

The Cultural Landscape of the Fort Garry Campus: Landform, Use, and Occupancy Prior to 1900



University
of Manitoba

| Campus Planning Office

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TRADITIONAL TERRITORIES ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The University of Manitoba campuses are located on original lands of Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota, and Dene peoples, and on the homeland of the Métis Nation.

We respect the Treaties that were made on these territories, we acknowledge the harms and mistakes of the past, and we dedicate ourselves to move forward in partnership with Indigenous communities in a spirit of reconciliation and collaboration.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research for this document was conducted in the summer and fall of 2017 by student researchers Naithan Legace and Jordan Mykietowich. This document owes much to their hard work, scholarship, and passion for the project.

The document also relies heavily and gratefully on Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair's research on First Nations histories, traditional knowledges, and land uses in the southern Manitoba region, from his 2016 Manitoba-Minnesota Transmission Project report; as well as Adele Perry whose expertise and review has helped to shape and guide this document.

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PART 1 – INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

This report is a tool to help inform the planning and design of the University of Manitoba's Fort Garry campus, particularly its open spaces and green spaces. The research presented here is meant as a resource for the University and design consultants in this work. It is also intended to be an input for an eventual Landscape Master Plan for the campus.

The intent in applying this information to landscape planning and design is to reflect and emphasize the Indigenous and environmental histories of the land on which the campus sits, making them visible and significant components of the campus environment, and recognizing them as a crucial part of campus' culture, heritage, and identity.

The document represents a starting point. It does not set or define parameters, but rather offers themes, ideas, and issues to be explored and built upon when undertaking landscape planning work.

GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE AND LIMITS OF RESEARCH

Because of this report's local focus on the campus land's southern Manitoba context, the information centres largely on the Indigenous groups most historically present within this particular region – notably the Anishinaabeg, Cree, Dakota, and Métis peoples. The University community, however, includes Indigenous peoples from many regions and treaty territories far beyond the geographic scope of this research.

These broader groups and perspectives are important and should also be visible in the campus environment. The report does not intend to exclude those groups but is meant as a tool for projects that focus specifically on integrating local perspectives and histories of the local campus region.

UNIVERSITY PLANNING CONTEXT

This report supports the University's strategic priority of "Creating Pathways to Indigenous Achievement;" specifically the goal to "weave Indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditions into the fabric of our University (people, programming, spaces)." It also exists alongside the University's Indigenous Planning and Design Principles, and the Visionary (re)Generation Master Plan for the Fort Garry campus.

NOTES ON SOURCES

While this document is meant to help ‘Indigenize’ the campus by reflecting pre-colonial landscapes and histories, much of the historical material consulted is from colonial sources (for example, archival documents and maps). The language and purpose of such sources were linked to colonial processes. The report acknowledges this tension and seeks to balance the origins of these sources by relying also on Indigenous scholarship and research, as well as knowledge communicated in several Traditional Knowledge reports.

This report is not exhaustive or authoritative. It represents a starting point, based on the research conducted for this specific project. The Indigenous histories of the campus region are numerous and complex; this report reflects only a fraction of that complexity.

TERMINOLOGY USED IN THE REPORT

Historical sources, academic scholarship, and governmental policy all employ a variety of different terms when discussing Indigenous peoples in Canada, terms that have changed and evolved over time. Recognizing the intricacies and diversity of preferences regarding terminology, the following terms are those used most frequently in the report:

Indigenous – a general term to describe all First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. The report uses this term when referring to both First Nations and Métis, rather than ‘Aboriginal,’ which is also a term encompassing all the original peoples of Canada (the Canadian Constitution Act defines ‘Aboriginal’ as referring to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples).

First Nations – refers to a wide range of Indigenous groups and peoples in Canada but does not include Inuit or Métis. First Nations most referenced in the report are:

- Anishinaabe (plural: Anishinaabeg), also known as Ojibway, Chippewa, Bungi, Saulteaux
- Cree (“Nēhilawē” in the Cree language)
- Dakota (comprising the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota groups), also known by the European-imposed term “Sioux.”

Métis – refers to “post-contact Indigenous people”¹ who emerged in the late 18th century as a distinct nation, with roots in the historic Red River community.

For more detailed information on terminology, see:

U of M Indigenous Student Centre:

<http://umanitoba.ca/student/indigenous/terminology.html>

Chelsea Vowel:

<http://apihtawikosisan.com/2012/01/a-rose-by-any-other-name-is-a-mihkokwaniy/>

The Canadian Encyclopedia:

<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-people/>

PART 2 – SITUATING THE CAMPUS LANDS: HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, PEOPLE

ORIGINAL LANDS AND PEOPLES

Although the University of Manitoba was founded in 1877, the first buildings of the Fort Garry campus – then the site of the Manitoba Agricultural College – weren't constructed until 1911, and officially opened in 1912. The history of the campus lands, though, stretches back far beyond the construction of the first buildings.

This history begins with the original peoples who resided in the area now known as Manitoba, long before the arrival of European settlers. The province's name itself is attributed to several First Nations languages and meanings – Manitou and wapow referring to 'great spirit' and 'sacred water' in Cree, or Manito-bau in Anishinaabemowin. The land has long been understood as Manito Ka Apit, meaning 'where the creator sits.'

The Indigenous histories of the land on which the campus sits are evident in the region immediately surrounding the campus, especially in relation to the Red River, which derives its name from the Cree word Miskousipi, meaning 'red water river.'

The intersection of the La Salle and Red Rivers, to the south of the campus in St. Norbert, was a significant meeting site where, for example, several Anishinaabeg archaeological discoveries have been noted.² Further south along the Red, near what is now St. Adolphe, archaeological analysis of the riverbottom forest has shown First Nations use of the area as much as 2,000 years ago.³ Further to the north, the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers at The Forks has long been known as an important site dating back thousands of years.

The Creation narratives of the Anishinaabeg, Cree, and Dakota peoples all make reference to "their home being in south-eastern Manitoba,"⁴ correlating with scientific evidence and research that demonstrates these First Nations' use and occupancy of the region "for thousands of years or 'since time immemorial.'"⁵ Along with the region's standing as the traditional homeland of the Métis Nation (discussed further below), the campus lands are part of a geographic area with a rich environmental heritage, as well as a deep network of Indigenous histories that extend to the present day.



Figure 1: Geographic context of the Fort Garry Campus lands.

MÉTIS HOMELAND AND RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

The present-day campus was also situated within what came to be known as the Red River Settlement, where Métis identity flourished into a new distinct culture, with the area becoming known and established as the traditional homeland of the Métis Nation. The Settlement, although formally established in 1811-12, was actually precipitated earlier, in the 1790s, when a group of Anishinaabeg and Cree, led by Chief Peguis, established the first settlement in the northern portion of what would become known as the Red River Settlement.⁶

The Métis were the overwhelming majority within the Settlement by the mid-1800s, and part of a very multicultural region. The Métis' presence was particularly significant in the parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert where the campus is now located.⁷ They “actively participated in all aspects of Red River’s development to 1870, the year in which they oversaw the installation of the first representative (elected) government in the territory that would become Canada’s West.”⁸

The Métis settlements that grew along the rivers – including the campus area – are a significant part of the campus lands’ history. On the Red River, these communities stretched from what is now Winnipeg all the way into what is now North Dakota.

Although the City of Winnipeg was incorporated in 1873, its area at the time was only about three square miles in the vicinity of The Forks, with the Assiniboine River forming the general southern boundary. The eventual campus, therefore, remained well outside Winnipeg’s boundaries at the time.⁹

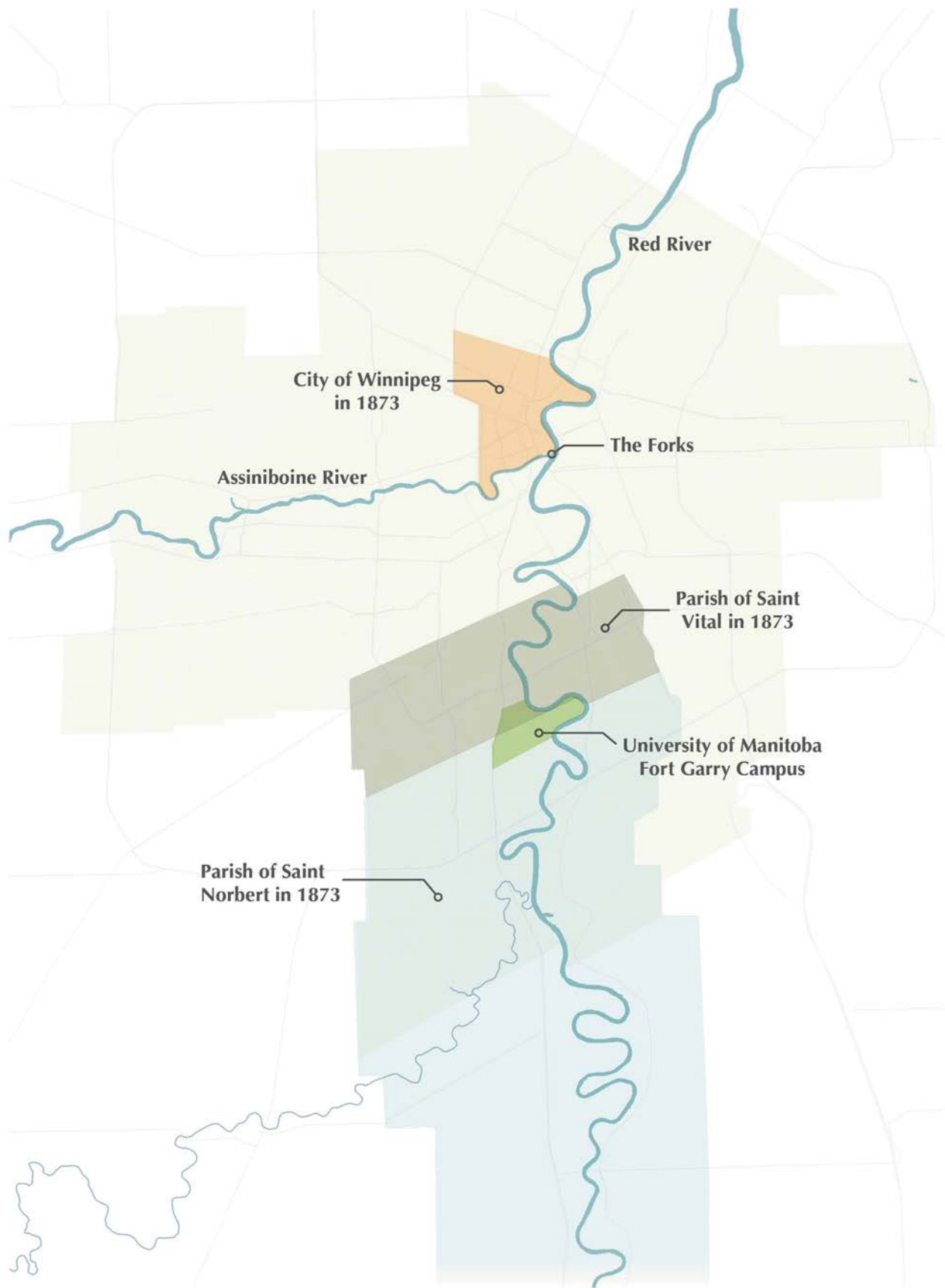


Figure 2: Location of the Red River Settlement, with the campus lands and present day City of Winnipeg boundary noted for reference.

TREATY LANDS

The campus sits within Treaty 1 Territory (Figure 3), one of five Treaty Territories – established through treaty agreements between First Nations and the Crown between 1871 and 1921 – encompassing Manitoba’s land mass. Treaty 1 was signed in 1871 and First Nations signatories consist of Brokenhead Ojibway Nation, Sagkeeng First Nation, Long Plain First Nation, Peguis First Nation, Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation, Sandy Bay First Nation, and Swan Lake First Nation.

The campus is also located within the area of the 1817 Peguis-Selkirk Treaty (Figure 4). Reflecting on the land area of this treaty gives new perspectives on the Fort Garry campus’ place along the Red River, situating it within an expansive area that stretched along the Red River from Lake Winnipeg into what is now North Dakota. It also gives perspective on the campus lands as existing within a long and deep history of relationships between people and with the land. The chiefs’ signatures on the treaty exemplify this, as these signatures represented “a path of experiences, history, and life,” and spoke to their region of the world as “a network of humans, animals, water, and land along the Red River,” inviting the Selkirk Settlers into this network “of sharing and reciprocity.”¹⁰



Figure 3: The Fort Garry campus in the context of Treaty 1 Territory.

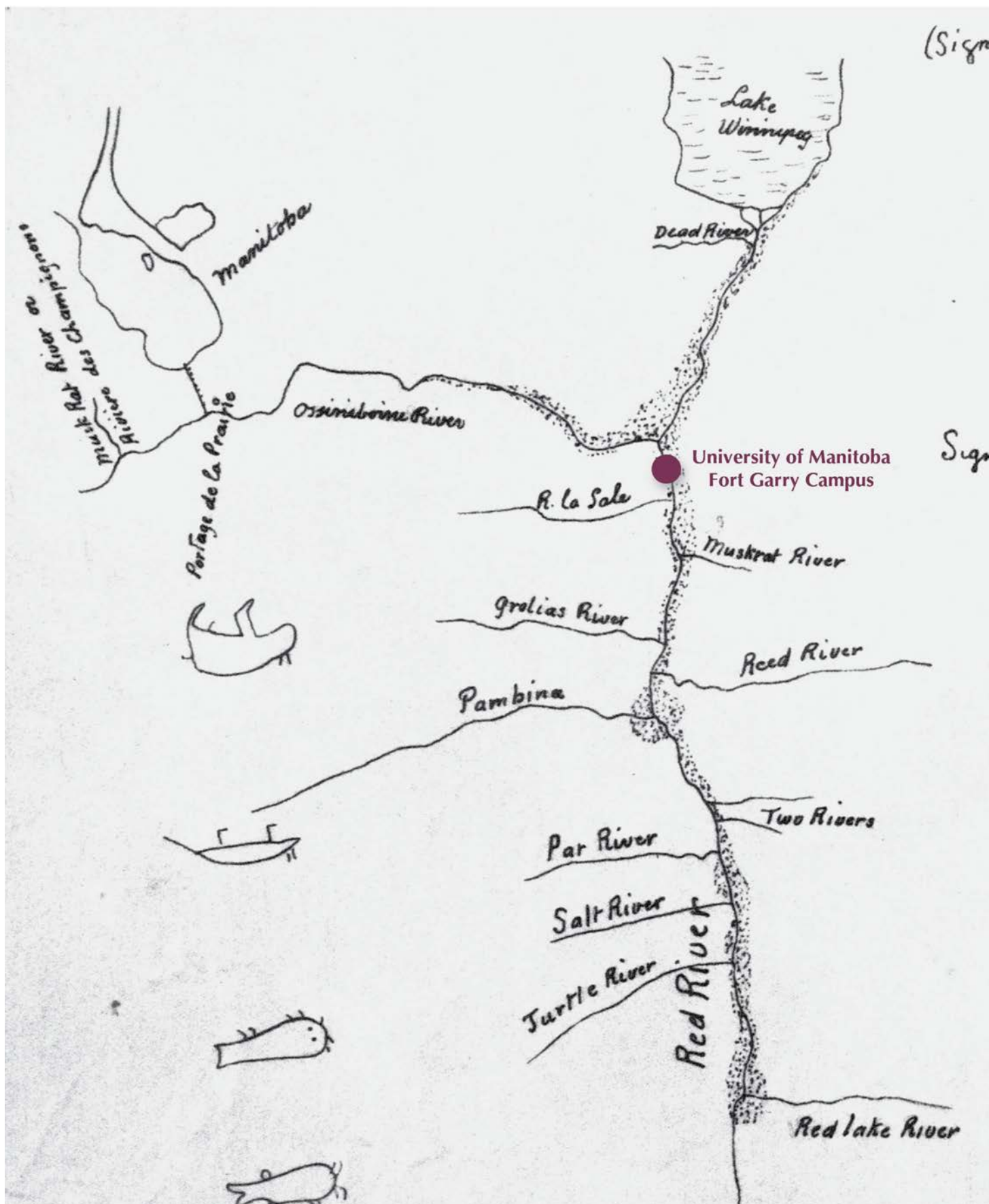


Figure 4: The Fort Garry campus in the context of the Peguis-Selkirk Treaty area.


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His  Mark

Le Sonnant

Pegowis

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His  Mark

La Robe Noire

Ouck: doat

His  Mark

Premier

his  mark

L'homme Noir

ed in presence of

Thomas Thomas

James Bird

F. Matthey Capt.

P. d'Orsomme Capt

Miles Macdonell

J. Bt Ch^s De Lorimier

LANDSCAPE AND GEOGRAPHY

Red River Valley Region

Glacial Lake Agassiz, and the glacier that preceded it approximately 20,000 years ago, both made their mark on the landscape of Manitoba. In the Red River Valley, highly fertile alluvial soils remained after the lake drained approximately 10,100 to 11,900 years ago. Pockets of the glacial lake still exist today – Lake Winnipeg, Lake Winnipegosis, and other large Manitoba lakes. The recession of water and the resulting formation of beaches were such that east-west drainage was impeded, and the remaining bogs made travel difficult for Indigenous peoples. Conversely, north-south travel was easier, as the remaining Lake Agassiz beaches formed natural corridors.¹¹

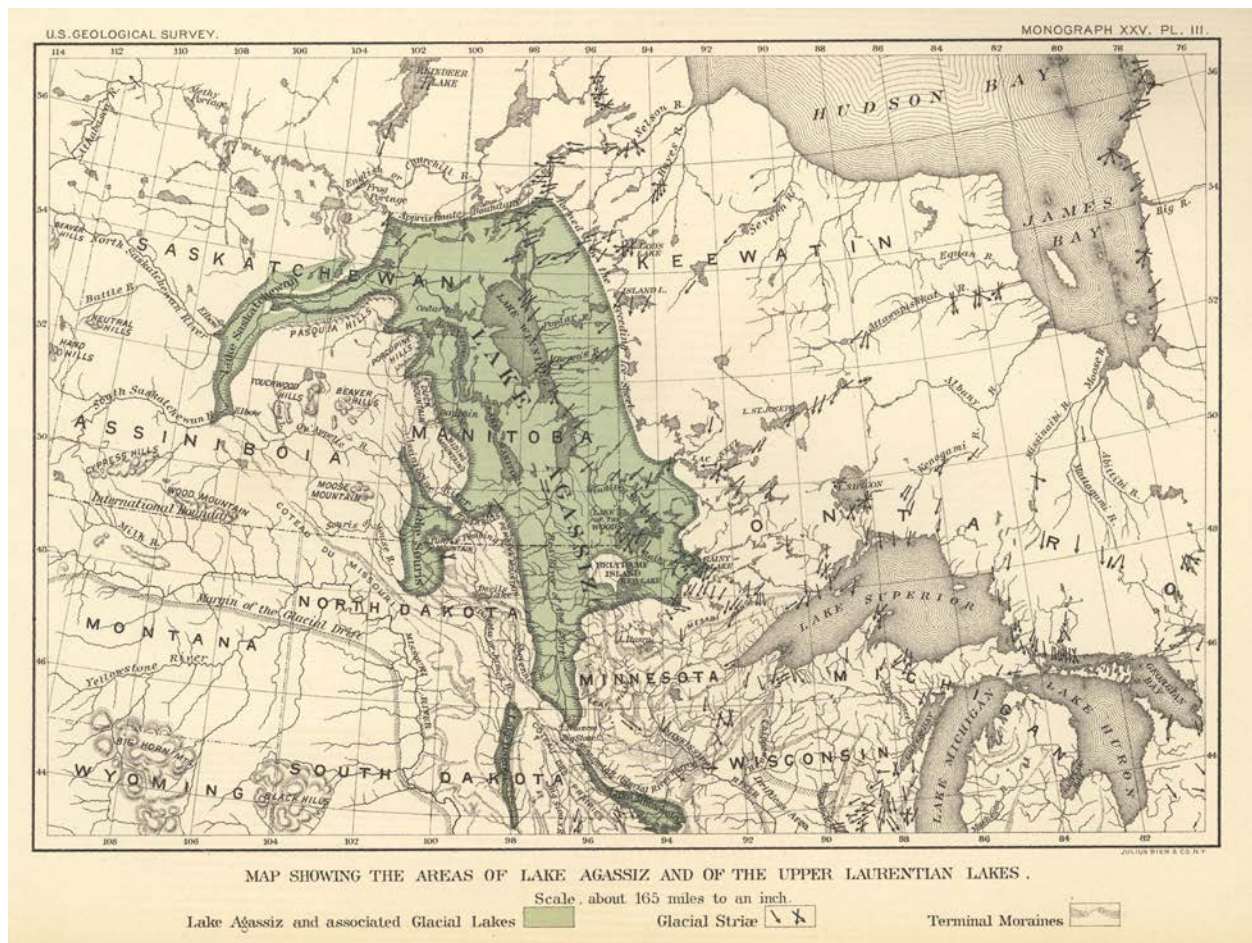


Figure 5: Map of Lake Agassiz, drawn in 1895.

The landscape left behind from Lake Agassiz in the region of the Fort Garry campus was extremely different than what it is now. Although it is true that the lake was responsible for creating the incredibly flat landscape of southern Manitoba and the Red River Valley, the area was not just a vast, unbroken expanse of undulating prairie, as is commonly thought. In fact, it was an ever-changing matrix of grassland and forest, with a diverse range of wildlife. The map in Figure 6 shows some notes on the natural and human-made characteristics of the region around the campus by the late 1850s.

The campus falls within the ‘Lake Manitoba Plain’ ecoregion of the prairies that, before European settlement and colonization, “was a mosaic of trembling aspen/oak groves and rough fescue grasslands.”¹³ More specifically, the portion of the Red River Valley stretching south from Winnipeg was originally tall grass prairie with “significant areas of wet meadow and marsh lands.”¹⁴

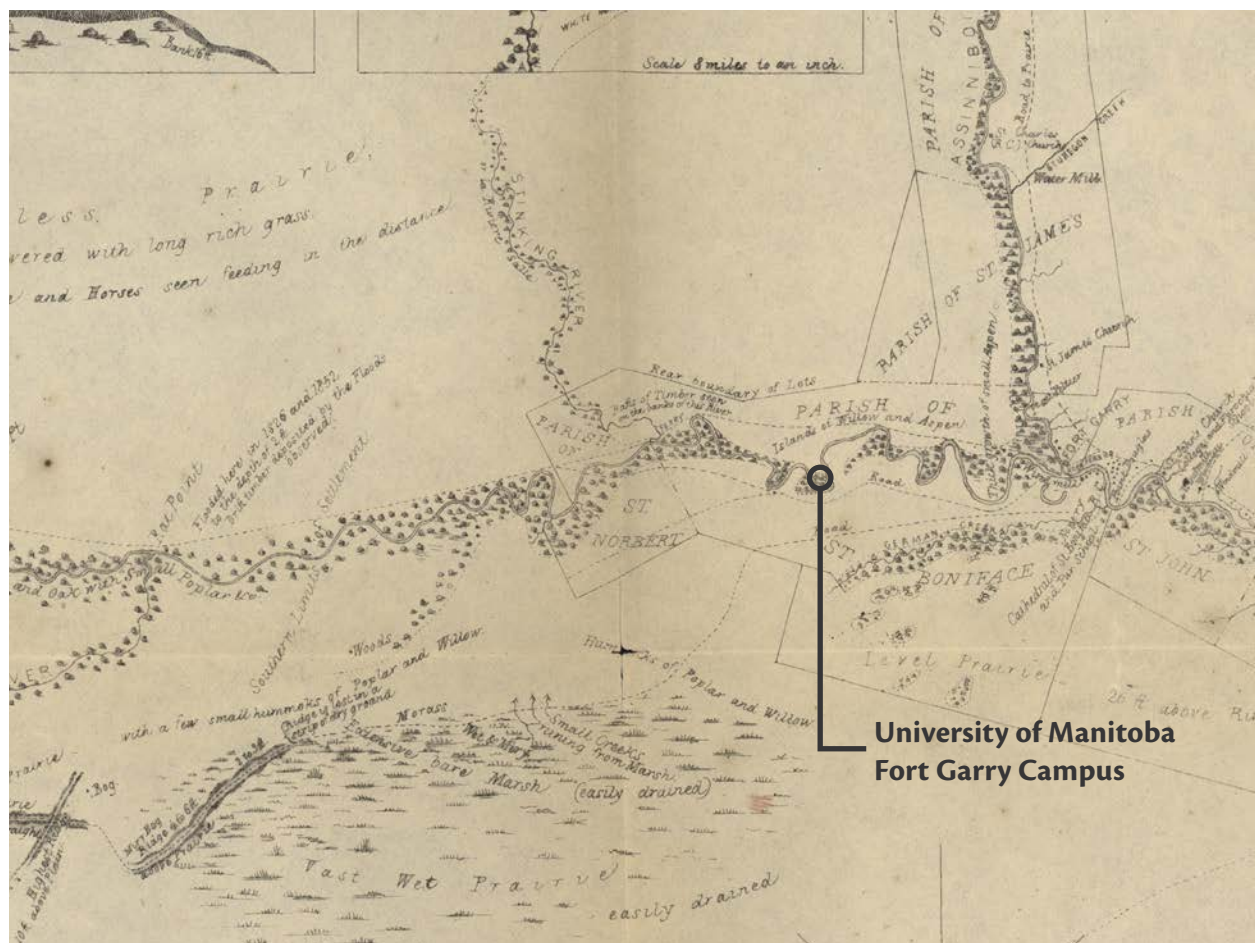


Figure 6: This 1858 map illustrates many of the natural and human-made features of the southern Manitoba landscape at that time. Present-day campus location is noted.¹²

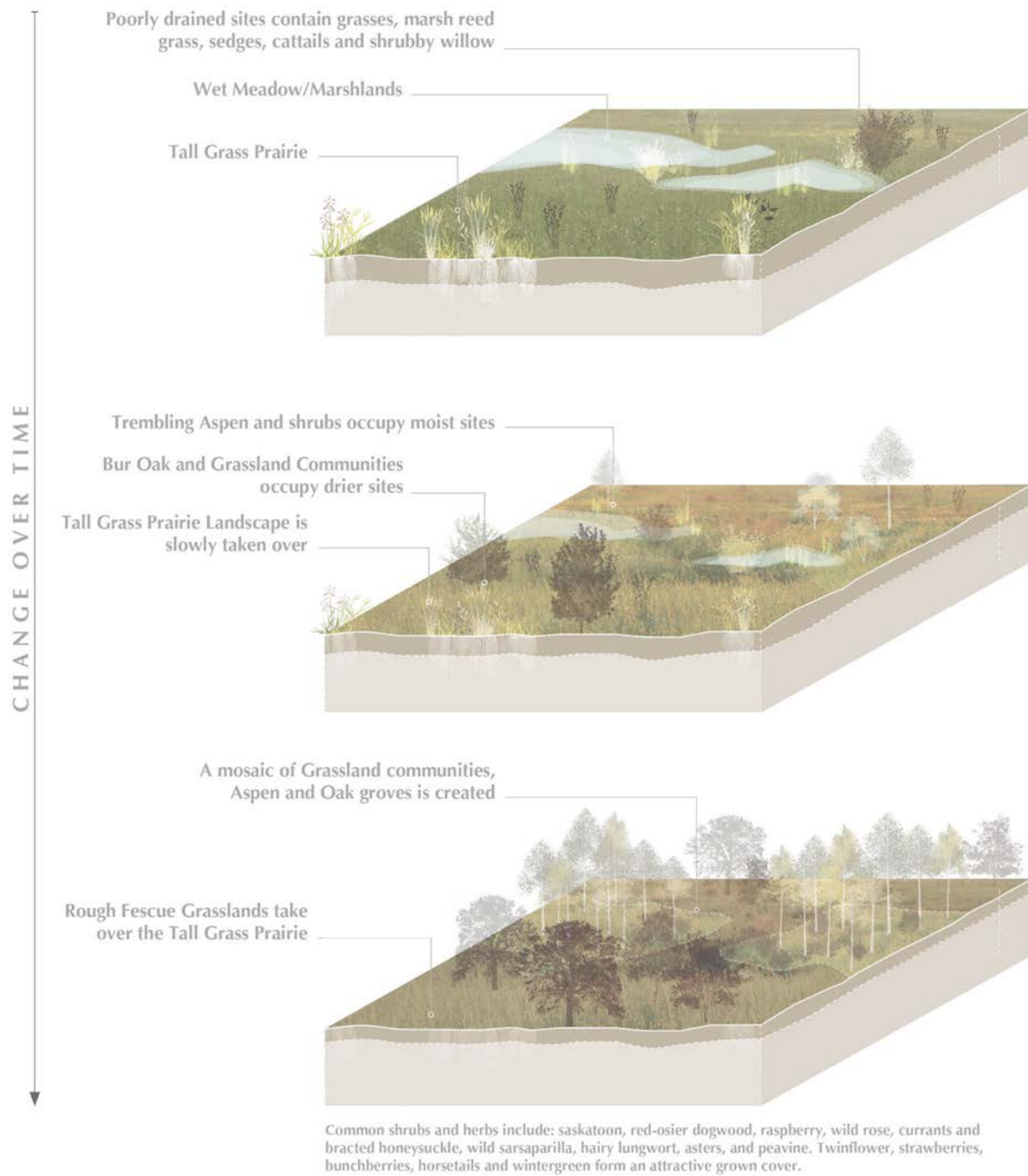


Figure 7: An example of how the prairie landscape of the Red River Valley likely changed over time, illustrating how grassland can become aspen forest.

By the 1870s, when the Dominion began surveying the land for increased Canadian settlement, the landscape comprised “55%...unbroken prairie, with the remainder made up of forest (35%), wetlands (10%), and a variety of smaller features (water, agricultural land, settlements, burned and unclassified areas) collectively representing under 1%.”¹⁵ Figure 8 illustrates what this may have looked like in map form.

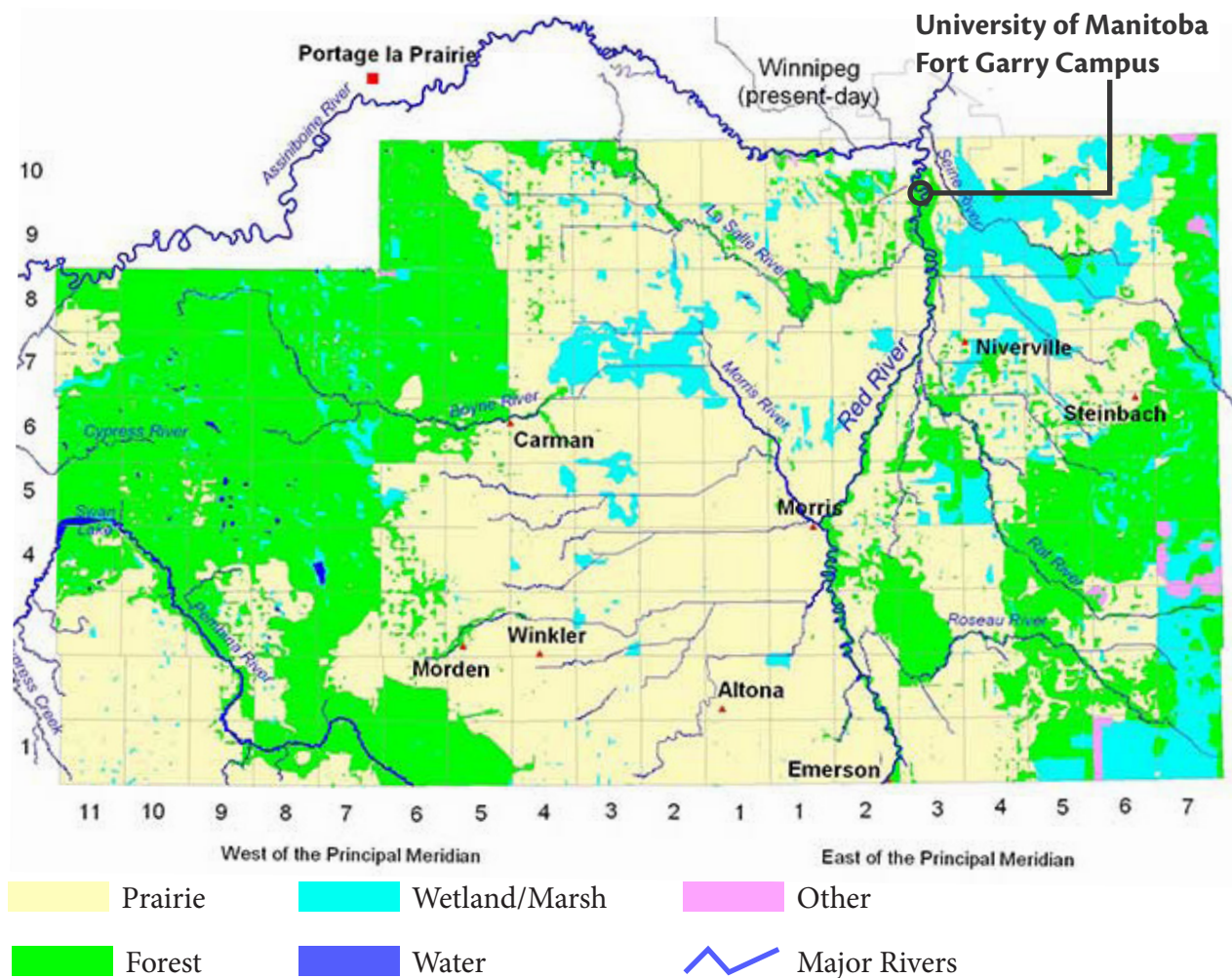


Figure 8: Composition of the southern Manitoba landscape of the 1870s, reconstructed using data from the Dominion Land Survey Township maps of the 1870s. The campus area is shown to be heavily forested, with a mix of prairie and forest to the west, and a mix of prairie and wetland/marsh to the east. Present day towns are noted for reference¹⁶

CAMPUS AND SURROUNDING AREA

Forest, Plains, and Wetlands

The land where the Fort Garry campus is now situated looked very different before and after the formal establishment of the Red River Settlement (1811-12) up until construction of the Agricultural College began in 1911. Into the late 1800s, much of the current campus land was densely forested. Historic photographs (Figures 9-11) from the construction of the campus' first buildings in the early 1900s show the extent and density of the forest in what is now the heart of the campus.

According to an 1874 map, the river oxbow (now known as the Point Lands) and the majority of the main campus area consisted of oak, elm, and ash trees, with poplar and willow further west toward what is now Smartpark. The Pembina Cart Trail also traversed north-south through what is now Smartpark, just east of present-day Pembina Highway. The forested area of campus river lots ended in this vicinity²⁰ (see Figure 12).



Figure 9: A photograph, likely from 1911, showing the basement of the Administration building being excavated on the campus. Note the forest in the background.¹⁷



Figure 10: A photograph, likely from 1911, showing a machine used to clear land for the construction of the Tache Hall residence on the Fort Garry campus.¹⁸

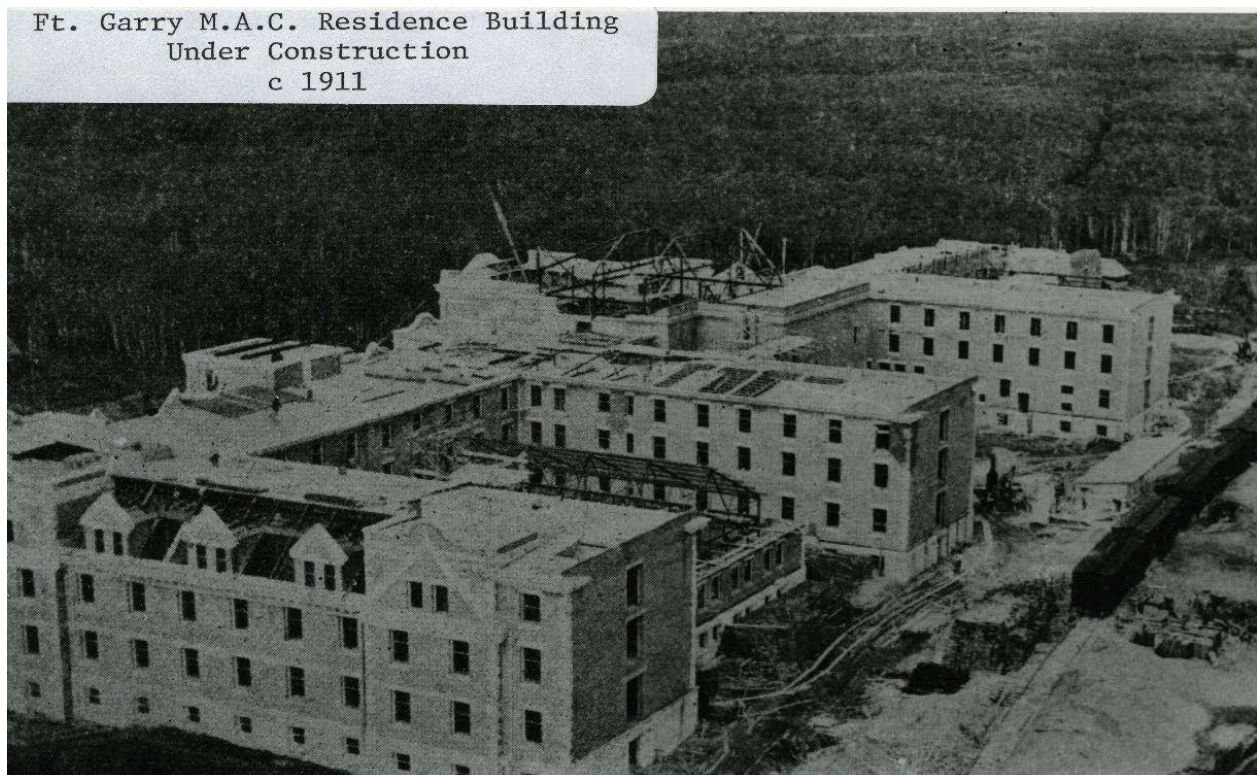


Figure 11: Photograph showing Tache Hall under construction. The remaining forest can be seen in the background, and the Red River is faintly visible in the upper right-hand corner.¹⁹



Figure 12: 1874 survey map with the current campus and Southwood lands boundary noted.²¹

By this time, several cultivated areas also existed within the campus river lots, the largest being at the easternmost tip of the Point Lands. Smaller cultivated areas (timber or agriculture) existed in the general vicinity of the present-day Wallace Building and in the present-day Southwood Lands (Figure 13).²²

In more recent years, the area around what became University Crescent was remembered as having been “mostly all aspen, ash and oak trees, with wild rose, dogwood, willow bushes and houses scattered here and there.”²³

Further from where the campus now sits, the land took on more varied characteristics, with a mixture of open prairie, aspen forests, and wetlands. Earlier, in 1800, the forested area along the Red River was noted to continue south from the present-day campus lands, past the La Salle-Red River junction. Further to the southwest of this junction, the land expanded into the wide-open prairie commonly associated with southern Manitoba, whereas east of the Red, the land was “low, overgrown with poplars and willows, frequently intersected with marshes, stagnant ponds, and small rivulets.”²⁴

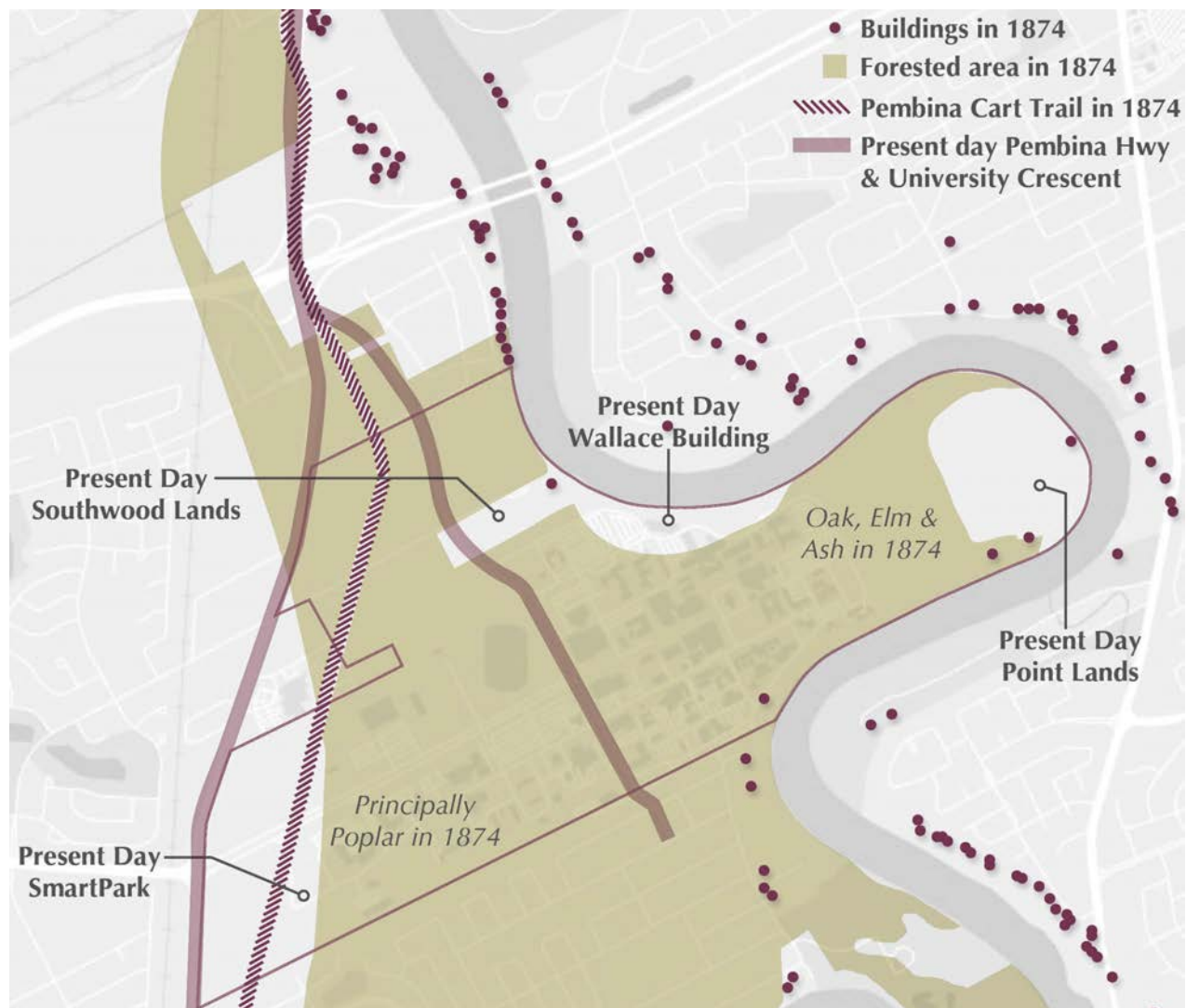


Figure 13: Landscape characteristics of the campus lands in the 1870s. Current campus buildings and roads shown for reference.

Riverbottom Forest

The forest surrounding the Red River within the campus area was indicative of much of the Red River corridor up to the mid-1800s, within what is now Winnipeg. Intermittent flooding – including major floods in 1809, 1826, 1852, and 1861²⁵ – resulted in waterlogged and highly fertile soil that supported larger, denser vegetation. The riverbottom forest of the Red was a three-tiered system (Figure 14). The tier lowest and closest to the river, the riverbank or channel shelf, was dominated by hearty species like peach-leaved willow, red-osier dogwood, wood nettle, moonseed, ostrich fern, poison ivy, and cottonwood, which could endure seasonal flooding. Larger trees like green ash, basswood, American elm, and Manitoba maple flourished on the flatter second tier, the floodplain. The terrace, the highest and furthest tier from the river was subject to far less flooding and is therefore home to species that preferred dryer conditions, such as bur oak.²⁶

Because of the significant amount of deforestation that occurred in the early years of the Red River Settlement and the massive amount of agricultural activity since then, there are very few undisturbed riverbottom forest areas remaining in the Red River Valley today. Currently, in southern Manitoba, there is only one undisturbed riverbottom forest along the Red River that is protected under the Ecological Reserves Act: the Jennifer and Tom Shay Ecological Reserve, approximately 20 kilometres south of the Fort Garry campus on the east bank of the river.²⁸ The relatively undisturbed nature of this area is extremely rare within the Red River Valley, and can provide excellent insight into how the forest within the campus oxbow most likely appeared prior to both European settlement and more recent agricultural development.

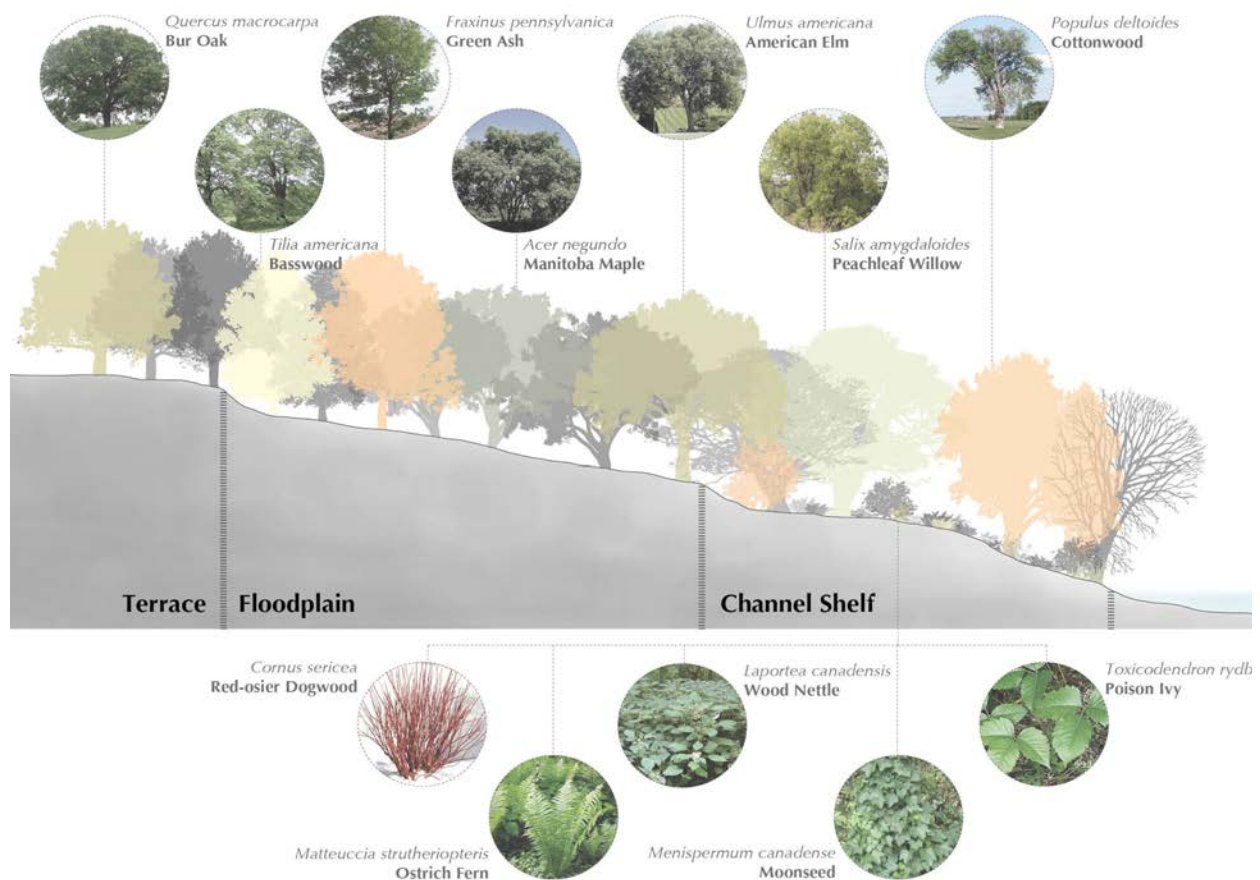


Figure 14: Diagram showing the tiers of riverbottom forest typically found along the Red River.²⁷

PART 3 – INTERACTIONS WITH THE LAND: USE, OCCUPATION, MOVEMENT



Figure 15: 1858 illustration of a wooden fish weir, or trap, used likely by the Anishinaabeg, on the Roseau River.²⁹

A DIVERSITY OF LAND USES

It is often easy to think of the ‘pre-development’ landscape of the campus lands and surrounding region as ‘untouched’ and empty. However, this perception of land as unoccupied or unutilized is not reflective of the historical reality of the area. In fact, the ways in which Indigenous peoples utilized and occupied the area demonstrated diverse, productive, and complex ways of life that were intrinsically tied to the land, water, and animals of the region, and based in deep knowledge of these components.

Resource Harvesting

All the Indigenous peoples in the region were involved in a variety of resource harvesting activities, including but not limited to fishing, hunting game such as waterfowl (and eggs), bison, moose, and deer; gathering berries, nuts, and roots; and sugaring.

Sugar was an important dietary and trade staple, and the process of sugaring was an immensely important social activity for Indigenous peoples. This activity was easily transplanted from the east – where sugar maples were plentiful – to the west, where Manitoba maple (also known as Box Elder) was an available and acceptable alternative.

The seasonal activity of sugaring was “a social occasion for those who used sugar groves along the Assiniboine and the Red rivers and their tributaries.”³⁰ New families wanting to harvest sugar either had to find a suitable, unused grove or had to ask permission to use another family’s. This process was significant in so far as “the process of laying claim to these family groves may

well have created some of the Ojibwas' first permanent ties to the West. These gatherings also reinforced kin ties among a larger group of people than the extended family that had wintered together, contributing to the formation of a group identity.”³¹

Sugaring, along with other forms of resource harvesting, demonstrates how important access to food and resources was for Indigenous peoples in the region, and how intertwined this resource harvesting was to establishing and maintaining societal bonds and cultural identity.

Controlled Burns

Prior to the arrival of European settlers, the landscape was regulated not only by seasons and weather, but also by First Nations peoples, in a sustainable and mindful way, through prescribed burning. In grasslands as well as forests, fire “is an important ecological agent...for its role in mediating vegetation patterning and diversity.”³² Based on the historical accounts of North American parkland regions in the 1800s, fire “probably operated in... spring... as a bison ‘attractant’ and [in] summer as a ‘repellent.’”³³ In clearing areas of old and accumulated scrub, fresh new shoots would sprout unimpeded the following year, thereby making it a more attractive grazing area for bison. When herds were seen to be encroaching upon undesirable territory, fire was utilized to temporarily manipulate their movements. Moreover, “burning may have enabled higher human carrying capacities in the Plains Woodland period.”³⁴ It also likely had the effect of “maintain[ing] a prairie subclimax that would, if left undisturbed, [have been] invaded by aspen.”³⁵

Agriculture

Farming has always been an integral aspect of southern Manitoban identity, and the University of Manitoba holds a key place in the formation of this identity. Its location in Fort Garry began with the establishment of an agricultural college, and agriculture has retained a strong emphasis within the University’s research and teaching, and within its identity overall.

However, even before European settlement and development in the region, farming was an important part of Indigenous peoples’ lives. At the time of European settlement, colonizers were often exceedingly frustrated with that they believed was First Nations’ resistance to take up permanent residences and ‘work the land.’ In actuality, agriculture was an immensely important pre-colonial activity. Chief Peguis, his allies, and their predecessors were successful horticulturists with rich and complex understandings of environmental patterns and sustainability. At least four hundred years before the Red River settlement was established in 1812, various First Nations were “cultivating crops such as corn, potatoes, and pumpkins.”³⁶ Within the Red River Settlement proper, the people of Peguis’ settlement were “the first farmers,” with “their planting of corn – a crop indigenous to Turtle Island [North America]” noted as early as 1805.³⁷

Wild rice was also a notable crop for Indigenous peoples in the region, particularly the Cree and Anishinaabeg of the St. Peter’s settlement, further illustrating the importance of the Red River in the area. Wild rice became a local resource by 1820, due to the Anishinaabeg sowing of seeds

“in marshes and small lakes in the Red and Assiniboine River corridors. Rice was harvested at Netley Creek near the south basin of Lake Winnipeg, in several marshes along the Red River, in small lakes east of Brandon House, and at the mouths of rivers flowing into the east side of Lake Winnipeg.”³⁸

Agriculture also played a prominent role in the social structure of the Red River Métis. The Métis farmer/trader communities were predominantly located in “St. Boniface, St. Vital and St. Norbert;” in other words in the area of the present-day campus, and they were recognized as having been the “leaders of the [Métis] Nation, well known for their enterprising qualities.”³⁹ Métis farming was a diverse and successful endeavour along the rivers, and included livestock, gardening, ranching, and many acres of cultivated land throughout the Red River Settlement.⁴⁰

The success of Indigenous agricultural activities is why “the Red River Ojibwa and their Cree, freeman, and Métis relatives are generally credited with keeping the settlers alive through the first desperate years of the [Red River] Settlement’s existence.”⁴¹ Despite this, their highly efficient agriculture methods and seasonal patterns of movement were viewed by settlers as ‘nomadic’ and therefore detrimental to the Western, settler values of property ownership and agricultural homesteading.

Agriculture and Campus Identity

Recognition of Indigenous forms of agriculture and their importance to the land and region of the Fort Garry campus could potentially expand and deepen the campus’ agricultural identity beyond only European-based agriculture, by exploring ways to communicate this broader identity in new ways through the planning and design of campus spaces.

MOVEMENT AND TRANSPORTATION

The Red River

The Red River, while a key geographic feature of the campus, is also a living reminder of its historical importance to Indigenous peoples in the area, and their connection, through water, to a vast network of other areas and peoples.

The river was an important transportation and trade route, and part of an Indigenous trade network stretching as far as the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson Bay (Figure 16). The La Salle / Red River junction to the south of the campus was likely a significant site for meeting and trading, as of course was the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in downtown Winnipeg, an important site for thousands of years.

For the Anishinaabeg of the region, waterways were “highways rather than barriers to movement.”⁴² This was particularly true for those Anishinaabeg and Cree who, led by Chief Peguis, settled in the Netley Creek area (later known as the St. Peter’s settlement) due to its proximity to the Forks via the Red River.

Beyond the Forks though, the Red River extended south past the current campus lands as part of a network of waterways stretching as far south as the Mississippi. Access to this network was vitally important to Peguis' community, as it was a watershed containing sturgeon, a fish that was "central to life in the St. Peter's settlement."⁴³ Peguis himself also travelled the Red River often, and would have passed the current campus lands numerous times on trips south to Fort Pembina (in present-day North Dakota), which he made frequently throughout his life. These river trips would likely have been for diplomatic and political purposes.⁴⁴

The Red River was also an all-seasons transportation route, becoming highly used in winter by dog-or-horse-drawn sleighs.⁴⁵ If snow on the frozen river was not too deep, walking and driving were "easy and pleasant," with the banks shielding travelers from cold winter winds.⁴⁶

The Trails

Many settlers who arrived at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers traveled along trails that had long been established and utilized by First Nations peoples. Many of these trails were used by settlers and Métis cart traders during the fur trade era, and a number of Manitoba's present-day roads loosely follow them today (Figure 18).⁴⁷

Although this network of trails was extensive, two trails in particular were most proximal to the present-day campus: the Pembina Trail (or West Red River Trail) extended north and south along the western edge of what is now the campus, and was the precursor to today's Pembina Highway. To the east of the campus, across the river, was the Crow Wing Trail (consisting of both the East Red River Trail and the Woods Trail), which was in the vicinity of where St. Mary's Road currently lies (Figure 17)



Figure 16: Map illustrating the ability to travel from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico via water travel routes, connecting the Red River Settlement with Fort Pembina and beyond.

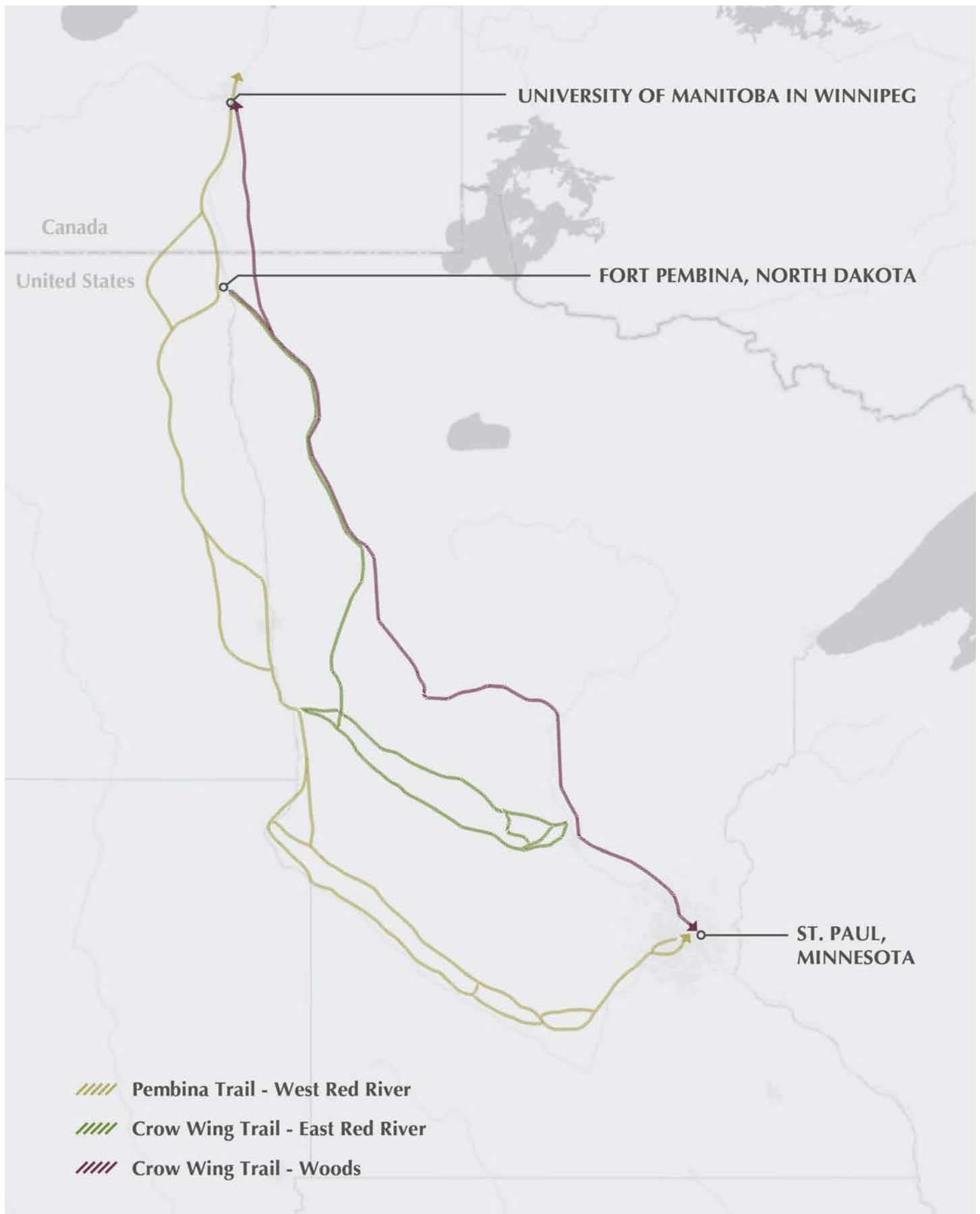


Figure 17: Map illustrating the location of the Pembina and Crow Wing Trails in relation to the campus.

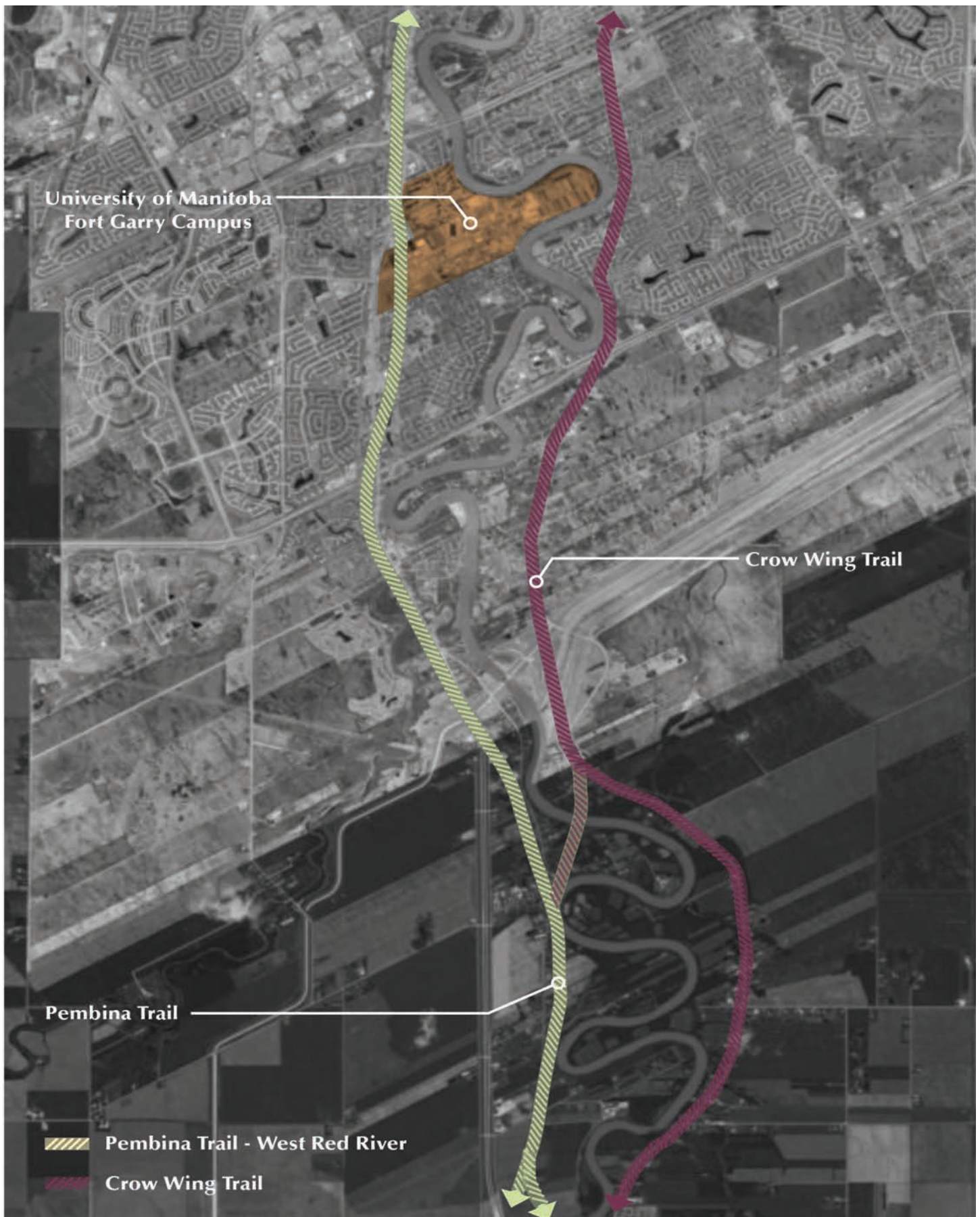


Figure 18: The historical Pembina and Crow Wing Trails in relation to the current City of Winnipeg context near the Fort Garry campus.

The Pembina Trail

The Pembina Trail ran alongside the west bank of the Red River, south to Lake Traverse in Minnesota, and was the route where “the techniques of commercial cart traffic were developed into a fine art by the Métis cart drivers.”⁴⁸ This trail initially enabled the Red River settlement to trade with Fort Pembina before the trail was extended down to St. Paul.

The Crow Wing Trail

The two components of the Crow Wing Trail – the East Red River Trail and the Woods Trail – originated at the Forks and St. Boniface, respectively, both utilizing the beach lines of the former Lake Agassiz. These ancient beaches “formed sandy ridges on the prairie which were perfect natural roads,” as opposed to the mud and moisture that often characterized the Pembina Trail along the river.⁵⁰ The Crow Wing Trail was also used for trade between the Red River Settlement and St. Paul.

Trails on the Campus Lands

Although the Pembina and Crow Wing were the most notable and important cart trails in the campus vicinity, other trails accessed the current campus area. In 1874, a “road” was noted in the approximate area between what is now the Fort Garry campus and the Southwood Lands, in the vicinity of Q and K Parking Lots (Figure 21). A map of the same year also shows a road connecting an area of what is now Fort Richmond, south of King’s Park, to the approximate location of where King’s Drive now accesses the campus from the south (Figure 22).

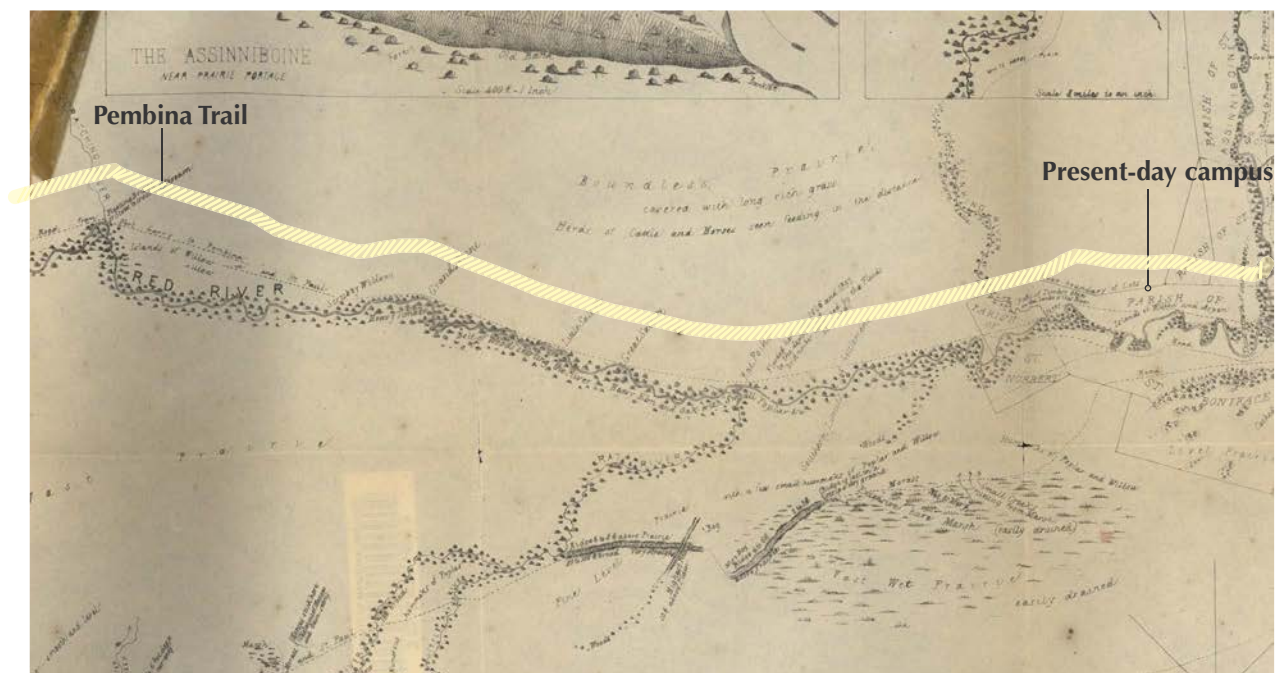


Figure 19: Historical map illustrating the location of the Pembina Trail (highlighted), from Fort Garry (near The Forks), south past the Scratching River (now the Morris River), near the present-day town of Morris, with present-day campus lands noted.⁴⁹



Figure 20: Historical map illustrating the location of the main Crow Wing Trail and some off-shoots (highlighted) from Fort Garry (near The Forks) to the Roseau River, with present-day campus lands noted. Also note how the main trail passes over ridges of high land to avoid swampy areas.⁵¹

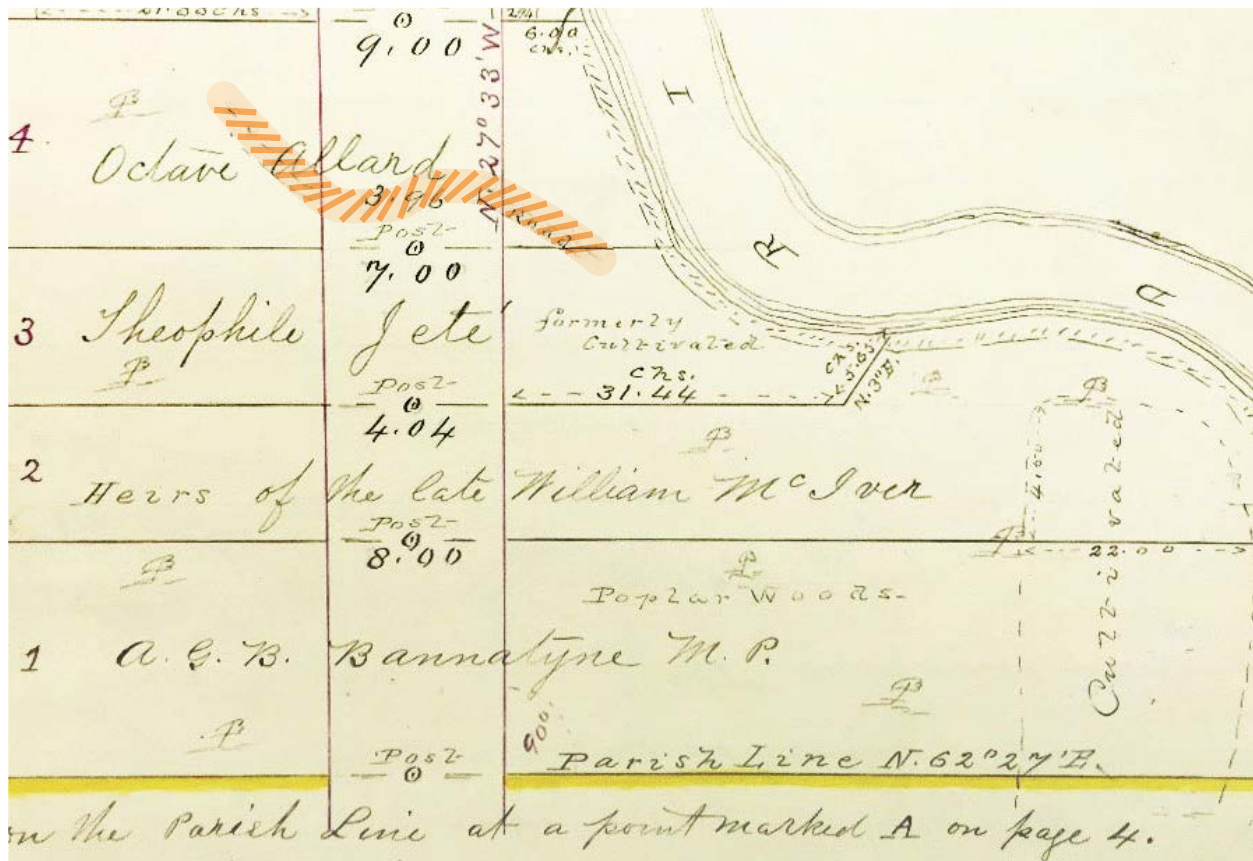


Figure 21: This historical map illustrates surveyed river lots on what are now the campus lands. While not to proper scale, it does note a "road" (highlighted in orange), in the vicinity of what are now Q and K Parking Lots and the Southwood Lands.⁵²



Figure 22: This historical map depicts a minor trail (highlighted in yellow) extending from an area south of the campus to where King's Drive currently enters the campus (current campus boundaries are noted in purple).⁵³

USES OF THE TRAILS

First Nations

The cart trails' locations were generally based on previous First Nations' travel routes. Later, in the 1800s, Chief Peguis would likely have used both the Pembina and Crow Wing Trails on his trips to Fort Pembina.⁵⁴ Also, among many First Nations' uses of trails and trade routes in the area, the Dakota utilized a traditional route in the vicinity of the Crow Wing Trail. This "historic route" linked the area just south of Winnipeg "to Red Lake, Minnesota," passing through Roseau and Emerson, and "was specifically used for trading tobacco."⁵⁵

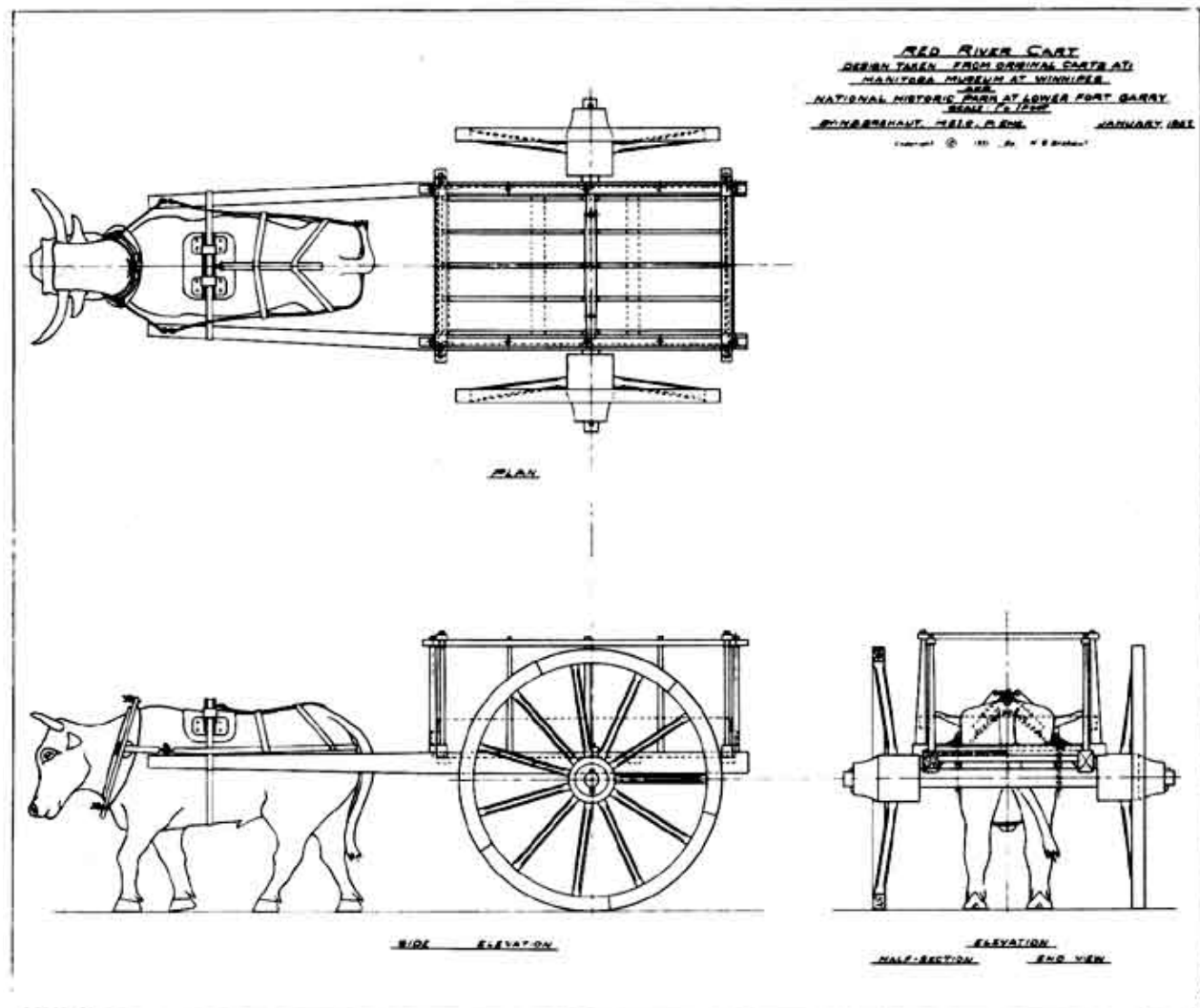


Figure 23: Drawing of a typical Red River Cart, based on an original cart housed at the Manitoba Museum.⁵⁹

Métis

Métis use of the trails resulted in the Red River cart becoming a major presence along the routes extending past the current campus lands. The trails were active trade routes, and the Pembina Trail in particular was also used to access the wide-open plains to the south for the large bison hunts that took place in spring and fall.⁵⁶ The Red River carts themselves remain a significant symbol of Métis culture, and a striking example of Métis technological innovation.

The entire cart was constructed completely out of wood, with native hardwoods used whenever possible (often elm for the hubs, oak for the axles and spokes, and ash for the side sticks)⁵⁷ as it was considered easier to repair with the standard tools that many Métis hunters had with them during their hunts. The wooden wheels also addressed the soft and often muddy conditions of the trails over which the Métis travelled in the area: the wheels were designed with a “cone” or dish-shaped design, and if they began to sink, the concavity would increase the width of the bearing surface as spokes came into contact with the ground.⁵⁸ Furthermore, this design allowed the inner tire surface to be kept small, resulting in increased speeds on hard surfaces. The shape of the wheel also lowered the cart’s centre of gravity, making it very resistant to tipping, and when the carts were used to float across water, the wheels could be removed and used as flotation devices.

The Point Lands and Cart Drivers

Along the Pembina Trail, the nearby Red River would have been a significant presence for the cart drivers, especially its many points and bends:

A feature we hardly notice today – the “points” or bends of the meandering river – loomed as large in the consciousness of oxcart drivers as do the points of the shoreline to a canoeist on a rugged northern lake. From the Assiniboine to Lake Traverse [in present-day South Dakota and Minnesota] the Red River’s curves were dotted with the names of people and events of the years of travelling along it.⁶⁰

It can be reasonably assumed then, that the Point Lands oxbow of the campus could have been, at the very least, a notable landmark for Indigenous peoples that was as socially meaningful as it was geographically significant.

The above example of the Métis’ navigation of the landscape through significant and meaningful landmarks also stands in contrast to numerous accounts of early European explorers and colonists. These accounts often described the region of the present-day campus as a vast expanse of ‘nothingness,’ with an apparently featureless landscape that was very often seen by the inexperienced eye as a ‘sea of prairie’ as ominous as it was serene. The examples mentioned above show that this wasn’t the case; in fact, the landscape was inhabited, experienced, understood, and traversed in complex and culturally meaningful ways by Indigenous peoples.

BISON HUNTING

For hundreds if not thousands of years prior to colonization, the bison were a key resource for survival on the prairies, including the grassland regions beyond the river corridor where the Fort Garry campus now sits, and beyond.

Cree and Dakota peoples relied heavily on the bison as did the Anishinaabeg, who would often join the great Métis bison hunt in the late summer season.⁶¹ The Dakota, according to Dakota Elders, “were referred to as the buffalo people since their territory overlapped with the historic range of the North American bison, also known as the Great Bison belt, which encompassed an area extending from the Yukon and North West Territories in the north, the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, and south near the Gulf of Mexico.”⁶²

The Bison Hunt and Métis Nationhood

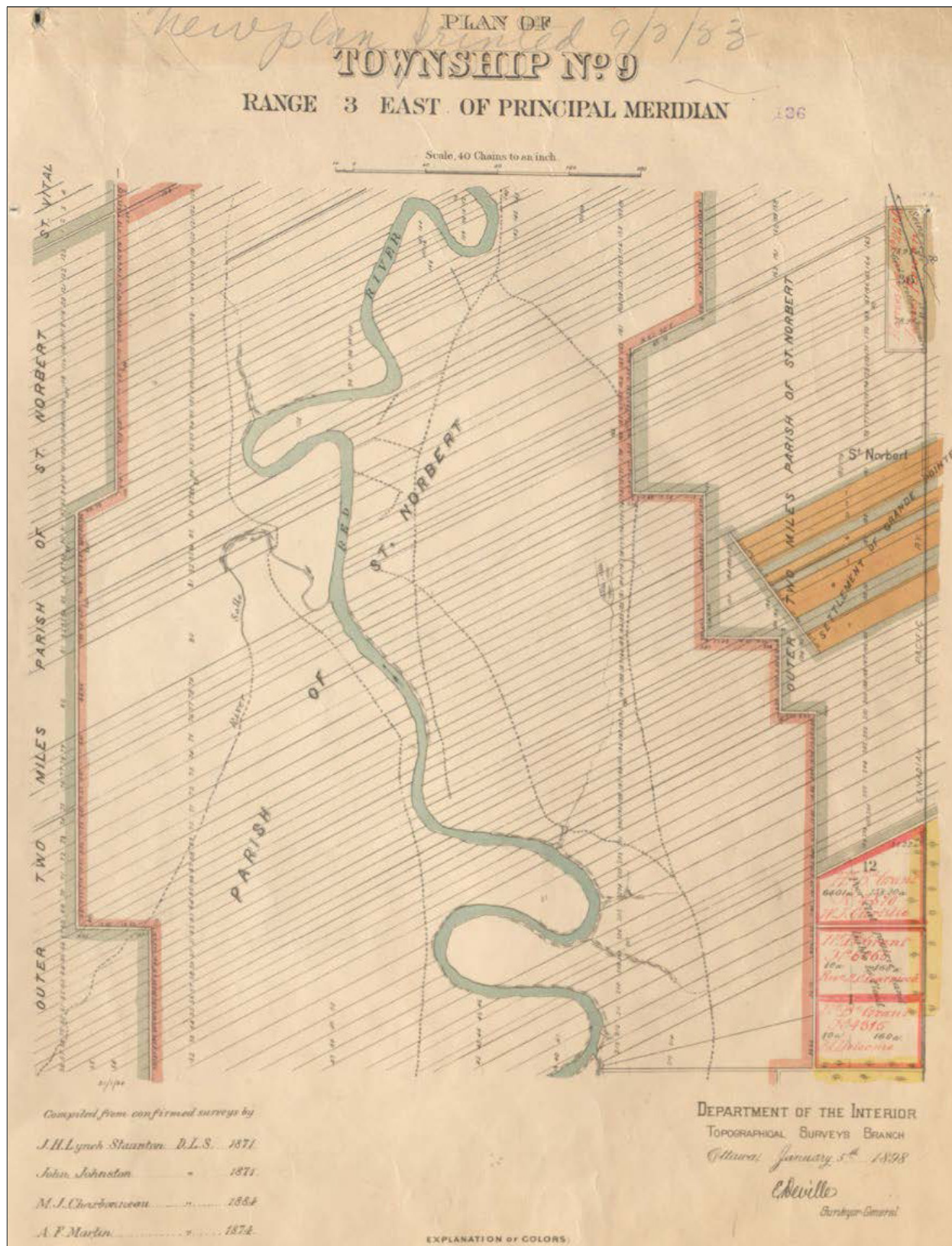
For the Métis, the bison hunt was a crucial element of political and cultural identity. The hunt, along with the river lot system, “were the two most powerful tools in forging their national and class consciousness before 1850.”⁶³

The bison hunts had a significant role in Métis attitudes towards governmental structures, and in Métis self-governance, illustrating the intrinsic way in which this land use and subsistence activity was embedded in the Métis Nation’s political structures and identity.

The larger hunts comprised hundreds of people, could last for months, and required a highly organized system of roles and responsibilities to ensure success. During these major hunts, rules were decided upon and all hunting parties involved were expected to follow them. The ability to organize en masse meant that Métis hunters were highly adept when it came to defending their land rights in the Red River Resistance, establishing a provisional government in 1869, and securing the Métis Bill of Rights during Manitoba’s entry into Confederation in 1870.⁶⁴



Figure 24: An 1873 lithograph illustrating a Métis hunting camp in Idaho near the Three Buttes.⁶⁵



THE RIVER LOTS

General Characteristics

Not only was the river lot system of land use crucial to Métis nationhood, it also provides a more detailed account of Métis land uses within the boundaries of what is now the campus, specifically in the mid-to-late 1800s.

The river lot system was implemented in 1813 along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where property was divided into narrow lots that extended two miles back from the bank of either river and “consisted of a 660- to 792-foot river frontage.”⁶⁶ Later, an inner and outer two-mile system was implemented, where “the ‘inner two miles’ included the house (log cabin), barn or stable, and gardens. The outer two miles were part of the ‘hay privilege’ containing “long grass which could be cut for animal feed.”⁶⁷ These natural grasses were abundant, and were a critical component of Métis farming, as livestock was a major part of agriculture in the Red River Settlement.⁶⁸

The lots were highly practical, allowing everyone access to both the river and the prairie, ensuring that “no farm families were isolated from neighbourly social contact and support.”⁷⁰ Often, a footpath would follow the riverbank, crossing the river lots and “winding from farm to farm for the length of a parish,” and in some locations a bridle path or road also existed along the shore.⁷¹ Near the river, a boat or canoe was often stored, to be used “for fishing, for crossing the river, and for travel to more distant parishes of the settlement.”⁷² In winter, holes were cut for the ice for access to fish and fresh water, with larger holes often fenced off and water holes “marked by poles ‘at least six feet high’ to guard against passers-by falling in.”⁷³

Campus River Lots

In many cases, the owner of one lot would also own another lot, which would be used for the timber that grew heavily along the banks of the Red. On a lot that is now part of the Fort Garry campus, previous owner Antoine Vandal was a potential example of this. He was the owner of river lot 118 (just outside the campus) and co-owner of lot 123 (within the campus). Since he had a house and multiple other buildings on lot 118, he likely used the co-owned lot 123 for timber and agriculture. (Figure 26).⁷⁴

Maps of the campus area from the 1870s show that a cleared section of land extended across the property lines of the five river lots, in the oxbow where the Point Lands are currently. This suggests that the respective owners of these lots may have been collaboratively harvesting to maximize their returns during the peak growing season. Houses and barns within the oxbow were constructed near the banks of the Red and look to have been between 1 and 1.5 miles away from the main Pembina Cart Trail. The cart trail itself passed through the area that is now Smartpark, not far from where Pembina Highway is now.⁷⁶

An 1858 woodcut drawing shows a glimpse of the Point Lands area of the current campus (Figure 29). Looking south from lot 61 in the St. Vital Parish⁷⁸, immediately across the river from the present-day Point Lands, this sketch shows one of the buildings that existed at the time on the campus. On the east side of the river, a bridle path and Red River Cart are shown between the riverbank and the buildings.⁷⁹

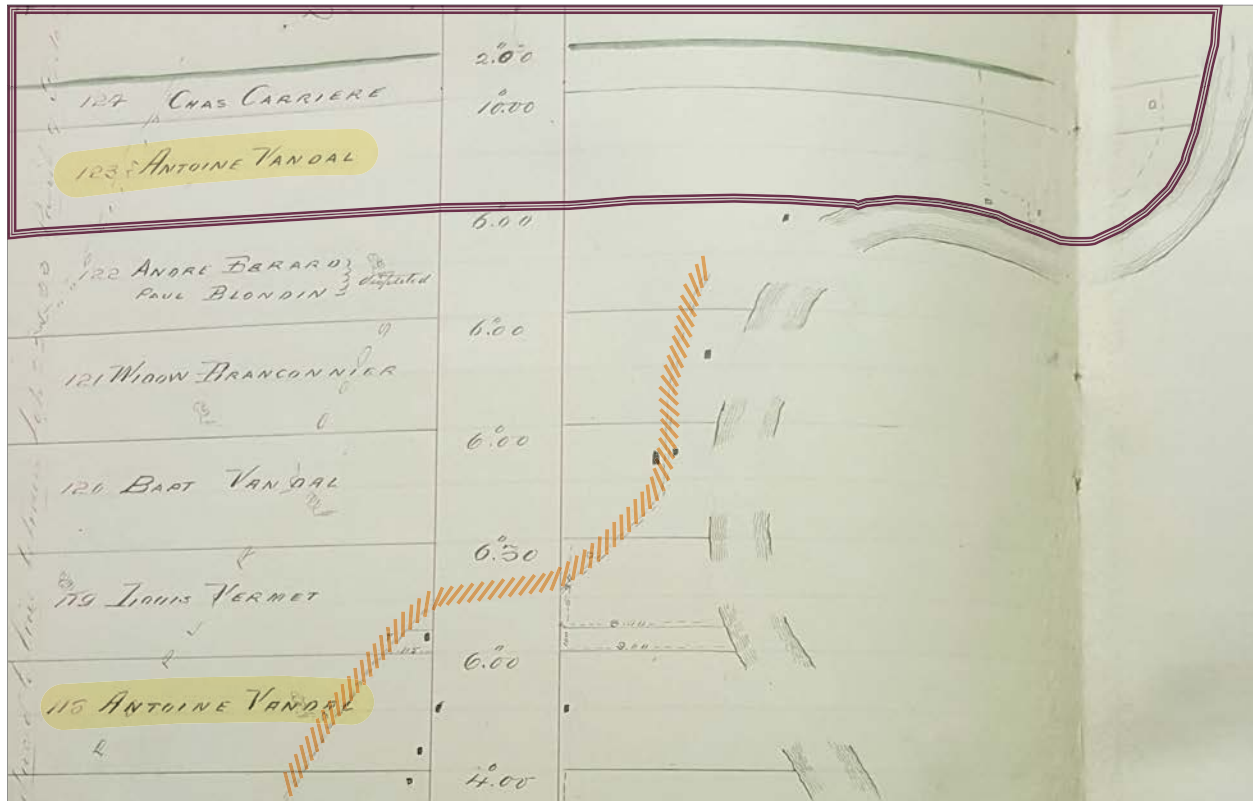


Figure 26: Survey of river lots in the Parish of St. Norbert, illustrating Antoine Vandal's two lots – one within the campus lands (123), and one to the south (118). Note the trail crossing the lots and ending near lot 123 (highlighted in orange), which likely would have provided easy access between the lots. (Approximate present-day campus boundary noted in purple).⁷⁵



Figure 27: River lots within the current campus and Southwood Lands area. Green indicates areas that were forested; Pink indicates cleared land for cultivation. The superimposed yellow circles illustrate where structures were indicated on the map, within the campus lands. Note the Pembina Trail running along the western edge of the campus area (approximate campus boundary is noted in purple).⁷⁷



Figure 28: 1874 plan of river lots in the parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert superimposed on a current aerial map.

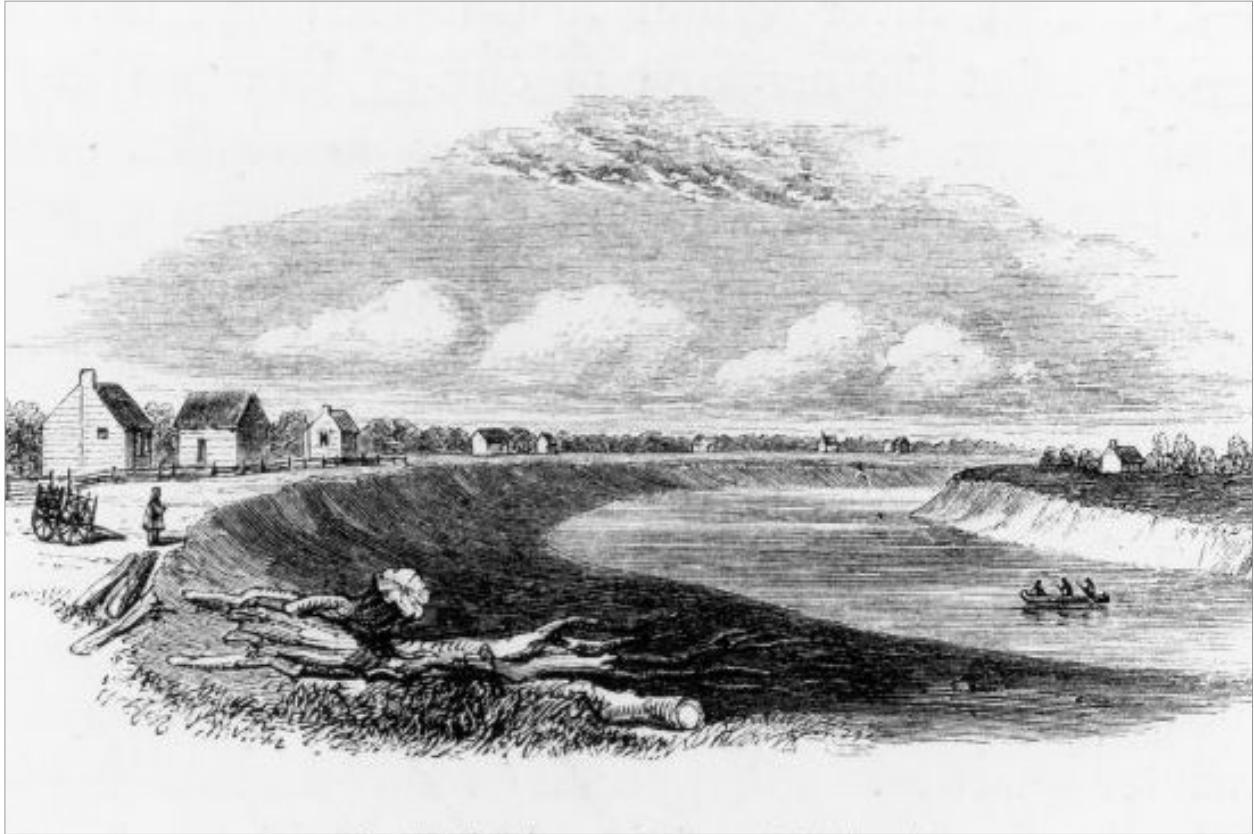


Figure 29: Looking south in 1858 from the east side of the Red River, with the present-day Point Lands on the right ⁸⁰

An 1858 woodcut drawing shows a glimpse of the Point Lands area of the current campus (Figure 29). Looking south from lot 61 in the St. Vital Parish⁷⁸, immediately across the river from the present-day Point Lands, this sketch shows one of the buildings that existed at the time on the campus. On the east side of the river, a bridle path and Red River Cart are shown between the riverbank and the buildings.⁷⁹

River Lots and the Red River Resistance

The hay privilege portion on the outer edges of the river lots was a “land holding feature not known to exist anywhere else in North America, the British Isles, or Europe,” and it “reflected the overlapping rights and claims of ownership that existed in the settlement’s region.”⁸¹ Similar to the buffalo hunt, the hay privilege was governed by a system of rules and regulations to ensure it functioned smoothly for the groups using it. This included a simultaneous respect of “First Nations land title, HBC [Hudson’s Bay Company] proprietary authority; and rights to individually held farm properties.”⁸²

This hay privilege component of the river lots was so important that it played a role in initiating the Métis Red River Resistance and, by extension, the eventual creation of the Province of Manitoba through the Manitoba Act of 1870. The initial spark occurred about two miles west of where the campus now sits, around river lot 12, in October 1869.⁸³ It was here where a Dominion Lands Survey crew – marking out sections of land to facilitate incoming Canadian settlers – trespassed on the hay privilege portion of the existing river lot.⁸⁴ “A party of seventeen men,” including Louis Riel, confronted the surveyors, asserting their rights to the land and forcing the crew to stop their survey work (Figure 30). This action, just west of the present-day Waverly West neighbourhood, set into motion the Métis provisional government, the resistance, and the eventual Manitoba Act.⁸⁵



Figure 30: Graphic illustrating the approximate full four-mile extent of the campus river lots (relation to the campus lands) that would have existed before the Dominion Land Survey was conducted. The estimated location of the Riel-Surveyors confrontation is noted.

PART 4 – UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE LAND: MAPPING, IDENTITY, AND RELATIONSHIPS

COLONIAL MAPS AND DIFFERENT WAYS OF SEEING

In examining the campus area's Indigenous histories, the use of cartographic maps carries risks and tensions. These maps are not only historical 'sources;' they were also created from Western perspectives, and, in the case of the Dominion Land Survey maps used in this report, for the purpose of facilitating incoming European settlement (to the detriment of the Métis and First Nations who were well-established in the region). The 1874 survey map of the campus area used in this report is an example of this, as it shows only the first two miles of river lots, likely because the Dominion Lands Survey had by that time incorporated the rear two miles (the hay privilege area) within its survey (figure 12).

While these types of maps are useful in providing a sense of what the landscape consisted of at a particular point in time, they represent only one way of seeing and perceiving the land. They reflect Western concepts of land and mapping, whereas "Indigenous conceptions of place and territory" represent a different form of mapping that can "introduc[e] another language, one that has more historical purchase to the landscape."⁸⁶ Various forms of Indigenous mapping have existed "for an indeterminable amount of time," conveying presence on the land and relationships with it.⁸⁷

The purpose of this section is to outline some Indigenous ways of understanding land and mapping, as they relate to the campus area. The focus will be on Métis and Anishinaabeg examples, understanding that what is presented here is a limited picture, and does not fully capture the intricacies and depth of Indigenous understandings of land.

INDIGENOUS UNDERSTANDINGS OF LAND AND MAPPING

Anishinaabeg Nindoodemag

For the Anishinaabeg of the campus region, and across North America, *Anishinaabeg Nindoodemag* (also known as the Anishinaabeg Totemic System, or Clan System) represented among other things a distinctly Anishinaabe way of viewing land and relationships. Far from a historical curiosity, this system constitutes "one of the most long-standing and active expressions of Anishinaabeg culture operating today," and its diversity across communities means that "no two versions [of the system] are exactly the same."⁸⁸

Anishinaabeg Nindoodemag have been described as being "made up of odoodeman, living entities who travel the natural and spiritual world while instructing Anishinaabeg on how to live within the universe – and particularly the environment around them."⁸⁹ This system prioritizes "relationships and relationship-making" as central to navigating life, and the odoodeman – living beings such as animals – are "allies with the Anishinaabeg, beings who visit bearing gifts like knowledge, names, and information about the world." In response, Anishinaabeg "are expected to receive these offerings in the best way possible, treating them with honour and respect while using them to guide a path through life."⁹⁰

One of the more visible aspects of this system are the totemic markers, or doodemag – “often animals, but sometimes plants and mythical beings” – that represent the odoodeman, and that Anishinaabeg carry with them. They are often gained “genealogically or patrilineally” or “inherited” through means such as adoption, direction from an Elder, or a vision or dream.⁹¹

Even more than that, though, is the idea that an Anishinaabe person carrying a doodem “is effectively that doodem. They are a member of that doodemag family,” and with the gift of a doodem comes “the responsibility to form a lifelong relationship with this being in a variety of ways and incorporate what they learn into their lives.”⁹²

Nindoodemag and Relationships

While Anishinaabeg Nindoodemag is a system guiding individuals in their lives, it is most importantly centered on relationships. It forms the foundation for relationships within and between all types of social groups and interactions, providing a way in which “Anishinaabeg families, communities, and societies can form and operate.”⁹³

The many odoodeman and odoodeman groupings – through their characteristics, teachings, and demonstrations of roles – function almost as maps or organizing principles for communities. Historically they “formed the basis for a localized community identity within several interrelated collectives.” Together, “these formed an ever-widening and overall sense of Anishinaabeg collectivity. Another word for this: a Nation.”⁹⁴

The function of odoodeman within community and social structures can be most easily seen in the natural world, by “watching, listening to, or engaging with an odoodeman” to get “a sense of the specialized abilities, roles, and perspectives that constitute its uniqueness.”⁹⁵ For example, aspects such as “the shell of a turtle, the eyesight of the loon, the call of a crane, or the way a bear hibernates all demonstrate interactions with an environment and the relationships necessary to survive and thrive within it.”⁹⁶

Observing the odoodeman in this way reveals that they “do not operate in opposition to forces they encounter but rather within them,” offering the learner “a perspective outside of themselves and a different way of seeing the world.”⁹⁷ This is in contrast to what we know of colonial approaches to mapping, which sought to impose Western concepts of land, ownership, and settlement onto the already-existing landscape.

Nindoodemag, Writing, and Mapping

Even though these forms of seeing land and navigating landscapes differ from conventional Western approaches, this doesn’t mean that Anishinaabeg peoples did not historically have important written components to their cultures. The fact that Anishinaabeg leaders often used their doodems, or totemic markers, to sign treaties suggests they “knew about the power of writing...and the affirmation of an agreement through ‘marking.’” It also suggests a knowledge that “writing creates communities, sets the parameters of a collective path, and carries great responsibilities – that words on paper create a binding relationship.”⁹⁸



Figure 31: Ancient Anishinaabe petroforms at Bannock Point in Whiteshell Provincial Park.¹⁰⁰

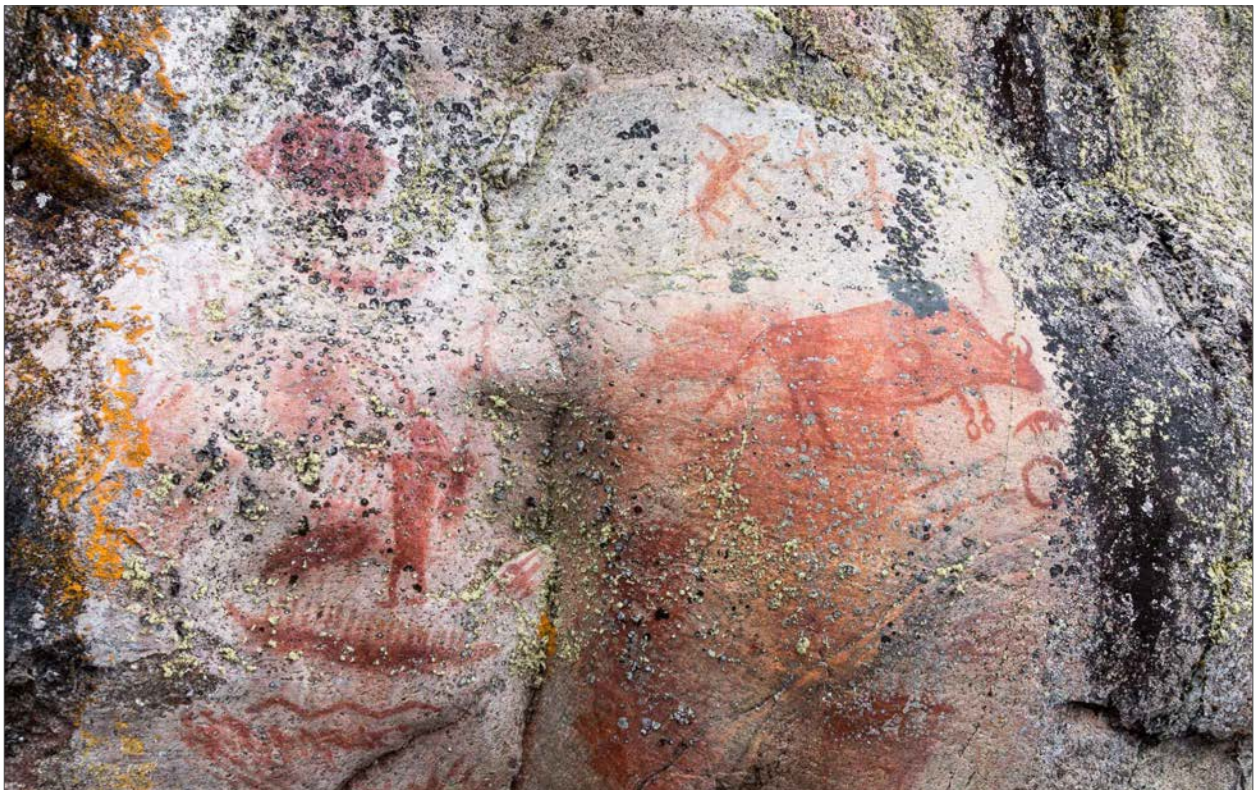


Figure 32: Anishinaabe pictographs at Artery Lake, Manitoba.¹⁰¹

The inclusion of these totemic markers in treaties, on rocks and wood, in beadwork or skin, and through various other mediums over tens of thousands of years to the present, constitutes “some of the earliest writing in the Americas.” It also speaks to the Anishinaabeg Nindoodemag as “geographic and cultural ‘maps’” that indicate “where persons of certain clans needed to locate themselves during ceremony and in stories.”⁹⁹

Even more than that, Nindoodemag can be seen as maps of “experience, history, and life” outlining where Anishinaabeg have travelled, relationships they have established, and where they might travel in the future. The use of these markers in signing treaties reveals how the Anishinaabeg were describing, or ‘mapping out’ the land and the world into which the European signatories were entering – a world “full of relationships and agreements in the interest of sharing and reciprocity.”¹⁰²

Certainly, these understandings of land are not maps in the conventional Western sense. However, they do, in a different way, speak to how the Anishinaabeg of the campus region and beyond understood the land and their relationship to it. They also offer a wider perspective than is possible by only referring to Western cartographic maps, suggesting new (or perhaps old) ways of perceiving and acknowledging the land on which the campus sits today.

Métis Place Names along the Red River

Similarly, Métis concepts of identity were influenced by land and knowledge of land, as well as by relationships, membership within community, and oral culture. Place-naming played a key role in this knowledge and identity formation, with place names conveying “the mental presentations” of “human and physical geography,” providing – similarly to a cartographic map – “a wealth of geographic information.”¹⁰³

Even though the Métis were highly mobile, their understanding of geography and place was intricate, and “socially structured,” often “following the prescriptions of elders, bearers of memory and knowledge about land and resources.” Practices such as finding bison, berries, or firewood were all activities facilitated by landmarks and geographical knowledge, and were also expressions of Métis historical land use.”¹⁰⁴

However, this story-centered approach to naming and navigating the landscape was eroded, as Métis place names – including those along the Red River in southern Manitoba – were gradually replaced. Often, earlier Métis names – based on stories, traditional knowledge, and landscapes – were replaced by the church name. For example, la Pointe à Grouette became Sainte-Agathe in 1876, and la Pointe Coupée was renamed Saint-Adolphe around the same time. Further to the southeast, Rivière aux-Rats was renamed Saint-Pierre, and later, Saint-Pierre-Jolys. “In a sense, these church names erased, at least symbolically, the Métis presence.”¹⁰⁵

Métis Sewing and Beadwork

While the river lots certainly demonstrate, in more typical map form, the Métis' connection to the land in the campus region, there are also other examples that show how the Métis understood the land and their relationship with it.

Many Métis women were seamstresses and they would incorporate aspects of nature into designs on clothing and other items they made for their families. A number of these women were very knowledgeable healers and would have had an intimate knowledge of the land. Through their own practices of healing, and by creating designs of “the plants used to heal members of the community,” they were “mapping the territory on leather or fabric, as a way of affirming their Métis identity and their role in society.”¹⁰⁶

This sewing and beadwork not only reflects Métis women's multidimensional understandings of traditional knowledge such as the locations of plants and berries within a particular region, it also stresses the interconnectedness of all beings. These beadwork and sewing practices, so closely related to knowledge and stories of the land, show one way in which the Métis mapped their environments into clothing, quilts, and designs.



Figure 33: Early twentieth-century elk-hide vest displaying traditional Métis beadwork.¹⁰⁷

The Métis Sash

Another example of this cultural mapping is found in the L'Assomption Sash (Ceinture fléchée), a prominent Métis symbol. The sash is comprised of six intricately woven colours, each symbolizing a defining aspect of Métis history and identity, aspects that are also linked to land and geography in some way:

- Blue represents the flag of the Métis Nation, first flown at the Battle of Seven Oaks;
- Red and white represent the Métis hunting flag, held during the bison hunt by the guide of that particular day;
- Black, a new addition to the sash, symbolizes “the dark period after 1870,” when the Métis were disposed of their lands;
- Green and gold signify a forward-looking vision of “fertility, growth and prosperity for the Métis Nation.”¹⁰⁸

The act of weaving the sash was also an act of reinforcing cultural identity in ways that were connected to the land. In a sense the sash can be seen, like place naming, as a means of mapping the historical landscape as it figured into Métis consciousness. It helps forge a collective memory, where stories “unfold against a geographical backdrop.”¹⁰⁹



Figure 34: A traditional Métis sash from the 1800s.¹¹⁰

RELATIONSHIPS, RECONCILIATION, AND CAMPUS DESIGN

Cross-Cultural Planning and Design Work

The centrality of relationships is clearly a strong theme throughout the history of the Fort Garry campus land and region, as is the importance of reciprocity, and of continually maintaining those relationships.

For example, many stories within Métis oral culture taught that people “had to observe all the protocols,” never forgetting “that there is always reciprocity, meaning you give an offering to receive an offering.”¹¹¹ Part of the Anishinaabe Creation Story also highlights the importance of reciprocity and relationships, stating that,

Before Anishinaabeg came to the earth the Creator held a great meeting to inform the world that “humans were coming and they would not be able to provide for themselves.” In response, the animals generously accepted the responsibility of caring for Anishinaabeg and showing them how to live on earth. These beings stated that they would give Anishinaabeg everything they would need: sacrificing themselves for food and clothing, teaching them about medicine, and demonstrating ceremonies and practices that would “show them how to love in harmony with all of Creation.”¹¹²

These examples provide some insight into possible considerations for campus planning and design projects, but also in the *process* of campus planning and design. The signing of the 1817 Peguis-Selkirk Treaty especially provides some directions in this respect, particularly relating to cross-cultural planning and design work.

The doodemag, or totemic markers, used by First Nations chiefs to sign the treaty, did not just represent ‘signatures.’ They also signified the nature and character of the land to which the settlers had arrived, and the importance of relationships within that territory. Put another way, the settlers were being invited into a mutual relationship; to “become family members, relatives amongst a network of humans, animals, water, and land along the Red River.”¹¹³ They were being invited into the journey “to uncover mino-bimaadiziwin [‘the good life’].”¹¹⁴

A part of the chiefs’ stipulations within the treaty was for the settlers to provide them with 100 pounds of tobacco annually, a requirement that may seem curious, but was actually meant to represent a commitment on the part of the settlers to maintain their relationships with First Nations. Tobacco is difficult to grow and requires an enormous amount of time and effort to produce even a small amount of yield, particularly in Manitoba’s climate.¹¹⁶ What the chiefs were really asking for, then, was a tangible gift of the settlers’ time and commitment to ‘put in the work’

of maintaining the on-going relationship represented by the treaty.¹¹⁷ Whereas the settlers would have interpreted this treaty in line with the word “rent” that appears in the document, this was not the intent of Peguis and the chiefs, who understood the treaty more as a commitment to co-existence and a continual building of reciprocal relationships.

The lessons of this treaty are echoed in the University of Manitoba’s Indigenous Planning and Design Principles, the first of which is ‘Commit to Relationships and Listening.’ Engaging campus planning and design projects in this spirit of reciprocity described, and in a way that truly establishes and maintains relationships, can result in a campus where Indigenous cultures, perspectives, and histories are meaningfully and visibly present.

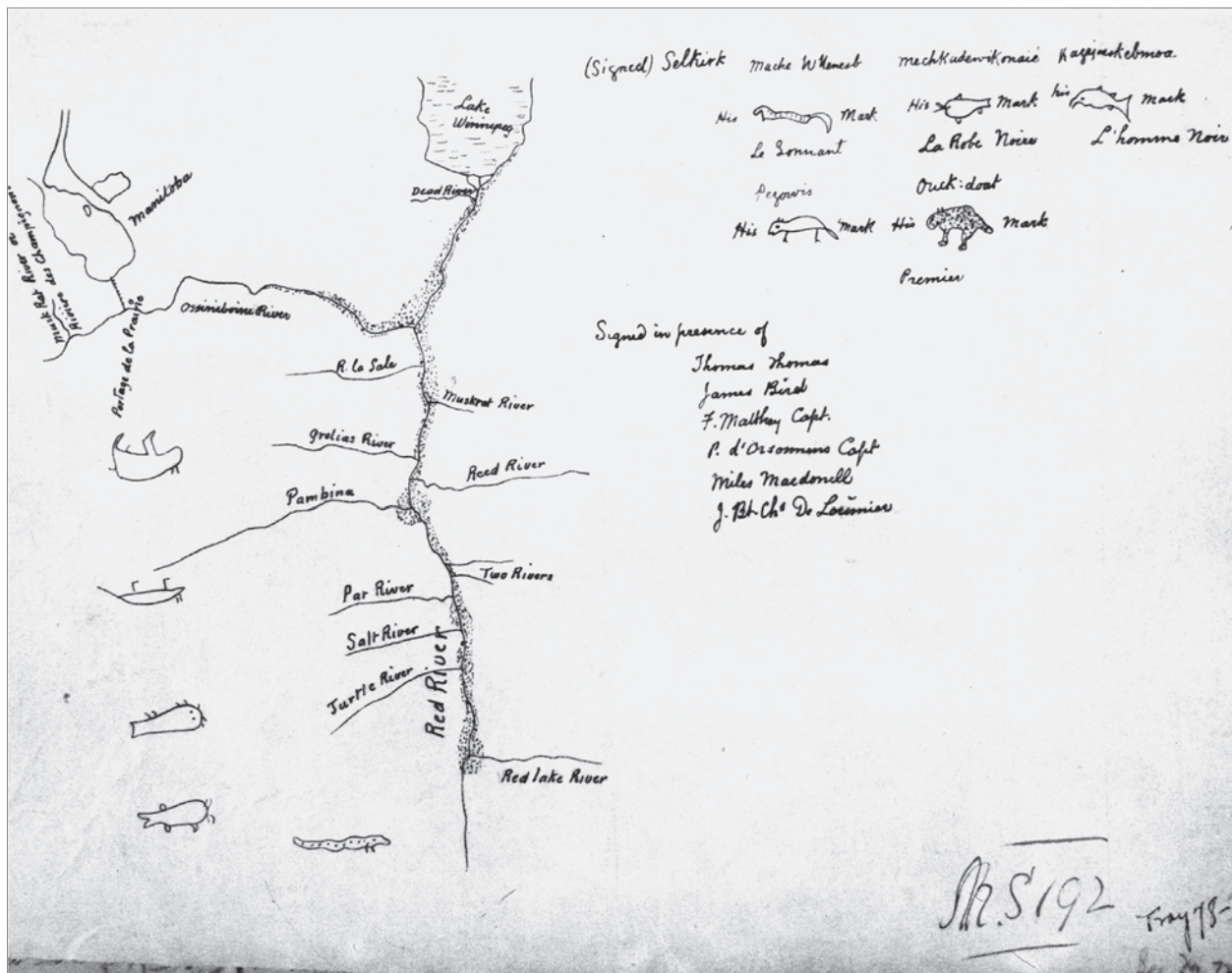


Figure 35: Map and signatures from the 1817 Peguis-Selkirk Treaty, showing the doodemag used by the chiefs to sign the treaty.¹¹⁵

ENDNOTES

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FIGURES

Fig. 1 - Contextual map of study area in eastern Manitoba created in Adobe Illustrator and ArcGIS. GIS files: National Hydro Network (NHN), Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N, in reference to Archives of Manitoba, NR 0157 Land Surveyors Field Books, GR1601, File #555 Parish of St. Vital, 1873, G 14348.

Fig. 2 - Contextual map of the Fort Garry Campus in relation to surrounding area in 1873, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: National Hydro Network (NHN), Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to Archives of Manitoba, NR 0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2405, File #7 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert Plan, 1874, MD284/4; Kaye, Moodie, Wayne, and Sprague, *The Red River Settlement* in Historical Atlas of Canada, volume 2, Plate 18; McGregor, J. M. Sketch of the City of Winnipeg Manitoba [map], Scale not given. Toronto: Copp, Clark & Co. Lith., 1874. Last updated October 26, 2008. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/manitobamaps/2974873850> (accessed April 25, 2019).

Fig. 3 - Contextual map of the Fort Garry Campus in relation to Treaty 1 Territory, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: Manitoba Department of Conservation, Lands Branch, Treaty Boundaries, Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, First Nations and Treaty Areas in Manitoba [map]. 2017. [1:3 500 000]. "Government of Canada Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada First Nations and Treaty Areas in Manitoba." Last updated September 15, 2010. <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100020576/1100100020578> (accessed August 1, 2018)

Fig. 4 - Image depicting Fort Garry campus in the context of the Peguis-Selkirk Treaty Area, created in Adobe InDesign using The Selkirk Treaty and Map. Fidler, Peter. "A Map Showing Lands at Red River Conveyed by Indian Chiefs to the Earl of Selkirk 1817". [1:1,393,920]. In: John Warkentin and Richard I. Ruggles. *Manitoba Historical Atlas*.

Fig. 5 - "Map showing the areas of Lake Agassiz and of the Upper Laurentian Lakes", U.S. Geological Survey (drawn in 1895).

Fig. 6 - Map depicting Fort Garry campus in the context of Southern Manitoba's landscape in 1850s, created in Adobe InDesign using H.Y. Hind's map. "Valley of Red River North of the 49th Parallel to accompany a report on the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition" by H.Y. Hind (1858).

Fig. 7 - Diagram depicting how the Prairie Landscape likely changed over time, created in Adobe Photoshop, Adobe InDesign and Nemetschek Vectorworks

Fig. 8 - Map depicting Fort Garry campus in the context of Southern Manitoba's landscape in 1870s, created in Adobe InDesign using Irene Hanuta's reconstructed map. Hanuta, Irene. "A Dominion Land Survey Map of the Red River Valley." *Manitoba History*, 58 (2008).

Fig. 9 - Photograph - Excavating Land on the Fort Garry Campus, 191?, PC-17, Faculty of Agriculture fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Fig. 10 - Photograph - Clearing Trees on the Fort Garry Campus, 191?. PC-17, Faculty of Agriculture fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Fig. 11 - Photograph – Tache Hall Residence Under Construction, 191?. PC-17, Faculty of Agriculture fonds, University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Fig. 12 – Current campus and Southwood lands superimposed on 1874 Survey Map, created in Adobe InDesign using Archives of Manitoba Map. Archives of Manitoba, NR 0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2405, File #7 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert Plan, 1874, MD284/4.

Fig. 13 – Map depicting 1874 landscape characteristics superimposed on current campus map, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to Archives of Manitoba, NR 0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2405, File #7 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert Plan, 1874, MD284/4.

Fig. 14 – Diagram depicting riverbottom forest tiers typically found along the Red River, created in Adobe InDesign and Adobe Photoshop. In reference to Marr Consulting & Communications Ltd., and Synthen Resource Services Ltd. *Riverbottom Forest Assessment: Forest Ecosystem Classification and Management Recommendations*. (Canadian Forest Service, 1995), 2.

Fig. 15 - Frank Tough, “‘The Storehouses of the Good God:’ Aboriginal Peoples and Freshwater Fisheries in Manitoba,” *Manitoba History*, 39 (2000).

Fig. 16 –Map illustrating the ability to travel from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico via water travel routes, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to (map) in: Henry Youle Hind. *Report on the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red Rivers Settlement*. Toronto, John Lovell, 1858; Google Maps.

Fig. 17 – Map illustrating the location of the Pembina and Crow Wing Trails in relation to the campus, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to Gilman, Rhoda R., Gilman, Carolyn, & Stultz, Deborah M. Stultz, (1979). *The Red River Trails: Oxcart Routes Between St. Paul and the Selkirk Settlement, 1820-1870*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. ISBN 0-8735-1133-6 Kelsey, Vera (1951).

Fig. 18 - Historical Pembina and Crow Wing Trail superimposed on current City of Winnipeg Map, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to Gilman, Rhoda R., Gilman, Carolyn, & Stultz, Deborah M. Stultz, (1979). *The Red River Trails: Oxcart Routes Between St. Paul and the Selkirk Settlement, 1820-1870*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. ISBN 0-8735-1133-6 Kelsey, Vera (1951).

Fig. 19 – Map illustrating the location of Pembina Trail in relation to the Fort Garry Campus, created in Adobe InDesign using H.Y. Hind’s map. “Valley of Red River North of the 49th Parallel to accompany a report on the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition” by H.Y. Hind (1858).

Fig. 20 – Map illustrating the location of Crow Wing Trail in relation to the Fort Garry Campus, created in Adobe InDesign using H.Y. Hind’s map. “Valley of Red River North of the 49th Parallel to accompany a report on the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition” by H.Y. Hind (1858).

Fig. 21 – Map illustrating current campus features highlighted on 1873 Land Surveyors Field Book, created in Adobe InDesign. Archives of Manitoba, NR 0157 Land Surveyors Field Books, GR1601, File #555 Parish of St. Vital, 1873, G 14348.

Fig. 22 – Map illustrating minor trail extending south of campus to where King’s Drive currently enters, created in Adobe InDesign using 1874 Township and Parish Plans. Archives of Manitoba, NR 0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2405, File #7 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert Plan, 1874, MD284/4.

Fig. 23 - Baker Brehaut, “The Red River Cart and Trails.”

Fig. 24 - Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN no. 2897261, “Camp de chasse Métis près de Three Buttes (Idaho).

Fig. 25 - Archives of Manitoba, NR0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2404, Range 3 East, 1898, G10647.

Fig. 26 – 1873 survey map showing Antoine Vandal’s two lots with trail and present-day campus boundary noted, created in Adobe InDesign using 1873 Land Surveyors Field Books. Archives of Manitoba, NR 0157 Land Surveyors Field Books, GR1601, File #555 Parish of St. Vital, 1873, G 14348.

Fig. 27 – Map illustrating river lots within the current campus and Southwood Lands area, created in Adobe InDesign using 1874 Township and Parish Plans. Archives of Manitoba, NR 0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2405, File #7 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert Plan, 1874, MD284/4.

Fig. 28 - 1874 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert superimposed on a current aerial map, created in Adobe InDesign and Adobe Photoshop using 1874 Township and Parish Plans. Archives of Manitoba, NR 0212 Township and Parish Plans and Plates, GR2405, File #7 Plan of River Lots in the Parishes of St. Vital and St. Norbert Plan, 1874, MD284/4.

Fig. 29 - John Arnot Fleming, “The Red River at Pierre Gladioux’s,” woodcut, 1858, in *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858* vol. 1 by Henry Youle Hind (London: Longman Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 165.

Fig. 30 – Graphic showing estimated location of the Riel-Surveyors confrontation and full four-mile extent of river lots, created in Adobe InDesign and ArcGIS. GIS files: Map projection: NAD 1983 CSRS UTM Zone 14N. In reference to *Rough Diagram, Based on Hinds Map intended to illustrate Report on Townships, Surveys & Red River Territory*, 1870, and Hall, A Casualty of Colonialism, and discussions with the St. Vital Heritage Society.

Fig. 31 - Travel Manitoba, “Tours to Bannock Point Petroforms” accessed February, 2019. <https://fr.travelmanitoba.com/listings/tours-to-bannock-point-petroforms/10444/>.

Fig. 32 - Ramblin’ Boy, “Anishinaabe Pictograph Sites of the Canadian Shield” accessed February 2019. <https://albinger.me/2013/05/01/anishinaabe-pictograph-sites-of-the-canadian-shield/>.

Fig. 33 - Glenbow Museum, AR 281. Image accessed September 2019. <https://www.glenbow.org/collections/museum/native/metis.cfm>.

Fig. 34 - Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada, “Material Culture” accessed February 2019. <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/material-culture/>.

Fig. 35 - Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN no. 4149347, “Plan of Land Bought by the Earl of Selkirk from Peguis and the Other Indians. 18th July 1817.”



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