

Appendix I

Wildlife Harvesting Impacts

The harvesting of wildlife for sustenance and commercial purposes has continued throughout the recorded history of Split Lake Cree First Nation. Harvesting traditions are still maintained and are an essential ingredient of members' identity as Cree people. Spring and fall hunts are an annual rite binding the community together. Country foods are a staple of the diet and still comprise much the same animals that the forefathers of Split Lake Cree depended upon - moose, beaver, muskrat, whitefish, pickerel, waterfowl, including ducks and geese, and small animals like rabbits and chickens. Wild berry crops like gooseberries are consumed, and gull and duck eggs are a treasured delicacy.

However, many factors of change, in different ways and at different times, have affected the amount and the success of wildlife harvesting activities. These factors have complex and cumulative effects. They include natural forces such as wildlife population cycles, migration patterns, disease, and habitat destruction/creation by fire. Production factors such as fur and fish prices, the influence of marketing agents, and distance from markets also play a part. In addition, 'modernizing' influences, like residential schools, access to commercial facilities, and reliance on other forms of income, have affected

harvesting patterns. Other external factors, such as greater competition for game and fish from outside the region resulting from increased road and rail access, and from inside the region in the form of growing populations in places like Gillam and Thompson, have also had an effect. Hydro facilities, transmission line construction and related activities, like the construction of PR 280, construction roads, trails, and stream crossings have opened up the resource area for greater exploitation.

By far, the most significant factor of change, however, has been the hydroelectric development which has permanently altered the lands and waters. The range of impacts from the dams and generating stations, the multitude of transmission lines, and the water diversion and regulation schemes, is described in detail in previous chapters. It is very clear that since 1960, when the Kelsey generating station began operating, these hydroelectric developments have had profound and continuous negative effects upon the wildlife harvesting pursuits of the Split Lake Cree and other Aboriginal people in the region.

It is very difficult, however, to scientifically measure the relative impacts of any one of these factors of change, including hydroelectric development. Harvesting data either does not exist, is not reliable, or fails to accurately portray the complete range of impacts of any one factor. This last deficiency is particularly critical.

Usher and Weinstein (1991), note:

Although development projects may lead to certain predictable physical, biological and institutional changes, how these are perceived and experienced locally cannot be predicted without reference to the historical experience, culture and social

*organization of the community itself.*³⁴

In short, new indicators and data of relevance to Split Lake Cree are required.

Given this reality, the graphs included in this appendix cannot possibly provide an accurate or comprehensive portrayal of the profound and far-reaching impacts on Split Lake Cree harvesting pursuits that have resulted from these historical developments. Therefore, they should be interpreted with caution and at best can only illustrate trends with respect to a limited number of indicators.

Subsistence Harvesting

Harvesting for food over the resource area has been, and continues to be, a cornerstone of the Split Lake Cree way of life. Informal surveys of Elders and other knowledgeable people indicate that domestic food consumption, while varying, has comprised much of the diet in the latter half of this century. In the 1960s, it comprised about 90% of all meals eaten. This declined to 70% in the 1970s, reaching a low of 50% in the 1980s. As the Split Lake Cree have begun to heal and again value the Aboriginal way of life, domestic food consumption has started to increase, reaching about 60% of all meals in the first half of the 1990s.

Many influences have been responsible for this variation in country food consumption. Split Lake Cree acknowledge that these have, of course, included the availability of store-bought food, particularly in the early 1970s when the Bay store was actively encouraging people to eat red meat. However, the effects of hydroelectric development have been the primary negative influence on country food consumption. The flooding, destruction of wildlife and

LAKE	R	NR	Total Seasons		Duration	1975 Quota	Avg. Weight	Avg. \$ Value	Avg. Men	
			Years Fished	Fished S W						
On-System										
Split	X	—	28	28	1	1954-88	45,000	21,834	16,239	14
Stephens	X	—	5	4	2	1979-84	20,000	2,325	4,843	2
Billard	—	X	7	—	7	1966-76	7,000	7,976	3,501	3
Fidler	—	X	17	7	10	1959-87	11,000	7,733	3,266	4
Total			31	29	12	1954-88	83,000	26,138	17,449	16
Off-System										
Assean	X	X	9	9	—	1965-88	5,000	13,611	6,025	5
Atkinson	—	X	22	13	12	1958-87	23,000	13,839	7,903	4
Buckland	—	X	8	8	1	1967-88	9,000	9,485	4,539	2
Butnau	X	—	3	—	3	1968-83	2,000	1,545	180	1
Caldwell	—	X	3	2	1	1971-83	11,000	3,235	1,789	2
Campbell	—	X	3	2	1	1965-71	11,000	8,535	1,260	3
Christie	—	X	4	3	1	1965-72	7,000	2,598	786	4
Dafoe	—	X	19	8	11	1958-88	14,000	7,659	4,385	3
Holmes	—	X	10	8	2	1961-73	20,000	17,636	4,553	4
Kiask	—	X	4	2	2	1963-72	5,000	3,206	594	3
Moose Nose	—	X	10	10	—	1968-87	5,000	5,862	3,235	1
Myre	—	X	2	—	2	1961-63	2,000	1,907	529	3
Settee	—	X	8	3	5	1957-69	5,000	4,234	1,297	3
War	—	X	24	11	14	1950-86	2,000	2,621	1,524	2
Waskaiowaka	X	X	11	10	6	1954-73	23,000	17,454	4,158	8
Total			34	23	25	1950-88	144,000	36,444	15,154	13

R = resident; NR = non-resident S = summer; W = winter
Source: Usher and Weinstein (1991)

Table 2: Commercial Fishing Use, Quota and Production: Split Lake Resource Area, by Lake.

its habitat, and enormous obstacles caused by reduced access to some traditional harvesting areas, have all taken their toll. In addition to the general impacts, the flooding in 1979 and 1986 severely curtailed seasonal harvesting activities.

It is practically impossible, however, to ascertain or quantify with any accuracy the impacts of any one of these factors on domestic food gathering. The necessary data are either non-existent, as in the case of small game and waterfowl statistics, or highly suspect because of the lack of scientific rigour in data-gathering methods.³⁵

Commercial Fishing

Most of the commercial fishing in the resource area dates from the late 1950s. The commercial fishery had trouble getting started due to delays in the construction of the fish plant. Historically, community residents have fished mostly in Split Lake, which on average has produced the largest catches of any lake in the resource area. Almost all of the off-system lakes are fished by non-Split Lake residents. Table 2 (above) shows historical commercial fishing use, quota and production by lake for the Split Lake resource area. The Split Lake commercial fishery has been mainly a summer operation. Whitefish, pickerel, jackfish, and

sauger comprise most of the catch, with whitefish being the most plentiful.

A review of the literature reveals little detailed information on the history of the Split Lake fishery, particularly those factors which have influenced production, participation and value levels. Conservation officer reports between 1953 and 1961 acknowledge the fishery but offer little analysis or data concerning this harvesting activity, unlike trapping which receives far greater attention.

Split Lake has been affected by financial factors which have affected the entire northern Manitoba commercial fish harvest. However,

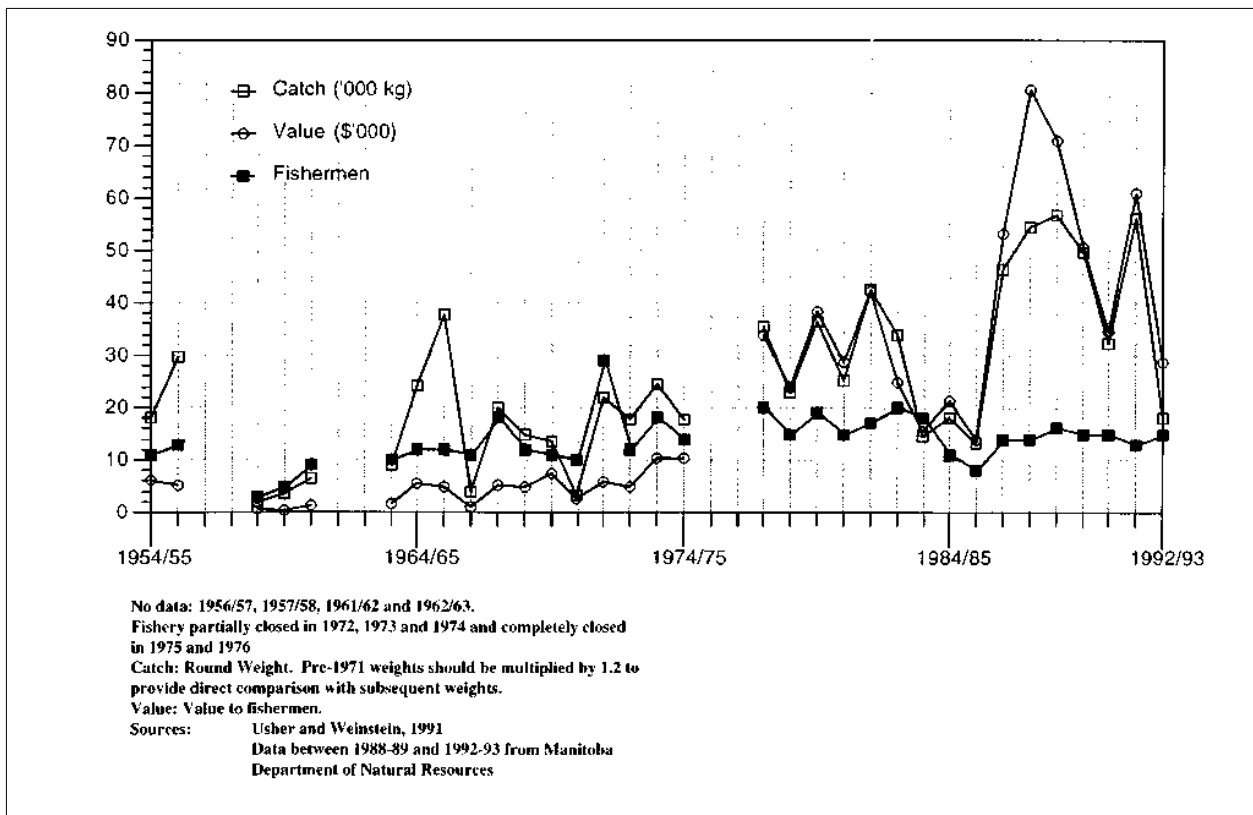


Figure 12: Split Lake Fish Harvests – 1954/55 to 1992/93.

the extent to which this is a consideration is not clear. More thorough research, analysis, and consultation with Split Lake fishermen would be required to determine how certain variables common to the northern fishery as a whole have impacted upon the fishery at Split Lake.

The establishment of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation in 1969 as the sole purchaser/marketer of fish in Manitoba has been cited as a key factor in the decline of the northern fishery after 1965.³⁶ However, production, participation and value levels for the Split Lake fishery have generally increased since 1965. The impact of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation on the Split Lake fishery is not known. Transportation costs have been noted as one of the key problems affecting northern fisheries. Provincial transport subsidies were

introduced in 1976³⁷ but the nature of the effect of this upon the First Nation is not well understood.

Another general issue mentioned in the literature is parasitic infestation of whitefish,³⁸ but, unlike other fisheries, the Split Lake commercial fishery has been able to maintain its status as a lake with export quality whitefish.

Mercury contamination, particularly in jackfish and pickerel, has also affected northern fish harvesting. For example, commercial quotas were not met in 1970/71, when the Split Lake fishery was closed early because of a concern over potential mercury contamination of fish. Over the next two years, the lake was closed all year for the same reason. It was also closed in 1975/76 and 1976/77, but for all species on these occasions.

In most cases the mercury is naturally occurring, but hydroelectric development has been

linked to higher mercury levels. The 1992 final report of the Federal Ecological Monitoring Program conducted by Environment Canada and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, noted that mercury levels in jackfish and pickerel were uncharacteristically high for all lakes including unflooded lakes in the program study area. It was speculated by the Federal Ecological Monitoring Program that the source of the fish mercury in Split Lake may be due to the earlier flooding of the Kelsey forebay on the upper Nelson in the 1950s.³⁹

Figure 12 shows level of catch, value and participation for the Split Lake fishery between the mid-1950s and early 1990s. It indicates that all three variables, while fluctuating, have generally increased.

Existing data does not present a full picture of the effects of agents of change upon the commercial fishery, in particular the impacts of

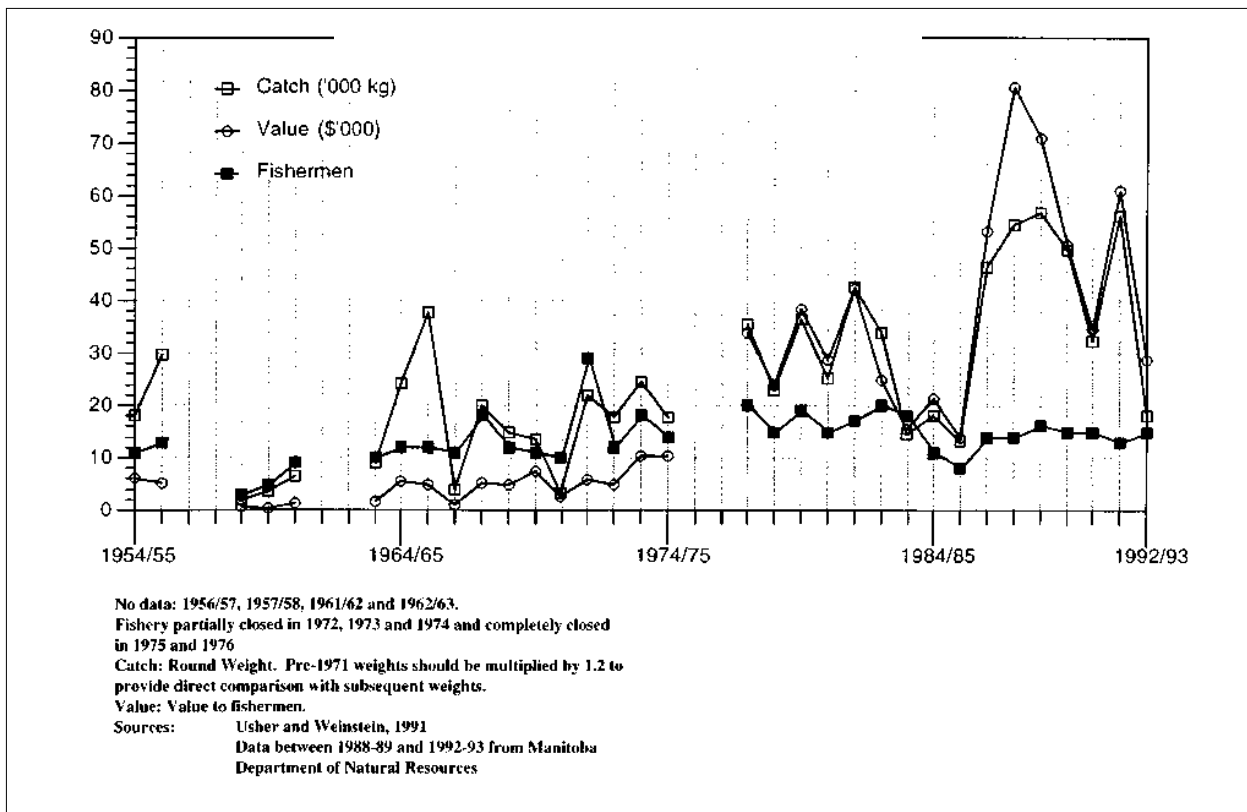


Figure 13: Split Lake Registered Trapline Zone: Value of Furs /Number of Trappers-1951/52 to 1993/94.

hydroelectric development.

According to Split Lake fishermen, the cost of fishing has increased because of the additional effort and expense required as a result of debris damaging boats, motors and nets, as well as the increased travelling distances required. These increased costs have reduced the financial return for the fishermen.

Ramsey and Patalas (1992) note that the pickerel catch has decreased by 50% since 1973, while sauger has increased by an unspecified amount. This may be due to the sediment build-up at the mouth of the Burntwood outlet into Split Lake caused by the Churchill River Diversion, but further investigation is required.⁴⁰

Trapping

The Split Lake trapping block, created during the early 1940s when the provincial registered trapline system was established in northern Manitoba, consists of 44 active traplines covering about 18,000 square miles. These traplines are registered to residents not only from Split Lake but also from Gillam, Ilford, Bird and York Landing.

Historically, many factors have affected fur harvesting, and the literature contains much useful information in this regard. Although many of the sources refer to northern trapping in general, some factors would undoubtedly have impacted upon the Split Lake Cree fur harvest, although the extent of the impact is not clear. These factors include furbearer population and disease, fires, bad weather, alternative sources of income including wage employment, and most importantly, fur prices.

After reaching high levels of economic value in the 1940s, trapping declined in the 1950s and 1960s primarily because of low fur prices for beaver. Trapping returns represented a substantially reduced portion of annual income. A recovery in the mid-1970s and early 1980s is reflected in the Split Lake harvesting data. This was likely because of higher prices for long-haired species such as lynx. In recent years, trapping has declined in value and, not surprisingly, participation, province-wide. This also appears to be the case in the Split Lake trapping block.

Trapping, requiring intensive effort, has never generated a high financial return. Reliance on alternative sources of income has been common. For example, one of the factors which precipitated the trapping slump in the 1950s, and helped foster a decline in trapping as a family activity, was the introduction after World War Two of federal relief for Indian people in Canada. By 1956, this was being paid in cash, in place of payments in kind such as food vouchers.⁴¹

Federal income maintenance support was another monetary source which deterred trappers from fur harvesting. In particular, family allowance, which was introduced nationally in 1944,⁴² has been cited as a key factor that has adversely affected Aboriginal trapping participation in Manitoba:

*The institution of the Family Allowance system since the war, with its requirement of regular school attendance, has all but eliminated family participation in trapping.*⁴³

The rise in school attendance by young Manitoba Aboriginals, either at reserve day schools or in residential schools off-reserve, resulted in young people not acquiring the skills and experience required for trapping, which mainly takes place in the fall and winter. To counter this loss Split Lake Cree made an effort to provide a community trapline where young people could learn trapping skills.

It is important to note that the provision of relief and other federal financial assistance was not the same all across Canada during the post-war period. It varied from region to region, partly at the discretion of Chiefs and Councils and, in particular, of the local Indian Agent.⁴⁴ Split Lake Elders report that the community began receiving family allowance in the mid-1950s, and social assistance, in the form of

vouchers and cash, around 1965.

Overall, the commercial value of fur harvested on the Split Lake registered trapline has generally increased since the early 1950s. The number of trappers has also increased as Figure 13 shows. Usher and Weinstein (1991) conclude that the probable reasons for this were the rapid increase in fur prices in the late 1970s, as well as the incentive provided by Manitoba Hydro's Trapline Compensation Program from 1975 to 1983.⁴⁵ However, both value and participation variables have been subject to wide fluctuations since the 1970s. Data also show that the beaver and muskrat harvest is not as abundant as it once was and other species like marten have assumed more importance.

However, the existing data do not capture the full impact that changed conditions have had on the trapping activities of Split Lake Cree. For example, trappers have incurred increased costs and expenses because of travel difficulties caused by hydroelectric development, particularly slush ice. These additional costs have to be considered in any determination of the value of the fur to the trapper. Unfortunately, such data are not available.

Additionally, as Usher and Weinstein point out, existing fur value records do not give a reliable indication of the real effects hydroelectric development has had on actual harvests or on the population of any particular species of furbearer, as they combine harvest and price changes. Nor do the records measure other factors which affect harvesting levels, such as customary use arrangements and forest fires. They also note potential inaccuracies in the existing numbers.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Wildlife harvesting, in both the commercial and domestic sectors, continues to be actively pursued by the Split Lake Cree. Numerous changing conditions have affected the extent and success of these activities. However, as far as Split Lake Cree First Nation is concerned, it is Manitoba Hydro's projects that have affected these activities most negatively. The effects are hard to determine scientifically because of the limitations of available data, in particular the lack of indicators to measure real, but as yet unassessed, impacts. Given the continuing and even increasing use of wildlife and fish resources by Split Lake Cree, and the probability of future impacting hydroelectric projects, a major challenge for both the Split Lake Cree and Manitoba Hydro will be to develop baseline information which will allow for the monitoring of existing impacts and for the discernment of anticipated impacts from future development.

Appendix 2

Summary of Northern Flood Agreement Benefits

Overview

Various dimensions of the substantive provisions and implementation process of the Northern Flood Agreement (NFA) have been discussed throughout this study. Even though any categorization of these matters may well be inadequate, there is a reasonably sensible division that can be made by looking both at the experience related to the original Northern Flood Agreement, dating between 1975 when Manitoba Hydro first made compensation payments and 1992, and at the experience since the 1992 NFA Implementation Agreement. The other sections of this paper have addressed in some detail the process related to negotiating the two agreements. The following is a brief summary of the substantive terms of both agreements, including the payments made.

1975 to 1992

Beginning in 1975, Manitoba Hydro began to institute compensatory and remedial measures to offset the adverse impacts of its hydroelectric development projects on the Split Lake Cree. The informal basis of these early payments was replaced with a contractual arrangement in 1977/78, the Northern Flood Agreement.

The NFA obliged Manitoba Hydro, Canada and Manitoba to take a broad range of actions, in the form of remedial, compensatory and developmental measures, in return for the use of Cree reserve lands for the Manitoba Hydro projects, and for the damages expected to be caused to First Nation rights and interests, including those of the Split Lake Cree. Entered into by the governments and Manitoba Hydro as a result of pressure from the First Nations of the Northern Flood Committee, the NFA promised that appropriate actions would be taken by these parties to deal with any concerns of the signatory First Nations that might arise and which were attributable to the projects.

The agreement was couched in quite broad language leaving very significant room for differences of interpretation. Binding arbitration provisions were written into the NFA to deal with any disputes which might arise. The NFA arbitrator was given very broad plenary power to fashion equitable remedies leaving no party worse off than if the projects had not been built. Perhaps not surprisingly in retrospect, given the matters at issue and the potential financial liability of Hydro and the governments, the agreement proved to be incapable of effective implementation. Arbitration cases proliferated to the point that even the extensive powers of the arbitrator could not hope to resolve the many matters in dispute.

Without trying to attribute responsibility for this impasse, it needs to be pointed out that the NFA itself actually made provision for all of the matters about which Split Lake Cree and the other First Nations were concerned. At no time did Split Lake Cree, or the Northern Flood Committee on its behalf, seek more extensive measures than were contained in the original agreement. Nonetheless, by the late 1980s all of the parties to the NFA were convinced that a new comprehensive negotiation was in order to arrive at mutually agreed terms for its implementation.

From 1975 up to the time that the Split Lake Cree NFA Implementation Agreement was signed in June 1992, each of the other parties had paid significant money to Split Lake Cree, as is set out in the financial schedule to the 1992 agreement. Specifically, Canada had spent \$11,860,000 inclusive of the Article 6 water and sewer initiative; Manitoba had contributed \$1,240,000; and Manitoba Hydro some \$3,160,000; for total payments of \$16,260,000.

Mitigation Programs

The following are some of the main compensation and remedial measures included in the Manitoba Hydro payments:

- The 1975 to 1983 trapline compensation program helped Split Lake Cree trappers to attain pre-diversion trapping returns by providing cash payments, as well as covering incidental expenses for cabin construction and transportation improvements. According to Manitoba Hydro, the program covered 15 traplines, with 33 trappers participating, with total payments between 1975 and 1983 of \$194,441.85.

- In 1989, in a six year settlement of Claim 32, Manitoba Hydro, with the support of Manitoba, provided \$239,325.77 as trapping compensation retroactive to 1984, and an additional \$735,000 to fund a trapping development program between 1989 and 1995. This included a capital component, grubstake funding, equipment assistance, access improvement and management costs. Manitoba Hydro also spent \$225,000 to clear trails and improve access in the Split Lake resource area.
- As a partial settlement of Claim 97, Manitoba Hydro funded a fisheries development program costing \$407,389.72. This was comprised of capital requirements and subsidies for costs incurred as a result of damage to equipment and nets, caused by debris.
- Manitoba Hydro also spent \$135,747.40 for remedial works at Split Lake, mainly for clearing debris and portage improvements.
- Between 1975 and 1992, Manitoba Hydro spent \$146,372.09 on compensation to individuals for damages to motors, docks and other property losses, and in a settlement for a drowning.

1992 Agreement

On June 24, 1992, Split Lake Cree First Nation, Manitoba Hydro, Manitoba and Canada signed the Split Lake NFA Implementation Agreement, which provided for an agreed implementation of all terms of the original NFA, and the settlement of outstanding arbitration claims.

The financial terms of the agreement provided that an additional total of \$47,370,000 would be paid by Canada, Manitoba and Manitoba Hydro. Hydro's share of the compensation was \$21,500,000 in bonds issued at yearly intervals between 1991 and 1995, advance payments of \$4,250,000 in cash, and \$4,170,000 in cash shared with Manitoba. Manitoba contributed \$1,700,000 in addition to the payment shared with Hydro. Canada agreed to make annual payments between 1992 and 1995 totalling \$15,750,000.

The First Nation settled \$41,420,000 in various accounts of the Tataskweyak Trust, which is held for the benefit of, and managed by, the Split Lake Cree. Of this total, almost \$12,000,000 was allocated for immediate development measures over the first several years following the signing of the agreement. The remainder of the funds, a total of more than \$29,400,000, will be held as continuing capital of the Trust, divided into accounts for the following purposes, in the following amounts:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| • Implementation | \$3,858,000 |
| • Environmental Monitoring | \$1,508,000 |
| • Resource Compensation | \$10,857,000 |
| • Remedial Works | \$12,996,000 |
| • Economic and Social Development | \$12,201,000 |

The new reserve and titled lands under the agreement provide a significant amount of land located at strategic locations within the Split Lake resource area. The entitlement to new reserve land, which amounted to 6,231 acres under the original NFA, was increased to about 37,500 acres, consisting of two blocks, the larger along Assean Lake, contiguous to the existing reserve, and a much smaller block at Waskaiowaka Lake. The titled lands, which are held by the Split Lake Cree Land Corporation on behalf of the First Nation, consist of a total of 2,800 acres of land located in 38 separate parcels on 22 different water bodies within the Split Lake resource area. The total acreage of new reserve and titled lands amounts to about 40,300 acres of additional lands owned and controlled by the Split Lake Cree First Nation.

In addition to the financial and land provisions, the 500 page long 1992 NFA Implementation Agreement contained a variety of other provisions to fully implement the terms of the NFA. These include:

- the definition of the post project water regime on all hydro project influenced waterways in the Split Lake resource area, setting standards for monitoring and deviations, processes to deal with future deviations, and joint planning with regard to possible Hydro development of Birthday and Gull rapids including an environmental review of the effects of existing development;

- formal recognition of the Split Lake resource area, comprising almost 7% of the total area of the province, by Manitoba and Split Lake Cree, and establishment of a Resource Management Board to undertake joint planning and management of all lands and resources in the resource area;
- provisions for the establishment of a four party Environmental Monitoring Committee, and definition of roles with regard to continuing cooperative monitoring of effects of the Hydro project, including the establishment of the Tataskweyak Environmental Monitoring Agency;
- economic and social development measures, including personal compensation arrangements, and a definition of responsibilities providing the lead roles to Split Lake Cree through, among other vehicles, the Tataskweyak Development Corporation;
- resource compensation arrangements for commercial and domestic resource harvesters, including the establishment of an Elders' Tribunal to determine appropriate compensation for adverse effects;
- provision for the financing of necessary remedial works and measures, and the operation and maintenance costs related to such works;
- arrangements for the comprehensive implementation of the agreement, defining the lead Split Lake Cree responsibility and accountability standards to members, and establishing the ongoing four party Executive Implementation Committee;
- arrangements for dealing with those Indian moneys paid under the agreement for the taking and use of reserve lands, including the commitment by Canada to pass legislation to ensure that such moneys would be under the control of the Tataskweyak Trust rather than Canada;
- provisions governing assured continuing access by Split Lake Cree to normal program funding from Canada and Manitoba;
- arrangements to assure continuing good faith efforts by Split Lake Cree and Manitoba Hydro, with the cooperation of Canada and Manitoba, to provide access to Split Lake Cree members and businesses with regard to future project employment, with agreement that if disputes arise such disputes will be addressed under the contractual provisions of the NFA;
- arrangements between Split Lake Cree and Manitoba Hydro to enable the future establishment of a Split Lake Cree electrical distribution company, if feasible;

- releases and indemnities among the parties, with respect to the original NFA provisions and outstanding arbitration claims, and definition of the continuing Manitoba Hydro liabilities under the terms of the NFA for:
 - a) personal injury and death caused by the project,
 - b) deviations from the post project water regime caused by the project,
 - c) unknown and unforeseen adverse effects caused by the project,
 - d) disabilities, injury or death resulting from eating mercury contaminated foods, and
 - e) future obligations of Manitoba Hydro related to project employment;
- mechanisms for settling any future disputes among the parties or within Split Lake Cree First Nation related to the 1992 agreement.

Even though the 1992 NFA Implementation Agreement is in its infancy compared to its total life, which will last as long as the Hydro project operates, all parties to the agreement are pleased with the implementation efforts to date. There have not yet been any disputes among any of the parties regarding the meaning of its provisions and attendant obligations. A further indication of its perceived success as a means to fully implement the 1977/78 NFA is that all of the other four NFA First Nations have either signed or are in the process of negotiating similar agreements with Manitoba Hydro, Canada and Manitoba.

Endnotes

- 1 Split Lake Cree Elders and Adults interviews, translated into English from Cree, March 1995.
- 2 J. I. Keeper, Executive Director, NFC, *The Northern Flood Agreement as an Instrument for Social and Economic Equity*, Presentation to a Conference on the Environment, Montreal, November 1988.
- 3 Information in this section is substantially from Historical Resources Branch, Manitoba Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, 1989, *The Oldtimers: First Peoples of the Land of the North Wind*, pp. 63, 75 and 76; and S. L. Hill, *Fox Lake First Nation Land Use and Occupancy: Living Memory of the Fox Lake Cree*, Practicum Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Natural Resource Management, University of Manitoba, April 1993, pp. 38-39.
- 4 Except where noted, information in this section is from Hilderman, Witty, Crosby, Hanna and Associates, *Split Lake Community Plan*, March 1985, p. 160; Hill, pp. 27-37; Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc., *Keewatinook Okimowin: Mechanisms and Solutions*, A Presentation to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, November 1993, pp. 9 and 13; E. Ross, *Beyond the River and the Bay*, University of Toronto Press, 1970, Map 6; G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, University of Toronto Press, 1984, pp. 22-44.
- 5 J. E. Foster, *The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years, Native People Native Lands*, Carleton University Press, 1992.
- 6 Information in this section is from Hilderman, Witty, p. 167; D. S. Tessier, *A Social and Cultural Study of Split Lake, Manitoba, With a Special Emphasis on Education*, 1979, pp. 29-32; Ross, pp. 97 and 111; Hill, pp. 38-39; and from Mrs. Rev. G. Cowley, 1950. *History of Split Lake Mission*, reprinted, Spring 1990.
- 7 Parts of this section dealing with the background to Treaty No. 5 are from Hilderman, Witty, pp. 164, 168 and 169; the paragraphs dealing with the terms of the treaty are from Indian and Northern Affairs, *Treaty No. 5 Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Sauleaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians at Berens River and Norway House with Adhesions*, 1969, Queens Printer, pp. 15-16.
- 8 Tessier, p. 164.
- 9 Except where otherwise noted, this chapter is based on Split Lake Cree Elders and Adults interviews. Also see Tessier, pp. 161, 173, 176 and 215-260; S. L. Hill, *Split Lake Cree Traditional Land Use Mapping Project*, interview with Split Lake Cree Elders, February 16, 1994; and Cowley.
- 10 Hilderman, Witty, p. 169.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Treaty No. 5, pp. 20-23.
- 13 W. C. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 325.
- 14 Dr. M. Clearsky, physician, Split Lake nursing station. June 1995. Personal communication.
- 15 G. Buckingham, *Thompson: A City and Its People*, 1988, p. 2.
- 16 Morton, p. 332.
- 17 Statistics Canada, 1921 Census.
- 18 Hilderman, Witty, p. 166.
- 19 Constitution Act, 1930, 20-21 George V (Imp.) c. 26.
- 20 Elders and Adults interviews; Tessier, pp. 215-260; Cowley.
- 21 Underwood, McLellan and Associates Limited, *Community Study for Split Lake Indian Reserve*, 1966, p. 14. Based upon 1966 population of 368, using a growth rate of 60% per decade.
- 22 The history of hydroelectric development in this and subsequent paragraphs in this subsection are derived from G. Cowie, *Hydroelectric Development in Northern Manitoba: A Critical Analysis*, A Major Paper Submitted to the Faculty of Environmental Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Environmental Studies, York University, 1993, p. 8; Elders and Adults interviews; and Manitoba Hydro, *History and First Order Effects of Manitoba Hydro Projects in the Split Lake Cree Study Area*, prepared for Split Lake Cree - Manitoba Hydro Joint Study Group, 1996.
- 23 Except where otherwise noted, this chapter is based on Elders and Adults Interviews; Manitoba Hydro, *History and First Order Effects*; Cowie, pp. 9-12, 27.
- 24 Underwood, McLellan and Associates, p. 13.
- 25 Morton, pp. 331, 394, 401, 457.
- 26 Buckingham, p. 10.
- 27 Except where otherwise noted, this chapter is based on Split Lake Cree Elders and Adults interviews; and Manitoba Hydro, *History and First Order Effects*.

- 28 Reserve population is from Hilderman, Witty, p. 114.
- 29 *Commission of Inquiry into Manitoba Hydro*, Final Report, December 1979, p. 220.
- 30 Except where otherwise noted, this chapter is based on Elders and Adults interviews.
- 31 For example, see Hilderman, Witty, p. 196.
- 32 Information on the impact of these floods is from Split Lake Cree Negotiating Team, *Adverse Effects Related to Summer and Fall Floods on Split Lake*, November 1995.
- 33 Except where otherwise noted, this chapter is based on Elders and Adults interviews.
- 34 Usher and Weinstein, *Towards Assessing the Effects of Lake Winnipeg Regulation and Churchill River Diversion on Resource Harvesting in Native Communities in Northern Manitoba*, prepared for the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, 1991, p. 5.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 14-26.
- 36 D. J. Green and A. J. Derkson, *The Past, Present and Projected Demands on Manitoba's Fresh Water Fish Resources*, prepared for the Department of Natural Resources Fisheries Branch, 1984, p. 35.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
- 39 Environment Canada and Department of Fisheries and Oceans, *Federal Ecological Monitoring Program*, Final Report, Volume 2, Chapter 4, 1992, p. 9.
- 40 D. Ramsey and J. Patalas, *Impact of the LWR and CRD on Fish Populations in the Rat-Burntwood and Nelson River Systems*, prepared by Agassiz North Associates Ltd. for the Manitoba Department of Natural Resources, July 1992, pp. 86-87.
- 41 N. B. Hawthorn, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, prepared for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1966, p. 319.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 321.
- 43 S. Jamieson and H. Hawthorn, *The Role of Native People in Economic Development in Northern Manitoba, 1960-1975*, prepared for Committee on Northern Manitoba's Economic Future, 1962, p. 102.
- 44 Hawthorn, p. 320.
- 45 Usher and Weinstein, p. 54.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 53 and 55.

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