

POPULATION CHANGES IN NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN  
AND CASE STUDIES OF INDIAN MIGRATION AT  
BLACK LAKE AND SHOAL LAKE

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by

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

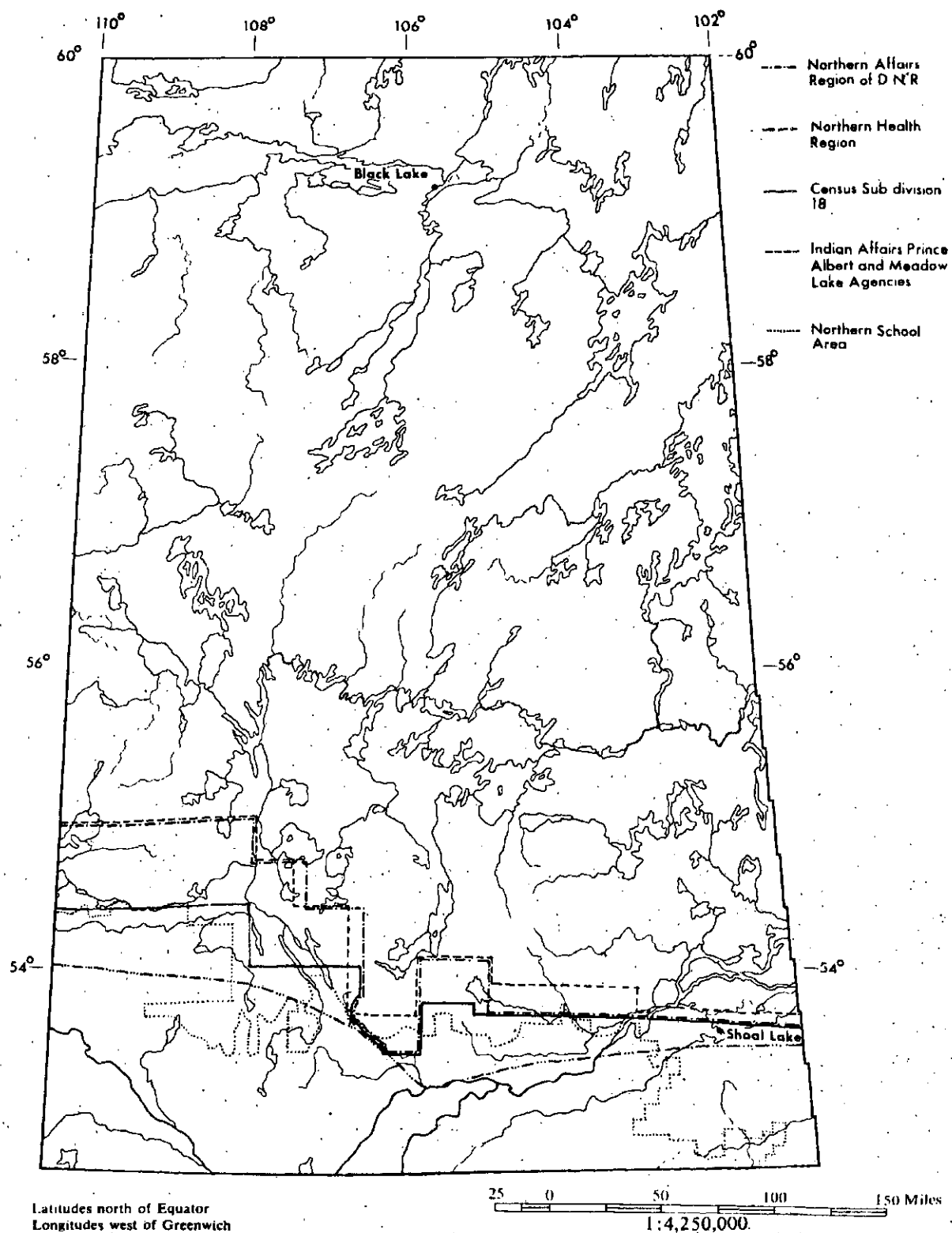
#### The region and its people

Northern Saskatchewan is generally considered to be that area lying north of the pioneer fringe of agriculture in which forest, rock and wetlands dominate the landscape and where settlements are few. Since the central theme of this study is population, the basis for the collection and portrayal of general statistical information will be an areal unit of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, census Division 18, which closely, though not exactly, represents the region (Map 1).

This part of the province lies north of a line running from  $53^{\circ}\text{N}$  on the Manitoba border to  $54^{\circ}\text{N}$  on the Alberta border, and occupies some 100,000 square miles of the 251,700 square miles that comprises the province of Saskatchewan. Two physiographic regions are found in this area, the Great Plains and the Canadian Shield. For the most part its sub-arctic climate is characterized by long cold winters and short but fairly warm summers; precipitation is light at 12 to 20 inches per year. Boreal forest, much of it of a non-commercial grade, covers most of the area but is interrupted by frequent and extensive wetlands and, over the northeastern section, by rock outcrop.

The characteristics of modern civilization such as roads, electricity, an industrial economy and modern urban life are new to the north. The population of northern Saskatchewan, which comprises less than three percent of the province's total population, is scattered in

# ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES OF NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN 1971



Map 1

more than 30 settlements. Slightly less than one-third of these northerners are white people engaged in mining, business and public administration. The majority are people of Indian or part-Indian ancestry who support themselves by trapping, commercial fishing and wage employment, though many also rely on welfare assistance. The numbers of treaty Indians and Metis are approximately equal, though their distribution in the north is quite different.

During the course of the last 30 years, the native people of northern Saskatchewan, together with those in other areas of northern Canada, have experienced fundamental changes in their population and economy. The most significant changes affecting population have been a high rate of natural increase and the settling of native people into villages. However, these changes have created problems. Village residency, with its nursing facilities, better housing conditions and other facilities, has contributed to the lowering of the death rate and thus to a rapid increase in population at a time when the economic base of these native villages is such that employment opportunities are few. Thus, the native people in northern Saskatchewan are facing the two problems of overpopulation and underemployment. During the course of describing and analysing the population geography of northern Saskatchewan these twin problems are examined. Related to these problems is the question of rapid changes in the native society, only one aspect of which will be touched upon here, that of out-migration to urban centres. Two Indian villages, Black Lake and Shoal Lake, provide the basis for this discussion.

### The purpose of the study

This study will examine population changes in northern Saskatchewan over the last 30 years and the communities of Black Lake and Shoal Lake within the framework of these changes and with specific reference to out-migration.

Through increased contact, native people have had a glimpse of southern standards of living but since the opportunity for economic development and employment in the north is so limited, achieving this standard of living has been beyond the capacity of the vast majority of these native people. Thus, the Indians and Metis of the north are presented with the choice of either migrating southward in the hope of better opportunity or remaining in the north where there is little commercial development suitable for the employment of native people. The decision taken by the native will be the result of an interplay between those forces that encourage him to migrate, and those ties that bind him to the north.

Southern towns and cities offer the Indian several advantages that may not be obtainable in northern native communities. Urban centres offer better and more varied opportunities for employment, vocational training and schooling. They also provide more complete medical services, social amenities and consumer services than those to be found in small native villages in northern Saskatchewan. While some may choose to move to the south in order to obtain employment, for others these towns and cities may satisfy a need for a temporary escape from the milieu of reserve life.

The small northern settlement, on the other hand, can offer only

minimum health services and schooling (usually only grades one to eight are taught). Although their availability on reserves has improved over the past several decades they fall far short of the medical services and educational opportunities offered in much larger urban centres. In addition, as no reserve at present has an economic base capable of generating a reasonable level of wage employment, unemployment and welfare support are very serious problems.

With the advantages that urban living appears to have over reserve life, it is little wonder that a report "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada" (Hawthorn, 1966, p. 12) warned:

In the not too distant future some agency will need to get set for a vast cityward movement of Indians that is now in its beginning phases. At the present rate of growth of the Indian population a critical phase of this movement could be reached in ten years' time even if the reserves continue to hold their present members.

However, while considerable out-migration has taken place over the last ten years, the total number of people residing on reserves in Canada has not declined. As Hawthorn (1966, p. 151) points out, while the rate of Indian migration to urban centres is increasing, bands do not participate in this movement equally. As the same report indicates, migration to towns and cities was not common among those semi-isolated and isolated bands in the northern woodland belt and nor was it likely to become so in the next decade.

This concept--that of little out-migration of Indian people from the forest lands of Saskatchewan--forms a central aspect of this thesis which investigates the avenues and barriers affecting out-migration from two northern centres.

### The field of population geography and migration theory

This study, which attempts to record and analyse the changes that have taken place in the population characteristics of northern Saskatchewan and, in particular, those changes affecting the distribution and ethnic structure of the northern population, lies in the field of population geography. For this reason, the major themes of this branch of geography and their application to this study are reviewed below.

The significance and importance of population geography was emphasized by G.T. Trewartha (1953, p. 87) in his presidential address to the American Association of Geographers in 1953. In this address he defined population geography as:

... the understanding of regional differences in the earth's covering of peoples.

Hooson (1960, p. 16) went even further when he contended that the distribution of population was the essential geographic expression and that the concept of the distribution of population was the keystone for building a securely unified subject.

Perhaps the most complex component of regional population change is migration, or the flow of people from place to place. It is of fundamental interest to the geographer because of its inherently spatial character. The present study examines this flow of people in the context of a single ethnic group--Treaty Indians. One of the most significant findings to date is that, as in other branches of human behaviour, there are no "laws" of migration. Migration is not an instinctive action and as research studies accumulate it is becoming more evident that the entire migration process is a complex set of events that can be triggered

by a vast array of situations.

The only characteristic of the individual migrant to emerge from research already undertaken is that young people have a greater tendency to migrate than older people. After a comprehensive survey of a large number of studies Dorothy Thomas (1938, p. 11) concluded that:

The one generalization about migration differentials that can be considered definitely established is the following: there is an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants, particularly migrants from rural areas to towns, compared with the non-migrating or general population.

None of the other characteristics of migrants are as significant, though persons with professional occupations are normally among the most migratory segments of the population, while labourers and un-skilled people are below average in the degree of their mobility (Taeuber, 1931), and females tend to be more migratory than males, except when conditions at the destination are insecure and then the converse is true (Hill, 1925).

One aim of this study is to see if or how these differentials hold true for the Indian population of northern Saskatchewan and whether or not any new differentials can be identified.

#### Collection of data

Research was carried out both in the field and in libraries. Field research allowed a questionnaire (a copy of which is contained in Appendix A) to be administered in person, by the author, to family heads in two selected native settlements. The centres studied were Shoal Lake and Black Lake (Map 1), both of which were visited in the summer of 1971.

Research at Black Lake was undertaken between July 5th and July 17th, while Shoal Lake was visited between August 9th and August 22nd. While in these settlements available church and Indian Agency records were examined, government personnel, private businessmen and native people were interviewed, and a questionnaire survey was conducted.

Thirty four of the 38 family units at Shoal Lake were interviewed but, because of the larger number of family units (116) and the availability of reliable secondary material, a sample of 29 families was taken at Black Lake. These centres were chosen because one, Black Lake, is a relatively isolated settlement and the other, Shoal Lake, a relatively accessible settlement. Black Lake has no road link with southern centres whereas Shoal Lake has been tied to the Saskatchewan highway system since 1963. By examining these two villages, a comparison of the impact of "accessibility" upon native migration in the north was possible.

To supplement the data and information gathered while in the field, extensive library research was undertaken in Saskatoon. Here books, theses and reports pertaining to the study were examined. Government documents consulted included data from the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources (D.N.R.), the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (D.I.A.N.D.), the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (D.B.S.), and the Saskatchewan Department of Public Health (D.P.H.).

In examining population changes for northern Saskatchewan, D.B.S. statistics were used. However, as the official 1971 census figures were not available at the time of writing this thesis, the author conducted a personal census of northern communities in 1971. The total population



of northern centres for 1971 was obtained from the D.N.R., and through correspondence with D.N.R. conservation officers in the north, it was possible to arrive at a reasonably accurate estimate of the population of northern Saskatchewan, both in total and in its three ethnic constituents--white, Indian and Metis. The information obtained was used to discover representative data relating to the type and volume of migration at both centres; some of this information was useful in evaluating the major population changes in northern Saskatchewan over the last 30 years.

The general study of population change in northern Saskatchewan ( census division 18 ) deals with the 1941 to 1971 period, though earlier population figures are also presented. The 1941 to 1971 period was chosen for several reasons. The construction of all-weather roads, the development of the uranium industry, regular air transportation and increased public involvement in the north, are all predominantly post-war developments. In addition, during the last 30 years the native people have experienced a high rate of natural increase and a movement to village residency.

#### Previous research on northern Saskatchewan

Over the last decade or so, the body of literature pertaining to northern Saskatchewan has been quite considerable. In 1960, the Centre for Community Studies at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, began a three year study of factors affecting the social and economic development of northern areas and settlements. Under the general supervision of Dr. Arthur K. Davis, a series of individual studies was

undertaken resulting in 16 papers covering topics of native housing, fishing, trapping and community surveys of Cumberland House and Ile-a-la-Crosse. One report in particular, that by Buckley, Kew and Hawley in 1963, studied the Indian and Metis population of northern Saskatchewan and presented an overview of the course of economic and social developments in the north up to the early 1960's. Although this work was primarily a socio-economic survey, it did provide significant insights that are relevant to the present study.

The most recent work carried out in the northern part of the province that was of particular value to the present study was a report, in 1972, on the Chipewyans of the Stony Rapids Region (Bone, et al., 1972). Apart from providing the author with a detailed historical, social, and economic account of the area and its people, the chapter on native population was of special significance.

The last body of information relevant to the present study was found in a series of articles entitled "A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers" (Davis, Spalding and Serl, 1967). These reports covered northern Alberta as well as northern Saskatchewan and dealt primarily with the problems of northern development, though the various articles on provincial policies and provincial education in the north were of value to the present study. Of greater significance, though, was Davis's article on urban Indians and migration to three northern centres. While only this last work dealt directly and specifically with the question of Indian migration, none of the other sources completely neglected it. Finally, a research paper for Professor Bone on the number, location and origin of Indians in Saskatoon was completed in

1971 and demonstrated that very few Indians from northern communities were living in Saskatoon. In total, the above sources of knowledge served as a frame of reference for the present study.

### Terminology

Several administrative authorities, both federal and provincial, have a "northern" region in Saskatchewan, yet no two areas are coincident. Map 1 indicates that the southern boundaries in 1971 of the northern regions of the Indian Affairs Branch, the Canadian Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Provincial Departments of Health and Education, as well as the Department of Natural Resources, are all defined differently. However, while no two agencies have a common southern boundary, there are no significant deviations from a general boundary line running approximately from latitude  $53^{\circ}\text{N}$  on the Manitoba border to  $54^{\circ}\text{N}$  on the Alberta border. In this study, northern Saskatchewan is defined, for the purpose of data collection, as that portion of the province corresponding to the geographical limits of census division 18. Unless otherwise stated, data for the Local Improvement Districts of the census division are excluded as they represent agricultural settlement and as such are atypical of the population of northern Saskatchewan.

In order to describe the people of this region, several terms have been used including "native", "Treaty Indian", "Metis," and "whites". The term native was used to refer to both the Treaty Indians and the Metis people of the area. Thus, native people in northern Saskatchewan consist of two groups: Treaty Indians, who are members of bands whose leaders signed treaties with the Crown or the Canadian Government; and

Metis, who do not have treaty status but in almost every other way appear to be part of the Indian community. There are no distinguishable biological differences between these groups--both may have white as well as Indian ancestry. The distinction between them is essentially a legal one. Treaty Indians are the responsibility of the federal government, whereas Metis people have the same status as any other Canadian.

The term white was used to describe those people in the north who represent the dominant Canadian culture and who are descendants of white Canadians or have themselves migrated from Europe. The distinction between the white people and the Metis is clear cut only when the Metis live with the Treaty Indians and speak Chipewyan or Cree. In some instances, however, a distinction between the two groups is not possible as many Metis people have blended into the white community and are regarded as white by local residents.

In the context of this study, the term migration refers to the process whereby an Indian and/or his family, not belonging to the dominant Canadian society, adjusts his or their locational and cultural patterns to correspond with those of the dominant society. The individual migrant is defined as someone who has resided continuously in the dominant society for at least one year even though he may return to the reserve from time to time as a visitor.

In the discussion of Indian migration, however, there are several other patterns of quasi-migration that are significant and may precede an actual migration. These are:

1. Daily commuting to work. Band members who are employed in wage

or salaried jobs outside their communities on a year round or seasonal basis, but who live on the reserve, fall into this category.

2. People who live away from the reserve for several weeks or months, such as sugar beet labourers in Alberta or fruit pickers in British Columbia, comprise a second category.

3. People who leave their reserves for reasons of health, education, training and upgrading, or for other such services not available in their own communities, form another group.

The distinction between these three groups and the true migrant is sometimes hard to draw for it is largely a matter of time and intent. A familiar sequence is one in which Indians leave their homes temporarily to obtain employment or services, but later decide to spend more time "outside" and essentially develop a home off the reserve. Some of these Indians completely sever their ties with the reserve but this is not common. The vast majority return to their home communities either as visitors or to take up residence again. In fact, there is a "coming and going" of people, indicating both the pull of the native community and the difficulty of establishing roots in southern towns and cities.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A GEOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN'S POPULATION

The main objectives of this examination of northern Saskatchewan's population are to outline the principal changes that have occurred since 1941 and to discuss their effects upon the inhabitants of the region. In this chapter, both the growth of the northern population and its ethnic character are examined, and at the same time, the individual communities and sub-regions of northern Saskatchewan will be investigated to determine areas of relative growth and decline. The case studies of Black Lake and Shoal Lake will be set into the framework thus provided.

Since economic activities and public services have influenced the population geography of northern Saskatchewan, particularly its settlement pattern, they will also be examined. Before such an examination, a brief description is presented of the population and economy of northern Saskatchewan prior to 1941.

#### The north prior to 1941

Throughout the past, northern Saskatchewan has supported only a small population. At the outset of the fur trade era, the population of northern Saskatchewan was estimated at around 5,000 with a density of less than five people per hundred square miles (Kroeber, 1953, pp. 134-142). By 1931, when the Dominion Census recorded the population of the area (division 18) as 6,456 with a density of 6 people per

one hundred square miles, this figure had not changed significantly. The slight increase, if any, can be attributed to an inflow of white people, especially trappers, prospectors and fishermen.

During the 1930's, developments in northern Saskatchewan were brought about by the expansion in the utilization of northern resources, the construction of transportation routes, and the extension of some social services. In particular, the timber industry expanded; the fish resources of some northern lakes were utilized more intensely (Seymour, 1971, pp. 18-19); the Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting Company began production at Flin Flon in 1930 (Atlas of Saskatchewan, 1967, p. 142); and a gold mine was operated on the north shore of Lake Athabasca from 1939 to 1942 (Saskatchewan Department of Mineral Resources, 1966, p. 36). However, all these concerns had little appreciable effect upon the majority of native people, and had only a limited impact on their way of life.

Apart from these developments, northern Saskatchewan was little affected by the economic and social advances occurring in the southern half of the province. From 1774, when the first trading post was established at Cumberland House, to 1930 public goals in northern Saskatchewan remained simple; namely, the preservation of peace and good order as a means of promoting the best interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, northern missions, and private enterprise (Buckley, et al., 1963, p. 7).

The assumption of control over resources by the provincial government in 1930 did not result in the application of new policies and goals for the north, nor in any new concepts relating to the potential of

northern resources. In 1931 the first annual report of the Department of Natural Resources itemized in detail the composition of the land in the southern half of the province. The same report, however, dismissed the northern part (some 79,000,000 acres) with a mere statement of acquisition (Annual Report, Department of Natural Resources, 1931). Clearly, at that time, the vast agricultural resources of the south were considered more significant than the natural resources of the north.

Prior to the Second World War, the basic way of life for most northern Saskatchewan natives had changed little since the first arrivals of European traders. The population pattern was still based upon the seasonal movement from trading post to hunting ground and back again. Despite the introduction of the powers and controls of first, the church and then the provincial government, and some competition by "free traders", native people were still dominated by a patron client relationship set up by trading companies and the Hudson's Bay Company in particular. Thus, while the native had been exposed to outside influences by the 1930's, as a whole, his role as the dependent native trapper remained intact.

In summary then, by the end of the 1930's the population of northern Saskatchewan had increased only slightly and much of this increase was due to the commencement of some mining operations.\* The majority of the

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\* Between 1931 and 1941 the population of census division 18 increased from 6,456 to 11,039. A large proportion of this increase took place in the Local Improvement Districts (see Table 5) where substantial agricultural development took place. In the following decades, however, the population of the L.I.D.'s has stabilized (1941 - 2,916, 1951 - 3,074, 1961 - 3,012).



native people of the area were untouched by the social and economic advances that had occurred in the south and as such the changes to come in the following decades would bring about major alterations in the life style that had previously existed in the north.

#### Population growth 1941-1971

The population increase in northern Saskatchewan as recorded by the Dominion Census (Saskatchewan Division 18) is graphically portrayed in Figure 1(a). Although the 1971 census figures are not yet available, other figures have been obtained from provincial officials. In 1971, the provincial departments of Public Health and Natural Resources estimated the populations of their regions to be 23,000 and 22,500 respectively. Both estimates are based upon Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan records. However, as these areas do not correspond precisely with Census Division 18, a more accurate estimate was sought. By using the average rate of natural increase over the past decade in northern Saskatchewan, a computed 1971 total of 25,808 was derived from the census total of 21,126 in 1966.

Table 1 indicates that the 1971 population in northern Saskatchewan was more than double the 1941 figure. The rate of increase was most rapid during the 1950's when the population increased at an annual average rate of 4.3%. In comparison, it was 3.2% in the 1940's and 2.5% in the 1960's. Thus, from 1941 to 1971, while the population of Saskatchewan had increased by only six per cent, the population of northern Saskatchewan had doubled (Figure 1(b)).

Whereas the total population of Division 18 has increased

TABLE 1  
Population of Saskatchewan, Census Division 18,\*  
1941-1971

Year	Total Population	Percentage Increase over the last decade
1941	11,039	
1946	12,119	32%
1951	14,654	
1956	19,910	43%
1961	20,708	
1966	21,126	25%
1971	25,808 (estimate)	

\* Note: Local Improvement Districts are included in the above figures.

Source: Census of Canada.

Figure 1(a)

Population of Saskatchewan Census  
Division 18, 1941-1971

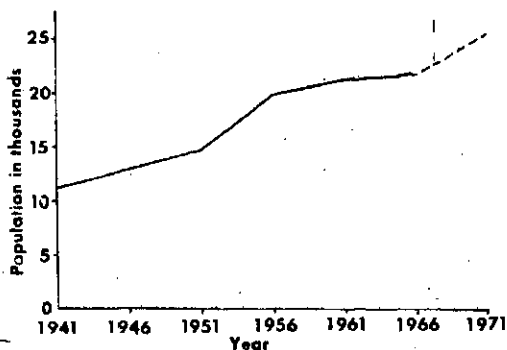
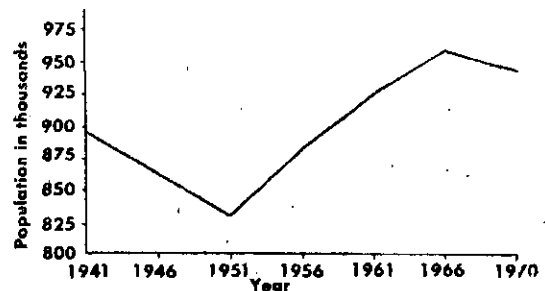


Figure 1(b)

Population of Saskatchewan  
1941-1970



Source: Census of Canada (the 1970 total for Saskatchewan is a census estimate).

continuously since 1941, table 2 indicates that the most rapid growth rates have been on Indian reserves and in the mining districts. The initial growth of Creighton was a result of the expansion of mining activities at Flin Flon in the 1940's, while that of Uranium City in the 1950's was due to the development of uranium mining on the north shore of Lake Athabasca in the 1950's. A decline in the population of the mining districts between 1961 and 1971 was caused by losses in the population of the Uranium City area reflecting largely a decline in the market demand for uranium.

TABLE 2

Population of Saskatchewan Census Division 18  
by Selected Groups 1941-1971

Year	Mining Districts*	Indian Settlements**	Other Areas***	Total
1941	1,147	3,213	7,114	11,474
1951	2,318	3,900	9,087	15,305
1961	5,778	4,924	11,203	21,905
1971	5,032	7,337	13,439	25,808

\* Includes Uranium City, Creighton, Island Falls, Anglo Rouyn Mines. Although Native People are included in this total, their numbers are insignificant as for the most part, the population of these areas are predominantly white.

\*\* Because of enumeration difficulties, the Canada Census was not used for this group. A more accurate series of data was obtained from the Census of Indians carried out by the Indian Affairs Branch.

\*\*\* This group includes Metis people, white people not in the mining districts, and the population of the Local Improvement Districts on the southern edge of Division 18.

Source: Census of Canada; 1941, 1951, and 1961. Data for 1971 were obtained from the private census undertaken by the author discussed in chapter one.

The rapid increase in the native population has largely been the result of high birth rates and low death rates which have combined to produce an exceptionally high rate of natural increase. The present rate of natural increase in northern Saskatchewan is much higher than that for most underdeveloped areas. The average crude rate of natural increase for northern Saskatchewan in the 1960's, for example, was 35.9 per thousand, while the highest rates recorded in the United Nations Demographic Yearbook (1970, pp. 119-123) were 41.6 for the Virgin Islands, 37.8 for the Wallis and Fatuna Islands, 37.5 for Costa Rica, and 36.6 for French Polynesia.

The population of northern Saskatchewan has, therefore, moved to a stage of demographic transition often associated in the past with the transformation of underdeveloped economies to industrial and commercial ones. During this transition the fall in the death rate occurs sooner and is more rapid than the decline in the birth rate. The intervening period, which may last several decades, is one in which the excess of births over deaths engenders heavy population growth by natural increase.

Table 3 indicates that whereas the average death rate for the province over the past decade was 7.8 per thousand, the rate for the northern area of the province was 6.5 per thousand. Meanwhile, the average birth rate of 42.4 per thousand over the past ten years in the north, was significantly higher than the provincial figure of 21.9 per thousand (Saskatchewan Vital Statistics, 1960-69). For a number of reasons, including the large proportion of the population in the younger and child bearing age group, there can be little doubt that the present period of demographic transition prevalent in northern Saskatchewan will

continue over the next decade. The birth rate will remain high while the death rate will be at a much lower level.

TABLE 3

Crude Rates of Natural Increase, Province of Saskatchewan  
and Northern Health Administration District 1952-1969

Province of Saskatchewan				Northern Administration District		
Year	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	Births	Deaths*	Natural Increase
1952	26.8	7.9	18.9	38.4	13.8	24.6
1953	27.5	7.8	19.7	38.7	10.7	28.0
1954	28.5	7.2	21.3	32.4	6.4	26.0
1955	28.2	7.6	20.6	35.2	8.8	26.4
1956	27.3	7.6	19.7	38.6	6.8	31.8
1957	27.2	7.7	19.5	39.9	7.1	32.8
1958	26.9	7.6	19.6	40.2	5.3	34.9
1959	27.0	7.8	19.2	43.9	6.1	37.8
1960	26.5	7.5	19.0	42.2	6.8	35.4
1961	25.9	7.7	18.2	46.0	7.7	38.3
1962	25.1	7.5	17.6	44.4	6.2	38.2
1963	25.2	8.0	17.2	45.7	7.5	38.2
1964	24.1	7.8	16.3	42.6	6.6	36.0
1965	21.6	7.8	13.8	45.7	6.1	39.6
1966	19.9	7.8	12.1	40.1	6.7	33.4
1967	18.8	7.8	11.0	37.1	6.4	30.7
1968	19.0	7.8	11.2	40.8	6.6	34.2
1969	18.3	7.8	10.5	39.5	5.4	34.1

\* Although the N.A.D. had a lower death rate than the provincial average in the 1960's, much of the difference can be attributed to the higher percentage of northern people in the younger age groups.

Source: Saskatchewan Vital Statistics, Department of Public Health, Regina.

### Population distribution 1941-1971

In 1971, the population of northern Saskatchewan was unevenly distributed and was concentrated in over 25 settlements throughout the north. These settlements ranged in size from less than 100 to over 2,000. The general pattern of population distribution (Map 2) revealed a primary concentration south of  $56^{\circ}\text{N}$ , with La Loche and Southend just beyond this latitude, and a secondary concentration north of  $59^{\circ}\text{N}$ . Between these two major concentrations there was a virtual vacuum with Wollaston, Cree Lake and Kinoosao the only settlements. For the most part, this pattern reflected accessibility via roads in the south and water routes in the north.

The white population was mainly located at the mining communities of Uranium City, Creighton and La Ronge (Map 3). Relatively, few natives have found employment in the mines or businesses of these centres. The operation of the mines and the employment positions they generated require certain skills and, unfortunately, the native generally had neither the background knowledge and understanding of permanent salaried employment nor the skill and training to compete with people from southern Canada. Consequently, the 1971 population of these centres was predominantly white. For example, in 1971 89% of the Creighton population was white, 92% of Uranium City's population was white, and 31% of the La Ronge District, which includes neighboring Indian reserves, were white (table 4).

The non-mining white population (teachers, nurses, conservation officers, priests, ministers, policemen, tradesmen and others) constitute only a small proportion of the population of northern

# POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN 1971 (BY CENTRES OF OVER 50 PEOPLE)

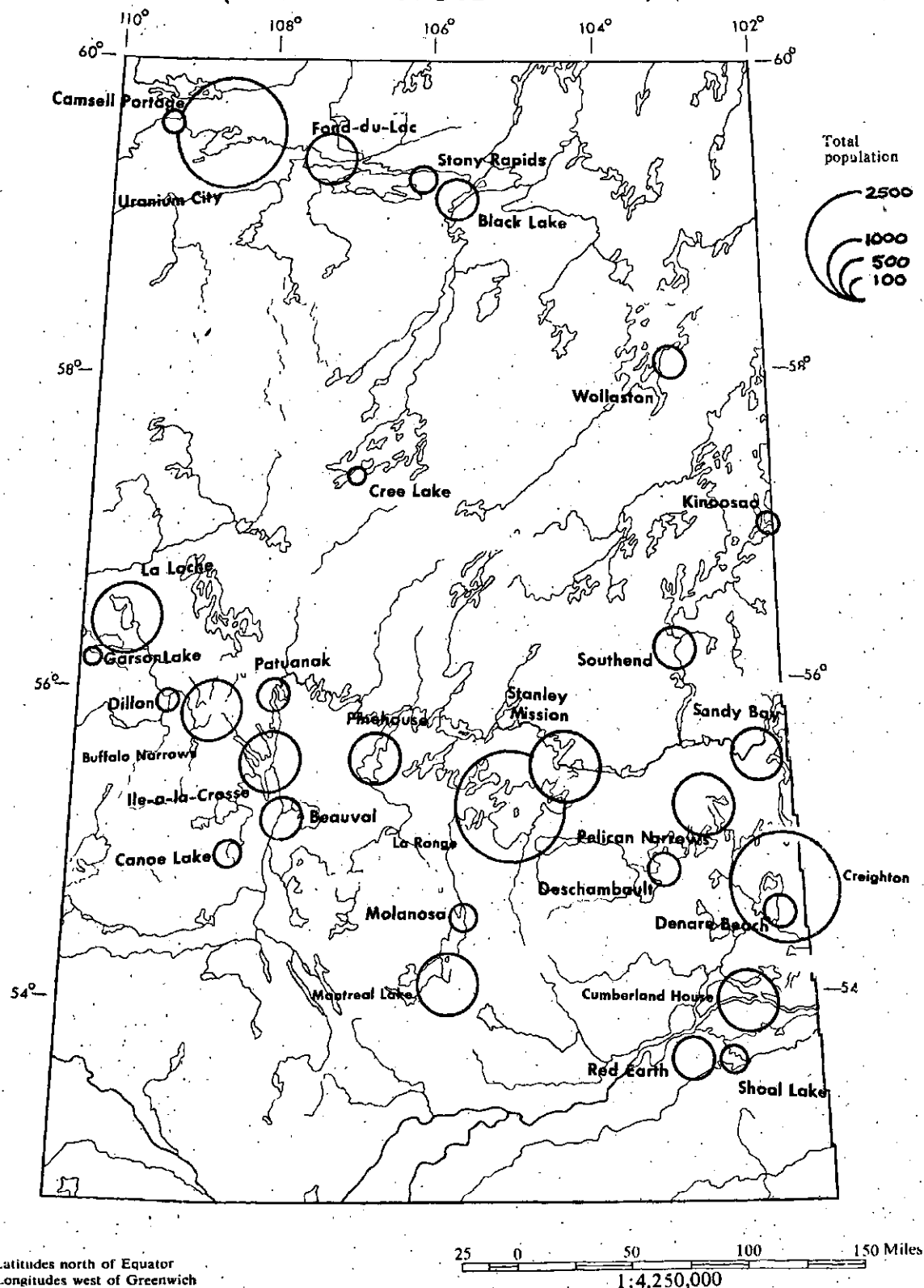


TABLE 4

Population of Northern Communities by  
Ethnic Group 1961 and 1971\*

Settlement	Population 1971				Population 1961			
	Metis	Indian	White	Total	Metis	Indian	White	Total
Buffalo Narrows	920	0	159	1,079	591	12	197	800
Buffalo Narrows Area	267	463	7	757	220	298	20	538
Cree Lake	22	20	11	53	38	15	6	59
La Loche	1,164	128	65	1,357	748	104	32	884
La Loche Area	49	150	0	199	92	50	0	142
Ile-a-la-Crosse	894	52	105	1,051	743	18	76	837
Ile-a-la-Crosse Area	131	342	2	475	113	208	2	323
Beauval	411	28	24	463	479	18	29	526
La Ronge District	504	1,115	762	2,381	398	803	389	1,590
Anglo Rouyn Mines	537	17	8	598	290	12	10	312
Pinehouse	166	928	14	1,108	100	610	8	718
Molanosa District	158	0	26	184	121	0	23	144
Montreal Lake	110	980	0	1,090	69	681	0	750
Pelican Narrows	132	740	49	921	93	510	25	628
Dechambault Lake	20	320	10	250	16	160	7	183
Cumberland House	763	31	60	854	614	28	58	700
Cumberland House Area	85	180	12	277	53	114	10	177
Creighton	163	142	2,026	2,331	42	75	2,329	2,446
Sandy Bay	506	79	10	595	464	50	18	532
Beaver Lake	18	0	240	258	16	1	129	146
Kinoosao	91	0	28	119	73	0	27	100
Wollaston	47	241	27	315	43	187	10	240
Southend	104	420	12	536	78	220	7	305
Stony Rapids	100	65	25	190	72	64	37	173
Black Lake	35	416	17	468	23	278	4	305
Fond-du-Lac	38	504	10	552	6	332	4	342
Uranium City	65	76	2,258	2,399	50	76	3,180	3,306
Camsell Portage	79	0	7	86	66	0	7	73
Total	7,625	7,337	5,974	20,936	5,711	4,924	6,644	17,279

\* Population centres in the L.I.D.'s are not included in this table.

Source: 1961 statistics (Buckley, 1963, p. 107).

1971 statistics, private census carried out by the author.



Saskatchewan. Consequently, away from the mining areas, whites form only a small minority in most northern settlement (table 4).

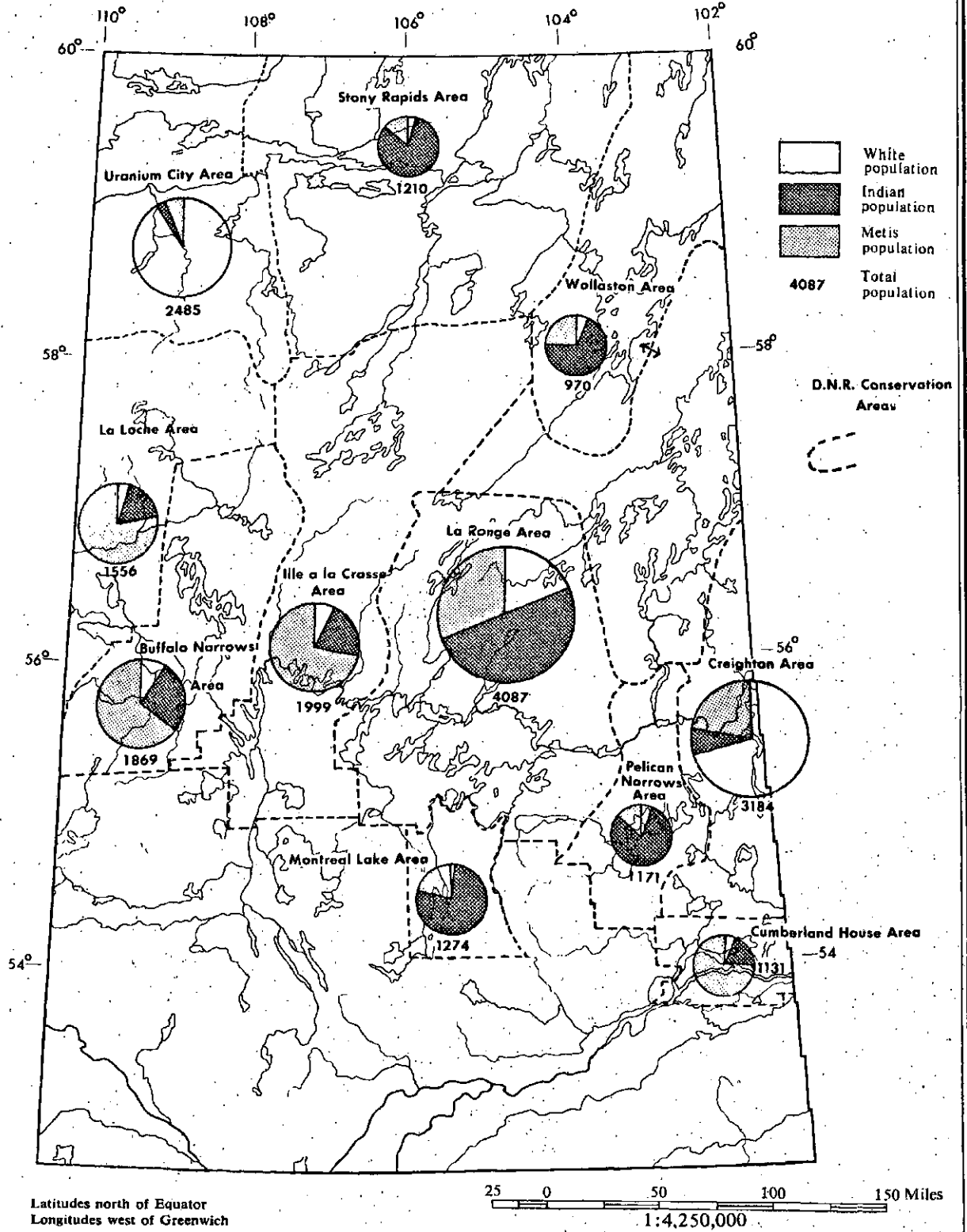
The Metis people are distributed in more than 20 settlements throughout the north whose size vary from less than 100 persons to over 1,000. The larger settlements in this group (those with a population in excess of 400) number 8 in all: Beauval, Ile-a-la-Crosse, Buffalo Narrows, and La Loche on the west side; La Ronge and Pinehouse in the centre; and Cumberland House and Sandy Bay on the east.

The Treaty Indian population is more dispersed and includes the smaller outpost communities, such as Patuanak and Dillon on the west side, and such larger settlements as La Ronge, Stanley Mission and Montreal Lake in central areas, and at Pelican Narrows in the east. Further north, most settlements have a predominantly Treaty Indian population.

Although the present day population of northern Saskatchewan is concentrated in settlements, the distribution of the population in 1941 was more dispersed. The north of the early 1940's was an isolated region lacking in many of the basic services and amenities that were to be obtained in the south. Health facilities were restricted to the one hospital at Ile-a-la-Crosse and a nursing station at Cumberland House, while education was limited to a fortunate few. A survey in 1944 (Piercy) indicated, for example, that half the Metis children did not attend school at all and the same, or worse, situations probably existed for Treaty children.

Since the Second World War both provincial and federal governments have extended services to northern peoples and this has contributed to

# POPULATION OF NORTHERN AREAS BY ETHNIC GROUPS 1971



Map 3

Source: Table 4.

the gradual abandonment of a semi-nomadic way of life by the native people of the north. Also, these people have moved into settlements where the benefits of public health and education, new housing programmes, and welfare measures were available. Thus, the period between 1941 and 1971 was not only one of rapid native population increase and some white migration but it was also a period in which a native population became more securely tied to settlements and turned to a sedentary existence.

#### Population change by ethnic group, 1941-1971

The ethnic composition of the population of census division 18, excluding the Local Improvement Districts, has changed considerably over the past 30 years (table 5). In 1941, the population of the mining areas accounted for less than 14% of the population; by 1961 this figure had risen to over 33%; and by 1971, it had declined to approximately 20%. This expansion and decline of the mining population, most of whom are white, was achieved by mining developments at Uranium City in the 1950's and at Creighton in the 1940's. The subsequent decline in the 1960's of this population can be largely attributed to a decline in demand for uranium and a corresponding loss of population at Uranium City. In 1961, the latter centre had a population of 3,349 but by 1971 this figure had fallen to 2,399.

With the exception of La Ronge, whose broadening economic base has attracted white migrants from the south,\* few white people have settled

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\* In November 1972, the new Department of Northern Saskatchewan moved most of its staff, comprising of some 50 people, to La Ronge.

TABLE 5

Population Growth By Ethnic Group in Census Division 18, 1941-1971  
(Excluding the population of the Local Improvement Districts  
and the Bighead and Waterhen Indian Reserves)\*

Year	Indian**	Metis	White (non-mining)	Mining Areas (mainly white)	Total
1941	3,213	3,139	624	1,147	8,123
1951	3,900	5,362***		2,318	11,580
1961	4,924	5,711	866	5,778	17,279
1971	7,337	7,625	942	5,032	20,936

\* Data for L.I.D.'s were excluded because they represent white agricultural settlement and as such were atypical of the population of northern Saskatchewan.

\*\* The data for this group was obtained not from the Census of Canada, but from the Census of Indians undertaken by the Indian Affairs Branch.

\*\*\* No distinction was possible between the group in this year.

Source: Census of Canada: appropriate years.

in non-mining areas of northern Saskatchewan. While the white population of the non-mining areas has increased over the past 30 years, it still constitutes only 4% of the total population.

In contrast, the native population has grown steadily and over the past 30 years, both the Indian and Metis populations have more than doubled. Despite the considerable growth of the white population, the native people of northern Saskatchewan still accounted for 72% of the total population in 1971 compared with 79% in 1941 (table 6).

TABLE 6

Population Increase Among Native People in Saskatchewan  
Census Division 18, 1941-1971

	1941	1951	1961	1971
Total Indian Population	3,213	3,900	4,924	7,337
Percentage Increase Over Previous Total		21.3	26.1	49.0
Total Metis Population	3,139	4,600*	5,711	7,625
Percentage Increase Over Previous Total		46.0	24.1	33.5

\* This is an estimate by the author based upon the total population of Metis people and non-mining white people.

Source: Census of Canada: appropriate years.

The rate of population increase of both the Metis and Indian populations has proceeded at a high rate since 1941. For the Metis it averaged 3.5% per annum while the 30 year annual average increase for Treaty Indians was only slightly less (3.3%). Unlike the white population of northern Saskatchewan, the increase in the native population was due to the high rate of natural increase among Indian and Metis people rather than to significant in-migrations. While no statistics are readily available to illustrate the crude rate of natural increase of the Indian-Metis group as opposed to the white group, the following material suggests there can be little question that the native rates are significantly higher.

In 1961, the crude rate of natural increase in northern Saskatchewan

(inclusive of white, Metis and Indian people) was 3.8% per annum. In the same year the crude rate of natural increase of the Indian population of Saskatchewan as a whole was 5.4%. While the crude rate of natural increase of the Indian population of Saskatchewan may have differed somewhat from the rate of the Indian people of the north, the latter was undoubtedly higher than that of the white population.

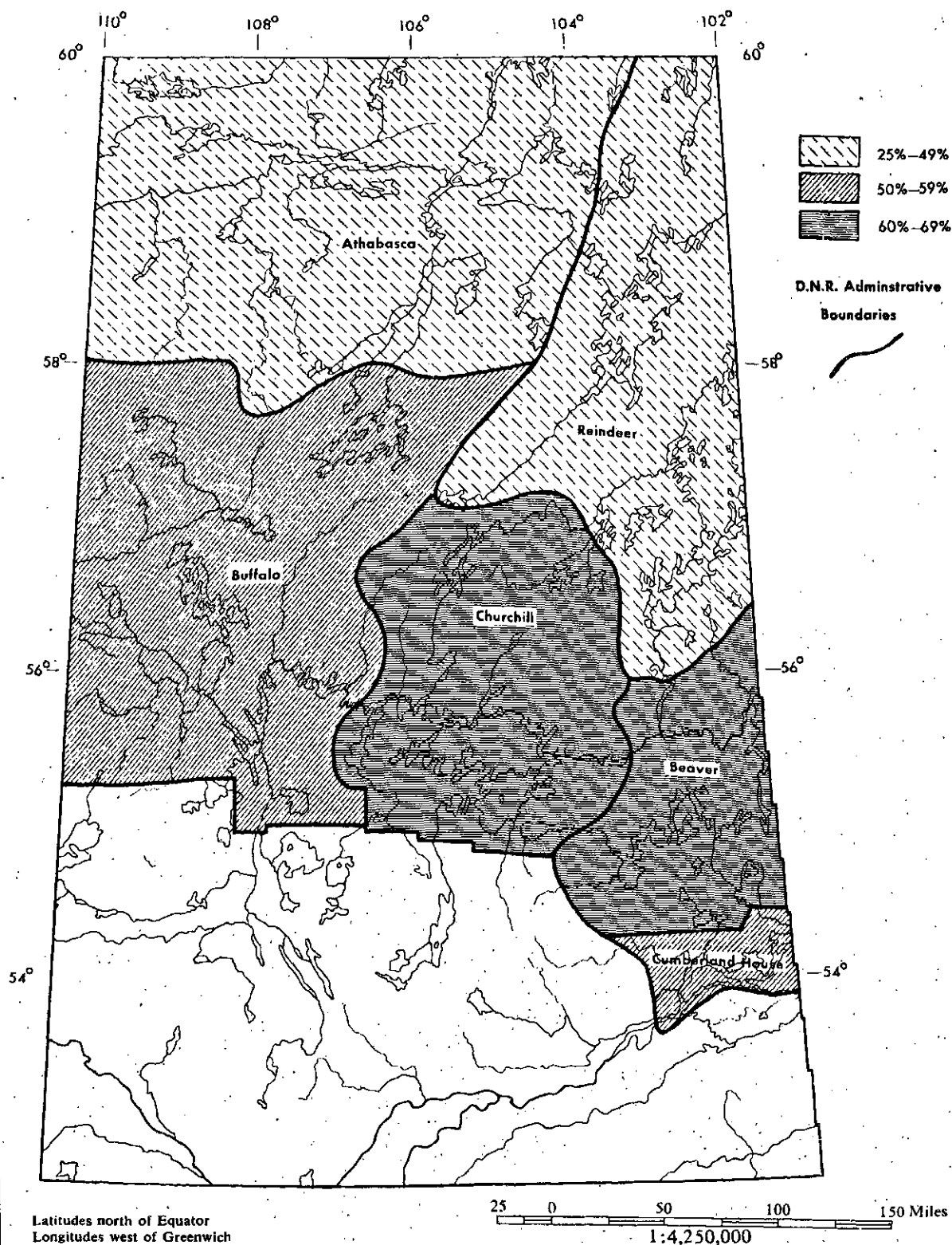
C.S. Brown in a report of the Buffalo Region of northern Saskatchewan in 1951, calculated a crude rate of natural increase of 6% per annum for the Metis people of that area over the four year period from 1948 to 1951 (Brown, 1951). While there may be scepticism over the exact figure, there can be little question that the crude rate of natural increase was significantly greater than the 1951 figure of 2.6% for the entire population of the north.

#### Population change by settlements, 1941-1971

Although northern Saskatchewan has experienced a rapid increase in population since the Second World War, this growth has not been uniform (Map 4). Whereas the southern regions of Buffalo, Churchill, Beaver and Cumberland have more than doubled their populations during this period. The northern regions of Athabasca and Reindeer have witnessed only moderate increases.

Similarly, at the settlement level, some centres have increased their populations rapidly while others have shown only marginal gains or have declined (Map 5). Between 1951 and 1966, the predominantly native centres of northern Saskatchewan experienced population changes varying from an increase of 116% at Sandy Bay to a decrease of over 50%

# POPULATION INCREASE BY REGIONS IN NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN 1941-1971



**Map 4**

at Stony Rapids and Stony Lake (table 7). The loss in total population at these latter two centres can be largely attributed to the movement of the Treaty population from Stony Lake to Black Lake--a distance of only 14 miles to the south--and to a decline in the number of white trappers and prospectors living at Stony Rapids.

In general, the population increases found in the native settlements can be attributed to both a high rate of natural increase and to the conversion of large numbers of native people from migratory trappers and hunters into village dwellers. A partial explanation of the high rate of population increase in these native settlements lies in the relatively small size of the populations concerned. Of the four settlements with the highest population increases, none had populations in excess of 200 in 1951, and a very small shift in absolute numbers under these circumstances can produce marked variations on a percentage basis. Conversely, those centres that exhibited only moderate population increases tended to be the largest of the settlements such as Ile-a-la-Crosse, Stanley Mission and Buffalo Narrows.

In 1951, 40% of those settlements listed had populations of less than 300 people while only 15% of the centres had more than 500 people. The largest non-mining settlement at this time was Buffalo Narrows with a population of 629. In contrast, by 1966 there were ten settlements with a population of over 500 people and six of these had more than 750 inhabitants. None of the non-mining settlements listed in 1951 had populations less than 150 in 1966.

Unlike the general pattern of steady population increase in native settlements, the populations of the mining and industrial centres have

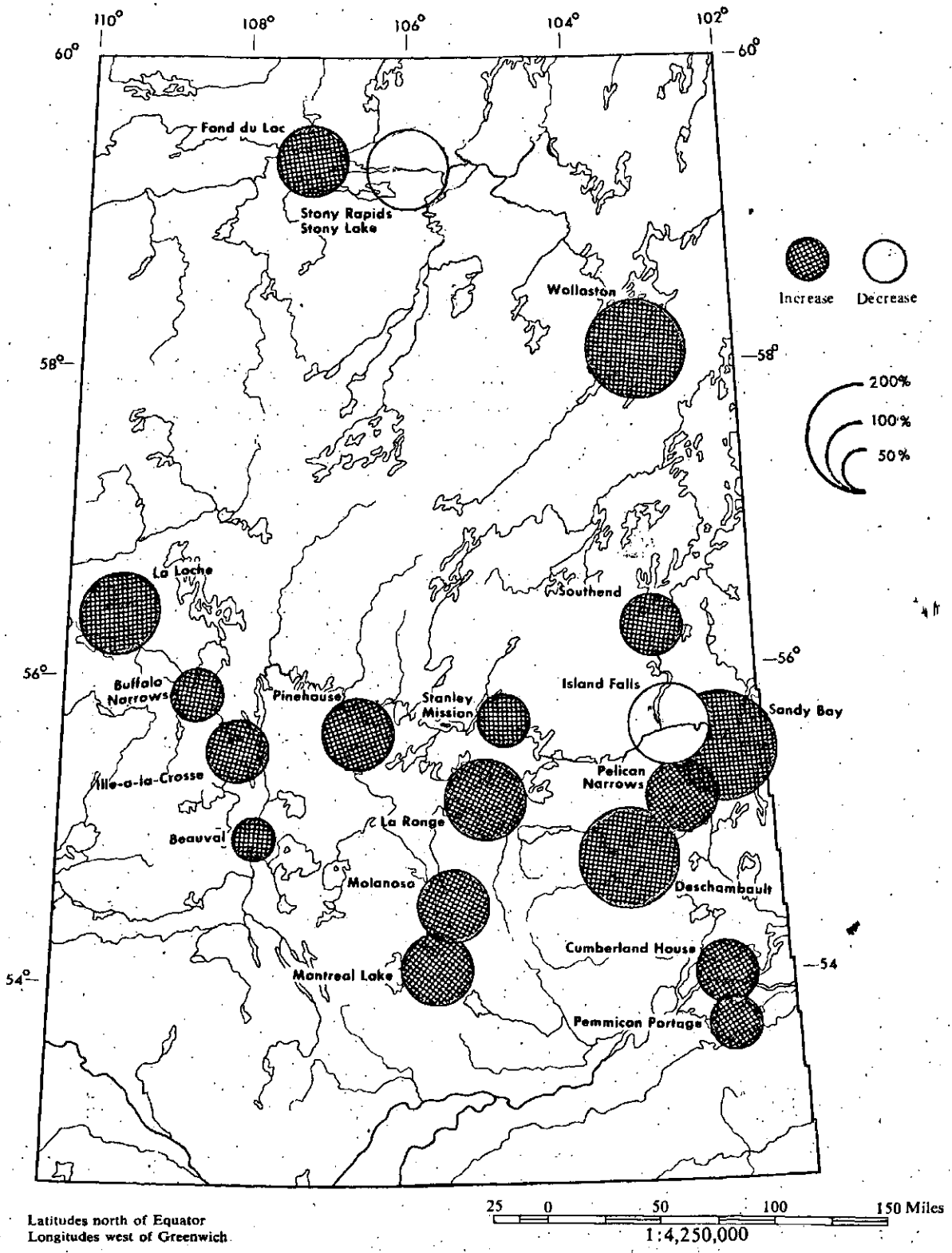


TABLE 7

A Classification of Non-Mining Northern Settlements  
By Population Increase 1951-1966

	Settlement	Major Ethnic Group*	1951 Population	1966 Population	Percentage Change
C					
L	Black Lake**	Indian	34	378	+1,011
A	Sandy Bay	Metis	190	561	+ 196
S	Deschambault Lake	Indian	89	253	+ 188
S	Wollaston Lake	Indian	95	257	+ 170
1					
	La Loche	Metis	389	889	+ 126
C	La Ronge	Indian	416	933	+ 110
L	Fond du Lac	Indian	228	437	+ 104
A	Molanosa	Metis	102	163	+ 104
S	Montreal Lake	Indian	408	875	+ 100
S	Pinehouse	Metis	197	394	+ 100
2	Pelican Narrows	Indian	369	717	+ 94
	Cumberland House	Metis	371	723	+ 80
	Southend	Indian	222	402	+ 80
C					
L	Ile-a-la-Crosse	Metis	504	965	+ 72
A	Stanley Mission	Indian	536	858	+ 60
S	Buffalo Narrows	Metis	629	971	+ 58
S	Pemican Portage	Metis	146	208	+ 56
3	Beauval	Metis	392	611	+ 40
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# POPULATION INCREASE BY SELECTED NATIVE SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN 1951-1966



Map 5

fluctuated markedly. As table 8 indicates, Creighton exhibited an initial high rate of growth in the 1940's, a slight decline in the early 1950's and then a slight increase. Uranium City, on the other hand, has witnessed both a rapid increase in population in the 1950's and a sharp decline in the 1960's in response to the contemporary demand for uranium, while Goldfields, once a mining centre of over 500 people, is no longer in existence. Although Island Falls is a hydro-electric power site and not a mining centre, its growth too, has been shortlived. Once the construction phase was completed and the plant had been automated, only a few men were required at the site for the station's upkeep.

TABLE 8

Population Growth in Mining and Industrial Centres, 1941-1971

	1941	1951	1956	1961	1971
Uranium City	-	-	3,636	3,349	2,399
Creighton	388	1,748	1,659	1,729	2,331
Goldfields	276	570	-	-	-
Island Falls	42	60	-	185	6

Source: Census of Canada: appropriate years.

Over the past 30 years, northern Saskatchewan's population has increased rapidly and many of the settlements in the region have doubled and even tripled in size without a proportionate increase in their economic base. It is of importance, therefore, to investigate the northern economy in relation to its local population.

### Population pressure and the northern economy

Despite the introduction of tourism, forestry, and mining, most Indians and Metis are fishermen or trappers. Although commercial fishing has grown in importance during the 1960's (Seymour, 1971, p. 51) it remains second to trapping in terms of employment.

In terms of earned income, the fur and fish economies have limited capacities. Both are seasonal operations that normally generate little income per worker. In addition, both are export industries subject to price and demand fluctuations and both are overly dependent upon a variable supply of the primary resource. Unfortunately, few alternative forms of employment are available. In both the small isolated communities and in the larger centres such as Uranium City and La Ronge, most jobs are filled by white people.

The small outpost offers little employment opportunity. Admittedly, the federal Indian Affairs Branch may create some construction work and the Department of Natural Resources may employ native patrolmen and firefighters during the summer months, but the only permanent year-round positions to be had are likely to be those of school janitor and store clerk. The employment situation is not markedly brighter in larger settlements. The economic base may be broader with mining, forestry or tourism offering more jobs, but there are also more people competing for them.

Relatively few native men, therefore, are employed on a permanent basis. The Indian and Metis economy is centred upon part-time employment, chiefly in the resource industries, while only low per capita returns are derived from traditional trapping pursuits.

With the trapping industry unable to provide sufficient income for most native people, and with very little in the way of a viable economic alternative, social assistance is being provided in increasing amounts. On the one hand the inadequacies of the economy make public assistance necessary; on the other, they present the possibility that welfare payments may supplant productive activity.

During the last 20 years, the amount of social aid paid to recipients in the northern part of Saskatchewan has risen dramatically. As table 9 illustrates, in 1950 \$68,000 was spent on social aid in the north, but by 1970 this figure had risen to \$695,000.

TABLE 9

Annual Cost of Social Aid in Northern Saskatchewan, 1950-1970\*  
(Northern Health Administrative District)

Year	Cost in Dollars
1950	68,000
1955	90,000
1960	185,000
1965	465,000
1970	695,000

\* While these figures do not include payment to Treaty Indians they are indicative of social aid to Metis people.

Source: Social Aid Records, Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation, Prince Albert Regional Office.

While most white people of the north have regular employment in a variety of jobs with wages comparable to those paid in the south, the native population is confined to a small range of employment opportunities. In ever-increasing numbers, they seek a livelihood from low-income industries.<sup>4</sup> While the northern economy can provide for some of its native people, the latter represent only a small minority. For most, the employment opportunities are lacking and the income generated by the economy is too small to meet the needs of an expanding population.

### Summary

The population of northern Saskatchewan has increased dramatically over the last 30 years. The increase in the white population owes much to the development of mining in the area, but the native people have increased their numbers largely by natural increase. The latter are dispersed through more than 25 settlements varying in size from less than 100 people to over 1,000 while the former tend to be concentrated in La Ronge, Creighton and Uranium City.

Encouraged by the provision of medical and educational services offered in settled communities, the native people of the north have forsaken a migratory hunting and trapping existence and have come to reside the year round in permanent settlements. Although the process of adopting settlement living has been a gradual one and several communities have been in existence in the north since the beginning of the fur trade era, the consolidation of settlements has been most rapid since 1941. Unfortunately, this response has led to a number of economic problems. While the settlements grow, they do so without a proportional

increase in their economic base. The mining industry, for the most part, offers little in the way of employment for the native population who have therefore, come to rely increasingly on welfare and social aid as a means of support.

The entire social and economic structure of the native society in the north has been transformed during this period. The superimposition of industrialized and commercialized society upon a subsistence-trapping economy has left the Indians and Metis of northern Saskatchewan as a stranded racial group. They cannot go back to a purely hunting and trapping economy and yet they are also unable to take their place as full members of the dominant Canadian society.

In the absence of new job opportunities or considerable out-migration, there seems little hope of solving the problems of the north and of northern native people. The case studies at Shoal Lake and Black Lake are designed to examine mainly the second alternative, out-migration, and to demonstrate the incentives and barriers facing the prospective migrant, indicating how out-migration can aid these depressed people.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION AND MOBILITY IN THE ISOLATED NATIVE SETTLEMENT OF BLACK LAKE

In this examination of an isolated native settlement, the main concerns are to identify the magnitude, character and direction of native migration and to present those factors responsible for this movement. These factors are social, economic and physical in nature and can be treated as either barriers or incentives to mobility. The analysis of these factors will include not only the personal characteristics of the individual involved, but also those characteristics of his community that influence his decision. Several factors are viewed as having particular importance with regard to their effect on migration. Included in this category are the following: accessibility; educational levels and attainments; age; the nature of outside contacts; and public involvement.

It is often suggested that Indian bands living in close proximity to more developed white communities have correspondingly more developed consumer tastes than bands in more isolated locations, and that these tastes, in turn, induce Indians to seek and to hold permanent, well-paying jobs. Following on this argument, a greater proportion of the members of such bands would migrate to towns and cities than those of bands found in relatively isolated areas of the province. The corollary of this hypothesis should also hold true; that limited access and exposure to towns and cities as well as greater transportation costs



facing members of more isolated bands should provide formidable barriers to migration.

Education, in its broadest sense, is thought to be an important element in the economic development and migration potential of native people. While the main attraction of urban centres is supposedly economic opportunity, if the migrant does not have a good command of the English language, and has not been prepared for industrial society by means of a suitable academic and/or vocational training programme, then it is very unlikely that he will be in a position to take full advantage of this greater opportunity. At best, such a person is likely to obtain part-time and unskilled employment and as a result, his economic lot may not be appreciably improved and his social situation is likely to be relatively worse. Hence, most successful migrants are expected to be relatively well educated and trained.

One element common to migration the world over is that the majority of migrants are young people. With regard to the Indian population of northern Saskatchewan, there is strong evidence to support this idea. The older generation has not had the same exposure to white society as have their children. All the children and most young adults are or have benefited from local schooling. In addition, village residency has made them more aware of the benefits of modern society and their ties with the "old" native economy and society appear to be losing their strength. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to assume that if migration is to occur, then the younger generation will form the majority of migrants.

In addition to these variables, the magnitude and direction of

native migration may well depend upon the various forms of contact that native people have with outside centres. Prior to 1940, such contact was normally maintained by canoe or dog-team; today, automobiles and/or aircraft are commonly used. However, in this movement, native people do not necessarily go to the nearest centre of greater opportunity but to the one that is most familiar to them. The presence of friends or relatives in outside centres, or perhaps even previous work experience in a particular area, is likely to encourage the native to migrate or just visit these centres. Consequently, the geographic pattern of migration is expected to relate to social contacts initially and to distance secondly.

Although the decision to leave the settlement is one that the individual himself makes, some movement may be government sponsored. This sponsorship can take several forms: high school education in Prince Albert; medical treatment in institutions and hospitals; part-time employment in other provinces (fruit picking in British Columbia); foster homes; job training; or meetings of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. While most of this movement is generally short term in nature, it does introduce many natives, for the first time, to modern towns and cities, and its importance in forming initial outside contact cannot be ignored.

The main purpose of this study is to describe and examine the degree to which the different levels of migration and mobility achieved by band members may be correlated with the factors outlined above. To provide a framework for this examination, the following brief description of the local and regional geographic setting is presented.

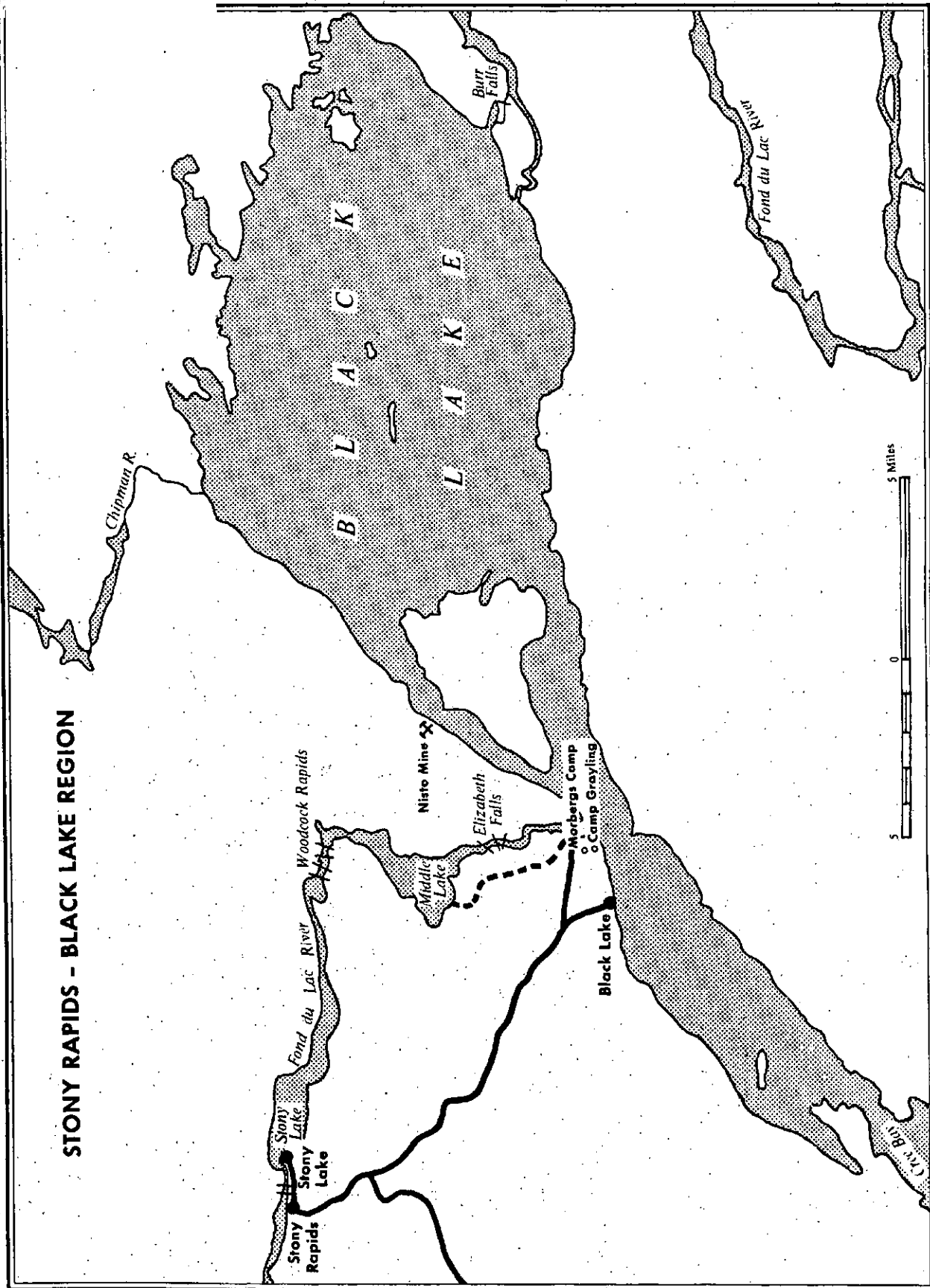
### Local setting

Black Lake, a northern Chipewyan settlement, is located in north-eastern Saskatchewan on the shores of the lake of the same name, at approximately  $59^{\circ}12'N$  and  $105^{\circ}15'W$ . The village is 400 miles north of Prince Albert and some 50 miles from the Saskatchewan/Northwest Territories boundary. Uranium City, the largest centre in northern Saskatchewan, is some 100 miles west of Black Lake. The village of Black Lake is connected to Stony Rapids, the administrative centre for this part of northern Saskatchewan, by an unpaved road. The latter centre is approximately 14 miles to the north of Black Lake, and two miles west of Stony Lake, a very small Indian settlement. Two fishing lodges, located where the Fond-du-Lac River leaves Black Lake (Map 6), are two miles east of the village of Black Lake.

Although the boundaries of the Black Lake region are not fixed, for the purpose of this study, its approximate limits encompass that area of northern Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories still frequented by the hunters and trappers of the Stony Rapids Indian Band. The three settlements mentioned above do not have a road connection to other centres, but an aircraft company, Norcanair, operates scheduled flights between Prince Albert and Stony Rapids. Smaller aircraft on either floats or wheels may be chartered at Stony Rapids. Mail and light or perishable goods are brought in by air while heavier and more durable merchandise is transported twice each summer by barge shipments from Fort McMurray, Alberta.

The region lies in the boreal forest zone of the Precambrian Shield. Vegetation to the north and west of Black Lake is open

# STONY RAPIDS - BLACK LAKE REGION



subarctic woodland. Half the land area is rock outcrop, one quarter is covered with pleistocene glacial deposits, while muskeg covers the remainder (Rowe, 1959, p. 41). Black spruce and jackpine are the dominant tree species, but white spruce, aspen and white birch are found on the better soils. To the south and east of the lake, the soil has a high sand content and favours the growth of jackpine, black spruce and tamarack. Poplars and white spruce are common along the lake shore.

The land northeast of the Fond-du-Lac River is typical Canadian Shield country; rugged and rocky land where the lakes, streams and valleys trend northeasterly, reflecting the underlying bedrock structure. Hills and rocky ridges rise sharply 200 feet or more above the level of adjacent lakes. The north eastern shore of Black Lake typifies much of the topography with its irregular shape, many islands and deep water. The southern shore is a mixture of sandstone and pebble conglomerate of the Athabasca Plains Region. Most of this area is drift-covered and of relatively low relief with extensive muskegs and gently rounded hills. The more easily eroded sandstone has resulted in a more regular shoreline with broad beaches and very few islands or reefs (Atlas of Saskatchewan, 1969, pp. 46-47 and 50-51).

In this part of Saskatchewan, the climate is subarctic in which winters are long and cold and summers short and cool. Precipitation is light (12 inches per annum) with a decided summer maximum, while 40% of all precipitation falls as snow. These dry conditions are conducive to forest fires and in 1970, for example, much of the forest cover west of Black Lake Village was destroyed and the village itself was threatened.

Until recently, the Indian population was scattered but with the

largest concentrations at Stony Rapids and Stony Lake. Beginning in 1952, and encouraged by Father Porte, the resident priest, most of the native people gradually abandoned Stony Lake to form a new settlement on the north shore of Black Lake, not far from the main road. A rough connecting road was built and a church constructed. Later, the school at Stony Lake was moved to the present site of Black Lake, and a store was established by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1971, only some 30 people still lived at Stony Lake and the school children in the village were transported to Stony Rapids for their education. In contrast, the 1971 population of Black Lake was 468.

#### Accessibility

In both physical and human terms the settlement of Black Lake is isolated from the dominant Canadian society. Its physical remoteness is readily apparent in the great distances and high travel costs involved in moving to either southern population centres or larger northern settlements.

As there are no road links with outside centres, the means of transportation available to the local population is limited. Over shorter distances much of the native movement in winter is by dog-team, and in summer by boat and canoe. However, for distances in excess of 100 miles, the most practical means of transportation available is by air. The costs of air travel are indicated in table 10, and they severely limit the frequency of private travel. Air charters are also available but they are even more expensive and, therefore, not normally used to travel to centres served by schedule air service.

TABLE 10

Airline Passenger Fares From Stony Rapids  
to Major Centres in Northern and Central  
Saskatchewan, 1971\*

Centre	Distance	Return Fare
Uranium City	110 miles	\$ .38
La Ronge	280 miles	\$ .94
Prince Albert	415 miles	\$1.30
Saskatoon	502 miles	\$1.34

\* There is one flight a day, five days a week in summer and three days a week in winter.

Source: Norcanair Airline Company, Saskatoon.

Although Stony Rapids and Black Lake are connected by air to other Chipewyan communities, including Fond-du-Lac and Wollaston, these centres are also troubled by high rates of unemployment and by large numbers of "unemployables" (though the development of uranium mining at Wollaston could well provide many jobs in the near future). While family connections and historical contacts have been maintained with such centres as Wollaston, Brochet and Fond-du-Lac, these centres, themselves, offer little in the form of job opportunity to the Black Lake Indians, while their service functions are fewer or no more than those in the study area (Atcheson, 1972, p. 228). However, as the Wollaston mine develops, the employment situation may improve.\*

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\*In November 1972, the provincial government is again considering a hydro electric project at Elizabeth Falls, which is but a few miles from Black Lake. During the construction of this hydro dam, local labour might well find employment.

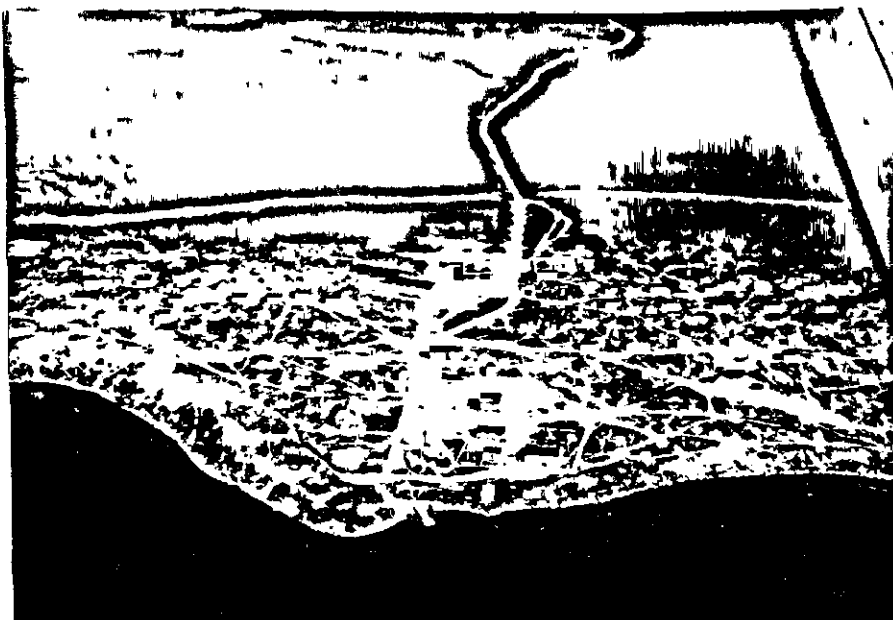


Figure 2. The Chipewyan Village of Black Lake

For the most part, the log cabins are scattered in a random fashion near the shore of the lake, while the newer houses are built in a linear pattern on both sides of the school, which is located in the centre of the photograph. The unpaved road leads north some 14 miles to Stony Rapids.

The photograph was taken by R.M. Bone from a Norcanair Beaver Aircraft in June, 1971.



While the native people at Black Lake are isolated, some exposure to the style of "southern" living has occurred for the settlement exhibits a few of the services and amenities associated with southern towns and cities. In this respect, Black Lake Indians are not totally oblivious to some of the forms and functions of the main stream of Canadian society.

Evidence of modern society's impact on these people could be seen in almost every facet of their daily lives. Their children are educated in a modern school at Black Lake by English speaking teachers. Many band members had purchased canoes from companies in southern Canada and most had outboard motors. A housing renewal programme started in 1966 has greatly improved housing conditions and two and three bedroom frame houses are replacing one room cabins (Map 7); electricity, radios, films, cars, books, record players, clothing and washing machines are all in evidence and in their own way are broadening the native's exposure to the outside world.

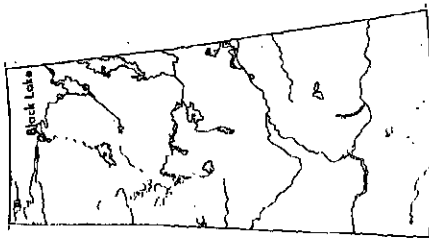
However, these benefits are only partially successful in helping to introduce the native people at Black Lake to modern society. In 1969, 60% of all the homes were still one room cabins and no native homes had running water and few could afford the luxury of fuel oil heating (D.I.A.N.D., 1969, pp. 26-30). The only retail outlet was the Hudson's Bay Company store, though some used catalogues to order goods through mail order companies. There was no telephone service or local newspaper and the major means of communicating with other centres was still by personal visits or via the D.N.R. radio.

Few Black Lake natives have experience or any working knowledge of

# BLACK LAKE COMMUNITY

Lat. 59 — Long. 105

to Stony Rapids (18 miles)



## TYPES OF HOUSES

- Prefabricated 1970
- ▨ Prefabricated 1969
- ▤ Prefabricated 1957, 1968
- ▥ Institutional, commercial and other buildings
- ▧ Log cabin
- ▩ Store house
- Temporary construction
- Householders by number
- ▬ Storehouses by number
- ▮ Fence



University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon  
1971



BLACK LAKE

BLACK LAKE

life in a large centre. Without this experience and knowledge, and with only expensive means of travel available to them, the members of the Stony Rapids Band do not find out-migration an easy matter. In any case, life at Black Lake is infinitely more attractive to them than in larger centres where they are strangers. While, on the average, housing standards are poorer and the variety of services at Black Lake is less than those of larger southern towns and cities, these factors may not be critical to the local people, most of whom are unaware or unconcerned about the differences. This is not to suggest that there is not some agitation for more new homes and better services at Black Lake, but rather that the difference in the standard of living is not alone a critical factor in migration.

Thus, with so little contact with the outside, the people of Black Lake are isolated from the dominant Canadian economy and society. To most Black Lake Indians, a move to Prince Albert represents not only an expensive airflight 415 miles southward, but it is also a move in social, cultural and economic terms into a totally different way of life.

#### The character of the settlement

Before examining the decision process involved in native migration from Black Lake, it is important to identify the social and economic milieu. The prevailing low levels of education, the limited command of the English language possessed by the older people, the geographic isolation of the community, the general absence of the skills and motivation necessary for successful competition in white society, and

the strong kinship and community ties at Black Lake, are all factors that dissuade the native from moving to centres of better opportunity. On the other hand, the poor economic base of the community and the pressure of an ever increasing population have combined with the better facilities and employment opportunities available in southern towns and cities, to form important elements that encourage native migration.

A closer examination of the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the Black Lake community, will reveal these barriers and avenues to migration more clearly.

#### The resource base

The Black Lake region does not possess a rich resource base. The physical environment, with its poor soils and short growing season, imposes severe limitations upon agriculture, while the development of other resources, such as timber, fish and minerals, suffers from the handicaps of high transportation costs, the lack of a large local market, and a scarcity of experienced and skilled personnel.

However, the region is not without resources and an economic potential. An examination of this potential is a necessary prerequisite to a better understanding of the settlement's general economy and employment structure.

Minerals. The region is endowed with several mineral deposits, though in 1971 there were no mines in operation. Among the minerals found in the Precambrian rocks of Black Lake's hinterland are gold, silver, iron ore, copper, nickel, cobalt and uranium. It is upon this last mineral, uranium, that most interest has been centred. During the

post-war demand for uranium, underground exploration work was done on property located on the north shore of Black Lake. Development work was conducted from 1950 to 1953, and in 1959 some high grade ore was mined and shipped to Uranium City for refining. Today, the uranium market is in a very depressed state though mining companies continue to prospect in northern Saskatchewan. The region has undoubted mining potential and it is quite possible that continued exploration, a rise in the price of minerals, or further technological advances may result in a producing mine. At present, however, the only employment for a few local people is part-time and sporadic in nature, associated with prospecting and surveying during the summer months.

Water Power. The water power potential of the area is considerable, though once again a small local demand has prevented the development of hydro-electric power sites. The development of uranium mining at Wollaston Lake, however, may lead to the construction of a hydro-electric installation at Elizabeth Falls on the Fond-du-Lac River. Such a power site could also transmit electricity to the Uranium City area if required. The construction of this station with dams and other facilities would undoubtedly offer a number of temporary jobs to the native people of the region but the highly automated nature of these stations is such that few permanent jobs would be available for local native people.

Forestry. Forest industries are weakly developed and limited in both physical and economic terms. Because of the short growing season and infertile soils, trees are generally small and the few stands of merchantable timber are found on the better soils located in widely

dispersed and often inaccessible areas. The production of timber is limited to two portable sawmills. The Department of Indian Affairs has operated a mill located between Stony Rapids and Riou Lake for a number of years, with the dual purpose of generating work for Treaty Indians and utilizing local resources. The second mill is operated by one of the outfitter camps between Black Lake and Middle Lake to supply the camp with logs and lumber for firewood and the construction of new lodges. The total production of both mills ranges between 50,000 and 100,000 board feet annually, mostly white spruce and jackpine (Bone et al., 1972, p. 114). All the lumber produced is used locally for the building of cabins, boats, sleigh runners and fence posts. Wood is also an important fuel, most natives using it for both cooking and heating their homes.

In terms of employment, the forest industry in the Black Lake region offers only intermittent work and supplements the incomes of a few native people. Limited resources of merchantable timber, high costs of logging and milling, and a small local market are all factors that have severely restricted the operation of this small industry to date, and will prevent the development of any successful large forest industry in the future.

Fishing. The fishing activities in the Black Lake region include both sport and domestic fisheries. In 1971, Black Lake people participated for the first time in a commercial fishing operation on Lake Athabasca, under the financial and managerial encouragement of the Department of Indian Affairs. If this venture proves to be a success, it may become a regular part of the year's work for many Black Lake people and thus

provide a welcome source of income.

The fish of the lakes and rivers of the area also sustain a tourist industry which involves three outfitter operations. These camps were open for four months each summer (June through September) and catered mainly to Americans. Athabasca Voyageur, was entirely American owned and operated, and apart from some communication and transportation needs, made little use of local labour and services. The two remaining organizations, Morberg's Camp Ltd. and Camp Grayling, have outcamps in northern Saskatchewan as well as the Northwest Territories, though their main camps are both located on the Fond-du-Lac River at its outlet from Black Lake.

Camp Grayling hired almost entirely local native people for kitchen and dining room staff as well as for the guiding. Morberg's, on the other hand, obtained most of their kitchen staff from outside the region though guides and other employees were largely hired from the local labour force. Over the last few years, the peak labour needed at both camps was about 30 to 40 people but this peak was of very short duration and depended upon the number of tourists in attendance at the camps. Thus, while these camps and tourist operations offered employment to the local people, the demand for labour was irregular and beyond the control of the proprietors.

Trapping. Fur bearing animals in the area of Black Lake and adjacent parts of the Northwest Territories still support a trapping industry, though it is diminishing in importance. During the 1930's, the Hudson's Bay Company alone was reported to have shipped more than 20 bales of fur annually out of the region (personal comment by Boniface



Figure 3. A Trapper's Cabin at Selwyn Lake

The cabin shown here is one of 13 such buildings at Selwyn Lake that provide shelter for members of the Stony Rapids Band on the trap lines. This small village dates back to the migratory trapping economy of the Black Lake Indians, though today the native people stay here for only a few months in the year.

The photograph was taken by E. Shannon in June, 1971.



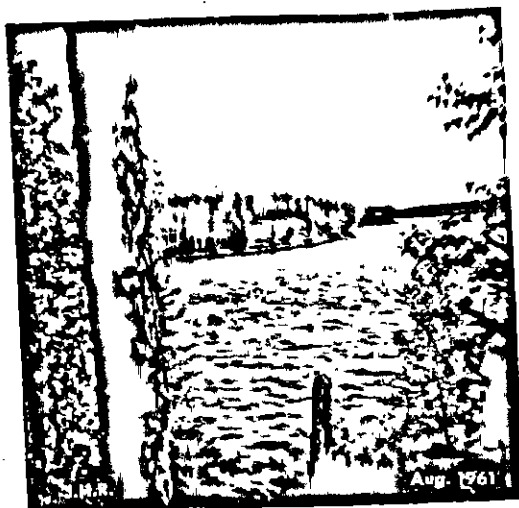


Figure 4. Elizabeth Falls on the Fond-du-Lac River.

This area may well be flooded in the future for the proposed Elizabeth Falls Hydro-Electric Power Scheme.

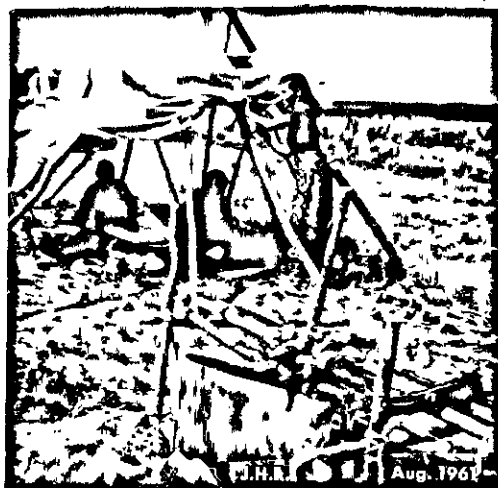


Figure 5 A Summer Encampment at Stony Rapids in 1961.

The Laban family are seen here smoking bannock over an open fire at their summer encampment.

Both photographs were taken by Dr. J.H. Richards of the Geography Department in August 1961.

Mercredi, clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company Store at Stony Rapids for more than 35 years). This figure is more than five times the amount being handled at the moment.

The overall decline in production can be related to economic and social factors, though the decrease seems to be due more to a diminishing involvement in trapping by local people than in a diminishing fur resource. In 1969, for example, the average Black Lake trapper was earning only \$330 for two or three months' work and even the most successful trappers were grossing only \$1,000 (Department of Natural Resources, Northern Fur Conservation Areas Records, 1969). In view of these low returns for the effort and capital expended and the relatively high welfare payments and amenities associated with settlement residence, it is surprising that many natives bother to trap at all.

Although in 1971 the provincial voting list for Stony Rapids, Stony Lake and Black Lake recorded 102 trappers, only one family was trapping consistently for a period of more than three months. Thus, while trapping remains an important source of income to the native population, it does so usually as a means of supplementing other income. Unless prices for furs improve, the future of the trapping industry will remain bleak and its decline will no doubt continue.

Public Employment. Apart from resource-based industry, employment in the Black Lake region is largely derived from government agencies and services. The federal and provincial governments provide financial support for the people of Black Lake in two ways: they provide employment opportunities and welfare payments for the unemployed.

In the summer of 1971, the federal and provincial governments

accounted for 70% of the permanent employment (table 11) in the Black Lake and Stony Rapids area. Besides these 32 permanent positions, there were a number of part-time jobs, most of which were associated with public construction works (Bone et al., 1972, p. 164). Unfortunately for the native people, most of the permanent positions were held by white people while all the part-time ones were occupied by native people.

TABLE 11

Permanent Employment in the Black Lake Area, Summer 1971

Place	White	Indian	Metis	Total	% Public Positions	Percent
Stony Rapids	14	1	4	19	70%	25%
Black Lake (excluding the Priest & Brother)	9	3	1	13	69%	31%
Total	23	4	5	32	70%	27%

Source: Bone et al., 1972, p. 164.

In 1971, the Department of Natural Resources employed five native people, four of these were summer fire-fighters (three Metis and one Treaty Indian) while the other (also a Metis) was a patrolman. During the same period, the Indian Affairs Branch employed eight Treaty Indians in the construction of new homes. This work had been made available each summer since 1967, and was one of the most attractive types of employment with hourly wage rates ranging from \$1.80 per hour to \$3.25 (Bone, et al., 1972, p. 165).

Permanent jobs available to the native people at Black Lake were few in number. They included one janitor's job, one teacher's aid, and two Hudson's Bay Company clerks. All four employees were between 20 and 25 years of age; all had received at least eight years' education; and all had a good command of the English language.

#### Unemployment levels and welfare assistance

Unemployment, low income and a lack of local opportunity have led the residents at Black Lake to regard welfare as a necessary source of income for many families. Table 12 indicates the earned incomes of the Treaty Indian population of the Stony Rapids Band living on the reserve\* in 1969. The large number of people with earned income below \$1,000 per annum clearly identifies the depressed nature of the economy and the need for supplementary forms of income.

TABLE 12

Indian People with Earned Income Living  
on the Reserve in 1969\*

Income Category	Number	Percentage of Income Earners
Under \$1,000	142	91
\$1,000 - 1,999	9	6
\$2,000 - 2,999	2	1
\$3,000 - 3,999	3	2
\$4,000 and over	0	0
Total	156	100

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Statistics, Prince Albert Agency.

\*Though there is no official reservation for the Stony Rapids Band, the term reservation here refers to the villages of Black Lake and Stony Lake and surrounding lands.

The amount and type of social aid available to Treaty Indians varies according to such factors as the number of family members, the permanency of employment, and the age or marital status of the individuals concerned. According to the regulations regarding welfare outlined in Appendix C, in 1969 the amount of social aid paid to Treaty Indians in the Black Lake area totalled \$67,319 (table 13), and 55% of all Indian families were receiving some form of unearned income.

TABLE 13

## Black Lake Indians Receiving Social Aid in 1969

Income Group	Number of Social Aid Recipients	Number of Child Maintenance Recipients	Number of Adult Maintenance Recipients	Total Welfare Recipients	Total Value Received
Under \$250	4	0	0	4	
\$250-499	4	0	0	4	
\$500-749	7	0	0	7	
\$750-999	33	7	0	40	
\$1,000-1,999	15	2	1	18	
\$2,000 & over	0	0	0	0	
Total	63	9	1	73	\$67,319

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Statistics, Prince Albert Agency.

If existing trends continue, the yearly expenditure on federal welfare payments for the Black Lake people is likely to increase. The main weaknesses in the employment structure are clearly evident: the

limited and seasonal nature of most of the wage employment, the marginal returns from fur trapping, and the growing dependency on welfare payments to supplement earned income. With little economic opportunity in the region, the alternative to unemployment and welfare would seem to be migration to centres with better employment prospects. However, economic factors are not the only ones affecting the native's decision to migrate; education, literacy, skills and cultural ties are all equally important.

#### The level of education and literacy

The problem of unemployment is compounded by the very nature of the labour force itself. The lack of skilled and experienced labour and the high level of illiteracy have meant that the local population has been unable to take full advantage of available economic opportunity or to initiate new opportunity.

Whereas the children and young adults of Black Lake have received formal education, and are proficient in the use of the English language, this is not true of the older band members. To illustrate this fact a questionnaire survey was conducted among 29 Black Lake people over the age of 18 years in order to establish the respective levels of literacy and education. Of the 29 respondents, three stated they used English as frequently as Chipewyan. These particular respondents were between the ages of 18 and 27, and over the years, all had spent more than 12 months in predominantly English speaking communities. Two of these people had attended a high school at Prince Albert in 1970-1971, while the third had been enrolled in an industrial training scheme at Uranium City.

TABLE 14

Literacy of 29 Black Lake Indians, July 1971  
(18 years of age and over)

Level of Ability	to Speak English	to Read English
Excellent	3	3
Well	11	5
A little	4	0
Not at all	11	21
Total	29	29

Source: Questionnaire survey conducted by the author.

Eleven respondents could speak English well enough so that there was no need for an interpreter. Most members of this group had worked with white people and had received some schooling. A further 11 people who could neither speak nor read English were over 30 years of age and had received no formal education. Most of this latter group considered themselves trappers even though a large portion of their income was derived from welfare.

The statistics from the questionnaire showed that only one third of the people over 30 years of age were fluent in English compared with 87% (seven out of eight) of those under 30. The difference in reading skills between the two age groups was even more dramatic. While three quarters of the respondents under 30 years of age could read English (six out of eight) only ten percent (2 out of 21) of the older generation could do so. The average grade of education attained by each group

was 5.6 and 1.8 respectively.

The significantly lower education and literacy levels of the older generation are understandable as very few of these band members have received any formal education. All respondents to the questionnaire over the age of 40 indicated that they had received no public education whatsoever. It is of little wonder, therefore, that the use of English was restricted to the young and those older band members with at least some schooling.

Undoubtedly, the levels of education and literacy are improving at Black Lake and future generations of Black Lake Indians will not be handicapped by a lack of education and a lack of English. Nonetheless, a basic problem still remains. To obtain higher academic education or vocational training, the Black Lake student must live in outside centres that are likely to be alien to him: something he is frequently ill-equipped to do. As the school records showed in 1969, of the 150 enrolled students of the Stony Rapids Indian Band only 3 had progressed beyond grade eight and one of these had subsequently returned to Black Lake because of a failure to successfully adapt to a non-Indian environment (Indian Affairs Branch Statistics, Prince Albert). Even for those students who adapt to conditions in outside centres and successfully complete their high school studies, the likelihood of them obtaining permanent employment in Black Lake is remote and they are consequently likely to migrate.

#### Social change

Although more and more Indian and Metis people in the Black Lake



area are adopting habits and customs of the dominant society, they remain a culturally distinct group of people. However, since World War II this distinction has narrowed as native people have relinquished a semi-nomadic life style and have come to accept a sedentary existence.

This acceptance of village life has been paralleled by the gradual adoption of white values. In 1971, for example, two members of the native community owned automobiles and everyone wore store clothes and bought store food from the Hudson's Bay Company. Several housewives had washing machines, a number of the men owned fibre-glass boats and the children were learning how to play baseball.

Village residency has also led to the breakdown of the hunting and trapping society. Basic to this older culture was the extended family unit and its subsistence economy based upon hunting and trading. The value system of this culture, with its emphasis on day to day survival, was unsuited to the commercial and industrial society of the modern world. At present, a modified system exists at Black Lake in which some members of a family group (mainly adult males) go hunting for part of the year only, and increasingly less time is spent on the traplines. The importance of the individual rather than that of the family is now stressed and the commercial considerations of trapping are predominant over those of survival.

While trapping is still considered an important source of income, it is those native people over the age of 40 who most strongly adhere to the older traditions. The younger generation, who do not have their parents' knowledge or experience of "bush" life, generally appear less concerned about "old ways" and seem more prepared to accept a wage

economy based upon permanent village residency. Even though there are very few jobs available in the Black Lake area, native people are beginning to be hired to administrative posts previously held by white people, and this marks a significant effort by the natives concerned to gain a place in modern society.

Despite schooling in English, the adoption of white ways and the erosion of Chipewyan society, Chipewyan is still the major language of both younger and older people. The modified remnants of the hunting and trapping society together with low levels of education and a limited ability to speak English, act as barriers to the economic development and social integration of the native community. In addition, while the family unit has lost most of its importance as a hunting unit, it still has a significant social strength as the bonds of kinship are not easily broken. Together with the importance of retaining treaty status for economic benefit, these cultural elements are very important in binding the native people to Black Lake.

#### Population growth

In June 1971, there were 658 people, native and white, in the Black Lake region. The respective populations of the three settlements and their ethnic character are shown in table 15. The importance of the native population is clearly revealed, when at Stony Rapids it accounts for 82% of the population, at Black Lake 97%, and at Stony Lake 100%.

Since 1941, the population has greatly increased, mainly as a result of a high rate of natural increase among native people. As well, there have been important internal shifts in the size of the three

TABLE 15

Ethnicity of the Three Centres in the  
Black Lake Region, 1971

Settlement	White	Metis	Indian	Total
Stony Rapids	25	95	27	147
Stony Lake	0	5	38	43
Black Lake	16	30	422	468
Total	41	130	487	658

Source: Bone et al., 1972, p. 67.

settlements. These population changes are shown in table 16, which clearly indicates the growth of the village of Black Lake at the expense of Stony Lake. While much of the increase at Black Lake prior to 1961 can be attributed to the resettling of native people from Stony Lake, in the last ten years a high rate of natural increase has accounted for most of the increase.

The increase in population between 1951 and 1971 is remarkable in that the annual rate of increase jumped from 1.9% in the 1950's to 4.2% in the 1960's. As there have not been any significant in-migrations to the region, this increase largely results from a substantial decline in mortality rates and continued high birth rates. While table 17 suggests that the death rate may have stabilized at a low level, there are no signs of a substantial decline in the birth rate. Hence, the natural rate of increase can be expected to remain well above the provincial average.

TABLE 16

Population Growth in the Black Lake Region, 1941-1971

Settlement	1941	1951	1961	1971
Stony Rapids	54	351	107	147
Stony Lake	0		34	43
Black Lake	0	34*	290	468
Total		385	461	658

\* Although there was no settlement at Black Lake in 1951, a number of families had summer camps on the shore of the lake and were enumerated as Black Lake residents. The Census for 1951, did not record Stony Lake separately but apparently included it in the Stony Rapids total.

Source: Census of Canada, appropriate years (1971 data are unofficial census material).

TABLE 17

Estimated Rate of Natural Increase for Roman Catholics of the Stony Rapids - Black Lake Region, 1951-70

	1951	1956	1961	1966	1970
Crude birth rate	6.0	5.1	4.7	5.8	5.4
Crude death rate	1.3	2.0	1.8	0.9	0.9
Natural rate of increase	4.7	3.1	2.9	4.9	4.5

Source: Bone et al., 1972, p. 88.

### Population pressure

The scarcity of jobs, coupled with the rapidly growing numbers of young adults has serious implications. Already, the depressed state of the trapping industry, the seasonal nature of commercial fishing and guiding, and the absence of alternative job opportunities, have led the native population to rely increasingly on welfare. The question must be posed: is migration a viable solution?

By examining in more detail the scale of the actual migration from Black Lake, the relevance and importance of these factors can be more clearly viewed. Such an examination will assist in identifying the major barriers and avenues to migration, and in assessing their importance in terms of the personal characteristics of the individual concerned.

### The patterns of mobility and migration

While the nature and magnitude of native movement from Black Lake is not fully documented, on 10th July, 1971, a record was taken of those band members who had resided or were then residing in outside centres (Bone et al, 1972, p. 219). The findings, recorded in tables 18 and 19, revealed that the actual number of migrants represented less than 10% of the total population. In comparison, the mobility of the white population was high, as the arrival or departure of white government officials and business personnel was a common occurrence in the region.

Twenty eight Indians were living outside the region as a result of public programmes (in quest of higher education, vocational training, medical treatment, or living in foster homes). Eleven children were in foster homes, ten in Prince Albert and one in Uranium City. Nine people

TABLE 18

Location of Black Lake Treaty Indians Not Living at  
Black Lake in July 1971

Location	Total	Government Action	Individual Choice
Prince Albert	24	21	3
Uranium City	6	3	3
Wollaston	5	0	5
North Battleford	2	2	0
Regina	2	1	1
Moose Jaw	1	1	0
La Ronge	1	0	1
Fond-du-Lac	1	0	1
United States	1	0	1
Total	43	28	15
Percentage	100	65	35

Source: Bone et al., 1972, p. 219.

TABLE 19

Reasons for Living Outside the Black Lake Region

	Number	Percentage
Foster Homes	11	25.6
Medical Treatment	11	25.6
Employment	10*	23.2
Education	6	13.9
Visiting	4	9.4
Marriage	1	2.3
Total	43	100

\* Includes 2 dependents

Source: Bone et al., 1972, p. 219.

were in hospitals or sanitoriums, with seven in Prince Albert, one in Uranium City, and one in Moose Jaw. Two other individuals were receiving psychiatric treatment in North Battleford. Lastly, six young people were receiving further education or vocational training outside the Black Lake region, four in Prince Albert, one in Uranium City and one in Regina.

The results of the survey indicated that the government role in the movement of Black Lake people was very significant. Sixty five percent of all native movement to outside centres was government sponsored, and over one half of these people were residing in Prince Albert, the regional administrative centre of northern Saskatchewan.

Few Indians had worked for lengthy periods outside the region, and most of these eventually had returned home. In July 1971, two men were working in Wollaston, one as a carpenter and the other as a guide, while a third had obtained employment as a school janitor in La Ronge. For several years two men had worked in the mines at Uranium City, but one had returned to the Black Lake region by 1971, and subsequently, the other has become the Indian Agent to the Stony Rapids Band. Both now reside in the Black Lake-Stony Rapids area. One young woman from Black Lake, following the completion of a nursing course, was reported to be employed in the south of the province. Apart from these people, the only other migrant, as the term was defined in Chapter One, was a young woman who had married an American student; the latter was engaged in field work at Black Lake for his doctorate in anthropology. In 1971, both she and her husband were living in the United States.

As a percentage of the total population the number of migrants is

small and the length of time spent by them in outside communities is short. But considering the difficulties facing these people, their search for work outside the region represents a determination on their part to adapt to the industrial and commercial world. Interviews with returnees as well as band members who had seen little of "outside" life, indicated many of the problems that these people faced in accommodating to wage-employment and residence in alien centres. The elderly man who had worked in Uranium City for several years commented that the town, while offering good employment opportunities, was a relatively lonely place to live:

Not enough of our own people live there and its lonely. Here (Black Lake) it's friendly and it's home.

This respondent had every intention of remaining in Black Lake for the rest of his life despite the many contacts he had made at Uranium City and the advantages of modern living that he had experienced.

The younger generation of migrants who had resided in outside centres, however, were more dissatisfied with the native community, and one of the school girls living for most of the year in Prince Albert commented:

Yes I've thought of leaving Black Lake permanently; there's nothing to do here especially for teenagers.

A second school girl expressed a similar wish to leave the region in order to: "learn more about other ways of living than our own." Subsequently, this respondent married the white Hudson's Bay Company clerk at Black Lake, and while both expressed a wish to live in the south, they are still residing at Stony Lake (Jim Good, October 1972).



Not all band members with experience of life in outside centres shared this dissatisfaction with the Black Lake community to the same degree as the school girls. While they agreed that there were better amenities and opportunities in outside centres, they also expressed a view that it was strange adapting to life in these settlements. One returnee, aged 27, had worked and trained as a carpenter in Nipawin, Saskatchewan, for one winter and spring but came back to Black Lake because:

I didn't like it there; I didn't have any friends,  
they were all back here. Black Lake is my home.

Another young respondent, the native clerk at the Hudson's Bay Company store, had spent eight months in Prince Albert and a similar period of time in Uranium City, where he had obtained training as a mill operator in a filtration plant. Despite his ability to speak and read English well, and his acquired skill, he did not envisage leaving the Black Lake region. The decision of both these individuals to remain in the Black Lake area rather than live in other settlements where they could better put to use their vocational training, indicates that education attainment alone did not lead to a successful relocation, for the ties with the home community were still strong even among these younger migrants.

As one might expect, disenchantment with the Black Lake region was not so dominant among the non-migrant group. Whereas a number of respondents, particularly the older band members, complained of a lack of local employment opportunity and the depressed state of the trapping economy, the majority regarded Black Lake as their permanent residence

and expressed no great desire to migrate. Even those respondents who could see no future for them at Black Lake as far as employment was concerned, did not intend moving to distant centres in search of work. Two of the respondents in this group indicated their intention of finding work in La Ronge or Wollaston. This would seem to suggest that while many may view the inadequacies of the local economy with discontent, these same people are not prepared to forsake their social ties and would move only to centres where a similar native society exists and where links with the reserve can be more easily maintained.

#### Conclusion

Thus, while the Hawthorn report on the Canadian Indian warned of an increasing migration of native people to urban centres, the Chipewyans of the Stony Rapids Band have not participated in this movement to any great extent. Location and accessibility are considered important factors in explaining the rate of economic and cultural change that has taken place at Black Lake. The isolated nature of the community has meant that cultural contact has been at a relatively low level and a high cost of travel has restricted the movement of Black Lake people into the mainstream of Canadian society. To date, the few native people who have migrated to southern centres have tended to be differentiated as the young and the educated or semi-skilled, while much of the relocation concerned has been associated with government sponsorship and previous "outside" contact.

Considering the alternatives facing the Indian it is not surprising to find so little out-migration at Black Lake: it is a question for

most Indian people of being unemployed at home or being unemployed away. With few skills and little education to aid them in settling in new centres it is little wonder that they prefer their present state of unemployment and dependency at home. Even allowing for an improvement in the current economic conditions, and more particularly in the uranium industry, it is doubtful that many Black Lake Indians would find employment in Uranium City or other industrial centres unless a well-balanced social and vocational programme were to be initiated well in advance.

Accessibility and isolation have been considered as significant in affecting mobility. To test this significance a second community was studied, in this case a settlement whose road connections with southern centres might be expected to facilitate out-migration.

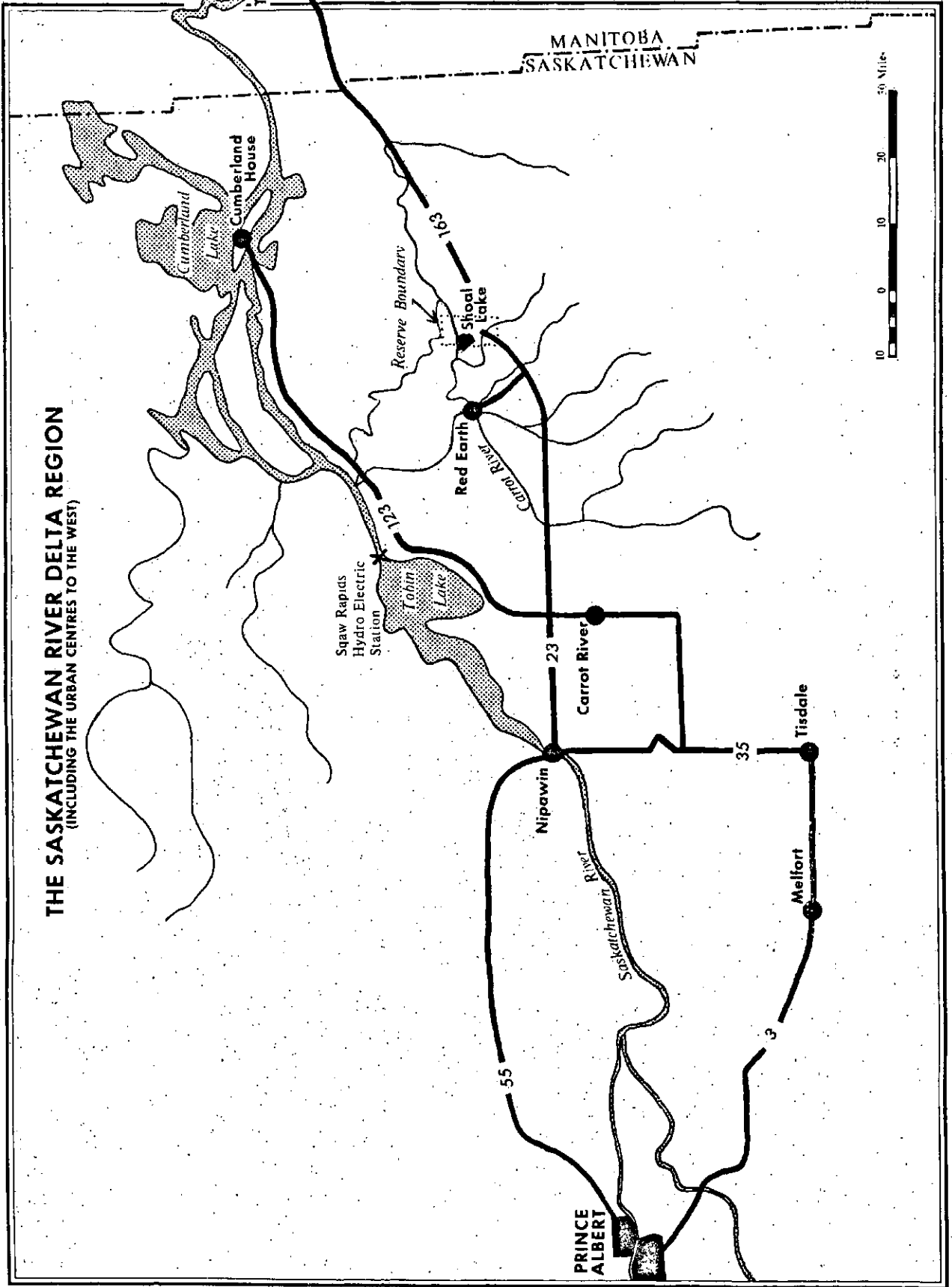
## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION AND MOBILITY AT AN ACCESSIBLE NATIVE SETTLEMENT - SHOAL LAKE

Geographically, Shoal Lake is much closer to the settled lands of southern Saskatchewan. Such a location suggests a greater accessibility and hence a greater tendency for migration. Certainly Shoal Lake has a much higher degree of accessibility to southern Canada than Black Lake. Perhaps the key difference is that Shoal Lake is connected to the main highway system of Saskatchewan and Black Lake is not. In this chapter, the difference in accessibility is stressed and some comparisons are made with Black Lake. While many of the findings at Black Lake are similar to those at Shoal Lake, there are a number of important differences, and some of these can be attributed to accessibility. By accessibility, the author refers to all those elements which facilitate social and economic intercourse between the members of one community and those of the province and, indeed, the nation. Once again, the examination of this settlement is preceeded by a brief statement concerning the centre's local and regional setting.

#### Local setting

Shoal Lake, a Cree Indian Reserve, was established in the late 1880's for some members of the Pas Band. The land was selected because it was suitable for agriculture (Raby, 1972, p. 99) and the hope was that the Indian people of the area would become self-supporting farmers. The present settlement is located on the southern edge of the



Saskatchewan River Delta area, at latitude  $53^{\circ}38'N$  and longitude  $102^{\circ}42'W$ . Shoal Lake village is 155 miles east-northeast of Prince Albert and 74 miles southwest of The Pas. A neighbouring Cree village, Red Earth, is located on another reserve 22 miles due west (Map 8).

For a long time, Shoal Lake was isolated from the rest of the province. According to Raby (1972, p. 99):

They were so isolated [in the 19th century] that when the Indians concerned asked to have their annuities paid to them on their reserves the Agent countered that this would entail too great an expense; it was argued that since they traded with the Hudson's Bay Company at The Pas it would be no additional hardship to them to go there for treaty payments too.

More recently, this isolation has been greatly reduced first by air service and later by road service. A gravel road, Provincial Highway 163, built in 1963, connects Shoal Lake with outside centres. Prior to this date, most natives travelled by canoe to outside centres although an air link was maintained between the settlement and Prince Albert. Today this air link is only used for emergencies, and most native people travel to outside centres by privately owned cars and trucks.

The reserve is situated in a low-lying alluvial plain, which forms a distinct sub-region within the forest belt. The wetland vegetation of the area includes extensive open forests of black spruce and tamarack, with intervening swamps and bogs. Stands of white spruce, aspen and balsam poplar border the cut-off channels of the Carrot and Saskatchewan rivers, while elm, ash, maple, alder and birch can be found locally (Rowe, 1959). Although in very general terms, the climate is similar

to that of Black Lake, its more southerly location means that it is milder. As such, the environment offers a more favourable setting for agriculture, particularly stock rearing. With a July mean temperature of 65°F., the area has approximately 100 frost free days a year, and most of the soils, if properly drained, could provide excellent land for forage crops and pasture.

### Accessibility

The native people of Shoal Lake are far less isolated from the mainstream of Canadian society than their Black Lake counterparts. Not only does the road link provide people with an inexpensive and quick means of travelling to outside centres, but this communication exposes them to a greater variety and intensity of southern ideas, concepts and values.

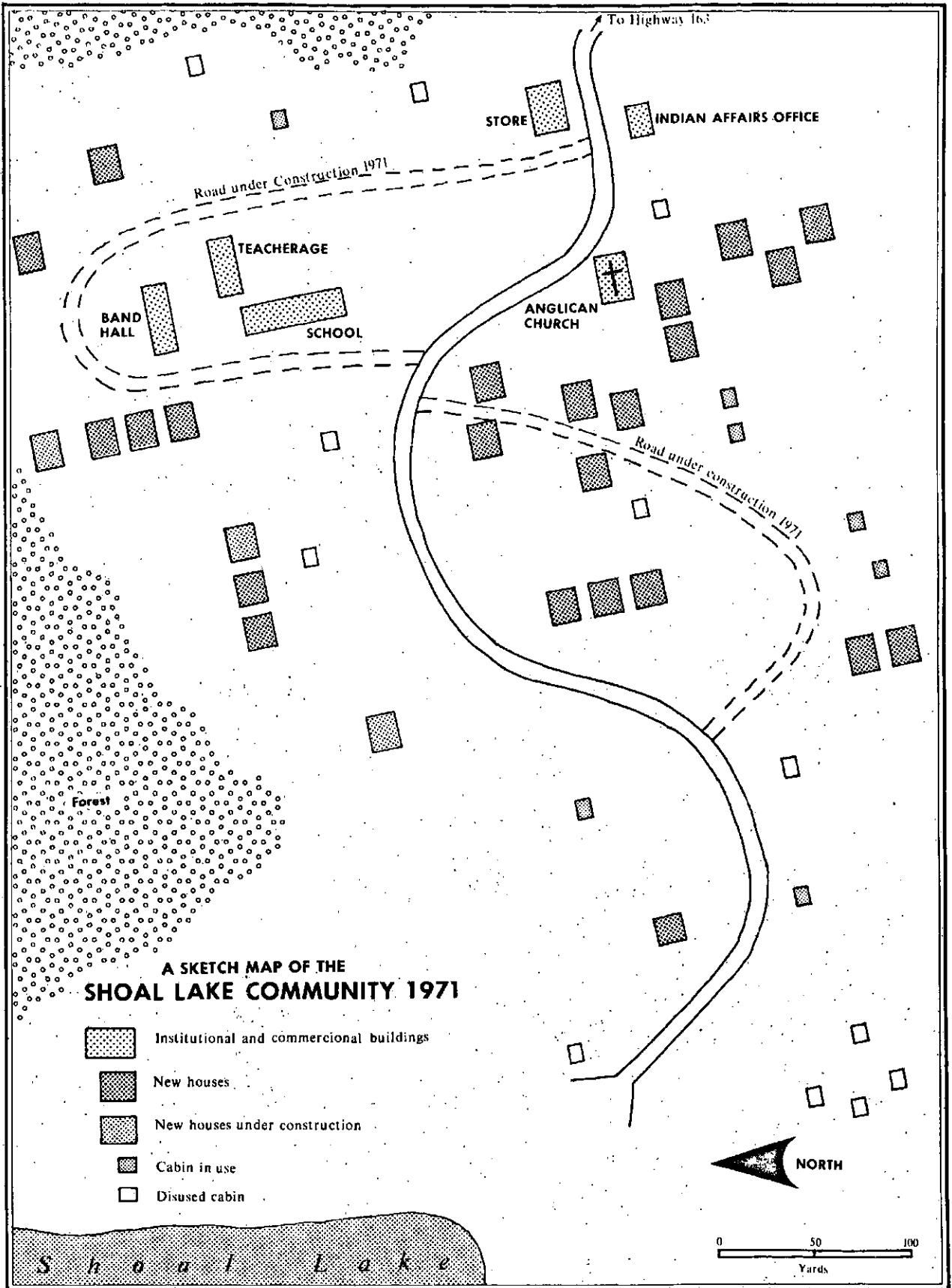
Although no public transport service links the reserve with neighbouring white communities, native transport allows this movement to take place. In August, 1971, there were 8 privately owned automobiles on the reserve as well as an Indian Affairs Branch bus. This latter vehicle made regular trips to the neighbouring white communities of Carrot River and The Pas (a distance of 49 and 74 miles respectively) at a minimal charge to those natives wishing to use it as a means of transportation. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that everyone on the reserve had at least visited white settlements and towns, for Nipawin, Carrot River and The Pas are within two hours' drive by car and Prince Albert, the regional centre for northern Saskatchewan, is less than four hours away. All of these centres offer better job

opportunities, amenities and services than Shoal Lake.

This greater degree of accessibility did not stem solely from the road link. Although initial contact with white people was made at a similar time at both centres, the Indian people at Shoal Lake have had a longer period of association with the government and the church than their Chipewyan counterparts. The former band accepted treaty status in 1876 and its members have been under the jurisdiction of federal authorities since that date. In addition, the Cree people of the area have been familiar with the church since as early as 1902 when an Anglican mission was built on the present site of the reserve and the local population was introduced to the English language and some church schooling. (Not only did the mission introduce education, it also encouraged village residency and in 1902 several cabins were built near the mission.)

Today, the settlement exhibits much that has been adopted from modern society. Shoal Lake, in 1971, had a public school, a hockey rink, a general store (privately owned by a Carrot River man) and a herd of beef cattle. A public housing scheme had replaced most of the log cabins with modern frame houses (Map 9), and medical care was provided at a nursing station in Red Earth. Electricity (supplied since 1965 at Shoal Lake compared to 1970 at Black Lake), commercial radio (CKBI Prince Albert) as well as films (shown weekly in the community centre and available in the cinemas of the nearby towns) have all helped to expose the residents of Shoal Lake to outside influences that have not affected the people at Black Lake to the same extent.





Map 9



Figure 6 The Gravel Road Leading to Shoal Lake in 1971.

The forest cover is indicative of much of the vegetation in the area.

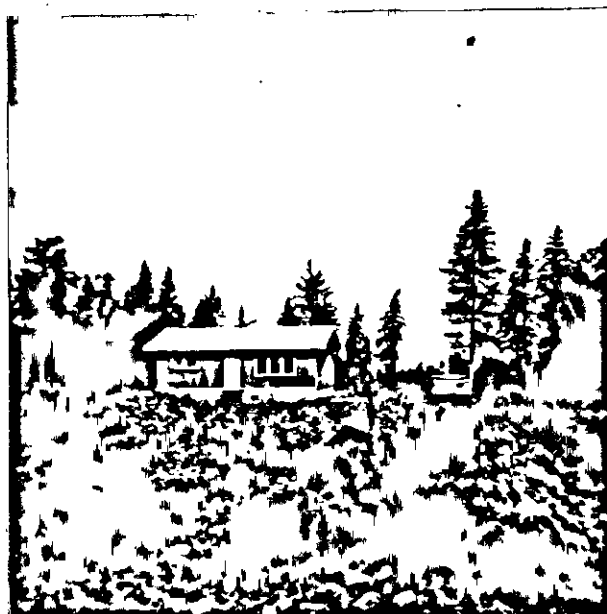


Figure 7 New Housing at Shoal Lake in 1971.

Seen here is the new house built for the Chief in the summer of 1971. It has 2 bedrooms and is similar in construction to new homes at Black Lake.

Thus, while there is no television service or local newspaper at Shoal Lake and the services and amenities are essentially similar to those at Black Lake, the people of Shoal Lake are not restricted to the consumer goods of the one store on the reserve. The road link with other settlements has meant that Shoal Lake people now have the opportunity of using various trade centres, and of establishing meaningful contacts with white people. In addition to providing the local Indian population with a greater selection of consumer goods and services, the highway connection allows the Shoal Lake residents to be kept well informed of "outside" events. No day passes without some member of the band returning from Cumberland House, The Pas, Nipawin, Carrot River, Prince Albert or other centres.

In social, economic, and physical terms, therefore, the Cree people at Shoal Lake have a much greater degree of accessibility to a wider variety of southern concepts, ideas and values than their Chipewyan counterparts at Black Lake. A longer history of permanent village residency, an earlier and wider acquaintance with the English language, but most important of all, a road connection to southern centres of white population, have all brought the Shoal Lake Indian closer to the mainstream of Canadian society than the Black Lake Chipewyan. This greater accessibility and hence a wider knowledge of white communities by Shoal Lake Indians, suggests the possibility of a greater propensity to migrate.



Figure 8 Cleared Land on Shoal Lake Indian Reserve in 1971.

In August 1971, 650 acres of reserve land had been cleared.



Figure 9 The Shoal Lake Teacherage and Hockey Rink 1971.

The hockey rink can be seen in the righthand side of the photograph.

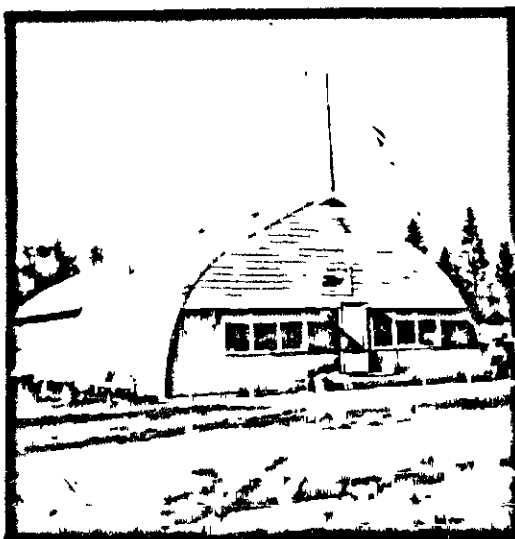


Figure 10 The Store at Shoal Lake 1971

Although the store is not owned by the Hudson's Bay Company the goods and services it provides are similar to those sold by the larger company. The store is named after its owner, Mr. J. Clancey from Carrot River.

### The character of the settlement

In the decision-making process involved in the movement from Shoal Lake to southern centres, the individual is subject to dissuasive and persuasive pressures. These may be of a social, economic, cultural or even political nature. By examining the Shoal Lake environment in more detail, it is hoped to show these pressures in their respective roles, and to assess more precisely the influence of accessibility upon out-migration.

### The resource base

With the exception of game and forest products, the Shoal Lake area does not possess a rich resource base and the reserve itself is only 3,745 acres. Despite the availability of cheap power from the Squaw Rapids hydro-electrical power station (40 miles northwest of the settlement, on the Saskatchewan River), the lack of a local market, the absence of known minerals of marketable value, and high transportation costs, inhibit economic development of a manufacturing nature.

There are 2,830 acres of woodland on the reserve (Indian Affairs Statistics, Prince Albert) but the stands of merchantable timber on this land have been utilized for domestic consumption only. During the last six years, the Indian Affairs Branch has operated a portable sawmill in the district employing between two and eight people. Almost all the timber produced has been used in the construction of homes and cabins. The same forest resources of the area provide summer employment for eight Shoal Lake Indians as stand-by fire fighters, the Department of Natural Resources employing six at Squaw Rapids and two at Shoal Lake itself.

While the reserve and the surrounding lands are rich in wildlife, game, fur and fish provide little cash income. Game, however, is an important source of food, and, in that sense, is of commercial value. Both moose and white tailed deer flourish in the forests and lowlands, while the marsh lands of the delta provide good nesting grounds for waterfowl and the lakes rich feeding areas for ducks, geese and swans. The wetlands also possess a plentiful supply of fur bearing animals, particularly muskrats.

Although no income is derived from fishing, attempts are being made to utilize the game resources of the area to provide some supplementary income for the Shoal Lake people. In the spring of 1971, six Shoal Lake Indians were employed in the construction of cabins which were to be placed in the bush to provide accommodation for those hunters who employ Shoal Lake people as guides. There were eight cabins in total, and it was hoped that if the scheme proved successful the number of cabins would be eventually increased to 20 (personal comment of the local Indian Affairs Agent).

The fur bearing animals of the region still sustain a trapping economy, though as at Black Lake, it is a declining one. No family unit goes out into the bush to trap and the women and children remain in the community the year round. The trapping is done by individual males who leave the settlement for no more than 3 months each year. In 1968, only 25 of the 38 males between 16 and 60 years of age were reported as active trappers; by 1971 this figure had declined to 19 (Indian Affairs Branch Statistics, Prince Albert). Faced with the economic problems encountered by trappers throughout the north, and with a

growing dependency on welfare, the importance of trapping to the Shoal Lake economy is no longer primary. Today, the industry is merely a means of subsidizing the Indian's income derived from welfare and several types of part-time employment.

One of the activities at Shoal Lake is the rearing of cattle on reserve lands. In 1971, 11 families on the reserve had 80 head of cattle and 20 horses, while five members of these 11 families had tractors. Between 1968 and 1971, 650 acres of land had been cleared, and for the first time, hay and alfalfa were successfully grown on 80 acres for winter forage (personal comment made by the Chief). Apart from supplying meat to the local people at a substantially reduced cost, the introduction of agriculture represents a departure from the traditional economy. However, it is doubtful that this form of economic activity is the answer to Shoal Lake's economic problems as there are only 2,840 acres of land on the reserve suitable for the rearing of cattle (much of this still has to be cleared) and this total is insufficient to develop an industry capable of meeting the needs of a population in excess of 200 people. While theoretically a more intensive form of agriculture, such as the rearing of chickens or hogs, could support more people on this small reserve, economically and socially such a development is not likely to take place in the foreseeable future.

#### Public employment

Other employment at Shoal Lake is derived from government sponsored agencies and services. The provincial Department of Natural Resources and the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

employed between them a total of 26 native people in the summer of 1971. However, only seven employees held permanent positions and they included a school janitor, an Indian Affairs welfare officer, a radio operator, a game warden, a Department of Natural Resources patrol officer (stationed at Squaw Rapids), a community health officer and a "cat" driver employed in the construction of new roads by Indian Affairs. The only full-time, non-government job on the reserve was that of the store clerk. The janitor, "cat" driver, radio operator and game warden all had received at least six years of education, while the patrol officer, community health officer and welfare officer had graduated from grades 10, 11, and 12 respectively.

During the same period of time, the Indian Affairs Branch employed on a part-time basis, six carpenters and two sawmill operators and arranged for three men and their families to work as fruit pickers in British Columbia.

#### Unemployment levels and welfare assistance

With a reduced interest in the traditional pursuit of trapping and with only a very moderate development of agriculture, many of the residents of Shoal Lake are unemployed and regard welfare as a necessary source of income. The small amount of earned income by Indians living on the reserve in December 1969 supports this statement (table 20). The fact that 90% of the working population earn less than \$1,000 annually (table 20) indicates not only the need for assistance but also the magnitude of such supplementary income.

The amount and type of welfare and social assistance available to



these people is in accordance with the regulations outlined in Appendix C. As table 21 shows, in 1969 almost the entire Shoal Lake population was receiving welfare of some sort to supplement their earned income.

TABLE 20

Indian People with Earned Income Living on the Reserve in 1969

Income Category	Number	Percentage Income Earners
Under \$1,000	84	89%
\$1,000-1,999	8	8.5%
\$2,000-2,999	0	0%
\$3,000-3,999	2	2.5%
\$4,000 and over	0	0%
Total	94	100%

TABLE 21

Shoal Lake Indians Receiving Social Aid in 1969

Income Category	Social Aid Recipients	Child Maintenance Recipients	Adult Maintenance Recipients	Total Welfare Recipients
Under \$250	25			25
\$250-499	33			33
\$500-749	18	4		22
\$750-999	21	1		22
\$1,000-1,999	58	1		59
\$2,000-2,999	15			15
\$3,000 and over				
Total	170	6		176

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Statistics, Prince Albert Agency.

If existing population and economic trends continue, there can be little hope for better employment opportunities at Shoal Lake. The main causes for concern are similar to those at Black Lake: the seasonal nature of most of the employment, over-dependency on resource based industries, and the high proportion of unskilled labour (table 22).

TABLE 22

The Number of Jobs Held by Shoal Lake Indians in 1971  
(In the Area of Shoal Lake)\*

Employment	Full Time	Part Time
Trapping		25
Fire Fighting		8
Carpenters		6
Farmers		6
Fruit Picking		3
Saw Milling		2
Truck Driver		1
Radio Operator	1	
School Janitor	1	
Store Clerk	1	
Game Warden	1	
"Cat" Driver	1	
D.N.R. Officer	1	
Welfare Officer	1	
Community Health Officer	1	
Total	8	51

\* The data in this table were compiled from information collected in the survey. It should be noted that one person may hold more than one part-time job; for example, one of the fire-fighters drove the truck during the winter, and two of the carpenters also trapped.

Source: Private survey by the author, August 1971.

Thus, with a relatively easy means of access to centres of greater economic opportunity, movement to such centres would seemingly be common at Shoal Lake.

#### The level of education and literacy

Although the Shoal Lake resident may find it economically desirable to move to southern centres of greater job opportunity, he may not be culturally equipped for such a move. If he is semi-literate in English and unskilled, the chances of his lot being any better than on the reserve are remote.

A survey of the amount of schooling and proficiency in English at Shoal Lake revealed a weakness vis-a-vis surrounding non-native communities. Of the 34 respondents to the questionnaire, all could speak English sufficiently well to avoid use of an interpreter, but as table 23 indicates, 10 of these (all over the age of 30) admitted their use and ability in both spoken and written English was limited. The greater fluency among the younger members of the band is not surprising since the availability of public schooling at Shoal Lake is a relatively new phenomenon. Those respondents aged under 30 had an average school grade of 8.5 whereas those in the older age group had one of only 5.25.

The fact that at least all respondents read and speak a little English (compared with only 62% and 27% respectively at Black Lake) can be attributed to both a greater contact with white society and a longer history of white education. Understandably, therefore, more Shoal Lake people had received education beyond grade 8. Two students had graduated from grade 12; a further 3 had graduated from grade 10; while one

TABLE 23  
Level of Literacy of Shoal Lake Indians

Number of Respondents	Age Group	Speak English	Read English	School Grade Achieved	Proficiency Equal in Cree and English
1	15-19	1	1	9	1
4	20-24	4	4	8,12,8,8	4
8	25-29	8	8	8,8,10,6 12,6,10,6	8
5	30-34	5	5	6,6,6,6,6	5
4	35-39	4	4	4,6,6,10	4
3	40-44	3	3	4,4,7	3
2	45-49	2	2	6,6	2
2	50-54	2	2	6,4	2
2	55-59	2	2	4,5	1
3	60 +	3	2	2,2,4	0
Total 34		34	33		24

Average Grade of those Respondents under 30

8.5

Average Grade of those Respondents aged 30 and over

5.2

Respondents equally proficient in English and Cree (aged under 30)

13 (100%)

Respondents equally proficient in English and Cree (aged 30 and over)

11 (52%)

Source: Questionnaire Survey by author, August 1971.

student was currently completing grade 9 (Indian Affairs Branch Statistics, Prince Albert Agency).

There is a situation at Shoal Lake, however, which is discouraging for the Indians. While the student is encouraged to complete high school education in order to better qualify for local jobs, these jobs have already been filled in his own community. Therefore, to gain any economic advantage from higher education, he must leave the Shoal Lake area. Although the factors of accessibility and job employment may encourage him to leave, there may well be others, such as social and cultural ties, that dissuade him from such action.

#### Social change

During the last 30 years, the people of Shoal Lake have experience social changes that are common to native people throughout northern Saskatchewan. They now find themselves in a transitional stage of social development where they can neither return to a society based upon trapping nor turn to one based on modern society.

Thus, over the last 30 years, their culture and social organization has been in a constant state of flux. The introduction of public health, education and welfare, the construction of a road to white centres of population, and the decay of the family trapping unit as the central authority, has brought the Shoal Lake Indian face to face with entirely new social forms and functions. Although the resident population of Shoal Lake has adopted many of the values that belong to modern westernized society, it has also retained much of its traditional identity. Despite an awareness of and partial experience with the way

of life in southern towns and cities, the people at Shoal Lake still represent a culturally distinct group set apart from white Canadians.

Village residency has not noticeably lessened either the use of the Cree language or traditional family ties. Cree is still the major language spoken by both the old and the young, and sons marrying into families not resident at Shoal Lake usually make regular visits to the community. Understandably, these ties are strongest among the older generation, whose appreciation of the outside world is less than that of the younger generation. There is no doubt that the pressures and forces acting on both age groups differ. While overpopulation and under-employment would seemingly encourage both old and young to leave the area, differences in educational levels and cultural ties of the two age groups work in opposite directions. In the case of the older people, these two factors tend to act as deterrents to migration, while with the younger people, this tendency is much weaker.

#### Population growth and pressure

Fundamental to the changes at Shoal Lake (as it was at Black Lake) is the very high population growth rate. In August 1971, there were 212 Treaty Indians residing at Shoal Lake. There were no Metis living on the reserve and the only permanent white resident was the store manager. Three white school teachers resided at Shoal Lake during the regular school session, while a further three people, all Indian Affairs Branch personnel, worked on the reserve during the summer months. This latter group included the carpenter and his wife who returned home every winter to Prince Albert, and a construction foreman in charge of road

improvements who was working at Shoal Lake only in the summer of 1971. There was no resident clergyman as the settlement was visited weekly by the Anglican minister from Red Earth.

Thus, the non-Treaty population at Shoal Lake was insignificant and the Treaty Indian population, alone, was responsible for the high rate of population growth indicated in table 24.

TABLE 24

## Indian Population at Shoal Lake, 1929-1971

Year	Population	Average Annual Percentage Increase Over Preceeding Total
1929	77	
1939	87	1.4
1949	94	0.8
1959	125	3.3
1969	202	6.2
1971	212	2.5

Source: Indian Affairs Branch Statistics,  
Prince Albert Agency.

This table emphasizes the more recent upsurge in the local population during the course of the last two decades. From 1929 to 1949 the population had remained stable with an increase of only 22% or approximately 1% per annum. From 1949 to 1969, however, the population has more than doubled at a rate of just under 5% per annum. Over

the last two years, the average rate was  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ .

As there had been very little movement to or from the reserve by native people, the rapid increase of population at Shoal Lake has been primarily due to the high rate of natural increase among the Treaty Indian population. The only significant movement was to Red Earth and this was the result of a few men marrying Red Earth women. (It is the custom that the bridegroom resides at his wife's home, but as an informant pointed out, the number of males leaving Shoal Lake for Red Earth is compensated for by a similar movement of Red Earth males to Shoal Lake.)

Further evidence of the high rate of natural increase among native people was displayed in the comparative youth of the population. In the last decade, Treaty lists indicated that there had been 87 births among native people compared to only 11 deaths, and that in 1970, over half the population was under the age of 15 years. Although both the church and the nurses encourage the use of birth control, it was the opinion of the community health officer (in an interview with the author in 1971) that few people had adopted these measures.

Thus, while modern medicine has drastically lowered the native death rate, the birth rate remains high. The resultant population growth places an impossible pressure upon the local economy and an already weak resource base that cannot hope to keep pace with the demands made upon it. With the knowledge of outside centres and easy access that the Shoal Lake people possess, it is surprising that so far only a very small number have chosen to reside permanently off the reserve in towns or cities.



The patterns of mobility and migration

As no record was kept of movement off the reserve, a survey of people residing in outside communities was taken by the author in August 1971. The findings revealed in tables 25 and 26 indicated that the characteristics of mobility and migration at Shoal Lake were similar to those of Black Lake; the number of migrants was small; the government, again, sponsored the majority of movement; and only a few were expected to remain "outside" indefinitely.

TABLE 25

Location of Shoal Lake Treaty Indians Not Living at  
Shoal Lake in August 1971

Location	Number	Government Action	Individual Choice
Prince Albert	6	4	2
Carrot River	2	0	2
The Pas	3	1	2
Cumberland House	2	0	2
Squaw Rapids	7	7	0
Red Earth	7	0	7
North Battleford	2	2	0
British Columbia	11	11	0
Total	40	25	15
Percentage	100	62.5	37.5

Source: Survey carried out by the author, August 1971.

Twenty five of the Shoal Lake people residing off the reserve were involved in government sponsored programmes. Eleven people (3 complete families) were in British Columbia for August and September working as fruit pickers under the direction of the Indian Affairs Branch; seven

TABLE 26

## Reasons for Living Outside the Shoal Lake Area

	Number	Percentage
Employment	29*	75.5
Education	2	5.0
Medical Treatment	3	7.5
Foster Homes	2	5.0
Visiting	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

\* This number of people included 3 families and their dependents in British Columbia, and one family at Red Earth.

Source: Survey carried out by the author, August 1971.

males were working for the Department of Natural Resources in the Squaw Rapids area, six as fire fighters and one as the Conservation Officer. Three individuals were receiving medical treatment, two of these people were in the psychiatric hospital at North Battleford while the other was at Prince Albert and two children were in foster homes in Prince Albert. Lastly, a young girl was enrolled in a high school in Prince Albert and a young man was in a vocational training programme in The Pas. Only these four (the two students and the two foster children) were expected to find employment outside the Shoal Lake area. The remaining 21 individuals were expected to return to Shoal Lake in the near future.

Few people had left the reserve of their own accord with the intention of finding permanent employment. At the time of the survey, two men were working as farm hands in the Carrot River area while a family of seven had left Shoal Lake to seek employment in Red Earth's sawmill. Only three migrants had lived and worked away from Shoal Lake for any length of time. These included a woman who had lived in The Pas for over a year but was now unemployed, a young woman who was living in Prince Albert, earning some money as a baby sitter, and a young man, who had completed grade 12 and some vocational training at Prince Albert was a mechanic in that centre.

Everyone at Shoal Lake had visited outside centres but only a few had lived off the reserve for any length of time. These were the welfare officer, the community health officer, the conservation officer, the game warden, the radio operator and the Indian Affairs "cat" driver, who had all, with the exception of the latter, received their training in Prince Albert. Although this migrant population is small in number, as a percentage it is significantly higher than that at Black Lake. The comments of some of those people interviewed indicated that the extra mobility was in no small way attributable to the "accessibility" to white communities, though the underemployment and unemployment in the area was also deemed to be important.

The school girl in grade nine at Prince Albert had no intentions of returning to live at Shoal Lake where all salaried employment had already been filled. One year in Prince Albert had been enough to persuade her that she would prefer a secretarial post in that city to a move back to Shoal Lake. As she put it:

There's nothing to do here (Shoal Lake); no shops and nowhere to go. It's home but it's quiet and there's no jobs. In Prince Albert there are jobs and a better life.

Other young members of the band who had spent periods of time in outside centres held similar views of Shoal Lake though in differing degrees. The community health officer, for instance, aged 28, had lived in Prince Albert for 3 years while attending school and a training course in community development. Although he was happy with his present life style he admitted that:

Towns have better facilities and more jobs. There's very little opportunity here. There are better facilities in Prince Albert.

It was highly likely that this band member would eventually leave Shoal Lake when the chance of a better job presented itself.

Understandably, the older generation were not so disenchanted with the Shoal Lake community. Although they were worried about the poor economic prospects, they praised the better housing standards and educational facilities.

### Conclusion

While the Cree people of Shoal Lake are very much more aware of the modern way of life than the native people of Black Lake, these people, like those of Black Lake, are remaining on their reserve. Economically depressed, the Shoal Lake reserve is a cultural haven for the Indian people and, as a result, few Indians at Shoal Lake have chosen to migrate to southern towns and cities. The relatively high level of association with such places, stemming from the road link, has not

triggered even a minor migration. This is so mainly because of cultural differences. Thus, despite the greater accessibility of the reserve, the generally low levels of educational attainment and vocational skill, and the availability of public monies for the unemployed have combined with strong cultural ties to hold the people on the reserve.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### A COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MOBILITY AND MIGRATION AT BLACK LAKE AND SHOAL LAKE

During the course of this work, many questions have been asked about the character and magnitude of native migration at Shoal Lake and Black Lake. A comparison of the data collected at these two centres now makes it possible to supply many of the answers.

#### The nature and size of native movement

The results of the field investigation at these Indian communities indicated that there were two types of native migration--one resulting from individual choice and initiative, and a second resulting from direct government sponsorship. At Black Lake, this sponsorship accounted for 65% of the movement, while at Shoal Lake it was 62.5%. This sponsorship took on several forms (higher education, upgrading courses, medical treatment, foster homes and part-time employment), and the destinations associated with this type of movement tended to be farther from the reserves than those based on individual choice and initiative. Many of the government sponsored moves were to Prince Albert, Regina and British Columbia, whereas most of the moves made by individuals were to centres within the north, such as The Pas, Red Earth or Cumberland House (in the case of the Shoal Lake people), and Wollaston, La Ronge or Uranium City (in the case of the Black Lake people).

Perhaps the most striking feature of both types of movement, however, was the brief length of time spent in outside centres. Most

government sponsored moves, except for those requiring permanent medical treatment and foster children, were, by their very nature, temporary. While one might expect the students now completing their education or training courses in Prince Albert to remain in outside centres, most of those who had received similar schooling or training in the past had returned to their reserves.

Very few native people from these two settlements had any experience of working and living in outside centres for any length of time, and much of the movement associated with individual initiative was in the form of social visits to family and friends in other northern centres. Thus, at both Black Lake and Shoal Lake, there were few "job-oriented" moves and the number of such migrants was three at Shoal Lake and five at Black Lake. Thus, according to the information collected in 1971, migration to southern centres for the purpose of seeking permanent employment was a rare occurrence among both the Black Lake Chipewyan and the Shoal Lake Cree.

#### The avenues and barriers to movement

Although there was very little out-migration at either centre, the research carried out at Black Lake and Shoal Lake indicated that there were factors both encouraging and discouraging native movement. Thus, by examining the characteristics of the migrant and non-migrant group it was possible to distinguish between the avenues and barriers facing the prospective native migrant.

The surveys carried out at these two centres showed the following to be important factors regarding native migration.

### Culture

Although most cultural variables do not lend themselves to statistical measurement and precise comparison, the role of culture at both centres was viewed as being a hindrance to out-migration. Even at Shoal Lake where cultural change was somewhat greater than at Black Lake, the local people had not opted in large numbers for wage employment and had not moved into Canadian urban society. Perhaps an important reason for the small number of migrants was because very few individuals had gained or accepted the necessary industrial work habits. Even though there were more signs of acculturation at Shoal Lake, cultural differences were still great enough at both centres to tie the Chipewyans and Crees to their native villages.

### Education and literacy

Important tools in the successful transition from a "native" economy to an industrial one were the ability to speak and read English, and vocational training or education beyond grade 8. Clearly, the non-migrant band members at both Shoal Lake and Black Lake were composed of people who were semi-literate or wholly illiterate in English, who had little or no formal schooling and/or job training, who had not lived in outside centres, and who were over 30 years of age. Such people have little hope of finding permanent employment or successfully adapting to the urban society of Saskatchewan. For the poorly educated and semi-literate native at Shoal Lake or Black Lake, migration to southern population centres was clearly not a realistic solution to his economic problems and relative poverty; while a few of those band members who



received schooling and were fluent in English, had migrated.

#### Employment opportunity

The depressed economy of native communities, the high rate of population growth and the severe degree of unemployment, all appear to be conducive factors to out-migration. Certainly, the findings of this research suggest that more band members seem to be contemplating leaving their homes in search of work. Except for those who were either students or in ill health, every member of the migrant group at Shoal Lake, and all but one at Black Lake, had left their respective communities to seek work. This search is based on the acceptance of the Canadian work ethic by such acculturated Indians, though as it was seen, the desire to find wage employment was not enough, in itself, to guarantee success.

#### Welfare

There are two diverging views concerning the role of welfare in the economic and social development of the Indian. The traditionalist view is that by making welfare readily available to people it discourages them from seeking work, diminishes their initiative, and creates an artificially induced economic development and social progress on the reserves. A second view stresses the need for balanced social and economic development, where welfare is seen as a necessary preliminary situation to real economic development and social change. Certainly, the record of northern bands clearly indicates a welfare state in which the native people have forsaken their traditional activities and have become almost entirely dependent upon government welfare and aid. However, can a non-industrial society successfully adjust to a modern industrial world

without such assistance?

The evidence from this research is too limited to conclusively prove that one of the above points of view is correct. However, welfare has allowed the native people of Black Lake and Shoal Lake to turn away from traditional pursuits and to seek new kinds of work--and perhaps this search represents the first signs of social and economic adjustment to a modern way of life. In the short run, it also encourages an artificial economy that affords the native the luxury of not having to move to other centres in order to survive. It would, therefore, appear that at present the provision of welfare is a negative factor influencing out-migration, though in the long run its effects may well prove to be positive.

#### Accessibility

One of the major questions posed at the beginning of this study was to what degree did direct road contact with white communities aid the movement of native people to such centres? The orthodox economic viewpoint of our industrial society is that people are naturally materialistically motivated, and that they will migrate to increase their material rewards. But are Black Lake and Shoal Lake Indians so motivated?

As the Hawthorn survey (1967, p. 107) points out:

The more sophisticated view today is that the intensity of wants of a people depends on cultural contact, including the demonstration effect of seeing and experiencing a higher level of consumption among more economically developed people.

According to this view Indian bands, such as Shoal Lake, living in

close proximity to more developed white communities should have correspondingly more developed consumer tastes. These, in turn, should induce the Cree of Shoal Lake to seek and hold steady jobs in towns and cities.

The findings of the research carried out at both centres suggested, however, that this supposition was only partly true. On the one hand, Shoal Lake residents were more aware of the higher standard of living to be obtained in white communities, and they had acquired more consumer goods, such as radios, record players, refrigerators, and automobiles. On the other hand, the Shoal Lake economy was little more developed than that of Black Lake and the people of the area showed no greater desire to seek and hold permanent occupation and residency in white commercial society than did the more isolated Chipewyans.

#### The characteristics of the migrant group

The analysis of migration at Shoal Lake and Black Lake indicated that the migrant group was significantly differentiated from the non-migrant group in terms of age, marital status, literacy, education and skills.

At the time of migration almost all members of the migrant group were under the age of 30. The only exceptions were the unemployed female at The Pas aged 37, and one of the miners at Uranium City who was 40 at the time of migration. With the exception of the second miner at Uranium City and the janitor at La Ronge, who were married and had taken their families with them, the migrant group was composed mainly of unmarried individuals.

Literacy, education and skills proved to be equally important as

differentials distinguishing the migrants from the non-migrants. The migrants had all received some public schooling, most to grade 8, and all had a working use of both written and spoken English. Therefore, the migrants were identified as the young, the educated and the unmarried.

Implication of these findings with regard to the  
present situation at these two reserves

In search for solutions to the economic problems facing the Canadian Indian, a wide range of opinion has been generated. The two extremes of opinion can be termed as a "romantic" position on the one hand and a position of complete "assimilation" on the other.

Those who support the romantic idea argue that the Indian can only be at peace with himself if he is allowed to function in his native Indian environment. They propose that economic, social, and cultural ties are so strong within Indian society that no Indian is willing to give up his past and therefore, his special status. Therefore, any attempt to integrate the Indian into an industrial society would fail.

Those arguing for assimilation claim that the Indian has no future in his present situation and must, therefore, prepare himself for the economic opportunities available only in the dominant society. As the Hawthorn Report (1967, p. 141) stated:

It seems evident that any substantial improvement in the economic position of Indians generally will require the movement of large increasing numbers from the overcrowded, low income, resource-based industries and locales in which they now work and reside, into better-paid wage and salaried employment which, in most cases, will probably be beyond commuting distance from their reserves.

These two positions, however, define only the extreme boundaries of prevailing opinion, and between them lie a number of intermediary ones.

While during the course of the fur trade era, Indians were left to fend for themselves, over the last quarter of this century, the public has come to realize that such a policy will only succeed in leaving the Indian well behind the dominant Canadian society in both economic and social terms. The combination of population pressure and the marginal subsistence nature of fur and game activities has seen the gap between Indians and whites grow. At present the Indian communities of Black Lake and Shoal Lake rely heavily upon government assistance and without such a prop their economic position would be desperate.

The research carried out at these two communities indicates that the future development of Indian society lies with neither of the above extremes. In order for the Indian people at both Shoal Lake and Black Lake to find a meaningful role in Canadian society, they must seek both local development and out-migration.

The distinct social and cultural barriers that exist between Indian and white society can only be overcome if Indian people are educated not only in the skills of literacy, but also in the values of commercial and industrial society. Simultaneously, the Indian must adopt a new role for himself in his relationship with government authorities. His present state of unilateral dependency is detrimental to both the social and economic development of Indian society, and the future success of any policy depends greatly upon increased Indian involvement and self-reliance. In addition, the native population itself must consider the

possibilities of initiating forms of population control if they wish to curb the present rate of natural increase and find solutions to their problems of economic poverty.

At the present time, the potential for out-migration and industrial development at both Shoal Lake and Black Lake is low. It will remain low and limited until advances in education, vocational training, and industrial and commercial orientation begin to bear fruit. It is of little use to indicate to the Indian the many advantages of modern society, if he is not also given the necessary tools that are pre-requisite for a successful adaptation to such a society. Equally important in this transition process is the acceptance of native people as equals by the dominant society. Without such an acceptance even the most educated and skilled native can not hope to achieve any great degree of success.

### Conclusions

The evidence compiled in this study indicates that very few native people have already left their homes in northern Saskatchewan despite the inadequacies of the local economy and the upheaval of native society. For the most part, those few people who have left the north constitute that segment of the population that do not wish to continue with a trapping economy, but prefer to seek permanent wage employment. All too often, however, they do not find a satisfactory niche in the outside world. Most return to the north after little more than a visit to the "outside". Some may make satisfactory adjustments while others find only a precarious position on the fringes of southern society in the

seasonally employed and unskilled labour force that exists in the larger towns and cities.

At both of the communities studied, the barriers to out-migration considerably outweighed the avenues. Even at Shoal Lake, with its greater accessibility to white society, there was an absence of a meaningful migration, as the road contact had done little more than increase the native's physical mobility, and this alone was no avenue to southern movement. While the evidence of these case studies is limited in extent to only two native settlements, and each northern community in a sense, is unique, the findings would seem to suggest that, at present, migration offers no panacea for native poverty.

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#### LIST OF INFORMANTS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
J.W. Clouthier	Prince Albert	D.N.R. Administrative Officer
J. Matthews	Prince Albert	Indian Affairs Community Development Officer
A. LaLiberte	Saskatoon	Head of Indian and Metis Placement Department
C. Terry	Stony Rapids	D.N.R. Conservation Officer
J. Good	Stony Rapids	D.N.R. Radio Operator
J. Emms	Stony Rapids	Indian Affairs Agent
Brother George	Black Lake	Church Missionary Assistant
Napoleon McKenzie	Black Lake	Retired Trapper
Dora Yooya	Stony Lake	Student
Mary Rose Sayazie	Black Lake	Student
Thomas Young	Shoal Lake	Band Chief
Riley Flett	Shoal Lake	Band Councillor, Community Development Officer
Howard Bear	Shoal Lake	School Janitor
R. Bratten	Shoal Lake	Indian Affairs Foreman Carpenter
J. Clancey	Shoal Lake	Store Keeper

## APPENDIX A

### The questionnaire used in this study

The interview schedule included a combination of structured and open questions. In dealing with the open questions, the author allowed those interviewed freedom of discussion in order to elicit full coverage of the topics in question.

The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and an hour. Although in most instances much of the discussion was not directly pertinent to the survey, the author was able to obtain much in the way of personal views and opinions by this method. Only one person refused to be interviewed.

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Family Name \_\_\_\_\_
2. How many people in your family live on the Reserve? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Can you (a) Speak English? \_\_\_\_\_  
(b) Read English? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your main language? \_\_\_\_\_

4. How long has your family lived on this Reserve? \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you have come from elsewhere, where? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How often do you leave the Reserve?

- (a) daily \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) weekly \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) monthly \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) seasonally \_\_\_\_\_

7. Why? (a) to visit \_\_\_\_\_  
(b) to obtain goods and services \_\_\_\_\_  
(c) to work \_\_\_\_\_  
(d) other reason \_\_\_\_\_

8. Where do you go for the above reasons?

- (a) \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) \_\_\_\_\_

9. How long do you stay away?

- (a) \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) \_\_\_\_\_

10. How do you travel?

(a) \_\_\_\_\_

(b) \_\_\_\_\_

(c) \_\_\_\_\_

11. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

How long have you worked at it? \_\_\_\_\_

Full-time work? \_\_\_\_\_ Part-time work? \_\_\_\_\_

12. Do you own or rent (a) land \_\_\_\_\_

(b) house \_\_\_\_\_

(c) car or truck \_\_\_\_\_

(d) machinery \_\_\_\_\_

(e) other \_\_\_\_\_

13. To what grade did you attend school? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Do you have friends or relatives living in towns or cities? \_\_\_\_\_

If so, where? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Have you lived in a town or a city? \_\_\_\_\_

(a) where? \_\_\_\_\_ (b) how long? \_\_\_\_\_

(c) why did you go? \_\_\_\_\_ (d) why did you come back? \_\_\_\_\_

16. Have you thought of leaving the Reserve to live in a town or city?

\_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

17. What do you like and dislike about:

(a) towns? \_\_\_\_\_

(b) reserves? \_\_\_\_\_

18. Have you any special skills other than those of your work? \_\_\_\_\_

19. Are you a member of any Band organizations or community groups?

\_\_\_\_\_ Specify (optional) \_\_\_\_\_

20. What are your future plans?

(a) keep the same way of life? \_\_\_\_\_

(b) seek employment elsewhere? \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX B

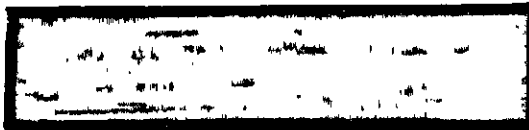
### Band lists of Treaty Indians at Shoal Lake and Black Lake

Included below are the two forms of band lists of Treaty Indians that were used in this thesis. The first, that for Black Lake, lists the band members in their family groups, while the second, for Shoal Lake, tabulates all Indian people belonging to the band in chronological order. The author had access to both for each settlement.

The last three columns are used to identify the following characteristics:

S - Sex

1. Male
2. Female



R - Place of Residence

1. On the Reserve
2. Off the Reserve
3. On Crown Land

## REGISTERED INDIANS AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1970

AGENCY - 672 Prince Albert District

BAND - 07 Stony Rapids

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
010101	ALPHONSE	John	25	02 915	07	RC	1	2	3
010102	ALPHONSE	Agnes		924	07	RC	2	2	3
010104	ALPHONSE	Therese	21	08 953	07	RC	2	1	3
010105	ALPHONSE	Pierre Alphonse	18	01 956	07	RC	1	1	3
010106	ALPHONSE	Leon	09	04 957	07	RC	1	1	3
010107	ALPHONSE	Roy Daniel	02	03 960	07	RC	1	1	3
010108	ALPHONSE	Edwin	01	11 962	07	RC	1	1	3
017301	ALPHONSE	Christine	21	06 951	07	RC	2	1	1
012301	BEAVEREYE	Joseph	27	08 941	07	RC	1	2	3
012302	BEAVEREYE	Sophy	10	12 944	07	RC	2	2	3
012303	BEAVEREYE	John	01	12 963	07	RC	1	1	3
012304	BEAVEREYE	Mary	02	06 965	07	RC	2	1	3
012305	BEAVEREYE	Archie	08	07 967	07	RC	1	1	3
012306	BEAVEREYE	Joycie	02	12 968	07	RC	2	1	3
012307	BEAVEREYE	David	06	04 970	07	RC	1	1	1
004401	BIDOU	Stanislaus	22	02 919	07	RC	1	1	3
001501	BIGEYE	Celestine	10	05 890	07	RC	1	2	1
001502	BIGEYE	Helen	01	11 904	07	RC	2	2	1
015701	BIGEYE	Joseph Napoleon	16	05 949	07	RC	1	1	3
016301	BIGEYE	John Louis	21	06 950	07	RC	1	1	3
016901	BIGEYE	Lucia	12	09 953	07	RC	2	6	1
016902	BIGEYE	Mary Jane	30	06 968	07	RC	2	1	1
017401	BIGEYE	Modest	07	12 951	07	RC	1	1	3
003501	BLACKLAKE	Alex	26	08 911	07	RC	1	2	3
003502	BLACKLAKE	Elise	18	03 915	07	RC	2	2	3
003505	BLACKLAKE	George Noel	24	12 953	07	RC	1	1	3
003506	BLACKLAKE	Philip Felix	02	06 956	07	RC	1	1	3
003507	BLACKLAKE	Freddie	03	11 959	07	RC	1	1	3
017201	BLACKLAKE	Georgina	24	03 951	07	RC	2	6	1
017202	BLACKLAKE	Mary Jean	08	03 969	07	RC	2	1	1



Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R	
009201	BONELEYE	Edward	24	10	930	07	RC	1	2	3
009202	BONELEYE	Mary Madeline	17	04	933	07	RC	2	2	3
009204	BONELEYE	George	30	09	954	07	RC	1	1	3
009205	BONELEYE	Edwin	28	08	957	07	RC	1	1	3
009206	BONELEYE	Patricia	23	01	959	07	RC	2	1	3
009207	BONELEYE	Christina	25	07	961	07	RC	2	1	3
009208	BONELEYE	Ambrose	09	04	963	07	RC	1	1	3
009209	BONELEYE	Elizabeth	18	08	964	07	RC	2	1	3
009210	BONELEYE	Eva Bernadette	03	02	966	07	RC	2	1	3
018201	BONELEYE	Alphonse	11	11	952	07	RC	1	1	3
001702	BOVIER	Marie	09	01	904	07	RC	2	3	3
006301	BOVIER	Noel	19	03	925	07	RC	1	2	3
006302	BOVIER	Margaret	04	09	926	07	RC	2	2	3
006303	BOVIER	Marie Louise	04	07	953	07	RC	2	1	3
008302	BOVIER	Philip	26	04	953	07	RC	1	1	1
008303	BOVIER	James Billy	07	09	956	07	RC	1	1	1
010901	BOVIER	William	10	06	940	07	RC	1	2	3
010902	BOVIER	Louise	14	12	945	07	RC	2	2	3
010903	BOVIER	Edwin	19	02	964	07	RC	1	1	3
010904	BOVIER	Mary Pauline	30	10	965	07	RC	2	1	3
010907	BOVIER	Leon	26	09	969	07	RC	1	1	3
013201	BOVIER	Roderick	01	08	942	07	RC	1	1	3
013702	BOVIER	Jim Laurent	27	03	966	07	RC	1	1	1
015101	BOVIER	Victoria	01	11	947	07	RC	2	1	1
006401	BROUSSIE	Willie			904	07	RC	1	2	3
006402	BROUSSIE	Marie Ann	14	12	914	07	RC	2	2	3
006404	BROUSSIE	Eleanor	26	10	953	07	RC	2	1	3
006405	BROUSSIE	Donald Jimmy	05	07	956	07	RC	1	1	3
006406	BROUSSIE	Magloire	19	12	959	07	RC	1	1	3
010701	BROUSSIE	Pierre	04	04	936	07	RC	1	2	3
010702	BROUSSIE	Dora	07	06	946	07	RC	2	2	3
010703	BROUSSIE	John	05	02	963	07	RC	1	1	3
010704	BROUSSIE	Irene Pauline	29	11	964	07	RC	2	1	3
010705	BROUSSIE	Freddie	23	09	966	07	RC	1	1	3
010706	BROUSSIE	Alec	31	05	970	07	RC	1	1	1
012601	BROUSSIE	Martin	30	11	941	07	RC	1	2	3
012602	BROUSSIE	Elmire Rosine	21	08	946	07	RC	2	2	3
012603	BROUSSIE	Florence Jean	10	05	965	07	RC	2	1	3
012604	BROUSSIE	Irene Margaret	20	08	968	07	RC	2	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
017501	BROUSSIE	Louise Elsie	10 01	951	07	RC	2	1	1
006601	CHEBA	Louis Joseph	15 08	935	07	RC	1	2	3
006602	CHEBA	Margaret	10 06	932	07	RC	2	2	3
006603	CHEBA	Martha	17 12	958	07	RC	2	1	3
006604	CHEBA	Edwin Jean	26 11	959	07	RC	2	1	3
006605	CHEBA	Georgina Jean	18 08	961	07	RC	2	1	3
006606	CHEBA	Mary Jane	30 04	965	07	RC	2	1	3
006607	CHEBA	Napoleon	04 05	967	07	RC	1	1	3
006608	CHEBA	James	14 08	968	07	RC	1	1	3
006609	CHEBA	Lucy Lyla	05 01	970	07	RC	2	1	1
002701	COOK	Gabriel	13 08	907	07	RC	1	2	3
002702	COOK	Mary Madeline	06	905	07	RC	2	2	3
007601	COOK	Patrice	15 06	927	07	RC	2	1	1
010001	COOK	John	15 09	932	07	RC	1	2	3
010002	COOK	Madeline	18 10	939	07	RC	2	2	3
010003	COOK	Martha Marie	17 08	961	07	RC	2	1	3
010004	COOK	Ernestine	19 04	963	07	RC	2	1	3
010005	COOK	Celine	24 03	965	07	RC	2	1	3
010006	COOK	Boniface	21 06	966	07	RC	1	1	3
010007	COOK	James	02 03	968	07	RC	1	1	3
010601	COOK	Joseph	21 10	934	07	RC	1	2	3
010602	COOK	Marie Rose	05 08	938	07	RC	2	2	3
010603	COOK	Margaret Violet	14 02	961	07	RC	2	1	3
010604	COOK	Louis Jimmy	22 09	962	07	RC	1	1	3
010605	COOK	Rosie	23 02	965	07	RC	2	1	3
010606	COOK	Melvin Roy	04 11	967	07	RC	1	1	3
012001	COOK	John Alfred	26 11	940	07	RC	1	2	1
012002	COOK	Germaine	05 09	950	07	RC	2	2	1
012003	COOK	Flora	21 06	968	07	RC	2	1	1
012004	COOK	Albert John	17 08	969	07	RC	1	1	1
012801	COOK	Thomas Leon	06 04	942	07	RC	1	2	3
012802	COOK	Nelda M.	25 04	950	07	RC	2	2	3
012803	COOK	Albert	08 04	968	07	RC	1	1	3
012804	COOK	Jeannette	29 11	969	07	RC	2	1	1
014701	COOK	Norbert	22 08	946	07	RC	1	1	3
001301	CROW	H.M. Germain	01 04	889	07	RC	1	2	1
001302	CROW	Marie	05 10	903	07	RC	2	2	1
004701	CROW	Louis	12 12	920	07	RC	1	2	3
004702	CROW	Mary	11 02	924	07	RC	2	2	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
002602	DADZEN	James Albert	03 09	944	07	RC	1	1	1
002801	DADZENE	William		901	07	RC	1	3	1
008501	DADZENE	Germain	25 12	929	07	RC	1	2	3
008502	DADZENE	Marguerite	13 11	930	07	RC	2	2	3
008503	DADZENE	Ernest Martin	07 12	960	07	RC	1	1	3
008504	DADZENE	Mary Rose	18 05	962	07	RC	2	1	3
009801	DADZENE	Martin	03 06	933	07	RC	1	2	3
009802	DADZENE	Catherine	15 05	937	07	RC	2	2	3
009803	DADZENE	Adeline	20 10	957	07	RC	2	1	3
009804	DADZENE	Modest Bartholemew	20 07	960	07	RC	1	1	3
009805	DADZENE	Raymond	08 09	963	07	RC	1	1	3
009806	DADZENE	Francis	25 04	965	07	RC	1	1	3
009807	DADZENE	Pauline	27 02	967	07	RC	2	1	3
009808	DADZENE	Caroline Mary	11 05	968	07	RC	2	1	3
009809	DADZENE	Cecile Lena	16 07	969	07	RC	2	1	3
011301	DADZENE	Joseph	14 10	939	07	RC	1	1	1
003001	DHITHEDA	Louis	15 04	908	07	RC	1	2	3
003002	DHITHEDA	Josette	18 05	908	07	RC	2	2	3
015901	DHITHELA	Evelyn	31 12	949	07	RC	2	1	1
001401	DISAIN	Paul	15 08	894	07	RC	1	3	1
004101	DISAIN	Thomas	17 02	918	07	RC	1	2	3
004102	DISAIN	Louise	22 08	919	07	RC	2	2	3
004105	DISAIN	Alphonse	01 10	956	07	RC	1	1	3
011501	DISAIN	Victor	25 04	939	07	RC	1	3	3
011503	DISAIN	Pierre Adrian	17 02	965	07	RC	1	1	3
011504	DISAIN	Alex	20 09	966	07	RC	1	1	3
012901	DISAIN	Boniface	05 03	942	07	RC	1	2	3
012902	DISAIN	Marie Martha	14 11	949	07	RC	2	2	3
012903	DISAIN	Fred	23 03	969	07	RC	1	1	3
016001	DISAIN	Louis	17 01	949	07	RC	1	1	1
009001	DONARD	Jim	01 11	930	07	RC	1	2	3
009002	DONARD	Antoinette	29 12	938	07	RC	2	2	3
009003	DONARD	Horace	19 03	960	07	RC	1	1	3
009004	DONARD	Alexander William	26 12	961	07	RC	1	1	3
009005	DONARD	Rosanna	02 02	964	07	RC	2	1	3
009006	DONARD	Magloire	21 03	966	07	RC	1	1	3
009007	DONARD	Jean Elizabeth	11 04	967	07	RC	2	1	3
009008	DONARD	Ronald	25 07	968	07	RC	1	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
000101	ECHODH	Jules	11 12	917	07	RC	1	2	3
000102	ECHODH	Margaret	22 91	914	07	RC	2	2	3
001901	ECHODH	Moise Gabriel	30 03	899	07	RC	1	2	1
001902	ECHODH	Victoria	17 07	896	07	RC	2	2	1
007401	ECHODH	Lazarus	12 06	928	07	RC	1	1	1
008003	ECHODH	May Judith	13 03	960	07	RC	2	1	1
009701	ECHODH	Noel	08 11	931	07	RC	1	1	1
013601	ECHODH	John James	24 07	944	07	RC	1	2	3
013602	ECHODH	Josephine	19 02	950	07	RC	2	2	3
013603	ECHODH	Donald	05 12	967	07	RC	1	1	3
013604	ECHODH	Doris	10 05	969	07	RC	2	1	3
013605	ECHODH	Edward Joseph	18 05	970	07	RC	1	1	1
014601	ECHODH	Louis	12 07	946	07	RC	1	1	3
017601	ECHODH	Victor	15 03	951	07	RC	1	1	1
005201	EDDIBAR	Jerome	26 11	916	07	RC	1	2	3
005202	EDDIBAR	Marie		920	07	RC	2	2	3
005205	EDDIBAR	Ermeline	18 10	954	07	RC	2	1	3
005206	EDDIBAR	Elsie	16 10	956	07	RC	2	1	3
005207	EDDIBAR	Modest	07 01	959	07	RC	1	1	3
005208	EDDIBAR	Magloire	21 03	963	07	RC	1	1	3
005209	EDDIBAR	Dora	28 06	965	07	RC	2	1	3
005210	EDDIBAR	Joseph	01 12	967	07	RC	1	1	3
018301	EDDIBAR	Leon	20 03	952	07	RC	1	1	3
003701	ETTIBAR	Norbert	02 08	943	07	RC	1	2	3
003702	ETTIBAR	Judith	26 09	950	07	RC	2	2	3
003703	ETTIBAR	Pierre	14 08	968	07	RC	1	1	3
003704	ETTIBAR	Linda Brenda	16 12	969	07	RC	2	1	1
007301	GATEREAUX	Modest	16 03	937	07	RC	1	2	3
007302	GATEREAUX	Antoinette	08 12	945	07	RC	2	2	3
007303	GATEREAUX	Rose	02 04	964	07	RC	2	1	3
007304	GATEREAUX	Alec John	27 12	965	07	RC	1	1	3
007305	GATEREAUX	Lisa Doris	12 08	967	07	RC	2	1	3
007306	GATEREAUX	Allen	24 02	970	07	RC	1	1	1
008701	JOHN	Louis Martin	13 03	944	07	RC	1	1	1
002401	KASAKAN	Isabelle	13 01	903	07	RC	2	1	1

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R	
008601	KASAKAN	Bernard	11	03	930	07	RC	1	2	3
008602	KASAKAN	Celine	30	06	940	07	RC	2	2	3
008603	KASAKAN	Joseph	03	04	957	07	RC	1	1	3
008604	KASAKAN	Georgina	04	11	959	07	RC	2	1	3
008605	KASAKAN	George	05	11	961	07	RC	1	1	3
008606	KASAKAN	Edwin	25	01	963	07	RC	1	1	3
008607	KASAKAN	Emily	21	11	964	07	RC	2	1	3
008608	KASAKAN	John James	07	12	966	07	RC	1	1	3
008609	KASAKAN	Archie	22	02	968	07	RC	1	1	3
004501	LABAN	Noel	26	06	921	07	RC	1	2	3
004502	LABAN	Ellen	09	10	934	07	RC	2	2	3
004801	LABAN	John	04	06	919	07	RC	1	2	3
004802	LABAN	Veronique	01	03	924	07	RC	2	2	3
004804	LABAN	James	05	03	953	07	RC	1	1	3
004805	LABAN	Paul	12	02	956	07	RC	1	1	3
004806	LABAN	Tobie	11	12	958	07	RC	1	1	3
004807	LABAN	Elizabeth Jean	08	02	962	07	RC	2	1	3
004808	LABAN	Mary	20	08	964	07	RC	2	1	3
004901	LABAN	Nicola	27	07	925	07	RC	1	2	3
004902	LABAN	Rosalie Asiline	07	05	948	07	RC	2	2	3
004903	LABAN	Joyce Mary	16	05	965	07	RC	2	1	3
004904	LABAN	Joan	29	06	967	07	RC	2	1	3
004905	LABAN	Judy Rosie	10	04	969	07	RC	2	1	3
012101	LABAN	Ann	03	10	926	07	RC	2	1	2
017701	LABAN	Edward Alphonse	23	02	951	07	RC	1	1	1
009901	MACDONALD	Joseph Mathew	17	02	932	07	RC	1	2	3
009902	MACDONALD	Marie Louise	02	10	938	07	RC	2	2	3
009903	MACDONALD	John Baptiste	09	01	956	07	RC	1	1	3
009904	MACDONALD	Marie Lynn	16	08	957	07	RC	2	1	3
009905	MACDONALD	Judith	02	12	959	07	RC	2	1	3
009906	MACDONALD	Mary	04	01	962	07	RC	2	1	3
009908	MACDONALD	Georgie	03	04	965	07	RC	1	1	3
009909	MACDONALD	John	15	12	966	07	RC	1	1	3
009910	MACDONALD	Pauline	15	01	968	07	RC	2	1	3
009911	MACDONALD	Catharine	13	03	969	07	RC	2	1	3
003101	MEDAL	Campet Agrait	16	08	906	07	RC	1	2	3
003102	MEDAL	Meline	15	04	923	07	RC	2	2	3
007001	MEDAL	John	19	12	926	07	RC	1	2	3
007002	MEDAL	Christine	02	08	931	07	RC	2	2	3
007004	MEDAL	Lorraine Margaret	10	11	953	07	RC	2	1	3
007005	MEDAL	Peter Edward	12	05	957	07	RC	1	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
007006	MEDAL	Marie Helene	13 03	959	07	RC	2	1	3
007007	MEDAL	Napoleon	09 04	961	07	RC	1	1	3
007008	MEDAL	Georgina Louise	04 03	963	07	RC	2	1	3
007009	MEDAL	John	10 06	965	07	RC	1	1	3
007010	MEDAL	Marlene	26 05	967	07	RC	2	1	3
007011	MEDAL	Roseanna Elizabeth	29 06	969	07	RC	2	1	3
013101	MEDAL	Leon	26 12	913	07	RC	1	3	1
017801	MEDAL	Alphonsine Mary	18 04	951	07	RC	2	1	1
018401	MEDAL	Leon Charles	17 09	952	07	RC	1	1	1
006201	NILGHE	Pierre	06 06	923	07	RC	1	2	3
006202	NILGHE	Madeline	03 03	931	07	RC	2	2	3
006204	NILGHE	Nolynn	28 12	954	07	RC	2	1	3
006205	NILGHE	James Norbert	07 12	956	07	RC	1	1	3
006206	NILGHE	William	17 10	958	07	RC	2	1	3
006207	NILGHE	Christina	14 06	962	07	RC	2	1	3
006208	NILGHE	George	23 05	964	07	RC	1	1	3
006209	NILGHE	Judy	28 08	965	07	RC	2	1	3
006210	NILGHE	August	16 10	967	07	RC	1	1	3
006211	NILGHE	Angeline Susan	11 02	970	07	RC	2	1	1
016201	NILGHE	Fred	06 09	949	07	RC	1	2	3
016202	NILGHE	Marie Ann	16 09	953	07	RC	2	2	3
002101	PISCHE	Alex	08 08	899	07	RC	1	2	1
002102	PISCHE	Annie	01 04	904	07	RC	2	2	1
000501	RABBITEYE	Annie	26 11	926	07		2	1	1
006701	RENIE	Michel	18 10	913	07	RC	1	2	3
006702	RENIE	Catherine	10	913	07	RC	2	2	3
006902	RENIE	Christine		903	07	RC	2	3	1
006903	RENIE	James	13 02	957	07	RC	1	1	2
010801	RENIE	Paul	19 10	936	07	RC	1	1	2
016401	RENIE	Joseph Martin	16 05	950	07	RC	1	1	3
002301	ROBILLARD	Stanislaus	26 01	906	07	RC	1	2	3
002302	ROBILLARD	Louise	02 02	906	07	RC	2	2	3
005701	ROBILLARD	Patrice	26 04	922	07	RC	1	2	3
005702	ROBILLARD	Lucia	28 04	933	07	RC	2	2	3
005704	ROBILLARD	Mary Jane	11 12	953	07	RC	2	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R	
005705	ROBILLARD	Andrew	25	05	956	07	RC	1	1	3
005706	ROBILLARD	Mary Ann	23	09	958	07	RC	2	1	3
005707	ROBILLARD	Elaine Catherine	24	02	961	07	RC	2	1	3
005708	ROBILLARD	Peter Paul	31	05	963	07	RC	1	1	3
005709	ROBILLARD	Ronald Albert	26	03	965	07	RC	1	1	3
005710	ROBILLARD	Lawrence	01	11	967	07	RC	1	1	3
006101	ROBILLARD	Alphonse	10	06	925	07	RC	1	2	3
006102	ROBILLARD	Emeline	05	02	935	07	RC	2	2	3
006105	ROBILLARD	Modest	30	05	954	07	RC	2	1	3
006106	ROBILLARD	Ellen	06	03	956	07	RC	2	1	3
006107	ROBILLARD	Marianne	10	06	960	07	RC	2	1	3
006109	ROBILLARD	P. Irene	07	09	964	07	RC	2	1	3
006110	ROBILLARD	Donald James	06	01	966	07	RC	1	1	3
006111	ROBILLARD	Doris Jean	23	08	968	07	RC	2	1	3
007801	ROBILLARD	Simon	23	10	928	07	RC	1	2	3
007802	ROBILLARD	Therese	24	11	928	07	RC	2	2	3
007804	ROBILLARD	Marie Rose	07	08	954	07	RC	2	1	3
007805	ROBILLARD	Theodore	20	07	956	07	RC	1	1	3
007806	ROBILLARD	Elizabeth	19	09	958	07	RC	2	1	3
007807	ROBILLARD	Archie	01	05	961	07	RC	1	1	3
007808	ROBILLARD	Jean Alice	23	04	963	07	RC	2	1	3
007809	ROBILLARD	Billy	11	03	965	07	RC	1	1	3
007810	ROBILLARD	Angeline	11	03	967	07	RC	2	1	3
007811	ROBILLARD	Agathe	14	03	969	07	RC	2	1	3
007812	ROBILLARD	Mervin	23	02	970	07	RC	1	1	1
008901	ROBILLARD	Armand	28	02	931	07	RC	1	2	3
008902	ROBILLARD	Mary Rose	13	12	935	07	RC	2	2	3
008903	ROBILLARD	Daniel	07	04	957	07	RC	1	1	3
008904	ROBILLARD	Rosanna	12	05	958	07	RC	2	1	3
008905	ROBILLARD	Rosie	25	11	959	07	RC	2	1	3
008906	ROBILLARD	Marlene Agatha	15	07	961	07	RC	2	1	3
008907	ROBILLARD	Rita Eva	23	01	963	07	RC	2	1	3
008908	ROBILLARD	Evelyn Margaret	07	19	965	07	RC	2	1	3
008910	ROBILLARD	June	15	06	967	07	RC	2	1	3
008911	ROBILLARD	Orest John	04	06	969	07	RC	1	1	3
008912	ROBILLARD	Mathias Benny	16	11	970	07	RC	1	1	1
009101	ROBILLARD	Philip	04	03	931	07	RC	1	2	3
009102	ROBILLARD	Ernestine	02	09	934	07	RC	2	2	3
009103	ROBILLARD	Eillen	01	01	959	07	RC	2	1	3
009104	ROBILLARD	Ermiline	27	04	960	07	RC	2	1	3
009105	ROBILLARD	Florence Gladys	19	02	962	07	RC	2	1	3
009106	ROBILLARD	Albert Brian	10	04	963	07	RC	1	1	3
009107	ROBILLARD	Doris Rosine	20	12	964	07	RC	2	1	3
009108	ROBILLARD	Joyce Blanche	28	01	966	07	RC	2	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R	
009109	ROBILLARD	Marjorie	10	03	967	07	RC	2	1	3
009110	ROBILLARD	Johnny	05	08	968	07	RC	1	1	3
009111	ROBILLARD	Ronald	05	08	968	07	RC	1	1	3
011201	ROBILLARD	Martin Simon	03	12	939	07	RC	1	2	3
011202	ROBILLARD	Judith Aline	09	10	943	07	RC	2	2	3
011203	ROBILLARD	Alphonse	03	04	963	07	RC	1	1	3
011204	ROBILLARD	Janet	22	04	965	07	RC	2	1	3
011205	ROBILLARD	Jerry	19	06	970	07	RC	1	1	1
012701	ROBILLARD	Pierre	18	05	942	07	RC	1	2	3
012702	ROBILLARD	Valentine	26	03	950	07	RC	2	2	3
012703	ROBILLARD	Lena	14	09	965	07	RC	2	1	3
012704	ROBILLARD	Roger	08	04	968	07	RC	1	1	3
012705	ROBILLARD	Simon Alphonse	29	03	969	07	RC	1	1	3
012706	ROBILLARD	Shirley Nancy	18	02	970	07	RC	2	1	1
014601	ROBILLARD	Boniface Leon	14	10	946	07	RC	1	2	3
014602	ROBILLARD	Marie Ann	28	05	952	07	RC	2	2	3
016101	ROBILLARD	Joseph	02	12	949	07	RC	1	1	1
016501	ROBILLARD	William	10	11	950	07	RC	1	1	1
018501	ROBILLARD	Therese Cecile	17	07	952	07	RC	2	1	3
018502	ROBILLARD	Coreen	19	08	970	07	RC	2	1	1
018601	ROBILLARD	Napoleon	11	06	952	07	RC	1	1	3
003401	SAYAZIE	Pierre	05	04	910	07	RC	1	2	3
003402	SAYAZIE	Sarah	05	05	914	07	RC	2	2	3
003901	SAYAZIE	Jean	03	05	880	07	RC	2	3	1
005801	SAYAZIE	Martin	12	08	924	07	RC	1	2	3
005802	SAYAZIE	Ann	25	08	928	07	RC	2	2	3
005806	SAYAZIE	Donald	16	06	954	07	RC	1	1	3
005807	SAYAZIE	Adeline	18	09	956	07	RC	2	1	3
005808	SAYAZIE	Dora Yvonne	09	10	958	07	RC	2	1	3
005809	SAYAZIE	Celine Madeline	06	01	961	07	RC	2	1	3
005810	SAYAZIE	Modest Paul	14	05	963	07	RC	1	1	3
005811	SAYAZIE	George	31	03	965	07	RC	1	1	3
005812	SAYAZIE	Joseph	26	03	967	07	RC	1	1	3
005813	SAYAZIE	Matthew	31	07	968	07	RC	1	1	3
006501	SAYAZIE	Joseph	07	06	917	07	RC	1	2	3
006502	SAYAZIE	Beradette	17	09	923	07	RC	2	2	3
006504	SAYAZIE	Victor Benjamin	08	07	957	07	RC	1	1	3



Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
013001	SAYAZIE	John	05 03	942	07	RC	1	1	1
013301	SAYAZIE	Louis Martin	15 11	943	07	RC	1	1	1
014301	SAYAZIE	Alphonse	21 03	945	07	RC	1	1	3
014901	SAYAZIE	Philip	04 04	946	07	RC	1	2	3
014902	SAYAZIE	Nancy	02 06	949	07	RC	2	2	3
014903	SAYAZIE	Mary Jane	27 03	968	07	RC	2	1	3
014904	SAYAZIE	Linda	21 05	970	07	RC	2	1	1
015001	SAYAZIE	Marie	18 06	946	07	RC	2	6	2
015002	SAYAZIE	Hugh Darrel Andrew	15 09	965	07	RC	1	1	2
015003	SAYAZIE	Daneen Marie	14 05	968	07	RC	2	1	2
015004	SAYAZIE	Michael James	30 09	969	07	RC	1	1	2
015201	SAYAZIE	Magloire	30 03	948	07	RC	1	1	3
015601	SAYAZIE	Jimmy A	19 04	948	07	RC	1	1	1
016601	SAYAZIE	Armand	05 09	950	07	RC	1	1	1
017901	SAYAZIE	Rosa Anna	19 09	951	07	RC	2	1	1
008101	SKULL	Isaac Michael	04 01	930	07	RC	1	1	1
009601	SKULL	Moise	14 03	932	07	RC	1	2	3
009602	SKULL	Elise	29 05	944	07	RC	2	2	3
009603	SKULL	Valentine Rita	01 11	963	07	RC	2	1	3
009604	SKULL	Albertine	01 07	966	07	RC	2	1	3
009605	SKULL	Ernestine Jean	12 07	970	07	RC	2	1	1
010401	SKULL	Ernest T.	24 06	935	07	RC	1	3	3
010402	SKULL	Marie	21 05	959	07	RC	2	1	3
018101	SKULL	Abraham		948	07	RC	1	1	2
005301	STALTHANEE	Henry	08 10	902	07	RC	1	2	3
005302	STALTHANEE	Madeline	06 01	906	07	RC	2	2	3
005401	STALTHANEE	Jeremy		914	07	RC	1	3	3
009501	STALTHANEE	Paul Augustin	12 04	932	07	RC	1	2	3
009502	STALTHANEE	Marianne	06 12	937	07	RC	2	2	3
009503	STALTHANEE	Ambrose	02 06	956	07	RC	1	1	3
009504	STALTHANEE	Bernice	07 03	958	07	RC	2	1	3
009505	STALTHANEE	Roy	28 02	960	07	RC	1	1	3
009506	STALTHANEE	York Howard	23 01	964	07	RC	1	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
009507	STALTHANEE	May Susan	10 05	966	07	RC	2	1	3
009508	STALTHANEE	Diane Charlene	31 07	967	07	RC	2	1	3
009509	STALTHANEE	Patricia Ann	09 07	969	07	RC	2	1	3
011601	STALTHANEE	Augustin	05 10	939	07	RC	1	2	3
011602	STALTHANEE	Ann	09 12	933	07	RC	2	2	3
011603	STALTHANEE	Louie Jimmy Donald	11 02	964	07	RC	1	1	3
011604	STALTHANEE	Moise John Bernadette	29 11	965	07	RC	1	1	3
014001	STALTHANEE	Noel	10 06	944	07	RC	1	2	3
014002	STALTHANEE	Margaret	01 01	948	07	RC	2	2	3
014003	SANDYPOINT	Edwin	02 11	967	07	RC	1	1	3
014004	STALTHANEE	Edward	11 04	970	07	RC	1	1	1
014101	STALTHANEE	Billy	23 06	944	07	RC	1	2	1
015501	STALTHANEE	Viteline	18 12	948	07	RC	2	1	1
018001	STALTHANEE	James	15 05	951	07	RC	1	1	1
010301	THROASSIE	Charlie	08 01	935	07	RC	1	2	3
010302	THROASSIE	Mary Ann	18 12	931	07	RC	2	2	3
010303	THROASSIE	Frederick	18 10	956	07	RC	1	1	3
010304	THROASSIE	Alphonse	24 06	959	07	RC	1	1	3
010305	THROASSIE	William John	04 03	962	07	RC	1	1	3
010306	THROASSIE	Albert Alfred	29 04	964	07	RC	1	1	3
010307	THROASSIE	Georgina	29 12	965	07	RC	2	1	3
010308	THROASSIE	Ronald Victor	22 05	968	07	RC	1	1	3
010309	THROASSIE	Dora Delphine	11 11	969	07	RC	2	1	1
000201	TOUTSAINT	Edward	10 10	903	07	RC	1	2	1
000202	TOUTSAINT	Beatrice	03 12	909	07	RC	2	2	1
001601	TOUTSAINT	Solomon	26 03	893	07	RC	1	3	1
003601	TOUTSAINT	John	25 04	911	07	RC	1	2	1
003602	TOUTSAINT	Esther	06 11	903	07	RC	2	2	1
004001	TOUTSAINT	Modest	08	917	07	RC	1	3	3
004601	TOUTSAINT	Moise	17 09	917	07	RC	1	2	3
004602	TOUTSAINT	Angelique	07 09	923	07	RC	2	2	3
004604	TOUTSAINT	Edward	16 08	953	07	RC	1	1	3
004605	TOUTSAINT	Wayne Francis	02 06	957	07	RC	1	1	3
004606	TOUTSAINT	Maria	14 03	960	07	RC	2	1	3
004607	TOUTSAINT	Edwin Howard	22 01	964	07	RC	1	1	3
004608	TOUTSAINT	Alan Keith	07 03	967	07	RC	1	1	3
004609	TOUTSAINT	Martha Evelyn	11 06	969	07	RC	2	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R	
005001	TOUTSAINT	Benjamine	06	12	919	07	RC	1	2	3
005002	TOUTSAINT	Marie Melani	15	04	929	07	RC	2	2	3
005003	TOUTSAINT	Pierre	05	10	953	07	RC	1	1	3
005004	TOUTSAINT	Joseph	27	03	955	07	RC	1	1	3
005005	TOUTSAINT	Helen	24	10	956	07	RC	2	1	3
005006	TOUTSAINT	Anne	02	07	958	07	RC	2	1	3
005007	TOUTSAINT	Dora	08	02	960	07	RC	2	1	3
005008	TOUTSAINT	Theresa	25	12	962	07	RC	1	1	3
005009	TOUTSAINT	John	27	12	964	07	RC	2	1	3
005009	TOUTSAINT	Rose	09	03	967	07	RC	2	1	3
005011	TOUTSAINT	William	04	04	969	07	RC	1	1	3
005101	TOUTSAINT	Pierre	05	04	919	07	RC	1	3	3
005104	TOUTSAINT	Helen	22	06	955	07	RC	2	1	3
005105	TOUTSAINT	Debra Marie	01	11	957	07	RC	2	1	3
005106	TOUTSAINT	Debra Marie	01	11	957	07	RC	1	1	3
005107	TOUTSAINT	Agnes Eileen	02	01	963	07	RC	2	1	3
006001	TOUTSAINT	Louis	09	09	924	07	RC	1	2	3
006002	TOUTSAINT	Louise	06	02	946	07	RC	2	2	3
006003	TOUTSAINT	Elizabeth	14	04	965	07	RC	2	1	3
006004	TOUTSAINT	Marry Anne	01	06	967	07	RC	2	1	3
006005	TOUTSAINT	Lucy	18	08	969	07	RC	2	1	3
007101	TOUTSAINT	Fred	07	10	926	07	RC	1	2	3
007102	TOUTSAINT	Rose	01	01	939	07	RC	2	2	3
007103	TOUTSAINT	Christina	25	09	961	07	RC	2	1	3
007104	TOUTSAINT	Georgina	22	09	966	07	RC	2	1	3
008201	TOUTSAINT	Alfred	15	01	930	07	RC	1	2	3
008202	TOUTSAINT	Betty May	06	05	942	07	RC	2	2	3
008203	TOUTSAINT	Daniel	11	11	957	07	RC	1	1	3
008204	TOUTSAINT	Jean	21	12	958	07	RC	2	1	3
008205	TOUTSAINT	Eileen Mary	24	08	960	07	RC	2	1	3
008206	TOUTSAINT	Gabriel Theodore	11	06	962	07	RC	1	1	3
008207	TOUTSAINT	Pauline	22	03	964	07	RC	2	1	3
008208	TOUTSAINT	Billy Joe	09	02	966	07	RC	1	1	3
008209	TOUTSAINT	Eileen	07	01	968	07	RC	2	1	3
008210	TOUTSAINT	Gilbert James	04	10	969	07	RC	1	1	3
008401	TOUTSAINT	Jerome	02	02	930	07	RC	1	2	3
008402	TOUTSAINT	Ermiline	17	11	944	07	RC	2	2	3
008403	TOUTSAINT	Dorothy Margaret	12	03	963	07	RC	2	1	3
008404	TOUTSAINT	George	15	04	965	07	RC	1	1	3
008405	TOUTSAINT	Richard John	13	06	968	07	RC	1	1	3
008406	TOUTSAINT	Jerry Michael	08	07	970	07	RC	1	1	1
012401	TOUTSAINT	Pierre Andre	31	11	941	07	RC	1	1	3

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R
013401	TOUTSAINT	James	25	08 943	07	RC	1	2	1
013402	TOUTSAINT	Asiline	16	11 945	07	RC	2	2	1
013403	TOUTSAINT	Linda	30	07 963	07	RC	2	1	1
013404	TOUTSAINT	Freddie	05	07 965	07	RC	1	1	1
013405	TOUTSAINT	Bernadette	25	09 967	07	RC	2	1	1
013406	TOUTSAINT	Joyce Ann	18	06 969	07	RC	2	1	1
013901	TOUTSAINT	Augustine	20	04 944	07	RC	1	1	1
016701	TOUTSAINT	Florence C.	06	11 950	07	RC	2	1	1
017002	TOUTSAINT	Jerry	01	12 968	07	RC	1	1	1
017003	TOUTSAINT	Joyce	07	07 970	07	RC	2	1	1
002201	YOOYA	William	07	02 901	07	RC	1	2	1
002202	YOOYA	Elmira	01	11 903	07	RC	2	2	1
002501	YOOYA	Eli	05	06 904	07	RC	1	2	3
002502	YOOYA	Alphonsine		908	07	RC	2	2	3
004201	YOOYA	Roberick	26	08 912	07	RC	1	2	3
004202	YOOYA	Cecilia	13	11 921	07	RC	2	2	3
004205	YOOYA	Dora	12	08 953	07	RC	2	1	3
004206	YOOYA	Bernadette Ernestine	02	11 956	07	RC	2	1	3
004207	YOOYA	Theresa	08	06 959	07	RC	2	1	3
004208	YOOYA	Mary Jane	29	01 962	07	RC	2	1	3
004209	YOOYA	Jerry Bonifas	02	09 963	07	RC	1	1	3
004301	YOOYA	John	08	09 918	07	RC	1	2	3
004302	YOOYA	Vitaline	15	08 927	07	RC	2	2	3
004304	YOOYA	Pierre	21	10 956	07	RC	1	1	3
004305	YOOYA	Therese Ann	09	11 958	07	RC	2	1	3
004306	YOOYA	Angeline	14	11 960	07	RC	2	1	3
009301	YOOYA	Moise	17	11 930	07	RC	1	2	3
009302	YOOYA	Mary Jane	01	11 940	07	RC	2	2	3
009303	YOOYA	Alphonse	14	08 959	07	RC	1	1	3
009304	YOOYA	Adeline Lena	14	05 963	07	RC	2	1	3
009305	YOOYA	John William	11	11 965	07	RC	1	1	3
009306	YOOYA	Ronald	29	07 967	07	RC	1	1	3
010501	YOOYA	Martin	27	07 934	07	RC	1	1	3
011901	YOOYA	Leon	19	10 940	07	RC	1	1	1
012501	YOOYA	Louis	10	10 941	07	RC	1	1	1

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	PR	RL	S	M	R	
014401	YOOYA	Mathias	05	06	945	07	RC	1	2	2
014402	YOOYA	Mary	02	06	947	07	RC	2	3	2
014403	YOOYA	Jessie Anne	14	05	967	07	RC	2	1	2
014404	YOOYA	Kevin	10	03	969	07	RC	1	1	2
015301	YOOYA	Marie R.	15	02	948	07	RC	2	1	1
015302	YOOYA	Giselle Annette	07	04	970	07	RC	2	1	1
016801	YOOYA	Edward Alphonse	06	03	950	07	RC	1	1	1

## REGISTERED INDIANS BY DATE OF BIRTH AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1970

AGENCY - 672 Prince Albert District

BAND - 30 Shoal Lake

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	RL	S	M	R
033903	HEAD	Richard James	11	10	970	CE	1	1
031708	YOUNG	Karen Norma	09	09	970	GE	2	1
035108	COCK	Anthony Mitchel	04	09	970	CE	1	1
035803	WHITECAP	Martha	20	03	970	CE	2	1
031212	YOUNG	John Darrell	08	03	970	CE	1	1
032005	YOUNG	Joseph Wayne	22	02	970	CE	1	1
035503	YOUNG	Ruby Anne	10	02	970	CE	2	1
033507	MOORE	Beverly Marilyn	04	02	970	CE	2	1
033206	FLETT	Conrad Raynant	21	01	970	CE	1	1
035403	KITCHENER	Berlin Francis	06	01	970	CE	1	1
032516	WHITECAP	Cindy Vera	30	11	969	CE	2	1
032517	WHITECAP	Connie Beverly	30	11	969	CE	2	1
033604	YOUNG	Sandra Jackoline	25	11	969	CE	2	1
034303	YOUNG	Albertine Mary Ann	06	09	969	CE	2	1
032610	FLETT	Ernestine	01	07	969	CE	2	1
035703	BEAR	Robert James	14	06	969	CE	1	1
033009	BEAR	Walter Elliott	20	04	969	CE	1	1
032515	WHITECAP	Henry Joseph Gilbert	24	11	968	CE	1	1
035107	COOK	Rhea Blanche Ruth	06	11	968	CE	2	1
035302	HEAD	Christopher Richard	29	10	968	CE	1	1
033506	MOORE	William George	11	07	968	CE	1	1
033205	FLETT	Georgina Edna	25	04	968	CE	2	1
032411	LATHLIN	Maxine Marie	14	03	968	CE	2	1
031211	YOUNG	Bertha Elizabeth	11	01	968	CE	2	1
033603	YOUNG	Anita Anna Alice	15	11	967	CE	2	1
031707	YOUNG	Robert Thomas	16	10	967	CE	1	1
033008	BEAR	Mabel Laurene	08	10	967	CE	2	1
032513	WHITECAP	Daniel Glenn	02	10	967	CE	1	1
032514	WHITECAP	Donald Dean	02	10	967	CE	1	1
035106	COOK	Edgar Clifford	20	09	967	CE	1	1
032907	BEAR	Bertram Robert Joe	14	09	967	CE	1	1
035702	BEAR	Patrick Lloyd	04	08	967	CE	1	1
033505	MOORE	Noreen Victorine	05	06	967	CE	2	1
032609	FLETT	Arthur Jerome	01	04	967	CE	1	1
033204	FLETT	Marcella Cornelia	08	02	967	CE	2	1
033007	BEAR	Geoffrey Frank	16	09	966	CE	1	1
030010	KITCHENER	Adelaide Virginia	05	08	966	CE	2	1
035105	COOK	Florence Orva	02	08	966	CE	1	1
032410	LATHLIN	Clarence Allan	24	05	966	CE	1	1
032512	WHITECAP	Lorraine Agnes	20	03	966	CE	2	1
033504	MOORE	Gary Grant	16	02	966	CE	1	1
033203	FLETT	Leon Antoine	01	02	966	CE	1	1
031706	YOUNG	Royene	03	01	966	CE	1	1
031310	HEAD	Charlene Florence R.	09	12	965	CE	2	1

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	RL	S	M	R
031210	YOUNG	Loretta Denise Miriam	08 12	965	CE	2	1	1
031009	MOORE	Rose Mary	06 10	965	CE	2	1	1
032409	LATHLIN	Harold Oswald	19 04	965	CE	1	1	1
033006	BEAR	Harriet Cynthia	19 03	965	CE	2	1	1
032906	BEAR	Vernon Cornelius	27 02	965	CE	1	1	1
032511	WHITECAP	Jerry James Albert	02 02	965	CE	1	1	1
033503	MOORE	Dwayne Pernell	23 12	964	CE	1	1	1
032306	FLETT	Gordon Angus	28 08	964	CE	1	1	1
031309	HEAD	Randell Charles	26 08	964	CE	1	1	1
032607	FLETT	Floyd Abram	24 05	964	CE	1	1	1
031209	YOUNG	Vincent Cameron	20 05	964	CE	1	1	1
032408	LATHLIN	Ronald Victor	03 05	964	CE	1	1	1
031008	MOORE	Valerie Joyce	16 01	964	CE	2	1	1
032905	BEAR	Kevin Wayne	08 01	964	CE	1	1	1
035104	COOK	Ida Rose	04 01	964	CE	2	1	1
032510	WHITECAP	Rosanna Lavina	24 12	963	CE	2	1	1
033005	BEAR	Jocelyn Josephine	05 09	963	CE	2	1	1
031705	YOUNG	Hank Cameron	15 07	963	CE	1	1	1
033702	FLETT	Lorna Lydia	08 04	963	CE	2	1	1
030009	KITCHENER	Marna Arabelle	07 03	963	CE	2	1	1
032102	BEAR	Robert Gregory	03 01	963	CE	1	1	1
031308	HEAD	Barney	25 11	962	CE	1	1	1
035103	COCK	Bradley J.	19 11	962	CE	1	1	1
032004	BEAR	Donalda Georgia	27 07	962	CE	2	1	1
032407	LATHLIN	John Peter	18 07	962	CE	1	1	1
032305	FLETT	Melvin Thomas	28 06	962	CE	1	1	1
032606	FLETT	Doreen Rosalee	29 05	962	CE	2	1	1
031208	YOUNG	Philip Edward	12 04	962	CE	1	1	1
031108	YOUNG	Clara Bernice	26 03	962	CE	2	1	1
031007	MOORE	Patricia Anne	26 12	961	CE	2	1	1
033004	BEAR	Eric Lloyd	15 11	961	CE	1	1	1
030008	KITCHENER	Patric Gilbert	26 08	961	CE	1	1	1
032903	BEAR	Brenda Madline	23 08	961	CE	2	1	1
032509	WHITECAP	Samaria Anna	02 05	961	CE	2	1	1
031307	HEAD	Marcel Vergil	23 12	960	CE	1	1	1
031107	YOUNG	Carl Edwin	02 09	960	CE	1	1	1
032406	LATHLIN	Mervyn Derry	24 08	960	CE	1	1	1
031704	YOUNG	Donna May	29 07	960	CE	2	1	1
030007	KITCHENER	Pauline Mildred	07 06	960	CE	2	1	1
033003	BEAR	Ruth Ann	20 04	960	CE	2	1	1
032605	FLETT	Ernest Robbie	05 04	960	CE	1	1	1
032304	FLETT	Margorie Elizabeth	01 03	960	CE	2	1	1
032508	WHITECAP	Maureen Susan Emma	10 02	960	CE	2	1	1
030607	BEAR	Lionel Ahab	12 10	959	CE	1	1	1
032004	YOUNG	Russell	17 09	959	CE	1	1	1
031207	YOUNG	Brian Benson	02 09	959	CE	1	1	1
031504	BEAR	Catherine Frances	15 05	959	CE	2	1	1
031306	HEAD	Larry Vincent	25 03	959	CE	1	1	1

Family No.	Surname	Given Name	Birth	Date	RL	S	M	R	
031106	YOUNG	Laura Violet	18	02	959	CE	2	1	1
032604	FLETT	Wilma Lydia Rose	13	10	958	CE	2	1	1
032405	LATHLIN	Simeon George	06	10	958	CE	1	1	1
031006	MOORE	Ida	02	08	958	CE	2	1	1
032003	YOUNG	Stanley	08	07	958	CE	1	1	1
032303	FLETT	Rhoda Bella Lydia	11	10	957	CE	2	1	1
030006	KITCHENER	Selena Rose	30	09	957	CE	2	1	1
032507	WHITECAP	Sarah Jane	20	07	957	CE	2	1	1
032404	LATHLIN	Teresa Rose	11	07	957	CE	2	1	1
032603	FLETT	Diana	06	04	957	CE	2	1	1
031305	HEAD	Celina Marjorie	14	01	957	CE	2	1	1
031703	YOUNG	Darius Lloyd	02	10	956	CE	1	1	1
031105	YOUNG	Grace Lucinda	15	09	956	CE	2	1	1
031503	BEAR	Margaret Evelyn	11	07	956	CE	2	1	1
031903	HEAD	Orval Victor	20	04	956	CE	1	1	1
031206	YOUNG	Lena Jane	27	03	956	CE	2	1	1
032403	LATHLIN	Lawrence Edmund	16	03	956	CE	1	1	1
032506	WHITECAP	Charles Alexander	14	03	956	CE	1	1	1
031005	MOORE	Dolores Melinda	25	02	956	CE	2	1	1
031104	YOUNG	Jean Florence	05	07	955	CE	2	1	1
032002	YOUNG	Maria	31	01	955	CE	2	1	1
030606	BEAR	Clifford Howard	19	12	954	CE	1	1	1
030005	KITCHENER	Norman Samuel	20	06	954	CE	1	1	1
035502	YOUNG	Eleanor Violet	15	01	954	CE	2	2	1
035802	WHITECAP	Gloria Katie	13	12	953	CE	2	2	1
029904	YOUNG	Rayne Wesley	09	10	953	CE	1	1	1
031902	HEAD	Stella	26	09	953	CE	2	1	1
030605	BEAR	Delila Maletta	15	03	953	CE	2	1	1
034302	YOUNG	Dora Isabell	19	02	953	CE	2	2	1
030801	MOORE	Elizabeth Katherine	21	06	952	CE	2	1	1
036301	KITCHENER	Earl Harold	26	01	952	CE	1	1	1
035901	BEAR	Oscar Raymond James	11	10	951	CE	1	1	1
036201	YOUNG	Felix John David	28	09	951	CE	1	1	1
036101	WHITECAP	Myrtle Kay	11	04	951	CE	2	1	1
036001	MOORE	Gladys Kathleen	12	02	951	CE	2	1	1
034202	BEAR	Eva	23	12	950	CE	2	2	1
033902	HEAD	Betty Lynver	26	07	950	CE	2	2	1
035801	WHITECAP	Dennis Everett	30	03	950	CE	1	2	1
035701	BEAR	Lydia Nora	11	03	950	CE	2	6	1
035301	HEAD	Betsy Emily Ellen	02	11	949	CE	2	6	1
035401	KITCHENER	Edward	05	09	949	CE	1	2	1
035201	BEAR	Mabel	11	08	949	CE	2	1	1
035501	YOUNG	Noel Adrian	19	01	949	CE	1	2	1
033602	YOUNG	Mary M.	08	01	949	CE	2	2	1
035001	YOUNG	Natalie C.	09	10	948	CE	2	1	1
033202	FLETT	Phyliss	01	04	948	CE	2	2	1
034701	BEAR	Samuel	16	12	947	CE	1	1	1
034801	HEAD	Norman Duncan	09	05	947	CE	1	1	1



Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	RL	S	M	R
034401	YOUNG	Rodger	26	07	946	CE	1	1
034201	BEAR	Zaccheus	27	03	946	CE	1	2
034301	YOUNG	Harry	21	02	946	CE	1	2
033801	MOORE	Bernard	24	07	945	CE	1	1
033502	MOORE	Linda	24	03	945	CE	2	2
033901	HEAD	Gilbert Peter	12	02	945	CE	1	2
033601	YOUNG	Harvey	26	07	944	CE	1	2
033501	MOORE	George Aylmer	11	05	944	CE	1	2
033201	FLETT	Reynold Riley	08	03	943	CE	1	2
033101	YOUNG	Kenneth	23	05	942	CE	1	1
033001	BEAR	Franklin	07	03	942	CE	1	2
033002	BEAR	Freda Victoria	08	02	942	CE	2	2
032901	BEAR	Gerald Deane	19	07	941	CE	1	2
032902	BEAR	Claudia	21	01	941	CE	2	2
032701	YOUNG	Clara Eileen	01	03	940	CE	2	1
032602	FLETT	Caroline Elizabeth	24	09	939	CE	2	2
032402	LATHLIN	Lillian	03	01	938	CE	2	2
032601	FLETT	Emil	21	06	937	CE	1	2
032302	FLETT	Beulah Eleanor	03	02	936	CE	2	2
035102	COOK	Carrie E.	09	11	935	CE	2	2
032301	FLETT	Gilbert	01	11	935	CE	1	2
032201	CADOTTE	Andrew	14	10	935	CE	1	1
031702	YOUNG	Esther	02	08	933	CE	2	2
035101	COOK	James J.	10	04	933	CE	1	2
031601	FLETT	Cecilia Beatrice	12	03	933	CE	2	3
032401	LATHLIN	Walter	22	12	932	CE	1	2
032502	WHITECAP	Edith Clara	24	04	932	CE	2	2
031701	YOUNG	Henry	05	03	930	CE	1	2
032001	YOUNG	Flora Jane	06	01	930	CE	2	3
030002	KITCHENER	Hannah Rosie	23	07	929	CE	2	2
031501	BEAR	Elias	03	04	929	CE	1	2
031202	YOUNG	Madelene	02	09	928	CE	2	2
031102	YOUNG	Caroline	15	11	927	CE	2	2
031201	YOUNG	John	04	05	927	CE	1	2
032501	WHITECAP	Jeremiah	18	03	927	CE	1	2
031302	HEAD	Rachel Ruth	23	11	926	CE	2	2
031002	MOORE	Ann Amelia	28	06	926	CE	2	2
031301	HEAD	Barney	19	01	924	CE	1	2
030602	BEAR	Ella Emily	10	06	923	CE	2	2
031101	YOUNG	Fred Jr.	07	06	923	CE	1	2
031001	MOORE	Harry	19	10	922	CE	1	2
031502	BEAR	Lillian Ruth	20	09	918	CE	2	2
030601	BEAR	Howard	10	07	918	CE	1	2
028202	BEAR	Dinah	25	07	916	CE	2	2
028201	BEAR	Joseph	18	03	914	CE	1	2
029702	YOUNG	Elizabeth	23	03	913	CE	2	2
029901	YOUNG	Thomas	11	12	912	CE	1	2
030001	KITCHENER	Horace	17	12	910	CE	1	2

Family No.	Surname	Given Names	Birth	Date	RL	S	M	R	
029902	YOUNG	Bella	09	08	909	CE	2	2	1
029701	YOUNG	Edward	10	11	908	CE	1	2	1
029402	MOORE	Hannah	24	10	905	CE	2	2	1
029602	YOUNG	Miriam	01	11	904	CE	2	2	1
029102	BEAR	Sarah	07	09	904	CE	2	2	1
029001	HEAD	Emily	24	08	901	CE	2	3	1
029501	BEAR	Simeon	31	01	899	CE	1	3	1
029601	YOUNG	Fred Sr.	12	07	898	CE	1	2	1
034101	LATELIN	Lawrence			898	CE	1	3	1
029401	MOORE	Gilbert	07	11	897	CE	1	2	1
034002	WHITECAP	Alice	18	06	897	CE	2	2	1
029201	HEAD	Margaret	24	10	895	CE	2	3	1
028801	BEAR	Robert	08	09	893	CE	1	2	1
034001	WHITECAP	Robert	07	05	893	CE	1	2	1
028402	BEAR	Ellen	14	05	891	CE	2	2	1
028501	YOUNG	Louis	06	04	886	CE	1	1	1
035402	KITCHENER	Mildred Dorothy	06	04	886	CE	1	1	1

# APPENDIX C

## SCALE OF WELFARE PAYMENTS FOR TREATY INDIANS (1966)

Subject to 10% Increase, June 1st, 1970

### Multiplication Chart

	1	2	3	4	5
<u>SCHEDULE OF FOOD ALLOWANCE</u>					
<u>- MONTHLY -</u>					
Adults, each	24.00	48.00	72.00	96.00	120.00
Child 0-4 yrs., each	13.50	27.00	40.50	54.00	67.50
Child 5-9 yrs., each	19.00	38.00	57.00	76.00	95.00
Child 10-14 yrs., each	23.50	47.00	70.50	94.00	117.00
Child 15-19 yrs., each	25.50	51.00	76.50	102.00	127.50

### ADJUSTMENTS FOR THE FOLLOWING FAMILY UNITS

Unit of 1 person - Increase	2.00				
Unit of 2 - Increase		1.00			
Unit of 3 - No adjustment			---		
Unit of 4 - Reduce				5.00	
Unit of 5 - Reduce					8.00
Unit of over 5 - Reduce the allowance by \$3.00 per person					

### SCHEDULE OF CLOTHING ALLOWANCE - MONTHLY -

Age:

0-4 yrs.	5.00	10.00	15.00	20.00	25.00
5-9 yrs.	6.80	13.60	20.40	27.20	34.00
10-14 yrs.	7.50	15.00	22.50	30.00	37.50
15-19 yrs.	8.00	15.00	22.50	30.00	37.50
20 yrs. and over	10.00	20.00	30.00	40.00	50.00

Clothing allowance may be issued quarterly or semi-annually

### SCHEDULE OF PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD ALLOWANCES

(a) Necessities for personal care:

Adult, each	1.75	3.50	5.25	7.00	8.75
Child 0-4 yrs., each	.45	.90	1.35	1.80	2.25
Child 5-9 yrs., each	.60	1.20	1.80	2.40	3.00
Child 10-14 yrs., each	.85	1.70	2.55	3.40	4.25
Child 15-19 yrs., each	1.75	3.50	5.25	7.00	8.75

(b) Laundry; Cleaning and Household supplies:

1 - 2 persons	1.60
3 - 4 persons	2.45
5 - 6 persons	3.75
7 - 9 persons	4.40

## APPENDIX D

### Population Survey of Northern Centres

The population of northern centres, both in total as well as its racial components, was based upon information gathered from the provincial Department of Natural Resources and the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The following two tables include this data.

#### Population of Indian Bands in Northern Saskatchewan December 31st, 1970

Band Name	Total Population
*Canoe Lake	375
Cumberland House	211
*English River	422
Fond du Lac	580
Lac la Hache	243
Lac la Ronge	2,090
Montreal Lake	966
*Peter Pond	483
Peter Ballantyne	1,601
*Portage la Loche	278
Red Earth	406
Shoal Lake	208
Sturgeon Lake	721
Stony Rapids	481

\* The data for these bands are for February 29th, 1972

Source: Band Lists, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Population of Northern Administration District  
From S.H.S.P. Statistics as at June 30, 1970

Molanosa area	132
Molanosa	162
Dore Lake	118
Cumberland House area	97
Cumberland House	823
Pelican Narrows	211
Stanley	166
Anglo Rouyn Mines	296
Air Ronge	316
Pinehouse	471
Ile-a-la-Crosse	999
Ile-a-la-Crosse area	133
Beauval	463
Buffalo Narrows area	181
Buffalo Narrows	1,079
Turnor Lake	93
Cree Lake	33
Reindeer, Wollaston, Kinoosao and South End	296
Beaver Lake	258
Stony Rapids	180
Sandy Bay area	6
Sandy Bay	510
La Loche area	49
La Loche	1,229
Camsell and Uranium City area	86

## TOTAL

8,387

Uranium City	2,323
Creighton	2,331
La Ronge	1,226
Estimated Treaty Indians	8,233

## ESTIMATED TOTAL POPULATION

22,500

Treaty	-	37%	-	8,325
Estimated - Whites	-	36%	-	8,100
Metis	-	27%	-	6,075
				<u>22,500</u>

Source: Department of Natural Resources, Northern Affairs  
Region, Prince Albert.

## APPENDIX E

### Age and sex profiles for northern Saskatchewan and all of Saskatchewan, 1966

The sex and age population pyramids for Saskatchewan and Saskatchewan Census Division 18 are indicated below. The large number of people in the under 15 age group for northern Saskatchewan is typical of a population experiencing demographic transition. In comparison the population of the Province as a whole is more evenly distributed through all age groups and is characteristic of more developed countries.

