

then the cover is lifted a little while the bathers rest. Then they sing a few more songs and come out of the lodge to cool off, after which a feast takes place (Tarasoff, 1967). Elder Alec Tanner (1967) described how they prepared their sweat lodges long ago:

They put sagebrush that high. And when they go in there, they close this little hut. Then they put very hot stones in there – about 10 or 12 of them. They even put water on the stones and the steam stays right there – enough steam there ‘til those stones get cold (Elder Alec Tanner – Tarasoff, 1967).

Chief David LeDoux attends sweats “We’d have them right on the reserve” (GFN Chief David LeDoux, 2014). He also attends many sweat lodges being held on other nearby reserves. Elder Rose Demontigny’s grandparents held sweats, but just for their own personal use “My grandmother had, and my grandfather, like the sweetgrass or sage, but it was for their own cleansing” (GFN Elder Rose Demontigny, 2015).

Elder Alec Tanner explained how a feast would be held and a medicine man would provide a name for the newly born (1967). Patrick Tanner had ‘naming ceremonies’ for his children within the sweat lodge “I try to teach them their history, at every chance I get – any history I know – I make sure my children know” (GFN Member Patrick Tanner, 2014). Patrick and his family attended many sweats at Gamblers and Rolling River:

We did all the yearlies – spring, summer and fall ceremonies. There were sweats at my brother Jacks that we had there ... and we’d go off reserve for a lot of sweats too. We’d go to Rolling River ... Its right next to Riding Mountain Park there, by Erickson, Clear Lake area. We’d always do ceremonies for the ones that passed on, we’d bring food for them. This was to honour and remember our members that have passed on.

Naming ceremonies with their Indian name - like, my dad’s name received at sweat was ‘Soaring Eagle’. My native name is ‘Kinew Gisha Bashcot Circling Eagle’. Traditional man Sam Musqua’s sweats is where my family received our native names. Dad received his name many year’s earlier from a different healer and yet our names ended up similar. Sam learned from his father Henry who, in turn, learned from his father. They would

annually travel to First Nation’s across Canada and the United States, going as far south as Florida. They would hold sweats and traditionally heal the people who would come from all around the surrounding area.

This is where I learned the traditional lifestyle, from Sam. At sweats I would help collect the diamond willow tree poles to construct the sweat lodge and blankets or tarps for covering up the lodge. There was also the fire. We would need to collect wood and the selection and gathering of the stones to be used. In the sweat lodge I have my own rattle and drum. These would be used to sing along with the leader or asked guest who would sing their song. There were many people who told me that while in the sweat lodge, they could see a bear standing behind me.

I also helped the medicine man as he healed people with all kinds of ailments. He would use all kinds of herbs, plants and their roots to heal them. Some would also be given to take home with them. He would also use a small portion of the tip of a hollowed out horn to extract causes of pain throughout the body – wherever the pain was. After the lodge and the healing was complete we would feast. Always I would bring my saskatoons to add to the meal. I enjoyed helping and attending the sweat lodges.

I was also given a pipe to be a pipe carrier. I also received my own regalia. With this I have attended and participated in Pow Wows at Gamblers and other reserves and locations. Listening to the drums is so soothing. It is said that the drum sound is to represent the heartbeat that you would hear in your mother’s womb. Got to love it (GFN Member Patrick Tanner, 2014).

Pow Wows were also a part of the Gamblers culture. The word derives from the Algonquian word *powwaw*, meaning “spiritual leader” (O’Brien, 2014). David LeDoux and his family often attend Pow Wows “We try to go at least once a year ... sometimes more. We’ve gone to the Treaty 4 gathering, Sioux Valley, Brandon, Wayway, and Rolling River ... Fort Qu’Appelle” (GFN Chief David LeDoux, 2014). Elder Albert Tanner remembers attending Pow Wows with his father “My dad used to go. He’d take us to Pow Wow in Wayway” (GFN Elder

Figure 6: Sacred Grounds and Burial Sites



Porcupine was not eaten, rather, its quills were used for tools and decoration.



Anishinaabe Saulteaux Plains Ojibwe Moccasin ca. 1850. Image no. CMC V-F-162 a,b. Photo courtesy of Canadian Museum of History.

The lynx were traditionally trapped in the winter with a noose and tossing pole. The tracks of the lynx were usually found in the snow along the banks of a creek or river and the hunter would set the snare along his own trail. To do this, two uprights supporting an inclined log and a noose were placed on either side of the trail. These were flanked by bush to keep the lynx from going around. The lynx, following his own trail is then caught. In later years, steel traps took the place of most traditional trapping equipment, with wire replacing the spruce root and sinew twine noose and commercially made steel traps replacing the snare (Skinner, 1911).

Locations

Some of the favourite locations for trapping were mentioned during the interview process. These locations are by no means inclusive and include: Assiniboine River, Binscarth, Birdtail River, Birds Hill Creek, Brandon, Buffalo Hump Lake, Churchbridge, Gillam, Lake Audy, Lake Winnipeg, Lake of the Woods, McArthur Lake, McAuley, Manson, Miniota, Mouse River, Pembina River, Qu'Appelle River, Russell, Solsgirth, Spy Hill, Silver Creek, St. Lazare, and Silver Beach. Much of the trapping by the Gamblers First Nation was conducted in the Riding Mountain area "We got a chance to build a monument in Clear Lake Park for John Falcon Tanner ... he set a trapline up there. There's a lake named after him there ... in the park - Clear Lake Park - Riding Mountain" (GFN Chief David LeDoux,

2014). Roxanne Brass explained how the 'Gambler' hunted, fished and trapped in that region for quite some time:

The Elders told me just a little while ago that he (the Gambler) even lived in the park area right in the mountain ... he did settle up there for some time and he trapped ... That's what the Elders were saying in a meeting that we were in, about three months ago ... They were Elders from the different communities like Red River ... and stuff like that. I took my Uncle Albert there ... up to Riding Mountain, that's where all the Elders were gathered (GFN Member Roxanne Brass, 2014).

In the west end of Riding Mountain National Park, the areas used for trapping were virtually the same as the hunting areas - Lake Audy, Silver Beach and the Bird Tail River - with the exception of Whitewater Lake. The Anishinaabeg did not trap there because it had a white lime bottom. While water quality was said to be very good, there were not as many fish in the lake. Because fish were a food source known to attract furbearers, the lakes with healthier fish stocks were more extensively trapped (Peckett, 1999).

Of course, there were also many trapping activities conducted right on the reserve. Elder Rose's grandparents, Fred and Louise Tanner lived on the reserve where she frequented quite often "They've always been here - right here. They always lived here on this section right here - since I've been born. We had a slough" (GFN Elder Rose Demontigny, 2015). She recalls her grandfather trapping throughout her childhood and how the families differentiated trapping territories:

They all had their different spots and different traplines which was honoured at that time, like nobody would go on them. And his (her grandfather) was within the reserve, the creeks ... I'm not quite sure how far he traveled because I never went. I was too small, and my mother would have been the one who ventured with him. And he also trapped everything (GFN Elder Rose Demontigny, 2015).

The Gamblers First Nation interviewees all started their trapping at an early age, a skill taught to them by their parents or grandparents "I started doing it at five or six years old with dad. I went trapping with my

supply of meat whenever I could (GFN Chief David LeDoux, 2014).

In the earlier days, horses were used for harvesting trips, often with a buggy, wagon or sleigh "A sleigh. I have a picture when they were going to Binscarth ... that's about five, six miles ... from our reserve" (GFN Elder Anne Demontigny, 2014). Although Patrick Tanner now has a vehicle, he still used a horse to go hunting until very recently "Used to, up until about five years ago – no – nine years ago or something" (GFN Member Patrick Tanner, 2014). Those without horses would simply walk for whatever they needed "We walked. But if we went quite a way we used buggies and stuff ... The people on the corner, they used to walk to town. Lots of people, they didn't have transportation or anything" (GFN Elder Anne Demontigny, 2014).

Elder Anne Demontigny remembers the harvesting trips she accompanied her family on with their horse "Bell" pulling their buggy. These trips lasted a minimum of three days and often took them far into Saskatchewan "Quite a ways, I don't remember where. We just went and that was it ... We took a tent and everything" (GFN Elder Anne Demontigny, 2014). They stopped to camp in



valleys or by creeks, following road allowances along the way "We made sure that we didn't trespass or anything" (GFN Elder Anne Demontigny, 2014).

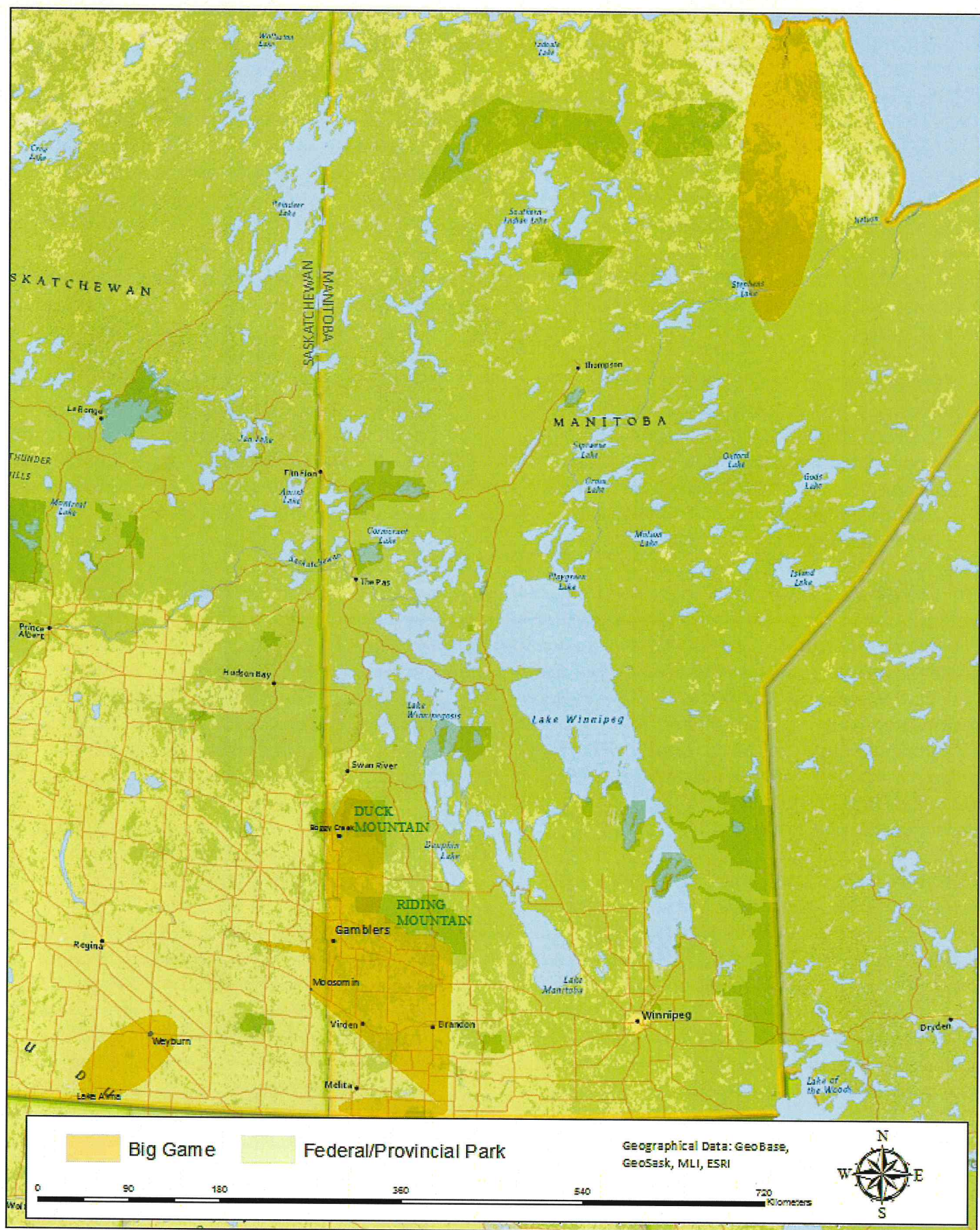
Not all Gamblers members camped with tents, Brent Belhumeur recalls the cabin at Caesars Creek used by members when harvesting. Although the Caesar's Creek cabin is the only one he recalls, he is quite sure there were many more used in this capacity "I knew there was one at Caesar's Creek and that's all I can think of. I'm sure there was" (GFN Member Brent Belhumeur, 2015).

Locations

Traditional big game harvesting locations for the Gamblers include, but are not limited to:

Assiniboine River	Gainesboro	Rimbey, AB
Assiniboine Valley	Gillam	Rivers
Buck Lake, AB	Goodlands	Roblin
Binscarth Community Pasture	Hudson Bay	Roblin Community Pasture
Binscarth	Lake Audy	Rocanville
Birtle	Lake Winnipeg	Russell
Birdtail River	Langenburg	Saskatchewan River
Boggy Creek	Lethbridge	Saskatchewan/Manitoba
Brandon	Lyleton	Border areas
Calgary	Manson	Shell River
Churchbridge	McAuley	Silver Beach
Churchill	McAuley Community Pasture	Solsgirth
Clear Lake	Medicine Lake, AB	Spy Hills
Community Pasture	Overflowing River	St. Lazare
Cypress Hills	Portage la Prairie	Turtle Mountain Prov. Park
Ditch Lake	Qu'Appelle River Valley	Waskada
Duck Mountain Provincial Park	Red River	Whitewater Lake
Foxwarren	Riding Mountain Provincial Park	

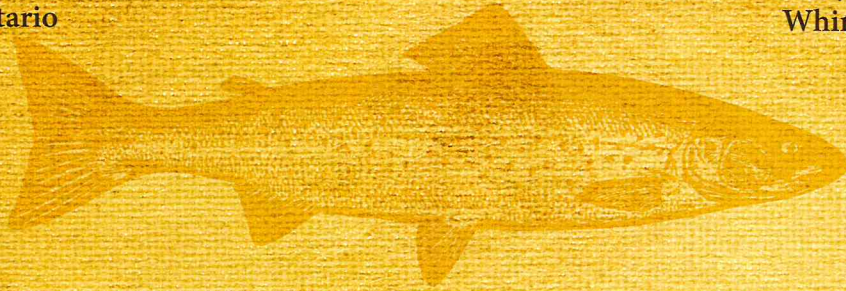
Figure 9: Big Game Locations



Locations

Some favourite locations outlined by the interviewees include but are not limited to:

Arrow Lake	Eagle Island	Ninette
Assessippi	Fox Lake	Nelson River
Assiniboine River	Gillam	Overflowing River
Battle Lake	Grand Rapids	The Pas
Bids Point	Gull Lake	Pelican Lake
Birdtail River	Kenora, Ontario	Pigeon Lake
Birtle	Kenosee Lake	Qu'Appelle River
Birtle Park	Lake Audy	Red River
Bracken Dam	Lake Dauphin	Riding Mountain
Brandon	Lake of the Prairies	Rainy Lake
Calgary	Lake of the Woods	Shell River
Chrystal City	Lake of the Woods Dam Lake	Slave Lake
Clear Lake	Winnipeg	Solsgirth
Crooked Lake	Lesser Slave Lake	Souris River
Deep Lake	Limestone Dam Minnedosa Lake	Spear Lake
Ditch Lake	Moose Mountain Park	Sylvan lake
Dryden, Ontario		Whirlpool Creek



While some members of Gamblers use a boat for fishing “we had canoes up in Gillam, a hunting boat down here” (GFN Chief David LeDoux, 2014), many still fish offshore using some kind of a rod system:

Another thing is what they called deadlines – so just a long willow with a green fishing string with a weight on the bottom with a J-hook and they used frogs to catch fish back then. Well, of course, it’s something in the river and its swimming – the fish were attracted to it (GFN Member Brent Belhumeur, 2015).

Rods and ice rocks - I’ve got seven or eight because in our family there was four, and our niece moved down and she had five kids so I made sure I had rods and reels for all of them for fishing (GFN Member Patrick Tanner, 2014).

site where their ancestors gathered and lived continuously or intermittently within their annual harvest cycles. This Riding Mountain lake site was a traditional fishing area for the Gamblers people:

This was the originating home for a number of the Elders’ relatives. Many people used to travel to this site with their kin and would stay for periods of varying length to hunt and fish. Even without family members living at this cite, people would go there to camp and live for the summer (Peckett, 1999).

Prior to the creation of Riding Mountain National Park, many Saulteaux people called this area home. The Keeseekoowenin First Nation had a permanent camp at Clear Lake before they, like others, were evicted from their homelands. In order to prevent further ‘Aboriginal’ occupation at Clear Lake, park officials and Indian agents kept close watch, permitting them to camp at this site “at times ... so long as they conform

Peckett’s thesis pertaining to the Anishinaabe homeland history has Elders citing Clear Lake as a heritage