Slate Falls: Through Memory and Material

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Abstract

This research addresses the last 100 to 150 years of Slate Falls First Nations' history through the archaeological and ethnographic study of the Old Slate Falls Village. The village site is located on North Bamaji Lake (Ontario) in the headwaters of the Albany River. Many of the former residents of Old Slate Falls are still living and can recollect their days spent in the old village, this allows the archaeological investigation to be informed by the oral histories of former village residents. The project reported herein assists the community members of Slate Falls to preserve and celebrate their history in this location. It is through knowing one's past, connections to the land, understanding space and place, and the ability to trace history and lineage, that self-determination can be asserted. Archaeological documentation of the cabins and structures in Old Slate Falls offers an overview of the transformation of construction techniques, village layout, and material culture over time in response to rapid changes defining the 20th Century. This data offers supplemental information which will be compared to insights deriving from interviews and reminiscences about life within the village through living memory.

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking the people of Slate Falls for bringing me into their homes, introducing me to their traditional lands, and sharing their rich histories. I would also like to thank our guide to the area James Masakeyash, and the three generations of the Carpenter lineage I had the pleasure of interviewing; Sam Carpenter, Elsie Sakakeesic, and Delford Mitchell.

This project could not have been completed without the hard work of the students of Lakehead University, and the untiring work of its passionate employees; Scott Hamilton, Clarence Surrette, Frederico Oliveira, and Martha Dowsley. As always I am deeply appreciative of the guidance and support from my family and friends, thank you for all of your kind words, help, and criticism. Other honourable mentions include: Zebedee Kawei, Gavin Shields, Ryan Dresher, and The MUSE in Kenora for generously providing reference materials and images for this work.

I’d also like to thank Mother Nature for not raining; the low water table enabled improved surface exposure, revealing scatters of artifacts along the newly exposed shorelines.

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Glossary of Terms

Note to the reader: In the following pages the names: Ojibwe, Ojibwa, Anishinaabeg, and Chippewa will be used to describe the peoples under the Algonquin Language Family ranging from Northeast Ontario to the Dakotas, and from Fort Severn Northern Ontario to the Midwest United States.

- Adz: Type of tool for wood working similar to an axe.
- Archaic: Period of time indicated by tool assemblages dating 7000 YBP to 2000 YBP.
- Bamaji Lake: A large lake forming a small section of the Cat River system, Slate Falls Village lies upon the shores of the lake.
- Biface: Stone tool on which both sides of the tool have been worked.
- Bone beamer: Bone tool formed by splitting ungulate leg bones; used to remove hair and to clean hides or skins.
- Chitto: Type of stone tool used for cutting and chopping.
- Core: The centre of a section of material which was utilized when flintknapping.
- Crenelation: Used to describe cracks produced by heating and cooling stone typically granite (A castle top is crenelated).
- Cryoturbation: The process which occurs when freeze-thaw cycles mix soil.
- Culturally modified trees (CMT): Trees altered by humans, usually in the form of bark stripping, markings, kindling harvest or Pre-contact logging practises.
- Debitage: Discarded flakes of stone formed during the process of flintknapping.
- Dentate: Type of stamping used most commonly on Middle Woodland pottery.
- Dendrochronology: Dating method utilizing growth patterns seen in tree rings.
- Early, Middle, and Late Woodland: Periods used to denote certain timeframe in North America based on burial practises, pottery production, trade goods and tool assemblages.
- Ethnohistory: History which has been orally communicated.
- Expedient tools: Rapidly made tools, ex. a rock being used as a hammer.
- Expend core: Core which has been used to its completion.

- In situ: Term used in archaeology indicating that an artifact was excavated from soil, indicating knowledge of the object's secure depositional context.
- Fire cracked rock (FCR): Evidence of fire alternation seen on rocks though specific cracking patterns (crenelation), colour change, and fire spalls.
- Flintknapped: Technique which modifies and fractures stone or Silica-rich material through pressure or percussion.
- INAC: Indian Northern Affairs Canada.
- Laurel: Cultural component linked to a pottery type dating 2,000-1,200 YBP and associated with the Middle Woodland Period.
- The Little North: Fur-trade era term which describes the area of Canada's Northern Boreal forest now generally viewed as eastern Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario.
- Mishkeegogamang: The Ojibway people of Lake St. Joseph.
- Old Slate Falls: Referring to the abandoned Village existing on the north side of Bamaji Lake.
- Paleosol: Buried weathered soil, usually seen as a dark lens in a soil profile.
- Paleo: Period of time indicated by tool assemblages, dating 13000 YBP to 7000 YBP.
- Rupert's Land: A massive track of land held under the deed of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company, which included all lands draining into Hudson and James Bay. now; Northern and Western Canada.
- Seriation: Term used to describe the process of change through time of a technology.
- Sheet middens: Garbage disposal seen in large patterns forming sheets of garbage as opposed to piles.
- Slate Falls: The community after relocation to south shore of North Bamaji Lake in the late 1980's.
- Taconite: Type of silica rich stone deriving from the Gunflint Formation.
- Uniface: Stone tool which only one side has been worked.

An-ish-aw: without cause, or spontaneous
In-aub-a-we-se: the human body
Anishinaubag: Spontaneous man
- William Warren, 2009

CH.1 Introduction

This thesis integrates written and oral history with archaeological insight to explore the recent history of Slate Falls First Nation. Slate Falls is an Ojibwe village along Lake Bamaji, 120 km north of Sioux Lookout Ontario (Figure 1.1). Up until the mid 1980s, the community was located on the north shore of the lake, but upon gaining formal reserve status, they moved to a new village site nearby where community infrastructure could be more readily developed. Prior to 1985 Slate Falls was officially considered to be part of the Mishkeegogamang First Nation, located 95 km to the east. While the two communities share many family relationships, Slate Falls has always viewed itself to be autonomous. Residents of modern Slate Falls First Nation strongly identify with their former home at the Old Slate Falls Village. Throughout this thesis, reference to Old Slate Falls is made to temporally and spatially differentiate it from the modern community of Slate Falls. Old Slate Falls lies within sight of the new southern community, a short distance across Lake Bamaji. Residents of Slate Falls share fond memories from the old site, telling stories highlighting how life has changed from that of the recent past. In order to document the cultural importance of the old village and the lifestyle its residents, an ethnographic and archaeological study was undertaken. This thesis summarizes some of the archaeological insight and ties it to the written and verbal history of Slate Falls.

In August of 2017, a brief archaeological survey of the Old Slate Falls Village identified 6 archaeological sites and 18 historic structures. In 2018, a field school was conducted in the village which assisted to locate and document more structures and conduct selective subsurface investigations of historic foundations at specific cabin localities. A hand-sketched map by Sam Carpenter (Figure 5.1) was used to locate a number of cabins; 5 were documented and digitally recorded, 2 were test excavated, and selected representatives of the typical structures making up Old Slate Falls were documented via 3D modelling.

Shifts in habitation type and lifestyle are key to understanding the changes seen in the recent historic and archaeological record. Integration of ethnographic accounts and oral histories into archaeological surveys adds interpretative resolution to this thesis. Multiple forms of evidence and perspectives from material and verbal findings are merged to offer a comprehensive understanding of the cultural anthropology and historic archaeological approaches in this study. The anthropological perspectives collected in Slate Falls convey physical and psychological changes experienced by members of the community as they transformed their community.

Oral testimony has become more frequently used in concert with archaeological exploration and interpretation such as those seen in Echo-Hawks' (2000) publication. This enables a more comprehensive understanding of the validity and accuracy of both the oral tradition and archaeological insight by considering their consistency. Interpretative inconsistencies can also be informative, highlighting issues that require further attention. Numerous authors such as Roger Echo-Hawk (2000), Robert Bringhurst (1999), and Peter M. Whiteley (2017) have shown that when oral traditions are maintained they have close correlation with the material culture of a peoples' land. By accepting and interpreting a peoples' oral traditions and tying them to the land we are able not only to bring readily available and new perspectives forward, but also to enhance our ability to conduct archaeological research as a whole.

By integrating archaeological investigation with oral histories, the physical search for evidence becomes 'directed' and efficient, with nuanced and comprehensive interpretations becoming possible. This, of course, becomes more complex when addressing archaeological sites occupied before 'living memory'. In the circumstance of Old Slate Falls, we are able to connect habitation sites to family groups and even individuals, and couple these places with personal narratives of meaning. This research will be used to contrast archaeology and verbal histories in order to highlight the need for both, and the benefits and shortcomings associated with each method.

A key research objective is to understand ‘off reserve’ Native life during the late 19th and 20th centuries, a time when many Native communities had already begun making the transition to full-time reserve life. Slate Falls offers a unique perspective on historically occupied Native village sites in Northern Ontario. The primary goal of this thesis is to address the last 150 years of Slate Falls history, integrating insight from the local oral tradition, written ethnographic findings, historic syntheses, and historic archaeological observations. Within this work, ethnographic accounts are compared to the archaeological histories and pair with one another to highlight key features of each methodology. Multiple forms of evidence and perspective are merged to offer a comprehensive understanding using historical, cultural anthropological and archaeological approaches. This research documents the evolution of lifestyle and the associated buildings, tools, and every-day items used in the Slate Falls community from the mid 1800’s till the late 1980’s as the community shifted towards a more sedentary life in a permanently occupied settlement. The research also explores the increased access to and use of both imported goods and the escalating levels of cultural integration with Canadian federal and provincial agencies, European settlers and other newcomers from the surrounding area.

1.1 Purpose of Investigation

The information presented in this thesis is additionally meant to assist in providing resources for the people of Slate Falls to preserve and celebrate their history, and to document the recent Post-contact history in Northern Ontario. There is an urgent need to find, document and understand what village life was like for Natives during the Post-contact period before these histories are lost to time. This more-recent past is not well documented in written form, and is more completely represented in Elders’ memories. Oral history is vulnerable to loss, unless collection and synthesis is undertaken while the last generation of people who participated in the subarctic trap line lifestyle are still with us. The work done here attempts to collect and integrate two different types of information: the oral history of Slate Falls Elders as collected by ethnographers, and

material culture evidence deriving from archaeological enquiry. Through documenting and interpreting the material culture of Slate Falls we seek to more fully understand the changes seen in Northwestern Ontario throughout the recent historic and archaeological record.

This thesis also offers insight into the changes that take place when a First Nations community retains independence after treaty processes, and the community transformation that takes place with growing influence of government programs, policies, and changing access to non-local goods. The documentation of cabins and structures in Old Slate Falls provides an overview of construction techniques, village layout, and the shifts in material culture over time. Changes in the local economy can have a significant effect on cultural dynamics. Slate Falls, largely having a land-based economy, has been impacted by government-driven changes to wildlife management,

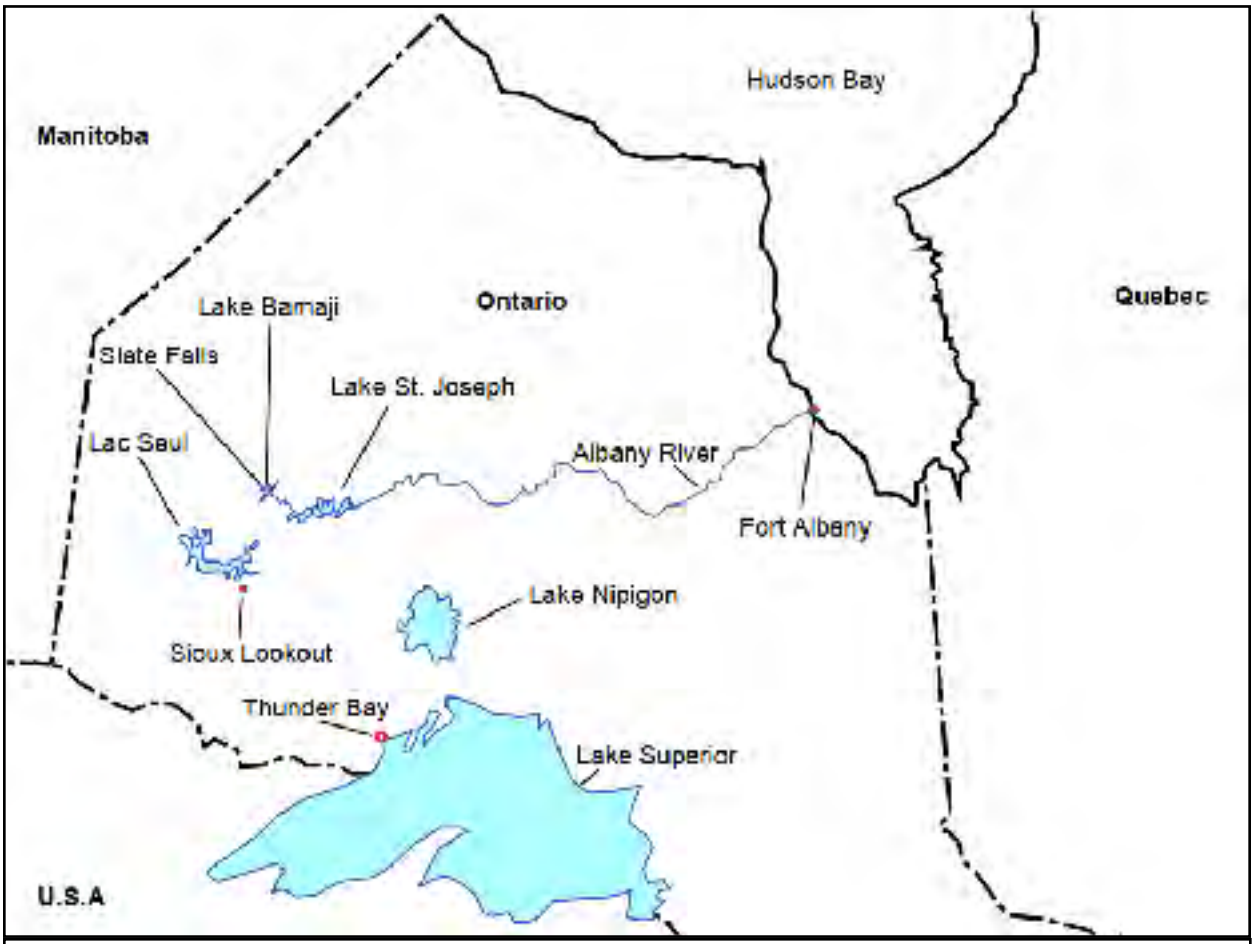


Figure 1.1, Overview map of referenced geographical features.

land tenure, commercial fishing, and other aspects of natural resource management. These, in turn, impact personal economic situations such as annual income and the need for annuity payments, compounding the effects that drive cultural change. Understanding the drivers of economic shifts in the study area is important to identify material culture change.

Can cultural material be coupled with oral history to more fully understand cultural change? Major cultural shifts are readily evident in changes in living patterns within Old Slate Falls. This is suggested by shifts from semi-sedentary to fully sedentary life, access to greater quantities and diversity of imported goods, transformation of household size and architectural features, development of the registered trap line system, and the eventual move to a federally-recognized reserve.

Archaeological assemblages will be compared to the reconstructed cultural chronology. Archaeological and ethnographic findings will be compared to published sites, ethnographic accounts, and first hand accounts to create a detailed material history of the Slate Falls community. Archaeological materials collected were assessed to determine if culture change can be seen through materiality, and if excavating a historic archaeological complex can provide insight that could not be interpreted from the oral record. Excavations and archaeological assessment of the Old Slate Falls community adds to the historic and archaeological record by taking a multifaceted approach to detailing a historic Native community; an undertaking infrequent in Canadian archaeological literature. It is further unique through the opportunity to document and investigate a native village which was largely abandoned in the late 1980's and has had little modification since then.

1.2 Background

The Slate Falls community is located at the northwest end of North Bamaji Lake (Figure 1.3). It is now road-accessible "*…via Highway 516 north of Sioux Lookout, to the Big Vermillion Road and north on the Rawhide Road to Slate Falls Nation*" (Cat Lake

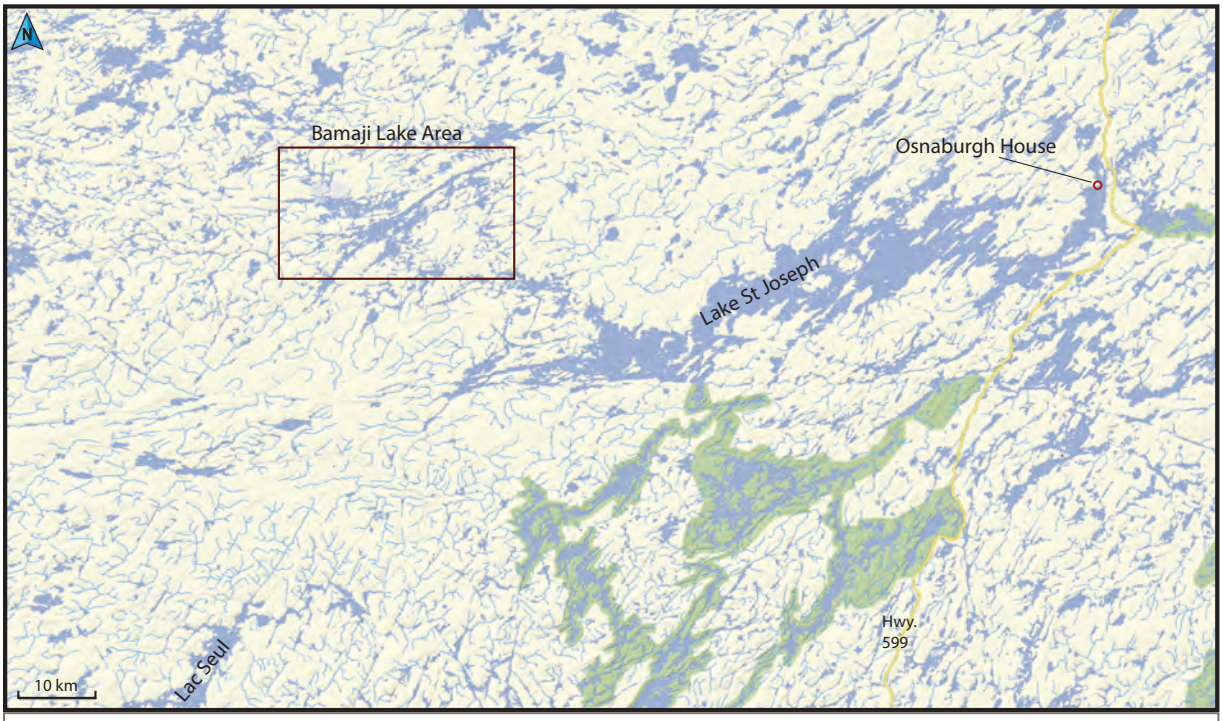


Figure 1.2, The Greater Lake St. Joseph area.

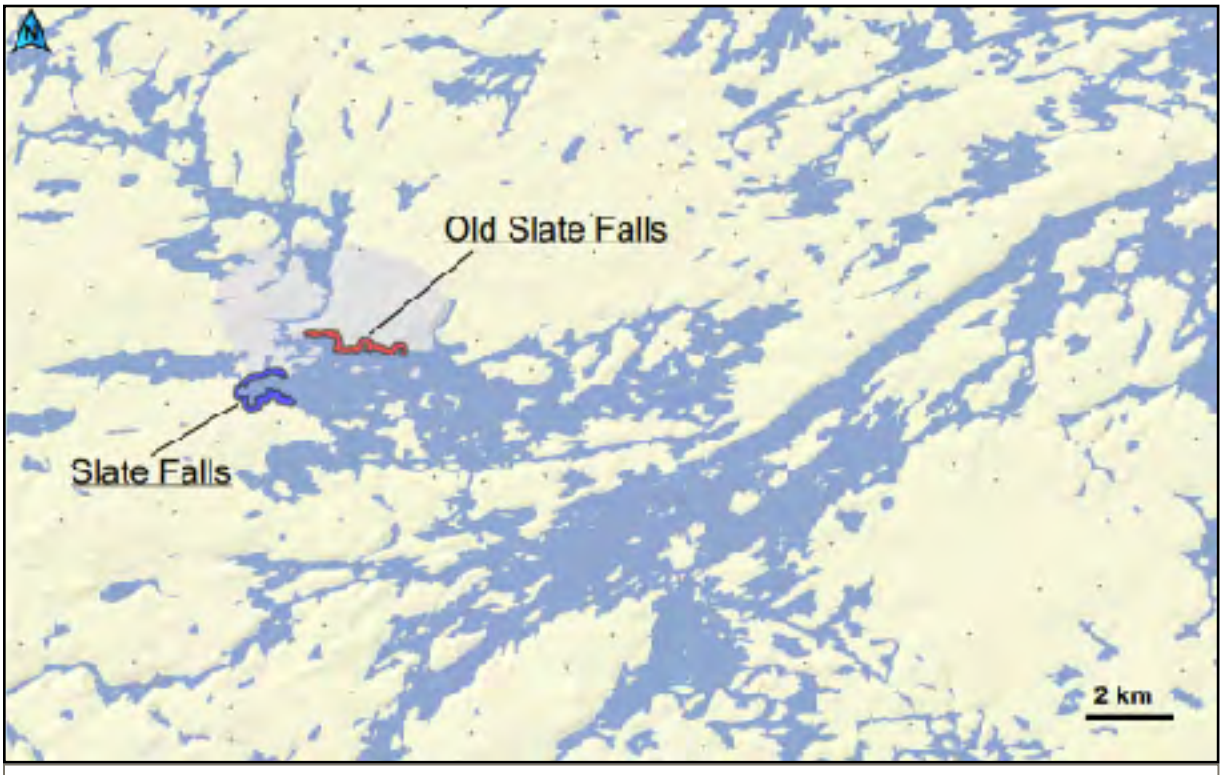


Figure 1.3, Bamaji Lake area.

First Nation et al. 2008). Slate Falls lies within the Albany drainage basin where an abundance of rivers and waterways congregate and feed into the Hudson Bay. The people of Slate Falls derive from the Mishkeegogamang (The Big Lake People). While they are frequently close in relation to the Mishkeegogamang community (closely tied to Osnaburgh House), they often prefer distinction because of their geographic separation from the Lake St. Joseph area which is associated with the Mishkeegogamang.

The archaeological documentation collected during this project can be used by future generations of Slate Falls residents. The cabins still standing in the Old Slate Falls Village will rot and crumble with time, but will be preserved digitally for future generations. Documenting archaeology and oral histories in a community can help to ensure a future in which community members can readily demonstrate ancestry and historic connections. This can foster a sense of belonging and reinforce the rights of the future generations of people of these lands. The ethnographic record collected from members of the Slate Falls community is being used by other researchers to create a narrative of lifestyle, culture and community among the early occupants of Slate Falls. This will be compared to general trends in written Aboriginal history seen in Chapter Four to discuss local variation. Accounts collected from the Slate Falls people form the basis for the archaeological investigations conducted in this thesis.

Major cultural shifts in the Slate Falls area can be seen through variation in living patterns, such as the change from semi-sedentary into fully sedentary life. This transformation is linked with access to greater quantities and diversity of imported goods, assigned trap lines, and the shift to reserve life. Cultural dynamics evolve and change quickly. They are affected through an ever evolving land-based economy; changes to wildlife management, land tenure, commercial fishing and other land-based resources elicit an economic shift. Annual income, fur sales, and annuity payments drive cultural shifts in the Slate Falls area. Understanding the stimulus of a traditional economy will be invaluable for identifying and explaining variation in material goods.

1.3 Ethnographic Accounts

Archaeological investigations in the Slate Falls area were conducted using knowledge passed down to Frederico Oliveira through his interviews with the Slate Falls elders. These interviews seek to document the history of a comparatively autonomous group of families who sought to retain a discrete identity as Slate Falls people. It was invaluable to guide the archaeological investigations, improving efficiency in locating sites and significantly augmenting site interpretation. For example, Sam Carpenter reported that in the late 1920's when he was a child, his mother died. This lead to his father relocating the family cabin from its original spot to a new one near those of an uncle and two 'old Cree ladies'. Was it that his father needed help caring for his children, or that the feeling of the house, and memories associated with it, were no longer bearable? This is something that only personal accounts would clarify. In typical archaeological contexts, we simply observe the abandonment of locations, but rarely have corroborating information to help direct the interpretations.

We were blessed with the ability to interview Sam Carpenter before his passing in 2019. Aged 95 years at the time of our visits, his memory was sharp and he was able to recollect with detail his early childhood. His daughter Elsie Sakakeesic frequently acted as an interpreter and relayed her memories as well. Many Native communities express negative views towards archaeology in response to the history of past research that included burial excavations. During the course of seven years of anthropological interviews, Frederico Oliveira built a close relationship with the Slate Falls community, becoming a friend to many of the members. This relationship greatly facilitated the permissions granted for archaeological explorations in the area. The Slate Falls project also offers a test venue for the integration of oral history, historical archaeology and archaeological techniques. Frequently, archaeology addresses Pre-contact populations; however, with this research we have a unique opportunity to communicate with the living on the matters of life and culture in the Old Slate Falls Village.

“Water is life, for everyone, it’s a big part of this community” (Delford Mitchell, per. com. 2021)

CH.2 The Land and the People

Introduction

In many archaeological syntheses ecology and culture history are presented in two discrete chapters. I take a different tack in recognition of local holistic perspectives that assert that the land shapes the people, and the people shape the land. This is consistent with archaeological perspectives whereby ecology plays an important role in cultural history, determining the opportunities and resources available to people.

2.1 Ecology

> *"Watercourses riddle this landscape and are key to traditional and modern transportation"* (Cat Lake First Nation, et al., July 2011, pg. 8).

The now abandoned village of Old Slate Falls is located near the outlet of the Cat River into North Bamaji Lake, within an area exhibiting a modified continental climate, characterized by long cold winters with low precipitation and warm and clear summers (Cat Lake First Nation et al. 2008). Lake Bamaji drains into Lake Saint Joseph, eventually connecting to the Albany River and on to James Bay. Cat River flows from the northwest before draining into Lake Bamaji, and provides important travel routes to Cat Lake and other trade posts and villages as far west as Lake Winnipeg.

Figure 2.1, View of Slate Falls from Lake Bamaji, the blue roof is the new Band Office.

Dark brown, tannin-rich waters flow through the diverse network of rivers, streams, springs, and lakes that dot the Canadian Shield. The many lakes and rivers contain countless islands but allow for historically efficient warm-season transportation connecting large swaths of land. These waterways rest upon the exposed bedrock of the Canadian Shield; a thick exposed crustal layer of metamorphic and igneous bedrock. This landscape is a reflection of the geologic processes that have shaped the northern boreal forests of Canada having been highly modified by glacial activity. Bedrock outcrops are exposed in small ridges along the shorelines. The Slate Falls region exhibits limited topographic relief, primarily made up by esker ridges of sand, gravel, and boulders (Nelson 2002, Cat Lake First Nation, et al., July 2011). Soils in the study area of Old Slate Falls are characterized by thin organic material over grey silty sand on top of fine red-brown sand of varying depths until bottoming out at bedrock.

The soils examined during 2017 and 2018 show no evidence of transformation through introduced species or large scale forest harvest. This is indicated by the absence of evidence of the introduced Red-Earthworm (*Eisenia fetida*) in the archaeological exposures. The presence of these worms would typically suggests home agriculture, composting, bait fishing, and species introduction (placing earthworms in gardens). Small garden plots existed in the Old Slate Falls Village; mainly used for the cultivation of potatoes (variety unknown). A lack of extensive agricultural production due to the default terrain and bedrock has preserved these relatively undisturbed soils.

Local ecology is typical of the boreal forest; in low areas, sphagnum moss covers conifer forest floors. Well-drained localities consist of birch and poplar forest with an understory of dogwood, bearberry, labrador tea, wild rose, caribou lichen, club moss, and blueberry. The majority of trees age between 80-160 years with a top range of 260 years (Cat Lake First Nation, et al., July 2011, pg. 9). Diverse fauna populate the study area. Mammals include: black bear, caribou, moose, lynx, wolf, muskrat, beaver, martin and fisher. Many migratory waterfowl are seen, and the waterways contain all varieties of fish common to the Canadian Shield such as pike, walleye, whitefish and sturgeon.

Figure 2.2, Birch forests in Slate Falls.

2.2 Pre-contact Cultural History

This chapter section summarizes the Western-defined (published and accessible) understanding of Indigenous history that is relevant for the Slate Falls area, while Chapter 4 reviews local First Nations oral history. This chapter also reviews material culture adaptations deriving from colonial culture contact. This provides a broader context of the changing social and material culture of Northern Ontario as a whole to aid interpretation of archaeological recoveries from Slate Falls. Comparatively little archaeological investigation has occurred across Subarctic Ontario, resulting in a provisional cultural sequence. This understanding will most certainly transform as more research data is collected, analyzed and published.

To assist the reader the following timelines have been created. This grouping style was created solely for this study and does not reflect the timing of direct contact with Europeans, but rather the levels of influence and cultural shifts seen within this study.

Timeline of Major Cultural Phases
BP: Before Present

1. Paleo Hunter Gatherer Period: 9,500 - 7,000 BP
2. Shield Archaic Period: 7,000 - 2,500 BP*
3. Early Woodland Period: 2,500 - 2,000 BP*
4. Middle Woodland or Laurel Period: 2,200 - 1,000 BP
5. Late Woodland Period 1,500 - 500 BP
6. Historic (Post-contact) 1650 - 1850 AD
7. Transitional: 1850 - 1950 AD
8. Modern 1950 - Present

*Time span unstable and likely to shift as new culture history discovered,
Early Woodland Period not yet discovered in the culture area

Deglaciation - Archaic Period

The regression of the Laurentide Ice Sheet from this area occurred between 9,500 and 9,000 BP (Dyke 2004). Upon deglaciation, the Slate Falls area was likely inundated by the glacial Lake Agassiz until around 9,160 BP, when the Kaiashk outlet; a channel flowing through the Hudson Bay, rapidly drained the massive waterbody (Teller and Leverington 2004). Melting glaciers created northward expanding wetlands (11,000-9,000 BP) and following closely behind were the Paleo-Indians moving into new hunting territories. *"Morainic and ice-scoured surfaces held many lakes, ponds and marshes, rapidly stocked with aquatic and semi aquatic life"* (Sauer 1948 pg. 70). Tool traditions consisting of locally utilized materials dominate assemblages. Relatively consistent, these assemblages are associated with a large variety of Clovis and Paleoindian populations across Canada and the Northern States, indicating highly mobile lifestyles (Wright 1976, Sellet 2001). Initially after the retreat of the ice sheets, pollen records indicate a vegetation succession from sparse tundra to dense tundra (Sauer 1948). In inundated areas Peatland initiation lagged the retreat of the ice sheet and drainage of glacial lakes by hundreds to thousands of years, transitioning from carex-dominated fens to sphagnum-dominated bogs (Holmquist & MacDonald 2014).

The paleo hunter-forager lifestyle was replaced with the Shield Archaic tradition starting 6500 BP; characterized by ground stone technology, side notched points, copper tool traditions, and a suitable toolkit for woodworking, which included heavy choppers (Dawson 1984, Wright 1968b). People of the Shield Archaic followed a broad spectrum foraging strategy, ranging long distances and maintaining mobility along waterways through boreal forest and high tundra (Wright 1994, Campbell 1962). Rapidly shifting seasonal resources across the Canadian Shield necessitated a highly mobile and seasonal lifestyle suitable to seasonal fluctuations in continental climate. High mobility in hunter-gatherer bands are assumed due to uniformity in archaeological materials (personal communications Scott Hamilton 2018). Hamilton's (2018) findings are interpreted as a reflection of high cultural exchange between groups connected on the waterways of Northern Ontario. Mobile, highly flexible lifestyles would continue to be

Figure 2.3, Outline of the Laurentide Icesheet 11 KYA, Following the glacial retreat to the north. Image provided from A. Dyke, 2004.

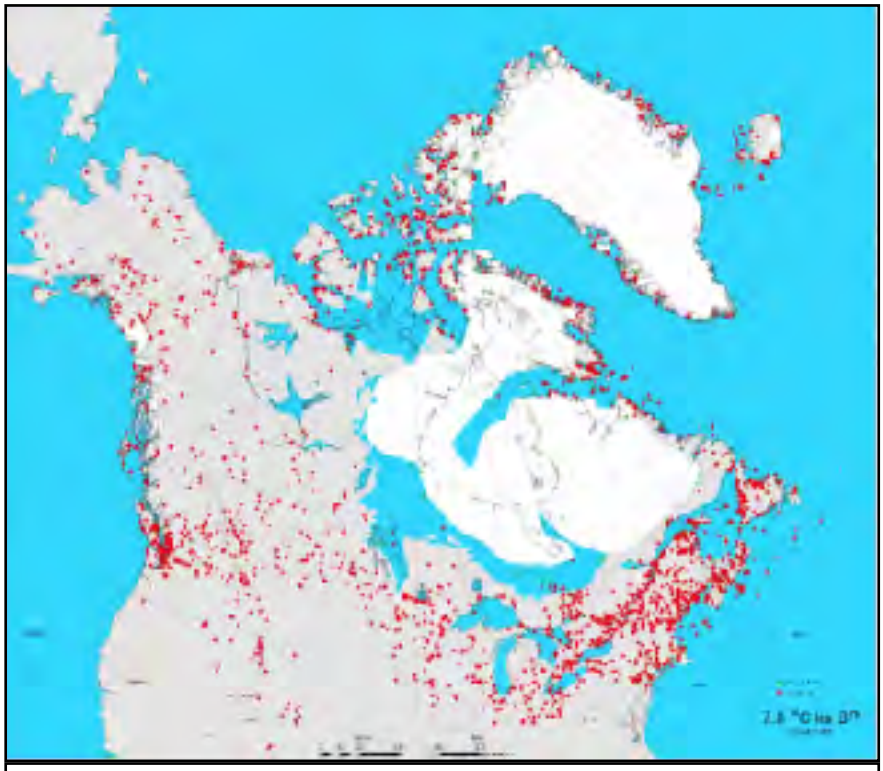


Figure 2.4, Outline of the Laurentide Icesheet 7.8 KYA, prior to the Kaiashk outlet draining Glacial Lake Agassiz. Image provided from A. Dyke, 2004.

significant descriptors of all the descendants and inhabitants of this landscape, latter deemed; The Little North.

The Woodland Tradition up to European Contact

Following the Archaic period, the settlement pattern retained its central theme of seasonal mobility and shifts in prey choice that is consistent with adaptation to the intensely continental Subarctic environment. The Early Woodland period has yet to be been found or have representation in the material culture in North Eastern Ontario. Beginning in the Northeastern United States The Early Woodland Period (2,500 BP) is characterized by the widespread introduction of pottery and a shift in small tool traditions. The Middle Woodland follows many of the same patterns but is characterized by Laurel Ware (2,000-1,000 BP). Later the Late Woodland is identified through shifts in pottery styles becoming increasingly complex with a shift in tool manufacturing, settlement patterns, and burial practices (Guindon 2009, Meyer, Hanna & Frey 1999, Syms 1977). Prominent pottery wares include Selkirk, Black Duck, and Sandy Lake Ware. Other Late Woodland Phases have been identified in the region, primarily on the basis of distinctive pottery wares, but all reflect variations upon a political economy built around broad spectrum foraging.

Anishinaabeg oral histories relate that close to 900 AD there was a westward migration of the Ojibwe from a saltwater expanse; assumed to be the Atlantic (Heinrichs & Heibert 1956, personal discussions with Rob Pierre 2018). The migration was thought to have taken 500 years, putting the time of completion around 1,400 AD (Warren 2009, Copway 1851). Families would stop in locations where a secure economy could be pursued, leaving behind scattered, independent groups of people that observe Ojibwe cultural traditions (Heinrichs & Heibert 1956). If this reflects historical migration processes, no doubt, the Ojibwe integrated themselves with already resident populations through intermarriage and other alliance mechanisms.

2.3 Post-contact to Modern

Introduction

This research project focuses largely on documenting the transformation of Indigenous ways of life dating from the 1600's to the 1990's in Northern Ontario. To facilitate this, the Post-contact period is subdivided by the author into the Traditional, Transitional, and Modern periods. This reflects processes of acculturation and adoption of new materials and lifestyles by native populations as a consequence of indirect and direct contact with European colonial societies. Although members of the Slate Falls community have close ties to the many other Ojibwe bands of Northern Ontario, external pressures may not have affected them in the same way. The geographical size of Northern Ontario meant that settlers and government bodies came into contact more infrequently with some native groups as European populations gradually expanded into the vast and geographically isolated parts of Northern Ontario.

Very little is known about the Ojibwa and Cree in Northern Ontario prior to European contact. Oral traditions and verbal histories exist but significant historical pressures led to rapid transformation of culture, economy and demographics, resulting in much being lost or obscured within a few generations. As Native communities gradually recover from forced acculturation and traditional values are increasingly accepted, oral histories are once again being shared, but many were lost to christianization and regulated schooling. The following written synthesis is developed from published literary sources, and when possible First Nations accounts are integrated and prioritized. Both Cree and Ojibwe histories are included and intermixed, as the Slate Falls founders consisted of both Cree and Ojibwe families.

Note to reader: a brief timeline can be seen in Chapter 2.4 and an expanded timeline can be found in the Appendix A. Please refer to this for material culture changes, fur trade practises, and similar relevant recorded information.

2.3.a Traditional Historic

1600's-1700's

The early writings by European traders and settlers reveal incomplete and often ethnocentric descriptions of the resident Indigenous groups encountered within the region. At first European contact, the local inhabitants of Central Canada were given many tribal designations: Ottawa, Missisauga, Potawatomi, Saulteur, Amikwa, Nipissing, Ondataouauoat, Cheveux Releves, Kishkakon, Mousonee, Nassauaketon, Nikikouek, Sinago, and Gens de Terre (Greenberg & Morrison 1982). To add to this grouping of peoples, the term *Northern Ojibwa* relates to several different ethnic units, known at contact under a host of names such as Kilistinon, Cree, Monsoni, Muskego, and Gens des Terres (Greenberg & Morrison 1982). These names were derived from labels given by neighbouring groups, while these people largely self-identified as Anishinaabeg. The Ojibwa are broadly grouped with much cultural variation. High mobility, intermarriage and sheer geographic space between bands prevents the establishment of clear cultural boundaries and tribal designations of the Algonquin language family who frequently share language and material culture (Wright 1965).

Before the coming of European traders, it is thought the Cree did not winter near the coasts of James Bay, considering it inhospitable (Long, 1978a, Bundy 2010). Traders along Hudson Bay in the mid 1600's negotiated with the Natives to supply them with geese in the fall, and those who stayed to do so often had insufficient time after the fall hunt to travel home due to the winter freeze. This would be the first time the Cree wintered in James Bay (Long 1978a).

Historically, the Cree maintained a highly mobile lifestyle but with the introduction of trade posts, some of those closest to the coastal depots became semi-sedentary as they began to live within or near the European establishments as part of newly developed roles as provisioners to the Europeans. These people came to be called the Homeguard (Rogers & Smith, 1994). It became common practise to employ Natives as

Figure 2.5, Fort Albany between 1924-1926. Unknown Photographer, Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 3310168.

Figure 2.6, View of Osnaburgh House (Ontario). Wigwams, canoes and bateaux are seen on the shoreline of Lake St. Joseph. Taken by Robert Bell, 1886, Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 4820400.

guides in the early years, and (with their mixed-parentage descendants) gradually came to make up a large percentage of the trade companies' work force. Many operated the canoes and bateaux of the traders, shuttling goods inland along rivers and waterways.

Through frequent movement and travel on routes used to access and harvest country food and other products, the Ojibwa and Cree used and maintained travel routes that had been in place for centuries before the introduction of the fur trade. The high mobility of the Ojibwe people can be seen from records by Gloucester House In 1781, wherein reports of Natives traveling from Lake Winnipeg to Gloucester House (over 700km) on the Albany River are common (Reid, 1980).

Trade posts were commonly placed in areas of Indigenous social gathering and along already established trade routes. As trade increased, Ojibwa bands in Northern Ontario and Eastern Manitoba became affiliated with selected trade posts and would form semi-permanent lakeside villages (Bishop 1976). Ojibwe and Cree men would work for the posts, and women and children frequently found employment and housing in and around the post (Figure 2.5, Figure 2.6). In concert with intermarriage between Indigenous women and European men, this created families of people who had developed close relations with the traders and their structures.

Through trade with the Europeans, the Ojibwe integrated new technologies with traditional ways of life, and also influenced European traders and social life within the trade posts. Marriage between trade partners secured and strengthened those social and professional relationships and helped maintain trade (Suffling & Younger 1993, Rogers 1976). This is an ancient aboriginal process, in which economics is inextricably tied to social discourse. It reflects part of generalized patterns of reciprocity and social engagement that can be viewed as a kind of social safety net among foragers. A land-based economy is reinforced by social networks. Another aspect of this, gift giving is a strategy used by early traders to create bonds with trade partners, ensuring that the trade relationship continues. These social networks help to alleviate the effects of

fluctuation in fur prices and competition for territories and suppliers, therefore limiting economic competition.

The importance of strengthening ties and relationships through marriage is exemplified in the story of the founding of Slate Falls: a group of four Cree brothers from Albany Factory travelled inland through seasonal work in the HBC transportation system. One of these men married into the Ojibwe of Osnaburgh House and sought a new economically sustainable area to settle. Located at a portage, Slate Falls acts as a rest stop and a potential trade area increasing its economic value. For hundreds of years after European contact, the people of Slate Falls sought to live economically independent lives through fishing, hunting, and trapping.

2.3.b Transitional Phase

1800 - 1920

A strong barter-based economy persisted along Bamaji Lake from the 1840's to the 1970's. Sturgeon, wild rice, blueberries, furs, and prime hunting grounds contributed to Lake Bamaji's economy. This economy is further bolstered by the Mishkeegogamang wives of the Cree, who provided diverse familial relations for the Cree men allowing for increased social and economic support. Strong marital bonds between the Ojibwe and the Cree facilitated their participation with relatives in large social events in the summer and profitable trade at the Osnaburgh Post. The relations between Slate Falls and Osnaburgh House would become increasingly important as time progressed.

Treaty processes shaped the relationship and legal framework between various countries, government bodies, and the First Nations who went into the treaty processes. Beginning with the Treaty of Albany (New York) in 1701, treaty agreements continued through time as a consequence of European Colonial expansion into North America.

This first impacted Northern Ontario with the 1850 treaties (Robinson-Huron, Robinson-Superior), but accelerated rapidly after the 1870 purchase of Ruperts Land by Canada, with subsequent Euro-Canadian settlement into western and northern Canada. Treaty No. 1, in 1871, was the first treaty developed with the Canadian Confederation, which followed a trending decrease in benefits, stipends, supplies, and allowances seen over the course of the previous centuries treaty processes (Rogers & Smith, 1994). Through limiting the benefits and tools provided to the Native recipients, competitive prices for food production had decreased as Euro-Canadians frequently struggled from competition with Native farmers (Rogers & Smith, 1994). Bringing in more settlers, roadways, canals, waterways, and rail lines encroached on autonomous First Nations groups creating the need to further develop new treaties.

The year 1885 marks an important time for the people of Northern Ontario. It marks the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), providing an effective

Figure 2.7, Ojibwe woman drying fish. Taken by Kenora photographer C.G. Linde, Circa 1922. Images courtesy of The MUSE, Kenora.

transportation link between British Columbia, Northwest Territories, Manitoba and Eastern Canada. This railway bisected the southern edged of The Little North, triggering considerable change in social, economic and material structure. Enhanced transportation also facilitated access to the boreal forest by Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic missions, and also European education and health care (Taylor, 1994 pg. 248-350 in Rogers & Smith, 1994, Bundy, 2010). The CPR created a boom in logging, commercial fishing, and mining operation near the railway route. It also allowed the independent traders to move in on the HBC monopoly (Taylor, 1994 in Rogers & Smith, 1994). The railway enabled American and Euro-Canadian trappers to move into new locations, escalating competition for resources. This period saw an increase in the exploitation of fur-bearing animals, and corresponding decline in animal populations (Bundy, 2010).

Treaty No. 9 - 1905

As this natural resource frontier continued to open to non-Indigenous users in the early 1900's, a renewed effort at treaty making occurred. A team of Commissioners were appointed *"to negotiate a treaty with the Indians inhabiting the unceded tract. This comprised about 90,000 square miles of the provincial lands drained by the Albany and Moose River systems"* (Duhamel, 1931 pg. 3). Treaty No. 9 would be drafted to allow for Indigenous health care, education and a yearly stipend in exchange for mining, trade, settlement, logging and travel rights in the James Bay area (Long, 1978b). The treaty process was met with reluctance when first brought to the Mishkeegogamang, verbal negotiations were made, which would later be negated by the Federal Government (Long, 1978b). Fearing the loss of land and increasing competition from settlers, the treaty was signed by Indigenous groups in hopes of maintaining traditional aboriginal lifestyles (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003),

The control and influence of Indian Affairs and the treaty processes weren't uniform across the country. *"Because of its remote location the Ojibway of Osnaburg*

House had escaped pressures for treaties for some years but by 1905 government commissioners were making their way with treaty no.9 " (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg. 110). In the settlement of the treaty, the Slate Falls people were treated as a part of the Osnaburgh House Band. Nonetheless, Slate Falls families refused the wishes of the Indian Agent, chose not to amalgamate with the Osnaburgh House Band (Mishkeegogamang). Their small size and relative isolation meant they would maintain a degree of autonomy by staying along the shores of North Bamaji Lake. Village life and layout would not be dictated by Indian Affairs; rather, it would develop in an organic manner.

1900 - 1920

The turn of the century marked gradual socioeconomic change for Natives in Northwestern Ontario, largely the result of government influences and improved communication networks. There were, however, many groups whose hunting territories remained remote from developing areas in proximity to the railways that were isolated from centres of Euro-Canadian settlement and resource development (Dunning, 1959, pg. 5). Although many First Nations bands resided in relative seclusion from Euro-Canadian, sporadic contact was maintained with traders through mineral and forestry exploration coupled with post-treaty interaction by federal and provincial government agencies.

With escalating immigration of non-Aboriginal residents in northern Ontario, more frequent contact with Indigenous communities occurred, resulting in the inevitable spread of disease. While disease epidemics are a common feature of the fur trade era, the beginning of the 20th century (1909) marks a more widespread (and better documented) influenza epidemic across Northern Quebec and Ontario that caused a high mortality rate among the elderly (Skinner, 1911 pg. 117). This had a severe cultural and familial impact since the elderly were important holders of Traditional Knowledge. In the wake of Influenza, the Spanish Flu would sweep through less than 10 years later. These catastrophes accelerated cultural transformation amongst the Ojibwe.

Figure 2.8, Treaty No.9 feast at Osnaburgh House 1905.
Library and Archives Canada, Archives, item number 3367552.

1920-1950

Gold Mines and Road Construction

In 1929 Gold was discovered at Pickle Lake located north of Osnaburgh, resulting in infrastructure development such as hydroelectric damns, roadways and rail lines, and with them an influx of European-Canadian settlers (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.127). It also attracted a few families from the Wunnummin Lake region who traveled south to the Osnaburgh House-Pickle Lake area during the summers (Sieciechowicz, 1986 pg. 19).

> *"There, the men worked at the newly opened gold mines; their wages provided some financial independence from the Hudson's Bay Company debt-credit system as well as enabling families to outfit more completely for the next trapping season"* (Sieciechowicz, 1986 pg. 19).

Mine development contributed to creation of new markets for ‘country food’. From 1925 until 1960, employees of the Pickle and Crow Lake mines regularly bought fish from local indigenous fishermen, providing a steady, local source of income for the people of Osnaburgh (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003). Unsold or unwanted fish, such as suckers, would be eaten by the fishermen’s families (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.84). Unfortunately, the new natural resource development and influx of outsiders also came with devastating side effects.

Loss of First Nations History Through Flooding

For many Native Americans, there is an inextricable link to the land, resulting in profound and devastating loss when confronted with severe land modification. This is evident with the 1934 damming and 1958 diversion of Lake St. Joseph to augment hydro-electric power generation. This was initiated to support gold mine development in the region, but later expansion to supply Lac Seul and the Ear Falls hydro dam caused even more severe impacts. This flooded the shores of Lake Saint Joseph (Rob Bundy 2010), damaging valuable rice patches, and disrupting or destroying local fish spawning.

The flooding of Lake Saint Joseph swallowed up an unknown number of archaeological sites and contemporary harvesting and habitation locations. It also caused many of the smaller lakes in the area to merge; isolating sections of land, flooding burial sites, blueberry patches, and campgrounds (Bundy 2010). As the landscape and habitat transformed, local Indigenous residents also faced transformation of optimal fishing locations and the loss of sturgeon breeding grounds (Heinrichs & Hiebert 2003, Bundy 2010). Despite attempts to repair and rebuild docks, Osnaburgh House closed down in 1936 as a consequence of flooding, water damage, and declining fur prices (Rob Bundy 2010) it would later be relocated. The decline in fur prices caused a shift in the labour force towards mining, logging, and commercial

fishing, altering the cultural and economic landscape of the community (Taylor pg. 359 in Rogers & Smith, 1994).

Trapline Management

The mid-20th Century influx of Euro-Canadians, in addition to the increasing populations in Native rural communities, triggered implementation of a provincial program of trapline management. In 1948 a trapline management policy was instituted to keep non-native people out of reserve boundaries and to assign exclusive trapping rights in particular areas to individuals or groups who paid an annual fee. For much of Northern Ontario, these trapping rights were assigned to specific Indigenous families, often those who had habitually harvested those areas (J. Garth Taylor 1994 pg. 395 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

The management of traplines affected the livelihood and culture of a comparatively small group of Euro-Canadian trappers, but for Native communities having a designated trapping area for an individual would break a pattern of tradition and culture. Hunting and trapping rights to specific areas were traditionally assigned to specific extended families who managed their own harvest, but were socially obligated to share resources as needed with others (E. Rogers & M. Black 1976). Family hunting and trapping areas would be allowed to lie ‘fallow’ so as to replenish game populations (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003). Through an attempt at blanket policy the implementation of trapline management created adverse effects for Natives, including drops in locality specific fur bearing populations as higher trapping pressures were placed on areas with low productivity.

Figure 2.9, Man and boy in front of Wigwam. Lac Seul First Nation, Taken by F. W. Waugh, 1920. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318581.

Mandatory Education and Loss of Traditional Skills

The Family Allowance Act, passed in 1946, provided benefits to Indigenous families, but only those whose children attended school (R.W. Dunning, 1959). The Act was instituted on the presumption that compulsory attendance made people better workers, able to get and hold wage labour jobs; however, time spent at school began stripping culture and language from the First Nations children. Families struggled to find time to pass on the vital skills and histories needed for their children to continue living traditional lifestyles (A. Tanner 1985). Time spent in school came at the expense of time spent learning traditional skills on the land. The establishment of day school was particularly harmful to subsistence lifestyles; often parents would not be able to maintain their distant traplines needing to remain in their community, and as it became more difficult to continue their trade, unemployment rates began to rise (Taylor 1994, pg. 379-381 in Rogers & Smith, 1994). Schooling in the general area (Osnaburgh-Sioux Lookout) was reportedly very unsuccessful maintaining low literacy rates (Dunning,

1959). Frequently children chose not to attend class in favour of traditional education at home and less precarious income from hunting, trapping and fishing rather than wage labour. Many aboriginals saw European employment as spotty and unreliable. A mine or mill may be in operation for 20 years, but when it closes down you have no livelihood and no means of successfully exploiting land-based resources.

Figure 2.10, Parching wild rice. Lac Seul First Nation, F. W. Waugh, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, 5318561.

Figure 2.11, Anishinaabeg man and boy gather wild rice in birch bark canoe. Lac Seul First Nation. Taken by F.W. Waugh, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318560.

2.3.c Transitional to Modern

1950 to 1990

European education was not always resisted by Aboriginal communities. A Mennonite Mission in 1953 to the community of Pekangekum rapidly gained success amongst the locals, as they were seen to be open with their hospitality (Dunning, 1959, pg.17). Similar success was documented in Slate Falls, where members of the Mennonite church who were heavily invested in education were also welcomed into the community. From personal discussions with band members, it is noted that federal education had poorer standards than the provincial curriculum which was in part assisted by Mennonite efforts.

Although there was a steady shift towards European education and employment in the general region, trapping was still the primary livelihood for the Ojibwe of Osnaburgh during the 1950's (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg. 92). The subsistence lifestyle indicates that semi-sedentarism was still maintained as a strong cultural value in the 1950's. John Macfie writes that even in the 1950's settlements were virtually empty from October until April, indicating a mobile lifestyle which required people to travel to trapping areas during the winter (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.170).

The 1960's saw a worldwide decline in fur demand due to cheaper warm synthetic fibres and the rise of animal rights activist movements (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.92). In the proceeding years, many Natives of Northern Ontario would come to rely on seasonal employment and government income to live (Taylor 1994 in Rogers & Smith, 1994).

Government Influences on Housing

In the 1960's increased levels of subsidized housing and medical care encouraged aboriginal settlement in increasingly sedentary villages. The development of on-reserve day schools to replace residential schools also contributed to this sedentary lifestyle. One strategy employed by families with school-age children was for male trappers and hunters to make extended harvest trips by dog sleds or snowmobiles, while women and children remained in the reserve communities to allow children to attend school (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.168). These government programs often failed to address local considerations. For example, housing in New Osnaburg was established in a grid layout that made sense from a southern urban perspective, but failed to address northern lived realities whereby the housing layout blocked many people's access to the shorelines with its importance for continued water transportation (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.172). Community boat ramps, trucks, and trailers were now required, where before they could pull a boat up on the beach in front of individual cabins. Lack of access and increasingly expensive trips to traditional harvest areas severely limited people's ability to practise the traditional economy.

It had become clear that government assistance had harmful impacts on Aboriginal education and lifestyle. To combat the increasing dependance on government assistance during the 60's, government-funded enterprises were created to decrease the need for unemployment income (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.168). Some enterprises in the Osnaburgh area included cranberry fields, furniture construction, and a shoe factory (Taylor 1994 pg. 385 in Rogers & Smith 1994).

Figure 2.12, Air traffic and docks at Old Slate Falls. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

Air Traffic and Fishing

Commercial fishing operations depended upon effective means of getting products to markets. In the decades after World War II this was facilitated by transport of fresh fish by float planes from remote lakes to fish processing facilities at railway towns scattered across the north, and then on urban markets. As air traffic increased there were fewer people needed to haul goods along waterways and by overland routes, once roads were constructed, further job opportunities declined due to competition with white settlers (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg. 101). Air transport, while expensive, offered efficiencies, flights north to collect fresh fish offered means for people and goods to be transported northwards to remote villages and camps at reduced costs. The new source of cash income, coupled with air transportation resulted in a gradual increase in the diversity of goods reaching remote settlements and trapping camps. This resulted in an increase in imported food and goods. (Taylor, 1994, pg. 358 in Rogers & Smith, 1994).

With the advent of commercial air transportation opportunities and with an increasing market for freshly caught fish, the people of Slate Falls saw an opportunity to create business and trade. The Ontario Department of Game and Fisheries issued the first commercial fishing licenses for the Ojibwe in the area around Lake Bamaji in 1940. By 1944, 15-20 families were engaged in commercial fishing (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003). Slate Falls Airways created their business in 1955, transporting fish and furs from the surrounding area.

Band members worked as fishermen, performing a variety of duties from making shipping boxes to packing and shipping fish. Commercial fishing was a significant source of revenue, but there were problems. Ice houses were needed at the various landings around Lake Saint Joseph to prevent spoilage, but the band lacked the capital to build these, and non-aboriginal buyers didn't invest in the fisheries (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003). Johnny Derouin describes life as a commercial fisherman, *"June till October we would fish, taking a few weeks off to get the winter place ready and from November we would go trapping"*, Johnny's father quit commercial fishing when the Ministry of Natural Resources closed down his operation (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg. 149-151).

During the mid 20th century fish prices were volatile and prone to fluctuating, in 1970 the Federal government set up the Freshwater Fish Marketing Board and attempted to stabilize prices. The board hoped to support aboriginal fisheries by cutting out the middleman (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003). The board had centralized operations in Manitoba which led to logistical difficulties and when combined with rising airline costs, water level fluctuations, mercury poisoning and a lack of leadership, many of the Slate Falls people (and other Native communities) stopped their commercial fishing operations (Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003 pg.82).

Lifestyle Shifts with Annuity Payments

Consequences of reserve life such as the implementation of annuity (treaty) payments and alteration of trapping grounds, alongside other treaty rights, result in a clear shift towards a more centralized, sedentary life. However, some communities were able to avoid the scrutiny of Indian Affairs, largely remaining autonomous. By living off-reserve and away from Osnaburgh, the people of Slate Falls sought to avoid these issues remaining somewhat autonomous by distancing themselves from Osnaburg House.

In understanding these ways of life, we can see why the residents of Slate Falls would seek to obtain autonomy. *"Financial capital was less important to the livelihood of the Slate Falls people than their stocks of human, social, and natural capital"* (Fagan & Munck 2018 pg. 342).

Funding through Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) was processed through Osnaburgh and Slate Falls would remain off-reserve to maintain autonomy from the INAC. A provincially run school was put in place to teach in the village as they frequently maintained higher education standards than federally regulated schools. The community also set up a multitude of business enterprises, including an airline and a fishing lodge established by entrepreneur Hughie MacKenzie. The fishing lodge brought extra money to the area by opening up a new tourist market while it continued to transport goods needed in commercial fishing. Frequent air traffic meant residents could export fish and furs through scheduled pick ups, and allowed the purchase of goods locally, without having to travel to Osnaburgh House.

Slate Falls Becomes an Official Reserve

Early in 1985 Slate Falls became a formally INAC-recognized reserve independent of Osnaburgh. A paved all-weather airstrip was one of the incentives towards attaining reserve status. Eventually, the village would be moved to the south side of Lake Bamaji to facilitate the installation of water and sewage lines. Slate Falls residents began to move across the lake between 1992 and 1995 as federal money began to trickle in and houses were built. In 2018 running potable water was finally accessible in Slate Falls.

Despite drastic cultural and material changes over the centuries after the first European contact, the people of Slate Falls maintain a strong connection to the land. Traditional activities are being revitalized, and subsistence is widely practiced. *"Substantial quantities of country food, meat and fish are harvested for consumption in the communities and for family and community members in Sioux Lookout and beyond"* (Cat Lake First Nation, et.al, July 2011 pg. 11).

2.4 Abbreviated Timeline

Note to reader: An Extensive Timeline detailing the cultural shifts in the Slate Falls region can be found in Appendix A.

1600's - 1700's

1640 - The first documentation of the Assiniboine appear in a Jesuit text (A. Ray 1998).

1675 - Fort Albany established (A.Drapack, C.Moffet, Golder Associates, 2013).

1781 - 1783 - Outbreak of smallpox claims 2/3rds of the Ojibway in Northwestern Ontario (A.Drapack, C.Moffet, Golder Associates, 2013).

1786 - Osnaburgh House established (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.162).

1800 - 1900

1805 - Lack of conservation led to beaver and big game scarcity (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.160).

1840's - 1870's - Increase in goods being shipped meant there was a need for more men to transport goods, families began to stay at the posts (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 313-314 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1880's - Loss of fur bearing populations is seen with explanation being given by the encroachment of hunters and trappers from the outside causing over-harvesting and a change in harvesting practise (Rob Bundy 2010).

1885 - CPR completed, creating a boom in logging, commercial fishing, and mining, allowing whisky traders and independent traders to move in on the HBC monopoly J. Garth Taylor, 1994 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1900- 1950

1905- Treaty No. 9 is implemented and signed by the Band of Osnaburgh.

1912 - When the CN line was completed, goods came from Hudson through Lac Seul and Root Portage (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 104).

1920 - Boom prices brought an influx on non native trappers to Northern Ontario who frequently had a lack of concern for conservation of fur resources than their Native counterparts (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 361 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1940's - Instituted trapline management to keep non-native people out of reserve boundaries and to focus activity on the resources in allotted areas J. Garth Taylor 1994 pg. 395 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1940's - Planes began carrying people and freight into the north - the Nooduyn Norseman was the workhorse of Ontario's provincial air service bush flying fleet (Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.104).

1950 - Present

1954 - Road is built to Savant Lake - this caused the price of groceries to increase and also facilitated the movement of population, causing an increase in settlers (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.167).

1957 - Dam at Lake Saint Joseph (Root River Diversion) is created, causing fluctuating water-levels, increasing erosion and bringing hardship on commercial fisheries by drying up spawning areas (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.133).

1945 - 1980's - Establishment of day school affected the abilities of trappers to continue their trade and to pass the tradition on to their young, this saw an increase in unemployment. (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 379-381 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1960's - Worldwide decline in fur demand due to warm synthetic fibres and animal rights activists (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.92).

1960's - Gov't subsidies, paid housing and increased medical care drew people into village living, and schools forced a sedentary lifestyle on traditionally mobile people. Hunters became commuters with the introduction of snowmobiles (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.168).

1970's - 80's - Seen as a time of political upheaval and unrest with a high number of alcohol and drug abuse cases (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 173).

1985 - Slate Falls is recognized as a band

2011 - "*Substantial quantities of country food, meat and fish are harvested for consumption in the communities and for family and community members in Sioux Lookout and beyond. The nature and geographic extent of harvesting has changed, but it remains a profoundly significant and defining activity for Cat Lake and Slate Falls communities. There is also a considerable amount of infrastructure in the field that harvesters rely upon for these harvesting activities (e.g., campsites, trails, portages). This infrastructure needs protection so it can continue to be used, especially where it can be accessed by waterways*". (Cat Lake First Nation, et.al, July 2011, pg. 11)

“Slate Falls didn’t start in 1985 when we became a band. We are living in this place for a long time. It’s important for the young people to know about our history.” (Elsie Sakakeesic cited in Oliveira 2018, pg. 27).

CH.3 Methodology

Introduction

The research underlying this thesis was conducted in collaboration with two sociocultural-anthropologists who recorded cultural and historical narratives collected in the Slate Falls community. Martha Dowsley Phd., Frederico Oliveira Phd. and their assistant Gavin Shields conducted interviews with local people regarding their relationships with the environment. These accounts when combined with the archaeological evidence from the investigation of Old Slate Falls Village refine our understanding of local cultural transformations. Verbal accounts collected by the anthropological inquiries allowed for the archaeological discovery of 4 historic sites, and 6 prehistoric sites, along with the documentation of numerous cabin and elements of traditional and historic life-ways.

Through previously collected ethnographic data, a series of maps were produced. Sam Carpenter, a 95 year old village elder, drew a sketch map of his family home and other community members' dwellings in the area (Figure 5.2). Throughout interviews, Sam and his daughter Elsie related changes in life and social dynamics in Slate Falls from the 1930's to the 1980's. These oral histories were used by Scott Hamilton and Frederico Oliveira to construct occupancy maps of the Old Slate Falls Community (Oliveira 2018). Further and subsequent interviews were conducted on a more informal basis guided by the ethics reviews of Frederico Oliveira and ethics reviews required by Lakehead University through TCPS Course on Research Ethics. The objectives of the interviews and the interviewees' rights were explained prior to the interview. At the end of the interview the interviewee was asked what material they conveyed should be omitted or left unwritten as well it was asked whether they agreed to have their names published as the authors of the information. Further consultations regarding the review of the final draft was given to the community and the interviewees prior to thesis defence.

The archaeological exploration of Old Slate Falls was conducted over a two year period (a 10 day visit in August 2017, and a 20 day field school in August 2018). Each visit was conducted by the Lakehead Anthropology Department but with different crew complements each year. The archaeological techniques used varied depending upon the site type and the available labour.

In 2017 the team consisted of Gavin Shields and Frederico Oliveira doing interviews, with archaeological reconnaissance by myself, Clarence Surrette, and Scott Hamilton who acted as the permit holder for the project. In 2018, the original crew was bolstered with Holly Fleming and Zebedee Kawei, our guide to the area James Masakeyash, and 5 field school students Eden, Louis, Holly, John and Gavin. During both visits, the participants stayed with Slate Falls families, developing a connection with local residents that would otherwise would not have been possible. Team members would travel by boat to the site each day, hauling necessary equipment with them over multiple trips, usually 20 minutes one way.

3.1 Old Slate Falls Historic Structures and Features

Utilizing a sketch map provided by Sam Carpenter (Figure 5.1), a shoreline survey was conducted to locate landscape features and cultural structures (Figure 3.4). This involved pedestrian surveys, with crew walking at approximatly 30m spacing in search of cabin foundations, refuse middens and other cultural features.

Documentation of cabins and cabin foundations focused on recording size and layout, construction techniques, materials used in the structures, and scattered materials surrounding the structure. At selected cabins, 3D modelling was conducted using video footage and camera stills to create 360° views of the dilapidated cabins Video footage was analyzed and still frames were taken from the footage. Using Agisoft and Data D, photographs were aligned and the footage was rendered into models by

project archaeologist Zeb Kawei. In some cases, such as Appendix E, Plate E.13 & E. 14 (Cabin 3), the camera's wide angle lens created a curved distortion of the cabin's exterior and our modelling program was unable to correct for this. This can be compared to Figure 6.34 which shows the 3D model of Cabin 3 utilizing photographs from a DSLR camera.

The individual images were integrated to create a 3D model by photogrammetry. We elected to use individual photographs for modelling, rather than video footage as photographs were determined to be more accurate, lacking motion blur, and easier for the program to stitch together. Most cabins were also documented using a DJI drone to generate aerial photographs, which would be rendered into micro-relief topographical maps (Figure 6.7 & 6.12). Models from different photogrammetry sources can be viewed in Appendix E, Plate E.13 & E.14

3.2 Site EgJv-5 - Sam's Cabin

Following the identification of this historic cabin foundation, it was mapped and subjected to subsurface testing to confirm its historic identity. As sketch mapping coupled with UAV mapping progressed, metal detectors were utilized to locate nearby cultural features and metallic objects. A sweeping grid search was conducted around Sam's Cabin, with the locations of metallic responses recorded with hand-held GPS. Metal detector 'hits' (with responses ranging from 5-12 KHz) were investigated with small scale excavations (probes) down to the depth of the artifact. This probing did not usually exceed more than 10cm x 10cm, larger areas might be opened to expose larger artifacts or clusters of objects.

Systematic shovel testing at 5m intervals along a grid was also conducted at EgJv-5 (Sam's Cabin). This search grid was established 2m to the southeast of Sam's Cabin and spanned 100m to the north, 50m east and 50m west (Figure 5.4, Pg. 91). Minimal shovel tests were conducted to the south due to bedrock exposures that slope steeply down to the nearby shoreline. Test pits were dug (50cm by 50cm) until glacial till

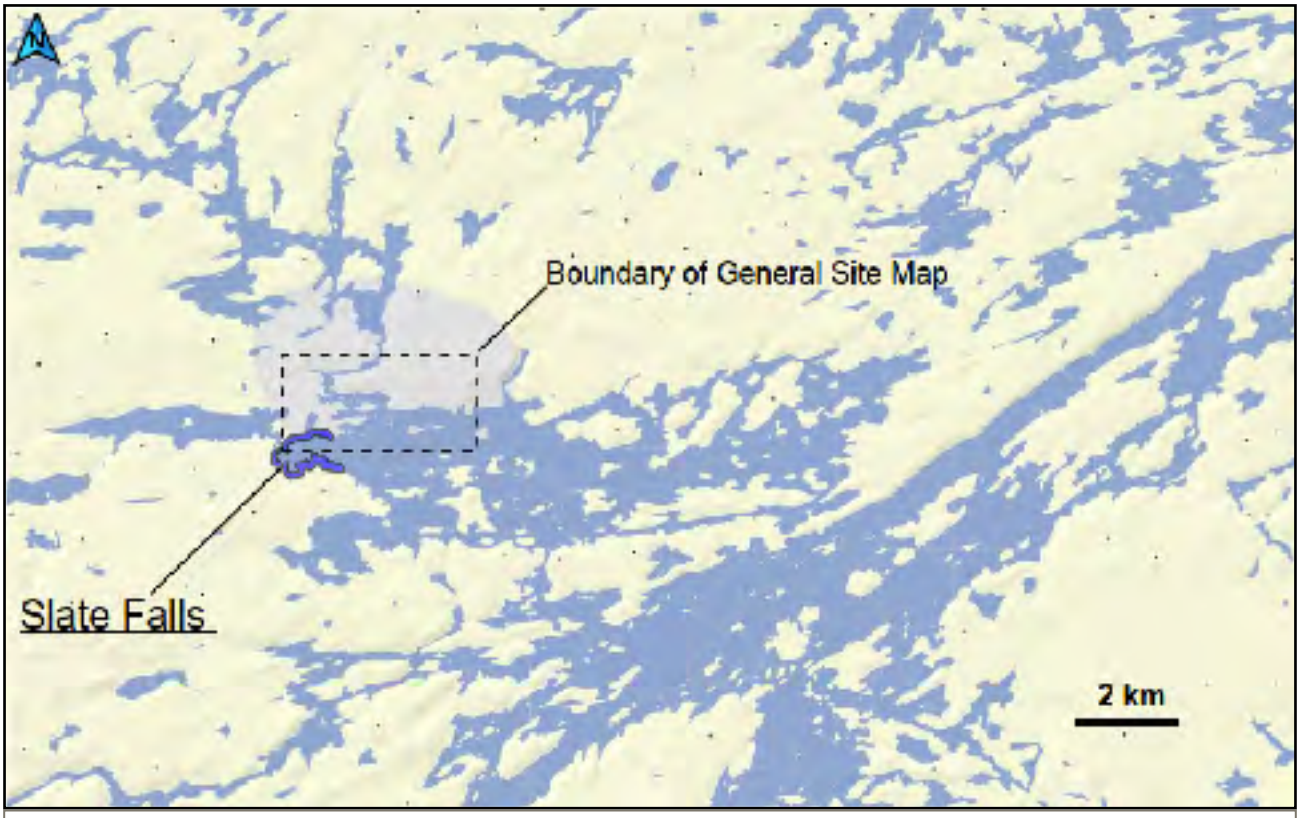


Figure 3.1, Slate Falls Overview Map, placed on North Bamaji Lake, General Site Map is Figure 3.2.

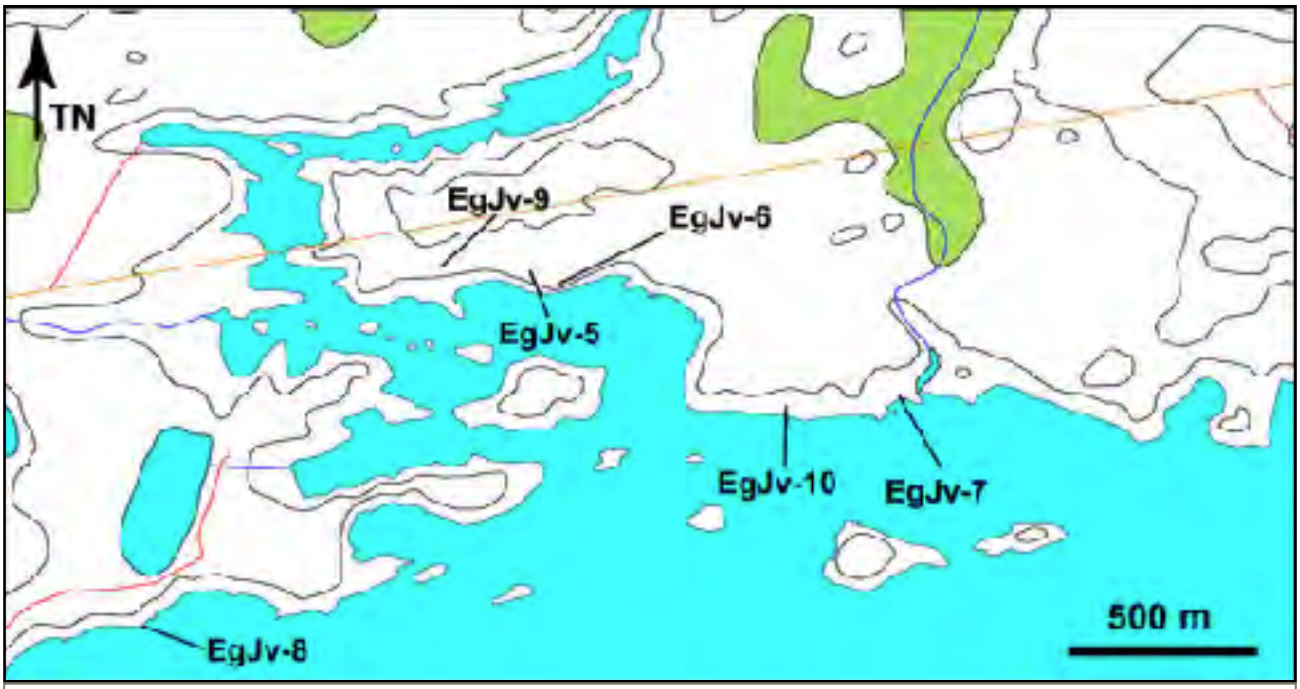


Figure 3.2, General Site Map of Slate Falls, indicating discovered archaeological sites of 2017-2018.

Figure 3.3, Approximate location of recorded cabins, many more remain undocumented.

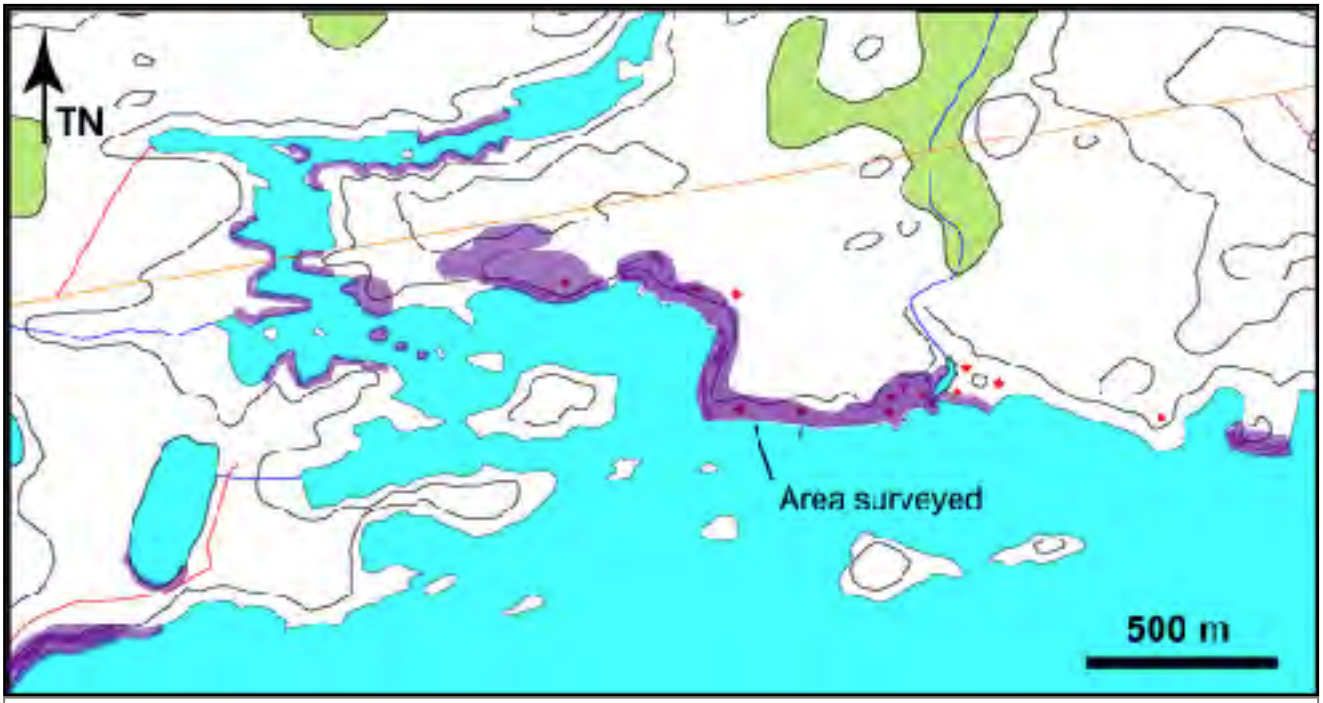


Figure 3.4, Approximate area surveyed during 2017 and 2018 archaeological investigation.

or bedrock was encountered. Excavated sediment was processed through ¼ inch screens, and all bone, lithic, metallic, and other cultural remains was collected.

Subsequently to the systematic shovel testing, an excavation unit was placed judgmentally over a large exposure of bones and debris. This was excavated in 10cm layers for 3 levels. Using trowels, the excavation unit conformed to the natural contours of the forest floor, in an effort to uncover living floors and potential paleosols. Artifacts were exposed and mapped *in situ* prior to extraction and bagging. The excavation floor was photographed in 5 cm intervals in order to document rapidly changing sediment lenses and layers (Plate C.2 Pg.245). Surface stripping of a historic midden was conducted to assess food and material consumption (Plate C.8 Pg.249). A large amount of ash was discovered and a sample was taken. The sample was processed in the lab through ¼ inch screens, ⅛ inch, 1/16 inch and 0.5mm screens. Cultural materials were separated and bagged based on individual classes and material types. Cultural features surrounding the cabin foundation were identified during the sweeping transect surveys. Soil core samples were taken in sections 10cm long by 5cm in diameter and were wrapped in aluminium foil and bagged.

3.3 Site EgJv-6 - Bonecrush

The metal detector survey conducted around Sam's Cabin led to the discovery of a Pre-contact site 50m east of the historic cabin foundation that exhibited Pre-contact affiliations. Strong metal detector responses led to the excavation of probe tests dug judgmentally in order to find and identify the metallic objects. On average, these probes were 10cm x 10cm. The most promising of these probes were also selectively shovel tested. They were excavated 40cm x 40cm until bedrock was reached or soils were determined sterile. Sediments were screened with 1/4 inch sieves.

The shovel testing at EgJv-6 yielded 7 positive shovel tests which were recorded using GPS and with a detailed site map (Figure 5.18). Artifacts collected in the field were bagged and tagged by shovel test. Among the recoveries were bullet fragments

and mushroomed bullets, leading to crime-scene analysis journals (D. Miller 2019, B. Sapp, 2020, and D. Scott 2017) being used to determine calibre, firing mechanism, and likely make of the rifle used at EgJv-6.

3.4 Site EgJv-7 - Mckenzie Beach, EgJv-8 - Emily's Site, EgJv-10 - Adz

Several surface scatters of artifacts were noted along the exposed shoreline of Lake Bamaji. Due to eroding cut-banks, erosional action, and a low water table, an increased visibility of sediment surfaces aided our search. A pedestrian survey with a 5m transect was conducted, and all surface finds were mapped with a GPS and then tagged and bagged.

3.5 Site Ejgv-9 - Pepsi & Flipflop

During the metal detector survey, a flat elevated terrace was observed west of the Sam's Cabin locality. This attractive locality was investigated with five judgmentally selected shovel test pits and one trench, 50cm x 50cm and 50cm x 100cm respectively. Excavated material was processed through a 1/4th inch screen. Recovered materials were bagged and tagged by unit, and soil profiles were checked for cultural features and paleosols.

3.6 Lab Processing and Analysis

At a Lakehead University Anthropology Department lab the collected artifacts were photographed, weighed, sorted, identified, and catalogued by type. In the ensuing identification and labelling, artifacts were electronically catalogued to facilitate eventual online viewing. Following Jean-Luc Pilon (1990), artifacts were sorted into different categories: natural (bone, wood, lithic), manufactured/imported materials (steel,

ceramics, lead), and reused/repurposed manufactured artifacts. Identifiable faunal remains collected were assigned to taxonomic category and bagged separately. Efforts to source the geological origin of the lithic materials indicated that most were likely of local derivation.

Artifact preparation prior to re-bagging largely consisted of washing and drying. Utilized flakes or stone tools were dry-brushed to allow for later residue analysis. Heavily rusted materials were subjected to electrolysis to remove rust and halt the artifact oxidation without damaging or altering the original surface. Due to time constraints only axes were subjected to electrolysis to search for potential unseen features or cartouché marks of the axe manufacturer (note Plate D.4 Pg.261).

Electrolysis was conducted with the following materials: 0.5 - 6.0 amp battery charger at 12 volts, 125ml of wash soda (sodium carbonate), 15L of warm water, 4 iron bolts, 10ft of copper residential wiring, 1 wooden dowel, 2 feet of nylon rope, and a 5 gallon bucket. Each artifact was wrapped in copper wire connected to the negative battery charger terminal, and suspended in the bucket filled with the sodium carbonate solution. Four iron bolts were wrapped in copper wiring and secured to the sides of the bucket using C-clamps. Once connected to the battery charger's positive terminal, the bolts act as sacrificial anodes. With the charger set at 0.5A., the experiment was monitored for signs of chemical reduction. Once the reducing process began the artifact would be left for up to 12 hours with occasional monitoring of its condition. Once red iron oxide (Fe_3O_4) was no longer visible on the artifact the process was halted and the artifact was scrubbed with hard plastic and brass bushes in order to remove black iron dioxide (FeO_2). After washing and drying, the implement was waxed in order to stop further corrosion while in storage. The artifact was then bagged and catalogued.

CH.4 Oral Histories of Slate Falls

Introduction

Over a seven year period Frederico Oliveira and his assistants collected oral histories from knowledge holders resident in Slate Falls and Sioux Lookout. This work is ongoing and has significantly aided in contextualizing the archaeological information presented in this thesis.

Further inquiries and interviews were conducted by myself so as to interpret findings and clarify some of the oral histories. The majority of these latter interviews were informal, and sought clarification of information in light of the archaeological data. Conversations were held with Sam Carpenter, one of his daughters Elsie Sakakeesic, and a grandson Delford Mitchell. Throughout this thesis individuals will be referenced by first name, personal communications (per. com.) and the year of the interview. For example Personal communication with Elsie Sakakeesic, 2021, will be referred to by (Elsie per. com. 2021).

4.1 Origins of Slate Falls

According to the oral histories of Slate Falls Elders primarily sourced from Sam Carpenter, during the mid to late 1800's a small group of Cree men from Fort Albany married Anishinaabeg women who were members of the Mishkeegogamang community (the people of Lake Saint Joseph). These families then settled in the interior headwaters of the Albany River system, giving rise to the Slate Falls community in an area already home to Ojibwe people such as the Loon family.

Oral testimony from Elsie Sakakeesic indicates that the flooding of Lake St. Joseph as a result of the Pickle Lake Dam inundated the community of Mishkegogamang (a community now relocated to New Osnaburgh) and forced a subsequent expansion of the Slate Falls community. As a type of economic refugee resulting from the flooding, some of the Ojibwe from Mishkeegogamang chose not to move to the government approved New Osnaburgh but to join what was likely their relatives or in-laws in Slate Falls. *“When it [Lake St.Joseph] flooded people were forced to find new areas, rather than moving to New Osnaburgh our family and some others moved out on the lake, staying at various places till they found their way out here and made this our home” (*Elsie, per. com. 2021*).* The ecological consequences of flooding also likely disrupted the earlier pattern of Slate Falls families visiting Lake St. Joseph in the summer.

Although a large portion of the historic roots of Slate Falls involve Cree-speakers, the current residents identify solely as Ojibwe, with English and Ojibwe being the languages of choice. The Slate Falls community is geographically linked to the mouth of the Cat River as it drains from Wesleyan Lake and into Bamaji Lake. While closely related to those of Mishkeegogamang (Osnaburgh House), when visiting Lake St. Joseph the people of Slate Falls chose separate areas for summer gatherings, fishing, winter trapping, and foraging. This allowed maintenance of social connections with Osnaburgh House without competing for resources with kinsmen more strongly connected to the Lake St. Joseph region. With the passing of summer, the Slate Falls families returned upriver to utilize the region surrounding Bamaji Lake.

Early Settlement

> Sam Carpenter offered the following story about the Cree men and their settlement in the headwaters of the Albany River system: *"They came from James Bay a long time ago, even before I was born. They were young, not married. They used to go to James Bay and work for the Hudson's Bay. They used to ride those big boats, leaving on the first of June and coming back four months after, leaving everything behind. When they left, it took them a month to come this way, and a month to come back. They stayed the winter over there. July, they stayed here and started off with three boats and they had to go to Osnaburgh. They used to do this trip every year . . ."* (Cited in Oliveira 2018 pg. 9).

This pattern of movement referenced by Sam was typical of fur-traders and the voyagers, traveling at first in canoes, then in wooden bateaux, or the 'big boats'. It is also possible that Sam is referencing York Boats, used to transport cargo inland along the major water transportation routes. After 1821, it became more common for Indigenous and mixed parentage men to find seasonal employment in transporting the furs and goods, assisting with navigation and translations or as short term seasonal labour for the HBC. Departure would start in the spring break-up and their return needed to be before the fall freeze-up. Traveling from James Bay, the trade routes could easily take them west as far as the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle Rivers. Paddling upriver and against the flow of the water, long portages overland were necessary to cross dangerous waters or over heights of land and into new drainage basins. Thousands of pounds of cargo would be shipped in; specialty foods, trading supplies, tobacco, gear and employees. These resupply treks also carried the previous winter's accumulation of furs downstream to the depots where they were repacked for shipment to Europe. A constant flow of goods and people followed the major river-ways to important trade locations at the heads of lakes and the convergences of rivers or trail crossings.

> "*They came from there to bring supplies for the Hudson Bay Store, and some of them decided to stay here . . . That was long time ago; even before I was born. My dad used to tell that story, and my grandmother. There were four Carpenter brothers, one Carpenter stopped here in Osnaburgh [my dad's dad] and two others kept going to Lac Seul. One brother kept going, but we never heard from him and he went to White Dog. And with the Wesleys was the same thing, Charlie's dad. There were lots of them, Robert, Thomas, Joseph, Stanley, Sam, Simon . . . They had their dad over there, Noah Wesley. They came at the same time with the Carpenters; all from James Bay. The Loons were already in this area. I got the story from my grandmother and my dad." (* Cited in Oliveira 2018, pg.10)

One of the first families to live semi-permanently at Slate Falls were the Loons, who were Ojibwe resident in Slate Falls before the Carpenters and Wesleys, who were of Cree/Ojibwe origin.

> "*James Bay… That's where the old people came from: Carpenters and Wesleys. That's what I was telling you in the beginning: they came from there to bring supplies for the Hudson Bay store, and some of them decided to stay here*" (Cited in Oliveira 2018 pg. 10).

Sam's stories illustrate the 19th Century use of the ancient waterways that bisect northwest Ontario, demonstrating the high mobility achieved via lake and river routes. At another time Sam described how travel to Lac Seul grew more frequent in more recent times, as a consequence of the reorientation of supply and communication networks after the development of the railway at the town of Hudson. The Carpenter family also maintained this mobile wide-ranging lifestyle through commercial fishing operations on Lake St. Joseph, with numerous cabin sites and fish camps scattered throughout the Cat River drainage basin.

4.2 Yearly Cycles 1840-1960's

Seasonal Movements

> *The Mishkeegogamang used to break the year into six seasons, rather than four: Dagwaagin (fall), Bitchibiboom (before freeze-up), Biboom (winter), Ziigwan (spring), Minookamin (before break-up), and Niibin (summer)* (Oliveira 2018 pg. 17, Heinrichs & Hiebert, 2003).

These periods were used by the families of Slate Falls and the surrounding area to inform their bi-annual journeys. This more finely spaced seasonal intervals allow the Mishkeegogamang to represent their understanding of the strategic seasonal changes that enabled movement throughout the year, define economically and socially important activities, and ensured safer and more fruitful ventures. These seasons were used to indicate when people should travel to gathering points to trade, fish, stock up, prepare for the winter, and to communicate and keep track of the movement patterns of game for when they split up into the familial hunting units.

These seasonal periods were also important in marking when not to move. The freeze up and break up seasons were particularly dangerous for movement, presenting challenges with waterway navigation and unpredictable ice. The Slate Falls families would make their summer trading and family gathering voyages in late spring, with an early fall return to trap in the winter, thereby avoiding travel in the dangerous break-up and freeze-up seasons.

Warm Weather Movement

One of the first indications of impending spring break up was the arrival of migratory waterfowl to places of open water at river outlets or below rapids. Hunters would start bringing home duck and goose meat, a welcomed luxury after a long winter season. The spring duck hunting season lasted for approximately three weeks (Oliveira 2018 pg. 23). This early sign of spring triggered another early spring chore involving construction of fish traps in the shallow channels of the Slate Falls rapids to catch whitefish and suckers (Oliveira 2018 pg. 22). Fish caught surplus to immediate need were smoked or dried and then stored for later use. These seasonal activities were a prelude for Slate Falls families about to undertake the beginning of their late spring journey.

Following the opening of the waterways, people travelled by canoe to Osnaburgh House. "*We gathered here in Slate Falls, and we would be here waiting [to travel] for the Treaty Party in Osnaburgh in the last week of June*" (Sam Carpenter in Oliveira 2018). The summer was a time for social gatherings, marriages, resupplying and relaxation. Once the summer activities were finished and people became homesick, residents of Slate Falls would begin their journey home. They used to make periodic stops along the way from Osnaburgh, following the west end of Lake St. Joseph, through the Cat River system, and finally returning to Bamaji Lake. Along the way people fished, hunted, and foraged berries and wild rice along the shorelines (Oliveira 2018 pg. 24).

Sam indicates that Slate Falls residents harvested wild rice as a food staple, but it is not clear where these ricing areas are located, nor how intensively these rice beds were maintained. Historically, rice grains would be packed into balls of mud and thrown from canoes at desirable camping locations during voyages around waterways, which would be harvested at a later date (Dr. Peter W. Fuller, per. com. 2016). This process created a safety network of food resources across their territory that made travel more comfortable and stocking supplies for winter easier and more plentiful.

> "*We used to travel to Osnaburgh to get the money – four dollars – and spend some time there too. It wasn't much, but it was worth it… Things were not expensive at that time, and we had a big family, so each one of us would get four dollars. We used to spend almost the whole summer at the Lake St. Joe. In the middle of August, we started to come back here. And spent the month of September starting to get ready for October . . . for the trapping season…That's what everybody does."* [Sam Carpenter].
>
> *"Before freeze-up, we stayed close to Slate Falls. Chopping wood, setting snares around the house or getting water. In a way, I miss that kind of life. I remember my dad and uncles spending the remaining weeks making sure that their toboggans, sleds, dog stuffs, trapping equipment, snowshoes and other gears were in good condition"* (Joe Carpenter cited in Federico Oliveira 2018 Pg. 19).

The annual summer trip to Osnaburgh largely stopped when the Indian Agent began to come to Slate Falls to disperse annuity payments. A precise date is not known but Elsie indicated the first visit was made by floatplane (air travel had a more widespread use in the Little North after 1940).

Materials

Traditional lifestyles required extensive ecological knowledge and required understandings of how to utilize locally available materials. Many of these locally available goods would have European manufactured counterparts, but the accessibility and maintained knowledge of the locally sourced materials kept the practise of utilizing these resources alive. Harvested goods would range from wood products (trees, bark, roots and boughs), through to local faunal materials such as leathers, furs, sinew, antler and bone refer to Plates B.1 to B.9. Birch bark was an important part of traditional lifestyles, it's accessibility and workability made it critical for use in the construction of canoes and wigwams refer to Plates B.6 & B.7. Birch bark would continue to be

employed throughout the 19th century and onwards in the making of boxes, and storage containers. Evidence of birch bark stripping can be seen near Sam's Cabin; a very old and long dead birch tree was the only indicator of bark-stripped trees located in the surveyed area.

Caribou and moose hides were processed and tanned to form an important source for clothing, footwear and other objects. Even after the ready availability of textile clothing and bedding, leather continued to be used almost solely to make mitts and moccasins. *"Smoking it gave it a certain smell, the factory ones didn't have that smell they looked the same but lacked the smell, they also didn't stretch"* (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Elsie commented that despite the ease of access and expediency of factory-made materials, Slate Falls community members continued to practice their traditional methods of crafting clothing because of it's significant quality advantage. Similar tanning processes can be seen in Plate B1. Rabbit fur is considered to be one of the warmest materials found in the area. Snares would be set and checked as a daily task. Elsie recalls that some old timers used to make entire blankets out of rabbit fur. Small sections would also be placed into mitts or mukluks to keep feet or hands warm.

Foods

"We would eat anything, but I never recalled lacking for something, for food that is" (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Fall and spring was the season for duck hunting, and winter was used for checking rabbit snares. Elsie discussed how her surviving eldest sister makes use of every part of the moose, even boiling the head and picking all the meat off. Moose would be, and still are hunted as opportunity presented itself, but most intensively during the winter months while trapping in remote areas.

> *"Moose bones were never thrown away, they would be cut in half with a bit of meat left on them, and then boil the crap out of them! We would eat the marrow with the meat. Moose nose: cut off, burn*

to remove hairs, scrape the blackened bits off, cut it up, and then boil for hours; good stuff!" (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

Beaver was another common food source, and the tail and hind feet were described as being very fatty. *"Never ate too much of it though I had gotten used to different foods, you get a taste difference".* Elsie mentions that residential school had changed her palate and that many of the traditional foods such as beaver tail were less appealing to her after becoming accustomed to European foods.

Despite minimal variance in the diet compared to modern standards a wide range of cooking methods kept their meals from becoming repetitive. Elsie conveyed a wide variety of food processing techniques utilized in Old Slate Falls. Duck and beaver would be smoked, as well as whitefish and suckers. Pemmican would be made out of the moose meat, by cutting it into thin strips and smoked until dry and then pounding it into fine flakes. Moose lard or grease was saved from boiled bones and put in a large tub to be saved and eaten with pemmican (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

Many types of fish were harvested while commercial fishing, community members relayed that certain species were sought after for southern markets while others had little value. Walleye, trout, sturgeon, and occasionally whitefish were most likely to be sold when caught. Walleye still are considered to be the best eating, but each fish had its place as table fare. Sucker fish, northern pike, muskellunge, and perch are some of the other fish species which would be frequently eaten but not always profitable for commercial fishing.

The traditional food sources in Slate Falls were often discussed as being plentiful, nutritious and healthy. *"But I never recalled lacking for something but then again I was away at school"* (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Elsie talks about how her sisters used to go out with different families while going out on traplines and how sometimes things got tough and they had nothing to eat but bannock and tea. In face of forced acculturation experienced by many Slate Falls residents through residential schools,

continuation of many of the practises began to wane. With the increase in floatplanes and other shipping methods into the area preferences for foods shifted as well. The first store in Slate Falls opened with the arrival of Hughie Mackenzie.

> *"Mackenzie the old Irish man, he married a Native woman. He started buying furs, he started a store too, dry goods and camp food that what they mainly sold… Everyone mainly ate wild game though, he passed away suddenly in 1968. Another store never panned out, after that people started flying their goods in from Sioux lookout; then they started to buy different things but mostly flour, [condensed] milk and bread, people still mainly lived off moose; we had no freezers.* (Elsie, per. com. 2021)

Figure 4.1, Young family members prepare for a meal, Slate Falls. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

Medicines

During the early years of Slate Falls, modern medicine and healthcare were unavailable at Slate Falls due to its remote location and limited transportation options. Instead, the community relied on their traditional medicines which were frequently found in the barks roots and leaves of local plants. Knowledge of the traditional medicines were discussed with Delford and Elsie but although they were once readily used and understood they are now shrouded in mystery. In speaking with the community members, Delford remembers his grandmother putting a brown poultice made from bark on open cuts and wounds to help sooth pain and decrease infection. Perhaps this was willow bark, but other herbs could have been used. Many other herbs and medicines were collected from the land and prepared for use, informed by generations of knowledge passed down by family elders. One example is Rat Root, a herb which can be found along the Cat River, commonly used by Natives to help cure lung infections, colds, and many other illnesses.

Conversations with Elsie indicated that Tuberculosis was a common infection during the early 20th century. Members of the community who contracted it would be transported by canoe or floatplane and then by rail to treatment centres in Thunder Bay. She remembers traveling with her family to Lac Seul in order to visit her grandfather, who had Tuberculosis and was brought by rail to Sioux Lookout from treatment in Thunder Bay so he could visit his family.

Figure 4.2 , Slate Falls couple early-mid 1900's. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

Commercial Fishing & Tourism

"This is what made us different [from the other communities]. We grew up with Mackenzie he started the tourist operation. He had 5-6 cabins and Americans would fly in to go fishing" (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

Slate Falls saw a steady stream of American tourists coming to the village during the summer months, typically 6 or 8 people. Sport fishing, via fly-in outfitters camps although popular, was not the main form of fishing activity that occurred on the bodies of water surrounding Slate Falls.

Commercial fishing was conducted by the people of Slate Falls on Lake St Joseph, Lake Bamaji and north on the Cat River. *"They might go from Lake St. Joseph to north on the Cat River to go fishing, but not all the families did that, some of them just stayed right here"* (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

"Fish would be sent off on airplane, that's how it all started, goods would come in and fish would get sent out. It started as a proposition that was made by one pilot who came in, he started working closely with the community and even named his airway after us. Slate Falls Airway that's how it got its name" (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Ice would be made or cut and stockpiled under sawdust, fish was layered with ice shavings for its journey back. Planes came in daily and fish were loaded up whole, gutted not filleted.

When Mackenzie died his wife sold the tourist operation to a man planning large expansion of the business. A result from the expanded tourist operation came at the cost of the commercial fishing business on Lake Bamaji. The Ministry of Natural Resources shut down commercial fishing on the lake so that the fish population could survive increased fishing pressure from the tourists. *"Before the dam my family was already into the commercial fishing and making money that way. Now there's no more commercial fishing on Bamaji"* (Elsie per. com. 2021). The Carpenters commercial fishing licence was moved to Lake St. Joseph where the family still operates a small business, where they harvest hundreds of pounds to sell with each outing.

Hunting and Trapping

Traditionally in late fall, the families of Slate Falls would break off and travel to their separate winter trapping grounds. The Loon and Wesley families wintered at Kezik Lake, north of Fry Lake, while the Carpenters remained on North Bamaji Lake and ran traplines to the East (Oliveira, 2018 pg.20 & 25, Elsie, per. com. 2021).

> "*The Carpenter family used at least three different areas within their total trapping territory. They had three trapping cabins located in each one of these areas that were used at different times during the trapping season. The Blueberry Patch cabin was used until Christmas. From February until May they went to Broken Mouth and Fry Lake, where they had two other cabins. The Loons and Wesleys would come to Slate Falls one week before Christmas and stayed until February (before the Carpenters left for Broken Mouth). Billy said that they still trapped, but only around the houses in Slate Falls, and preferred not to go far away because it was too cold. During this time, they used to eat beaver, moose meat, and sometimes caribou. They used to set fishing nets when the ice was thick enough, just like they do in the winter these days*" (Frederico Oliveira, 2018 pg.21).

Social Organization and Village Life

Interfamilial social organization was partially responsible for determining the movements and living habits of the Slate Falls residents and the Mishkeegogamang people of Lake St. Joseph as a whole. This organization was divided into two types of social relationships; the hunting group and domestic extended families. Domestic extended families were made up of multiple generations of related individuals living in the same area, such as the Carpenter family. These domestic extended family groups were themselves part of a larger hunting group consisting of multiple families living nearby, as indicated with the relationships between the Wesley, Loon, and Carpenter

families at Slate Falls (Oliveira 2018 pg.13). The Mishkeegogamang people are split into two distinct hunting groups around Lake St. Joseph.

These defined social groupings help to distribute available trapping and fishing grounds, and ensure the stability of game populations and harvested resources. The Slate Falls hunting group claim the western half of the lake, and the Mishkeegogamang and Osnaburgh House use the eastern half (Oliveira 2018 pg.16). This allows both hunting groups fair access to the resources they need to survive without competition between groups, thereby improving the likelihood of collective success and thus survival.

Eventually, each family would come to build their own cabins in the Slate Falls area, to which they would frequently return, even during the winter months. Families would set out before freeze up in a canoe or boat to their winter harvest areas, but would periodically return by snowshoe to the central hamlet for supplies and to bring in their furs. Elsie indicated that a lot of walking was very common, and Delford expressed amazement about the distances many of the families routinely travelled over their lifetimes. Elders always told him about how they would walk and snowshoe to get everywhere. His grandpa's generation used to go to check their traps out on Lake St. Joseph, "*They would walk 25 km one way, just to provide"* (Delford per. com. 2021).

Figure 4.3, Sam Carpenter with his family, note the handmade mukluks and mitts. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

The introduction of boarding schools threatened to upset these long-standing practices. *“They used to just grab the kids and make off with them, but then later on they only began to take the kids if their parents signed for them to go”* (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Elsie expressed concern over stories of kids going to boarding school in Sioux Lookout and never returning home. As a consequence of this it was not uncommon for children to avoid going to school, thereby enabling them to learn the traditional life skills needed to help support the family as they became adults. Children who went to Residential School were often unable to develop these skills due to their extended absences.

4.3 Life 1960’s Onwards

When day schooling became available in Slate Falls, a gradual shift towards sedentarisim began. People began staying year-round in cabins, heading out to different locations during the summer. Yet it was common for many of the older folks who still found employment as trappers to continue their yearly subsistence cycles. The extensive knowledge of the older generations which were required for trapping and hunting were sometimes passed on within extended families. For example Elsie Sakakeesic explains that her husband Fred was taught strategic country skills by Sam Carpenter, so that Sam’s boys could take their own desired life paths. General elements of traditional knowledge still held its place though, like interpreting signs in nature, or how to read the land and the waterways were widely known and are still passed down.

Harvested Foods

During the 60’s and 70’s much of what was eaten was still harvested from the land. This involved a range of seasonally scheduled foraging activities, including blueberry picking, fishing, and hunting. Staples such as dry goods (tea, flour, sugar, lard, etc) were bought from the Mackenzie store operation until Mackenzie’s death, and were subsequently ordered in from southern stores, and transported by floatplane. During the summer months family groups would gather for fishing. Delford recounts memories of fish camp on Lake St. Joseph, and how on one point of the lake there were 7 or 8 cabins to accommodate the Carpenters as they met at fish camp, “That’s a lot of fish”. He recalls how fast his aunts cut fish, “They use these round tipped knives and do it so fast I could hardly keep up”. He added that on Canada Day the family would have filleting contests, and his aunties would do 30 fish to his dozen. He talked about fish cheek meals and how they would have big bags of fish cheeks, “It's a lot like chicken nuggets” (Delford per. com. 2021) Moose remained a highly valued food source in the community. Delford mentions how when they killed a moose, the first meal would consist of fresh meat cut into long strips, wrapped around a stick and cooked over the fire, to be eaten with salt and water.

Figure 4.4 , Elsie, Johnny, and Irene, fillet Walleye. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

Music and Entertainment

Music heard in Slate Falls would have first been played by hand; later AM Radio or record players would liven still nights. *“Music was always around in the community, there were a lot of old-style record players, then a lot of people had radios, mostly AM, AM/FM came a bit later. We used to tune into old hockey games, CKY Winnipeg, I used to know names like George Forman and Mohammad Ali from them being mentioned on the radio”* (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Elsie indicated new technology such as 8-tracks were introduced from the Americans but most people still maintained their use of LP and 45 records. Following the trend of new technology the first TV and generator came in the early 80’s from Elsie who bought a generator from the HBC store in Cat Lake to play a VCR and satellite TV.

Games and sports were a popular way for community members to pass time and to build skills. Delford mentioned that Fred Sakakeesic had built a cabin to act as a pool hall, and it became quite popular. Fred had installed good quality pool tables and they frequently had pool tournaments. Delford reminisced that many of the community members would try their luck at the game when traveling to the southern communities and often would do well.

For younger kids baseball and volleyball were very popular during the summer months, Delford indicated they often took place every evening. The coming of winter shifted sports and recreation towards the ice. Delford recounts Elsie and Fred had a full-sized hockey rink with boards in front of their cabin, and there was always a spot cleared on the lake for skating. He mentioned that Slate Falls still has a strong hockey community which does well in the local tournaments. For a slower more family orientated time on the ice, ice-fishing was and still is recounted by many community members to be a popular pastime; often serving as an opportunity to spend time with friends and family rather than merely offering an important food source.

During time not spent on sports, the focus of children was placed on creativity and inspecting the world around them. Delford recounted making airplanes and boats out of wood and tin to play with, and making hooks from metal scraps for fishing for minnows. *“Nowadays kids have so much stuff, once a week my grandma used to hand out candy to all the kids to us that was a big thing”* (Delford, per. com. 2021).

Village Life

For over a century the Village of Slate Falls had been building a tightly-knit community. “Simpler times, to me it was my paradise growing up” (Delford, per. com. 2021). Delfords father was a pilot so he grew up in Sioux Lookout, and experienced both worlds. This involved coming to Slate Falls during the summers and Christmas. *“It was more close knit but a much smaller community back then, 60-80 people even though there’s more people now there’s less participation within the community, before everyone had to help each other, the whole community would get together to lend a hand”* (Delford, per. com. 2021).

The Mennonite Mission offered a church service every Sunday, with bible studies classes afterwards. *“The church was a real part of the community, youth and ministers would come from down south and had activities, usually this happened once a week, all the kids in the village participated* (Delford, per. com. 2021).

Figure 4.5 , Sam Carpenter and Mennonite child. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

Discussions with older community members revealed that many new people had come to start their lives in the area, such as the Irish-man Mackenzie, who ran an outfitters cabin and charter service, and multiple Americans who sought to escape Vietnam war time conscriptions. The yearly influx of Americans tourist fishermen created a different type of community more open to outsiders, something that is still a proud accomplishment noted by community members. To this day, tourism remains an important part of the local economy. Delford indicated that tourism benefitted the residents of Slate Falls, as it gave them access to planes and thus a wider network for trade. “*Big groups of Americans would come up,*

this is what makes us more open to non status folks. When you grow up with non status folks all the time it just seems normal" (Elsie, per. com. 2021). She reminisced about how they used to go and visit with employees of the mining companies, they would travel to go have tea and visit with the often youthful mining population.

Delford talks about how, during the winter months, inside his grandfather's cabin there was always a fire going. His grandfather would chop wood and the kids would bring it inside. He remembers having baths behind the stove. It started out with small tubs, but later they got a bigger tubs, *"Which now that I think about it, it was pretty awkward as the whole family was just hanging out in the same room"* (due to the small cabin size). To draw the bath, wash, cook or clean water would need to be fetched from the lake, Delford looked forward to getting water, as it meant he could use the snow machine. They would haul it from the middle of the lake, using an axe and icepick to chip a hole through the ice. Older hand tools were still employed in this task as a chainsaw would leak oil into the water and it would become unpalatable.

Figure 4.6, Community members help to unload a floatplane. Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection.

> *“A project came though the one time, the government came through to update and insulate the cabins, installing windows and exterior sheeting with plywood and insulation inside the cabins. Although a few years later the community got hooked up to the hydro-line and all the wiring in the houses had to go overtop the plywood and insulation. At that point there was still no plumbing”* (Delford, per. com. 2021).

Much of the Village of Slate Falls was connected by a number of footpaths, snow-machine trails and a boardwalk made of logs and 4x4 runners topped with 2x4’s. Delford and Elsie reminisce on childhood memories of riding bikes on the village boardwalk, which connected a large majority of the community that was dispersed along the lakeshore. The community was largely separated into family groups areas around the lake; the Loons to the west, and the Carpenters and Buntings to the east. After attaining reserve status and moving to the other side of the lake, the families locations became mixed rather than grouped. *“Thats when things started changing as the new housing began being built”* (Delford, per. com. 2021).

Delford talked about how as a boy he watched a neighbour build a cabin. During the first year the logs would be gathered and prepped and allowed to season (dry) for one year. The next year you would be able to begin building. It took a couple months finish, and was a laborious task “*if you wanted something you had to work for it”* (Delford, per. com. 2021).

> *“My older sisters built a cabin from the ground up; now no one will build anything for themselves, I wonder how it would be if residential schools never did what they did”* (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

1985 - Reserve Status Recognized

Once reserve status was attained The Band Office was constructed for running band administration. *“They didn’t have much. It was mostly to organize things for making the move to the other side”* (Elsie, per. com. 2021). Modernization and shifts in lifestyle became to be more widespread, forced to adapt many of the members began to take on new roles and skills. In 1988 everything related to The Band Office was manual bookkeeping, they eventually found an accountant who introduced a generator and a computer for accounting. He taught Elsie how to use the computer as she was already proficient with the keyboard from typewriters *“…and now they have online shopping, which is coming in handy during the pandemic”* (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

As a result of moving to the south side of the lake and an all weather access road being constructed, Elsie expressed concern by the influx of highly processed foods being introduced into the community. *“Lots of bad nutrition, fast food and microwaved stuff, probably the last 10 years its gotten bad, people bring it back from heading into town, it's a step away from those traditional diets”* (Elsie, per. com. 2021)

> *“There’s not as much hunting for subsistence these days, but there’s always meat; its gets shared with the community. Some people still trap and hunt and make a living in that style* (Delford per. com. 2021).

Alcohol and drug consumption are issues of concern for some who fear that they will harm the progress of the community youth. Elders in the community have also expressed growing worries about an increased dependency on government money. “Before people used to maintain their independence, but now some young people have a hard time providing for themselves” (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

Community members also expressed concern that the maintenance of traditional life-ways and culture struggled when impacted by situations created through English based education and entertainment. *“Everything is in English, it shouldn’t be, but its*

hard to keep kids speaking Ojibway when the TVs are in English. It needs to start at home otherwise these things will never succeed. This is the last generation to pass on the language" (before and while residential schools were in operation) (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

"South of here they practise the old ways more", Delford expressed a sense of sadness at the fact there is little of the traditional culture remaining in Slate Falls. (per. com. 2021) He felt that learning about it or teaching it could foster a sense of identity. He expressed interest in educating the youth and community of traditional Ojibwe practises, not to adopt these traditions but simply to know about them. *"My own family is trying to keep a traditional lifestyle alive but it is up to the young people, if they want to live up here…but it's a struggle"* (Elsie, per. com. 2021).

> *"Theres programs in the community to teach kids about game, hunting and trapping, theres community campsites to teach 'old style living' and how it used to be back in the day. Now we have numerous boats for being able to head out on the lake for traditional teaching."* The last two years he's noticed a lot more activity on the water, more boats and motors (Delford per. com. 2021).

The move to the south side of the lake began in 1992. Many of the older community members regret moving to the south side, although it was done to gain access to amenities such as an air strip, an improved nursing station, a band office, and water and sewage treatment facilities. Discussion with members of the Slate Falls community revealed that most people felt village life on the north side of the lake was simpler, and more wholesome. They remember better, and happier lives with less garbage and complexity before the introduction of improved transportation and internet.

CH.5 Results; Conventional Archaeological Sites

This chapter presents the results of the archaeological investigation of material culture observed at Old Slate Falls. The following sites are assigned site name and a Borden site designation as assigned by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Ontario.

5.1 Previous Archaeological Work In EgJv (The Greater Bamaji Area)

The study area is located in Borden Block EgJv. Two archaeological sites were previously recorded in the area during the development of the Slate Falls airport in 1994. These consist of EgJv-3 and EgJv-4 (EgJv-1 & 2 have no site record/are errors). EgJv-3 is represented by the recovery of a single biface of archaic origins found in the garden of John DeBoer, the school principal. The site is located in the eastern boundaries of the Old Slate Falls Village, no locational data was provided by the Ontario government so as to preserve site integrity.

EgJv-4 (Bamaji Lake Site) is located 5.2 km south-southeast from the centre of the Old Slate Falls Village. EgJv-4 consists of Post-contact & Pre-contact surface finds located at a fishing resort on Lake Bamaji owned by Knobby Clark. It is represented by a significant amount of fire cracked rocks and other flakes. Collected artifacts include: a corner-notch projectile point, two modified end scrapers, one modified bone fragment, a brass scrap fragment, and chert debitage. The extent of the site is unknown, no locational data was provided by the Ontario government so as to preserve site integrity.

5.2 Archaeological Sites of 2017 - 2018

Five Pre-contact archaeological sites were recorded during the summers of 2017 and 2018. Most coincide with Post-contact occupations, indicated mixed component assemblages with repeated occupation. Pre-contact surface finds were readily seen along beach edges during low water levels. EgJv-5, EgJv-6 and EgJv-9 coincide with Post-contact habitation sites reported by Sam Carpenter as seen in his hand-sketched map of the Old Slate Falls Village in Figure 5.1.

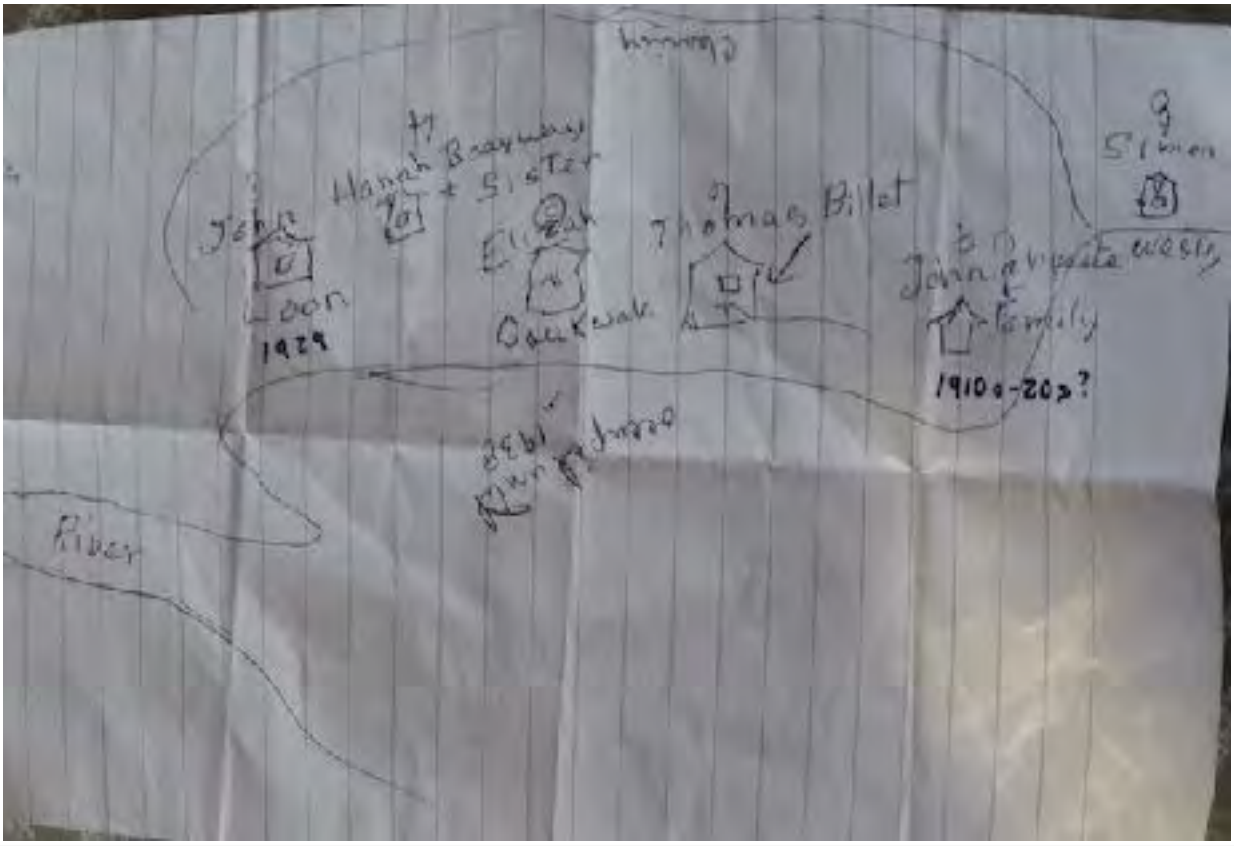


Figure 5.1, Sam's hand drawn map, refer to Area I pg.136 for documented sample of Village.

5.3 Site EgJv-5 - Sam’s Cabin

EgJv-5 (Sam’s Cabin) is located on an elevated terrace overlooking North Bamaji Lake, with the site EgJv-6 located immediately to the east (Figure 5.2). To the immediate west of the terrace is a low swampy area with a large number of beaver felled trees (Figure 5.4). The locality is well-drained and mantled with mixed deciduous and conifer forest alongside dogwood, bearberry, wild rose, caribou lichen, club moss, blueberry, grasses, willow, and pin cherry. Visibility across the site is relatively poor due to saplings and small trees emerging amongst a forest floor scattered with fallen poplar trees. The site is undisturbed by forestry or mining, and soil exposure is minimal, with creeping underbrush and fescues covering silty sand. Soils in the site are relatively mottled for the first 10cm. The soil disturbance is a result of the banking of sand presumed from borrow pits, and possible cold storage or potato pits scattered throughout the site alongside numerous unidentifiable cultural depressions.

EgJv-5 was given the site name ‘Sam’s Cabin’ due to its close proximity to locations that Sam Carpenter identified in a sketch map of his childhood home (refer to Figure 5.1). Whether or not this is actually the site of Sam's cabin remains unverified. The cabin walls are defined by a low ridge forming a rough square 5m x 5m. A gap in the ridge is noted in the southeast corner that is interpreted to be the entry point (Figure 5.14, 6.7). This ridge is likely from insulating sand and sawdust banked against the outside cabin walls. Varying from 10cm to 50cm in height, this bank is now the only surface indicator of the cabin's existence. The site was located in 2017 via pedestrian survey and was cleared to allow drone imaging and photogrammetry. Later, a wide variety of historic materials were recovered from this locality.

To verify the nature of the potential structure in 2017, one test pit and one trench were excavated within the cabin and across one section of the ridge. The test pit is located in the south-western portion of the cabin and the trench bisects the wall in the northwestern corner. These excavations provide a view of the living floor and wall. The trench soil profile (Plate C.5 Pg.247) indicate that during the cultural occupation, sediment was dug from a nearby barrow pit and deposited on top of the original living surface. The redeposited soils are seen in the profile as a raised berm of mottled sand and shattered ungulate bones. Evidence of the decomposed cabin material can be seen in the sidewall of our trench. Additionally, this revealed the first indications of Pre-contact occupation seen as quartzite flakes recovered 20cm below surface. The test pit recovered sections of plastic, possible shale flakes, and a feature indicative of heated or burnt dirt. It is likely that an open fire pit was used in the structure in the early years before a transition to wood-stoves.

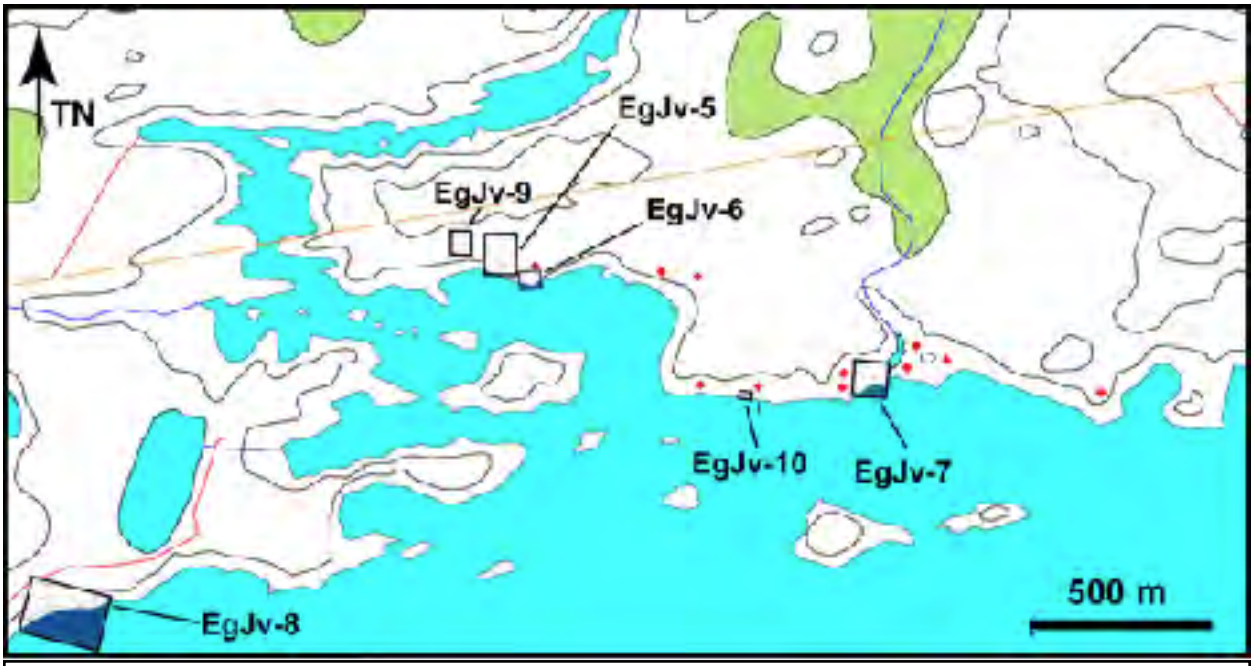


Figure 5.2, Discovered archaeological sites in Slate Falls with individual site maps overlaid (accessed in the following chapter with associated site numbers), red dots indicate clusters of cabin structures.

Once Pre-contact and early 20th century occupations were documented in 2017, we determined to return and archaeologically explore the immediate area. In 2018 a grid was established across the site with 500N 500E sitting 1m to the South of the SE corner of Sam's cabin. 10 Shovel tests were conducted in 2018 along grid lines radiating out from the cabin to determine the extent of artifact scatters and the groupings of material (Figure 5.4). This made for a site total of 11 test-pits and one trench. FCR, flakes, bone and Post-contact materials were widely scattered throughout the site. The material assemblage of Pre-contact populations in the site is dominated by quartzite and shale debitage.

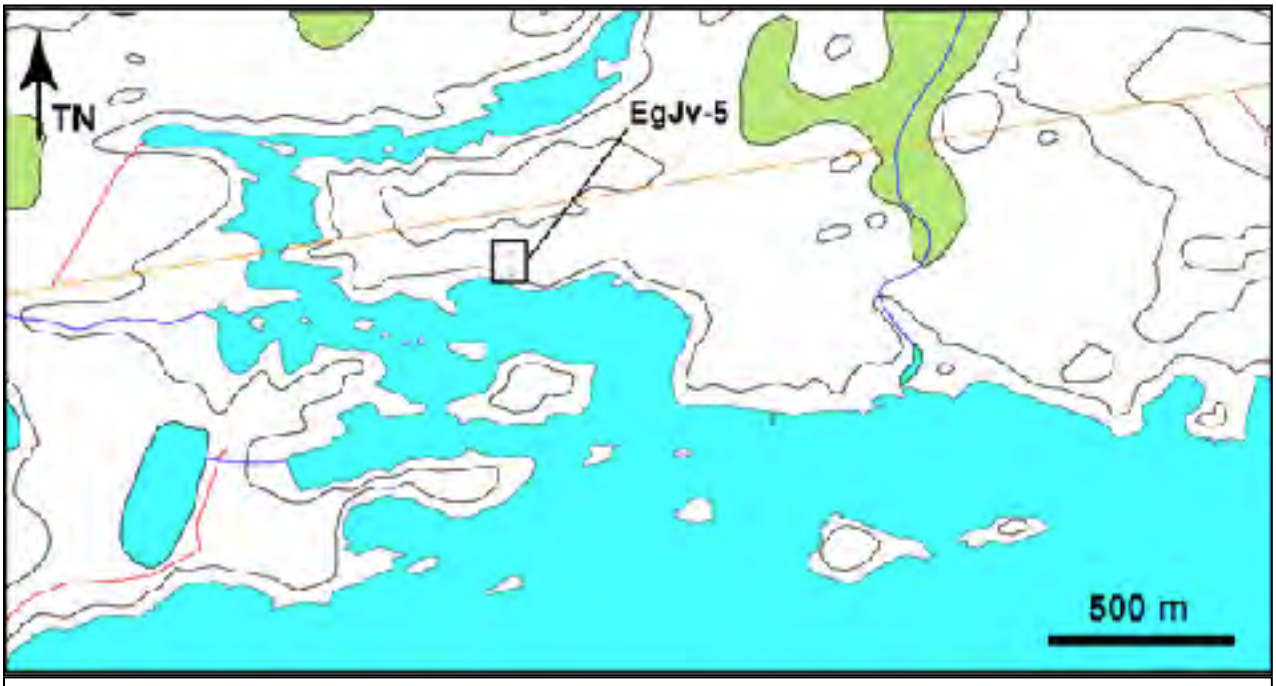


Figure 5.3, Location of Sams Cabin/EgJv-5.

Archaeological investigations of EgJv-5 revealed a total of:

- 177 Pre-contact Artifacts
- 174 Post-contact artifacts
- 182 Faunal Artifacts (of which 155 were identifiable bones)

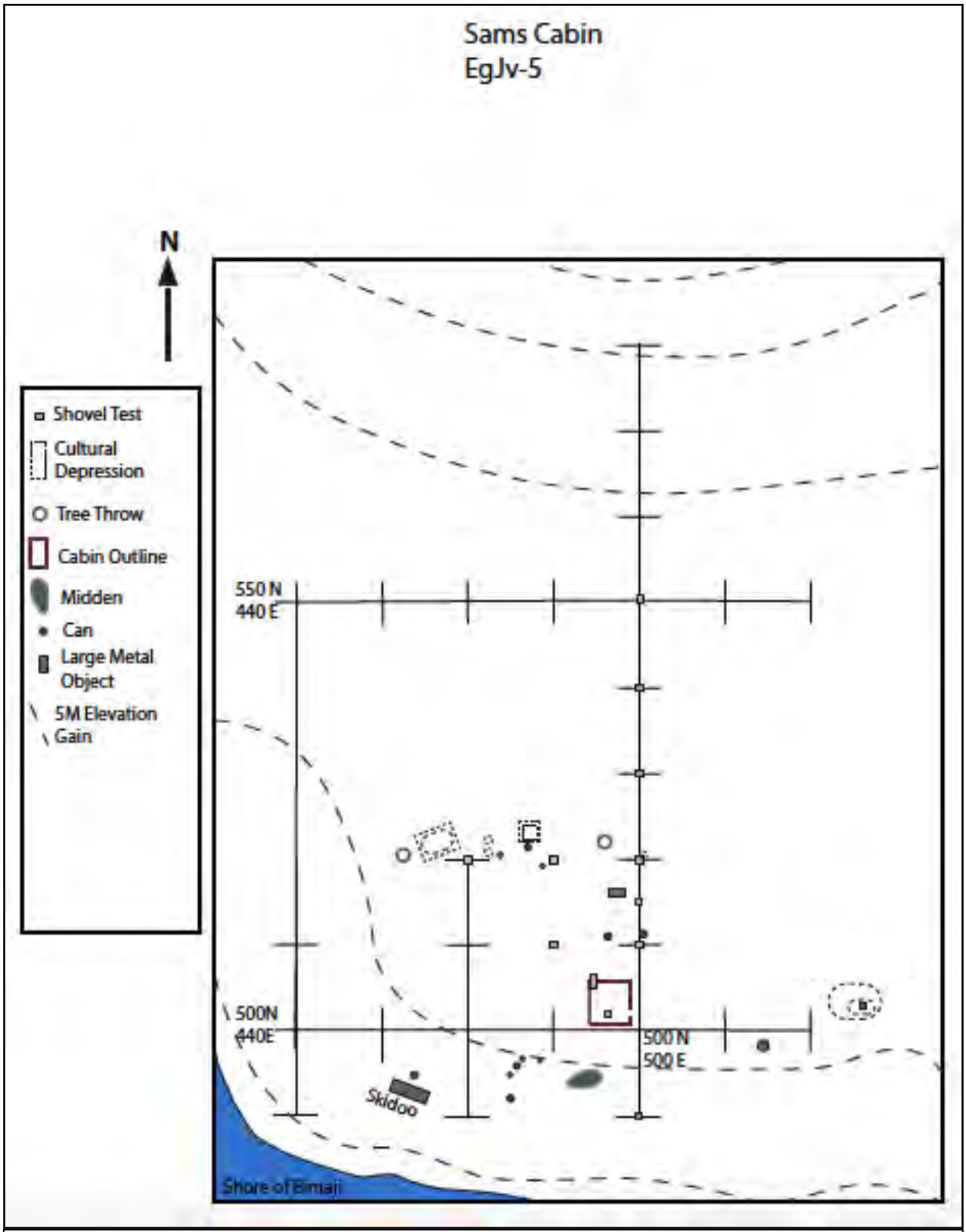


Figure 5.4, Sams Cabin/EgJv-5 site overview.

In order to recover additional information, a sweeping metal detector survey was conducted to assess the nature and extent of historic metallic materials and their pattern around and within the cabin foundation. Teams of two covered an area of 300m^2 with metal detector sweeps approximately 5m apart following parallel tracks and documented the location of metallic unconformities using a handheld GPS. Metallic hits were selectively chosen and investigated by localized probing, revealing that many were wire nails. However, a significant number of metal anomalies revealed unique, datable artifacts alongside Pre-contact artifacts disturbed by the Post-contact occupation, bioturbation or cryoturbation.

Multiple historic features were located around the cabin (Figure 5.4). To the west lies a shallow potential barrow pit where soil was removed for the mounding of cabin walls. Middens are widely scattered around the cabin locality with the trend increasing downslope towards the shoreline. Depressions and indentations litter the living floor behind the cabin to the north. One large square depression, likely the basement of an ice house or pantry, resides to the immediate north of Sam’s Cabin. An ovoid depression is located 30 meters to the east of the cabin, and may represent a storage pit.

Further south along the water's edge, a large quantity of bottles and glassware were recovered, which if associated to the activity at Sams Cabin, further expands understandings of what goods were imported and important at the time. Medicine and alcohol bottles dominate the glassware assemblage. The bottles date 1890 to the Modern Era, which is loosely defined by the presence of suction marks on the base of the bottle (indicating wholly semi to fully automated bottle manufacturing (O. Jones et al, 1988)). It's possible that bottles saw continued reuse as containers would likely be used until they no longer would have function.

5.3.a Excavation Xu510-498

Located at grid coordinates 510 N 498 E (Figure 5.6), this 1 by 1 m excavation is approximately five meters to the north of Sams Cabin. A large accumulation of bones and metallic wood stove legs prompted the excavation. Leaf litter along with forest floor materials were swept off the unit as a precursor to removing sediment in five centimetre intervals. Once below the leaf litter and loam a large rock was exposed. Brief inspection of the cobble indicated battering, suggesting it was used as an anvil. A scatter of decomposed wood aligns directly with the pile of wood-stove legs. Many split ungulate leg bones lie scattered in the southwest corner.

Figure 5.6, Excavation Unit 510N-498E, trowel indicates north.

This unit was excavated through three levels to a maximum depth of 15cm, with artifact distributions illustrated in Plate C.1 & C.2 of Appendix C, Pg. 244 & 245. Note the relative lack of artifact clustering in the SE and NW corners. A square charcoal-filled depression in the NW quadrant could have a utilitarian purpose but its function is unknown. As well, a small pit exists to the SE with unknown use.

Figure 5.5, Multiple bone beamers, recovered from XU 510N 498E.

5.3.b Surface Stripping 396N 395E

Excavation of a midden feature located south of Sam's Cabin (Plate C.8, Pg. 249) revealed a large amount of bone, calcined bone, and historic-period manufactured materials (iron scraps, tin cans, glass fragments). The midden was discovered through the use of metal detection in the 2017 field season and was surface stripped in 2018. The midden is located on a sloping section of bedrock that undulates downslope towards the lakeshore.

The feature offers insight into food choice at the time of cabin occupation. The feature recoveries are dominated by organics; primarily bone and ash, with a majority of the identifiable faunal assemblage deriving from moose and hare. Intermingled with the faunal materials, a wide variety of historic materials were found in the midden, including canned food containers, cutlery, and china tableware. The glass recovered in the midden indicated a longer date range for the use of the midden than was first thought.

Sediment samples were collected and micro-screened to look for smaller materials that were not observed in the field. Examination of a hammerstone found intermixed with cans in the surface stripping revealed pecking indicative of a multiple use lifespan. This could have likely been used for the same purpose many times, hundreds if not thousands of years after its initial use. One section of micro-shatter from Gunflint Formation Taconite (common in the Thunder Bay area) was discovered in a 0.5mm micro-screen (Figure 5.10). As well a hammer stone found intermixed with cans in the surface stripping and was pecked on opposing sides. This these Pre-contact material bolsters evidence for prolonged use of the site area, but also create difficulties in determining Pre-contact deposits from Post-contact deposits.

Figure 5.7 Moose maxilla recovered from S.S 396N 395E.

5.3.c Recovered Bones

Ungulate and hare bones account for the primary faunal food sources found. Under-representation of fish, small mammals and birds is likely due to weathering processes, and the use of 1/4 inch screens creating sample bias. Many small and calcined bone fragments were recovered, indicating extensive grease production (bone smashing) as well as the disposal of bone and food waste into a hearth fire or a burning midden. Bone tool use is well represented in the site, with multiple bone beamers and bone scraping tools found. Such bone tools likely were used to process hides and to strip furs. File marks were noted on a section of rib which could have been made into a bone knife. Their manufacturing and use would have been conducted near Excavation Unit 510N-498E which was interpreted as an expedient workshop.

Cut marks observed on bone provided ample evidence of steel tools. Some easily identifiable steel cut marks include the deep sharp-edged cuts (or chop marks resulting in bone fractures) common to axes (Figure 5.8), and the flat lines and serrations associated with steel saws, or in one case steel files (Figure 5.16). Saw marks on bone were often noted to be associated with ungulate skulls. Sawed and split skulls might indicate the harvesting of brains for fat rendering or for brain tanning of hides; a common and traditional practice still used to this day.

Figure 5.8, Bone showing evidence of axe butcher marks.

Figure 5.9, Caribou bone tool, hide scraper.

Table 5.1, EgJv-5, Faunal Recoveries

Species	Count	Weight
Bone fragments	106	127g
Calcined bone	358	38.8g
Caribou	6	433g
Charred bone fragments	2	7.1g
Deer	1	1.4g
Duck	5	1.7g
Goose	1	3.5g
Hare	29	49.4g
Large ungulate	12	450.7g
Large mammal	18	202.5g
Loon	2	7.8g
Lynx	4	23g
Martin	1	0.1g
Mammal	11	255.6g
Moose	47	5.03kg
Pike	1	6g
Small mammal	4	1g
Turtle	5	0.7g
Ungulate	9	201g
Woodchuck	1	1g

Table 5.2 MNI

Species	Minimum Number of Individuals
Caribou	1
CF. Martin	1
Deer	1
Duck	1
Ermine	1
Fish	1
Fox	1
Hare	3
Moose	1
Clamshell	1

Table 5.3 EgJv-5 Lithics

Material Type	Frequency	Weight (g)
Quartzite	83	348.7
Quartz	5	10.62
Sandstone	11	3.8
Shale	30	427.8
Slate	2	54.5
Siltstone	5	8.71
Chalcedony	1	0.7
Argilite	3	6.5
Chert	6	2.8
Taconite	1	0.1
Glass Flake	1	0.1

5.3.d Lithic Materials

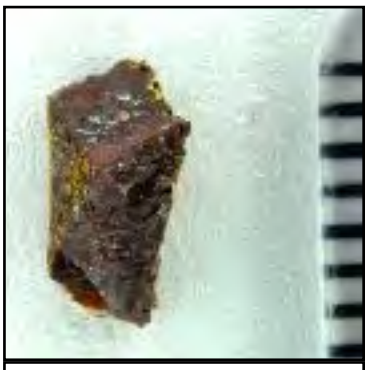


Figure 5.10, Taconite micro-flake.

Locally sourced lithic materials dominate the Pre-contact artifact assemblage. Quartzite and shale account for three-quarters of lithic remains recovered. Argillite, another locally sourced material, is seen in surrounding rock outcroppings and fragments of worked material are scattered throughout the site. Hudson Bay Lowland Cherts had been noted in local glacial tills. Multiple kinds of materials including cherts, chalcedony, quartz, argillite and agate can be found in glacial tills deposited in the immediate area. Artifacts made of locally available materials are frequently expedient or large. Hammer stones and anvils were made of quartzite. Recovered chittos were made of shale and slate.

Recovered exotic lithic material is seen in the form of one micro-flake of taconite from the Gunflint Formation of Thunder Bay area (Figure 5.10). This particular material is not typically found this far north of its source but has been observed in the Lac Seul. A single glass flake was also recovered near Sam's cabin. Although there is a high probability for its accidental creation, glass tools recovered within a 2 km distance suggest intentional creation is a possibility. The flake found matches that of a thinning flake or retouch flake from a tool.

Figure 5.11, EgJv-5 Percentage of Lithics By Weight

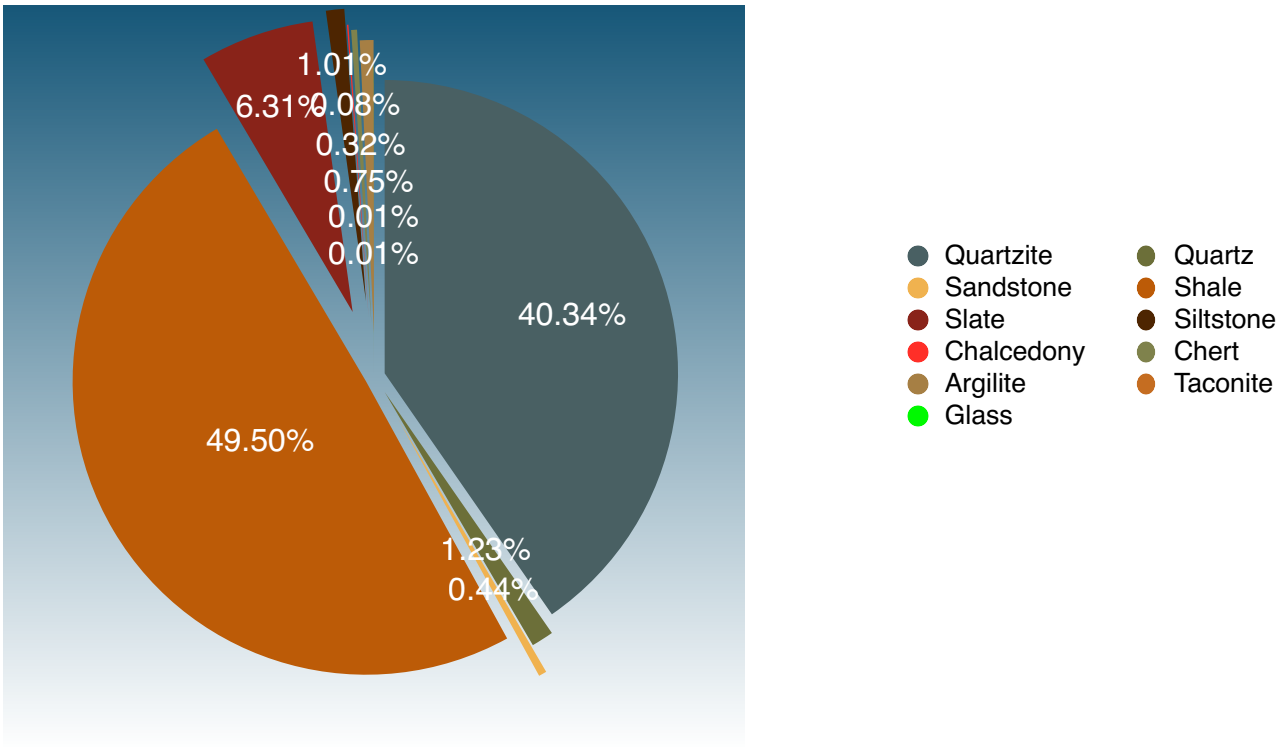
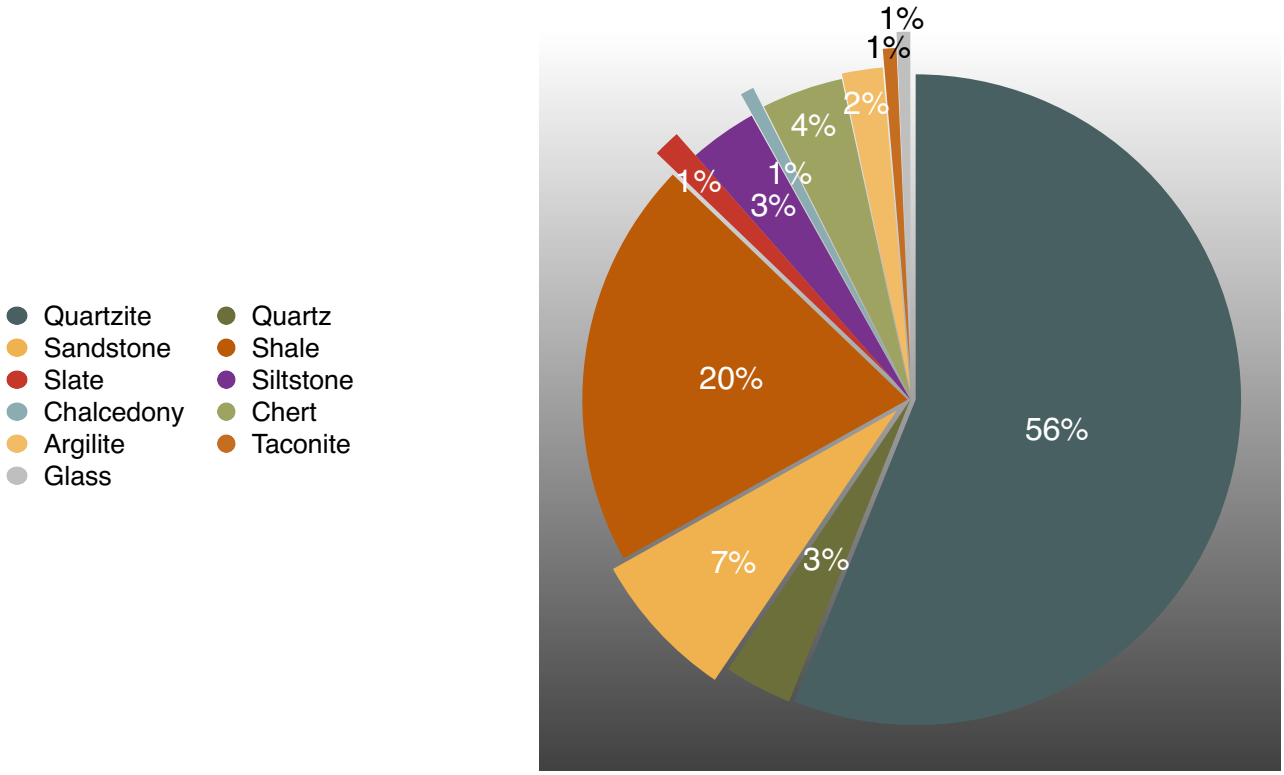


Figure 5.12, EgJv-5 Percentage of Lithics by Number



5.3.e Post-Contact Materials

Post-contact materials recovered from EgJv-5 are summarized below, and suggests habitation from the mid 1800's ending in the mid 1900's. This comparatively long time span likely reflects repeated occupation culminating in the cabin, and follows an ongoing use of imported goods, many of which have shorter use life and are more temporally diagnostic (such as cans and Ferric container ware). The use of metal detection was an integral part of studying EgJv-5. Metallic hits were recorded, mapped, and selectively probed. The distribution of these 'strikes' is illustrated in Figure 5.14. Nails were the most common material found, and most frequent of those were wire drawn nails. In descending order of frequency were; roofing tacks for sheet metal, tarpaper, shingles, and tacking nails. Dating pre-1900's, a cut iron spike (1810-1900) (T. Visser 2000) was uncovered near Sam's Cabin. Predating that, two handmade tacks for cabinetmaking or upholstery provide the earliest date for recovered nails from the mid 1600's to early 1800's (T. Wells 1998).

Frequently located in the same probes with nails were sections of broken glass deriving from windows, liniment bottles, face creams, alcohol bottles and ferric containers. Multiple types of glass seed beads manufactured in the late 1800's were recovered (many of these seed bead types are still being sold to this day). A pile of bottles was located on the shores of Bamaji Lake near to Sam's Cabin, and dated to the mid 1930's. Window glass provided dateable seriation as the thickness of window glass has close chronological time associated with its manufacturing methods (Weiland, Jonathan 2009).

Table 5.4 Window Glass

Location (Sam's Cabin)	Thickness of Glass	Relative Age
LUBC-Prb35	2.3mm	1845-1885
LUBC-Prb9	2.7mm	1945-1915
LubC-Prb8	1.7mm thick	1840-1855
LUBC prb49	1.7 &2.8mm	1840-1855 & 1900-1915
TP-510N500E	3.98mm	> 1845

Figure 5.13, Hand-forged tacks.

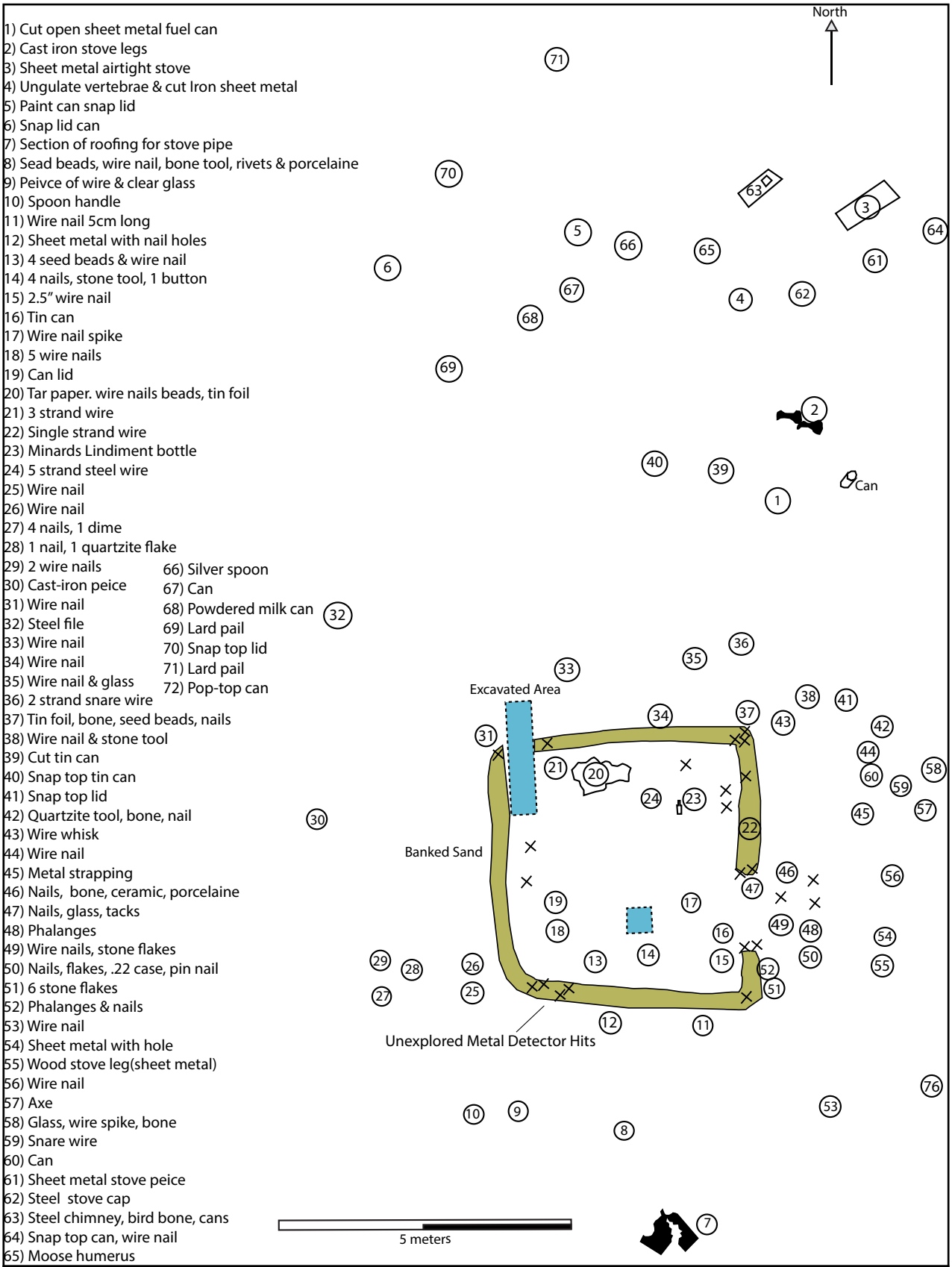


Figure 5.14, Map of metallic recoveries from probing of Sam's cabin.

Evidence of metal scraps and sections of wood stoves were recovered both around and within the cabin structure. This also included three sections of re-purposed ferric sheet metal with holes cut to receive a stove pipe; a diagram of how this stove may have functioned can be seen in Figure 5.15. This sheet metal modification suggests the creation of heat-proof spacers to hold the stove pipe away from flammable roofing materials. Recovered ferric cans were predominantly condensed milk cans, lard buckets, and oil cans, but baking soda container lids are also a large contributor to the assemblage (Table 5.5).

Ferric container ware (cans) documented in EgJv-5, were widely scattered across the site, one small midden was located to the south of Sams Cabin. Of the documented cans in EgJv-5 approximately 1/3rd of documented container ware was modified. Modifications included, strainers, stove pipe fittings, handmade buckets, and numerous other miscellaneous modifications for undiagnosed functions or activities. Unidentifiable scraps of and ferric sheet metal were found commonly throughout the midden and were as well scattered throughput the site, further adding to the trend of container-ware modification. Cans had a wide range of dating, many have poor diagnostics dating between the late 19th century into the late 20th century. Diagnostic indicators could largely only be determined by manufacturing methods and closure types. When trade marks or labels were still present, higher degree of accuracy was made in determining manufactured timespans refer to Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Ferric Containers EgJv-5

Type	Diagnostic Element(s)	Approx. Date Range	Suggested Use
Sugar Refining Co. LTD can	Snap-top (paint) can, labelling	1906-2008	Food/syrup
Lard pail	Friction fit lid, locking seam	1850's+	Food/fats
Vacuum Oil Can	Manufactures mark	1869-1931	Petrochemical
Vacuum Oil can handle	Manufactures mark	1869-1931	Petrochemical
Small can	Vertically flanged lips, hole and cap closure	1885 - 1940	Food
Kraft Dinner jar	Labelling	1940's	Food, sauce
Magic Baking Powder tin	Labelling	1897-1960	Food, baking
Modified lard pail	Double side seams	1859+	Food/fats
Modified can	Hole in cap	1823-1940	Food/wet foods
Small can	Tin on steel	1937+	Unknown
Square can	Interior friction fit lid	1850+	Unknown
Modified oil can	Manufactures mark	1869-1931	Petrochemical
Modified bucket	Rolled sheet metal	1857+	Unknown
Narrow can	Friction fit lid, tin on steel	1937+	Food
Condensed milk	Vent hole	1900-1980	Food/dairy
Bucket	Double side seams	1890+	Unknown
Modified kerosene can	Kerosene can	1860+	Petrochemical
Modified container	Double side seams	1890+	Unknown
Modified oil can	Rolled sheet metal	1857+	Petrochemical
Lard pail	Friction fit lid, locking seam	1850's+	Food/fats
Lard pail	Friction fit lid, locking seam	1850's+	Food/fats
Lard pail section	Rolled sheet metal	1857+	Food/fats

Summary of Post-contact Materials

All relevant recovered or archaeological materials were logged in the excavation of site EgJv-5. In total, 403 samples, listed below, were inputted into the catalogue.

Glass Entries: Seed beads, bottle wedge stopper, Ponds Facial Cream jar, liniment bottles, alcohol bottles, oil lamp fragments, mirror fragments and windowpane fragments.

Metal Entries: Wire drawn carpentry nails (63, typically 2-3 inches in length), roofing nails (next most frequent), finishing nails (least frequent), one Type 'B' cut spike, hand forged tacks for cabinet making, steel files, 1" screws (possibly used for hafting tools like shovels or picks), door plate for door knob and lock, iron buckle for dog sled harness, latches, iron lids (for paint/snap top cans), various buttons, brass rivet for clothing. Refer to Table 5.5 for description of ferric container ware.

Bone Entries: Multiple bone sections and identifiable bone with Post-contact markings such as saws and steel files are discussed in Faunal section 5.3.c, One bone button was recovered.

Ceramic Entries: Ceramic shards, refined white earthenware from PAREE Johnson Brothers, (c.a. 1891-1915), stoneware fragments.

Other: Charred lamp filaments, possible rubber section with metallic rivets, leather fragments.

P**lastics**; PVC fragments, plastic flakes, one plastic button, one plastic gasket seal, tarpaper, and small sections of cotton clothing noted but not collected.

5.3.f Site Summary and Interpretation

EgJv-5 (Sam's Cabin) is an old cabin foundation located upon a sprawling Pre-contact archaeological site. The site was excavated in order to examine the cultural artifacts and subsistence remains of the early years of semi-permanent occupation (1890's-1910). Recovered artifacts are primarily historic: iron scraps, glass, wire, tar-paper, bone, and textiles. Much of the recovered faunal material is crushed, burnt or has evidence of steel cut marks. Historic materials found indicate the majority of the cabin's occupation dates range from the 1870's to 1950's, with the highest concentration of goods indicating dates from the 1920's to the 1930's.

Limited effort was made to recover prehistoric materials since the primary focus of the research is related to more recent occupations (Post-contact, Transitional). This limits the ability to interpret Pre-contact materials consistent with the discontinuous regional occupation over much of the past 7000 years. No patterns for the Pre-contact recoveries have been noted other than a general trend of an increased count of artifacts closer to the shore of Bamaji Lake.

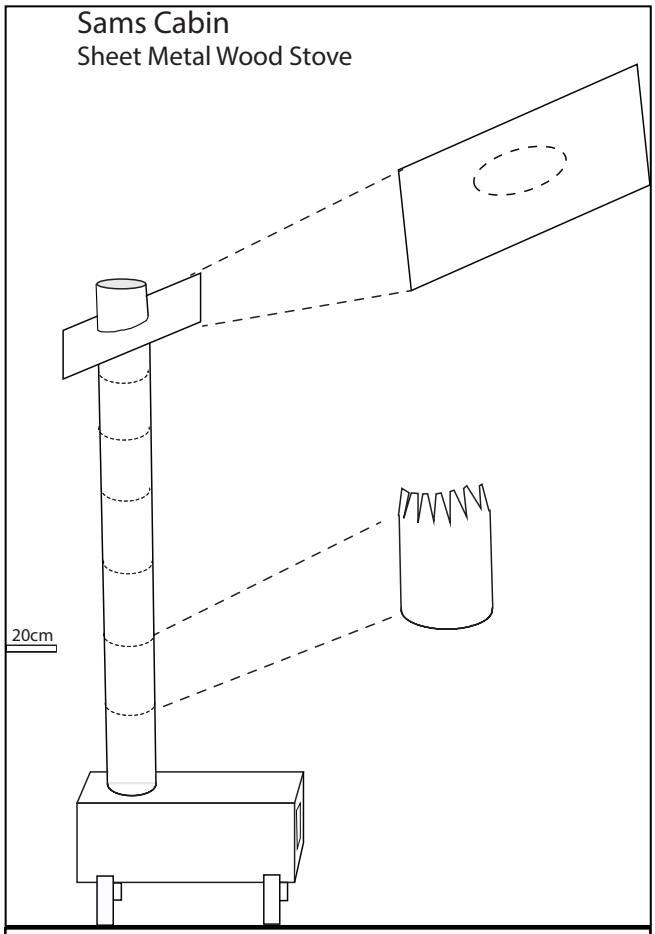


Figure 5.15, Interpretation of recovered artifact assemblage, recreating used handmade woodstoves.

EgJv-5 demonstrates severe mixing of prehistoric and historic technology, suggesting the site has likely been used for many millennia. Nearby EgJv-8 dates to the Laurel Period (2,000 BP). Frequent artifacts located in the

surrounding area are found to be from the Archaic Period (Egjv-3, & EgJv-7/Emily's site).

Figure 5.16, Bone-knife made by sharpening a rib with a steel file.

Materials recovered from the site suggest patterns that reflect traditional practises using a mix of Indigenous and imported technology, and careful curation and re-use of valued raw materials. Perpetuation of traditional activities is exemplified by the stone anvil found at Excavation Unit 510N 498E that is thought to have been used to smash fresh bones for grease and marrow extraction. Similar stone artifacts from Pre-contact occupations were noted in sites EgJv-9 and EgJv-6, in which flat-topped rocks were shaped and utilized as food processors. Oral tradition links the use of flat rocks to anvils on which bones could be placed on and struck with an axe to crack and shatter them for grease and marrow rendering (Sam Carpenter 2018). I speculate that these stone anvils such as the one in Figure 5.6 would have acted as a multi-functioning platform also to be used for the modification of bone, organics, and purchased or found sheet metal containers. Intermixed with Pre-contact materials a hammer stone was recovered during surface stripping Midden 496N 495E.

Crushing and boiling of bone was used to render fats from fresh bone. Frying and cooking over the fire was conveyed by Sam to be an important method of cooking. Grease would be collected as it dripped off a roasting carcass. Calcined bones, and bone fragments are typical archaeological indications of such activities and are widespread throughout the site.

Wire products such as barbed wire, baling wire, and wire rope became widespread after the development of the Bessemer steel manufacturing process in 1876. Recovered metallic artifacts provided clues to subsistence, economic standing, goods purchasing, and the Post-contact occupation of the site. The presence of canned foods and luxury goods begin to shed light on a way of living that slowly transforms from the traditional ways of life over time, perhaps due reduced transportation efforts. Dogsled, the railway, cat-trains (bulldozer drawn sleigh convoys), and eventually ice roads were all similar in the fact that they allowed for faster shipping and the ability to bring goods farther into Northwestern Ontario. Liniment bottles and facial creme jars have a strong standing in the material assemblage, showing that purchasing ability is still limited and needs to have significant importance in order to be acquired.

Results from the surface stripping of the midden and analysis of the ferric cans suggest repeated or successive occupation of the locality. The cut ferric and metal cans, and fuel containers are indicative of modification for reuse as parts of stove piping. Many of the cans have been cut so as to funnel down and friction fit into another pipe (Figure 5.15). Kerosene and oil cans were frequently cut and reformed for new purposes (refer to plate C.6 Pg. 248).

Frequently, recovered bones do not correlate to subsistence hunting; one must also consider refuse from trapping. Sam relays that mink, martin, and lynx were frequently not eaten. These animals would be typically trapped during the winter months, for higher quality furs. Recovered fur-bearing animal remains such as lynx and martin are considered the result of trapping, potentially indicating a winter presence in the Sam's Cabin area; a hypothesis subsequently confirmed by Elsie Sakakeesic (refer to Chapter 7.5 page 205).

An interesting feature was uncovered in Excavation Unit 510N 498E, which included an stone anvil, multiple bone beamers and bone tools along with the evidence of a decomposed log. Interpretations of the excavation indicate that this is a workshop, and most likely a hide beaming work area where hair was removed from half-processed hides. The scatter of decomposed wood material is interpreted to be a log propped against the anvil and pinned between the metal wood stove legs. A similar set up to the proposed interpretation can be viewed in Plate B.2 where a Ojibwe woman uses a bone beamer against a log propped against a tree Ca.1919. A pelt would be placed atop the log and bone beamers would be used to strip the hair. Pecking and striations on the stone anvil indicate sharpening, pounding, grinding and tool manufacturing. This assessment is further bolstered by scatters of bone flakes seen around the anvil (refer to Figure 5.6). Oral testimony from Sam Carpenter indicated that flat stones would be used as an anvil to break bones (per. com. 2018). As well, the production of pemmican was described by Elsie Sakakeesic; this was done by pounding dried meat on flat stone surfaces with the butt of an axe or a hammer (per. com. 2021). Multiple small depressions were found around the stone anvil, but their function is unknown.

5.4 Site EgJv - 6 (Bonecrush)

Figure 5.17, View of Bonecrush by boat.

EgJv-6 is located in a clearing upon an elevated bedrock-controlled terrace overlooking the north shore of Lake Bamaji. The site is 50m east of Sams Cabin and approximately half a kilometre west of the main Old Slate Falls settlement (Figure 5.2). It is well drained, with the immediate surrounding ecology consisting of birch and poplar forest alongside dogwood, bearberry, wild rose, caribou lichen, club moss, blueberry, grasses, willow, and pin cherry. Soil exposure is minimal but occasional sections of bedrock are visible. A cut bank created by wave erosion has formed along the south edge of the site, exposing occasional FCR and historic implements such as files and axe heads, particularly during times of low water.

The bedrock formed a step-like pattern giving the site a multi-tiered surface. The clearing extends approximately 10m back from the shoreline and gains 5m elevation from the waters edge to the uppermost tier. The clearing stretches along the shoreline approximately 100m. Visibility across the site is quite good, and the entirety of the bedrock clearing can be seen from any point. The site offers a good vantage point to view the lake and the surrounding shores. The landscape surrounding Bonecrush was subjected to minor ground disturbance in the form of cabin foundations and pit toilets displacing soil near foundations. No foundations were noted in EgJv-6. Selective logging and First Nations recreational use created modest subsurface impact to EgJv-6.

Figure 5.18, Position of EgJv-06 with site map insert.

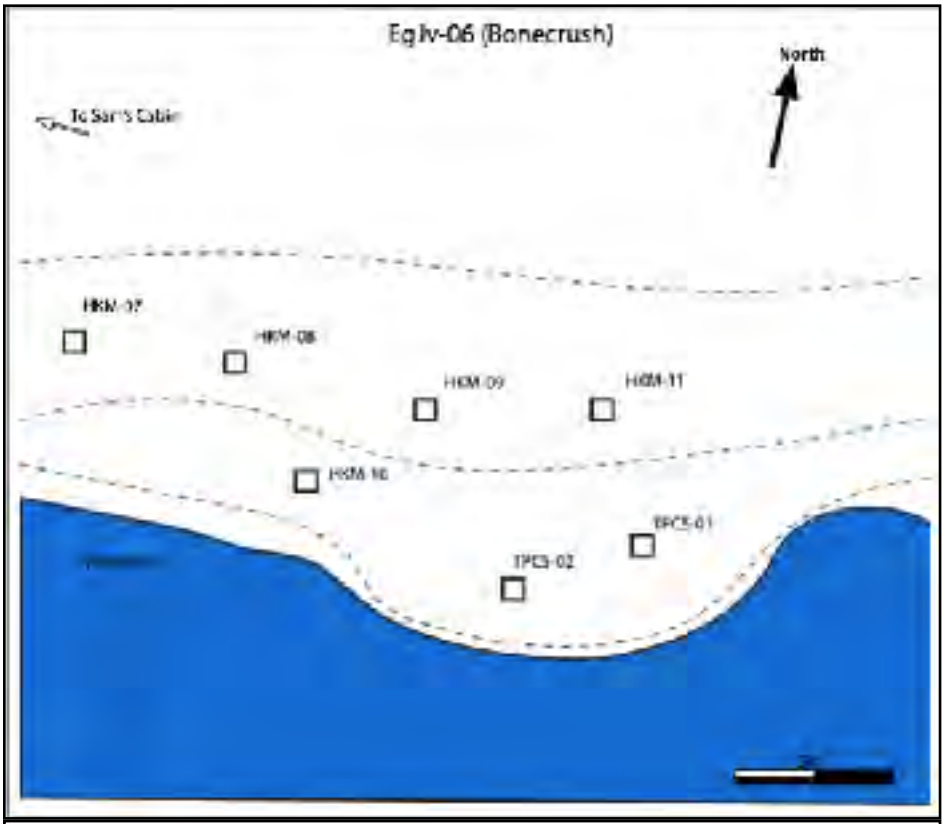


Figure 5.19, Sketch map of Site EgJv-6.

Following the identification of a historic cabin foundation in EgJv-5, remote sensing equipment was utilized to locate nearby cultural features and metallic objects. Metal detector hits ranging from 5-12 KHz were selectively probed. Probes that uncovered historic or archaeological materials were marked to be further test excavated. Subsequently, selective shovel testing would be conducted in the bedrock clearing 50m east of the historic cabin foundation of Sams Cabin.

Surveying began with twelve judgementally selected shovel tests throughout the clearing on August 23rd, 2017 in sunny, clear conditions. Of the tests, seven were positive and determined the extent of Bonecrush to be approximately 30m NW to SE and 10m SW to NE. The site likely extends for 20 more meters further eastwards along the bedrock clearing beyond the tested area. Time constraints prevented further exploration of this site. Shovel tests revealed that much of the site is widely dispersed camp debris indicative of extensive food processing and butchering. Figure 5.22 displays ratios of recovered bone in the artifact assemblage. The majority of collected materials consist of burnt bone fragments and identifiable bones. Six modified bone fragments have been collected and were deemed possible bone tools based on the markings present (Table 5.7). There were 122 total catalogue entries for materials processed on the site; 70 bone entries (many having multiple fragments), 4 glass entries, 1 refined white earthenware entry, and 19 metal entries.

5.4.a Recovered Lithic Materials

Both historic and prehistoric materials are closely associated with each other; resulting in a poor stratigraphic differentiation between the two. A wide variety of artifacts from Bonecrush indicate multiple occupations; Pre-contact, Post-contact and Modern. In total 30 Pre-contact artifacts were collected.

FCR was noted in every positive shovel test but was selectively collected and catalogued. Plates Appendix C, Pg. 251 reveal Pre-contact artifacts recovered from EgJv-6. Few identifiable artifacts were excavated. They are described in the proceeding sentences. A shale stone tool was located on top of bedrock and was determined to be a chitto; a cutting or smashing instrument associated with butchering or hide processing (Figure 5.21). What is interpreted as a dolomite mortar fragment was found intermixed with historic material and shattered bone. A recovered spalled section of fine grained granite was located with burnt and calcined bone and is likely an expedient tool. Recovered lithic material in EgJv-6 is dominated by shale and quartzite, followed by dolomite, argillite quartz and Hudson Bay Lowland Chert (Figure 5.24).

Scatters of stone flakes occur deeper into the light tan sands. High weight and frequency of shale and quartzite are indicators of expedient tool use and primary manufacturing using localized materials.

Figure 5.20, Artifact # TPCS01-08, section of possible mortar stone fragment. Refer to Artifact # Tr.CS,ZK01-01 (Figure 5.36) for similar artifact seen in nearby site EgJv-9.

Figure 5.21, Large cutting tool (shale Chitto).

Table 5.5, EgJv-6 Lithic Materials

Material	Frequency	Weight (g)
Shale Primary	1	99.1
Shale Secondary	7	17.8
Shale Teritiary	6	4
Shale Shatter	2	35.5
Shale Utilized	1	36
Shale Tool	1	734
Quartzite Utilized	1	7
Quartzite Teritiary	2	1.6
Quartzite Shatter	1	5.8
HBLC Secondary	1	0.4
HBLC Primary	1	0.5
Argillite Shatter	1	17.8
Granite Utilized	1	18
Granite FCR	26	382

5.4.b Recovered Faunal Materials

Recovered faunal materials are consistent with local fauna in the immediate area (Table 5.6). Under representation of large ungulates and other mammals in the MNI (minimum number of individuals) is due to the intensive processing of bones for marrow and grease, indicated by large amounts of crushed and burnt bone. 638 pieces of burnt bone fragments were recovered weighing 343g. While 62 bone fragments were recovered weighing 138g. Within the faunal sample 23 identifiable bones were found (Figure 5.22).

Six possible bone tools were identified with the discovery of these modified faunal elements. All of these possible bone tools are made from large mammal bone. Polish, flaking, grinding and shaping were the key indicators for the identification of these possible bone tools (Table 5.7). These artifacts were easily identifiable within the relative shattered nature of the faunal sample.

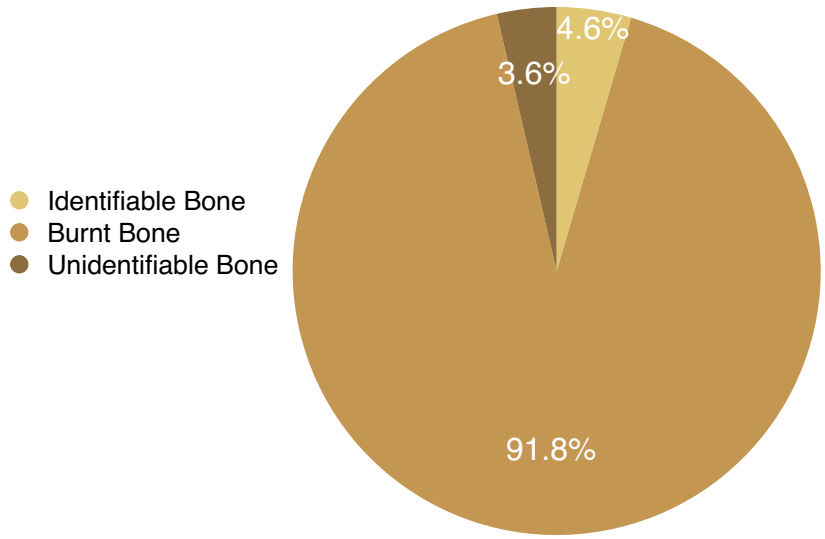
Table 5.6, EgJv-6 MNI

	Minimum Number of Individuals
Hare	3
Ermine	1
Duck	1
Caribou	1
C.F. Martin	1
Deer	1
Moose	1
Fish	1
Clamshell	1
Fox	1

Table 5.7, Modified Bone

- TPCS01-28 - Has polishing on burnt bone along with cut marks
- TPCS01-10 - Fractured section of beamer, or could act as perforator
- TPHKM9-05 - Polish and flaking possibly scraper or fleshing tool
- TPCS02-05 - Polish, burnt and flaking
- TPCS02-06 - Possible bone tool with cut marks on bone
- TPCS02-07 - Possible bone tool

Faunal Material by Frequency
(Figure 5.22)



5.4.c Recovered Historic Materials

Various historic cultural remains were recovered in EgJv-6 spanning from the 1850's to the 1910's

- Lead fragments: 2 - Both bullet fragments, unidentifiable.
- One fired bullet, likely 38-55 Winchester (ca.1875-1940), or a .40-60 Winchester (ca. 1884 - 1934): based on caliber, weight, and style, light mushrooming hampers confidence of the ID.
- Nails: 6.
- Finishing nails and wire nails; all from 1911 onwards.
- Screws: 11.
- Brass artifacts from a pocket watch: 3 - gears and watch backing, no exterior, likely silver, gold or brass, stripped and not found on site, likely sold, traded or gifted after the utilitarian purpose of the watch ceased.
- One spring loaded beaver trap.
- Sheet metal trimmings: 6 at 12.13g, 1 at 1.3 Trimming of sheet metals like tin cans and oil containers gives insight to extensive reuse of implements and materials present at the site.
- Iron fragments: 8 at 17.14g , 33 at 30g.
- One railway workers coverall button dating 1900-1910.

5.4.d EgJv-6 Site Interpretation

The recoveries from the Bonecrush Site indicate an occupation which predates that of Sams Cabin. This time span includes Pre-contact periods extending into the 1850's up to the 1920's. During this latter period there seems to be a persistent use of traditional technologies intermixed with the modern. The surface-recovered chitto and expedient flakes were possibly manufactured in early contact times. Additionally, the dolomite ground stone is likely used in conjunction with the Transitional and Historic occupation. This is consistent with evidence from EgJv-5 of ground stone tools associated with 1930's items (refer to Plate C.15) and oral testimony from Sam Carpenter indicating that flat stones would be used as an anvil to break bones, as well the production of pemmican was done by pounding dried meats on flat stone surfaces with the butt of an axe or a hammer (Elsie Sakakeesic per. com. 2021). Close association with modern materials lends credence to the idea that ground stone tools would be found and re-used for similar purposes as they were traditionally.

Figure 5.23 Railway workers coverall button with relief in pencil, dating 1900-1910.

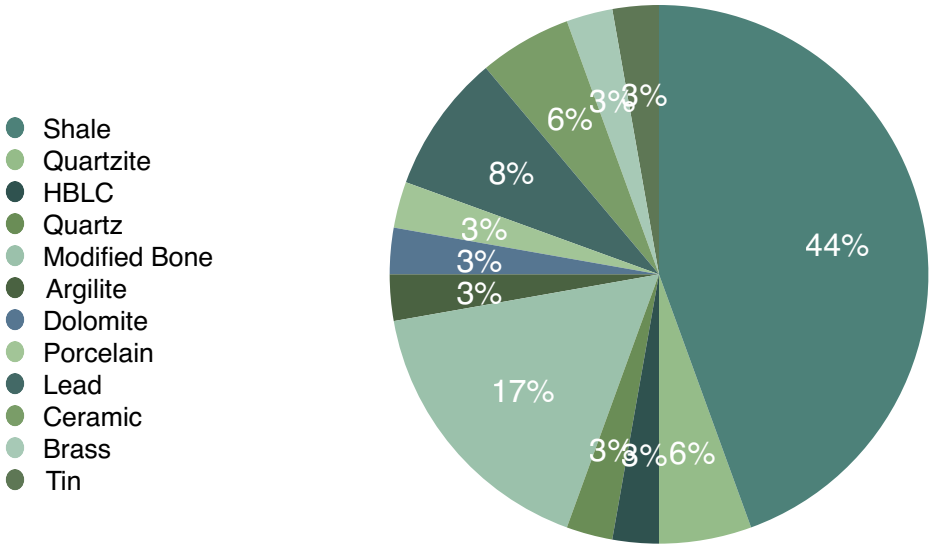
The use of localized material is a frequent and well noted part of life at Old Slate Falls, as evidenced by the large amount of bone tools present, persistence of lithic technology, and persistence of flintknapping into the historic period. The discovery of a chitto at EgJv-6 suggests that flintknapped tools may have been used in the Transitional Period. However, due to lack of defined stratigraphy, the last use date remains uncertain. The site is largely composed of materials indicating midden dumps. 20 prehistoric artifacts were recovered during subsurface testing. The majority of recovered cultural remains were bone. Most of the bone was pulverized and crushed, with a large

assemblage being burnt or calcined.The recover of large amounts of crushed and burnt bone from EgJv-6 indicates intensive grease processing.

A bullet recovered in TPCS-02 has speckling on the base which is indicative of black-powder propellant. Other diagnostic features on the projectile include a conical lead bullet, conical base for expansion to rifling groves and grease grooves. Bullet weight, diameter, style, material, and propellent, indicates this was most likely a .38-55 Winchester (ca.1875-1940), or a .40-60 Winchester (ca.1884 - 1934) (refer to Figure 7.2).

Both historic and prehistoric materials are closely associated, resulting in a poor stratigraphic differentiation which lends credence to a Transitional Period. A wide variety of artifacts from Bonecrush indicate multiple occupations: Pre-contact, Transitional, Post-contact, and Modern. Much of the metallic material found is more decomposed than the recoveries at Sams Cabin; being consistently smaller and more heavily processed. Intermixed with watch components and a jumble of crushed bone, was one railway worker's coverall button dating from between 1900 to 1910. This could indicate possible interactions with the railway-supplied businesses or individuals operating at Hudson and Lac Seul. The Bonecrush site is indicative of two cultural periods historic and prehistoric, due to a lack of identifiable artifacts no cultural identification can be placed onto the prehistoric assemblage.

Figure 5.24, Artifact material by Frequency*



5.5 Site EgJv - 7 - Mckenzie Beach

Mckenzie Beach is a fine sand beach forming a 30 meter long shallow cove. The sandy banks yielded artifacts of Modern, Post-contact, and Pre-contact origins. Buildings making up part of the most recent phase of Old Slate Falls Village are located overlooking this cove containing EgJv-7. Other features cluster around the site, and include a radio tower, an administration office, the Mackenzie grocery store, an outfitters lodge and tourist operation. The Mackenzie cabins are detailed in Ch. 6.3 Pg. 154.

There were 23 catalog entries for this site, with 30 collected artifacts. A portion of the cultural material is illustrated in Figure 5.27. A large amount of shattered and broken white earthenware and some white glass fragments were observed in the locality. Quartzite dominates the assemblage, but other more unique materials such as HBLC (Hudson Bay Lowlands Chert), and Taconite can be seen. A ground/perforated pipestone disk may have been a part of ceremonial or decorative wear, consistent with the glass embroidery beads found in the fine sands (Figure 5.27).

Figure 5.25, Site placement of Mackezies Beach.

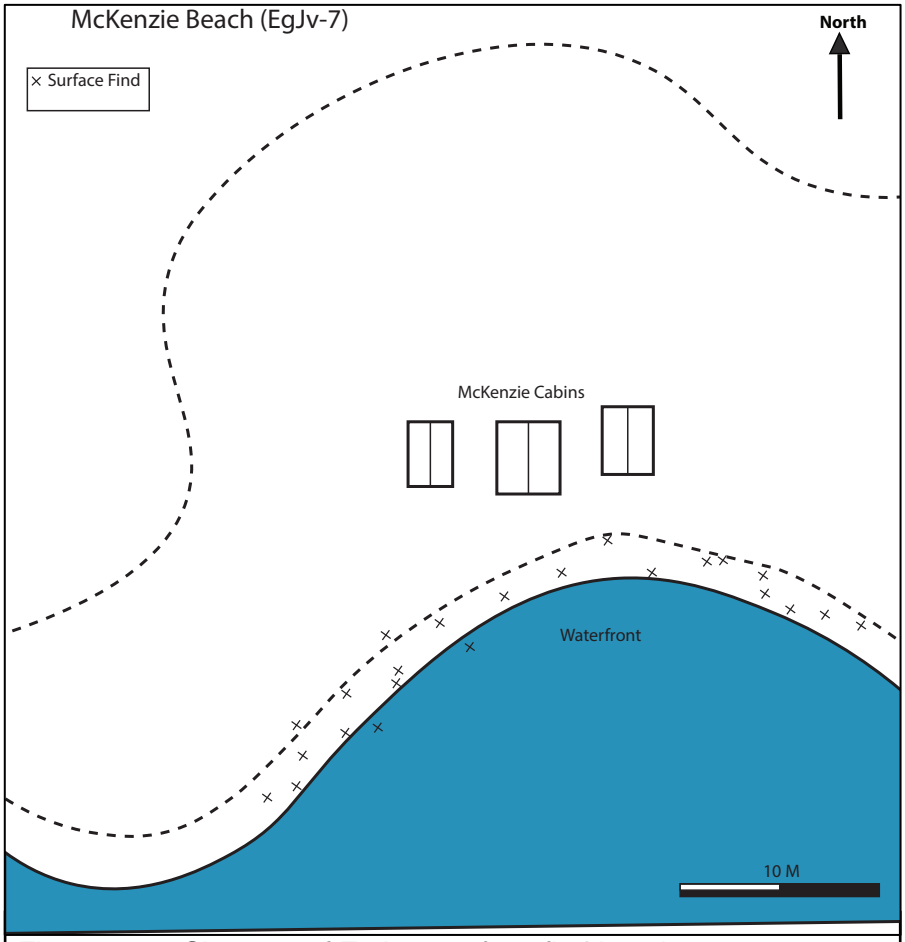


Figure 5.26, Site map of EgJv-7 surface find locations.

Figure 5.27, Recovered artifacts from 2017, six flakes, one pipestone disk fragment (top row, 3 in from the left), one quartzite cone-core (first from the right), one paper shotgun casing.

5.5.a. Site interpretation

The Mackenzie storefront and cabins on Mackenzie Beach were intensively utilized, with the last iteration of use being the retail store operated by Alexander MacKenzie who also managed the 1960's sport-fishing outfitters camp. The fine grained sand beach is particularly unique in the surrounding area, which is mostly bedrock outcroppings or cobbled beaches. A wide variation of stone flakes was recovered, and it's likely that the beach would have been used as a landing location into the more distant past.

An interesting mix of artifacts can be seen, and it's quite likely that with increased subsurface testing, a more complete archaeological assemblage for Slate Falls dating from the 1600's to the 1800's could be uncovered in this location. One perforated and shattered stone disk made of what appears to be pipestone is found in the water (Figure 5.27). Perhaps this piece consider it to be a pendant or jewelry. It is likely a prehistoric artifact, but manufacturing methods are not congruent with an identifiable age range.

Table 5.7, EgJv-7 Artifacts

Artifact	Frequency	Weight (g)
Quartzite core	1	42.8
White earthenware shard	2	6.2
Medicine bottle bottom	1	22.6
Ponds Creme jar fragment	1	6.7
Jasper flake	1	0.53
Fancy glass ware bottom	1	22.7
HBLC tertiary flake	1	.75
Fine grain sand stone tertiary	1	0.46
12 Gauge brass	1	0.53
HBLC shatter	2	5.2
Dime 1960	1	2.2
Taconite chert flake	1	0.2
Quartzite tertiary flakes	4	10.2
Quartz biface	1	36
Quartz shatter	3	7.5
Ball?	1	8
Quartzite flake secondary	1	6.5
CF Flake glass	1	1.4
Ceramic flake	1	0.4
Pipestone fragmented disk	1	1.1

Multiple seed beads were recovered in this location as well, which would have shed from moccasins and other beaded works, and could date from the 1800's through to the Modern period. Historic seed beads made in Bohemian workshops are currently still in circulation, complicating dating methods. Modern plastic seed beads are also found in this location with some beaded trinkets and jewelry seen in Plate C.17.

Figure 5.28, Drone imagery of Mackezies Beach, 2017.

5.6 Site EgJv-8 - Emily's Site

Emily's Site is located along the shore overlooked by the house in modern Slate Falls where the crew lived during our fieldwork (Figure 5.30). It was discovered on the lakeshore exposed by low water levels while crew members used it for swimming. Once artifacts were noted, a more systematic pedestrian survey was conducted to ascertain the expanse and amount of material along the shoreline.

The low water level exposed a 2-3 meters wide cobble beach along the whole shorefront of New Slate Falls. Multiple dock cribs that represent the rock filled foundations of docks exist along this section of beach, but most are derelict and have fallen into disrepair after vehicular travel became widespread in the community. Only a small section of the cobbled beach was surveyed. Recovered materials from this site date from the Archaic period to the Transitional Pre-contact period. Likely to be an Archaic instrument, a ground stone biface illustrated in Figure 5.32 was likely used as a chopping or smashing tool. A core of HBLC was found in among the cobbles. It appears to have been heat treated and is thought to be an expended core. Two utilized flakes

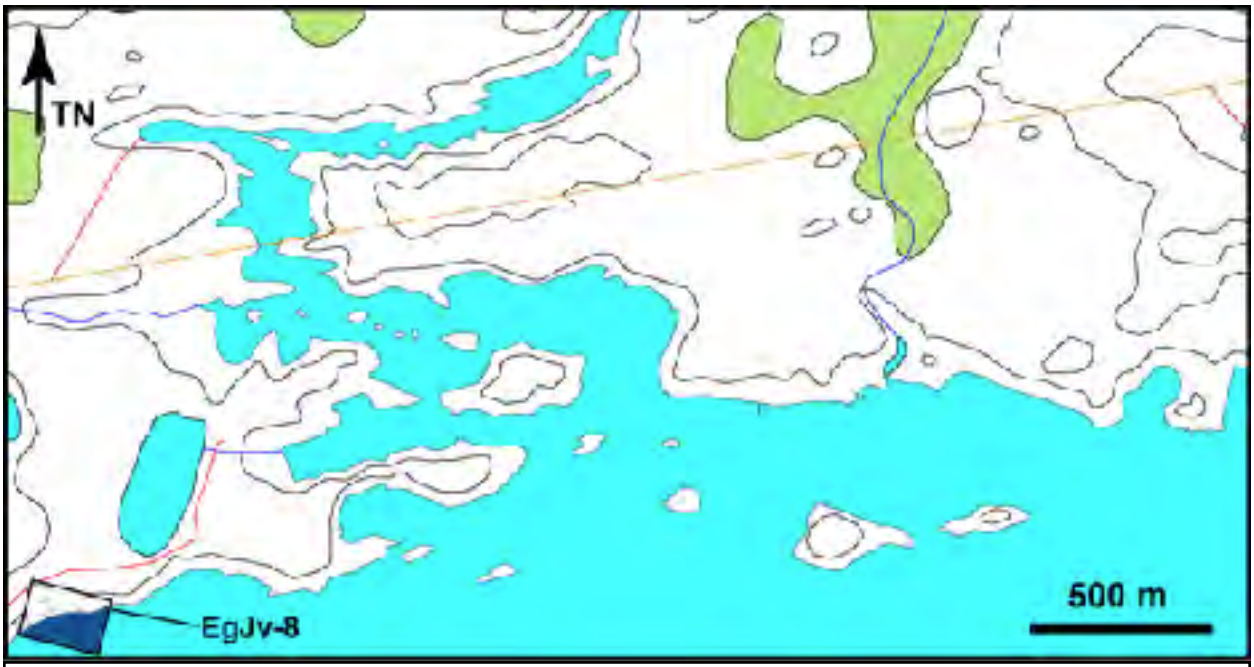


Figure 5.29, Site placement of Emily's Site.

were found on the beach along with multiple other sets of flakes. Quartzite, and granite primarily make up the materials found at the site.

Most notable in the Pre-contact artifacts from the site are two flintknapped, glass bottle bases. Both bottles are amber in colour, have cylindrical bodies with shallow concave bases, and are embossed with “Made in Canada” (Figure 5.31). Bottle A. (reference Figure 5.31) has numerous shaping flakes creating a right angled unifacially flaked tool, which most resembles a side scraper or a burin/scraper. Possible grinding is noted on the ‘upper lip’ of the container where the bottle upturns from the base. Bottle B. (reference Figure 5.3) appears to be a cutting implement and has less diagnostic evidence of flaking and tool manufacturing; identifiable flakes are larger and taken at more acute angles akin to thinning flakes. Flaking is only noted on one half of the base and no evidence of edge grinding is noted. Possible use-wear is seen but is cannot be confirmed due to the exposed nature of the artifacts and the evidence of erosional processes noted on the artifacts.

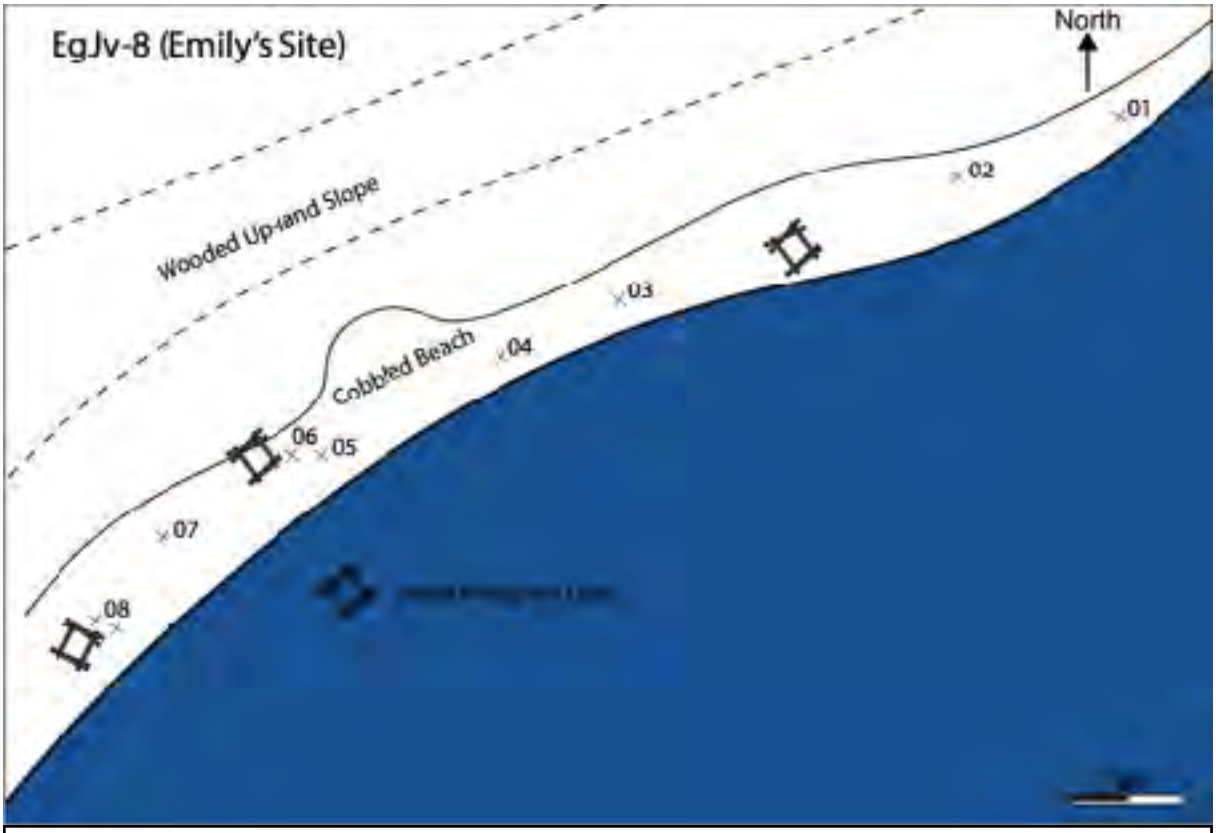


Figure 5.30, Site map showing surface find locations.

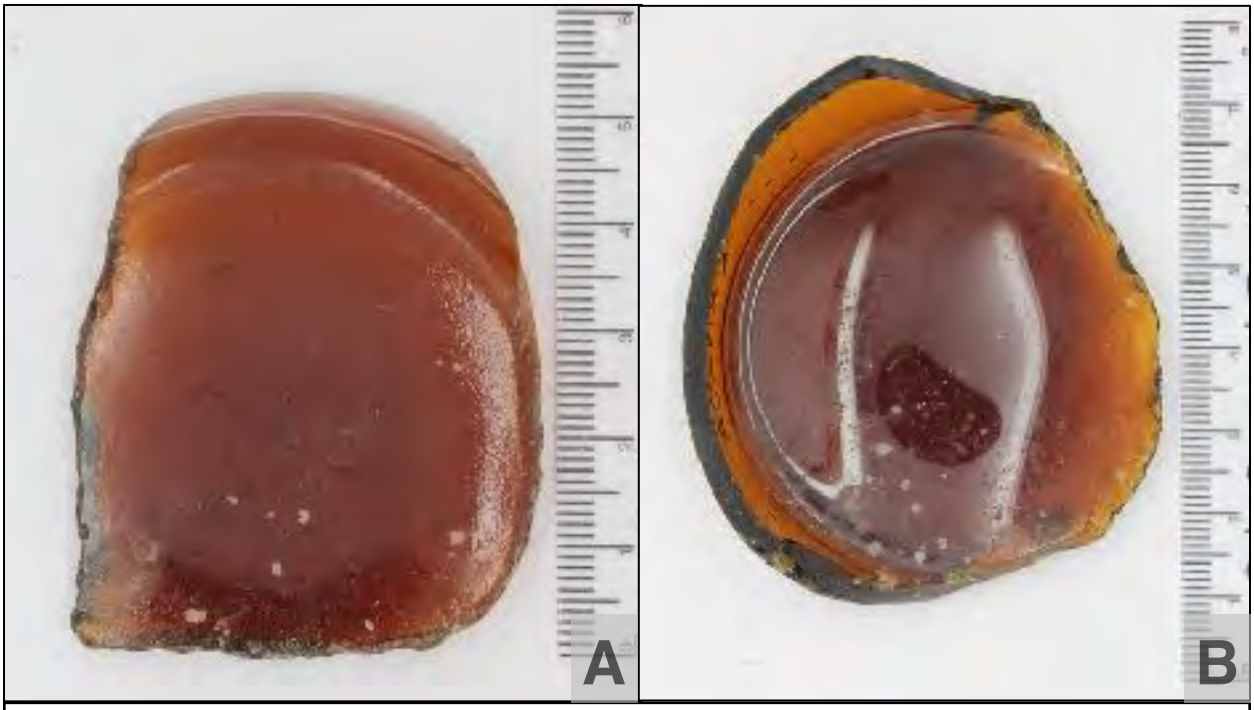


Figure 5.31, Two flintknapped bottle bases, A.: cutting tool with ground dorsal edge, B.: Scraper with multiple shaping flakes. Ca. 1850 - 1910.

The two bottle bases exhibit 3 piece mold-seams (bottom and two sides), and the presence of suction marks is evident, indicating semiautomatic or automatic machine blown Ca. late 19th century onwards (Olive Jones et.al. 1989). According to the Bill Lindsey (2021) bottles with suction scars in the U.S. date no earlier than 1905. Refer to Plates C.15 and C.16, pg.275 for additional photographs and resources.

Figure 5.32, Recoveries from Emily's site 2017, Centre piece is a large chopping and crushing groundstone tool.

Table 5.8, EgJv-8 Artifacts-1

Artifact type	Number	Weight	Relative date
White earthenware mug with flake scars	1	44.5	Stoneware with Albany slip - 1800's-1940's
Basalt ground stone tool	1	762	7000-2000
Heat treated chert core	1	46.5	Pre-contact
Groundstone pestle quartzite	1	777	Pre-contact
CF bowdrill weight sandstone	2	209 & 103	Pre-contact
Quartz primary flake	1	29.2	Pre-contact
Shist CF perforator	1	21.2	Pre-contact
CF Atlatl knock	1	8.3	Pre-contact
CF nucracker	1	742	Pre-contact
Opaque glass plate	1	54	
Utilized flake silicate	1	6	Pre-contact
Scilicified sandstone secondary	1	2.6	Pre-contact
Utilized shale flake secondary	1	4	Pre-contact
Glass scraper	1	25.5	1850's to the 1910's
Glass cutting tool	1	41.6	1850's to the 1910's

5.6.a Site Interpretations

EgJv-8 yields a small assemblage of Historic and prehistoric materials ranging from the Archaic to the Modern Period. Multiple possible ground stone tools were recovered and are interpreted as an atlatl knock, perforator, mortar, pecked stone implements and ground stone splitting tool. The ground stone tool, found on the cobbled beaches, which would have been used for splitting and cracking bone. Bifaces such as this played an important role in the processing of bones for grease production, in order to fracture strong cortical bones. Bifaces of this sort have a long history of use, being recovered from sites dating from the Archaic Period (7000 BP), through to the Late Woodland Period (2000 BP) (Personal communications with Clarence Surrette and

Scott Hamilton 2018). Local Archaic implements were identified in 1994 at EgJv-3, which supports the inference of the archaic nature of some found ground stone implements. The limited number of archaeological sites reported in Borden Block EgJv likely reflects the very limited level of research in the region.

Two flintknapped bottles and one flintknapped earthenware mug are seen as diagnostic artifacts of the Transitionary Period. The glass artifacts are made from the concave bottom of brown bottles (perhaps beer bottles). Two different tools have been fashioned; a scraper and a blade or knife. Interpretations on these artifacts indicate expedient tool use in the event of butchering a recent kill. The evidence of chipped and flaked bottles presents the situation in which prehistoric techniques are being used on modern materials. Inhabitation of EgJv-8 is seen as a place where tradition persists, where modern materials were used in conjunction with old knowledge and techniques. Adding to the evidence of a Transitional Phase, parallel flake scars are seen on the surface of the broken earthenware vessel (Plate C.14). The artifact dates from the 1800's till the 1940's based on a dark brown slip thought to be Albany Slip; a pottery type manufactured near NewYork (Stelle 1989). The flaking is interpreted as a test of the material to see if it is workable. It should be noted that according to the Carpenter family no memories or knowledge of flintknapping occurred in recent history. It is possible these traditions persisted among alternate families and the knowledge of routine occurrences were lost.

Figure 5.33, View north from Emily's Site, the beach continues the entire way along the shoreline of Slate Falls.

5.7 Site EgJv - 9 - Pepsi & Flipflop

Pepsi and Flipflop is located on an elevated terrace overlooking a slope leading to Lake Bamaji to the south (Figure 5.35). This site is located 120 m northwest from Sams Cabin and was discovered by Clarence Surrette and Zeb Kawei while metal detecting. Originally the site was thought to be a part of a dilapidated cabin indicated by a dirt bank 3 ft long by 1 ft high and 1 ft wide. This small feature was cross-sectioned in-order to see if the exterior was the walls of a cabin foundation. Testing negative for a cabin foundation, a lack of organic materials found, it likely derives from sediment displacement from a toppled tree. However, archaeological remains were discovered in the soil beneath and inside the berm. One shovel test was dug and expanded into a trench, and five further shovel tests were conducted, and the extension of the initial shovel test into a trench revealed a use of ground-stone technology, and a large amount of FCR and crushed bone. One fragment of pottery was located in an extended shovel test (a trench), a completely unique find in this study. It would later be identified as Laurel belonging to the Middle Woodland Period (Ca. 2200-1000 YBP). Screens with a ¼" weave were used in the sifting of the soil. Soil samples were collected in hopes of further fine screening and sentiment microanalysis. The employment of finer screens might have increased the yield of pottery sections from this location.

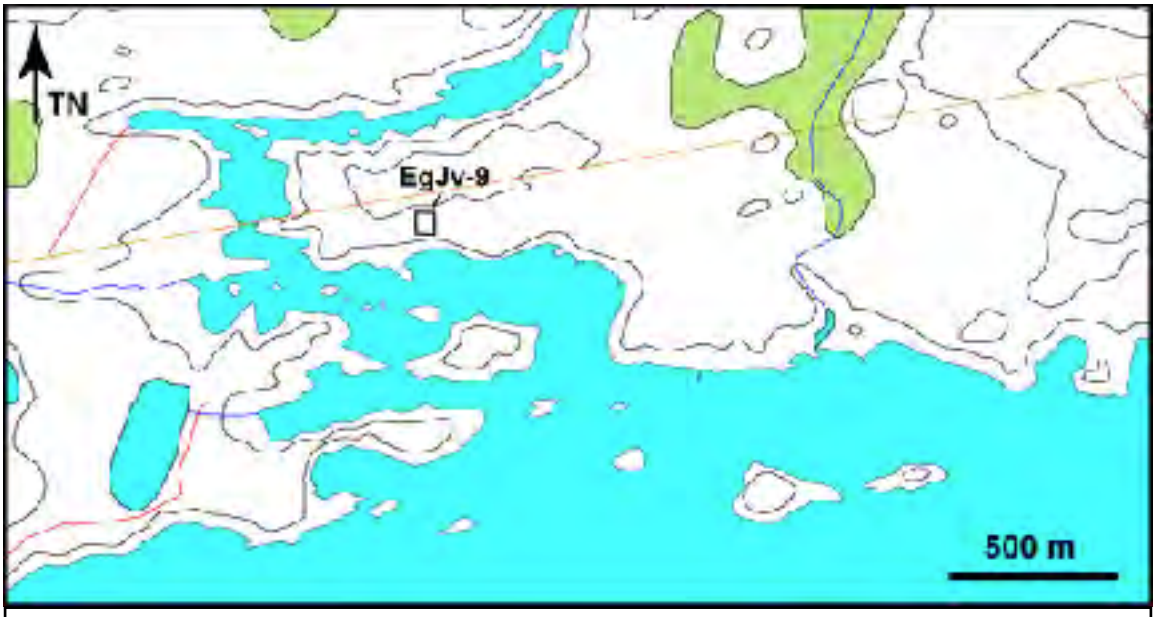


Figure 5.34, Site placement of Pepsi & Flipflop site.

The pottery seen in Figure 5.37 is a section of rim-sherd pottery with granite grit, a light slip, paddle stamping, drag stamp and dentates. All these features are typical of Middle Woodland period pottery (personal discussions with Jill Taylor Hollings, and Brad Hyslop 2018). One possible bone tool, a perforator or awl, bearing polish indicative of

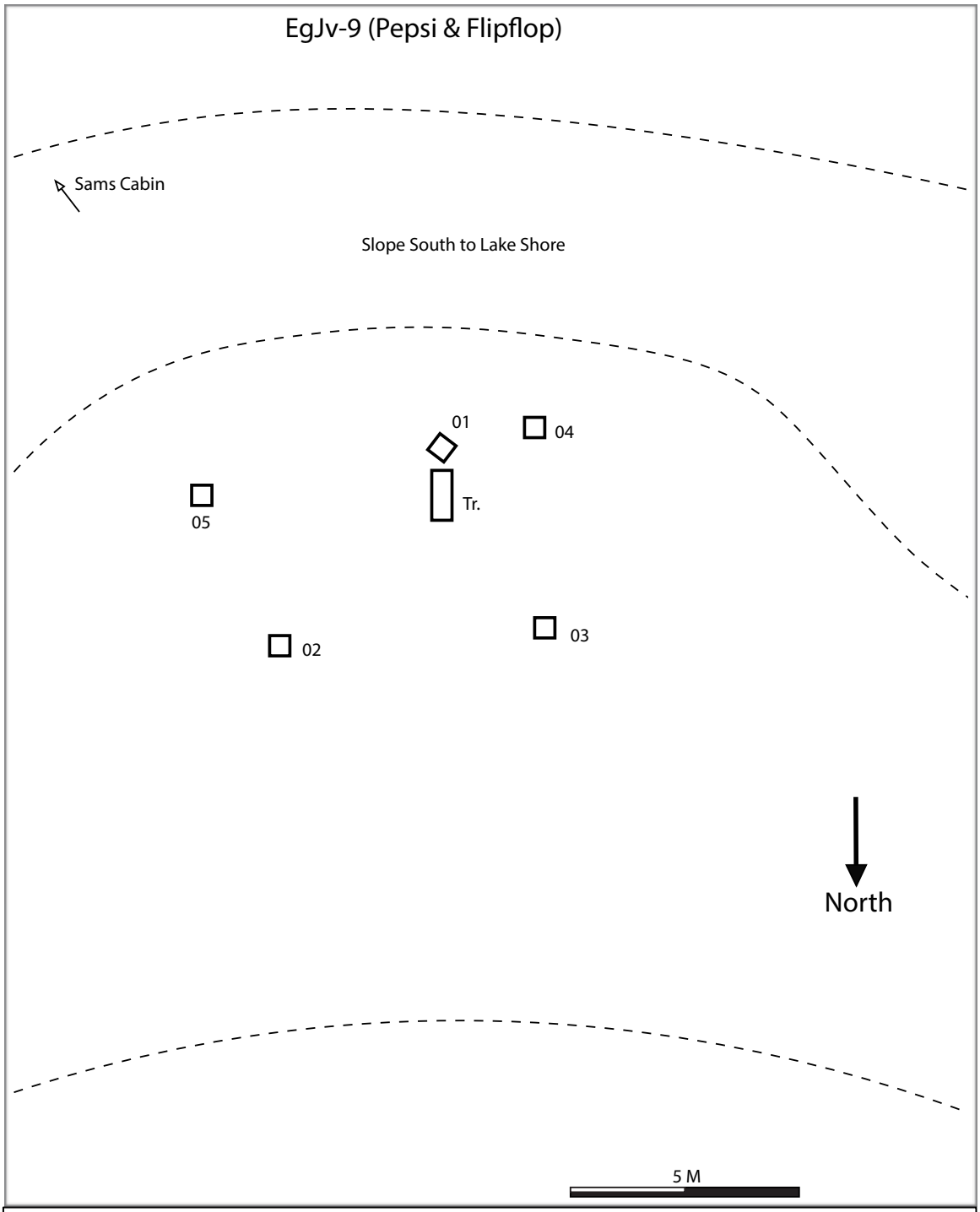


Figure 5.35, Site Maps for EgJv-9.

frequent use was noted in the recovered assemblage. Two recovered artifacts were interpreted by three archaeologists on site and in the lab to be expedient ground stone tools. This was based on striations, and isolated areas of polish and uniformity. Full confirmation could only be attained through more detailed analysis in searching for starches or other residues. The tools could also act as hammer and anvils and pecking on the larger flat surface of one of the tools indicate it may have been used for both (Figure 5.36). FCR found was highly crenelated and finely broken in an unusually dense concentration as compared to what would normally be recovered in a hearth feature.

Figure 5.36, Possible Grinding stone.

Table 5.9, EgJv-9 Artifacts

Artifact	Frequency	Weight (g)
Sandstone grinding stone	1	1087
Granite grinding stone	1	372
Laurel rimsherd cf dragstamp	1	4
HBLC utilized flake	1	6
C.F. shale flake	1	2.8
HBLC	2	2.4
Scraper burin tool fine grained granite	1	101.5
FCR	10+	500+
Bone fragments	63	69
C.F. Bone tool	1	0.5

5.7.a Site Interpretations

EgJv-9 is a prehistoric campsite on an elevated bluff overlooking Lake Bamaji. Artifact recoveries were composed of ground stone technology and a large amount of calcined and fragmented bone pieces. The presence of bone in this locality is somewhat unexpected since the acidic soils of the region are not conducive for bone preservation. Recovered heat altered stone was highly crenelated. No identifiable bone fragments were recovered, but much of the faunal material derives from large mammals. This is typical of winter occupation, when extensive marrow and grease processing was performed.

Figure 5.37, Laurel rim-sherd.

Within the trench, one fragment of pottery was located in and would be identified as Laurel belonging to the Middle Woodland Period (Ca. 2,000-1200 BP). The high amount of ground stone technology present in the site indicates the likelihood of multiple kinds of material processing; however, no micro-botanical or residue analysis has been conducted to fully explore this. Due to the context and close association with bone fragments, the ground stone technology would also have functioned as hammer and anvil technology to crack and pulverize long bones.

5.8 Site EgJv - 10 - Adz

EgJv-10 is an isolated find; a unifacially flaked quartz tool, found along the water's edge. The implement was found near the newer school house, close to EgJv-3 where an archaic biface was located in the 1980's. The small tool was located between two large cobbles along a section of cobble and boulder beach. Other large pieces of quartzite were seen in the area. The amount of wear would suggest the implement has been rolled in the water and might have some antiquity (Figure 5.39). The piece was located with a quartzite cobble, mistakenly identified as an adz preform.

Figure 5.38, Location of Isolated find, EgJv-10.

5.8 a Site Interpretations

One unifacial tool was found near the Newer School House, close to EgJv-3, where an Archaic biface was located in the 1980's. The amount of wear would give this implement an air of great antiquity. The piece was located with a quartzite cobble, mistakenly identified as an adz preform. Interpretations on the location and amount of wear shown on the artifact hint that it may be of archaic origin.

Figure 5.39, Unifacial tool.

Ch. 6, Results; Cabin Documentation and Features

Introduction

Chapter six documents some of the cabins and cultural features making up Old Slate Falls area scattered along the northern shores of Lake Bamaji. As the village expanded and as lifestyles transformed, a spatially defined sequence of village occupation is observed. The earliest construction is closest to the falls at the head of the lake, and spread east and south along the Lake Bamaji shores following the multiple phases of the village and the Slate Falls cultural landscape. Cabins reveal frequent evidence of reuse and many are refurbished creating significant overlap in the documentation of distinctive areas of habitation. These locations have been categorized by the construction methodologies and tools employed in creating the structures.

These larger general habitation areas have been grouped and numbered according to the approximate settlement of the area sorted in roman numerals; one to four.

I. 1800's - 1970's, Sam's Cabin Map area near the falls.
II. 1940's - 1980's, Eastward expansion along shoreline.
III. 1950's - 1990's, Band office, weather tower, Mackenzie Operation.
IV. 1980's + Distinct building style, construction is provincially regulated.

Area I, was identified to have been the original location for the Old Slate Falls Village providing an opportune location for fishing and river access. Area II can be found to the immediate east of the original village as houses and people moved further east, presumably in search of new building locations and firewood supplies. The third expansion is seen southeast around the bend of the shoreline in which a newer larger cluster of houses is found. Among these newer houses, a radio tower, and outfitter's camp and a small retail store are located. The fourth and final expansion of the village is seen as two unique structures built by the provincial government; the new school house and the teacher's residence.

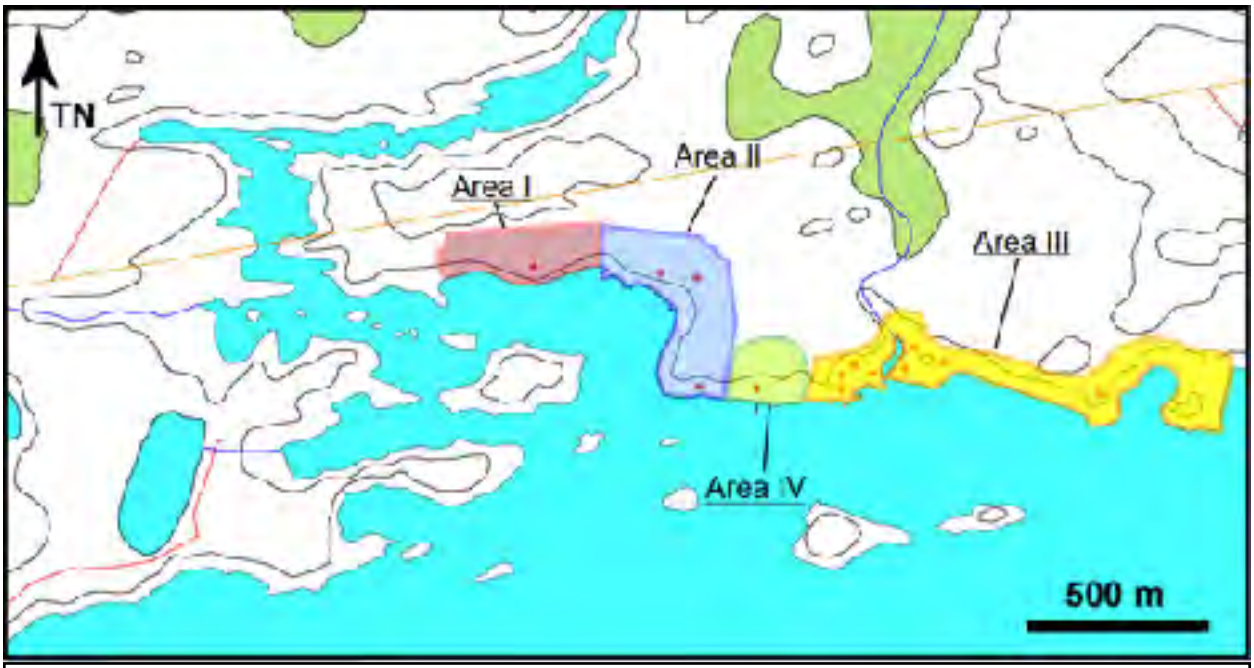


Figure 6.1, The separate areas of Old Slate Falls.

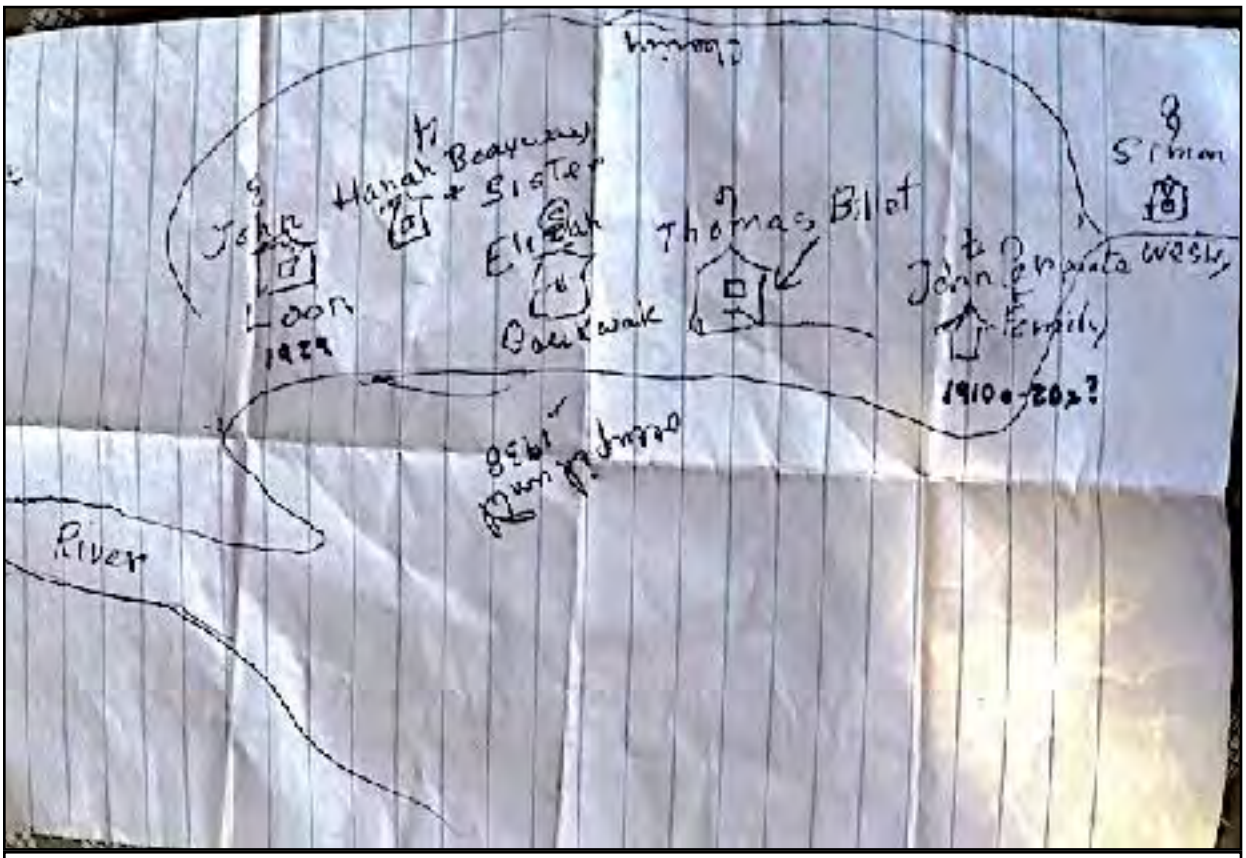


Figure 6.2, The hand drawn map from Sam Carpenter, showing the village from the early years of his childhood, Ca. 1920-1930.

The documentation of cabins and cabin foundations was the primary focus of the investigation through note taking, photography and photogrammetry resulting in 3D models. This emphasized recording of building dimensions, construction techniques, materials used in the structures, and also the distribution of materials surrounding the structure.

6.1 Area I

Area I is identified by the location of the main body of the oldest portion of the Slate Falls Village as reported by Sam Carpenter seen in Figure 6.2. This locality was occupied by the Loon family prior to the village being established. Before the building of log cabins in this location people stayed in wigwams and tents.

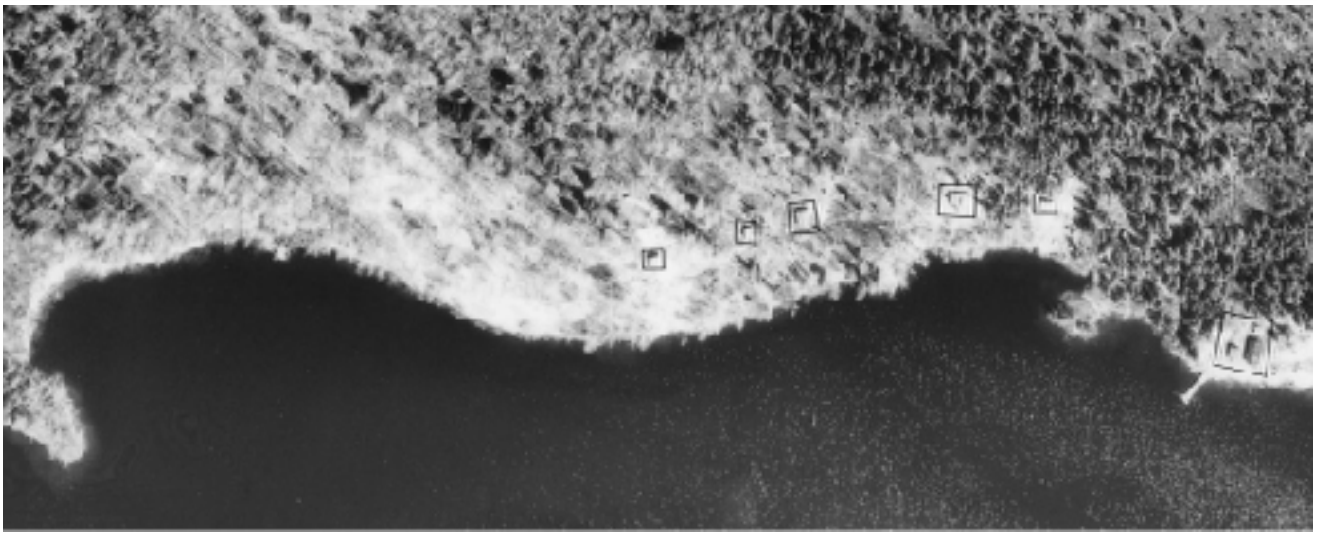


Figure 6.3, Area I Overview as taken by aerial imagery, cabins have been outlined in black in order to enhance them (National Air Photo Library, 1986).

6.1.a Cabin 1 - Sams Cabin

This section presents building characteristics and artifact recoveries from Sams Cabin. A more detailed discussion about the cabin and associated archaeological site can be found in Chapter 5.1.

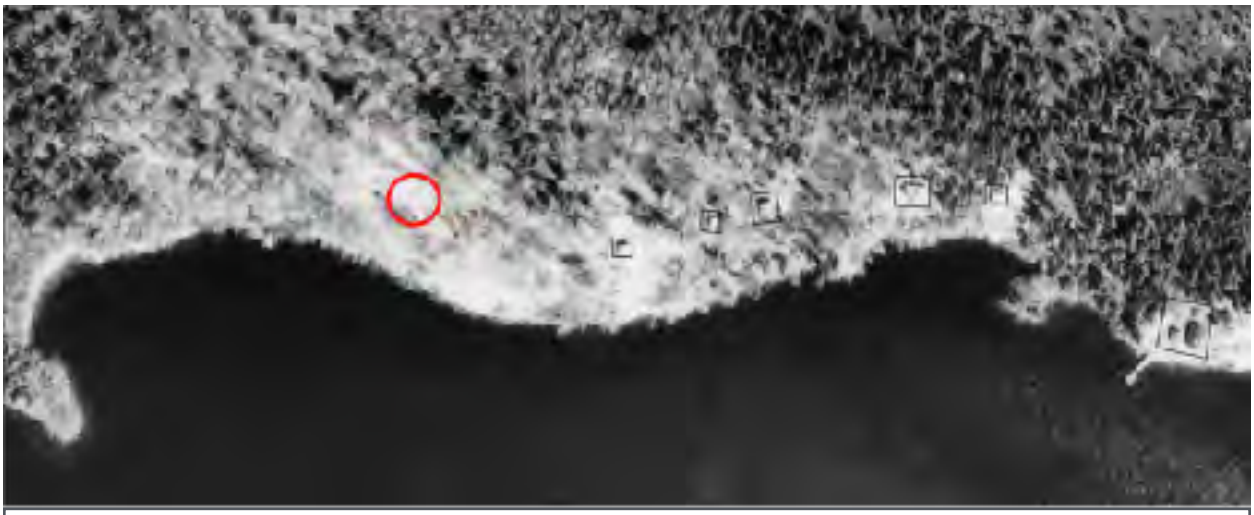


Figure 6.4, Sams Cabin overview as taken by aerial imagery, Sams Cabin location highlighted in red, nearby cabins were traced with a black box to enhance them (National Air Photo Library 1986).

Figure 6.5, Sams Cabin, Scott Hamilton operates drone. Metal detection probes marked by orange flagging, berm of the structure visible in the right half of the photo.

Sams Cabin was uncovered in 2017 via a pedestrian survey. The cabin is located on a level sandy terrace overlooking the north shore of Lake Bamaji. The structure is characterized by a 30 cm wide rectangular berm which varies in height and width and outlines the cabin foundations. This berm would have been made by piling sand against the cabin walls to provide insulation and to stop drafts. The outline of the berm indicates Sam's Cabin is approximately 5m by 5m (Figure 6.6).

The cabin outline and associated artifacts in the immediate vicinity suggests that it may be related to the early 20th Century Carpenter occupation of the vicinity, but this is currently unverified. A large amount of refuse and debris, primarily bone, steel, and tin cans lie scattered around the structure. Remote sensing conducted with a metal detector show hits primarily indicating iron nails, strapping and spikes, located frequently on corners of berms and around the doorway (Figure 5.14).

To the west of the cabin a decommissioned snowmobile lies in a low wet area. To the east there is an irregular hole that may represent a storage pit. Twenty metres to the north, a square sided pit was noted, possibly a cold storage pit. A midden is located approximately 5m to the south of the cabin, and an accumulation of bottles lie on the shorefront (Figure 5.4). The majority of the materials collected date to the early 20th century.

Figure 6.6, Sams Cabin overview as taken by drone, the outline of the cabin foundation is traced in black.

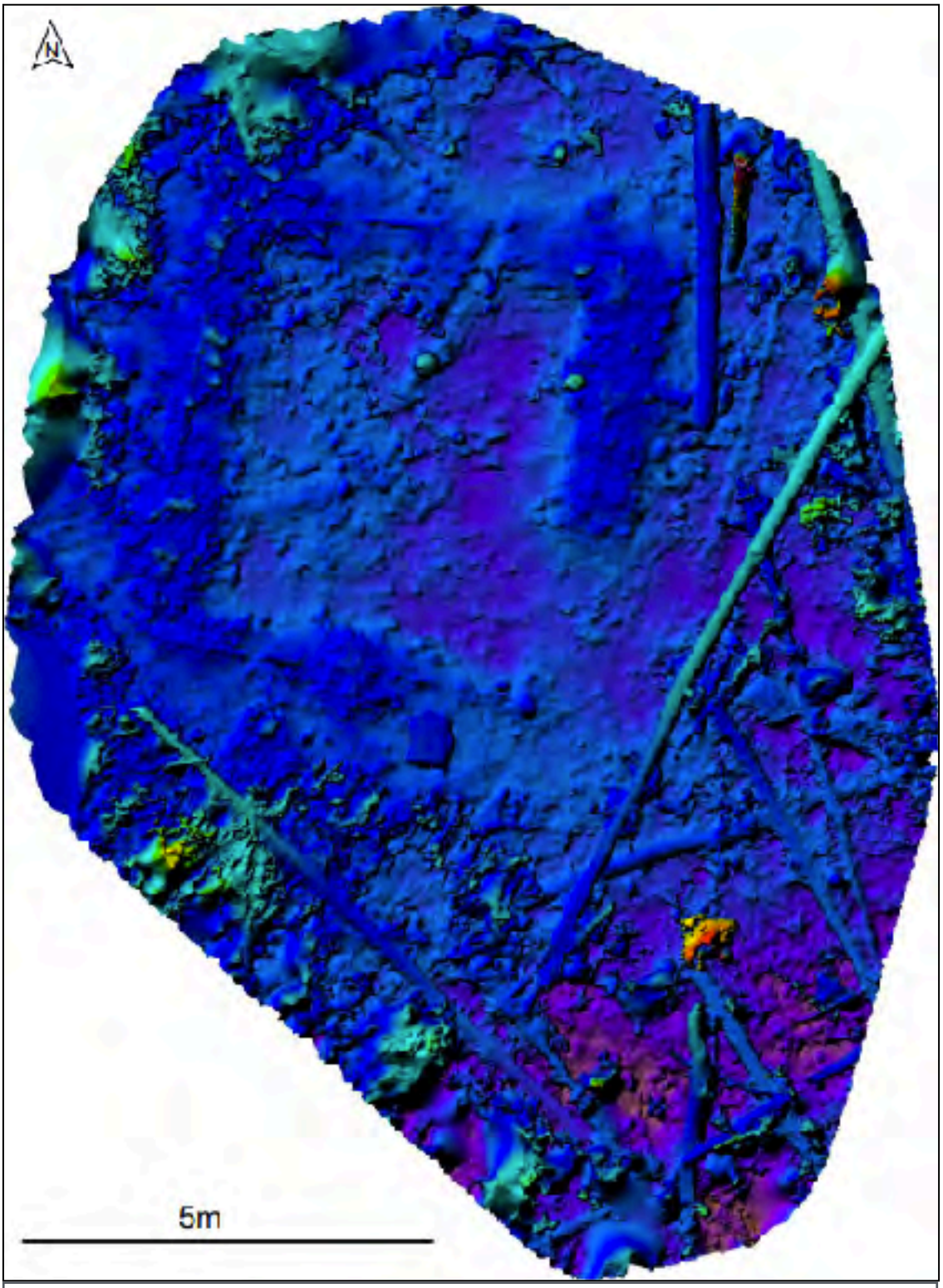


Figure 6.7, Topographic model of Sams Cabin taken by drone.

6.1.b Cabin 2

Cabin 2 was located via pedestrian survey in 2017 and was subsequently cleared of vegetation to permit mapping. Cabin 2 is located on an elevated platform not entirely level, the bedrock surface slopes down to the shores of Bamaji Lake. The cabin consists of a foundation of banked sand, piled rock and wooden floor joists.

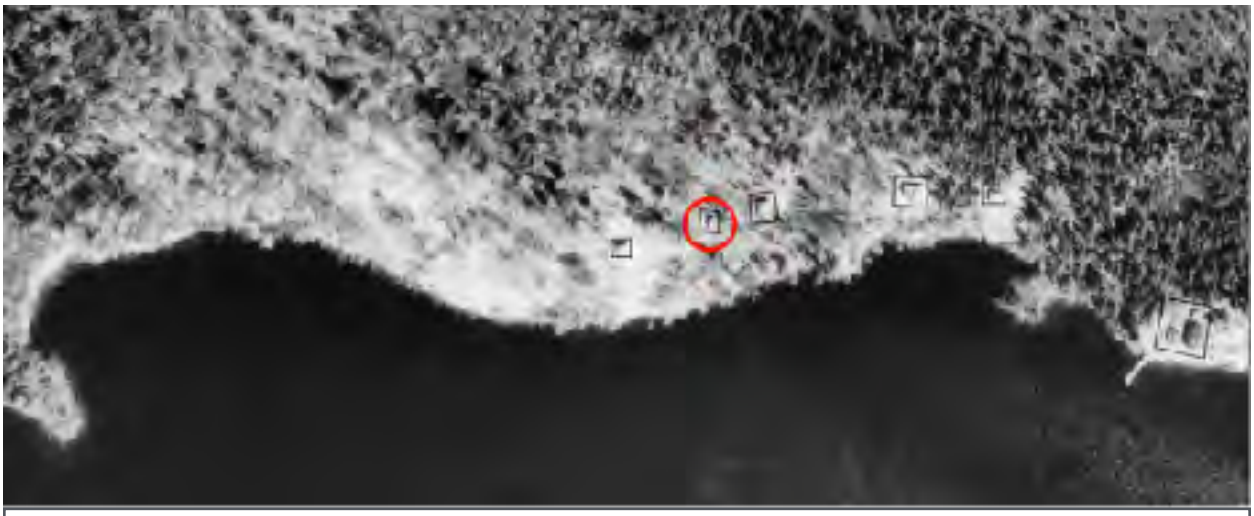


Figure 6.8, Cabin 2 overview as taken by aerial imagery, Cabin 2 location highlighted in red (National Air Photo Library 1986).

Located on a south facing slope a large amount of rock has been piled under the south wall to create a level foundation. The wooden berms which lie crisscrossed between the sand banks acted as floor joists. Sections of the cabin appear to have collapsed to its westward side, as large amounts of nails and cut lumber are seen scattered and rotting throughout the immediate area. Jutting out from the stone foundation, two soil berms continue south to support what is hypothesized to be an entrance porch and boot and wood room.

Other than the boot room, no archaeological evidence for additions to the cabin could be found. 2x4's & 4x4's used to build the boot room indicate it was likely a later addition. Two stoves lie abandoned outside the cabin foundation: a Mclary's wood stove

(1897 - 1936, Figure 6.10), and an oil drum converted into a stove. Nearby, a derelict snowmobile dating from the 1970's is slowly being overtake by vegetation (Figure 6.11).

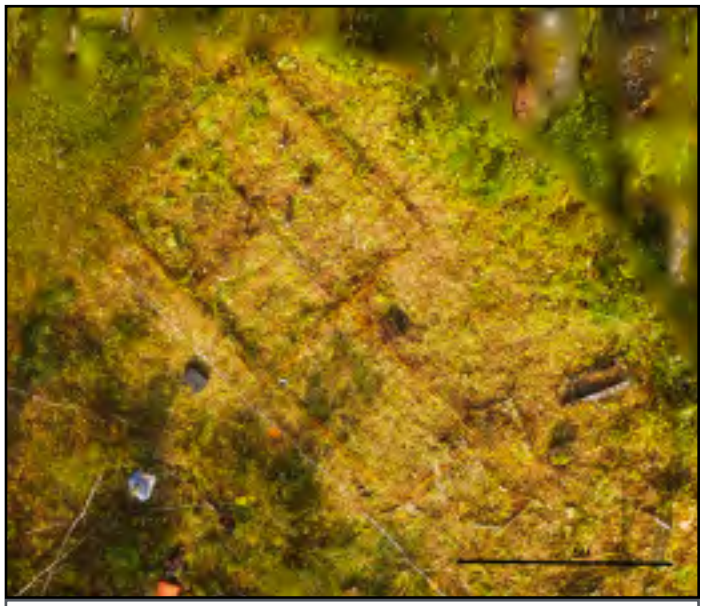


Figure 6.9, Drone imagery of Cabin 2.

A bread bag clip, a rivet from a pair of jeans, a plastic hair clip, and a locket containing a photograph were found around the cabin foundations (Plate E.12). All collected archaeological evidence points towards a much later use-life than Sam's Cabin, perhaps dating from the 1940's until the late 1970's.

According to Frederico's studies (Oliveira, 2018), this cabin belonged to the Loon family. Through conversations with Annie and Delford, we discovered that Annie used to visit this cabin frequently as a child and would stay for long periods so that she might attend a day-school. Annie indicated that this house was lived in until the 1970's.

Figure 6.10, Clarence inspects the berms of Cabin 2, the wood stove can be seen in the central right portion of the image.

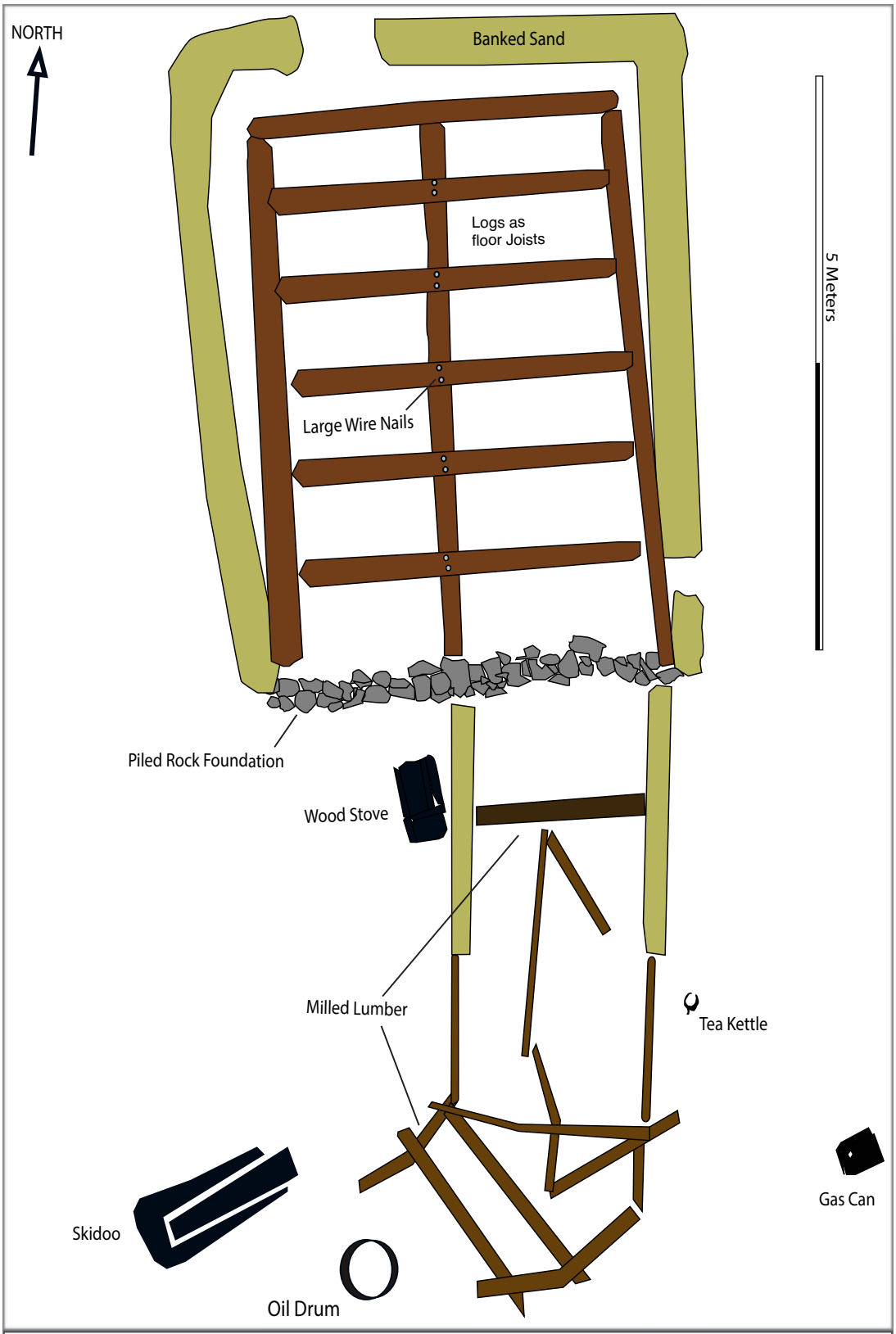


Figure 6.11, Overview sketch map of Cabin 2.

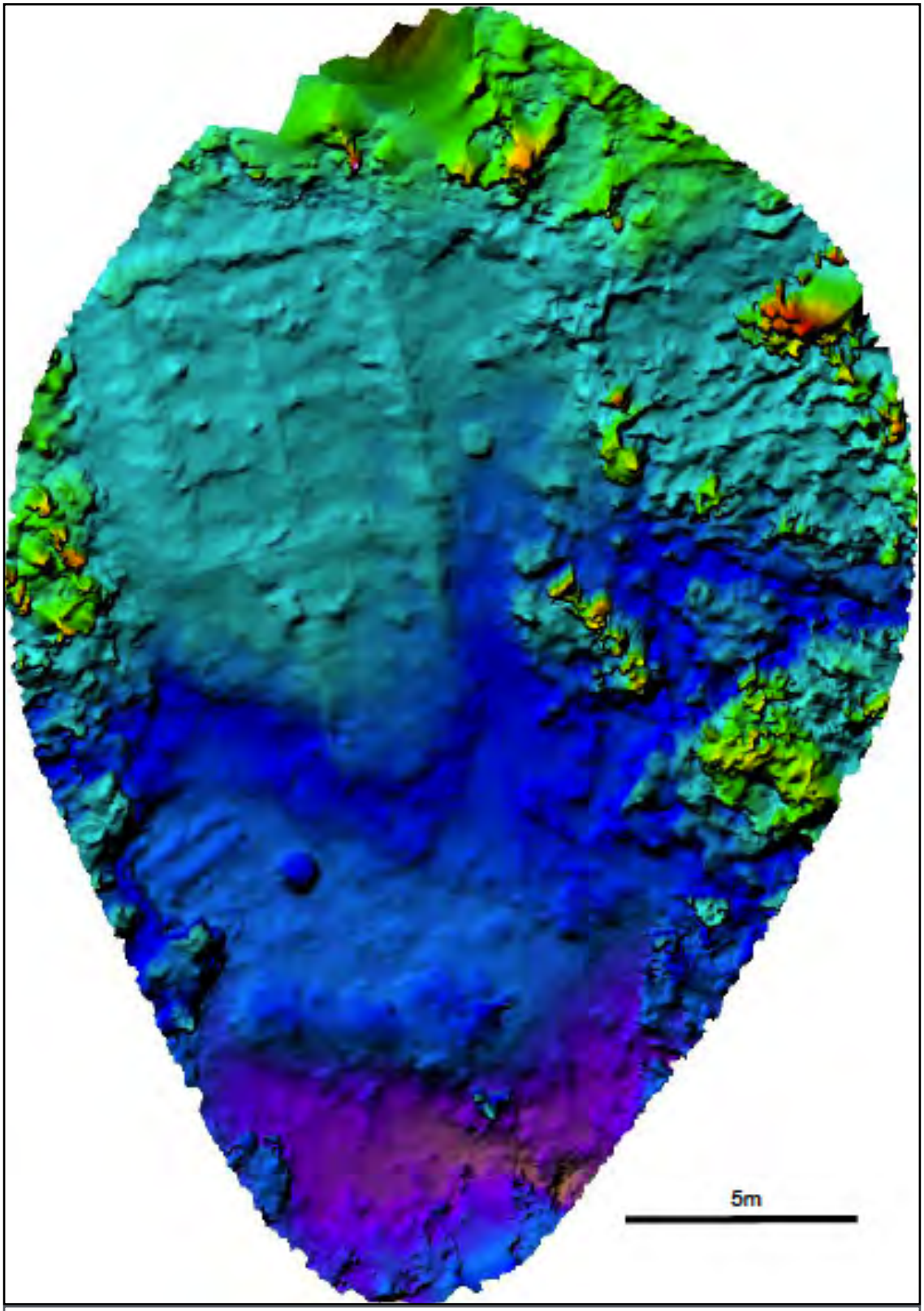


Figure 6.12, Topographic model of Cabin 2 using drone imagery.

6.2 Area II

Area II, is located further east from Area I. It features multiple cabins, many of which were inhabited by Loon family. They generally feature newer construction materials such as fibreglass chinking, milled planks, and plywood sheets.

Figure 6.13, Area II overview as taken by aerial imagery 1986, cabins have been outlined in black in order to enhance them.

Cabin 4

Cabin 4 was located while conducting a pedestrian survey along the wooden boardwalk, northeast from the Mission House (Figure 6.14). The structure consists of multiple additions, expanded over many years. This can be identified through shifting material types, and differing construction techniques between each expansion. Two main structural components are easily identified, more are likely to have taken place but are difficult to determine as renovations in houses are both common and frequent. The cabin has been linked to Charlie Wesley but this remains unverified.

Figure 6.14, Cabin 4 overview as taken by aerial imagery, Cabin 4 location highlighted in red (National Air Photo Library 1986).

The first occupation can be seen through the initial cabin foundation, now a 5m by 5m square cabin lacking a roof, the side walls are composed of full logs consisting of many different diameters and age of logs, some visibly more worn and weathered having different dovetailing and cut marks present, ranging from axe, to hand saw to chain saw cut. Each log has been chinked with moss, there are many additions and newly added features such as fibreglass insulation and plastic vapour barrier.

The second occupation can be seen in the rear of the building, this was added by a common method at Slate Falls in which the entranceway to a new addition is chainsawed out of the wall. The new addition to the cabin is composed largely of milled

lumber and the sidewalls have since collapsed, leaving a standing roof which rests on the remains of the previous addition.

Outside the cabin a transistor radio was recovered with its style and function indicating cabin occupation well into the 1980's, multiple other dateable items were observed scattered around the cabin ranging from cookware and cast-iron stoves, to can middens and other household items.

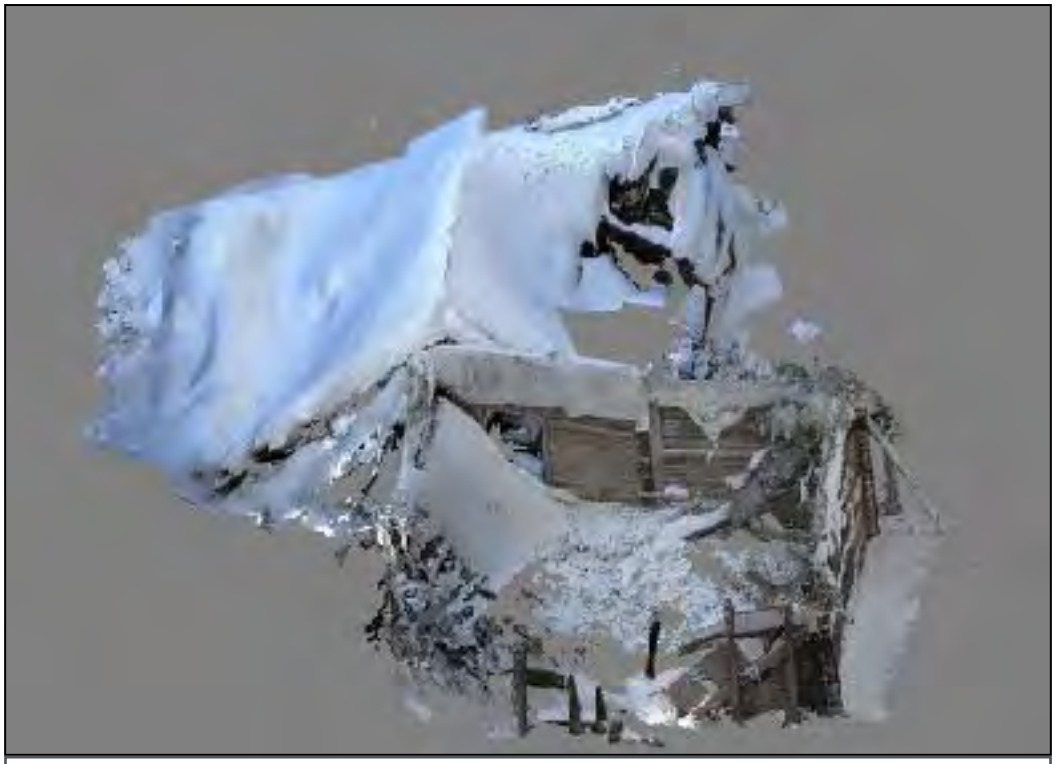


Figure 6.15, Model of Cabin 4 using DSLR imagery facing east from above.

Figure 6.16, Model of Cabin 4 using DSLR imagery facing east from eye level.

Figure 6.17, Model of Cabin 4 using DSLR imagery facing north.

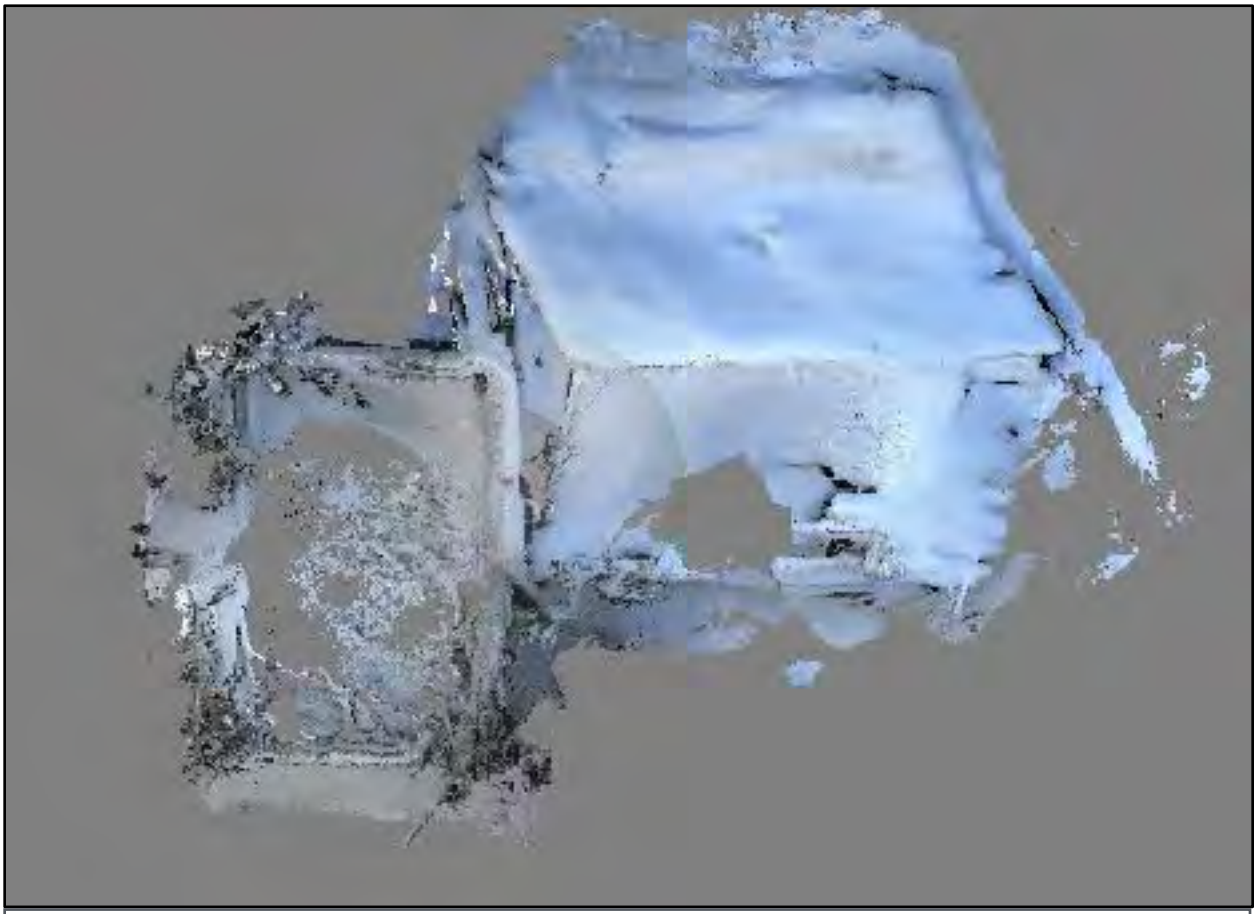


Figure 6.18, Model of Cabin 4 using DSLR imagery from above.

Cabin 7

Cabin 7 was discovered 200m north of Cabin 6 while following the remains of The Old Boardwalk (Chapter 6.6.f pg.175). Cabin 7 sits in a grassy and weed filled clearing, overlooking the lake shore to the southeast. To the west of the house is a black spruce forest with thick moss carpets. The structure may have belonged to a member of the Loon family, as numerous Loon-built cabins are scattered in this area. It was given the nickname 'Loonville' to easily distinguish it from other cabins.

Cabin 7 is likely of older origin but has several additions consisting of multiple tiers of stacked rock foundations. Two major sections of the cabin were easily identifiable one having a flight of wooden stairs in the SE corner. Multiple attachments were added onto the structure. The house is likely to have persisted two or more generations, with additions marking increases in family size. The housing structure burned down as evidenced by the charred timbers and heated rocks near the house foundations, possibly a part of a string of arsons noted by Delford; this affected multiple cabins and occurred in the mid 2000's for unknown reasons (per. com. 2018).

Figure 6.19, Cabin 7 overview as taken by aerial imagery, Cabin 7 location highlighted in red (National Air Photo Library 1986).

The structure was mapped by hand (Figure 6.23) and modelled by drone. After the area was cleared with hand tools to remove vegetation overburden, a 3D model was made, which encompasses a large scatter of

materials (Figure 6.22).

A plan overview sketch was created by measuring the walls of the cabin along with marking the location of artifacts within the cabin (Figure 6.22). Multiple dateable artifacts were located scattered throughout the area surrounding Cabin 7. A pile of leg-hold traps were noted on the northwest portion of the housing feature. A possible generator shed can be seen in Figure 6.22 with a large pile of cans beside it. On top the cans lies a large bathtub with a patent date of 1942. Military surplus ammo cans lay by the shed and were possibly used as tool boxes .

An abandoned boat lies on the shore of the lake near the cabin, and the can dump excavated by the Field School lies to the NW of the cabin by 40 meters. The midden pile related to Cabin 7 consists mainly of canned goods. John, Clarence, Zeb and Eden sorted cans in the can dump to determine diet shifts in the community. Initial estimates placed the can dump dated to the 1980's. In total, 215 cans were sorted, refer Appendix E plates E.26 to E.28. Work ceased when rain began and due to sufficient sample size and limited time, work was not resumed.

Figure 6.20, Drone imagery of Cabin 7 area, Cabin 8 can be seen in the top left.

Figure 6.21, Drone imagery of Cabin 7 facing east.

Figure 6.22, Drone imagery top down Cabin 7

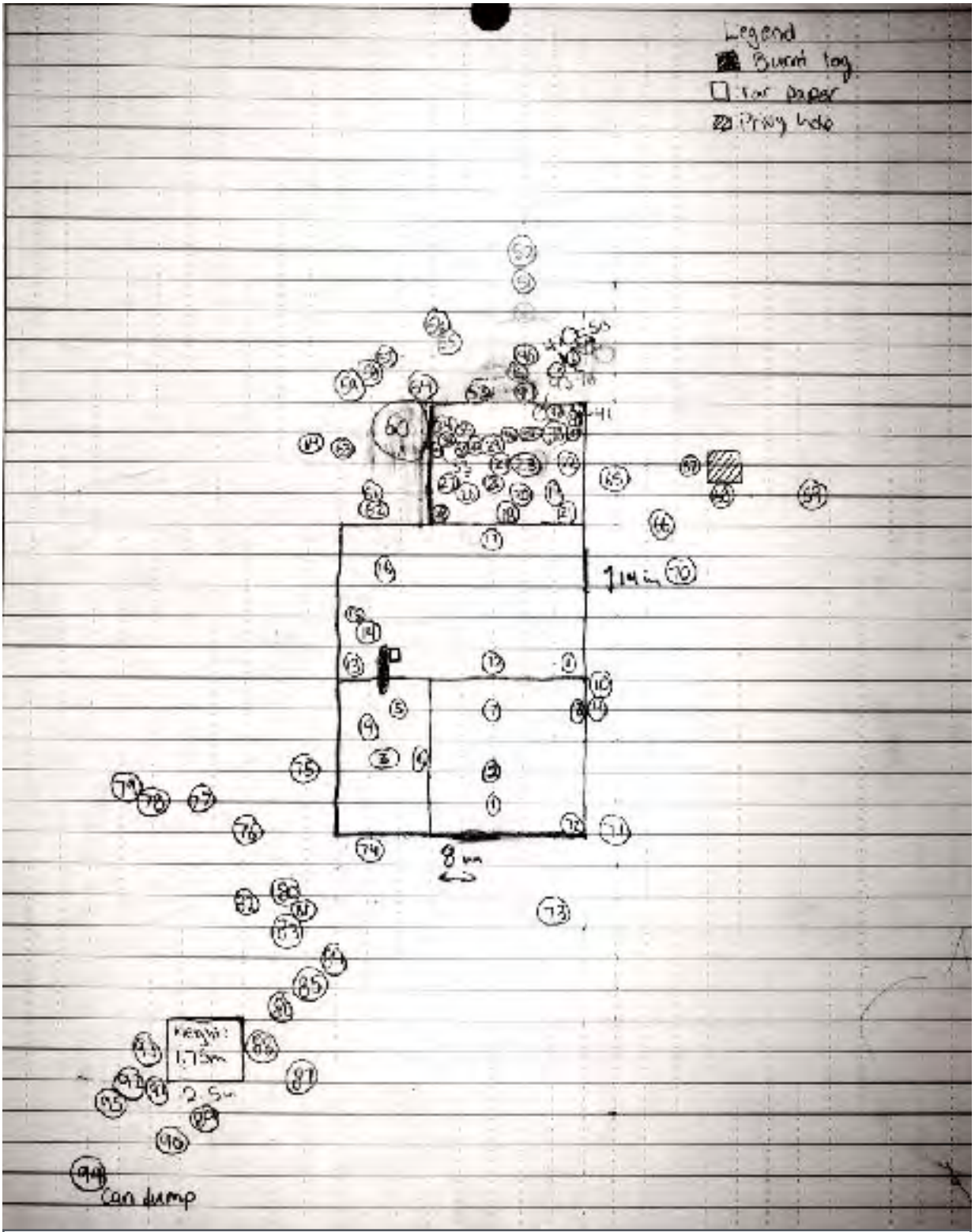


Figure 6.23, Hand mapped artifacts of Cabin 7 area, Refer to Plate E.26 to E.28, Pg. 261 for the index detailing artifact types.

6.3 Area III

Area III consists of the most modern residential area of Old Slate Falls. In this area multiple cabins are found, some of which belong to Evan Kitchense, Charlie Neckon, Cecilia and Floyd Spence, Ruby and George Bighead, the Wesleys, Fred and Elsie Sakakeesic, John Carpenter, and Sam and Jessie Carpenter. Other buildings and structures in the area include the Weather Tower, the Band Office, and the Mackenzie Store and Lodges. Due to the more recent habitation and construction of the cabins and houses, less detail and recording was placed on the documentation of the structures but rather focused on village life and building function through oral testimony.

Many of the houses and cabins experienced expansion during their occupation life, with new additions being built onto a side and then doorways created by cutting out a section of the former outside wall with a chainsaw (Plate E.21, Figure 6.30). Heating for the homes would still be done by wood-stove indicated by the presence of flue and chimney pipes in each cabin. Fibreglass insulation and shingle roofing are present on the majority of roofs in this portion of the community. Power lines connect most of the cabins bringing a more recently implemented amenity; power was not supplied until

Figure 6.24, Area III overview as taken by aerial imagery, cabins have been outlined in black in order to enhance them (National Air Photo Library 1986).

1991 even though the Ear Falls to Pickle Lake transmission line (E1C Line) has run within a few hundred meters of the community since the 1950's. A number of attributes exemplifying shifting building styles can be seen within the cabin structures of Area 3 and in some other cabins recently inhabited. The recent supply of power created a situation in which cables were laid out over top of walls or plywood sheeting (Figure 6.29). Supplied power ushered in the appearance of electric stoves in the community (Figure 6.30) and electric refrigerators (Figure 6.29). Sliding screened windows become commonplace, a feature absent in many of the older iterations of the community. Many of the interior walls began to have painted surfaces. Tiling or vinyl-flooring are seen in many of the cabins (Figure 6.29, 6.30). Manufactured wall-board and particle board is also commonplace in the additions built throughout the community.

Community refuse patterns were significantly harder to locate, fewer can dumps were found near structures in Area III suggesting much of the refuse to be systematically collected and dumped elsewhere. A large amount of outhouses are also found scattered throughout the area, many are located without visible cabins nearby. Verbal testimony from Elsie Sakakeesic indicated members of the community chose to move their homes across the lake during the wintertime as the village began its transition (per. com. 2021).

Below are a number of building with details of their use-life in the village:

- Weather Tower - The MNR installed a weather monitoring system which was relayed daily through the telephone system installed in Sam Carpenters house, and later the Band Office when the telephone was transferred to that location.

- Band Office - A small cabin nearby Mackenzie's Cabins this structure was used for administration and storage of handwritten accounting and files which can still be found in the building to this day. The Band Office was mainly used to organize the move to the other side of the lake. It became a hub when the payphone system was moved from Sam Carpenters house and quickly became a focal

point for members of the community. *“The Band Office was for running the administration, they didn’t have much. It was mostly to organize things for making the move to the other side. 1988 everything was manually bookkeeping”* (Elsie Sakakeesic per. com. 2021).

- Health clinic - Originally the clinic operated out of one of the Mackenzie's Cabins which had been retrofitted for that purpose. Later a new building was build for the clinic, this was dragged across the lake and is currently used as the elementary school.

- Sam Carpenters House - Since it was one of the largest houses in the community it was frequently used as the polling station, acting as a Band Office and voting location during the early years of Slate Falls attaining reserve status. Sam had set up a small radio tower attached for a two way radio. Telus installed a pay phone at this location which was powered by a generator housed in a shed a few dozen feet behind the house. The phone became a major draw with people frequently congregating there, it became a hub in the community.

- Mackenzie's Tourist Operation - He arrived in the late 1940’s married into community and created an air-charter service (Established 1947), in 1956 he had a variety of cabins (5 or 6 as recalled by Elsie) which housed American tourists during the summer months for recreational fishing. “*Mackenzie the old Irish man, he married a Native woman. He started buying furs. He started a store too, dry goods and camp food that what they mainly sold… He passed away suddenly in 1968*” (per. com. with Elsie Sakakeesic 2021).

Figure 6.25, Aerial view of the Mckenzie cabins taken by drone.

Figure 6.26, Aerial view of Area 3 facing west, the weather tower, voting office, and multiple cabins are within view.

Figure 6.27, Aerial view of Area 3 from above taken by drone.

Figure 6.28, Aerial view of Area 3 from above taken by drone.

Figure 6.29, View from Inside cabin in Area III, note vinyl flooring, electric refrigerator, and partitioned rooms

Figure 6.30, View from inside cabin in Area III, note vinyl flooring, electric oven, chainsawed-addition, fluorescent lighting and flue for wood-stove.

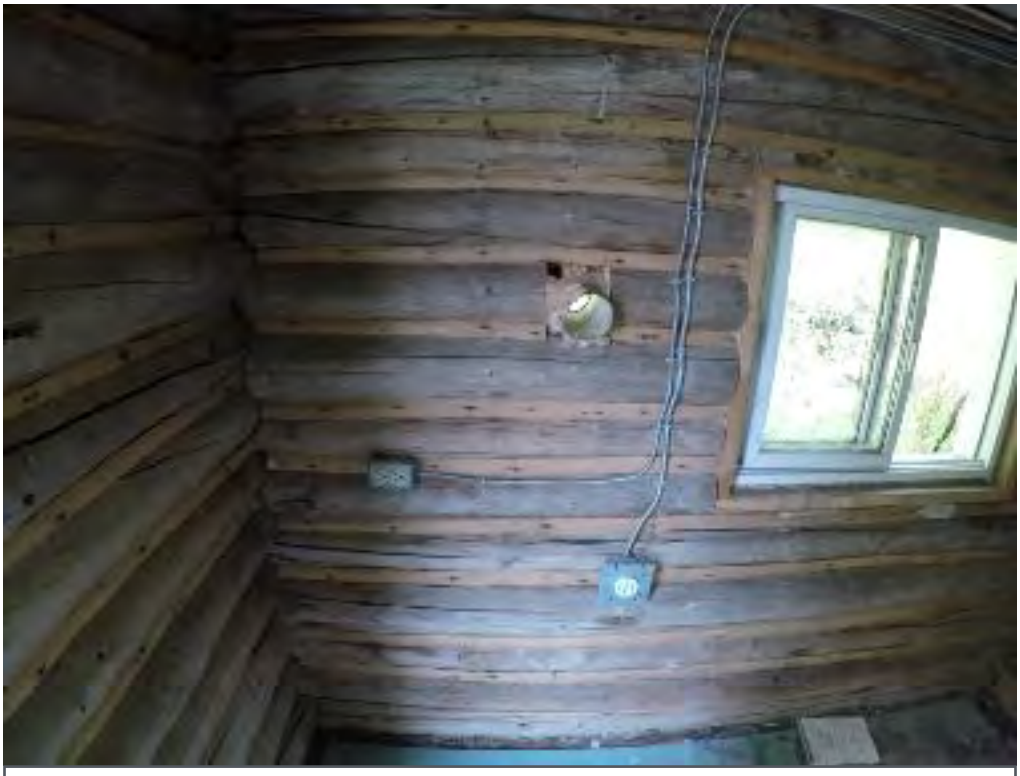


Figure 6.31, View from inside cabin in Area III, electric wiring laid overtop walls, sliding screen window present in cabin.

Figure 6.32, Cabin in Area III, (belonging to Sam Carpenter) propane canisters piled outside of home.

6.4 Area IV.

Area IV is made up of three main buildings built in the 1980's; the 'New School House' and two residence's for school teachers. Laying in close relation to one another they form a unique part of the community. These buildings were separated into a different area (Area IV) due to construction differences, recent building styles and government funding. The educational structures are located in the middle of the village for ease of access by both sides of the community.

Prior to the Band becoming an INAC-registered First Nation, the land was deemed to be Provincial Crown land. Once the residential schools began to shut down, the provincial government created schooling opportunities for the residents, building the New School houses from 1977 which ran until 1998 (per. com. Elsie Sakakesic 2021, Frederico Oliveira citing Jerry Paquette). At which point the federal government took over control of the education in Slate Falls and established a New School house on the south side of the lake.

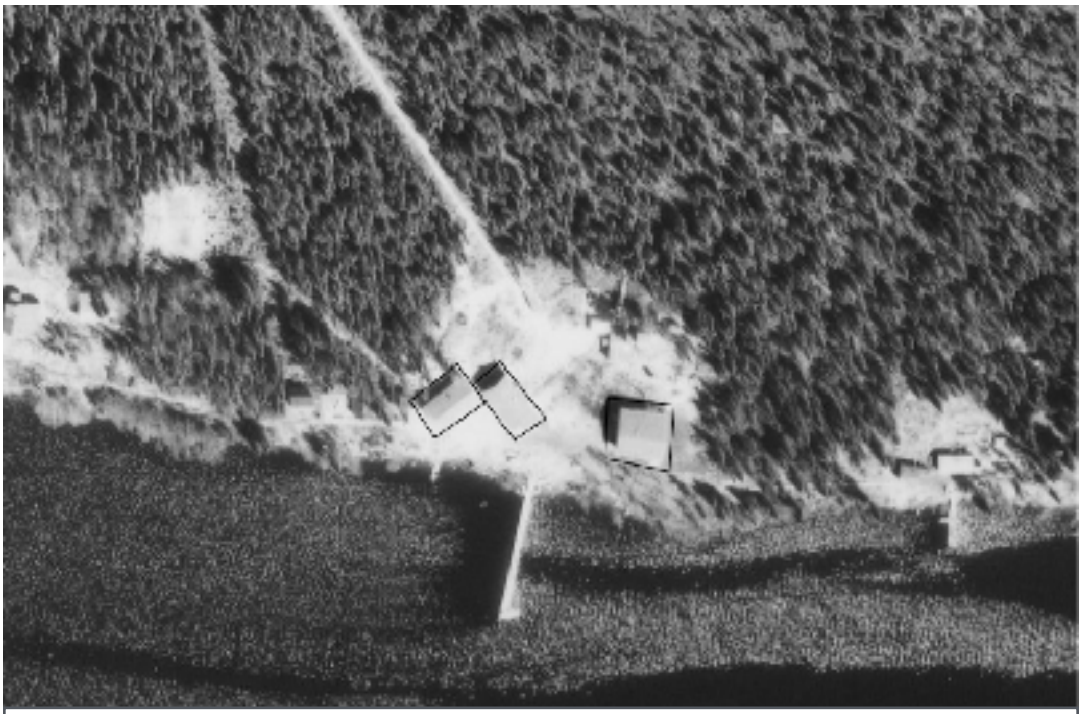


Figure 6.33, Aerial imagery of the Provincial school and the teachers and principals accommodations (National Air Photo Library 1986).

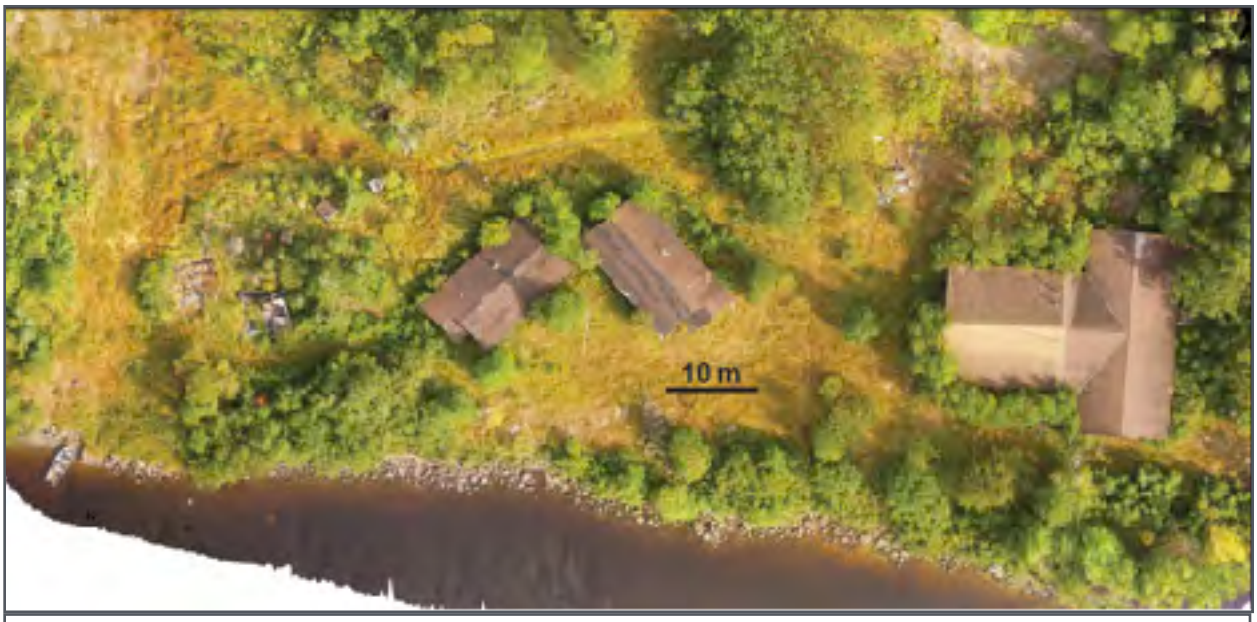


Figure 6.34, Overview taken by drone of the Residences and school.

6.4.a School Teachers & Principals Residence

These log cabins are built in the Swedish cope style and saddle notch corners. The structures are fairly large with a peaked roofs covered in gravelled shingles. The residences can be seen by boat from the waters edge, both structures are located in an overgrown field which is wide open but somewhat wet and low. One of the first recorded archaeological sites came out of the garden of the principal's residence; tilled up in the soil the large biface was attributed to the Archaic period.

A separate building was located in this area which was similar to a mobile house and was constructed for an additional teachers residence. This structure was moved to the other side of the lake during winter and is now in use by the Mennonite mission. These were the last structures built on the north side of Bamaji Lake after this all other structures were moved across the bay to facilitate waterline placements.

Figure 6.35, School Teachers Residence as viewed from exterior.

Figure 6.36, School Teachers Residence as viewed from interior. Grouting used as chinking, multiple preplanned rooms with doors, electric wiring not exposed, finished and varnished logs.

6.4.b The New School

The New School is a large log cabin style with Swedish Cope profile and saddle notch corners. The structure has multiple rooms associated with it and was expanded once to meet a growing population. Multiple outhouses are located surrounding the school with another small shed likely for tools and maintenance. Within the multi-roomed structure a modern furnace system fuelled by propane and was built to tap into the existing power-lines which run just to the immediate north. This building is typical representation of construction methods employed in the late 80's, although the use of wood-beams could be considered to be more unique and a building style to fit in with the rest of the communities building style. The structure features florescent tube lighting and halogen lighting, carpeted floor, and stud walls with fibreglass insulation.

Figure 6.37, The New School as viewed from exterior, east facing wall. Large amount of foliage and regrowth surround the structure.

Figure 6.38, The New School, south facing wall.

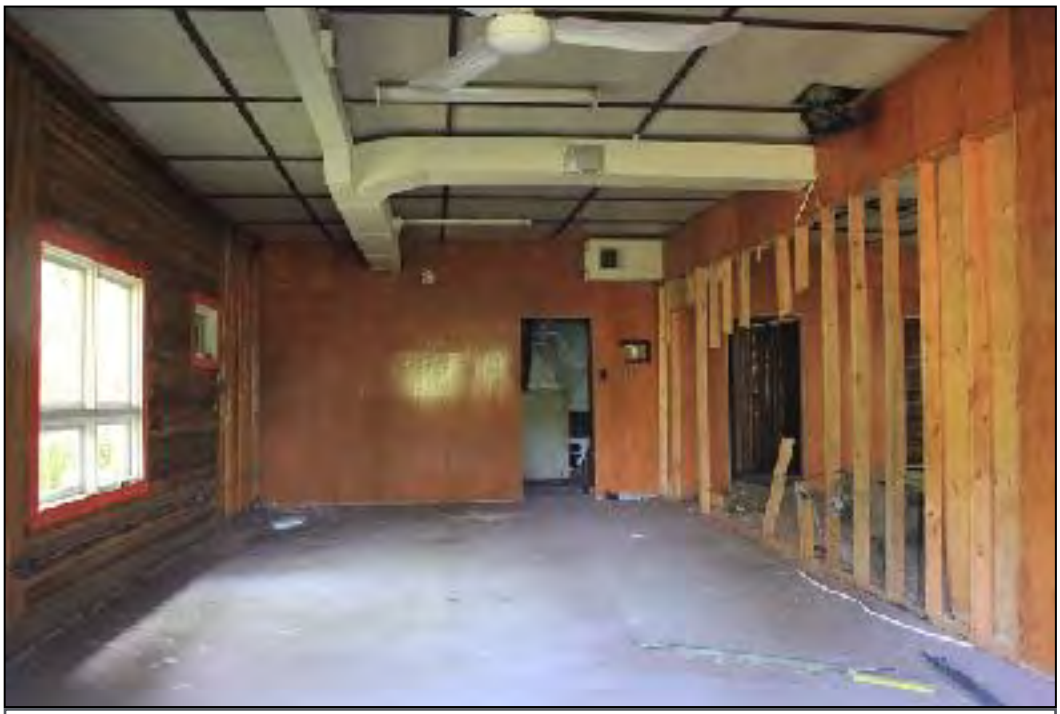


Figure 6.39, Interior of The New School, modern attributes; H-vac ducting, florescent lighting, ceiling tiles, partitioned rooms, sliding windows, carpeted floor, and electric celling fan.

6.5 Outliers

6.6.a Cabin 3

Cabin 3 was found during a pedestrian survey along the lakeshore. Cabin 3 is located to east of Sams Cabin approximately 300m. It is largely still upright and intact, indicating a long potential use life with artifacts dating from 1870 until 1990. A signature from a member of the Loon family was discovered on a label in the Cabin alongside a calendar dating to 1990. The cabin is removed from the shorefront by about 40 meters on an elevated rocky plateau. Young saplings of birch, spruce and poplar obscure its view from the shorefront. It is representative of an outlier in the area classification due to its location on the border edge of Area 1 and Area 2, its traditional structure and building techniques, with a relatively recent inhabitation.

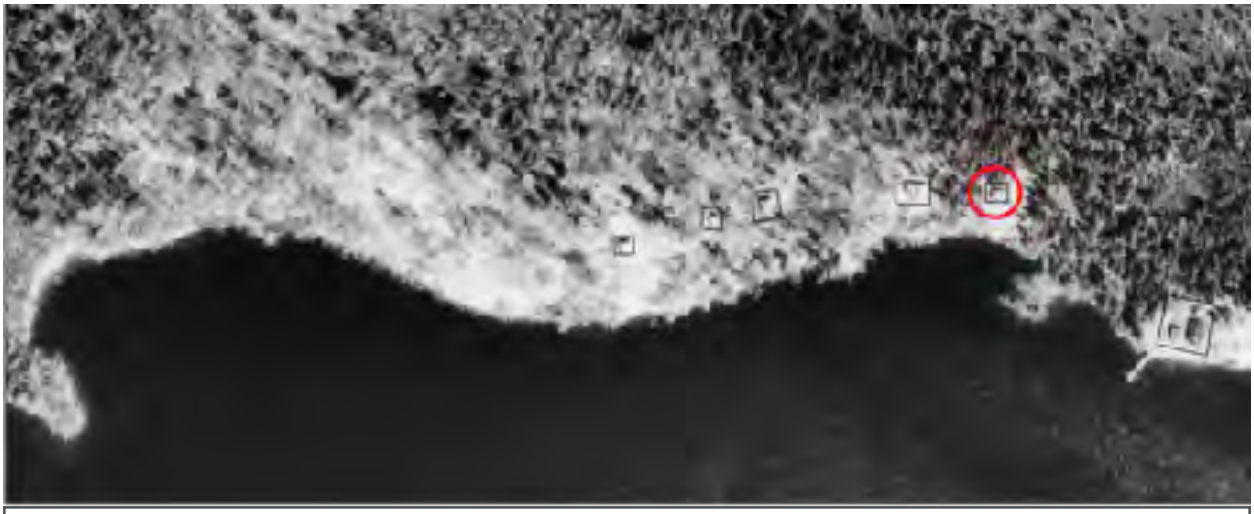


Figure 6.40, Location of Cabin 3 based on aerial photo (National Air Photo Library 1986).

Cabin 3 is a comparatively simple one room log structure that is likely consistent with Sam's Cabin and Cabin 2. The log walls show evidence of moss chinking as well it is packed with fibreglass insulation and capped by 1/4 split pine poles. The cabin is partitioned with a single divider wall, presumably to separate the sleeping area from the living space without impeding warm air circulation from the homemade barrel stove located in the southeast corner near the door. The cabin has a raised floor to help with

heat retention in the winters. With multiple layers, the floor reflects evidence of renovation of the original structure. The windows were cut into the log walls with lumber framing chinked with fibreglass insulation. Large sheets of plastic were also installed under the shingles to act as a vapour barrier. A barrel stove inside the cabin is the most recently used heating source, while a large cast iron wood stove sits outside. On top of the wood stove outside the cabin, multiple sections of broken axes were found alongside a complete Welland and Vale axe. This axe has a manufacturing date range between 1873 and the 1890's based upon its stamped impressed cartouche (Plate D4 pg. 261) (Communications with David Peterson citing G.E. French 2010, and A. Klenman 2006). This older artifact indicates the curation of older technology well into the recent past.

Cabin 3 is an ideal example of the reuse and refurbishment of historic structures within Old Slate Falls. The inside of the log walls were coated with plastic to stop drafts, and sheets of cardboard were stapled and tacked to the exterior to increase heat retention. An old snow-machine track acts as a doormat, covering the few stairs that lead into the cabin. Multiple layers of roofing including tar paper and layers of shingles protect the roof. The small size and intactness and relatively simple nature of Cabin 3 made it a good candidate for 3D modelling. This cabin was modelled under multiple conditions, utilizing different techniques to test methodologies for 3D modelling. Video footage, pictures, and drone photography were all used to model the cabin. Multiple modelling trials were conducted on the structure and are available in Plates E.13 to E.16 Pg. 272. The highest resolution models were created using a DSLR camera in the winter, seen in Figure 6.34.

Figure 6.41, Cabin 3 facing south.

Figure 6.42, Model of Cabin 3 using DSLR imagery.

Figure 6.43, Photograph of Cabin 3 facing northwest.

6.6.b Tents and Tenting Platforms

The sole evidence of wall tent occupation observed during the archaeological investigation was found on a small peninsula which juts out onto Lake Bamaji (Figure 6.37). The area contains a full-sized cabin (Cabin 9) with outbuildings including evidence of two semi permanent structures, a tent platform, and a walled tent frame.

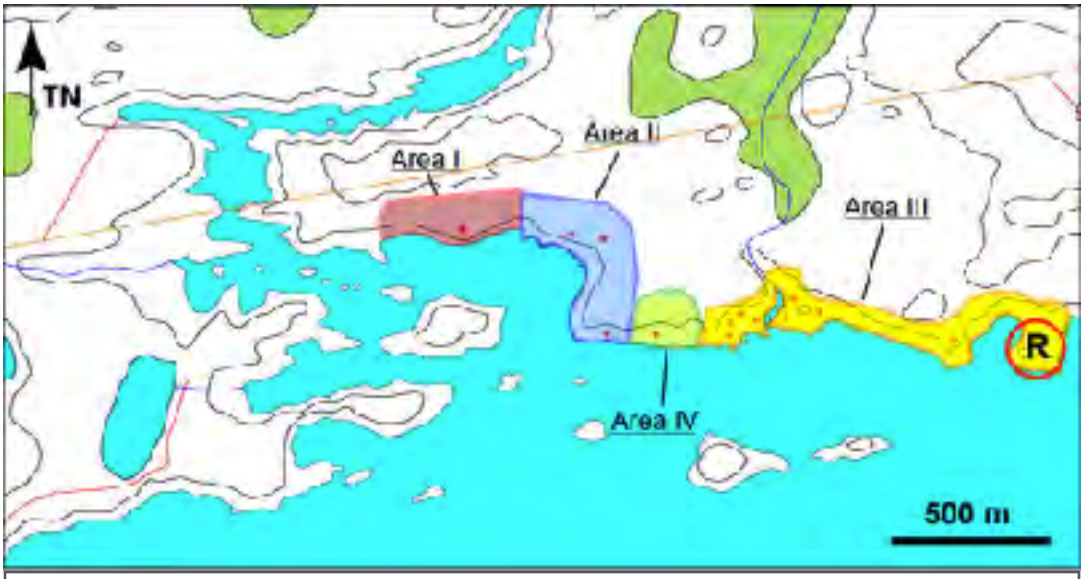


Figure 6.44, Cabin 9 is indicated by a large 'R' encircled in red which stands for Rooster, one of the original inhabitant of the location. The peninsula has multiple structures; two tent platforms and one cabin.

Tenting Platform

Cabin 10 consists of the foundation of a semi permanent structure, likely a tent platform. Found directly to the west of Cabin 9 (John Roosters Cabin). The area had been excavated and flattened with a measurement of 5ft x 10ft. A large pile of fibreglass insulation lies in a heap in what would be the entrance to the structure. This structure is consistent with expectations of other short-term encampment habitations that might be found widely throughout the area. Families would move from structure to structure depending on where they need to be at different times throughout the year. This platform and the tent frame seen in Cabin 11 are evidence of semi-sedentarism in the

population of Slate Falls and was likely inhabited during the summer fishing months.

Figure 6.45, Cabin 10, large pile of insulation on open flattened area.

Figure 6.46, Cabin 10, wooden beams “runners” for tent platform

Tent Frame

Cabin 11 is the frame of a walled-tent located to the immediate west of the Roosters Cabin and is to the immediate northwest of Cabin 10. It rests on an elevated rise of bedrock overlooking Lake Bamaji to the south. Cabin 11 consists of collapsed sections of timber frame for a double-walled tent (Figure 6.40). A large pile of plastic and tires is found scattered around the structure. Likely a fishing tent for people in the 1980's, this would have been a similar structure used on the platform in Cabin 10. The lack of a tent at cabin 10 indicates the potential for this frame to have been used on the platform.

Figure 6.47, Cabin 11, frame of walled tent, nearby to Cabin 9 and 10.

6.6 Unique Cultural Features

A number of significant cultural features were discovered or documented and were recorded below. These features, scattered throughout the area surrounding Slate Falls, add to the narrative and enrich understanding of this Village and how it came to be. Associated locations for each feature can be found in Plate E.1 to E.3 Pg. 262 .

6.6.a Flat Backed Canoe

The canoe is located near Cabin 7 in the woods to the immediate south. Descriptions of similar vessels by Sam Carpenter suggest that it might have been used in the 1930's or 40's, although I speculate similar vessels could have been used in service up until the 1980's. Its use life is seen through multiple layers of paint applied to the watercraft. A thick carpet of moss covers the hull, while the two ends of the canoe are exposed. The vessel may have been used in the commercial fishing operations run on Lake Bamaji and Osnaburgh. Sam remembers square backed freight canoes being used with outboard motors to get to Osnaburgh House. He could recollect till 1930 and remembers using a small motor (two h.p.) being used to pull 3 canoes. As time passed, larger motors were used, perhaps shifting from 2.5 h.p., up to 8hp, on to much larger motors that are currently in widespread use (i.e. 20 to 25 h.p.).

Figure 6.48, Bow of flat backed canoe.

6.6.b The Graveyards

When undertaking fieldwork, it is my personal practise to pay respect to the dead by visiting the burial places before undertaking research, and again at the end of that research. In many First Nations communities a strong stigma of grave-robbing and the curation of human remains is associated strongly with archaeology. Though showing respect and due diligence when conducting archaeological investigations these associations can be relieved. Multiple burial places were highly visible to us as we undertook fieldwork. The current burial place is located along the road used to reach our boat launch, with the old cemetery being visible along the water route to old Slate Falls (figure reference). Both cemeteries lie to the north of the current Slate Falls community. The Old Slate Falls cemetery is accessed by boat near the mouth of the Cat River into Bamaji Lake. A dock resides on the river bank leading to a path which rises up to a terrace where the old cemetery is situated. Over 50 graves are likely located at this old cemetery. Most of these graves are enclosed within a wood fence, with a wood cross or headstone marking them. Many of the older graves are no longer marked with a wood cross, and are defined only by a shallow depression in the ground. This old cemetery is still in use with some community members still being buried with their family members in the Old Sate Falls cemetery across the river from the modern one. No photographs of the cemetery were included in this thesis as a mark of respect.

6.6.c Potato Pits

Pits used for potato storage are reported at Osnaburgh House and Fort Albany, and local stories also reference small potato gardens and sub-ground storage facilities at Old Slate Falls. Root-crop growing was likely common since such small plots could be left with minimal tending throughout the summer when people travelled to Osnaburgh or when engaged in commercial fishing. Fall harvest and storage could be done upon return to Slate Falls, and this provided a supplemental food supply into the winter. Numerous depressions were located throughout the village, some were small (40cm in diameter) in nature, while others were larger (up to 2m x3m). An irregularly shaped pit to the immediate east of Sam's Cabin was initially interpreted to be a potato storage pit, but further research into storage techniques indicate a higher likelihood for a square depression (2m x 2m) 15m north of Sams Cabin to be a more likely candidate; refer to Ch 7.3 Pg. 170.

6.6.d Portage Site

The portage around the Slate Falls rapids is located a few hundred meters upstream from the cemetery, refer to Plate E.1. It is approximately 5 ft wide and 20 feet long. In situations of higher water levels there could be two portage routes, but the main passage is located at the second set of rapids up from the initial set (Figure 6.49). Eroded grades marking the portage path are noted at the bank, with the portage having a sandy bottom. Wooden roller logs are still in place, but many are old and rotted. Evidence of recent use can be seen through scraped aluminium particles sticking to large boulders along the passageway.

Figure 6.49, Slate Falls Portage route as determined by archaeological evidence.

6.6.e Islands of Bamaji

The many islands on Lake Bamaji have varied local cultural uses. During the summer many of these islands are used as fishing camps. According to Sam Carpenter the old timers would set up tipis (wigwams) on the islands in the headwaters of North Bamaji and use them as summer fish camps (refer to Plate. E1). Historically islands were also frequently used as a kennel for sled dogs and may have been used as such at Slate Falls. During the summer of 1961 a forest fire encroached on the cabins of Slate Falls, thereby forcing the community to flee the mainland by boat and take refuge on the small islands in North Bamaji Lake.

Figure 6.50, A large stone slab taken and placed as a seat, in a prime fishing location.

6.6.f The BoardWalk

A 3 to 4 foot wide wooden boardwalk extends along the landward side of the community, providing easier walking access between residential centres. It was composed of log runners with 2x4's nailed transversely on top. The boardwalk runs northwards from the Mission House to at least as far as Cabin 7, and likely further, and east to the area near the old band office. Our study did not reveal how long the boardwalk was or how many houses it connected. Numerous outhouses litter the ground throughout the area, these would be commonly seen without evidence of existing cabin foundations nearby.

6.6.g Ice Houses and Evidence of Commercial Fishing

Evidence of commercial fishing can be seen scattered across the shores of North Bamaji Lake; sets of torn and shredded netting lie scattered along its rocky banks. Old derelict boats and vessels lie abandoned in the bush and occasionally on the shores. A vital component to commercial fishing was the production and maintenance of the ice houses found near Slate Falls which would preserve fish until aircraft arrived to transport the catch to fish processing facilities located to the south. The best preserved of such ice house remains standing along the lake shore near the mission house (Plate E.8). This building is approximately 10m by 5m in size, and presently contains debris from secondary function as a storage area (refer to Figure 6.51).

Near the Mission House a dock, in the form of pilings, can be seen in the waterway along the front of the ice house and would have allowed for fast and efficient loading of the float planes. Ice houses were known to keep blocks of ice frozen year round when insulated with sawdust. Within the ice house, multiple pairs of shoes and other materials were located within the heaps of wood shavings. An example of a homemade mukluk can be seen in Figure 6.45. Found inside the piece of footwear, small fragments of fishbone were found.

Figure 6.51, Interior of the ice house.

Figure 6.52, Handmade Mukluk from the Ice house.

6.6.h The Can Dump

The Can Dump is located on a small peninsula which protrudes into Lake Bamaji just below The Slate Falls (Plate E.1). First interpreted to be the refuse from a nearby cabin, failure to find a nearby cabin foundation, led to enquiries with the residents of Slate Falls. This revealed that the feature was created from the cleaning up of multiple fishing camps on nearby islands, and the refuse was brought to a location out of the way to be deposited. This can dump assists in understanding temporal discrepancies between clusters of artifacts found scattered near the earlier cabins and structures of Old Slate Falls. Disposal methods utilizing sleds or other means to move garbage to remote locations become more widespread in the later years of the village, middens associated with cabins become less readily seen dating from the 1960's onwards.

Figure 6.53, Large can dump with multiple artifacts ca. early 1900's and many into the 1980's.

CH.7 Discussion

Introduction

Chapter Seven consists of several sections. The first offers a basic timeline for the Slate Falls Village, coupled with an explanation of the discrete historic periods used in this thesis. These time periods are then contextualized using shifting material utilization and food resources in Slate Falls.

The next section details life in the cabins and reviews how building construction, refurbishment, movement and recycling changed through the years. Finally, the archaeological and ethnographic findings are compared. This critically evaluates the role of historic archaeology in supplementing ethnographic data collected from living members of the community.

7.1 Historic Summary of Old Slate Falls

Timeline of Culture Phases Seen in Slate Falls

Applying the contents of Chapter 2, important Post-contact trends and influences affecting Old Slate Falls Village are highlighted through a series of time blocks. These reflect the gradually escalating external influences upon Slate Falls people and the resultant cultural adaptations. Pre-contact components are shown in the basic timeline below to provide time-scale reference.

Paleo Hunter Gatherer Phase: 9,500 - 7,000 BP
Shield Archaic Period: 7,000 - 2,500 BP
Initial Woodland Phase: 2,500 - 2000 BP
Laurel Period: 2,000 - 1,000 BP
Black Duck Phase: 1,200 - 600 BP
Lake Woodland Period: 1000 -1650 AD
Post-Contact Traditional 1650 - 1850 AD
Transitional: 1850 - 1960 AD
Modern 1960 - Present

Post-Contact (Traditional): 1650 - 1850

The Post-contact period (Traditional) characterizes the period after European contact is established, but when traditional values and much of the traditional material culture and ways of life remained dominant. The timing of this era varies with geography and reflects the nature and intensity of direct European presence, and the logistical network that enabled movement of manufactured goods into the region. While it is generally accepted that the inland trade operations after the early 1700's enabled more frequent trade opportunities, some Indigenous communities chose to incorporate only a comparatively narrow range of foreign technology and would opt to utilize their known

resources. Many communities would choose to practice a more traditional economy long after coming in contact with Europeans.

Waste disposal patterns during this period should reflect those of the traditional cultural elements in the area. Examples of possible Pre-contact waste disposal are seen in EgJv-9 In a Laurel occupation, FCR and heavily processed bone were located in a dense cluster, further excavation and understanding of this occupations waste disposal needs to be further documented before more attributes can be understood.

Since the foraging economy of these hunter-trapper-fisher extended families required high mobility across large harvest territories, it is likely they limited their personal possessions to that which could be readily transported throughout this seasonal round. Efficient and durable items such as copper or brass kettles, sewing needles, textiles, axes, knives, fire-steels, firearms and ornamental items might have replaced traditional materials, but these goods where adapted and integrated into a traditional economy. This new contact did, however, encourage local populations to engage in more intensive fur trapping and other resource collection for trade, setting the stage for longstanding shifts in cultural norms and foraging rounds.

Transitional: 1850 -1960

This period is characterized by steadily increasing social, political, economic and spiritual influence from Euro-Canadians. The development of east-west railway transportation networks, first in ca. 1885 with the CPR and later in the early 1900's with the railways that merge into the CNR quickly supplanted the waterway supply networks. This led to the establishment of a series of railway towns that facilitated Euro-Canadian settlement as the ‘natural resource frontier’ expanded northwards.

Missionaries began establishing themselves in the northern interior holding frequent services. Coupled with the 1905 Treaty Nine, provincial and federal agencies began exerting growing influence in the region, most notably through annuity payments,

Indian Residential Schools and through external authority figures such as the Indian Agent and law enforcement. The 1930's led to expanding mineral exploration and mine development prompting larger numbers of newcomers to expand the northern settlements. These settlers created or expanded hydro-electric infrastructure, and increased pressure on fur and food resources within the region.

This gradually intensified external pressure for change which included a shift from semi-sedentarism to sedentarism, particularly within communities located close to these centres of Euro-Canadian settlement. Interestingly, Slate Falls residents appear to have resisted this pressure, being careful to maintain their autonomy with their residences far removed from Osnaburgh House and the road infrastructure that supported both Osnaburgh House and the nearby town of Pickle Lake. That said, it is clear that lifestyles and economies had begun to shift in face of these outside influences. The beginning of the Transitional Period is defined by selective adoption or modification of European goods and technologies while maintaining traditional lifestyles. Material assemblages of the Slate Falls people during this period may have included a number of diagnostic artifacts. Flintknapped glass container-ware becomes apparent. Recycling and modification of metal containers through cutting, and modification into piercing or chopping tools and cookware is also seen. In Slate Falls the modification of bone is readily available and numerous artifacts follow traditional technological elements.

The above listed artifact types if recovered in similar site settings, would be expected to be found in conjunction with European utilitarian goods such as traps, netting, knives, axes and other edged tools, firearms, blankets and textiles, and some personal goods such as buttons, tobacco and even pocket-watches becoming incorporated into material assemblages such as that at Slate Falls. New or unique technologies and ideas are also adopted during this period, allowing for faster harvesting and efficient transportation. In the case of Slate Falls the adoption of the use of dog sleds and blackpowder muskets is readily seen.

This period is also characterized by the beginning of a shift from high-mobility foraging supported by temporary shelters (wigwams and tipi-like structures) to a semi-sedentary lifestyle based around strategically located log cabin villages. Nonetheless, many traditional practices remained in place well into the 1950's. It was common for several extended families to seasonally occupy cabins in the same locality, leading to the development of small informal hamlets like Slate Falls, with extended forays to harvest resources periodically occurring. These outlying resource harvest areas might be supported by establishment of a more permanent log trap line cabin, or more temporary tents structures. Log cabins and walled canvas tents were important innovations of this time that reflect the integration of European technologies into the lifestyle of the Mishkeegogamang without significantly altering their subsistence lifestyle or traditional resource collection. Housing materials would no longer have to be collected and assembled in each seasonal location. Instead, families could move from one cabin location to the next, each set up in strategic locations or have an expedient durable structure to readily set up.

Changes in waste disposal patterns are not fully documented in Slate Falls, found evidence follows similar patterns to those seen in other early Post-contact period European occupations. A general pattern is emergent beginning with broadcast disposal methods, slowly shifting to waste midden piling (Stanley South 1979, Scott Hamilton per. com. 2021). Recovered materials from the occupation at Bonecrush indicates refuse materials are widely dispersed, although concentrations of bone were noted and were initially interpreted to be cultural features (refer to Chapter 7.5 Pg. 206). The area surrounding Sam's Cabin has a layer of bones, cans, and ash found throughout the leaf-litter of test-pits conducted. Shallow probes while conducting metal detection in nearby clearing to the immediate east (30m) of Sams Cabin revealed a thin but uniform lens of broken faunal material within the area. A direct corresponding quote was provided by Elsie Carpenter (per. com. 2018) *"Rubbish was scattered outside, flung out the cabin door or walked out and then chucked, there was no particular dumping place".* As test pits were dug farther north from the cabin, a corresponding decrease in faunal assemblage was noted. Largely built up with refuse materials, a nearby area south from

the cabin is interpreted to be an archaeological midden. This area, which has large sections of undulating bedrock, acted as an area which material could easily have been flung and possibly trapped. Waste disposal evidence seen at Sams Cabin and the verbal history of Elsie Sakakessic follows patterns of sheet middens and broadcast scatters seen throughout numerous other site types documented by historic and prehistoric archaeologists such as Stanley South (1979), John Yellen (1979), and Lewis Binford (1978).

Towards the end of the transitional period, European influence gradually increased. This was spurred by access to a broader range of consumer goods, new supply networks utilizing the railroad networks, gradual erosion of land rights in light of a more pervasive presence of Indian Agents and Provincial conservation officers, and an increasingly stressed resource-based economy caused by the growing numbers of non-Indigenous people moving into the natural resource extraction townsites. Flooding caused by hydroelectric dams destroyed sturgeon breeding grounds, berry and wild rice patches, and flooded viable agricultural plots thereby significantly reducing a longstanding economic base.

In Slate Falls traditional land use practices persisted longer, in large measure because of the self-imposed isolation within the hamlet rather than taking up residence at Osnaburgh House where they were deemed to be Band members. It also reflects a deliberate choice by older community leaders who sought to maintain autonomous land use within their own traditional harvest territories. Birch canoes were still produced until the 1950's. Bone tools were still used, and many trappers continued to circulate among their seasonal hunting grounds. Self-reliance and self-determinism were maintained, but while simultaneously adopting a broader range of non-local manufactured technology. Traditional seasonal rounds would be followed but involved use of square-backed cedar and canvas canoes supporting an outboard motor. Stoves would be purchased or made from repurposed oil drums and cans. The adoption or modification of European technology at this point did not radically alter the subsistence lifestyle of Slate Falls people.

Modern: 1950 - Present

The introduction of mechanized transportation such as the snow machine, airplane, and cat-trains provide more efficient movement of people and commodities, particularly with the development of railway towns as sources of supplies and services. Coupled with local day schools and nursing stations, a shift away from semi-sedentary to a more fully sedentary lifestyle occurred. This was further compounded by sharply increasing costs for fuel and general declining value of commercial fur harvest. Evidence of this trend at Slate Falls dates from the 1960's onwards, and is commonly associated with increasingly larger cabins associated with snowmobile parts, accessories, and derelict machines. Such cabins more frequently feature lean-to additions, and incorporate imported milled frame windows, the addition of electrical cable, switches and outlets, and asphalt and tar paper roofing materials. They also frequently feature extensive sheet middens containing a wider assortment of food containers and other consumer goods. Many such cabins are associated with dock cribs, which are used for loading and unloading larger watercraft and floatplanes. These underwater wharf cribs for docks are absent in older portions of the village. When both of these features are present; the wharf cribs and snow machines, this is associated with cabins that have occupation year round; A conclusion supported by communications with Elsie Sakakeesic 2021 who indicated people would frequently return to their cabins in both the summer and winter.

Evidence of waste disposal patterns shift once again within the community of Slate Falls with the obvious formation of distinct midden piles largely consisting of cans. An example of Midden piling can be seen in the midden at Loonville dating from the 1960's to the 1980's (refer to Table E.1). Later period occupations in the community (1970-1990) indicate a further change in waste disposal shifting to a pick up and dump style reflecting larger amounts of imported non-organic waste produced with the widespread use of floatplanes bringing in goods and materials (refer to Chapter 4, Figure 4.6). In the majority of Area III of the community a general lack of middens were

readily noticeable (refer to Chapter 6.3, pg. 152). The lack of middens in this area corresponds to verbal history in which refuse materials would be collected and hauled often via sled in winter to be dumped in various locations away from housing structures. Members of the Slate Falls communities noted that as time progressed an increasingly larger amount of garbage was created, cumulating in the eventual addition of the modern landfill to the southern and newest iteration of the community.

Increased employment opportunities lead to radical changes in economy and lifestyle among the Slate Falls community. Commercial fishing operations, tourism, logging, and gold mines become a means to increase a household income. With the exception of commercial fishing, these employment opportunities required people to leave the community to seek wage labour. This creates a slow shift from trapping lifestyles, and when coupled with lower market prices for furs in the 1960's and 70's, a further shift from this lifestyle is evident. Many individuals begin to leave smaller isolated communities to travel to larger city centres for education and work. Eventually, traditional skills become less common in the younger populations, as they prioritized Euro-Canadian education and employment opportunities.

Although many traditional lifestyles and pursuits have largely been lost, activities such as fishing and hunting still tie the people firmly to this land. Revitalization and passing of traditional knowledge and techniques are becoming more widespread. Efforts to preserve this knowledge are continuously being made as the institutions and forces that have eroded them have been turned to nurture these ideologies once more.

7.2 Localized Material Utilization Seen in Slate Falls

A prevalent use of *'what is on hand'* to make tools persists throughout all of history in this region. Locally available materials were often used expediently, and were persistent components in tool kits; being comparatively inexpensive but also efficient. The use of local materials and reuse of imported goods granted the people of Slate Falls greater self-sufficiency and is consistent with the theme expressed in the interviews emphasizing local autonomy.

First Nations contact with Europeans reflects an adaptation from tradition, in which populations integrate new technologies and lifestyles with ancient ways of living. Technological change sparks a sense of creativity by providing imported and new materials or technology which can be taken and modified. It can also allow for improved efficiency in gathering and processing of materials, bolstering a land-based economy.

Evidence Provided in Slate Falls

A chipped glass scraper and cutting tool were recovered in close proximity upon a cobble beach exposed by low water levels at site EgJv-8 (see Chapter 5.6, Figures 5.33 and Plates C.15 & C.16). They appear to be made from glass bottles estimated to be manufactured between 1870 and the mid 1900's on the basis of attributes indicating manufacturing technique. The manufacturing style is indicative of alcohol bottles, but it could have held a tonic or carbonated liquid. The glass tools were found with one section of a stoneware mug fragment, which has flakes detached from one portion of the piece. The flake scars on the mug were interpreted as test flaking to assess material type. It is unknown if other portions of the mug were fashioned into tools. It should be noted that these items come from poor depositional context, found along exposed lakeshore normally inundated by the lake and although they display little evidence of wave-battering or random chipping they have poor context. That being said these pieces are located within the immediate area used by the residents of Slate Falls and

are consistent with characterization of the Transitional Period when older traditions of production persisted using newly available materials. Ethnographers such as Alanson Skinner have recorded the use of stone tool and flintknapping along the Albany River system in 1911 (Alanson Skinner, 1911 pg. 52).

Frequently, ferric sheet metal containers found a use life much longer than their original intended function. The challenges of transporting goods, and the relatively minimalistic lifestyle in historic Slate Falls encouraged the frequent reuse of vessels and containers. Excavated or recovered containers were often modified to serve new functions, including strainers, buckets, boiling vessels, chimney stovepipe and other utilitarian purposes (refer to Table 5.5, Pg.104). As the modification and use of cans and containers as boiling pots became more common, this likely contributed to the decline in use and eventual abandonment of moose and caribou stomachs, birch bark containers, or pottery. Of course, it is recognized that many of these traditional containers made from organic materials will not leave an archaeological signature. It should also be noted that families were likely to have carefully curated copper kettles and prized cooking wares, resulting in an overrepresentation of expedient container ware in the excavated middens.

A number of lard cans were documented in Old Slate Falls. Through oral testimony, the purchase of lard was very limited, suggesting an extended use-life for such objects acting as cooking vessels and water storage containers. Another example of metalwork comes from a probe in Sam's Cabin, which uncovered a handmade cooking whisk made of thick snare wire (Plate C.10, Pg. 250).

Large ferric sheet metal containers stamped with 'Vacuum Oil LTD' date to the 1930's, and were modified into component parts for a sheet metal stove (Plate C.6). These cans were commonly cut with shears to open the square container into large flat metal sheets that were then rolled into tubes to make home-made stove piping, that were interconnected by cutting the ends to reduce the diameter, allowing one pipe section to be inserted into the unmodified end of the next one (Figure 5.15). Large flat

sections of oil containers would be cut and reworked to serve as roof flashing to insulate the stove pipes as they passed through the roof, thereby reducing fire hazard. Trimmed and discarded sections of ferric sheet metal had been recovered in EgJv-6 and EgJv-5. Four sections of repurposed sheet metal flashing pieces were recovered around the immediate area of Sam's cabin. The sheets had holes of different diameters, indicating the use of at least three different diameters of stove pipe.

Verbal histories indicate that collapsible sheet metal wood-stoves were transported with the family as they moved throughout their seasonal round. Such non-locally manufactured stoves were likely purchased specifically to support short term hunting, fishing and trapping camps because the stoves would take up less space in transport. One prefabricated wood-stove was recovered in EgJv-5; it was collapsible and manufactured in the early 20th century. It's possible that this belonged to the Carpenter family, but could also have been used by other families, such as the Loons (plate C.7). In contrast, fuel drums were locally modified to make home-made wood stoves, but their bulk and weight would make them more likely to be permanently installed at log cabins.

Caches of materials would be made at each campsite as well. Although a noticeable assemblage of oil cans were noted, no gas cans were found, there is a possibility of continued reuse of the gas containers leading to little refuse, but it is also possible that the oil cans would instead serve as fuel containers furthering their life of reuse before further modification.

Utilization of bone tools remained common throughout recovered assemblages dating well into the 50's. This is verified by oral traditions as well, but their use was limited to hide processing and tanning. Scrapers and bone beamers (see Chapter 5.3) were commonly used to process hides and furs. These same technologies are likely to be prehistoric in design.

The refurbishment of objects and goods into new products and tools is a common practice which persists into the 1980's. Examples include tacking cardboard to cabin walls, refurbishing old cabins, reuse of timber from older log cabins, and the use of snow machine tracks as doormats. One common feature that was noted in newer structures was the replacement of cast iron wood stoves with repurposed fuel drums (Plate D.1, Pg. 260). This was a common feature seen throughout the old Village often older wood-stoves in good condition would sit outside the house and in their place inside oil drums were used.

7.3 Shifting Food Resources in Slate Falls

The archaeological assemblages recovered in Slate Falls allow for a review of shifting food consumption choices at the site, which in turn offer insight into the processes of culture change throughout northern Ontario. This subchapter is written in chronological order, although the prioritization of the earlier periods of occupation result in an under-representation of the 1950's to the 1970's.

The earliest datable occupations are found at the Pepsi and Flipflop site ca. 2000 BP. All subsistence materials found at the site were locally available and indicate intensive processing. The recovered faunal materials could only be identified as large mammals. The extensive amount of crushed bone is interpreted to be results of bone grease production. Two potential grinding stones were recovered, these stones have flat surfaces that appear to have grinding wear patterns, and could be used for multiple functions including as abraders, anvils or to grind plant or dried animal matter. These stones as well could have assisted with or been used solely for the pulverization of bones in grease production. No residue analysis has been conducted on the recovered artifacts.

The next most recent site yielding evidence of food resource selection and use, is found at Bonecrush and portions of the midden in Sams Cabin; EgJv-6, and EgJv-5

respectively. The earliest evidence of occupation in EgJv-6 and deeper deposits in the EgJv-5 date to the Pre-Contact Period (refer to Ch.5.3 Pg.89, Ch.5.4, pg.110,). Although there lacks defined separation between Pre-contact materials and Post-Contact in these deposits the main body of recovered artifacts in EgJv-6 are predominantly within the Transitional Period between 1840-1910 having intermixed European manufactured elements. Stone tools, such as large chittos used for crushing bones or hide processing, are found among piles of processed bone. Animal remains recovered in Bonecrush are difficult to identify due to their fragmented and processed nature but the identifiable bones derive primarily from ungulates and hare.

At Sams Cabin, more complete sections of bone are found. Most of the recovered faunal and subsistence related artifacts date from the late 1870's till the 1950's. Frequently recovered skulls were broken, and most bones were fractured to some degree. Bone fragments appear to be larger and less processed than recoveries from earlier periods. While marrow extraction and grease production were still important, the intensity of bone processing appears reduced, allowing more bones to be identified to element and genus/species. Moose, deer, and caribou make up a majority of the assemblage, followed by hare (Table 5.1), all traditionally choice game foods. The splitting of the skulls and bones in Sam's Cabin indicated brain tanning and grease production, both inferences which were verified by Sam Carpenter (per. com. 2018)

Potato crops were grown in Slate Falls, as indicated by Sam, they were stored in pits present near Sam's Cabin. Three pits were located of varying size and depth, one being approximately 2m x 2 m, another being 2 m x 4m and a third being irregular in shape with a width of approximately 2.5 m (refer to Figure 5.4 Pg. 91). This irregular pit was initially interpreted as a potato storage pit. The other pits were thought to be cold storage although neither hypothesis is confirmed. Root crop storage techniques were never detailed in the collected ethnographic accounts, but are available through other ethnographic sources such as those detailed by Mary Black Rogers in the Weagamow Lake area: "*Once the potatoes were dug, they were stored for the winter. Seed potatoes would be kept in root cellars dug into the side of a bank. A hole 8 by 8 by 4 feet would*

be excavated, lined with "boards" and a front with a door prepared… These [potato] containers were then placed inside the root cellar with moss and sand" (Pg. 13 Edward S. Rogers and Mary Black Rogers 1976). By this description the smaller square pit 2m x 2m and approximately 35 M to the north of Sams Cabin is deemed more likely for potato storage but could only be confirmed through starch analysis (Figure 5.4). A similar structure to the described was photographed by F.W. Waugh, 1919 out of Lac Seul seen in Plate B.10.

"We plant the potatoes before we leave in June to Osnaburgh and we harvest them when we come back in late August" (Sam Carpenter in Oliveira 2018). The onset of gardening begins to suggest a shift to semi-sedentary lifestyle. Potatoes provide an important carbohydrate source to supplement locally derived foods when game is scarce, and can be effectively kept for long periods of time. Sam Carpenter says that wild rice was also collected and processed for storage during his early life. He identified optimal areas for blueberry picking, indicating foraging was still an important activity. Two small circular cultural depressions approximately 40cm in diameter were located near the larger cultural depressions north of Sams Cabin, these were interpreted to be rice jigging pits, an activity done to remove husks from parched wild rice (refer to Figure 5.4 pg. 91).

In Bonecrush, early glassware and metallic cans are found (Ch.5.4), with few remaining intact or identifiable. The cans appear to be cut for reuse, likely in processing and gathering foods and materials, while all discarded glassware was broken. This suggests that they had an extended use life, and that glassware was not discarded unless it was broken. These containers were primarily from medicine, alcohol, and beauty products. Sam reported that flour, salt, and lard were the primary purchased food staples. Flour is ethnographically known to have been cut with locally ground staples. The remnants of a possible grinding stone are intermixed with the Post-contact materials of EgJv-6, residue analysis has not yet been conducted to prove this artifacts function.

A cash economy began at the later occupations of this site in 1910 as annuity payments were introduced, and as the HBC trade posts shifted to retail operations from the more traditional barter/credit system. Family ties still brought the people of Slate Falls to Osnaburgh annually, but the purchase of goods became more readily available from the rail line stop at Lac Seul and the HBC store in Cat Lake.

The occupation at Sam's Cabin from the 1920's to the 1940's reveals evidence of new living patterns. Lard, sugar, and flour were important non-local commodities. Cans are still recycled, but do not appear as commonly so. Packaged meals such as Kraft Dinner (Plate C.8, pg. 249), which would be considered luxury goods, start to become apparent. Large numbers of lard buckets are found in the assemblage, although oral tradition indicated that lard was still a rare commodity and was substituted with grease rendered from bones. These buckets were commonly be repurposed, reused, and recycled. Frequently they are altered to make new products from the sheet metal. Examples include: perforations below the rim to hold a bail handle, or holes on the bottom to act as strainers, or completely disassembling for unknown purposes. Evidence of grease production in the form of crushed bones can still be found, but identifiable samples with less intensive bone reduction become more prevalent in the newer assemblages recovered in Sam's cabin. Stone tools such as anvil-stones are still present and used in this period as seen by the anvil in the excavation at Sam's Cabin (510N 498E, Ch.5.3). Scatters of bone fragments are found around the rock, indicating the stone is a platform for breaking bone (Figure 5.6). Based on ethnographic evidence, bones are held against a rock and struck with the butt end of an axe to be shattered before grease production (Sam Carpenter per. com. 2018). Recovered glass container-ware in Sam's Cabin originally functioned to package spirits, wines and tinctures. At this time the transportation of canned wet foods to remote locations was still not common.

The construction of the first rough ice roads in the 1930's into the area allowed for the transportation of goods by cat-trains (bulldozer drawn sleigh convoys). Cat-train freight across the region continued to grow throughout the 1930's, necessitating more roads to be built (Heinrichs, M., D. Hiebert 2004, Rogers, E. S., D. B. Smith 1994). Such

transportation networks were limited to the winter months. Federal services such as postal delivery and policing employed aircraft as early as the 1940's (plate B9). World War Two era planes were employed in many of these operations (Heinrichs, M., D. Hiebert 2004). Access to new shipping methods made commercial fishing a viable form of income, bolstering a subsistence economy. These roads, as well as the introduction of ice roads further north, also make products like white gas, gasoline, and canned goods more readily available throughout the communities of the Little North. Air travel, still costly and difficult to organize, did not become commonplace until the 1960's and 70's.

Material assemblages recovered during the 1960's were difficult to locate and determine. Multiple diagnostic, tobacco tins, beer bottles, and pop cans were found with a scattering of sawed moose bones. Middens were not extensive or large and the lack of assemblage reinforces a noted method for waste disposal in the community in which garbage is hauled to remote areas. The material remains of animals such as moose, ducks, and fish become more scattered, less localized and harder to find. It is also possible that materials from earlier occupations (1950's to 1960's) could be buried under the larger piles of cans from later occupations; however, due to time constraints, excavations of recent can piles were limited in sample size. The presence of associated sawed or simply disarticulated and not crushed moose bones indicates a step away from intensive grease rendering, although communications with Elsie Sakakeesic indicate bones would be sawn and boiled for soup, with rendered fats skimmed and collected for later use. In the 1970's and 1980's, a significant shift in the community's food source can be seen. The midden at Cabin 7 (Table E.24, Pg. 282) exemplifies this shift, as it has a higher frequency of canned goods and no faunal material present. Pop cans, once a luxury item, become the most populated item in the assemblage at 70 out of 207 cans, (Table E.1). Sam's daughter Elsie recalls getting a can of juice for helping to offload a float planes cargo. No record of reused or modified cans were recovered in the assessed assemblage. Carnation condensed milk cans have a high frequency consisting of 58 of 207 cans. Canned meat products are also found, indicating a shift

away from a subsistence lifestyle. Subsistence is now largely tied to a cash economy based on furs, commercial fishing, out of town work, air-travel and tourism.

The Ice House, located near the Mission House (Plate E4), served as a storage facility for the local commercial fishing industry during the summer months (Sam Carpenter and Elsie Sakakeesic, per. com. 2018). Increased intensity of commercial fishing during the 1960's was enabled by an ability to expedite transportation of fish with the introduction of air travel. Large amounts of fish bone can be found in the Ice House which was used up until the 1980's. "*Until the 1960's we transported furs and fish from the north with our fleet of two, 2-seat Super Cubs. In time, we began evolving into tourist flying and air ambulance service throughout the north*" (slatefallsair.com). The frequent trips made by plane picking up furs and fish allowed for a marked increase in commodities such as canned goods and luxury foods. In 1970 the federal government set up the Freshwater Fish Marketing Board in an attempt to stabilize fish prices. *"Under the FFMB all fish had to be shipped to Winnipeg, which caused a packing plant in central Patricia to be closed down, fish prices remained stable while the cost of everything else - cost of doing business, boats, motors, gasoline, nets, went up and up so the returns kept getting lower"* (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.85)

The presence of docks along the shoreline of Bamaji Lake in front of many cabins allowed for the fast unloading and loading of not only boats and canoes, but later airplanes. The maintenance of these was an indicator of the preferred method of transportation, in which the people still largely relied on utilization of waterways to travel, which quickly adapted to air travel. Nowadays, most houses in Slate Falls do not have docks; vehicles are commonplace with access to Sioux Lookout one hour south via an all-weather gravel road. Connection to the waterways the land is still strong in the community, as each house has various watercraft docked in front of it. Most common are aluminum hulled boats, with outboard motors. Today fishing is still a very large part of community life and walleye are widely sought after and eaten. Grease, such as that from bacon, is still collected and saved in jars and containers for later use, although most is no longer wild sourced. All refuse is now brought to a landfill site.

7.4 Cabins & Housing Shift

The cabins and structures in Old Slate Falls were documented to reveal changes through time detailing construction techniques, village layout, and material used. Over time, the Old Slate Falls Village occupation shifted in a general easterly fashion along the north shore of the lake. The earliest known cabins and reported wigwams were located closer to the falls with successive cabins being built to the east. Cabins were often reused and some families chose to live in more secluded locations.

Tipi-like wigwams were the traditional housing choice for the Miskeegogamang. Sam remembers some of the *"old timers"* living in structures like this further from the water's edge near the Falls (reference Plate B7 for similar structure). Traditionally covered with bark, hides or boughs, the most recent of these structures might have used canvas, plastic sheeting or tarps. These structures were never discovered. They would be obscured beneath the thick carpet of moss and likely indicated only by soil stains from post holes and hearths. Wigwams would be built where they were needed and could be rebuilt multiple times each year according to seasonal movements.

These traditional structures were likely replaced with walled tents. These canvas tents were suspended using a pole frame. In winter a low rectangle of dovetailed logs formed the lower walls of the tent, with the canvas tent extending above it, and heated with a sheet metal stoves. These stoves were possibly first homemade, but would later be purchased. The use of easily transportable shelters indicates a semi sedentary lifestyle. Log cabins became more prominent for winter habitation as the tradition of semi-sedentarism started to wane. Some families began to live year-round in one location, while others use walled tents only during the summer months when they travelled to trade, trap, and visit friends and family. Evidence of tents in Slate Falls can be seen in the Rooster family home, Cabin 9, on the far east side of the village, roughly 2 km east of the Mackenzie cabins. At this site, a section of square flattened earth indicates the location of a walled tent, with the frame of a newer walled tent found ten meters to the northwest (Appendix E, pg. 284). Limitations on finding tent platforms

were noted due to the relatively little disturbance these structures made, needing only level ground.

Cabin structures in Slate Falls were found frequently and indicate the propensity for which these structures were used and built during the 20th Century. During the early years cabins were likely shared seasonally between multiple families like a modern timeshare agreement as they traveled to trade, fish, and trap. Wealth and status still played a part in a family's ability to build a cabin, and those well-off were more likely to have one. While Sam lived in a cabin as a child, he remembers some of the older people were still living in wigwams, possibly reflecting personal preference for older people to living in housing more consistent with their younger life.

As access to new technology and ideas grew, cabin design and materials changed. Bucksaws and large Swede-saw blades were discovered in nearby refuse dumps, suggesting planks and boards may have been sawn for roofs, gables, window frames and doors although, there lacks definitive evidence for hand sawn boards in Slate Falls. Interpretations of the post-1930's material assemblage of cabins indicate a gradual shift and adaptation towards European technology and construction techniques, with imported milled lumber becoming more common through time.

Dovetails (the method with which the logs are stacked to create a structure) was particularly of interest, giving a wide range of temporal data through the use of axes, saws, chainsaws and steel spikes. Chinking could also be a useful indicator. It is expected that older cabins had moss chinking while newer ones used fibreglass insulation or even discarded textiles (often old European cabins have rope chinking rather than moss). Some cabins, such as 3 and 5, have both, suggesting continued occupation or reuse (refer to Chapter 6.6.a Pg.164, and Pg.275 Appendix E, respectively).

The introduction of chainsaws to the community, perhaps as early as the 1950's and certainly by the 1960's, allowed for much faster modification of lumber and greater

access to raw materials through efficient tree felling. We noted more frequent use of planks as time passed in the more recent cabins or in additions to older cabins, leading to more modern cabin architecture and the appearance of houses. Some of these planks appear to be locally made (rough lumber) while others are imported milled and planed boards and framing lumber. Plate B.3 displays methods in the early 20th Century for hand cutting lumber on Lake St. Joseph.

Most cabins were initially constructed with one open room, often divided with privacy walls. Additional rooms were built onto the original structure as family members were born or brought into the house. These additions were built adjoined to one side of the cabin, with a doorway to the new feature cut through the original wall using a chainsaw, evidence of this is seen in Cabins 4, 5, 7, and 9. Frequently, these doors are reinforced with solid frames. Additionally, the bottom and top logs were left uncut to maintain structural integrity (Figure 6.30 provides a clear example). Windows in the log cabins are fashioned in a similar way .

Houses were used and abandoned as needed in the old community. Older, derelict log cabins were reported to be sometimes renovated and repaired for later reuse. A good example of this is Cabin 3 (Figure 6.34). The structure is small, approximately five meters by five meters, and is constructed in a manner typical to the early 1900's. An axe found at the site dates to the 1870's (refer to Plate D.4, Pg. 261). The structure is comparable to Sam's Cabin in approximate size and construction methods, such as axe hewn dovetails, tar paper roofing, moss chinking, multiple raised floors (indicating at least one renovation) and numerous wood stoves lying outside of it. Yet many new features appear on the cabin as well, including additional fibreglass insulation, plastic vapour barrier, a new stovepipe and chimney, new roofing covering the old tar paper, and snow machine track-covered stairs.

Reuse of cabins can be evidenced by refurbishments, such as upgrades to stove piping and integration of newer technologies. This is evident with efforts to equip some of the standing cabins in Slate Falls with household electrical wiring stapled to the inner

side of log cabin walls with switch boxes and outlets secured to the log walls. Some of these later cabins also featured gas stoves supplied by large propane tanks. Many of the Slate Falls Elders recall that young families would move out to build cabins for themselves.

Cabin 3 had an extended use-life, the most recent being by the Loon family as indicated by personal items pertaining to the last-name within the structure. The refurbishment and reuse of the cabin is thought to have occurred multiple times. The reuse of structures such as Cabin 3, and the reuse of building materials and resources allowed members of the community to support themselves through ingenuity and creativity being applied to modern goods and materials.

The continuous occupation of cabins can be seen in Cabin 5, where multiple kinds of chinking and logs are used to fashion one cabin, indicating multiple rounds of repair and refurbishment over an extended period of occupation. Cabins were built as needed from existing supplies, with sill logs resting on the ground, and heavy winter snow loads resulting is comparatively frequent refurbishment. Sam reported that when his mother died when he was a child, his father and siblings moved farther west along the shoreline for a fresh start, abandoning the old cabin. Whether the structure itself was moved or if a new cabin was constructed is not known, it's possible that the structure itself was dismantled and made into new structure such as Cabin 5 (Appendix E, Pg. 275). Similar to the movement of Sam’s family, another unseen cause of relocation in the settlement was attributed to wanting to be with a friend who moved. An example is seen when Sam’s father moved east and The Old Cree Ladies (Annablle and Betsy) followed him, to continue the association and mutual support of neighbours. It is also possible that these elderly ladies depended upon Sam’s father for support to some extent.

Cabin 2 offers another example of reuse and repurposing of materials (Chapter 6.1b, Pg.140). Occupied during the 1970’s, only the log foundation remains while multiple cabins dating from the 1980’s are still standing in good condition. The absence

of cabin walls and lack of larger beams in Cabin 2 suggest that the log walls and other vital components could be recycled into another cabin, leaving behind the decaying sill-log and floor joists that rested on the ground surface. Even as housing structures shifted from cabins to multi-story houses, wood stoves were still largely used until the community moved to the south side of the lake. Wood stoves are still likely used by many in the community.

When Slate Falls was moved, it was imperative to maintain access to the waterfront in order to allow ease of access of watercraft and the connectivity to the land. In discussions with Slate Falls locals, they observed the actions of the Indian Affairs relocation of people to houses set up on grids and the struggle to subsist that it created. *“Government housing in New Osnaburg, was formed off of a grid system, denying many people ease of access to shore front, limiting their ability to travel by water front”* (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.172).

7.5 Ethnography & Archaeology, Supporting Evidence & Downfalls

One of the goals of this project was to integrate archaeological information with the extensive knowledge deriving from the Slate Falls Elders. Frederico Oliveira conducted extensive interviews with the Slate Falls people in order to build a comprehensive understanding of village life, genealogy and local history (Oliveira 2018). This ethnographic data was made available to inform the archaeological investigation.

These ethnographic accounts provide interpretations about recovered material goods such as foodstuffs, lodgings, trade goods, and subsistence technology. A second, no less important focus, was to document the direction of cultural change that is frequently tied to material changes.

Supporting Evidences

The section ‘supporting evidences’ provides documented archaeological recordings which have closely related anthropological data. Interpretations on the use of collected or found archaeological materials were made frequently using the first hand accounts from members of the Slate Falls Village. A wide range of examples which are seen throughout this thesis are detailed below.

Although much of the village growth and development appears to have begun as early as the mid 1800's and flourished throughout the mid to late 1900’s, frequent Pre-contact artifacts were recovered which span far into prehistory. The existence of older occupations are further confirmed by Sam Carpenter's oral history: *“* [Upon the arrival of Sam’s great grandfather] *The Loons were already in this area. I got the story from my grandmother and my dad”* (pg. 10 Oliveira 2018).

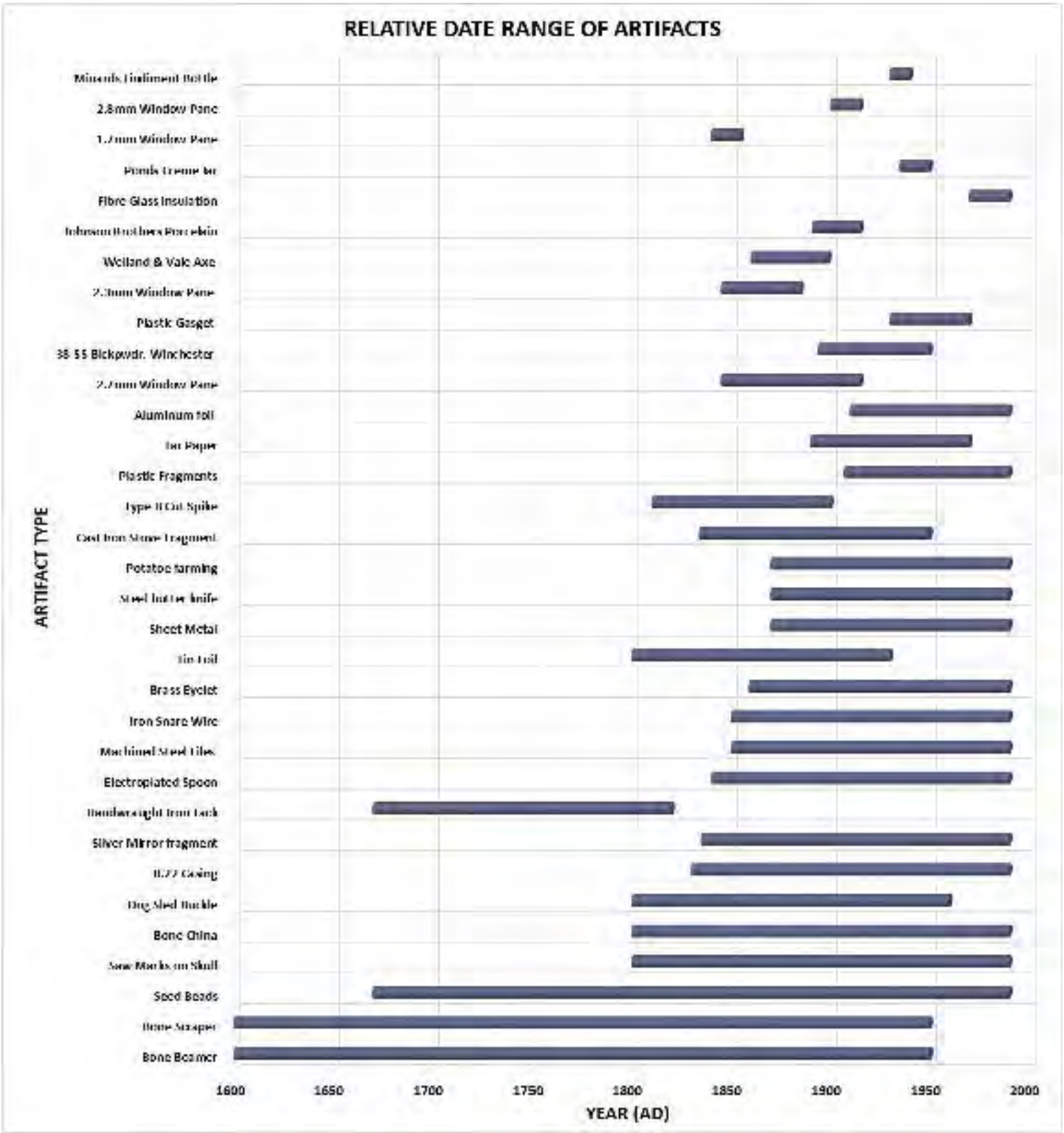


Figure 7.1, Date range of recovered artifacts from Slate Falls.

According to oral testimonies of Slate Falls elders, historic occupation of the Slate Falls area is proposed to be mid 1800's going into early 1900's. Our archaeological sample largely reaffirms this (Figure 7.1). Examples of artifacts from the early days of the Slate Falls Village include pocket-watch casings and gears, a rail road button (ca. 1911), a Welland and Vale axe head (ca. 1860-1899), refined white earthenware bowl fragments (manufactured by Johnson Brothers ca.1891-1930), a type B cut spike (ca.1810-1900) and pock-mark speckling on the base of a bullet from EgJv-6 consistent with that of a black powder charge (refer Figure 7.2, ca. 1875-1940's). Sam remembers his father telling him his grandfather used a percussion cap rifle which is a pre-curser to the recovered round, which also utilized black powder as a propellant. Percussion cap primers for muzzleloaders were introduced in 1820, but by the 1870's brass casings had largely made the percussion cap system obsolete. A dateable time span for the bullet and use of percussion cap rifles is difficult to establish due to possibilities of conservative firearm retention.

Figure 7.2, Artifact # LUBC-TPHKM9-19, base of bullet with blackpowder specking.

> *"Before freeze-up, we stayed close to Slate Falls. Chopping wood, setting snares around the house or getting water. In a way, I miss that kind of life. I remember my dad and uncles spending the remaining weeks making sure that their toboggans, sleds, dog stuffs, trapping equipment, snowshoes and other gears were in good condition"* (Joe Carpenter cited in Frederico Oliveira 2018 Pg. 19).

The excavations conducted in Slate Falls revealed sequences of archaeological information directly reflecting Joe Carpenter's memories. Recovered materials in the area surrounding Sam's Cabin (one of the Carpenter family) included: axes, buckets, snare wires, Dog sled buckles, files, tacks, sheet metal trimmings, and parts of leg-hold traps. Carnivore gnawing is present on some larger bones but cannot directly be attributed to dog activity.

Oral histories relayed by Sam indicate that frequent canoe travel was made to Lac Seul. Hudson, an important transportation hub on Lac Seul opened its first rail station in 1910. Members of Slate Falls often sought jobs outside the community. The archaeological connection to the rail line and external employment opportunities can be seen through the presence of the railway workers button, and the presence of Vacuum Oil cans (ca. 1869-1931) Found in EgJv-6 and EgJv-5 respectively. Originally made for railway lubricant oil, Vacuum oil had a wider application in its later years. The oil was hypothesized to be used in two stroke engines such as outboard motors or chainsaws. Sam relayed that the village would travel by canoe to Lake St. Joseph for annual gathering and annuity payments at Osnaburg house. Like the old days, they would travel by canoe, but would form a convoy with what was likely a two-stroke outboard motor on the lead vessel.

When excavating Sam's Cabin, bones, cans, and ash are found in the leaf litter throughout all the test pits. A direct corresponding quote was provided by Elsie Carpenter (per. com. 2018) *"Rubbish was scattered outside, flung out the cabin door or walked out and then chucked, there was no particular dumping place".* As test pits were dug farther north from the cabin, a corresponding decrease in faunal assemblage was noted. Largely built up with refuse materials, a nearby area downslope from the cabin is interpreted to be an archaeological midden. This area, which has large sections of undulating bedrock, acted as an area which material could easily have been flung. This action follows patterns of waste disposal of sheet midden and broadcast scatter which can seen throughout numerous other site types documented by historic and prehistoric

archaeologists such as Stanley South (1979), John Yellen (1979), and Lewis Binford (1978).

The majority of fish bone recovered is burnt or calcined, indicative of waste disposal and a traditional method of cooking dictated by Elsie Carpenter in 2018, *"Fish would be gutted in a particular fashion so as to not fully open the belly, entrails would be pulled out of the front of the fish and a stick would then be pushed into the cavity formed by the removal, at which fish would be roasted over the fire by hand."* The high association of fishbones in hearth components could additionally be a matter of increased preservation from ashes of the fire. Left in the open, these delicate cartilaginous materials could be scavenged or broken down with relative speed.

Figure 7.3, Scott inspects a modified tree indicating birch bark stripping.

> "*People filleted the whitefish and then smoke-dried them over a smouldering fire. With a wooden spoon they broke up some of the smoked fish into a powder, to which they added berries. This is the fish pemmican that was stored in specially designed birch bark boxes*" (Oliveira, 2018 pg. 25)

The archaeological documentation of culturally modified trees was widely seen through axe felled logs, but only one tree displayed evidence of bark stripping; a large dead birch tree (refer to Figure 7.3). The use of birch was noted by both Elsie Sakakeesic and Sam Carpenter (per. com. 2018 & 2021) for lodging materials, canoe building, and food storage containers.

Pemmican was noted by Elsie (per. com. 2021) to have been eaten with grease which would be rendered from animal matter. Elsie indicated that sawn moose bones were boiled for soup while grease was skimmed out the pot as the bones boiled. A small refuse dump to the East of Sams Cabin dating to the 1950's (based on diagnostic tobacco tins) displayed a number of sawn moose bones. The archaeological assemblage recovered indicates that grease production was more intensive in earlier periods. A large amount of crushed bone found throughout EgJv-5 and EgJv-6 indicates a high level of food processing. Increasingly intensive grease exploitation at Bonecrush has been attributed to older historic components due to intermixed dateable historic materials, (refer to Ch. 5.4). Grease manufacturing would be conducted through the boiling of bones to render fat and marrow. Although not as extensively processed as at Bonecrush or Pepsi and Flipflop, the Sam's Cabin site continues to show marrow extraction and some degree of grease rendering. Larger bone fragments are much more common at this location and indicate less intensive grease production. The Carpenters recall that lard was sparingly used; it was costly and was purchased rarely. Grease, locally sourced, would substitute for purchased lard. Frying and roasting over the fire was conveyed by Sam to be a major way of cooking. Grease would also be collected as it dripped off a roasting carcass such as beaver.

Lynx, mink and other fur-bearing animal remains that were found on site lead to a hypothesis that the residents in the of Sam's Cabin area were overwintering. Many fur bearing animals are harvested during winter times due to better qualities of fur and, thus, higher prices fetched for them. "*Marten was good only [for fur quality] after February. Lynx, also, but it was very difficult to find them*" (Billy Masakeyash, cited in Ferderico Oliveira, 2018 pg. 22).

Downfalls

This section seeks to acknowledge the biased nature of conducting any interpretive work in anthropology. Bias can be seen when applying attributes to places, items, resources, or verbal materials. Many attributes can be based on previous biases which create situations displayed below such as false positives, or conflicting evidence. It is hoped that in utilizing many perspectives the author attempts to minimize and mitigate the effects of inherent bias.

A false positive situation for archaeology is seen through the discovery of a midden pile located on a small peninsula below The Slate Falls. On the peninsula a large mound and scatter of ferric waste materials such as cans, saw blades, wood-stove parts, and fuel containers were located. This was interpreted as a midden and thought to therefore have a corresponding cabin. No cabin foundation was found in the immediate area. Upon further consultation with locals, it was revealed that this was a dump location from a cleaning drive done to remove refuse from a nearby island with a cabin on it.

An example of bias through archaeological interpretation can be seen in localized concentrations of faunal material uncovered in EgJv-6 (Bonecrush). These concentrations or piles were hypothesized as the remnants of Cree and Ojibwe traditions in which bones were bundled and hung in trees so as to keep them from dogs and scavengers; sanctifying the bones and spirit of the animals. Upon further consultation with various community members no knowledge of this process was offered, although oral testimony from Delford Mitchell (2021) indicates that his great great grandfather practised traditional Native spirituality. Poor temporal placement of the bone piles as well created difficulties in establishing chronologies and dates. Artifacts such as pocket-watches, black powder bullets, tin-can fragments, and buttons would sometimes be found intermixed, as well as prehistoric artifacts such as flakes and stone tools. Artifact dates found range from the prehistoric into the 1910’s (refer to Chapter 5.4).

Broader cultural traditions and histories such as the movements of people, life skills and traditional areas remained steadfast in the oral traditions of the Slate Falls peoples. Daily life routines often considered benign or forgetful, such as what kind of food they ate out of tin cans were readily lost. This could be a result of the direction of enquiry and the questions asked in interviews as ethnographic accounts displayed immense information on material and physical goods.

While the archaeological documentation of cabin reuse was confirmed by ethnographic data, in certain situations ethnography could provide the only explanation for archaeological data. In the previous section (Ch. 7.4), I discussed the abandonment of Sam's Cabin. This move is impossible to understand through the lens of archaeology. Instead, the ethnographical data acquired from interviews with community elders revealed social motivation; through the passing of a loved one. Although archaeology can portray many aspects of changing village life, ethnography cannot be replaced when encountering situations such as this.

The ethnographic information utilized throughout this investigation allowed rapid location of housing complexes, and material culture remains. Collected accounts tended to remember larger cultural shifts, new technologies, interpersonal affairs, and village life. Archaeological assemblages are largely composed the remnants of daily tasks, and maintenance and creation of tools or structures. Many of the ethnographic accounts were collected by Frederico Oliveira, who through the nature of his education and interests, would be compelled to enquire in different subjects and topics than most archaeologists. A noticeable bias towards conducting archaeological excavations is evident throughout this thesis; time management placed importance on the mapping and discovery of ancient structures and documentation of the historic Village. This basic assumption of study bias likely explains differences in the ethnographic accounts and the archeological findings. The inherent nature of this bias exemplifies the need to conduct ethnography and archaeology together to provide a broader understanding of cultural landscapes and the people who used them.

7.5.a Concluding Ethnography & Archaeology

Informal ethnographic enquiries were conducted in the field with the youth of Slate Falls. When asking about older knowledge and traditional techniques passed down, locational knowledge was strong; fishing locations, animal habitats and habits, techniques to catch and hunt, and Village layout and were key parts of knowledge-scapes. Some traditional tasks were recalled such as fire-hardening sharpened willow spears and gaffs for fish. In another instance superstitions and some forms of spirituality were relayed by the youth. Interviews with Sam and Elsie Carpenter, and Delford Mitchell allowed for enquiries into daily life, tasks and food procurement strategies, giving vital insight towards the interpretation of recovered archaeological assemblages. Access to some of Frederico's data and publications assisted to fill the limited ethnographic studies collected by the author. Given more time, further enquiries into life during the 1950's would detail an important transitionary time in the village.

Members of the community who lived in Slate Falls before the town was relocated to the south side of the lake reminisce about living in Old Slate Falls, speaking of how times were better, and the community closer.

“We cannot understand the present nor project into the future unless we first understand the past” (John Long, 1978b).

CH.8 Conclusion

Introduction

Recent Aboriginal social history in Northern Ontario is complex, rapidly changing, and poorly understood. There is an urgent need to find, document and understand what village life was like for Natives during the Post-contact period, before these histories are lost to time. This more recent past is not well documented in written form, and is more completely represented in Elders' memories. This oral history is vulnerable to loss unless collection and synthesis is undertaken while the last generation of people who participated in the subarctic trap line lifestyle are still with us.

The work done here attempts to collect and integrate two different types of information: the oral history of Slate Falls Elders as collected by ethnographers, and material culture evidence deriving from archaeological enquiry. These two information sources are sometimes not directly comparable, but in Slate Falls each provided a means to evaluate and more fully understand the other. Through integration of the knowledge sources, we will be able to develop a more complete sense of recent history in the Northern Boreal Forest.

Thesis Summary

The main work of this thesis is summarized below though each chapter, this is done in order to assist the reader in understanding the scope of the work conducted in this investigation.

Chapter 1 is meant to act as an opening defining the parameters of the culture history, the village and structure layout and the motives of the study.

Chapter 2 defines the confines of published history in the area while providing a background on which to contrast the knowledge documented in this thesis. This allows the author to display a new categorization of recent history through defining three phases; the Post-contact, Traditional to Transitional, which then lead into the Modern era (refer to Chapter 2.3 Pg. 32- 50. This concept is further detailed in the discussion Chapter 7.1 Pg. 179 - 185).

Chapter 3 discusses techniques of documentation for the archaeological process and how oral traditions were utilized to enhance the speed and accuracy at which archaeological investigations can occur. As well Chapter 3 provides locational data through numerous maps (Figure 3.1 - 3.4) and for where sites are how each site was approached though the investigation.

Chapter 4 displays the immense wealth of knowledge that the Slate Falls Elders and residents maintain and allows the inferences that are provided in Chapter 7.5.

Chapter 5 documents the results of the archaeological investigations conducted in the Slate Falls area. The Slate Falls Archaeological project allowed for the documentation of six new sites in the borden area. The investigations preformed on each site provide quantitative data to be combined with the attributes and knowledge in Chapter 4, creating the qualitative knowledge seen in Chapter 7

Chapter 6 results document changes in inhabitation structures and provides diagnostic materials relevant to the original construction of the structures, their maintenance and material culture of the village seen in the scattering of waste and refuse recorded in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 7 brings a combined view to understand and create the narrative of Slate Falls as a culture area. As well It details shifts in habitation style, life-cycles (through shifts in sedentarisim) and subsistence. Shifts in Subsistence and utilized resources create a dialogue which indicates major cultural shifts generalized in the attributes defined by the author detailing the Traditional, Transitional and Modern phases. The chapter further continues to provide qualitative evidence for the interpretations of Northern Boreal Life through fact checking and examination of inherent bias seen in the manner of field work

Body

During the course of two seasons; 2017 and 2018, the Slate Falls Archaeological Project identified 6 archaeological sites and 18 historic structures. This archaeological investigation undertook the task to identify shifts in habitation and lifestyle within the village. Through documenting and interpreting the material culture of Slate Falls we are able to more fully understand the changes seen in Northwestern Ontario throughout the recent historic and archaeological record.

The anthropological perspectives collected in Slate Falls convey the physical and emotional changes experienced by a people when integrating new cultures into their life. The integration of ethnographic accounts and oral histories adds an interpretative resolution to this thesis. The interpretations on findings and data when archaeology and ethnography were combined would not have been possible using each approach on its own (refer to Chapter 7.5). Archaeological research and excavation was frequently conducted utilizing the histories detailed by Slate Falls elders such as Sam’s map (Figure 6.2). Utilizing the knowledge on the land provided fast and invaluable service to

locating sites. The consistent success of these excavations further validates the need to interview First Nations peoples and document their oral histories. According to oral testimonies of Slate Falls elders, wide spread settlement of the study area may date from the mid 1800's and extending through much of the 1900's. Our Post-contact sample is largely congruent with this.

Representations of the Post-contact inhabitation of Slate Falls are displayed in Figure 7.1 and indicate that the majority of Post-contact material began to appear in the late 1870’s to the early 1910’s. This follows the same narrative provided by the Slate Falls Elders in which there are multiple habitations of the village beginning with the Loon family, incorporating the Carpenters, and then opening up to the Mishkeegogamang and later some Europeans who integrated into the community.

The documentation of cabins and structures in Old Slate Falls provides an overview of: construction techniques, village layout, and material culture over time in response to rapid changes defining the 20th Century. Shifts in habitation type and lifestyle are key to understanding the changes seen in the recent historic and archaeological record. Major cultural shifts are readily evident through changes in living patterns within Old Slate Falls. This is suggested in shifts from semi-sedentary to fully sedentary life, access to greater quantities and diversity of imported goods, transformation of household size and architectural features, the consequences of the registered trap line system, commercial fishing, and the eventual move to contemporary reserve life. It also suggests a persistence of Traditional economic activities, technologies and lifestyles longer than suggested by the existing ethnohistoric synthesis.

The documentation of Slate Falls detailed in this thesis explores many aspects of village life, both Modern and Historic. The wide scope of the investigation additionally, allows for categorization of the Historic Period into more coherent segments based on lived experience of community members as they adjusted to the rapid change of the recent past. For the people of Lake St. Joseph and Natives in Northern Ontario, there are several important time periods that see major changes in social, economic, and material structure and assemblage.

The Post-contact (historic) period is split into three categories:

Post-contact Traditional 1650 - 1850
Transitional 1850- 1960
Modern 1960 - present

These categories are designated by the introduction of European goods and when Europeans are first encountered by the local population. When applying these same periods to other sites, different dates are likely to apply, due to the timing of the inland movement of goods and people. The dates are also affected by varying rates of acculturation occurring across different Native groups.

In Slate Falls, significant cultural changes result during the implementation of annuity payments, redistribution of trapping grounds, and implementation of treaty rights. One such change noted is a move towards sedentary, centralized lifestyles with a widespread use of cabins. Significant shifts in access and use of non-local material culture transformed lifestyles, reconfigured household organization, and led to a gradual erosion of traditional harvest activities in face of wage labour, commercial fishing, annuities, day schools, and more regular access to the outside world through float planes, winter roads and improved telecommunications. Consumption of imported foods shifted from a narrow range of staples to supplement country food, to become the increasingly dominant foodstuff. Luxury goods, board games and radios also become apparent in the community refuse middens.

Testimony from Elsie Sakakeesic indicated that trappers in the area preferred the Slate Falls area and indicated its productivity and that ‘the land was better’ (per. com. 2021). The shallows and rapids along with its location at the head of the lake provided good fishing grounds and fertile water. The strong land-based economy in Slate Falls endowed a greater economic independence for the community, supporting opportunities for self-identity.

Slate Falls was set to be moved to Osnaburg where they would join the closely related Mishkeegogamang. The core families making up Slate Falls made a conscious decision in the 30's and 40's to not yield to the pressure to move to New Osnaburgh where other members of the band were relocated. The physical separation from Lake St. Joseph meant that the Slate Falls people remained insulated from the ecological disruption caused by the flooding of Lake St. Joseph. This autonomy led them to be more effective in resisting the ‘directed culture change’ imposed by INAC and the provincial government, and were better able to resist the social disruptions of reserve life. Local education provided by the Mennonite Mission and later a provincially run school allowed for increased participation in traditional practices instead of attending boarding school. By utilizing the land's resources but more importantly adapting to shifting pressures, the people of Slate Falls were able to maintain their autonomy. This was achieved in part though the establishment of entrepreneurial enterprises such as Slate Falls Air, the Mackenzie’s tourist operation, commercial fishing, and the maintained operation of traditional hunting and trapping grounds.

A series of negotiations for increased services concluded with the establishment of an independent reserve of Slate Falls First Nation, and eventually a relocation of the village across the bay. The community would maintain a degree of autonomy by staying along the shores of North Bamaji Lake. Housing and village layout would not be dictated by Indian Affairs, this assisted in maintaining traditional life-ways and close connections to the land.

This thesis gives insight into the changes that take place when a First Nations community retains independence after treaty processes, and the step-wise transformation influenced by the growing influence of government programs and policies and changing access to non-local goods.

The goal of this thesis is to assist in providing resources for the people of Slate Falls to preserve and celebrate their history, and to document the recent Post-contact history in Northern Ontario. It is through knowing one's past, and connections to the land, the understanding of space and place, and the ability to trace lineage that self-determination can be asserted.

Continued use of the land is maintained today through fishing, hunting and trapping by the residents of Slate Falls. Although the village location has shifted, Old Slate Falls lies within view and is commonly talked about. Younger generations hunt, explore and fish the shores of the north side of the lake and older generations reminisce of simpler times in the village.

Figure 8.1, Four photographs provided from Image provided from Isabella Cook's personal collection show frames of life on the other side of the lake in Old Slate Falls.

Recommendations

Further exploration in order to refine our understanding of northern Native life needs to be conducted. The research done in Slate Falls provides a substantial base for new investigations. Below, I will list a series of five recommendations for further projects and investigations which could be conducted to expand cultural, scientific and historic understandings of Northern Ontario and the local archaeological record.

1. The site Pepsi & Flipflop (EgJv-9) provides a well preserved record of faunal materials and ground stone tools in a poorly understood period of time in the northern boreal forest. Further detailing and excavation of this site could yield impressive insight into the ancient deposits. Ground stone tools should be analyzed for phytolith, starch, and other residues so as to expand our knowledge of dietary habits during the Laurel period in a remote area with little previous archaeological work conducted.

2. According to oral testimonies of Slate Falls elders place the development of the village to be from the mid 1800's early 1900's. Expanding on these testimonies with more consultations, as well as bringing community members to archaeological sites to discuss findings in greater detail would help to further prove the assertions made in this thesis. Performing dendrochronology on the cabins to solidify dates on the cut logs would provide insight into the earliest cabin construction and occupation of the Old Slate Falls Village. Soil samples need to be searched for the presence of lipids, starch, and phytoliths in order to verify the use of many of the cultural depressions. Additionally, microanalysis should be conducted on the ground stone implements recovered in the excavations.

3. My interpretations on the Mackenzie beach site (EgJv-7) indicate that controlled excavations in this location would provide materials and records from the early fur trade period. This smooth, sloping beach would have been the ideal location to stage and rest before ascending the falls and was likely used to haul birch bark canoes and boats on to the shore without fear of damage. I predict that occupations from the 1700's leading back to the Pre-contact period would be uncovered from further work conducted in this area.

4. Multiple CMT's have been recorded and through ethnography it can be determined that a medical reliance on herbal knowledge did exist in Old Slate Falls. An expansion on the medicines and healthcare of Natives with their traditional procedures would provide valuable and useful knowledge. This would be collected from an aging populous, who could only provide these details for so long.

5. The Formalized understanding of Post-contact First Nations sites are not well documented, further work needs to be conducted on these sites in order to understand the rapid acculturation which has takes place in many of these communities. Patterns such as waste disposal, subsistence acquisition and technology, and localized resource utilization should be further documented in order to confirm or contest the phases of the Post-contact period described by the author; specifically the Post-contact Traditional, Transitional and Modern phases.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

Expanded Post-contact Timeline from Literary Sources

1600's - 1700's

1610 - Henry Hudson explores Hudson Bay (A.Drapack, C.Moffet, Golder Associates, 2013)

1631 - Thomas James was building Charles Town at the bottom of James Bay (W.A Kenyon, 1986).

1640 - First documentation of the Assinibonie appear in a Jesuit text (A. Ray 1998).

1668 - The British create trade as Fort Rupert is opened in the Hudson Bay
(A.Drapack, C.Moffet, Golder Associates, 2013)

1675 - Fort Albany is established (A.Drapack, C.Moffet, Golder Associates, 2013)

1760's - Trade at Fort Albany, The chief trade is Cloth, Blankets, powder, Shot, Guns and Ironwork and some tobacco ~ Philip Turnor of the Hudsons Bay Company (A.Ray 1998).

Late 1700's - More posts were being established in the interior, with liquor readily available addiction became an issue. (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.162).

1774-1821 the HBC established 250 trade posts in Rupert's Land. (Rob Bundy 2010)

1781-1783 outbreak of smallpox claims 2/3rds of the Ojibway in Northwestern Ontario
(A.Drapack, C.Moffet, Golder Associates, 2013)

1786 - Osnaburgh House is established (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.162).

1788 - 1799 Osnaburgh House pulls in 1100 beaver a year (C. Bishop 1994, pg.303 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1788 - Gardens are established at Osnaburgh House the Anishnabeeg harvested potatoes each year (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.96).

1799 - Trade in wild rice is noted at Oz. House (Rob Bundy 2010)

1800 -1900

1880's - The loss of fur bearing populations is seen with explanation being given by the
encroachment of hunters and trappers form the outside causing overharvesting and a change in harvesting practise (Rob Bundy 2010)

1880's - Rainy Lake beaver reported to be scarce and over hunted (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 302 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1880- Game began to increase bringing back stability in people life (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 160).

1800's - Moose failed to return to sufficient numbers (C. Bishop 1994 pg. 319, in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1800's - Growing potatoes started in the boundary waters (C. Bishop 1994 in E.S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1805 - Lack of conservation led to beaver scarcity (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.160).

1810 - Lack of large game south of Osnaburgh house (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.160).

1815 - The volcano Tambora in Indonesia erupted, (Brönnimann S, Krämer D. 2016)

1816 - A volcanic eruption in Indonesia began to change weather patterns.

1816-1818 - Times of hardship shown by draught, famine and crop failures, this caused the men at Osnaburgh House great hardship and caused them to rely upon the Anishinaabeg (Rob Bundy 2010).

1816 - Among the regions particularly strongly affected by the 1815 eruption were Central Europe and North America. In both regions, the summer was much cooler than normal. (Brönnimann S, Krämer D. 2016)

1820's - Weather patterns returned to normal (Rob Bundy 2010)

1817- 2196 Pine Marten were traded at Fort Dauphin districts (A. Ray 1998).

1819- 1430 Pine Marten were traded at Fort Dauphin districts (A. Ray 1998).

1820 - 513 Pine Marten were traded at Fort Dauphin districts (A. Ray 1998).

Last half 19th C - Moss covered conical lodges used - fall & winter use (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 310 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1820's - The fur trade stabilized causing the trade post band to emerge, the posts dictated where indians would trade, and would occasionally send strange indians off. Each band consisted of the bands in the general area, usually comprised of several hundred people (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 323 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith 1994).

1820's - Traders begin to deal with individuals rather than captains (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 325 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1820's - Church of England is invited to provide clergy for Rupert's Land by the HBC (C.Bishop 1994, pg. 303 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1821 - Last year before union of XY and HBC, 163 pelts traded (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 303 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1821 - Merger of Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest company - meant trade m o n o p o l y making the price of goods rise (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 160).

1820's - Great difficulty in securing food by the Crane - turning to a subsistence off rabbits new dependance on small game led to separation of families for much of the year there was not sufficient food to maintain groups of 20 persons or more (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 303 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).The region north of Osnaburg House and south of Bigtrout Lake the land of the Crane was the last to have caribou in significant numbers (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 303 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1821 - HBC companies & XY joined to form a monopoly. HBC held this monopoly in thearea until late 19th C when free traders entered the country. After amalgamation HBC closed many posts and outposts, reduction of staff, new policies, ban on alcohol trade, and implementation of new conservation efforts (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 307 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1824 - No trapping beaver in summer (C. Bishop 1994, pg.307 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1830- Moose had been exterminated, caribou were rare, and beaver scarcity had become widespread (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 160).

1830's - Most males would have had hare skin cloths (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 311 in E. S.Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1839 - HBC governor George Simpson issued a proclamation prohibiting the sale and distribution of liquor to indians in the Albany district (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 91).

Mid 1800's - People still in small family groups gathering once a year.

Mid to the late 1800's - Osnaburgh built York Boats for the area (Rob Bundy 2010)

1850 - Robsin Superior Treaty is signed.

1850's-1900 - Conical and dome shaped lodges along with communal ridge pole lodge with several fireplaces down centre (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 309 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1851 - George Mcpherson manager of Oz. House, "*The Indians are starving everywhere as far as I have heard of them. No rabbits, less than last year, fur bearing animals are as scarce as the rabbits. It is not only food that suffers. It is want of warm clothing also… I fear many of them will perish*" (M. Heinrichs & D.Hiebert, 2003 pg.160).

1863 - Thomas Vincent an anglican missionary at fort Albany visits Osnaburgh on the way to Lac Seul. Burial customs began to change with more burials being christianized (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 228-330 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1870's - Potatoes grown in Northern Ontario (C. Bishop 1994 in E.S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1871- The first recording of dog sleds to pull sleds in the area (Rob Bundy 2010).

1873 - Treaty no. 3 is signed.

1875 - Treaty no. 5 is signed, 5$ annuity payment is put in place.

1885 - CPR completed this saw a boom in logging commercial fishing and mining also allowing for whisky traders and independent traders to move in on the HBC monopoly J. Garth Taylor, 1994 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1890's - The first batch of locally grown potatoes is purchased by Osnaburgh house in 1882 (M. Heinrichs & D.Hiebert, 2003 pg.99).

1890's and after- Anglicans, Methodists and Roman Catholics had ease of access into
Northern Ontario which led to and increase in european education and health work (J. Garth Taylor, 1994 pg. 248-350 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

Traditional shelters gave way to conical moss covered lodges (J. Garth Taylor pg. 353 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1900- 1950

Early 19th C. - Families moved to fall campsites before winter freeze to harvest rice,
blueberries, white fish, and waterfowl making a whitefish pemmican. Garden produce and potatoes are stowed in root cellars (C. Bishop 1994, in E. S.Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994 pg.319) usually groups of 2-3 families around 12 people.

Mid 19th C. - Indians at major posts such as Fort Albany and Moose Factory wore European clothing (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 313-314 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith,1994).

Mid 19th C. - As increase in goods being shipped meant there was a need for more men to transport goods, families began to sty at the posts (C. Bishop 1994, pg.313-314 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

19th C. end - Snow shoes round toe traditional but pointed to came into use, wooden ski snow shoes in - hare skin material common (C. Bishop 1994, pg. 311 in E.S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1900 - More common to see log cabins in prominent Figures - open fireplaces of mud, to be taken over with wood stoves - winter transport beame faster with the adoption of sledding (J. Garth Taylor, 1994 pg. 354 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994)

1900 - Winter homes were log houses with flat roofs, gabled roofs didn't come till later,most had two or three rooms, walls were chinked with moss and mud roof was made with poles laid over rafters and covered in moss and dirt (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 65).

Early 1900 - Tents and lodges were used all year round, these were mostly used in summer (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 65).

Four kinds of shelters by Eva Skunk - (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.65)

Pokwoyogan - like a teepee
She o go gwan- like a wigwam made with tree branches more round
Mit o go gwan- made with poles like a house but theres was no stove, just an open fire place
Wiganagan- a round wigwam where you bend the trees

1901-1910 - GA. Maclaren trading co is operated in Osnaburgh House before being bought out by the HBC (J. garth taylor 1994, pg. 349 in E. S. Rogers, D. B.Smith, 1994).

1905- Treaty no. 9 is implemented and signed by the Band of Osnaburgh.

After the treaties many trade post bands became treaty bands electing chiefs and councillors (J. garth taylor 1994, pg. 368 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1909 - Survey of the reserves began and were completed in 1930 (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 124).

1910 - Révillon Fréres trading company became the HBC's main competitor to be bought out in 1936 by the HBC (J garth taylor 1994, pg. 347 in E. S. Rogers, D.B.Smith, 1994).

1912 - When the CN line was completed goods came from Hudson through Lac Seul and root portage (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 104).

1920 - Boom prices brought an influx on non native trappers to northern ontario - who were much harder on fur resources than their Native counterparts (J. garth taylor 1994, pg. 361 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1920's - Osnaburgh house commonly employed 30 indians during the summer months (Rob Bundy 2010).

1921 - 366 Pine Marten were traded at Fort Dauphin districts (A. Ray 1998).

1920's - Canvas canoes replace birch bark crafts (J. garth taylor 1994, pg. 361 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1920's - There is a gasoline tug service running out of Hudson (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.104).

1924 - Seaplane used in to carry indian agents (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.101).

1925 -1960 - Fish were brought and sold at the mines to local buyers families would eat suckers and the fish they did not sell (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.84).

1929 - Gold is discovered north of Osnaburgh (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.127).

1929 - John Carpenter was elected as chief (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.113).

1930's - Log cabins frequent - summer lodging canvas tents - outboard motors became commonplace in canoes (J. Garth Taylor pg. 361 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

Christianity is widespread in all but the most remote of settlements (J. Garth Taylor pg.368 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

Semi sedentary life became more prominent with people remaining in their abodes while males would go out to their traplines during winter months, visiting the trade posts in cloth tents (J. garth taylor 1994 pg.365 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1930's - Osnaburgh House is regularly supplied by Austin Airways (Rob Bundy 2010).

1934 - Pickle Crow and Central Patricia Gold Mine request hydro power - thus the Rat Rapids development was created (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 130).

1935 - Rat rapid dam was constructed, taking away seasonal homes, gardens and grave sites. Within 10 years the mine had outpaced the energy produced by the damn. The residents of did not have power until 1970 (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.130).

1935 - A dock was constructed at Osnaburgh House (Rob Bundy 2010).

1936 - Osnaburgh house was closed (Rob Bundy 2010).

After the 1930's there was a decline in fur prices causing a shift in labour force to mining, logging and commercial fishing (J. Garth Taylor pg. 359 in E.S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1940's - Instituted trapline management, to keep non Native people out of reserve boundaries and to focus activity on the resources in allotted areas (J. Garth Taylor 1994 pg. 395 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1941- Float plane delivering mail (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.101).

1940's - Planes began carrying people and freight into the north - the Nooduyn
Norseman was the workhorse of Ontario's provincial air service bush flying fleet ((M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.104).

1940's - Imported food became readily available (J. Garth taylor, 1994, pg. 358 in E. S.Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

Late 1940 - A parcel of land in New Osnaburgh was sold to the province of ontario to build a nursing station (Rob Bundy 2010).

1944 - A road way to rat rapids was established (Rob Bundy 2010).

1945 - Hydro electric power became available to reserves in the north, alongside generators to run electricity to schools and nursing stations (J. Garth Taylor 1994 pg. 378 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1945 - 1980's - The establishment of day school affected abilities of trappers to continue their livelihood and to pass the tradition onto their young, this saw a increase in unemployment. (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 379-381 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1950 - Present

1950 - David wright a non aboriginal fisherman received a licence to fish the waters of
Osnaburgh Lake (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.120).

1950's - Commercial fisheries established, providing source of income (J. Garth Taylor 1994 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1950’s - Trapping is still the main employment in Mishkeegogamang (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 92).

John Macfie writes that even in the 1950’s settlements were virtually empty from October until April (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.170).

1950’s - As more planes were used in the area, there were less people needed to haul furs, and once roads were constructed further job opportunities declined due to competition with white settlers (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 101).

1950 - 1961 - Anglican missionaries ran a summer school in the church of Osnaburgh (Rob Bundy 2010).

1951 - Saw a recreation of the indian act allowing for religious rights and freedoms, ended compulsory enfranchisement and for indians to drink in public establishments (J. Garth Taylor 1994 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1951 - The comprehensive indian act of 1951 limited the powers of the minister of indian affairs and gave the band control in local matters (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 211).

Up until 1950 - The people of Osnaburg House maintained a relatively mobile lifestyle only coming back to the post to trade in the summer months (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.163).

1954 - A road is built to savant lake - this caused the price of groceries to increase and also facilitated the movement of population causing an increase in settlers (M.Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.167).

1957 - The damn at Lake Saint Joseph is created, causing fluctuating water-levels, increasing erosion and causing hardship on commercial fisheries by drying up spawning areas (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.133).

1960's - During the 60’s some reserves were allowed degrees of self governance to administer fees and affairs , by 1966 1/3rd of bands were allowed to administer welfare services (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 384 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1960’s - The right for Natives to vote on federal elections (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 401 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1960’s - World wide decline for fur demand, due to warm synthetic fibres and animal rights activists (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.92).

1960’s - Snowmobiles replaced dogsleds (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.104).

1962 - Dedicated school building was constructed in New Osnaburgh (Rob Bundy 2010)

1961 - 67 - Government assistance at Os. house multiplied by 5 (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg. 168).

1965 - Appointment of Band Managers (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 384 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1968 - The National Indian Brother Hood was created to present interests to the federal government (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.211).

1950's -1980's - Enterprises continuously sprang up, sometimes government funded to help lower and limit the need for unemployment income - Ie. cranberry fields, furniture making and a shoe factory (J. Garth Taylor 1994 pg. 385 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

60's - Boarding schools where Native children would be boarded near a provincially run school (J. Garth Taylor, 1994 pg.393 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1960's - Gov't subsidies, paid housing and increased medical care became attractors for people to take up village living, schools forced a sedentary lifestyle on traditionally mobile people. Hunters became commuters with the increase of snowmobiles (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.168).

1960 - 70's - Most Natives rely on seasonal employment and government income to live (J. Garth Taylor 1994 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1970's - The construction of air strips in many reserves (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 379 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

1970's - Saw an increase in recreational activities is seen such as soft ball, hockey and snow snake (J. Garth Taylor 1994, pg. 385 in E. S. Rogers, D. B. Smith, 1994).

Trade posts such as Osnaburg would become community centres, with the govt. directing family allowances, old age pensions and relief payments - the managers first aid chest was the only non traditional medical help available (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.163).

1970's - 80's - Seen as a time of political upheaval and unrest with high cases of alcohol and drug abuse (M. Heinrichs & D. Hiebert, 2003 pg.173)

1985 - Slate Falls is recognized as a band

2011 - "*Substantial quantities of country food, meat and fish are harvested for consumption in the communities and for family and community members in Sioux Lookout and beyond. The nature and geographic extent of harvesting has changed, but it remains a profoundly significant and defining activity for Cat Lake and Slate Falls communities. There is also a considerable amount of infrastructure in the field that harvesters rely upon for these harvesting activities (e.g., campsites, trails, portages). This infrastructure needs protection so it can continue to be used, especially where it can be accessed by waterways*". (Cat Lake First Nation, et.al, July 2011, pg. 11)

Appendix B

Additional archival materials relevant to the site interpretations and understanding early 20th century life.

Plate B.1, An Anishinaabeg man tans a hide with woodsmoke.
Lac Seul First Nation, page 26. Taken by F.W. Waugh, 1919.
Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318569, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?

Plate B.2 , An Anishinaabeg woman uses a bone beamer to strip hair from a hide.
Lac Seul First Nation. Taken by Waugh, F. W. (Frederick Wilkerson), 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318569, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=5318569&lang=eng

Plate B.3,Whipsawing lumber David Wrights' Trade Post, Lake St.-Joseph, Taken by R.D. Davidson, 1929, Library and Archives Canada, Archives, item number 3372245, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3372245&lang=eng

B.4, Anishinabe couple mending a fishing net, Taken by Kenora photographer C.G. Linde, Circa 1922. Images courtesy of The MUSE, Kenora.

Plate B.5, Anishinaabeg woman with children stripping spruce roots for cordage.
Lac Seul First Nation, Taken by F.W. Waugh, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318564.

Plate B.6, Anishinaabeg women using spruce-root cordage in making birch bark canoe. Lac Seul First Nation. Taken by F.W. Waugh, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318564.

Plate B.7, Woman in front of birch bark wigwam near Fort Albany. Unknown photographer Ca. 1905. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 3367456.

Plate B.8, Anishinaabeg woman fleshes hide with axe head. Lac Seul First Nation. Taken by F.W. Waugh, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318567.

Plate B.9, Float plane docked at Osnaburgh House Ontario.
Taken by R.D. Davidson, 1929. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 3318265, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3318265&lang=eng

Plate B.10, Anishinaabeg man and woman applying pine or spruce pitch while building canoe, pantry or cold storage visible in background. Lac Seul First Nation, Taken by F.W. Waugh, 1919. Library and Archives Canada, Archives, Item number 5318567, http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=5318565&lang=eng

Appendix C

Additional Materials; Sites EgJv-5 to EgJv-10.

EgJv-5

Table C.1, Recovered containers EgJv- 5

Photo #	Item	Relative date	Re-use
IMG_1189.JPG	The hole-in-cap can	ca. 1820 - 1930's	none
N/A	Vintage Kraft dinner jar	1940’s	none
N/A	magic baking powder tin	1897-1960	none
IMG_1138.JPG	B.C. Sugar co. in snap top paint can	1906-2008	none
IMG_1141.JPG	paint can	1906 +	none
IMG_1143.JPG	friction fit lid pail/ locking seam	1850's+	none
IMG_1147.JPG	gargoyle oil can,	1869-1931	none
IMG_1213.JPG	oil can handle - gargoyle	1869-1931	(assumed re-use)
IMG_1158.JPG	Lard pail, double side seams.	1859+	made into stove fitting
IMG_1204.JPG	hole in can		none
IMG_1177.JPG	electrolytic tinplated steel	1937 +	none
IMG_1231.JPG	snap top can/ friction fit	1890+	none
IMG_1159.JPG	cut oil can	1890+	for chimney stack
IMG_1206.JPG	tea kettle top enamled tin	1889+	none
IMG_1193.JPG	mason jar	1885+	none
IMG_1176.JPG	skinny can paint lid top	1890+	none
IMG_1165.JPGIMG_1167.JPG	“evaporated milk”, drop solder can	1900-1980's)	none
IMG_1163.JPG	Beaten bucket -	1890+	woodstove fitting
IMG_1161.JPG	Double side seams bucket	1890+	none
MG_1159.JPG	oil or kerosene can	1890+	for chimney stack
IMG_1156.JPG	Double side seams	1904 +	base appears to be worked or hammered,
IMG_1151.JPG	cut and shaped oil can from gargoyle	1869-1931	none

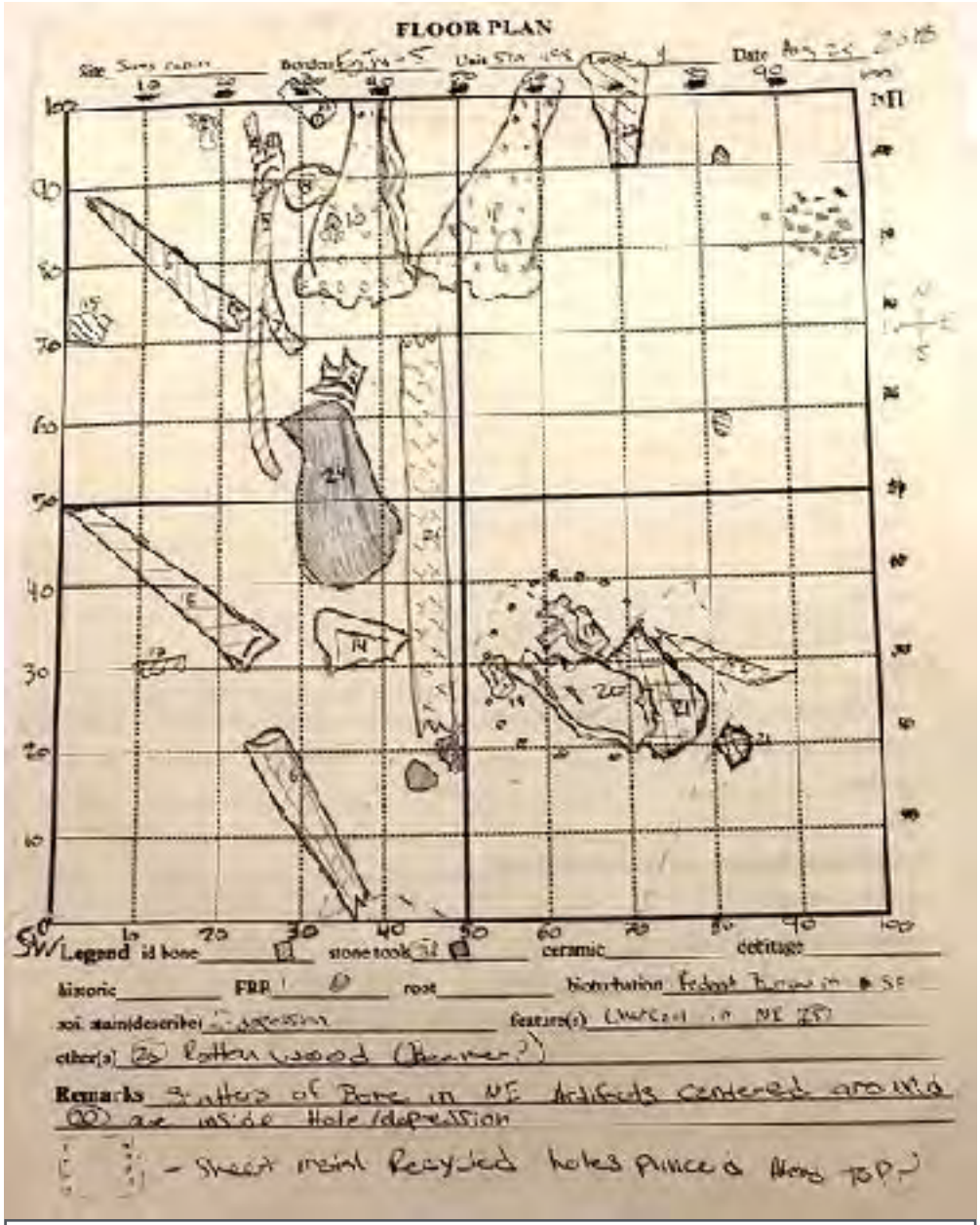


Plate C.1, Excavation Floor plan of EgJv-5 Unit510N 498E.
labeled artifacts are as follows, 1. Section of Rubber 2.Cervical Vertebrae 3. Ascetabulum 4. Otterskull 5.Ungulate Rib 6.Ungulate Fibia 7.Rib 8.Moose Illium 9.Rib section 10.Leg to wood-stove 11.Leg to wood-stove 12.Ungulate teeth 13.Mandible 14. Moose Proximal Tibia 15. Moose TIbia 16. Moose Distal Tibia 17. Bird Sternum 18. Fish Skull 19. Cervical Vertebrae 20. 1/2 skull 21. Tar Paper 22. Ungulate metatarsal 23. Cut moose humerus 24. Anvil/Grinding stone.

Plate C.2, Excavation of EgJv-5 Unit 510N 498E. Top; 5cm below surface, Bottom; 10Cm below surface. No photo included for 15cm; sediment consisted of uniform light tan sand.

Plate C.3, Excavation soil profile of Excavation Unit 510N 498E., Sams Cabin.

Plate C.4, Soil profile taken at Sams Cabin test-pit 503N 497E.

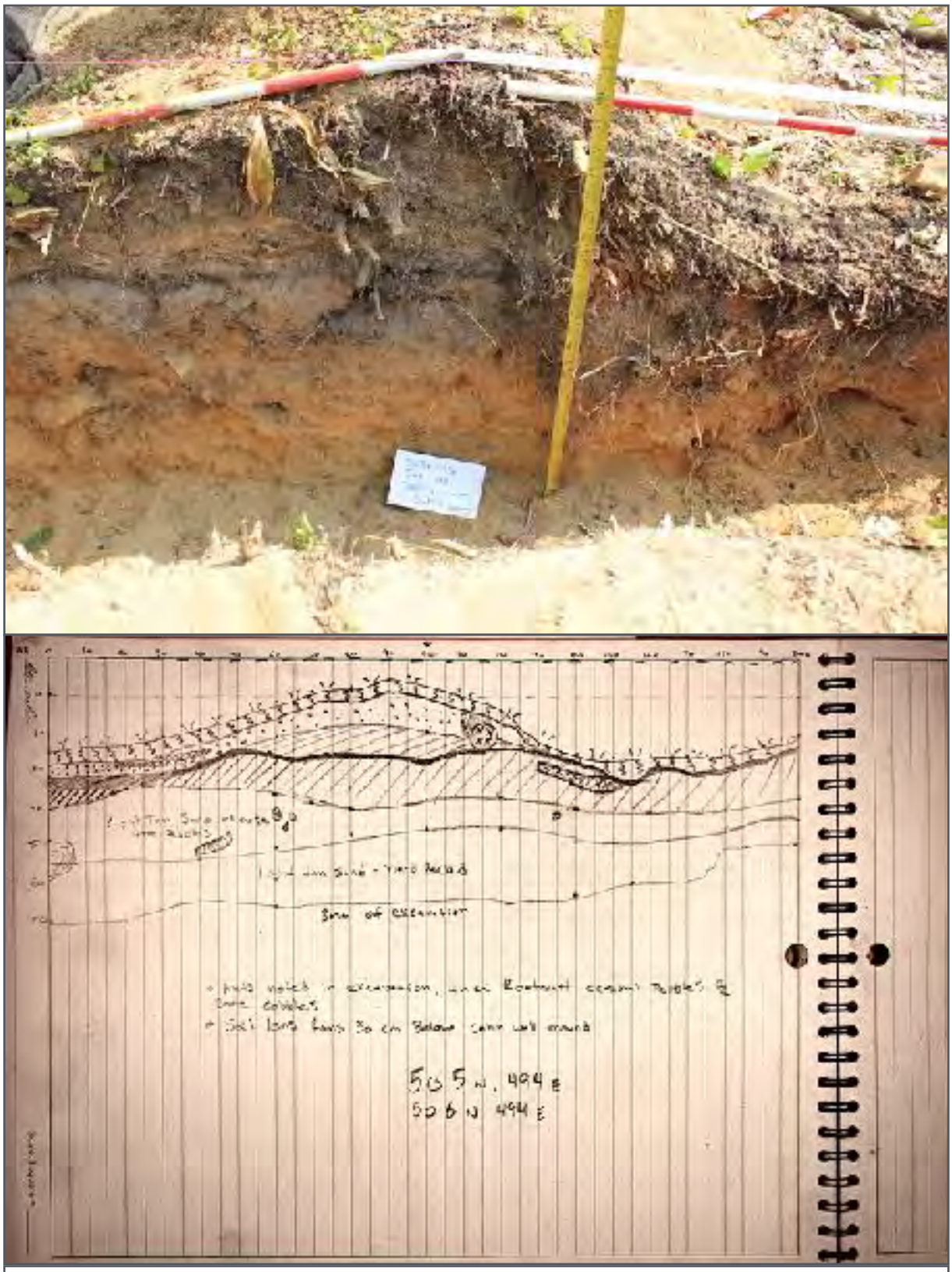


Plate C.5, Wall profile of excavation 505N 494 E., Top is photographed, bottom is hand sketched, both define the berm which delineates the boundaries of the cabin feature.

Plate C.6, Modified containers recovered from Sams Cabin. (1.) Cut metal bucket, (2. & 3.) Modified oil containers utilized for woodstove.

Plate C.7, Collapsable sheet metal stove found in Sams Cabin.

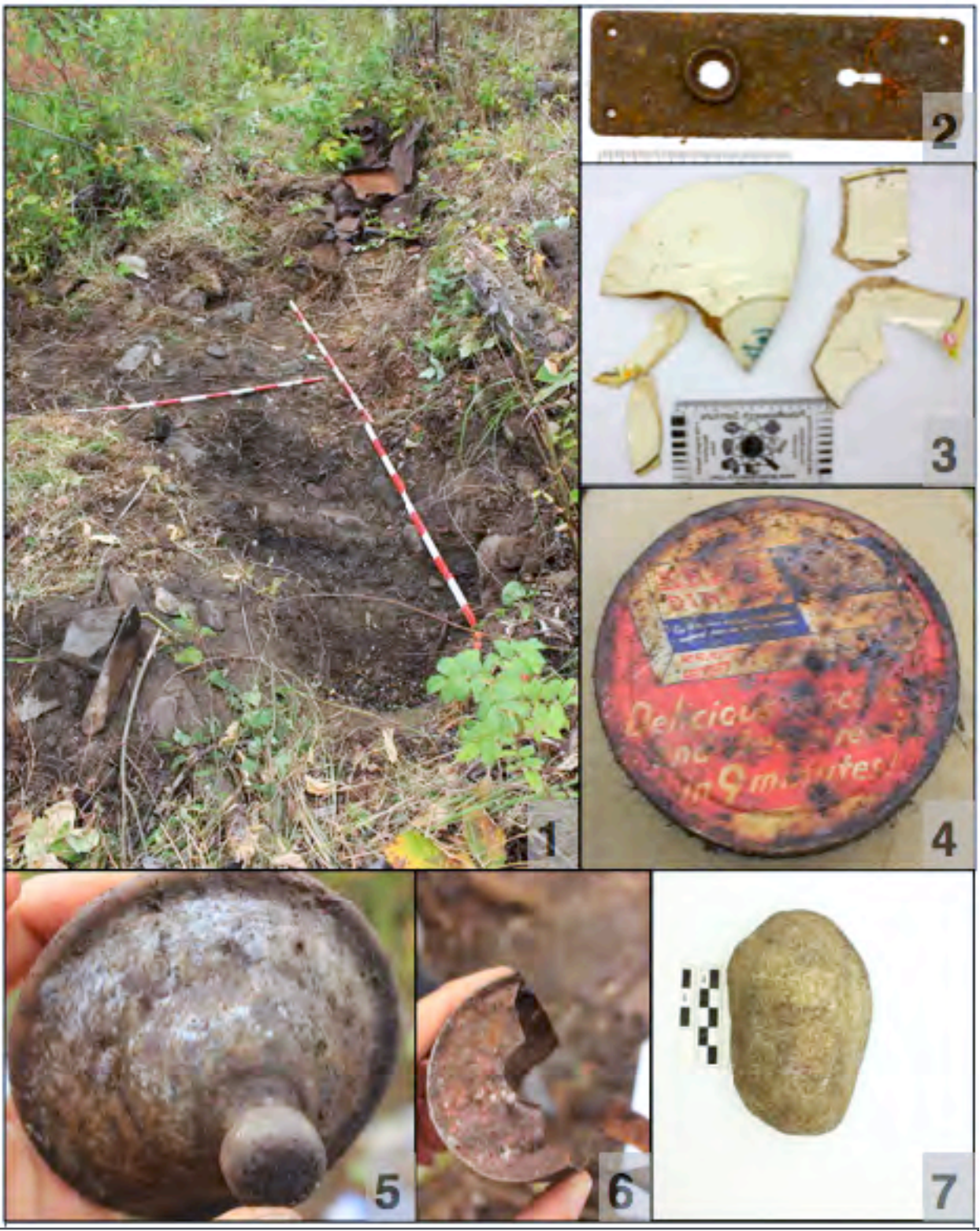


Plate C.8, (1.) Removal of root-matt and humic soil in LUBC-SS496N495E, and an assortment of the corresponding artifacts recovered from the midden; (2.) Door plate with skeleton key hole, (3.) Johnson brothers porcelain plate, (4.) Kraft Dinner lid, (5.) Enamelware kettle lid, (6.) Modified can, (7.) Hammer-stone with associated pecking.

Plate C.9, Assortment of recovered lithic artifacts from the excavations in Sams Cabin during the 2017 field season.

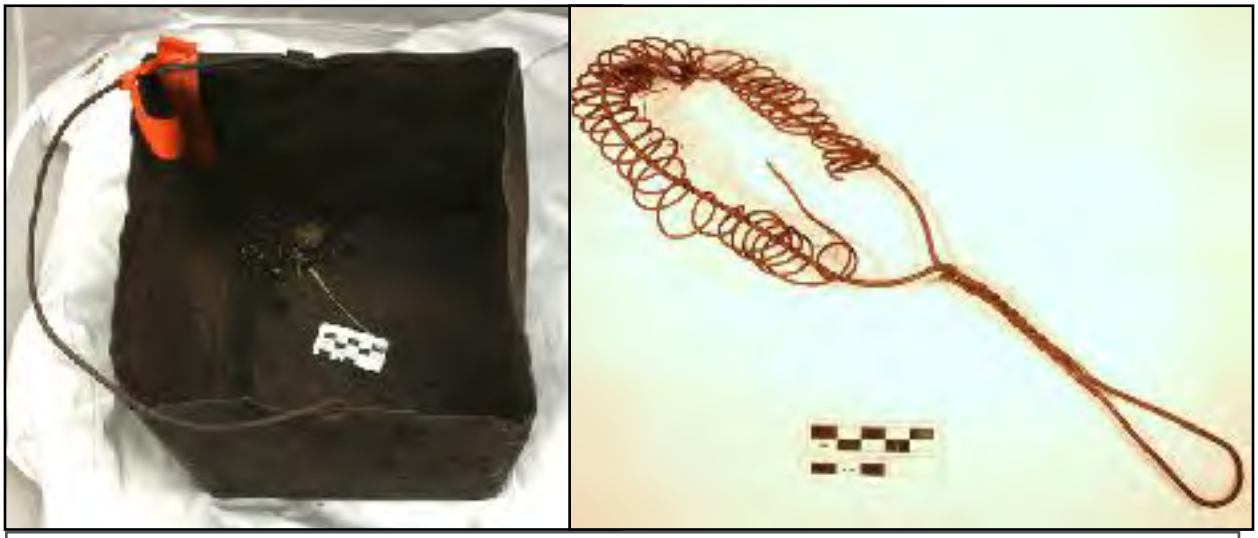


Plate C.10, Hand made items found in Sams Cabin; Left, Bucket fashioned from oil container, Right, wire whisk made from what is thought to be snare wire.

EgJv-6

Additional materials relevant to the site location of Bonecrush and EgJv-6.

Plate C.11, View of Site EgJv-6 facing east during the wintertime.

Plate C.12, Soil profile taken at EgJv-6, Test pit HKM7.

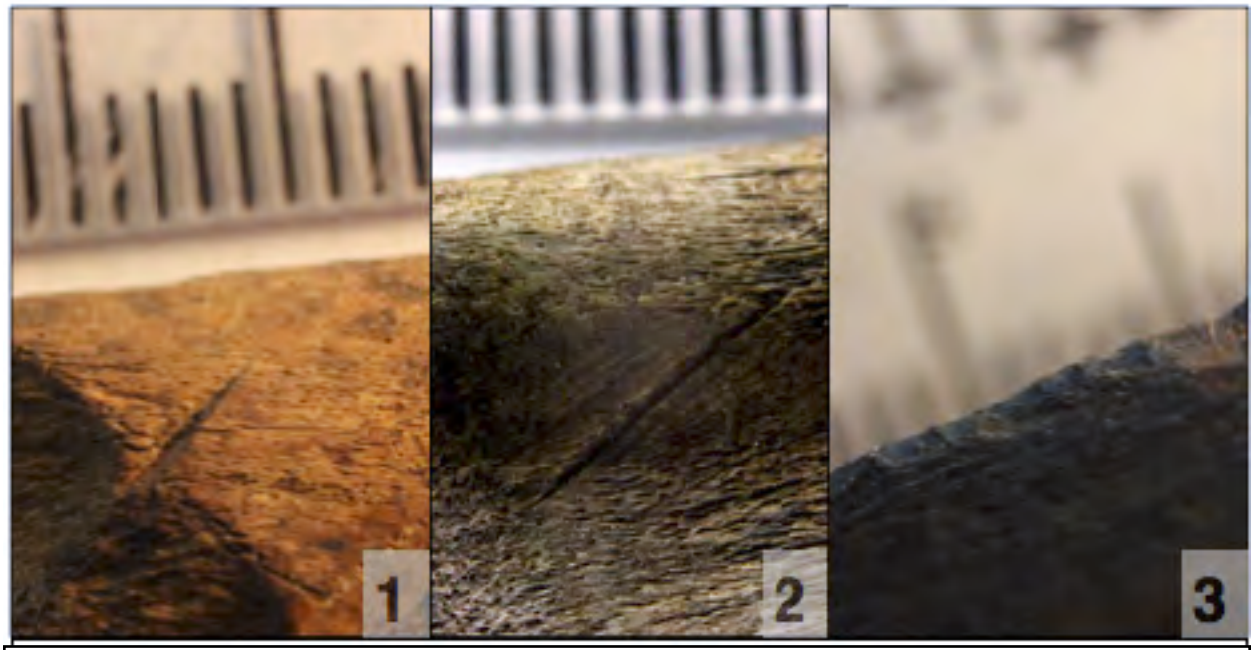


Plate C.13, Highlights of modified bone seen in EgJv-6; (1.) Cut mark indicative of steel, (2.) Cut mark indicative of stone, (3.) Pressure flaking seen on edge of bone.

Plate C.14, Assortment of charred bone seen from the test pits of EgJv-6.

Plate C.15, LUBC-TPCS01-08. Separate images displaying features from a section of possible ground stone stone tool. Top images display uniquely square edge while bottom show signs of seriation on working surface.

Plate C.16, Metallic artifacts from EgJv-6; (1.) Pressure plate from trap, (2.) Sections of pocket-watch, (3.) Modified sections of containers.

EgJv-7

Additional materials relevant to the site location of Mackenzies Beach, EgJv-7

Plate C.17, Artifacts from EgJv-7; (1.) Ball formed from unknown material, possibly graphite, (2.) Plastic face of Mood-ring, (3.) Tassel beaded from plastic seed beads.

EgJv-8
Additional materials relevant to Emily's Site

Plate C.18, Artifacts from EgJv-8; (1.) Possible ground stone tool (perforator), (2.) Possible ground stone tool (Atlatl knock), (3.) Flaking seen on Stone-ware mug, (4.) Possible ground stone tool (nutcracker),

Plate C.19, Alternative views of bottle scraper, Egjv-7

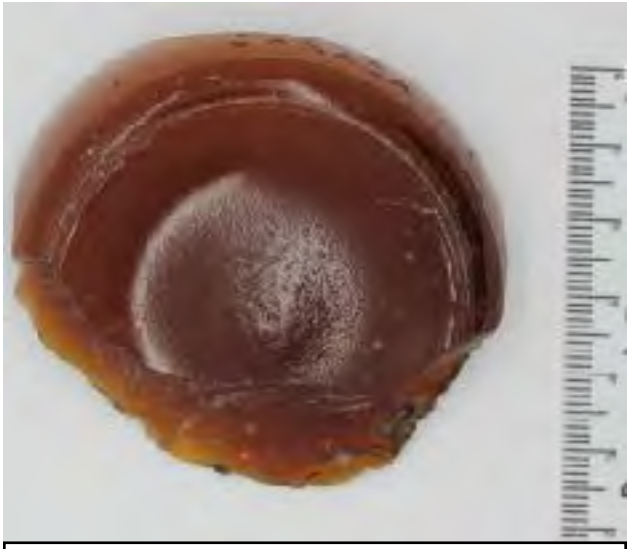


Plate C.20, Alternative view of cutting tool, EgJv-7.

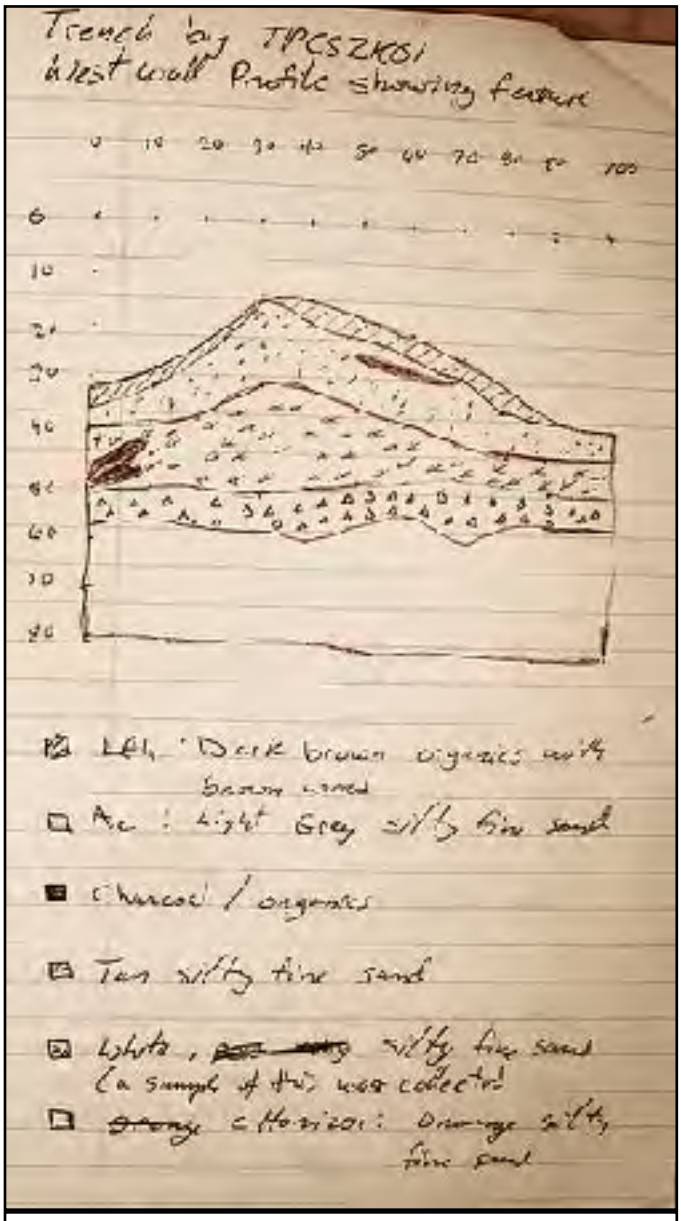


Plate C.21, Depiction of the soil profile in Trench CSZK01.

Plate C.22, Sample of bone fragments recovered form test pits in EgJv-9.

EgJv-9

Additional materials relevant to the site location of Pepsi & Flipflop.

Plate C.23, Artifacts from EgJv-9; (1.) Possible ground stone tool (pestle), (2.) Possible Bone tool (perforator), (3.) Stone tool (end-scraper/graver).

Appendix D

Additional Materials Relevant to Slate Falls

Plate D.1, Artifacts from Slate Falls; (1.) Beaver or wolf trap, (2.) Seed bead decorations on moccasins depicting eagle or thunderbird (3.) Steel barrel woodstove.

Plate D.2, Large wire spike driven through moose scapula, function is unknown but may have been digging implement or axe for breaking branches.

Plate D.3, Recovered axes before (B.) and after (A.) electrolysis procedure.

Plate D.4, Additional axes found in the Slate Falls area; Left, Welland and Vale axe, Right, Axe with Phantom Bevels.

Appendix E.

Additional Information in the documentation of Old Slate Falls

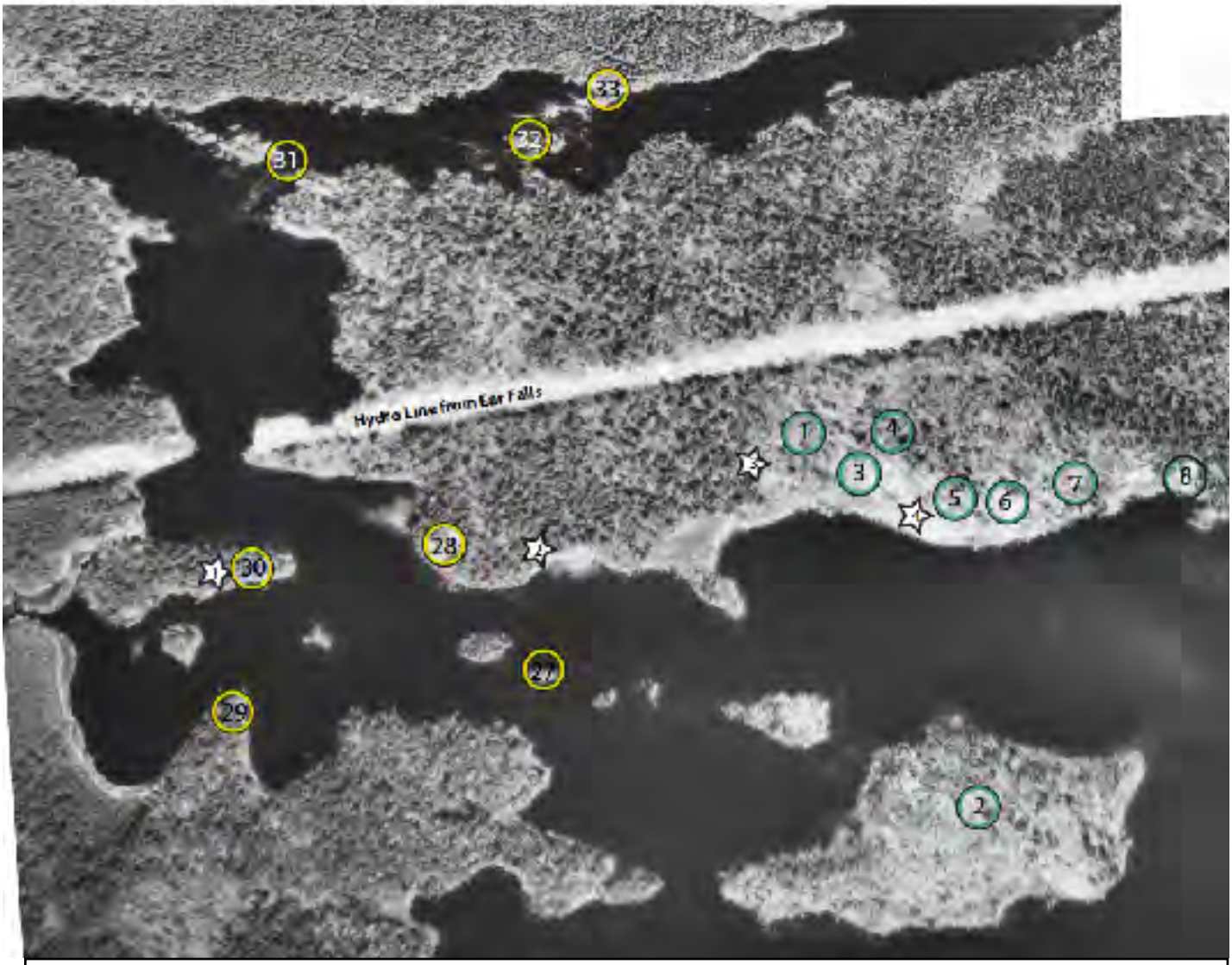


Plate E.1, Cabin Map Part 1.

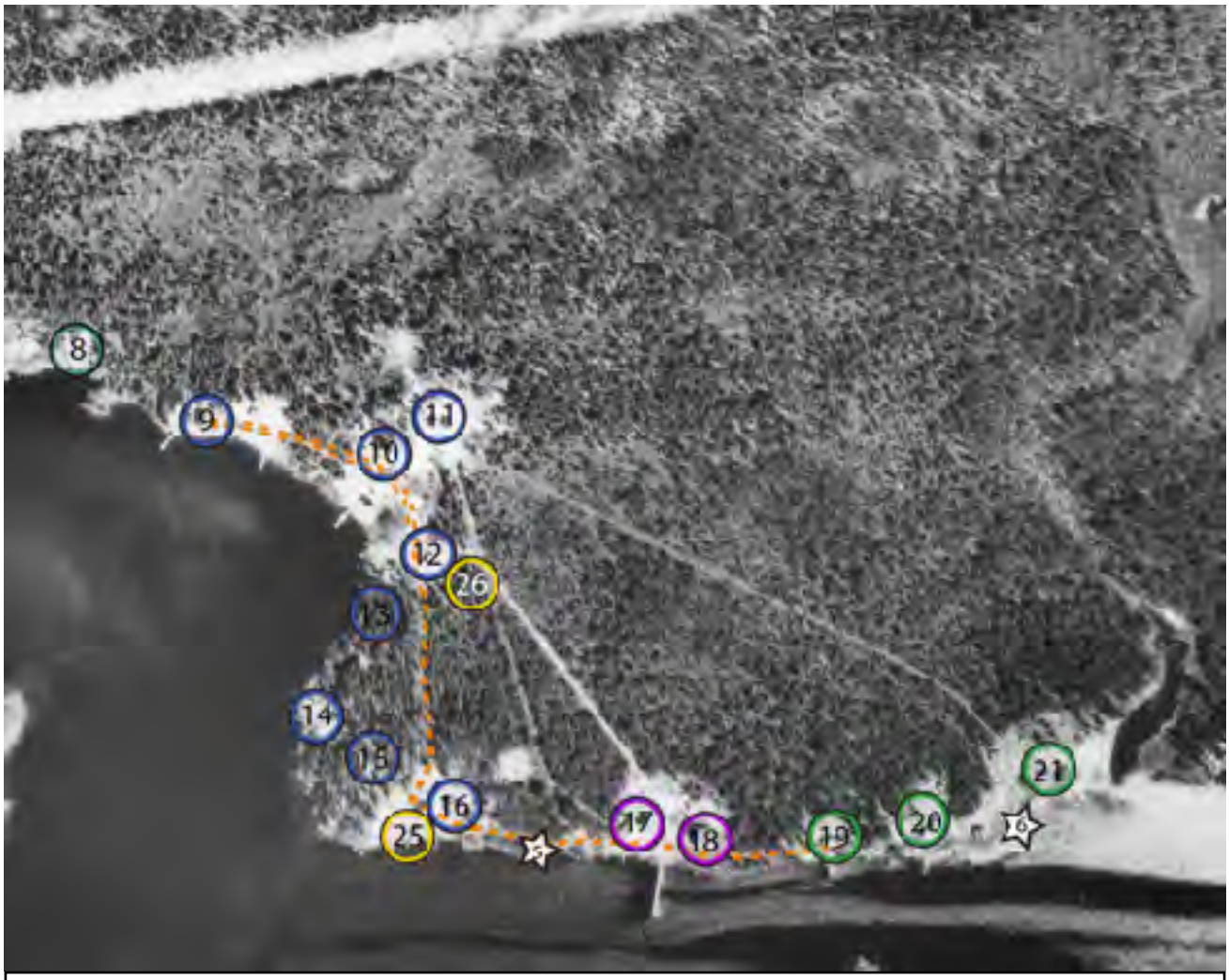


Plate E.2, Cabin Map Part 2.

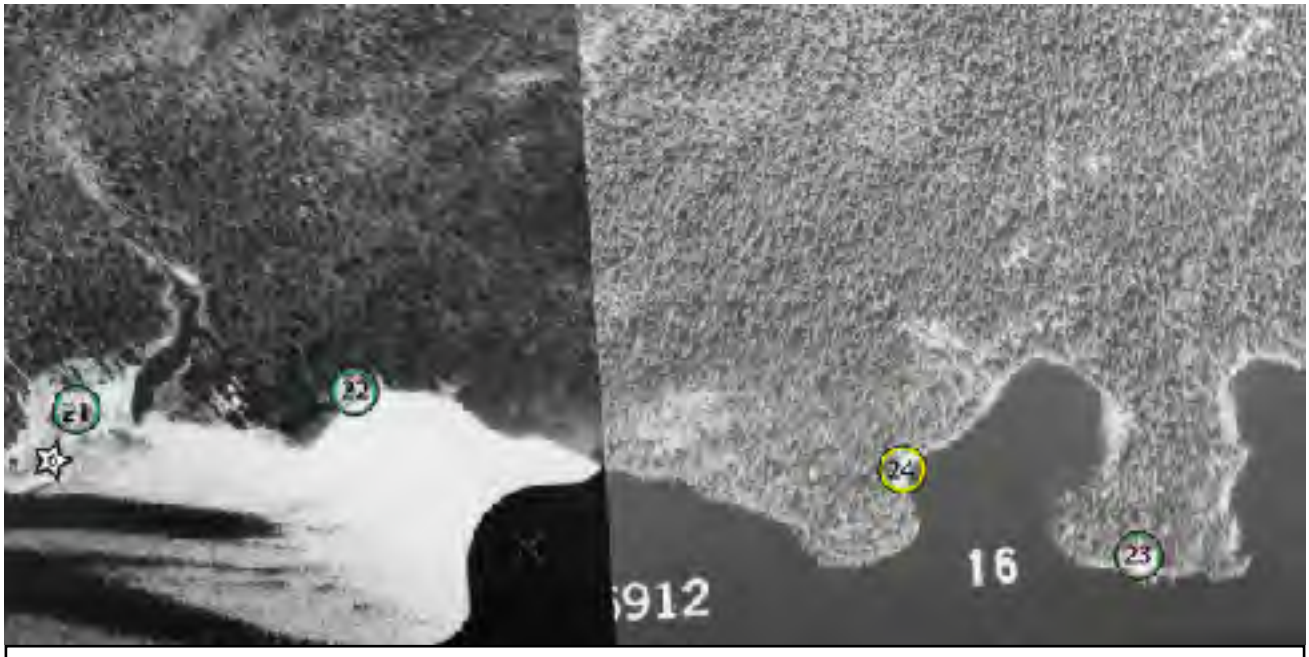


Plate E.3, Cabin Map Part 3.

Key to Cabin Map, Plate E.1, Plate E.2, Plate E.3

Colour Coded Circles:

1: John Loon's cabin
2: "The Old Timers would camp in tipis on the islands"
3: Sams Cabin Site
4: The Old Ladies - Ana Boyoey and Elisa Quayquay cabin
5: Eliza Qaukwak's cabin
6: Thomas Illet Cabin *(rebuilt late 1930's by Ivor Loon, lived in until 1970's-1980's)*
7: Cabin 2
8: Cabin 3, Philip Loon's cabin
9: Cabin 8, Laura, Annbela & Betsy' cabin- (T*umble Down Cabins with Pantry)*
10: Cabin 7, John Loon's new cabin
11: Laura and Annabla move when their mother dies
12: Cabin 6 - *(Burnt Cabin)*
13: Sam Cook's cabin
14: Cabin 4, Charlie Wesley's cabin
15: Cabin 5, - Ana Boyoey and Elisa Quayquay cabin
16: Mission House
17: School Teacher's Residence
18: New School
19: Joe Carpenter's new cabin
20: Sam's Last House - *(used for voting and elections)*
21: Mackenzie Store and Tourist Cabins
22: Evan Kitchense's cabin
23: Cabin 9, Connie and Charlie and then John Rooster
24: Ice House
25: Ice House
26: Flat Backed Canoe *by dump*
27: Sitting Rock or Flipped Boulder
28: Old Cemetery
29: New Cemetery
30: Moved Rubbish(*from island)*
31: The Slate Falls
32: Area for Fishing
33: Portage

Cabin maps, Plate E.1, E.2, E.3, Key to starred numbers

1. Small site noted but unrecorded
2. Small site noted but unrecorded
3. Pepsi & Flipflop, EgJv-9
4. Bonecrush, EgJv-6
5. Adz, EgJv-8
6. Mackenzies Beach, EgJv-7

Colour coding based on type and location, yellow; unique features, aqua; Area I, blue; Area II, green; Area III, purple; Area IV.
Key and cabin ID based upon authors current understanding of Village occupation, further consultations should be sought with Frederico Oliveira's publications on Slate Falls for most recent information.

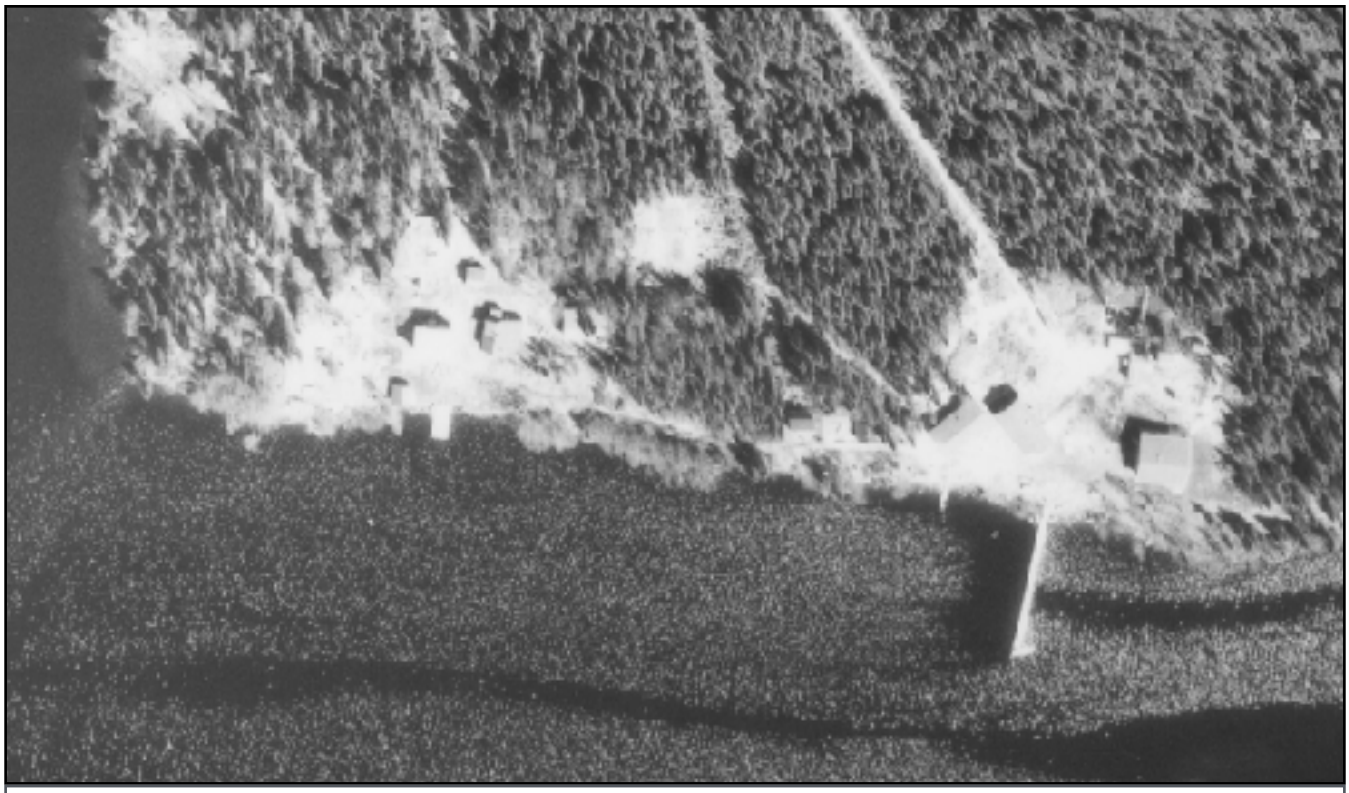


Plate E.4, Mission House Area. Left hand side, cluster of four structures: Mission House, Old School House, Carpenters Cabin, Ice House. Right hand side: three buildings, the New School House, and the teachers residences.

Mission House Area

Located farther southeast From Cabin 3 the Mission House sits in an elevated clearing overlooking Lake Bamaji, the Mission House can be seen from the new Slate Falls due to its large size and white exterior. Clustered around this structure are various buildings: a church house to the east (named the Old School House), multiple outhouses out behind, a generator shack in the rear of the building and a foundation of a large building in the surrounding clearing.

Plate E.5, Red highlighted circle indicated the Mission House.

This area was first cleared and settled by the Carpenter family in 1940, although the location of the original Carpenter cabin is not currently confirmed. An old foundation is present in the yard behind the Mission House any may represent this earlier occupation. In 1956, Mennonites missionaries from Ohio and Pennsylvania moved into the area and established a mission (the Old School House) which acted as a Sunday school and in 1976 briefly operated as a day school. In the 1980's a the two story Mission house was constructed, becoming the largest structure in Slate Falls. This building is still standing and is the most prominent building in the locality. The Mission House has double paned windows and is the only structure in Old Slate Falls with a second story. Plastic siding layers the abode; apparently installed in 1990 by a nonprofit organization to assist winter heat retention.

Plate E.6, The Mission House area drone view.

The 1980's over-flight (Plate E.5) shows the structure located behind the mission house, as well as two other buildings surrounding the Mission. The Ice House lies on the shore to the south, and the Old School House rests to the east. It sits immediately south west of the mission house, near a large copse of trees. Refer to The Ice house also detailed in Ch. 6.6.g, pg.175.

A generator shack is located to the west of the house and was used to supply power to the Mission House as well as nearby residents (Area III). The foundation of a structure lies behind the Mission House, evidence of a building being moved at one point, It is possible that this is the house the Carpenters lived in when it was moved. According to knowledge that Frederico gathered this is the immediate vicinity for where John Carpenter (Sam's dad) moved to when they established their new cabin (Oliveira 2018).

The moved structure adds to the narrative of reuse and refurbishment in Slate Falls, where cabins and lumber would be repurposed as needed and set up in new locations. Materials from the 1980's-1990's are scattered throughout the inland forested

Plate E.7, Red highlighted circle indicated the Old Church (Old Schoolhouse).

area. No artifacts were recovered from the mission house due to its well documented nature and relatively new establishment. A large rototiller sits behind the mission house, indicative of intensive gardening. In front of the house a brick ornamental garden was constructed.

The Old School House

After the arrival of the Mennonite missionaries in the 1950's the original Mission House (titled the Old School House) was constructed. Elsie indicated it occasionally acted as a small day school. Jerry Paquette the first teacher in Slate Falls started teaching 8 grades out of the Old School House 1976 (Frederico Oliveira per. com. 2021 citing Jerry Paquette). Under the auspices of the Isolated School Board program of Ontario Ministry of Education the New School House was built in 1977 (refer to Ch.6.4 Pg.159).

Plate E.8, Red highlighted circle indicates the Ice House.

The structure had an addition added onto the back after its initial construction. The add-on was achieved by chainsawing out one of the walls and building a smaller, 3 walled room. The school was used until the 1980's, when it was replaced by a larger school to the east in Area V. The Mennonites taught using the provincial curriculum, which was seen by many local residents to be superior to the federal curriculum and is thought to have bolstered the success of the community.

Plate E.9, Winter night at the Mission House and Old School House.

Plate E.10, Old schoolhouse facing south.

Plate E.11, Old schoolhouse facing north.

Cabin 2

Supplemental information to Chapter 6.1.b seen on page 140. Artifacts found during mapping and reconnoissance of Cabin 2.

Plate E.12, Artifacts found in association with cabin 2: Locket with youth in checker shirt, plastic hair clip, 1979 Canadian quarter, bread-clip, brass rivet and plastic seed beads.

Cabin 3

Supplemental information to Chapter 6.6.a, Pg.164.

Mapping produced for the documentation of Cabin 3 utilizing different methodology

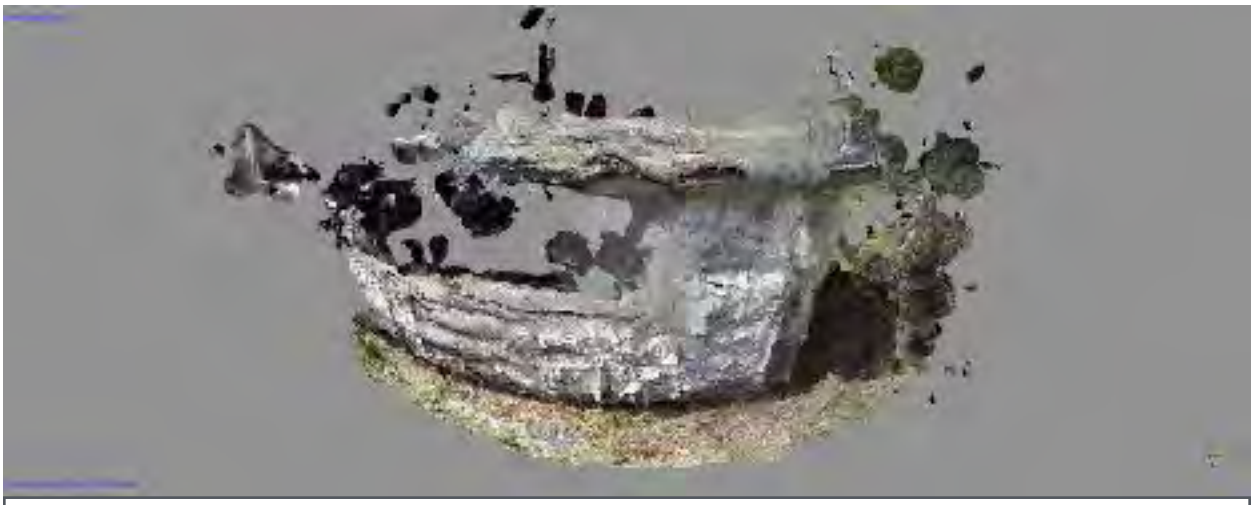


Plate E.13, Cabin 3, 3D model using Video footage with wide-angle lens.

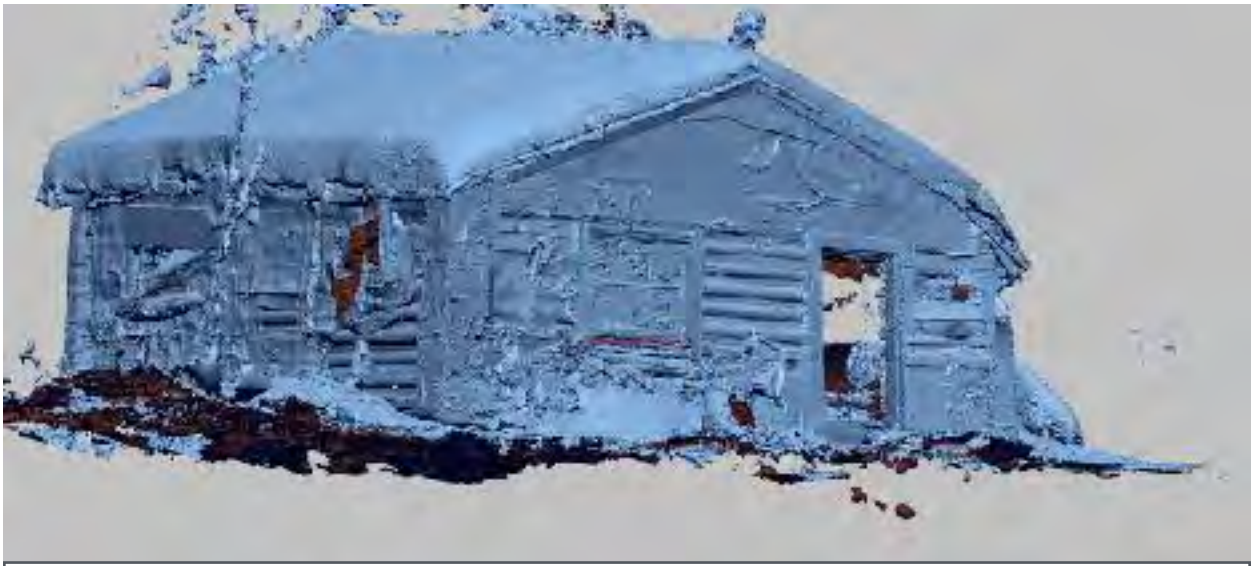


Plate E.14, Cabin 3, 3D model without texture applied, using DSLR photographs

Plate E.15, Cabin 3, 3D model based on cloud points, utilizing DSLR photographs.

Plate E.16, Cabin 3, 3D Full version texture applied, utilizing DSLR photographs.

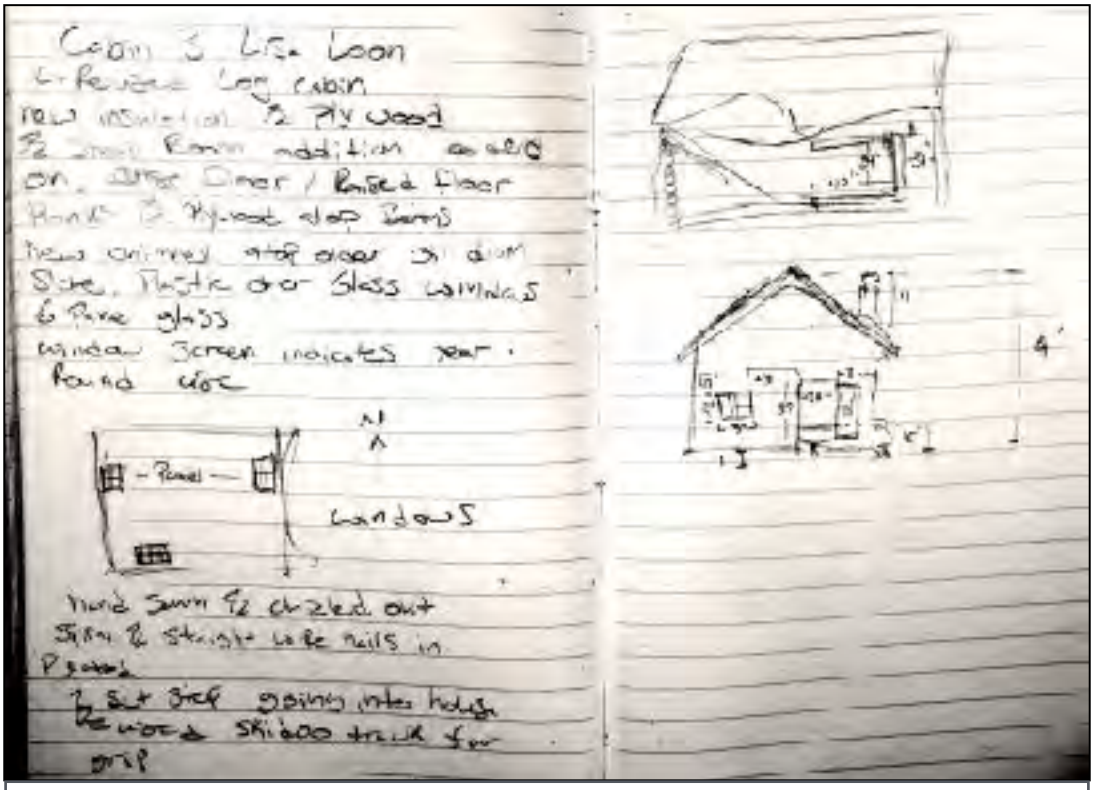


Plate E.17, Cabin 3, Sketch documenting cabin structure by hand

Plate E.18, Cabin 3, Photographed by Drone

Cabin 5 *Cabin 2 Mission House - old cree ladies*

Cabin 5 was Identified in 2018 during a pedestrian survey following the old boardwalk north from the Mission house. Cabin 5 consists of multiple attachments, the original section of Cabin 5 aligns much closer to that of Cabin's 2, 3, and Sam's, with small we full log walls stuffed with moss chinking, dovetails hand cut by axe, tar paper roofing, and smaller size in general. Newer additions built on to Cabin 5 have fibreglass insulation, prefabbed window frames, polyethylene vapour barrier, milled lumber walls and plywood roofing covering a gabled roof shielded with in multiple kinds of gravelled tarpaper shingles.

Plate E.19, Red highlighted circle indicates Cabin 5 location.

On the exterior of the cabin a PC voters card was found with a date of 1984, giving a later occupation of the cabin, this could be used to identify who lived in the structure, but was never investigated. A snow mobile from the 80's can be found to the immediate NE of the cabin along side a scattering of aluminum cooking vessels and plates.

Plate E.20, A book of Psalms and Hymns written in Cree Sylabics.

Plate E.21, View of Cabin 5 facing south.

Plate E.22, View of Cabin 5 facing East

Cabin 6 *Burnt cabin 3*

Cabin 6 was found on foot, and is only identifiable by a very low somewhat square rise. A path now leads through the small ridges indicated by the banking of dirt along corners and walls. Trees no older than 15 years grow through the middle of the cabin, black spruce, willow and poplar seedlings sprout through the carbonized layer formed by the burnt down cabin. Surrounded by black spruce and rolling sphagnum moss cabin 6 somewhat lower than many of the other cabins found and would have been connected to other cabins via the wooden boardwalk, found closely nearby

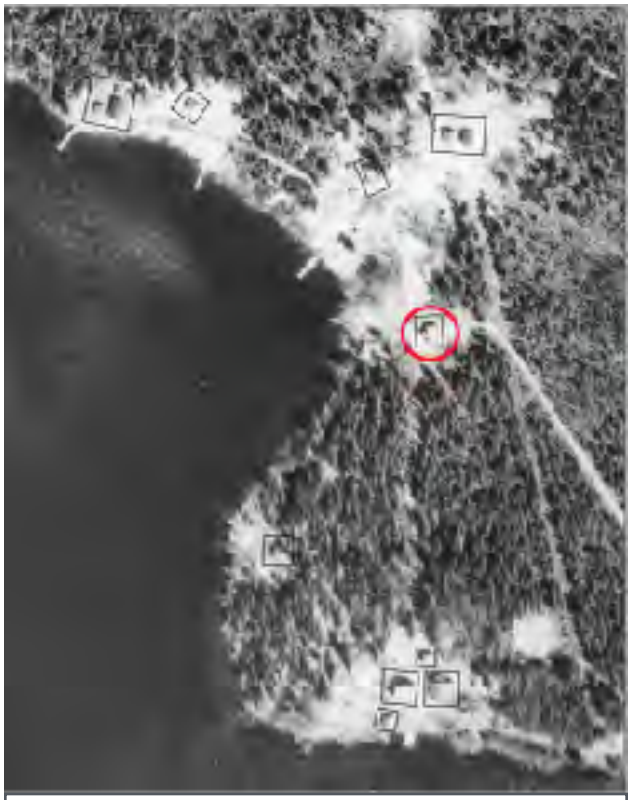


Plate E.23, Red highlighted circle indicates location of Cabin 6

Cabin 6 is a loosely defined structure that was burnt down. The burning of the cabin is tied to a suspected arson mentioned by Delford. He detailed that three cabins were burned down in the 1990's. This story fits the same time frame of Cabin 6

Fully burnt down, small ridges indicate exterior walls. Informal probing into the banks indicate plastic and clothing was used as a protective layer for wood, before soil was banked against the cabin structure. Small depressions of unknown use are located in its centre and northeast corner. Melted glass and blackened metallic items lay scattered around the once existing structure.

Two dated artifacts were found in the remains of the cabin, a 1981 nickel and a penny from 1976 give firm dates. Two kids toys were found, a plastic toy soldier, and a glass marble were mixed in among the sand berms. Additional materials found were multiple charred and blackened knives, large screw pilings loosely scattered, and large amounts of melted glass and melted fibreglass.

An Electrical box and electrical wiring was found scattered among the location, through discussions with locals electricity would have come from the mission house generator, but in the 1990's a utility line was brought in from Rat Rapids. Copper piping indicated running water and most likely a hot water tank was installed in the cabin, typically water would be drawn from Lake Bamaji.

Plate E.24, view of Cabin 6 facing northeast, exposed area documents the berm of the cabin.

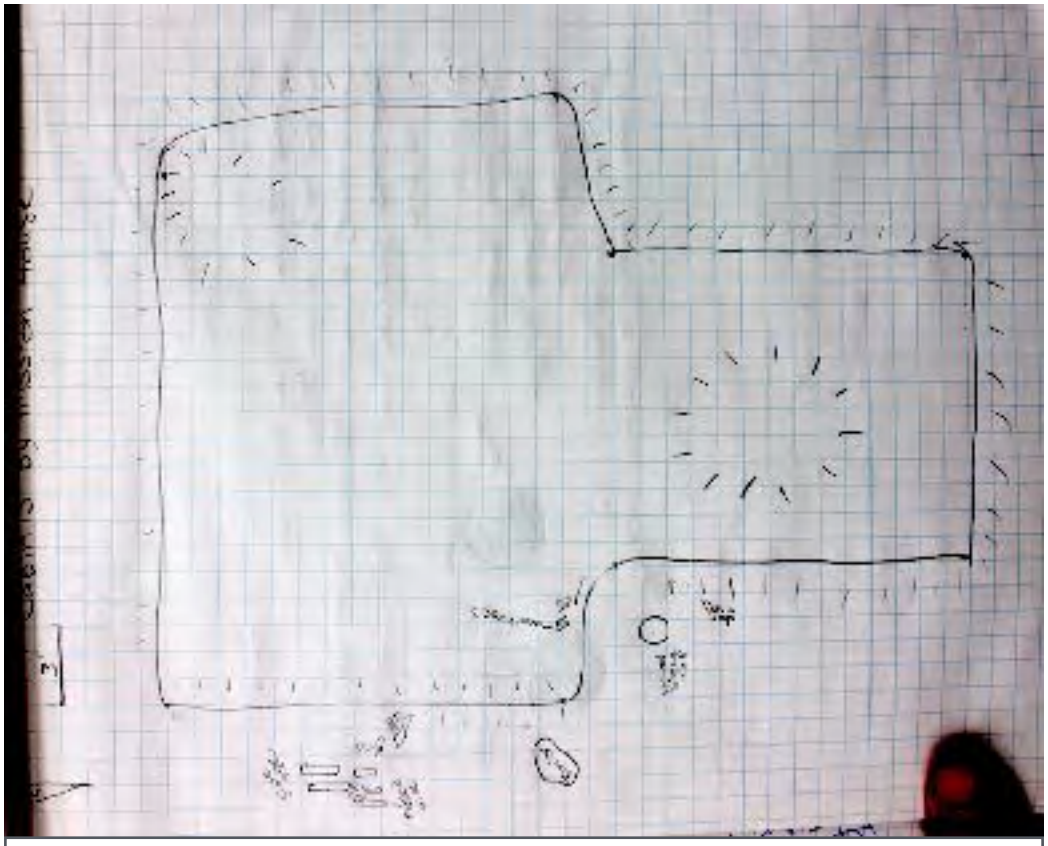
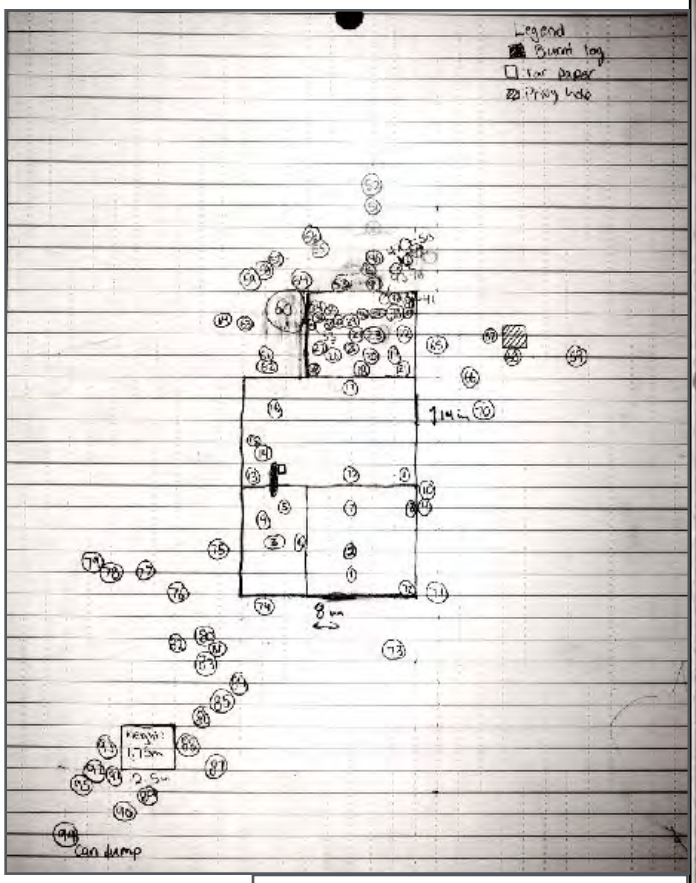


Plate E.25, Sketch map of Cabin 6.

Cabin 7

Supplemental information to Cabin 7 in Chapter 6.

Multiple Keys to the cabin 7 sketch map (Figure 6.23) are seen in plates E.24-E.26.



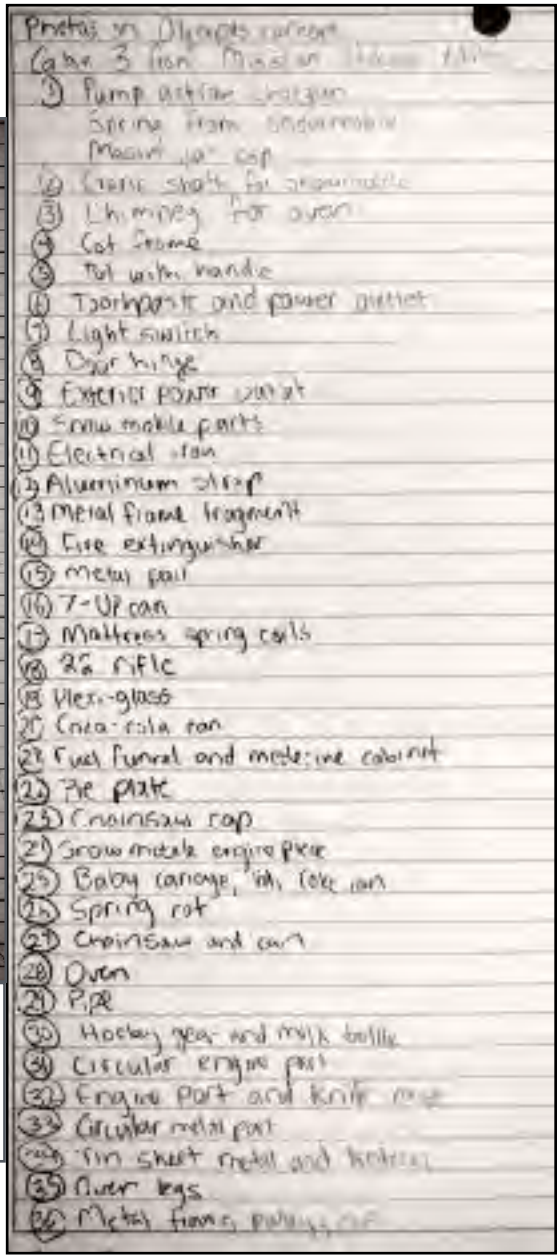


Plate E.26, Cabin 7 map, Key 1 of 3

Plate E.27, Key 2 of 3, Cabin 7 map.

Plate E.28, Key 3 of 3, Cabin 7 map.

Table E.1 Types of Cans Found in Cabin 7 Midden

Can type	Openings	Frequency	Length	Diameter	Features
Steel can	knife	2	18	10	4 ribs
Ferric	can opener	4	18	11	6 ribs
Carnation	knife	58	10	7.5	smooth
White gas	pop top, cut	3	N/A	N/A	repurposed
Motor oil	Unknown	1	11.5 x 6	20	N/A
Aluminum pop	tab	3	12	6	2 pepsi, 1 7 up
Steel can	plastic cap	1	17.5	15.5	N/A
Steel can	Unknown	1	17.5	15.5	8 ribs
Pop can	2 holes	34	12	6	pepsi, crush, coke
Pop can	triangular	9	12	6	N/A
Pop can	square tab	27	12	6	non modern
Spork	Unknown	6	5.5x5	9.5	N/A
2L powdered juice	plastic cap	4	12	10	N/A
Tomato Juice	2 holes	1	11.5	8.5	N/A
Motor oil	N/A	1	16	10	N/A
Plain can	N/A	5	10	10	N/A
Corn syrup	N/A	1	13	14	N/A
Glass bottle	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	instant coffee
Jar	N/A	5	N/A	N/A	undknown
Mason jar	N/A	2	12	8	
Glass bottle	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Can	N/A	17	11	7.5	14 ribs
Large ribbed	N/A	6	12	10	6 ribs
Ferric	N/A	23	11.5 x 68.5	N/A	6 ribs
Enamle tea pot	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Enamle tea cups	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	N/A

Cabin 8

Cabin 8 was observed during the boat survey of the shoreline. Thought to be the houses of Laura, Annbela & Betsy. Cabin 8 is actually a group of structures: two large collapsed structures and one small upright one. One of the structures is now collapsed, made of 2x4's and milled lumber and is smaller and simpler than the second nearby building. The larger house is also partially collapsed with multiple rooms indicating the construction of additions during its history of occupation. The central (older) part of the building is composed of logs, while the additions were constructed from milled lumber. A very small log cabin stands behind the collapsed houses and is interpreted to be pantry

The two collapsed structures are located on the terrace edge immediately overlooking the shoreline, with dock pilings for a dock in the shallows immediately in front of the cabins. Interpretations on the structures seem that the smaller more collapsed iteration of the cabins was the original house lived in and the larger built beside it later. Within the Cabin multiple wood stoves are found. As rooms were constructed and added, new wood stoves would be placed to heat the additional space.

Additional features found:

- Cassette tapes, and board games,
- Traps
- Electrical wiring through the cabins
- Stove/kitchen area
- Full-sized wood stove (old)
- Lawnmower present in one of the collapsed structures.
- Dock present on the shoreline

Plate E.29, Over flight photo of Cabin 8 by drone.

Cabin 9 *- Rooster cabin*

The cabin marks a cluster of housing structures at the end of Old Slate Falls roughly 1.5km to the east of the Mission House (Plates E4 & E5). The waterfront drops to a cobbled beach with pilings in place that would support a dock for floatplane drop offs and easy boat access.

Plate E.30, Cabin 9, photograph taken by drone.

The most recent structure has plastic side sheeting and double paned windows; additions made by a volunteer community that came through in the 1990's. a oil barrel wood stove sits in the middle of the cabin. The interior is finished with plywood. According to locals this house was finished by a non-profit organization coming through the area in the 1980's.

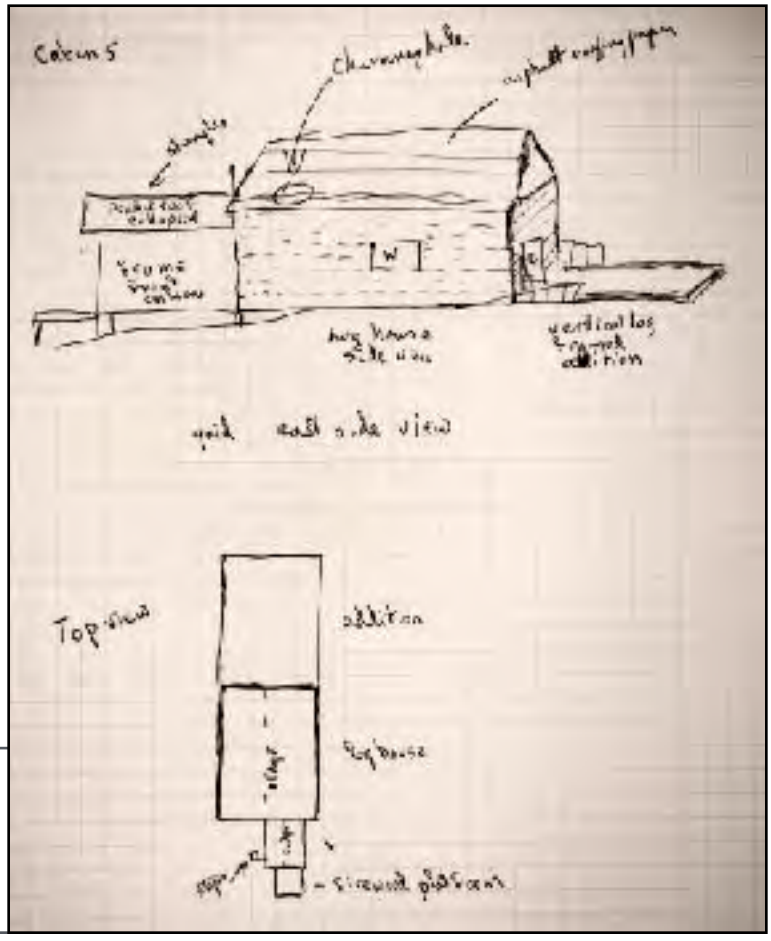


Plate E.31, Cabin 9, Sketch documenting cabin structure by hand

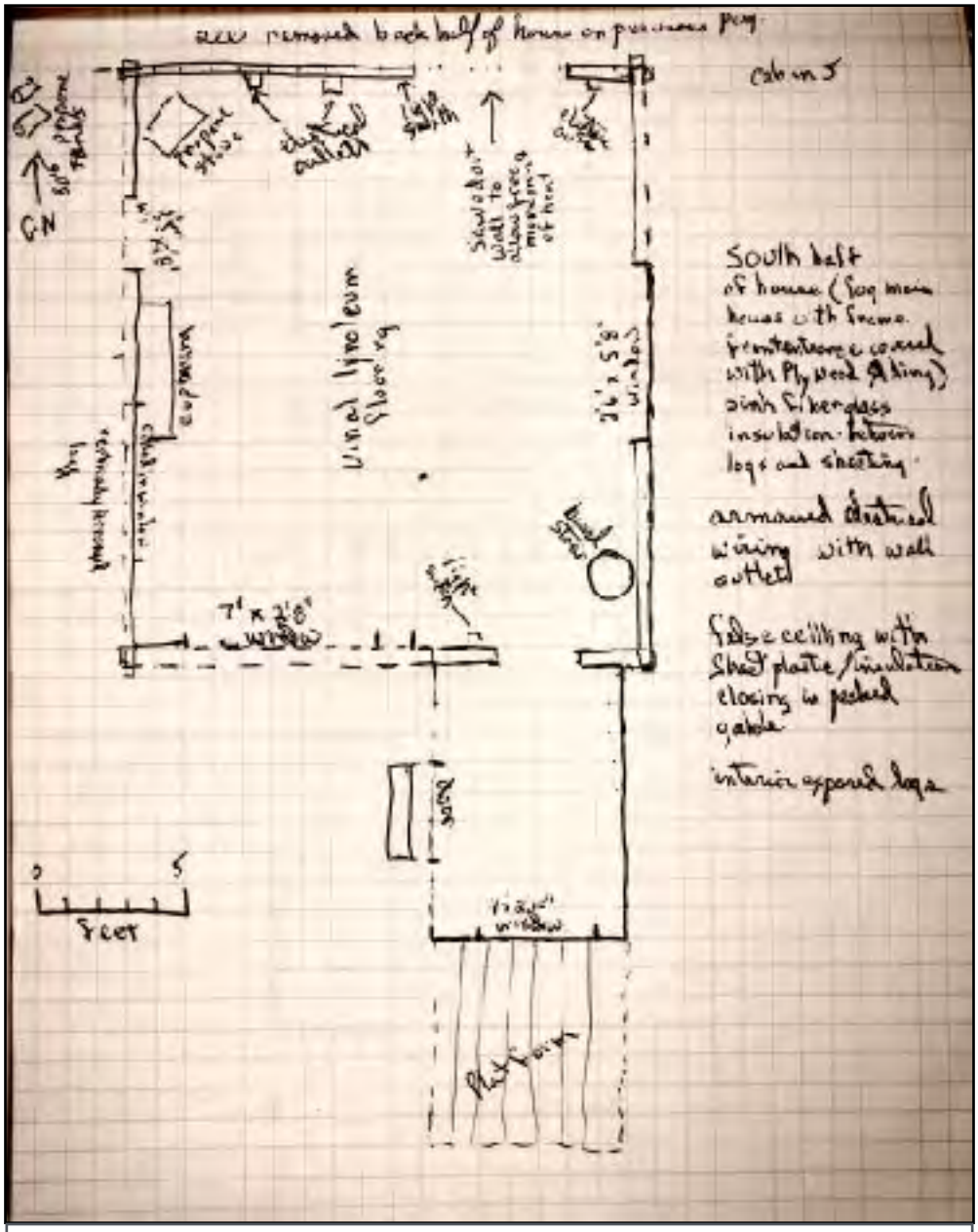


Plate E.32, Cabin 9, Sketch documenting cabin structure by hand

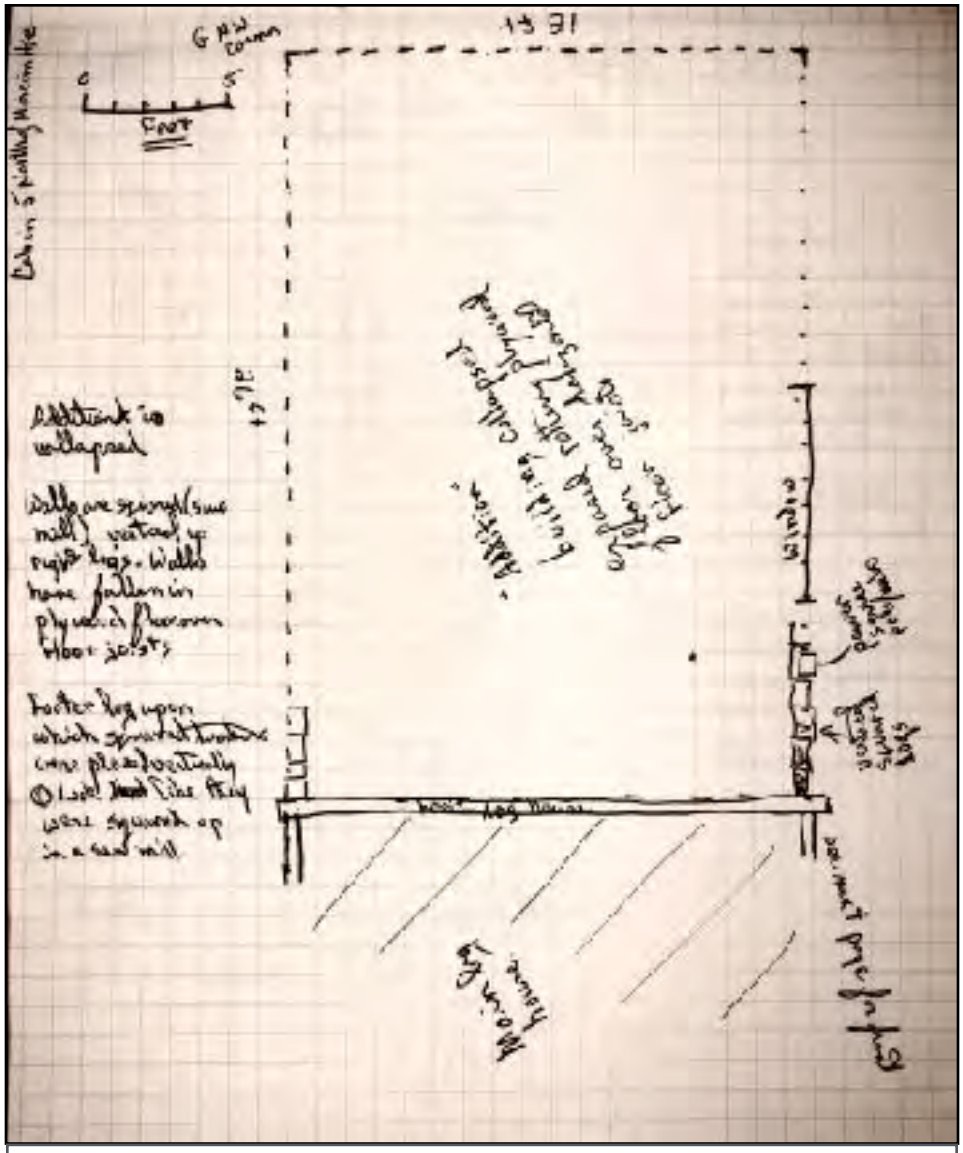


Plate E.33, Cabin 9, Sketch documenting cabin structure by hand

Congratulations weary traveller, you've made it to the end.