange, to acquire items imported from other parts of the world. These new objects supplemented and replaced much of their pre-contact material culture repertoire. Merchants made their profits by manipulating rates of exchange, all expressed in the fur trade

standard, “Made Beaver.” The result was inter-regional integration, the hallmark of a world system.

According to Kay, such developments “corrode” the pre-capitalist social formations and open “the way for the reorganization of production upon a capitalist basis” (1975:95, 155). But, in northeast Alberta, the reorganization of production along capitalist lines would be the result of state intervention after 1899 and is arguably still not completed more than a century later. While Chipewyans and Crees altered their domestic mode of production to accommodate their new trading interests, that did not mean they adopted a fully-capitalist mode of production or greatly altered other aspects of their cultures.

Indian involvement in the fur trade has often been conceptualized as the rapid adoption of European manufactures and consequent Indian “dependence” on Europeans. Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría (2008) has called this the “quick replacement model” of presumed inferior and static Indigenous technologies by presumed superior European ones. Yet dependence was a two-way street. Europeans relied almost exclusively on Aboriginal men and women to produce fur, to produce food provisions to sell (especially fresh and dried meat and pemmican), and on occasion to sell their labor to help with transport, work at the post, and manufacture persistent and highly adaptive items of “Indian” technology, such as snowshoes, moccasins, and other items of clothing suitable for long, cold winters (for example, see Ray 1984:10; Bellman and Hanks 1998:59-60). Jennifer Brown has described much of this work as “a woman's industrial revolution” (1993:83). Brown (1980) and Van Kirk (1980) have written extensively about European reliance on the labor and knowledge of Indian and Métis women. This dependence on local people was probably inevitable, given Indian knowledge of the resource base, which gave

them economic control, and the sovereignty they exercised over their lands, which gave them political control. Europeans who came into the country learned crucial skills and local customs from other employees who had already mastered them and from their Indian and Métis associates. Ironically, to the extent that Europeans and Métis learned how to survive locally and were socially integrated into Indian bands, they themselves became independent, in varying degrees, from direct control by the traders, much as were the Indians themselves. It is telling that one term for Métis who were no longer under contract to a trading company was “freeman.”

As long as Crees and Chipewyans brought in furs and food to trade, European traders did not need to control the labor process directly. They nevertheless sought some measure of control over the producers, to keep their attention focused on producing desired commodities and to ensure that furs came to them rather than to a competitor. For instance, in April 1827, John Franklin (1969:304) described how the Hudson's Bay Company had developed new regulations “respecting the trade with the natives. The plans now adopted offer supplies of clothes, and of every necessity, to those Indians who choose to be active in the collection of furs.” At the same time, Indians sought some control over the terms of trade, the quality of goods available to them, and the extent to which economic relations needed to be mediated by social relations (e.g., Ray 1974; Innis 1964:373).

This discussion suggests several points of articulation between the domestic mode of production and the (merchant) capitalist mode of production at Fort Chipewyan and other posts in the Mackenzie Basin. Chipewyan and Cree men and women were willing to produce furs and provisions to exchange for imported commodities and increasingly to work directly for the traders on an occasional basis, especially as post hunters and fishermen. They were willing for

their daughters and sisters to marry European traders and employees. These marriages established bonds of kinship that facilitated and channeled economic exchanges, created a female labor force at the post, and produced children who became part of the local labor force.

The result was that Chipewyans and Crees added two new components to their economy: independent (petty) commodity production and wage labor, although reimbursed by exchange credits, not cash payments (Innis 1964:161, 240; Mandel 1968:66). Thus, the new mode of production was a *mixed economy*, one with three different sectors: domestic production, independent commodity production, and wage labor. It was oriented in many ways to, but not dominated by, capitalist exchanges.

For their part, Europeans were willing to enter into a range of social relations or transactions with the Indians which transcended the purely economic aspect of exchanges. Europeans also needed to provide most of their own food from local resources. Costs incurred in hunting and fishing to support the post were part of the overhead of doing business. The distinction between commercial and subsistence food production narrowed when European and Métis employees lived and hunted with their Indian allies and kinsmen. Such activities were a reversal of the trend among Europeans toward a fully socialized labor force.

While Indians certainly wanted a wide range of European manufactures, which became part of their means of production, it is simplistic to claim that their involvement in the trade as regular producers of fur and food was due primarily to a “seemingly insatiable appetite” for these goods (Murphy and Steward 1968:400). The fur trade literature contains numerous examples of northern Indians who were discerning consumers and in some instances had little use for most of the trade goods they were offered (e.g., Hearne 1958:50-51, 176; Murray 1910:29; Ray 1980).

Arthur Ray has pointed out that Indian demand for goods was relatively “inelastic.” If prices paid for furs increased, Indians often trapped less, not more (1974:68-69; 141-2). Many Indians had to be induced to produce goods for trade, especially in the volume desired by the traders, and it was an on-going concern at Fort Chipewyan throughout the 19th century.

The methods used by European traders were related to changes in the social formation of the region that occurred as traders and their employees entered into the relations of production of the Indian bands, in two ways. First, traders and their employees entered into “country marriages,” or marriage *à la façon du pays*, with Aboriginal women (Van Kirk 1980; Brown 1976; 1980). As Sylvia Van Kirk explained (1980:4), “The marriage of a fur trader and an Indian woman was not just a 'private' affair; the bond thus created helped to advance trade relations with a new tribe, placing the Indian wife in the role of cultural liaison between the traders and her kin.” Trappers and traders ideally became affinal kinsmen, a relationship with expectations of mutual assistance and reciprocal exchanges.

Indians and Europeans were also linked together by the extension of credit, or debt, to individual trappers, a financing system that became extensive in the 19th century in the fur trade country and persisted in the Fort Chipewyan region until the 1940s, although diminished in the 20th century (cf. Ray 1974:137-8, 196-7; 1984; 1990b; Morantz 1990; Tanner 1965; McCormack 1977-78). To Rosemary Ommer (1990:9), credit was “the mechanism whereby merchant capital delegated the power of production to ‘independent’ operators on certain terms, with certain strings attached, in order to generate the flourishing of individual enterprise and the expansion of the whole economy.” Tanner has discussed how credit both defined and mediated the trade relationship:

The obtaining of credit marked an important change in the economic life of a trapper. It indicated a long-term commitment to trapping as the major winter productive activity, and to dealings with a single trader, in order to exchange the results of this activity for some valued end [1965:46].

While credit was extended to group leaders in the early years of the fur trade, in the Athabasca country it seemed to have been an individual matter from the earliest record, which is Cuthbert Grant's 1786 journal of spring activities at the Athabasca River post (Duckworth 1990). Several trappers, each representing his immediate family group or local band, dealt personally with the trader in the credit relationship, rather than being represented by a trading chief or other Aboriginal middleman.

Post managers kept account books that tracked each trapper's sale of furs and provisions and purchases of goods at the post. A trapper who accepted credit became linked to a particular trading post and was required to travel there at least twice yearly, once to obtain his fall trapping "outfit" on credit and a second time to trade his furs and pay off his debt. Credit stabilized a trapper's relations with the trader and allowed the trader to plan his business. An 1860 Fort Chipewyan report remarked, "Debts are given to Indians who are faithful in paying them" (HBCA B.39/e/10:fo.1). From the trapper's point of view, it was a way to capitalize the coming winter's trapping, by providing the goods he needed from the post, while at the same time it allowed him to trap when and how he pleased (Tanner 1965:47; Morantz 1990:221). On a pragmatic level, it stimulated trapping because trappers had to pay for their purchases in order to obtain more credit, despite the Hudson's Bay Company policy of periodically writing off bad debts. More broadly, it accorded with Chipewyan and Cree ideologies of reciprocity, the need to repay those who have assisted you (e.g., Ray 1984:11; Morantz 1990:221). The trader could use

credit to limit the sorts of goods available to trappers:

By allowing only certain goods to be purchased on credit a trader was able to do more than just influence the buying habits of Indians along what he thought to be more prudent lines. He was also able to stress the importance of trapping as an activity, allowing only those supplies needed for a trapping expedition on credit. In this way he ultimately could increase the fur harvest of his district, on which most of his profit could be made [Tanner 1965:49].

Credit established personal relations between the trader and his trappers, and gave the trader the advantage of having the trappers under an obligation to him. Through this relationship he was able to directly influence their economic life by personal intervention, and discourage activities which conflicted with trapping [*ibid.*:47-8].

At the same time, some Aboriginal people were reported as taking advantage of the lack of easy communication between posts to take their debt at one post and then avoid paying it off by trading their furs at another post. This practice required them to travel great distances.

Another explanation was that after taking credit, they had spent the winter trapping (and living) in an area far from the post that issued the credit, and they wanted to trade at the nearest post.

Both explanations probably apply; the lack of barriers to long-distance travel was mentioned above. While it was usually to the trader's advantage to have a stable number of fur collectors oriented to his particular post, the Aboriginal people balanced their ties to the trader with their personal interests. Periodically, local posts would "write off" debt that they believed could not be collected.

Country marriages and creditor-debtor relations established social ties which transcended the purely economic aspect of exchange. As Sahlins suggests, it was "social relations, not prices [that] connect up 'buyers' and 'sellers'" (1974:298). As Indian involvement in the fur trade became regularized, Indians relied more on transactions that appear to be individual, although the

goods they acquired in trade were used to benefit their entire local bands. While they may have been listed on the account books as individuals, their trade represented production by their immediate families and the larger social groups of which their families were members - the local bands. The Chipewyan and Cree bands were no longer marginal or outside the world system but integrated into it as a periphery. This transformation occurred at Fort Chipewyan after the establishment in 1821 of a monopoly on trade by the Hudson's Bay Company (McCormack 1984a). By the second quarter of the 19th century, the Chipewyans and Crees who had become permanent occupants of the Fort Chipewyan region and traded there regularly could no longer be characterized by a "total economy." The new mode of production had the following configuration.

Forces of Production: Resources While the total resource base was initially unchanged, Chipewyans and Crees developed different patterns of resource exploitation, which can be inferred in part from records of fur and food production. They emphasized some fur and game resources that previously would have been little utilized or utilized differently, thereby affecting regional ecosystems in often-significant ways. From the earliest days of the Athabaskan fur trade, provisions were important trade items, especially fresh and dried meat (Duckworth 1990). Bison became an important resource for sale, hunted so intensively to provision the posts that by the 1840s, they were in serious decline (Ferguson 1993).

The Chipewyans who relocated to the western end of Lake Athabasca and other points in northeast Alberta shifted from the resources of the transitional tree line zone to those of the boreal forest. While they still hunted caribou, especially in winter, they also went after bison and

moose and a different configuration of smaller animals. For example, in 1791-92, Peter Fidler described Chipewyans hunting bison and beaver in the Little Buffalo River west of Slave River, beaver in the Taltson River, and moose in the vicinity of the Slave River itself. No caribou were mentioned (Tyrrell 1968:Journal VIII). The resources available in the biome of the Fort Chipewyan -Athabasca river region were rich, especially given the role played by controlled burning in managing habitats for game and fur animals. In the late 18th-early 19th centuries, before bison numbers diminished, substantial herds ranged as far as north as Great Slave Lake and east of the Slave River and were plentiful in the Peace River country (e.g., Hearne 1958:161-4; Tyrrell 1968:370-411, Journal VIII; Van Zyll de Jong 1986) . Samuel Hearne pointed out that “Of all the large beasts in those parts the buffalo is easiest to kill” (1958:163). Barren ground caribou continued to migrate occasionally to the Fort Chipewyan region, woodland caribou lived in the Birch Mountains, and the Peace-Athabasca Delta supported a rich resource complex. Even deer and elk were reported in the region (HBCA B.39/e/7:fo. 5). The 1823-1824 post report remarked, “The hunting grounds of the Indians in that locality are well stocked with large animals” (*ibid.*:fo. 3). The following year, the report commented that the Chipewyans feed off the “fat...of the land & water of the first of which they are seldom destitute” (HBCA B.39/e/9:7).

While Chipewyans and Crees established themselves in the Fort Chipewyan-Athabasca River region, they continued to travel to areas suitable for hunting, trapping, and other land pursuits and also for visiting families in order to arrange marriages for their children. Chipewyans were described as relatively independent of Europeans and their goods, despite their “numerous Population,” because of their “wandering habits, great attachment and frequent Visits to their lands” (HBCA B.39/e/8:fo. 8). Crees, on the other hand, had a “more Ltd. Population,

stationary habits, & dependent situation on Europeans” (*ibid.*:fo. 7). However, such statements have to be read with care. Neither Chipewyans nor Crees restricted themselves to specific locations but were typically on the move over the course of the year, as they took advantage of different resources that were available in different regions. In the post journals, they are typically described as associated with specific regions, such as Birch River or Jackfish Lake (now, Richardson Lake), but those are general comments that do not begin to address the even complexity of the annual cycle of activities and the lands required for them, let alone the complexity of a broader pattern of rotating or shifting land usage.

Strategic Cree-Chipewyan marriages seem to have begun in the mid 19th century, though that may reflect only the beginning of relatively reliable missionary records.⁴ Those marriages paved the way for peaceful interaction between the numerically dominant Chipewyans and minority Crees, who were now living in the same broad region. It was especially common for Cree men to marry Chipewyan women, though the reverse did occur. Typically, a man lived with and was expected to provide support for his wife’s parents, especially in the early years of marriage (so-called matrilineal residence). That meant that Cree men who married Chipewyan women would now live and work with their in-laws, traveling to, using, and learning new regions. Members of ethnically distinctive local bands thereby began to construct a new multi-ethnic regional band centered about Fort Chipewyan and other fur trade posts, as the points

⁴It is not yet clear how these marriages related to pre-contact Chipewyan-Cree marriages, known from oral traditions and some fur trade records. In the early 18th century, Crees raided northern Athapaskans for women and children, but other marriages may have occurred in an earlier, more peaceful social situation in which at least some Chipewyans and Crees established alliances between their respective local bands. Plural societies pre-dated the arrival of Europeans.

where local bands came together briefly each summer.

Forces of Production: Technology The most striking feature of the fur trade mode of production, and the one most obvious to Europeans, was that an increasingly large portion of Aboriginal technology was obtained through trade. Chipewyans and Crees enjoyed access to a wide inventory of imported manufactures, including guns and ammunition, metal goods, textiles, and decorative items. The post blacksmith made gun repairs, which encouraged reliance on firearms. Some theorists have argued that Chipewyan relocation to this region was possible only because of the new fur trade goods they could obtain, especially guns, which facilitated their hunting of large, solitary animals rather than herds of caribou. However, the frequent references in Cuthbert Grant's 1786 journal to hunters bringing moose meat to the post to trade indicate that by this early date, Chipewyans as well as Crees were hunting moose quite capably, although it is not clear whether or not they relied on firearms as opposed to snares or other traditional hunting techniques (Duckworth 1990).

By 1823, the Chipewyans who were "more accustomed to whites" were reported to be copying them in manner and dress (HBCA B.39/e/6:3). By mid century, all Indians had evidently replaced much of their material culture inventory. Father Taché, writing at Ile à la Crosse in 1851, noted that Chipewyan "Men's clothes are quite similar to those of our peasants; they obtain their clothing in the stores of the Company where it is received ready made from England" (Taché 1978:146). In 1859, Robert Campbell, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Chipewyan, wrote to the director of the new Industrial Museum of Scotland:

You will perhaps be surprised to learn, that even in this Northern District, the "Indians" appreciate the convenience of the articles of civilised usage so much, that hardly a trace now remains of their former dress, domestic utensils, or weapons of war, or the chase; all

have already fallen into disuse among them [Royal Museum of Scotland, 5 May 1859].

Such comments support the popular notion that Indians peoples had become “dependent” on the fur trade. As “trappers,” they were believed to have “lost” their original autonomy. Ray referred to Indians as “increasingly caught in the trap of having to buy the tools that they needed” (1984:4), at a time when the resource base was, he believed, increasingly unstable. Such an interpretation involves a material culture-focused concept of “autonomy” that is not usually applied to non-Aboriginal peoples. “Dependence” has become established in academic and popular discourse as a term connoting a special kind of Aboriginal subordination. In fact, all peoples who became part of the capitalist world system were (and are) “dependent” on exchanges in the market place. Among their ranks were British workers, but the term dependence is rarely used to characterize them. Ironically, British workers were probably more dependent on the goodwill of company owners than were northern Indian trappers and hunters, who maintained considerable independence and had to be courted and enticed by Company traders throughout the 19th century.⁵

There is no evidence that the less visible aspects of Aboriginal technology were replaced. As Father Taché wrote in 1851: “All the Indians are better naturalists, not only than our country people, but even than the most learned elements of our populations” (1978:138). In her memoir of the Fort Vermilion region a half century later, Mary Lawrence stated that to the Indians, “the sheer stupidity of the white man in the bush was something beyond belief” (Fort Vermilion Ag. Soc. 2008:16). “[W]hen he comes into this country he’s like a child. He doesn’t know anything

⁵Elsewhere, Toby Morantz has argued that the Crees of James Bay were neither controlled by debt nor dependent on the Hudson’s Bay Company, but “fully in control of their own hunting strategies” (1990:221).

and he does things that even a child would be ashamed of” (*ibid.*:172). Indians maintained their knowledge of local ecosystems, animal behavior, and the use of fire to manipulate plant and animal populations. Controlled burning, or “domesticated fire,” was an important tool to create and maintain the prairies and other early successional habitats on which most species of fur trade and subsistence importance relied (Lewis 1977; 1978; 1982; McCormack 1975; 1976; 2007). It had very different consequences than did wild fires. In fact, one of the benefits of regular and extensive controlled burning was to reduce the potential for holocaust fires. While Crees, with their origins in the fire-adapted parkland habitats of the Saskatchewan basin, were undoubtedly familiar with the principles of fire management and could easily apply them to their new northern homeland, it may have been a new technology to Chipewyans, who would not have used it in the caribou ranges of the transitional tree line. Presumably they learned its use by observing other residents, including the Beaver Indians they displaced, by working with their new Cree relatives, and by trial and error.

An important addition to their technology, and crucial to the development of trapping as a regularized activity, was the dog team, probably in the late 18th century. Dogs were hitched in a single line to a toboggan or sled, facilitating winter travel among residential settlements, trapping areas, and the fur trade post. While the idea was introduced, perhaps by example, the implements were homegrown, a synthesis of pre-existing sleds and the carioles and dog harnesses used by traders and their employees (Hearne 1958:213; Mackenzie 1970:154; McCormack 1988:48, 55; McCormack 2009). People fashioned their own sleds and harnesses from wood and leather. People also continued to use dogs for “packing” furs and other items when sleds could not be used (McCormack 1988:49, 57). When dog teams were adopted by

Indians in northeast Alberta is not known, but it may have been related to some measure of increased sedentariness; keeping dogs requires their owners to stock meat or fish for their feed.

Forces of Production: Labor Labor allocation was similar to that of the domestic mode of production, in that men and women undertook different and complementary fur trade and subsistence activities. Both men and women trapped, though generally for different species and in different localities. Women's trap lines were usually in the vicinity of their settlement, whereas men used their dog teams to trap at a greater distance, thereby increasing the overall productive capacities of the local band. However, some women also ran their own dog teams; the division of labor was not as strictly gendered as it has sometimes been made out to have been. Dog teams provided transport between kill sites and winter settlements.

There was also a new regional division of labor represented by the concentration of some Aboriginal peoples in trapping and subsistence pursuits and others in wage labor. While the former have often been characterized as Chipewyans and Crees, and the latter, as Half-breeds and Métis, these identities were influenced by occupational choices and the social communities to which people belonged. Such specialization was rarely exclusive. People who worked directly for the traders and, in the second half of the 19th century, for missionaries, typically enhanced their wages by hunting, fishing, cultivating small gardens, and acquiring food from their bush-based relatives, thereby reducing both the costs incurred by traders in maintaining the labor force and their otherwise dependent position as laborers. People living in the bush occasionally performed wage labor (until the 20th century, paid for in-kind by Made Beaver credits). The concept of a regional division of labor, with occupational specialization occurring within immediate social networks - the local bands and their later outgrowths within the town of Fort

Chipewyan itself - also marks the mixed economy of the fur trade mode of production.

Relations of Production The primary goal of Chipewyans and Crees was still survival. That meant that trapping and wage labor were undertaken only to provide themselves with enough exchange-value to purchase the items they needed.⁶ Not surprisingly, there were few changes from the pre-existing relations of production. The major change was the intervention of the European trader and his employees in the relations of production, paralleling the intervention of imported manufactures in the forces of production. It was the traders who solicited and encouraged Aboriginal participation in the fur trade and employed them as occasional laborers. They drew upon their social ties with Aboriginal peoples and their control over exchange rates, although not without considerable negotiation and occasional resistance by Aboriginal producers. For example, on October 2, 1868, the Chief Factor at Fort Chipewyan, William McMurray, “had a conference with the Indians & explained to them his intentions concerning their debts furs &c during the ensuing Winter” (HBCA B.39/a/46:fo. 41). Traders did not seek otherwise to alter Aboriginal use of or access to bush resources. All Indian participants had to provide themselves with food and other subsistence items, thereby underwriting their own reproduction costs, which reduced costs that the traders would otherwise have been forced to cover and enhanced the value appropriated by the traders.

Ray has argued that one role of the traders was to encourage Indian trappers to rely upon a

⁶The reasons were probably both ideological and pragmatic. Aboriginal people tended to “make do,” an appropriate tactic when everyone had the knowledge necessary to make most items of technology. This approach can be seen even today among local residents. As well, it was difficult for people who moved around a great deal to carry many items with them, which in turn undermined any tendency to consumerism.

less reliable resource base, by relying instead on assistance from the Hudson's Bay Company during times of privation (1984:7-8). The Company stocked food stuffs for distribution at such times. This practice, he said, reduced Indian self-sufficiency even further. Indians were therefore vulnerable to low fur returns and shortages of food (*ibid.*:10). They turned to the Company for relief at such times, a situation that Ray has interpreted as a fur trade-based “welfare system” (*ibid.*:16-7). However, Ray himself has pointed out that assistance provided to Indians was drawn from the “excess profits” made by the Company. Conceptualizing it as welfare supports an interpretation of Indian “dependency.” It may be better thought of as a return of a portion of the excessive surplus value appropriated by fur trade merchants. Occasional assistance provided by the trading companies was a way of helping the Indians make a “living wage,” not equivalent to government support in the 20th century for peoples displaced from the production process. Moreover, the region surrounding the western end of Lake Athabasca, defined by the rich Peace-Athabasca Delta, may have provided a resource base that was more reliable than at most posts, and there is little evidence to support the notion that the Company regularly put up extra supplies in case Indians went hungry. Instead, the post journals recorded complaints if Indians had to be fed from post stores during intervals of starvation.

The bottom line is that the structure of control within Chipewyan and Cree societies was still vested in the members of the local bands. What was distinctive about the fur trade mode of production was the addition of trapping, production of provisions, and wage labor to the former economy. It was the beginning of a mixed economy that would provide additional flexibility for livelihood. At the same time, Aboriginal peoples were vulnerable to any constraints that might be imposed on their access to the resources of the bush, to changes in the availability of the

species they exploited, and to changes in the structure of the fur trade. While involvement in the fur trade is often seen as making Aboriginal economic structures more fragile and less certain, at the same time the existence of a mixed economy evened out some of the problems, by offering new ways of livelihood.

Superstructure Superstructural elements were an outgrowth of those of the originating modes of production. There is no evidence that Crees or Chipewyans who trapped changed their fundamental value systems in any significant way, or that they came to accept the legitimacy of lineal authority, whether by outsiders or their own members. Traders insinuated themselves into the relations of production by manipulating exchange relationships, not by imposing any measure of formal authority. However, more subtle changes may have resulted from the roles played by Métis and European employees in the fur trade relations of production. Especially in earlier days, they were often sent out to winter with Indian bands, to encourage production of furs and provisions and also to support themselves. Many men married local women and began families. Fathers transmitted their values to their children, even when those children were raised in their mother's culture and with her cultural identity. These values supported an acceptance of trapping and trading as legitimate and worthy activities. Roman Catholic Métis and Protestant Scots also taught their families some aspects of their Christianity, paving the way for the Christian missionaries who would arrive in the mid 19th century (see Podruchny 2006). These men were a less formal but highly important influence in the relations of production.

5. Mikisew Cree First Nation Traditional Territory

The discussion to this point has spoken about Crees and Chipewyans living their lives in the vast lands of northeast Alberta and adjacent lands in Saskatchewan and the North-West Territories. This section addresses the concept of “traditional territory,” with specific reference to how the traditional territory of the Mikisew Cree First Nation was and is constituted and defined. As the earlier discussion explained, that traditional territory actually comprises the combined traditional territories of the Crees and Chipewyans who historically joined together through both marriage and legal band transfers to constitute this modern First Nation.

The term “traditional territory” has been widely used but rarely defined. It is understood differently by Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal people, just as Aboriginal land use was poorly understood in the past by Europeans/Euro-Canadians. Euro-Canadians have an intellectual framework for understanding and thinking about land and territory that derives from the system of land ownership introduced in Canada by British and French immigrants. Canada’s development as a nation-state went hand-in-hand with the creation of an overarching system of individual ownership and control of land and resources, under the sovereignty of the Crown, which set the ground rules for how the land could be occupied and parceled out. When the new Dominion of Canada expanded after 1870 into the lands newly-acquired from the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Dominion Land Survey was the federal agency responsible for surveying the Northwest. Its goal was to impose a grid of Base Lines and Meridians, followed by Townships and Range Roads, respectively, anticipating settlement by non-Aboriginal people who would take up homesteads and invest in industries. It provided(provides) for “ownership” of a clearly defined piece of land and for control over the land within its boundaries, subject to whatever

rules are in place for land ownership and use by the jurisdiction making the land available or having some input into its governance (e.g., the federal or provincial Crown, municipality, a rural subdivision). Each piece of land has a surveyed boundary, and the land-owner's control extends to that boundary and no farther. The land-owner has no control over his neighbor's land. Persons (including corporate persons) who are given leases of either land (e.g., grazing reserves) or a resource on those lands (e.g., a timber berth for tree-cutting) have similar though not identical powers, depending on the terms of the lease, and they too have surveyed boundaries, which define the geographic limits to their activities.

This apparently straight-forward system does not work when attempting to discuss Aboriginal land uses or their "traditional lands." When Aboriginal people are asked today to identify their "traditional lands," what they are really being asked to do is to identify boundaries in order to define where their legitimate interests in the land stop and start. That is an interesting position, in that it contradicts the belief by Europeans about former land uses by northern Aboriginal people, which is that Aboriginal people who lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering were *nomadic*, a problematic term which meant, to Europeans, that they did not truly occupy the land but simply "roamed over" it, having no specific land they could call their own. For example, when Alfred von Hamerstein testified about the Athabasca District before the Select Committee of the Senate in its 1906-07 hearings, he tried to distinguish between "white half-breeds' and 'Indians'" on the basis of whether or not they were permanently settled. He said: "Some of the half-breeds live a white man's life, and others live like Indians; that is, they are on the move all the time" (Chambers 1907:43). Even today, the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* defines a "nomad" as a "member of a people roaming from place to place for food or fresh

pasture,” or “a wanderer” (Barber 2001:987). “Roaming” and “wandering” both connote randomness. The tendency by some social scientists today to refer to “settler societies” when talking about incoming Europeans is related, in that the term contrasts settlers to Aboriginal people, which denies implicitly that Aboriginal people themselves “settled” the land. At issue is a concept of settlement that means a sedentary life lived on a bounded piece of land, with an agrarian base. It posed a problem for Charles Mair, who accompanied the Half-breed Scrip Commission to northern Alberta in 1899 and observed the parallel Treaty No. 8 Commission at Lesser Slave Lake Settlement. Mair compared many “white settlers” he had seen unfavorably to the “Indians” he saw at Lesser Slave Lake, whom he considered superior “in sedateness and self-possession” (1908:54). He looked for but did not see “some savage types of men” among the Indians and indeed expressed disappointment at the ordinary scene before him (*ibid.*:54-55). They were, instead, “commonplace men” (*ibid.*:55), which surprised him “for there was, as yet, little or no farming amongst the old ‘Lakers’” (*ibid.*: 73). It has been difficult for Euro-Canadians to come to grips with a system of territory that was not based on sedentary settlement but on “wandering.”

Associated with the concept of Aboriginal nomadism and lack of permanent Aboriginal settlement was the idea that the boreal forest, including the lands of northern Alberta, was a “tractless wilderness,” a vast expanse of wild lands. In 1899, the treaty commissioners found it difficult to contemplate that Indians would or could be displaced from such lands anytime soon. In fact, they said in their report that they did not expect the Indians in the Athabasca and Slave River areas to take up the provisions in the treaty to support farming, because “It does not appear likely that the conditions of the country on either side of the Athabasca and Slave Rivers or about

Athabasca Lake will be so changed as to affect hunting or trapping, and it is safe to say that so long as the fur-bearing animals remain, the great bulk of the Indians will continue to hunt and to trap” (Govt. of Canada 1966:7). That is, they equated the persistence of the intact boreal forest landscape with the exercise of rights to hunt and trap under Treaty No. 8. They also pointed out the “the extent of the country treated for make it impossible to define reserves or holdings” (*ibid.*). Charles Mair, who was part of the Half-breed Commission, wrote about “primeval masses of poplar and birch foliage” (1908:41); the word “primeval” suggests untouched wilderness. As recently as 1997, a brief survey of Canadian Indian culture areas described the western Subarctic as a bleak, forbidding land “of dark forests, barren lands and the swampy terrain known as muskeg” (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1997:9), a specific kind of wilderness.

Yet to northern Crees and Chipewyans, northern Alberta was neither “tractless” nor “wilderness.” It was covered by a network of well-known overland trails, at least some of which were maintained by controlled burning, and water routes. These trails were their grids. They showed the ways in which people traveled in the country; they were not boundaries that restricted where they could live or how they could use the land. It is true that most Crees and Chipewyans did not have permanent, year-round settlements until recently, but they does not mean they were “nomads” in the “random use” sense of that term. We should either redefine the term “nomad” or stop using it. First Nations used the land and its resources in an orderly and methodical manner, based on their highly detailed knowledge of plant and animal behavior and interaction, their ability to predict ecosystem dynamics, and their practices of controlled burning.

Collectively, this knowledge is today called “traditional environmental knowledge,” “traditional

ecological knowledge,” “indigenous knowledge,” or simply “local knowledge.” Fikret Berkes defines such knowledge as “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment” (1999:8; italics removed). It is “both cumulative and dynamic, building on experience and adapting to changes” (*ibid.*). Contributing to the decisions they made about land use were factors generated by the mode of production - the kinds of resources they needed or wanted at specific times of the year - and the social relations of production - various social factors that motivated people to use certain places rather than others.

The hallmark of the domestic mode of production and the successor fur trade mode of production was that no one could control critical resources, which were available to everyone. In this vein, it is a common aspect of northern Aboriginal discourse for people to say that they do not own the land, but rather use and look after it, which speaks to their sense of relationship and stewardship vis-à-vis the land and its resources. Aboriginal people were opposed to attempts to break up the vast expanses of land upon which they depended for livelihood, just as in 1899 and 1900 they would make it clear that they would refuse the treaty if it meant that their freedom to use the land would be restricted in any way, both by being forced to live on reserves or to obey game regulations. Aboriginal resistance to such restrictions appeared when the first surveyors came onto their traditional lands. For example, on 7 February 1883, W. T. Thompson, who was surveying in the Lesser Slave Lake area:

was interviewed by the head man of the Indians (self elected), his sons and grandsons following in the wake, who informed him that they were perfectly aware that he was passing through the country to spy out the nakedness of the land, intending next summer

to take this land to himself, and that he [the head man], as lawful possessor of the soil, forbade Mr. Thompson to proceed any farther [EB, "Slave Lake," 17 March 1883:3].

During negotiations for Treaty No. 8 in 1899 and 1900, the question about whether or not Indians would find their land uses restricted after entering into treaty arose over and over again. The treaty commissioners assured them that they would not have to live on reserves and that they retained the freedom to use the land "to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it" (Govt. of Canada 1966:6), assurance predicated on the idea of an intact land base. They made such promises despite explicit provisions in the treaty for reserves, game regulations, and "such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes" (*ibid.*:12). Evidently they did not anticipate that such land uses would impinge in any major way on Indian uses of the land and its resources.

While Treaty No. 11 was not negotiated along the Mackenzie River until 1921, land surveys occurred there before World War I which seem to have been just as contentious as the survey near Lesser Slave Lake in 1883. In 1914 at Fort Simpson, Indian Agent Thomas W. Harris wrote to the Assistant Deputy and Secretary of Indian Affairs that local Indians wanted to know why the surveys were being undertaken. "I have answered that so far as I know it is to protect the rights of the settlers who may come in at a future date. This does not seem to satisfy them and all sorts of absurd rumours are current, and a certain amount of dissatisfaction is expressed" (in Fumoleau 1975:117). Harris, along with many other government agents, tended to dismiss the legitimacy of Indian concerns when they did not accord with his own understandings.

Aboriginal stewardship over the land was both ideological and practical. To the extent

that people practiced controlled burning, which was a widespread practice, they were actively managing habitats to produce the conditions that supported the animals they hunted and trapped. They handled animals and plants in culturally-defined ways that were intended to manage the availability and abundance of game. Even their spiritual powers were recruited to manage animals; some people were reported to be able to dream about the animals that they then hunted successfully or directed others to hunt. Such beliefs were and are not only part of the spiritual systems of Aboriginal people, they have been part and parcel of their empirical ecological practices and land management. Their very lives depended upon their being able to feed themselves at all seasons of the year, and for the most part, they were highly successful.

Ironically, the same Europeans who relied on Aboriginal assistants and guides when they traveled on the land and on Aboriginal production of food provisions to survive at the posts commonly belittled Aboriginal beliefs as “superstitions.” Euro-Canadians government agents and scientists spent virtually no time on the land and had little no real knowledge about boreal forest ecosystems and the dynamics of animal populations, yet they were confident that the land-use regulations they devised and imposed were appropriate. Aboriginal protests were almost always dismissed. Euro-Canadians prided themselves on their rational science, while historically the regulations for hunting, fishing, and trapping, both federal and provincial, were based on poor science overall (for example, see McCormack 1984; 1992; 2010; Sandlos 2002; 2003).

While the lands under Aboriginal stewardship were broad, the specific practices of stewardship were implemented on the particular places where members of local bands lived and worked during the course of each year. Their traditional lands comprised the lands they were using actively, lands they had used in the past and that were known to have been used by their

ancestors, and the lands they might wish or need to use in the future. As the Cowichan First Nation of British Columbia explain in a website, “Our traditional territory is the geographic area occupied by our ancestors for community, social, economic, and spiritual purposes” (Cowichan Tribes 2005). That definition speaks to a breadth of landscape that extends beyond any specific region occupied by a set of families at any one time.

The Katzie First Nation, a Salish First Nation in the Fraser River region of BC, has taken two different approaches to defining traditional territory. First and foremost, it is “that territory granted by the Creator, to the descents of **Oe’lecten** and **Swaneset** - the Katzie people.” This meaning resonates with the Cowichan definition. The second definition, intended to meet “the purposes of the BC Treaty Commission process,” defines Katzie traditional lands as encompassing “all those lands, waters, and natural resources used and occupied by the Katzie First Nation, and owned by the Katzie First Nation, according to Katzie customary law” (Katzie First Nation 2002). This definition seeks, unsuccessfully, to distinguish between lands that are considered to be “shared territory” with other first nations” and lands that are exclusively those of the Katzie First Nation. It notes that some members may consider those shared lands “to be properly Katzie territory.” Similarly, with respect to the idea of overlapping territories, other First Nations may have “rights and interests” in the Katzie Nation lands, and Katzie Nation members may have rights and interests in the lands of other First Nations. The First Nation points to its “long-standing ties within this larger [Coast Salish] cultural family. The ambiguities in this definition stem from an attempt to reconcile a concept of territory that is broad in nature with a restricted notion of territory that is intended to erect boundaries and confer restricted rights of ownership and use, the difference between lands “we use” and lands “used by others,” when

the “we” versus “them” opposition is itself a consequence of government definition rather than First Nation culture and understandings. In its website, the Katzie First Nation addresses this problem indirectly by noting the existence of important cultural differences in articulating the concept of traditional territory:

At the outset, it is important to state that aboriginal concepts related to title, rights and territory do not easily conform to European or Canadian terms such as “territory” and “boundary.” This difficulty is apparent in misunderstandings such as the existence of apparent ‘overlapping claims.’”

Discussions with Katzie elders clearly show that the English language and European concepts are limited in their ability to articulate the nature of the Katzie First Nation’s traditional view of ‘ownership’ [*ibid.*].

The traditional territory of the Crees and Chipewyans who constituted the Mikisew Cree First Nation is geography defined by social network, and it did not in the past nor does it now have clear boundaries. The multiple kinship relations that existed among members of the local bands of northeast Alberta and adjacent areas - the on-the-ground co-residential groups - also defined the extent of on-going and potential land use by members of those groups. In these societies, any person was entitled to move to and join any group to which he or she could demonstrate or establish a primary kinship tie. This “custom” or practice was part of what today would be called Cree and Chipewyan customary law. The kinship system was a flexible one that easily accommodated new people by extending terms of primary kinship to both more distant kinsmen and non-kin. That can be seen even from Charles Mair’s narrative about Treaty No. 8 negotiations at Lesser Slave Lake. When talks began, Keenooshayo, an important Cree leader and spokesman, challenged the claim by the treaty commissioners statement that they were “brothers” (Mair 1908:59). As negotiations moved forward, Moostoos, the other major Cree spokesman,

extended kinship terms to the commissioners: “You have called us brothers. Truly I am the younger, you the elder brother. Being the younger, if the younger ask the elder for something, he will grant his request the same as our mother the Queen” (*ibid.*:60). While the commissioners may have considered such terms to be simply flowery oratory, the Crees took them seriously as defining formal relationships with attached rights and duties, which Moostoos explained when he instructed the commissioners in their behavioral meaning.

Even today, Aboriginal people often talk in northern communities about how everyone is related, and that is true. Newcomers who enter these areas and become engaged in the local social network will find themselves defined as various kinds of relatives. The Euro-Canadian emphasis on actual biological ties or “blood” is not significant in traditional Cree and Chipewyan kinship systems. As relatives, they have rights and duties. In the past, these included the right to join a local band if they wished to do so. That meant that they had the right to enjoy all land-based activities - hunting, fishing, gathering, trapping - on those lands. They had a right to share the food that was produced by the other families with which they lived, and those families enjoyed similar rights in the production of the newcomers. Mutual cooperation and sharing in production and consumption was fundamental to the local bands. While local bands, as land-based entities, do not exist in the larger residential centers where virtually everyone lives today, the network of kinship ties still functions and affects how people work together and share material possessions and bush foods.

These relationships were not restricted to the local bands that constituted a regional band but extended to the members of all local bands with whom one might have contact. As June Helm pointed out (2000:10), the regional band was an amorphous entity which:

lacks continual nucleation of camp or settlement. Its members are commonly scattered over its range in smaller groups. The dimensions of the regional band's range are defined in terms of its "roads," the main routes of movement for its constituent groups. The regional band's zone of exploitation thus has axes rather than boundaries or edges. We may speak of a regional band's traditional range as its territory, but it is territory without territoriality. Ties of amity and kinship bring people from one regional band to another, free to use its resources.

Before fur trade posts entered the region and became a focus of interaction, said Helm (2000:18), there would have been "flows of personnel between regional and supraregional populations and, sometimes, shifts of exploitative ranges of groups."

In fact, these "flows of personnel" did not stop once people were involved in the fur trade or even after they entered into Treaty No. 8. Throughout the 20th century, members of neighboring local bands were engaged with one another in a variety of what Helm termed "axes." The major rivers - Peace, Slave, and Athabasca - comprised three significant axes that linked together the members of the local bands along these routes. Settlements occupied by local bands were located along all of these rivers. The Wabasca River further to the west was another significant axis. Lake Athabasca was another axis. The major overland trails constituted additional axes. They have been overlooked or marginalized in importance by most Euro-Canadians, who have tended to look at the boreal forest as impenetrable wilderness and have focused on waterways for travel. One of the most important of these was the system of trails or "roads" over the Birch Mountain and from there to the Athabasca River that linked together people from the Fort MacKay and Fort Chipewyan regions. People regularly walked across the Birch Mountain to visit one another and use the resources in these different regions, just as they traveled by boat along the Athabasca River. Namur Lake and Gardiner Lake on the Birch Mountain were important locations for people from both Fort MacKay and Fort Chipewyan in

the past, just as they are today, and from those lakes people could travel easily to Birch River or the Athabasca River.

It was not uncommon for people who occupied settlements that were often far removed from one another to be related in some way. These kinship ties can be seen in genealogies and treaty pay list information (McCormack n.d.; LAC RG10 Treaty Pay Lists). It was this network of kinship that tied together the local bands and provided the vehicle for people to change their band affiliations.

A good example is the Piche family. When North West Mounted Police Jarvis made the first police patrol into this portion of northern Alberta, he stopped at the Little Red River on the Athabasca River, where he spoke with residents, one of whom was a local leader, Chrysostom Pische (Jarvis 1898:158), spelled Chrysostome Piche in the Oblate genealogies and also Piché (McCormack n.d.). The founder of this family and probably Chrysostome's grandfather was probably François Piché, who was reported in the Athabasca country in 1786 and was reputed to have killed John Ross in 1787. He then fled to live with the Chipewyans, where he remained for three years. He later worked at a number of trading posts, including Fort Chipewyan (Duckworth 1990:163-4). He took at least one Chipewyan wife (possibly more than one) and founded a large Piche family with a Chipewyan identity found in the Fort McMurray and Fort Chipewyan regions. Members of this family married into both Chipewyan and Cree families. For instance, Charlot Piche, Chrysostome's brother, married Josette Martin in 1862. Josette was the daughter of Job Martin and Anne Iyisaskew, the second generation of one of the biggest Cree families in the lower Athabasca, and probably one of the Cree families for which the fur traders had continued to maintain a separate post. Job Martin appears to have married all of his children

strategically, to both Chipewyan and Cree men and women, thereby gaining access to all those lands for all of their families and the local bands in which they lived. The linkages of the Martin family just at that generation included Grandjambes, Bouchers, Egus, Dzenk'as (Ratfats), Tourangeaus, Wabistikwans (Whiteheads), and Gibbots. One of Job Martin's sons, and Josette's brother, was Justin Martin, who in 1899 became the highly respected first chief of the Cree Band, due to his age, his connectedness to other families, and his great spiritual power. Similar ties can be traced among other families.

Neil Reddekopp (1994) has traced some kinship connections of two other families - Grandjambes and Bouchers - from the perspective of their ties to the Fort McMurray-Fort MacKay area. My own genealogical data provide additional information (McCormack n.d.).

The earliest Grandjambe in the Fort Chipewyan genealogical records was Siyakwatam *dit* (called) Grandjambe. The marriages of this family seem to have been made primarily with other Crees for at least the first two generations of descendants. Reddekopp looked at the history of Albert Grandjambe, who was born at Fort Chipewyan in 1893, and whose father Baptiste (Jean Baptiste) entered into treaty there as an original member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band. Baptiste moved around, working for the Hudson's Bay Company at Little Red River, where he had married Caroline Sakiskanip, from a very old Cree family now known as Gibbot (and which is closely connected by kinship to the Chipewyan Adam family). Several of his brothers and one sister married into families at Tallcree and Little Red River. By 1919, Albert, then about 26 years old, was at Fort MacKay, where he married Marie Rosine Kokan; they made their home there for the rest of their lives.

Boucher is another family with French origins. Several Bouchés appear in the Athabasca

region, working for the North West Company (Duckworth 1990:137-8). Joseph Boucher was born about 1851 and later married Madeleine Piche, joining him to this large and influential family. Their children found both Cree and Chipewyan husbands and wives. One of his descendants, Michel (son or grandson is unclear) married Catherine Grandjambe, the widow of Pierre Takaro, who was part of the large family which also included Kaskamans and Antoinnes. Family members can be found from Little Red River/Fort Vermilion to Fort McMurray.

Reddekopp also named five women from the Cree Band at Fort Chipewyan who married into the band at Fort McMurray and who subsequently were transferred to that band's treaty pay list, following the Indian Act requirement that a woman's legal status derived from that of her husband (Reddekopp 1994:37). That speaks to sufficient movement within the area that such marriages could be arranged. Men traveled to the areas where the women lived, for work, to visit, or even to look for wives, or families with marriageable daughters visited places where these men were living to the south. Both possibilities are likely.

These extended families provide excellent examples of how kinship ties connected local bands across a vast landscape. The pattern of marriage between families in one generation often set up marriages in the next generation. This discussion has focused on the great expanse of land from Fort Vermilion/Little Red River to Fort McMurray/ Fort MacKay, but from both those areas family connections existed with families at Tallcree Prairie, Wabasca, Bigstone, and Chipewyan Lake, in short, much of the Woodland Cree world in northern Alberta. Family connections could also be traced to Chipewyan families in other regions.

In short, "traditional territory" for the Mikisew Cree First Nation constitutes the totality of the lands used by the ancestors of the Mikisew Cree First Nation and those lands used by their

descendants over time. They included not only lands actually in use, but lands abandoned for a period of time because the resources had diminished there or because other lands were seen as more attractive, or because a social reason had led a family to relocate. They included all those lands that were not only used but *potentially* might be used by its members as a result of their kinship ties.

There were reasonable limits, but no clear boundaries, to this traditional territory. The fringes of the traditional territory in the past were governed solely by the abilities of Crees and Chipewyans to travel to areas where they had known kinship ties. While people at Fort Chipewyan could travel to Lesser Slave Lake or to Edmonton, those were special trips, done rarely, and we would not consider either Lesser Slave Lake or Edmonton to have been traditional lands of either Crees or Chipewyans. However, the traditional lands did extend south to at least to Fort McMurray, and they encompassed the Birch Mountain and the lands between the Birch Mountain and the Athabasca River. They extended west to encompass the areas around the Peace River as far as Little Red River and north to at least the eastern edge of the Caribou Mountain. They extended well north of the Peace River area. Finally, they extended east at least as far as the Fond du Lac-Black Lake region. People had multiple possibilities for the lands they chose for their subsistence and trapping activities; they operationalized certain possibilities according to their own personal and family strategies and the resources available to them.

People changed the lands they used for many reasons. The most obvious reason was that resources had grown scarce, and people using those lands would move to other areas where they hoped to find an adequate resource base. To some extent, people rotated their use of the land, a strategy that was practical as long as people were not displaced from the land and there were no

competing land uses. I have heard people talk about trapping an area for a period of time, then leave enough animals to provide “seed” so that the animal populations would grow, while they moved to other areas to hunt and trap. Clearly the intent was eventually to return to the areas that had been depleted.

People also moved for a variety of other culturally-defined reasons. Marriage was a typical reason, in that marriages normally occurred between a man and woman from separate local bands. That meant that one party - usually the new husband - left his natal band and joined that of his wife (which was not the practice followed by the Indian Act membership provision). The husband thereby learned the details of the landscape of an area that may have been new to him. Another reason to move was to deal with conflict or potential conflict. A family that was not getting along with someone in the local band might choose to move as a way to deal with the problem; direct confrontations were not considered appropriate behavior. Chipewyans placed a high value on travel, and people who traveled widely enjoyed enhanced personal prestige. They might also obtain wives or adopt children from different localities, providing the formal link that allowed them access to those lands. People also placed a high value on visiting, which was not only enjoyable but also important for sharing information and arranging marriages. People would travel to visit, sometimes staying with their relatives for a period of time. Finally, people often left an area after a family member had died there. People have talked about being “too sad” to continue to live there. For example, the Birch River communities were abandoned as residential sites in the 20th century due to the epidemic of tuberculosis that claimed many lives there, as well as the other diseases that periodically swept through the region. While by the end of the 19th century Crees and Chipewyans living in the bush were erecting wooden houses, they

normally lived in them only during the winter season while they were trapping, and the existence of these houses was not enough to keep people from leaving for a time, or permanently, for another part of their traditional lands, for any of the reasons given above.

When Treaty No. 8 was negotiated in 1899, the treaty party never bothered to identify the lands used by specific bands; indeed, the treaty commissioners knew it was beyond their abilities and did not try. There was no discussion that suggested that individuals might have to restrict their treaty rights of hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping to areas surrounding the communities where they took treaty and that the commissioners had used as the locus for each band. In fact, there is nothing in the treaty literature to suggest that the commissioners knew much at all about Aboriginal land use or felt they needed that information in order to negotiate the treaty. The lands available for use were all considered to be encompassed in the broad treaty lands shown on the map that accompanied the treaty (Figure).⁷ However, the division of the collective Aboriginal population into several specific legal bands suggested that the treaty commissioners believed that a territorial reality underlaid each band. To some extent, that was true - in 1899. The newly-created bands were a snapshot of the social arrangements among the Aboriginal people and their economic links to particular trading posts in that year. Each band list was oriented to a particular post; the lists themselves created the fiction of a band that was a real identity, instead of an identity constructed at one moment in time by a representative of the Department of Indian Affairs. By creating legal bands - bands defined by the rules of the Indian Act - and then drawing up band lists, the Department of Indian Affairs set in place a legal

⁷It is a weakness in the system of numbered treaties that the Treaty Commissioners never addressed: determining the lands used by peoples of specific regions, and especially areas of potential overlap with other peoples with whom they had not yet negotiated treaties.

structure that presumed a relatively static system of land use and that was expected eventually to be realized in reserves.

Reddekopp (1994:2) has contrasted what he calls “the relationship between the well-ordered world of Band membership as envisaged by the *Indian Act* and the demographic realities of the Treaty 8 area.” The demographic and social reality was that people moved around a lot and did not stay in the lands in the vicinity of specific posts. If the treaty had been negotiated five years earlier or five years later, the configuration of people on each band list would have differed. The way the Indian Agents dealt with such changes after the fact was to remove those individuals from the pay lists of their bands and add them to the pay lists of the bands in the land where they were now living. Reddekopp (1994) pointed to many such changes, and I saw them when I reviewed Treaty No. 8 pay lists in the Northwest Territories for another project. By doing so, they were recognizing the reality that band territories were not fixed.

Evidence for such movements in the 20th century exists in the oral traditions about past and present land use documented in six Traditional Land Use Studies commissioned by the Mikisew Cree First Nation, discussed and assessed by Peter Douglas Elias (2010). The discussion that follows outlines some of this information, drawn from the Mikisew Cree First Nation Traditional Land Study that was done for the Total Joslyn North Mine Project by the Calliou Group (Calliou Group 2009). The study interviewed 26 people for this study. Fourteen were over 50 years of age; 12 were under 50 years. Seventeen were male; 9 were female. All were members of Mikisew Cree First Nation. The data collected from these interviews has been added to the land use data from the other studies to construct maps showing collective land use by people born in the decades 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. These maps are

presented in Elias' report. People would normally begin serious land use in the second decade of life, so these maps show collective land uses from the 1930s to today. It is not surprising, but expected, for Elias' map 7 to show heavy land use within Wood Buffalo National Park, especially oriented to the rivers, and in the area surrounding the west end of Lake Athabasca, much of which was the resource-rich Peace-Athabasca Delta.

Figures 1 and 2 in this report were drawn from that collective body of data to focus on land uses from the Birch River and mouth of the Athabasca River to the south. Figure 1 shows information about travel routes taken from the Calliou Study and the PAC Team Study. Figure 2 shows landscape use south of Wood Buffalo National Park.

Much evidence exists for the great water highway and traditional use corridor that was the Athabasca River. There were many settlements along the great water highway of the Athabasca River: Jackfish (Richardson) Lake, Embarras, Poplar Point, Point Brulé, Lobstick Point, and Little Red River (about 35 miles north of Fort McMurray; not to be confused with Little Red River on the Peace River). Some of these settlements later became part of the Chipewyan Band (now, Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation) reserve lands. Most of the people who were interviewed spoke about the historic and on-going importance of the Athabasca River for travel, hunting, fishing, and gathering. The river was a way to access lands both west and east. However, with the expansion of industrial projects, participants in the study also spoke about how they have had to travel further inland to hunt, due to a shortage of game close to the river, a decline in the quality of the remaining resources, and their fear of diseased and poisoned resources. A further complication today is that many areas people used in the past are leased areas that restrict access. The Athabasca River was identified as an important corridor that

“should be protected from further industrial development,” but “it may already be too late” (Roy Campbell, Calliou Group 2009:36).

The Calliou study identified two other major harvesting corridors: one is the corridor from Fort MacKay westward to Namur and Gardiner Lakes, which includes the important Ells River. and the second is the corridor east from the Athabasca River to Marguerite River Wildlife Provincial Park. Figures 1 and 2 shows the collective information from all studies about land use by Mikisew Cree First Nations people in these areas, as far north as the Birch River. This information is provided in closer detail in Elias’ maps 8 and 9 (Elias 2010:29, 30). It is clear that these travel routes go through the area of the Total lease and that traditional land uses occur directly on that area. People continue to use broader areas on both sides of the river for hunting, fishing, and gathering, although only people with registered trap lines (Fur Management Areas) are allowed to trap. The corridor from Fort MacKay through Namur and Gardiner Lakes to the Birch Mountains was called very important for future protection by Mikisew Cree interviewees. As it is, people are concerned about increased difficulties they face in finding or accessing areas for hunting, fishing, and gathering. They express the same fears about declining quality and quality of resources, including medicinal plants, as they did for the Athabasca River corridor. There are two kinds of problems with access: some areas are restricted by fences and gates, while others are so distant that they take a long time to reach. They are worried for their own safety when they are in the bush, as a growing non-Aboriginal population in the Fort McMurray region goes hunting. They are also worried for the burial sites that are distributed throughout the entire area. Yet these lands south of Wood Buffalo National Park are not diminishing in importance for the Mikisew Cree First Nation but instead are becoming more important, as many

First Nation members now live at Fort McMurray and Fort MacKay and are still looking to use the resources of the land for food, medicines, and spiritual reasons. The land is important culturally in that it continues to connect First Nations members to the land and to one another.

6. 20th Century Restrictions Imposed on Mikisew Cree First Nation Traditional Lands

The extent of the traditional lands of the MCFN have been obfuscated by a series of events that occurred in the 20th century, especially the creation of Wood Buffalo National Park and the creation of a system of registered trap lines in the 1940s, but also the overall regime of regulation of land-based resources that was introduced by federal and provincial governments. The sequence and impacts of these events are explained in my Ph.D. thesis, in a major article published in *Arctic* in 1992, in a paper on controlled burning, and in my forthcoming book (McCormack 1984; 1992; 2007; 2010).

Briefly, Wood Buffalo National Park was created in two steps, in 1922 and 1926. The impetus for the park was the invasion of northeast Alberta and other northern areas by White trappers after World War I. Fur prices soared at the same time that there was a post-war depression in prairie agriculture. Many of the White trappers were homesteaders, who were looking to generate some funds to help support their farming operation. They went north to make as much money as they could, not just to survive; they operated by means of a capitalist mode of production, not a fur trade mode of production, even though they were trappers. They have been described as mining the land for fur, with little regard for conservation and whether or not they would leave behind any animals. They did not go to areas no one was using but set up their trap lines in the most productive fur regions they could find, which were the same regions

already used by Aboriginal hunters and trappers. Some White trappers were very aggressive in trying to prevent Aboriginal people from operating on lands they now considered to be “theirs.” No restrictions were placed on their activities by any level of government. Culturally, it was very difficult for local Aboriginal people to oppose them directly, and they were mindful that when they took treaty they had promised to live peacefully with newcomers.

The federal government was worried that these White trappers would poach bison, and it finally decided to create Wood Buffalo Park in 1922 in lands north of the Peace River, to provide protection for the last surviving wild bison in North America (see Figure 3). Although the federal government would have preferred forcing all people out of the park, Treaty No. 8 Indians were allowed to remain, but all other people were forced to leave, including mixed-ancestry people who may have had a long history of use in that region. People from other Treaty No. 8 regions were allowed to enter the park for a brief period.

The following year, the federal government began to import plains bison from the Wainwright Bison Park to what it considered to be relatively empty bison lands in Wood Buffalo Park. This decision was a political one, made over the objections of biologists. When the bison moved outside the park boundaries, the federal government expanded the park, annexing land south of the Peace River in 1926 (Figure 3). A different access rule was used, presumably responding to pressure from residents of Fort Chipewyan, who lived on the edge of the new park and used those lands, but mostly did not have treaty status. It allowed anyone who was in the “new” park or “annex” in 1926 to remain there after, which included treaty Indians, Métis, and White trappers. If someone was not resident in the new park in 1926, even if he had used the park the previous year, he could not thereafter gain entry to the park.

All the Crees on the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band list must have been in the park at this time, because they were allowed to continue in the park thereafter. However, the Chipewyan Band membership was divided in half: approximately half of the members were living in the park, and they were able to continue in the park. The other half - those living at places such as Old Fort and locations along the Athabasca River - were denied access to park lands.

This important provision meant that people in the park were largely protected from the exploitation of the resource base by White trappers outside the park. There is some evidence to show that annual incomes of people within the park were markedly better than those outside the park. Given the climate of competition by White trappers for furs and meat, the park boundary was a device that encouraged park users to restrict their land uses to the park lands. Despite this situation, people from park still traveled across the Birch Mountain, and there were some people from the south of Birch Mountain who entered the park illegally.

Chipewyans outside the park still considered lands within the park to be part of their traditional lands, which they were, based on the discussion presented above, and they continued to ask for access to those lands, which would have afforded them some economic assistance. They were turned down every time and became increasingly impoverished, even after the lands for a series of small reserves, with the biggest one at Jackfish (Richardson Lake), were finally identified for them.

The creation of registered trap lines was the next important step in government restriction of large blocks of traditional lands. In the early 1940s, the Province of Alberta introduced a system of registered trap lines. It was intended to foster conservation of fur and accommodate the White trappers who were still using the land. The provincial regulations provided that people

who had park privileges would not be eligible for trap lines in non-park Alberta. A few years later, Wood Buffalo Park also introduced a system of restricted land use, in which the total body of treaty Indians was divided into group areas and non-treaty users could obtain individual trap lines in the heart of the delta. These measures were introduced over the objections of local First Nations. Registered trap lines were a non-owned kind of individual property analogous to a lease of resources to an industry. Only the person in whose name the line was registered, along with his partner or assistant, were allowed to trap fur bearing animals on that land. In theory, treaty Indians were allowed to hunt anywhere, but in reality hunting and trapping were activities that occurred in tandem during late fall and winter.

The third area was called the “regime of regulation of land-based resources that was introduced by federal and provincial governments.” It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss them all, but both the federal government and provincial government developed elaborate systems of policies, laws, and regulations for Aboriginal people and others and for the resources of northern Alberta. Aboriginal people were never consulted in any of these, despite the assurance they had been given by the treaty commissioners that “only such laws as to hunting and fishing *as were in the interest of the Indians* and were found necessary in order to protect the fish and fur-bearing animals would be made, and that they would be as free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it.” They were assured “that the treaty would not lead to any forced interference with their mode of life” (Govt. of Canada 1966:6; emphasis added). Crees and Chipewyans regularly protested measures to which they objected, but their objections seem never to have been considered seriously by senior officials. These regulations prohibited Aboriginal burning, which was not understood by Forestry officials, who believed that

Indians just set forest fires which destroyed trees. Game regulations restricted how and when people could trap, even of animals that were critical for food as well as fur. Commercial fishing was allowed in Lake Athabasca in the 1920s, depleting the lake's fish populations. After World War II, new industries were allowed in Wood Buffalo National Park - commercial fishing, bison slaughters, and logging - which for the most part were opposed by Aboriginal people. The park also placed a strict limit at this time on the number of moose park users could hunt.

What is remarkable, when one juxtaposes the 20th century history of the region with the maps produced by the traditional land use studies, is that Crees and Chipewyans born in the 1920s and later continued to use lands outside the park, especially along the Athabasca River and in the Namur and Gardiner Lakes and Birch Mountain region. They never abandoned hunting, fishing, and gathering in areas that were part of their traditional lands. At the same time, the patterning of the maps suggests that by the mid 1950s and the years that followed, people were more likely to access these lands not from Birch River, but from the Athabasca River, traveling up the rivers that entered the west bank of the Athabasca River. By the 1950s, people who lived in local bands in bush settlements were beginning the process of moving into Fort Chipewyan for permanent residence (see McCormack 1984 for a discussion of that process). As Syncrude and Suncor industries got underway, some people from Fort Chipewyan began to move to Fort McMurray for employment and also to participate in fly-in, fly-out employment with Syncrude. The shift in residence to Fort McMurray and Fort MacKay dates from the development of these industries. That does not mean, however, that people abandoned the land-based activities of hunting, fishing, and gathering. People living in these southern centers now turned to lands to those areas to exercise their traditional treaty rights.

7. Mikisew Population Growth and Relocation

An earlier part of this report discussed the various factors that led to the modern Mikisew Cree First Nation. This section addresses briefly some of the demographic information available. When Treaty No. 8 was signed at Fort Chipewyan in 1899, 410 Chipewyans and 186 Crees entered into treaty (Govt. of Canada 1966:10). Additional people were added to the treaty pay lists in the years that followed. Despite large numbers of death from epidemic diseases in the years that followed for the first half of the 20th century, by 1940 the treaty pay lists had grown to 269 Chipewyans and 273 Crees (LAC RG10 Treaty Pay Lists). In 1946, the mass transfer of Chipewyans living in Wood Buffalo Park to the Cree Band occurred. The Cree Band numbered 374 people in that year.

Aboriginal populations began to grow markedly all across Canada after World War II. In addition to natural increase, the Cree Band increased in numbers after 1985 due to Bill C-31, passed by the federal government to end the involuntary enfranchisement of Indian Status women who had married out of their bands. Not only did Bill C-31 end that practice, it also provided a means for bands to establish their own membership codes. In 1987, Mikisew Cree First Nation developed an “inclusive” membership code, which means that they welcomed back persons who had been forced to leave the band through involuntary enfranchisement of themselves or an ancestor (MCFN 1992b).⁸ It was in 1992 that the Cree Band formally adopted the name Mikisew Cree First Nation, in line with a trend by other Status Indian bands to choose their own names (MCFN 1992a).

⁸MCFN wrote its first membership code in 1987, in accord with the requirements of the legislation. It was amended in 1988 and again in 1992 (MCFN 1992b).

Statistics Canada reported that the Aboriginal population grew six times faster than the growth rate for the non-Aboriginal population of Canada for the years 1996-2006 (Statistics Canada 2009). In 2003, the Mikisew Cree First Nation population was 2,316. Of this total, 164 people lived on reserve, 610 people lived on Crown lands, and 1,542 lived off-reserve (Alberta Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development 2004). The First Nation reserve lands include some lands in Fort Chipewyan and some small sections of land in Wood Buffalo National Park and north of Lake Athabasca. The distinction between Crown lands and off-reserve lands is unexplained in this document. In 2010, the Mikisew population had grown to 2,574, of whom 773 were living either on-reserve or on Crown land, while 1,801 were off-reserve (Govt. of Alberta 2010:15, 42). The documents containing this census information do not indicate how many of these people are now resident in Fort McMurray and Fort MacKay, but according to the First Nation it is the majority of them.⁹ While wage labor is obviously an important reason for living in these centers, they continue to hunt, fish, and trap on their traditional lands, which are now more likely to be accessed from this southern area.

8. Maintaining Tradition: Passing on Mikisew Cree First Nation Traditions and Cultural Practices

People from Mikisew Cree First Nation and many other First Nations talk with great sadness about the loss of their traditional languages and other cultural practices. Much of the history of their involvement with Europeans has involved attempts by those Europeans to undermine Aboriginal practices and beliefs and replace them with those of Europeans. The

⁹Some members also live in Fort Smith and Edmonton, with a smaller number living in other locations.

missionaries played a role in this process from the mid 19th century on, but until the 20th century they did not have the power of the state behind them. Today, much discourse in Fort Chipewyan, as in other Aboriginal communities, is highly critical and accusatory about damage caused by the residential school. At the same time, it is important to remember that it was the federal and provincial governments that allowed and even facilitated competing land uses and undermined the traditional mixed economy to such an extent that it became difficult to impossible for people to continue living their former way of life on the land in the local bands.

People have struggled to balance their need for wage labor for livelihood with the loss of social community that accompanied first the move from the bush settlements to Fort Chipewyan, and then the relocation of Fort Chipewyan residents to other centers. Although some information about local traditions is taught in the schools, the provincial curriculum still teaches what is basically a Euro-Canadian centered history that marginalizes Aboriginal people (see McCormack 2005). More and more, it falls to parents and grandparents to try to teach their children and grandchildren aspects of their traditional culture, but in non-traditional settings.

In the past, such learning occurred easily and naturally, as children lived on the land with their families. Boys and girls, young men and women learned the basics of living on the land. They went on hunting trips; they learned how to prepare and set nets; they learned how to set snares and traps, how to prepare the furs, and how to cut the meat; they learned about basic medicines. While they did these everyday things, they also learned landmarks and the stories associated with them. They learned how to “read” the land so that they could travel across it safely at all times of the year. They learned about animal behavior and ecosystem relationships by observing them firsthand. They learned oral traditions, both sacred stories and family stories.

They learned important values, such as the importance of generosity and sharing and the theme of non-interference with another person's decisions. When people talk about teaching their traditions today, they may speak about hunting, but hunting is part of a much bigger cultural package.

While some of this teaching still occurs in the home, parents and their children face the same barrage of influences as do children elsewhere in Canada, from that of their peers to influences from television and the Internet. That makes time spent on the land especially valuable, because it may be the only way in which First Nation members can help their children learn the traditional values of their Cree culture. Today, teaching culture is done deliberately, on weekends and special trips. Yet some of the participants in the Calliou Group's study (2009) reported that it was hard to take a child into the bush if it involved traveling much distance, and they worried about doing so if the food or water they ate there might be tainted. I have heard the same fears about taking children into the bush around Fort Chipewyan. The right to transmit their culture to their children relies on access to traditional lands.

9. Competing for Territory

Philip Morris and Gail Fondahl have discussed how social space is altered as societies with different approaches to space and to territory come together. "Multiple influences on the production of social space will produce a hybrid space - in the sense that it is the combination of influences, and also in the sense that it is something new created from their interaction" (2002:109). In northeast Alberta, lands that were "Native space" were converted over time into what Morris and Fondahl call "government space" by a series of building blocks: land surveys, a

treaty that promised reserves, the creation of Wood Buffalo National Park, and the development of a restrictive regulatory system, one component of which was the registered trap line system. Later, leases of rights to companies to exploit oil and gas and forestry resources continued this process.

It is ironic that in the end, registered trap lines are now seen by most First Nations as lands that are still theirs, even though they enjoy no true “ownership,” only use rights. But as Elizabeth Lacorde pointed out, having a trap line is useless for trapping if no animals remain there due to industrial disturbance (Calliou Group 2009:45).

Hugh Brody (1981) has written about how the Aboriginal people of northeastern British Columbia tended to move away from the people who moved onto their traditional lands and competed with them for resources. The First Nations who entered into Treaty No. 8 agreed to share their land with newcomers. They could work around a few blocks of land removed from the totality of their traditional lands. Blanketing an entire landscape with industrial lands is a different matter entirely, a kind of industrial clearcutting. As industries have expanded their northern presence and began to build roads to access oil and gas and forestry resources, it opened the door to additional people moving onto even those lands that Indians had managed to preserve. At some point, they will run out of lands to which they can move. There is no evidence that these changes will or even can be compensated for by the provision of wage labor. Although government officials have assumed for many years that at some point in the future Aboriginal people will no longer support themselves by hunting, that does not mean that Aboriginal people hold the same belief about their future. The reality in the north is that even today, there are many people to whom hunting and other land-based activities are an important

part of their livelihood and values. Hunting still provides high-quality food in addition to other benefits (e.g., Asch and Smith 1993). Mikisew Cree people have not left the bush, even though their extensive use of it today is not easily seen by outsiders. Nevertheless, the default position across much of northern Canada is that it is inevitable that northern hunters will or must one day stop hunting and move fully into a capitalist mode of production as wage laborers or business owners.

In 1899, Keenooshayo at Lesser Slave Lake had tried to ensure that what they agreed to verbally was also what was included in the written treaty: “We want a written treaty, one copy to be given to us, so we shall know what we sign for” (Mair 1908:62). After the treaty was finalized, copies printed on parchment were sent to each official chief for his band. The original typed treaty text was identical to the printed document. What the Indians believed were other “promises” appear only in the Commissioners' report and in the oral traditions as verbal assurances made to the Indians. Given this immense gulf in understanding, it is not surprising that Indians continue to view the imposition of game regulations and other regulations impeding their access to land and resources and the degradation of the resource itself as violations of treaty promises.

It is tempting to speculate that most government officials responsible for the Treaty Eight region were themselves unfamiliar with the terms of the treaty. Even those familiar with it - mostly Department of Indian Affairs officials - either did not take it seriously as a legal, enforceable document or were relatively powerless vis-à-vis other government agents, such as those in Alberta. With some exceptions, there is little evidence that anyone in government thought about how its “spirit and intent” clashed with federal and provincial laws. There is little

evidence that high level Indian Affairs bureaucrats made much effort to support treaty Indians in their dealings with hostile provincial governments, which is why today the Mikisew Cree First Nation, along with other First Nations, is forced to resort to the courts to address these issues and to recruit legal assistance for interventions into industrial initiatives to which they are opposed.

Figure 1. Travel routes from Birch River and Lake Athabasca south
Information based on Calliou Study and PAC Team Study

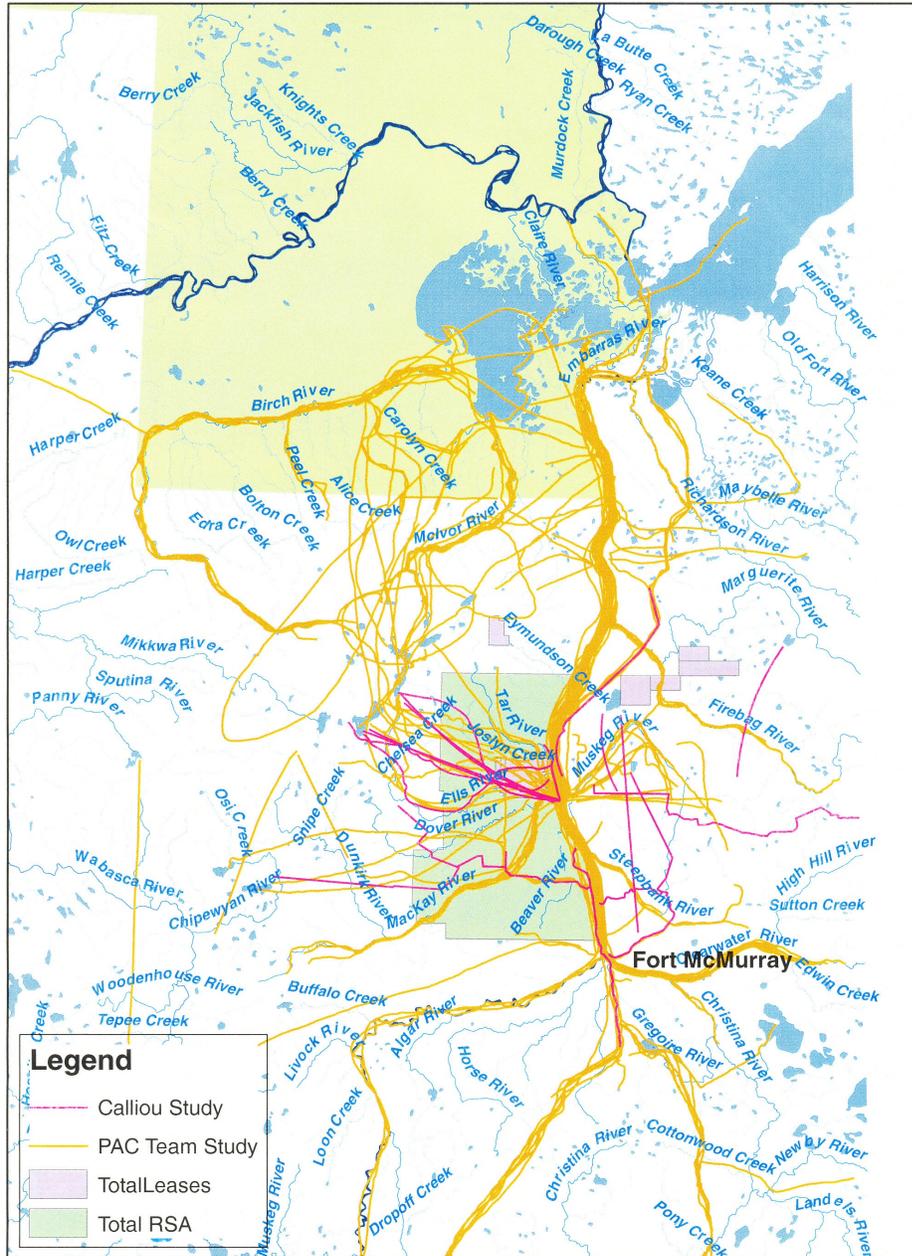


Figure 2. Landscape use south of Wood Buffalo National Park
Information based on Deer Creek Study cohort groups

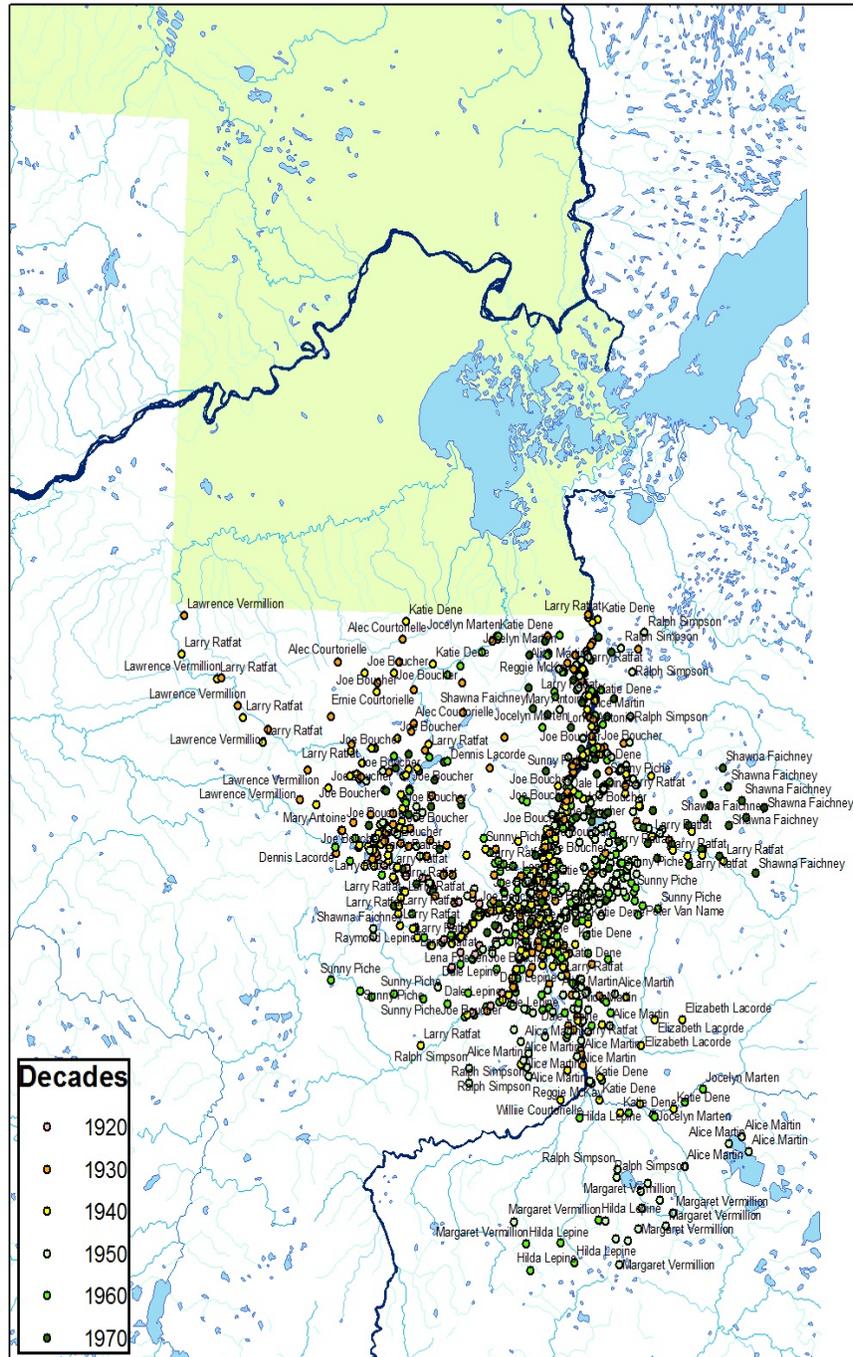
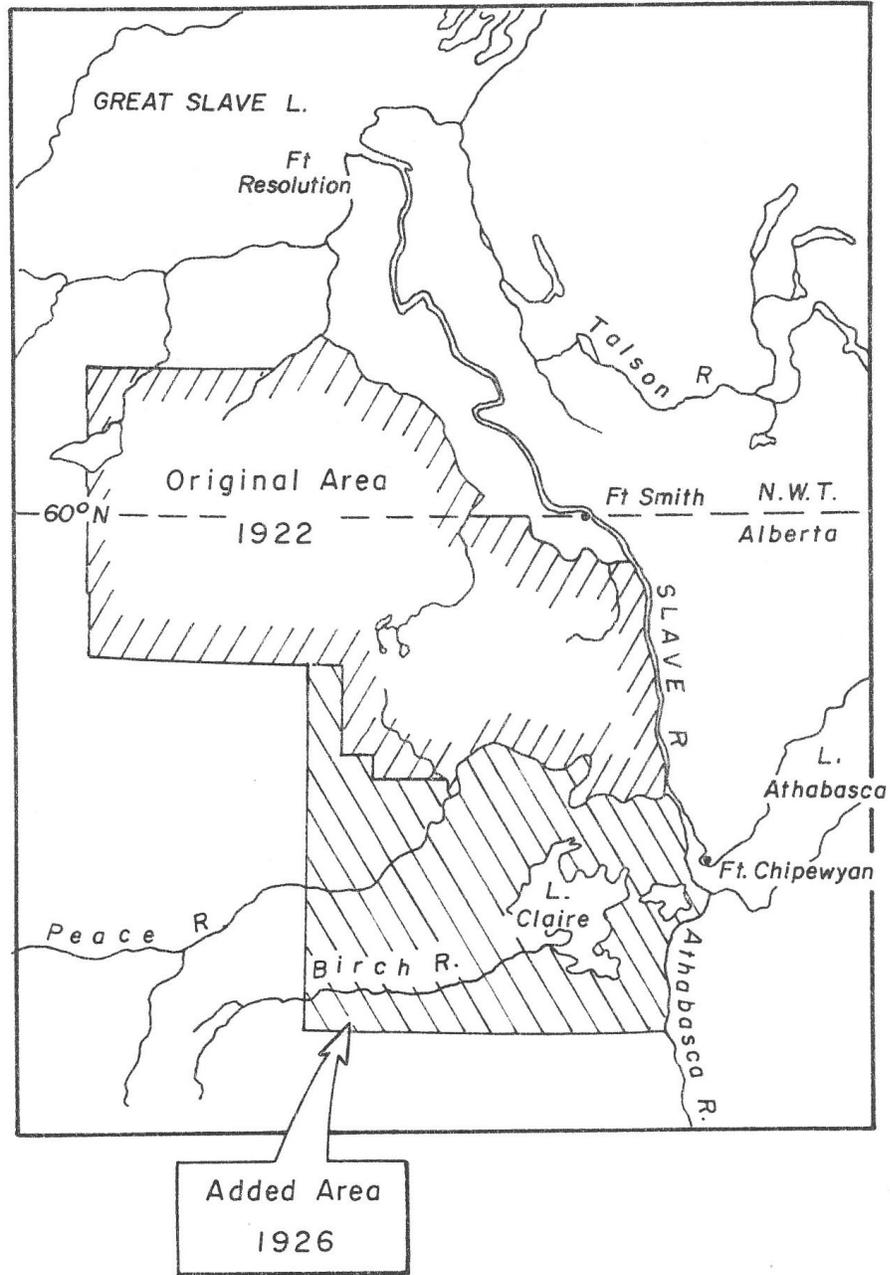


Figure 3. The creation of Wood Buffalo Park

(McCormack 1984:124)



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- 1976 Fond du Lac River-Black Lake field journal. In possession of the author.
- 1977-78 Fort Chipewyan field journals. In possession of the author.
- 1984 How the (North) West was won: development and underdevelopment in the Fort Chipewyan region. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta.
- 1988 Northwind Dreaming. Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988. Exhibit catalogue. Provincial Museum of Alberta Special Publication No. 6. Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta.
- 1992 The political economy of bison management in Wood Buffalo National Park. *Arctic*. 45(4):367-380.
- 1996 Orkneymen and Lewismen: distinctive cultures and identities in the Canadian fur trade. Paper presented at the 1996 Rupert's Land Colloquium, 31 May-4 June 1996, Whitehorse, Yukon.
- 1998 Northern Métis and the treaties. *In Picking up the Threads. Métis History in the Mackenzie Basin*. Pp. 171-201. Yellowknife: Métis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories.
- 2007 Deconstructing Canadian subarctic grasslands. Paper prepared for the European Environmental History Conference, Amsterdam, 5-9 June 2007.
- 2009 Evolving accommodations: the sled dog in the Canadian fur trade. Third International meeting of the conference series, "Des bêtes et des hommes": "Une bête parmi les hommes: le chien." Université de Valenciennes, France, 5-6 November 2009.
- 2010 Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, 1788-1920s: "We Like to be Free in this Country." Vancouver, BC: UBC Press. In press.
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1980 *Indians as consumers in the eighteenth century*. *In* Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray, eds.,

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1984 Periodic shortage, native welfare, and the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1930. *In* Shepard Krech III, *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*. Pp. 1-20. Vancouver: UBC Press.

1990 The decline of paternalism in the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade, 1870-1945. *In* Rosemary E. Ommen, ed., *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*. Pp. 188-202. Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press.

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1991 Eighteenth-century Western Cree and their Neighbours. *Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series Paper 143*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

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- 2003 Landscaping desire. Poetics, politics in the early biological surveys of the Canadian north. *Space & Culture*. 6(4):394-414.

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- 1973 *Inkonze: Magico-religious beliefs of contact-traditional Chipewyan trading at Fort Resolution, NWT, Canada*. Ethnology Division Paper no. 6. National Museum of Man Mercury Series. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

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- 1975 The ecological basis of Chipewyan socio-territorial organization. *In* A. McFadyen-Clark, ed., *Proceedings: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971*. Vol. 2:389-461. *Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 27*. National Museum of Man Mercury Series. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

- 1981a *Chipewyan*. *In* June Helm, ed., *Subarctic. Handbook of North American Indians*. 6:271-284. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

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1965 The structure of the fur trade. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

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1962 David Thompson's Narrative 1784-1812. Richard Glover, ed. Toronto: The Champlain Society.

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1968 Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor. New York: Greenwood Press. (Orig. 1934)

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

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1986 A Systematic Study of Recent Bison, with Particular Consideration of the Wood Bison (*Bison bison athabasca* Rhoads 1898). *Publications in Natural Sciences* No. 6. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

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1975 The prehistory of Lake Athabasca: an initial statement. *Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper no. 20*. National Museum of Canada Mercury Series. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Appendix 1.**List of Publications, Papers, and Exhibits about Fort Chipewyan****Refereed Publications**

- 2010 Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, 1788-1920s: "We Like to be Free in this Country." Vancouver, BC: UBC Press. In press.
- 2000 Overcoming the differences of treaty and scrip: the Community Development Program in Fort Chipewyan. *In* Duff Crerar and Jaroslav Petryshyn, eds., *Treaty 8 Revisited: Selected Papers on the 1999 Centennial Conference*. Lobstick. 1(1):277-295.
- Northern Metis and the treaties. *In* *Picking Up the Threads; Metis History in the Mackenzie Basin*. Pp. 171-201. Yellowknife, Metis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories.
- 1996 The Canol project at Fort Chipewyan. *In* Bob Hesketh, ed., *Three Northern Wartime Projects*. Pp. 183-199. CCI Occasional Publication No. 38. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, and Edmonton & District Historical Society.
- 1994 Linking bush and town: the mixed economy of the Aboriginal peoples of Fort Chipewyan. *In* *Proceedings of the 8th International Abashiri Symposium on Peoples and Cultures of the Boreal Forest*. Pp. 21-33. Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples, Abashiri City, Hokkaido, Japan.
- 1993 Romancing the northwest as prescriptive history: Fort Chipewyan and the northern expansion of the Canadian state. *In* Patricia A. McCormack and R. Geoffrey Ironside, eds., *The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies*. Pp. 89-104. Circumpolar Research Series No. 3. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- Co-editor with R. Geoffrey Ironside. *The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies*. Includes the "Introduction" and "Conclusion." Circumpolar Research Series No. 3. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- 1992 The political economy of bison management in Wood Buffalo National Park. *Arctic*. 45(4):367-380. Nominated for the Eleanor B. Leacock award.
- 1991 "That's a piece of junk": issues in contemporary subarctic collecting. *Arctic Anthropology*. 28(1):124-137.
- 1989 Chipewyans turn Cree: governmental and structural factors in ethnic processes. *In* K. S. Coates and W. R. Morrison, eds., *For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of*

Morris Zaslow. Pp. 125-138. North York, Ont.: Captus Press.

Working with the community: a dialectical approach to exhibit development. *Alberta Museums Review*. 14(2):4-8.

- 1987 Fort Chipewyan and the Great Depression. *Canadian Issues*. 8:69-92.
- 1984 Becoming trappers: the transformation to a fur trade mode of production at Fort Chipewyan. *In Rendezvous, Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*. Pp. 155-173. St. Paul, Minnesota: North American Fur Trade Conference.

Other Publications

- 2002 Introduction: "A promise by any other name..." Treaty No. 8 and taxation. P. 283. With Gordon Drever. Imposing tax: taxation in the Northwest Territories and Aboriginal fears in the Treaty Eight region. *In David G. Malaher, compiler, Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002*. Pp. 309-315. Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, University of Winnipeg.
- 2001 Genealogical studies in community-based research. Proceedings, Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association Annual Conference. CD ROM.
- 1996 The Athabasca influenza epidemic of 1835. *Issues in the North*. CCI Occasional Publication No. 40. Pp. 33-42. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- 1995 Revision of the entry on "Chipewyan" for the *Canadian Encyclopedia*, originally written by James G. E. Smith (deceased); revised version carries both names as co-authors.
- 1990 Government comes to Fort Chipewyan: expansion of the state into the heart of the fur trade country. *In Patricia A. McCormack and R. Geoffrey Ironside, eds., Fort Chipewyan-Fort Vermilion Bicentennial Conference Proceedings*. Pp. 133-137. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies.
- 1988 Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988. Exhibit catalogue. Provincial Museum of Alberta Special Publication No. 6. Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta.

Exhibits

- 1999 *Treaty No. 8 and the Northern Collecting of Dr. O. C. Edwards*
500 square foot centennial commemoration exhibit developed in cooperation with NS480

students. Designed by Bernd Hildebrandt. School of Native Studies and Museums and Collections Services, University of Alberta.

- 1989 *Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988*
500 square foot traveling exhibit, for venues in Alberta, NWT, Yukon, B.C., Sask., and Manitoba, 1990-94. Designed by Vic Clapp. Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton.
- 1988 *Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988*
3,000 square feet feature exhibit commemorating the bicentennial of the founding of Fort Chipewyan, Alberta's oldest, permanently occupied community, and celebrating the lives of the Indian, Metis, and non-Native peoples who have made their homes there for 200 years and longer. Developed in collaboration with community residents. Contained over 400 artifacts, many borrowed from collections in Canada, U.S., and Scotland. Designed by Vic Clapp. Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton.
- 1986 *Trapping in Transition: Native Trapping in Northern Alberta*
1,000 square feet exhibit depicting the roles of trapping in Aboriginal economies in northern Alberta in the years before World War II and in the present. Designed by Shelby Craigen. Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton.

Selected Papers¹⁰

- 2007 Deconstructed Canadian subarctic grasslands. Prepared for the European Environmental History Conference, Amsterdam, 5-9 June 2007.
- 2002 Imposing tax: taxation in the Northwest Territories and Aboriginal fears of the state in the Treaty Eight region. Co-authored with Gordon Drever. Prepared for book about the Benoit case.
- 2001 Expanding the boundaries: studying Dene kinship. Presented as part of "Dene Kinship and Ethnohistory," at the 100th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropology Association, Nov. 28-Dec. 2, 2001, Washington, D.C.
- Canadian nation-building: a pretty name for internal colonialism. Presented at "Nation Building," British Association for Canadian Studies 25th Annual Conference, April 11-14, 2000, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.
- 1998 Smith's Landing/Fort Fitzgerald: an economic history. Prepared for the Smith's Landing First Nation, October 23, 1998.
- 1994 James and Isabella Thomson: a Lewis family in the Canadian fur trade. Presented at the

¹⁰This list does not include conference papers that were published or "popular" papers.

Sixth Biennial Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, Edmonton, May 25-27, 1994.

Two solitudes: museum displays and Indians in the fur trade. Presented at *Inventing Fur Trade Traditions*, a session organized by Patricia A. McCormack and Robert Coutts for the Fifth Biennial Rupert's Land Colloquium, Winnipeg, Feb. 6-9, 1992.

Expanding state regulatory systems and their impacts on northern and Native peoples. Presented at *Symposium on Contemporary and Historical Issues in Legal Pluralism: Prairie and Northern Canada*, organized by the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, Law in Society Program, Winnipeg, Nov. 7-8, 1992.

The Canadian fur trade: the Orkney connection. Presented at *Focus on the Forks*, a conference on the historical significance of the forks region, Winnipeg, April, 1991.

1990 Northern boats: Native lake skiffs and their possible Orkney origin. Prepared for the Orkney Museum Service and presented in Orkney, Scotland, September, 1990.

The Orkney Islands and the Canadian fur trade and Native communities. Presented at *Partnerships: Museums and Native Living Cultures*, Alberta Museums Association Professional Development Series, Edmonton, Dec. 3-4, 1990.

1989 From their labor: a material slant to ethnohistorical research. Presented at the American Society for Ethnohistory Conference, Chicago, Nov. 2-5, 1989.

Reviving contemporary collecting: the Fort Chipewyan collection at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. Presented at *Collecting the Objects of Others*, a special session of the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., Nov. 15-19, 1989.

Hub of the North: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988. Presented at the Rupertsland Colloquium, Winnipeg and Churchill, June 29-July 3, 1988.

1986 Rooted in the past: the modern community of Fort Chipewyan. Presented at the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies 25th anniversary conference, *Knowing the North*.

1982 Fur trade society to class society: the development of ethnic stratification at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta. Presented at the Canadian Ethnology Society meetings, Vancouver, B.C.

1979 The Cree Band land entitlement in Wood Buffalo National Park: history and issues. Presented at the Edmonton Chapter of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada.

Expert witness reports

- 2001 Treaty No. 8: rebuttal report. Co-authored with Gordon Drever. Prepared for Karin Buss, Ackroyd, Piasta, Roth & Day, in conjunction with *Benoit et al v. the Queen*. 20 March 2001.
- 1999 Treaty No. 8 and issues of taxation. Co-authored with Gordon Drever. Prepared for Karin Buss, Ackroyd, Piasta, Roth & Day, in conjunction with *Benoit et al v. the Queen*. 30 April 1999.

Appendix 2.

CURRICULUM VITAE

PATRICIA A. McCORMACK

Associate Professor
Faculty of Native Studies
2-31 Pembina Hall
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, T6G 2H8 Canada

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Current Adjunct Positions

Adjunct Professor, Comparative Literature Program, Office of Interdisciplinary Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Alberta

Adjunct Professor, Dept. of Human Ecology, Faculty of Ales University of Alberta

Adjunct Associate Professor, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta

Adjunct Researcher, Royal Alberta Museum

EDUCATION

1984 Ph.D. Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta
Thesis: "How the (North) West Was Won: Development and Underdevelopment in the Fort Chipewyan Region"

1975 M.A. Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta
Thesis: "A Model to Determine Possible Adaptive Strategies for the Aboriginal Treeline Dene"

1969 B.A. (Honors) Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta
Thesis: "A Colonial Factory: Fort Chipewyan"

SKILLS OVERVIEW

1. *Subject interests*
 - North American Aboriginal peoples: Aboriginal and traditional cultures and identities, cultural suppression, cultural transformation/renewal, modern cultures

- Subarctic and Canadian North, northwestern Plains
 - Scots and the Canadian fur trade; cultures and histories of Orkney and Lewis
 - Canadian history: expansion of the state and internal colonialism; political economy
 - Ethnohistory
 - Oral traditions and indigenous knowledge
 - Genealogy
 - Material culture, museology, repatriation
 - Discourse and representation
 - Social structure
 - Gender relations
2. *Research process and outcomes*
- Community-based research and partnership projects
 - Archival and museum-based research
 - Expert reports and courtroom testimony
 - Research ethics
3. *Education*
- Adult education; course design and instruction
 - Evaluation of students
4. *Administration*
- Participation on university, government, and interagency committees
 - Budget preparation and management
 - Hiring, management, and evaluation of personnel
 - Volunteer recruitment and management
 - Conference planning
5. *Heritage and museums programs*
- Heritage preservation and interpretation; cultural resource management
 - Material culture research and collecting; collections management and conservation
 - Exhibit development
 - Public programming
6. *Media and public relations*
- Radio and T.V. experience
 - Public speaking to diverse audiences

AWARDS

Scholarly Awards

1993 Fellow of the American Anthropological Association

1969 Woodrow Wilson Fellowship

Public Awards

1993 Fort Chipewyan Historical Society, Lifetime Membership

1983 Yukon Historical and Museums Association, Honorary Life Membership

GRANTS

Research Grants

1998 University of Alberta: EEF Support for the Advancement of Scholarship Operating Grant (Small Faculties Research Grants Program), for "The Making of Modern Fort Chipewyan, a Contemporary Native Community," \$4,998.00. 13 May 1998.

Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, for "The Making of Modern Fort Chipewyan, a Contemporary Native Community," \$8,000.00. 18 December 1998.

1996 University of Alberta: Central Research Fund Operating Grant for "Blackfoot Traditions Project," \$4,755.00.

1989 Wenner-Gren Grant-in-Aid for "The Orcadian/Scottish Roots of Canadian Native Cultures: An Ethnohistorical Study," \$8,000.00 US.

1987 Canadian Museums Association Short-Term Study Grant for "Fort Chipewyan Bicentennial Project: Research in British Collections," \$1,000.00.

1985 Boreal Institute Research Grant for "The Fort Chipewyan Fur Trade - Fort Chipewyan, Alberta," \$4,552.50

1975 Boreal Institute Research Grant for "Native Uses of Fire in the Lake Athabasca Region"

1970, 1974-1977 University of Alberta Summer Bursaries

Travel Grants

2006 EEF Support for the Advancement of Scholarship, Travel Grant, to present a paper at the 9th North American Fur Trade Conference and 12th Rupert's Land Colloquium, St. Louis,

- Mo., 24-28, 2006. Grant #A026663 for \$2,000.00 awarded 9 May 2006.
- 2004 EFF Support for the Advancement of Scholarship (Small Faculties), Travel Grant, to present a paper at the 11th Rupert's Land Colloquium 2004, 24-31 May 2004, Kenora, Ontario. Grant #A017639 for \$1,404.00 awarded 27 April 2004.
- 2003 HFASSR Humanities, Fine Arts and Social Sciences Research Travel Grant, to present a paper at the American Society for Ethnohistory Annual Meeting, 5-9 Nov. 2003, Riverside, California. Grant #A014704 for \$800.00 awarded 22 Sept. 2003.
- 2002 UFASSR Humanities, Fine Arts and Social Sciences Research Travel Grant to present a paper at the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, 9-12 April 2002, Oxford, England. Grant #G124120491 for \$1,200.00 awarded 10 January 2002.
- 2001 EFF Support for the Advancement of Scholarship (Small Faculties) grant to present a paper at the 100th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Session, 28 Nov. - 2 Dec. 2001, Washington, D.C. Grant #G018000417 for \$1,737.889 awarded 10 May 2001.
- 2000 SSR Conference Travel Fund grant to present a paper at "Nation Building," British Association for Canadian Studies 25th Annual Conference, 11-14 April 2000, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Grant #G124120312 for \$1,200.00 awarded 12 April 2000.
- 1997 Central Research Fund grant to present a paper at *The Fur Trade Era: The Influence of the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade on the Development of the American West*, Museum of the Mountain Man, 11-13 Sept. 1997, Pinedale, Wyoming.
- 1996 CRF grant to present a paper at the *Sacred Lands* conference, 24-26 Oct. 1996, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- 1995 CRF travel grant to present a paper at the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, 1-4 June 1996, Whitehorse, Yukon.
- 1994 CRF travel grant to present a paper at the Western History Association 34th Annual Conference, 19-24 Oct. 1994, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

EMPLOYMENT AND RESEARCH

- 1998-present Associate Professor, Faculty of Native Studies, University of Alberta (on leave, 1 Jan. - 30 June 2010)
Tenure awarded December 1997; effective 1 July 1998
- 1994-98 Assistant Professor, School of Native Studies, University of Alberta

Position involves research into Aboriginal cultures, histories, and identities and subsequent publication; development of courses with an emphasis on Aboriginal perspectives and instruction to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students; professional contributions; university and community service.

Current research: One focus is a broad research program designed to study the transformation of the cultures, identities, social structures, lifeways, and material cultures of the Aboriginal peoples of northwestern Canada, with particular reference to Chipewyans, Crees, Scots-Métis, and French-Métis. Current projects include: “Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History,” with one book in press and a second in revision; a book about Thanadelthur and the early fur trade on the west coast of Hudson Bay; and a transatlantic study of Orcadian/Lewis connections to Canadian Native peoples and cultures.

A second focus is research into traditional Blackfoot culture and history (northwestern Plains) and contemporary cultural revitalization/redefinition, its material aspects and representation in museum collections and interpretation, and the meanings of repatriation. The "Blackfoot Traditions Research Program" includes two major components: the history of Blackfoot ranching and the revitalization of Blackfoot religious traditions. The continued importance of horses is a thread that connects both projects and also relates to my personal life.

Artifact collection: I have developed and continue to build a personal collection of artifacts with two dimensions: stereotypes about Aboriginal people and contemporary Aboriginal iconography.

Adjunct Positions

- 2010-2013 Adjunct Professor, Comparative Literature Program, Office of Interdisciplinary Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Alberta. 1 Jan. 2010-31 Dec. 2014.
- 1996-present Curator, University of Alberta Art and Artifact (Ethnographic) Collection (six Ethnology Collections: Edwards/Scully, Smith, Lord, Mason, Molly Cork Congo Collection). Part of the Multi-MIMSY Users' Group (computer-based collections database).
- 1995-present Research Associate, Royal Alberta Museum (formerly, Provincial Museum of Alberta)
- 1990-present Adjunct Associate Professor, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta
- Adjunct Professor, Department of Human Ecology, University of Alberta

- 1992-98 Adjunct Professor, Dept. of Anthropology
- 1991-95 Associate Curator of Ethnology, Glenbow Museum
- 1988-90 Adjunct Researcher, Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, University of Alberta

Professional Employment

- 2010 For a Fort Nelson First Nation family, represented by Karey M. Brooks (Janes Freedman Kyle Law Corporation, Vancouver): an expert report relating to a variety of ethnohistorical and Treaty No. 8 issues (135 pp.).
- 2007 For Mikisew Cree First Nation, represented by Peter McMahon (Rath & Company, Calgary): genealogical consultation regarding a Treaty Eight claim.
- 2005 For Siksika Nation, represented by Clayton Leonard (MacPherson Leslie & Tyerman, Calgary): a report about historic Blackfoot territories (52 pp.).
- 2004 For Mikisew Cree First Nation, represented by Peter C. Graburn (Rath & Company, Calgary): an economic history of the First Nation in connection with a Treaty Eight claim (124 pp.).
- 2003-2006 For Big Island Lake Cree Nation, Saskatchewan, represented by James Jodouin (Woloshyn & Company, Saskatoon): research in connection with a Treaty Six claim.
- 1999-2002 For Treaty 8 First Nations (Akaitcho Tribal Council, Lesser Slave Lake Indian Regional Council, Athabasca Tribal Council, Kee Tas Kee Now Tribal Council), represented by Karin Ross and Elizabeth Johnson (Ackroyd, Piasta, Roth & Day, Edmonton): research about what Aboriginal peoples in the Treaty 8 region may have known about taxation when they negotiated the treaty in 1899 and 1900. In collaboration with Gordon Drever, prepared an expert report (30 April 1999; 63 pp.) and a rebuttal report (20 March 2001; 61 pp.). Served as an expert witness summer, 2001, and advised the lawyers about cross-examination of defense witnesses. Subsequently organized a conference session that included expert witnesses and lawyers from both plaintiffs and defense.
- 1999-present Appraisals of Native artifacts for various clients (e.g., University of Alberta, Royal Alberta Museum, Northern Cultural Arts Museum, Motor Association Insurance Company)
- 1998 For Smith's Landing First Nation, represented by Jerome Slavik (Ackroyd, Piasta, Roth & Day, Edmonton): prepared a report on the economic history of Smith's Landing/Fort Fitzgerald for its use in a Treaty Eight claim (40 pp.).

- 1997 For the Métis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories: prepared a chapter about the history of northern Metis in relation to Treaties No. 8 and No. 11 and scrip for a book on Métis of the Mackenzie Basin.

For the Provincial Museum of Alberta: wrote script for two units of the new Gallery of Aboriginal Peoples dealing with contemporary economic ventures and political activities.

- 1996-98 For Little Red River Cree Nation and Tallcree First Nation: Project Director, Cultural Resource Inventory Project. Designed project, provided training to members of four research teams (1996) and one research team (1997), and supervised the teams as they researched places of cultural significance in the traditional lands of these two First Nations. Prepared regular reports for Chiefs and Councils. Contributed to development of project software (LightHouse) and user manual and coordinated with a parallel Biophysical Inventory Project. Participated as requested in meetings with the two First Nations.

- 1996 For Treaty Land Entitlement, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada: Prepared a confidential report on a northern claim consisting of an annotated bibliography and an historical analysis (57 pp.).

- 1984-94 Curator of Ethnology at the Provincial Museum of Alberta (now the Royal Alberta Museum)

Administered the Ethnology Program, a sub-unit of the museum, which involved program and policy development, budget planning and management, and personnel recruitment and management. Program activities focused on the curation of a large collection of material culture of the Aboriginal peoples of Alberta and other regions (First Nations, Métis, Inuit), documentation of Aboriginal cultures and lifeways through field and archival investigations and collection of additional artifacts, interpretation through publications, exhibits, and public programs, and cooperation with a wide range of client groups. Program responsibility was for the entire province and related regions (primarily the western Subarctic, northern Plains, and Canadian Arctic). Collecting activities emphasized contemporary materials with good documentation, although older artifacts were also acquired.

Research: Conducted research at Fort Chipewyan, Janvier, Sucker Creek, Saddle Lake, Kehewin, Blood Reserve, Peigan Reserve, Poorman Reserve, and in Scotland, especially the Orkney Islands and the Outer Hebrides. Museum and archival collections were studied in the United States, Canada, and Britain.

Major project: Initiated, coordinated, and conducted research for a special project to commemorate the Fort Chipewyan Bicentennial with a major in-house exhibit, travelling exhibit, exhibit catalogue, conference, and public programming. Served on two

- committees, one to plan the conference and publish proceedings and a book of referred papers, and the second to administer a special research fund for scholarly research in the Fort Chipewyan and Fort Vermilion regions. Participated in extensive fund-raising and coordinated activities with Fort Chipewyan residents. Co-edited conference proceedings (1990) and a book of refereed papers (1993). In 1993 was awarded a lifetime membership in the Fort Chipewyan Historical Society in recognition of work researching and promoting the heritage of the community.
- 1984 For the Friends of Jezebel, a society organized to promote tolerance and understanding of prostitutes in Edmonton: developed a research proposal on the "sex industry" in Edmonton
- 1983 For the Yukon Native Languages Project: prepared community study kits for Pelly Crossing, Carmacks, Burwash Landing, Destruction Bay.
- 1980-83 For CBC: commentaries for national and regional programs on Native and northern affairs.
- 1982 For CBC: "Homeland": 12 episode series tracing the development of the concept of Aboriginal rights and land claims in Canada. Taped for CBC Radio (Whitehorse) with broadcaster Neil Ford.
- 1982 For Athabasca University: developed a draft correspondence course, "Contemporary Native Issues."
- 1981-82 For the Yukon Educational Television Society: prepared briefs on three Yukon historical figures (Leroy Napoleon "Jack" McQuesten, William Ogilvie, and Skookum Jim, or Keish) as background information for three episodes of *The Yukoners*, a series of videotaped interviews between a CBC broadcaster and the historical figure, played by a local actor.
- 1980-81 For Council for Yukon Indians: researcher-consultant to oral history program. Assisted in coordinating an oral history workshop for Native researchers (1981).
- 1979-80 For the Yukon Native Brotherhood and the University of British Columbia: developed a "Yukon Studies" course outline, which entailed a survey of literature related to all aspects of the Yukon's history and socioeconomic development. The commentary provides an overview of Yukon social, economic, political, and constitutional history, with an annotated bibliography of nearly 500 sources.
- 1975-76 For the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta: General Editor of *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, a quarterly professional journal. Solicited

manuscripts, edited and published several special issues as well as general issues

- 1971 For Keith Crowe, DIAND: research to support a history of northern Native Canadians. Included library research and fieldwork in communities in the Great Slave Lake and upper MacKenzie regions.

Expert Witness and Related Research

On-going advice provided to lawyers in Alberta and Saskatchewan regarding Native cultures, lifeways, and histories related to the First Nations and Métis peoples of the Treaties No. 6, 7, 8, and 11 regions, and to alleged offenses under fisheries and wildlife legislation.

Qualified as an expert witness in the following trials:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 1986 | Expert witness by way of Affidavit, in <i>The Queen and John Piche</i> . |
| 20 Jan. 1986 | <i>R. vs. Donald Harvey et al.</i> (Sturgeon Lake First Nation). Fishing regulations violation. |
| 12 May 1986 | <i>R. v. Joe Desjarlais, William Durocher, and Dorothy Durocher</i> (Fishing Lake Metis Settlement). Fishing regulations violation. |
| 9 Sept. 1987 | <i>R. v. Walter Janvier and R. v. John Cardinal</i> (Janvier First Nation). Fishing regulations violation. |
| 14 Oct. 1988 | <i>R. v. Vic Machatis</i> (Cold Lake First Nation). Fishing regulations violation. |
| 2-5 Dec. 1991 | <i>R. v. Ernest Wolf</i> (Onion Lake First Nation). Hunting regulations violation. |
| 10-11 Sept. 1992 | <i>R. vs. Larry Littlewolfe</i> (Onion Lake First Nation). Hunting regulations violation. |
| 8 Feb. 1995 | <i>R. v. Angelique Janvier</i> (Cold Lake First Nation). Hunting regulations violation. |
| 16 Sept. 1996 | <i>R. v. Hazel Jacko et al. and R. v. Jobby Metchewais et al.</i> (Cold Lake First Nation). Fishing regulations violation. |
| Summer 1997 | Appeared in Edmonton, before Judge Meuwissen, with the U.S. Department of the Interior, in connection with the U.S. White Earth Lands Settlement Act. |

- 23 May 2001 *Benoit et al. v. the Queen* (Treaty No. 8 First Nations). Treaty Eight litigation in federal court. Justice Douglas Campbell.
- 12 May 2005 *Brett Janvier v. the Queen* (Cold Lake First Nation). Fishing regulations violation. Judge Wheatley.
- 29 Sept. 2009 *Betty Woodward and Mickey Cockerill and Harry Cockerill vs. Chief and Council of the Fort McMurray No. 268 First Nation* (Treaty 8 First Nation). Judicial review of two cases heard concurrently concerning band membership. Federal Court Justice O'Reilly.

Early Research and Other Activities

- 1978 Archival investigations in Edmonton (Provincial Archives), Ottawa (Public Archives of Canada), and Fort Smith (Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate; Archives of the Bishop)
- 1977-78 Community research in Fort Chipewyan, Alberta
- 1975-76 Fieldwork on Native uses of fire as an habitat management tool in the Lake Athabasca region (Fort Chipewyan and Black Lake).
- 1970 Research in the Hudson's Bay Company archival collection in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
- 1968 Alberta Service Corps, Fort Chipewyan, Alberta: conducted community service projects.
- 1967 Ward Aide, Charles Camsell Hospital, Edmonton, Alberta.
- 1966 Nurse Aide, Delaware General Hospital, Wilmington, Delaware.

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICE

University Committees

- 2009-12 General Faculties Council representative for the Faculty of Native Studies (24 Nov. 2009-30 June 2012)
- 2009 Association for Academic Staff, University of Alberta representative for faculty members at the Faculty of Native Studies
- 2005-11 GFC Academic Appeals Committee (faculty member)

- 2001-09 University Committee on Human Research Ethics (UCHRE)
- 2003-present Council for the Interdisciplinary Program in Religious Studies (formerly, Religious Studies Advisory Council), University of Alberta
- 1997-present Multi MIMSY Users' Group (University curators)
- 2003-04 General Faculties Council representative for the School of Native Studies
- 2003-04 Henry Marshall Tory Selection Committee
- 2002-03, 1997 Selection Committees, Director of the School of Native Studies
- 2003-06, 1997-2000 Association for Academic Staff, University of Alberta, for faculty members at the School of Native Studies
- 1995-98 General Faculties Council Special Sessions Committee, Univ. of Alberta, 1 July 1995 - 30 June 1998

Faculty of Native Studies

- 2003-present Acting Dean in the Dean's absence, upon request (originally appointed 3 Dec. 2003)
- 2009-12 Member, Academic Affairs Committee
- 2006-09 Chair, Faculty Evaluation Committee
- 2007-09 Ad hoc Curriculum Review Committee
- 2007-08 Ad hoc committee to coordinate NS210 and NS211
- 2006-present Research Methods and Theory Undergraduate Curriculum Working Group
- 1996-97, 1998-99, 2003-04 Selection Committees for faculty positions
- 1994-present Faculty of Native Studies Council
- 1999-2006, 2007-09 Chair, Research Ethics Board
- 2007 Member, Research Ethics Board
- 1996-2000 School of Native Studies Executive Committee

1997-99 Committee on Retention and Support

Other University Involvement

1990 Department of Textiles and Clothing, University of Alberta: participated in developing new departmental material cultural focus

TEACHING POSITIONS

University of Alberta

1998-present Associate Professor, Faculty of Native Studies, University of Alberta
 1994-97 Assistant Professor, School of Native Studies, University of Alberta
 1972-76, 1978, 1984-89, 1993, 1994 Sessional Lecturer/Instructor (Anthropology, Canadian Studies, Geography)

Sessional Lecturer/Instructor: other institutions

1993 University of Idaho
 1984 Grant MacEwan Community College at Alexis Reserve
 1979-83 Yukon Campus, Whitehorse, for the University of British Columbia (from 1979-81, Yukon Teacher Education Program)
 1979, 1983 Athabasca University at Blue Quills Native Education Centre, St. Paul, Alberta

Graduate Teaching Assistantships

1970-71, 1973-75 Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta

For Parks Canada

1995 Developed and delivered a curriculum package on "Partnerships and the Parks Canada Cultural Resource Management Policy" for a Cultural Resource Management Orientation Course, held in Haines Junction, Yukon, 19-21 Oct. 1995.

For the Alberta Government

1993 Insights toward Understanding Contemporary Aboriginal Cultures. Developed with Art Sciorra for instruction to forestry service staff from Alberta, B.C., and the N.W.T., at the Forest Technology School, Hinton, Alberta, 25 October 1993.

Understanding Contemporary Aboriginal Issues and Working with Aboriginal Cultures and Communities. Developed with Art Sciorra for instruction to senior managers, Department of Environmental Protection, Lands and Wildlife Division, 13-14 May 1993.

COURSES OFFERED

An asterisk [*] denotes new course development.

University of Alberta

Faculty of Native Studies

- 100 Introduction to Native Studies
 210 Native Issues and Insights I (Issues in Native History)
 300* Traditional Cultural Foundations I
 330* Native Economic Development
 335* Native People and the Fur Trade
 355* Oral Traditions and Indigenous Knowledge
 361* Challenging Racism and Stereotypes
 376* Native Demography and Disease
 380* Selected Topics in Native Studies
- Oral Traditions and Indigenous Knowledge (became NS355)
 - Traditional Cultural Foundations (became NS300 and paved the way for NS361)
 - Native Material Culture
 - Challenging Racism and Stereotypes (became NS361)
- 390 Community Research Methods
 * Research Methods in Native Studies (new course in 2008)
 400* Traditional Cultural Foundations II
 403* Selected Topics in Native Studies
- Aboriginal Origins; Traditional Cultural Foundations II (became NS400)
 - Native Demography and Disease (became NS376)
- 480* Métis/Indian/Inuit Issues Seminar: Treaty No. 8 and Métis Scrip (1999)
 490* Community-Based Research
 499* Research Project
 503 Directed Readings in Native Studies
 520* Honors Seminar

Anthropology

- 202 Man and Culture
 210* Sex, Society, and the Individual
 282* Canadian Issues in Ethnographic Perspective
 306 Introduction to Prehistory
 346 Circumpolar Peoples
 350 North American Indians
 355 Contemporary Canadian Indians
 410* Sex and Status in Comparative Perspective

Canadian Studies

- 402* Canada's North: The Human Dimension
 302* Canada's North: The Human Dimension

Geography

- 446 Northern Human Geography

Human Ecology

238 Material Culture

University of Idaho

History 404-504 Anthropologist on teaching team for a course about Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War

University of British Columbia (in Whitehorse, at Yukon College)

Anthro/Soc 100* Elementary Problems in Anthropological and Sociological Analysis

200* Introduction to Social Organization

201* Ethnic Relations

329* Indians and Eskimos of Canada

Athabasca University

Anthro 207 Introductory Anthropology

326* Contemporary Native Issues

GRADUATE AND HONOURS SUPERVISION**Graduate Supervision**

University of Alberta: Although the Faculty of Native Studies does not yet offer a graduate program, I have been formally involved with 18 graduate students at the University of Alberta, 8 at the Ph.D. level and 10 at the Master's level, serving on supervisory committees and as an external examiner for candidacy exams and dissertation defenses in the following faculties (departments in parentheses): Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics (Human Ecology), Arts (Anthropology, Comparative Literature, English, History, Human Geography, Political Science), Education (Educational Policy Studies), Physical Education and Recreation (Recreation, Sport, and Tourism), Science (Biology), and Business.

External committee member for: M.A. in Design at the University of Calgary

External examiner for:

- M.A. defense in Anthropology at the University of Lethbridge
- Ph.D. defense in History at Carleton University
- Ph.D. defense in History at the University of Manitoba

Honours Supervision

1998-99 The School of Native Studies initiated an Honours Program and accepted its first honors

students - a class of four - in September 1998. I supervised the first year of this program and developed a draft Honours Program guide.

1998-2009 NS Honours student supervision (10 in total)

2002-03 - supervised one honours student for the Department of Anthropology

PUBLICATIONS, EXHIBITS, PAPERS

Refereed Publications

- 2010 In press *Recollecting: Lives of Aboriginal Women of the Canadian Northwest and the U.S. Borderlands*. Edited jointly with Sarah Carter, with jointly written introduction. Athabasca, AB: Athabasca University Press. Includes my own article: "Lost women: Native wives in Orkney and Lewis."
- In press *Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, 1788-1920s: We like to be free in this country*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- 2007 Visioning Thanadelthur: shaping a Canadian icon. *Manitoba History*. No. 55:2-6. June 2007.
- 2005 Competing narratives: barriers between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state. In Duane Champagne, Karen Jo Torjesen, and Susan Steiner, eds., *Indigenous Peoples and the Modern State*. Pp. 109-120. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press.
- 2003 The many faces of Thanadelthur: documents, stories, and images. In Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*. 2nd ed. Pp. 329-364. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.
- 2000 Overcoming the differences of treaty and scrip: the Community Development Program in Fort Chipewyan. In Duff Crerar and Jaroslav Petryshyn, eds., *Treaty 8 Revisited: Selected Papers on the 1999 Centennial Conference*. *Lobstick*. 1(1):277-295.
- 1999 *Securing Northern Futures: Developing Research Partnerships*. Co-editor with D. Wall, M.M.R. Freeman, M. Payne, E. E. Wein, and R. W. Wein. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press, University of Alberta.
- 1998 Native homelands as cultural landscapes: decentering the wilderness paradigm. In Jill Oakes, Rick Riewe, and Kathi Kinew, eds., *Sacred Lands: Claims, Conflicts and Resolutions*. Pp. 25-32. Occasional Publication No. 43. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- Northern Métis and the treaties. In *Picking Up the Threads; Métis History in the Mackenzie Basin*. Pp. 171-201. Yellowknife, Métis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories.

- 1996 The Canol project at Fort Chipewyan. In Bob Hesketh, ed., *Three Northern Wartime Projects*. Pp. 183-199. CCI Occasional Publication No. 38. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, and Edmonton & District Historical Society.
- 1994 Linking bush and town: the mixed economy of the Aboriginal peoples of Fort Chipewyan. In *Proceedings of the 8th International Abashiri Symposium on Peoples and Cultures of the Boreal Forest*. Pp. 21-33. Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples, Abashiri City, Hokkaido, Japan.
- 1993 Romancing the northwest as prescriptive history: Fort Chipewyan and the northern expansion of the Canadian state. In Patricia A. McCormack and R. Geoffrey Ironside, eds., *The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies*. Pp. 89-104. Circumpolar Research Series No. 3. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- Co-editor with R. Geoffrey Ironside. *The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies*. Includes the "Introduction" and "Conclusion." Circumpolar Research Series No. 3. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- Images of the buffalo in the collection of the Provincial Museum of Alberta. *Alberta*. 3(2):37-43. With Ruth McConnell.
- 1992 The political economy of bison management in Wood Buffalo National Park. *Arctic*. 45(4):367-380. Nominated for the Eleanor B. Leacock award.
- The Ethnology Oblate Collection at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. *Western Oblate Studies* 2. Pp. 231-236. Queenston, Ont.: The Edwin Mellen Press. With Ruth McConnell.
- Editor: *Prairie Forum*. Vol. 17, no. 2. Special issue on Aboriginal peoples.
- 1991 "That's a piece of junk": issues in contemporary subarctic collecting. *Arctic Anthropology*. 28(1):124-137.
- 1989 Chipewyans turn Cree: governmental and structural factors in ethnic processes. In K. S. Coates and W. R. Morrison, eds., *For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of Morris Zaslow*. Pp. 125-138. North York, Ont.: Captus Press.
- Working with the community: a dialectical approach to exhibit development. *Alberta Museums Review*. 14(2):4-8.
- 1987 Fort Chipewyan and the Great Depression. *Canadian Issues*. 8:69-92.
- 1986 The Yukon. In R.B. Byers, ed., *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs*

1983. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- 1985 The Yukon. In R.B. Byers, ed., *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs 1982*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- 1984 Becoming trappers: the transformation to a fur trade mode of production at Fort Chipewyan. In *Rendezvous, Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981*. Pp. 155-173. St. Paul, Minnesota: North American Fur Trade Conference.

Accepted (refereed)

“A world we have lost”: the plural society of Fort Chipewyan. To be included in *Finding a Way to the Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women’s History in Canada*, a volume submitted to University of Toronto Press, dedicated to Sylvia Van Kirk, co-edited by V. J. Korinek and R. J. Brownlie.

In Preparation (will be refereed)

Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, Book 2. From the 1920s to the 1970s. Book ms. To be submitted to UBC Press.

Deconstructing Canadian subarctic grasslands.

Other Publications (non-refereed)

- 2004 Telling the story of Canada: the roles of the fur trade. In David G. Malaher, compiler, *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2004*. Pp. 473-482. Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, University of Winnipeg.
- 2002 Introduction: “A promise by any other name....” Treaty No. 8 and taxation. P. 283. With Gordon Drever. Imposing tax: taxation in the Northwest Territories and Aboriginal fears in the Treaty Eight region. In David G. Malaher, compiler, *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002*. Pp. 309-315. Winnipeg: Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, University of Winnipeg.
- 2001 Genealogical studies in community-based research. Proceedings, Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association Annual Conference. CD ROM.
- 1996 The Athabasca influenza epidemic of 1835. Issues in the North. CCI Occasional Publication No. 40. Pp. 33-42. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta.
- 1995 Revision of the entry on "Chipewyan" for the *Canadian Encyclopedia*, originally written by James G. E. Smith (deceased); revised version carries both names as co-authors.

- 1993 Living Cultures: The Aboriginal Peoples of Alberta. Exhibit catalogue. Hokkaido, Japan: Historical Museum of Hokkaido.
- Editor: Soapstone and Seedbeads: Arts and Crafts at the Charles Camsell Hospital, by Annalisa Staples and Ruth McConnell. Provincial Museum of Alberta Special Publication No. 7. Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta.
- 1990 Government comes to Fort Chipewyan: expansion of the state into the heart of the fur trade country. In Patricia A. McCormack and R. Geoffrey Ironside, eds., Fort Chipewyan-Fort Vermilion Bicentennial Conference Proceedings. Pp. 133-137. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies.
- Co-editor with R. Geoffrey Ironside. Proceedings of the Fort Chipewyan and Fort Vermilion Bicentennial Conference. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies.
- A survey of the Scriver Blackfoot collection. In Philip H. R. Stepney and David J. Goa, eds., The Scriver Blackfoot Collection: Repatriation of Canada's Heritage. Pp. 105-134. Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta. With Karen Robbins.
- 1988 Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988. Exhibit catalogue. Provincial Museum of Alberta Special Publication No. 6. Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta.
- 1981-82 Newsletters of the Yukon Historical and Museums Association, nos. 8-11.
- 1977 Introduction. The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. 7(1):1-14. Special issue: Environmental Manipulation, P. McCormack, ed.
- 1976 Introduction. The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. 6(3):1-7. Special issue: Native Peoples: Cross-Sex Relations, P. McCormack, ed.
- "Big Man" on the steppes: social causes for economic transformations. Abstract in the AMQUA Fourth Biennial Conference abstract Volume.
- 1975 A theoretical approach to northeastern Dene archaeology. The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. 5(3,4):187-229. Special issue: Athapaskan Archaeology, D. Hudson and D. Derry, eds.

Book and Film Reviews

- 2006 Betty Bastien, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing: The Worldview of the Siksikaitstapi*. Calgary, Alberta, University of Calgary Press, 2004. Great Plains Quarterly. 26(2):134-5.
- 2004 Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage. Scottish Americans in the American South*. Chapel

- Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. *American Anthropologist*. 106(3):631-2.
- 1998 Flora Beardy and Robert Coutts, editors and compilers, *Voices from Hudson Bay. Cree Stories from York Factory*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996. Vol. 5 in the Rupert's Land Record Society Series. *Manitoba History*. No. 35 (Spring/Summer):25-26.
- Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories. Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. *American Indian Quarterly*. 22(4):499-500.
- Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind. Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies*. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1994. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 30(2):161-2.
- 1997 Clark Wissler and D.C. Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians*. Introduction to the Bison Book Edition by Alice Beck Kehoe. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*.
- 1995 Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History*. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. 14(2):395-398.
- David V. Burley, John D. Brandon, and Gayle A. Horsfall, *Structural Considerations of Metis Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural, and Historical Study*. *The Canadian Historical Review*. Pp. 692-694.
- Peter Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West*. *The Journal of American History*. 82(3):1239-1240.
- Jocelyn Riley, *Mountain Wolf Woman: 1884-1960 and Her Mother Before Her: Women's Stories of their Mothers and Grandmothers*. *The Public Historian*. With William R. Swagerty. 18(4):148-149. [Film review]
- 1994 Lynda Shorten, *Without Reserve*. *Great Plains Quarterly*. 14(3):221-2.
- Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes. The Anthropology of Museums*. *Alberta Museums Review*. 20(2):42.
- 1993 Terry Garvin, *Bush Land People*. *Arctic*. Vol. 46, no. 4:367-8.
- James W. VanStone, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot (Blood) Indians of Southern Alberta*. *Museum Anthropology*. 17(3):72-73.
- 1992 Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen, eds., *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and*

- Legal Aspects*. Manitoba History. No. 24:45-46.
- Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age*. The Western Historical Quarterly. 25(2):237-239.
- 1986 *The Great Buffalo Saga*. The Canadian Field-Naturalist. 100(3):398-399. [Film review]
- Robert G. McCandless, *Yukon Wildlife: A Social History*. Archivaria. 22:209-12.
- 1985 Julie Cruikshank, *The Stolen Woman: Female Journeys in Tagish and Tutchone Narrative*. The American Indian Quarterly. 9(1):115-6.
- Shepard Krech III, *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*. Canadian Ethnic Studies. 17(3):135-137.
- 1982 Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870*. Resources for Feminist Research. 11(3):313.
- 1979 Rene Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last*. Canadian Ethnic Studies. 11(1):174-175.

Exhibits

- 2001 Muse Project (with Lisa Barty). A teaching exhibit in the foyer of the Education Building featuring Blackfoot and Inuit artifacts. In cooperation with Museums and Collections Services. Designed by Kevin Zak and Bernd Hildebrandt.
- 1999 *Treaty No. 8 and the Northern Collecting of Dr. O. C. Edwards*
500 square foot centennial commemoration exhibit developed in cooperation with NS480 students. Designed by Bernd Hildebrandt. School of Native Studies and Museums and Collections Services, University of Alberta.
- 1997 Script for portions of *The Syncrude Gallery of Aboriginal Culture*, Provincial Museum of Alberta: "For Every Three Families, One Plow and One Harrow" (Native farming and ranching, with Rhonda Delorme) and units on Economic Ventures and Political Activity.
- 1994 Storyline for the ethnology portion of *The Syncrude Gallery of Aboriginal Culture*: a new permanent gallery (9,500 square feet). Developed with Ruth McConnell, Assistant Curator of Ethnology, in consultation with other museum staff and a Native Advisory Committee.
- 1993 *"In All their Finery": A Legacy from the Past*
1,000 square foot exhibit featuring aesthetically distinctive, older items made by Aboriginal peoples of the northwestern Plains and western Subarctic; the first phase of a new permanent gallery. Designed by Bryan McMullen.

Aboriginal Peoples of Alberta

Large traveling exhibit and catalogue developed for the Historical Museum of Hokkaido. Designed by Virginia Penny.

- 1992 *Gateway from the North: The Charles Camsell Hospital Collection*
One case display featuring "arts and crafts" from the Camsell Collection (with catalogue); circulated to other venues in Edmonton 1992-93. Designed by Bill Gordon.
- 1990 *Kayasayawina Ka Wapahtihitohk: To Show the Old Things*
500 square foot exhibit of artifacts showing the diversity of the collection and of the Aboriginal peoples of Alberta. Designed by Paul Beier. (The exhibit became part of the Royal Alberta Museum *Syncrude Gallery of Aboriginal Culture*)
- Clothing of the Northern Plains*
Three-case display for Head-Smashed-In Historic Site. Designed by Bill Gordon.
- 1989 *Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988*
500 square foot traveling exhibit, for venues in Alberta, NWT, Yukon, B.C., Sask., and Manitoba, 1990-94. Designed by Vic Clapp.
- 1989 *Dr. Robert Bell: Geologist and Collection*
One case display.
- 1989 *Douglas Light Collection*
Temporary display prepared for the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation.
- 1988 *Northwind Dreaming: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988*
3,000 square feet feature exhibit commemorating the bicentennial of the founding of Fort Chipewyan, Alberta's oldest, permanently occupied community, and celebrating the lives of the Indian, Métis, and non-Native peoples who have made their homes there for 200 years and longer. Developed in collaboration with community residents. Contained over 400 artifacts, many borrowed from collections in Canada, U.S., and Scotland. Designed by Vic Clapp.
- 1987 *Indian Tipis*
One case traveling display, for the library case circuit. Designed by Julian West.
- 1986 *Trapping in Transition: Native Trapping in Northern Alberta*
1,000 square feet exhibit depicting the roles of trapping in Aboriginal economies in northern Alberta in the years before World War II and in the present. Designed by Shelby Craigen.
- 1985 *Rigging the Chiefs*
500 square feet exhibit depicting historical relations between Indians and non-Indians

mediated through the giving of gifts. Cases show the fur trade, treaty, and modern eras. Designed by Julian West.

Métis Artifacts Temporary display.

Native Games One case traveling display, for the library case circuit.

Indian Dolls One case display.

Conference/Session Development

2006-8 Organizing committee, Centre for Rupert's Land Studies 2008 Colloquium, Rocky Mountain House

2007 With Sarah Carter, organized "Negotiating Identities: Aboriginal Women's Stories of Northwestern America," a session for the American Society for Ethnohistory annual conference, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 7-10 Nov. 2007.

2006 Organized "Imagining the Unknown: Visual and Textual Images of Early History Makers," a session for the American Society for Ethnohistory annual conference, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1-5 Nov. 2006.

2005-6 Member of the Scientific Committee for the 12th Qualitative Health Research Conference, 2-5 April 2006.

2001-2 Organized "A promise by any other name...!: Treaty No. 8 and Taxation," a session for the 10th Rupert's Land Colloquium, 9-12 April 2002, Mansfield College, University of Oxford.

2001 Organized "Dene Kinship and Ethnohistory," a session for the 100th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropology Association, 28 Nov. - 2 Dec. 2001, Washington, D.C.

2000 With Michael Payne, organized "Representing Aboriginal Histories and Cultures at Historic Sites and Museums," a panel for the Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association Annual Meeting and Conference, 28-31 May 2000, Edmonton.

1997-9 Member of the organizing committee for the 1899 Centennial Conference, A Conference in Commemoration of the Initial Signing of Treaty #8 & the Distribution of Scrip in 1899; serving also on the program and publicity subcommittees.

1997-99 Member of the organizing committee for *Traditions for Today: Building on Cultural Traditions*, an International Indigenous Research Institute organized by the School of

Native Studies, University of Alberta, and held at the University May 26-28, 1998. Proposed the Institute's theme and planned the session, "How can we talk about indigenous Christianity."

- 1995-99 Member of the organizing committee for an international conference, *Securing Northern Futures: Developing Research Partnerships*, sponsored by the Canadian Circumpolar Institute, held in Edmonton 1-4 May 1997. Special responsibility for organizing the sessions on "Reconfiguring the North," with Michael Payne. Co-edited proceedings with Michael Payne.
- 1995 On behalf of Native Studies, chaired a campus working group that assisted in planning a Parks Canada workshop on cooperative management of protected areas. Developed the final program jointly with a Parks Canada staff member, attended the workshop on March 4-5, chaired one day's proceedings, and acted as a rapporteur the second day. Co-edited proceedings with Richard Stuart (proceedings never published).
- With Anne M. Lambert, organized *Managing Change: Drawing on the Dynamics of Cultural Traditions*, a session of the Canadian Home Economics Conference, *Beyond Tradition*, Edmonton, 9-11 July 1995.
- 1992-94 Co-organized the Sixth Biennial Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, held in Edmonton, May 25-27, 1994.
- 1993 With Joseph Tiffany, organized a session on museums and Plains archaeology for the 1993 Plains Anthropology annual meetings, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
- 1992 Organized "Contemporary Collecting: The Production of New Collections for the Future," a session for the 91st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, Dec. 2-6, 1992. Session was invited by the Council for Museum Anthropology.
- 1991-92 With Robert Coutts (Parks Canada, Winnipeg), organized "Inventing Fur Trade Traditions," a session for the 1992 Rupert's Land Colloquium, Winnipeg.
- 1985-88 With R. G. Ironside, organized a major conference to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Fort Chipewyan and Fort Vermilion, in northern Alberta. Served as liaison with Fort Chipewyan residents and conference participants.

Papers

- 2009 Ethical requirements: how far is too far? Going overboard to satisfy university risk management. Invited for "Practical Problems and Pragmatic Solutions in Conducting Ethical Research," sponsored by the Native History Group of the CHA, 88th Annual General Meeting, Canadian Historical Association, Ottawa, 25 May 2009.

Rethinking the Blackfoot and the fur trade of the northern Plains. Invited for the Fourth International Fur Trade Symposium, Fort Whoop-Up National Historic Site, Lethbridge, AB, 9-13 September 2009.

James Thomson and his fur trade wives: fur trade reality or the soap opera of Fort Chipewyan? Invited paper for a session about . Presented at Ethnohistory, 30 Sept.- 4 Oct. 2009, New Orleans, Louisiana.

The racialization of traditional knowledge. Invited for the Cumulative Environmental Management Association (CEMA) TEK 2009 Coaching Workshop, "Perspectives into Practice." 28 October 2009, Fort McMurray, AB.

Evolving accommodations: the sled dog in the Canadian fur trade. Third International meeting of the conference series, "Des bêtes et des hommes": "Une bête parmi les hommes: le chien." Université de Valenciennes, France, 5-6 November 2009.

2008 Down the Fond du Lac River with David Thompson. Prepared for the 13th Rupert's Land Colloquium, Rocky Mountain House, Alberta, 14-16 May 2008.

The invisible parkland: rethinking the Plains and Subarctic culture areas. Presented at *The West and Beyond: Historians Past, Present, Future*, University of Alberta, 19-21 June 2008.

2007 Tipi dweller: all the comforts of home. Invited paper prepared for *Domestic Space, Domestic Practice: Exploring the Materiality of Home*, the inaugural symposium of the Material Culture Institute, University of Alberta, 20 April 2007.

"A world we have lost": the plural society of Fort Chipewyan. Presented as part of "Many Tender Ties: A Forum in Honour of Sylvia Van Kirk," for Canadian Historic Association, 28-30 May 2007, Saskatoon, SK.

Deconstructing Canadian subarctic grasslands. Presented as part of "Grassland Construction, Deconstruction, and Reconstruction: Global Perspectives," a session at the European Environmental History Conference, Amsterdam, 5-9 June 2007.

Telling the story of Canada: the roles of the fur trade. Presented at "Research as Resistance," a symposium organized by the Faculty of Native Studies, University of Alberta, 22-24 August 2007. Revised paper based on paper delivered in 2004 at the Rupert's Land Conference.

Building a new society in western Canada: the world of the early fur trade. Invited paper for *David Thompson: New Perspectives, New Knowledge*, a symposium organized by the Glenbow Museum, 26-27 Oct. 2007.

- Lost women: Native wives in Orkney and Lewis. Presented as part of “Negotiating Identities: Aboriginal Women’s Stories of Northwestern America,” a session for the American Society for Ethnohistory annual conference, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 7-10 Nov. 2007.
- 2006 The government foot in the door: beginnings of state regulation in the Fort Chipewyan-Fort Smith Region. The 9th North American Fur Trade Conference and 12th Rupert’s Land Colloquium, St. Louis, Mo., 24-28 May 2006. (Earlier version presented at the School of Native Studies Annual Research Day, University of Alberta, 1 April 2005.)
- Visioning Thanadelthur. The American Society for Ethnohistory Annual Meeting, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1-4 Nov. 2006.
- 2005 Building national history: how should we talk about Canada’s past? Presentation for “Philosophers Café,” University of Alberta Office of Public Affairs, 3 Dec. 2005.
- 2004 Telling the story of Canada: the roles of the fur trade. Rupert’s Land Studies Colloquium 2004. Kenora, Ontario, 24-30 May 2004.
- 2003, 2004, 2005 The narratives at the heart: stereotypes and stories about Aboriginal peoples and their place in Canadian history. With slides and artifacts. Greater Edmonton Teachers' Convention Association, Edmonton. Feb. 28, 2003. Revised for the Bonnyville Support Staff Conference, Bonnyville, 13 Feb. 2004 and 18 Feb. 2005.
- 2003 British identities and Canadian Aboriginal identities: evolving in tandem. British World Conference II, *British Identities*, University of Calgary, 10-12 July 2003.
- Popularizing contact: Thanadelthur, the Sacagawea of the North. American Society for Ethnohistory Annual Meeting, Riverside, California, 5-9 Nov. 2003.
- 2002 Popularizing contact: the many faces of Thanadelthur. Presented at *Worlds in Collision: Critically Analyzing Aboriginal and European Contact Narratives*, a colloquium at Dunsmuir Lodge, University of Victoria, B.C., 22-23 Feb. 2002.
- Competing Narratives: Barriers between Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian State. Indigenous Peoples and the Modern State, Claremont Graduate University, California, 5-7 April 2002. This paper was revised for a conference proceedings. A revised version was presented as an invited keynote address at *Re-Visioning Canada Workshop: Integrating the History of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Relations*, University of Toronto, 27-28 Sept. 2002.
- Imposing tax: taxation in the Northwest Territories and Aboriginal fears in the Treaty Eight region. Co-authored with Gordon Drever. Presented as part of “A promise by any other name...’: Treaty No. 8 and Taxation,” at the 10th Rupert's Land Colloquium, 9-12

April 2002, Mansfield College, University of Oxford.

Deconstructing Barbie! A popular lecture invited by the University of Alberta Museums and Collections Service, delivered 10 Feb. 2002.

- 2001 Expanding the boundaries: studying Dene kinship. Presented as part of “Dene Kinship and Ethnohistory,” at the 100th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropology Association, 28 Nov. - 2 Dec. 2001, Washington, D.C.
- 2000 Scenes from an exhibit: “From the Far North”: Treaty No. 8 and the northern collecting of Dr. O. C. Edwards. A curatorial lecture invited by the Friends of the University of Alberta Museums, 23 Jan. 2000.

Canadian nation-building: a pretty name for internal colonialism. Presented at *Nation Building*, British Association for Canadian Studies 25th Annual Conference, 11-14 April 2000, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Presentation as part of a panel, “Representing Aboriginal Histories and Cultures at Historic Sites and Museums.” Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association Annual Meeting and Conference, 28-31 May 2000, Edmonton. Co-presenters were Flora Beardy, Robert Coutts, and Michael Payne.

Genealogical studies in community-based research. Presented at the Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association Annual Conference, as part of a session on “Genealogical Research and Methods,” 29-31 May 2000, Edmonton.

- 1999 Overcoming the differences between treaty and scrip. For the *1899 Centennial Conference*, a conference in commemoration of the initial signing of Treaty No. 8 and the distribution of scrip in 1899, Grouard, Alberta, 17-19 June 1999.

Treaty No. 8 and issues of taxation. Co-authored with Gordon Drever. Prepared for Akaitcho Tribal Council, Lesser Slave Lake Indian Regional Council, Athabasca Tribal Council, and Kee Tas Kee Now Tribal Council, 30 April 1999. (Expert report)

- 1998 Smith's Landing/Fort Fitzgerald: an economic history. Prepared for the Smith's Landing First Nation, 23 October 1998.

Building partnerships: Canadian museums, Aboriginal peoples, and the spirit and intent of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. With Arthur J. Sciorra. For the annual meeting of the Canadian Association for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Whitehorse, Yukon, 29-31 May 1998.

Northern Métis, Treaties No. 8 and No. 11, and the issuance of scrip. For the Rupert's Land Colloquium 1998, Winnipeg, 4-7 June 1998.

The communities: after European contact. Description of the human communities of the Wood Buffalo National Park region, for a handbook about the park, edited by Ross Wein. (Accepted for the handbook, which was never completed.)

1997 From buffalo to beef: the emergence of a Blackfoot cattle industry. For *The Fur Trade Era: The Influence of the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade on the Development of the American West*, Museum of the Mountain Man, Pinedale, Wyoming, 11-13 Sept. 1997.

1996 Orkneymen and Lewismen: distinctive cultures and identities in the Canadian fur trade. For *Scots and Aboriginal Culture*, a Scottish Studies Colloquium, University of Guelph, 22-24 March 1996. A revised version was given at the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, Whitehorse, 1-4 June 1996.

Native homelands as cultural landscapes: decentering the wilderness paradigm. For the *Sacred Lands* conference, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 24-26 Oct. 1996.

1995 The invisible parkland: rethinking the Plains and Subarctic culture areas. For the 53rd Plains Anthropological Conference, Laramie, Wyoming, 18-21 Oct. 1995.

Native peoples and cultural renewal. For *Managing Change: Drawing on the Dynamics of Cultural Traditions*, a session developed by Anne M. Lambert and Patricia A. McCormack as part of the Canadian Home Economics Conference, *Beyond Tradition*, Edmonton, 9-11 July 1995.

1994 James and Isabella Thomson: a Lewis family in the Canadian fur trade. For the Sixth Biennial Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, Edmonton, 25-27 May 1994.

The smokescreen of technology: the mixed economy of Fort Chipewyan and the persistence of Aboriginal cultures. For the School of Native Studies, 21 Jan. 1994.

The invisible parkland: ethnohistoric considerations. For *Diversity on your Doorstep*, a program presented by the Beaver Hills Ecological Network, as part of the Beaverhills Lake-Fall Migration Celebration, Tofield, Alberta, 24 Sept. 1994.

Peigan horse traditions and ranching: persistence and change in Peigan cultural patterns. With Willard Yellowface. For the Plains Indian Seminar at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, 30 Sept. - 2 Oct. 1994.

The Indian trade of the northern Rockies as reflected in the collections of the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Glenbow. For the Western History Association Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 20-23 Oct. 1994.

The Athabasca influenza epidemic of 1835. For the Chacmool Conference, Calgary, 10-13 Nov. 1994. Revised version delivered 24 Jan. 1995, as part of the *Issues in the North*

lectures series, sponsored by the Canadian Circumpolar Institute.

1993 Linking bush and town: the mixed economy of the Aboriginal peoples of Fort Chipewyan. For the 8th International Abashiri Symposium on Peoples and Cultures of the North, *Peoples and Cultures of the Boreal Forest*, Hokkaido Museum of Northern Peoples, Abashiri City, Hokkaido, Japan, 11-12 Nov. 1993.

1992 The bison of Wood Buffalo National Park and their future. For the Sierra Club of Alberta, Calgary, 8 Jan. 1992.

Bringing home wives. Native Hudson's Bay families in Orkney, Scotland. For the Department of History, University of Winnipeg, 5 Feb. 1992.

The expansion of the state into the Fort Chipewyan region. For a Department of Geography Colloquium, University of Alberta, 31 Jan. 1992 and a Department of History Graduate Seminar, University of Winnipeg, 5 Feb. 1992.

Two solitudes: museum displays and Indians in the fur trade. For a session, "Inventing Fur Trade Traditions," organized by Patricia A. McCormack and Robert Coutts, for the Fifth Biennial Rupert's Land Colloquium, Winnipeg, 6-9 Feb. 1992.

Indian cowboys: mythologies of the west and museum collecting. For a Department of Textiles and Clothing class in the History of Native Clothing, University of Alberta, 18 Feb. 1992.

The Canol Pipeline and northern Alberta. For the *Alaska Highway Conference*, Edmonton, 5-6 June 1992.

Native trapping in northern Alberta. For a seminar at the Glenbow Museum in conjunction with the exhibit *Trapline Lifeline*, Calgary, 13 June 1992.

Alexander Mackenzie, the Scot. For *Ten Great Days*, a celebration of Alexander Mackenzie's arrival at Peace River in 1792, Peace River, Alberta, 30-31 Aug. 1992.

The Blackfoot and the fur trade. For *Meet Me on the Green: The Rocky Mountain Fur Trade*, a symposium organized by the Museum of the Mountain Man, Pinedale, Wyoming, 10-12 Sept. 1992.

Perceptions of place: Natives and Europeans of the fur trade era. For the Alberta Museums Association Conference, Medicine Hat, Alberta, 29-31 Oct. 1992.

Expanding state regulatory systems and their impacts on northern and Native peoples. For *Symposium on Contemporary and Historical Issues in Legal Pluralism: Prairie and Northern Canada*, organized by the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, Law in

Society Program, Winnipeg, 7-8 Nov. 1992.

Blackfoot horse traditions and modern museum collection. For a special session, *Contemporary Collecting: The Production of New Collections for the Future*, organized by Patricia A. McCormack and invited by the Council for Museum Anthropology for the 91st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 2-6 Dec. 1992.

- 1991 Reconstituting a Natoas bundle: a Provincial Museum of Alberta-Peigan collaboration. For the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples.

Working with Native communities. Seminar prepared for Parks Canada research staff, Winnipeg.

Evolving Blackfoot dress styles and their representation in museum collections. For *It's a Material World*, an Interdisciplinary Material Culture Lecture Series at the University of Alberta.

The Canadian fur trade: the Orkney connection. For *Focus on the Forks*, a conference on the historical significance of the forks region, Winnipeg, April, 1991.

With Ruth McConnell. The Ethnology Oblate Collections at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. For the Oblate Conference, Edmonton, 22-23 July 1991.

- 1990 Northern boats. Paper on Native lake skiffs and their possible Orkney origin. For the Orkney Museum Service; delivered in three Orkney towns, September 1990.

Saving Canada's wild bison: the political economy of bison management in Wood Buffalo National Park. For *The Wood Bison Issue*, a Circumpolar Lecture Series of the Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, 7 Dec. 1990.

The Orkney Islands and the Canadian fur trade and Native communities. For *Partnerships: Museums and Native Living Cultures*, Alberta Museums Association Professional Development Series, Edmonton, 3-4 Dec. 1990.

- 1989 From their labor: a material slant to ethnohistorical research. For the American Society for Ethnohistory Conference, Chicago, 2-5 Nov. 1989.

Reviving contemporary collecting: the Fort Chipewyan collection at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. For a special session, *Collecting the Objects of Others*, at the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 15-19 Nov. 1989.

"That's a piece of junk": issues in contemporary subarctic collecting. For *Out of the*

North: A Symposium on the Native Arts and Material Culture of the Canadian and Alaskan North, Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 20-21 Oct. 1989.

Working with the community: a dialectical approach to exhibit development. Prepared for *Canada's Native Community and Museums: A New Dialogue and New Initiatives*, a seminar in the Alberta Museums Association's Professional Development Series, Calgary, 7-9 April 1989

- 1988 Surrounded by Crees: Chipewyan persistence in Fort Chipewyan, Alberta. For an invitational session on *Variations in Chipewyan Thought and Behavior*, 87th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Phoenix, 16-20 Nov. 1988.

Hub of the North: Fort Chipewyan 1788-1988. For the Rupertsland Colloquium, Winnipeg and Churchill, 29 June - 3 July 1988, and also delivered as a public lecture at the Provincial Museum of Alberta.

Government comes to Fort Chipewyan: expansion of the state into the heart of the fur trade country. For the *Fort Chipewyan-Fort Vermilion Bicentennial Conference*, Edmonton, 23-24 Sept. 1988.

- 1987 Fort Chipewyan and community development. For *Nurturing Community*, a conference on community development organized by the Edmonton Social Planning Council, 27-29 April 1987.

- 1986 Rooted in the past: the modern community of Fort Chipewyan. For the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies 25th anniversary conference, *Knowing the North*.

- 1982 Fur trade society to class society: the development of ethnic stratification at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta. For the Canadian Ethnology Society meetings, Vancouver, B.C.

Skookum Jim (Keish); an historical brief. For the Yukon Educational Television Society, Whitehorse.

- 1981 Leroy Napoleon "Jack" McQuesten; an historical brief. For the Yukon Educational Television Society, Whitehorse.

William Ogilvie; an historical brief. For the Yukon Educational Television Society, Whitehorse.

- 1979 The Cree Band land entitlement in Wood Buffalo National Park: history and issues. For the Edmonton Chapter of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Referee

Grant applications Canadian Circumpolar Institute, the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), and other institutions as requested.

Publications

Book manuscripts: University of Oklahoma Press, University of Nebraska Press, University of Washington Press, UBC Press, McGill-Queen's University Press, Harcourt Brace, NeWest Press, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, Crabtree Publishing Company.

Journal manuscripts: *Ethnohistory*, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*.

External faculty referee

Promotion from Assistant to Associate Professor, University of Winnipeg, 2004

Management/Supervision Courses (Govt. of Alberta)

Supervision

Managing the Difficult Employee

Professional Development Courses

2007 2007 PRE-conference and National Conference, "Empowering Research Participants, 16-18 Feb. 2007, Ottawa.

2005 2005 National Conference, National Council on Ethics in Human Research, 5-6 March 2005, Ottawa, and the associated Pre-Conference, 4 March 2005.

2004 Training in Research Ethics, Social and Behavioral Sciences and Humanities, 22 Feb. 2004. National Council on Ethics in Human Research.

2003 Innovative Instructors Institute, University of Alberta. Stream One: Effective Electronic Presentations (PowerPoint). 28 April-2 May.

Committees and Advisory Boards

2009-present Director, Alberta Equestrian Federation

2007-10 Advisory Council, The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies at the University of Winnipeg

2003-present Advisory Board of Material History Review

- 2003-06 Member of the Aid to Scholarly Publications (ASP) Committee, on behalf of the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences.
- 1997-99 Treaty 8/Scrip Conference Steering Committee, Program Committee, Publicity Committee
- 1992-93 Steering Committee and Research Sub-committee, Frog Lake Historic Site Project
- 1991 Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin Prize Committee for the American Society for Ethnohistory
- 1985-91 Fort Chipewyan-Fort Vermilion Bicentennial Conference Committee and Research Grant Committee
- 1987-98 Prairie Forum Editorial Board
- 1988-89 Alberta Museums Association Standards Committee
- 1985-89 Canadian Studies Committee

Societies

- 1986-90 President, Boreal Circle Society
- 1983 Board member, MacBride Museum Society
- 1980-82 President, Yukon Historical and Museums Association
- Ex-officio board member 1982-84, Vice-president 1979-80
 - Honorary Life Membership awarded 1983

Miscellaneous

On-going:

- Guest lectures, colloquia, and workshops for University of Alberta staff and students.
- Responses to numerous requests for information and assistance from University staff and students, lawyers, and the general public.

Academic consultant:

- Radio, television, and films: *Death of a Delta* (Tom Radford, Filmwest 1972), *Coppermine* (NFB 1992), *Indian America* series (1992), and *Honour of the Crown* (Tom Radford, NFB 2001).
- Popular books: *The Buffalo Hunters* (Time-Life, 1993) and *Native North American Foods and Recipes* (Crabtree Publishing Company, 2006).

For Treaty Eight First Nations of Alberta, Education Commission Project: served as resource person for curriculum development project, 2005, 2008.

For Wood Buffalo National Park: participated in Cultural Resource Management Workshops (18-20 July 1999, Fort Smith; 18-19 Oct. 2002, Fort Chipewyan) and an Ecological Integrity Workshop (11-14 March 1999, Fort Smith). Cooperative work with park administration is on-going.

For Teacher and Teacher Aid Conventions (Edmonton and Bonneville): presentations about stereotypes of "Indian-ness" and Canadian history.

For Daniel Wolf, author of *The Rebels: An Outlaw Motorcycle Club* (University of Toronto Press, 1991): extensive editorial assistance.

MEMBERSHIPS

American Anthropological Association
 American Ethnology Society
 American Society for Environmental History
 American Society for Ethnohistory
 Canadian Historical Association
 Council for Museum Anthropology
 International Association for Impact Assessment
 Rupert's Land Research Centre
 Yukon Historical and Museums Association

INTERESTS

Equestrian sports
 Snowshoeing and dog walking
 Herb gardening and pickling