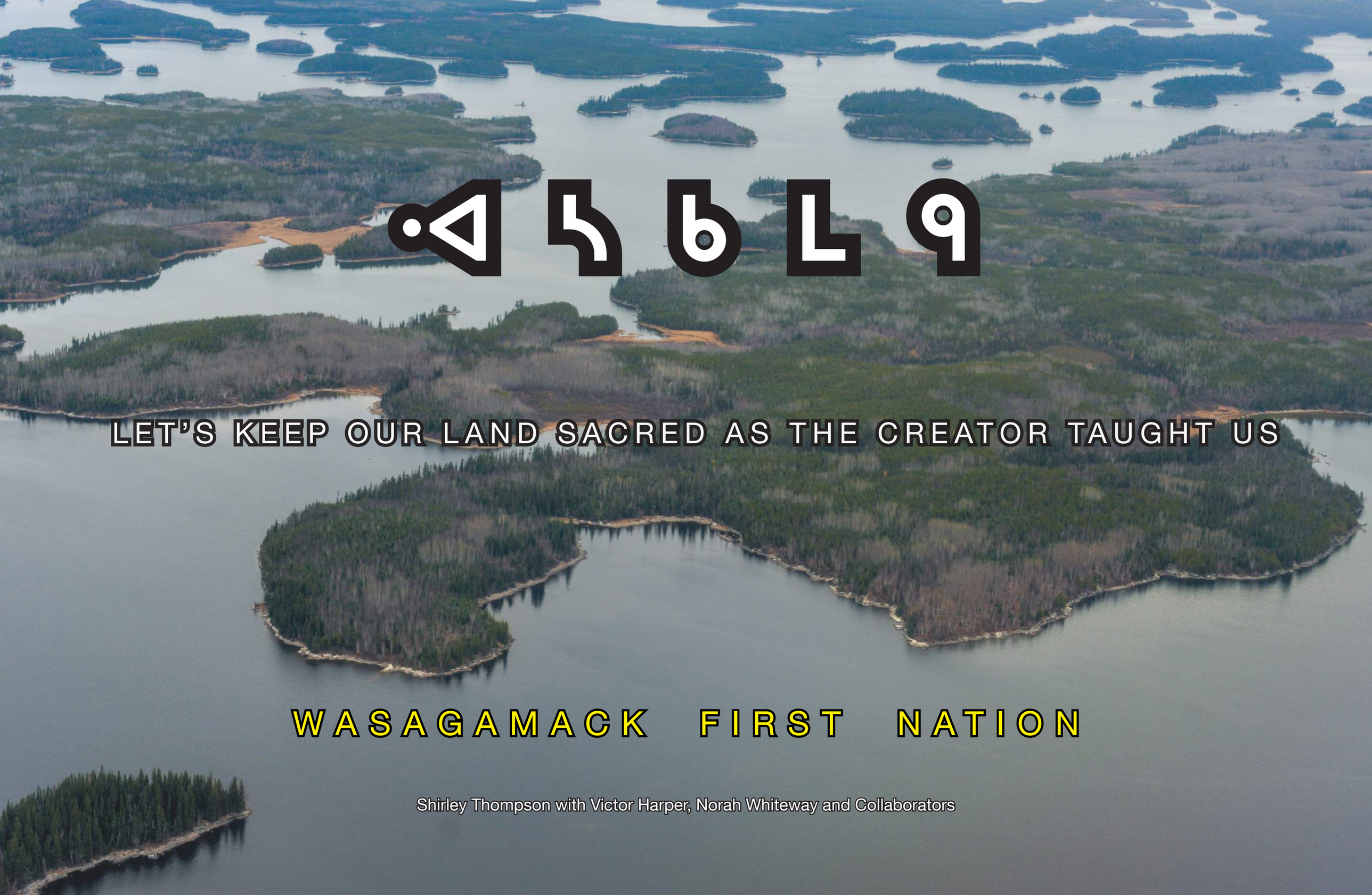
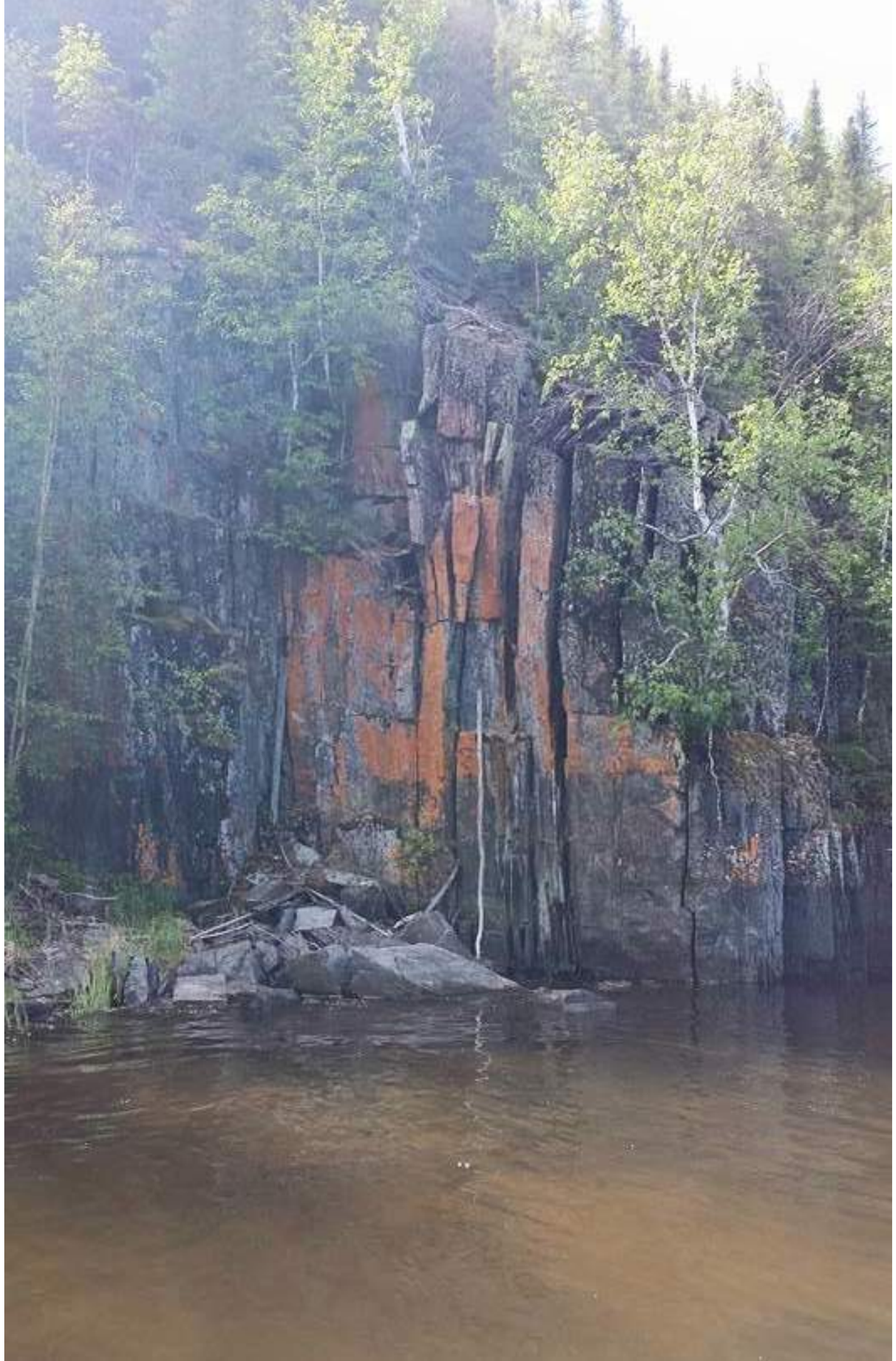

LET'S KEEP OUR LAND SACRED AS THE CREATOR TAUGHT US
WASAGAMACK FIRST NATION
Shirley Thompson with Victor Harper, Norah Whiteway and Collaborators



“They [the Canadian government] want us to leave all our culture, our language. They tried that on me, and, still, I am surviving. My people are surviving. We still speak our language. We still live the way we live. All those governments are shutting down our hunting, fishing, trapping, and everything. So, what the Elders are saying is: Look we have had systems for thousands and thousands and thousands of years…Today, I still see that the policies are given [by the Creator] to the people of Island Lake.

The federal government enforced their policies. They outlawed every ceremony we had and every ritual we had. They even tried to abolish our language, which were written down many, many years ago, with the direction they got from their dominant society policies.”

--Victor Harper, Elder, Wasagamack First Nation.

“The land itself is our medicine. Look outside and right away it’s medicine. We don’t know the chemicals, but we know something is in there. There are elements too, even the berries and roots. That’s why the land is there. It’s our medicine. It is the hospital. Then, the land produces lumber, all of which we can use for shelter, for the building of our lodges.”

--Victor Harper, Elder, Wasagamack First Nation.

Let's Keep Our Land Sacred as the Creator Taught Us: Wasagamack First Nation

This book was created to document the ancestral land use, stories and culture in the territory of Wasagamack First Nation in Manitoba. Wasagamack is facing pressure to open up to industries extracting their resources and exploiting their ancestral lands, along with many other rural Indigenous communities. This book aims to document Anishiniwuk traditional land use, culture and language to further their aim to keep their ancestral land perfect, the way the Creator made it. Healthy land and water is integral to the spiritual and physical health of Wasagamack and Island Lake.

Special thanks to the community members of Wasagamack First Nation, particularly the Elders and other knowledge holders of this community for their collaboration and support.

www.ecohealthcircle.com
www.umanitoba.ca/institutes/natural_resources/ecohealth.com

Book Advisor & Community Land Use Coordinator
Norah Whiteway

Writer / Researcher
Dr. Shirley Thompson

Teacher, Elder & Community Land Use Coordinator
Victor Harper

Graphic Design
Keshab Thapa, Jason Surkan, Qinhan Zou, Tanzim Ahmed, Rezwanul Hoque, & Shirley Thompson

WASAGAMACK

University of Manitoba

Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre Inc.

Photo: Jason Surkan

“Our DNA is in the land. We have got our people buried all over our traditional territory. And their DNA becomes part of the land. We are so intimately tied and connected that to lose the land is just to lose another part of ourselves. A critical part of ourselves.

We didn’t live together all year long. We were out on the land… We were out there - living on the land, protecting the land, learning from the land, connecting to our Creator - all that the Creator provided and being holistically healthy. It was only during certain times of the year that we came together. We were happy to see each other. We were talking, feasting and sharing. And then again people went off to different parts of the land and continued living.

We occupied all of it [ancestral land]. We were everywhere. We weren’t just in one spot [reserve] until we were put on that one spot. And it became more and more difficult for us to get out there on the land and to have that continued connection while our Elders still have that deep connection.”

-- Sharon Mason, Wasagamack community member and past Chief

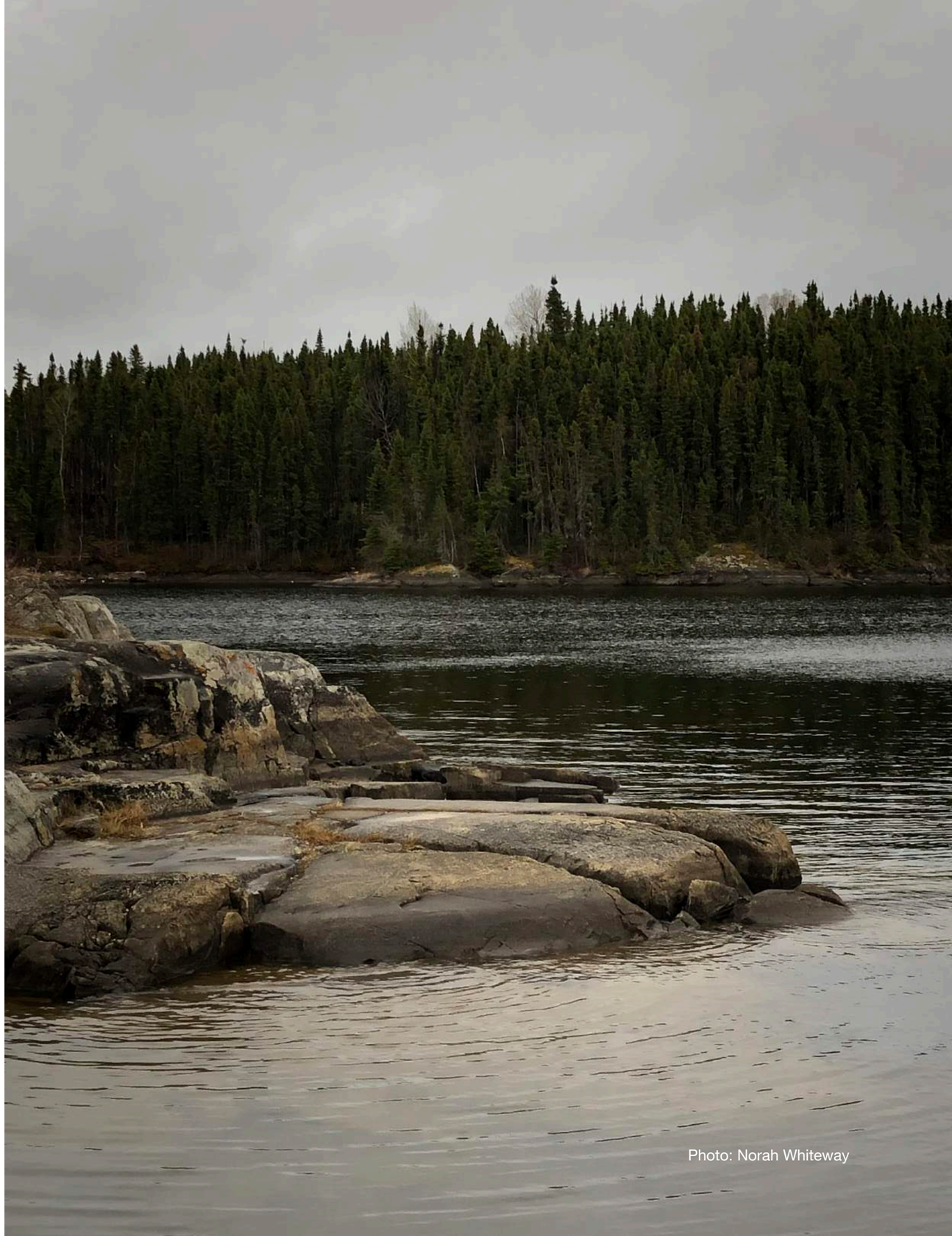


Photo: Norah Whiteway

PROJECT COLLABORATORS

Victor Harper // Teacher, Historian, Elder, Land Use Lead and Book Advisor
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Past Chief **// Sharon Mason**
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Norah Whiteway // Elder, Land Use Coordinator and Book Advisor
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Past Chief and Land Use Coordinator **// Jerry Knott**
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Alex McDougall // Past Chief
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Teacher, Translator and Historian **// Emma Harper**
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Jason Surkan // Intern Architect, Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership
University of Manitoba Alumni, B. Arch and M. Arch.

Shirley Thompson // Writer, Grant Lead and Researcher
Associate Professor, Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership, University of Manitoba .

Land Use Coordinator **// Johnathan Harper**
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Alfred McDougall // Elder, Past Councilor and Project Collaborator
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

Graduate Research Assistant **// Tanzim Ahmed**
Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership, University of Manitoba.

Ernie Harper // Project lead for Mino Bimaadiziwin Homebuilders
Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba.

GIS Mapper & Graphic Design, Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership **// Keshab Thapa**
University of Manitoba, PhD Student, Natural Resources Institute.

Veronica Wojtuszewska //GIS Mapper, Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership
University of Manitoba Alumni, MNRM.

Coordinator, Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership **// Jacqueline Rittberg**
University of Manitoba.

CONTENTS

MINO BIMAADIZIWIN

Introduction

Through history, environmental stewardship, food, culture, language and ancestral knowledge, the Wasagamack First Nation people are intimately connected to their ancestral land. The community members' close relationship to their ancestral land is evident from the following statements by Wasagamack people: "Our DNA is in the land." "Our ancestors were born and died on this land." "The Land is perfect the way the Creator made it." And "The land is our medicine."

Wasagamack First Nation's territory and people are an anomaly in a world dominated by industrial development and non-Indigenous people. This territory is not only pristine, with virgin boreal forests, natural flowing waters and abundant wildlife, but occupied almost exclusively by Indigenous people (Statistics Canada, 2016; WNO, 2010). Wasagamack's ancestral land of water and islands sustains a diversity of species, not only fish, but also moose, bears and wolves as well as smaller animals, such as beavers, geese, ducks and muskrats. Wasagamack continues to be a place where Indigenous people practice their traditional land uses. The people regularly harvest, steward and conduct ceremonies on their land. Wasagamack people consider the Island Lake region to be perfect the way it is, which being pristine is the way the Creator made it.

Wasagamack's ancestral land is in northeastern Manitoba, within the pristine Hayes watershed. The Hayes watershed is exceptional in Manitoba being the only major watershed without dams and/or water control structures (Thompson, 2014). All other large watersheds in Manitoba have dams and water control structures fluctuating water levels unnaturally. These fluctuations have resulted in large areas of First Nation territories experiencing flooding and several First Nation communities being permanently displaced in Manitoba.

Community members from Wasagamack, along with the other three First Nations in Island Lake, are undertaking a process to not only reclaim their Indigenous land but their ceremonies, culture, identity, and language. Part of reclaiming is naming themselves, their communities and language, rather than accepting settler's terminology. Although Oji-Cree is used to describe the Island Lake dialect and people by settlers and government (Statistics Canada, 2016), the term "Oji" is considered derogatory, meaning fly or their offspring, the maggot. Wasagamack Elder Victor Harper explains, "Oji in our language means maggot. We are not maggot people. Bastardized language". A press release in 2018 by the four First Nations in Island Lake stated: "We are not part Cree or part Ojibway, we are Anishiniwuk, a distinct and sovereign nation with rights that deserve to be respected" (FARHA, 2018). Andy Wood denounces the term Oji-Cree to describe his people and their language and asks that his people be recognized for their rich, distinct culture providing the correct terminology:

"The Anishininew communities were referred to as "Oji-Cree" but are not to be mistaken for being "half" Cree nor "half" Ojibway. The Anishininew communities are the only distinct population of their kind in the province.… Anishininew have their own distinct and rich cultural heritage that differs from both Ojibway and Cree communities" (McDonnell et al., 2018: 12).

In support of this important step toward self-determination the following terminology shall be applied: Anishininew for the communities, Anishiniwuk to describe the people, and Anishinimowin for the language (FARHA, 2018). Although this term, Anishinimowin, is favoured by the Island Lake Tribal Council (ILTC) and by the Four Arrows Regional Health Authority (FARHA) to refer to their language, some Elders prefer Baskwinaksimon (Island Lake dialect), Baskwinaksiing (literally translates to place of many islands) and Baskwinaksi'ininwak (Island Lake or Smooth Rock people). However, without a standard spelling for Anishinimowin at this time, this spelling of Baskwinaksi'ininwak may not be understood by everyone. Some Wasagamack language experts apply the spelling of Paskonakosiwin wak for Island Lake/Smooth Rock people. Another example, is the word 'people' which is both spelled wuk or wak, depending on which Elder you speak to.

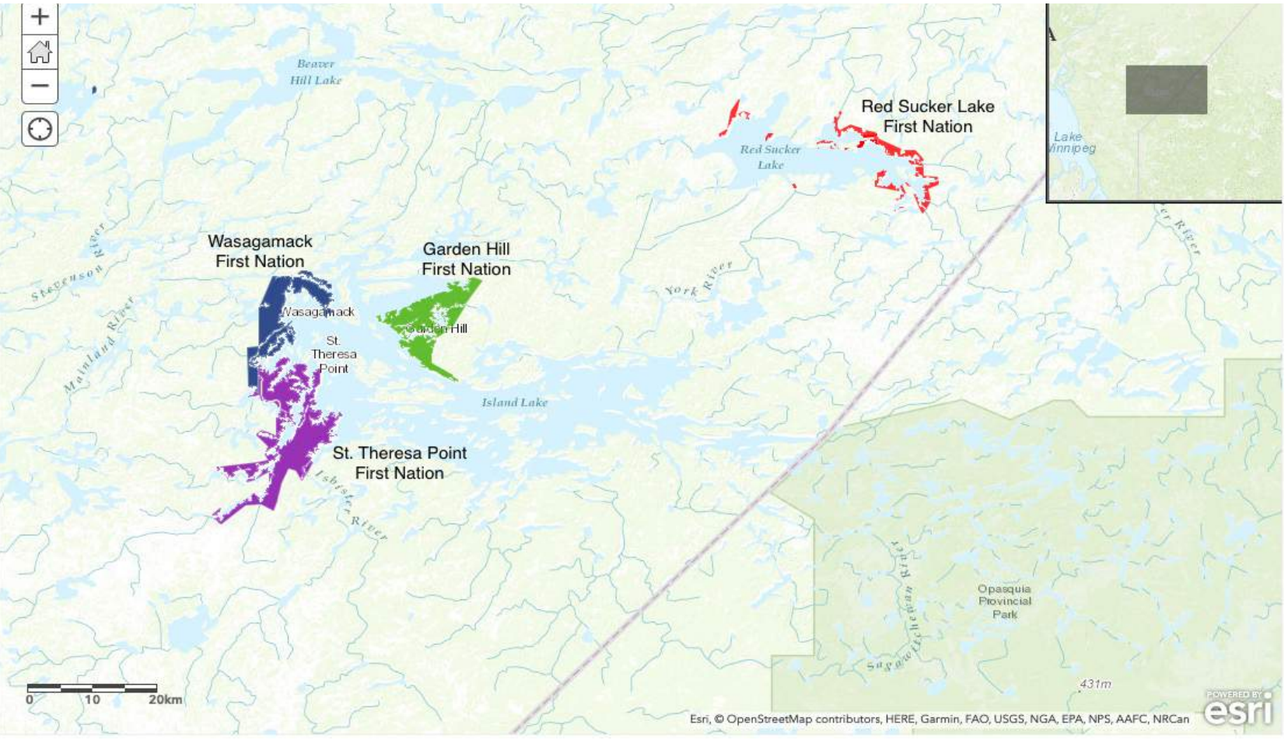
Map 1: Watershed Map of the Island Lake Region with Wasagamack First Nation Reserve identified as a red dot. Map by Jason Surkan.

Even the place name, Wasagamack, was not always its current spelling but had a different spelling in both roman orthography and syllabics; it was previously spelled by its meaning, Waasagomach, which refers to its location on a bay. As a result of this lack of standardized spelling in roman orthography, using the agreed upon terms and spellings by FARHA and ILTC in this book seemed prudent.

Baskwinaksi'ininwak means Smooth Rock people, which is significant as the people identify with the ancient rocks in this area. The basalt in these granite rocks are typically found in the bedrock of the ocean formed from the rapid cooling of magenesium-rich and iron-rich lava. These are some of the oldest volcanic mountains in the world, worn-down by the Lake Agassiz flood and the glaciers over time to become smooth surfaces. Rocks are considered to be alive by the Anishinimowin and referred to as grandfather rocks.

Indigenous knowledge systems are both embedded in language and in the earth. Anishinimowin is a polysynthetic language, with long sentence-words to enrich each word with deep meaning (McLeod, 2014). For example, the word for strawberries in Anishinimowin is oteheeminan. The literal translation for otemin is heart-berry, to describe oteheeminan's heart and vascular system benefits, as well as its physical shape (FARHA, 2018).

Most people (64%) in Wasagamack identify Anishinimowin as their mother-tongue. Anishinimowin is spoken everyday in most homes and workplaces in Wasagamack. Fifty-seven percent (57%) of people in Wasagamack list Anishinimowin as their most common language spoken at home (Statistics Canada, 2016). A high percentage of Wasagamack people (78%) speak their native language fluently. Indigenous languages are correlated with the health of the culture and people: "Indigenous languages are the core, the beating heart of our people, cultures and identities. Our languages tell us who we are. It is through our languages that we speak our worlds into existence. It is through our languages that we know how to live in this world" (Grounds, 2016, 6). Anishinimowin in Island Lake remains the language of the Anishiniwuk there in contrast to the 50 to 95% of languages spoken around the world today, which are predicted to become extinct by 2100 (UNPFII, 2016).



Map 2: The four First Nation Reserves in Island Lake. Map by: Keshab Thapa

As well as speaking their language, the connection to the land (aki) remains strong. Traditional activities of hunting, fishing and gathering medicines are still a part of their everyday life in Wasagamack. Aki translates roughly to earth, but is considered to be inclusive of both land and water ecosystems. Victor Harper, and many others, spoke about how aki connects them to their ancestors, their language, their Indigenous identity and spirit. Windigocans (spirits of the land) remain powerful healers everywhere on the land.

Although Wasagamack's ancestral land remains pristine and their culture strong, Anishiniwuk have suffered deeply under colonial policies. Policies that included residential school, the Indian Act, genocide, and economic marginalization tormented Anishiniwuk miserably. Wasagamack's Anishiniwuk continue to struggle against these colonial forces today while in the process of reclaiming Mino Bimaadiziwin for this unique and special land and culture. Mino Bimaadiziwin is how Wasagamack's Anishiniwuk describe their ancestor's spiritual and good life on the land, prior to colonization, as well as Wasagamack's vision for the future.

Victor Harper shared his teachings about Mino Bimaadiziwin from the Anishiniwuk Elders who never went to residential school. These Elders were not impacted by the residential school system, as they escaped this fate, growing up on their ancestral land with their families. Clearly, Anishiniwuk ancestral knowledge is retained in Wasagamack and continues to be passed on through oral tradition. Victor was told how his ancestors buried their ceremonies and sacred objects in the land to hide cultural items from destruction by the colonial powers. Victor believed that these ceremonial items, once found, will bring healing to his people and return his community to a spiritually good-life. This process of recovering what was not lost, but only hidden from colonial eyes, is occurring. These hiding spots were identified on maps by Victor before he died. These treasures are said to be hidden among rocks placed in a special way so that when the wind blows, the rocks will sing.

Through connecting with culture, land and ceremony, Wasagamack is circling back to Mino Bimaadiziwin. In Wasagamack, Mino Bimaadiziwin is within living memory with stories, land, and language intact. The cultural and ecological integrity of Wasagamack is partly thanks to Island Lake's remote location. Island Lake was largely inaccessible before planes, which severely restricted colonial contact and impacts until the late 1950s and even until today. Few settlers reside in this area until today. Before planes, the location was described as being as remote as the North Pole (Fiddler & Stevens, 2003). From Norway House to Island Lake required portaging more than 30 times, as well as canoeing for more than a week (Hallowell, 1938). Wasagamack's 200 years of contact, with little or no settlement to this day, stands in contrast to the over 500 years of colonization and resistance of the Indigenous peoples in most of America.

Snapshot of the Wasagamack Community

Wasagamack is one of four Anishininew communities in Island Lake. These road-less communities are on the east-side of Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba. As shown in map 2 Wasagamack is a bay at the northwest Island Lake. The Wasagamack First Nation reserve spans 80.9 square kilometers and is home to a population of 1,403 people.

Remoteness shapes the culture of Wasagamack today as much as in the past. Wasagamack remains road-less and is only accessible by winter road, plane or canoe. Travel by plane is further complicated, as Wasagamack lacks an airport and requires traveling 12 kilometers over open water between the airport at St. Theresa Point to reach Wasagamack. To reach the airport necessitates three different modes of transportation from this bay in all seasons. To transit in all of Wasagamack's six different seasons requires: a boat in summer, spring and fall; a helicopter during freeze up in the autumn and break up in the spring; and a snowmobile or truck during winter. Upon reaching St. Theresa Point, an airplane is required to fly you to an urban

centre with a hospital.

By plane, St. Theresa Point, the nearest airport to Wasagamack, is approximately 610 km from Winnipeg, taking 1.5 hours. The distance to drive to Winnipeg, the largest urban center in Manitoba, is approximately 1500 km by the provincial ice road. Traveling by vehicle takes 17 to 20 hours, depending on the conditions of the provincial ice road. These ice roads may last a month or a few months but with climate change, the incidence of years when ice roads do not form is expected to increase. Wasagamack, along with many other fly-in communities on the east-side of Manitoba, must truck up on winter road all their construction materials, gasoline, cars, furnishings and machinery. A connecting road is not expected until 2050.

Wasagamack remains a mixed economy, where subsistence livelihoods from harvesting wild foods and sharing mixes with the money economy. The average personal income in Wasagamack is $11,499 in 2015, which is one-third of the $34,204, that is the Canadian median income (Statistics Canada, 2016). The community is growing and has recently built a new school to open in 2020. However, Wasagamack's infrastructure remains very limited without connecting roads to urban centres and basic amenities. Wasagmack has neither a grocery store, airport, laundromat, convenience store, hardware store, bank nor a restaurant. The only nearby grocery store, the Northern Store, is located on a separate island, requiring a $5 boat trip to buy very high-priced food.

Although the Wasagamack community is economically poor and lacking in infrastructure, the community is rich in ancestral knowledge, culture, nature and language. The community holds seasonal feasts to ensure traditions are continued, keeping the sense of community strong. Through good governance, leadership, and continued stewardship of the land, Wasagamack continues to strive for Mino Bimaadiziwin.

Origins of This Book

This book started as a project to map traditional land use by the community of Wasagamack. This mapping was led by Wasagamack community members -- Victor Harper, Johnathan Harper and Norah Whiteway -- in collaboration with Wasagamack's Chief and Council. The Chief and Council signed a band council resolution for the University of Manitoba's Shirley Thompson and her graduate students to assist with this research. This research was initially part of the Wabanong Nakaygum Okimawin (WNO), also known as the broad-area east-side plan. Sixteen other First Nation communities live in the pristine east-side of Lake Winnipeg, in : "a largely intact boreal forest ecosystem and a population that is comprised of 97% First Nations people" (WNO, 2010, p. 1) . These 16 communities all participated in the WNO land use planning, to different degrees.

However, the Wasagamack land use research started before and continued after the provincial government dismantled this WNO process and ended its meager funding. This book brings together the Indigenous knowledge of Wasagamack Anishiniwuk through stories, photos and maps. Island Lake people shared oral history going back to the pre-colonial past and up to the present day, as well as their vision of the future. However, Wasagamack's story is not confined to the past, present, or future. Wasagamack's story is a timeless story of a sacred communion between people with their ancestral land, which they steward.

To tell this story, this book is divided into three parts:
1) The time-line of key historical events in the Anishininew communities in the Island Lake region to document the stories from the pre-colonial past into the future;
2) Maps of Wasagamack's traditional land use including cultural sites, harvesting sites as well as resources in the region; and,
3) Conversations and ideas about future community development to reach Wasagamack people's goal of Mino Bimaadiziwin.

An aerial view of a portion of Wasagamack First Nation in autumn. Photo by: Kaoru Ryan Suzuki.

TIMELINE

An Anishininew Timeline of Island Lake

This book tells the history of the Anishininew communities through a timeline drafted with Victor and Emma Harper to document the history of the Anishiniwuk in Island Lake (Harper, Harper & Thompson, 2017). Prior to this book, little historical documentation of Wasagamack and the Island Lake region had been written (Was, 2017; Tough, 1996; Hallowell, 1938; and Thompson et al., 2019). Although there were few written documents, Elders in the community were telling their history orally. The Anishininew timeline was informed by many Elders and the participants in the Wasagamack land use group. Participatory video techniques were used to engage Elders and others from Wasagamack First Nation and Island Lake in a process of telling their story; most of these videos are in Anishinimowin.

Thumbnail of the video “Our Ancestral Land and Culture” on YouTube (https://youtu.be/i4p9dpuBT4A).

Thumbnail of the video “Elders Gathering” on YouTube (https://youtu.be/NODQq7ZiRhU).

Timeline for the Island Lake Region

The timeline was created for all the Anishininew communities in Island Lake, rather than solely for the community of Wasagamack. The timeline recognizes that all the Anishiniwuk in the Island Lake Region are one people united by language, culture, family relations and geography. All the four Anishininew communities were originally part of the Island Lake Band, sharing one chief at the time of Treaty in 1909 until 1969. As a result, this timeline and the text of this book record the history of the Island Lake region until 1969. Although the timeline continues to document the whole of Island Lake to the present, the text in this book focuses largely on Wasagamack after its formation as a sovereign nation in 1969. Thus, the text is more geographically specific than the timeline.

The timeline (Figure 1) reflects the shared history of all Anishininew communities as changes in one community affected all Anishininew people in this region. Island Lake’s Mino Bimaadiziwin was negatively impacted by colonial development, which continues to cause great adversity and underdevelopment. The Island Lake story is unusual due to the Anishiniwuk in this region’s late date for encounter with the Europeans in the 1800s. The Anishiniwuk in Island Lake experienced 200 years of colonization and resistance. This 200 years is half the time of the over 500 years that most Indigenous peoples in the Americas experienced colonization. Four historical periods were identified in Island Lake, namely: 1) Pre-colonial Mino Bimaadiziwin; 2) Colonial times; 3) Reconciliation era; and, 4) Future visions of Mino Bimaadiziwin.

PRE-COLONIAL MINO BIMAADIZIWIN

Anishiniwuk describe precolonial times as Mino Bimaadiziwin to describe how life was good, in terms of both material prosperity and spiritual well-being. People in Island Lake pursued a local wild food diet, which imparted many health benefits. The merit of this wild food diet is apparent from the archeology findings that ancient Indigenous skeletons had excellent dental health and were without arthritis despite reaching advanced ages (Price, 1939). Further, Kuhnlein and his co-authors (2006) report that major pharmacologic and therapeutic benefits result from wild foods, which are low in unhealthy fats, sodium, carbohydrate and sugar but high in good-quality complete proteins and other nutrients (Batal et al., 2018). Other physiological benefits are found in the aerobic and muscle-building activities involved in harvesting, gathering, and preparing wild food. These foods protect against chronic diseases, such as diabetes, cancer, cardiovascular diseases, obesity and many other health conditions (Thompson et al., 2012).

Harvesting occurs within a complex social system requiring ceremonies, stewardship and protocols to balance sustaining the earth with sustaining the people (Hughes, 1979). Aki and all life are considered a gift from the Creator, with animals and plants agreeing to sacrifice themselves for Anishiniwuk to have food, clothing and housing, in exchange for stewarding the land (Hughes, 1979).

Spiritual practices are an important part of all Anishiniwuk cultural practices, including food harvesting. Anishiniwuk cultural practices include: making an offering before one harvest(s) for reciprocity, taking only what one needs, and then offering a feast of the first harvest – for the spirits and all Anishiniwuk to celebrate. This practice of reciprocity in harvesting insures sustainability. Also, communion with nature through speaking to the Anishiniwuk relatives who have hoofs, wings, fins or roots is important. An Elder from Wasagamack said: *“When I was young, all the animals talked, just like in the cartoons, providing teachings.”* Nature and animals, as well as Elders, were considered the most important teachers, and the Anishiniwuk learned by carefully listening to nature’s wisdom.

A story about a moose harvest describes the sacred pact between Anishiniwuk and animals. According to legend, animals agreed to exchange their lives to sustain the Anishiniwuk. In exchange, the Anishiniwuk agreed to respect and steward the land to sustain all their relations (Bruchac, 1972). This story takes place in a lodge, which signifies the spirit realm. In this moose lodge, a pipe magically appears to a young bull moose, which is linked in a parallel universe to a human lodge. In the human lodge, Anishiniwuk hunters smoke their sacred pipe to ask for success in their moose hunt:

“One night, a family of moose was sitting in the lodge. As they sat around the fire, a strange thing happened. A pipe came floating in through the door. Sweet-smelling smoke came from the long pipe and it circled the lodge, passing close to each of the Moose People. The old bull moose saw the pipe but said nothing, and it passed him by. The cow moose said nothing, and the pipe passed by her also. So it passed by each of the Moose People until it reached the youngest of the young bull moose near the door of the lodge.

‘You have come to me,’ he said to the pipe. Then he reached out and took the pipe and started to smoke it. ‘My son,’ the old moose said, ‘you have killed us. This is a pipe from the human beings. They are smoking this pipe now and asking for success in their hunt. Now, tomorrow, they will find us. Now, because you smoked their pipe, they will be able to get us.’ ‘I am not afraid,’ said the young bull moose. ‘I can run faster than any of the people. They cannot catch me.’ But the old bull moose said nothing more.

When the morning came, the Moose People left their lodge. They went across the land looking for food. But as they reached the edge of the forest, they caught the scent of the hunters. It was the time of year when there is a thin crust on the snow and the moose found it hard to move quickly. ‘These human hunters will catch us,’ said the old cow moose. ‘Their feet are feathered like those of the grouse. They can walk on top of the snow.’ Then they began to run as the hunters followed them. The young bull moose who has taken the pipe ran off with the others. He was still sure he could outrun the hunters. But the hunters were on snowshoes, and the young moose’s feet sank into the snow. They followed him until he tired and then killed him.

After they killed him, they thanked him for smoking their pipe and giving himself to them, so they could survive. They treated his body with care, and they soothed his spirit. That night, the young bull moose woke up in his lodge among his people. Next to his bed was a present given to him by the human hunters. He showed it to all of the others. ‘You see,’ he said. ‘It was not a bad thing for me to accept the long pipe the human people sent to us. Those hunters treated me with respect. It is right for us to allow human beings to catch us.’ And so it is to this day. Those hunters who show respect to the moose are always the ones who are successful when they hunt” (Bruchac, 1972, 5-8).

Clearly from this story, the relationship of people with

Pre-contact Anishiniwuk wore clothes made of local furs as shown in the photo on the left of Abel Fiddler in 1923, the son of Island Lake Chief Henry Fiddler. Abel wore a beautiful rabbit skin parka with hood, having mitts attached by a string of hide. His mukluks are moose hide pointed without bead work. Abel is carrying show-shoes, made from birch trees with moose-hide string for webbing. Prior to the beaver fur trade, beaver hides were worn. In the top centre photo, three means of transportation are shown: dog-sledding, snowshoeing, as well as canoeing on the open water. In the far right is a 1927 photo of Moses McDougall's winter cabin, which is considered typical of the earlier pre-contact dwellings. This teepee was erected with three or four main poles lashed together a the top, which support other poles and a smoke flap. Moss, mud, and furs provide insulation to keep this teepee cosy warm in winter with a fire. The teepee's diameter, at the base, is about six metres. Four smiling children stand by the hide door entrance. Source: INAC, 1975.

animals was complex, spiritual and reciprocal. This story shows how the Anishiniwuk and animals share a sacred relationship. The story ends with the moose happy to provide his life for Anishiniwuk sustenance in return for being given respect.

Clans describe the sacred relationship of humans to animals. This close relationship requires that the Anishiniwuk actively protect aki for the animals and all life to maintain the cosmological and spiritual relations. The clans in Wasagamack were identified by Emma Harper to be mainly bear and wolf clans, who then marry into moose, turtle, eagle, sucker, pelican, crane, sturgeon, caribou and other clans. Members of the same animal clan are considered family, whether blood relatives or not. Rules to marry outside of your own clan provided a sophisticated mating system to avoid inbreeding. The parents of Emma Harper from the bear clan and Victor from the wolf clan arranged their marriage, before the pair had ever met. Arranged marriages between different clans were common in the past.

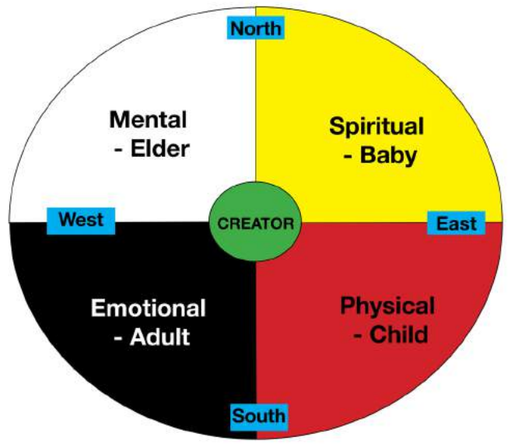
Most Anishiniwuk lived in small family groupings or larger clan groupings in their hunting/fishing area. These family camps were dispersed across many lakes throughout the vast region of Island Lake. The Anishiniwuk followed the seasonal animal migration to obtain meat for food, as well as hides for making tools and clothes. The Anishiniwuk traveled great distances by canoes, snowshoes and dog sleds. Canoes took them across rivers and lakes and through rapids throughout the Hayes watershed and into Ontario. The Anishiniwuk made canoes from birch bark. The snowshoes were made from birch trees with moose hide stretched to provide the webbing, allowing them to walk on top of snow to outrun moose in deep snow. Regarding dog-sleds, the Anishiniwuk applied the "in line ahead" harness method rather than the fan method of the Inuit to travel through the boreal trees.

For accommodation that facilitated travel, Anishiniwuk made wigwams and teepees of wood, bark and hides. See the photo to the right. These circular homes were easy to erect and transport. These homes, with local wood poles, allowed greater mobility, allowing the Anishiniwuk to follow animal migration and to assist traveling long distances from their family camps to congregate for ceremonies and gatherings.

The Anishiniwuk strove for a communal and egalitarian society. Elders were considered the knowledge holders and teachers. As well, people with special abilities in activities such as hunting, singing and spiritual practices were looked up to. Everyone worked together for a good life and traded, but families had to be self-sufficient. Culture, language and identity are considered to be sacred gifts from the land and the Creator.

The Medicine Wheel provides teachings about balancing the spiritual, physical, emotional and mental aspects, throughout the human developmental stages from baby to Elder. The wheel revolves endlessly clockwise from the north through the four directions, symbolizing the continuous cycles of life. The Creator is in the centre of the Medicine Wheel for all life's stages, as shown below. Many other Medicine Wheel teachings exist. For example, the Medicine Wheel, also, teaches about how elements came together to give life to earth, with fire represented by yellow for its warmth and light, the earth by red, water by black and air by white.

Medicine Wheel modified from Hill (2020).



Mino Bimaadiziwin or ‘the good life’, is used to describe when people led nomadic lives and lived in clans before colonial impacts. People in the area speak the Island Lake Dialect or Anishinimowin due to an influx of Anishinaabe from the Indian Wars mixing with the Ininiw. Old Post was the summer meeting area for all clans.

1818

The Old Post Settlement was the main meeting place for people of Island Lake and where the Hudson Bay Company visited briefly in 1818 before abandoning it until 1864.

1891

Island Lake Chief John Wood asks for treaty chest from the Canadian government.

AUGUST 13 1909

Island Lake signs onto Treaty 5.

1920

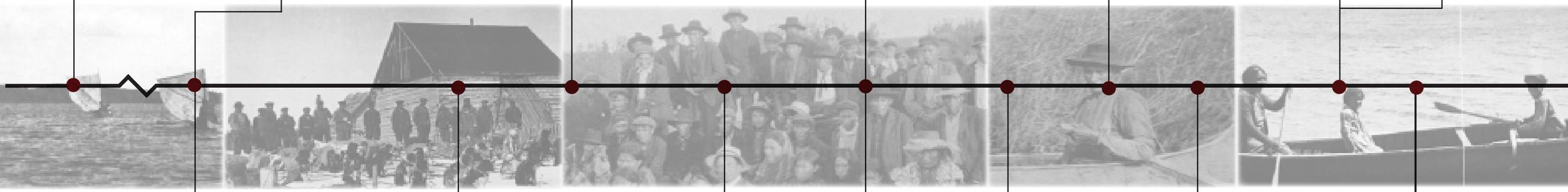
Roman Catholics set up a mission at Maria Portage, now known as St. Theresa Point.

1940

Registered traplines administered under Manitoba’s Wildlife Act.

1956-70s

Children stolen from parents for residential schools and “60s scoop” with some parents raising children on traplines in remote areas to escape this fate.



1818

A quarter of the Island Lake people were Cree from the Stevenson Lake-Gods Lake area to the west and north. The remainder were Anishinaabe, originally from Deer Lake-Favourable lake as well as Sandy Lake-Big Trout Lake areas of northwestern Ontario.

1864

The Hudson Bay Company builds a permanent structure at Old Post.

1903

United Church of Canada missionary resides at Island Lake.

1909-1955

A few Island Lake people chose to canoe to Norway House to attend the Methodist residential school. This education started Cree Syllabics being widely used in Island Lake.

1913

Surveyors arrive in Island Lake but Old Post was never made a reserve because of government mineral interests.

1925

Island Lake was more protected from epidemics of infectious diseases overtaking other First Nation communities during that time as the area is among the most isolated First Nations in Canada.

People in the communities built their log homes along the water’s edge to access unpolluted drinking water. Each clan was responsible for litter and latrine pits covered with logs.

1950s

No cash economy with limited trading of flour, salt, ammunition, etc.

Figure 1: Timeline of the Anishiniwuk in the Island Lake Region

1960s

Compulsory schooling and crash of fur trade forces more people to live in settlements and greater dependence on the government.

Indigenous Affairs replace log homes with side-by-side houses based on inappropriate southern design with no running water or cisterns.

1970s

Indigenous people in Northern Manitoba relied mainly on the foods that were available locally through hunting, fishing, gathering and gardening until the mid or late twentieth century.

1999

Island Lake is linked to Manitoba Hydro's electricity grid but without higher-amp services is still unable to pump water and sewage around the communities.

2004

First phase of piped water and sewer for St. Theresa Point begins.

2009

Food insecurity rates for Island Lake found to be very high.

An 18-month assessment of waste water and water systems shows third world conditions.

2012-Future

Mapping of traditional land use and planning by community coordinators begins with assistance from Dr. Thompson from the University of Manitoba.

Mino Bimaaddizwin Partnership with University of Manitoba for community-led post-secondary education programs to build capacity for healthy housing and Indigenous food sovereignty.

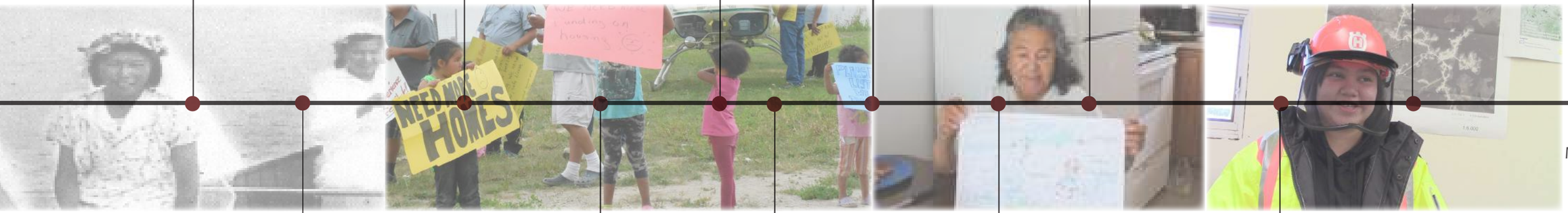
Present and Future

Finding new ways and reclaiming old ways to steward land and resource management by Island Lake First Nations for community development to ensure healthy food, housing and culture as well as Mino Bimaadiziwin.

PRESENT

FUTURE

MINO BIMAADIZIWIN



1967

Basic electricity comes to Island Lake, however no sanitary plan was implemented as the population density increased.

The Island Lake people were split by government into four small reserves: Western communities of St. Theresa Point and Wasagamack became largely Roman Catholic, while eastern communities of Garden Hill and Red Sucker Lake became largely Protestant.

PRE 1980s

No diabetes in Island Lake at this time.

2000

A high rate of diabetes is reported in the communities.

Island Lake communities sign onto Wabanong Nakaygum Okimawin Broad Area Plan, but get broken promises.

Four Arrows Regional Health Authority forms.

2006

Residents of Island Lake remain among the most linguistically fluent Indigenous people in North America. Census shows that 88% still speak the Anishinimowin language.

2010

Safe Drinking Water Act is introduced by Canadian government.

First phase of piped water and sewer for Garden Hill and Wasagamack

Thumbnail of video “Wisdom of Elder Victor Harper” on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EU5XLq_w14U).

In this video Elder Victor Harper provides a talk for all times -- past, present and future. Victor talks about the wisdom of the ancient people in precolonial times when people lived a good life. He discusses the disruption that occurred in colonial times, profiling his traumatic experience of residential school. He also talks about how the community-led education programs of today will create Mino Bimaadiziwin for the future. Victor encourages youth to learn their language and culture but also to get post-secondary education to be great scholars in all fields, including trades, education, law and medicine.

COLONIAL TIMES

Colonial policies and the fur trade disrupted Mino Bimaadiziwin. Colonial policies started in 1670, when a charter by the British Crown gave the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) control over Island Lake as part of Rupert's Land (Tough, 1997). The king's cousin, Prince Rupert, became governor of the *"Trade and Commerce of all those Seas, Streights, Bays, Rivers, Lakes, Creeks, and Sounds, in whatsoever Latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights, together with all the Lands, Countries and Territories, upon the Coasts and Confines... not now actually possessed by any of our Subjects, or by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State... and that the said Land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantations or Colonies in America, called Rupert's Land"*.

The HBC claimed exclusive rights to trade and to colonize all lands with rivers flowing into Hudson Bay, without ever seeing the land or consulting with the residents. Rupert's Land was vast, including northern Quebec, Labrador, northern and western Ontario, Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, south and central Alberta, parts of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, as well as small sections of the United States. This takeover by HBC was based on the doctrine of discovery and terra nullius (Latin for "empty land"). Terra nullius was not based in reality, as the land in these areas was fully occupied at the time by Indigenous peoples.

Without being consulted, the Anishiniwuk of Island Lake certainly could not approve or consent to the HBC takeover of the land. Land ownership was a foreign concept that differed from their worldview that aki was sacred. The HBC had only an economic interest rather than a spiritual interest in the land, unlike the Anishiniwuk, who had both. So when the fur trade declined, HBC lost interest and sold Rupert's Land to the Canadian government in 1870 but without the Anishiniwuk being party to this agreement either. As the HBC's charter to this land was based on the lie of terra nullius, the legitimacy of this subsequent land deal is also flawed.

Shooting rapids in Island Lake. Source: INAC, 1976.

Although, on paper, the Canadian government controlled all of Rupert's Land, on the ground, in Island Lake nothing changed, despite this massive land deal. Thereafter, no representative from the Canadian government visited Island Lake for almost 40 years. Just before the transfer, Louis Riel successfully led the Red River Rebellion of 1869-1870 to protest Canada surveying the Red River land where Metis and Indigenous people lived. After the rebellion, Riel formed a Metis provisional government and negotiated Manitoba joining Canada's confederation by the Manitoba Act of 1870. At the time of the HBC transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada, the "postage stamp province", which was the southwestern portion of today's Manitoba, was joining confederation.

In 1876, Canada passed the Indian Act, which legally restricted Indigenous peoples to small plots of land that Canada called Indian Reserves (Palmater, 2014). The confinement on reserves of Indigenous peoples after the demise of abundant wildlife in southern Manitoba resulted in destitution. Indigenous peoples depended on wildlife for food, shelter, tools, and clothing. By reducing the abundance of wildlife and prohibiting travel by Indigenous peoples in search of wildlife, settlers undermined the economy of Indigenous peoples in southern Manitoba.

Many species, including bison, lake sturgeon, trumpeter swans, whooping cranes, Canadian geese and ducks were brought to the brink of extinction due to colonial "scorched earth" policies. Bison numbers plummeted. Before the Europeans settled the west, an estimated 30 million plains bison and 170,000 wood bison dominated the prairie landscape. By the late 1800s, plains bison no longer existed in Canada, and wood bison numbers were fewer than 200 (Olsen Harper & Thompson, 2017). The demise of the bison meant starvation but also a lack of clothing and housing materials for Indigenous people on the prairies. Indigenous peoples depended on wildlife for food, shelter, tools, clothing and other basic needs.

Other species became extinct, including passenger pigeons, which numbered in the millions previously. This mass extinction brought on by colonialism impacted northern Manitoba as well, but to a lesser degree. Although moose and caribou remained abundant, the Anishiniwuk and Cree food supply was diminished by European settlers over hunting migratory birds. In the 1800s, few migratory birds, such as geese, ducks and swans, returned to nest in the Island Lake region (National Geographic Society, 2019). Previously, the Anishiniwuk always had a fall and spring goose hunt during migration to celebrate the change of season, but these were curtailed with the limited number of migratory birds returning to Island Lake. The number of migratory geese and ducks remain low to this day in Island Lake, without any government programs to increase their numbers here. Although the Anishiniwuk continued to harvest from their vast territory of land, feeding their families became difficult.

Another wave of colonial impacts, prior to Europeans ever setting foot in the region, occurred when Indigenous refugees from the south started to arrive. The Ininew, who originally inhabited Island Lake, welcomed these Anishinaabe people from the western Great Lakes and Boundary Waters region in the late 1700s.

Two guides for an exploration team going from Deer's Lake East to Island Lake. Source: Manitoba Archives.

The Anishinaabe refugees to Island Lake were fleeing the "Indian Wars" wrought by colonial governments in the United States and Canada. Accompanying these armed conflicts, were scorched earth policies to destroy food supply. Island Lake was a refuge for a time, untouched by the war, famine and disease that was wrought on Indigenous people by European contact. Remoteness delayed contact and the spread of diseases in Island Lake (Hallowell, 1938).

Only in 1818 did the first fur traders venture to the Island Lake region. However, the HBC abandoned the area almost immediately, returning in 1864 when HBC built a permanent fort at Old Post, on Linklater Island. The shopkeeper for HBC bartered furs from the Anishiniwuk for sugar, alcohol, blankets, rifles, and flour. Trading furs for alcohol resulted in many Anishiniwuk developing addictions, which caused great social upheaval. The fur trade played havoc with food security and Mino Bimaadiziwin in Island Lake (Tough, 1997) by encouraging over-hunting and alcoholism. The HBC reported some starvation among the Anishiniwuk who traded in Island Lake in the early 1900s (Fiddler & Steven, 2003).

The HBC fueled the great demand for European fashion to wear beaver hats, which caused the beaver population to crash in the Island Lake region (Tough, 1997). The beaver pelts traded at Old Post fell steadily with over-hunting: the numbers went from 6,000 beaver pelts traded in 1865 to 2,000 beaver pelts in 1870 to below 500 per year in 1890 (Tough, 1997). As beavers are a keystone species who engineer the ecosystem with their beaver dams, they help to create the conditions for wildlife abundance. But with a low population from over-hunting, beavers were no longer able to enact short-term flooding across the landscape, resulting in a decline in ecosystem productivity (Tough, 1997). Beaver numbers remained low for a century, rebounding only in the 21st century.

In 1907, Canadian soldiers first journeyed to Island Lake, according to Fiddler & Stevens (2003, 72):

"*Southeast on Island Lake….It is a territory that soldiers have never before penetrated. It is a territory that has never seen a permanent western settler. Territory that has not been ceded to the Canadians"*

These soldiers came to arrest a powerful shaman and Anishiniwuk leader from Sandy Lake named Jack Fiddler. Jack Fiddler was captured and imprisoned by the soldiers in *"one of the most unusual cases in the history of Canadian jurisprudence."* The Dominion of Canada defined his medicine work that was requested by the family to end the suffering of a possessed woman, who had turned into the dreaded windigo, as killing. Jack Fiddler was tried for killing this woman and executed as a criminal in Norway House.

This spiritual leader, Jack Fiddler, had been well respected in Island Lake and frequently visited there. Toppling this medicine man by man-made laws of the Canadian government was an attempt to undermine the natural law that the Anishiniwuk observed. Anishiniwuk equate their own laws with the laws of the natural world and so describe their law as "natural law." These natural laws are considered sacred with the laws defined by the Creator, arising from aki. Medicine people assisted clans and communities by interpreting natural law and by providing natural medicines and ceremonies for people to heal and to obtain Mino Bimaadiziwin. This power-play by the Canadian government, with their man-made laws against the existing Indigenous order defined by natural law, caused great disruption. The removal of the spiritual leader laid the groundwork for the Anishiniwuk to take treaty, in distress from the disease and food shortages brought about by colonial policies.

Treaty 5

On August 13th, 1909, the Chief of Island Lake signed an adhesion to Treaty 5 with the Dominion of Canada at Old Post on Linklater Island. At the time that the Island Lake band signed the Treaty, the population of Anishiniwuk numbered 649 members (McKay, 2018). Peter McKay describes Treaty 5 adhesion negotiations in Island Lake as "unfinished business", as the Treaty commissioner promised to *"return to resolve the outstanding negotiation of the full Treaty–making process"* (Mckay, 2017, 2). Peter McKay provides an oral history of the treaty being unfinished business:

"The Elders and knowledge keepers have passed on through the oral tradition to subsequent generations that certain promises were made to the Island Lake Band members by the Crown's representative, John Semmens. It was understood that when the Commissioner left the Treaty-signing that he was to consult with the Crown on what had been negotiated and returned to resolve the outstanding negotiation terms. The Commissioner, as of today, has not returned to honor his promise nor the original spirit and intent of the full Treaty–making process."

As per the Treaty, the Crown obligations included hunting, fishing, and farming implements, as well as local education:

"Provide 160 acres of land for a family of five or in the proportion for larger or smaller families, …maintain schools for instruction in reserve,…pay gratuity of five dollars in cash per person in extinguishment of all claims, …pay five dollars annuity per head, … [continue] right to pursue hunting and fishing throughout the tract [that is unoccupied], …pay a sum of five hundred dollars per annum every year in the purchase of ammunition, and twine for nets, supply farming and gardening tools [that includes two hoes, one scythe, one axe and one spade per family; one plough for every ten families; five harrows for every twenty families; and one cross-cut saw, one hand-saw, one pit-saw, the necessary files, one grindstone, and one auger for each band], and compensate for the value of any improvements on the reserves" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1969 para 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23 & 24).

Treaty medal of Treaty 5 Island Lake Adhesion.

At the time of the Treaty, the Canadian government selected one person, Chief George Knott, to represent the entire Island Lake community. After treaty, Chief George Knott, with ten other families, paddled to the current location of the Wasagamack reserve. This departure was following the instructions of the Indian agent to move to an area with grass to feed the cows and horses that were part of the oral treaty promises (MFNERC, 2010). At that time, the Department of Indian Affairs had the authority to force relocations.

The written terms of the Treaty adhesion is considered a desecration of the oral agreement, however, even this written version was not honoured. The Canadian interpretation of the Treaty promises are not relevant according to the "cheque addressed to the Wasagamack First Nation, 2015" on display at the Canadian Human Rights Museum. The cheque has the following signage: *"The payment of $79.38 in 2015 for 20 years of twine and ammunition indicates how treaties have failed to adapt to today's realities"* (Canadian Museum for Human Rights, 2018). The accompanying poster reads: *"According to the Elders, the Treaty created a lasting relationship between the government and the First Nations. As such, the Treaties should adapt to these needs"* (Canadian Museum for Human Rights, 2018). As purchasing one fishing net costs more than one hundred dollars (Thompson et al., 2014), $79.38 is insufficient funding for fishing and hunting for one family for one year. The idea that $79.38, in the 21st century, fulfills food treaty rights for this entire community for 20 years tarnishes the spirit of the Treaty.

The book '*As their Natural Resources Fail*' explains that the treaty process was a "resource capitalist" venture that was "not designed to provide long-term security for Natives" (Tough, 1996, 227). Canada reduced the Treaty 5 adhesion terms for Island Lake to only 160 acres of land for each family of five, from the standard Prairie allotment of 640 acres per family, as well as $5/person compared to $12. The government's negotiation benefited from low fur prices, with HBC restricting the fur economy, resulting in surplus labour at the time of the Treaty. Tough (1996, 227) writes:

"As the treaty process had dispossessed Indians of their resources, they really were left with no option but to sell their labour as hewers of wood and drawers of water....Modernization and progress were rife with contradictions between the political will of the Department of Indian Affairs and the transformation that was predicted by capitalism....Missionaries influenced the economic dimensions of department policy, and Semmens was more concerned with the economic prospects of the Hudson's Bay Company than the well being of Indians in the low country [Northeast Manitoba]....A poor and surplus population strengthened the government's position when it came time for the adhesions to Treaty Five. In effect, the Natives of northeastern Manitoba were stuck in a legal and economic vacuum. With the surrender of its charter and the transfer of Ruperts land, [by the HBC], ... Because the Department of Indian Affairs had rejected Indian requests for a treaty until 1908, Indians in this non-ceded territory obtained little assistance from the Canadian government. In fact, the Department of Indian Affairs used the resulting deprivation as a lever."

Similarly, the Canadian policymaker at that time, McLean is quoted as basically saying that Canada's scorched earth policy was intended to make self-sufficient Indigenous people dependent:

"They seem sufficiently well satisfied and to await its opening up, and then as their natural resources fail them turn to various industrial pursuit" (McLean in Tough, 1996: 227).

Wasagamack community members visit the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg to see the display of the cheque to Wasagamack for $79.38 to cover 20 years of treaty rights for hunting, fishing and farming. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

Island Lake Anishiniwuk during the Treaty signing period with the Treaty commissioner, Reverend John Semmens, holding a tikinakan (cradle board). Source: Manitoba Archives

After the Treaty in 1909, the Anishiniwuk in the Island Lake region continued to live off aki in their family camp areas until the 1960s. The Anishiniwuk were not reduced to labour as they continued to live off the land in a vast territory because they were not restricted to a tiny reserve. The dispersal of the Anishiniwuk population in family groups and clans over a large territory reduced wildlife pressures in any one area, which was traditional knowledge to allow abundance, rather than precipitate the natural resources to fail, as the government intended. However, there were seasons of scarcity, including in 1897, which required the Anishiniwuk to travel extensively to trap, hunt and gather in different places to prevent starvation (MFNERC, 2010).

Being dispersed over a vast land base, the Anishiniwuk in Island Lake were less at risk of community disease transmission than other Indigenous peoples concentrated on over-crowded reserves. As Indigenous people had no immunity, diseases plagued First Nation reserves. Norway House First Nation reserve lost one-third of their people from the Spanish flu. Confinement by government created high risk situations for the spread of the epidemics of diseases (Palmater, 2014). According to Dr. Barry Lavalee, the KIM Medical advisor (2020, 1), *"Measles, scarlet fever, influenza, typhoid, small pox, tuberculosis and other infectious epidemics and pandemics brought on through the arrival of settlers during colonization have had devastating consequences. Death rates as high as 90% have been documented"*. However, in Island Lake, the transmission rates for diseases were relatively low, compared to those on reserves, due to isolated family camps preventing transmission to other families. Physical distancing protected against community transmission of the different European diseases then as required in 2020 with COVID-19.

The Anishiniwuk remained on the land until the 1960s. According to Agnes Knott, Anishiniwuk lived *"in a shelter known as the sapontawan, a wigam*" (MFNERC, 12). In the summer, a typical home was a tent and a teepee. Up to four tents, made from fur and logs, would surround and be connected to a teepee in the middle. The people spent their summer in camps similar to the one in the top photo. This summer fishing camp was at Maria Portage in 1923. Canvas tents replaced hides and log structures by that time, as shown by the wall tents that surround the teepee. These tents circled the campfire for warmth and cooking food, connected by passages (INAC, 1976). A small fire with moss was lit in the teepee to repel mosquitoes. People slept on spruce boughs, which provided soft, aromatic beds. In October, the family left for their winter camp in the boreal forest before the ice froze-up. They would return to their summer camp after ice break-up in the summer in mid-May. The distance between their summer and winter camps was seldom less than 20 miles (44 km) and in some instances exceeded 130 miles (286 km). Fish was the staple food of the summer camp. Meat, from trapping and hunting, was the principal fare of the winter camp.

Log square cabins in the Island Lake region were rare until after 1945. The middle photo shows Norman Wood's camp, which is a typical winter camp. The log cabins were made with rough wood. A sled in the foreground suggests the departure or arrival of a hunter. A food cache is shown in the large tree to the right (INAC, 1976).The bottom photo shows the interior of Albert Monias' home with the interior walls trimmed to a D-log style. This cabin had an open mud stove to give heat, light and a way to cook with an opening for the smoke to escape. The fireplace rocks have been bonded together with mud, straw and moose hair, which was also used for insulating log cabins. This process is called *sisonskwe*. Mud plastering kept the houses warm during the winter, by filling the cracks between logs, which stopped the drafts of cold air. This process is similar to what beavers do to insulate their beaver lodge with mud (INAC,1976). After the Treaty, the Canadian government could not enforce their polices on the Anishiniwuk and their lands (Tully, 1999) due to the region being so remote. Anishiniwuk remained on the land across their massive territory, united by language, history, culture and Mino Bimaadiziwin.

Then in the 1950s, float planes gave the government access to the area, which allowed for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to swoop into family camps and kidnap children to take to residential school. Brokenhearted from the loss of their children and to protect their other children from being taken, the Anishiniwuk started to move from their family camps to the four reserves in Island Lake. This migration occurred in the 1960s and 1970s to let their children attend the local missionary schools in each community. The Catholic school in Wasagamack started in the 1960s. The Island Lake band was split into four First Nation communities in 1969 by the Canadian government. These four Island Lake bands are Wasagamack, Red Sucker Lake, Garden Hill and St. Theresa Point First Nations, each having their own chief and council and funding.

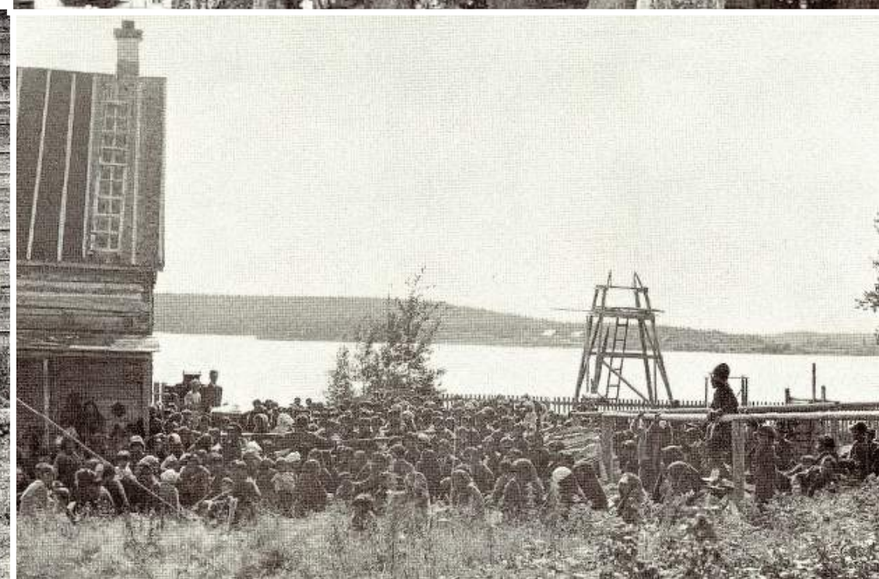
Photo source: INAC, 1976.

Seeing the Influence of the Hudson Bay Company and Missionaries through Photos

Photographs show the influence of the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) and the Missionaries better than mere words in Island Lake. The top left photo of HBC's "Old Post" on Linklater Island was taken in 1923 (INAC, 1976). Many Anishiniwuk are visible visiting from their traplines for Treaty days in this first photo. Linklater Island had always been the meeting place for the Anishiniwuk, with people traveling great distances to gather there in the summer. The HBC store set up shop where the people were. In the middle photo, many traders are visiting with their dog-sled teams at the end of the hunting and trapping season to trade their furs. The top right photo of the grocery section of the HBC store shows canned goods on the shelves and pots hanging from the ceiling.

The "Old Mission" was erected across the channel from the HBC Store at Linklater Island until the store was moved to Garden Hill in 1927-28. The middle right photo shows Chief James Loonfoot smoking a pipe in 1927 in front of the Mission church he was building at Church Point on the Garden Hill reserve with square logs and roofing boards (INAC, 1976). As chief of the Island Lake Band during the 1920s, he led the decision to locate the reserve lands at the present-day Garden Hill First Nation reserve, which was 10 km south of Old Post on Linklater Island. With Old Post near the mouth of the Island Lake River, travel was difficult due to the ice conditions taking longer to freeze up where the current was strong.

In 1938, the HBC moved from Linklater Island to Stevenson Island to be near the people at Garden Hill. In the bottom right photo, the Mission Church is shown with Reverend Chapin delivering the Sunday service, with the Anishiniwuk people seated on the ground. During the summer months the people came to visit regularly from their fish camps around the lakes for Sunday Service. People paddled from Maria Portage and Wasagamack Bay to attend. Hymns were sung in the Ininew language by the Anishiniwuk. The Old Mission School is shown in the bottom middle photo with Charles Clay, who came to Island Lake as a teacher in 1925 (INAC, 1976). School was held in the church. The winter school of 1925-1926, shown in the bottom left photo, is much smaller, as most students went out with their families on the trapline.



RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL

Taking Indian Out of the Child

Most First Nation communities in Canada were afflicted in 1867 by Canada's cultural genocide policy to "take the Indian out of the child." Although Island Lake children did not escape these genocidal residential schools, the imposition of residential school was delayed until the 20th century. This delay limited the students to one generation of students taken away to residential schools. Many other First Nations had three or four generations experiencing residential school. Most children born before 1940 in Island Lake never attended residential or colonial day schools. These people raised on the land with family learning Indigenous knowledge systems are considered the true Elders.

Local schooling in Island Lake was limited, despite the Treaty adhesion in 1909 promising local schools. Shortly after the Treaty, without a school available locally, a few youth from Island Lake went to the overcrowded Norway House's Jack River Residential School. They learned syllabics from the Oblate order of priests in an overcrowded residential school where youth had to share beds. Due to this schooling with the Ininiw of Norway House, like the Ininiw and Inuit, the Anishinimowin use syllabics to write their language. Then, for a brief time, Mrs Chapin, one of the first missionaries in Island lake, taught in the winter at Wasagamack in 1923. She taught eight regular pupils, whose parents had traplines close by, in a classroom provided by Mr. Wass, a free-trader.

On the traplines, in the lakes surrounding Island Lake, the remoteness curtailed the state's ability to capture children for residential school. However, after the world wars, float planes and ski planes reduced the distance and gave outsiders more access to the Island Lake region. This allowed the government to implement its residential school policies, the Indian Act, and other regulations in the Anishininew communities. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) flew to the many lakes in the Island Lake region swooping into camps with float planes to take young children away from their families. Not every family had children taken during this era, but many families were impacted. Some families in the most remote bush camps completely escaped the brutality experienced by so many Indigenous children in residential schools.

In 1956, the Canadian government implemented Canada's genocidal policies in Island Lake. The policy of taking the Indian out of the child was implemented by apprehending the child from their family at a very young age of four or five years old. These children were taken to residential schools far away from their community, land, and culture. As children are the centre of First Nation communities, their removal devastated the Anishiniwuk. The book, *Cowboys and Indians: The Shooting of J. J. Harper*, describes how the RCMP in float-planes swooped in like a "bird of prey" to kidnap seven-year-old Victor Harper and another Wasagamack youth, John Joseph "J. J."at his family's camp:

"They [Victor Harper and J. J. Harper] had spent their early years in the bush, where their families fished and hunted and trapped. The two boys grew up speaking Oji-Cree, immersed in the culture and the customs of the Island Lake people. Then, late in the summer of 1956, their world changed. Victor was seven and his father was out hunting at their camp at Kalliecahoolie Lake when a float-plane swooped across the water, like a bird of prey. A man in a red coat, Victor assumes was a Mountie, got out and began rounding up the school-aged children.

"I can still hear the mothers crying and hanging on to their kids," Victor said. They didn't want to let them go. I went and hid. I was hiding under a bed and this guy in the red cloth came and got me. My mum was hanging on to me. And I remember looking back and my sister was crying. I think J. J. was out at Willow Lake or Stevenson Lake, and the same thing happened to him that summer.

The plane took them to a school at Norway House, 170 kilometres due west across the wilderness. The Oblate Order of priests and Grey Nuns operated the Jack River Residential School there. Victor and J. J. were two of the 1,237 Aboriginal children who went to the eleven residential schools in Manitoba in 1956. The Jack River school, a big stone building, became their prison" (Sinclair, 1999, 43-44).

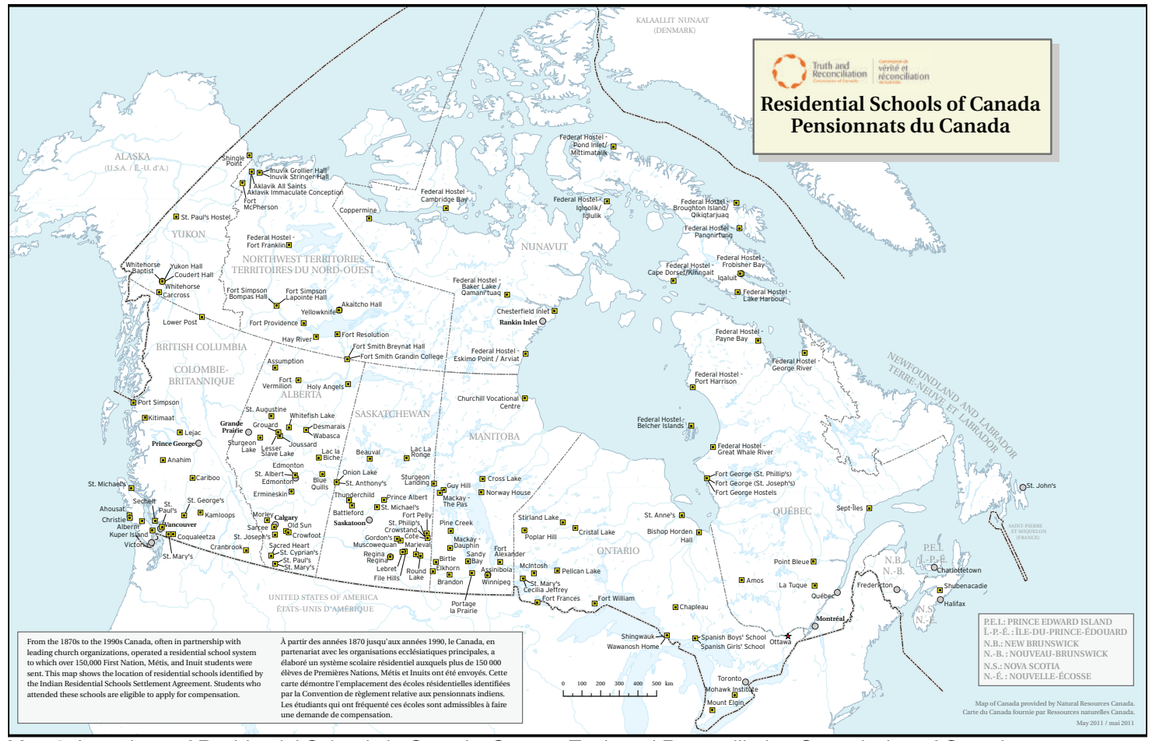
Victor recounted being physically, sexually and emotionally abused. After elementary school, Victor and J. J. attended Assiniboine Residential School for secondary school, amounting to a decade of brainwashing:

"We were taught that every white man was your master," Victor said. "They wanted to de-Indianize us. They wanted us to forget our culture. The children were forced to speak English only, and if they were caught speaking their native tongue, they were punished" (Harper in Sinclair, 1999, 44).

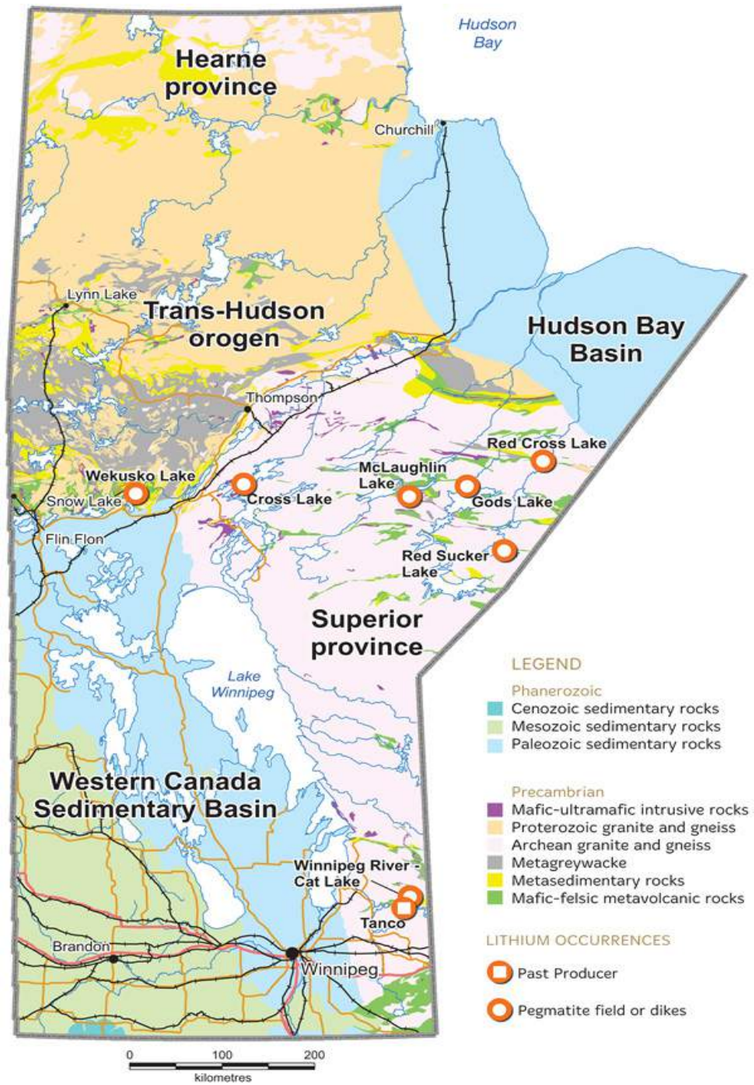
The children suffered terribly during this systematic assimilation process that was dictated by the federal government and carried out by the churches and police. The compulsory school requirement of Canada terrorized the Anishiniwuk with the fear of their children being taken away. Children were forcefully apprehended from their families, if caught not attending school, and taken to residential school away from their community, land and culture.

Education at the time was a by-product of the church. The first United Church in Wasagamack opened in 1953. After that a new Roman Catholic Church was built on a small island near Lazarus Point, with a school being built next door in the 1960s (MFNERC, 2000). With a local school in the community, Anishininew families moved from their family camps to the reserve to send their children to school in the 1960s and 1970s. This migration was to protect their children from being taken to far away residential schools. On the reserve, children had to attend colonial day school, which until recently taught Indigenous subjugation within Canadian society. This compulsory school year reversed the seasonal pattern of travel, preventing the Anishiniwuk from their annual migration to the trapline for the fall, winter and spring. However, living on the reserve to attend school did allow children to remain with their family to experience their land, culture and language.

Unfortunately, the local grade school in Wasagamack was severely underfunded and did not go up to grade 12. Young teenagers had to fly out of Wasagamack to get their secondary school diploma at a residential school until recently. Anishiniwuk students faced racism when they left their community to attend school in Winnipeg and other locations. The racism was deadly. After residential school, the Indigenous leader from Wasagamack, J. J. Harper, was shot and killed by a Winnipeg police constable on March 9, 1988. This shooting of J. J. Harper was initially ruled an accident; however, a strong public outcry led to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry. J. J. Harper's death, along with the murder of Helen Betty Osborne, sparked the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry.



Map 3: Locations of Residential Schools in Canada. Source: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.



TREATY AND LAND SURVEYS

According to land surveys undertaken in the 1920s and Treaty documents of 1909, large areas of the Island Lake region are not covered by any Treaty (Tough, 1997; TRCM, 2019). This research finding of unceded land was mapped by the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba (TRCM). The TRCM 3a map (on left) highlights lands not under Treaty. To draw attention to the unceded areas, map 3a highlights the areas not under treaty in green without changing the TRCM map otherwise.

These unceded land areas contain some lithium deposits, according to Maps 3b, as indicated by pegamtite fields with greenstone showing up green as mafic-felsic metavolcanic rocks.

Lithium is in high demand for lithium-ion car batteries and batteries for computers, phones, etc. Lithium, like gold, is very valuable and has caused conflict over land uses and environmental impacts.

Map 3a (on left): Manitoba Geological map of lithium-bearing pegmatite fields. Source: https://www.manitoba.ca/iem/geo/lithium/index.html

Map 3b (on right): Map of Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba (TRCM) of the numbered treaties adapted to highlight unceded areas green. Source: http://www.trcm.ca

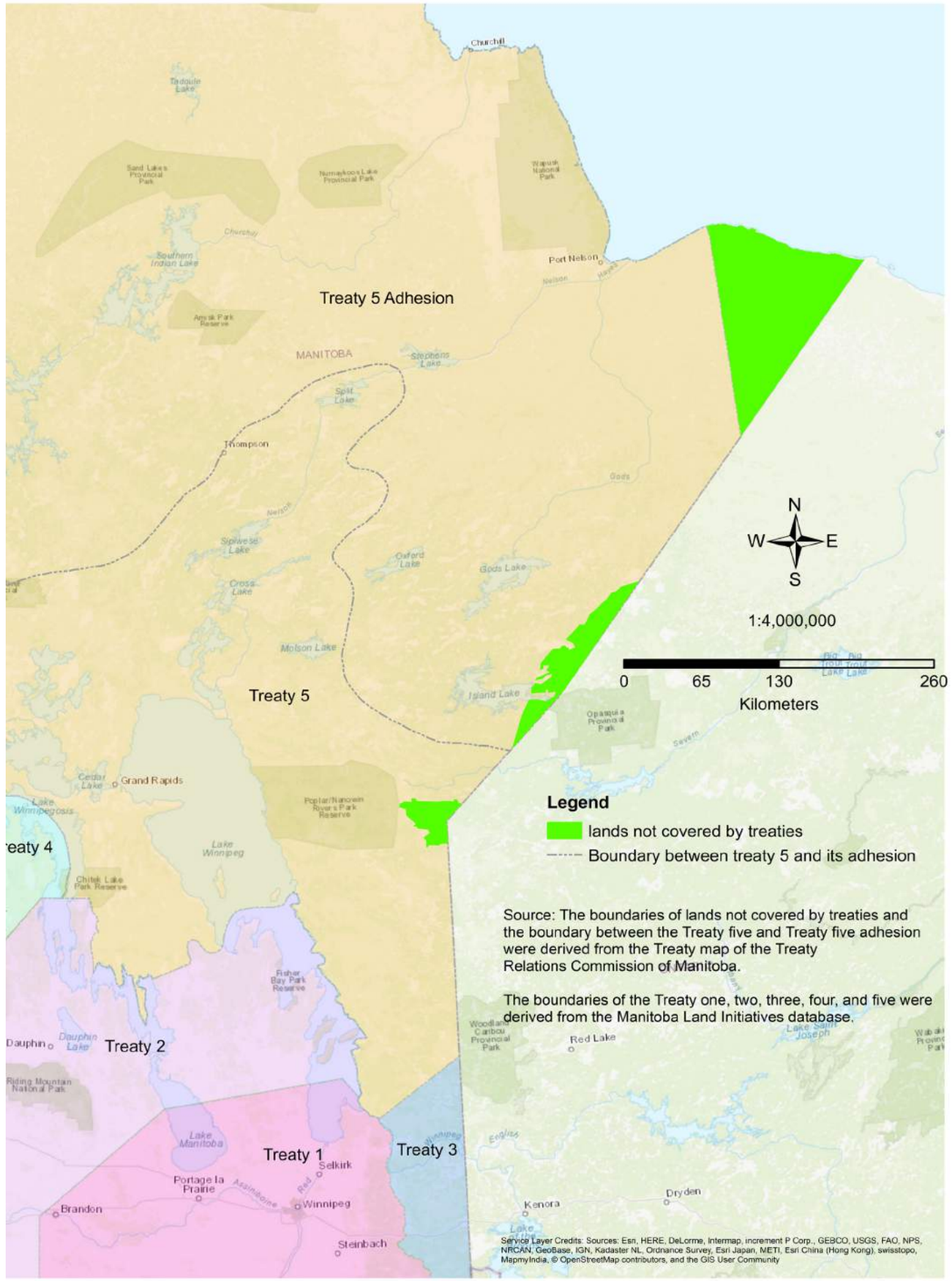
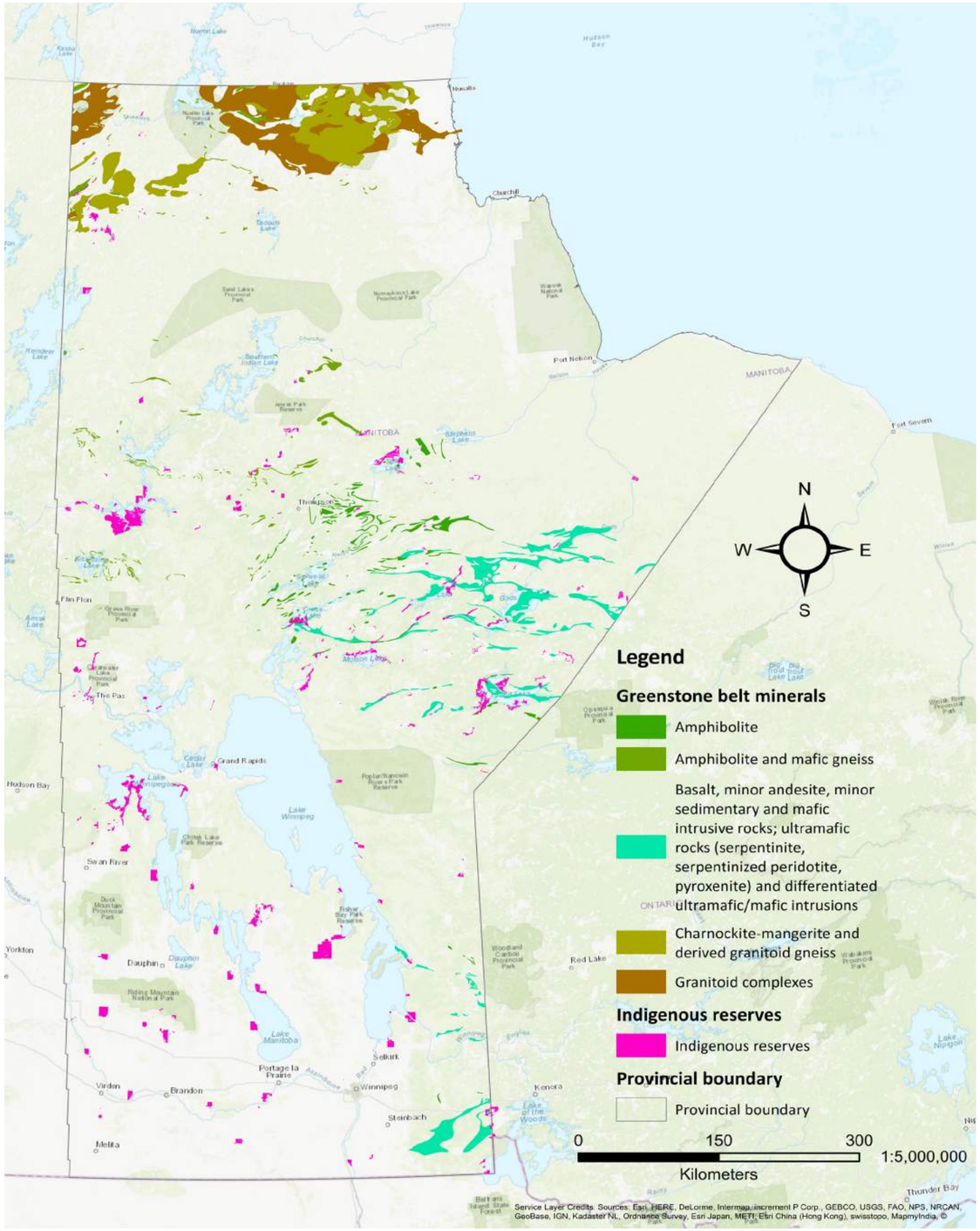


Photo: Family canoeing in the Island Lake region. Source: Manitoba Archives.



Map 3c: The greenstone belt minerals of Manitoba marked on this map identify areas of high potential for gold, precious metals and semi-precious metals. Data source: Manitoba Land Initiative.

Mining Impacts

Gold discoveries shifted the Island Lake reserve location from its original location at Old Post. This location story is according to Victor Harper, whose father was the last chief of the Island Lake Band in 1969. After the Treaty, the Anishiniwuk were told they had to move from their ancient gathering place to grassy areas. This emptying of Linklater Island, where Old Post is located, opened the area for gold mining and mineral exploration. Some mining occurred for a time there.

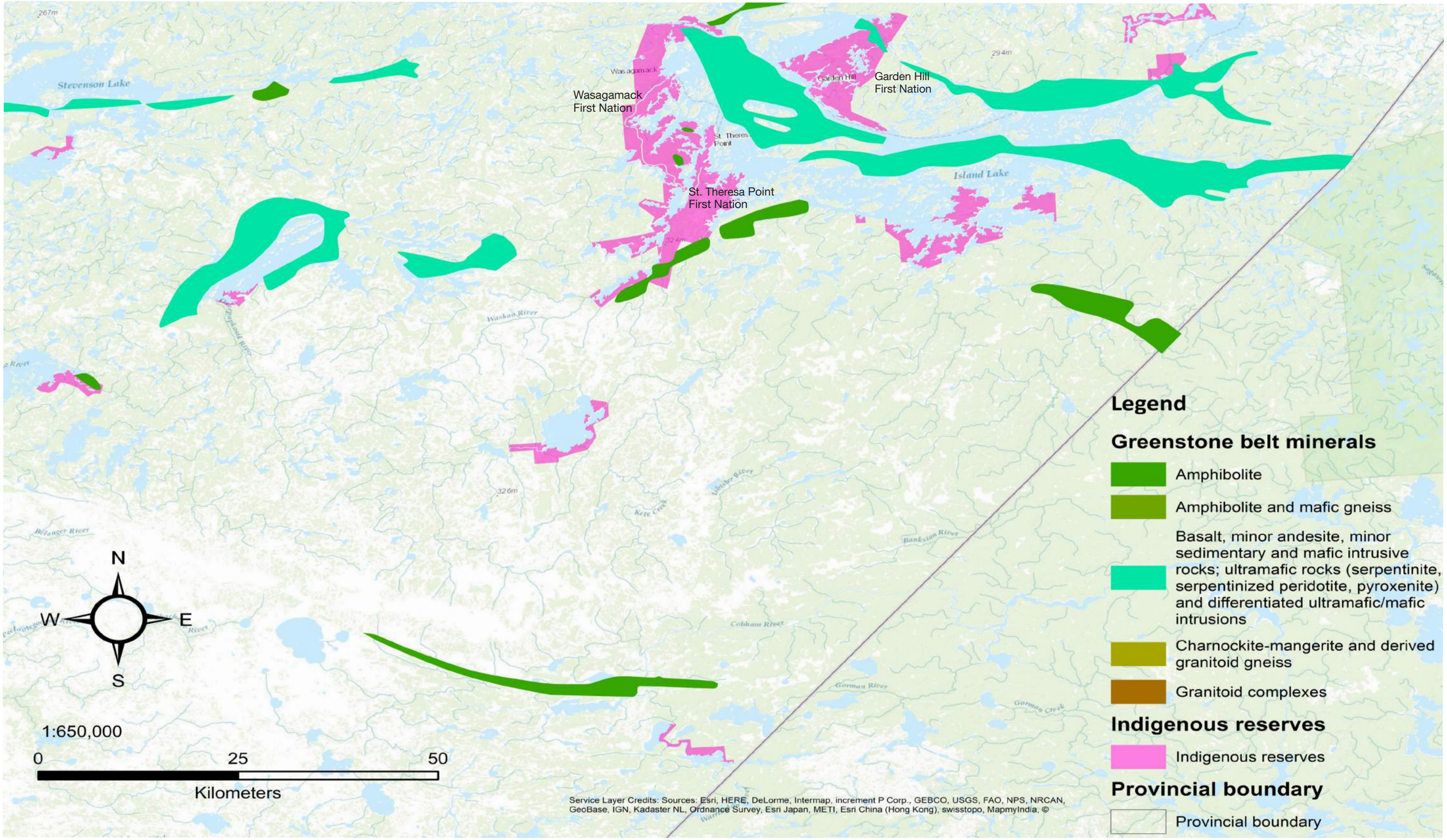
Much of the Island Lake region has rich potential for gold and precious metals. Island Lake contains many greenstone belts. Greenstone belts are a rock type that tends to contain gold, silver, copper, lithium and zinc. Abundant chlorite and actinolite chemicals make the rocks a green color, giving rise to the name greenstone belt and their colour green on a geological map. Thus, on these geological maps, the colour green, not gold, denotes areas rich in the precious and semi-precious metals, including gold. Archaean-age greenstone belts are of the highest economic interest due to their high potential for gold deposits. Island Lake and God's Lake are on Precambian Shield with many archaean-age greenstone belts.

These rocks are ancient, as the Archaean Eon began about 4 billion years ago at the formation of the Earth's crust. The rocks in Island Lake are the same age that life started on earth. At the time that the rocks of Island Lake formed, life on earth began in the Archaean period (4 billion to 2.5 billion years ago). This was when the crust of the Earth cooled enough that rocks and continental plates began to form. A greenstone belt is dominantly volcanic (e.g., shale, quartzite, sandstone and chert) and sedimentary rocks, forming together with granitoid and gneiss. These rocks are mostly found in the oceanic crust, and in island arcs. In this Archaean period, the ancient mountains and rocks in the Island Lake region witnessed the birth of life on this planet as only then was the planet cool enough to allow life. These grandfather rocks, like other plant and animal relations, are considered sacred by the Anishiniwuk, with much to teach.

The rich minerals in the Island Lake region led to a dispute over the provincial boundaries, as both Ontario and Manitoba wanted these greenstone belts. As a result, the proposed Manitoba-Ontario border was shifted 110 miles to the east. Thus, this mineral rich greenstone area fell into Manitoba against the Crown's initial direction to have this area fall in Ontario. This dispute over mining interests at the Monument Bay location resulted from *"considerable mining development…[in] close*, *proximity to the said boundary"* (Peters and Rorke, 1925, 9). Manitoba won that fight and the border shifted east to claim the greenstone belts at Monument Bay for Manitoba. Monument Bay is within the trapline area that makes up Red Sucker Lake First Nation's territory. The provincial border shift was very near to Red Sucker Lake First Nation at *"the eastern point of Island Lake between the twelfth base line and Hudson Bay"* (Peters and Rorke, 1925, 9) and *"from Island Lake to Hudson Bay….across the Laurentian Shield, a distance of about 110 miles"* (Ontario-Manitoba Bounary Commission, 1955, 6). Mining is the reason for the provincial borders bulge in this area, rather than following a straight line to James Bay. Although the Crown had dictated a straight line, mining interests bent the rules, changing provincial boundaries.

If mining interests had not shifted Manitoba's boundaries to include Monument Bay, this territory would be under control of its Indigenous people under the Ontario's Far North Act. The Far North Act prevents industry or government from imposing development on Indigenous traditional territory, recognizing that First Nations have the right to decide their territory's development. Thus, mining companies would not be permitted to extract the estimated one billion dollars of gold and other precious metals at Monument Bay, against the wishes of Red Sucker Lake First Nation and all the other Island Lake communities. In contrast, no moratorium on unwanted development occurred under the Manitoba's Wabanong Nakaygum Okmawin (WNO) planning process, known as the Broad Area Plan for the East-side of Lake Winnipeg. During the WNO process, there was no recognition of the 16 First Nation territories on the east-side of Lake Winnipeg by government curtailing new licenses for mining and industry. For Monument Bay, exploration licenses continued to be issued by the provincial government, against strong opposition by Red Sucker Lake (RSL) First Nation and the other Island Lake communities. The chief and council of Red Sucker Lake protested against this exploration by hand-delivering an eviction notice at the Monument Bay exploration site. Instead of charging the mining company, the provincial courts charged the First Nation with trespassing, against UNDRIP principles.

The First Nation's sacred role in keeping the land and water as the Creator made it, are up against Manitoba's interest in non-sustainable development. Yamana Gold Inc. continues to explore for gold at Monument Bay, with very limited or no economic benefit going to the Island Lake First Nations. For example, although Yamana Gold Inc. agreed to fund the Land Guardianship program with Red Sucker Lake, this First Nation had to raise $90,000 to be eligible to receive Yamana Gold's meagre contribution of $60,000, creating insurmountable barriers. The Manitoba government sanctions extracting non-renewable resources that maximize profits for a few shareholders at the large cost to the environment of changing the landscape forever and contaminating nearby water bodies. Mining provides short-term jobs, typically for non-First Nations people, until the mineral is mined out. As impact benefit agreements are not required in Manitoba, Red Sucker Lake, to date, receives little or no economic benefit, including few or nojobs. Impact benefit agreements should be required. Further, the decision-makers to approve or disapprove of exploration and mining development should be the Indigenous people of the area.



Map 3d: Island Lake region locations with high potential for precious and semi-precious metals

Infrastructure Poverty in Island Lake

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, diesel generators were put in place to deliver basic electricity to the Anishininew communities in Island Lake. This low amperage provided some limited energy but was insufficient to heat homes or pump water from a water treatment plant. Only in 1999, did the transmission line reach any Island Lake community to deliver higher-amp services for electricity. The cost to build this transmission line over hundreds of kilometres was high and paid for by taking from future infrastructure funding to the communities. This expenditure limited the built environment in Island Lake for decades. The other high cost to households is the electricity bill of $600 for each of the winter months to heat with baseboard heaters. This inefficient heating method is typical in these communities to comply with Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation funding, rules and insurance policies. Wood stoves are increasingly being demanded by residents to provide back-up heating and cooking during power outages, which happen regularly. In the home design workshop for the Mino Bimaadiziwin Homebuilders program, people clearly named wood stoves as mandatory for a culturally appropriate home in Island Lake.

Aerial photograph of Old Post, also known as Linklater Island, where Treaty was signed. Photo by: Kaoru Ryan Suzuki.

Unsafe Drinking Water

The lack of a safe drinking water plan for the Wasagamack reserve was a burgeoning health concern with increasing population density. The lack of running water and sewers in homes in Island Lake is described in a 2002 health study as "Third world conditions." In the 21st century, Wasagamack was: *"[a] northern community [that] follows a traditional lifestyle and has crowded housing, primitive toileting and lacks running water"* (Sinha et. al., 2002). This exposure to waterborne parasites and bacteria caused intestinal infections and other illnesses at significantly higher rates in Wasagamack. For example, 95% of those screened in Wasagamack, tested positive for *Helicobacter pylori* (*H. pylori*), which is a bacterial infection of the gastrointestinal tract transmitted through water. Some community members were as young as six weeks old (Sinha et. al., 2002). *H. pylori* can cause stomach infection, stomach cancer and stomach lymphoma. Also, Hepatitis A, which is a highly contagious liver infection, caused by the Hepatitis A virus (HAV), is a universal risk on First Nation reserves. Health impacts of unsafe drinking water routinely cited include acute gastritis that can cause stomach ulcers, dermatological conditions, birth defects, respiratory infections, neurological dysfunction, and death (Uemura et al., 2001; Jones et al., 2012; IAND, 2006; WHO, 2004). Safe drinking water is a critical determinant of health.

Metallic waste dumping site at Wasagamack First Nation. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

Piped drinking water was not available in Wasagamack until after 2009 due to Canada's underfunding of First Nation infrastructure. And then only a few houses in Wasagamack were added to the main water pipeline delivering treated water to the school and health centre. Inadequate funding to provide piped water throughout the community resulted in a less costly but less healthy approach of renovating homes to have water and sewage cisterns. A project with Island Lake Tribal Council installed 500 cisterns in Island Lake from 2009 to 2015. Water from cisterns suffer from both water quality issues, with high rates of bacterial contamination (Lebel & Reed, 2010; IAND, 2006) and water quantity issues. Regarding quality, damage to the cistern collars, lids, fill ports, or screened vents risk contaminating the water and allowing rodents entry. Frost or settling can crack the cistern causing contaminated groundwater and soil. Regarding quantity, the cisterns provide a limited quantity of water to the home and many people report running out of water before the next water truck delivery (Harper & Thompson, 2017). More than 15% of houses continue to use buckets for water and sewage due to damaged cisterns or pipes (Harper & Thompson, 2017), placing hundreds of people at high risk to bacterial infection.

Overcrowded Housing

On the Wasagamack reserve, homes are overcrowded with 1,403 people residing in 285 houses (Statistics Canada, 2016). These homes are small but often house large, extended families due to the lack of financing to build new homes on the reserve. The average household size at 4.9 people is double the national average of 2.4 (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Thumbnail of the video "The Wasagamack Housing Crisis" on YouTube (https://youtu.be/bgySkmyho1U).

RECONCILIATION IN ACTION

Steps Towards Mino Bimaadiziwin

This section highlights all the positive anti-colonial steps people are taking towards Mino Bimaadiziwin. Different education programs are building capacity with community-based education including home building, Indigenous knowledge systems, land-based education (Nopimink), and Anishiniwuk history, through Treaty day reenactments, for example.

Mino Bimaadiziwin Homebuilders: Building Homes, Building Capacity

Wasagamack First Nation is finding solutions to the housing crisis by using local resources and local labour to build homes through the employment training department and a local sawmill and housing corporation, called Mitik 299 Corp. Wasagamack's housing challenges originate from building materials being difficult to transport on winter ice roads and permafrost causing foundations to shift and walls to crack (SCAP, 2015). However, the biggest problem is the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) policy to not provide mortgages for First Nations that are in third party. This meant that no new house was built in Wasagamack for ten years until 2017. Wasagamack's high population growth, without any funding or financing to build new housing, resulted in severe overcrowding. First Nations lack other options to CMHC to finance homebuilding as no banks nor any other financial institution offer housing mortgages to First Nations or people building houses on reserves. A chief in Island Lake called the Island Lake housing situation a "ticking time bomb" with 1500 houses on the waiting list for the cluster of four Island Lake reserves. The Chief documented 23 people living in a two-bedroom home where "they had to take turns sleeping" (Puxley, 2016).

Wasagamack with the Mino Bimaadiziwin partnership is trying to solve the housing crisis by building youth capacity and using local lumber for homes. Wasagamack made a sizable investment in a labour force of more than 20 workers starting in October 2018 by offering a two year course to train Wasagamack workers to build houses. This

Mino Bimaadiziwin Homebuilders post-secondary education program covers every part of the housing/logging operation from logging, maintaining small motors, chainsaw safety, forestry, sawmilling, carpentry, plumbing, and house building. The students learned a lot over two years and had great success. 20 students graduated from the logging and forestry 12 month program in 2018-2019 and another 19 graduated from a 10 month program in homebuilding in 2019-2020. The students wanted to finish the house but unfortunately, the community's housing materials all burned in 2019 were not replaced before the program ended due to COVID-19 in 2020.

Great success was had by some Homebuilder students who learned proposal writing with Dr. Thompson. Two Homebuilder students who were both 17 years old, at the time, won third at the Dragon's Den against all of other communities in Manitoba. Two Homebuilder students -- Roxanne Harper and Trenton Harper -- won $550,000 for Wasagamack to renovate their decommissioned school into a community kitchen & restaurant.

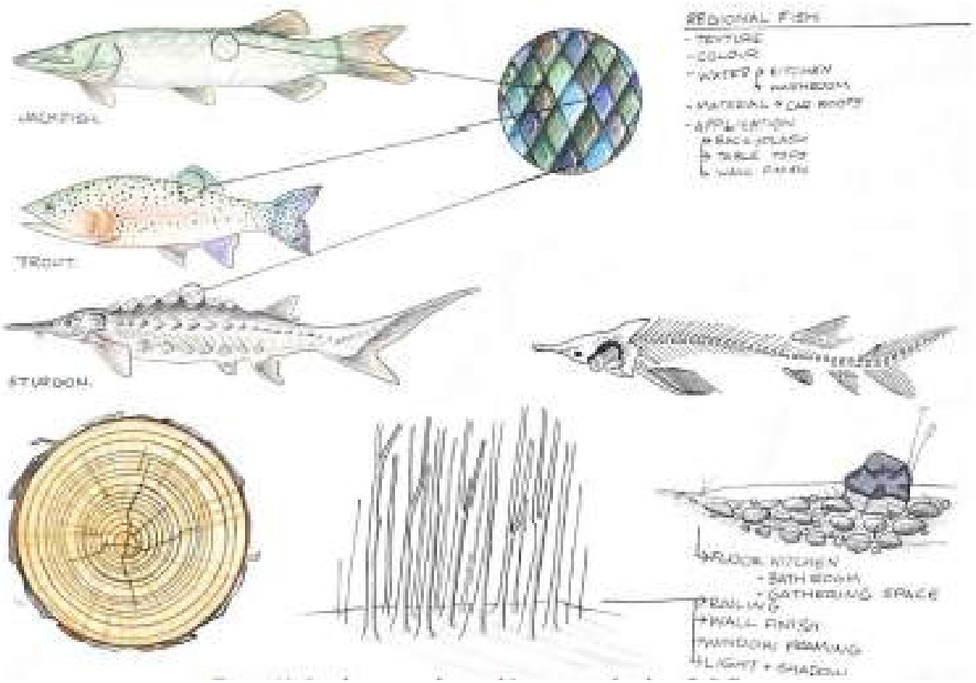
Also, Mitik 299 Corp was formed in 2019 to expand and diversify the existing sawmill operation into a housing construction business with employment training. A small sawmill had been operating in the community for years, but needed to scale up. A community social-enterprise business plan was developed to use local wood, labour, and designs

Photos show the participation of youth from Wasagamack in the Mino Bimaadiziwin Homebuilders Program: (a) students practicing logging for their chainsaw safety course, (b) Learning to sawmill the logs (c) students working on a roof with their roof safety harnesses on. Photos by: Shirley Thompson and Rezwanul Hoque.

to build sustainable housing with the Mino Bimaadiziwin partnership assisting. Mitik resolves to build durable, sustainable First Nation housing, using local wood resources and local designs, as well as employ local labour. As much as 60 to 70% by volume of house materials can be local wood including: siding, paneling, flooring, structure and insulation. With timber permits to harvest the forest outside of the Wasagamack reserve, Mitik will eventually replace the wood products from being shipped up on winter roads to keep the money in the community. Mitik offers both community development and culturally appropriate, sustainable homes. Mitik 299 Corp is Wasagamack's response to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), which states: *"Injection of capital and the integration of housing objectives with other social and economic activities in Aboriginal communities will create a synergistic effect, making housing a source of community healing and economic renewal"* (RCAP, 1996c, p. 341).

Youth Homebuilder Education Making a Difference

Issues	Actions	Impacts
- Housing crisis - Economic poverty -Gangs -Few services (no food store, no bank, no youth centre, few jobs) - Drugs & alcohol addiction - Language retention with most people speaking Anishinimowin - Indigenous knowledge systems - Pristine traditional territory - Cultural wealth - Social cohesion - Good governance	- Community-led housing education - Employing youth in housing training - Partnerships on design and training - Forming MITIK 299 Corps with business plan - Many funding proposals (education, building, etc.)	- Reconciliation - Mino Bimaadiziwin - Hope - Trade - Education options - Education success - Higher employment rates - Local business opportunities - Community development - Healthier homes - Fewer overcrowded homes - Better homes (better repair) - Language retention, traditional knowledge, culture and less gangs, less drug use/addictions

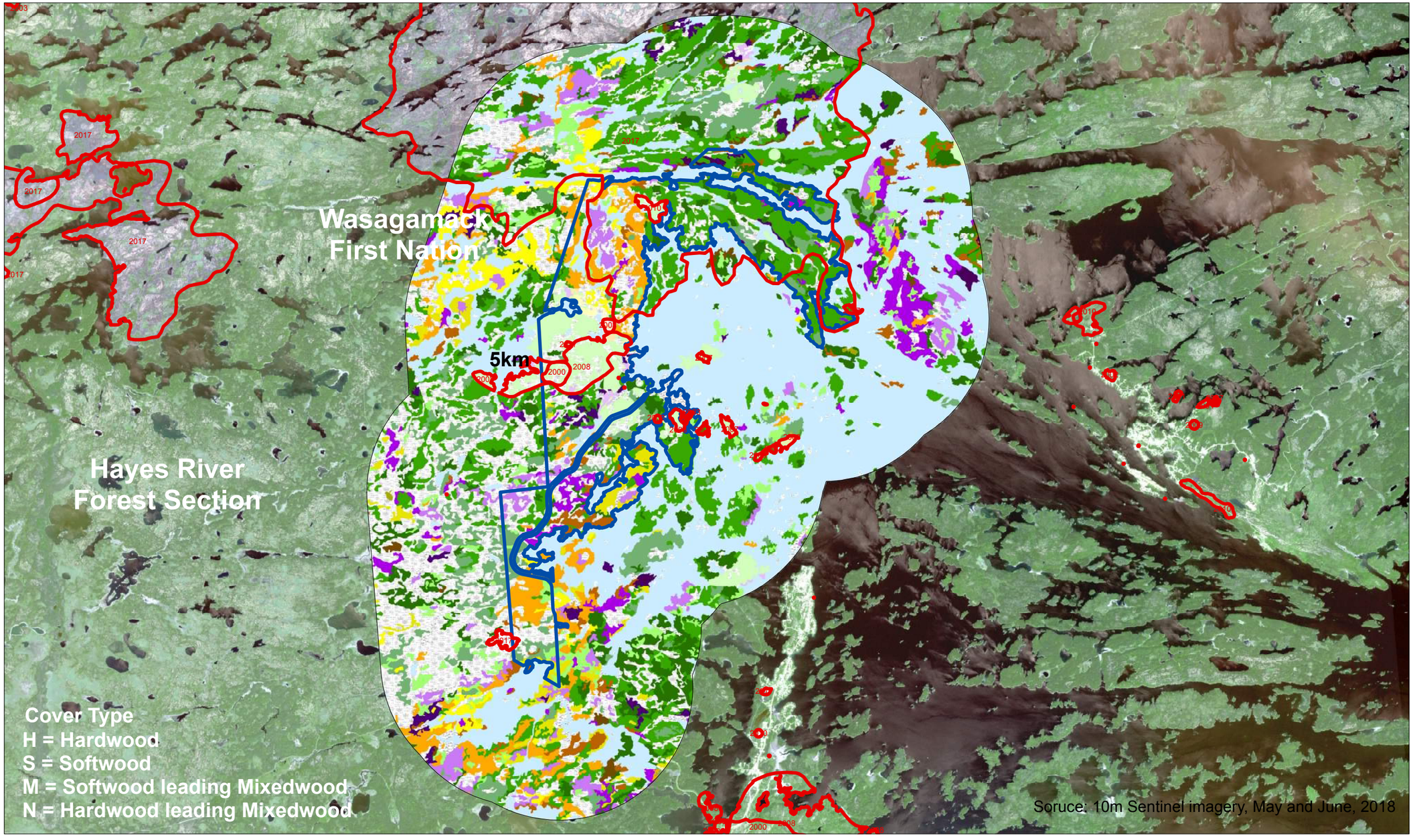


Land, Water and Animal Inspiration drawings by Selanese, 2020.

Envisioning Wasagamack interior home designs with local materials. Source: Selanese, 2020.

As well as the outside of the Mitik homes being built with local materials, labour and community designs, the interior of homes are being designed with these elements in mind. Selanese worked with the Mino Bimaadiziwin homebuilders to complete the engineer stamped blueprint for the home. Selanese also helped by capturing a Wasagamack interior design aesthetic using local materials. Selanese wrote about the organic inspiration for the designs:

"The colour and pattern of fish scales is a source of inspiration for some of the interior finishes that is seen in the final design. Local fish including jackfish, trout and sturgeon were looked at for colour and shape. In addition to fish, tree rings, the woods and river, rocks are a feature of the land that are undoubtedly beautiful and therefore were considered during the selection of materiality and colour palette" (Selanese, 2020: p. 50).



Map 4: Forestry map (forestry cover type and 2016 age class) of Wasagamack First Nation buffered at 5km radius. Source: Manitoba Conservation.

NOPIMINK

Reclaiming Mino Bimaadiziwin

The community is reclaiming Mino Bimaadiziwin through education and land use planning. In 1987, two school teachers, Victor and Emma Harper, started to reclaim education in Island Lake by coordinating a land-based education program, called nopimink. Nopimink means “on the land education” in Anishinimowin. Families were invited to partake as were local Island Lake teachers in living on the land with Elders. The Elders led families and teachers in ceremony, hunting, fishing and engaging in other traditional land uses.

Nopimink is both practical and spiritual training in which students learn to “be out in the bush where there are no people, where one must learn to live in harmony with the environment in order to survive. This is as much a learning of values as it is a learning of skills” (Harper, V. and Harper, E, 2000, 10). Nopimink education was a holistic education about Mino Bimaadiziwin, living with Elders and families on the land.

Community gathering on ancestral land of Wasagamack First Nation. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

An account written by Emma and Victor Harper explains the holistic nature of community-led education that is land-based: *“It is their [Elders] belief that a community-controlled education system can offer children and adults learning from the land and from the school, and that both kinds of learning are necessary for a full education”* (Harper, V. and Harper, E., 2004). Elders support this land-based learning.

Families and children spent time on aki with knowledgeable Elders. This provided many opportunities to observe and engage in fishing, hunting, gathering medicines and building shelters to learn about their cultural, language, spirituality and “being Indigenous” (Cajete, 2000; Wilson, 2002). Elders, land, and animals teach at both the conscious and subconscious level about the world and humans’ role within it (Cajete, 2000). Teaching at this level provides a more meaningful education and, often, a profound spiritual connection.

Strengthening personal cultural identity is vital to Mino Bimaadiziwin and this is cultivated by holistic learning as occurs at nopimink. This education actively involves land-based, cultural practices, which have always been the foundation of self-determination among the Anishiniwuk.

A school was built from logs on Stevenson River called the Allen Wood School (in the name of the former Island Lake band chief in the 1920s). Nopimink at Allen Wood School was offered as an education course to teachers from the government school in Wasagamack, called the George Knott School, as well as to workers in other organizations (e.g., health, Child and Family Services (CFS), etc.). The organizers, Emma and Victor Harper, were residential school survivors and chose not to call themselves Elders. They reserved that title for people that learned from Elders and the land, in the Anishinimowin language.

The 12 Elders had ancestral teachings that were not impacted by residential school, nor any colonial day school. The Elders provided their knowledge at Elder gatherings each summer on different traplines and at an Elders’ gathering in the winter at the Wasagamack community hall each year.

Nopimink education was considered a healing and prevention program for drug, alcohol and substance abuse. As well, Nopimink provided an effective way to teach parenting skills when children were at risk of being taken away by Child and Family Services (CFS).

This education became a regional concept involving St. Theresa Point, Wasagamack, Red Sucker Lake and Garden Hill First Nations. Satellite radios shared their learning and stories at camp with other camps and all the Island Lake communities. Nopimink is based on the central concept that traditional learning with Elders should be the foundation of contemporary academic learning, as expressed in the Island Lake First Nation’s Education Mission Statement:

“Education is the preparation and adaption for a meaningful life in a changing world. In Island Lake, education must be rooted in the traditions and culture of the Native people. This means it must teach respect and encompass our language, our history, our land and all our resources, including Elders and nature. It must be holistic and realistic in that it relates not only to academic development but to our spiritual, emotional, psychological and physical growth.

Education must address, not only the needs of our young people, but it must be beneficial to the needs of our adults, our Elders and most of all our generations yet unborn…. To ensure the future ideal education, the direction must come from within our communities. This can only be achieved through commitment, flexibility of thinking, cooperation, energy, trust and responsibility” (Harper, V. and Harper, E., 2004).

Many different people were educated in Nopimink including local Island Lake teachers and teacher’s aides. These educators were training through the Brandon University Native Teacher Education

Wasagamack youth camping out in their traditional territory to learn from their land and Elders. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

Program (BUNTEP). BUNTEP was a very successful community-based teacher training program that allowed Wasagamack people to earn a university teaching degree in their territory. A fully accredited Brandon University course called Nopimink for teachers was offered in partnership with the Elders and community leaders in Island Lake, with so many experiential opportunities: *"The class traveled by boat using the old freight route between Island Lake and Norway House. They shot and butchered a moose…They set nets and preserved fish. They learned to play traditional camp games"* (Harper & Harper, 2000).

At the camp in Stevenson River, students learned about all aspects of the Indigenous food system: *"[Students] shot and butchered a moose… during the course students were introduced to herbal medicines, rabbit snaring, traditional values and traditional teaching ways. …They set nets and preserved fish"* (Harper & Harper, 2000, 12).

The Elder Martin Wood, talked about the importance of Elders sharing their knowledge for Anishiniwuk to learn about their own education system: *"I am very glad to hear Elders tell me that this was good planning in seeking the academics of the traditional education system… It is hoped that while the student is in school, he will be given a chance to learn about his own education system… There are many teachings in this area that were left by the Elders. It is only right that we have to do something to continue since those teachings have been dormant too long"* (Wood cited in Harper & Harper, 2000, 11).

Many of these Elders are dying but their knowledge is being shared, according to Charlie Harper: *"The Elders of the past are in heaven but their footsteps are still on earth"* (Harper, C. cited in Harper & Harper, 2000, 12). Although Elders' workshops in Wasagamack continue each year, sadly the government closed the doors on BUNTEP in 2012. Since BUNTEP, there has been no funding or certification of teachers in Wasagamack. Elders told their stories in Anishinimowin with youth and community members attending from all over the Island Lake region. Some Nopimink teachings were imparted at bicultural events. For example, in the winter of 1991 and 1992, the George Knott School undertook an exchange with the Victor Wyatt School in Winnipeg. As part of the week long exchange in Wasagamack, students overnighted at the Allan Woods school for Nopimink. CBC filmed the trapping, snowshoeing, and ice fishing activities of the students during the 1992 trip. Also, Elders met around documenting place names in Island Lake.

Despite the underfunding of First Nation schools, Wasagamack was resilient, finding ways to fund their Nopimink program. Unfortunately, on-reserve education suffers from underfunding, which results in a shortage of material and equipment, and inadequate curriculum (Anderson & Richards, 2016; Harper & Thompson, 2017; Macdonald & Wilson, 2013). The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) found that, *"First Nations schools are funded under an outdated Band Operated Funding Formula (BOFF), which does not include essential education components such as technology, First Nations language immersion, sports and recreation, student data management systems or libraries"* (2012, p. 2). In 2012, the federal government provided nearly double the funding for a First Nation student *"attending provincial or private schools than to those attending First Nations schools"* (p. 1). British Columbia spends $2,029/student and Quebec spends $5,953/student more than First Nation students receive for instructional services (Olsen Harper & Thompson, 2017).

Wasagamack students must leave their community for senior secondary levels as well as post-secondary education until recently. Students had to adjust to culture shock, loneliness and poverty. Nopimink and the Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership offered an alternative, providing the best practices of Indigenous education: 1) working with/in the community; 2) learner-centered, holistic approaches; 3) Indigenous learning principles, 4) workplace experience, and, 5) community control (CCDF, 2014).

Thumbnail of video "High School - Then What? Education in Wasagamack" on YouTube (https://youtu.be/SC0NswCF4BE).

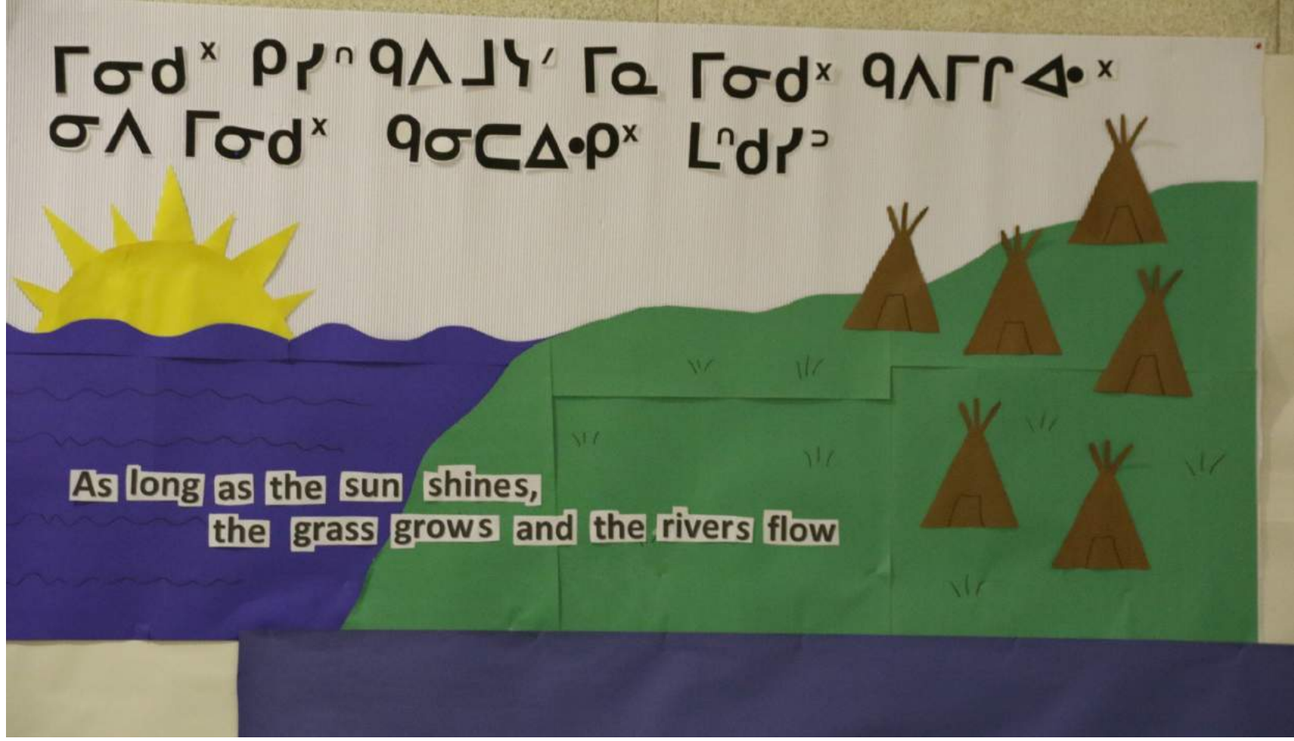
REMEMBERING HISTORY

Treaty Re-enactment Days

Each year all the school children in Wasagamack participate in a re-enactment of the Treaty 5 adhesion event at George Knott School. These children dress like their ancestors did in 1909 during this life-changing event of Treaty. This role-play by children is considered a solemn occasion to commemorate a peaceful agreement that promised sharing, as opposed to ceding, their territories.

Children play their parts well. Children take on the roles of chief and councilors, Elders and other Island Lake Anishiniwuk. The children pretend to camp out in tents at Old Post in this re-enactment. As well, children dress up and play the roles of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), government representatives for the Crown, nurses and chief. The nurses test for tuberculosis (TB) with X-ray machines, as TB was rampant at that time.

The children hear singing, drumming and speeches. Then, the children line up to get their Treaty payment of $5 in fake money. This “Treaty payment” is traded for two pieces of fruit, flour and salt. This bag of goods provides more than the $5 could buy today at the Northern Store on the nearby Island. In fact, this cash will only pay the boat fare of $5 required to reach the store located on an island, which leaves no money to buy goods when you get there. In Treaty times, the Treaty payment would have bought a year’s supply of flour, sugar and possibly a rifle with ammunition. However, the Canadian government decided not to consider inflation in this Treaty payment. As a result, the Treaty payment is no longer relevant or appropriate to honour the Treaty that was signed. So this re-enactment has a subtle, bittersweet message that questions the integrity of the Crown.



Treaty Reenactment Days at Wasagamack First Nation. Photos by: Shirley Thompson.

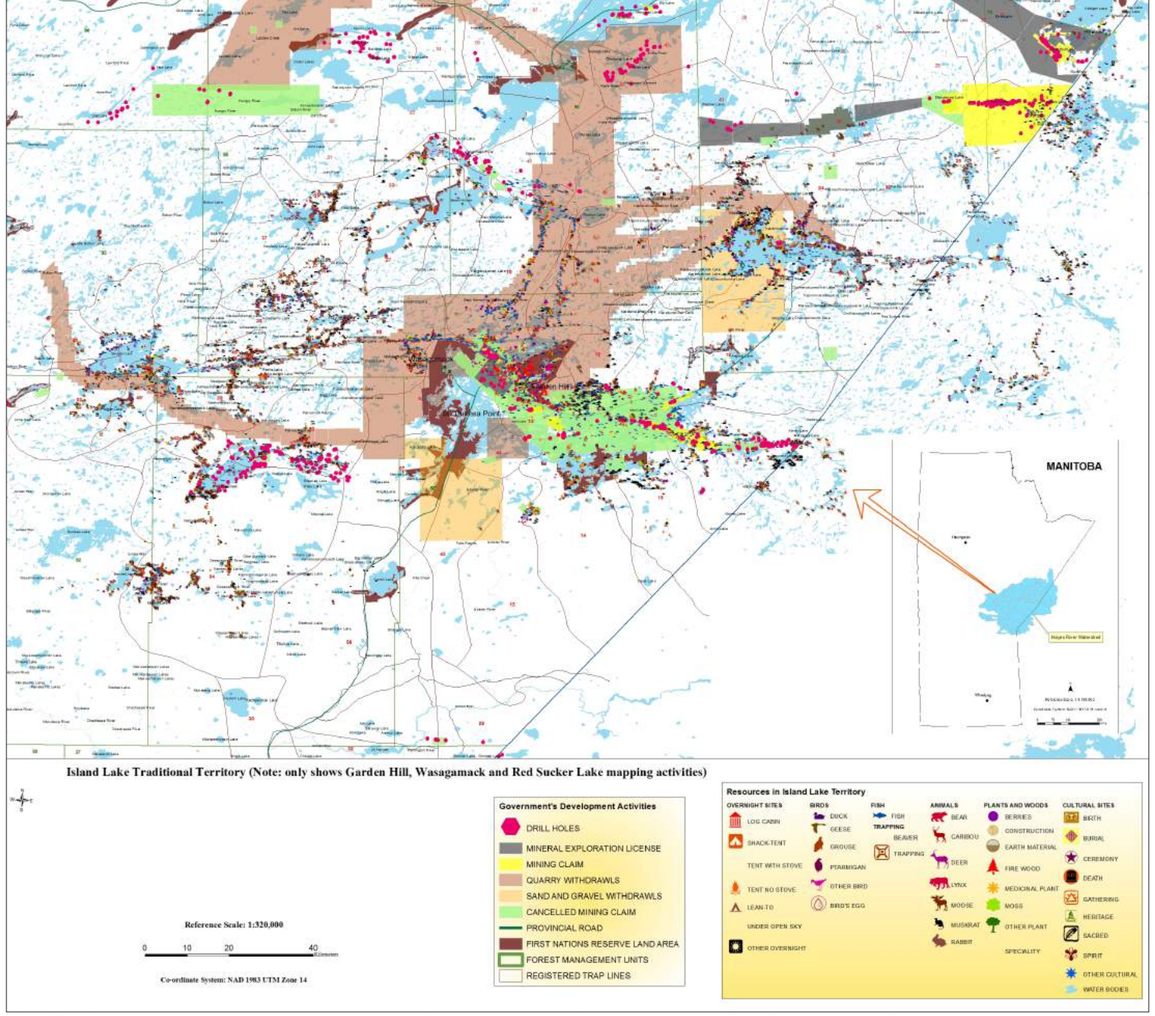
OPPOSING MINING ON WASAGAMACK'S ANCESTRAL LAND

Reclaiming Mino Bimaadiziwin

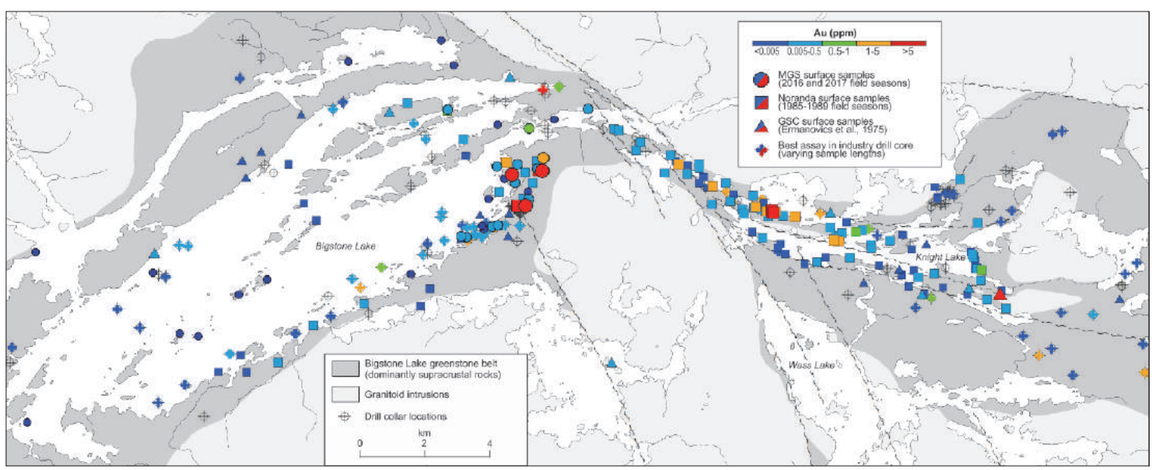
Wasagamack community members and Chief and Council repetitively spoke against industrial mining development (exploration, mining claims, drilling, etc.) by outsiders. This land is sacred to the Anishiniwuk and has some of the oldest mountains in the world. Formed by volcanoes, these mountains were worn down by time and glaciers to become smooth rocks. The people of this area even call themselves Baskwinaksi'ininwak, which translates literally to Smooth Rock people, according to Victor Harper. The people see themselves in the rocks and talk about the little rock people.

Oppositely, the provincial government sees only mining interests in this land. Mining was legislated to be the only acceptable use of greenstone areas, which are abundant in Island Lake (Manitoba Government, 2011). The Land Use Planning Act Regulation 81/2011 was passed without First Nation consultation, stating: "the best and only use" of greenstone belts is mining and that *"Greenstone belts…must be identified and protected from conflicting surface land uses that could interfere with access to the resources"* (Manitoba Government, 2011, 38). Clearly the government did not meet the standard of consultation expected by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Manitoba's Land Use Planning Act Regulation 81/2011 was an act of bad faith by the Province. Particularly egregious is that First Nations were engaged with the Province in the WNO planning initiative at the same time for First Nations to decide land use development for their territory (Manitoba Government, 2016). The duty to consult First Nations and accommodate their concerns in the constitution was forsaken. Only in 2017, when looking into how to protect the entirety of Island Lake territory, Island Lake Tribal Council with Dr. Thompson were told that Regulation 81/2011 made that impossible due to the many greenstone belts in this area.



Map 5a: Traditional land use and occupancy of Wasagamack, Garden Hill, and Red Sucker Lake First Nations and the current mining activities in Island Lake region. Source: Community members for land use, and the Manitoba Government for mining activities. Map by: Shirley Thompson, Rezaur Rahman, Victor Harper and Norah Whiteway.



Map 5b: Gold exploration and occurrence in Bigstone Lake by Manitoba Government. Source: Manitoba Government.

The provincial mining designations conflict with traditional land uses for greenstone belts near Bigstone Lake, Asikus Creek, Oseepapkosik River, Knight Lake, Wass River, and Clam Lake; and designated quarry withdrawal near Stevenson Lake, Pelican Lake, Maseenapeekeenekin Lake, Wapaskekank Lake, Raven Lake, Kokookoho Lake, Pakwach Lake, Dobbs Lake, Kakinokamak Lake, Aneemus Lake, Mainland River, and Stone Lake. Wasagamack community members identified these areas as priority areas for protection against mining and other external development threats.

The Government of Manitoba (2011) claims jurisdictional authority over resources in Wasagamack's ancestral land, which is beyond the reserve, with entitlement to control all greenstone belts for mining. The province, after recently identifying gold veins at Bigstone and Knight Lakes in Wasagamack's territory, began marketing these gold veins as free for claiming at mining conferences, without informing the First Nation of the gold find (Corfu & Lin, 2011; Rinne, 2017). This predatory action was taken despite Wasagamack protesting the government's geological research, and without Wasagamack consenting to any other development than traditional land uses.

Prioritizing the protection of ancestral land, Wasagamack took another approach, bringing in a speaker to Wasagamack from Pimachiowin Aki, the first Canadian mixed cultural and natural World Heritage Site for the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2018). This UNESCO status for Pimachiowin Aki protects a boreal forest ecosystem of 2,904,000 hectares from industrial development with the four Indigenous communities in the territory. However, the Pimachiowin Aki area does not have mineral rich greenstone belts, so the Regulation 81/2011 does not apply there but does in the Island Lake region (Rinne, 2017). Without that conservation option, an alternative strategy is being worked on for the community itself to stake the mining claim that would ensure strict cultural and environmental protocols. The Island Lake Tribal Council recently started Island Lake Mineral Exploration Company, jointly with Wolfden Resources Corporation, as a way to claim the mining rights of their territory and protect their lands from outside investment.

WASAGAMACK'S VISION

Mino Bimaadiziwin in the Future

All the Wasagamack community members interviewed agreed that destructive industrial development, which has been unleashed everywhere in the world, is not wanted in their ancestral land. Instead, the Anishiniwuk want their ancestral land protected and stewarded as the Creator taught them to do. Aki is seen as perfect the way the Creator made it. Old growth forest, pristine lakes and Indigenous undisturbed land may no longer be possible for most areas in the world, but it is in Island Lake. With minimal settlers and industrial development to date in the Wasagamack's ancestral land and Hayes watershed, the land beyond the reserve is still as the Creator made it.

Wasagamack Anishiniwuk believe keeping the land as the Creator made it will result in more prosperity. The community vision for overcoming colonial imposed poverty and underdevelopment to achieve Mino Bimaadiziwin is through local community development rather than industrial development.

The focus for planning and development from a community perspective was on healing and building the capacity of the people and community.

Wasagamack Anishiniwuk felt reconciliation and renewal was required after the assault their members suffered from residential school and other colonial policies. The community priorities are: adequate healthy housing, food sovereignty, post-secondary education opportunities in their community through a community college/university and land-based education. As well, infrastructure, including an airport nearby the community and healthy housing, is needed. According to community members, Aki that has ecological integrity provides the perfect teacher and the healing environment needed.

Towards a community-led post-secondary education at Wasagamack, the Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership developed with Wasagamack a two year program in Homebuilding with local lumber. A number of these Homebuilder graduates will hopefully continue in an apprenticeship program with Mitik-200, the housing and sawmill company. Possibly in the future some students can take the Indigenous Food Systems certificate program occurring at the University of Manitoba and Brokenhead Ojibway Nation. Also, a community food access centre is being considered with some designs developed for George Knott School, possibly including a restaurant, farm, country foods program, grocery co-op and community kitchen. Four Arrows Health Authority with Island Lake Tribal Council, with Elders, community health staff and the Partnership hope to bring back Indigenous food systems, Indigenous food sovereignty and food security through applied practice in Wasagamack.

Victor, shortly before he died in 2018, shared a secret kept since 1967. This secret was about a ceremony hidden in their territory that when found would heal his people. Victor pointed at a location on a Wasagamack territorial map and said:

"The federal government was abolishing all the ceremonies and rights of native people. So, the people of Kalliecahoolie Lake, Bolton Lake and this area [referring to a particular land area in their territory] decided to hide a ceremony. The ceremonies are hidden here somewhere. Somewhere, we don't know where. It's a small lake and when you go to that lake you will hear a humming sound. The reason that it is humming is that the ancestral people fixed the rocks so the wind goes through the rocks. Over there, somewhere hidden, is something that is part of our culture, something that is part of the culture. Our people are changing. We are leaving our old ways. But if we find that place, we find our culture and our way of life. Not to say we will live the way they did. But spiritually we can live like them and lead a good life. And that is why we want to go there".

Victor's message was that in the land there is healing, culture, spirit and Mino Bimaadiziwin. Despite the economic poverty and lack of infrastructure, Wasagamack people do not want industrial development to desecrate their land, thereby reducing biodiversity and interfering with traditional land uses. Their land is sacred. The community researcher, Johnathan Harper, summarized the 49 map biographies and his interview research regarding future development of Wasagamack by saying: *"The land is perfect the way it is. People do not want to see any industrial development, only community development in their territory."*

a

b

Children of Wasagamack First Nation participating in a graduating ceremony organized in the community. (a) boys dressed up, and (b) girls dressed up. Photos by: Kaoru Ryan Suzuki.

MAPPING WITH WASAGAMACK ANISHINIWUK

Some community members with their maps.

Photos by: Norah Whiteway.



















MAPPING WITH WASAGAMACK

Community Led Mapping

Mapping traditional uses of Indigenous lands generated abundant evidence of Anishiniwuks' ongoing connection to their vast territory. Wasagamack Anishiniwuk have been using their ancestral land to fulfill their food, shelter, and cultural needs for many generations. Map 6 and maps 8 to 15 show that community members harvest beaver, duck, geese, moose, muskrat, fish and other animals as well as berries and medicines amongst many sacred and cultural sites. Map 7 is a summary map of land use in Anishinimowin. Although these maps are stagnant, the lands are alive with human activity and the resources change over time (Joly et al., 2018).

Although the maps show distinct harvest sites, all Wasagamack's entire ancestral land is considered sacred, not only the individual harvest sites. Past Chief of Wasagamack, Sharon Mason, describes how their ancestors are an integral part of the land: *"We have got our people buried all over our traditional territory. And their DNA becomes part of the land….We weren't just in one spot until we were put on that one spot [the reserve]"* (Mason in Thompson, Harper & Klatt, 2017).

Mapping Traditional Land Use with Wasagamack: The Method

This study started with a request in 2011 by Wasagamack's Chief and Council to Dr. Thompson to assist in documenting and obtaining funding for a traditional land use and occupancy study. In response, Dr. Thompson, with Wasagamack and the other Island Lake communities, applied successfully for funds for the Mino Bimaadiziwin Land use Project. Funding was obtained both through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and Wabanong Nakaygum Okimawin (WNO), which means east-side planning, to employ community coordinators and fund student research on traditional land use. Eight key informants from Wasagamack (chiefs, councilors, Elders, researchers) consented to share their interviews about land use planning on video and attribute their names. This participatory research (mapping, videos, workshops, etc.) had University of Manitoba's Dr. Thompson, Keshab Thapa, Jerome Harper, and Veronica Wojtuszewska working alongside Wasagamack First Nation community coordinators to assist with their traditional land use and occupancy documentation.

Wasagamack youth witnessing a mapping activity at Old Post with Victor Harper. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

Regarding the mapping of their traditional land uses, the method was developed by seven Island Lake community coordinators with Dr. Thompson and Terry Tobias during a 60-hour workshop (Kamal & Thompson, 2014; Thompson, Rony, Temmer, & Wood, 2014). The first step of the method was to determine the survey and approach. The questions and approach were agreed to by representatives from each Island Lake community during the 60-hour workshop at the University of Manitoba in 2013. This method provides the highest standard of evidence in court for First Nations to reclaim their ancestral territory (Thompson et al., 2014; Tobias 2000; Tobias 2009). The Island Lake Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Survey Data Collection Manual (Kamal & Thompson, 2014; Thompson, 2013; Thompson et al., 2014) documents the rigorous and comprehensive protocol. This research followed the Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP) principles, which is First Nations research ethics, and Wasagamack's research protocols, to ensure Wasagamack First Nation owns, controls, gains access, and possesses the data, providing opportunities for community members to build Wasagamack's capacity (Wilson, 2008). As well, all interviewees signed the

Wasagamack's Johnathon Harper Mapping the Map Biography of an Elder at a trapline gathering at Stevenson Lake organized by Victor Harper. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

University of Manitoba's ethical protocol consent form. The Wasagamack land use coordinators, Johnathon and Victor Harper, undertook traditional land use map biographies with 49 active harvesters typically in Anishinimowin. Many of the Elders spoke only Anishinimowin, but both land use coordinators were fluent in Anishinimowin. Harvesters pointed out their land uses and marked them on maps of their traditional territories. The interviews required half an hour to a few hours, depending on the amount of knowledge the harvester was willing to share.

Although these maps provide the most data available for land use in Wasagamack territory, the number of people interviewed were very limited. With only 49 map biographies undertaken by Johnathan Harper, the maps show only a small sample of the activity on the land that occurs. The land use coordinators asked the 67 questions written in the manual and conducted interviews according to the ethical protocol (Kamal & Thompson, 2014; Thompson et al., 2014). The 49 people interviewed included harvesters in each of the seven Wasagamack traplines, which cover all the major lakes in their ancestral territory to ensure this sample was geographically representative. The ages of the 57 interviewees (harvesters and experts) were between 25 and 80 years old. All but five were men, which is partly because of gender bias of the community, which consider trappers, fishers, and hunters to be the role of men. Women engage in harvesting activities too but generally over a smaller area, typically playing a more significant role in food storage and preparation. Harvesters recorded their successful harvests from hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering for family sustenance on hard copies of maps at the 1:50,000 scale and signed written consent forms to share their data sites and information anonymously, according to the ethical protocol. The interview process took half an hour to a few hours.

The harvesting sites from each map biography were digitized into the geographical information system (GIS), ArcGIS 10. Although each harvester received a copy of his/her map biography, only

Wasagamack community members reviewing their land use maps. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

33 of the 49 harvesters underwent a verification interview with Elder Norah Whiteway. Participants typically reported their map biographies were accurate, without any wrong or missing data with only one map needing slight corrections. Furthermore, at many different events and workshops, feedback was obtained regarding summary maps, thematic maps, videos, reports, and a historical timeline of land use. Table 1, on page 30, summarizes the activities and results of this research.

Victor Harper explained that prayer and offering was made every time plants or animals were harvested, which makes the entire territory sacred. People made offerings to ensure a balance was maintained between sustaining the earth and the people. This was the traditional way to show gratitude, which many people in Wasagamack still practice, providing prayer and offerings whenever they harvest. As prayers and harvesting occurred everywhere in their territory over many centuries, each place in the Island Lake region is considered sacred from these prayers. Aki is sacred as a teacher and a healer requiring ceremonies, offerings, and prayers for reciprocity. The good life, mino bimaadiziwin, requires stewarding the land and part of that is ceremonies.

Anishiniwuk continue to do traditional practices. The maps show how very active Anishiniwuk are and how they harvest mainly in and around waterways, lakes and rivers throughout the Wasagamack traditional territory and Island Lake. Maps with different themes were made to focus on different traditional land uses. The many thematic maps in this book show how the traditional territory is used extensively in many traditional ways for fishing, hunting, trapping, residing, as well as for cultural and sacred ceremonies. The maps show clearly that Wasagamack's land use is not only in and around Island Lake but also many other lakes.

Table 1. Documenting traditional land uses in Wasagamack.

ACTIVITIES	PRODUCTS/PROCESSES OF TRADITIONAL LAND USE RESEARCH
Capacity Building on Land Use	Two coordinators from Wasagamack First Nation were trained; a method with written interview protocol was also developed in the 60-hour workshop. Annual land use workshops were held in the community, and presentations were provided at schools. Community people attended First Nation traditional land use workshops in 2016 in Thunder Bay (4 people) and in 2017 (9 people) in Winnipeg.
Map Biographies/Interviews on Traditional Land Uses and Occupancy	49 map biographies were completed with Wasagamack First Nation people interviewed by Johnathon Harper and Victor Harper, with 33 of these verified by Norah Whiteway. Traditional Land Use and Occupancy maps considered trapping, hunting, fishing, berry picking, medicinal plant gathering, timber harvesting, community/recreation areas, youth training areas, as well as sites cabins, camp sites, old community/gathering site, burial site, spiritual/special site.
Participatory Video Documentary	A video documentary of community voices on why land is important for Wasagamack First Nation was created with the community (https://youtu.be/i4p9dpuBT4A). Many other videos of Elder workshops and interviews were taken to preserve this information, including https://youtu.be/NODQq7ZiRhU, but not all have been published to date.
Database of Digital Maps	Electronic database with all traditional land use data points and Anishinimowin names were provided to community coordinator, Island Lake Tribal Council, and University of Manitoba to have three locations for archiving. Summary maps were completed in Anishinimowin and English. As well, a database of Anishinimowin place names was provided to the provincial toponymist for official recognition of these place names.
Reporting back for verification	Provided draft reports and many maps to Chief and Council at least three times per year from 2013 to 2017. Verified and displayed the reports, maps and timeline at winter Elders' gatherings in the community each year, school and band office, as well as at workshops in Winnipeg and Island Lake in 2017, seeking feedback. After many drafts were shared with the community, a final coffee book copy for Wasagamack participants with the findings, historic timeline and maps went to press in July 2020.

An Anishiniwuk Boy on Dock in Wasagamack. Photo by: Norah Whiteway.

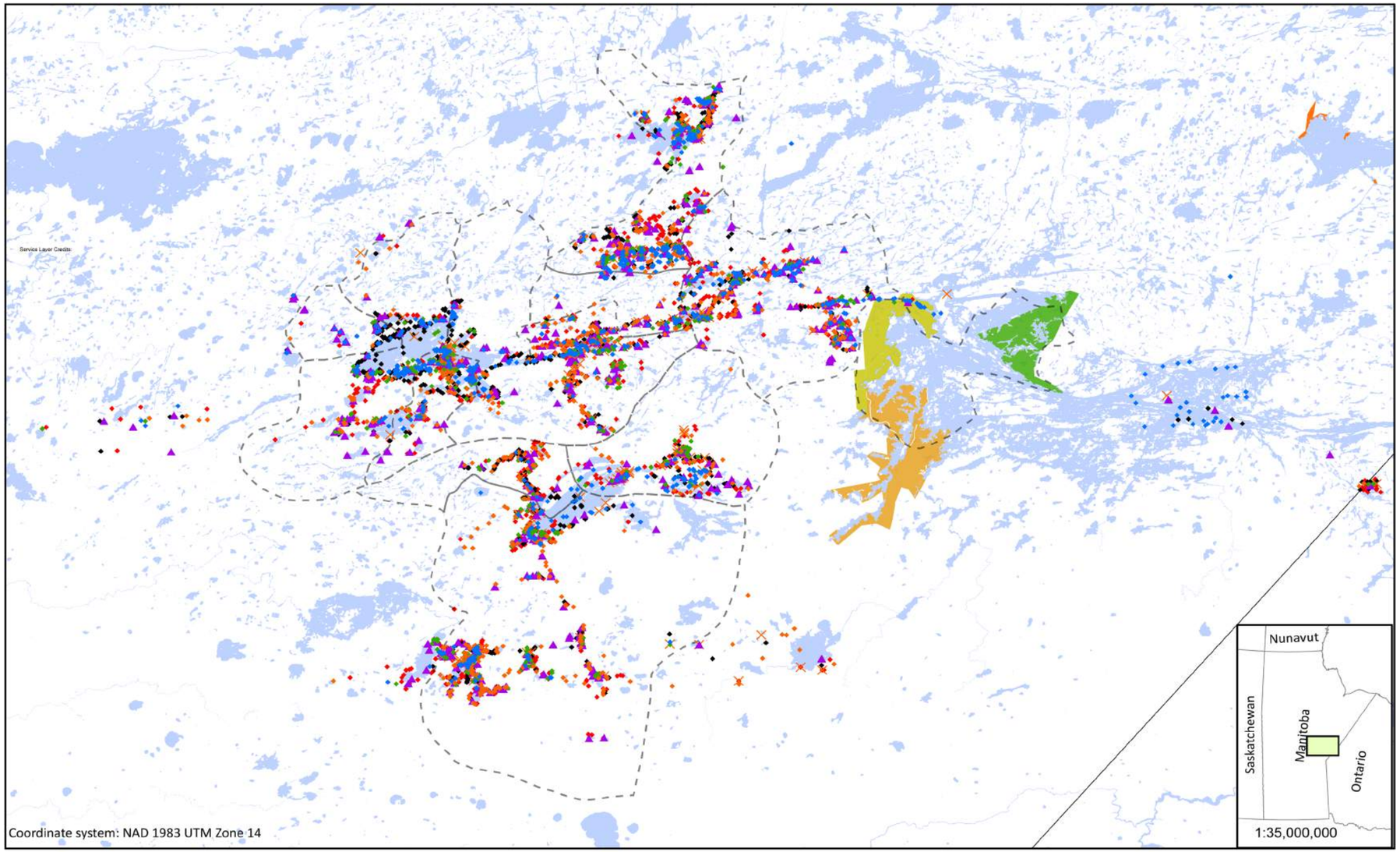
TRADITIONAL LAND USE

Summary Map

The summary map shows that the Wasagamack people continue to live off their ancestral land and gain tremendous sustenance from aki. Clearly, community members harvest beaver, duck, geese, moose, muskrat, and fish, as well as berries and medicines in their large territory at great distances from the reserve. Harvesting is undertaken within a complex social system requiring ceremonies, stewardship, and protocols. Wasagamack families actively go out to aki in all seasons. Traditional pursuits are current activities that feed and nourish their families and culture. The traditional land-use maps show that Wasagamack's claim and connection to aki covers a more extensive area than Wasagamack's designated area under the trapline registry.

Map 6 has so much activity that, in order to see the individual land uses, five lake/river areas were isolated so that the individual harvest site markers on the map do not overlap. The pattern of land use shows that Anishiniwuk harvest animals, birds, and plants mainly in and around waterways, lakes and rivers throughout the Wasagamack traditional territory and Island Lake. Clearly, Wasagamack's land use is not only in and around Island Lake but also includes the aki in and around many other lakes, rivers and land masses.

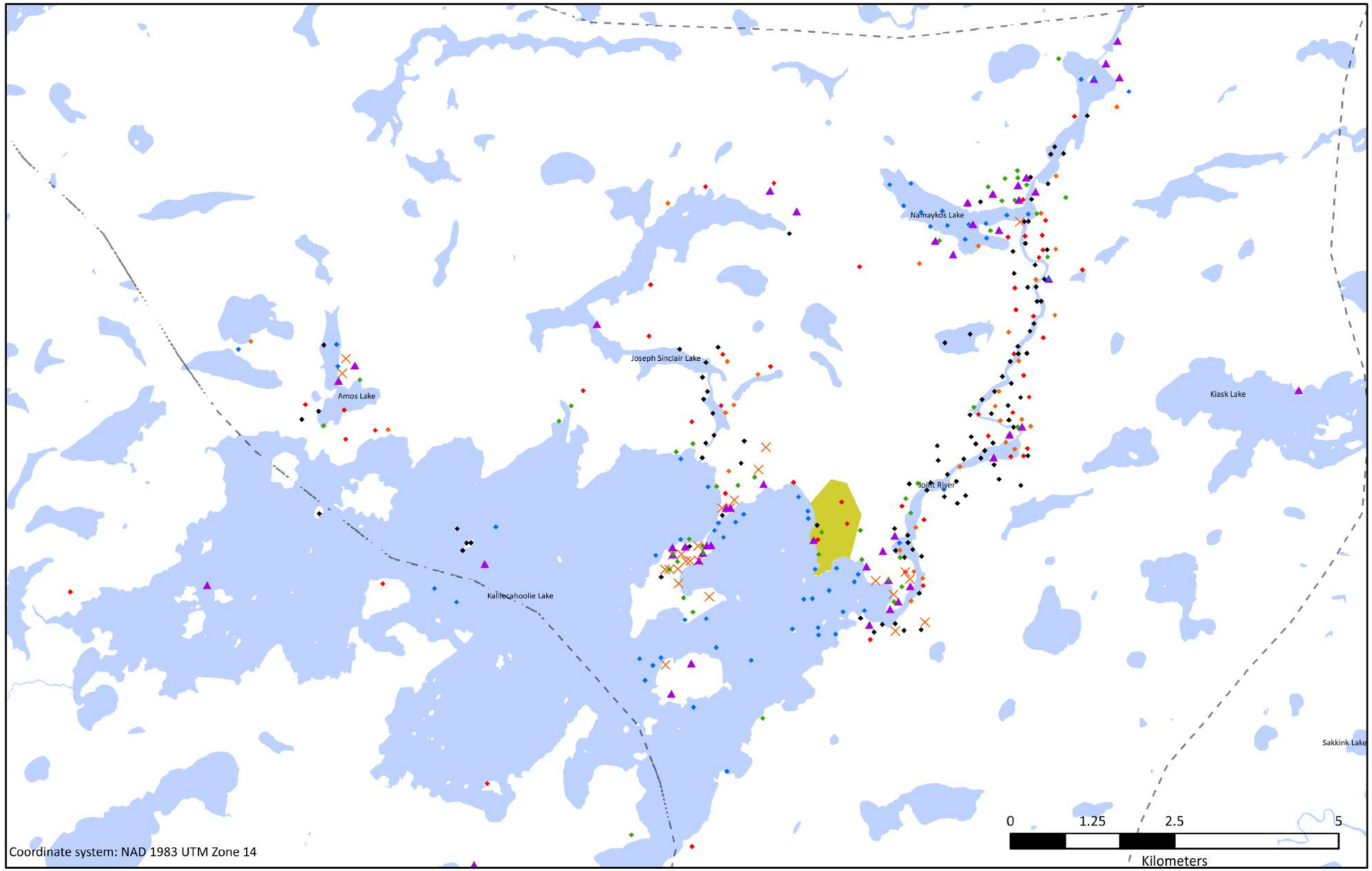
The summary map shows that the land use in Wasagamack First Nation is not only around Island Lake but also includes the aki in and around: Kalliecahoolie Lakes as shown in map 6a, Stevenson Lake as shown in Map 6b, Stevenson River as shown in Map 6c, Bigstone Lake in Map 6d, and Bennett Lake with Makwa Lake in Map 6e, as well as adjacent to other lakes and rivers including Gunisao River, Knight Lake, Stevenson River, Willow Lake, Fairy Rock Lake, Mainland River, Kitchi Lake, Amos Lake, and Joint River, in addition to areas in Ontario.



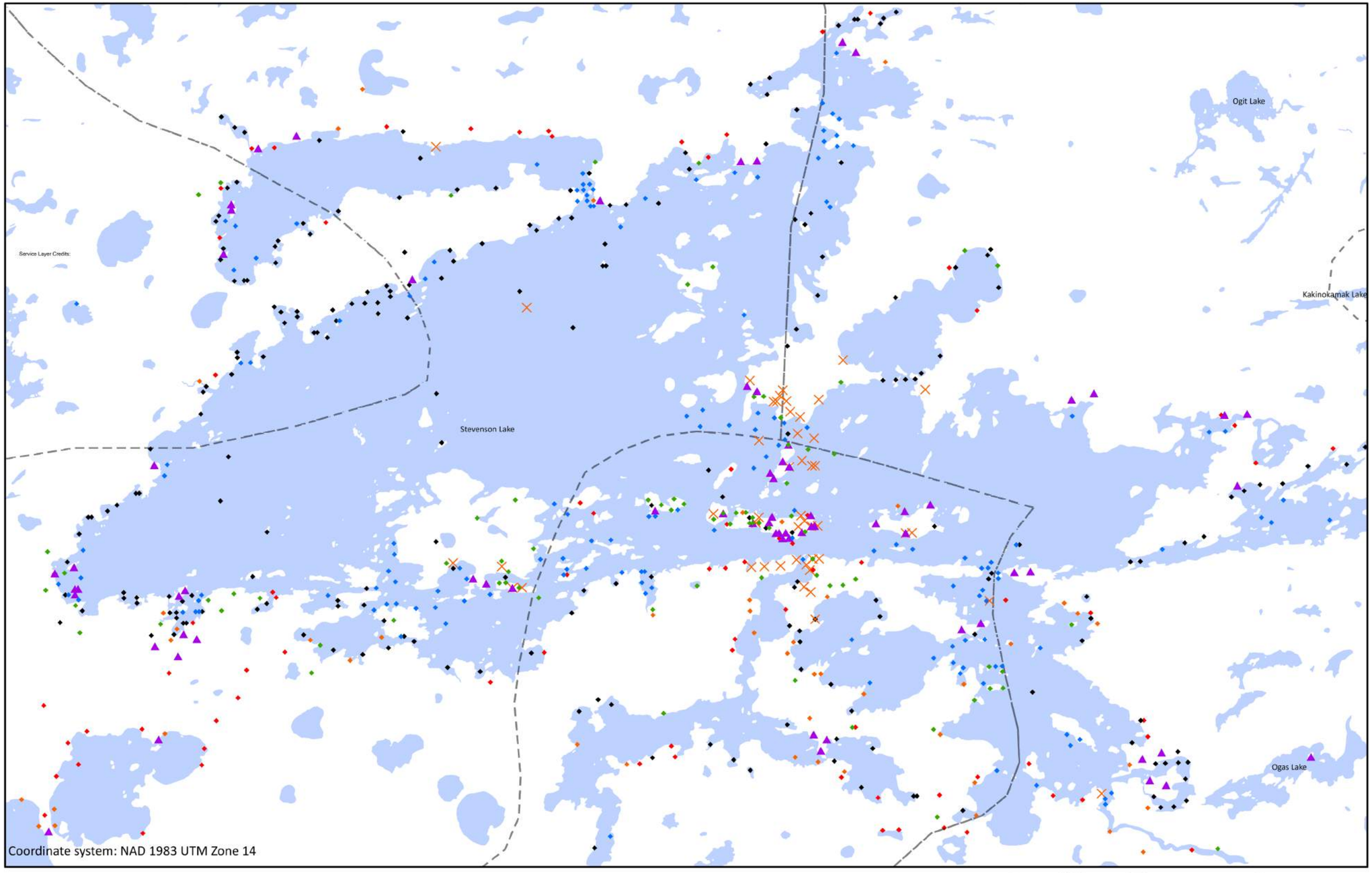
Map 6: Wasagamack First Nation land uses (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper & Whiteway..

Kalliecahoolie La
Region Land Use

Map 6a. Harvesting sites identified at Kalliecahoolie Lake region in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49). Map by Thompson, Thapa, Harper & Whiteway.



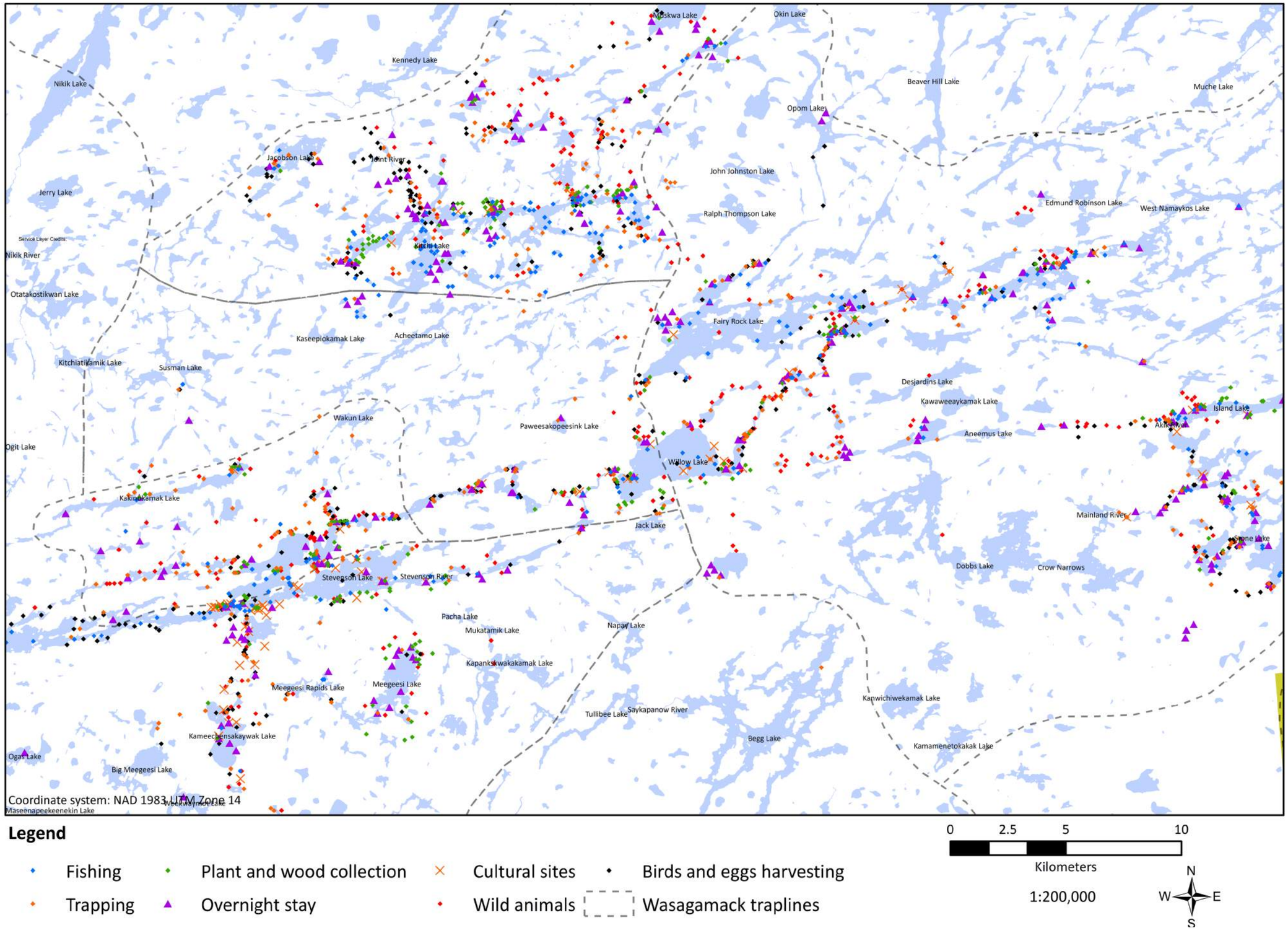
Stevenson Lake Region Land Use



Map 6b. Harvesting sites identifiec at Stevenson Lake region in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa Harper & Whiteway.

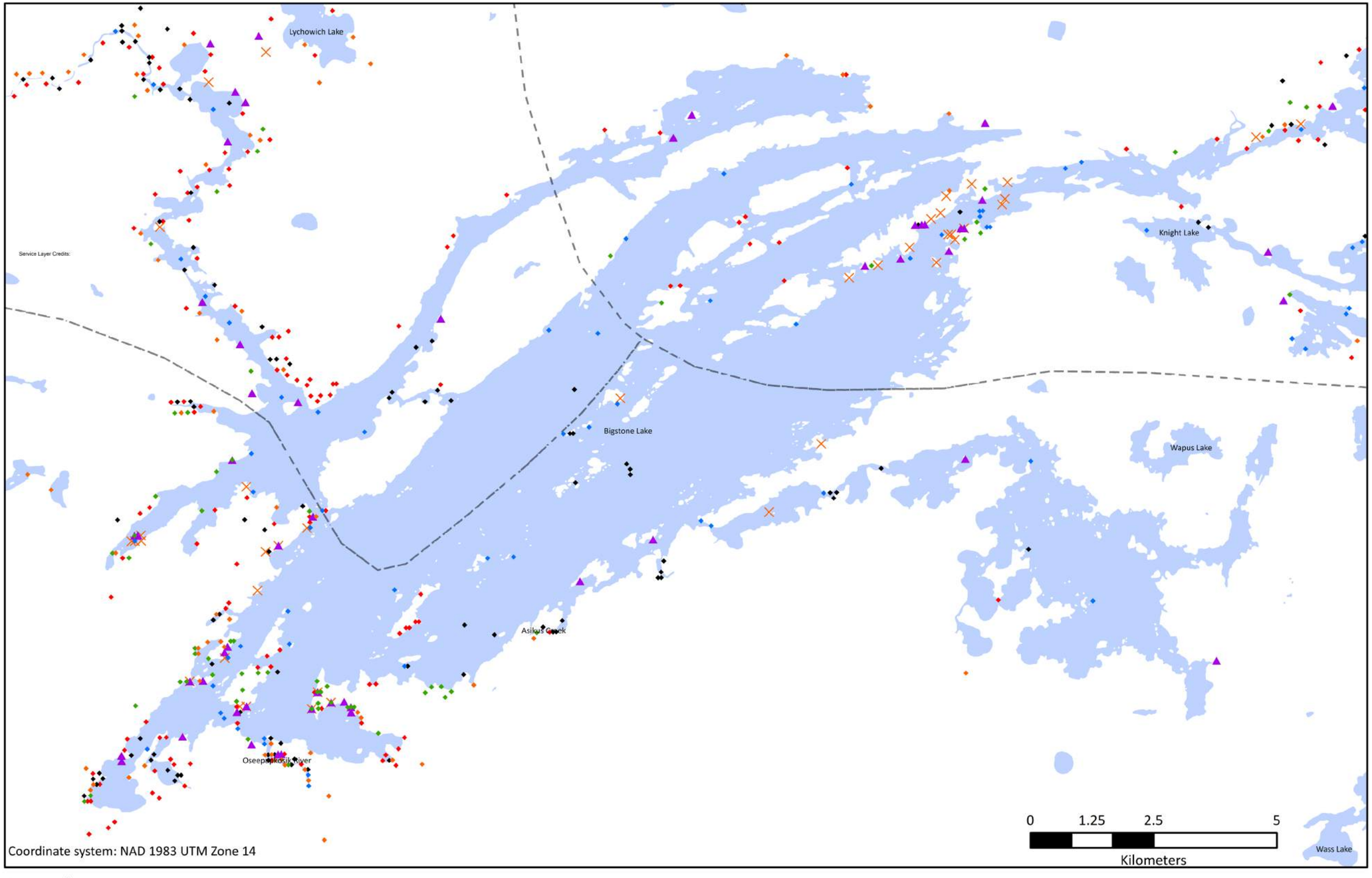
Stevenson River Region Land Use

Map 6c. Harvesting sites identified at Stevenson River region in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper & Whiteway.



Bigstone Lake Region Land Use

Map 6d. Harvesting sites identified at Bigstone Lake and Knight Lake region in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper & Whiteway.



Legend

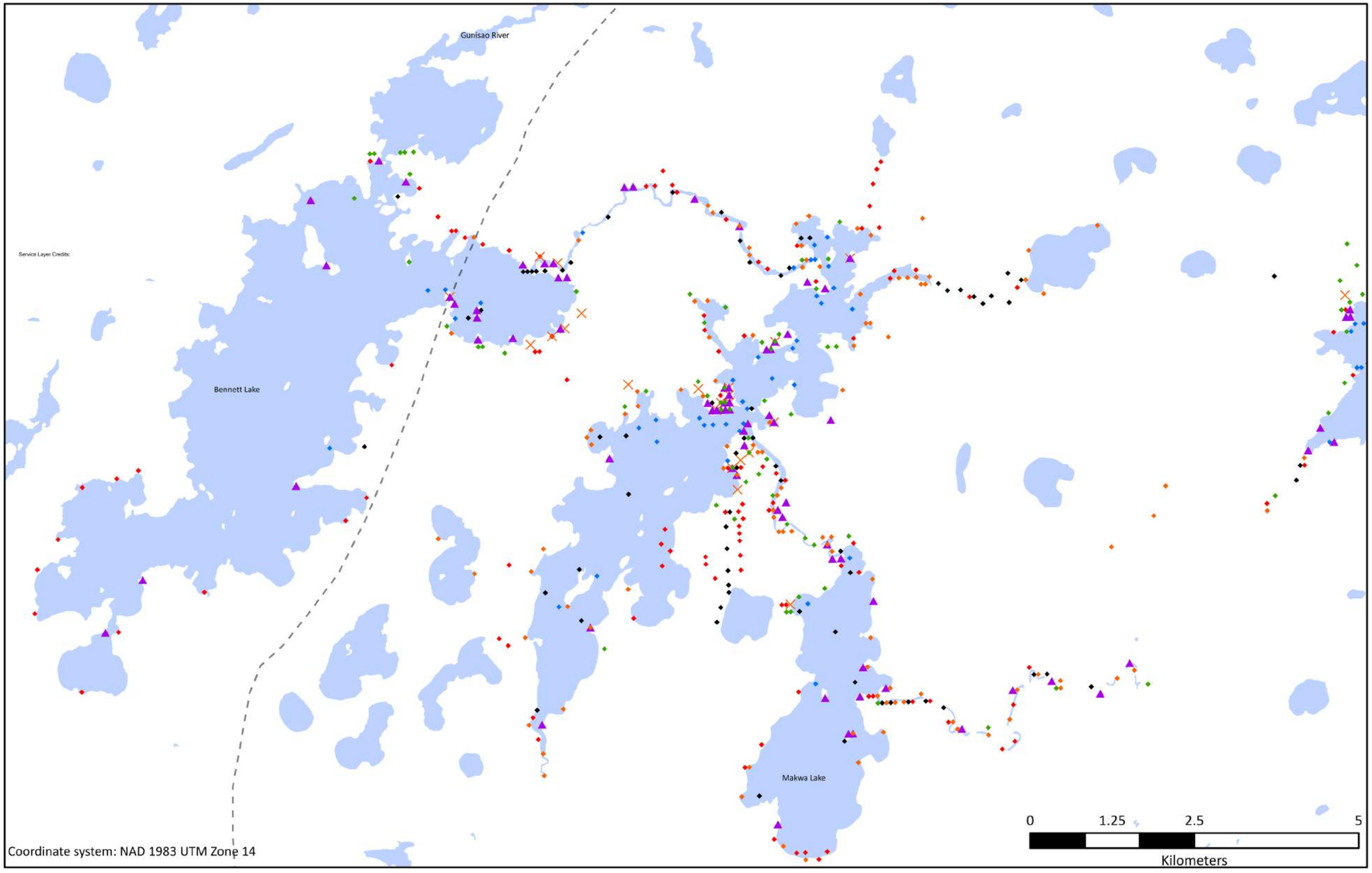
Fishing · Plant and wood collection · Cultural sites · Birds and eggs harvesting

Trapping · Overnight stay · Wild animals · Wasagamack traplines

1:100,000

N W E S

Bennett Lake and Makwa Lake Region Land Use



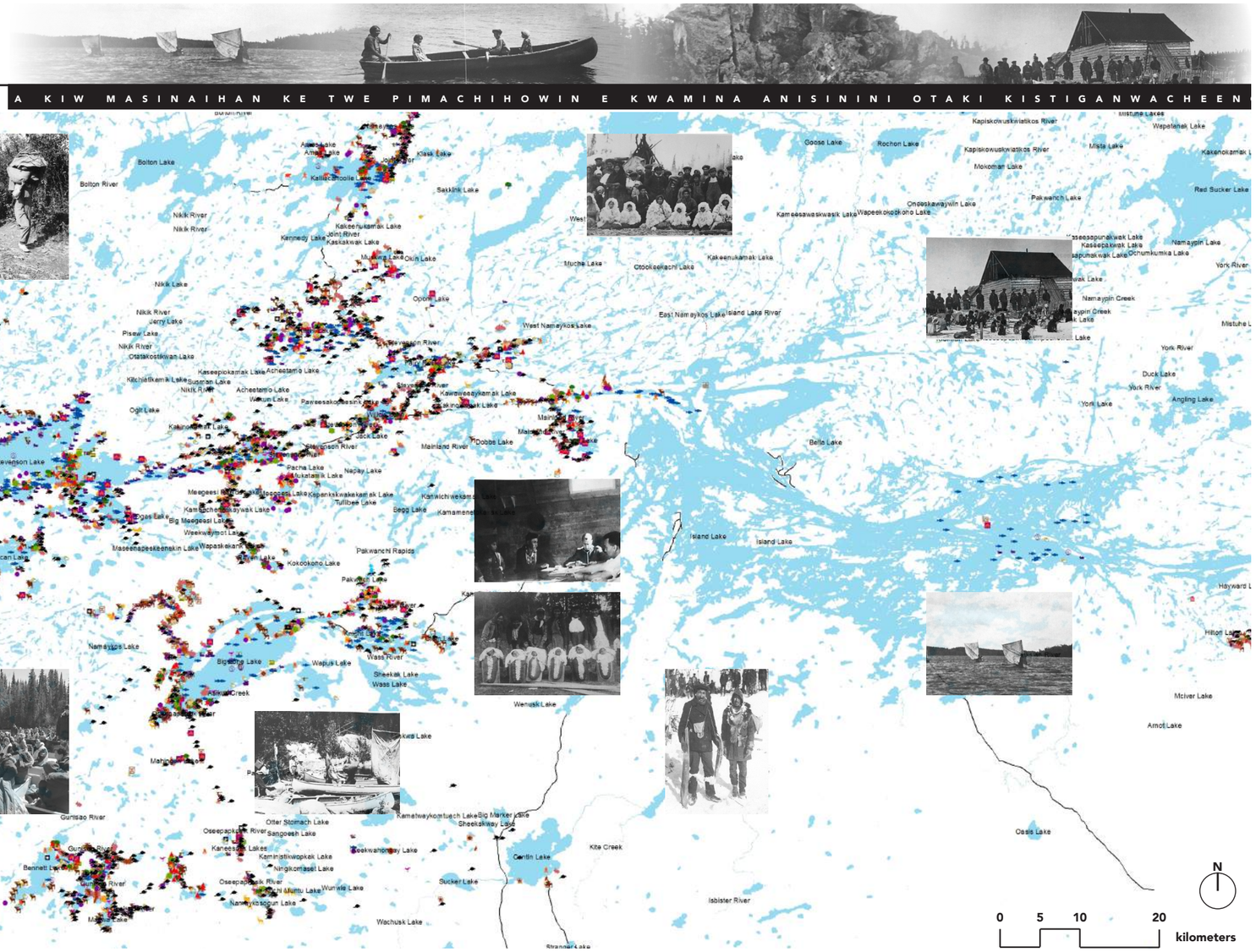
Map 6e. Harvesting sites identified at Bennet Lake and Makwa Lake region in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49).
Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper & Whiteway.

MAPPING IN ANISHINIMOWIN

Anishinimowin Names of Places

To help preserve the Indigenous language, Anishinimowin, the summary map 7 was completed with titles and labels in Anishinimowin. This map provides a written resource for this oral language. The harvest sites concentrate around their waaka'iigan (log house) and adjacent to nipi (water). Wasagamack's land use is not only in and around Island Lake but also includes the aki around many other lakes (Kalliecahoolie, Stevenson, Bigstone, Bennett, Makwa, Muskwa, Knight, Fairy Rock, Kitchi, Amos, Willows, etc.) and rivers (Gunisao, Stevenson, Mainland, Joint, etc.).

Map 7. Land use and place names in Anishinimowin of the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49).
Map by: Thompson, Rahman, Harper & Whiteway.



WASAGAMACK ASININI OTAKIY

KICHIKANSAN E KWAMINA NOPIMINK

- Mi ni san
- Ka ma ni apatisich mitik ke kon kiwi si chi katek
- A kink kawintinkatek kenon ke ki apachichikak
- Missi kapotawatek
- Ka mi chi nan wak
- Anisiniw maskiki
- A sakamik
- Kotak
- Ka ma ni apatisich mitik ke kon kawischi chi katek

KASIMANIKAPESINAWAK

- Miti kok ka wa ka a knotwa wakaihkan
- Mi nawach ka ki tipi kak
- Na pa ki sak wa ka ihkan
- Pa kwa ne ka mik
- Pa kwa ne ka mik iskotekanapik ka ki kiayak
- Piko kwam

ANISINIW PIMACHI OH WIN TANAPON

- Ka ki si ni taw kich awiya
- Ni kwa kwan kasinaih ninch awiya
- Ka si ma wa chitinanwak kichi kekon onchi
- Ka ki si na ka ta kich
- Ka si ma wa chitinan wak
- Kete anisiniwak ka ki ihsitasi ke wakh
- Ko tak a wi yak opimachiohn
- Ayamiayawin kasimanito chi katek ekitenchikatek
- Kete anisiniwak ati sokewin

PINESISSAK

- Si sip pak
- Pinesis wawan
- Nik kak
- Pi ne
- Kotak ahwe pinesis
- Wa pi se
- Wa pi si

PISISKWAK

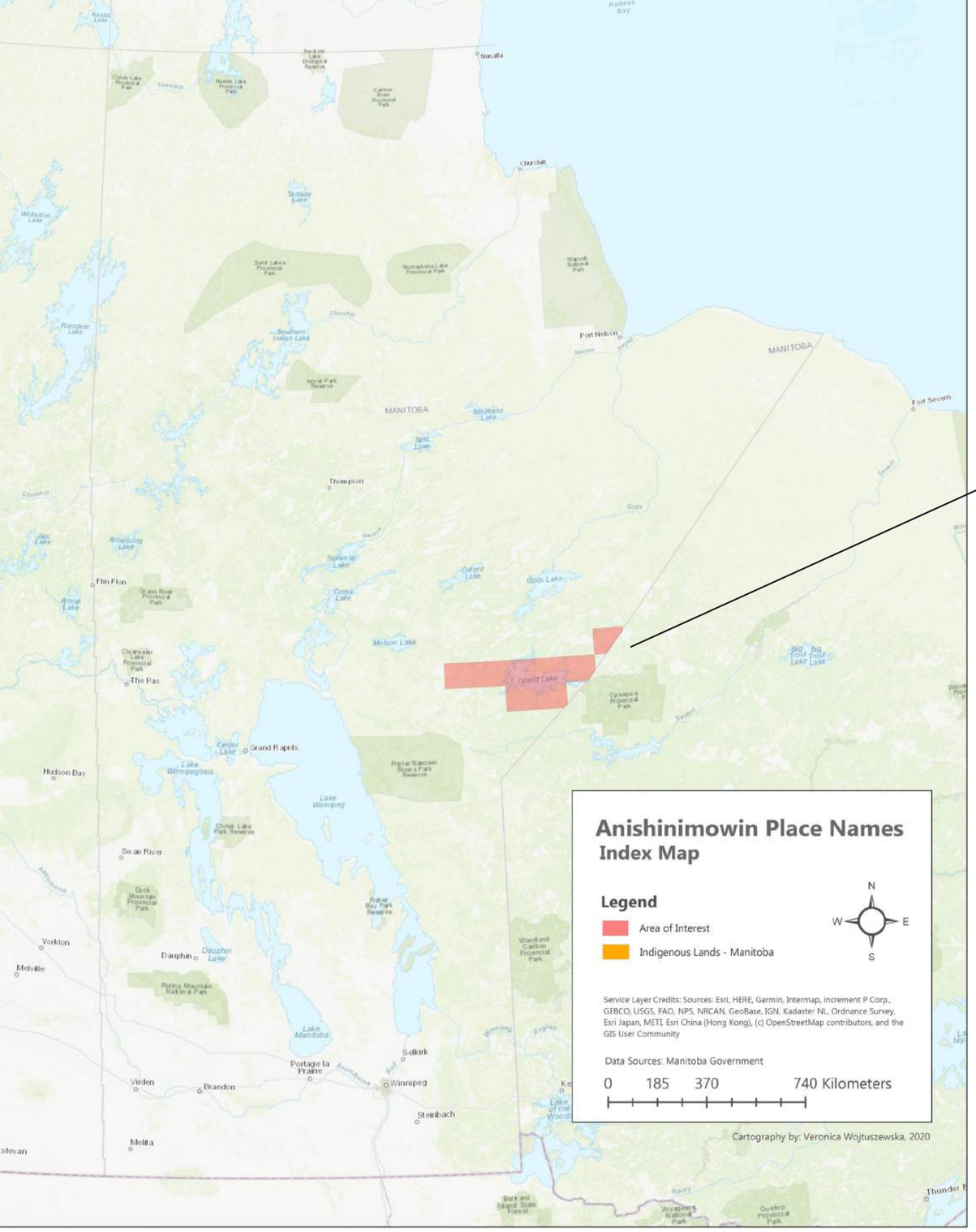
- Ma kwa
- A tik
- Moons
- Wachask
- Wapos
- Kotak pisisk

KI NO SE

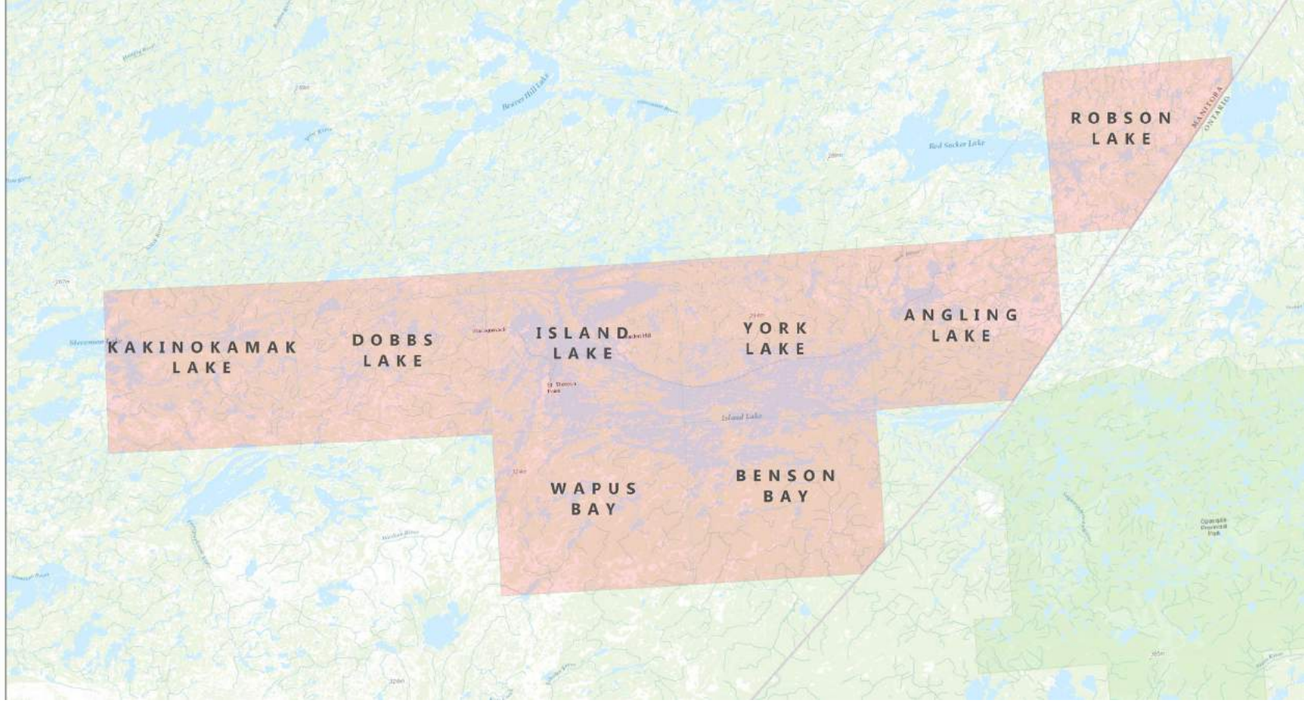
- Ki no se

WANIIIHKE

- Wa ni ke win
- Miikana (Road)
- Miikana (Trail)
- Nipi



Map 7a. Locator map showing base maps areas for different lakes with Anishinimowin names.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.



Anishinimowin Place Names on Maps Demonstrate that this Land is the Territory of the Anishiniwuk

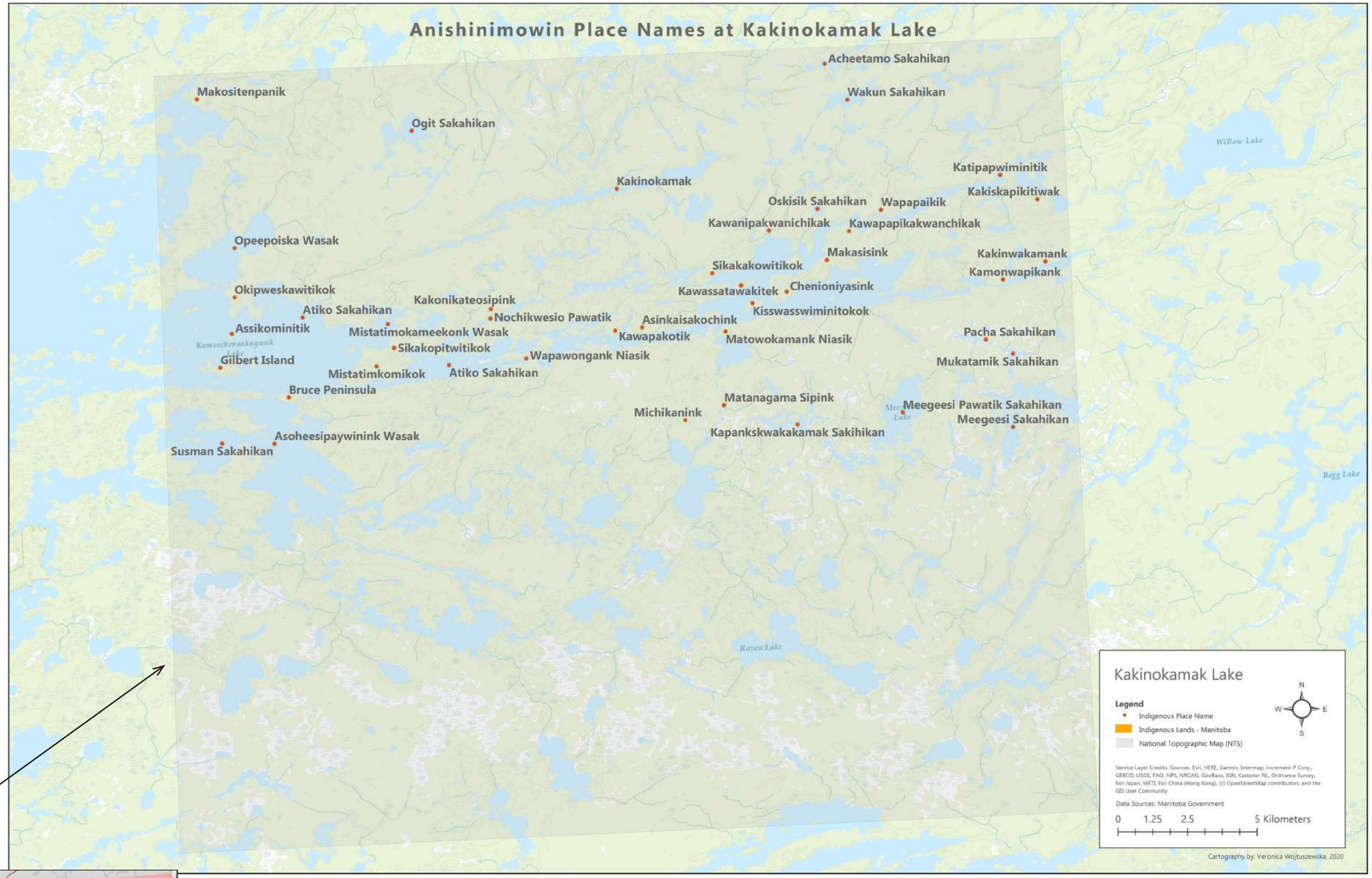
The goal in creating maps featuring Anishinimowin place names is to preserve local language, culture, and stories. A tremendous amount of work was done over a decade to collect names in the 1990s by Victor Harper, Ted Wilson, and Connie Singleterry with a group of ten Elders. This work resulted in many paper maps with Anishinimowin names. Veronica Wojtuszewska, with Victor Harper, turned these paper maps into a geographical database with local Indigenous names.

Métis visual artist and author Christi Belcourt (2013) explains what a significant and meaningful process it is to reclaim place names. Belcourt writes how speaking these ancient names bestows honour and connects the land to the people on a deep level: *"One by one, I am trying to learn the original names of places around me and speak their names out into words. Awakening into sounds and songs my respect for the places of my ancestors and the sacred ground I walk on"* (para.12).

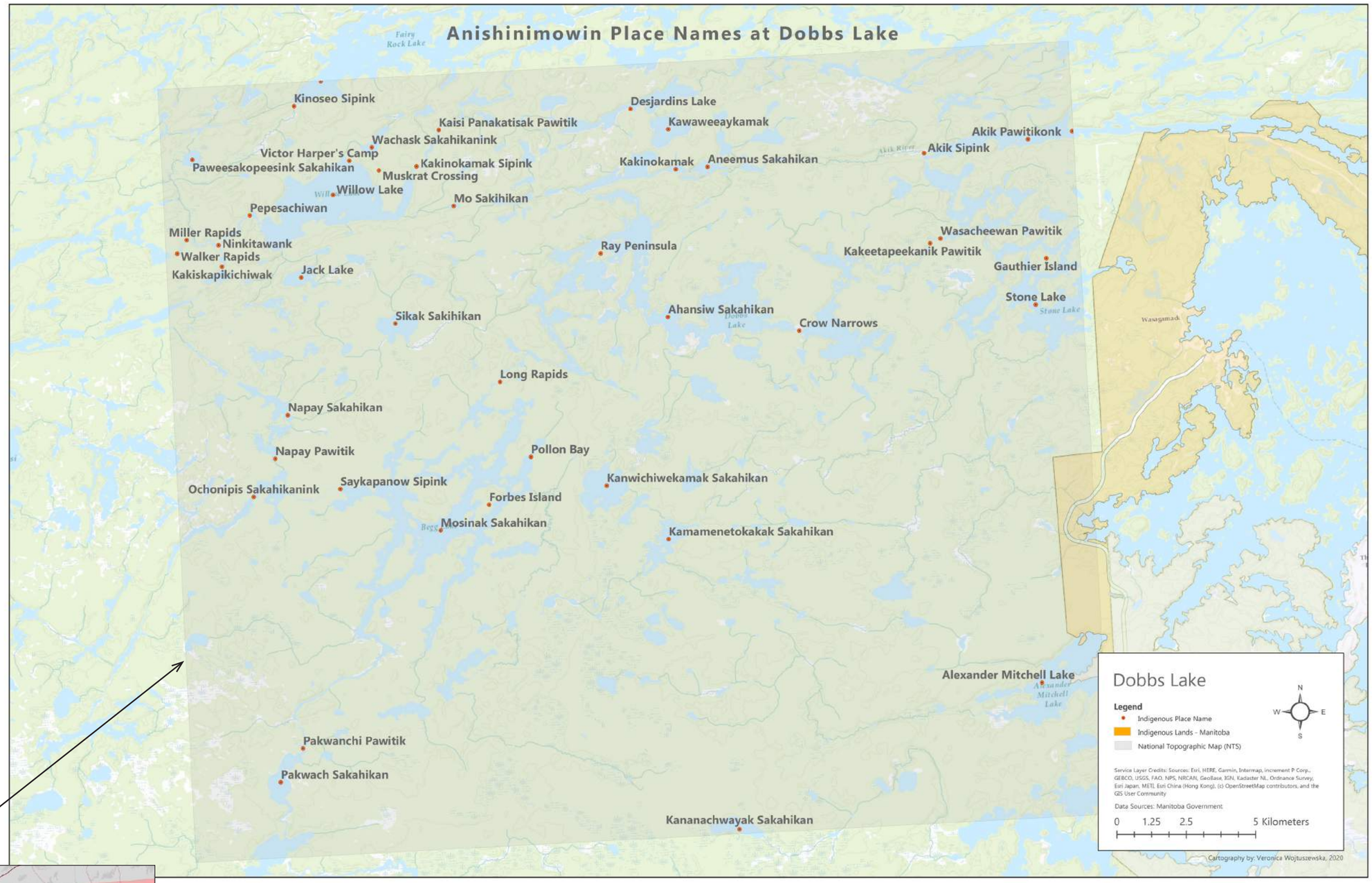
The 47th of the 94 Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) calls for all *"governments to repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and lands, such as the Doctrine of Discovery and terra nullius, and to reform those laws, government policies, and litigation strategies that continue to rely on such concepts"* (TRC, 2012, p.5). Locating Indigenous place names on maps asserts that Indigenous peoples' languages, heritage, and culture occupied this land. Indigenous place names are not arbitrary but denote the meaning and history of a place (O'Connor, 2016).

The names Wasagamack collected represent geographic features such as lakes, rivers, falls, portages, etc., as well as, historical and cultural sites such as grave sites. Below are some examples of the Anishinimowin place names with English translation in brackets and the story behind the name:

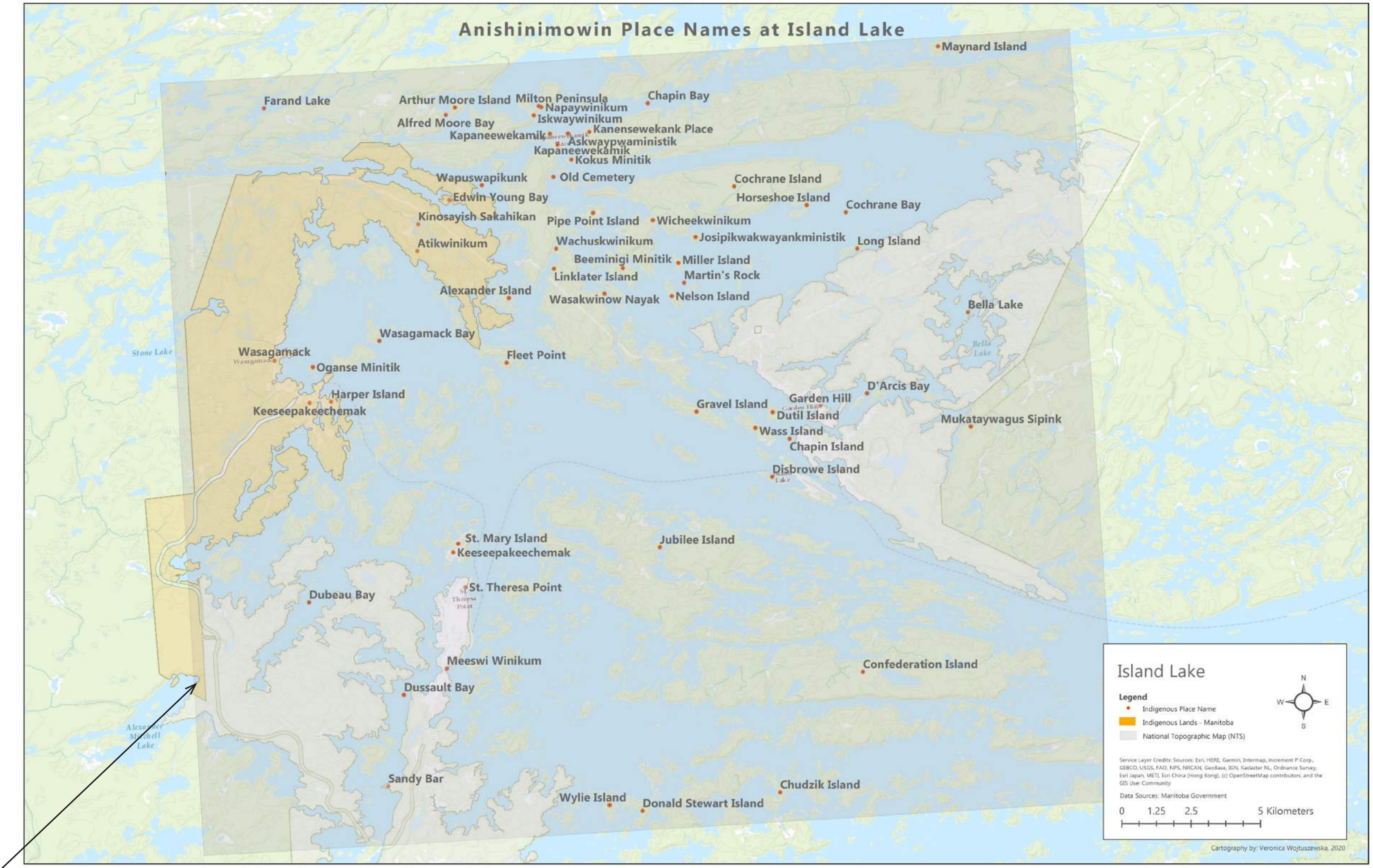
- Pansowan Sipink (Smoking Fish Creek): The old people used to camp, catch fillet and smoke fish here.
- Wasakunawewinik Niasik (Beacon Narrows): Literally means, "someone made a fire during the night which could be seen by others."
- Kakonikateosipink (Creek): A trapper failed to jump the creek but his long legs saved him from going under.



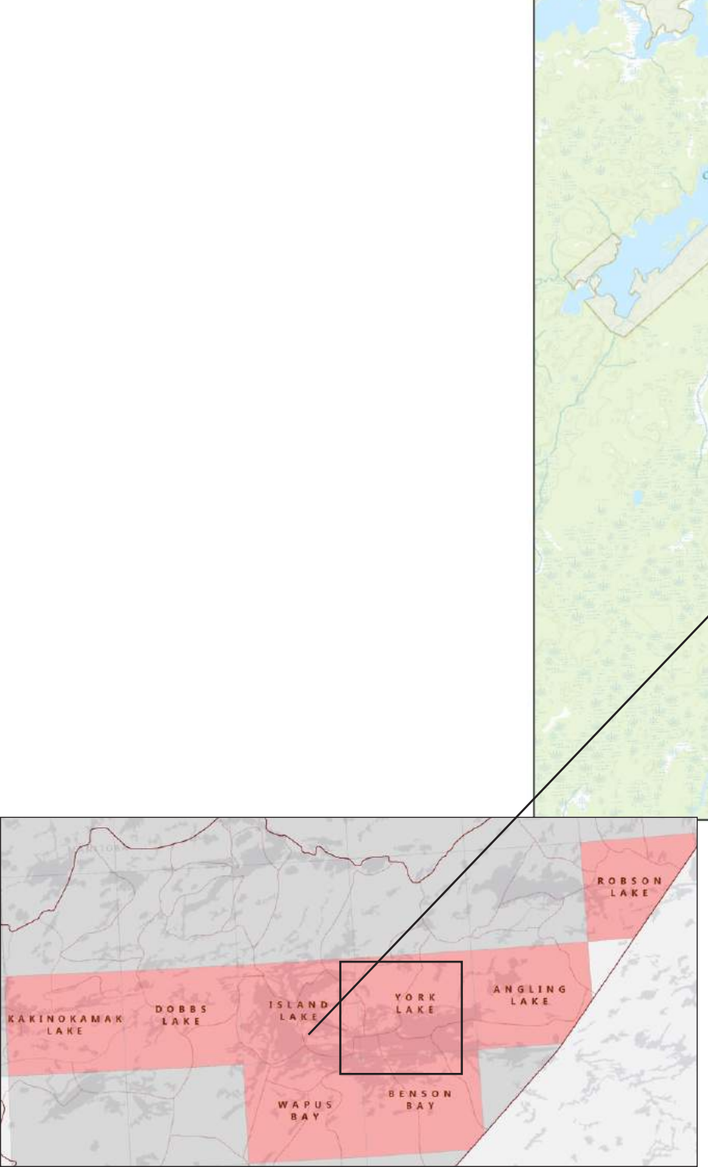
Map 7a-1. Anishinimowin names for Kakinokamak Lake.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.

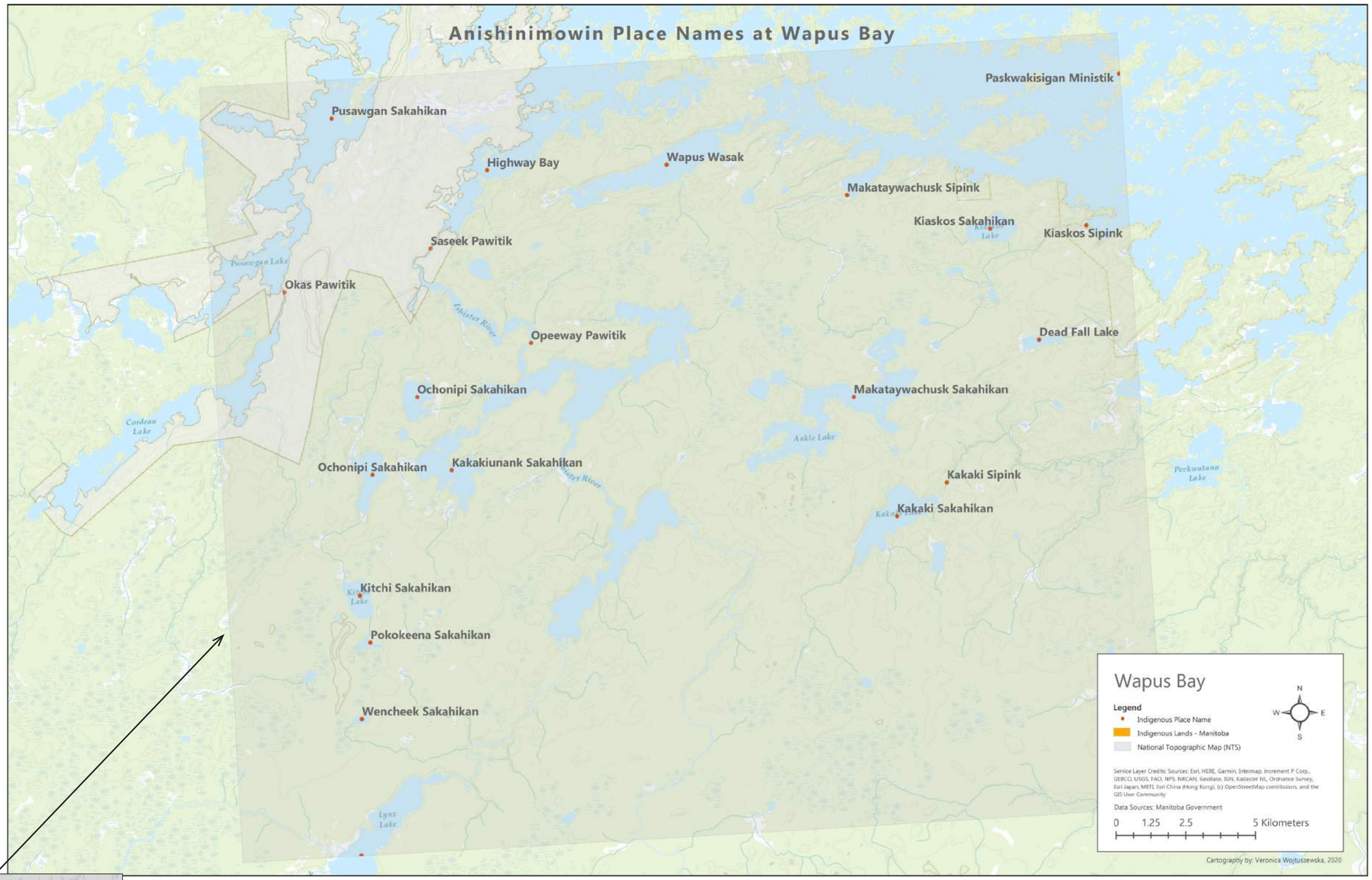


Map 7a-2. Anishinimowin names for Dobb's Lake.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.

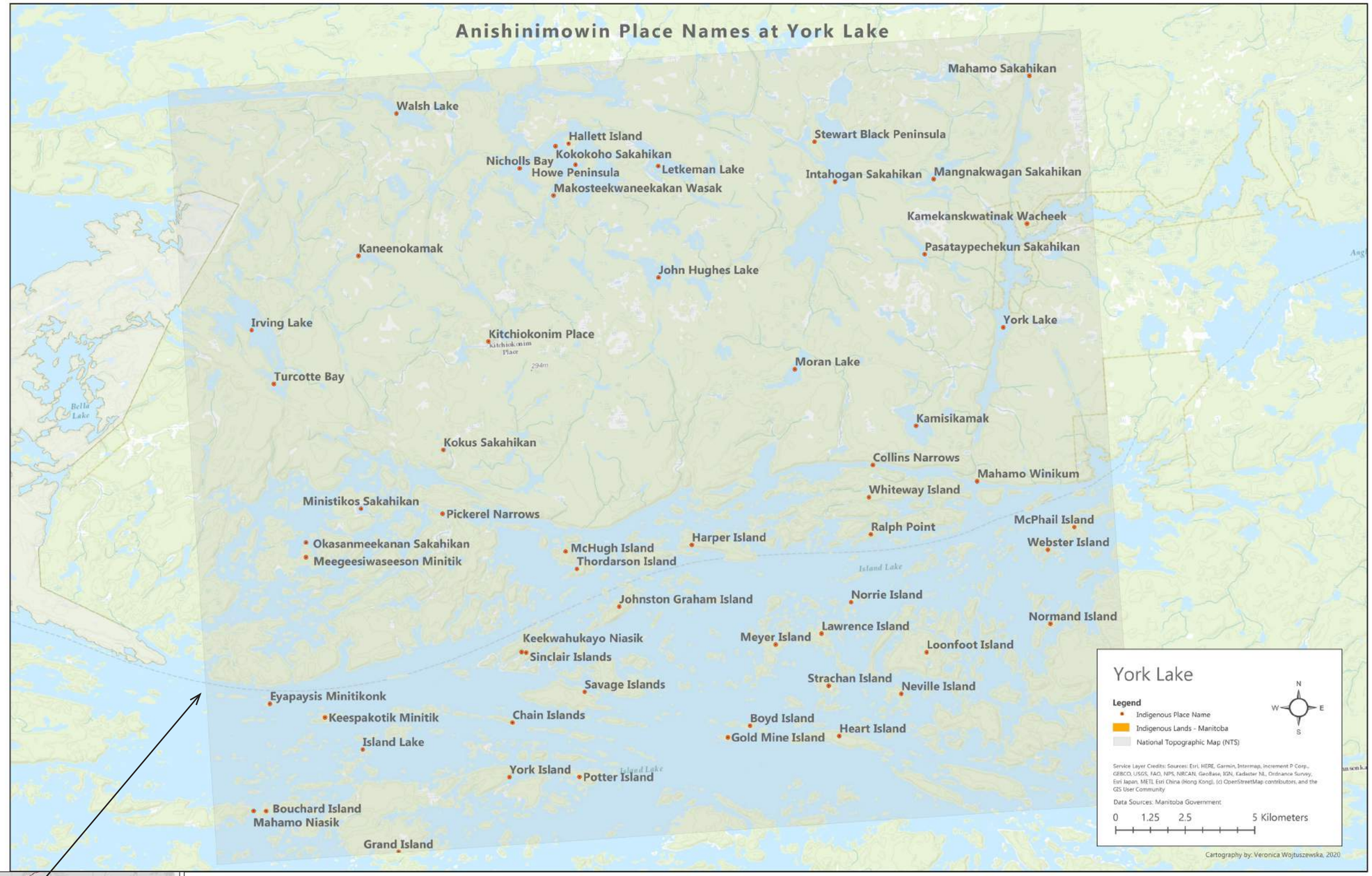


Map 7a-3. Anishinimowin names for Island Lake.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.

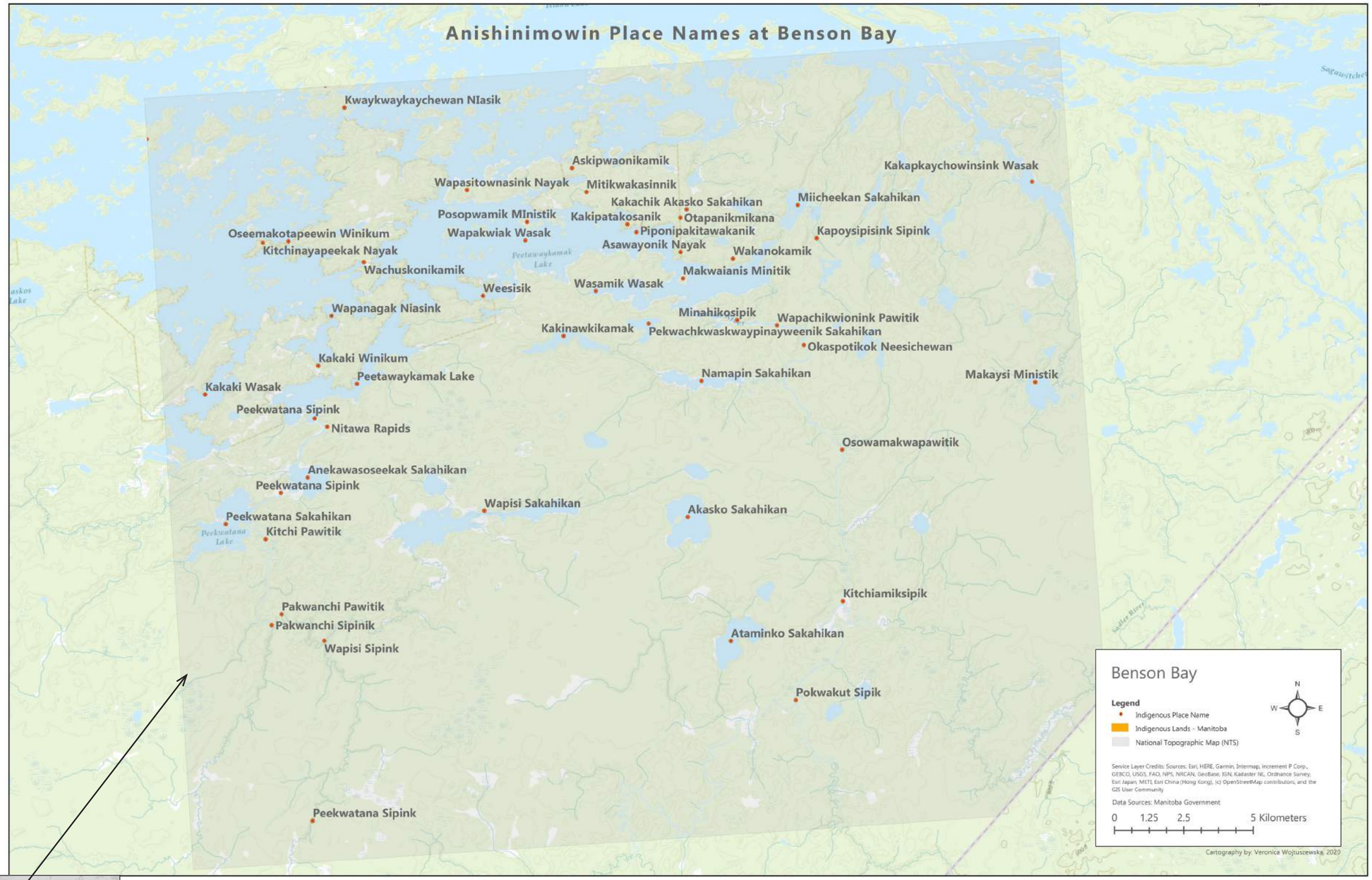




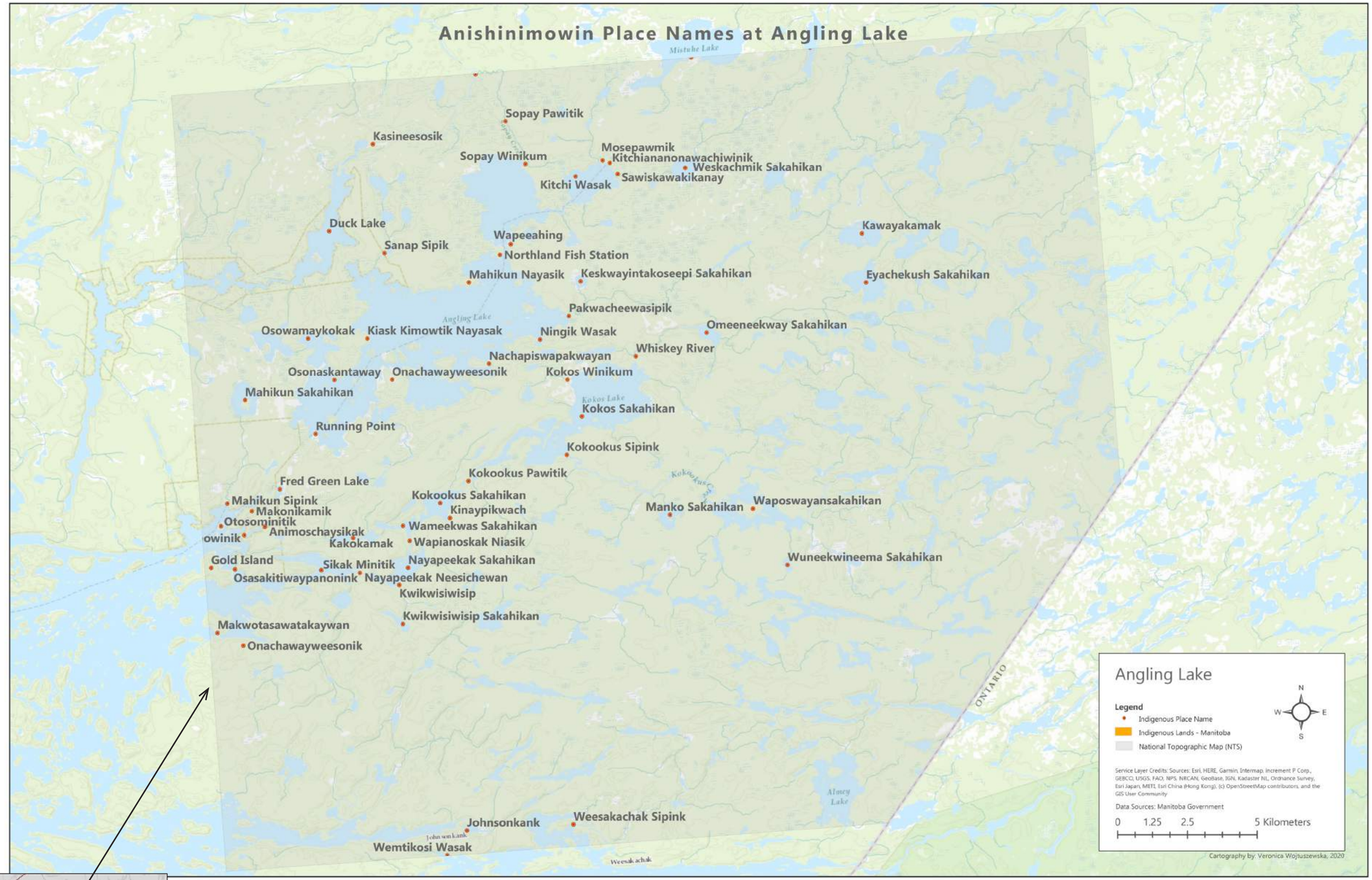
Map 7a-4. Anishinimowin names for Wapus Bay.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.

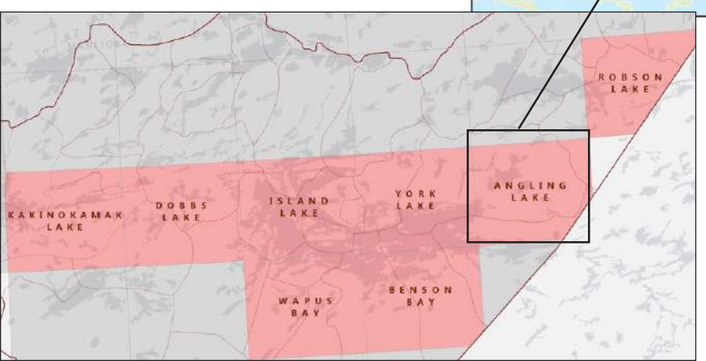


Map 7a-5. Anishinimowin names for York Lake.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.

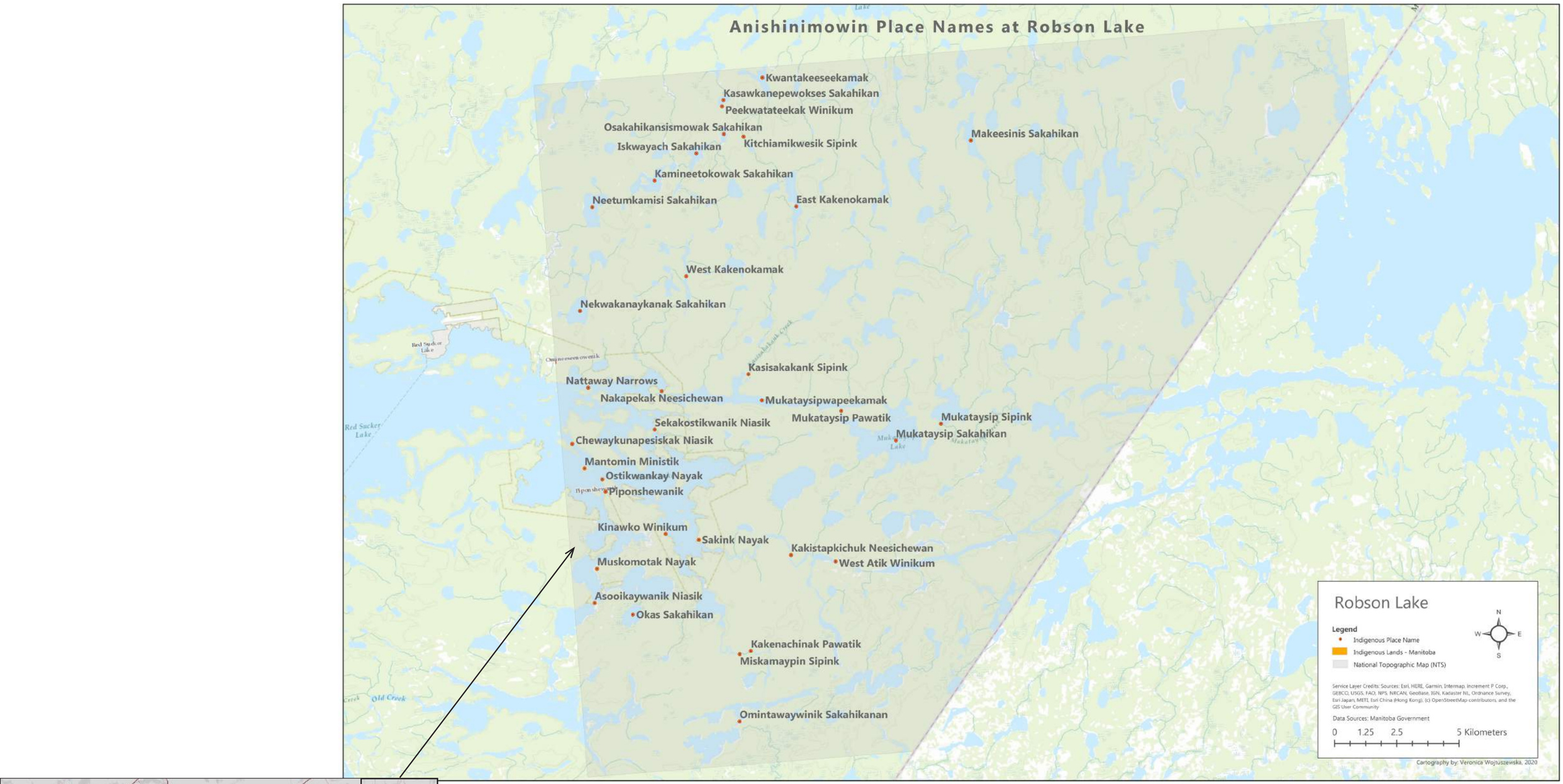


Map 7a-6. Anishinimowin names for Benson Bay.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.





Map 7a-7. Anishinimowin names for Angling Lake.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.



Map 7a-8. Anishinimowin names for Robson Lake.
Map by: Veronica Wojtuszewska.

STORYTELLING

Stories through Maps

The maps tell many stories. Each thematic map has a different theme as fishing locations are very different than berry picking or sacred site locations. Seven thematic maps were made to show how the traditional territory is used extensively in many traditional ways for fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering, and ceremony by the 49 community members who undertook map biographies. The 49 Wasagamack First Nation members have almost a thousand sites where traditional land uses on their territory occur, realizing that these sites are only the ones that they felt comfortable sharing (Map 6). Many more exist but where not shared. For example, some people did not share the location of the sacred sites to safeguard them. The harvest, sacred and cultural sites cover an expansive area, even with the limited sample (n=49).

The summary and thematic maps show that Wasagamack people continue to live off their ancestral land and gain tremendous sustenance from aki. Clearly, community members harvest beaver, duck, geese, moose, muskrat and fish, as well as berries and medicines in its large territory at great distances from the reserve. The research for this book captured many stories from Elders and active harvesters regarding traditional land use practices. Elders' workshops and the Nopimink school shared sacred and important oral teachings amongst Elders, community members, and youth. Harvesting occurs within a complex social system requiring ceremonies, stewardship, and protocols. These traditional pursuits are current activities that feed and keep their family and community healthy, and nourish their culture.

Without any connecting roads and with many portages, the traditional camps are difficult to access by snowmobile, boat, or float-plane from their reserve land. Yet, every year, at different times throughout the year, families engage in traditional activities. This summary map (map 6) shows land use in Wasagamack First Nation is not only for Island Lake but also includes the area around the following: Stevenson Lake, Pelican Lake, Bigstone Lake, Bennett Lake, Gunisao River, Knight Lake, Stevenson River, Willow Lake, Fairy Rock Lake, Mainland River, Kitchi Lake, Muskwa Lake, Kalliecahoolie Lake, Amos Lake, and Joint River. Traditional land use maps show that Wasagamack's claim and connection to aki covers a more extensive area than Wasagamack's designated area under the registered trapline for sustenance activities.

Community members travel great distances from the reserve for fishing, hunting, and trapping, as well as for ceremonial and other cultural activities. Wasagamack families actively go out to aki in all seasons. Norah Whiteway, a Wasagamack Elder, shared a story about journeying to her trapline in western Ontario, with her grandparents, to hunt, fish and live. Her family would go in early summer and try to get back before fall freeze-up, which usually occurs in November. Sometimes freeze-up would come early and they had to hurry back or be stuck in the bush. People had previously lived all year round in their family camps, traveling extensively by canoe in the summer to visit and meet in gathering places. One such gathering place, Old Post, was where the HBC fur traders would set up the Island Lake fur trading post. Then the compulsory schooling and the demise of the fur trade reversed this pattern so that people congregated in the winter and travelled back and forth to their trapline in the summer and fall.

Maps and Spirit

Maps display in four directions, east, south, west, and north, but an Elder mentioned how the six directions are prayed to:

"The Anishiniwuk communicate with the Creator by praying to the six directions: East, South, West, North as well as Heaven and Earth. By praying to all these directions, a connection to all the forces of creation is realized including all living beings, as well as the Universe and beyond. However, Anishiniwuk consider not only six directions of power in our Universe but a seventh direction. This is the power of the Creator within ourselves. We are the seventh direction.

These seven directions contain only good. We, the Anishiniwuk, would not even acknowledge evil by naming it. There is only good, and a crooked good that needs to be straightened out. We are fully responsible to straighten out our own negative thinking, to prevent making ourselves ill and to protect the environment and other people around us. We must be fully responsible to keep our minds in a good way.

The forces of nature, earth, air, fire, and water, provide the natural law. The Anishiniwuk are part of creation and the natural law. Born with all knowledge of the past, present and future means we are complete people. The Creator hiding knowledge in our own hearts and mind was tricky, as that is often the place where we turn to last in our quest for understanding. So, Anishiniwuk need to seek knowledge from within their own being with guidance from the Creator. Our teachings emphasize living in harmony with nature and with our own human nature...

The residential school was so devastating as it attacked the center of our community - the children. The parents lost their roles centered around nurturing and protecting their children. And so being unable to protect their children against this state violence, a feeling of hopeless and helplessness grew in the parents and our First Nation communities."

These teachings from Elders provided a lot to work with.

Wasagamack community members use canoe to travel in their territory for various land-based activities.
Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

LEGENDS & STORIES

Anishiniwuk Worldview

The idea of interconnectedness is woven into most Indigenous legends and stories. Indigenous stories, and more recently science, reveal how any small or large action can create a chain reaction that affects everything else. Western knowledge, in the area of quantum physics, is only starting to catch up to Indigenous knowledge systems with its “butterfly effect” theory of interconnectedness. The Indigenous oral traditions and narratives, like many other mythological traditions, work within an analogical framework, which is poetic or non-linear, rather than being a predominantly logical framework. This Indigenous worldview is able to travel across geography, time, and cultural boundaries to the beginning of time, as well as forward into future time, to recapture our own ‘dreaming’ (Stanner 1979). Indigenous stories and legends bridge worlds from the spirit world to the earth world.

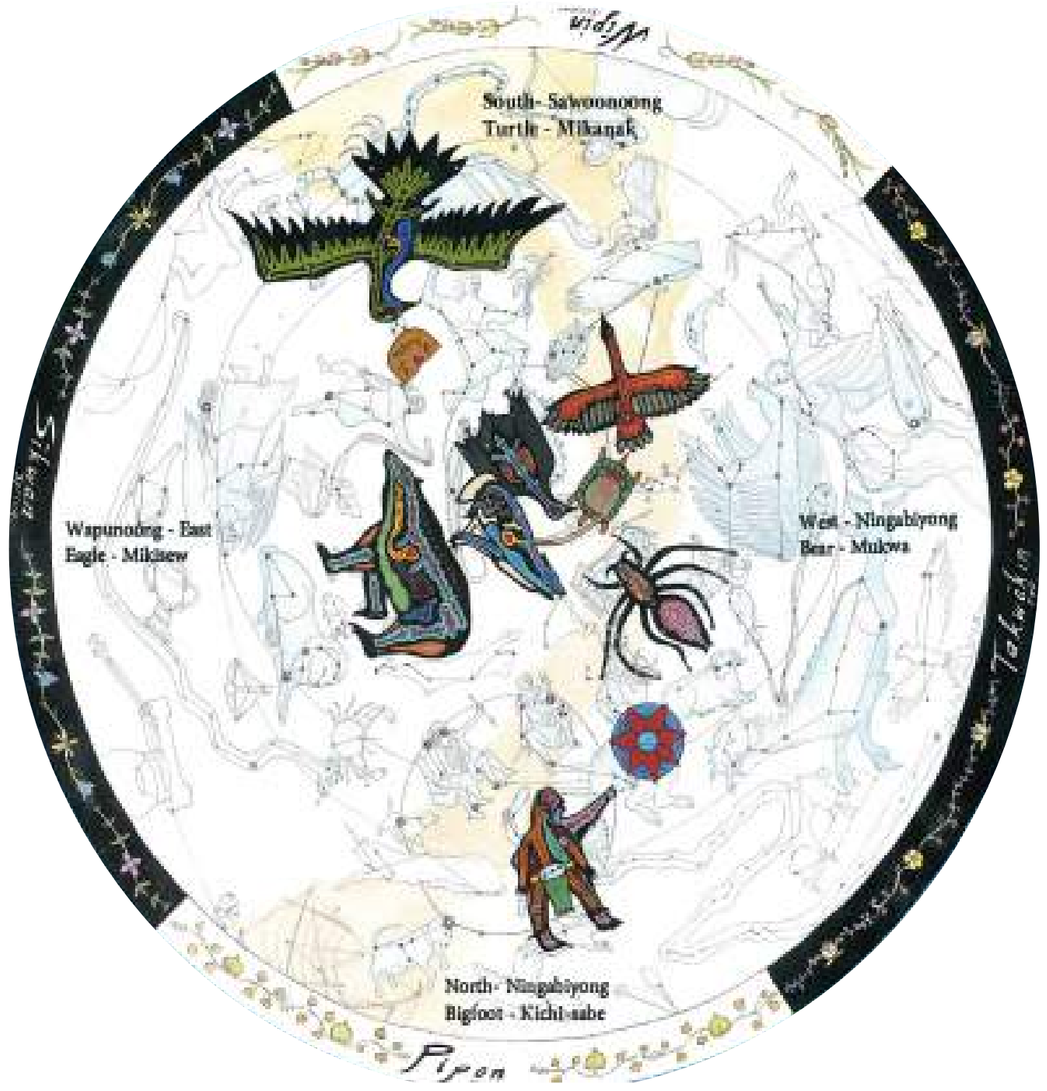
Some Anishiniwuk tell the story of how Turtle Island began with the earth covered in water, but others start their creation story with the Creator and the stars. After the Creator called on the spirits of air, water, and fire to create the universe, stars, and earth, the plants were created, with a gift of seeing into the future. Then animals were created, with a gift to see into the spirit world. Humans were the last to be created and given the role of taking care of the living earth world.

The Pleiades constellation is where mythology about creation meets science ideas about wormholes and alternative realities. The Pleiades are known as the “Hole in the Sky” as this group of stars is considered the centre of divine energy by many people on earth. The Pleiades represent the opening or doorway between Mother Earth and the star world. This “Hole in the Sky” leads to the spirit world. Pleiades’ appearance offers a gateway between worlds, allowing the living to see and talk to their ancestors.

The Pleiades stars are a winter constellation, which rises in October in the northeast sky and makes its way across the winter sky, sinking below the northwest horizon in April. In November, the Pleiades shine from dusk to dawn, so that month is often called the month of the Pleiades. The Pleiades are an open star cluster, known as the Seven Sisters and Messier 45, containing middle-aged stars. The Pleiades are positioned in the middle of the Taurus constellation. Of all the star clusters, the Pleiades are the most visible to the naked eye in the night sky, being nearest to Earth. These seven stars also represent the seven poles used in the construction of the Shaking Tent Ceremony.

According to the legend of the Pleiades and the Cree Astronomer Wilfred Buck, “we come from the stars.” The legend is that Star Woman saw how beautiful Earth was from another dimension and asked to be lowered down by Grandmother Spider who made a spider web. The strands of the web represent the umbilical cord. The pregnant Star Woman went through the hole in the sky and was lowered down safely by the spider’s web to Turtle Island to become the first human on earth. Star Woman descended, guided by birds, to land safely on a turtle’s back on Turtle Island.

On earth, the turtle generously offered her back to provide a home for plants, animals and humans on Turtle Island. Another story about Turtle Island is the flood story, which many Anishiniwuk proclaim to be the creation story while other Anishiniwuk tell as one of the many transformation legends. In this flood story, animals dove into the ancient waters of Lake Agassiz to retrieve soil, which was used to create (or recreate) the world. These transformation stories explain the big geological events that occurred on Turtle Island. These stories cover the fire age when continents shifted due to plate tectonics, which is when volcanoes formed mountains in Island Lake in the early Precambrian period. The ice age wore down these mountains from glacier action into smooth rocks. Then, the flooding age occurred when the glaciers melted and formed Lake Agassiz, which covered all of the Island Lake region and most of North America (Hill, 2020). In the flood story, Turtle Island was completely flooded by water, but some animals survived including the loon, the turtle, the muskrat, and the beaver. The turtle generously offered its shell to provide a home but needed soil to support life on land. The trickster, Wesakeychak, directed the animals to swim to the sea’s bottom to collect soil in order to (re)create the world. One by one, the animals tried to get soil but failed, including the powerful beaver. The last animal to try was the tiny muskrat. The muskrat swam down and stayed beneath the water for a long time. When the muskrat’s dead body resurfaced, the little animal held soil in its clenched paws. This heroic act that took the muskrat’s life allowed life to continue on land. The animals spread this mud onto the turtle, supporting the life of plants, animals, and humans on Turtle Island.



Anishininew Star Map modified from Buck and MFNERC,

The seasonal star map of the Northern Sky shows the star blanket and web. The star blanket represents the Seven Sisters with Star Woman being the eighth sister at the Hole in the Sky. Nearby is Grandmother Spider (Kokominakasis), who spins the web that lowers Star Woman down to earth. The birds, who helped guide Star Woman down to the turtle on earth, are also visible in the Northern sky. As well, the turtle is visible in the night sky for providing a home on Turtle Island.

TRAVEL ON THE LAND

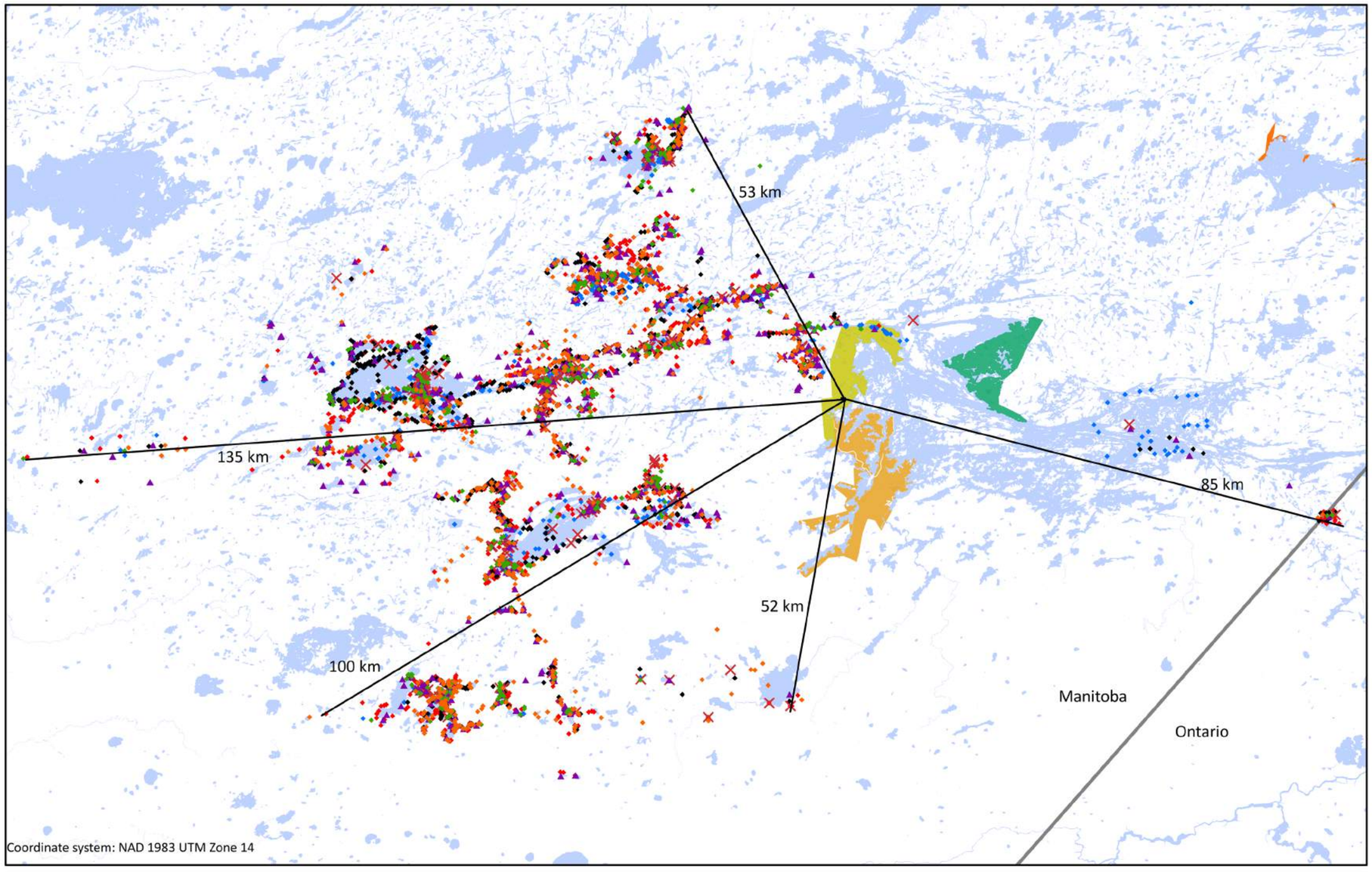
Distances to Reach Family Camps in their Territory

Wasagamack First Nation's territory is very large, and community members utilize their territory widely. This traditional land use research shows how widespread the harvesting activities are across their ancestral lands. Harvesting goes far beyond both the reserve boundaries and the trapline administrative boundaries.

Anishiniwuk travel great distances to harvest in their family camps. These distances are typically much greater than the aerial distance as canoe routes, and snowmobile trails follow meandering rivers, which double or triple the linear distances. To harvest food, Anishiniwuk travel large aerial distances of: 136 km in the west, 52 km to north, 82 km, which is east of the Ontario border, and 103 km to the southwest (Thapa, 2018) as shown in map 8.

Anishiniwuk generally venture with the hunters of their family to their family camps at least once per year. The hunters of the family may go more often despite the time or money cost. To get to their camps, either people must pay $300 to $800 one-way for float-planes, or paddle and portage canoes for a week or more one-way to get there. Dog sledding, snowmobiling or taking ice-roads provide the only means of travel in the winter.

Wasagamack has six seasons with people having to take helicopters as the only safe option during their ice freeze-up season and ice break-up season due to the lack of connecting roads to the airport or urban areas. During freeze-up and break-up, float planes are no longer able to land in icy waters.



Map 8. The map of Wasagamack territories with aerial travel distances to undertake traditional activities. Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

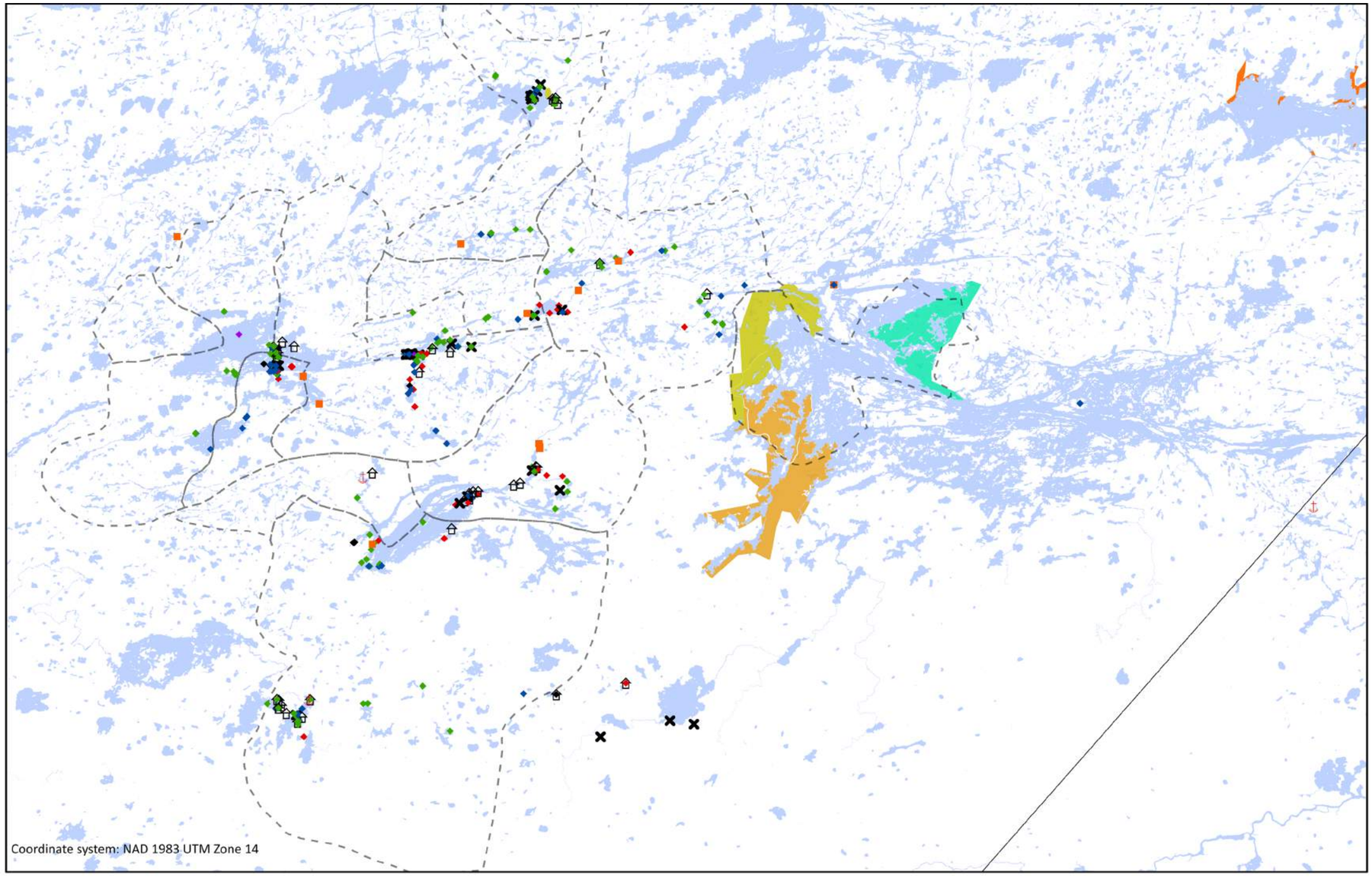
ANISHINIW PIMACHI OH WIN TANAPON

Cultural Sites

Cultural sites, including heritage and sacred areas, are key to the story of the Wasagamack people. These sites are why Wasagamack people say that “our DNA is in the land.” Wasagamack ancestors were born all over their land and died on their land. Elder Norah Whiteway spoke about how, when a baby is born in Wasagamack, the placenta that the mother shared with the baby is carefully laid in a sacred place on the land. The Anishiniwuk then becomes attached to this land, like the baby was to the mother in the womb.

Anishiniwuk have held ceremonies and sacred events throughout their territory and continue to do so. Anishiniwuk continue to pray and make an offering when plants or animals are harvested. This has been done for generations, which sanctified the land. This ancient practice of praying and providing an offering, whenever Anishiniwuk harvest, is continued today. These offerings and prayers seek a balance between sustaining people and aki. Through creativity and ingenuity, the needs of the people are balanced with the resources they need to survive. Each place in the Island Lake region is considered sacred from these prayers and from the Creator. Aki is sacred, requiring ceremonies, offerings and prayers for reciprocity.

Anishiniwuk ancestors are welcomed to meals and ceremonies by offering them a dish of food to feed these spirits. The Anishiniwuk ancestors continue to be present and walk on the land. Rather than only living in and for the present, the Anishiniwuk identify as the grandchild of all of the ancestors that came before and the grandparents of all future generations. Cultural sites are documented in map 9 from Pelican Lake on the west; Gunisao River and Cantin Lakes on the south; Amos and Namaykos Lakes on the North; Island, Hilton, McIver and Arnot Lakes on the East.



Map 9. Cultural sites of Wasagamack First Nation (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

KI NO SE

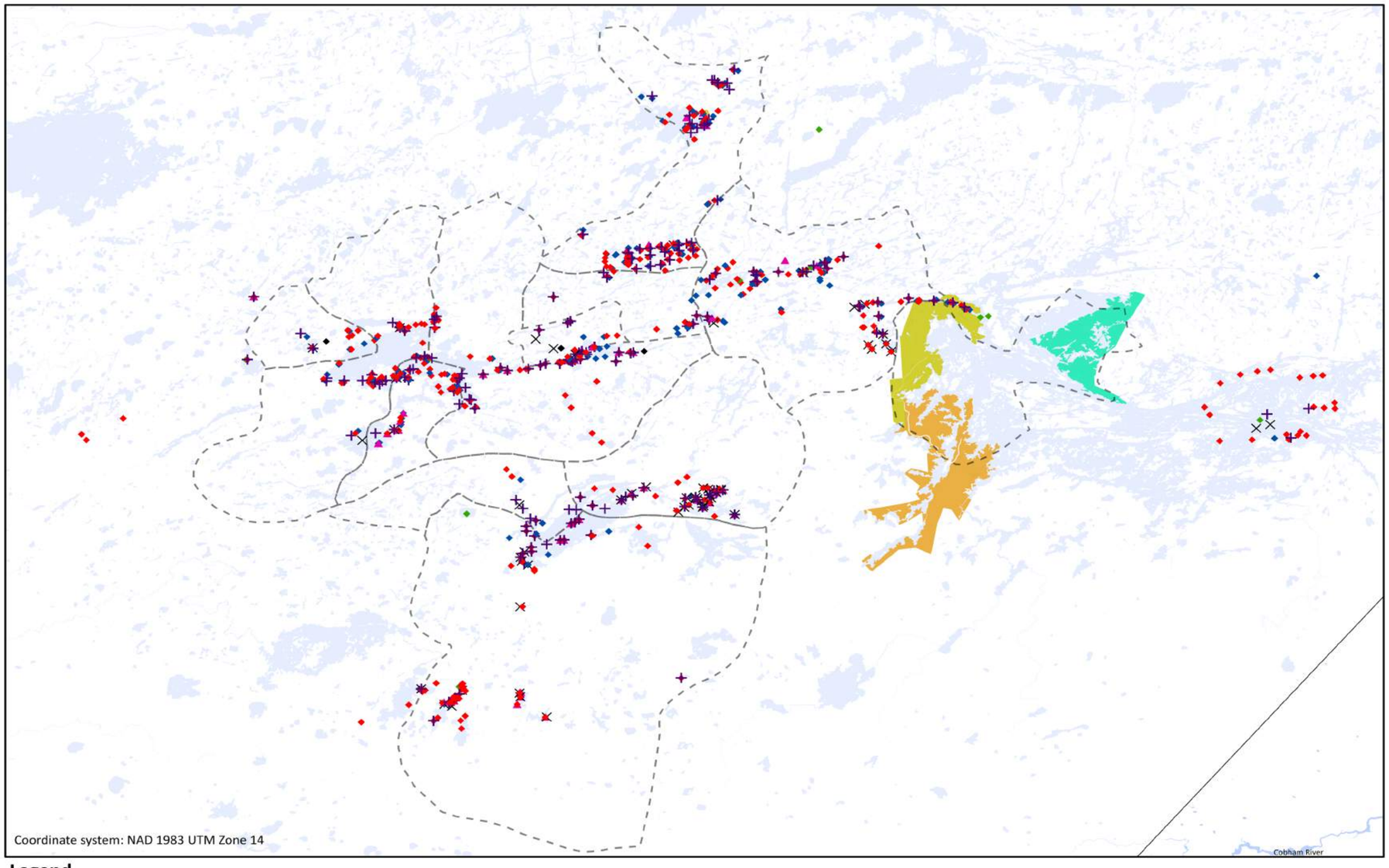
Sustenance Fishing Sites

Map 10 shows that “fishing is the farming of the north” (Thompson et al, 2012), with Wasagamack Anishiniwuk catching fish for sustenance throughout their ancestral land. Anishiniwuk most intensively fish in the fall, which coincides with good hunting access for both moose, as it is their mating season, and ducks and geese during their migration season.

Fish is the staple food in the north (Thompson et al., 2012). This abundance of fish in their diet is illustrated by a story about a fish competing with a moose about who is more important to the Anishiniwuk. These two animals debate who supplies the most food to the Anishiniwuk. The moose brags: “I am so gigantic; I can provide a feast for an entire community.” But the fish laughs: “Ha ha! You, the moose, run away when hunted. On the other hand, fish swim right into the nets each time the Anishiniwuk set them. We, the fish, provide the Anishiniwuk more and easier access to food.” The moose is a sore loser in this competition, stepping on the fish’s head, which is why the jackfish has the long, flat snout.

When worried about food supply and security with COVID-19, fishing nets were the first request. The Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership sent up four ice fishing net kits in April 2020, along with rabbit snares. Further, Four Arrows Regional Health Authority, Island Lake Tribal Council and the Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership sent up a further 10 fishing nets in July 2020 to all the Island Lake communities as a way to sustainably feed the community.

As well as sustenance fishing, commercial fishing occurs. The Wasagamack Fishers Association formed a cooperative for fishers to work together to get their fish to market under a RO287 Special Dealers License for the Wasake Producers Fishing Cooperatives in 2015. The money obtained from fishing is small but helps to fly the fisher’s family to the trapline to hunt and fish for sustenance in the fall.



Map 10. Sustenance fishing sites identified in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

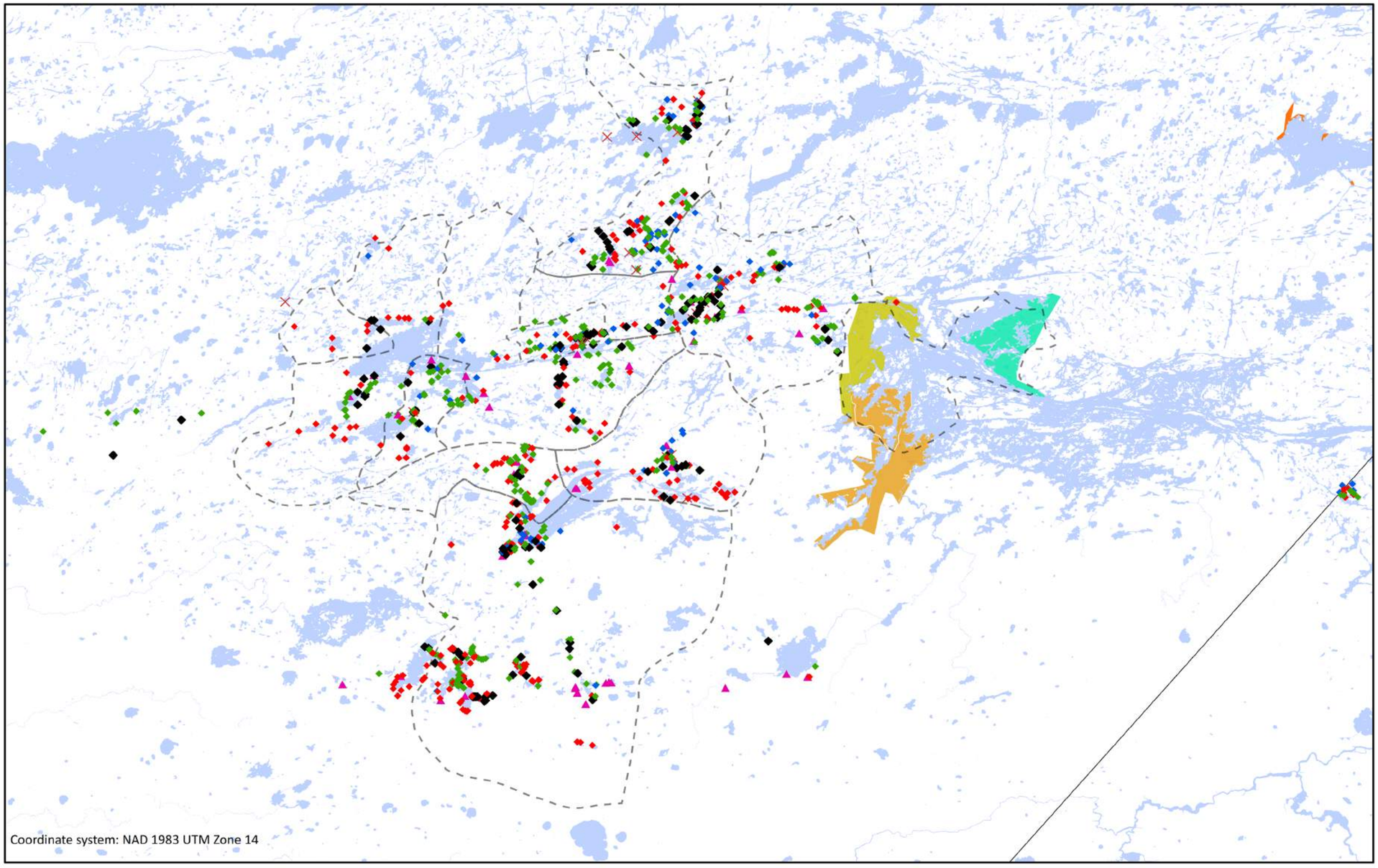
PISISKWAK

Sustenance Hunting Sites

Although harvesters in Wasagamack First Nation no longer depend solely on wild foods, hunting and trapping of animals remain an important food source. Hunting and trapping occur throughout their ancestral lands. Map 11 shows the animal harvesting sites of Wasagamack. Moose and many other species (beaver, muskrat, ducks, geese, etc.) harvested are semi-aquatic, which help explain why most harvest sites cluster around lakes and rivers.

Moose is the prize catch being large enough to feed an extended family over the winter. Moose, although land animals, are excellent swimmers, wading into water to eat aquatic plants and to cool off. Anishiniwuk told stories of how they were able to drown moose in the lake without needing a gun to obtain food. The Anishiniwuk lasso and pull moose underwater from their boats. Then , with that rope the Anishiniwuk drag the moose to land to harvest, cook and share.

A moose kill is considered significant on many levels. A moose kill provides abundant food, but also is a rite of passage. In Anishininew culture, youth are considered to turn into adults when they kill their first moose. Also, when a man wants to marry into a woman's family, it is customary to give a moose head to the mother of the woman he loves. This shows the mother respect and indicates that this man will be a good provider to her family and daughter.



Map 11. Sustenance animal hunting sites identified in the Wasagamack First Nation territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

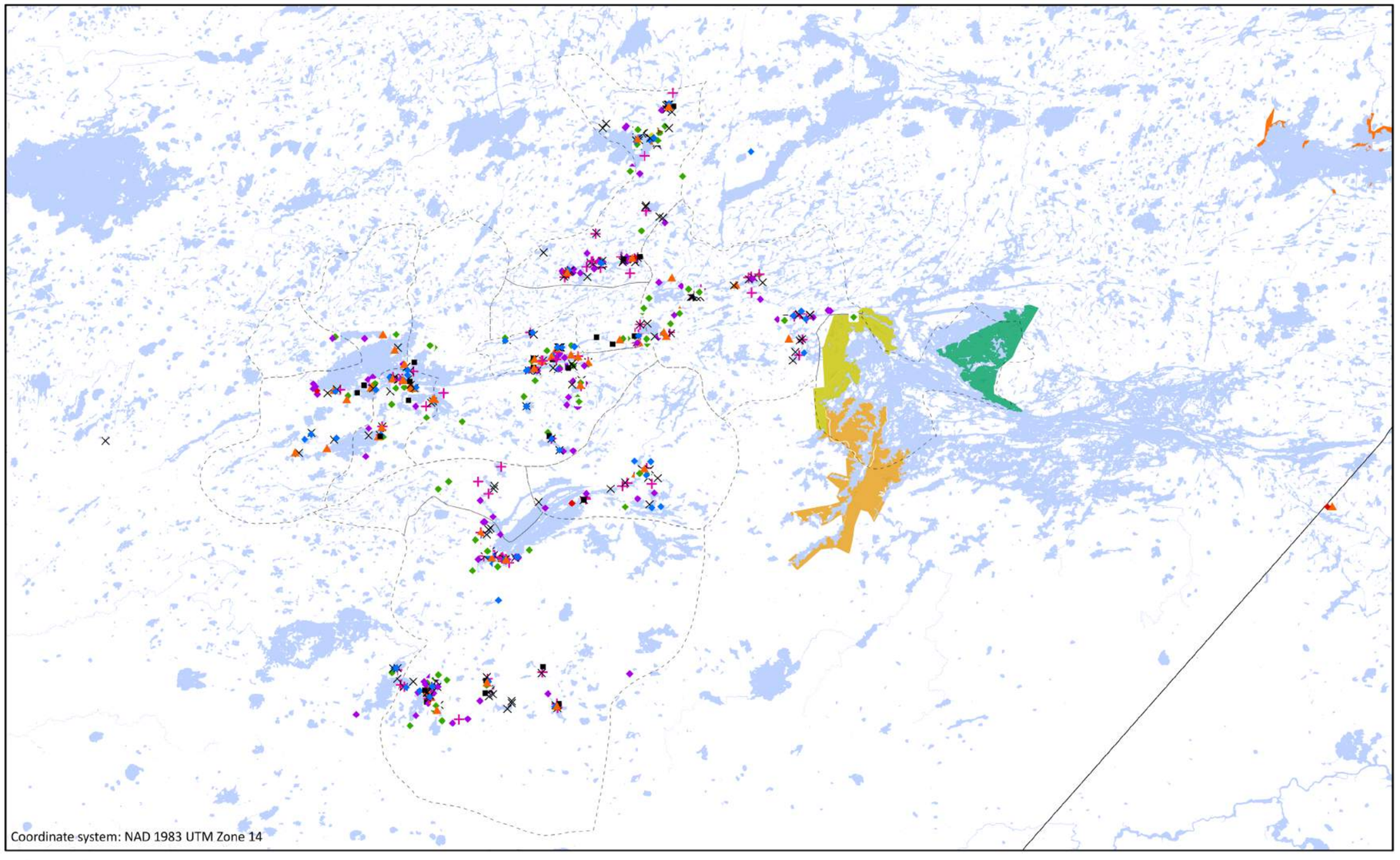
KICHIKANSAN E KWAMINA NOPIMINK

Plant, Wood, and Earth Material Collection Sites

Wasagamack harvesters collect berries, food plant, medicinal plants, moss, and specialty wood for smoking fish, as well as earth materials. Map 12 displays the sites where plant, wood and earth materials are collected. Some key sites for gathering activities include: Kalliecahoolie Lake, Kitchi Lake, Fairy Rock Lake, Stevenson River, Mainland River, Stevenson Lake, Raven Lake, Bigstone Lake, Knight Lake, Oseepapkosik River, and Gunisao River.

Wild rice (*Zizania palustris*) is presently being harvested from Kalliecahoolie Lake. Wild rice has been a staple food of Indigenous peoples for centuries, providing health and food security to humans and feeding wildlife including fish and waterfowl. Hallowell, in the 1930s, described wild rice growing east of Island Lake to Norway House.

Seventy to 80% of people worldwide rely on traditional herbal medicine to meet their primary health care needs (Uprety et al., 2012). The Anishiniwuk still depend on many herbal medicines for health. They know that the best time to pick the buds, tips and roots of medicine plants is in the spring, before the leaves start to develop. But for flowers, bark, roots, for weekay, labrador tea, and rose hips, wait until the fall to harvest. Most Anishiniwuk continue to use Weekay, which is the strongest of traditional medicines. Chewing on a piece of the dried Weekay root can help relieve sore throats, cold symptoms, fevers, and toothaches. The leaves of Labrador tea (Kakikepakwa), when boiled, make a medicinal tea to alleviate stress. Kakike means forever in Anishinimowin, as the leaves remain green and can be picked any time of year. Tea brewed from the leaves of blueberry plants (Osawasukmin) reduces blood sugar levels and purifies the blood. Blueberry roots in tea help women to relax during childbirth. Spruce gum (Mistikopikiw) heals rashes, burns or eczema, and treats asthma, coughs or colds.



Map 12. Plant, wood and earth material collection sites of Wasagamack First Nation people in their traditional territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

PINESISSAK

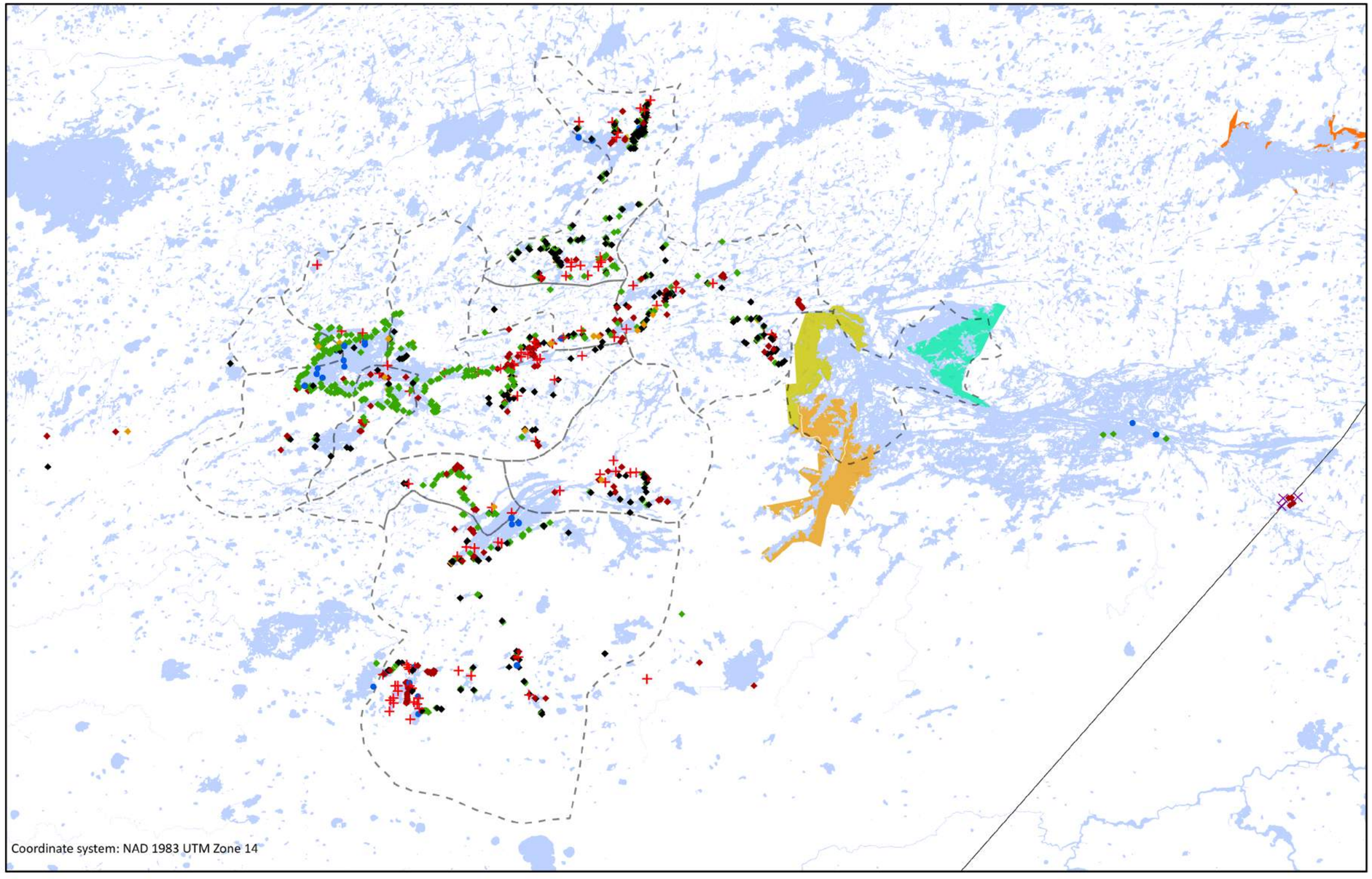
Bird and Egg Harvesting Sites

Birds are very special to the Anishiniwuk as their flight brings them close to the Creator. Thus, birds are very spiritual beings. The eagle is particularly special as the eagle is believed to pass the Anishiniwuks' messages to the Creator.

Ducks, geese and grouse are regular food sources, with ptarmigan, loon and swan being eaten on occasion. People also collect and eat birds' eggs. Bird and egg harvesting was done by Wasagamack First Nation in the areas seen in map 13. Birds and eggs are harvested typically at greater distances from the reserve than for other food harvesting. The harvesting sites are mainly in Makwa Lake and Cantin Lake in the south, near Lebrix Lake in the west, Amos Lake and Naykos Lake in the north, and Hilton Lake in the east.

European settlers hunted migratory birds on their southern migratory route on a massive scale during the late 1800s. Migratory birds in North America were hunted by settlers to the brink of extinction including trumpeter swans, whooping cranes, passenger pigeons, Canadian geese, ducks, etc. (National Geographic, 2019). Some species were extirpated and others decreased precipitously with reduced numbers returning to nest in Island Lake. Spring goose hunts and fall goose hunts were both important as cultural events and for food security. The numbers of geese and ducks in Island Lake remain low to this day, compared to the great abundance of migratory birds nesting in Island Lake in the past.

Eagle populations also fell due to chemical pesticide-use, such as DDT, in the twentieth century. These eagles, being on the top of the food chain, died from eating contaminated fish and birds in their southern migration travels. As eagles are believed to be the messengers that deliver Anishiniwuk prayers to the Creator, the return of the eagles is a good omen for Mino Bimaadiziwin in the future.



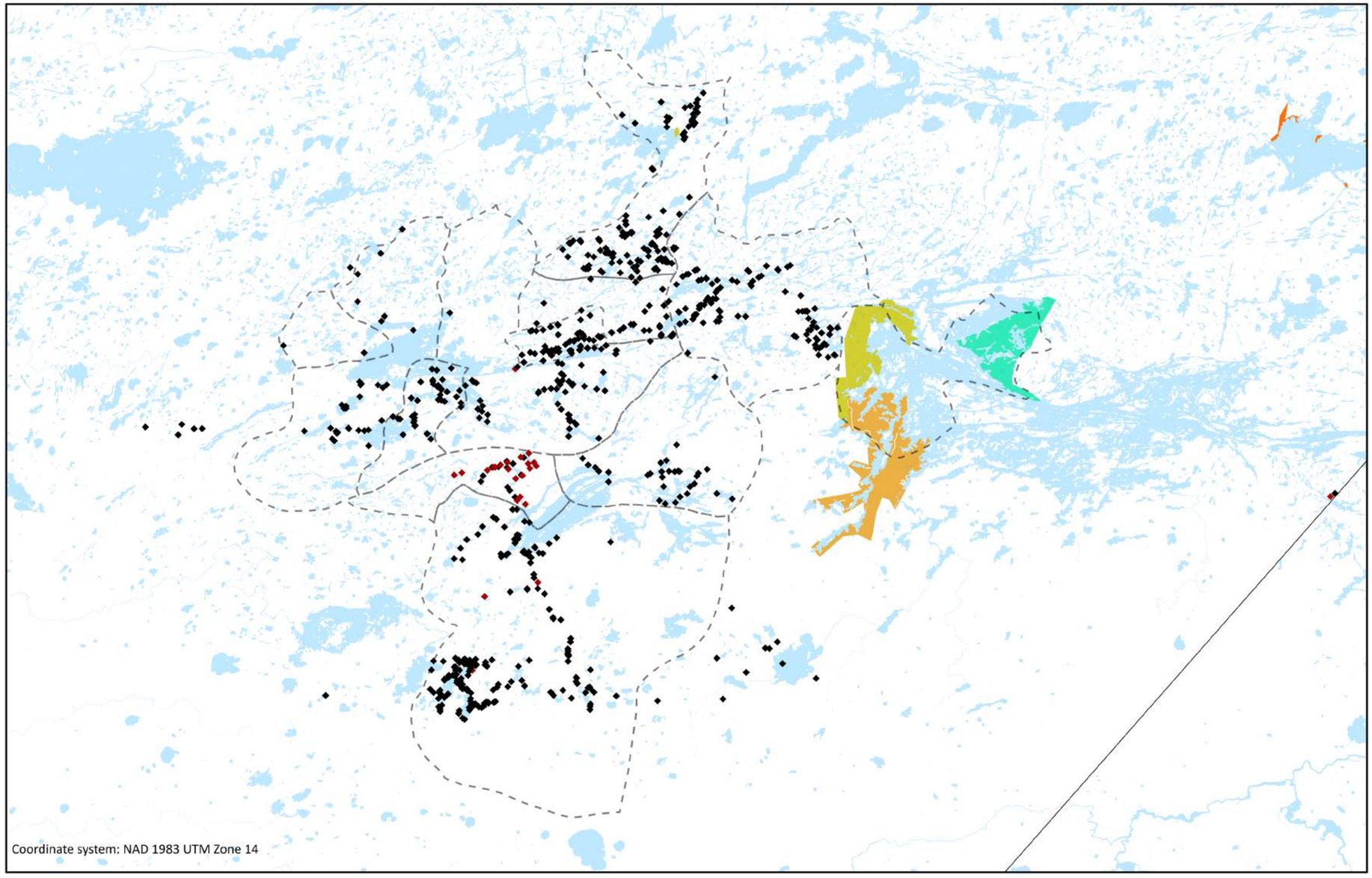
Map 13: Bird harvesting sites of Wasagamack First Nation people in their traditional territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

WACHASK

Trapping Sites

Anishiniwuk family camps, including their hunting and trapping areas, became colonial administrative boundaries, called traplines. The colonial government assigned seven trapline areas to Wasagamack in 1940, based roughly on clan hunting grounds. The trapline assignments were designed to maximize the number of furs traded to the Hudson Bay Company. The government required the head trapper and other trappers to purchase annual licenses to allow them to trap for fur and meat. This is one of the many ways that the Province exerts its control over natural resources, despite the land being Indigenous ancestral land. This Indigenous ancestral land is being occupied and stewarded to this day almost exclusively by Indigenous people.

A trapline is a route set out by Indigenous people to trap and hunt wild animals for harvesting their fur, pelt, and meat. Traplines are regular routes to trap and hunt wild animals for their fur and meat (Tough, 1996). The traditional land uses were found to be much more extensive than the trapline boundaries indicate and so the trapline is not recommended to be used to define Wasagamack's territory. Map 14 presents the seven traplines assigned to Wasagamack First Nation and the trapping sites. Traplines are distributed up to Stevenson Lake, Pelican Lake, and Lone Nest Lake in the west; Makwa lake and Namaykosogun Lake in the south; and Joint River in the north. The majority of the traplines of Wasagamack First Nation are located between Stevenson Lake and West Namaykos Lake. Wasagamack trapping is most evident in Bennet Lake, Makwa Lake, Stevenson River, Mainland River, Kitchi Lake, and Oseepapkosik River.



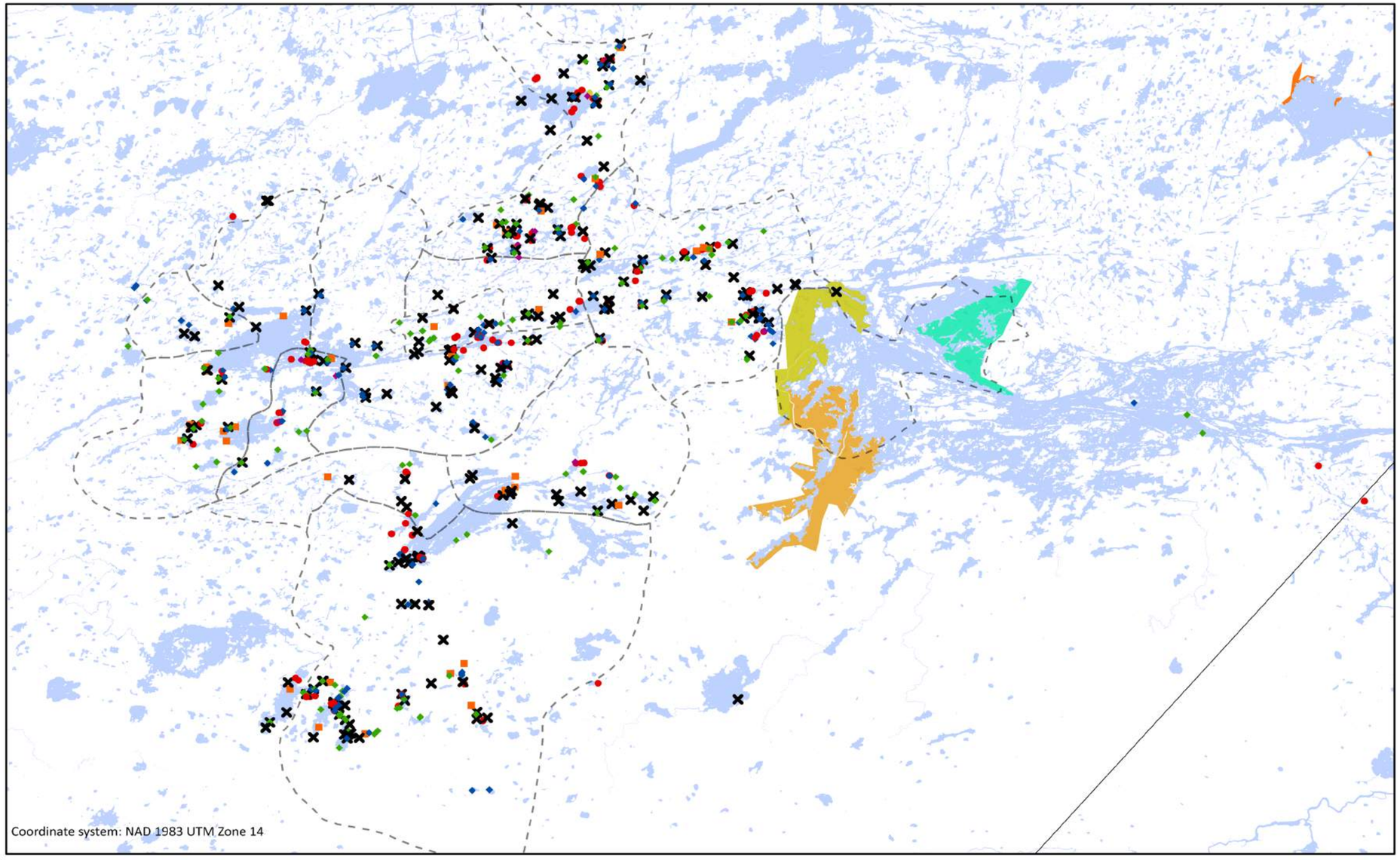
Map 14. Trapping sites in Wasagamack First Nation in their traditional territory (n=49). Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

KASIMANIKAPESINAWAK

Overnight Stay Sites

Overnight sites are where Anishiniwuk stay overnight on the land to hunt, heal, travel, educate, etc. (Map 15). People stayed in log cabins, plywood cabins, tents with stove, tents without stove, and, when traveling, under the open sky. Most of the people interviewed have slept in a tent with a stove and slept under the open sky for overnight stays in their ancestral lands. Log cabins are mostly used for overnight stays in Bigstone Lake and Stevenson River and are the locations that families congregate.

People bring their families to their cabins on their traplines to experience Indigenous knowledge. On the land, they hunt, fish, tell stories, and engage in ceremony. They are able to learn from the land. People stay overnight and have constructed lodgings as far as Lebrix Lake in the west, Wapinkway Lakes in the south, Hilton Lake in the east, and Namaykos Lake in the north.



Map 15. Overnight stay sites of Wasagamack community members in their traditional territory (n=49). May by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and Whiteway.

PROTECTING THE FOODSHED

Proposed Foodshed of Wasagamack

To be sustainable, food resources have to be regenerative, and that requires protecting the foodshed (Friedmann, 2014). The foodshed in Wasagamack encompasses all the local food systems components, including the places and people engaged in harvesting, transporting, preparing, and eating. Examining the foodshed explores the importance of protecting aki as the source of food, just like watershed conservation is undertaken to protect the drinking water supply (Friedmann, 2014).

Map 16 shows the foodshed of Wasagamack First Nation of 13,378 square kilometres. This foodshed is the area required to harvest wild food sustainably for Wasagamack. The foodshed is estimated based on government traplines, the harvest sites from the sample of 49 harvesters, and the habitat area for the harvested moose. This estimate method considers wildlife sustenance by applying the largest habitat area of the species eaten.

Indigenous food systems are based on reciprocal relations between aki and Indigenous peoples. Aki shares its bounty of food and regenerates its abundance in exchange for Indigenous peoples' efforts to steward, harvest, and learn from aki (LaDuke, 2002). Indigenous food systems require that people establish an intimate and spiritual connection to aki, including aki's plants and animals. Aki and wild foods are not considered commodities for Indigenous peoples. Rather, food and aki offer a sacred relationship with the ancestors, culture, and animals to celebrate Indigenous culture (Cidro et al., 2015; Wilson, 2003).

As the Wasagamack First Nation's territory has ecological integrity, Indigenous food sovereignty should theoretically be possible. Indigenous food sovereignty involves a Nation's people, including youth (Four Arrows Regional Health Authority, 2018), in defining its "strategies and policies and develop food systems and practices that reflect their own cultural values around producing, consuming, and distributing food" (Coté, 2016, 8). But sustainable use of wild foods is not only contingent on the ecological integrity of aki but also demands that people have a strong cultural foundation (Cidro et al., 2015). This cultural foundation requires expert knowledge of animal, plant, and fish habitats as well as protocols and ceremonies for hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and living on their ancestral territory (Ballard, 2012). Place shapes the knowledge, skills, and lifestyles required of the Anishiniwuk (Ballard, 2012).

Not only is the terrestrial ecosystem important but also the aquatic ecosystem in the Island Lake region. People still drink directly from the lakes and also fish, hunt, trap, and gather in or nearby water bodies. To fish and hunt aquatic animals, Anishiniwuk travel by boat. Due to its importance in food sustenance and traditional land uses, the Hayes watershed is also marked in Map 16 as being important for not only ecological integrity but also cultural integrity.

Island Lake is in the Hayes watershed, which is very large and extends into Ontario, as does Wasagamack First Nation members' traplines and land use. As damming anywhere on this watershed would impact the hydrological levels throughout the Hayes watershed, including Island Lake, a dam would play havoc with wildlife, fishing, transportation, traditional uses, and ecological integrity. Watershed contamination or flooding is impossible to contain within an isolated area and will spill over to the watershed. Therefore, the watershed level is the scale needed to ensure protection of the ecological integrity of Wasagamack's ancestral territory for traditional land uses and food sovereignty.

Community-led development, traditional land uses, and intact ecosystems are considered more valuable than gold to Wasagamack's Anishiniwuk. All community members interviewed agreed with Johnathan Harper's statement: "The land is perfect the way it is. People do not want to see any industrial development, only community development in their territory."

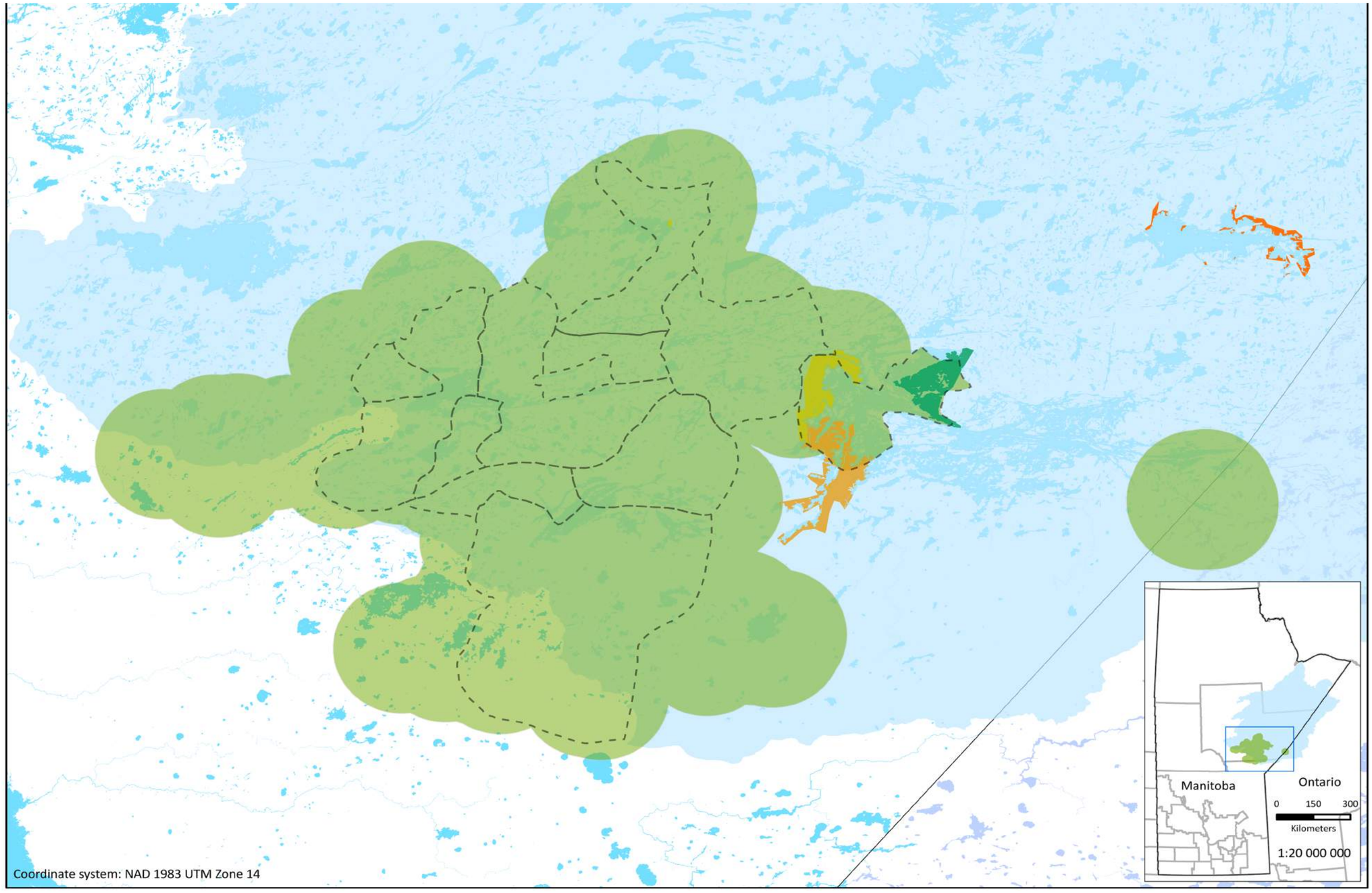
Although mapping can help define the geographical range of harvesting and its importance in Indigenous territories, maps lack the ability to convey the cultural significance of harvesting wild foods (Minkin et al., 2014). To do this, qualitative research through interviews and participatory video captured the stories from Elders and active harvesters' regarding harvesting and traditional land use. For example, Victor's statement that his Anishinimowin ancestors harvested and prayed everywhere in their territory connects food to spirituality. Many people in Wasagamack continue to provide prayers and offerings when harvesting.

There are many more harvesters than 49 in the Wasagamack community of 1403 residents (Statistics Canada, 2016). The harvesters are 10 to 20 times the number of harvesters interviewed, so the trapline areas are a proxy of the areas that others use. These trapline boundaries are colonial administrative boundaries to define where community members trap wildlife. Trapping occurs at the same time as hunting, fishing, and other traditional activities. So, although traplines do not limit the hunting and fishing activities, these areas are clearly used for harvesting, with people buying their license each year to ensure their right to trap there. Traplines are thus considered in determining the foodshed area.

The Island Lake foodshed shows that large areas of habitat are necessary for a traditional diet to feed the community and to ensure that ecological integrity must be maintained. The maps of the foodshed and the sub-watersheds provide information for First Nations to assert their ancestral territory claim to provincial and federal government for Indigenous land use planning of this area.

To feed the community with wildlife, the foodshed requires protecting the wildlife's habitat range. The Wasagamack First Nation foodshed considers that large areas of habitat are necessary for a traditional diet to feed the community and for ecological integrity. These foodsheds provide evidence for Wasagamack First Nation to begin consultation and dialogue with the provincial and federal government for Indigenous land use planning of their territories. This large expanse of ancestral land to nourish Wasagamack is of primary importance for protection and community planning.

Fish and wild animals are the key food of Wasagamack First Nation. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.



Map 16: Foodshed of Wasagamack First Nation based on food harvesting sites, particularly moose and their habitat range from 49 interviews and trapline. Map by: Thompson, Thapa, Harper and

PROTECTING WASAGAMACK

Wasagamack Threatened by Mining

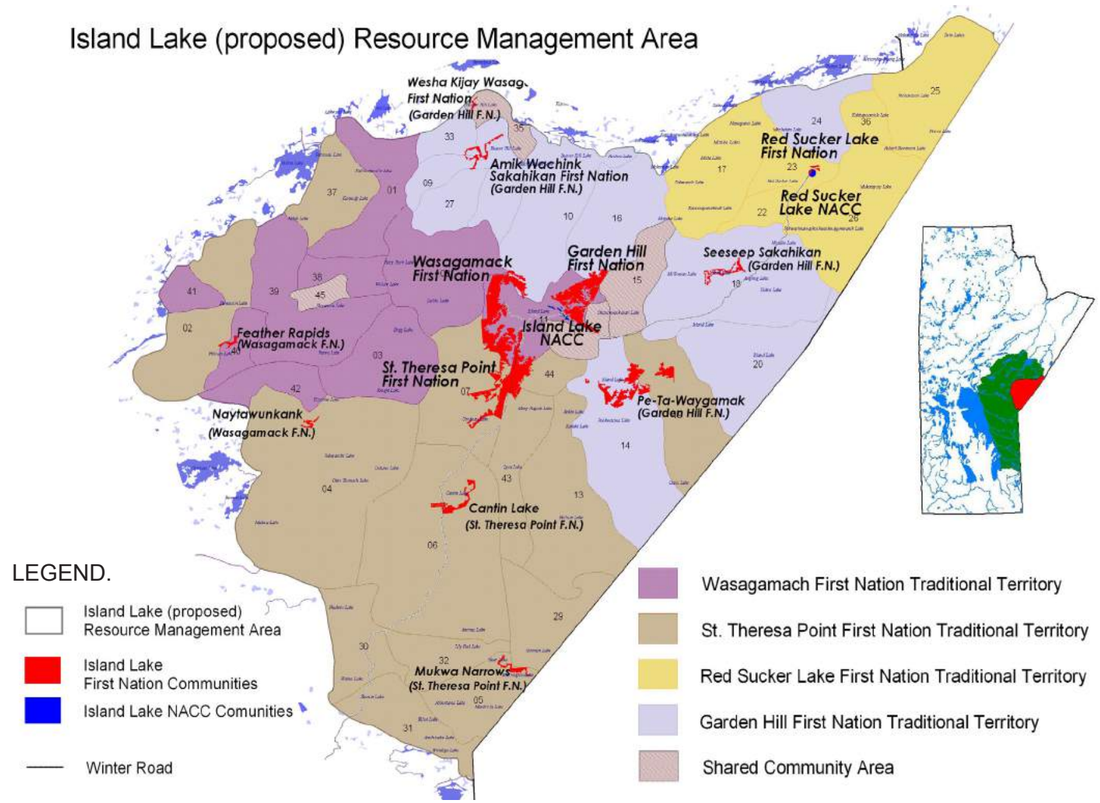
Industrial mining development is unacceptable to Wasagamack people, according to interviews, surveys, and workshops, whether the mining activity is exploration, drilling, etc. Mining is recognized as undermining Wasagamack's traditional pursuits and their Indigenous rights. Sharon Mason, past Chief of Wasagamack, shared: *"We have heard from the people so far that they don't want to see mining. They [community members] don't want to see those outside companies coming in, doing their exploratory research or damaging the lands and waters. Taking all the money that [our land and water] can provide for them. And then leaving us with the mess … You come and ask us [for mining], and, so far, we have been saying no."* (Mason in Thapa, 2018). The Anishiniwuk seek sustainability and regeneration that aids Creation, rather than adopting development practices that desecrate the environment and resources (McGregor, 2013).

Self-determination focuses on the right of Indigenous peoples to define for themselves their Indigenous knowledge systems and to manage the lands and resources in their traditional territories to realize a good life. In pre- and early contact times, Indigenous peoples were self-sufficient and self-governing (Ballard and Thompson, 2013). Indigenous self-determination asserts the right of Indigenous peoples to decide their own social, economic, and cultural development (García-Alix, 2003). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) declares that Indigenous people are entitled to define within existing states their cultural protection, institutions of governance, special relationships to the land, traditional economic activities, and representation on all decision-making bodies on issues that concern them (Musafiri, 2012). The right to self-determination of Indigenous peoples is also upheld in the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Coulter, 2010).

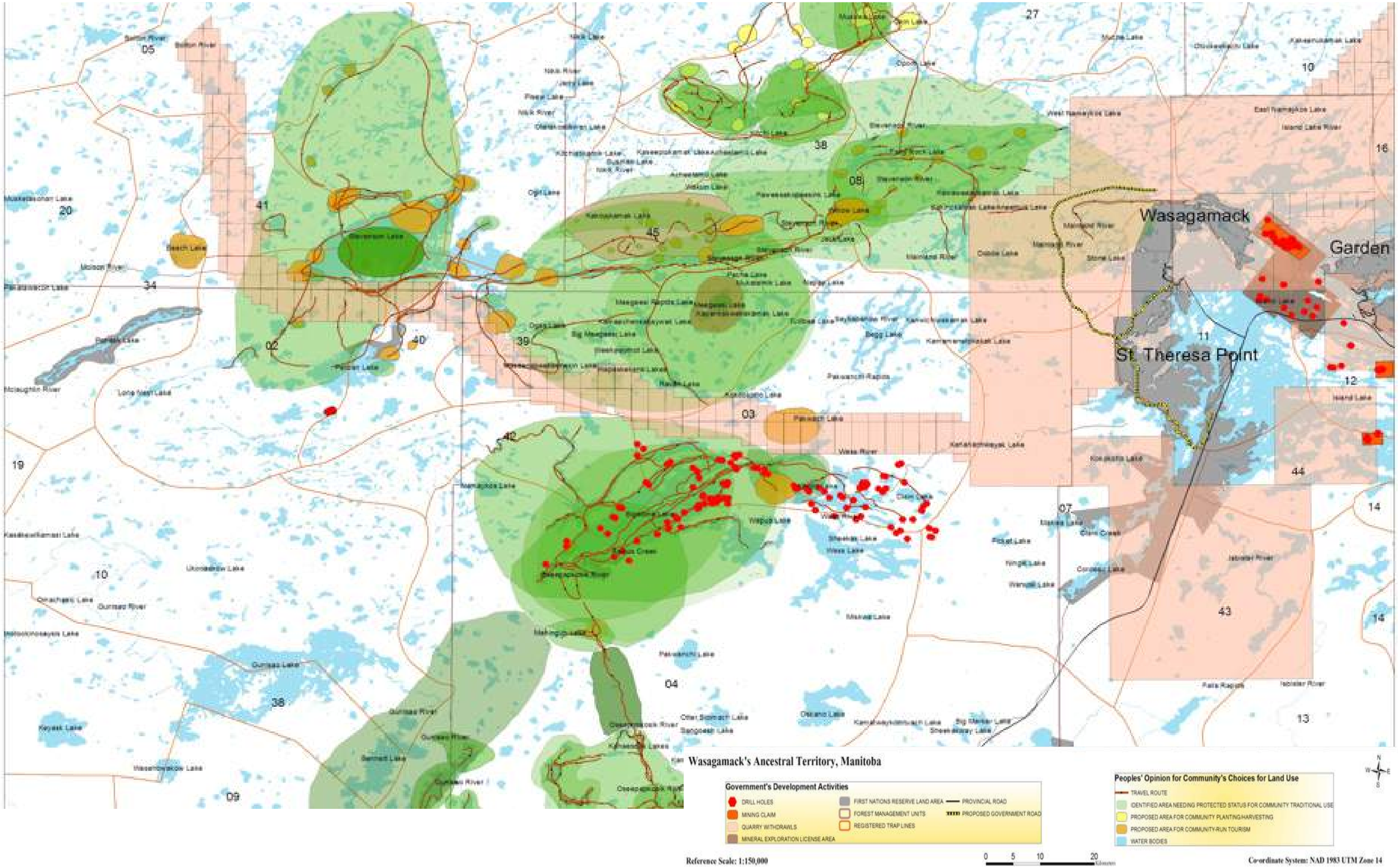
Oppositely, the provincial government has legislated that mining is the only use of areas with high mineral potential, known as greenstone areas, which are abundant in this area of ancient rock (Manitoba Government, 2011). More specifically, the conflict of the plan for protecting land for traditional land uses versus mining is apparent nearby to Bigstone Lake, Asikus Creek, Oseepapkosik River, Knight Lake, Wass River, and Clam Lake (Map 17). Similarly, the government has designated quarry withdrawls near Stevenson Lake, Pelican Lake, Maseenapeekeenekin Lake, Wapaskekank Lakes, Raven Lake, Kokookoho Lake, Pakwach Lake, Dobbs Lake, Kakinokamak Lake, Aneemus Lake, Mainland River, and Stone Lake despite these areas being identified for community protection by Wasagamack First Nation community members. Elder Nora Whiteway worries about her territory from the impacts of mining: "*If a mine goes through there [trapline], if something goes through there, what is left for children, the future generations? Nothing is left. We have to preserve our lands, our traplines, and our traditional berries"* (Whiteway in Thapa, 2018).

The community and the University of Manitoba went into the WNO planning process in good faith, unaware of Manitoba passing The Land Use Planning Act Regulation (2011), also known as Regulation 81/2011. Regulation 81/2011 designated greenstone belts as essential resources to be controlled for industrial development rather than community use or protection. These greenstone belts are largely in First Nation traditional territory in northern Manitoba, with many of these areas in the Island Lake and God's Lake regions. As mentioned earlier, Regulation 81/2011 states that greenstone belts are not allowed to be protected for community land use to ensure the development of: *"economically valuable mineral, oil and natural gas resources from land uses that would preclude exploration, extraction and development"* (Manitoba Government, 2011, 38). Further, the Regulation 81/2011 states that lands with greenstone belts cannot be protected and conserved for traditional uses by stating that: *"greenstone belts…must be identified and protected from conflicting surface land uses that could interfere with access to the resources"* (Manitoba Government, 2011, 38). This idea of protection for industrial consumption is contradictory. Mining typically destroys landscape and water quality, rather than protecting or conserving land and water.

Passing this regulation without any First Nation consultation while underfunding First Nations to engage and develop their plans for ancestral lands with government undermined the WNO. Consultation, as written up in the constitution and UNDRIP, is only considered adequate based on informed consent. Contrary to this, the First Nations engaged in the East-side planning process were not made aware of Regulation 81/2011 or consulted and so could not have consented. Only in 2017, when Island Lake Tribal Council was discussing with the Province how to protect the entirety of their territory (map 17), which would include the Wasagamack territory, did the Province explain that they could not conserve all this land, due to Regulation 81/2011. Indigenous peoples, according to UNDRIP, have a right to determine development in their territory, which Regulation 81/2011 tries to undermine by restricting the options for development on their territory. A new governance regime led by Indigenous communities is needed for sustainable development. In contrast, currently the government is privileging mining companies and promoting unsustainable development, against UNDRIP. Indigenous peoples are of the view that aki is sacred and their needs and vision are key to sustainability. Development plans need to consider more than money in dealing with these ancient mountains that formed from volcanoes almost 1.9 million years ago, as the Anishiniwuk see these smooth rocks on their territory as sacred.



Map 17. The proposed resource management area for the Island Lake Region by the Island Lake Tribal Council.
Map source: Island Lake Tribal Council



Map 18. Wasagamack First Nation's vision for Land Uses on their Traditional Territories (n=33) versus externally imposed development from government and mines. Map by: Thompson, Rahman, Harper and Whiteway.

PROTECTING ANCESTRAL TERRITORY

Indigenous Community Planning

Old growth forest, pristine lakes and fluency in Indigenous languages by people on the land no longer exists for most areas in the world. However, with minimal settlers and industrial development to date in Wasagamack and Island Lake, this vision is uniquely possible in Island Lake. All the Wasagamack community members interviewed for map biographies (n=49) and for participatory video (n=8) agree that destructive industrial development that has been unleashed everywhere in the world is not what they desire in their ancestral territory. People unanimously said their ancestral land needs protection and that outsider industrial development was unacceptable. Aki is seen by the community as perfect the way the Creator made it. The land provides the roots for identity, language, and culture for the Anishiniwuk. Sharon Mason, past Chief of Wasagamack, emphasized:

"Your connection to the land, your tie to the land, makes you who you are … We are so intimately tied and connected that to lose the land is to lose another part of ourselves, a critical part of ourselves. It's important that we re-establish those connections because those connections have been severed by colonization and residential schools."

Community-led education, at all levels including post-secondary, elementary, and secondary, is wanted to ensure that students receive nopimink education. Aki provides the perfect teacher for nopimink. The community vision for overcoming colonial imposed poverty and underdevelopment to achieve Mino Bimaadiziwin is through local community development rather than industrial development. Victor Harper stated:

"Indigenous land [use] planning – number one [priority] is we have to regain what was there before the [Canadian] government. The reason why we want to do Indigenous land planning is for economic development. The way I have listened to our Elders spoke is that I never heard [they say] no [to progress], but they want to be a part of the decision making."

The interest in planning and development from a community perspective was on healing and building the capacity of the people and community. People felt reconciliation and renewal was required after the assaults of residential school, economic marginalization, and other colonial policies. The community priorities are having adequate healthy housing, post-secondary education opportunities in their community, food sovereignty, and infrastructure, including an airport in the community.

Community planning takes into account economics, design, ecology, sociology, geography, law, political science, and statistics to guide and ensure culturally appropriate Anishiniwuk land use and planning for their traditional land and community (Shandas et al, 2008). Indigenous planning methods that meet basic needs, environmental goals, and cultural priorities of traditional land uses were undertaken. However, the focus of this research has specifically been Indigenous traditional land use and ancestral occupancy and so will not be a final community plan, which is a political rather than a research decision.

Wasagamack members identified specialized areas for community protection for traditional use, agro-ecology, and community tourism in their territory. As well, any development within the Hayes watershed is considered to impact their territory and as a result should be consulted, as well as considered for impact benefit agreements. Map 17 provides a draft map of a community planning exercise. The brown areas are the areas proposed for community-run tourism in Namaykos Lake, Joint River, and Kiask Lake; areas in Stevenson River, Willow Lake, Fairy Rock Lake, and Kakinokamak Lake; areas in Stevenson Lake, and Pelican Lake; and areas in Pakwach Lake and Knight Lake. These areas are proposed by the community members for protection, so communities could use those protected areas for their traditional uses of land such as hunting, fishing, plant harvesting, overnight stay, and cultural purposes.

The areas the Anishiniiwuk proposed for community protection include areas around Gunisao River, Makwa Lake, Bennett Lake, Namaykosogun Lake, Oseepapkosik River, Kaneesotik Lake, Mahingun Lake, Asikus Creek Lake, Bigstone Lake, Namaykos Lake, Wapus Lake, Knight Lake, Stevenson Lake, Stevenson River, Kakinokamak Lake, Wakun Lake, Acheetamo Lake, Jack Lake, Willow Lake, Paweesakopeesink Lake, Mainland River, Dobbs Lake, Mainland River, Stone Lake, Fairy Rock Lake, Kitchi Lake, Muskwa Lake, Joint River, Kaskakwak Lake, Kakeenukamak Lake, Kalliecahoolie Lake, Amos Lake, Joint River, Kisak Lake, and Namaykos Lake. The yellow areas are proposed for cultivation which include areas in Oseepapkosik River in the south, and areas between Kitchi Lake up to Amos Lake and Namaykos Lake in the north.

In an Elders Gathering in Winnipeg, Elder Victor Harper highlighted showing Wasagamack's territory and the route he travelled to Bolton Lake. Photo by: Keshab Thapa.

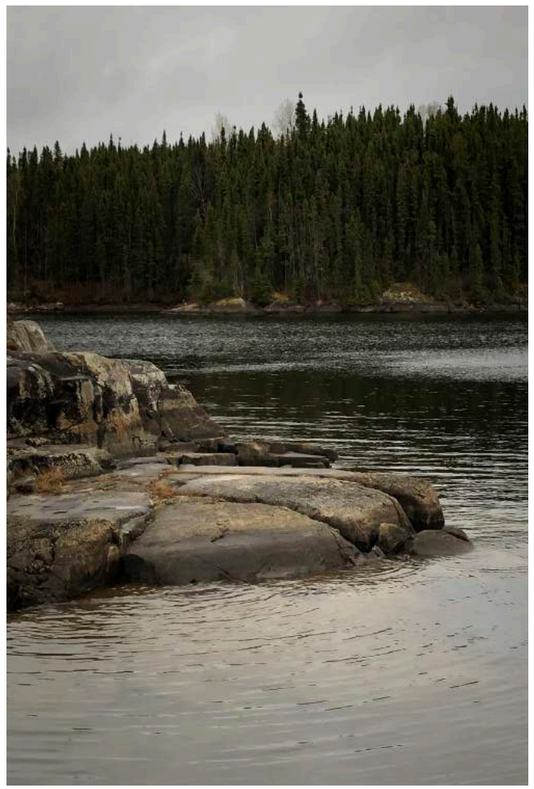
CONCLUSION: PROTECTING OUR HOME AND NATIVE LAND

Wasagamack Ancestral Territory Forever

Wasagamack's history is unique as a result of the community being Anishininew and in a remote region of the boreal forest. Wasagamack has old growth forests, pristine lakes and Indigenous people who fluently speak their language and expertly participate in traditional land uses. The anomaly of Island Lake having cultural and ecological integrity is largely due to its remoteness thwarting industrial development and limiting settlement around the unsullied Hayes watershed. Language, Elders, ceremonies, and nopimink education continue to animate Indigenous knowledge systems, providing people with a strong cultural foundation in a territory having ecological integrity. Anishiniwuk continue to steward and conduct ceremonies over their massive territory to ensure wild food is harvested sustainably, and their culture is nourished. As a result of living off the land, hunters, fishers, and gatherers notice small ecological disturbances and their impact on wildlife (Ballard, 2012) and respond to protect that land (Jojola, 2013).

Mino Bimaadiziwin was the term used in many interviews by Wasagamack people to describe their ancestor's spiritual and good life on the land, prior to colonization, as well as Wasagamack's vision for the future. Mino bimaadiziwin is within living memory. The remote nature of Island Lake delayed the first contact with Europeans until 1818, or roughly 200 years ago. Colonial impacts are recent in contrast with the over 500 years of colonization and resistance of the Indigenous peoples in most of America. Further, Island Lakes' remote location severely restricted colonial contact and impacts until the late 1950s and even until today with few or no European settlers residing in this area or industrial development.

Island Lake's unique history helps explain why two primary components of Indigenous sovereignty, specifically cultural integrity and ecological integrity, endure in Wasagamack, despite Canada's brutal colonial rule. Anishinimowin as well as ceremonies, and nopimink education continue to be taught by Elders unimpacted by residential or colonial school. Thus, Elders continue to animate Indigenous knowledge systems in Wasagamack. As well, Wasagamack First Nation's ancestral land has not been usurped by European settlement or industrial development, and is occupied almost exclusively by Wasagamack Anishiniwuk. Most Anishiniwuk have a strong cultural foundation, with many people continuing to harvest wild food and speaking Anishinimowin fluently (Statistics Canada, 2016; Thompson et al., 2012; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012). As Anishiniwuk primarily operate in Anishinimowin in their community, Wasagamack provides an exception to the trend of Indigenous languages being lost in communities around the world (Statistics Canada, 2016).



Wasagamack's pristine water and forest near the community. Photo by: Jason Surkan

Elder Norah Whiteway, with her drum, teaching Wasagamack youth about the importance of ancestral land, Anishinimowin, songs, and culture. Photo by: Shirley Thompson.

Traditional land use map biographies chronicle the extensive sustenance harvesting by community members. Anishiniwuk continue to steward and conduct ceremonies over their massive territory. These ceremonies ensure wild food is harvested sustainably in a way that nourishes their culture and all their relations. Their ancestral land is sacred to Anishiniwuk. As a result of their intimate relationship with the land, Anishiniwuk prioritize their ancestral land above all else (Ballard, 2012; Jojola, 2013), seeing aki as perfect the way the Creator made it.

Traditional land uses continue to be possible due to Island Lake and the Hayes watershed having neither settlers nor industrial development. Wasagamack First Nation's territory is all within the Hayes watershed, which is the only major watershed in Manitoba with natural water flow unadulterated by any dams or water control structures (Thompson, 2014). Wasagamack's ancestral land of water and islands sustain a diversity of species, with abundant fish but also moose, bear, wolf, beavers, geese, ducks, muskrats, etc. Therefore, in addition to cultural integrity, Wasagamack's ancestral land possesses ecological integrity, with virgin boreal forests, natural flowing waters, and abundant wildlife.

Before the roads, mining and other settler developments significantly impacted this area, this research documented the traditional land uses of Wasagamack territory through maps and interviews to determine the foodshed. Although the individual map biographies are at an insufficient scale to document the foodshed, by looking at many of these together the foodshed comes into view. The 49 harvesters map biographies together estimate the community's traditional land use and foodshed. Land use mapping shows that Anishiniwuk's hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering sites extend great distances beyond the Wasagamack First Nation reserve, particularly in the north, west, and southeast direction into Ontario, and in many sub-watersheds within the Hayes watershed. The foodshed defines the territory more accurately than the administrative boundary of the traplines, which are inaccurate colonial artifacts. However, to preserve the foodshed for traditional land uses requires cultural and ecological integrity of the entire Hayes watershed.

Foodshed and watershed conservation would benefit immensely from Anishiniwuk leading Wasagamack's land management and planning as Anishiniwuk have a sacred trust to steward their territory. This community-led approach to land management is supported by a review of 29 case studies in Asia and Latin America (Tauli-Corpuz, Alcorn, & Molnar, 2018). Tauli-Corpuz et al. (2018) report Indigenous peoples and community-led conservation efforts had better outcomes for conserving biodiversity hot-spots, managing wildfires, and sequestrating forest carbon than government-led conservation efforts. The importance of Indigenous peoples' stewardship and management of habitats to protect biodiversity is attributed to Indigenous ecological views, knowledge, and practices (Jojola, 2013; McGregor, 2013; Tauli-Corpuz et al., 2018).

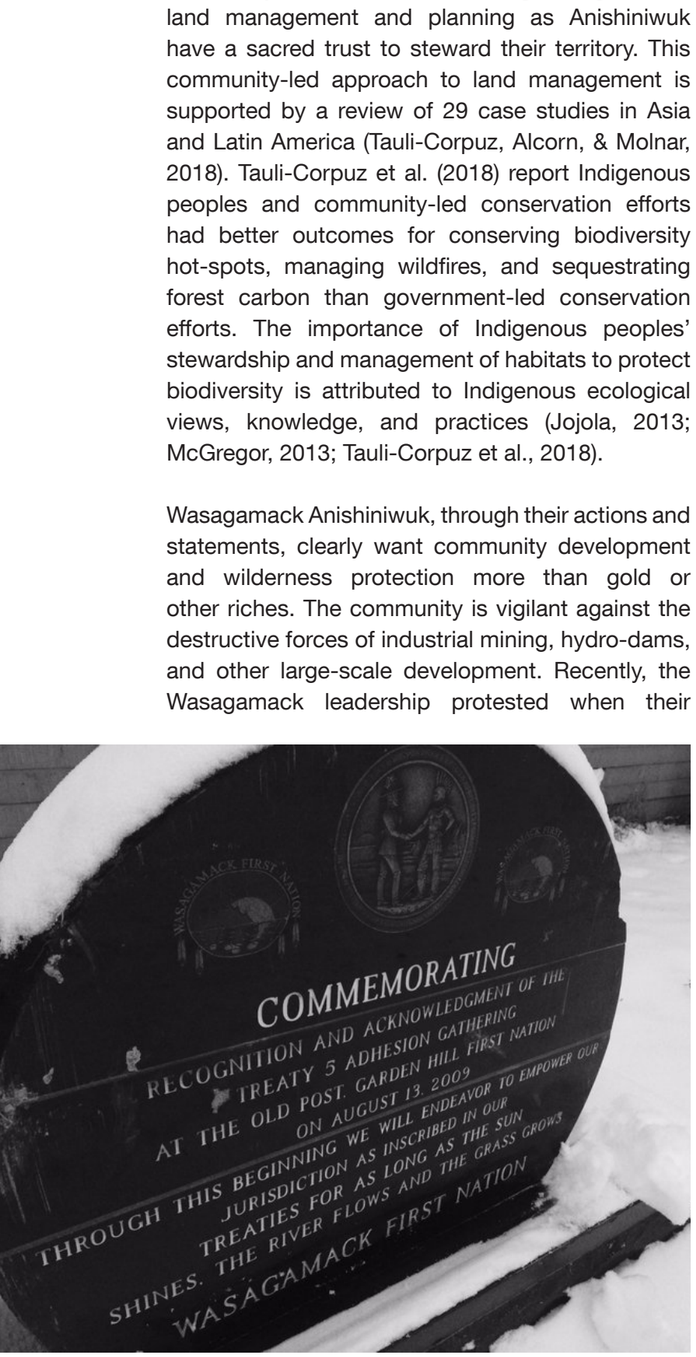
Wasagamack Anishiniwuk, through their actions and statements, clearly want community development and wilderness protection more than gold or other riches. The community is vigilant against the destructive forces of industrial mining, hydro-dams, and other large-scale development. Recently, the Wasagamack leadership protested when their territory, specifically Bigstone Lake, was put on the market by the provincial government. Land use coordinators from Island Lake attended a recent mining conference and were aghast when the province advertised their area as open for mining, showing visible gold veins at Bigstone Lake. Without any consultation or the consent of the people of Wasagamack, the provincial government should not have advertised the area as free for industry to mine.

Wasagamack considers mining in their territory, at an industrial-scale, unacceptable. However, a community-led small-scale project for mining is an option under strict cultural and environmental protocols to thwart industrial mining companies. Oppositely, the province clearly prioritizes industrial mining over sustainable development with Manitoba's Land Use Planning Act Regulation 81/2011 dictating that greenstone belts in Island Lake are for mining only and not conservation. From shifting the Manitoba-Ontario boundary to passing Regulation 81/2011 without consultation and peddling the gold veins in Island Lake to mining companies, the province is aggressively pursuing unsustainable development. Provincial actions are pursing the opposite path to seeking reconciliation with the Island Lake First Nations.

Alternatively, community-led plans, along with maps, education, and partnerships, provide the possibility to regain Mino Bimaadiziwin. Even when pitted against powerful mining interests aligned with government interests, Wasagamack is charting a course to return to Mino Bimaadiziwin. Wasagamack people share a vision for the future focused on community development, nopimink (land-based education), and ancestral land protection. This is a solid plan to keep the ancestral land of Wasagamack First Nation perfect, the way the Creator made it.

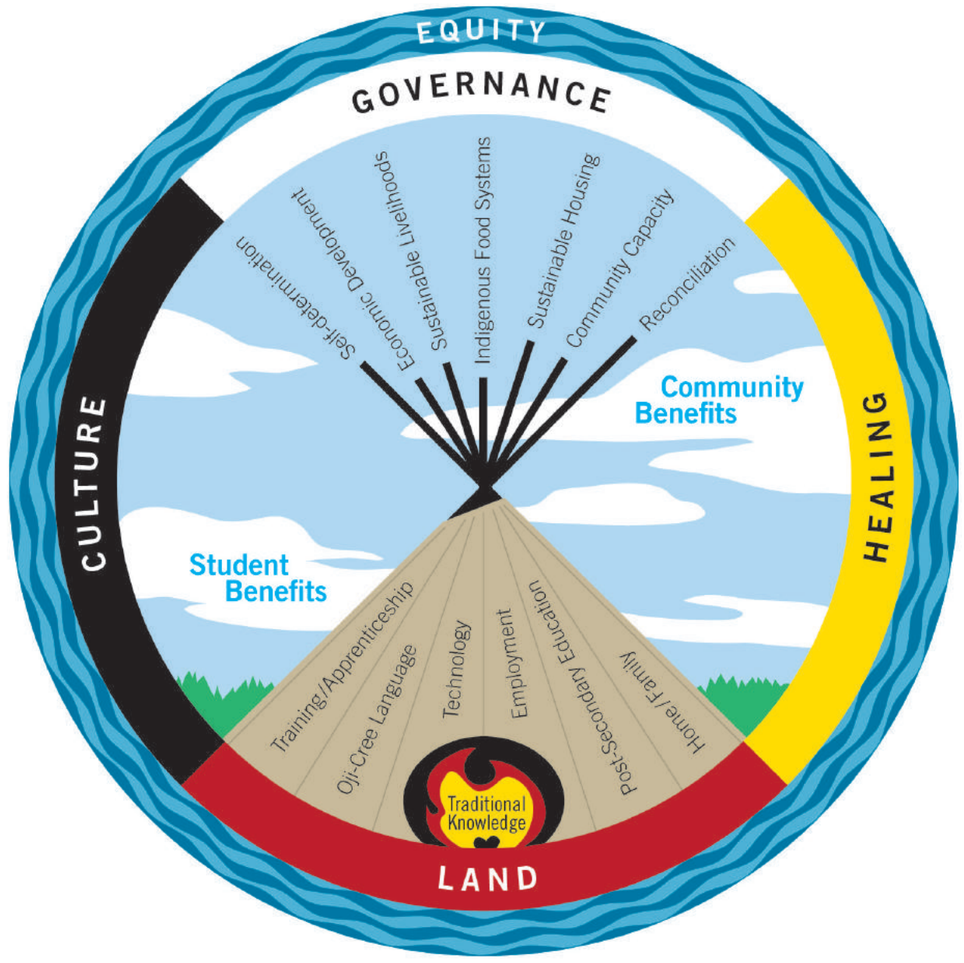
This land education and stewardship of their territory and control over development is considered a key part of reconciliation for the Anishiniwuk of Wasagamack First Nation.

Norah Whiteway had this message: "Let's keep our land sacred as the Creator taught us". The Anishiniwuk have ancestral knowledge to steward this land according to natural law. This Wasagamack land use planning and mapping for Mino Bimaadiziwin is inspired by the creator and natural law. This Mino Bimaadiziwin path not only holds promise to protect the environment but also to revitalize the Anishiniwuk culture, language and economy.



Wasagamack First Nation endeavours to govern their traditional territory as agreed in the treaty signed with the Crown at the Old Post. Photo by: Kaoru Ryan Suzuki.

Wasagamack children participating in spiritual activities. Photo by: Norah Whiteway.

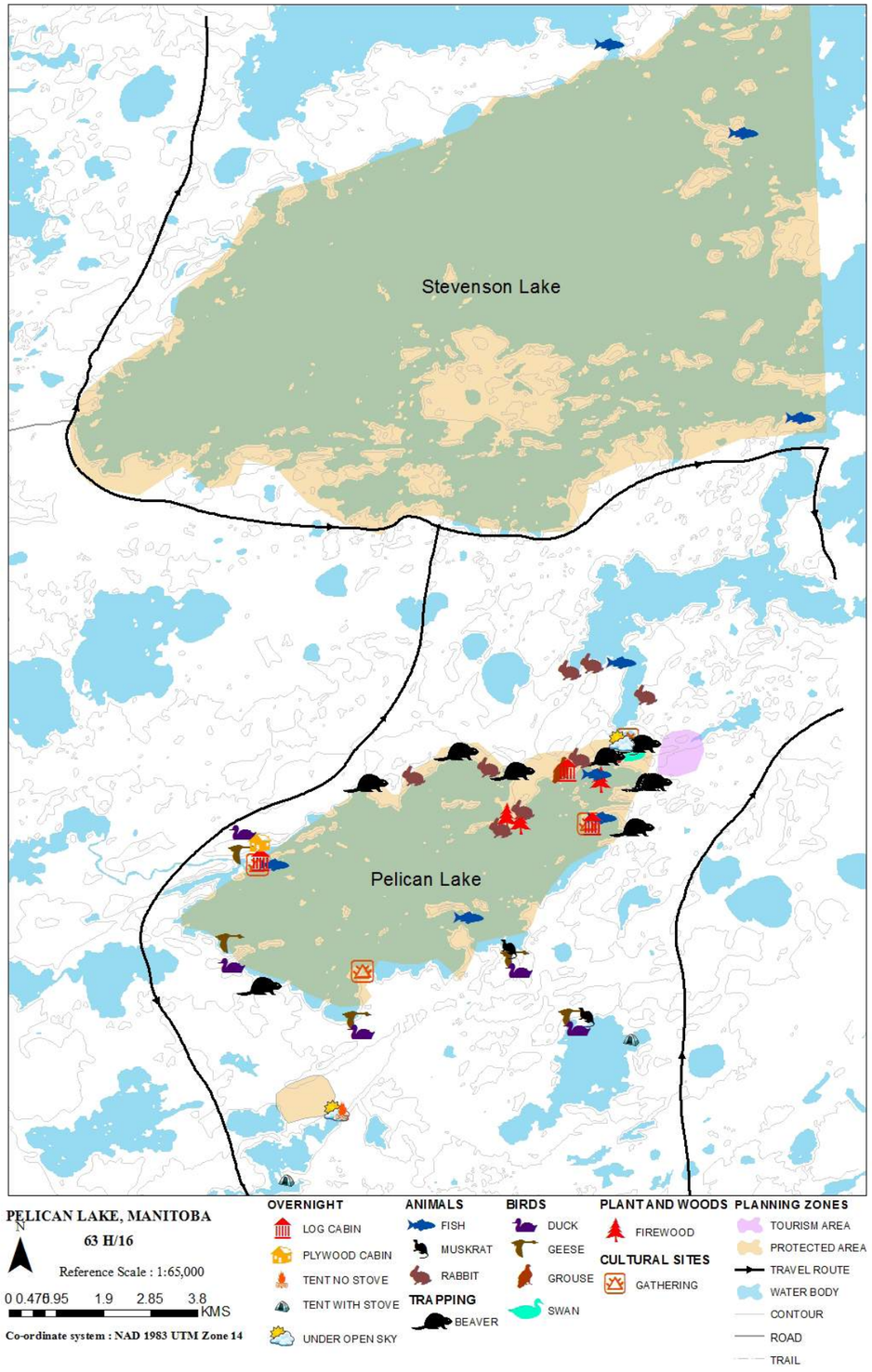


The 13 sticks of the Teepee show the many benefits to community and students of community-led education. Source: Mino Bimaadiziwin Partnership: Reconciliation in Action.

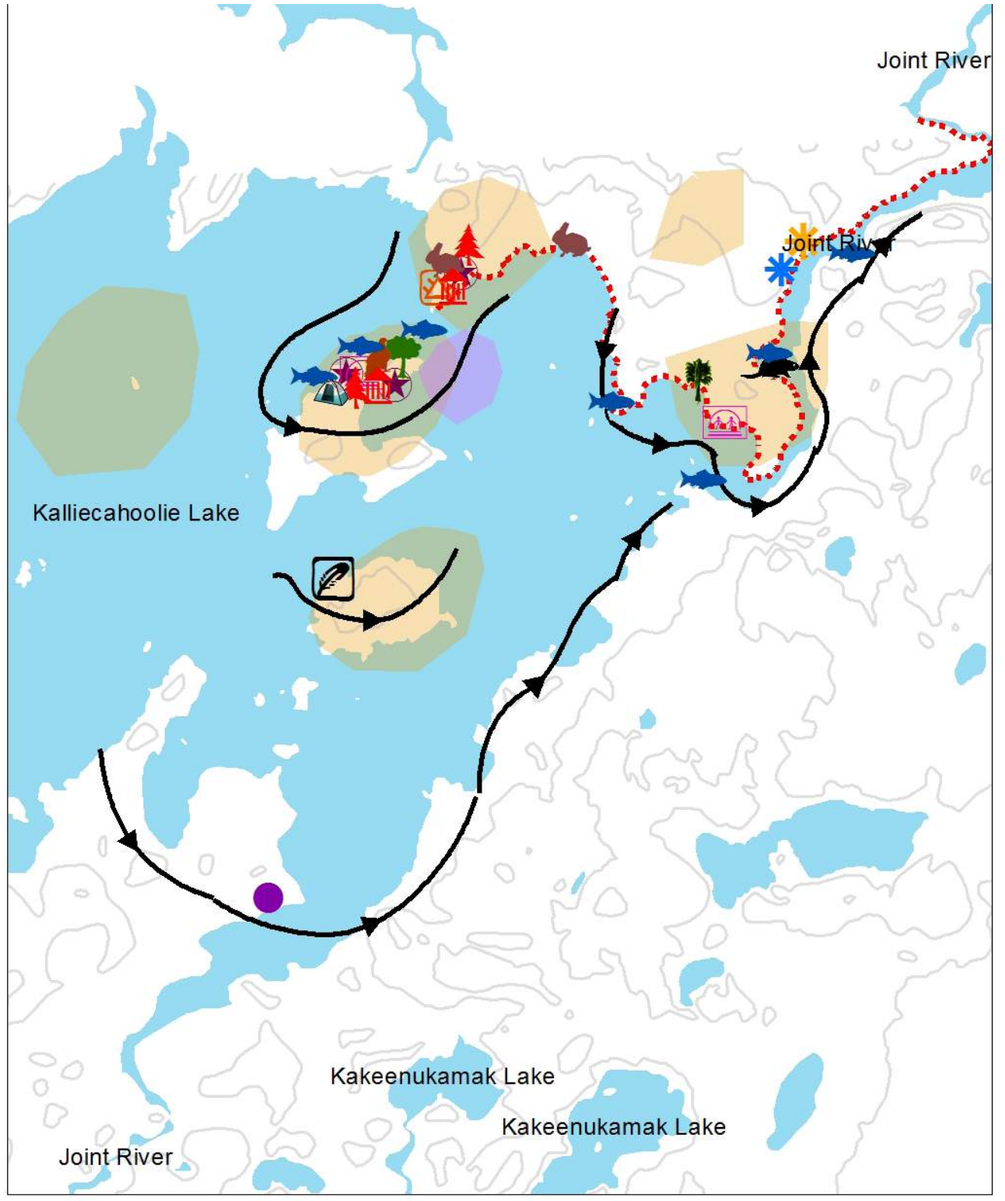
ANNEXES

Individual Map Biographies

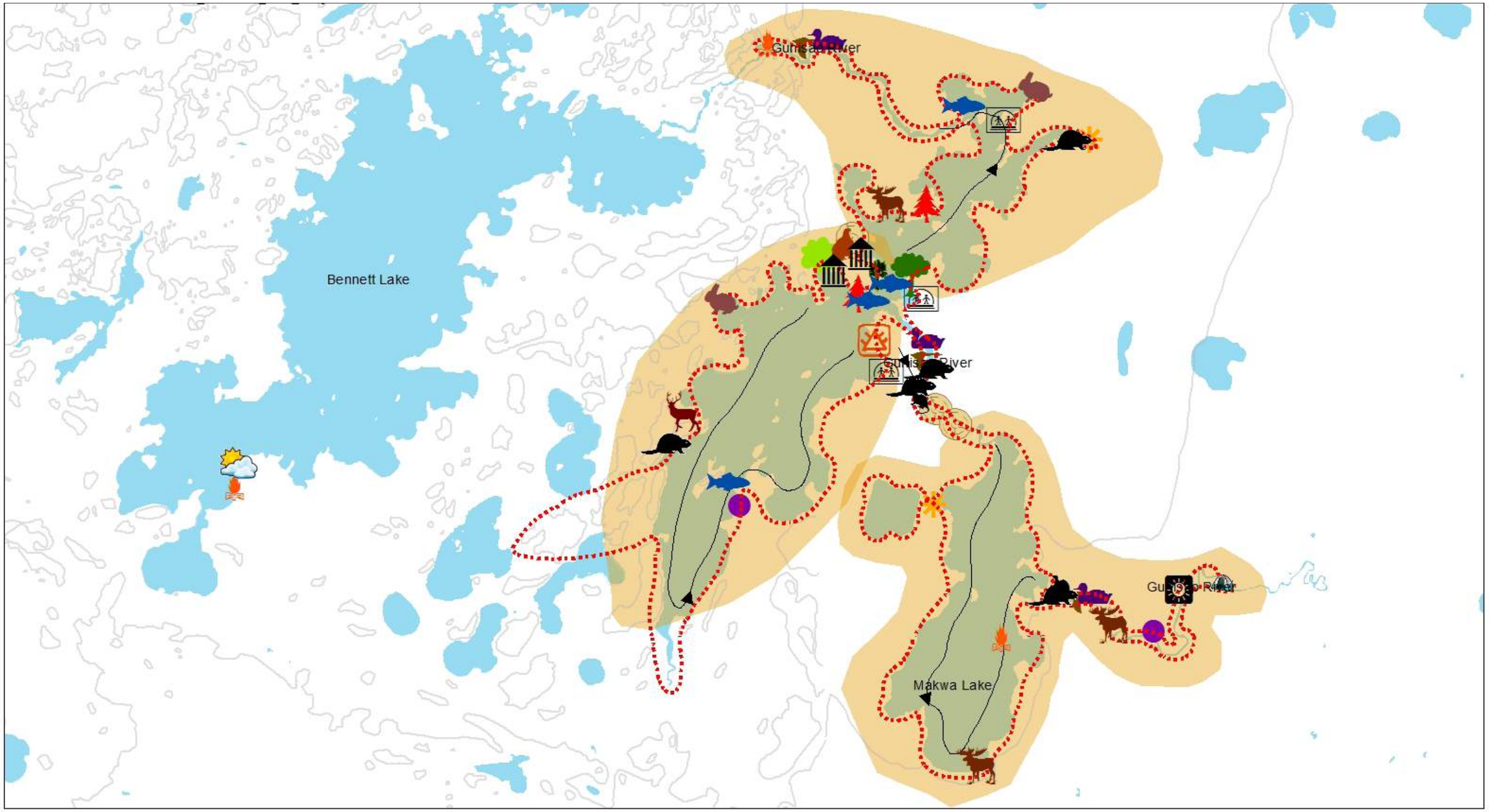
Wasagamack’s ancestral land portion near the community.
Photo by: Norah Whiteway

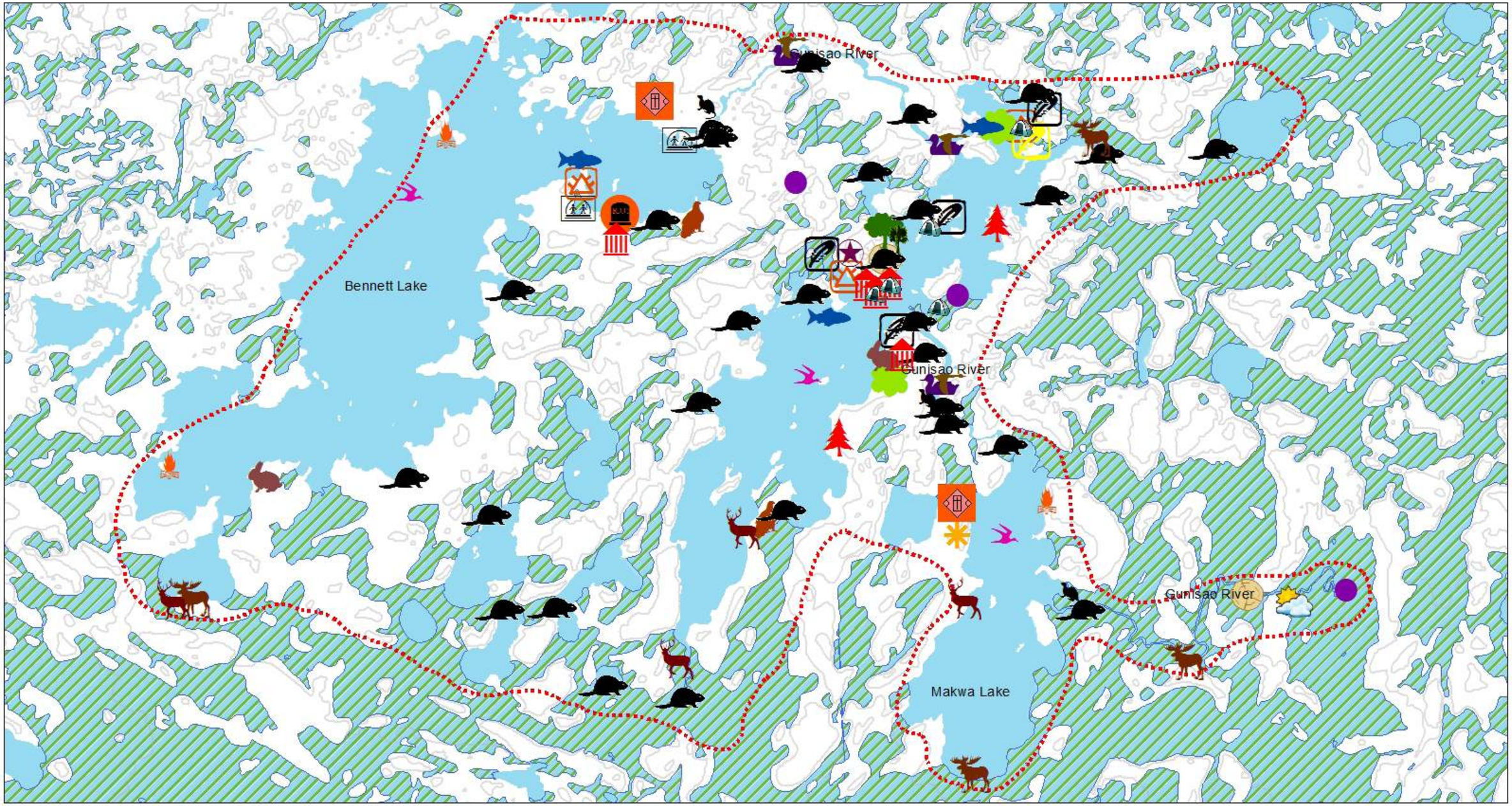


Map biography - Anishiniwuk 1



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 2


Bennett Lake
Makwa Lake
NAMAYKOSOGUN LAKE & BENNETT LAKE, MANITOBA
Reference Scale: 1:50,000
0 0.475 0.95 1.9 2.85 3.8 KMS
Co-ordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14
63 H/08
53 E/05
OVERNIGHT SITES
LOG CABIN
OTHER OVERNIGHT
TENT NO STOVE
TENT WITH STOVE
UNDER OPEN SKY
ANIMALS
CARIBOU
FISH
MOOSE
MUSKRAT
RABBIT
TRAPPING
BEAVER
TRAP LINE
BIRDS
DUCK
GEESE
GROUSE
PLANTS AND WOOD
BERRIES
CONSTRUCTION
FIREWOOD
MEDICINAL
MOSS
OTHER PLANT
SPECIALITY
CULTURAL SITES
BIRTH
GATHERING
CONTOUR
TRAIL
TRAVEL ROUTE
WATER BODY
SACRED AREA



NAMAYKOSOGUN LAKE & BENNETT LAKE, MANITOBA

N

Reference Scale: 1:50,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMS

Co-ordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14

63 H/08
53 E/05

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

ANIMALS
- CARIBOU
- FISH
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

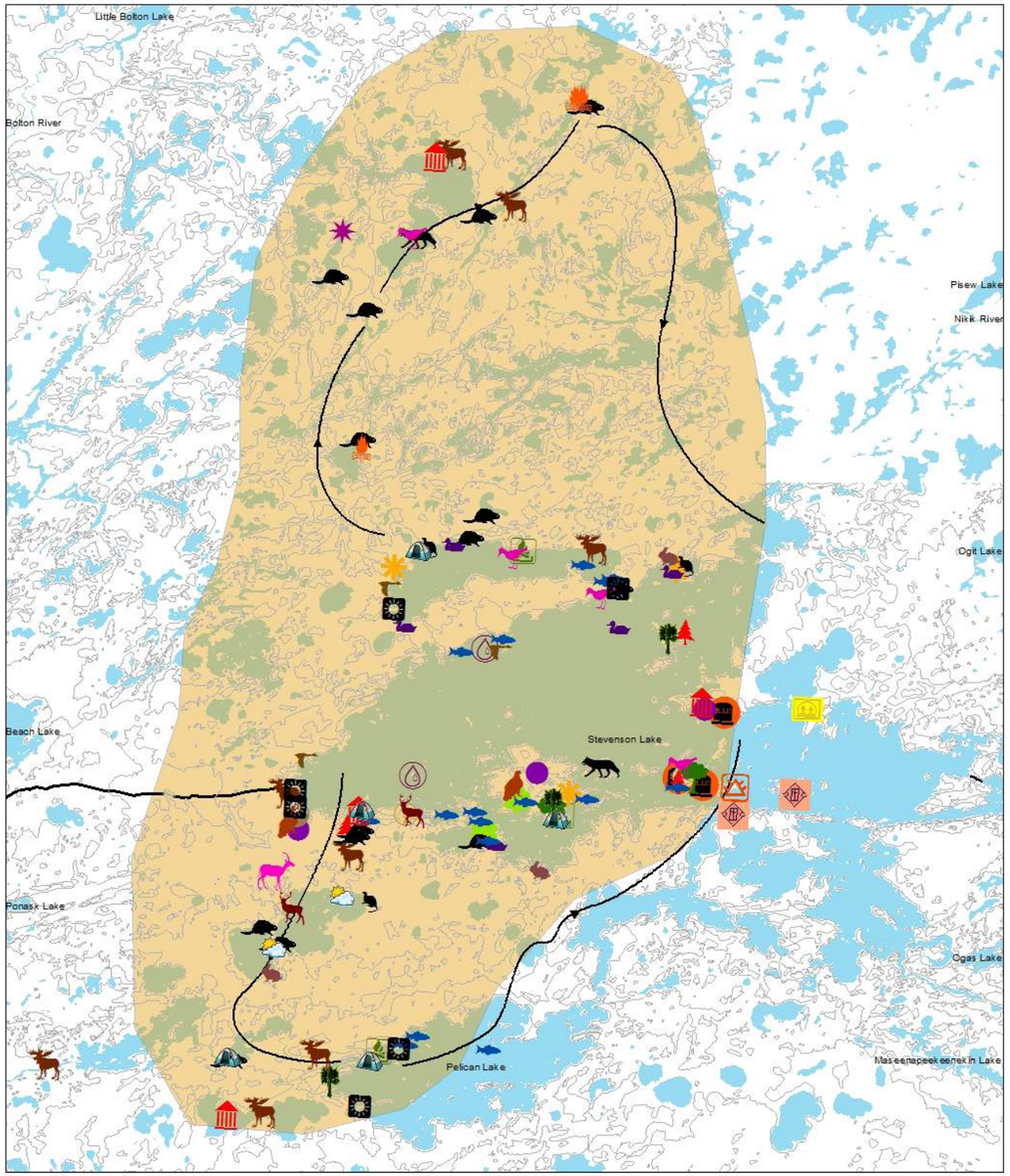
TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP_LINE

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD

PLANTS AND WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY

CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- DEATH
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- SACRED
- WETLAND
- WATER BODY
- CONTOUR
- TRAIL

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 4



STEVENSON LAKE AND PELICAN LAKE, MANITOBA **63 H16, 63 I1, 53 E13**

OVERNIGHT SITES: LOG CABIN, TENT NO STOVE, TENT WITH STOVE, UNDER OPEN SKY, OTHER OVERNIGHT

FISH: FISH

BIRDS: DUCK, EGG, GEESE, GROUSE, OTHER BIRD

TRAPPING: BEAVER

ANIMALS: CARIBOU, DEER, MAMMAL, MOOSE, MUSKRAT, RABBIT

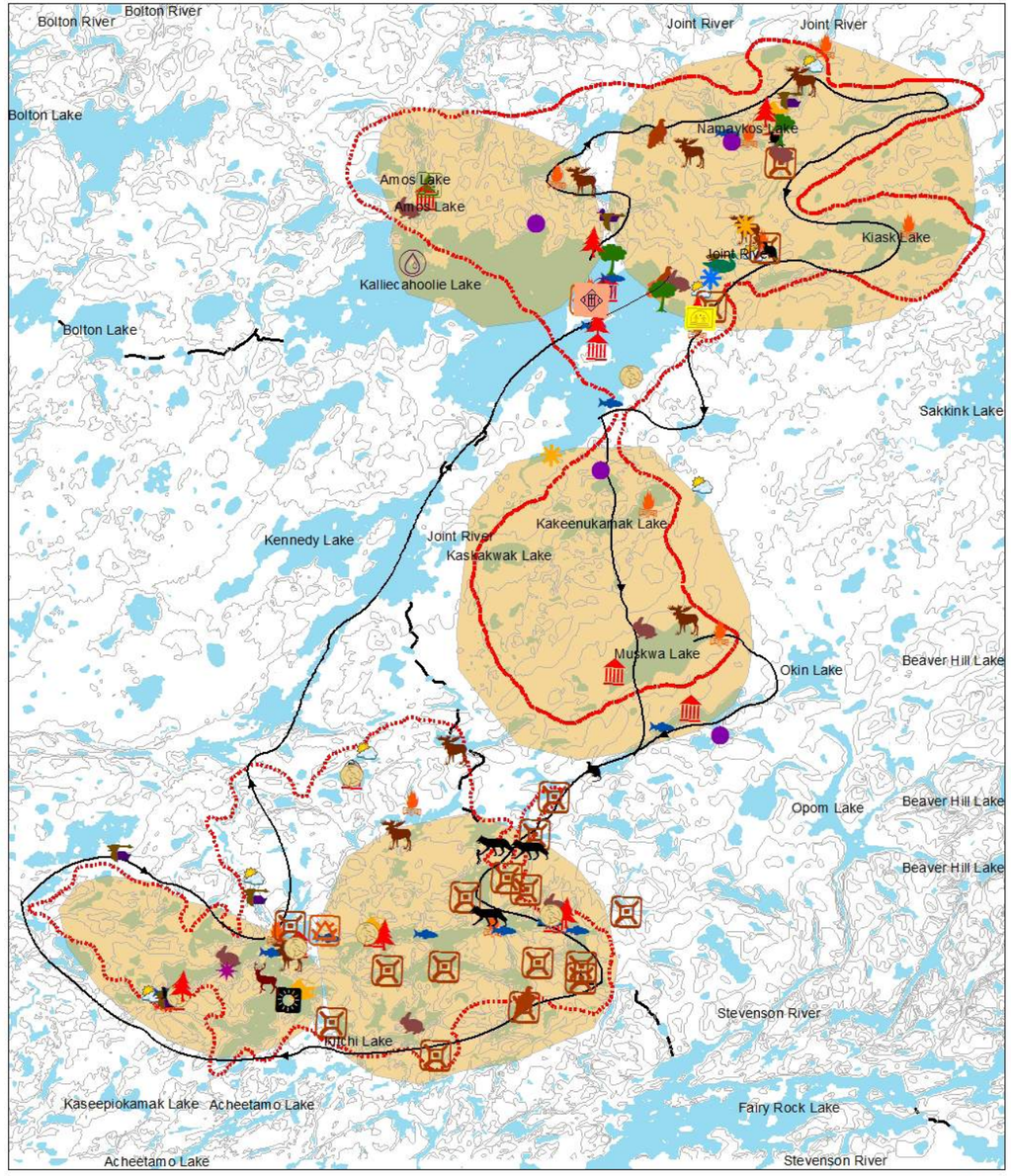
PLANT & WOOD: BERRIES, CONSTRUCTION, EARTH, FIRE WOOD, MEDICINAL, MOSS, OTHER PLANT, SPECIALITY

CULTURAL SITES: BIRTH, BURIAL, DEATH, GATHERING, HERITAGE, OTHER CULTURAL

TRAVEL ROUTES, CONTOUR, TRAIL, ROAD, SACRED AREA, WATER BODIES

Reference Scale: 1:126,000 0 1 2 4 6 8 KMs **Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N**

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 5



KALLIECAHOOLIE LAKE AND KITCHI LAKE, MANITOBA **53 L3, L4, L5, L6**

OVERNIGHT: LOG CABIN, PLYWOOD CABIN, TENT NO STOVE, TENT WITH STOVE, UNDER OPEN SKY, OTHER OVERNIGHT

FISH: FISH

BIRDS: DUCK, EGG, GEESE, GROUSE, SWAN

TRAPPING: TRAPPING, TRAP LINE

ANIMALS: BEAR, CARIBOU, MAMMAL, MOOSE, MUSKRAT, RABBIT

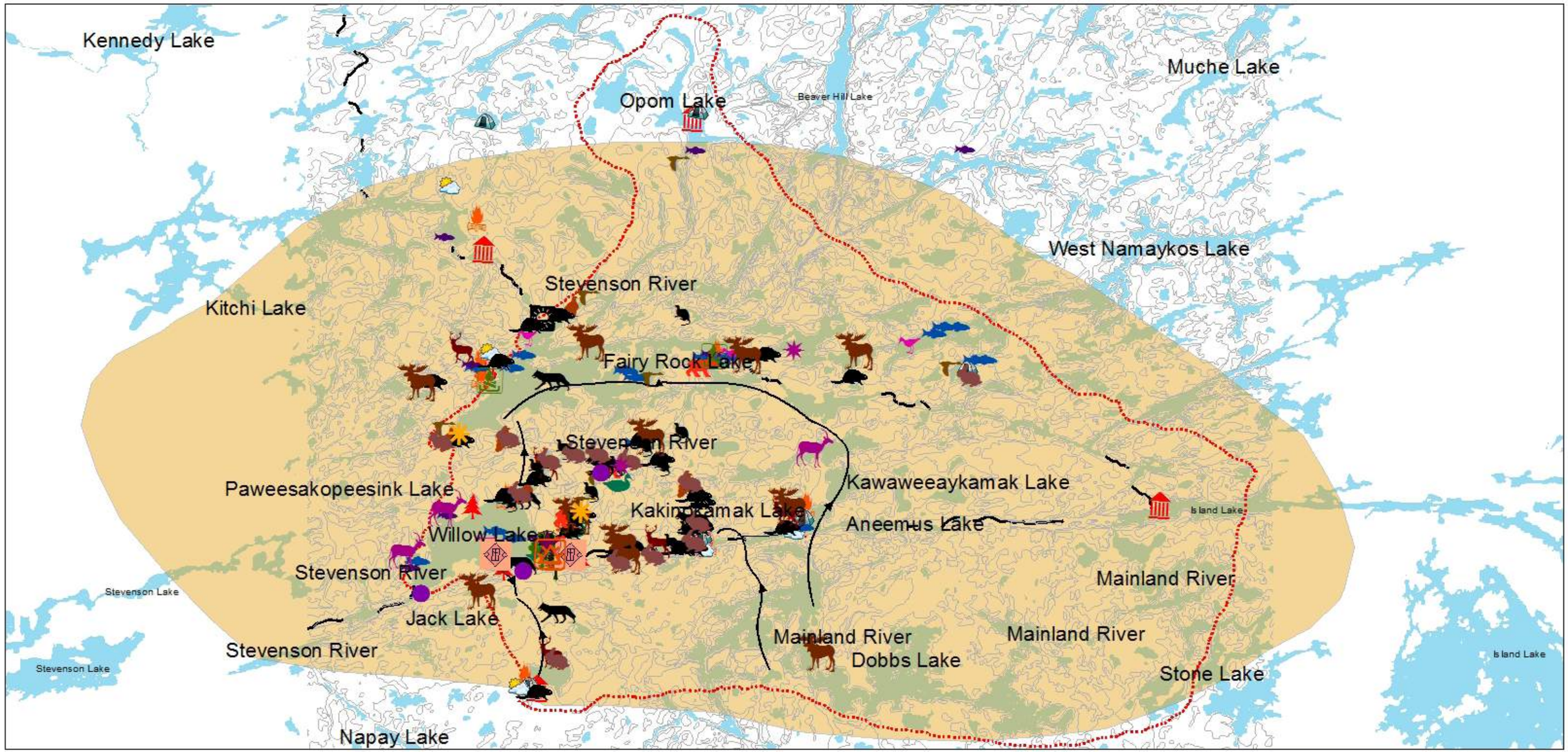
PLANT & WOOD: BERRIES, CONSTRUCTION, FIREWOOD, FOOD PLANT, MEDICINAL, OTHER PLANT

CULTURAL SITES: BIRTH, BURIAL, CEREMONY, GATHERING, HERITAGE, OTHER CULTURAL

SACRED AREAS, WATER BODIES, CONTOUR, TRAVEL ROUTE, ROAD

Reference Scale: 1:110,000 0 1 2 4 6 8 Kilometers **Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N**

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 6



WILLOW LAKE AND FAIRY ROCK LAKE, MANITOBA

53 E14, 53 L3

Reference Scale: 1:125,000

0 1.25 2.5 5 7.5 10 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY
- OTHER OVERNIGHT

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- SWAN
- OTHER BIRD

ANIMALS
- BEAR
- CARIBOU
- DEER
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

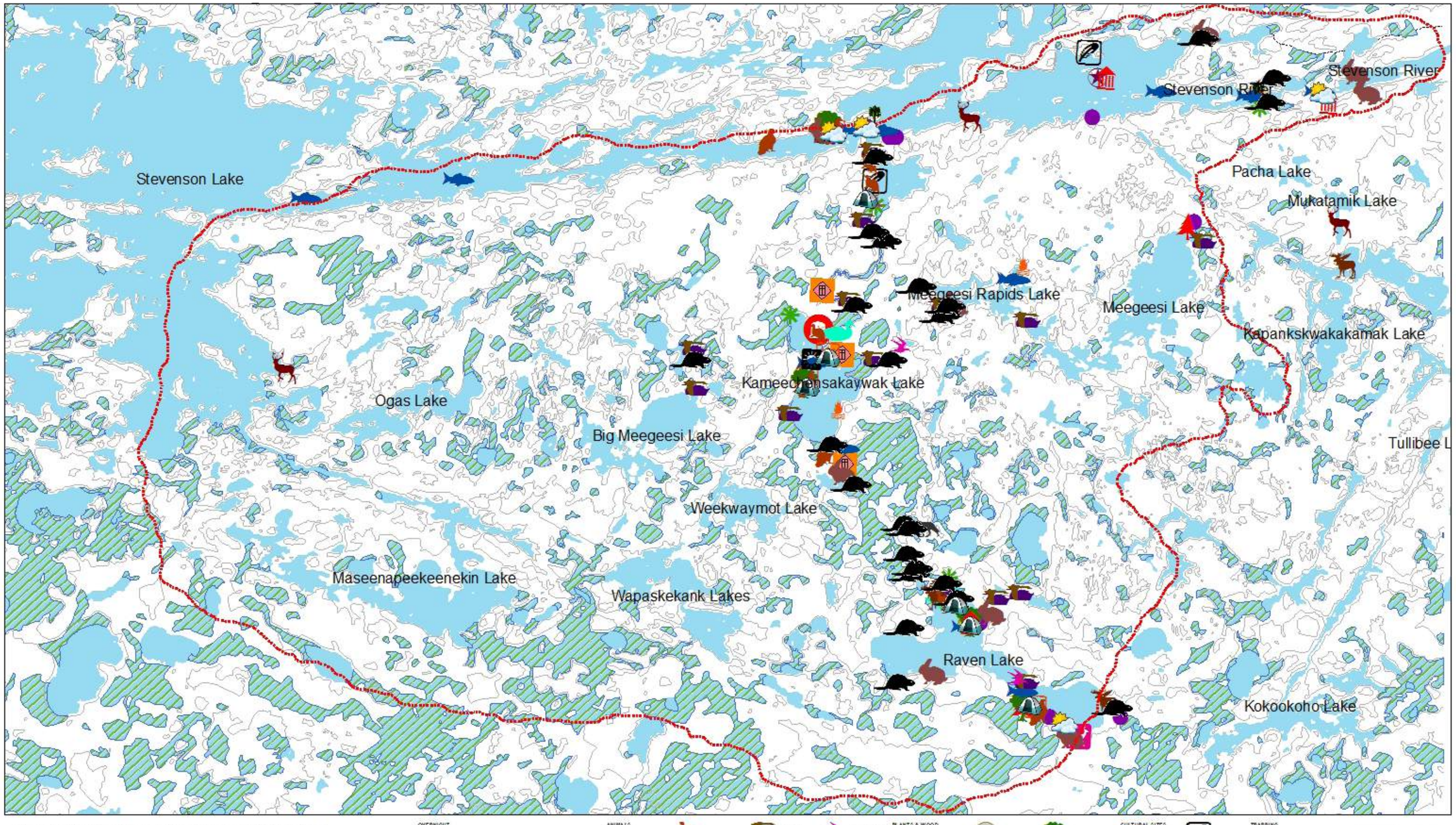
TRAPPING
- BEAVER

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY

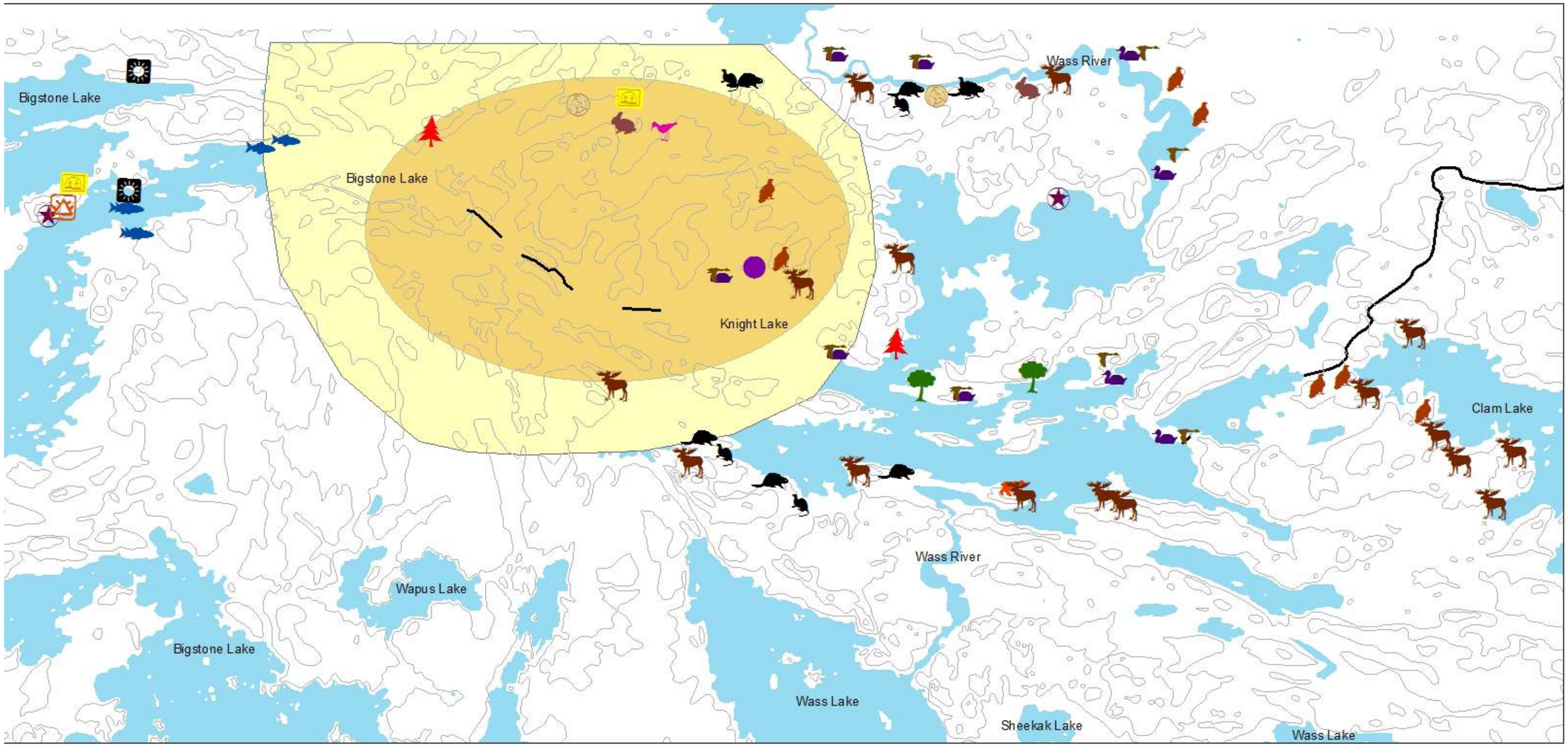
CULTURAL SITES
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- OTHER CULTURAL

- TRAVEL ROUTES
- TRAP LINE
- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- SACRED AREA
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 7



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 8



KNIGHT LAKE AND BIGSTONE LAKE, MANITOBA

53 E11, E12

Reference Scale: 1:48,000

0 0.45 0.9 1.8 2.7 3.6 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT SITES
- OTHER OVERNIGHT

FISH
- FISH

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD

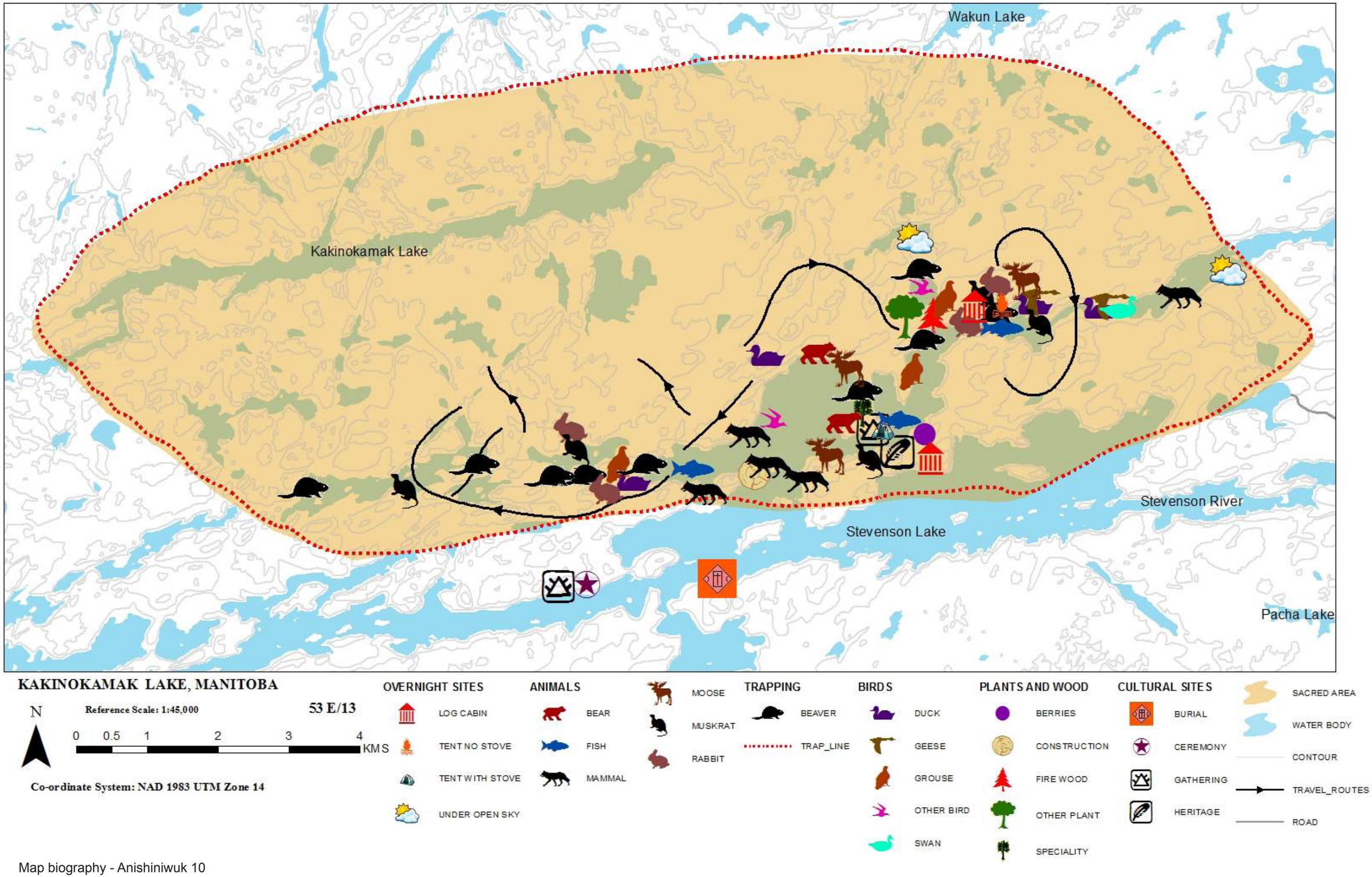
ANIMALS
- BEAR
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIRE WOOD
- OTHER PLANT

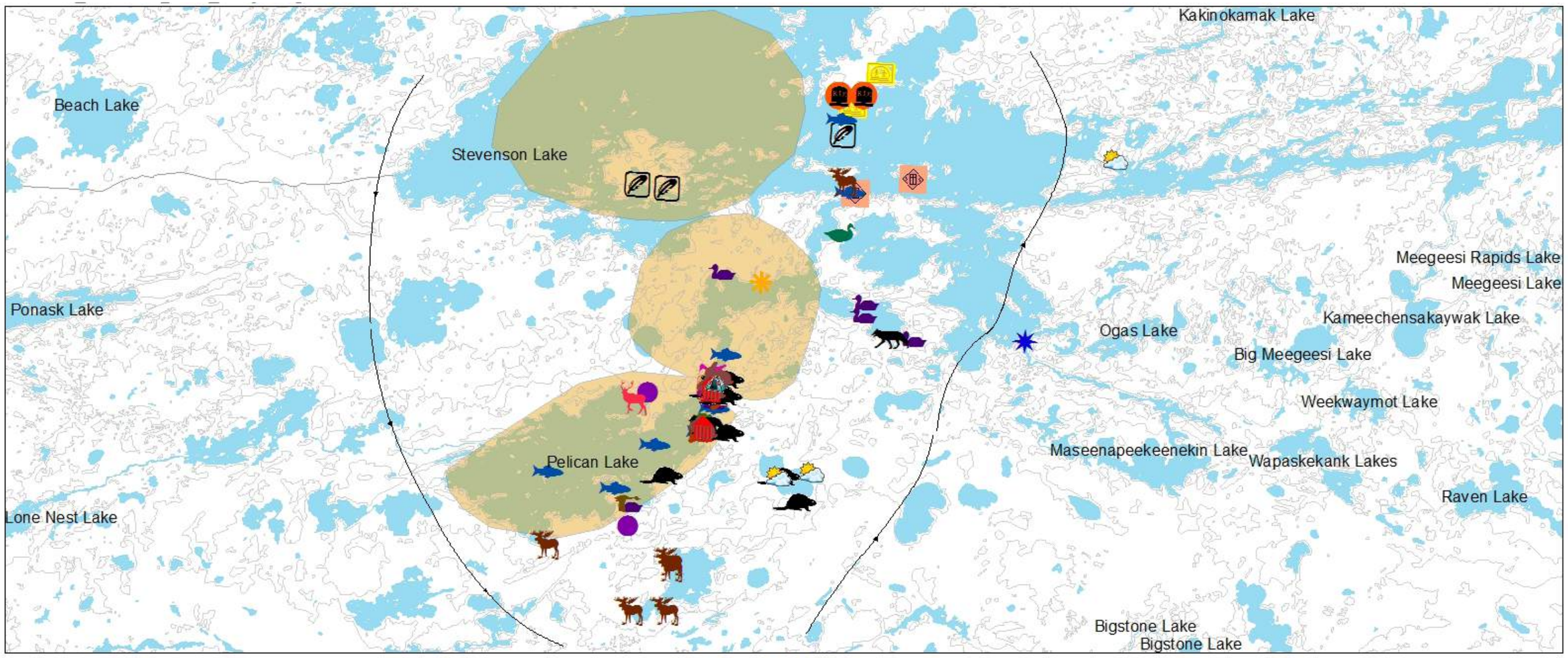
CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING

- PROTECTED_AREA
- SACRED_AREA
- WATER BODIES
- TRAVEL ROUTE
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 9

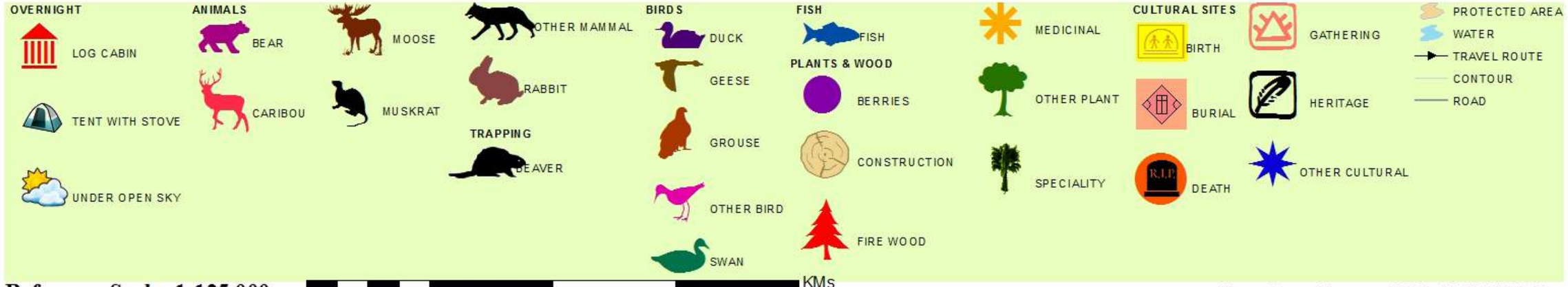


Map biography - Anishiniwuk 10



STEVENSON LAKE, MANITOBA

63 H/16, 53 E/13

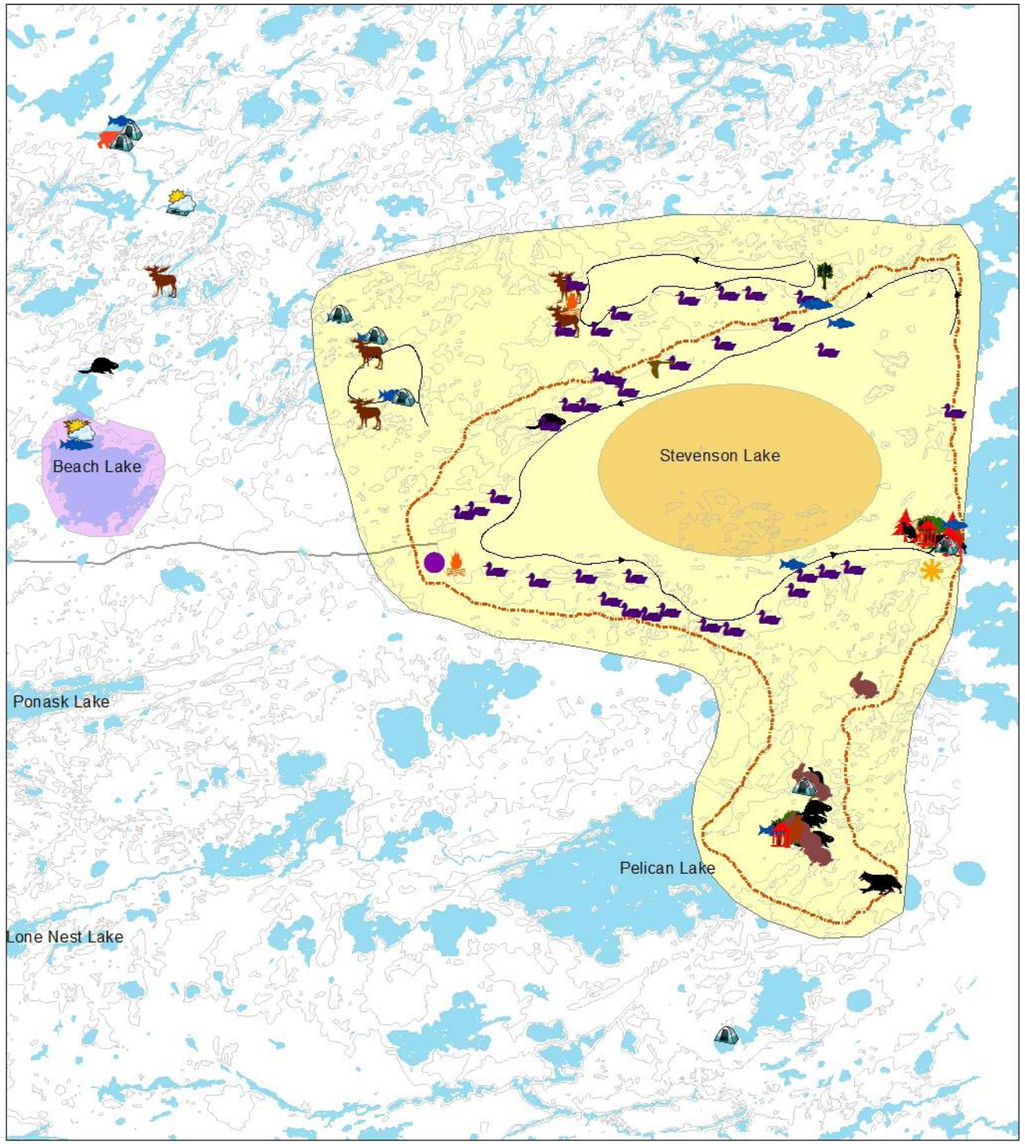


Reference Scale: 1:125,000

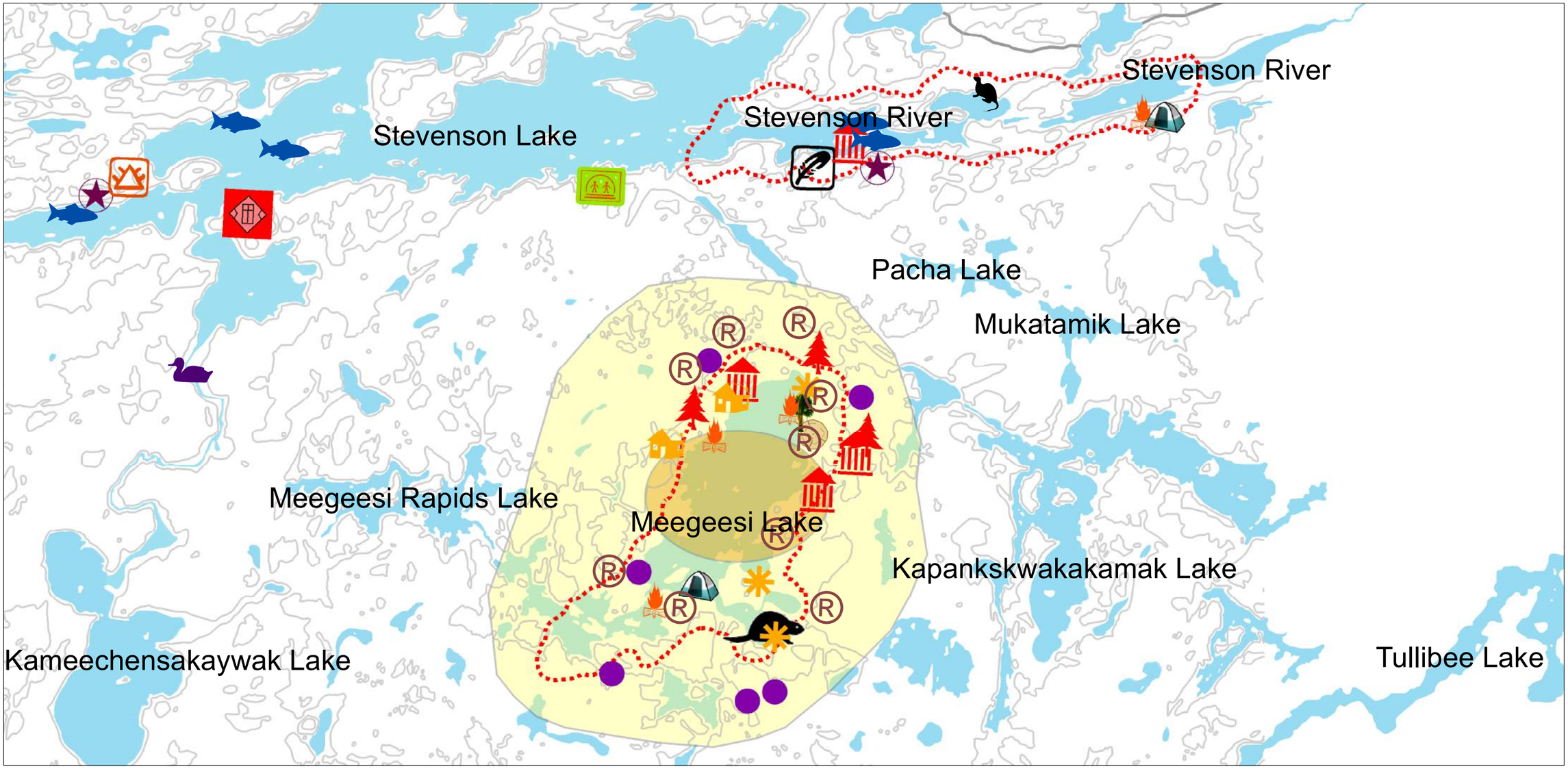
0 2 4 8 12 16 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 11



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 12



KAKINOKAMAK LAKE, MANITOBA

N

Reference Scale: 1:42,000

0 0.325 0.65 1.3 1.95 2.6 KMs

53 E/13

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE

ANIMALS
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

BIRDS
- DUCK

FISH
- FISH

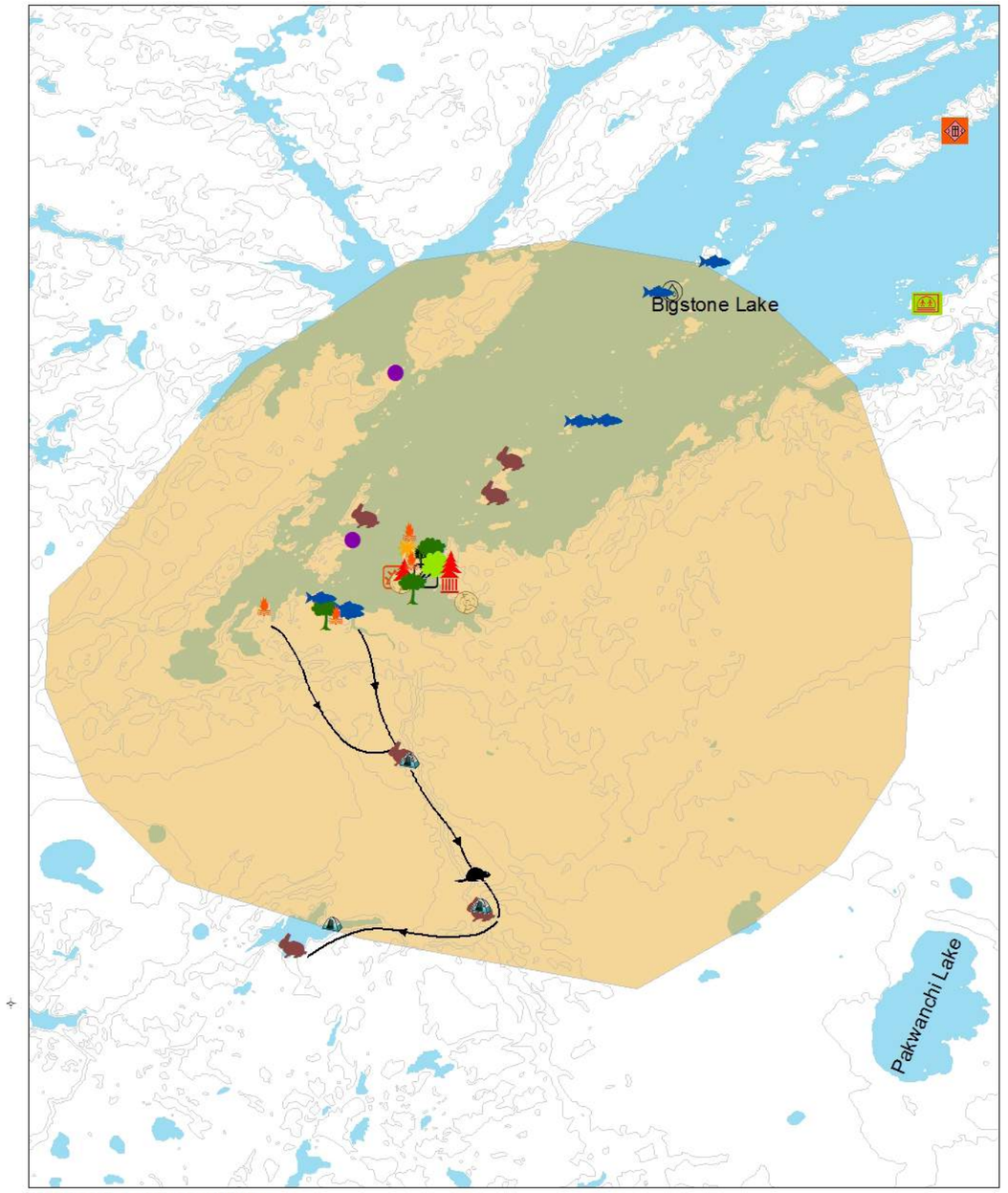
TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP LINE

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- SPECIALITY

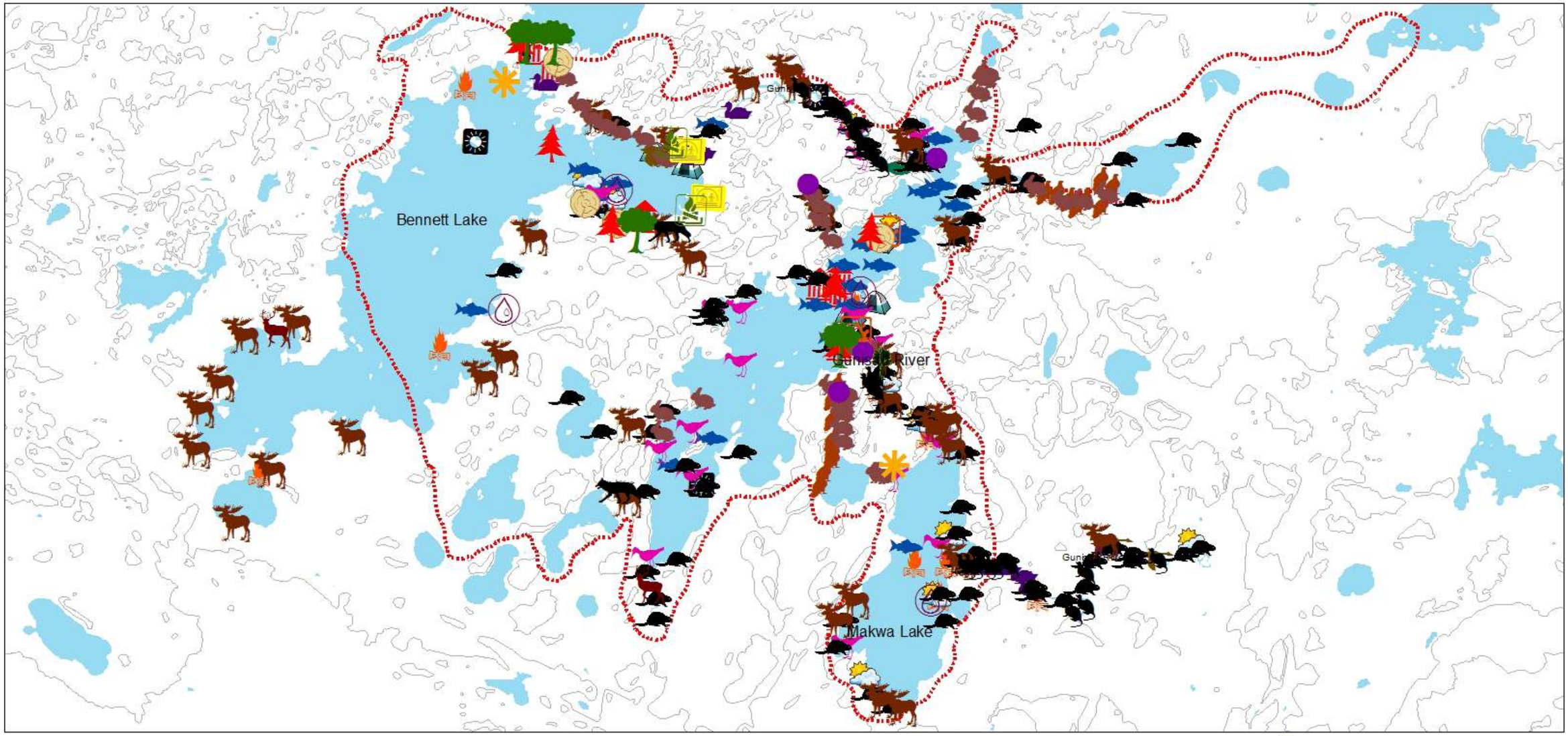
CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

- PROTECTED AREA
- SACRED AREA
- WATER BODIES
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 13



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 14



BENNETT LAKE AND MAKWA LAKE, MANITOBA

53 E5, 63 H8

Reference Scale: 1:61,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 Kilometers

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT: LOG CABIN; TENT NO STOVE; TENT WITH STOVE; UNDER OPEN SKY; OTHER OVERNIGHT

FISH: FISH

BIRDS: DUCK; EGG; GEESE; GROUSE; SWAN; OTHER BIRD

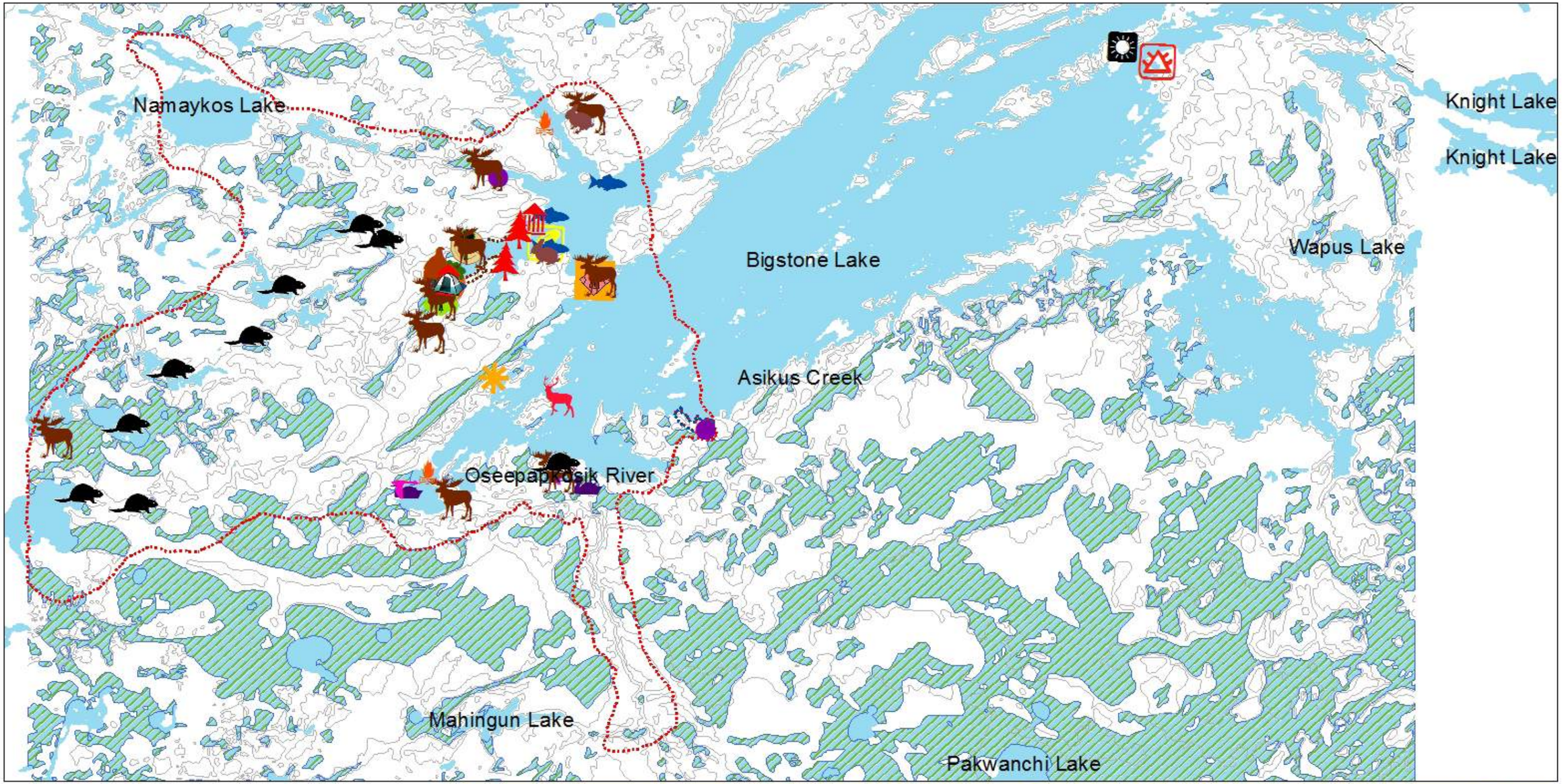
TRAPPING: BEAVER; TRAPLINE

ANIMALS: CARIBOU; MOOSE; MUSKRAT; RABBIT; OTHER MAMMAL

PLANT & WOOD: BERRIES; CONSTRUCTION; FIREWOOD; MEDICINAL; SPECIALITY; OTHER PLANT

CULTURAL SITES: BIRTH; GATHERING; HERITAGE

CONTOUR; WATER BODIES



BIGSTONE LAKE, MANITOBA

N

Reference Scale: 1:80,000 **53 E/12**

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 Kilometers

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- OTHER OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN

TRAPPING
- TRAPPING

ANIMALS
- RABBIT
- CARIBOU
- MOOSE

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE

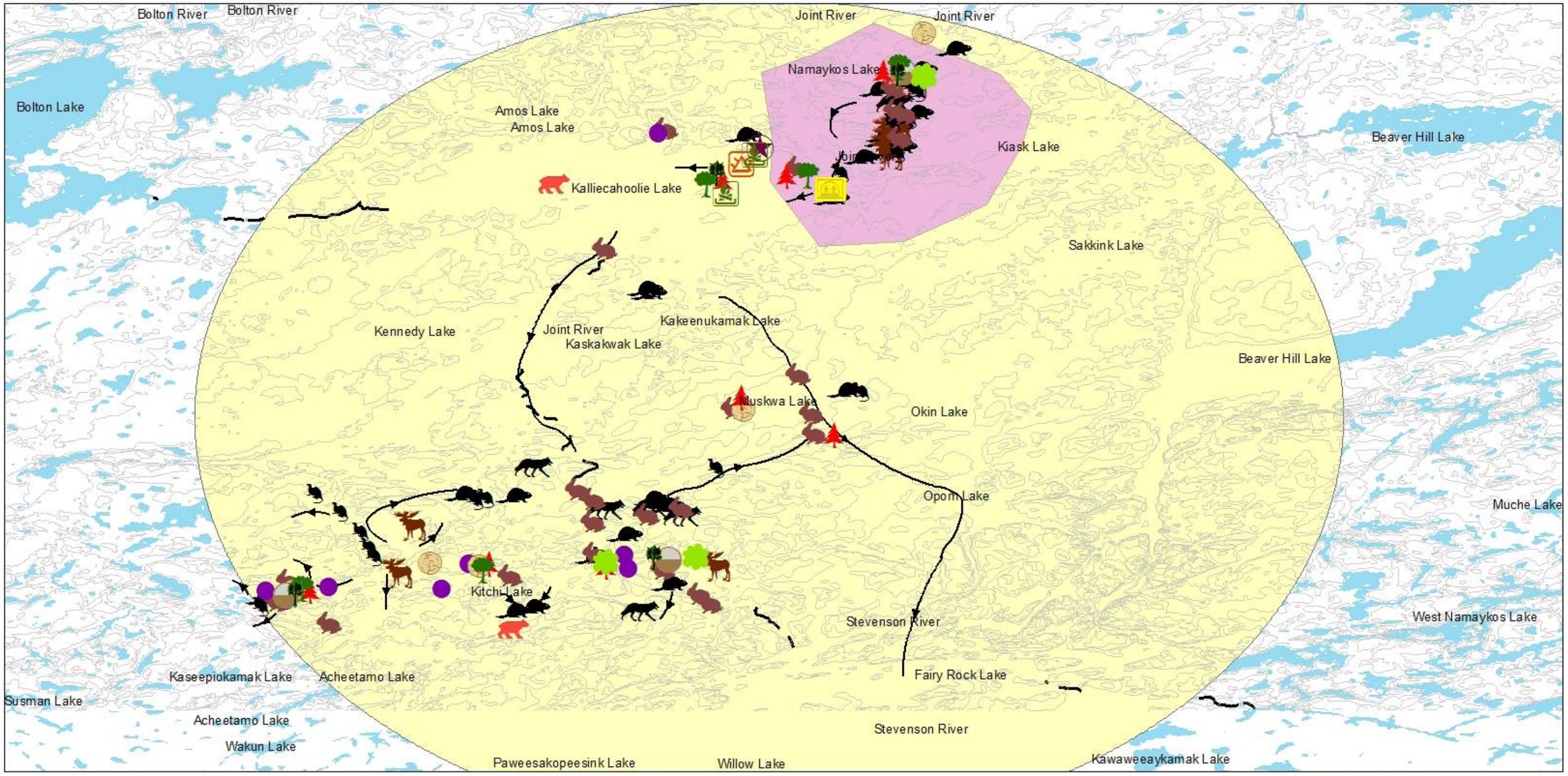
FISH
- FISH

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY

CULTURAL SITES
- DEATH
- BURIAL
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

- BERRY PICKING
- FIRE WOOD
- TRAP LINE
- CONTOUR
- WETLANDS
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 16



NAMAYKOS LAKE AND KITCHI LAKE, MANITOBA

N W E S

53 L3 L4 L5 L6

Reference Scale: 1:180,000

0 1.5 3 6 9 12 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

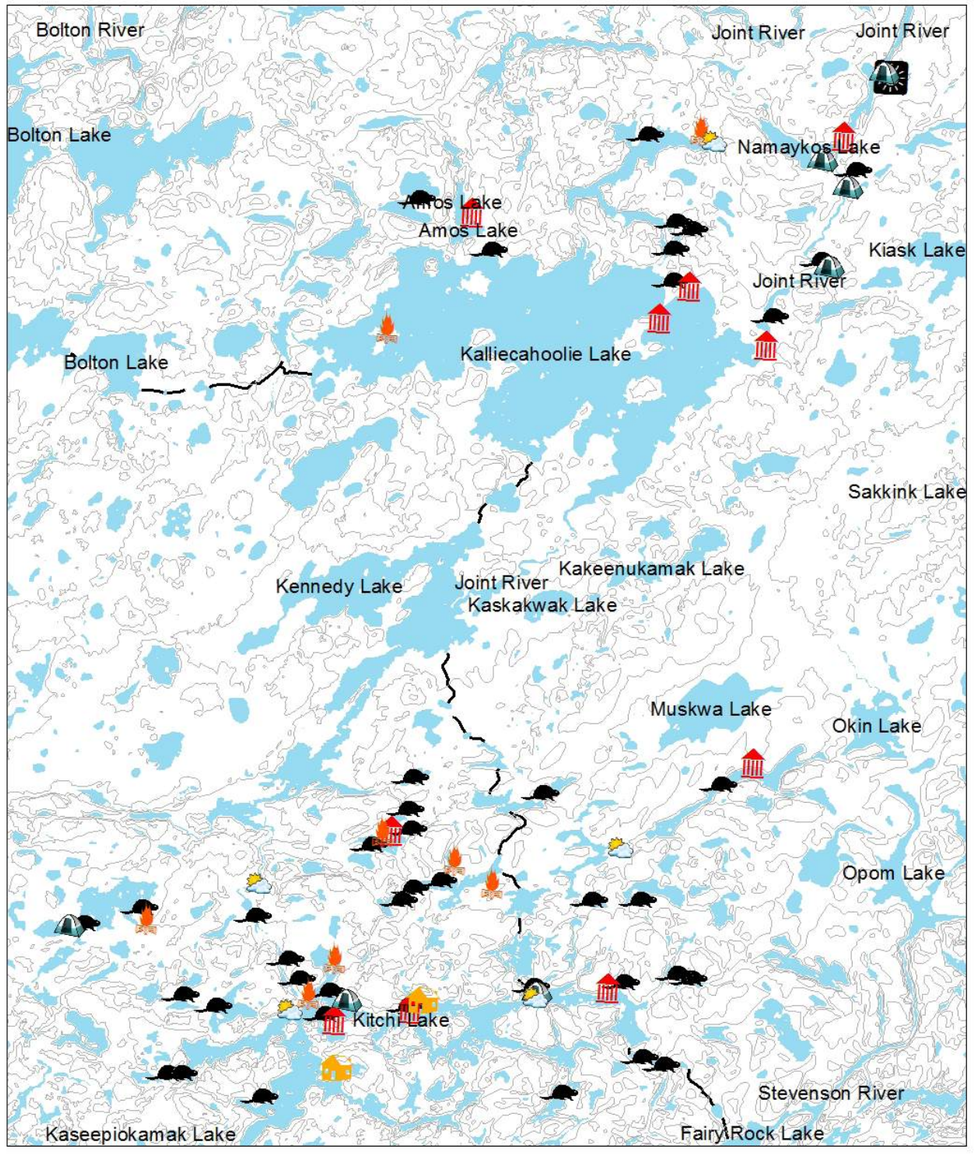
PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUTION WOOD
- EARTH MATERIAL
- FIRE WOOD
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY WOOD

ANIMALS
- BEAR
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

- TURISM AREA
- SACRED AREA
- WATER BODIES
- TRAVEL ROUTES
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 17



KALLIECANOOLIE LAKE AND KITCHI LAKE, MANITOBA

53 L3 L4 L5 L6

Reference Scale: 1:100,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMs

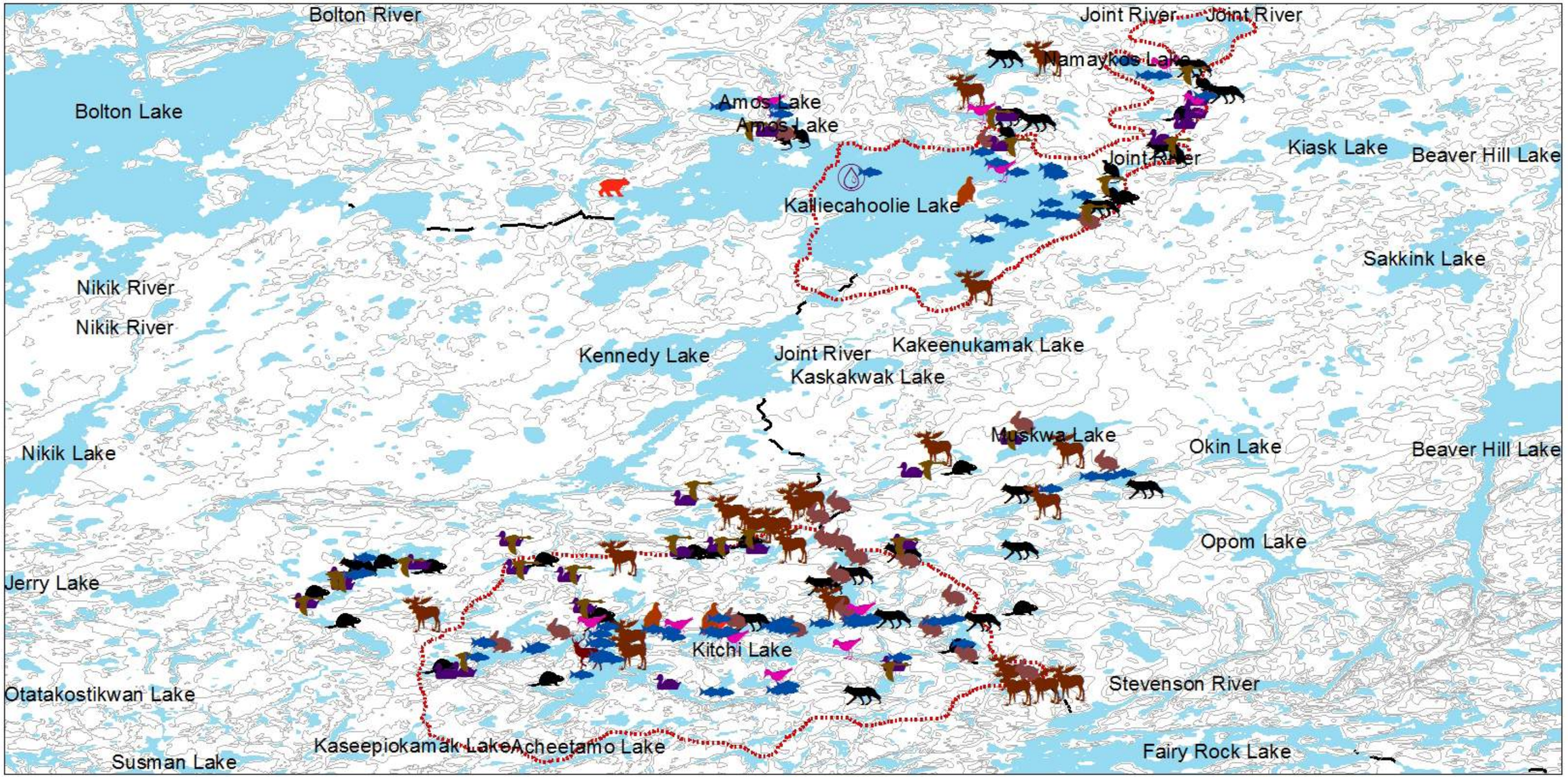
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY
- OTHER OVERNIGHT

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 18 (a)



KALLIECANOOLIE LAKE AND KITCHI LAKE, MANITOBA

53 L3 L4 L5 L6

Reference Scale: 1:160,000

0 1 2 4 6 8 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

BIRDS
- DUCKS
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD
- EGG

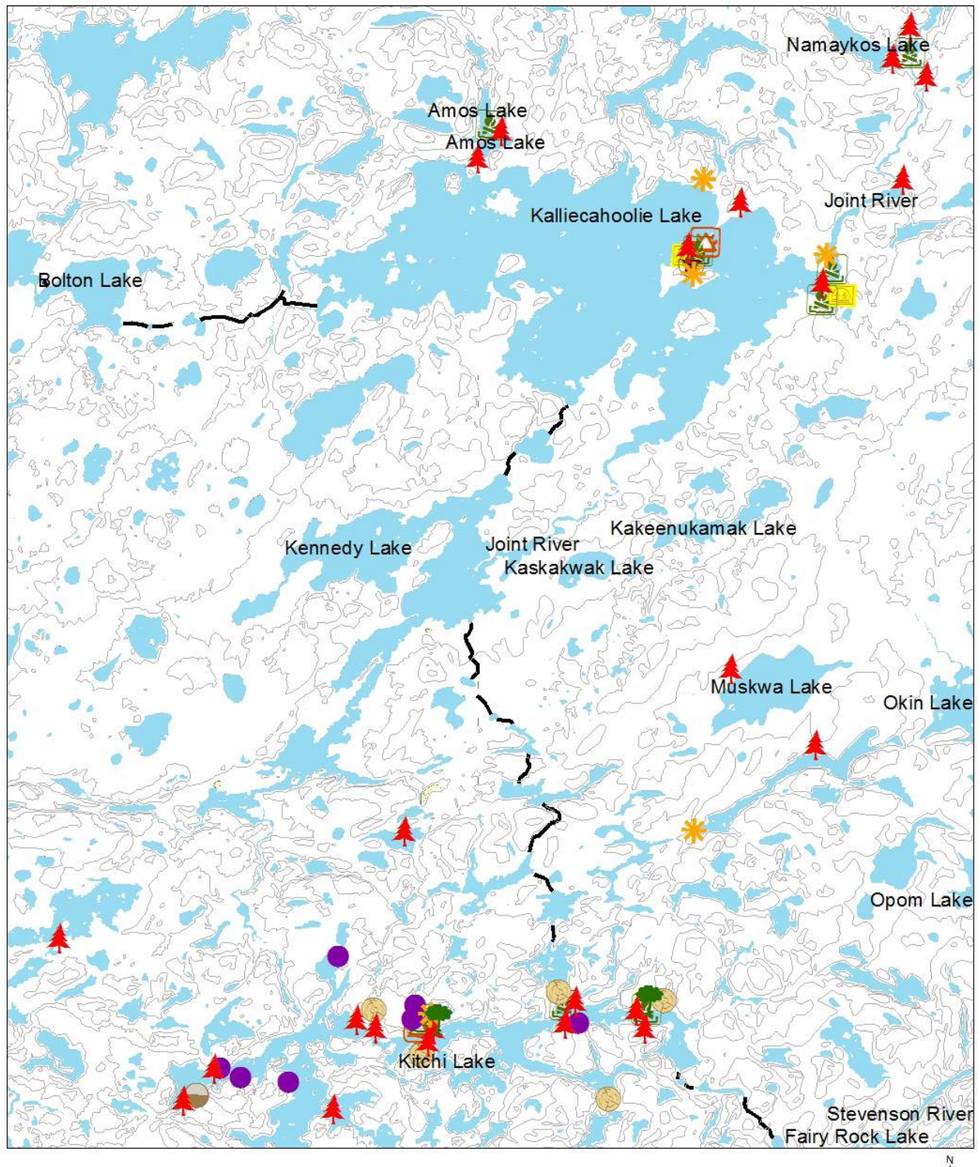
ANIMALS
- BEAR
- CARIBOU
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

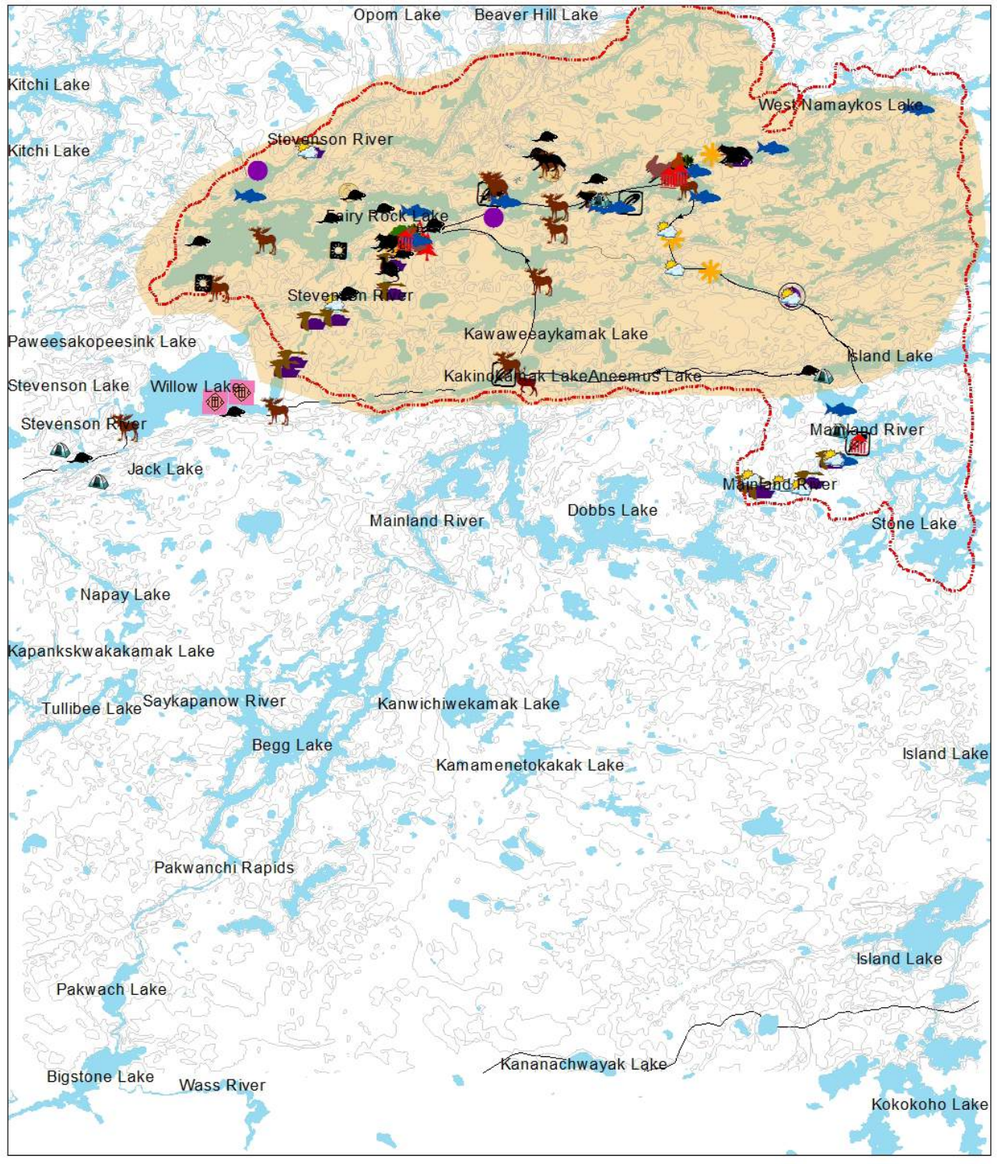
FISH
- FISH

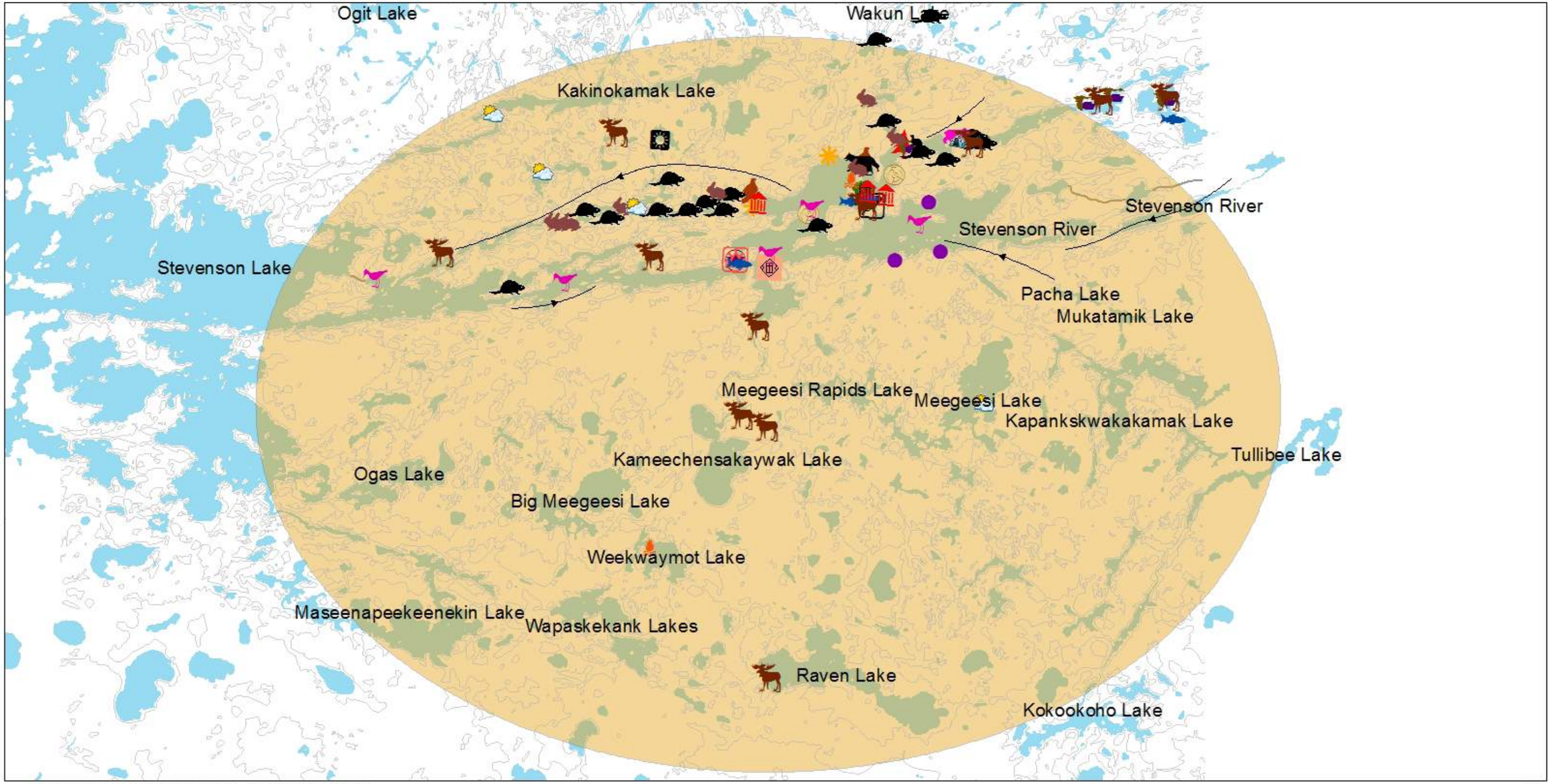
TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP LINE

- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES

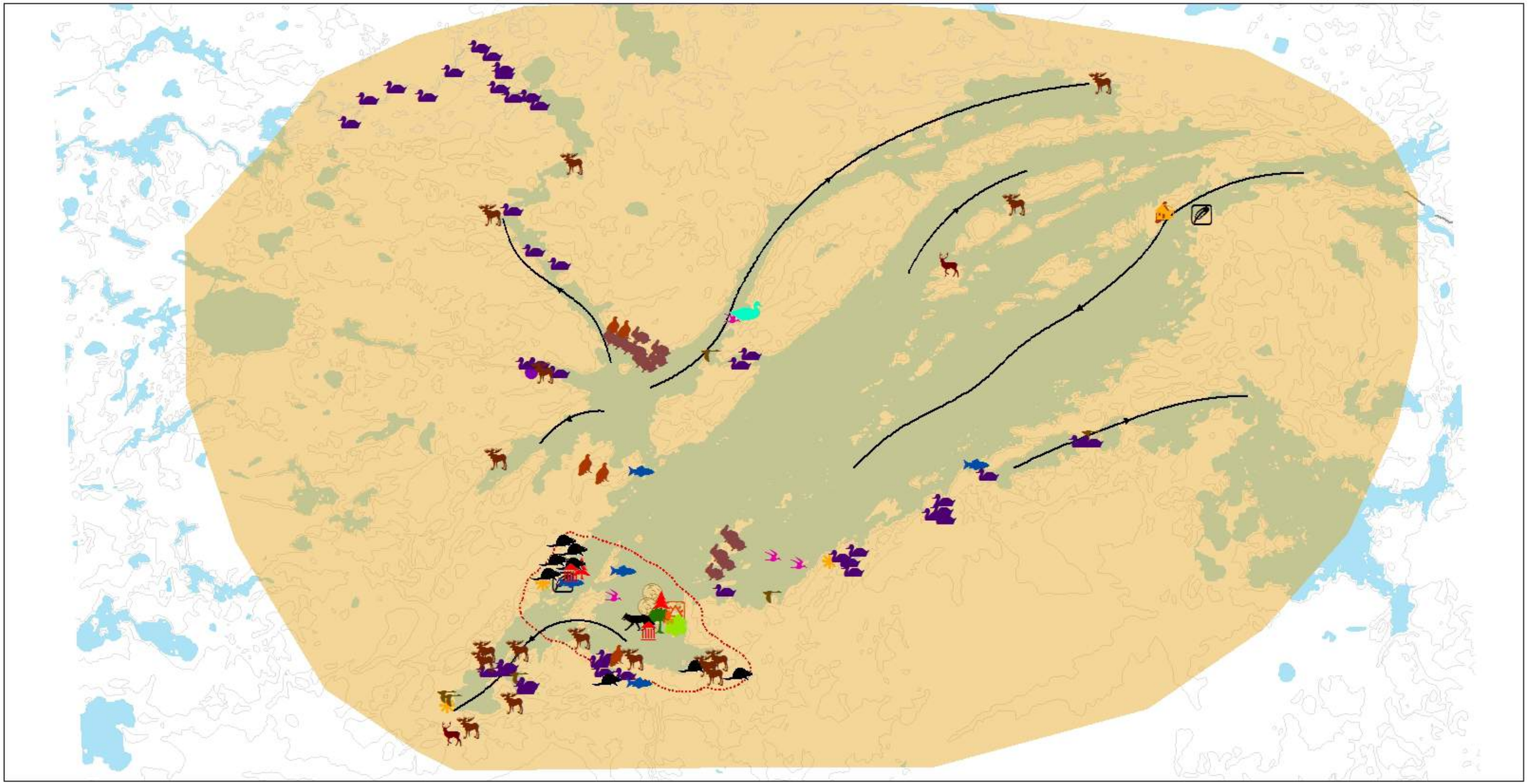
Map biography - Anishiniwuk 18 (b)


Namaykos Lake
Amos Lake
Amos Lake
Joint River
Kalliecahoolie Lake
Bolton Lake
Kakeenukamak Lake
Kennedy Lake
Joint River
Kaskakwak Lake
Muskwa Lake
Okin Lake
Opom Lake
Kitchi Lake
Stevenson River
Fairy Rock Lake
KALLIECANOOLIE LAKE AND KITCHI LAKE, MANITOBA
53 L3 L4 L5 L6
Reference Scale: 1:88,000
KMs
0 0.5 1 2 3 4
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N
N
W
E
S
PLANT & WOOD
BERRIES
CONSTRUCTION WOOD
EARTH MATERIAL
FIRE WOOD
MEDICINAL PLANT
OTHER PLANT
CULTURAL SITES
BIRTH
CEREMONY
GATHERING
HERITAGE
CONTOUR
WATER BODIES

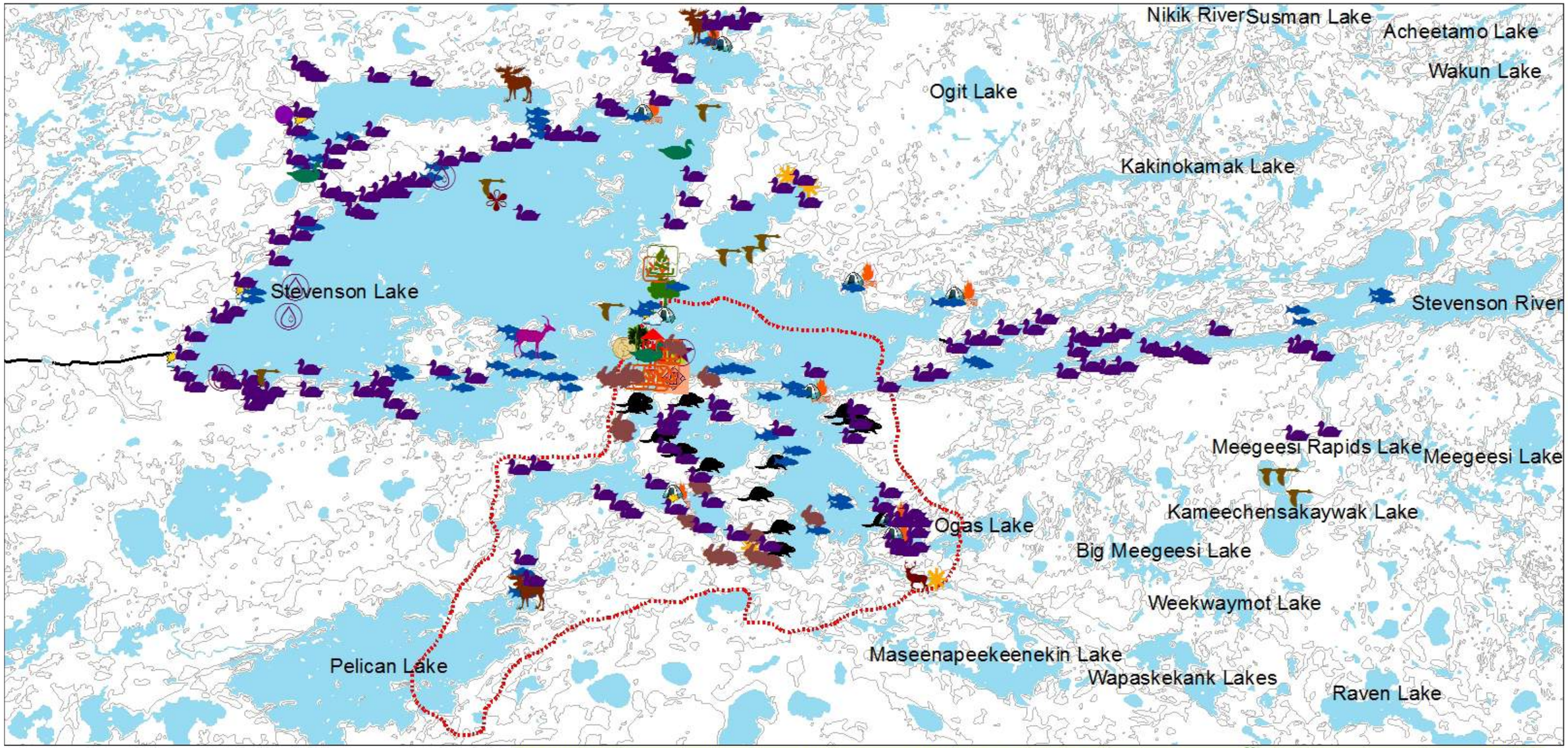

Opom Lake
Beaver Hill Lake
Kitchi Lake
Kitchi Lake
West Namaykos Lake
Stevenson River
Fairy Rock Lake
Stevenson River
Kawaweeaykamak Lake
Paweesakopeesink Lake
Island Lake
Stevenson Lake
Willow Lake
Kakindkadjak Lake
Aneemus Lake
Stevenson River
Mainland River
Jack Lake
Mainland River
Dobbs Lake
Mainland River
Stone Lake
Napay Lake
Kapankskwakakamak Lake
Tullibee Lake
Saykapanow River
Kanwichiwekamak Lake
Begg Lake
Island Lake
Kamamenetokakak Lake
Pakwanchi Rapids
Island Lake
Pakwach Lake
Kananachwayak Lake
Bigstone Lake
Wass River
Kokokoho Lake
OPOM LAKE AND DOBBS LAKE, MANITOBA
53 E/14, 53 L/3
OVERNIGHT
LOG CABIN
OTHER OVERNIGHT
TENT WITH STOVE
UNDER OPEN SKY
ANIMALS
CARIBOU
FISH
MAMMAL
MOOSE
MUSKRAT
RABBIT
BIRDS
DUCK
EGGS
GEESE
GROUSE
PLANT & WOOD
BERRIES
CONSTRUCTION
FIREWOOD
MEDICINAL
OTHER PLANT
SPECIALITY
CULTURAL SITES
BURIAL
HERITAGE
TRAPPING
BEAVER
TRAP LINE
PLANNING ZONES
PROTECTED AREA
WATER BODIES
TRAVEL ROUTES
CONTOUR
ROAD
Reference Scale: 1:125,000
0 1 2 4 6 8
KMs
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N
N
W
E
S



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 20



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 21



STEVENSON LAKE, MANITOBA
63H16 53E13

Reference Scale: 1:113,000
0 1 2 4 6 8 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT_SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- EGG
- GEESE
- SWAN
- TRAP LINE

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

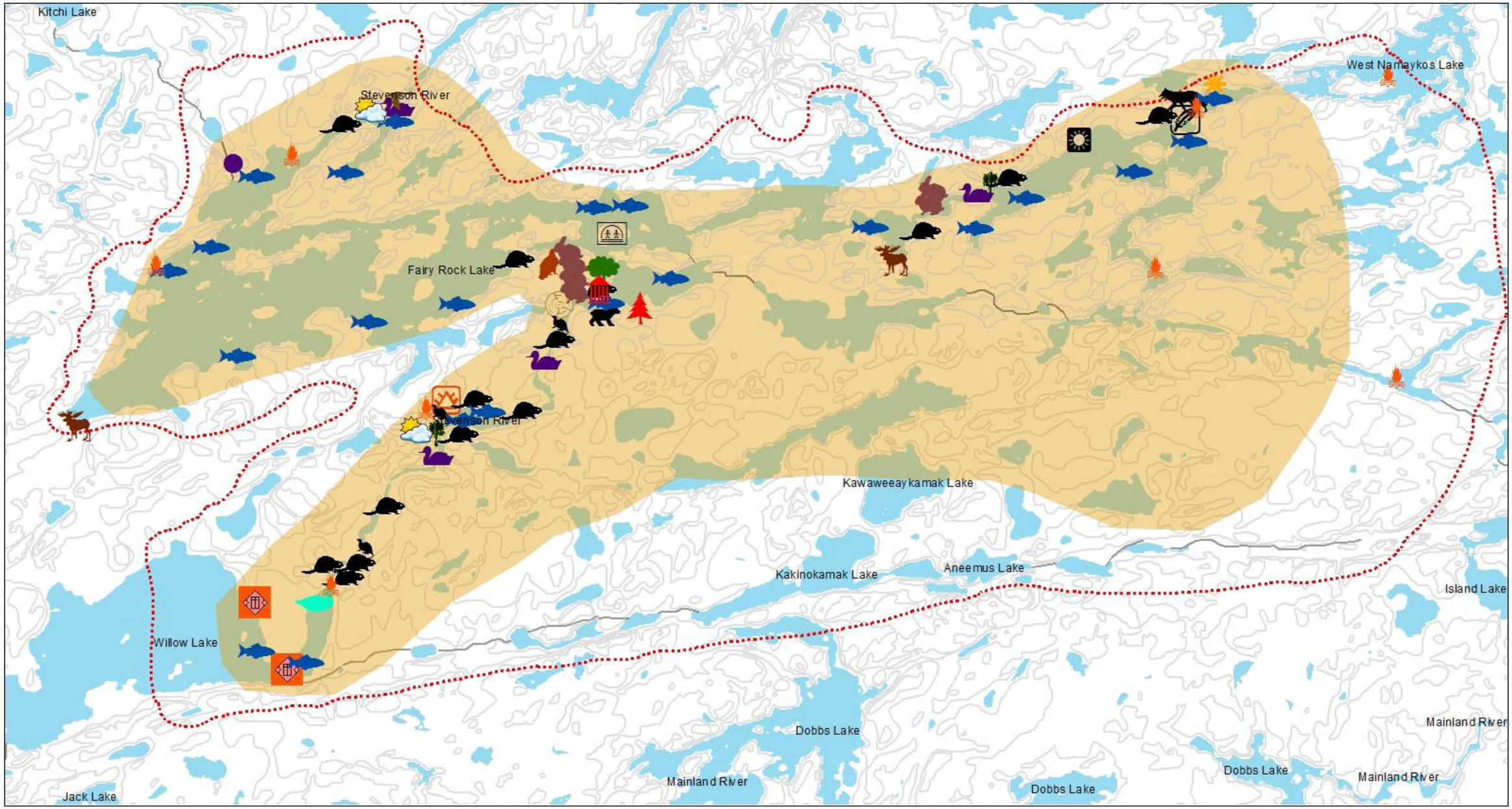
ANIMALS
- CARIBOU
- DEER
- MOOSE
- RABBIT

CULTURAL SITES
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- SPIRIT SITE

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUTION WOOD
- FIRE WOOD
- MEDICINAL PLANT
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY WOOD

- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 22



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 23

DOBBS LAKE AND OPOM LAKE, MANITOBA

N

Reference Scale: 1:85,000

53 E/14
53 L/03

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMS

Co-ordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- OTHER OVERNIGHT
- TENT NO STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

ANIMALS
- BEAR
- FISH
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- RABBIT

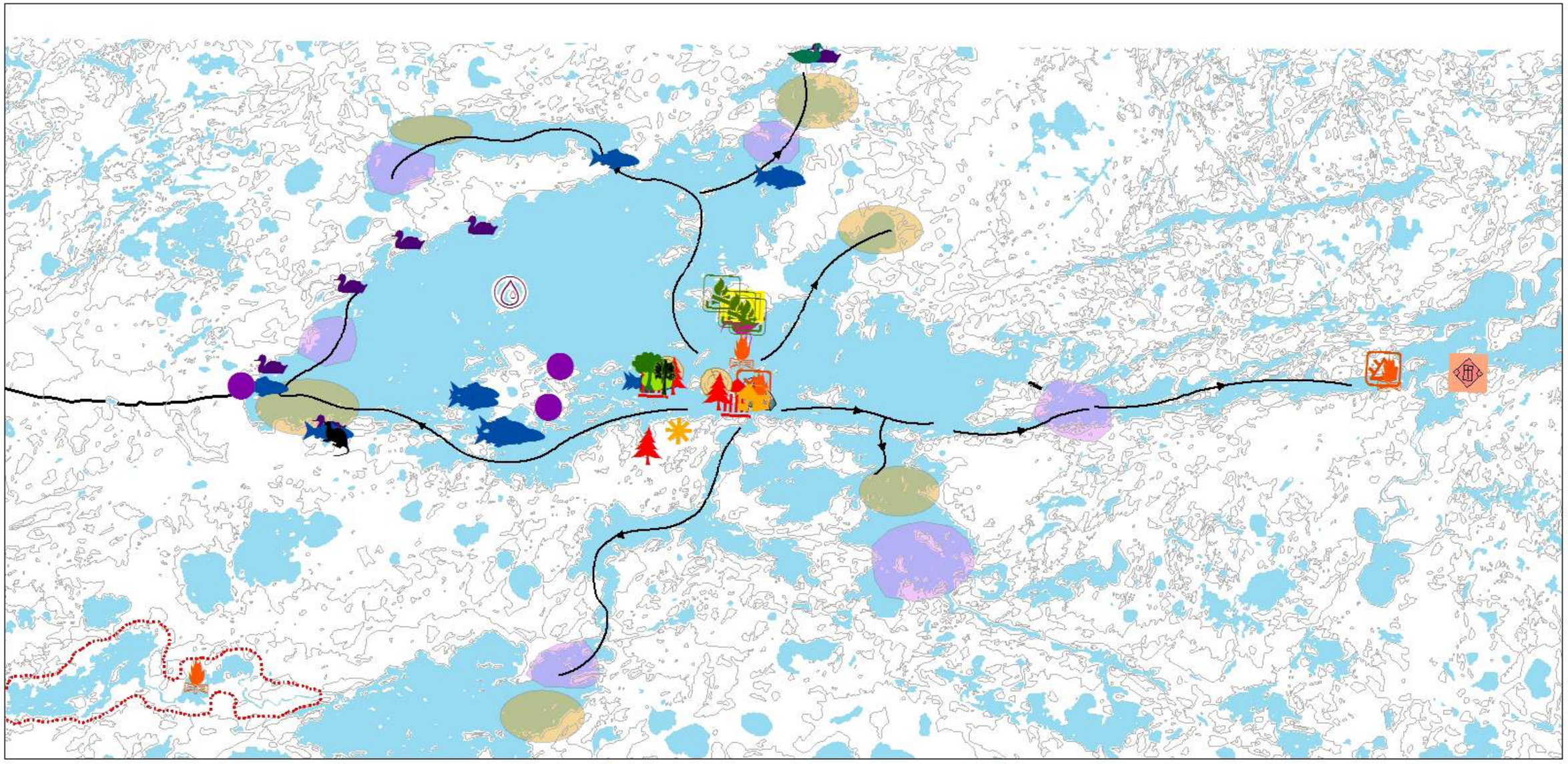
BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD
- SWAN

PLANTS AND WOOD
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MOSS

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

CULTURAL SITES
- BURIAL
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- TRAP LINE
- SACRED_AREA
- WATER BODY
- TRAVEL_ROUTES
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 24



STEVENSON LAKE, MANITOBA

53 E13, 63H16

0 0.751.5 3 4.5 6 KMs

Reference Scale: 1:100,000

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY

OVERNIGHT SITES
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- LOG CABIN
- TENT WITH STOVE

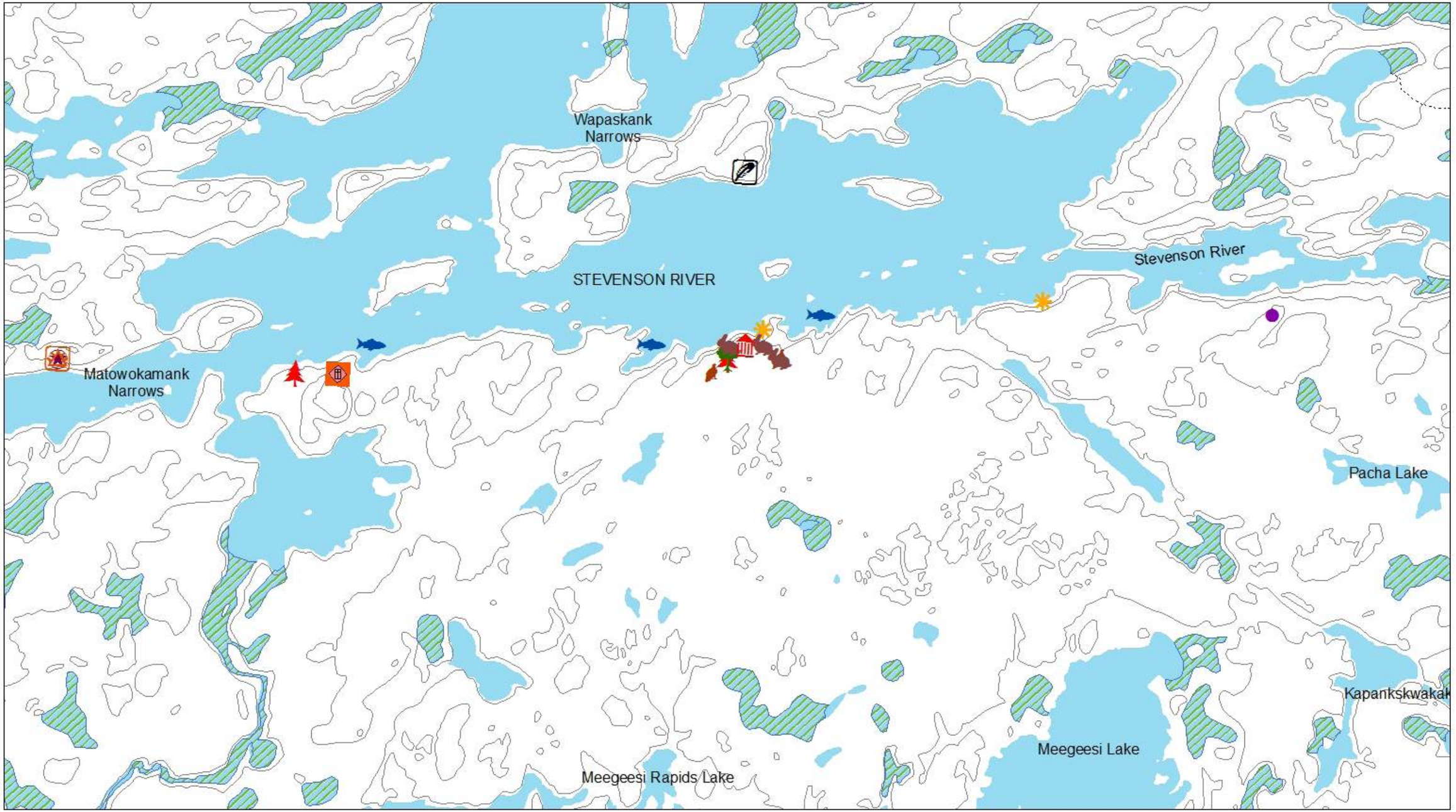
CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- HERITAGE
- GATHERING

ANIMAL
- MUSKRAT

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GROUSE
- SWAN
- EGGS
- OTHER BIRD
- TRAP LINE

- TOURISM_AREA
- PROTECTED AREAS
- WATER BODIES
- TRAVEL ROUTES
- CONTOUR
- ROAD



KAKINOKAMAK LAKE, MANITOBA

Reference Scale 1:27,500

53 E/13

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN

ANIMALS
- FISH
- RABBIT
- GROUSE

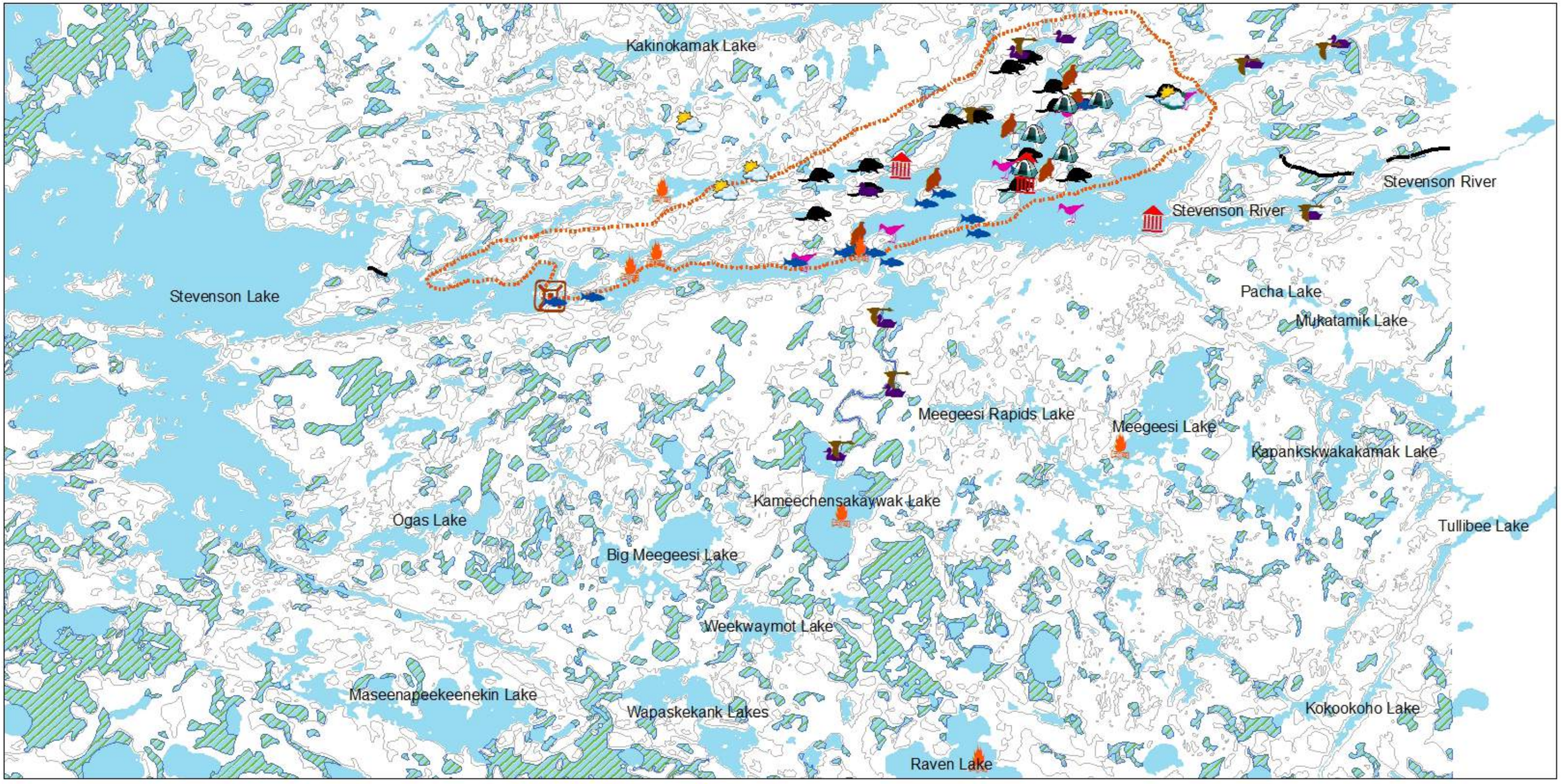
PLANTS & WOOD
- BERRIES
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- OTHER PLANT

CULTURAL SITES
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

CONTOUR

WETLANDS

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 26



STEVENSON RIVER, MANITOBA

53 E/13

Reference Scale: 1:82,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

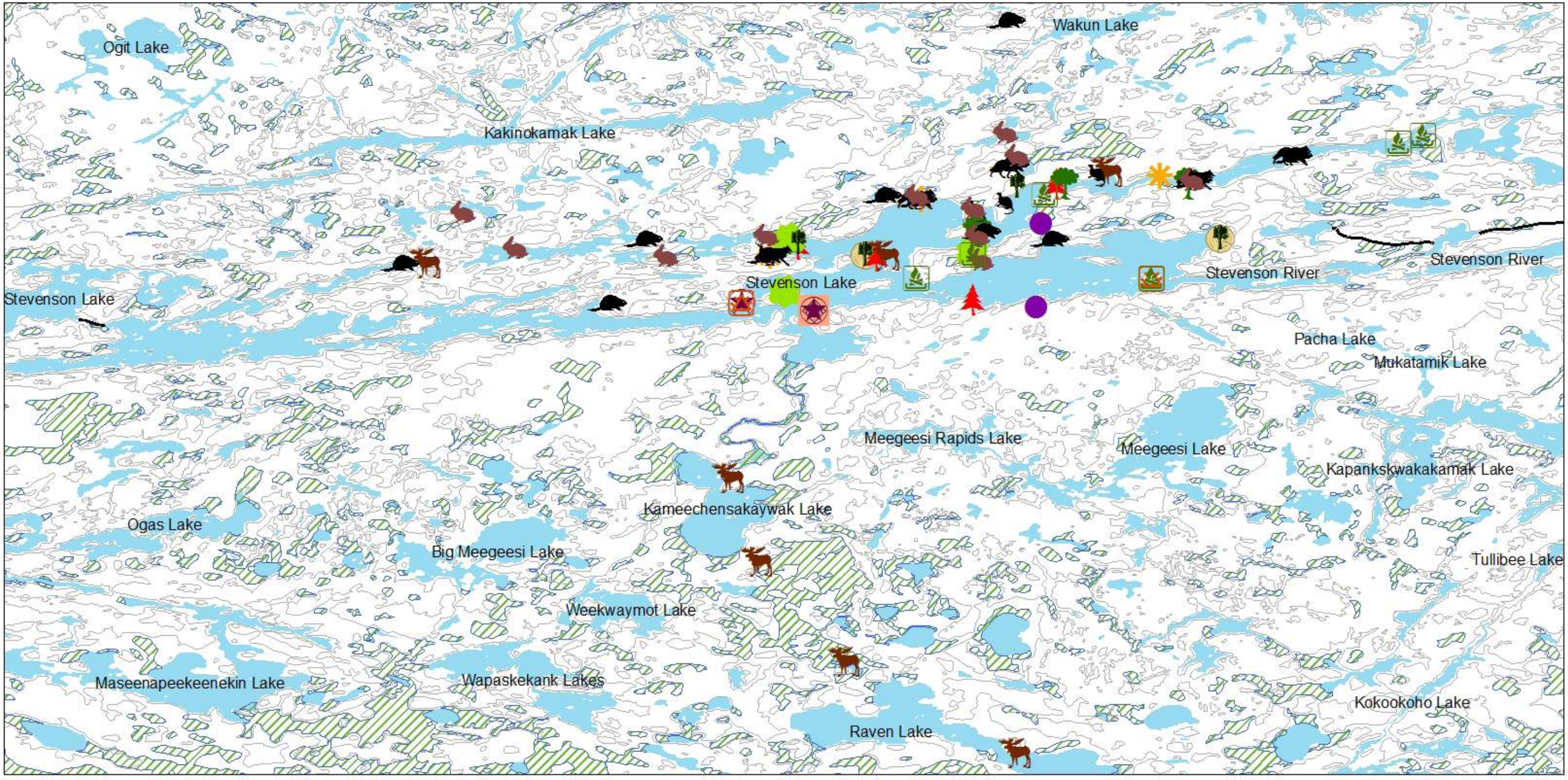
BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- SWAN
- OTHER BIRD

FISH
- FISH

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAPPING
- TRAP LINE

- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WETLAND
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 27 (a)



STEVENSON RIVER, MANITOBA

53 E/13

Reference Scale: 1:100,000

Coordinate System: GCS North American 1983

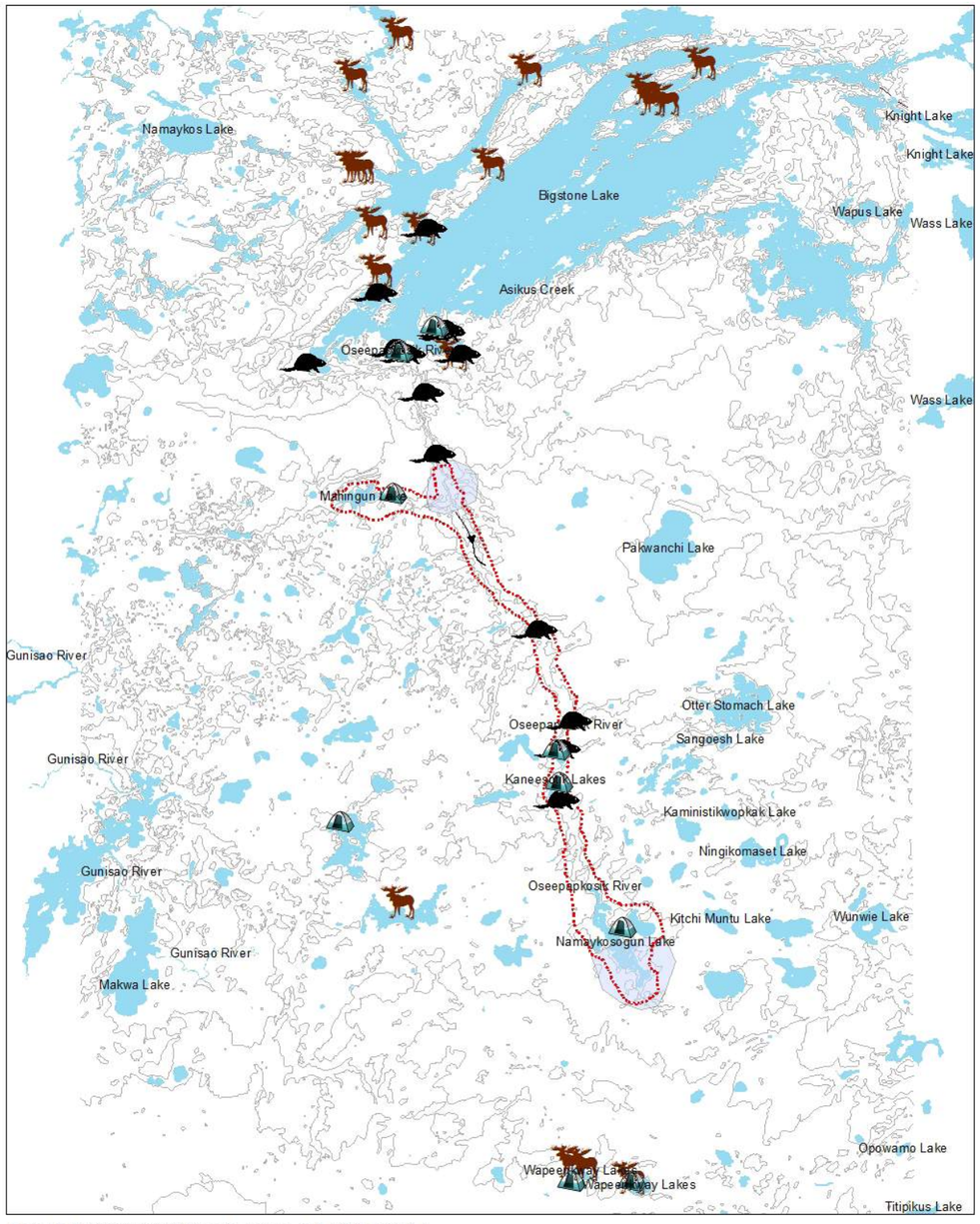
PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

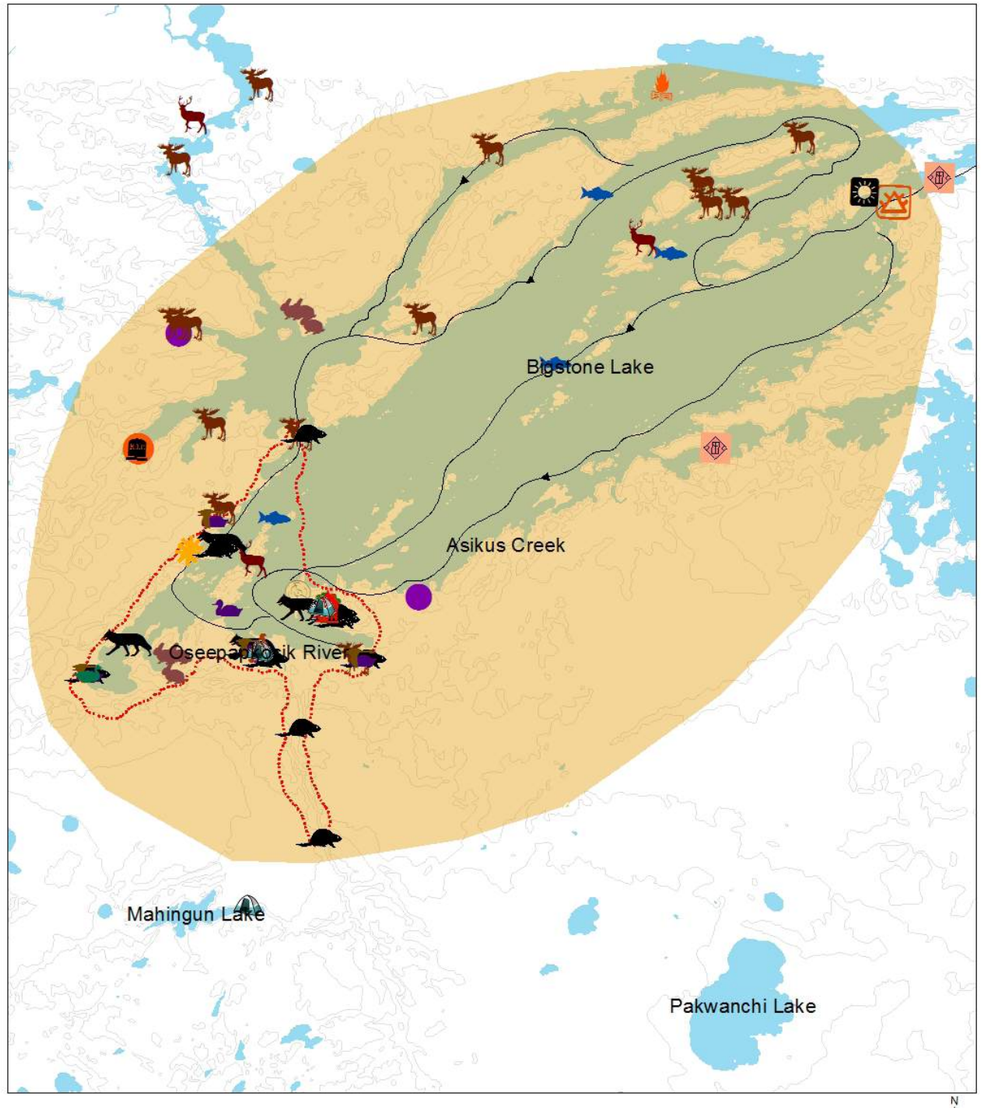
ANIMALS
- RABBIT
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT

CULTURAL SITES
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

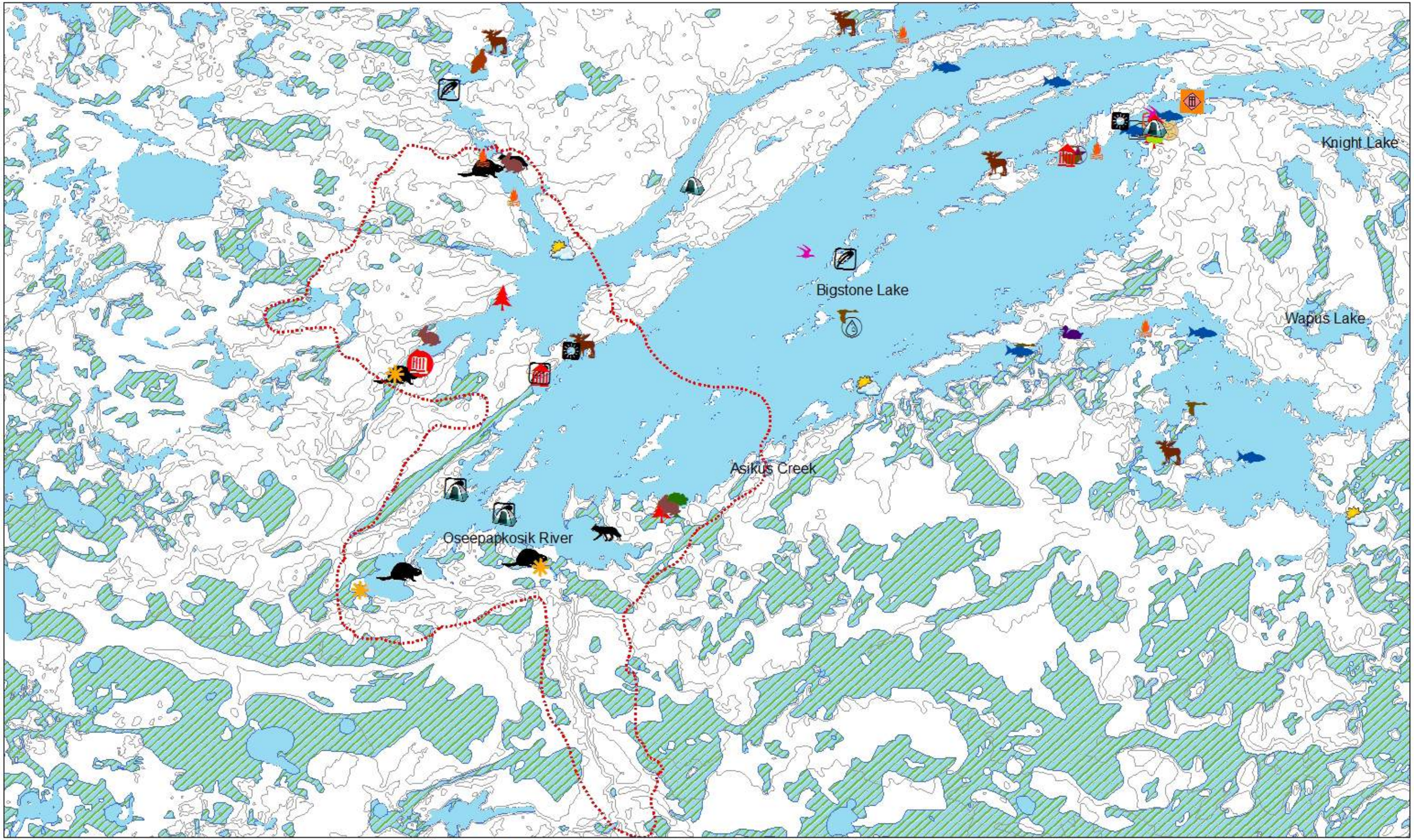
- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WETLAND
- WATER BODIES

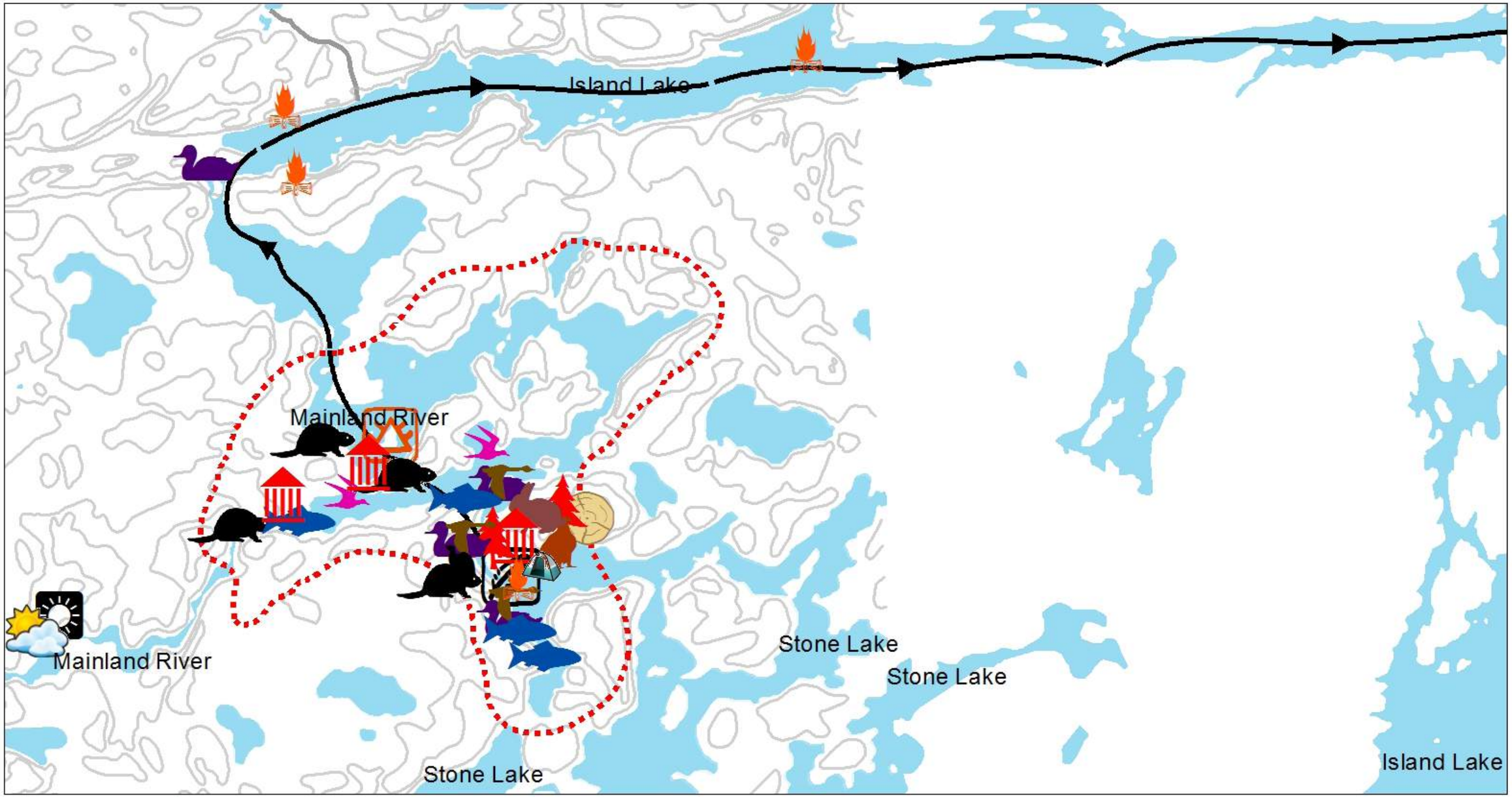


Map biography - Anishiniwuk 28 (a)

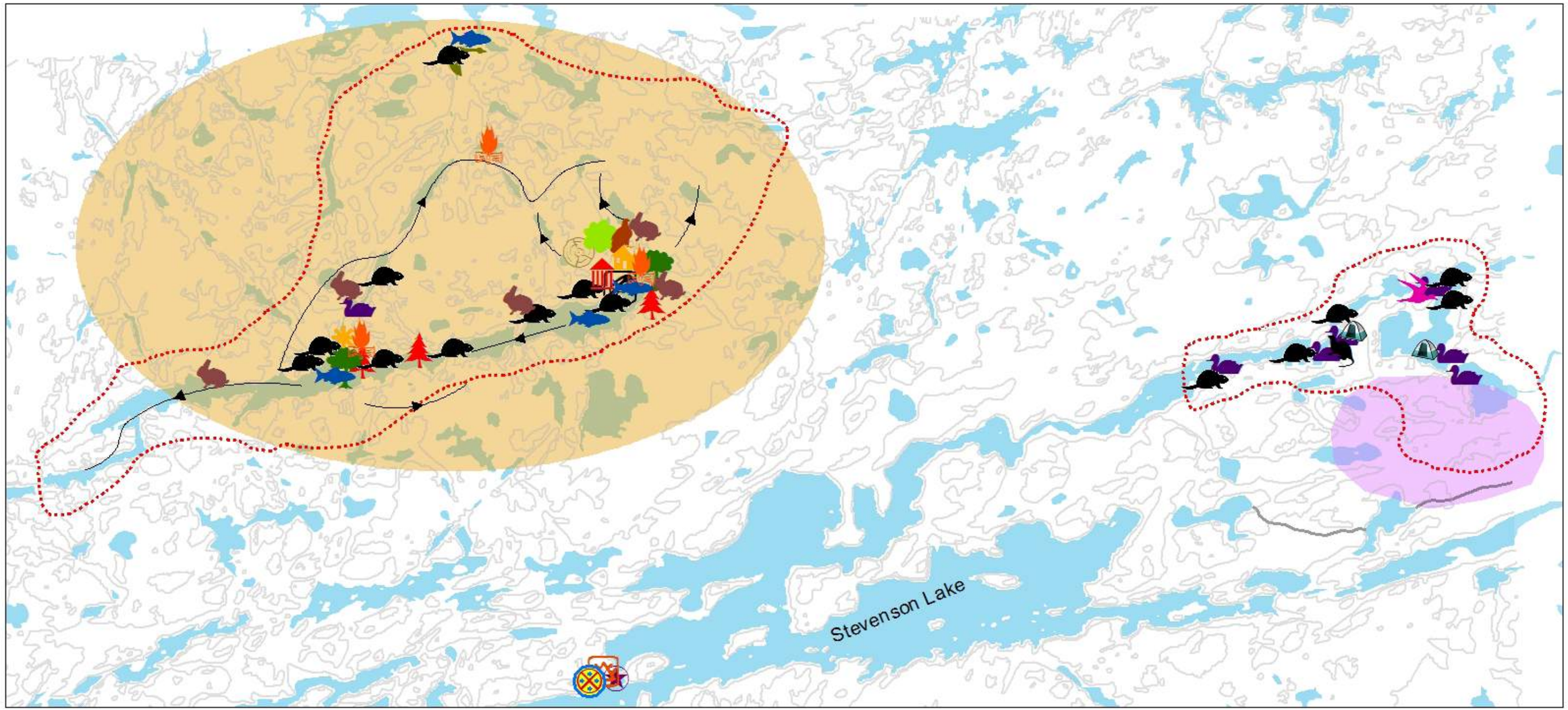


Map biography - Anishiniwuk 28 (b)


Knight Lake
Bigstone Lake
Wapus Lake
Asikus Creek
Oseepapkosik River
BIGSTONE LAKE, MANITOBA
Reference Scale 1:80,000
0 0.3 0.6 1.2 1.8 2.4
Km
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N
53 E/12
OVERNIGHT
LOG CABIN
OTHER OVERNIGHT
TENT NO STOVE
TENT WITH STOVE
UNDER OPEN SKY
ANIMALS
FISH
MAMMAL
MOOSE
RABBIT
DUCK
EGGS
GEESE
GROUSE
OTHER BIRD
PLANTS & WOOD
BERRIES
CONSTRUCTION
EARTH
FIREWOOD
MEDICINAL
MOSS
OTHER PLANT
CULTURAL SITES
BIRTH
BURIAL
CEREMONY
DEATH
GATHERING
HERITAGE
TRAPPING
TRAPPING LINE
BEAVER
WETLANDS
WATER BODIES
CONTOUR



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 30



KAKINOKAMAK LAKE, MANITOBA

N W E S

53 E/13

Reference Scale: 1:55,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMS

Co-ordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE

ANIMALS
- FISH
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP LINE

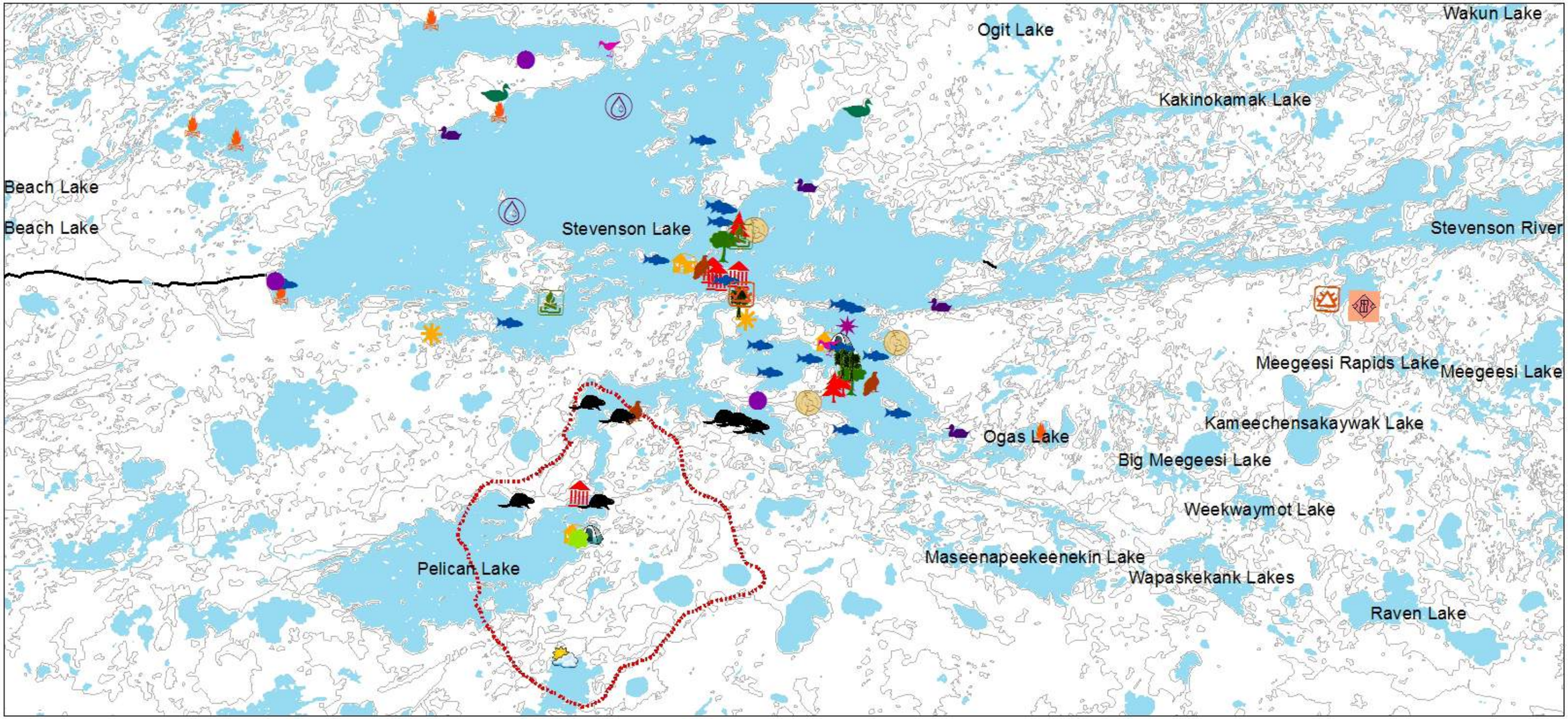
BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD

PLANTS AND WOOD
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT

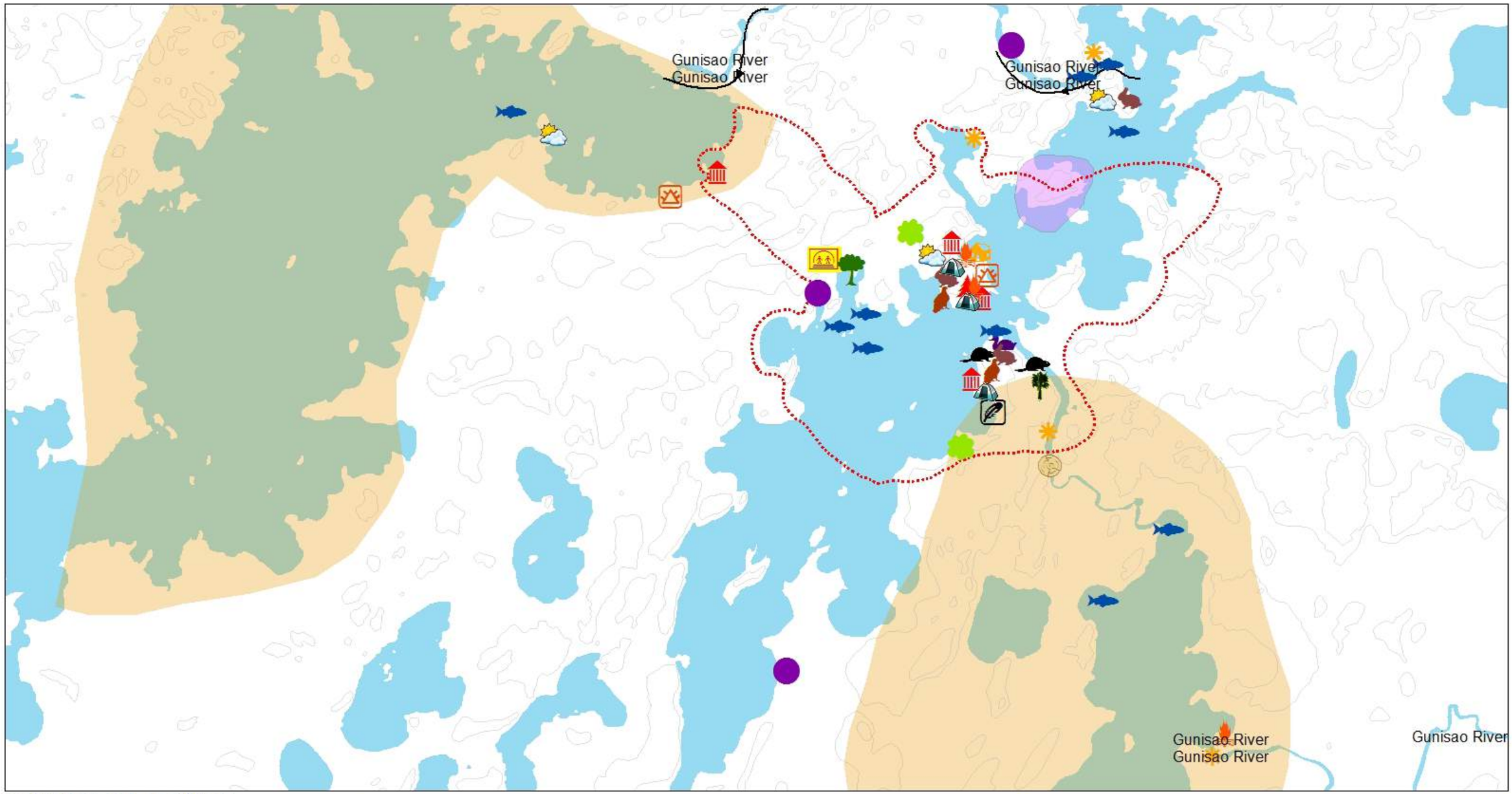
CULTURAL SITES
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- SPIRIT

PLANNING ZONES
- TOURISM AREA
- PROTECTED AREA
- WATER BODY
- TRAVEL ROUTES
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 31



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 32



BENNETT LAKE, MANITOBA

N W E S

Reference Scale: 1:35,000

53 E/05
63 H/08

0 0.250.5 1 1.5 2 KMS

Co-ordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

ANIMALS
- FISH
- RABBIT

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP_LINE

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GROUSE

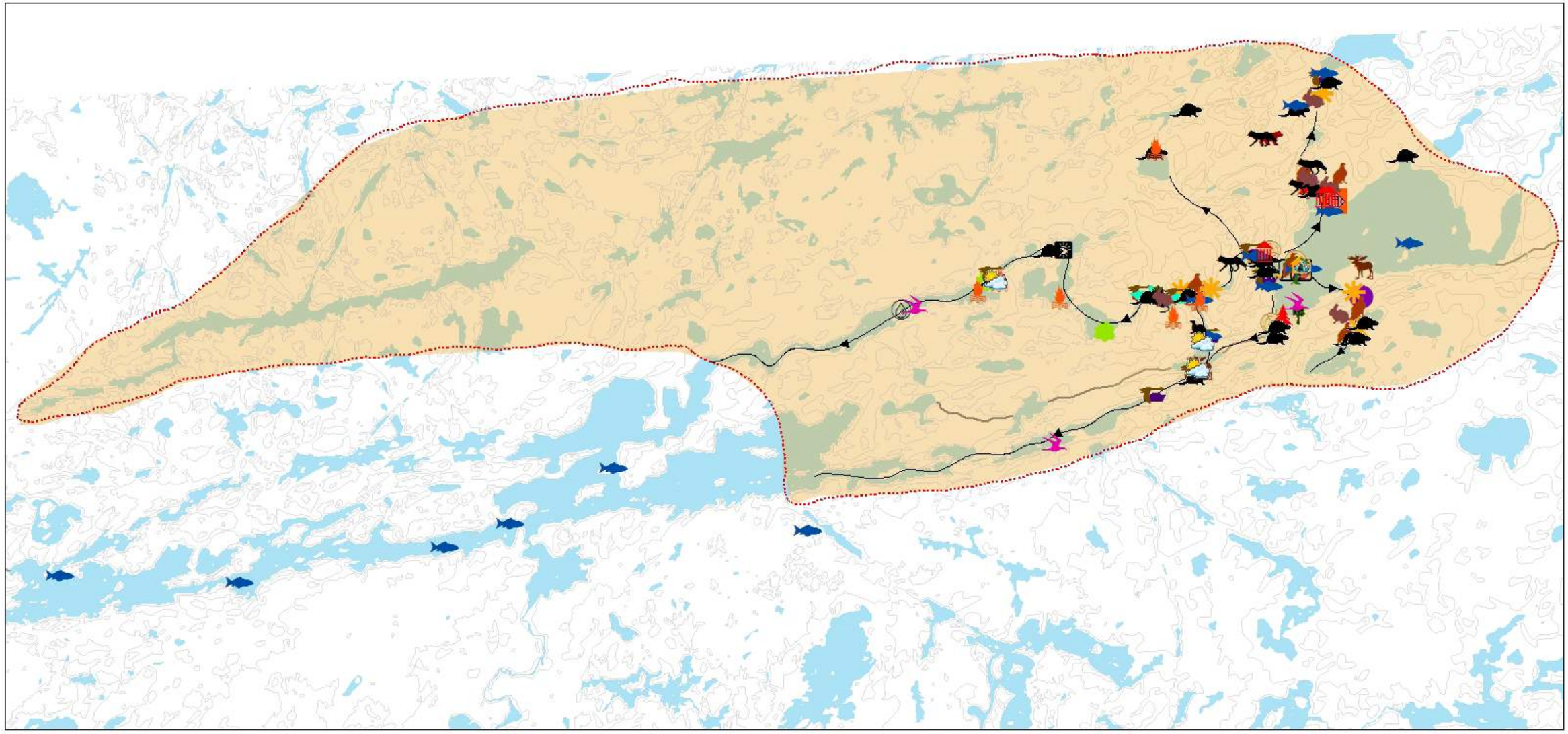
PLANTS AND WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALTY

CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

PLANNING ZONES
- TOURISM AREA
- PROTECTED AREA
- WATER BODY

- TRAVEL ROUTE
- CONTOUR
- TRAIL

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 33



WILLOW LAKE, MANITOBA

N
W E
S

53 E/13
53 E/14

Reference Scale: 1:80,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMS

Co-ordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- OTHER OVERNIGHT
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

ANIMALS
- BEAR
- FISH
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

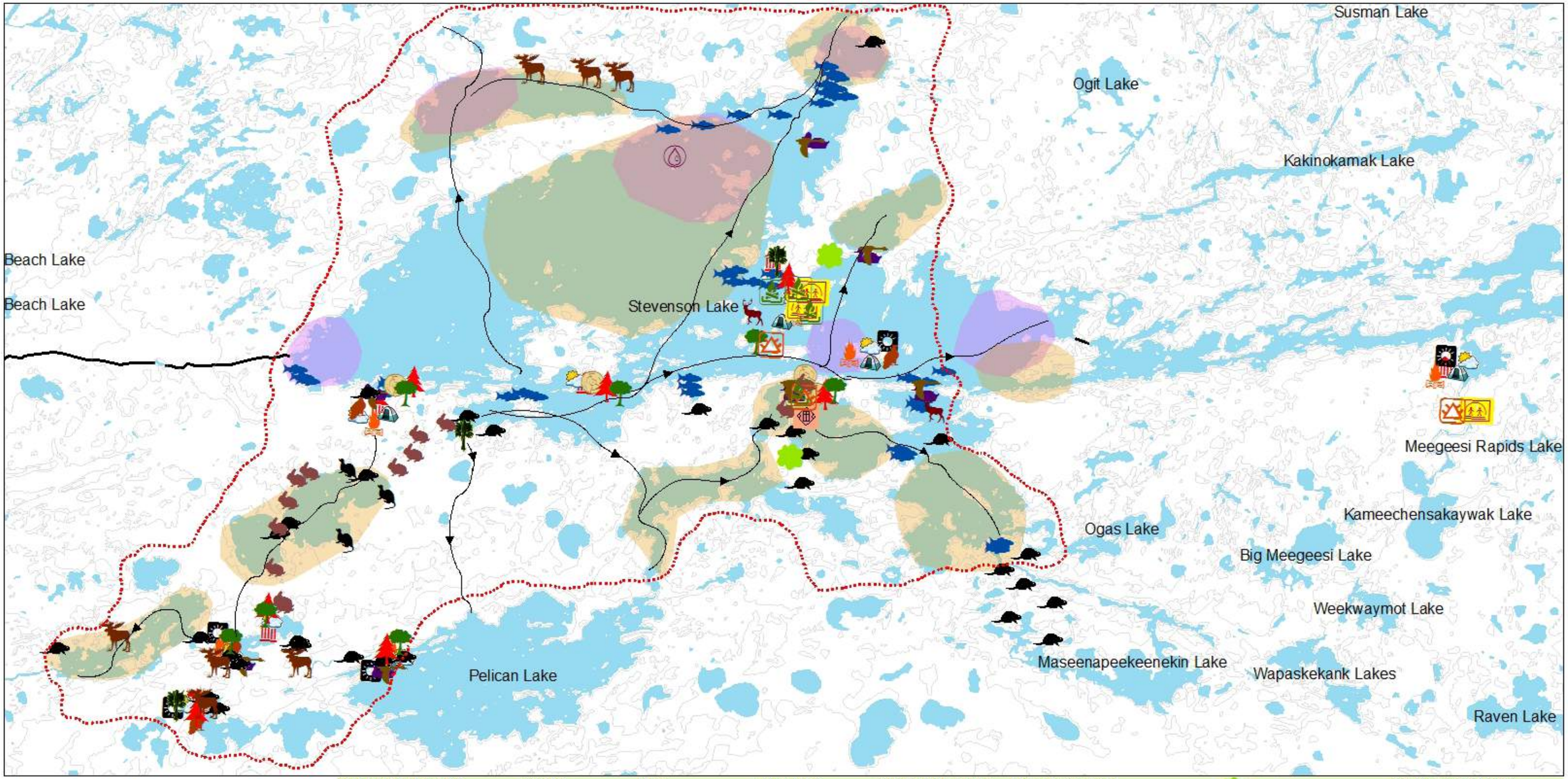
TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP_LINE

BIRDS
- DUCK
- EGGS
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD
- SWAN

PLANTS AND WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY

CULTURAL SITES
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- OTHER CULTURAL

PLANNING ZONES
- PROTECTED AREA
- WATER BODY
- TRAVEL ROUTES
- CONTOUR
- ROAD



STEVENSON LAKE, MANITOBA

63H16 53E13

Reference Scale: 1:110,000

0 0.75 1.5 3 4.5 6 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- OTHER OVERNIGHT
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

BIRDS
- DUCK
- EGG
- GEESE
- GROUSE

FISH
- FISH

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP LINE

ANIMALS
- CARIBOU
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

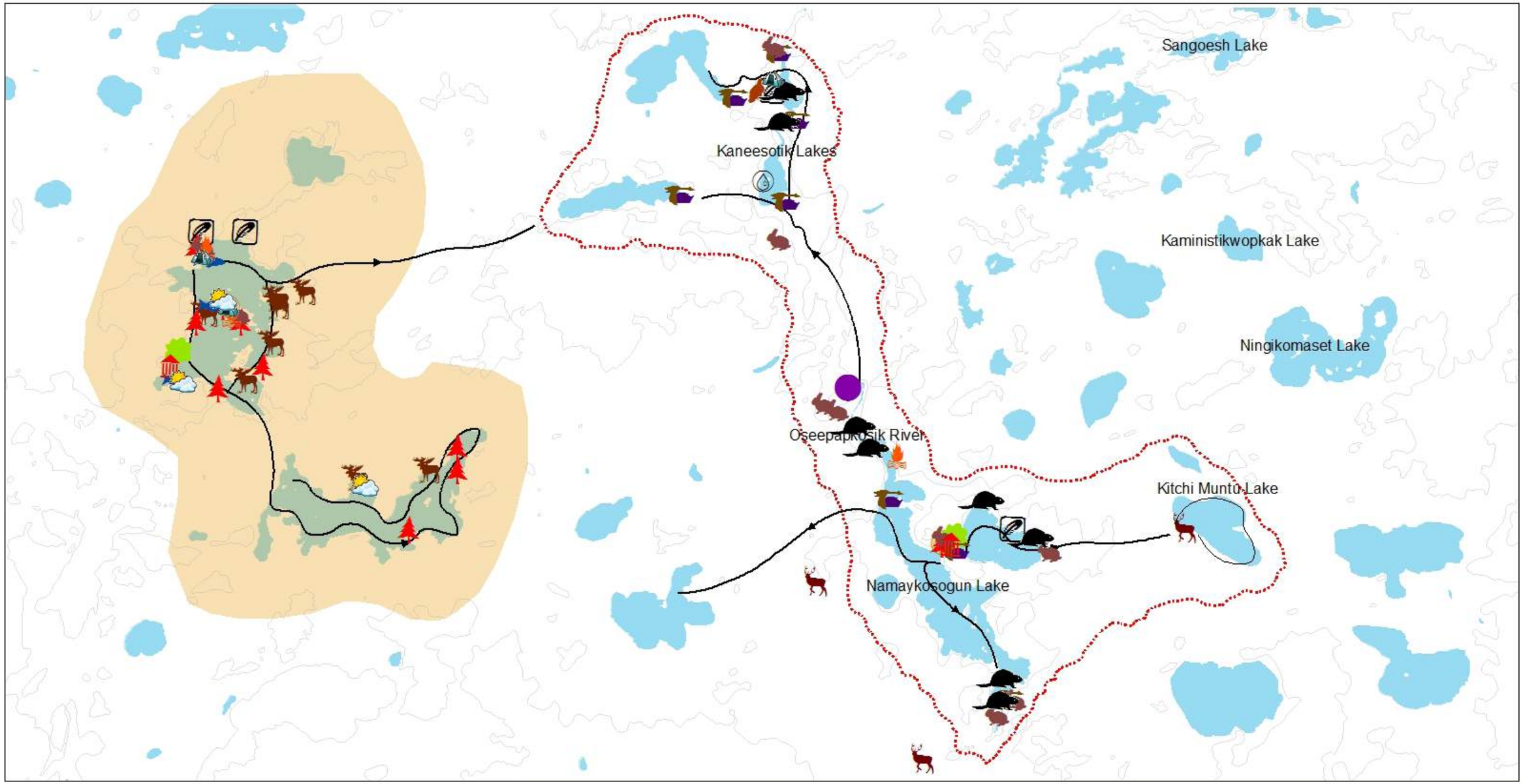
CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- BURIAL
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

PLANT & WOOD
- CONSTRUTION WOOD
- FIRE WOOD

- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT
- SPECIALITY WOOD

PLANNING ZONES
- TOURISM AREA
- PROTECTED AREA
- WATER BODIES
- TRAVEL ROUTE
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 35



NAMAYKOSOGUN LAKE, MANITOBA

N W E S

Reference Scale: 1:54,000 **53 E/5**

KMs
0 0.5 1 2 3 4

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

CULTURAL SITES
- HERITAGE

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP LINE

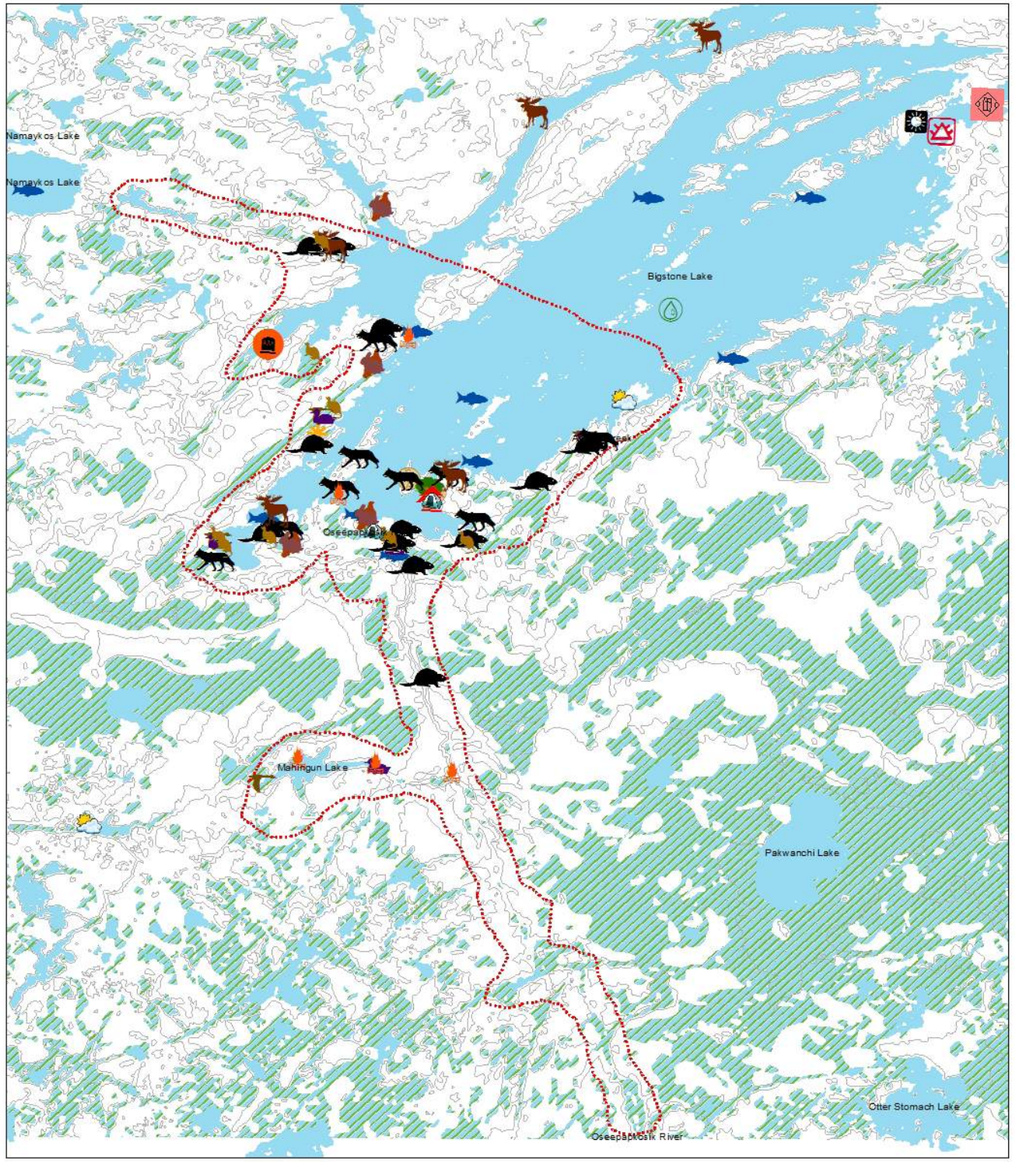
ANIMALS
- CARIBOU
- FISH
- MOOSE
- RABBIT

BIRDS
- DUCK
- EGGS
- GEESE
- GROUSE

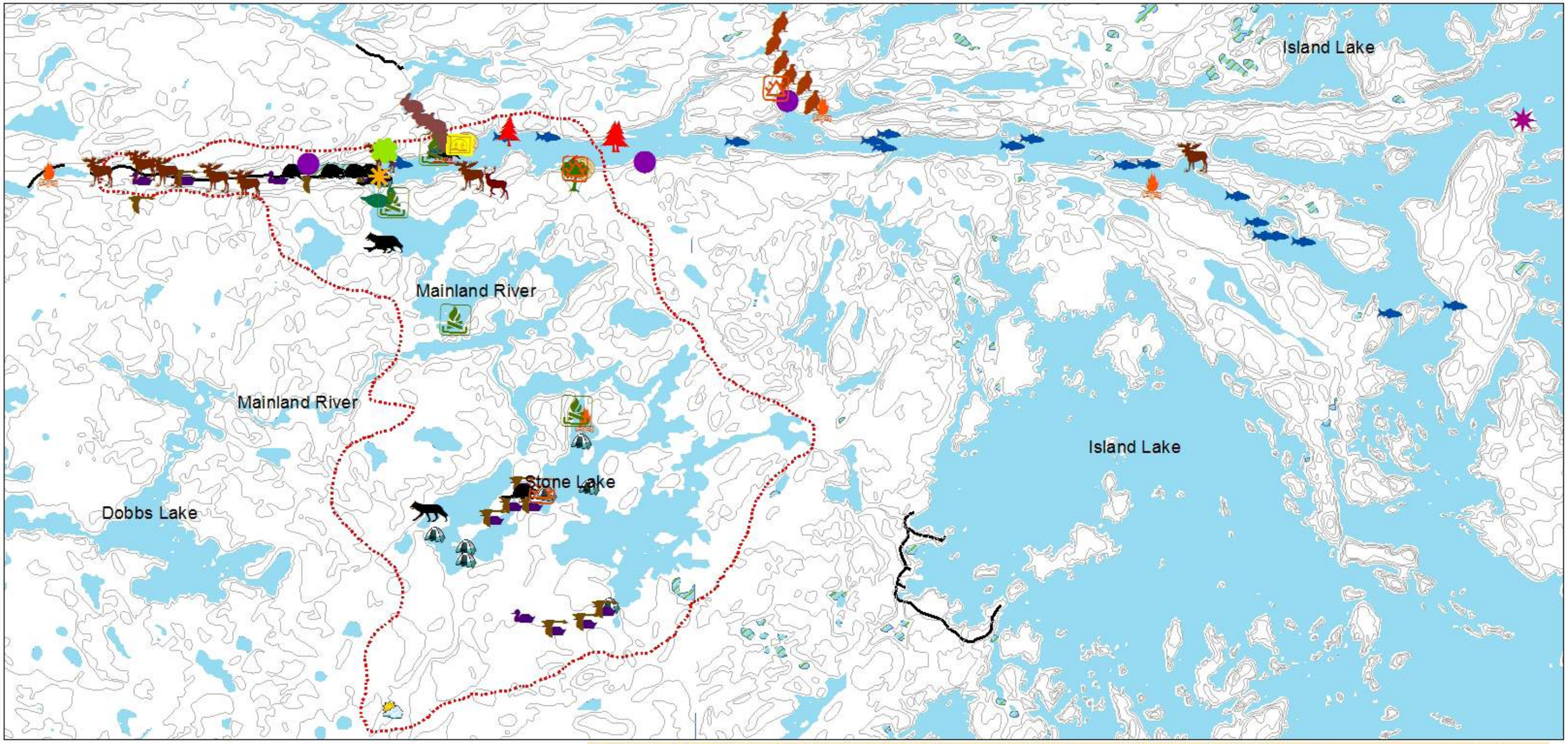
PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MOSS

PLANNING ZONES
- PROTECTED AREA
- WATER BODIES
- TRAVEL ROUTE
- CONTOUR

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 36



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 37



STONE LAKE AND MAINLAND RIVER, MANITOBA

53E14, 53E15

Reference Scale: 1:62,000

KMs
0 0.5 1 2 3 4

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- SWAN

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

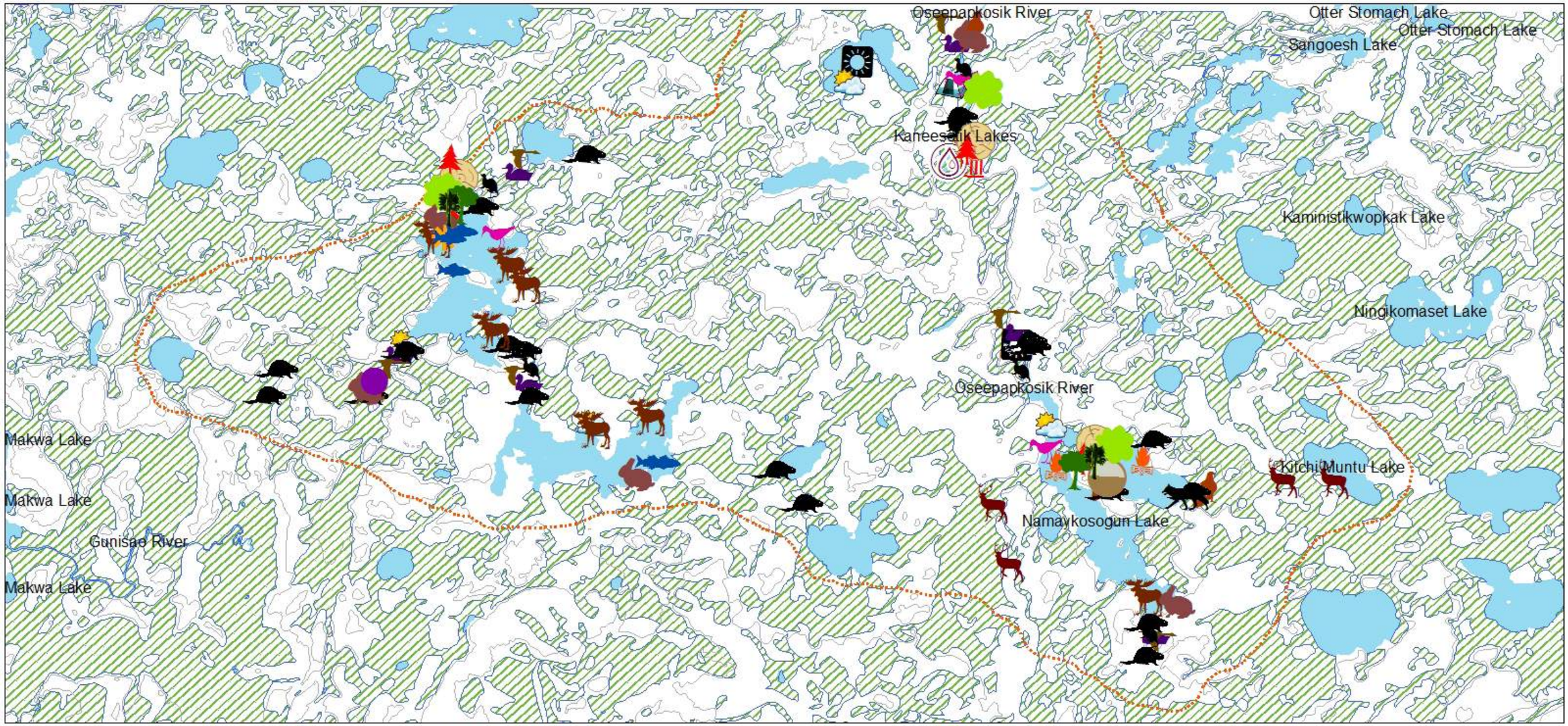
ANIMALS
- CARIBOU
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- RABBIT

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- OTHER PLANT

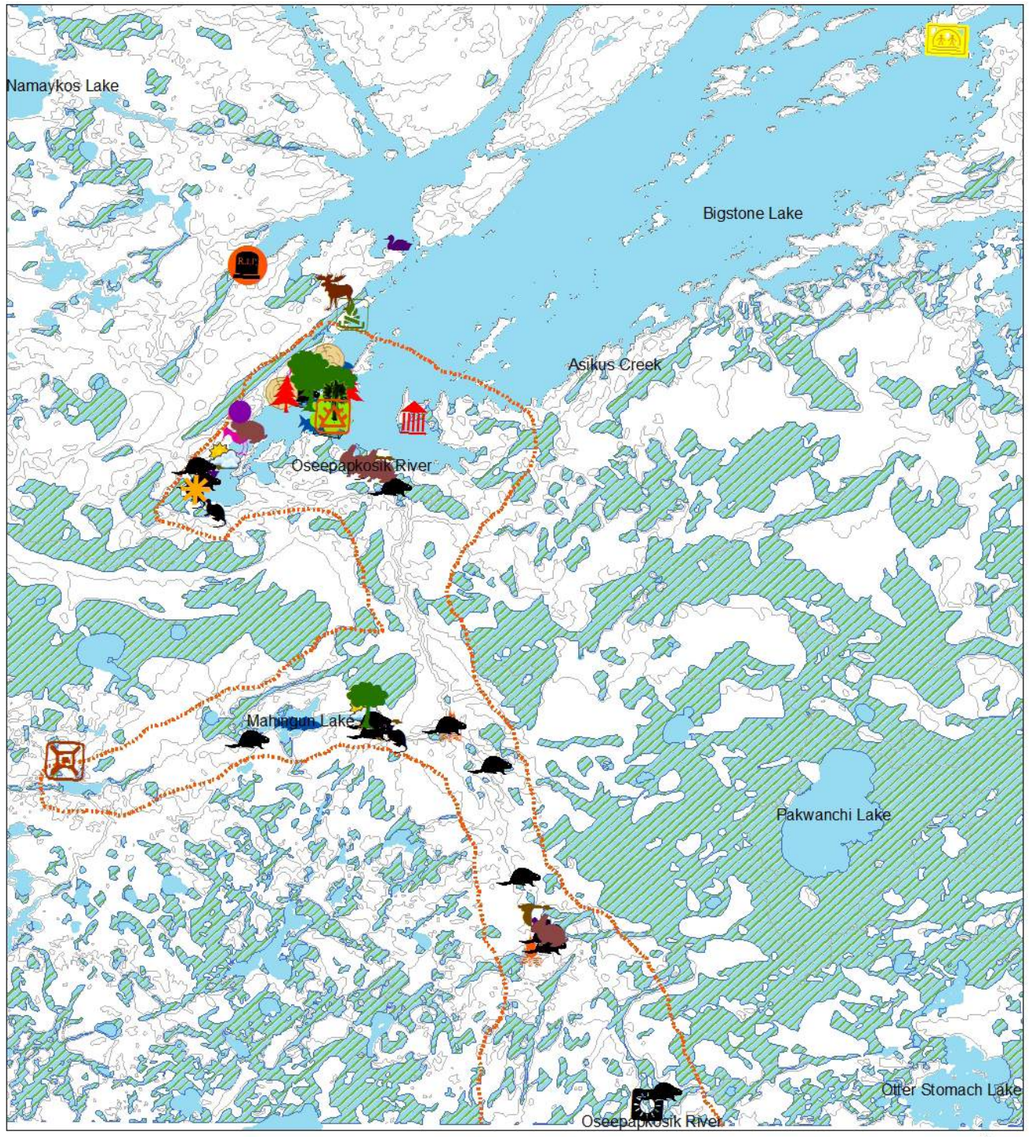
CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- OTHER CULTURAL
- TRAP_LINE

- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 38



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 39 (a)



BIGSTONE LAKE, MANITOBA **53 E/12**

OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY
- OTHER OVERNIGHT

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAPPING

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- OTHER BIRD

ANIMALS
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT
- TRAP LINE

FISH
- FISH

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION
- FIREWOOD
- MEDICINAL
- MOSS
- SPECIALITY
- OTHER PLANT

CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- DEATH
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

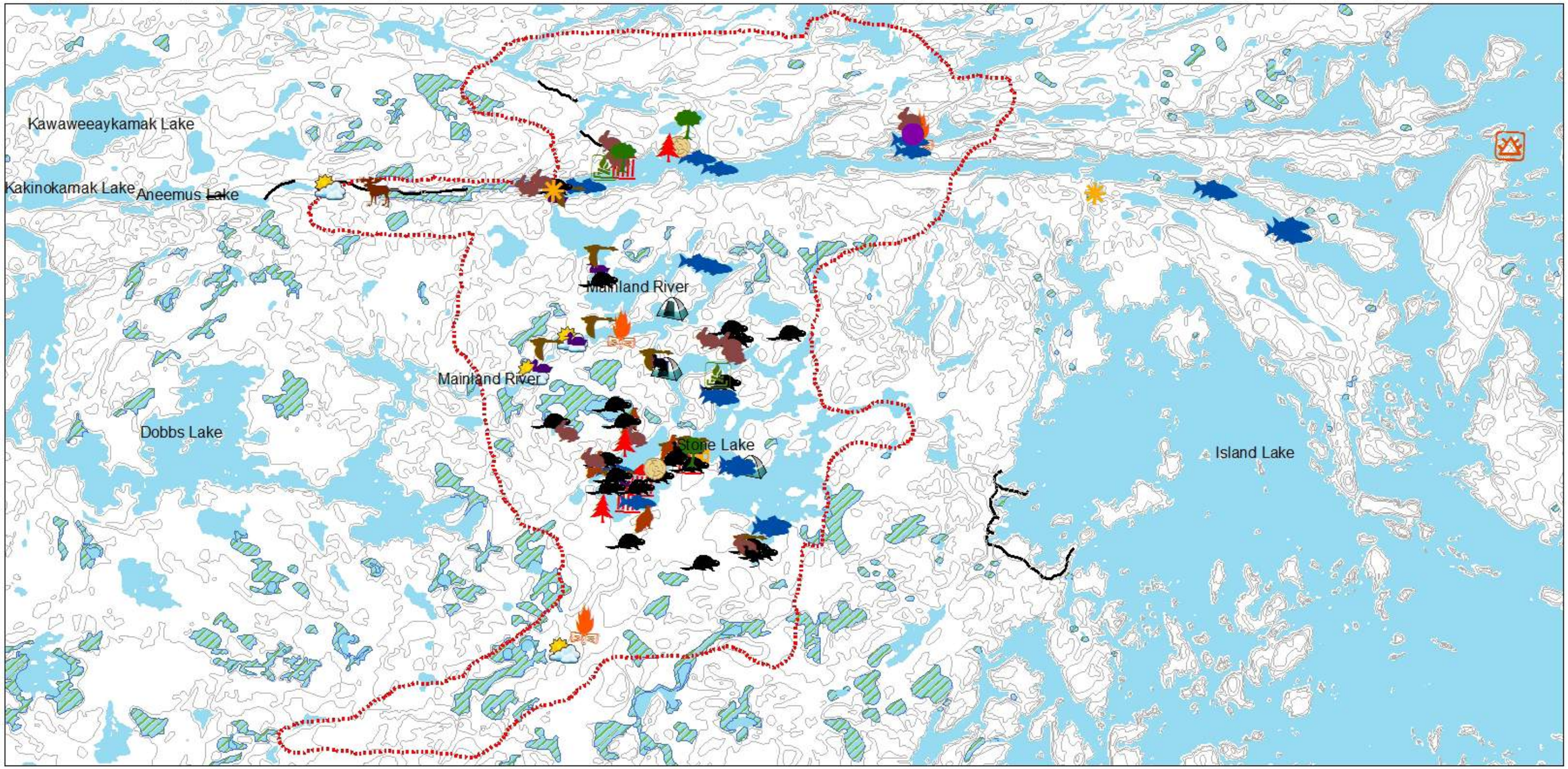
- CONTOUR
- WETLAND
- WATER BODIES

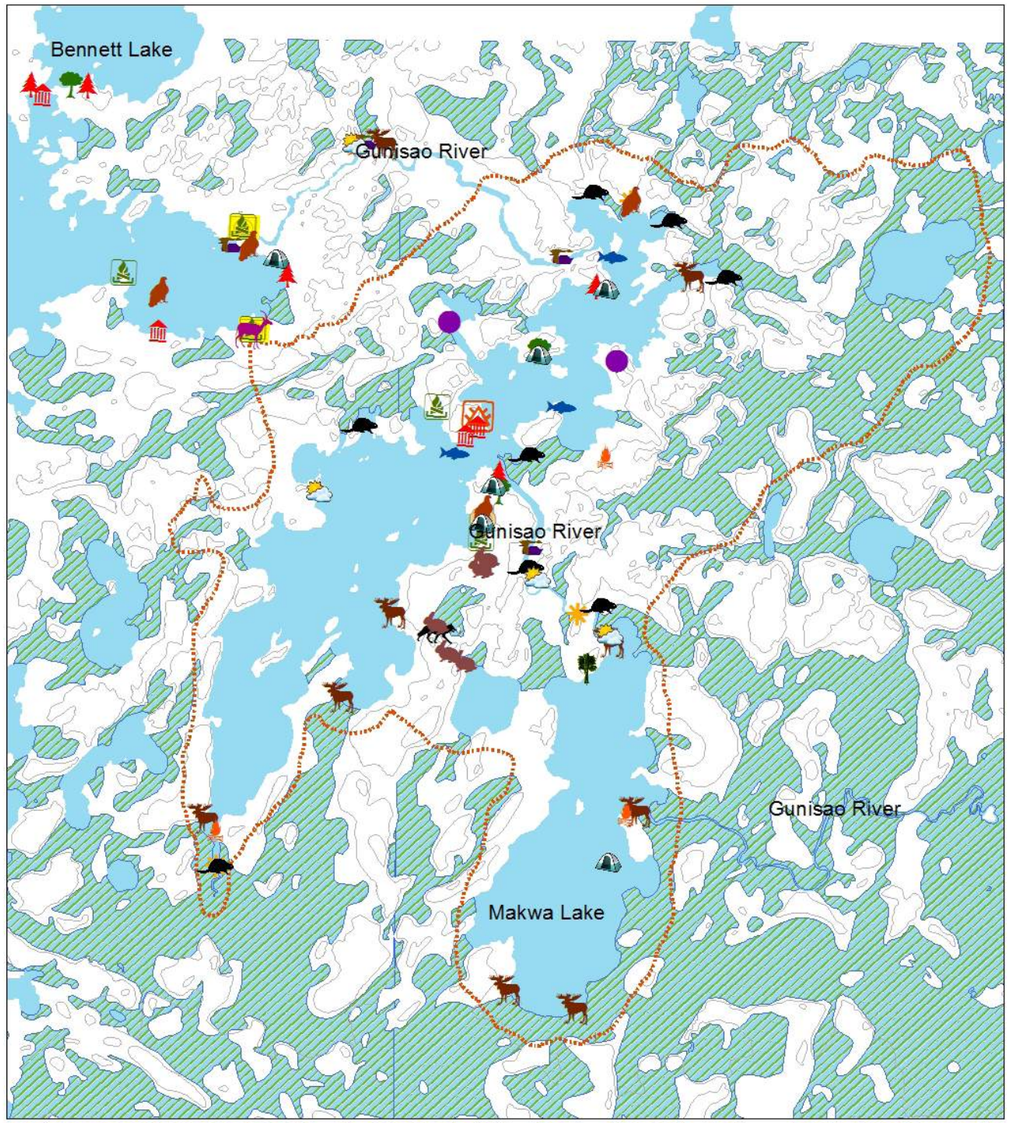
Reference Scale: 1:85,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMs

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 39 (b)


Kawaweeaykamak Lake
Kakinokamak Lake
Aneemus Lake
Mainland River
Mainland River
Dobbs Lake
Stone Lake
Island Lake
STONE LAKE, MANITOBA
53 E/14, E/15
Reference Scale: 1:75,000
KMs
0 0.5 1 2 3 4
Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N
OVERNIGHT SITES
LOG CABIN
PLYWOOD CABIN
TENT NO STOVE
TENT WITH STOVE
UNDER OPEN SKY
FISH
FISH
BIRDS
DUCK
GEESE
GROUSE
TRAPPING
BEAVER
TRAP LINE
ANIMALS
MOOSE
MUSKRAT
RABBIT
PLANT & WOOD
BERRIES
CONSTRUCTION
FIREWOOD
MEDICINAL
OTHER PLANT
CULTURAL SITES
GATHERING
HERITAGE
CONTOUR
ROAD
WETLAND
WATER BODIES



GUNISAO RIVER AND MAKWA LAKE, MANITOBA **63 H8 53 E5**

N W E S

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT WITH STOVE
- TENT NO STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

ANIMALS
- MAMMAL
- MOOSE
- RABBIT
- DEER
- TRAP LINE

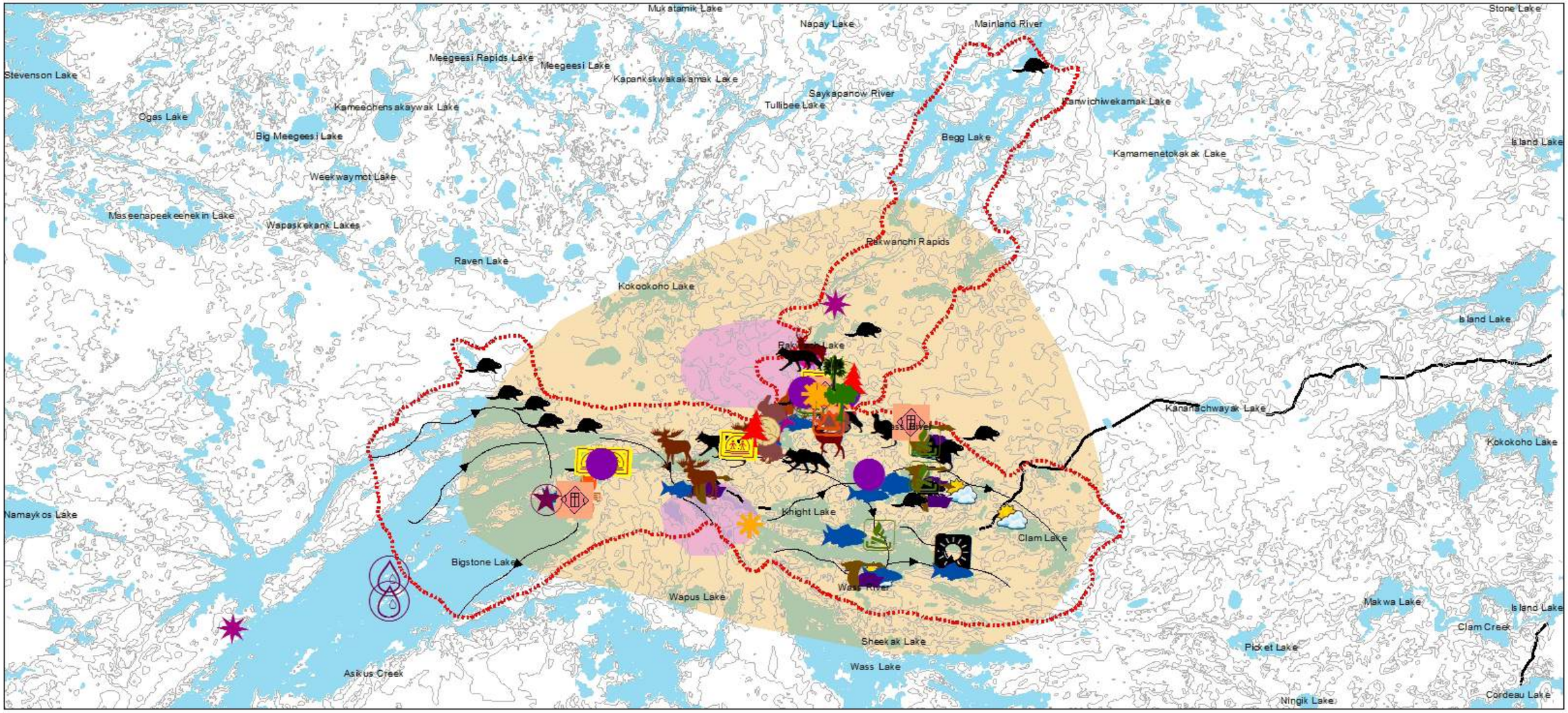
PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION WOOD
- FIRE WOOD
- MEDICINAL
- SPECIALITY
- OTHER PLANT

CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

- CONTOUR
- WETLAND
- WATER BODIES

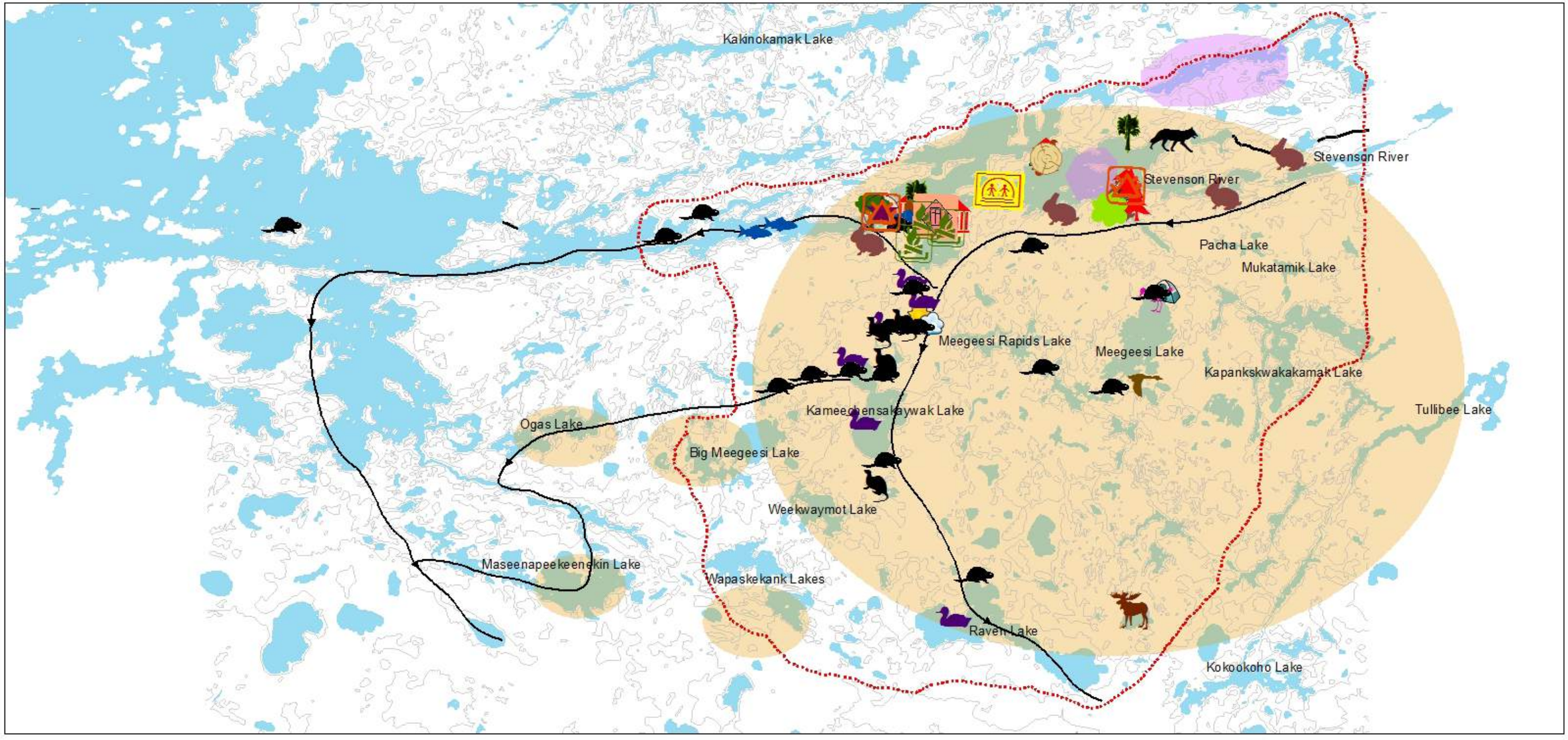
Reference Scale: 1:44,000 0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMs **Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N**

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 41



KNIGHT LAKE AND BIGSTONE LAKE, MANITOBA

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 42



STEVENSON RIVER, MANITOBA

53 E/13

Reference Scale: 1:105,000

KMs
0 1 2 4 6 8

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT
- LOG CABIN
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD

ANIMALS
- RABBIT
- MUSKRAT
- MOOSE
- MAMMAL

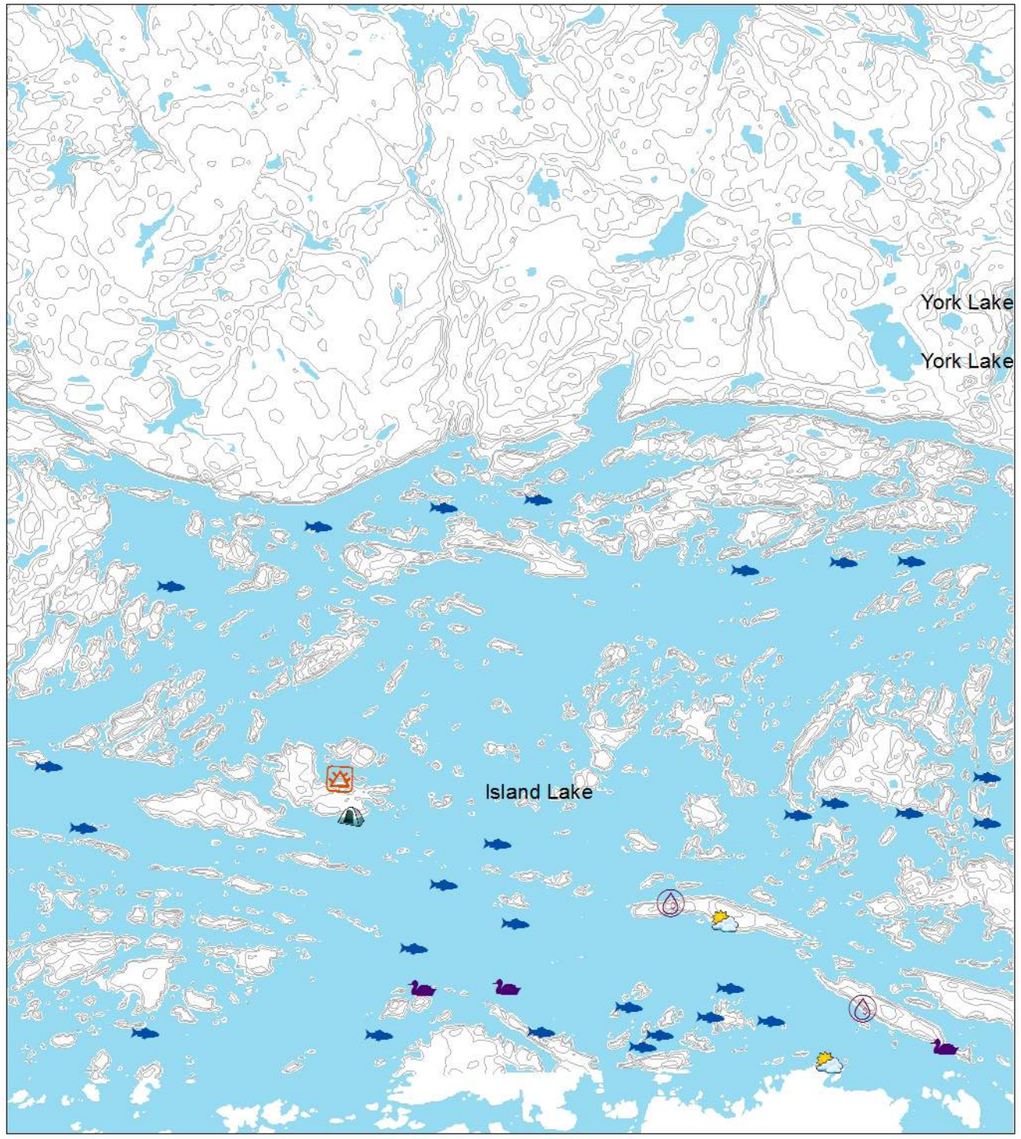
PLANT & WOOD
- CONSTRUCTION WOOD
- FIRE WOOD
- MOSS
- SPECIALITY
- OTHER PLANT

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAP LINE

CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- BURIAL
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE

PLANNING ZONES
- TOURISM AREA
- PROTECTED AREA
- WATER BODIES
- TRAVEL_ROUTE
- CONTOUR
- ROAD

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 43



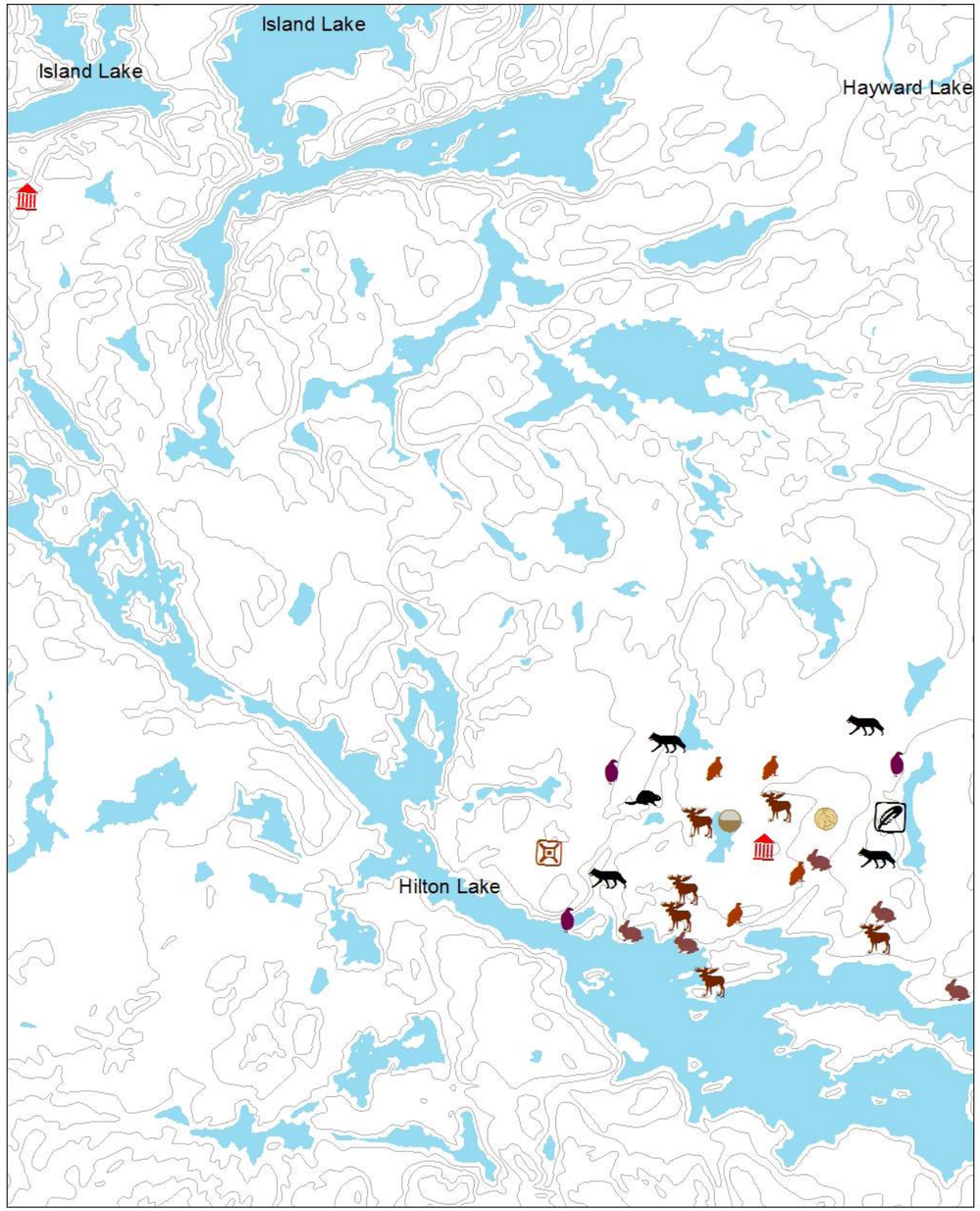
ISLAND LAKE, MANITOBA **53 E16**

N W E S

OVERNIGHT SITES	BIRDS	FISH	CULTURAL SITES	
TENT WITH STOVE	DUCK	FISH	GATHERING	CONTOUR
UNDER OPEN SKY	EGG			WATER BODIES

Reference Scale: 1:73,000 0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMs **Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N**

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 44 (a)



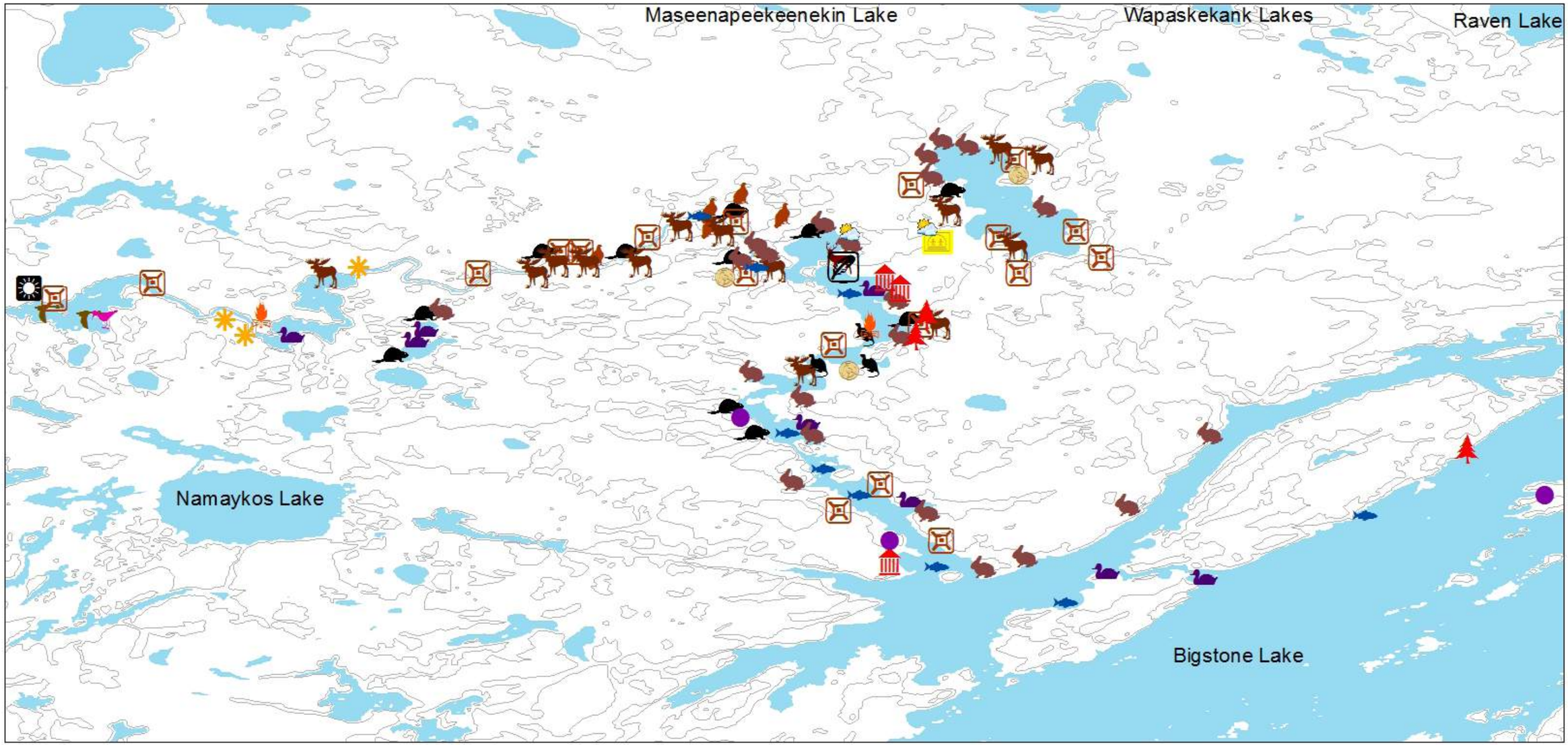
HILTON LAKE, MANITOBA **53 F12**

N W E S

OVERNIGHT SITES	TRAPPING	ANIMALS	PLANT & WOOD	
LOG CABIN	BEAVER	MAMMAL	CONSTRUTION WOOD	CONTOUR
BIRDS	TRAPPING	MOOSE	EARTH MATERIAL	WATER BODIES
GROUSE		RABBIT	CULTURAL SITES	
PTARMIGAN			SACRED	

Reference Scale: 1:30,000 0 0.25 0.5 1 1.5 2 KMs **Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N**

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 44 (b)



BIGSTONE LAKE, MANITOBA

53E12, 53E13

Reference Scale: 1:120,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 KMs

Coordinate System: GCS North American 1983

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY
- OTHER OVERNIGHT

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE
- OTHER BIRD

FISH
- FISH

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAPPING

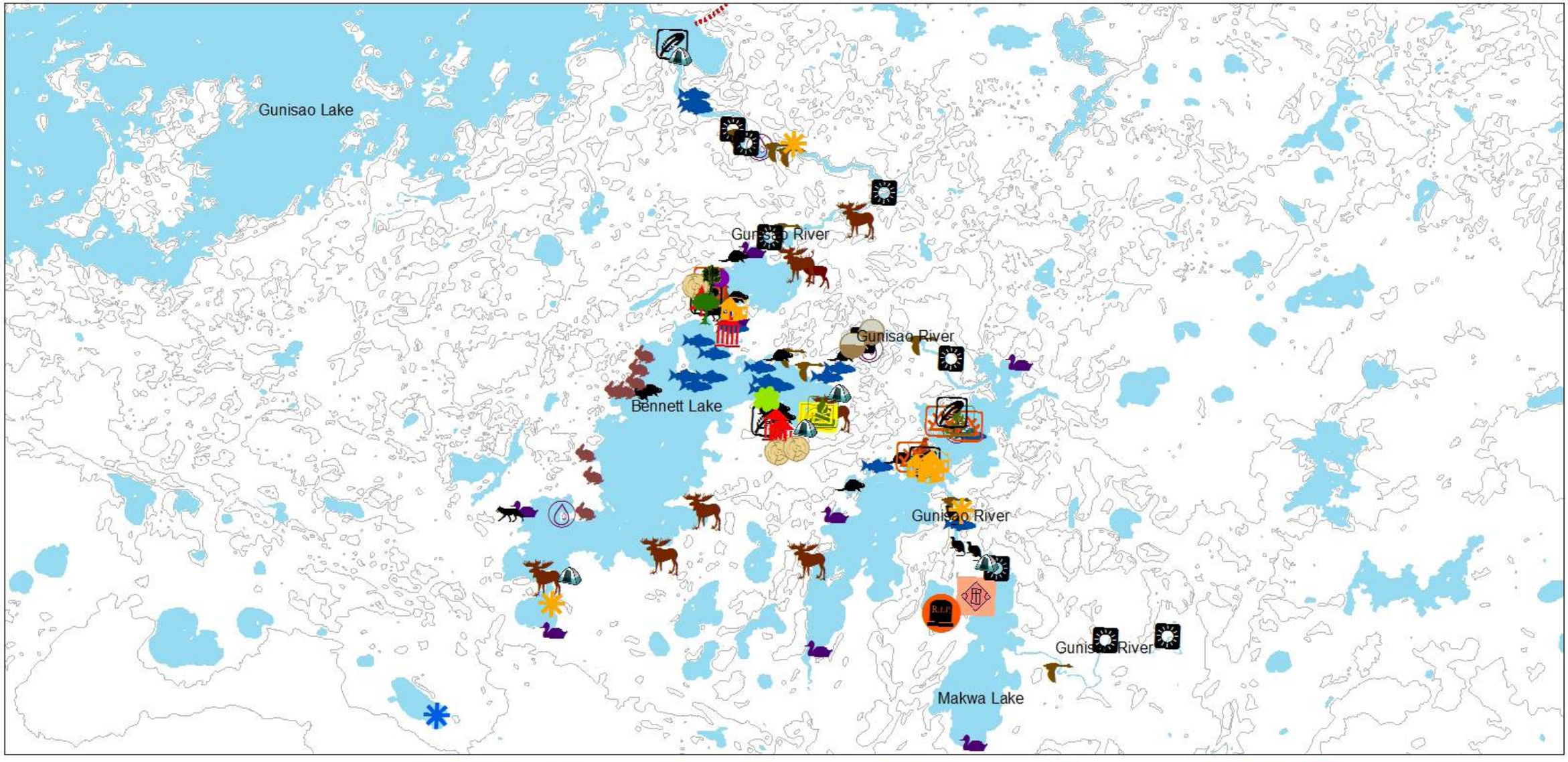
ANIMALS
- CARIBOU
- MOOSE
- MUSKRAT
- RABBIT

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION WOOD
- FIRE WOOD
- MEDICINAL PLANT

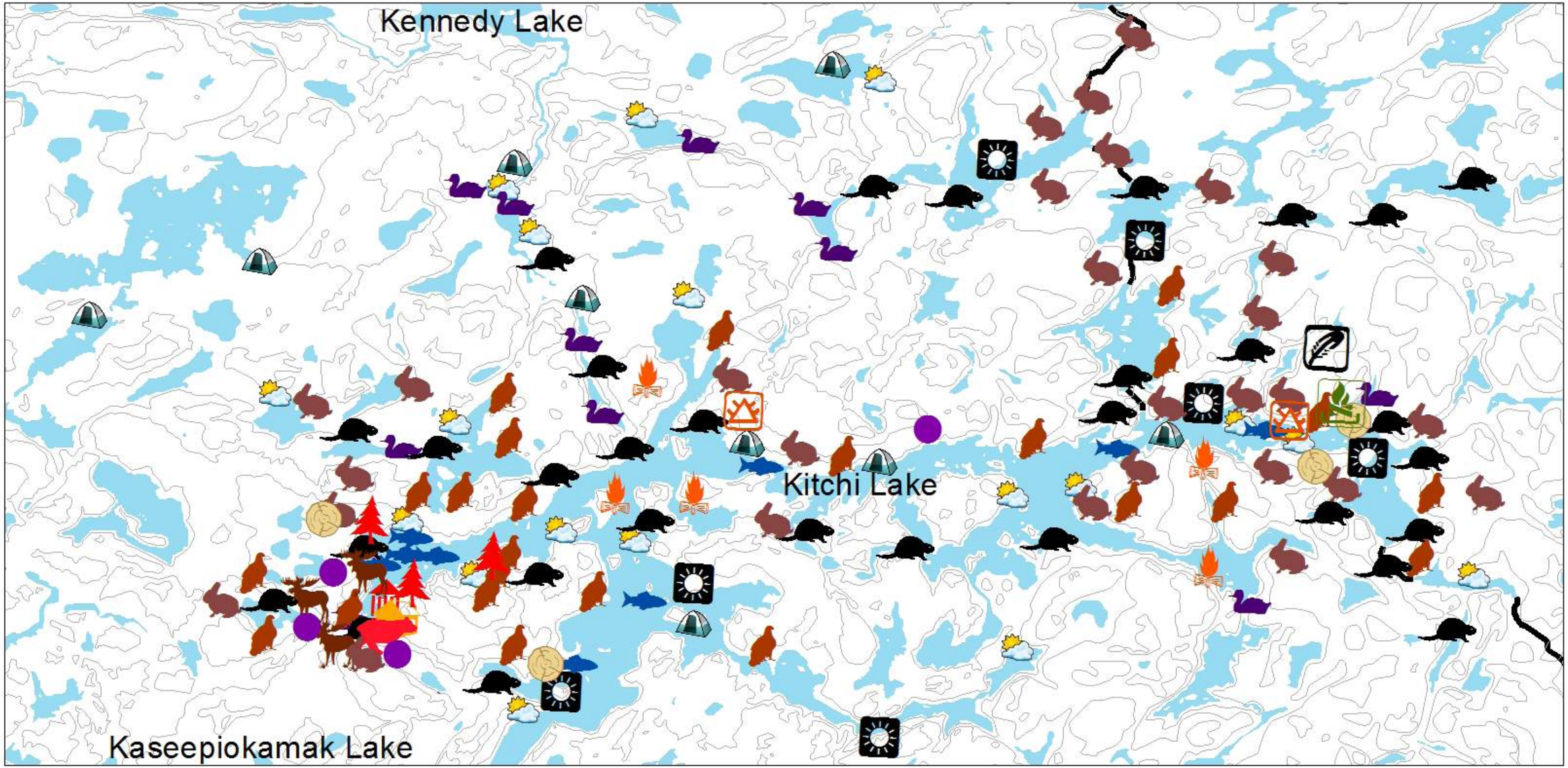
CULTURAL SITES
- BIRTH
- SACRED

- CONTOUR
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 45



Map biography - Anishiniwuk 46



KITCHI LAKE, MANITOBA

53 L3 L4

Reference Scale: 1:45,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 Km

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- PLYWOOD CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY
- OTHER OVERNIGHT

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GROUSE

FISH

TRAPPING
- BEAVER

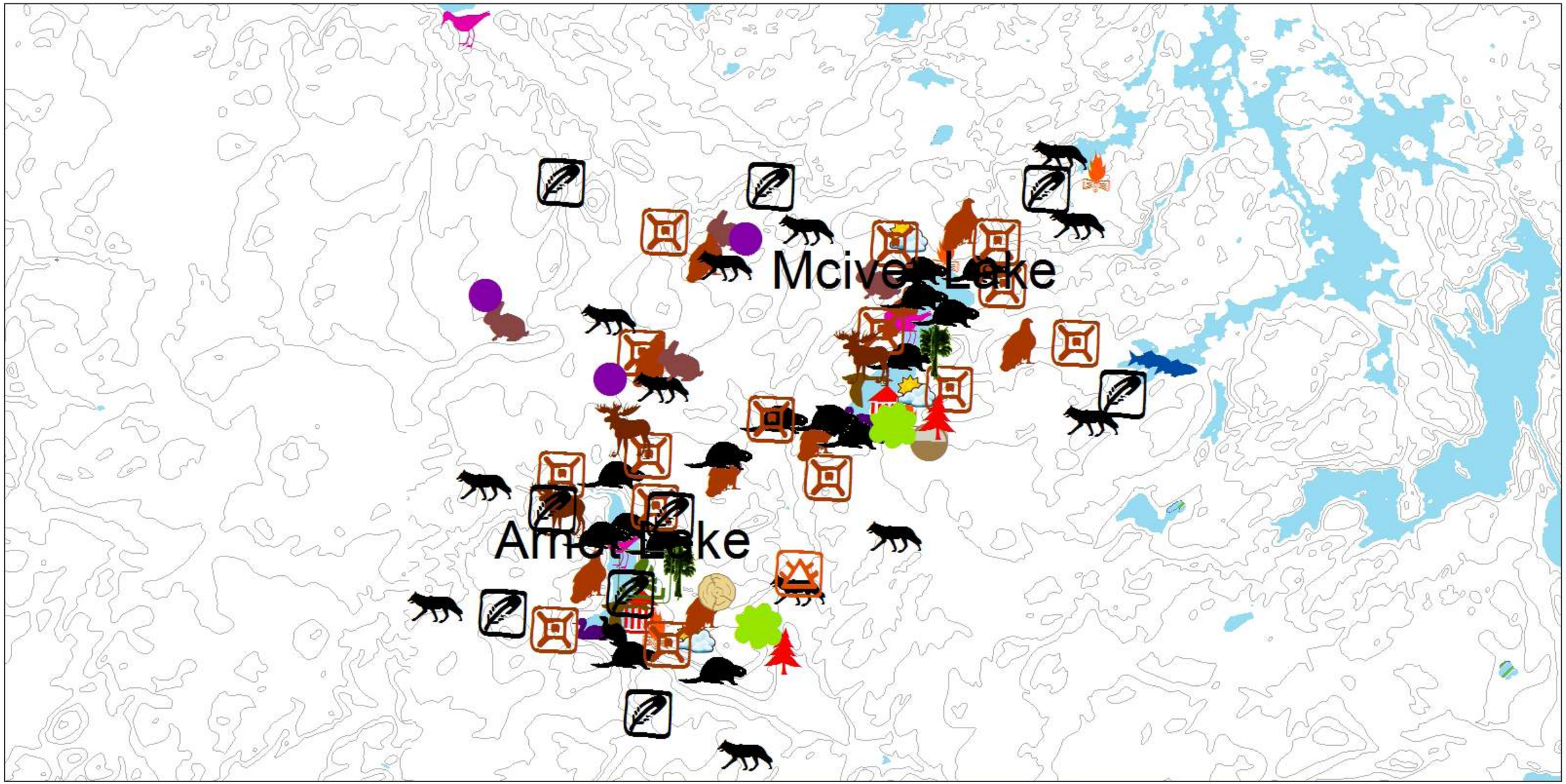
ANIMALS
- BEAR
- MOOSE
- RABBIT

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- CONSTRUCTION WOOD
- FIRE WOOD

CULTURAL SITES
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- SACRED

- CONTOUR
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 47



McIVER LAKE AND ARNOT LAKE, MANITOBA

53 F12

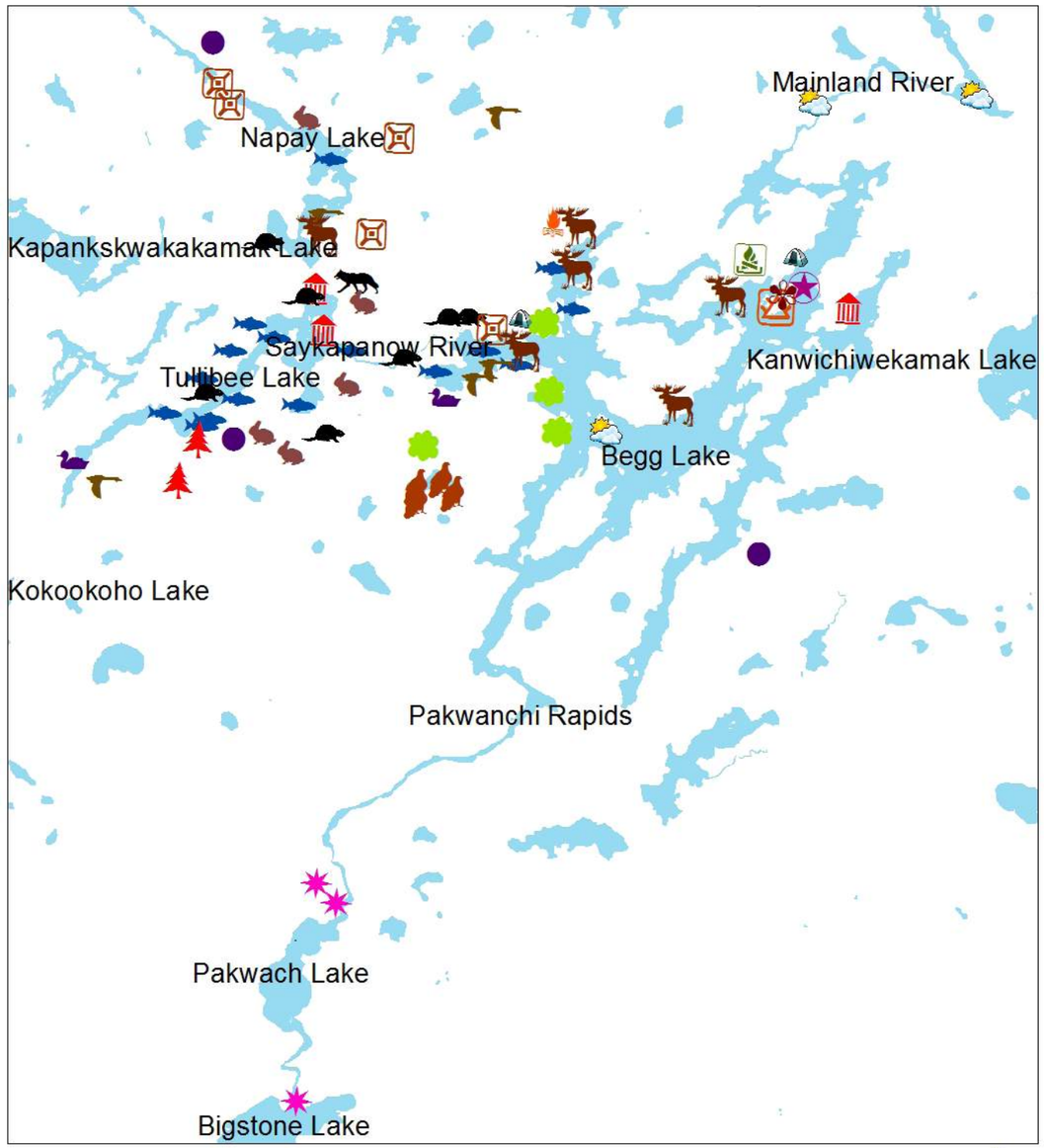
N W E S

Reference Scale: 1:48,000

0 0.4750.95 1.9 2.85 3.8 Kilometers

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

Map biography - Anishiniwuk 48



BEGG LAKE, MANITOBA **53 E 14**

N W E S

OVERNIGHT SITES
- LOG CABIN
- TENT NO STOVE
- TENT WITH STOVE
- UNDER OPEN SKY

FISH
- FISH

BIRDS
- DUCK
- GEESE
- GROUSE

TRAPPING
- BEAVER
- TRAPPING

ANIMALS
- MOOSE
- RABBIT
- OTHER MAMMAL

CULTURAL SITES
- CEREMONY
- GATHERING
- HERITAGE
- SPIRIT
- OTHER CULTURAL

PLANT & WOOD
- BERRIES
- FIRE WOOD
- MOSS
- ROAD
- WATER BODIES

Reference Scale: 1:61,000

0 0.5 1 2 3 4 Kilometers

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 14N

REFERENCES

Ballard, M. (2012). Flooding sustainable livelihoods of the Lake St Martin First Nation: The need to enhance the role of gender and language in Anishinaabe knowledge systems (Doctoral Dissertation). Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/1993/5312

Ballard, M. & Thompson, S. (2013). “Flooding Lake St. Martin First Nation Community: Impacts to and Future Community Plans for Sustainable Livelihoods”. Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, 4 (1), 43-65.

Batal, M., Johnson-Down, L., Moubarac, J., Ing, A., Fediuk, K., Sadik, T., Tikhonov, C., Chan, L., & Willows, N. (2018). Quantifying associations of the dietary share of ultra-processed foods with overall diet quality in First Nations peoples in the Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. *Public Health Nutrition, 21*(1), 103-113. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980017001677

Bruchac, J. (1972). *Native American Animal Stories*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.

Buck, W. and Manitoba First Nation Education Resource Centre (MFNERC). (2016). Ininew Star Map. Winnipeg, MFNERC.

Calliou Group. (2010). Traditional land use study, Michel First Nation: Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline Project. Retrieved from https://apps.neb-one.gc.ca/REGDOCS/File/Download/772749

Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR). (2018). The Spirit of the Treaties Exhibition. Winnipeg: CMHR.

Cidro, J., Adekunle B., Peters, E., & Martens, T. (2015). Beyond food security: Understanding access to cultural food for urban Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg as Indigenous food sovereignty. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 24*(1), 24-43. Retrieved from https://cjur.uwinnipeg.ca/index/php/cjur/article/view/9/7

Coté, C. (2016). “Indigenizing” food sovereignty: Revitalizing Indigenous food practices and ecological knowledges in Canada and the United States. *Humanities, 5*(3), 57. https://doi.org/10.3390/h5030057

Fiddler, T. & Stevens, J. (2003). *Killing the Shaman: Cree Legends of Sandy Lake, No. 2*. Newcastle: Penumbra Press.

Four Arrows Regional Health Authority (FARHA). (2018). Indigenous Food Sovereignty Summit 2018. Retrieved from: https://ifss2018.com/previous-summit/

Freeman, M. M. R. (2011). Looking back and looking ahead: 35 years after the Inuit land use and occupancy project. *Canadian Geographer, 55*(1), 20–31. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2010.00341.x

Friedmann, H. (2014). Reflections on foodsheds in three continents. *Canadian Food Studies / La Revue Canadienne Des Études Sur l’alimentation, 1*(1), 4-9. https://doi.org/10.15353/cfs-rcea.v1i1.35

Froese, A. (2018). Indigenous Food Sovereignty Summit 2018. Winnipeg: Four Arrows Regional Health Authority. Retrieved from https://ifss2018.com/previous-summit/

Hallowell, A. (1938). Notes on the material culture of the Island Lake Saulteaux. *Journal de la société des américanistes, 30*(1), 129-140. https://doi.org/10.3406/jsa.1938.1968

Harper, J., Whiteway N., & Thompson, S. (2018). Sewer and water retrofit of housing: from pails to cisterns in Wasagamack and Island Lake. Presentation to H2O Conference. Retrieved from create-h2o.ca/pages/annual_conference/presentations/2018/Jerome_Harper.pdf

Harper, V. & Harper, E. (2004). The Nopimink Project (formerly Bear Lake/Stevenson River Project). Island Lake Tribal Council: Winnipeg.

Harper, V., Harper, E. & Thompson (2017). The Anishiwuk Timeline in the Island Lake Region.

Health Canada. (2013). Measuring the food environment in Canada. Ottawa: Health Canada. Retrieved from: https://www.canada.ca/en/health-canada/services/food-nutrition/healthy-eating/nutrition-policy-reports/measuring-food-environment-canada.html

Hill, S. (2020). The Autoethnography of an Ininiw from God’s Lake asserting First Nation’s Governance over Water flowing from the Indigenous Land Relationship, Responsibility and Right. Doctoral thesis, University of Manitoba.

Hughes, K. (1979). *Jackson Beardy - Life and Art*. Winnipeg: Canadian Dimension.

Indian Affairs & Northern Development (IAND). (2006). Report of the expert panel on safe drinking water for First Nations, vol. 1. Ottawa: Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/R2-445-2006E2.pdf

Indian & Northern Affairs Canada. (1969). Treaty 5 between the Majesty the Queen and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians at Berens River and Norway House with adhesions. Ottawa. Retrieved from http://www.trcm.ca/wpcontent/uploads/PDFsTreaties/Treaty%205%20Text%20and%20and%20Adhesions.pdf

Jojola, T. (2013). Indigenous planning: Towards a seven generations model. In R. Walker, T. Jojola & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (457– 472). Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

Joly, T. L., Longley, H., Wells, C., & Gerbrandt, J. (2018). Ethnographic refusal in traditional land use mapping: Consultation, impact assessment, and sovereignty in the Athabasca oil sands region. *The Extractive Industries and Society, 5*, 335–343. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2018.03.002

Jones, N., Chiba, N., Fallone, C., Thompson, A., Hunt, R., Jacobson, K., Goodman, K. (2012). Canadian Helicobacter study group participants: Helicobacter pylori in First Nations and recent immigrant populations in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Gastroenterol, 26*(2): 97-103. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3275412/

Kamal, A. & Thompson, S. (2014). Land use and occupancy mapping guide and research design video. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJdFj184zKU&feature=em-upload_owner

Kuhnlein, H, Erasmus, B. Creed-Kanashiro, H., Engelberger, L., Okeke, C., Turner, N. & Bhattacharjee, L. (2006). Indigenous peoples’ food systems for health: Finding interventions that work. *Public Health Nutrition, 9*(8): 1013–1019. doi: 10.1017/PHN2006987

LaDuke, W. (2002). *The Winona LaDuke Reader: A Collection of Essential Writings.* Minneapolis: Voyageur Press.

Lebel, P., & Reed, M. (2010). The capacity of Montreal Lake, Saskatchewan to provide safe drinking water: Applying a framework for analysis. *Canadian Water Resources Journal, 35*(3): 317-355. https://doi.org/10.4296/cwrj3503317

Manitoba Government. (2011). Provincial Planning Regulation Act. Winnipeg: Crown's Printer.

Manitoba Government. (2016). Minerals policy and business development: Exploration and development highlights 2016. Retrieved from http://www.manitoba.ca/iem/busdev/exp-dev/index.html.

Mann, C. (2005). *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knoff.

Mathu-Muju, K.R., McLeod, J., Walker, M.L., Chartier, M. & Harrison, R.L. (2016). The Children's Oral Health Initiative: An intervention to address the challenges of dental caries in early childhood in Canada's Indigenous and Inuit communities. *Canadian Journal of Public Health, 107*(2), e188-193. doi: 10.17269/cjph.107.5299

McDonnell, L., Lavoie, J., Wood, A., Kornelson, D., Cidro, J., & Manoakeesick, L. (2018). Living in the City: Documenting the lived experiences of the Island Lake Anishininew people. Winnipeg. Retrieved from https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Manitoba Office/2018/07/Living_in_the_city_Anishininew_People.pdf

McGregor, D. (2013). Representing and mapping traditional knowledge in Ontario forest management planning. In R. Walker, T. Jojola & D. Natcher (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (pp. 414–435). McGill-Queen's University Press.

McIlwraith, T. & Cormier, R. (2016). Making place for space: Land use and occupancy studies, counter-mapping, and the Supreme Court of Canada's Tsilhqot'in decision. *BC Studies, 188*, 35-53. Retrieved from https://ojs.library.ubc.ca/index.php/bcstudies/article/view/186217/185708

McKay, P. (2018). Island Lake historical documentation proposal. Winnipeg: Island Lake Tribal Council.

McLeod, N., ed. (2014). *Indigenous Poetics in Canada*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

National Geographic. (2019). Canada Goose. Retrieved from https://www.nationalgeographic.com/animals/birds/c/canada-goose/

Novak, M. (1981). The value of aerial inventories in managing moose populations. *ALCES, 17*, 282-314.

Olsen Harper, A. & Thompson, S. (2017). Structural oppressions facing Indigenous students in Canadian education. *Fourth World Journal, 15* (2), 41-66.

Ontario-Manitoba Boundary Commission. (1955). Report of the Commissioner of the survey of the boundary between the provinces. Ottawa: Crown Printer.

Paci, C., Tobin, A. & Robb, P. (2002). Reconsidering the Canadian Environmental Impact Assessment Act: A place for traditional environmental knowledge. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 22*(2), 111–127. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0195-9255(01)00095-6

Palmater, P. (2014). Genocide, Indian policy, and legislated elimination of Indians in Canada. *Aboriginal Policy Studies, 3*(3), 27-54. https://doi.org/10.5663/aps.v3i3.22225

Parker, B., Burnett, K., Hay, T & Skinner, S. (2018). The Community food environment and food insecurity in Sioux Lookout, Ontario: Understanding the relationships between food, health, and place. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*. doi: 10.1080/19320248.2018.1537867

Peters & Rorke. (1925). Report of the Commissioners appointed to delimit the boundary between the province of Manitoba and Ontario from Winnipeg River northerly, Manitoba-Ontario border. Ottawa: Topographical Survey of Canada.

Price, K., Roburn, A. & MacKinnon, A. (2009). Ecosystem-based management in the Great Bear Rainforest. *Forest Ecology and Management, 258*(4), 495–503. doi: 10.1016/j.foreco.2008.10.010

Price, W.A. (1939). A Comparison of primitive and modern diets and their effects. New York: Paul B. Hoebers, Inc and Medical Book Department of Harper and Brothers. Retrieved from https://healthwyze.org/archive/nutrition_and_physical_degeneration_doctor_weston_a_price.pdf

Rinne, M. (2017). Preliminary results of bedrock mapping at Bigstone Lake and Knight Lake, northwestern Superior province, Manitoba (parts of NTS 53E11, 12, 13, 14). In Report of Activities 2017 (pp. 19–29). Winnipeg: Manitoba Growth, Enterprise and Trade, Manitoba Geological Survey. Retrieved from https://www.manitoba.ca/iem/geo/field/roa17pdfs/GS2017-3.pdf

Selanese, C. (2020). Home interiors & furnishings in remote First Nation communities exploring sustainable and culturally appropriate solutions through the boreal builders. A practicum for Department of Interior Design, University of Manitoba.

Sen, A. (1986). *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sinclair, G. (1999). *Cowboys and Indians: The shooting of J.J. Harper*. Toronto: McLelland Stewart.

Sinha, S. K., Martin, B., Sargent, M., McConnell, J. P., & Bernstein, C. N. (2002). Age at acquisition of Helicobacter pylori in a pediatric Canadian First Nations population. *Helicobacter, 7*(2), 76-85.

Statistics Canada. (2016). Census Profile, 2016 Census - Wasagamack, Indian reserve [Census subdivision], Manitoba and Division No. 22, Census division [Census division], Manitoba. Retrieved from http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/censusrecensement/2016/dp

Tauli-Corpuz, V., Alcorn, J., & Molnar, A. (2018). Cornered by protected areas: Replacing "fortress" conservation with rights-based approaches helps bring justice for Indigenous Peoples and local communities, reduces conflict, and enables cost-effective conservation and climate action. Washington, D.C. Retrieved from https://rightsandresources.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Cornered-by-PAs-Brief_RRI_June-2018.pdf

Thapa, K. (2018). Indigenous land rights and indigenous land use planning: Exploring the relevance and significance to Wasagamack First Nation, northern Manitoba, Canada (Unpublished master thesis). University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Retrieved from https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/33359?show=full

The Canadian Encyclopedia (2019). Bison. Retrieved from https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/bison

Thompson, S., Gulruhk, A., Alam, M.A. & Wiebe, J. (2012). Community development to feed the family in northern manitoba communities: Evaluating food activities based on their food sovereignty, food security, and sustainable livelihood outcomes. *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, 3*(2), 43–66. https://doi.org/10.22230/cjnser.2012v3n2a121

Thompson, S. (2013). Island Lake First Nation land use-and-occupancy map survey. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

Thompson, S. (2014). Flooding First Nations and environmental justice in Manitoba: Case studies of the impacts of 2011 flood and hydro development in Manitoba. *Manitoba Law Journal, 38*(2), 220-259. Retrieved from ttp://www.canlii.org/t/7cm

Thompson, S., Rony, M., Temmer, J. & Wood, D. (2014). Pulling in the Indigenous fishery cooperative net: Fishing for sustainable livelihoods and food security in Garden Hill First Nation, Manitoba, Canada. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development, 4*(3), 177–92. http://dx.doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2014.043.016

Thompson, S. , Harper, V. & Klatt, R. (2017). Wasagamack: Our home and native land. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/i4p9dpuBT4A

Thompson, S. Harper, V. Thapa, K. & Klatt, R. (2017). Island Lake Elders' workshop Retrieved from https://youtu.be/NODQq7ZiRhU

Thompson, S., Thapa, K. & Whiteway, N. (2019). Sacred harvest, sacred place: Mapping harvesting sites in Wasagamack First Nation. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development, 9*(1), 1-29. /10.5304/jafscd.2019.09B.017

Tobias, T. (2000). *Chief Kerry's Moose. A Guidebook to Land Use and Occupancy Mapping, Research Design and Data Collection.* Vancouver: Union of BC Indians. Retrieved from http: //fngovernance.org/resources_docs/Land_Use__Occupancy_Mapping_Guidebook.pdf

Tobias, T. (2009). *Living Proof: The Essential Data-collection Guide for Indigenous Use-and-Occupancy Map Surveys*. Vancouver: Union of BC Indian Chiefs and Ecotrust.

Tough, Frank. (1997). *As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Truth & Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2012). They came for the children: Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and residential schools. Winnipeg. Retrieved from http://www.myrobust.com/websites/trcinstitution/File/2039_T&R_eng_web[1].pdf

Tully, J. (1999). Aboriginal peoples: Negotiating reconciliation. In J. Bickerton & A.-G.Gagnon (Eds.), *Canadian Politics* (3rd ed., pp. 423–442). Toronto: Broadview Press.

Uemura, N., Okamoto, S., Yamamoto, S., Matsumura, N., Yamaguchi, S., Yamakido, M., Taniyama, K., Sasaki, N., & Schlemper, R. J. (2001). Helicobacter pylori infection and the development of gastric cancer. *New England Journal of Medicine, 345*(11), 784-789. doi: 10.1056/NEJMoa001999

UNESCO. (2017). UNESCO World Heritage Centre: Pimachiowin Aki. Retrieved from https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1415

Uprety, Y., Asselin, H., Dhakal, A., & Julien, N. (2012). Traditional use of medicinal plants in the boreal forest of Canada: review and perspectives. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine 8*. Retrieved from https://ethnobiomed.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1746-4269-8-7

Wasagamack First Nation. (2010). The way it was: Foundation for the future. Winnipeg: Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre Inc.

Willows, N. D., Hanley, A. J., & Delormier, T. (2012). A socioecological framework to understand weight-related issues in Aboriginal children in Canada. Applied Physiology, Nutrition, and Metabolism, 37(1), 1-13. doi: 10.1139/h11-128

Wilson, K. M. (2003). Therapeutic landscapes and Indigenous peoples: An exploration of culture, health and place. Health & Place, 9(2), 83–93. doi: 10.1016/S1353-8292(02)00016-3

Wilson, S. (2008). Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Winnipeg Free Press (2018). Four First Nations leave Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak. Available at: https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/four-first-nations-leave-manitoba-keewatinowi-okimakanak-478407953.html

World Health Organization. (2004). Water, sanitation and hygiene links to health, facts and figures. Geneva: WHO.

Young, T. K., Reading J., Elias B., & O'Neil, J.D. (2000). Type 2 diabetes mellitus in Canada's First Nations: Status of an epidemic in progress. Canadian Medical Association Journal, 163(5), 561-566. Retrieved from http://www.cmaj.ca/content/cmaj/163/5/561.full.pdf

Zahariuk, S. (2014). Food Insecurity within the Island Lake First Nation communities in northern Manitoba, Canada (Unpublished master thesis). University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Retrieved from https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/handle/1993/23267/Zahariuk_Shauna.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Anishininew stories, maps, and historical timelines come alive in this book regarding Mino Bimaadiziwin in Wasagamack and Island Lake.

Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre Inc.