

ENCLOSURES to letter dated December 21, 2016, from Shin Shiga to Mark Cliffe-Phillips

**re: EA 1617-01 – Proposed Tlicho All-season Road
Responses to Mackenzie Valley Review Board Information Requests**

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TAB 1	Documents filed with the Supreme Court of the NWT for Enge v. Mandeville, 2013 NWTSC 33 (Court File No. S-1-CV-2012-000002): <ul style="list-style-type: none">A. Affidavit #1 of William Enge;B. Affidavit #2 of William Enge;C. Affidavit #3 of William Enge;D. Affidavit of Lawrence Mercredi;E. Affidavit of Wayne Mercredi;F. Affidavit of Edward Jones;G. Affidavit of Charles McGee;H. Affidavit of Marc Stevenson; and,I. Affidavit of Patricia McCormack.
TAB 2	Letter dated August 16, 2013 from Canada to NSMA.
TAB 3	Letter dated February 10, 2014 from NSMA to representatives of both Canada and the GNWT, enclosing a 2014 research report by Gwynneth C.D. Jones titled “Historic Metis Populations North of Great Slave Lake” (the “Jones’ 2014 Report”).
TAB 4	Correspondence between NSMA and the GNWT regarding allocations of caribou provided by the GNWT to NSMA in the region north of Great Slave Lake, dated February 5, 2015; March 5, 2015; and, September 30, 2016.

TAB 2

Ministre des Affaires autochtones
et du développement du Nord



Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and
Northern Development

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0H4

AUG 16 2013

Mr. William (Bill) A. Enge
President
North Slave Métis Alliance
PO Box 2301
YELLOWKNIFE NT X1A 2P7

Dear Mr. Enge:

In your letter of June 25, 2013, you request that Canada consider the decision of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories in *Enge v. Mandeville et al*, 2013 NWTSC 33 (*Enge 2013*). Canada has reviewed *Enge 2013* and has considered the potential effects that the Court's findings in *Enge 2013* may have on Canada's assessment of the strength of the North Slave Métis Alliance's (NSMA) claims to Aboriginal rights and also on Canada's approach to the North Slave Métis Alliance in devolution discussions.

In *Enge 2013*, the court finds, at paragraph 236, that "the NSMA has a good *prima facie* claim to the Aboriginal right to hunt caribou on their traditional lands." In light of this finding, Canada has revised its preliminary assessment of the strength of the North Slave Métis Alliance's claims to rights under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* as expressed in a June 21, 2013 letter to you from Mr. Wayne Walsh, Director of Devolution and Major Programs. In particular, Canada acknowledges that the North Slave Métis Alliance has a good *prima facie* claim to the Aboriginal right to hunt caribou on their traditional lands, and are entitled to an appropriate measure of consultation when that asserted right may potentially be adversely impacted by the Crown's action.

I wish to make clear that this revised assessment is not a determination by Canada that the North Slave Métis Alliance has any section 35 rights. The law relating to the duty to consult makes it clear that an assessment of the strength of the claim for the purposes of consultation is not a rights-determination process. At paragraph 178 of *Enge 2013*, the court confirms this approach and states "a preliminary assessment is not intended to be a conclusive determination of the status of the right but is intended to determine whether there is a *prima facie* basis for the claim." Furthermore, the Court was clear that its finding regarding the strength of the North Slave Métis Alliance's claim to a right to

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Canada

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harvest caribou is not a determination that the North Slave Métis Alliance has established such a right. At paragraph 230, the Court states that a "Final determination of the Applicant's and the NSMA's rights are not the subject of these proceedings and will be decided at another time, either through a negotiated treaty or further court proceedings."

In light of our revised preliminary assessment of the strength of the North Slave Métis Alliance's claims to Aboriginal rights, Canada has reconsidered the information provided by the North Slave Métis Alliance at the April 24 and 25 meeting and in your May 14, 2013 written submissions. In these discussions and documents, there is no information from the North Slave Métis Alliance to indicate that the Devolution Agreement will result in an adverse impact on the asserted right of the North Slave Métis Alliance to hunt caribou; nor has the North Slave Métis Alliance provided any information as to the nature of any potential adverse impact the Devolution Agreement may have on their asserted Aboriginal right to hunt caribou. Canada is of the view that the Devolution Agreement does not have any adverse impacts on any asserted wildlife harvesting right of the North Slave Métis Alliance or its members.

In your June 25, 2013 letter, you ask that Canada immediately consider a change in its approach to the North Slave Métis Alliance's status in devolution discussions. It is Canada's view that *Enge 2013* does not present any reason for Canada to change its approach to the North Slave Métis Alliance's eligibility to be a party to the Devolution Agreement. As Canada has previously advised the North Slave Métis Alliance, the criteria to become a party to the Devolution Agreement are set out in the relevant provisions of that agreement. In particular, the definition of the term "Aboriginal Organization" sets out the criteria which must be met in order for an Aboriginal group to be eligible to be an Aboriginal Party pursuant to Section 2.31 of the Devolution Agreement. The North Slave Métis Alliance do not meet the criteria necessary to fall within the definition of the term "Aboriginal Organization." The finding in *Enge 2013* that the North Slave Métis Alliance has a good *prima facie* claim to an Aboriginal right to hunt caribou in its asserted traditional territory does not change this.

In conclusion, while *Enge 2013* has resulted in Canada revising its strength of claim assessment, this has not changed Canada's determination that the Devolution Agreement does not adversely impact any asserted rights of the North Slave Métis Alliance, including any asserted wildlife harvesting right; nor has *Enge 2013* changed the eligibility of the North Slave Métis Alliance to be a party to the Devolution Agreement.

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As you are likely aware, Canada and the other parties signed the Devolution Agreement on June 25, 2013. As we work toward implementation of this Agreement, I wish to advise you that Canada intends to consult the North Slave Métis Alliance in the coming months with respect to the legislation package necessary to implement the Devolution Agreement.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bernard Valcourt', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Bernard Valcourt, PC, QC, MP

c.c.: The Honourable Bob McLeod, MLA
Mr. Gary Bohnet
Mr. Martin Goldney

TAB 3

NORTH SLAVE MÉTIS ALLIANCE

PO Box 2301 Yellowknife, NT X1A 2P7



February 10, 2014

Christie Morgan
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 Canada
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Steve Voytilla
 Chief Negotiator
 Aboriginal Affairs and Intergovernmental
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Via Email

Dear Ms. Morgan and Mr. Voytilla:

Re: Consultation regarding the Northwest Territory Métis Nation Agreement in Principle (the "NWTMN AiP")

Further to our letter of January 10, 2014, NSMA does not consider consultation on the NWTMN AiP to be over.

With this in mind, we enclose for your review a research report by Gwynneth C.D. Jones titled "Historic Métis Populations North of Great Slave Lake" (the "Jones' 2014 Report").

Jones' 2014 Report further underpins NSMA members' *prima facie* claim – which the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories has already recognized - to section 35(1) Aboriginal rights in the region to the north of Great Slave Lake: Aboriginal rights which will be extinguished by operation of the NWTMN AiP and Final Agreement.

Jones' 2014 Report builds on Ms. Jones' 2008 report which was prepared for Canada's Department of Justice.¹ Jones 2014 Report concretely demonstrates that the historical record shows that the Métis of the Great Slave Lake area historically used and occupied the regions north of Great Slave Lake, Northwest Territories ("NWT"). The report further provides that there is still more historical material to analyze which will add even more evidence of Métis use and occupancy of the regions north of Great Slave Lake, NWT.

¹ Gwynneth Jones, "Historical Profile of the Great Slave Lake Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community" (Report prepared for Canada's Department of Justice, 2008) (the "Jones Report"). The Jones Report was enclosed with NSMA's Written Submissions dated November 8, 2013 regarding the NWTMN AiP.

This is Exhibit BB referred to in the affidavit of #1 of WILLIAMS. I was sworn before me at Yellowknife, NT this 2 day of April, 2015.
 Notarized
 A Commissioner for taking Affidavits for British Columbia

We are pleased to provide this important document to you. It follows that NSMA remains keen to engage in meaningful consultation with the Crown regarding the NWTMN AiP.

Sincerely,



William (Bill) A. Enge
President
Email: president@nsma.net

Enclosure: Gwynneth C.D. Jones, "Historic Métis Populations North of Great Slave Lake", 2014.

Research Report

Phases I and II

Historic Métis Populations North of Great Slave Lake

Gwynneth C. D. Jones
Historian
Vancouver, B. C.

Prepared for the North Slave Métis Alliance

3 February 2014.

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Research Report

Phase I

23 August 2013.

Introduction

I have been asked by the North Slave Métis Alliance and their counsel, Devlin Gailus Barristers and Solicitors, to prepare a written expert report on the origins and development of Métis populations and Métis use and occupation of land and natural resources along the north shore of Great Slave Lake and in the region north of Great Slave Lake. This area ("the study area") includes the modern-day population centres of Yellowknife, Rae-Edzo, Reliance and Fort Providence, and geographic landmarks such as Lac la Martre and Rae Lakes.

The narrative attached is Phase I of a projected larger research project. A limited number of Hudson's Bay Company records were collected and analyzed in this phase, as follows:

Fort Reliance Post Journal	1855	B.180/a/1
Fort Providence Post Journal	1871 - 1874	B.333/a/1
Fort Providence Account Book	1876 - 1877	B.333/d/1
Fort Providence Account Book	1892 - 1893	B.333/d/2
Fort Providence Account Book	1895 - 1896	B.333/d/3
Fort Providence Account Book	1899 - 1900	B.333/d/4
Fort Rae Account Book	1871 - 1873	B.172/d/12
Fort Rae Account Book	1873 - 1874	B.172/d/13
Fort Rae Account Book	1874 - 1875	B.172/d/14
Fort Rae Account Book	1875 - 1876	B.172/d/15
Fort Rae Account Book	1876 - 1877	B.172/d/16
Fort Rae Account Book	1879 - 1880	B.172/d/17
Fort Rae Account Book	1880 - 1881	B.172/d/18
Fort Rae Account Book	1881 - 1882	B.172/d/19
Fort Rae Account Book	1883 - 1884	B.172/d/20
Fort Rae Account Book	1884 - 1885	B.172/d/21
Fort Rae Account Book	1885 - 1886	B.172/d/22
Fort Rae Account Book	1885 - 1887	B.172/d/23
Fort Rae Account Book	1886 - 1888	B.172/d/24
Fort Rae Account Book	1887 - 1889	B.172/d/25
Fort Rae Account Book	1888 - 1890	B.172/d/26
Fort Rae Account Book	1888 - 1891	B.172/d/27
Fort Rae Post Journal	1888 - 1891	B.172/a/1
Fort Rae Account Book	1890 - 1892	B.172/d/28
Fort Rae Account Book	1891 - 1893	B.172/d/29

Fort Rae Account Book	1892 - 1894	B.172/d/30
Fort Rae Post Journal	1892 - 1899	B.172/a/2
Fort Rae Account Book	1894 - 1896	B.172/d/31
Fort Rae Account Book	1895 - 1897	B.172/d/32
Fort Rae Post Journal	1900 - 1904	B.172/a/3

These sources were not reviewed for my 2005 report completed for the Department of Justice on Great Slave Lake mixed-ancestry populations. It is intended that the following narrative will be read in conjunction with that 2005 report, as an addendum summarizing additional sources relevant to the north shore of Great Slave Lake. These sources are not all the additional materials available, but are a sample constrained by time limitations for Phase I.

II. Fort Reliance, 1855

Fort Reliance, at the north-eastern tip of Great Slave Lake at the mouth of the present-day Lockhart River, was a temporary post established for the purposes of the Back Expedition in 1833. It was abandoned in late 1835. It was partially reconstructed during the summer of 1855 for use by the Reliance Expedition, searching for the remains of the third Franklin Expedition. The post journal, kept by clerk James Lockhart, covers the time period from 2 July 1855, when Lockhart and a small contingent of men hired by the Expedition departed Fort Resolution for the remains of the former post, to 14 September 1855, when Lockhart and all but one man left Fort Reliance to return to Resolution.

The four men Lockhart had with him when he left Fort Resolution were George Kippling, Alexandre Landrie, Ambroise Jobin, and “King Balieu [Beaulieu] Int^r” (interpreter).¹ On 9 July, trying to find where the rest of the expedition had gone, Lockhart came across a stone with writing on it that he hoped could provide clues. Beaulieu, he wrote in his journal, was the only one among them “that knew anything about this part of the country”.² The party hunted and fished as they travelled to supply themselves with food. On 11 July, they arrived at the remains of the old fort. All hands immediately started the work of reconstruction, including squaring timbers and cutting wood for walls and shingles. Jobin put nets in the water and Yellowknife Indians brought them meat.³ On 18 July, “Old Capitaine” (a well-known HBC customer) brought the wife of the Expedition guide, Jambs de Bois, to Fort Reliance, as previously agreed, and Lockhart ordered her and Beaulieu’s wife (who may have travelled with her husband, although Lockhart had not previously mentioned her) to make fish nets.⁴ After an unsuccessful trip upriver with Kippling to find a way to Artillery Lake, Lockhart “engaged an Indian Desjarlais to guide me by another route”, which turned out to be quick and easy.⁵ On 28 July, Alfred Laferté arrived at Reliance with news of the Expedition, which was at Muskox Rapid on

¹ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entry for 2 July 1855, 1.

² HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entry for 9 July 1855, 3.

³ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entries for 11 - 14 July 1855, 4.

⁴ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entry for 18 July 1855, 5.

⁵ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entries for 21 - 24 July 1855, 7.

the Great Fish River (present day Back River).⁶ Construction continued at the fort. During the last week of August, the reindeer herds came close by, and Lockhart, Beaulieu, Kippling, Laferté and Jambs de Bois took a break from their building work to go hunting. The Yellowknife Indians also brought in large quantities of meat.⁷

On 7 September, the boats to supply the Expedition arrived at Fort Reliance from Fort Resolution. "Lamalice the steersman of one boat declares himself unable to proceed further", wrote Lockhart, who engaged replacement crewmen from among the Indian population gathered at the Fort.⁸ However, on 12 September Lockhart received a communication from the head of the expedition stating that "there was no occasion for any further operations", and on 14 September Lockhart and the boats abandoned the fort to return to Fort Resolution. King Beaulieu was left behind with ammunition and tobacco to trade for more provisions before returning separately.⁹

This short document provides some information on individuals and families familiar from other Great Slave Lake records. King Beaulieu, son of François Beaulieu II, and his wife Marie Anne Flamand or T'eumi had a child baptized at Fort Resolution in 1855,¹⁰ and he was hired there for the Fort Reliance crew. However, the family was also familiar with the north and east shores of Great Slave Lake. François Beaulieu II had drawn a map for Franklin of the north shore of Great Slave Lake, and had travelled with his family to Great Bear Lake as an interpreter and hunter with the second Franklin Expedition of 1825 - 1826. François and his family subsequently hunted, trapped and traded in the Lac la Martre area during the 1820s and 1830s.¹¹ King Beaulieu, according to Lockhart, was the only member of the Reliance party "that knew anything about this part of the country" as they approached Fort Reliance. Lockhart was confident in leaving Beaulieu to trade at Fort Reliance and to travel to Fort Resolution later, knowing that these assignments were well within Beaulieu's capacities.

⁶ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entry for 28 July 1855, 8

⁷ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entries for 22 - 27 August 1855, 10.

⁸ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entry for 7 September 1855, 12.

⁹ HBCA, B.180/a/1, Fort Reliance post journal, entries for 12 - 14 September 1855, 13.

¹⁰ Gwynneth Jones, "Historical Profile of the Great Slave Lake Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community", report prepared for Canada Department of Justice, [November 2005], 73, 157.

¹¹ Jones, Great Slave Lake, 57 - 63.

“Lamalice the steersman”, Baptiste Bouché dit Lamalice, was almost certainly the son of “Bouché dit Lamallice”, a Hudson's Bay Company “Canadian halfbreed” employee on Lake Athabasca in 1819. Baptiste, described in Hudson's Bay Company employment records as a “Native”, was engaged as a fisherman at Fort Simpson in 1852, a steersman at Fort Resolution in 1853 and 1855, at Fort aux Liards in 1858, at Fort Rae in 1860, as a carpenter at Fort Simpson in 1864, and as a boatbuilder at Fort Simpson in 1865.¹²

Less is known about Alexandre Landrie and George Kipling, although both of these surnames were relatively common in the fur-trade population. In particular, there were several Landrys in the Great Slave Lake region, beginning with a Joseph Landry who was part of the North West Company contingent assigned to the first Great Slave Lake post opened in 1786.¹³

III. Fort Providence, 1871 - 1900

The post journalist at Fort Providence for the one surviving journal (December 1871 - December 1874), post master John Reid, was semiliterate and not given to elaborate descriptions of persons and activities around the post. However, as required by his employer, he did chronicle in general terms the daily arrivals and departures and the work of the men.

Fort Providence, opened in 1868 near the Roman Catholic mission established there a few years before, had a dual function during the 1870s. It operated as a fur trade post, exchanging trade goods, European provisions and equipment for furs brought in by its Aboriginal clients. Fort Providence was also a collection point for fresh and dried meat to be shipped out to southern posts to provision less well-supplied posts and the transport brigades. This meat was brought in by the Aboriginal peoples trading furs at the post, and was also hunted by some post employees. Post employees also harvested and processed large quantities of fish from the area immediately adjacent to the post (used mostly for daily rations to the men and their families, and the sled dogs), and from fall fisheries located a day or two's travel away at Big Island. Fort Providence

¹² Jones, Great Slave Lake, 65.

¹³ Jones, Great Slave Lake, 14; see also appendices A and B.

had fairly large gardens that produced potatoes, turnips, wheat and barley, and a few cattle fed on wild hay collected nearby. The post was visited in the summer by a boat carrying trade goods in and furs out, and by a "meat boat" collecting the reindeer (caribou) and moose meat harvested when the herds came near.¹⁴ A few times a year, an express mail carrier would pass through, and occasionally other HBC employees would stop *en route* to other Great Slave Lake or Mackenzie River posts such as Fort Simpson, Fort Rae, Hay River and Fort Resolution.

Fort Providence was staffed in the 1870s by one officer (John Reid, clerk) and six to eight men. In this small contingent, there was little specialization: all hands had to assist in working in the gardens, cutting and hauling firewood, constructing and repairing the buildings and the fences, and hauling meat and fish harvested or cached a few days' travel away. During the period of the post journal, the men named as employees in the post journal (names were often not given) included Gendron, "Bovier" (Joseph Bouvier Sr. or "A" in HBC employment records) and his son (Joseph Bouvier Jr. or "B"), Campbell, McLean, "Luson"/"Lanson"/"Louson", "Modiste", La Corn" or "Lacarne" (a post hunter), "Henry" (possibly Henry Cadien), "Keneth", Sinclair, Magnus Spence, Magnus Brown, Anderson (a Fort Simpson employee who spent the spring of 1874 as a skilled tradesman at Providence), and John McDonald.¹⁵

Joseph Bouvier "A" was the most highly-ranked employee after Reid, as a Guide. His son was ranked as an interpreter by 1876. Bouvier's wife was also occasionally mentioned in the post journal (unusual for this particular journal). On 24 February 1873, with the caribou herds near, Reid wrote "this Morning Bovier wife and Sarvent start with 2 Sleds for Mountain La Carn to traie [train?] Meat and hunt if She can Kill any thing this is a bold woman and cares for no wone". Her husband, meanwhile, was finishing work on an ice house to store meat.¹⁶ Reid was exasperated when in August 1873 "Mrs Bovier and her Sister 2 of their Children" came to the

¹⁴ To give an idea of the quantities collected at Fort Providence, in April 1873 the Fort icehouse was packed with 8,000 pounds of fresh meat, in addition to the large quantities of dried meat traded from Aboriginal hunters (HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 26 April 1873, 17).

¹⁵ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, *passim*, with information from HBCA, B.333/d/1, Fort Providence account book 1876 - 1877, 31d, where applicable.

¹⁶ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entries for 24 and 26 February 1873, 15.

fort for "Meat for them Selves what a begarly Set they are".¹⁷ Magnus Brown, a carpenter, also had a wife and children at the post.¹⁸ Henry Cadien was mentioned once in the journal as having refused a travelling assignment because his wife was sick,¹⁹ and Peter Trindell was also named once when his wife was dangerously ill.²⁰ Reid himself had three children at the fort.²¹ Providence's relatively abundant food supply made it an attractive destination for temporary residence for HBC employees. At the end of June 1873, the boat from Hay River dropped off four families to spend the summer at Providence,²² worrying Reid who noted in July that he had seven families, five men and 30 dogs to feed while the local fishery was producing only small catches.²³

Joseph Bouvier "A" worked at the post throughout the 1871 - 1874 period covered by the post journal, and was still employed there, with his son, in 1876 - 1877.²⁴ Although he was employed in construction tasks, skilled woodwork (for example, making oars)²⁵ and manual labour, he was more likely than some of the other men to be involved in resource harvesting. As well as sledging meat back to the fort, he appears to have hunted caribou himself,²⁶ and when the geese returned in May of 1872, Bouvier and his son "Kild the first".²⁷ Bouvier was also sent to the fall fisheries at Big Island every year, which produced as many as 10,000 to 15,000 fish for the

¹⁷ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 7 August 1873, 20d; see also entry for 3 June 1872, 7, when it was uncertain if Bouvier could go with the boat to Fort Simpson because his wife was sick.

¹⁸ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 23 September 1872, 10.

¹⁹ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 27 March 1873, 16.

²⁰ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 24 July 1872, 8d.

²¹ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 28 October 1874, 35.

²² HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 30 June 1873, 30.

²³ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 7 July 1873, 31.

²⁴ HBCA, B.333/d/1, Fort Providence account book, 31d.

²⁵ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 27 May 1872, 6d. He also made snowshoes; see entry for 2 November 1874, 35.

²⁶ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 7 March 1872, 3d.

²⁷ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 1 May 1872, 5; see also entries for 18 and 20 May 1874, 29.

stocks of the fort.²⁸ McLean, Spence and Brown fished as well.²⁹ The men of the fort also set out traps and were allowed time off their regular duties to hunt geese in the spring.³⁰

Reid also named a few visitors to the post in his journal. "Davice" passed through in August 1872; Reid noted that he came from Hay River "and he is going down to the Small Lake to winter...he looks very miserable like".³¹ "Old Lamalice and his sons" came by a few weeks later, bringing nothing.³² Two unnamed "free traders" stopped briefly in June 1873 on their way to Fort Resolution.³³ "Old Hoole" was mentioned once in 1873 as "turning Snow-shoes ready for winter".³⁴ On 31 July 1874, Reid recorded that "King Bealieu Came here and all his famalie they are bound for Simpson".³⁵

In 1876 - 1877, Reid and eight men were employed at Fort Providence: Alex. Boucher (middleman, the lowest classification of labourer), the Bouviers father and son, Magnus Brown (carpenter), Boniface and Henri Laferté (middleman and bowsman, a higher classification of labourer, respectively), Joseph Savoyard (steersman, the second-highest classification of labourer), and Magnus Spence (farmer). The men's accounts show that the Bouviers, Brown, and Savoyard purchased powder and shot in May, probably to shoot geese as was the custom; while Henri and Boniface Laferté purchased powder and shot in March and April. All of the men purchased dressed moose and deer skins for the manufacture of clothing and equipment, either by their wives or by other women around the fort. Bouvier Sr. bought 7 squares of window glass, presumably for his house. Grease for cooking, tea and tobacco were other common purchases.³⁶

²⁸ See for example HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entries for 23 September, 7 and 22 October 1872, 10 - 11; 5 and 11 October 1873, 22d; 16 October 1874, 34d.

²⁹ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 23 September 1872, 10; 11 August 1873, 21; 11 October 1873, 22d; 15 October 1873, 23.

³⁰ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entries for 5 December 1871, 1 (trapping); 11 and 16 May 1872, 5d - 6; 13 and 15 May 1873, 17d (goose hunting).

³¹ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 8 August 1872, 9.

³² HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 20 August 1872, 9d.

³³ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 13 June 1873, 18d. There may have actually been four free traders, see entry for 16 June 1873, 19.

³⁴ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 11 July 1873, 19d.

³⁵ HBCA, B.333/a/1, Fort Providence post journal, entry for 31 July 1874, 31d.

³⁶ HBCA, B.333/d/1, Fort Providence account book, 1876 - 1877, fols. 5 - 9, 31d.

In 1892 - 1893, the next available account book (which is fragmentary), Joseph Bouvier "B", John Hope (pilot), and Alexis and Vital Laferté were recorded as having been given winter advances at Providence. "Dubrulles boy 'Emile'" was also noted as having been paid for temporary labour.³⁷ In 1895 - 1896, Samuel Scott (clerk), Joseph Bouvier "B" (interpreter), John Hope "A" (pilot), and Joseph Savoyard (two months wages) were recorded as employed at Fort Providence.³⁸ Joseph Bouvier "B" was reported as having died in October 1895. Boniface Laferté, Antoine Laviolette, and David Villeneuve ran accounts as "freemen".³⁹ José Villeneuve and Antoine Laviolette were paid for carrying mail between Providence and other posts.⁴⁰ José McKay, Pierre Laundry (Landry), José Villeneuve, J. B. Lamoureux, Widow Bouvier, Mrs. Villeneuve, David Villeneuve, and "wives" were paid for work including hauling fish from Big Island, making nets, supplying dogs, "general work", netting snowshoes and weeding the garden.⁴¹ In the "Indian Debts", Louis Canadian, James Dickens, Lefoin's first son, Laundry's first and second sons, Monteur and William Monteur (Montour?), Ham McDuff, William Norn, Sabourin's second through seventh sons, Taché, LeBourne and Constant were listed.⁴²

In the last account book available, for 1899 - 1900, Samuel Scott (clerk), John Hope "A" (pilot) and Joseph Villeneuve (interpreter) were the only employees listed at Providence.⁴³ The expense of maintaining John Hope's wife was split between Providence and the S. S. Wrigley, the steamer of which he was the pilot.⁴⁴ Antoine Laviolette and Mrs. Bouvier were given accounts at the fort as "Freemen".⁴⁵ Scott paid his own wife and "Pierre's wife" for netting snowshoes, and Louise V. (Villeneuve) for making nets. John Hope, José Villeneuve and "Pierre" were paid for carrying mail.⁴⁶

³⁷ HBCA, B.333/d/2, Fort Providence account book, 1892 - 1893, fol. 17.

³⁸ HBCA, B.333/d/3, Fort Providence account book, 1895 - 1896, 7,

³⁹ HBCA, B.333/d/3, Fort Providence account book, 1895 - 1896, fols. 12 - 14.

⁴⁰ HBCA, B.333/d/3, Fort Providence account book, 1895 - 1896, 19 - 91d.

⁴¹ HBCA, B.333/d/3, Fort Providence account book, 1895 - 1896 21, fol. 24.

⁴² HBCA, B.333/d/3, Fort Providence account book, 1895 - 1896, 16 - 16d.

⁴³ HBCA, B.333/d/4, Fort Providence account book, 1899 - 1900, 5d. Book number d/5 consists of a few loose pages.

⁴⁴ HBCA, B.333/d/4, Fort Providence account book, 1899 - 1900, 8.

⁴⁵ HBCA, B.333/d/4, Fort Providence account book, 1899 - 1900, 12 - 13d.

⁴⁶ HBCA, B.333/d/4, Fort Providence account book, 1899 - 1900, 17d - 19.

Métis scrip applications taken under Treaty Eleven between 1921 and 1924 offer more information about some of the families named above, and also show that descendants of those families were still based on Providence at the time of Treaty Eleven. John Baptiste (or Baptiste) Bouvier, born in Fort Simpson in 1858, was a son of Joseph Bouvier [A], (claimed by his children to be either a "white man" or a "half breed"), and Catherine Beaulieu ("half-breed"). He was married at Providence in 1884 to Marie Lafferty, born in 1870 at Fort Rae, daughter of Louison Lafferty and Marie L'Esperance. Other children of Baptiste claiming for scrip in the 1920s included Joseph Bouvier, born in 1888 in Providence, married at Providence in 1912 to Celine Lafferty; George Bouvier, born at Providence in 1893 and married to Veronique Lecou (born at Fort Good Hope) in 1914; and James Bouvier, born at Providence in 1896. Occupations for these men included interpreter, trapper and trader. Magnus Brown, "white man" living at Athabasca Landing, was the father of Harriet Brown, born at Providence in 1866 and married to Frank Heron ("half breed"); and three deceased children born at Providence in 1883 and 1878, and Big Island in 1885. The mother of these children was stated to be Ann Norn, ("half breed"), or Isabella ("Indian"). Boniface Laferté, brother of Marie Laferté or Lafferty, living at Fort Resolution when he claimed scrip, was born in 1861 in Winnipeg, and married Madelaine Bouvier, daughter of Joseph Bouvier and Catherine Beaulieu born in 1862 at Fort Simpson. Three of Boniface's children also claimed scrip at Providence. Joseph Savoyard, living at Athabasca Landing, claimed for a deceased son born at Providence in 1875, whose mother was Françoise Boucher. Ellen Scott, "half breed", living at Winnipeg, was the daughter of John Reid, the clerk at Providence, and the wife of Samuel Scott, who succeeded Reid in charge of the post at Providence.⁴⁷

Other persons mentioned in the journals and accounts are known from other sources. Joseph (or Jean) Sabourin and Cecile Bekenejawon or Angele Tayandi had children baptized at Providence in the 1860s and 1870s. Antoine Laviolette was a godparent to several children baptized at Providence in the 1860s, was recorded as an HBC Northern Department employee in 1859 - 1860, and as a steersman in the Mackenzie River district in 1861 - 1862. It is not known whether he was related to the Laviolette with a family who was an employee of the North West Company

⁴⁷ This information in this paragraph is drawn from the Fort Providence scrip applications (LAC, RG15) as summarized in Jones, Great Slave Lake, 177 - 181.

at Great Slave Lake in 1786. Other Lavolettes took Treaty or scrip at Fort Smith or Fort Chipewyan in 1899. "Old Lamalice" is probably the Baptiste Bouché dit Lamalice who arrived at Fort Reliance in 1855. King Beaulieu was a member of the HBC party at Fort Reliance at that time. King Beaulieu and his wife Marianne had a son baptized at Providence in 1861.⁴⁸ Peter Trindle, Scots-Chipewyan Métis, was interviewed by Petitot at Fort Good Hope in the 1860s or 1870s. Petitot described Trindle's wife, Susann Lapie, as a beautiful Slavey Indian woman from Liard Fort who had taught Petitot the "Esquimaux" language.⁴⁹ Trindle's descendant Ted Trindle attended the school at Providence from 1909 to 1912 and wrote a book about his experiences.⁵⁰ The Cadiens and Houles are also well-documented in Great Slave Lake Métis communities.

IV. Fort Rae, 1871 - 1903

Accounts for Fort Rae in 1871 - 1872 show W. Morrison Mackay in charge of the post, with nine men (Peter F. Garson, bowsman; Joseph Holcro, Magnus J. Spence and Donald Smith, labourers; William Hoole, interpreter; Louison Laferté, guide; and Henry Laferté, Louis Laferté "B", and Thomas Williamson, middlemen).⁵¹ William Hoole died during the period of the outfit. "Beaulieu" was recognized as a Chief at Rae during this outfit and was provided with gratuities of clothing, beads, and ammunition.⁵² Other employees at Rae during the 1870s and 1880s included Henry Cadien, middleman and interpreter; William McLeod "A", fisherman, Louis or Louison Laferté "A", steersman; William Star, bowsman; Andrew Flett, clerk; Baptiste Boucher "B", middleman; Octave Laferté, middleman; Donald Martin "A", labourer; W. C. King; Baptiste Hoole, Alexis Beaulieu, interpreter and steersman; Jacob MacKay, guide; Joseph Leask, John Montgomery, J. S. Camsell, Chief Trader; William Norn, clerk; Magnus Brown, John Hope "C", post master and steersman; Robert Norn, fisherman; Samuel Scott, clerk; Baptiste Bouvier, interpreter; David Villeneuve, steersman; Henri Laferté, steersman; John Wilson, Chief Trader; Frank Heron, clerk; Antoine Lavolette, post master; and A. F. Camsell, apprentice clerk.⁵³ In

⁴⁸ Jones, Great Slave Lake, Appendix A, 157.

⁴⁹ Jones, Great Slave Lake, 83.

⁵⁰ Jones, Great Slave Lake, 123.

⁵¹ HBCA, B.172/d/12, Fort Rae account book, 1871 - 1873, 7.

⁵² HBCA, B.172/d/12, Fort Rae account book, 1871 - 1873, 10, fols. 12 - 13.

⁵³ HBCA, Fort Rae account books, B.172/d/13 through B.172/d/27, servants' accounts and lists of servants.

1888 - 1889, the post contingent had been reduced to John Wilson, Chief Trader, Alexis Beaulieu, interpreter; and Henri, Louison "A", and Octave Laferté. David Villeneuve had an account at Rae as a "pensioner" and "freeman", and as well he was paid as a fisherman. José Villeneuve was paid for a "Winters work" at the fort, as was Antoine Laferté.⁵⁴

Among the "Indians" with debts at Fort Rae in the 1870s and 1880s were Chief Beaulieu ("troublesome") and his brother Izitlah ("good"), Grosse Mand ("Brown's father-in-law"), "McKindly" or "McKinlay",⁵⁵ "Small Man Beaulieu" and his son,⁵⁶ Henry Cadien, who was given gratuities as a Chief in 1889,⁵⁷ "Old Man Beaulieu" and "Beaulieu's 1st Son",⁵⁸ and "Tom Cook's son".⁵⁹ A "freeman" from England named John Watts Garland had an account at Fort Rae in 1884 - 1885.⁶⁰

The first available post journal from Fort Rae begins in October 1888, and was kept by John Wilson, Chief Trader. Wilson's health was in decline, and after an extended illness from September to December 1889, another writer (possibly apprentice clerk Arthur F. Camsell) took over the journal. His father, Chief Factor J. S. Camsell, had arrived in mid-December 1889 to "pass the winter at this Post".⁶¹ Not surprisingly, considering that four Lafertés (described as "Old Louis and his three sons")⁶² and two Villeneuves worked at the post, the journal writers tended to call employees by their first names in describing activities around the post.

The workers performed the same types of construction and manual labour tasks as their counterparts did at Fort Providence. In the winter, the employees and Antoine Laferté made several trips with dogsleds to locations within a few days' travel of the post to collect furs and

⁵⁴ HBCA, B.172/d/24, Fort Rae account book, 1886 - 1888, fol. 14; B.172/d/25, Fort Rae account book, 1887 - 1889, fols. 3, 6, 18; see also B.172/d/26, Fort Rae account book, 1888 - 1890, fol. 9.

⁵⁵ HBCA, B.172/d/16, Fort Rae account book, 1876 - 1877, fols. 6 - 7. Petitot identified Jacques Beaulieu dit Nadé, "un Métis franco-flanc-de-chien [Dogrib], fils naturel du vieux patriarche Beaulieu", as the "chef" of a "tribu" of « Indiens du lac la Martre » in the summer of 1864. He met Jacques Beaulieu on the shores of a lake between Lac la Martre and Fort Rae (Jones, Great Slave Lake, 83).

⁵⁶ HBCA, B.172/d/24, Fort Rae account book, 1886 - 1888, fol. 15.

⁵⁷ HBCA, B.172/d/26, Fort Rae account book, 1888 - 1890, fol. 9.

⁵⁸ HBCA, B.172/d/26, Fort Rae account book, 1888 - 1890, fol. 17.

⁵⁹ HBCA, B.172/d/26, Fort Rae account book, 1888 - 1890, fol. 17.

⁶⁰ HBCA, B.172/d/21, Fort Rae account book, 1884 - 1885, fol. 3.

⁶¹ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 18 December 1889, 13.

⁶² HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 1 September 1889, 11d.

meat from the HBC's trading partners. They also travelled about the same distance to cut wood to heat the post buildings, and to supply the steamer Wrigley on its summer visits. Fishing was done every day for about six months of the year, in open water or under the ice near the fort. David Villeneuve, Henry Cadien and other employees operated fisheries for the post, especially in the fall, at Jackfish River,⁶³ Smith's Island,⁶⁴ the "Island Fishery",⁶⁵ "the point"⁶⁶ and other unnamed locations.⁶⁷ The HBC's customers, such as Beaulieu and his sons, Tom Cook's son, and Rabasca, visited the fort once or twice a year to trade meat or furs.⁶⁸

The younger Camsell was more likely to record social events around the post than was Wilson. On Christmas Day 1889, Camsell wrote that the "Indians + Servants" were "attending Church". However, New Year's Day 1890 was an event for the "all the Engaged Servants", who attended a "Reception held in the Big House at 10 A. M.". The next day, "a Dance was held in the Officers house + kept up till 2:30 This morning".⁶⁹ When the steamer arrived in August of 1890, another dance was held in the officers' house, "kept up till about 3 A. M.". ⁷⁰ On 14 October 1890, Camsell wrote that

At 9:30 AM. Antoine Laferte was married to Madeleine Beaulieu, after the marriage Alexis [Beaulieu] invited the crowd to Breakfast in his house At 6 P. M. the crowd assembled in the Big House + had supper + after Supper a Dance was held, which was kept up till 5 AM.⁷¹

The next day, not surprisingly, the "men" were "resting after the Dance". Camsell also recorded that on 5 November 1890, "the wife of Alexis Beaulieu gave birth to a son this morning".⁷² Another dance was held on 27 January 1891, this one lasting only until 3:40 AM.⁷³

⁶³ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 17 September 1889 ("Willie's" fishery), 12; see also B.172/a/2, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 9 and 11 September 1892, 6; 2 November 1892, 9.

⁶⁴ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 20 June 1890, 24; 19 November 1890, 32d.; see also B.172/a/2, entry for 29 October 1892, 8d.

⁶⁵ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 6 November 1890, 32; see also B.172/a/2, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 11 October 1892, 7d.

⁶⁶ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 6 November 1890, 32.

⁶⁷ See for example HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 5 November 1888, 1d; 12 November 1888, 2; 17 September 1899, 12, 5 December 1890, 33d; see also B.172/a/2, entry for 5 December 1892, 10d.

⁶⁸ See for example Beaulieu and his sons, who came in (together or separately), on 22 November 1888, 2, 17 December 1888, 3; 20 April 1889, 7; 4 April 1890, 19; 3 May 1890, 21.

⁶⁹ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 25 December 1889, 13d; 1 and 2 January 1890, 14.

⁷⁰ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 5 - 7 August 1890, 27.

⁷¹ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 14 October 1890, 30d.

⁷² HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 5 November 1890, 31d.

Camsell and Wilson wrote very little about the activities of the women and children around the fort, as was not uncommon among post journal writers. On 20 May 1890, Camsell noted that "Alexis [Beaulieu] took his family off to Syrup Camp this morning", and the next day, "the rest of the women left this morning to make Birch Syrup".⁷⁴ Other resource harvesting activities were reported on 7 May 1890, when F. Camsell, José [Villeneuve] and Alexis [Beaulieu] "started across to hunt geese",⁷⁵ 21 May 1890, when "Louison + Antoine [Laferté]" went "off hunting", and 24 May 1890 ("José [Villeneuve] off hunting").⁷⁶ This activity appears to reflect time allowed for employees to engage in the spring goose hunt, as was given at Fort Providence.

The accounts for Fort Rae for the years 1890 to 1897 show employees John Wilson (Chief Trader), A. F. Camsell (apprentice clerk), Alexis Beaulieu (interpreter), Henri Laferté (steersman), Antoine Laviolette (clerk), Joseph Hodgson (clerk), J. A. R. Balsillie (apprentice clerk), Frank Heron (clerk) and Louison Laferté "A" and Octave Laferté (labourers). W. R. Norn, Henri Cadien, David Villeneuve, Louis Laferté "A" (after 1893), Octave Laferté (after 1893), Vital Laferté, Louis Laferté "B", Alexis Laferté, and Nancy Lamalice, had accounts at Rae as "freemen". Antoine Laferté, José Villeneuve, David Villeneuve (fisherman), and Louis Laferté "A" were paid for "temporary" work at the fort. "Germain", "Small Man Beaulieu", Tom Cook and his son, Chrysostome Beaulieu, Moyise Beaulieu, Jim Beaulieu, St. Cyre Beaulieu, and "Germain's brother" were listed as having "Indian Debts" at Fort Rae.⁷⁷ By Outfit 1896 (the last account book available), the employee contingent at Rae was one Chief Trader (Wilson), a clerk and apprentice clerk (Heron and Balsillie), an interpreter (Antoine Laferté), and Henri Laferté (classified as a steersman).⁷⁸ The accounts of all of these men show purchases made for women, such as jewellery, shawls, printed cottons, and women's shoes.⁷⁹

⁷³ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 27 January 1891, 36.

⁷⁴ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 20 and 21 May 1890, 22.

⁷⁵ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entry for 7 May 1890, 21d.

⁷⁶ HBCA, B.172/a/1, Fort Rae post journal, entries for 21 and 24 May 1890, 22.

⁷⁷ Fort Rae account books, HBCA, B.172/d/28 through B.172/d/32, 1890 - 1897.

⁷⁸ HBCA, B.172/d/32, Fort Rae account book, 1895 - 1897, 7.

⁷⁹ HBCA, B.172/d/32, Fort Rae account book, 1895 - 1897, fols. 8 - 11. Wilson's account is not included in this book; however, he purchased similar items in previous years.

A preliminary review of the post journals for the years 1892 - 1899 and 1900 - 1904 shows similar patterns of trading, local resource harvesting, and labour. By 1903, Antoine, Henri, Yaltah, Bouchard, Edward Heron, and an unknown post journal writer were working regularly at the post.

The scrip records for Treaty Eight (1899 - 1900) and Treaty Eleven (1921 - 1924) provide more information on some of the people referred to in the Fort Rae records.⁸⁰ For example, Louison Laferté "A", patriarch of a large family including Boniface, Vital, Octave, Alexis, Henri, Marie and Antoine, as well as Louis jr. or "B" (deceased by 1900), applied under Treaty Eight, having been born at Fort Resolution in 1822. He stated that he had been married in 1848 at Winnipeg to Marie L'Esperance, that his father had been "Laferté", "half breed", and his mother "Mary Anne", "Cree Indian". Boniface had been hired by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Providence, but Louison and most of his other children seem to have gravitated to Fort Rae. Antoine Laferté and Madeleine Beaulieu's daughter Marie Rose, born in 1894 at Fort Rae, married Leon Mercredi at Fort Chipewyan in 1912 and applied for Treaty Eleven scrip from Hay River. Edward Heron, clerk at Rae, was the son of Frank Heron, "half breed", and Harriet Brown ("half breed" daughter of Magnus). He married Margaret Sibbeston in 1913 at Fort Providence. The McKinlays who were given "Indian" debt at Rae were probably the family of James McKinlay, born in 1857 in Perthshire, Scotland, who married Bella, daughter of Magnus Brown from Providence, in 1889. William Norn, briefly a clerk at Rae and given "Indian" debt at Providence in the 1890s, was a "half breed" who married a Scottish woman, Jean Mary Sanderson. These examples of families on the "Indian" debt list point to a conclusion that "Indian debt" was more a type of economic relationship than an ethnic attribute.

V. Summary

The post journals and account books reviewed for Phase I of this research tend to confirm the research completed in 2005, and update the data into a slightly later period. The Métis families trading or working at posts on the north shore of Great Slave Lake during the period under review were part of larger interconnected family networks that extended around the Lake.

⁸⁰ See Jones, Great Slave Lake, Appendix B.

“Freemen” around the posts were usually not strangers, but were former HBC employees remaining in the vicinity and often continuing to work on a temporary basis for the Company. In fact the availability of former employees may account for the reductions in full-time employees at Forts Rae and Providence in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Members of long-established Métis families, such as Cadien, Beaulieu and Lamalice, also traded at Rae and Providence under the “Indian debt” system.

Some extended families, for example that of King Beaulieu, had established a presence in areas such as Fort Reliance, Fort Rae and Lac la Martre at an earlier stage than others, while other families (for example, the Bouviers around Fort Providence and the Lafertés around Fort Rae) showed multigenerational continuity around certain locations through the latter half of the nineteenth century. However, these families were not limited to or exclusive in these areas. Inter-marriage between relative newcomers and established families integrated the newcomers into new regions and cemented kinship ties all around the Lake.

Research Report**Phase II****3 February 2014.**

I. Introduction

This is a continuation of the project described in the Introduction to Phase I. Additional sources reviewed in this phase were as follows:

Dominion Manuscript Census

1881 Census District "U": Subdivision Mackenzie River
 1891 Census District Mackenzie River
 1891 Census District Unorganized Territory

Hudson's Bay Company Archives

Fort Providence Post Journal	1871 - 1874	B.333/a/1
Fort Providence Post Report	1892	B.333/e/1
Fort Providence Post Report	1895	B.333/e/2
Fort Rae Account Book (General)	1895 - 1897	B.172/d/32
Fort Rae Account Book (General)	1896 - 1898	B.172/d/33
Fort Rae Account Book (General)	1897 - 1899	B.172/d/34
Fort Rae Account Book (General)	1898 - 1900	B.172/d/35
Fort Rae Account Book (General)	1900 - 1902	B.172/d/36
Fort Rae Post Report	1892	B.172/e/1
Fort Rae Post Report	1896	B.172/e/2
Fort Resolution Post Report	1892	B.181/e/2
Fort Resolution Post Report	1895	B.181/e/3
Fort Resolution Post Report	1897	B.181/e/4
Fort Simpson Account Book (District Accounts)	1822 - 1824	B.200/d/1
Fort Simpson Account Book (District Accounts)	1823 - 1824	B.200/d/2
Fort Simpson Account Book (Mens' Accounts)	1823 - 1825	B.200/d/3
Fort Simpson Account Book (Indian Accounts)	1822 - 1825	B.200/d/3a
Fort Simpson Account Book (District Accounts)	1823 - 1825	B.200/d/4
Fort Simpson Account Book (Transfer Book)	1823 - 1825	B.200/d/5
Fort Simpson Account Book (Mens' Accounts)	1824 - 1826	B.200/d/6
Fort Simpson Account Book (District Accounts)	1824 - 1826	B.200/d/7
Fort Simpson Account Book (Book Debts)	1825 - 1827	B.200/d/8
Fort Simpson Account Book (District Accounts)	1826 (fragment)	B.200/d/9
Fort Simpson Account Book (Indian Accounts)	1825 - 1827	B.200/d/10a

Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1825 - 1826	B.200/b/1
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1824 - 1826	B.200/b/2
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1826 - 1827	B.200/b/3
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1828 - 1829	B.200/b/4
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1829 - 1830	B.200/b/5
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1830 - 1831	B.200/b/6
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1831 - 1832	B.200/b/7
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1835 - 1836	B.200/b/8
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1836 - 1837	B.200/b/9
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1837 - 1838	B.200/b/10
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1838 - 1839	B.200/b/11
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1839 - 1840	B.200/b/12
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1840 - 1841	B.200/b/13
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1841 - 1842	B.200/b/14
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1842 - 1843	B.200/b/15
Fort Simpson Correspondence Book	1842 - 1843	B.200/b/16

Printed Primary Sources

Pike, Warburton. *The Barren Ground of Northern Canada*. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1917. Originally published in 1892 by Macmillan & Co., London.)

Wentzel, W. Ferdinand. "A Journal kept at the Grand River [Fort of the Forks] from Fall 1804 - Spring 1805", reprinted in Lloyd Keith, ed., *North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800 - 1821* (Montréal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

Wentzel, W. Ferdinand. [Journal of 1805 - 1806, Fort of the Forks], reprinted in Lloyd Keith, ed., *North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800 - 1821* (Montréal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

Wentzel, W. Ferdinand. "A Continuation of the Journal of the Forks Mackenzies River for Summer 1807", reprinted in Lloyd Keith, ed., *North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800 - 1821* (Montréal/ Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

These sources were not reviewed for my 2005 report completed for the Department of Justice on Great Slave Lake mixed-ancestry populations. It is intended that the following narrative will be read in conjunction with that 2005 report, as an addendum summarizing additional sources relevant to the north shore of Great Slave Lake. These sources are not all the additional materials available, but are a sample constrained by time limitations for Phase II.

II. Fort of the Forks/Fort Simpson and the Mackenzie River District, 1804 - 1843

The Fort of the Forks, situated on the Liard River near its junction with the Mackenzie River, was established by the North West Company's Fort of the Forks in 1802 and commenced operations as a trading post in 1803. After the merger of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821, the Fort of the Forks was taken over by the HBC and renamed Fort Simpson after George Simpson, the Governor of the Company in North America.

North West Company post journals from the Fort of the Forks for the years 1804 - 1805, 1805 - 1806 (fragment) and 1807 - 1808 have survived. According to the 1804 - 1805 journal, North West Company employees Jean-Baptiste La Prise (one of the first *voyageurs* to travel to Great Slave Lake in 1786), with at least one Chipewyan wife and children, and François Martin summered at Fort of the Forks in 1804, implying that they had arrived in 1803.⁸¹ The rival XY trading company also established a post near Fort of the Forks in 1803. After the drowning death of the XY post master in the summer of 1804 an engagé named Joseph Perrault attempted to manage the XY company's business with the assistance of interpreter Joseph Menard and another man. However, the NWC, better-manned and provisioned, succeeded in driving out the XY opposition by December 1804.⁸² In 1807 - 1808, employees of the NWC at Fort of the Forks included Charles Martin (possibly an older relative of François), Jolibois, and Gibeau.⁸³ In November of 1807, the trader in charge of the Fort of the Forks (W. F. Wentzel) recorded the arrival of "Beaulieu's son" (possibly François Beaulieu (II)), who had "deserted" the previous summer from a North West Company trader downriver. Beaulieu's son came in to the Fort of the Forks with Charles Martin, and had joined Martin in searching for a group of Indian people

⁸¹ Lloyd Keith, ed., *North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800 - 1821* (Montréal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 35, W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1804 - 1805, entry for 9 October 1804, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 183 - 185, 196; see also Jones, Great Slave Lake, 12 - 13, 140.

⁸² W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1804 - 1805, entries for 10 - 19 December 1804, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 194 - 195.

⁸³ W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1805 - 1806, entries for 3 September 1805 and 9 February 1806, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 290, 293; W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1807 - 1808, entries for 5 October - 3 November 1807, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 312 - 316; also 302, fn. 2.

whom Wentzel wished to attract to trade.⁸⁴ Beaulieu's son was then hired by Wentzel to snare hares around the Fort of the Forks. After about a month, Wentzel sent him off with another employee (Cadien) to assist at a NWC post up the Liard River.⁸⁵ On 30 April 1808, Beaulieu's son and the NWC employee Genereux arrived from the Liard River, and Beaulieu's son immediately started hunting Canada geese and other water fowl in the vicinity of the fort. In early June, Wentzel sent Beaulieu's son and two other men off to Great Bear Lake.⁸⁶

After the merger of 1821, Fort Simpson became the administrative centre for the HBC's Mackenzie River District. This District included the Liard River and its tributaries as far west as the Company could explore; and the Mackenzie River and its tributaries, including Great Bear Lake, the Peel River, Lac la Martre, and the north shore of Great Slave Lake (Fort Resolution, on the south shore, was part of the Athabasca District). The North West Company had established posts on the north shore of Great Slave Lake and on Lac la Martre as early as 1792, but by 1822 none of these posts was still in operation except for Old Fort Providence (Mountain Island Post) in Yellowknife Bay, which was closed in 1823.⁸⁷ This left the HBC with no trading post to serve the hunters in the vast area between the north shore of Great Slave Lake and the south shore of Great Bear Lake. Fort Simpson was the post used by these hunters,⁸⁸ but communications and contact from the area north of Great Slave Lake was limited to trading visits to the post or secondhand reports once or twice per year.

For the trading year 1822 - 1823, the following men were given advances or wages by the HBC in the Mackenzie River District (asterisks denote men paid wages for 1822 - 1823):

Name	Rank	Country/Parish of Origin	Post	Remained + 1823 - 24 # 1824 - 25
*Adams/ Adam, Jean-	Interpreter	North West	Great Slave	+ Fort Liard

⁸⁴ W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1807 - 1808, entry for 8 November 1807, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 317.

⁸⁵ W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1807 - 1808, entries for 9 November - 15 December 1807, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 318 - 324.

⁸⁶ W. F. Wentzel, journal of Fort of the Forks, 1807 - 1808, entries for 30 April to 7 June 1808, reprinted in Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 338 - 344.

⁸⁷ See Jones, Great Slave Lake, 27 - 28; Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 12 - 13, 16 - 17, 460 (fn. 45).

⁸⁸ See for example entries for individual "Marten Lake Indians" in the Fort Simpson account books of 1822 - 1825 (HBCA, B.200/d/3a) and 1825 - 1827 (B.200/d/10a).

Name	Rank	Country/Parish of Origin	Post	Remained + 1823 - 24 # 1824 - 25
Baptiste		Canada	Lake	# Fort Liard
*Beauvais, Jacques	Milieu (middleman or ordinary labourer)	Canada/Laprairie	Fort Liard	+ Fort GH # Fort GH
*Bernard, François	Milieu	Canada/Montreal	Fort Liard	+ Fort Liard
Bibeau, Paul	Milieu		Fort Chipewyan	
*Brebant or Brelant, Antoine or Augustus	Gouvernail (front steersman, second-highest workmen's rank)	Canada		+ Fort GH # Fort GH
Briant dit Deroché, Antoine	Gouvernail		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort S # Fort Liard
Briant dit la Pierre, Louis	Gouvernail		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort Liard # Fort Liard
*Brisebois, Charles	Clerk	Canada/Montreal		+ Fort N # Fort GH
*Cadien, (Jean) Baptiste	Apprentice interpreter	North West Canada	Fort Norman	# Fort N
Cardin or Cantin, Thomas	Gouvernail		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort Liard # Fort Liard
*Cartier, Ignace	Milieu	Canada/Sorel	Fort Good Hope	+ Fort GH
*Contret, Jean-Baptiste	Milieu	Canada/Berthier	Fort Good Hope	+ Fort GH # Fort GH
Cormier, Louis	Milieu (promoted 1823)		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort Liard # Fort Liard
*Dease, C. W.	Clerk	Canada/Montreal	Fort Good Hope	+ Fort GH # Fort N
*Emant, Richard	Milieu	Canada/ L'Assomption	Fort Simpson	
Faille, Toussaint	Milieu		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort GH # Fort GH
François, Guillaume (or <i>vice versa</i>)	Milieu		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort N # Fort N
*Gallarneau, (Jean) Baptiste	Apprentice interpreter	North West Canada	Fort Norman	# Fort S
*Genereux, Louis	Milieu	Canada/Berthier	Fort Liard	+ Fort N # Fort N

Name	Rank	Country/Parish of Origin	Post	Remained + 1823 - 24 # 1824 - 25
*Gilbert, Etienne	Milieu	Canada/ L'Assomption	Fort Norman/Fort Chipewyan	
*Gregoire, Antoine	Milieu	Canada/Montreal	Fort Norman/Fort Chipewyan	
*Henry, Robert jr.	Clerk	North West Canada		
*Jolibois, Joseph	Milieu	Canada/ L'Assomption	Fort Liard	+ Fort Chipewyan
LaCerte/Lessert/Lessard, Jean/John	Milieu		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort Liard # Fort Liard
LaChapelle, Louis	Milieu	Canada/ L'Assomption	Athabasca	+ Fort Chipewyan
LeClaire, Pierre	Milieu		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort N # Fort N
*Martin, Pierre	Milieu	Canada/ L'Assomption	Fort Simpson	
*McDonald, Neil	Clerk	Scotland		
*McDougall, John	Clerk	Scotland		
*McLeod, A. R.	Chief Trader		Fort Simpson	+ Fort S # Fort S
*McLeod, J.	Clerk	Scotland	Fort Simpson	+ Fort S # Fort S
*McPherson, Murdo	Clerk	Scotland	Fort Liard	+ Fort Liard # Fort Liard
Meyette, Jean-Baptiste	Gouvernail		Fort Chipewyan	
Morin, André	Bout (rear steersman, third-highest workmen's rank)		(died)	
*Ottote, Glaude	Milieu	Canada/Sorel	Fort Norman	
Roy, François	Milieu		Fort Chipewyan	
St. Germaine, Pierre	Interpreter		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort N # Fort N
Villeneuve, Michel	Gouvernail		Fort Chipewyan	+ Fort S # Fort S
*Wentzel, W. F.	Clerk	Canada/Montreal	Fort Simpson	+ Fort S

Sources: HBCA, B.200/d/1 (Mackenzie River District Accounts, 1822 - 1824); B.200/d/4 (Mackenzie River District Accounts, 1823 - 1825); Keith, *North of Athabasca*, biographical sketches (pp. 365 - 424).

The men assigned to Fort Chipewyan were retained by the HBC only to move goods from the Mackenzie River District or York Factory to Fort Chipewyan, where they were then declared “supernumerary”. This reflects the shedding of employees following the merger of the two companies. However, it appears that many of the individuals who were moved to Fort Chipewyan stayed in the country and were rehired by the HBC, as indicated in the table above. At least some of these men may have been reluctant to leave because they had families in the Mackenzie River District, and some of these families are traceable in later generations. For example, Pierre St. Germain had been hired as a Chipewyan interpreter by John Franklin in 1820 and had been described by him as a “Chipewyan Bois Brulé”. In the 1840s, François Beaulieu (II) married a daughter of Pierre St. Germain and his Dene spouse.⁸⁹ Jean-Baptiste Adam, another “Chipewyan Bois Brulé” from the Great Slave Lake area hired as an interpreter by Franklin, also remained in the District.⁹⁰

In subsequent years (to 1840), the year-round complement of HBC men in the Mackenzie River District was in the range of thirty-nine to fifty-two, distributed across posts at Fort Liard, Fort Halkett (at the junction of the Liard and the Smith Rivers in present-day British Columbia), Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman, Peel’s River, Frances Lake, and Fort Simpson.⁹¹ In recruiting new employees to the District, Chief Traders expressed a strong preference for “Canadians” (from Québec). For certain skilled positions, such as interpreters, local Métis were favoured. Edward Smith, Chief Trader of the District, wrote to Governor Simpson in March of 1827 that “men from Canada or Europe will be the best and after their Second year will be the most trusty. Men

⁸⁹ Jones, Great Slave Lake, 34 - 35, 51; also HBCA, B.200/d/3 (Men’s Accounts, 1823 - 1825).

⁹⁰ Jones, Great Slave Lake, 19, 52 - 53; also HBCA, B.200/d/3 (Men’s Accounts, 1823 - 1825). This Jean-Baptiste Adam is identified in HBCA, B.200/d/1 (District Accounts, 1822 - 1824) as being 32 years of age, and so must be a different man than (but probably the son of) the person of the same name who was a North West Company employee in 1802 married into a family that came to trade at the post on the south shore of Great Slave Lake.

⁹¹ HBCA, B.200/b/4 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1828 - 1829), Edward Smith to Governor, 28 March 1828, 29 - 29d; B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to Governor in Chief, 26 November 1830, 12; B.200/b/13, John Lee Lewes to Duncan Finlayson, 20 November 1840, 24.

will always require to be found in the Country".⁹² In 1830, Smith complained to Governor Simpson that he was

sorry the recruits for this year was not Canadians. Orkney men and Canadians mixed together will not do: and Orkney men alone still worse they know nothing and have every thing to learn. When once acquainted with the dutys and ways of the Country will retire as fast as their agreements expires -- finding their dutys they have to perform, too hard when compared to the work and ways of their own country.⁹³

In requesting men for 1831 - 1832, Smith emphasized again that he recommended "a proportion of young Canadians be sent with the Orkney men to keep up the establishment of the District -- the latter may become efficient for the summer voyages, but one out of five will never be efficient for the winter service of this district -- when so much exertion is required in fishing and other dutys to procure the means of subsistence".⁹⁴ From Fort Halkett in 1836, clerk John Hutchison wrote to Smith's successor, Murdo McPherson, "I beg it as a favour to impress upon your mind the necessity there is of sending people of a different character than the Half Breeds of Red river as Winterers at this place or the consequences may be dreaded", implying that Red River Métis at his post had behaved "improperly" towards the local Indian population.⁹⁵

The locally-born Métis interpreters hired by the HBC during this period played important roles as facilitators with the local Indian population and took on responsibilities as summer post managers and traders. Peter Dease, clerk at Fort Good Hope, wrote to Edward Smith, Chief Factor of the Mackenzie River District in February of 1825 suggesting applying to Fort Chipewyan for the services of either Louis Cadien or François Beaulieu (II) as an interpreter for the second Franklin Expedition, as these two men were the "only two acquainted" with the language of the "Lower Indians" (Loucheux).⁹⁶ Edward Smith, Chief Factor of the Mackenzie District, corrected Dease by noting that it was young Baptiste Cadien at Fort Norman who was

⁹² HBCA, B.200/b/3 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1826 - 1827), Edward Smith to Governor, 16 March 1827, 28d.

⁹³ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to Governor, 28 July 1830, 6 - 6d.

⁹⁴ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to Governor, 17 April 1831, 30d.

⁹⁵ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), John Hutchison to M. McPherson, 30 May 1836, 30d.

⁹⁶ HBCA, B.200/b/2 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1824 - 1826), Peter Dease to Messrs. Smith and McLeod, 7 February 1825, 2.

“the one the most acquainted with the Indians about Bear Lake...and the only one...that understands the Indians in that quarter”.⁹⁷ Charles Dease (Peter’s brother and successor as clerk at Fort Good Hope), having missed the opportunity in the summer of 1825 to introduce Captain Franklin to the Loucheux, expressed his confidence in Baptiste Cadien as a facilitator as well as a translator in a letter to Smith: “as they [Franklin and his party] were all Strangers to the country and its Natives -- I thought it fit to leave the Interpreter Cadien, in case Captain Franklin should want his service to act as Linguist with the Natives -- as their sudden appearance might create alarm”.⁹⁸ Cadien was later sent “inland” with the Indian people of Great Bear Lake to encourage them to trap and to collect their furs.⁹⁹ François Beaulieu (II) was also assigned to the Franklin Expedition in 1825 - 1826 as an interpreter and hunter.¹⁰⁰ Following his employment with Franklin, Beaulieu went to hunt at Lac la Martre with the Slave and Dogrib people, and was employed informally by the HBC to trade, act as a liaison, and encourage these people to trap furs and trade at Fort Simpson (see below). François Houle or Hoole, a French-Beaver (Dene) Métis interpreter, managed Fort Halkett in the summer absences of the clerk in charge,¹⁰¹ and was capable of building canoes, sleds, snowshoe frames and other essential items.¹⁰² Interpreter Pierre St. Germain took charge of the District headquarters at Fort Simpson in the summers when the Chief Factor was away, as well as providing important facilitation services with Indian and Métis populations.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ HBCA, B.200/b/2 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1824 - 1826), Edward Smith to Peter Dease, 24 February 1825, 2d.

⁹⁸ HBCA, B.200/b/1 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1825 - 1826), Charles Dease to Edward Smith, 31 August 1825, 10d. This Louis Cadien may be the French-Chipewyan Métis that Petitot met around Great Slave Lake in the 1860s; see Jones, *Great Slave Lake*, 17. François Beaulieu (II) had hunted for the North West Company around Great Bear Lake in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and may have acquired the Loucheux language at that time. It appears Beaulieu spoke many languages: French, Loucheux, Chipewyan, Slavey, and possibly Dogrib.

⁹⁹ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Charles Brisbois to Messrs. McPherson and Hutchison, 13 February 1831, 20.

¹⁰⁰ See Jones, *Great Slave Lake*, 58 - 63.

¹⁰¹ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), M. McPherson to Governor, 18 March 1835, 9.

¹⁰² HBCA, B.200/b/5 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1829 - 1830), Peter Dease to John Hutchison, 10 September 1829, 6d. See also Jones, *Great Slave Lake*, 83, and scrip applications for Elizabeth Hyslop and Madelaine Lépine in Jones, *Great Slave Lake*, 169, 191, for more information about this man.

¹⁰³ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), M. McPherson to Edward Smith, 22 November 1834, 6d.

The HBC traders were aware that the posts at Fort Simpson and Fort Norman were inconveniently far from the hunters working north of Great Slave Lake. John McLeod, clerk at Fort Simpson, wrote to Edward Smith, clerk at Fort Norman, in July of 1825 that

as yet none of the Indians from the little Lakes [between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake] have made their appearance, no doubt because their wants have been supplied by the Chipewyans who have resorted to that quarter. The Pork Eater and party are in the little Lakes, and those who was in company with Beaulieu are gone inland by the Yellow Knife River, no doubt accompanied by some of the Indians of this place...¹⁰⁴

A few years later, in 1828, Edward Smith (now Chief Factor at Fort Simpson) reported that "Beaulieu has passed the Summer with our Indians toward Marten Lake [Lac la Martre] and if report is true he does not intend visiting [Fort Resolution] this season".¹⁰⁵ In 1831, Beaulieu was recorded as travelling downriver from Fort Simpson with four or five Chipewyan hunters (and their families) who may usually have traded at Fort Resolution, after receiving some "indispensable necessities" at Fort Simpson. Smith wrote to the trader at Fort Resolution that this group "spoke of returning to Slave Lake in the fine weather by Horn Mountain -- they were all starving and are a pack of young scamps".¹⁰⁶ The Chipewyan Indians, according to Smith, hunted fur aggressively over a wide territory and acted as intermediary traders with the Slave and other Indians. The area between the Hay, Liard and Mackenzie Rivers was being trapped out, wrote Smith to Governor Simpson in April 1831,

overrun from Fort Halket to the gates of Fort Simpson by the Athabasca Indians (Chipewyans) and the greatest part of the Beaver that has since [1826] graced the Slave Lake returns and part of that from Fort Chipewyan has been drawn from it, and the Marten Lake quarters to the confines of Bear Lake and from the hunting grounds of the Hare indians of Fort Good Hope. The Chipewyans are among our indians every winter and do more harm to this district with their stories and clandestine trafic among the Slaves than by the Skins they kill themselves. This trade is profitable to the Chipewyans -- who have their supplys from the Companys stores at Fort Chipewyan and Slave Lake at 33 ½ and 50 per cent cheaper than the indians of this district -- and can afford with profit to underrate us to our indians. The only plan to preserve the few Beaver still remaining in this track is to

¹⁰⁴ HBCA, B.200/b/1 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1825 - 1826), John McLeod to Edward Smith, 1 July 1825, 6.

¹⁰⁵ HBCA, B.200/b/4 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1828 - 1829), Edward Smith to A. Stewart and S. McGillivray, 18 October 1828, 16.

¹⁰⁶ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to Simon McGillivray, 21 September 1831, 25d.

endeavour to keep the Chipewyan indians to their own lands. The native indians seldom hunt two years on the same spot alone they never will ruin their Country.¹⁰⁷

At the end of 1831, Smith referred in a letter to Governor Simpson to Beaulieu being "stationed" with the Slave Indians of Marten Lake, and to Beaulieu's attempts to keep the peace between the Slave Indians and the adjacent Copper Indians (which was desirable for the Company, as Indian people at war were unlikely to spend time trapping furs).¹⁰⁸ This may imply that Beaulieu had been informally employed by the HBC to travel with the Marten Lake Indian people and encourage them to hunt fur and trade at Fort Simpson, an impression confirmed by a report by new Chief Trader Murdo McPherson to Governor Simpson in early 1835:

There have been but very few of the Marten Lake Indians seen at this place since the autumn of 1833...and the loss of their hunts since then is a considerable drawback upon the Post. François Boilieu who conducted these Indians and made them to come regularly to the Fort during the time he was so employed has by some misunderstanding left the District last year and from what has been said upon his subject I cannot without your permission take upon myself to employ him upon his former terms however advantageous I consider them to be to the interest of the Company.¹⁰⁹

In the absence of Beaulieu, McPherson reported to Governor Simpson in March of 1836 that "the Marten Lake Indians have all visited us [at Fort Simpson] in course of the Winter, but having had no supplies of any description during the last Season, they made no hunts".¹¹⁰ McPherson attempted to persuade Governor Simpson to establish a temporary (seasonal) post at Marten Lake to serve these hunters.¹¹¹ John Lee Lewes, McPherson's successor as Chief Trader in the Mackenzie River District, reported to his superiors in 1840 that the Hudson's Bay Company profit margin from Marten Lake furs were being skimmed off by a middleman:

¹⁰⁷ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to Governor in Chief, 17 April 1831, 30d, 31.

¹⁰⁸ HBCA, B.200/b/7 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1831 - 1832), Edward Smith to Governor in Chief, 28 November 1831, 16d.

¹⁰⁹ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), M. McPherson to Governor, 18 March 1835, 9d - 10.

¹¹⁰ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), M. McPherson to Governor in Chief, 14 March 1836, 28d.

¹¹¹ See HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), M. McPherson to Governor in Chief, 14 March 1836, 28d - 29; B.200/b/9 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1836 - 1837, M. McPherson to Governor in Chief, 18 March 1837, 8d - 9; B.200/b/13 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1840 - 1841), John Lee Lewes to Duncan Finlayson, 20 November 1840, 23 - 23d; John Lee Lewes to George Simpson, 20 November 1840, 37d - 38.

At present little [fur-hunting] is done by [Marten Lake hunters] and this little tho' ultimately coming to the Company passes thro' a channel that ought in my opinion to be checked. Baptiste Beaulieux a discharged servant of the Company's a native of the Chipewyan tribe contriving through his medium of barter with these Indians to sustain a character amongst all the surrounding Indians of which he is not worthy. The case stands thus he receives his supplies at Athabasca or Slave Lake choosing the one where he can make the best bargain, with these supplies he proceeds to Marten Lake and commences as Winter operations amongst the Indians of that Lake. As Athabasca district standard of trade differs materially from this...Beaulieux pays four martens for his axe and barter it with them for nine -- a clear profit to himself of five...the Indians know full well that our goods are sold to them at a higher rate than what Beaulieux pays for them, and more of their Furs taken for a M. B. [made beaver] he himself makes this known to them the result is obvious their wants are few they think they are cheated by us bringing their furs here and escort themselves only to procure enough to trade from Beaulieux...paying him the same price as at the same time as they would have to pay here without the trouble and toil of several days march...Independent of the valuable number of Martens we may procure there a large quantity of dried provisions is also to be had which would greatly facilitate the affairs of this Post...¹¹²

However, , Company managers refused to establish a Marten Lake outpost, reasoning that they could obtain the Marten Lake furs without incurring the expense of an extra post.¹¹³

Sometimes the connections between Métis people and their links to the local Indian population caused problems for the Hudson's Bay Company. Pierre St. Germain, a Métis interpreter in the Mackenzie River District, told John McLeod, the clerk at Fort Simpson, in early 1826 that he would not remain in the District unless François Beaulieu (II) was hired by the Franklin Expedition.¹¹⁴ Edward Smith, who was soon to take over management of the Mackenzie District, warned McLeod that "the removal of St. Germain will break the chain between him and Beaulieu", and advised him to "bring out what Salt you can from the Cash [cache] at Salt River".¹¹⁵ The Beaulieu family controlled the salt resource in the vicinity of the Salt River and Smith was evidently concerned that St. Germain's departure might affect the HBC's access to the salt required to preserve provisions. Fortunately for the HBC, St. Germain decided to stay

¹¹² HBCA, B.200/b/13 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1840 - 1841), John Lee Lewes to George Simpson, 20 November 1840, 37d - 38; see also John Lee Lewes to Duncan Finlayson, 20 November 1840, 23d.

¹¹³ HBCA, B.200/b/14 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1841 - 1842), George Simpson to John Lee Lewes, 28 June 1841, 30.

¹¹⁴ HBCA, B.200/b/1 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1825 - 1826), John McLeod to Edward Smith, 9 April 1826, 25d.

¹¹⁵ HBCA, B.200/b/1 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1825 - 1826), Edward Smith to John McLeod, 19 May 1826, 26d.

(possibly because Beaulieu was retained by informal arrangement to assist the Company with its relations with the Marten Lake Indians), and did not leave the District until 1834. "You are well aware of the valuable services of this man and the difficulty there is of getting another to supply his place...I need not say more in recommendation of his recall", District Chief Trader Murdo McPherson wrote to Edward Smith in November of 1834, after St. Germain departed with the outgoing brigades.¹¹⁶

In the summer of 1834, "the two Chipewyan half breeds Mandeville and Bob" were accused of disrupting the trade at Fort Liard by spreading "malicious stories" from Fort Vermilion among the Liard River Indians "of a hostile intention among the Beaver [Dene Indians] upon the natives of this River".¹¹⁷ Baptiste Cadien, the promising young interpreter of the 1820s at Fort Norman, and his Métis coworkers caused much more serious trouble for the HBC in January of 1836.

Cadien and two other Métis employees at Norman, Creole LaGraisie and Baptiste Jourdin, arrived from a Bay in Bear's Lake [Great Bear Lake] that is at present called Straits' Lake with most distressing news of having killed three Indians – say Hunters – and eight women and children. All this wickedness was done on account of an Indian Woman that that black-hearted Halfbreed Cadien robbed last fall at the above mentioned fishery. It was at a fishing Lake three days march from Fort Norman that these poor people were massacred...They [Cadien, LeGraisie, Jourdin] had positive orders from me not to go to the Indian Camp that was the distance of two miles out of the road for I knew very well that the Woman was there that the Indians had taken from Cadien at the fishery...Cadien has the Woman at the Fort at Present where she must remain until further orders, for he wishes to get off to his Relations who are at present at Dr. Richardson's fishery...¹¹⁸

Murdo McPherson at Fort Simpson immediately sent two men from his post to Fort Norman, knowing that these were not "a sufficient reinforcement to assure the safety of the Establishment under the present impending danger of retaliation from the Natives". He emphasized to William Mowat, the clerk at Norman, that

It will be necessary that Cadien be removed from there immediately on receipt of this, you will please endeavour to furnish him the means of coming up here and the Indian Woman

¹¹⁶ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 – 1836), M. McPherson to Edward Smith, 22 November 1834), 6d.

¹¹⁷ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 -1836), M. McPherson to Edward Smith, 22 November 1834, 5d. For more on Mandeville and Bob, see Jones, Great Slave Lake, 51, 80, 84, 89, and Appendix B (scrip applications).

¹¹⁸ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 – 1836), William Mowat to M. McPherson, 11 February 1836, 20 – 20d; see also M. McPherson to Governor in Chief, 14 March 1836, 28.

must not upon any consideration be allowed to remain in the Fort under the protection of any of the men. It is most provoking that these scoundrels of Half Breeds can not be kept under proper subordination...

La Graise is kept here for the purpose of being turned out of the District...¹¹⁹

LaGraise was sent down to Fort Resolution in mid-March, *en route* to going out with the fur returns to Norway House. McPherson wrote to A. R. McLeod at Fort Resolution that "it will be necessary that you send us a man in his place, and if the same be capable of acting as Bowsman the better LaGraise being a good Bowsman".¹²⁰ It appears that Fort Norman and the HBC escaped retribution from the Great Bear Lake Indians, but the District lost at least two valuable employees as a result of this incident.

After the disaster with Cadien and the Indians at Great Bear Lake, the HBC in the Mackenzie District attempted to exercise greater control over the relationships between its men and Indian women. When the contract for François Hoole, interpreter at Fort Halkett, was up for renewal in 1842, Chief Factor John Lee Lewes instructed the clerk in charge at Halkett to attempt to re-engage him for the maximum HBC term of three years. As an incentive for Hoole to agree to a three-year contract, Lewes offered his approval for Hoole

to take another wife...in making his Choice he will be particular not giving offence to any of the Indians, nor will he be allowed to take a woman who has already an Indian husband. Cases of this kind have been but too frequent and have always terminated unpleasantly and often in bloodshed; so to him or no one else will I sanction the wife of an Indian whether Fort Hunter or Fur Hunter being taken to wife by any of the Co^{ys} Servants in this District. If for the sake of his motherless Children he wishes to take a wife it must be one that has never had a husband freely consenting to live with Hoole and have her parents consent for so doing...¹²¹

¹¹⁹ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 – 1836), M. McPherson to William Mowat, 25 February 1836, 21d.

¹²⁰ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 – 1836), M. McPherson to A. R. McLeod, 14 March 1836, 27d.

¹²¹ HBCA, B.200/b/13 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1840 - 1841), John Lee Lewes to Robert Campbell, 22 November 1841, 18 - 18d. Scrip records record the birth of twin girls, Elizabeth and Madelaine, to François Houle and Elise Toutpied (Chipewyan Indian) in 1840 at Dease Lake near Liard River (see Jones, Great Slave Lake, Appendix B). It seems quite likely that this is the François Hoole to whom Lewes referred. The Oblate birth, marriage and death registers from the nineteenth century record that Magdelaine Houle was a daughter to François Houle and Sophie Huppe, while Francis Hool (jr) was the son of François Houle and "Lisette" (which could be Elise) (see Jones, Great Slave Lake, Appendix A). While these records do not agree, they may indicate that François Houle sr. did take a second wife and have more children with her.

The HBC correspondents in the Mackenzie River District mentioned other “half breed” or Métis inhabitants in the District between 1825 and 1843. A “party of the Outer half breed Loucheux consisting of eight men with their leader” visited Fort Good Hope in December 1826.¹²² Edward Smith at Fort Simpson reported to the traders at Fort Resolution that he had not seen La Prise and Pottras (Poitras) and that the two had not been “among the Indians of this Post” during the summer of 1828.¹²³ In 1831, Smith employed La Prise (whom he referred to as a “Chipewyan” affiliated with Fort Resolution) as a provisions hunter for Fort Simpson,¹²⁴ reporting that after being discharged from hunting in early December, La Prise “remained about Marten Lake”.¹²⁵ Baptiste Centsols was employed at Fort Norman as an interpreter in the 1830s, at the same time as Baptiste Cadien.¹²⁶ After the débacle at Great Bear Lake in 1836, Baptiste Desmarais dit LaMalice was appointed as the interpreter at Fort Norman, although still quite young.¹²⁷ Chief Factor Lewes scolded clerk Charles Brisbois at Fort Liard in 1841 for claiming that Brisbois’ men did not know how to make dogsleds, instructing him that “Landrie, La Roque, + Boucher must turn their hands to such work, they are halfbreeds & generally speaking apt at taking up such and good hands with the Crooked Knife”.¹²⁸ Other Métis from outside the District were employed as guides and steersmen for the brigades that linked the Mackenzie River with Red River and Hudson’s Bay.¹²⁹

¹²² HBCA, B.200/b/3 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1826 - 1827), John Bell to Edward Smith, 22 January 1827, 19d.

¹²³ HBCA, B.200/b/4 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1828 - 1829), Edward Smith to A. Stewart and S. McGillivray, 18 October 1828, 16.

¹²⁴ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to S. McGillivray, 21 September 1831), 25d.

¹²⁵ HBCA, B.200/b/6 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1830 - 1831), Edward Smith to G. McDougal, 20 March 1831, 29. For more on La Prise, see Jones, Great Slave Lake, 14 - 15, 67 - 68, 70.

¹²⁶ HBCA, B.200/b/8 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1835 - 1836), M. McPherson to Edward Smith, 22 November 1834, 6.

¹²⁷ HBCA, B.200/b/14 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1841 - 1842), John Lee Lewes to Adam McBeath, 19 August 1842, 19. Lewes warned McBeath to be very strict with LaMalice, but thought “once broken in...you will find him useful”. For other individuals carrying the LaMalice name, see Jones, Great Slave Lake, 39, 65, 79, 118.

¹²⁸ HBCA, B.200/b/14 (Mackenzie River correspondence book, 1841 - 1842), John Lee Lewes to Charles Brisbois, 22 November 1841, 41. For other references to the name Landry or Landrie, see Jones, Great Slave Lake, 11, 14, 160. There are several references to men or women named Boucher, Bouchie or Bouché in Great Slave Lake historical records; it is not immediately obvious if any of them refer to the man posted at Fort Liard in 1841.

¹²⁹ HBCA, B.200/b/12 (Mackenzie River District correspondence book, 1839 - 1840), Donald Ross to M. McPherson, 1 May 1839 [page number illegible]: English River “Half Breed” Joseph Bouvier; B.200/b/13, John Lee Lewes to Duncan Finlayson, 20 November 1840, 19d: Baptiste Bruce, originally from Red River. For more on Bruce, see Jones, Great Slave Lake, 69.

III. Dominion Manuscript Census Records, 1881 - 1891

In addition to the census returns previously collected for my 2005 report on the mixed-ancestry population of Great Slave Lake, returns for Fort Good Hope and Fort Simpson were collected in Phase II for the year 1881. At Fort Good Hope, Charles Gaudet, the chief trader, was enumerated with his wife Mary and their seven children. Gaudet was identified as a French Canadian from Canada, and Mary, born in the Northwest Territories in 1844, was also identified as French Canadian, as were all their children. However, scrip records indicate that Mary (née Houle or Fisher) was Métis. Charles' and Mary's sons John Peter (at Lesser Slave Lake) and Charles Tim (at Fort Norman in 1921) applied for Métis scrip on this basis. Charles Tim's scrip application shows that he left Fort Good Hope for Winnipeg in 1885 at the age of 13, possibly to go to school, stayed there for nine years, and then returned to enter the HBC's service at Fort Norman and Fort Wrigley, marrying Sarah Hardisty at Fort Norman in 1899.¹³⁰ Others enumerated at the Fort Good Hope post were Jerome St. George "A" and "B" (possibly father and son, a fisherman and bowsman respectively) with their families. The idiosyncrasies of identification in this census are further demonstrated by Jerome "A"'s enumeration as a French Canadian from Canada, his wife born in Mackenzie River District as "Indian", and a sixteen-year old girl in their household, probably a daughter, as French Canadian born in Mackenzie River. Jerome "B", born in Mackenzie River, is also identified as French Canadian with an Indian wife from Mackenzie River, while their baby daughter is classified as "Mixed". Modeste Laferté, the interpreter at the post, was identified as French Canadian born in the North West Territories, as were his wife and children, all born in Mackenzie River. This family was also almost certainly Métis. The other non-"Indian" residents of Fort Good Hope included the two priests at the Mission and the Scottish boatbuilder Alexander Cormack. Five hundred and eighty-three "Hare" and "Mountain" Indians were recorded as "frequenting" the Fort Good Hope post.¹³¹

¹³⁰ LAC, RG15, D-II-8-d, Vol. 1372, application of Charles Tim Gaudet, 15 July 1821 (online at LAC website, accessed February 2014); RG15, D-II-8-c, Vol. 1348, application of John Peter Gaudet, date not known.

¹³¹ Dominion manuscript census, 1881, North West Territories, Mackenzie River District, Fort Good Hope, 4; "Indians".

At Fort Simpson, the English Chief Factor J. Camsell and his Manitoba-born wife Sarah (also enumerated as “English” although subsequent Métis scrip records identify her as Métis), as were all his children born in Mackenzie River. William Irvine, a Scottish fur trader, was listed with a girl born in Mackenzie River who may be his daughter. Samuel Berens, the steersman, was recorded with two daughters born in Mackenzie River but no spouse. Although Samuel, born in Manitoba, was identified as an “Indian”, his daughter’s scrip record called him a “Cree half breed from Berens River Lake Winnipeg”.¹³² Baptiste Bouvier (interpreter), Joseph Savoyard (guide) and family, Orkneymen George Brown (blacksmith) and Thomas Sabiston (farmer), Scotsman Alex Campbell (fisherman), George Sandison (carpenter) from Manitoba with his NWT-born family, NWT-born Charles Sibbeston (bowsman), English-born Anglican bishop Bompas with missionary W. C. Spendlove, and a girl, Margaret Pritchard, from Manitoba who may have been the mission housekeeper, together with 500 Slave, Dogrib, Mountain and Trout Lake “Indians” rounded out the population recorded at Fort Simpson.¹³³

In the 1891 census, the HBC establishment at Fort Simpson had expanded to seventeen men, of whom eleven were born in Manitoba or the North West Territories. Ten men had families with children born in the North West Territories. Family names included in the census included Camsell, Cadien, Brown (Scottish-born Magnus Brown, his Métis wife from Manitoba, and seven children), Savoyard, and Sanderson.¹³⁴ The 1891 Mackenzie River District returns often do not specify a place name, although the existence of posts is evident from small concentrations of families with surnames such as Laferté, Sibbeston, Gaudet and St. George, with fur-trade occupations. Further research in HBC employment records will be necessary to confirm the locations enumerated.

IV. Warburton Pike’s visit to the “Barren Ground”, 1889 - 1890

In mid-June 1889, the British adventurer Warburton Pike left the Canadian Pacific Railway line at Calgary to travel north *via* Edmonton, Fort McMurray, Fort Chipewyan and Fort Smith to Fort

¹³² LAC, RG15, D-II-8-d, Vol. 1372, application of Sarah McPherson née Berens, 16 June 1924 (online at LAC website, accessed February 2014).

¹³³ Dominion manuscript census, North West Territories, Mackenzie River District, Fort Simpson, 7 - 8; “Indians”.

¹³⁴ Dominion manuscript census, North West Territories, Mackenzie River District, subdivision not named, 1 - 3.

Resolution on Great Slave Lake, with the objective of hunting in the Barren Grounds northeast of Great Slave Lake. At Fort Smith, Pike noted that "several half-breeds have settled close round" the post.¹³⁵ When the steamer *Wrigley* arrived with the season's load of furs, Pike was introduced to one of her passengers, the "French half-breed" King Beaulieu. As Beaulieu knew the Barren Grounds and had successfully hunted muskox (a target particularly desired by Pike) in the Grounds the previous year, Pike decided to hire Beaulieu for the season as a guide. Pike mockingly commented on the large size of the Beaulieu families, which in his view were "threatening gradually to inundate the North", but he did not seem to credit the "great stories of [François (II)'s] bravery and prowess...told by his sons and grandsons".¹³⁶ As with Franklin in 1826, the party assembled by Beaulieu to accompany Pike was very large when they left Fort Resolution:

Our fleet numbered three large birch-bark canoes, crowded with men, women, and children, amounting in all to over twenty souls, or, to be more practical, mouths. Besides these there were fifteen gaunt and hungry dogs...¹³⁷

After travelling through the islands in the East Arm, the party arrived at a spot at the east end of the Lake called Fond du Lac. Pike informed his readers that

A single house at the head of a snug little bay is all that is left standing, but the ruins of others, and a number of rough graves, show that at one time it was a more populous place. It was formerly an outpost of Fort Resolution, used as a depot for collecting meat, and presided over in a haphazard manner by King Beaulieu, who is still rather sore about the abandonment of the post and his own discharge from the Company's service...¹³⁸

This may be the site of Fort Reliance, rebuilt in 1855 for an expedition to search for Franklin. King Beaulieu guided a party to this site, assisted in rebuilding it, and stayed behind to trade after the expedition party left. Historian Christopher Hanks has also stated that in 1848 King Beaulieu was engaged at Fort Resolution to trade with the Dogrib north of Great Slave Lake, and in the 1860s King was hired as a trader by the Fort Resolution and Fort Simpson posts (see the section on Fort Reliance earlier in this report, and also Jones, Great Slave Lake, 70).

¹³⁵ Pike also described "a small row of log-houses, occupied by the engaged servants, freemen, and a couple of pensioners too old to make their living in the woods" at Fort Resolution (Warburton Pike, *The Barren Ground of Northern Canada* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1917. Originally published by Macmillan & Co., London, in 1892), 145.

¹³⁶ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 23.

¹³⁷ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 25.

¹³⁸ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 32.

Pike then repeated the cultural wisdom offered by Samuel Hearne, Franklin, and other earlier European travellers when he stated that “such a large party, crippled as we were with women and children, would never be able to reach the caribou”.¹³⁹ After “a big council” with “much discussion”, the group decided to form a smaller party of Pike, King, four of King’s sons (François, José, Paul, and twelve-year-old Baptiste), one of King’s sons-in-law, an “Indian boy”, and the wife and daughter of King, who were deemed essential to “dry meat, dress deerskins, and make moccasins”.¹⁴⁰ Although Europeans considered women an impediment to fast or rough travel, Aboriginal peoples viewed them as important members of a travelling and hunting team. Pike noticed when they started to travel that “the two women had the heaviest loads to carry, but having myself as much as I cared about for a long distance I made no remarks on the subject”.¹⁴¹ Later, Pike was to comment that

I now saw what an advantage it is to take women on a hunting-trip of this kind, and certainly King’s wife and daughter were both well up in the household duties of the country. If we killed anything, we only had to cut up and *cache* the meat, and the women and small boys would carry it in. On returning to camp we could throw ourselves down on a pile of caribou skins and smoke our pipes in comfort, but the women’s work was never finished...¹⁴²

Pike then described the women’s methods of cutting up and smoke-curing the meat, pounding the bones to collect grease, dressing skins, tanning, making clothing, and manufacturing lacing for snowshoes and other uses. In conclusion, Pike observed that “in an ordinary Indian lodge the women have to put with ill-usage as well as hard work; but most of the half-breeds know enough to treat them fairly”.¹⁴³

King Beaulieu took the party on a chain of lakes route Pike speculated had not been travelled by white men before, east of the Yellowknife River and west of the route taken by Back to the headwaters of the river that now bears his name. They camped on a lake called by the Beaulieus “du Rocher” (now known as Warburton Bay), which “the half-breeds...have always found a

¹³⁹ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 32.

¹⁴⁰ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 33. “Deerskins” in this context refers to caribou skins.

¹⁴¹ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 38.

¹⁴² Pike, *Barren Ground*, 81.

¹⁴³ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 81 - 82.

certainty for caribou at this time of year".¹⁴⁴ About a day's travel away, Beaulieu's sons found a herd of caribou.

After putting up a supply of meat from the caribou, Pike set off to hunt muskox with King, Paul, François, José and King's son-in-law, leaving the women at Camsell Lake. They struck off north-easterly and reached Mackay Lake, near the height of land separating the eastern and western Arctic watersheds. At Mackay Lake, they located "a small hunting-canoe which some of the Beaulieus had left during the previous autumn".¹⁴⁵ The next landmark was Lac de Gras, from which they reached the Coppermine River.¹⁴⁶ Soon after crossing the Coppermine, the party killed its first muskox.¹⁴⁷ Not far beyond this point, the party turned back and retraced its steps to the Camsell Lake camp. After Pike made a second trip to hunt muskox with some Yellowknife Indians and one of Beaulieu's sons, they returned to the Beaulieu "camp" in December at Fond du Lac on Great Slave Lake.¹⁴⁸

Besides his remarks on the role and treatment of women, Pike made several cultural observations about the Beaulieus and "half-breeds" of the North in general. Pike commented on the languages used by the Beaulieus:

I was of course the only white man in the party, and whatever conversation I held with the three or four half-breeds that I could understand was carried on in the French patois of the North. Among themselves they used the Montaignais dialect of the Chipeweyan language...in a couple of months I had picked up enough Montaignais to be able to mix it with French and make myself fairly well understood...¹⁴⁹

This "French patois of the North" may be the dialect that the priest Petitot attempted to capture phonetically in his book *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*.¹⁵⁰ Pike quoted several place names in French and French terms and sayings used by the Beaulieus.¹⁵¹ According to Pike, King and his son François were the best linguists of the party; his other sons did not know as much

¹⁴⁴ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 39.

¹⁴⁵ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 64.

¹⁴⁶ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 65 - 67.

¹⁴⁷ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 69.

¹⁴⁸ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 135 - 136.

¹⁴⁹ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 26.

¹⁵⁰ See Jones, *Great Slave Lake*, 84.

¹⁵¹ See for example *Lac du Rocher* (39), *caribou des bois fort* (woodland caribou, 47), *le couvert du bon Dieu* (a covering of snow on a sleeping person), 62.

French.¹⁵² King also knew how to write in syllabics, leaving Pike a note near one of their *caches*.¹⁵³

Pike watched King take on the mens' work of finding birch and shaping snowshoe frames (the women usually laced the finished frames), and unconsciously echoed John Lee Lewes' remark of almost fifty years earlier when he commented that King was "very clever with the crooked knife, the universal tool of the North".¹⁵⁴ At Fort Resolution, where he settled up with the Beaulieus after his trip, he witnessed at New Year's the "big ball...given to the half-breeds" in the "big house". "Red River jigs and reels were kept up with unflagging energy until daylight", he reported, while the Indians (Yellowknives) were given some food and "held a dance of their own in one of the empty houses". The dancing of the Indians was quite different, according to Pike: "their only figure is to waddle around in a circle, holding each other's hands, keeping up a monotonous chant".¹⁵⁵ At Fort Resolution, Pike also met Michel Mandeville, the interpreter at the Fort, and Pierre Beaulieu, King's brother, who took him caribou hunting two or three days' dogsled travel away to the north shore of Great Slave Lake, east of the North Arm.¹⁵⁶

Visually, a photograph of King Beaulieu provided by Pike shows a handsome man dressed in a European-style collared shirt and cloth trousers, a knee-length cloth coat with broad lapels and possibly a hood, tied at the waist with a small belt, a cloth kerchief tied close around his head, and undecorated moccasins. In colder weather, a hair-coat made of caribou skin (preferably skins harvested in August) took the place of the cloth coat.¹⁵⁷ According to other photographs supplied by Pike in his book, European-style collared shirts, jackets, trousers and hats were usually worn by Indian people as well as Europeans around Great Slave Lake at this time. While Pike was travelling with the Beaulieus, a short Christian religious service was held every Sunday morning, as "the half-breeds, who are all Catholics...are very particular in this respect".¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Pike, *Barren Ground*, 97.

¹⁵³ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 128.

¹⁵⁴ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 82. Pike also echoed Lewes' description of the Métis employees of Fort Good Hope in 1836 when he called King Beaulieu's sons "scoundrels" (20).

¹⁵⁵ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 147 - 148.

¹⁵⁶ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 148 - 149.

¹⁵⁷ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 53, 59, 97.

¹⁵⁸ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 41.

Pike was surprised at the “extraordinary” ignorance of the Métis about the world outside their territory, “considering how much time they spend at the forts, and how many officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company they have a chance to talk to”. King had heard of and was interested in stories about Queen Victoria, but “quite refused to acknowledge her as his sovereign”, thinking perhaps the Governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company held a higher rank. King told Pike that

she may be your Queen, as she gives you everything you want, good rifles and plenty of ammunition, and you say that you eat flour at every meal in your country. If she were my Queen, surely she would send me sometimes half a sack of flour, a little tea, or perhaps a little sugar, and then I should say she was indeed my Queen.¹⁵⁹

This quotation also provides insight into a Métis concept of leadership connected to the ability to provide for and give gifts to his followers. Franklin had become exasperated with the large entourage gathered around King’s father François (II), as Pike had tried to shed the group following King to the caribou, but to the Beaulieus these followers were an indication of confidence in their leadership and they in turn felt obliged to support them.

King had also heard of the 1885 resistance of Louis Riel, and was “convinced that during this rising the half-breeds and Indians had declared war upon the Hudson’s Bay Company, and gained a decisive victory besides much glorious plunder; and he asked why such an outbreak should not succeed on the Great Slave Lake, where there was only one man in charge of a fort”.¹⁶⁰ As well as these discussions on political ideas, Beaulieu also shared with Pike many traditional stories from the Indians “from the time when all the animals and birds could converse together”, and more recent histories of intertribal warfare.¹⁶¹ Pike, despite his occasional fallings-out with King, felt sorry when King left the camp, noting that “we had been pretty good friends” and that King “certainly had great influence over the Indians”.¹⁶²

Although the two men did not always get along well, Pike admitted that “I must say that he [King] was thoroughly expert in all the arts of travel with canoes or dog-sleighs, quick in emergencies, and far more courageous than most of the half-breeds of the Great Slave Lake”.

¹⁵⁹ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 83.

¹⁶⁰ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 84.

¹⁶¹ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 84 - 88.

¹⁶² Pike, *Barren Ground*, 98.

However, Pike disliked Beaulieu's three adult sons, François (III), José and Paul, who in Pike's view "demoralize[d] the old man", who was "easy enough to manage"¹⁶³ The cultural conflict between Pike's British ideas of authority and deference between hired men and employers, and the Beaulieus' more freewheeling ways, was reminiscent of the annoyance of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company officers at the lack of "proper subordination" among their Métis employees and contractors, and Franklin's conflicts with King Beaulieu's father François (II) in the 1820s.

IV. Summary

The additional sources reviewed for this phase of the research fill in gaps and expand on previous research. The geographic range of Métis residence, harvesting and relations with local Indian populations (including those identified in the primary sources as Beaver, Chipewyan, Slave, Dogrib, and Loucheux) is documented from Fort Halkett, Fort Liard and Fort Simpson to the eastern end of Great Slave Lake, north through the lakes between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake (including Lac la Martre, MacKay Lake, Warburton Bay and Lac de Gras) to Great Bear Lake, Fort Good Hope and Fort Norman on the Mackenzie River. Travel between far-flung points such as Lac la Martre, Fort Simpson, Great Bear Lake, the east end of Great Slave Lake, Lac de Gras or Fort Resolution was not uncommon, perhaps mirroring the great seasonal migrations of caribou and other wildlife in the region.

Continuity of family names, with the introduction of some new families with European or Red River Métis connections, is also apparent over the ninety-year period covered by the records reviewed in Phase II. From the 1820s, "half breed" or "Bois Brûlé" individuals were identified as such and had various characteristics ascribed to them, such as being hard to manage, good with tools, useful intermediaries and influential with the Indians. These descriptions show a remarkable consistency over the period from about 1820 to 1890. Pike in 1891 described a number of cultural characteristics of Great Slave Lake Métis of French origin, such as language and affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church, that were also consistent with earlier periods. In domestic life and cultural manifestations such as music and dance, Pike differentiated the

¹⁶³ Pike, *Barren Ground*, 19 - 20.

“half breeds” from both Indians and Europeans, while describing some commonalities such as the division of labour within hunting camps (which resembled the Indians) and the time spent near the forts communicating with European-ancestry HBC and mission employees (which put them socially closer to Europeans or Canadians). While the Métis had connections to both Indians and Europeans in the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River region, they were distinguishable from both and maintained kinship and travel connections within their own group over a wide geographic area.

Directions for further research include continuing the examination of records from Fort Simpson, the administrative centre of the HBC Mackenzie District. An almost unbroken series of Mackenzie District correspondence books has survived for the period 1842 - 1892. At minimum, an examination of these books up until the establishment of Fort Rae in 1852 may provide some insight into the conditions that led to the HBC's decision to open a trading post on the north shore of Great Slave Lake. Post journals and account books also exist for Fort Simpson for the period 1822 - 1948, and may help to fill in some of the many gaps in the Fort Rae records. Some twentieth-century Fort Rae post journals (1902 - 1925) also remain to be reviewed, and may help to document continuity of use and occupation of the area north of Great Slave Lake. Post records from Fort Wrigley (1892 - 1910) and Fort Norman (1822 - 1911) may also assist in understanding the activities and population in the area between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake. Collection of scrip records (which often contain information not provided in the online summaries of the files) and completion of analysis of the manuscript census to 1921 also remain outstanding in this research phase.

TAB 4

FEB 06 2015

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Allocation of Authorizations for Bluenose-East for the 2014-2015 Harvest Season

As you are aware, the 2014-2015 barren-ground caribou harvest season in the Northwest Territories (NWT) will officially end on June 30, 2015. However, the spring harvests that take place in March/April of each year usually represent the largest portion of each year's annual caribou harvest. As a result, the time has now come to determine an allocation of authorizations for the harvest of Bluenose-East (BNE) caribou for the remaining portion of the 2014-2015 harvesting season.

Background:

In 2010, the BNE herd was estimated at 100,000 adult animals, with 51,800 breeding females. A photo survey in June 2013 showed that the BNE herd had declined to 68,000 with 34,500 breeding females. This rate of decline amounts to 13 percent per year. The reconnaissance survey conducted in June 2014 on the BNE calving grounds suggests that the decline has continued and may have accelerated. Most significantly, this trend is similar to that experienced with the Bathurst herd between 2006-2009, when the decline accelerated to 23 percent per year as the herd fell to lower numbers.

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The Department of the Environment and Natural Resource (ENR) has been consulting with affected Aboriginal governments since the results of the Bathurst and BNE reconnaissance survey became known in June 2014. The highlights of that consultation are set out in Schedule "A" to this letter. At the November 28th, 2014 political leaders meeting on Bathurst and BNE caribou, the leadership of Aboriginal governments advised ENR to work through the Advisory Committee for Cooperation on Wildlife Management (ACCWM) with respect to management actions for the BNE herd. The ACCWM provided ENR with a final draft of a management plan called *Taking Care of Caribou: The Cape Bathurst, Bluenose-West, and Bluenose-East Barren Ground Caribou Herds Management Plan* ("the Management Plan"). The plan was accompanied by a Technical Report and Community Consultation report. The plan was the product of work that began in the fall of 2009 and was submitted to governments in the fall of 2014. The Management Plan sets out four levels of herd status and associated management actions. These four levels are similar to those set out in the Porcupine Caribou Harvest Management Plan. Based on the plan, the BNE caribou herd should currently be considered in the "orange zone" because of its rapidly declining trend. The management actions identified when the herd is in this state are:

- Recommend a mandatory limit on subsistence harvest based on a TAH (total allowable harvest) accepted by the ACCWM;
- Prioritize the collection of harvest information;
- Recommend no resident, outfitter or commercial harvest;
- Recommend a majority bulls harvest, emphasizing younger and smaller bulls and not the large breeders and leaders;
- Recommend harvest of alternate species and encourage increased sharing, trade and barter of traditional foods, such as the use of community freezers; and
- Recommend increased enforcement including community monitors.

By letter dated January 9th, 2015, the ACCWM provided recommendations for the short-term management of the BNE caribou herd, consistent with the direction in the draft Management Plan. The ACCWM recommended, and ENR accepted, a harvest target of 1800 BNE caribou for the NWT for the 2014-2015 harvest season, including an 80:20 bull-cow ratio. This recommendation was accepted by ENR in its letter of January 21st, 2015.

The Process Leading to Allocation:

By letter dated January 21st, 2015, we asked the ACCWM for their input on the allocation to be applied for the Sahtú and Wek'èezhii regions, keeping in mind that tags or authorization cards would have to be allocated to other Aboriginal harvesters of the BNE herd located outside those areas. By letter dated January 26th, 2015, the ACCWM indicated that it felt it was inappropriate to make any decisions on harvest allocation without input and approval from all Aboriginal harvesters of the BNE herd. Therefore, the ACCWM recommended that ENR host a meeting of all Aboriginal users as soon as possible to determine the allocation of the BNE herd and have clarity on the proposed regulations.

ENR responded to this suggestion as part of its letter of January 28th, 2015. In its letter, ENR advised that given the time frames involved, it was not possible to convene an in-person meeting, but it was willing to set up a telephone conference call for February 2nd, 2015. Many users had come together during the week of January 28th, 2015 to discuss caribou in Délı̨nę for a meeting entitled the *Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou*. ENR invited participants to provide an indication of their views by January 30th, 2015.

ENR received two pieces of information prior to the telephone conference.

- (i) An email from the ACCWM on January 29th, 2015; and
- (ii) A joint letter from the Sahtú Renewable Resources Board (SRRB) and the Délı̨nę First Nation which was received on January 31st, 2015.

ENR also received a letter from the North Slave Métis Alliance (NSMA) on February 5th, 2015 setting out the rationale for its request for an allocation of 100 BNE caribou.

The January 29th email from the ACCWM clarified that the ACCWM appreciated ENR supporting the recommendation to discuss harvest allocation with all Aboriginal users; but indicated that this discussion should also include the wildlife management authorities for each affected region. The ACCWM expressed that the SRRB, the Wildlife Management Advisory Council (NWT) (WMAC) and the Wek'èezhìi Renewable Resources Board (WRRB) should be involved with any harvest allocation discussions. Representatives of the SRRB, WMAC, the WRRB along with the Grand Chiefs of the Tłı̄cho and the Dehcho, the Chiefs of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation (YKDFN), the President of the Northwest Territory Métis Nation (NWTMN), the President of the North Slave Métis Alliance, Chief Kenny of Délı̄në and Ms. Blondin-Andrew of the Sahtú Secretariat Incorporated (SSI) were also copied on the invitation to the meeting. In its email, the ACCWM also advised that the idea of harvest allocation for the BNE Caribou herd had been discussed by user groups in late 2010 and early 2011 and provided ENR (and copied all other invitees to the meeting) with a copy of a draft harvest allocation, dated May 9th, 2011. It was made clear to ENR that the draft being provided reflected the time and context of the discussion, i.e. not all Aboriginal users were involved in 2010-2011 and, therefore, are not listed in the draft. It was also noted that while the draft was prepared as a discussion piece, future meetings of the group fell through and no formal discussion or support for the draft allocation had happened.

ENR also received a letter on January 31st, 2015 from the SRRB and the Délı̄në First Nation. This letter confirmed that ENR's Assistant Deputy Minister, Mr. Jack Bird had provided an overview on the issues to be considered regarding harvest allocations for the BNE caribou. The letter also advised that representatives from the five Sahtú communities, the Renewable Resources Councils, Sahtú Youth Network, and the Délı̄nëgot'ı̄në community; representatives from other jurisdictions included the WMAC, the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC), Kugluktuk Angoniatit Association, Tłı̄cho Government, and Parks Canada were present. The meeting identified seven areas of consensus. A copy of the letter of January 31st, 2015, is attached as Schedule "B".

On February 2nd, 2015, Deputy Minister, Mr. Ernie Campbell convened a conference call of affected Aboriginal organizations and co-management boards to discuss allocation. This telephone conference call represented the culmination of our consultations with all users on how to conserve the BNE caribou herd, and how to allocate the harvest target, consultations which began over five months ago. The call was attended by representatives from the WRRB, SRRB, WMAC, NSMA, IGC and Chief Kenny of Délı̄në. The Tłı̄cho Government, YKDFN, NWTMN, Dehcho First Nations, and SSI did not participate in the call, nor did they otherwise respond to the invitation to participate in the call.

During the course of the conference call, the following points were among the comments expressed:

- Most participants on the call indicated they were not comfortable supporting an allocation or criteria for allocation without all the traditional users of the herd participating in the discussion.
- That one of the elders said that no one has ever told him not to harvest caribou and that it is difficult to change an elder's way of life.
- That there is a need to work with Nunavut and come to an agreement with Kugluktuk on how many animals they will take from shared herds like the BNE.
- That people want the status quo maintained until new caribou population survey numbers come out in the fall and authorizations should not be allocated among groups but should be available upon request. Under this approach, the harvest would be monitored by communities and who would take actions to reduce their harvest on their own. Given the ACCWM recommendations for the BNE harvest, this would mean that once the 1800 authorizations are allocated or harvest monitoring indicates the harvest has reached 1800 animals; all harvesting would be shut down.

These points are consistent with the contents of the Community Consultation Report outlined in the *Taking Care of Caribou: The Cape Bathurst, Bluenose-West, and Bluenose-East Barren Ground Caribou Herds Management Plan* and particularly, the points expressed in the chapters on meeting needs and sharing, on harvest regulation and on the results of the community engagement sessions.

The Need for Allocation:

I have given consideration to the comments expressed during the conference call, and the seven consensus points in the letter from the SRRB. I cannot accept the recommendation to not take steps to allocate the harvest amongst user groups for the balance of the 2014-2015 harvesting season. Despite the verbal assurances from my co-management partners that harvesters will only take what they need, I am still concerned that such an approach comes with a high risk of further decline in the caribou herd and the potential for creating unreasonable hardship for many users of the BNE barren ground caribou herd. As of January 7th, 2015, approximately 553 BNE caribou had been harvested, 308 of which were cows and 245 were bulls. As of the date of the conference call on February 2nd, that number had increased to 593 animals. The harvesting of 308 cows means that the remainder of the harvest will need to be a bull only harvest. I note that most of the harvesting to date has taken place in Wildlife Management Zones S/BC/03 and R/BC/01. This is a substantial harvest from this herd and many communities have not started their annual harvest yet. Communities that harvest later in the year will now not have access to cows.

The other major risk that makes this option unworkable is that it leaves open a significant potential for exceeding the target of 1800 animals. A harvest in excess of 1800 animals is likely to create even more pressure on the BNE caribou herd. Applying the precautionary principle, it is necessary for me to take action to limit the potential for further negative consequences on the herd. Moreover, as Minister, I have an obligation to ensure, to the extent possible, that Aboriginal harvesters who harvest in the other affected Wildlife Management Zones have a fair and equitable ability to harvest to meet their subsistence needs. To implement the ACCWM harvest target recommendation of 1800 animals with a majority bull harvest, there must be an effective mechanism in place to monitor the harvest and ensure it can be halted once the target has been reached. The mechanism is the requirement for authorization cards to be allocated amongst all users.

Factors Affecting Allocation

At the outset, I wish to emphasize that the allocation being put forward is to be considered an interim, one time only measure and will apply only to the 2014-2015 harvest season. This will allow the ACCWM and Aboriginal governments to take the time that will be needed to put a longer term plan into place to determine how the herd should be shared if management actions limit the harvest of caribou. It is unfortunate that the Management Plan does not include short term measures that could be used to address harvest allocation for the rest of this season.

In coming to this allocation, I have looked to the principles set out in the draft Management Plan. I have also been guided by a desire to make a decision which reflects this government's long-term commitment to co-operative wildlife management, recognizes the need for communities to be involved in management, the need to strike a balance so that the needs of all users with rights to harvest are met, and the need to think about the future of the caribou and manage actions accordingly.

As a preliminary starting point, I have considered the draft allocation discussed by the ACCWM in late 2010-2011 and compared it against three years of past harvesting patterns in order to come to an average. These calculations are attached as Schedule "C". However, in my assessment, the decision on allocation requires many more factors to be considered and those factors mean that further modifications to the allocation need to be made.

For clarity, I have also taken into account a number of additional considerations, including:

- Past harvesting patterns based on reported harvests from the Bluenose-East herd on both a regional and community level for the 2011-2014 harvesting seasons;
- In considering prior year harvests, I have recognized that there are some user groups who did not harvest and who have asserted rights to harvest caribou and must be taken into account in the allocation;
- The draft BNE allocation discussed by the ACCWM in late 2010-2011 but recognizing and accepting its limitations as a draft document which did not proceed further and which did not include all users who have to be considered at the present time;
- The management actions set out in the *Taking Care of Caribou: The Cape Bathurst, Bluenose-West, and Bluenose-East Barren Ground Caribou Herds Management Plan* when the herd is in the orange zone;
- The *Taking Care of Caribou: The Cape Bathurst, Bluenose-West, and Bluenose-East Barren Ground Caribou Herds Management Plan* notes that the BNE herd usually migrates through settlement areas/regions in the NWT and that the herd is typically harvested by nine communities: Wrigley, Norman Wells, Tulita, Délı̄ne, Whati, Gameti, Behchokò, Paulatuk and Kugluktuk.

- The comments and recommendations contained in the community consultation report on the *Taking Care of Caribou: The Cape Bathurst, Bluenose-West, and Bluenose-East Barren Ground Caribou Herds Management Plan*;
- That the reported harvest to date is 593 Bluenose-East caribou and 308 of those animals are cows;
- Consideration of traditional harvesting patterns and practices;
- The migration patterns of the BNE herd and their typical availability within traditional harvesting areas of each Aboriginal organization;
- The proximity and access to the BNE caribou herd this year in relation to the location of communities and the distance to be traveled in order to harvest;
- The provisions of settled land claim agreements, along with obligations to groups who have asserted rights and the obligations created by the findings of courts as set out in the case law;
- The availability of other barren ground caribou herds including the Beverly Ahiak barren ground caribou herds, which have no limits on Aboriginal harvesting for the 2014-2015 harvesting season and the availability of Bluenose-West caribou herd or some users;
- The availability of other populations of wildlife that can be readily accessed to meet the need for subsistence food;
- The populations of each user group based on statistics maintained by government and in some cases provided by user groups, including the report from the NWT Bureau of Statistics entitled Community Population by Ethnicity, 2001-2014;
- Statistical information on the number of Aboriginal persons who Hunt & Fished During 2008 on a Community Basis as published by the NWT Bureau of Statistics;
- Personal consumption needs for people who have harvesting rights in these areas.
- During the October 2014 Technical Meeting and the November 2014 Leaders Meetings on caribou, there were a few concrete suggestions put forward:
 - Mr. Bailey on behalf of the NWT Métis Nation indicated that they could hunt from the herds in the south and that it was important that the Tłı̨cho, YK Dene and the Métis north of the lake could hunt this winter.

- It was noted that one community had muskox which could be shared.
- At the Technical Working Meeting in October, there was an indication that the Sahtú were willing to limit their harvesting in the Hottah Lake area to reduce pressure on BNE and Bathurst.
- The ability of ENR to assist with and facilitate community hunts;
- The impact of earlier harvest restrictions on the Bathurst herd and other wildlife populations on Aboriginal harvesters;
- The input received during the course of our in-person meetings on November 7th, 2014, November 28th, 2014, the information received from our in-person meetings with users in December 2014 and January 2015, the information and input received through the written exchange of correspondence and the input received during the conference call on February 2nd, 2015.

Taking all of these criteria into consideration, I am suggesting the following allocation for the balance of 2014-2015:

	Allocation	Number of Caribou Harvested To Date	Remaining Available Harvest
Tłı̨cho	1100	246	854
Sahtú	480	311	169
Dehcho	45	36	9
Inuvialuit Settlement Region	25	0	25
NWT Métis Nation	40	0	40
Akaįtcho Territorial Government	60	0	60
North Slave Métis Alliance	50	0	50
Total	1800	593	1207

As harvesting is ongoing, we are enclosing each user groups' share of the authorization cards for the Bluenose-East (Green Cards) herd. With respect to the Beverley Ahiak herds (Red Cards), there are no harvest limits on that herd and you should contact the North Slave Regional Office of ENR and they will provide you with the authorization cards needed for the Beverly Ahiak herds.

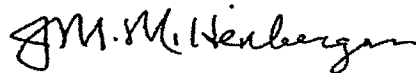
While some users may be disappointed, I am hopeful that we can be guided by the spirit of compromise and a recognition that these measures are being proposed on an interim basis and will apply only for the 2014-2015 harvest season. They are put in place to ensure that all subsistence harvesters have the ability to harvest and to minimize the impact of the hardship caused by the limited harvest. This is not an easy task or decision for any of us but the alternative could mean a further decline in this herd, which could mean more eventual hardship for your communities. We know that the health of all Aboriginal people depends on health of the caribou.

ENR is not focused on caribou harvest measures only. As of January 30th, 2015, we have implemented the increase in the wolf incentive program payment to \$800.00. We are also preparing to implement a full package of approaches including predator management measures, monitoring actions, compliance and enforcement measures, enhanced education and communications activities relating to harvest management and responsible harvesting practices, "sight in your rifle" events and working with land use planners and industry to address impacts of disturbance on caribou herds. We are also working with our neighbours in Nunavut to address their caribou harvests from shared populations. A copy of the list of agreed upon actions arising out of the November, 2014 meeting is attached to this letter as Schedule "D".

I am hopeful that over the coming months we will be able to continue to work with our co-management partners to achieve a consensus on mechanisms for respectful harvesting and sharing so that when the results of the 2015 photographic surveys planned for the Bathurst and BNE herds are received, we will have a plan to manage the caribou for future harvesting years.

In advance, I want to thank you all for your leadership and commitment to working together on this difficult matter. I look forward to continuing to do so as we find our way forward.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J.M. Miltenberger". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

J. Michael Miltenberger

Attachments

- c. Mr. Eugene_pascal, eugene_pascal@hotmail.com
Ms. Amy Amos, aamos@grrb.nt.ca
Mr. Larry Carpenter, wmac-c@jointsec.nt.ca
WMAC. wmacnwt@jointsec.nt.ca
Mr. Steve Baryluk, igc-js@jointsec.nt.ca
Mr. Paul Latour, Paul.Latour@EC.GC.CA
Ms. Deborah Simmons, director@srrb.nt.ca
Mr. Grant Pryznyk, jgp@theedge.ca
ACCWM c/o jsnortland@wrrb.ca
ebamountaindene@theedge.ca
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Mr. Ernie Campbell, ernie_campbell@gov.nt.ca
Mr. Jack Bird, jack_bird@gov.nt.c
Ms. Lynda Yonge, Lynda_Yonge@gov.nt.ca

SCHEDULE "A"

Chronology of Consultation Bathurst & Bluenose East Caribou 2014-2015

Date	Action	Outcome
August 27, 2014	An in-person meeting was held with affected Aboriginal political leaders and co-management boards to discuss potential management actions for both the Bluenose-East and Bathurst caribou herds.	Establishment of a technical working group to review information available on the herds and provide recommendations to leaders on management actions for the herds.
October 9-10, 2014	1 st Technical Working Group Meeting	Development of an initial set of management actions.
October 22-23, 2014	2 nd Technical Working Group Meeting	Meeting focused on refining the list of possible actions and agreeing upon a package of recommended actions and their implementation for the leader's meeting
November 5, 2014	Letter from ACCWM to Minister Miltenberger	BNE Caribou Herd Recommendations
November 7, 2014	Second meeting with Aboriginal political leaders and co-management boards to discuss potential management actions for both the Bluenose-East and Bathurst caribou herds.	Draft recommendations on management actions for the two caribou herds
November 17, 2014	Letter from Grand Chief Erasmus to Minister Miltenberger	Tłı̨cho position on caribou management and herd recovery
November 19, 2014	Letter from ACCWM to Minister Miltenberger	ACCWM's position on emergency measures
November 19, 2014	Letter from SRRB to Minister Miltenberger	SRRB input on management actions related to Bathurst & BNE caribou herds
November 28, 2014	Third meeting with Aboriginal political leaders and co-management boards to discuss potential management actions for both the Bluenose-East and Bathurst caribou herds.	Agreement in principle on multiple actions for the caribou herds, but no specific agreement on Aboriginal harvest from the two herds.

December 2 & 5 2014	Meetings between Deputy Minister Campbell and other ENR officials & Chief Betsina and Chief Sangris	Meeting to discuss the status and potential management actions on the BNE & Bathurst herds
December 4, 2014	Letter from ACCWM to Minister Miltenberger	Request to remove the BNE discussions from the continued caribou meetings
December 5, 2014	Meeting between Deputy Minister Campbell and other ENR officials & Grand Chief Erasmus of the Tłıcho Government	Meeting intended to keep the dialogue open between the GNWT & Tłıcho Government in order to explore possible solutions to minimize hardship on Tłıcho citizens as a result of conservation measures contemplated on the Bathurst herd
December 12, 2014	Letter from Deputy Minister Campbell to Chief Betsina & Chief Sangris	Follow up to the December 2 & 5 meetings
December 12, 2014	Letter from Minister Miltenberger to Grand Chief Erasmus	Confirmation of proposals for management for the Bathurst & BNE caribou herds for the winter of 2014-2015
December 15, 2014	Meeting between Deputy Minister Campbell and other ENR officials & President Enge of the NSMA	Discussion on proposals for management for the Bathurst & BNE caribou herds for the winter of 2014-2015
December 15, 2014	Letter from Deputy Minister Campbell and to President Enge of the NSMA	Follow up to meetings & providing proposal for overall management of the Bathurst BNE harvest for winter 2014-2015
December 16, 2014	Letter to all Aboriginal Leaders	Follow up to meetings & providing proposal for overall management of the Bathurst BNE harvest for winter 2014-2015
December 17, 2014	Letter to ACCWM	Proposal for overall management of the BNE harvest for winter 2014-2015 & seeking advice of the ACCWM to refine & improve the approach

December 18, 2014	Letter to All Aboriginal Leaders	Advance Copy of Minister's Press Release updating on management actions for the Bathurst & BNE caribou herds
December 18, 2014	Letter to Deputy Minister Campbell from Chief Sangris & Chief Betsina of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation	Support for management actions on Bathurst caribou herd
December 22, 2014	Letter from President Enge of the NSMA to Deputy Minister Campbell	NSMA position on management proposal for Bathurst & BNE caribou herds
December 22, 2014	ENR Officials Meeting with Michael Cheeks, CEO of YKDFN & Rachel Crapeau, Director of Lands with YKDFN	Follow up on Mobile Core Bathurst Caribou Conservation Zone and issues relating to a community hunt
January 9, 2015	Letter from ACCWM	Provided a recommendation on harvest target of 1800 BNE caribou for the 2014-2015 harvest season, including an 80:20 bull-cow ration
January 13, 2015	Meeting between Deputy Minister Campbell & Chief Betsina & Chief Sangris	Continued Follow up meeting on Bathurst & BNE management actions
January 14, 2015	Meeting between Deputy Minister Campbell & Grand Chief of Tłıcho	Continued Follow up meeting on Bathurst & BNE management actions
January 20, 2015	Letter from Deputy Minister Campbell to Chief Sangris & Chief Betsina	Follow up to December and January meetings
January 20, 2015	Letter from Deputy Minister Campbell to Grand Chief Erasmus	Follow up to December and January meetings
January 20, 2015	Letter from Deputy Minister Campbell to President Enge	Follow up to NSMA's December 22, 2014 letter
January 20, 2015	Letter to All Aboriginal Governments	Progress update on short term management actions for the Bathurst & BNE for the balance of the 2014-2015 harvest season
January 20, 2015	Letter to WRRB & Management Proposal for Bathurst	Submission of Management Proposal on Mobile Core Bathurst Caribou Conservation Zone

January 21, 2015	Letter from Minister Miltenberger to the ACCWM	Accepted ACCWM recommendation & requested input on allocation of harvest authorizations
January 23, 2015	Letter from WRRB to Minister Miltenberger	WRRB Support for the Mobile Core Bathurst Caribou Conservation Zone and corresponding amendments to the regulations
January 26, 2015	Letter from ACCWM to Minister Miltenberger	Confirmation of the ACCWM's support of ENR's proposal & request for draft regulations to review. Suggested meeting on the issue of allocation
January 23, 2015	Letter from Grand Chief Erasmus to Deputy Minister Campbell	Clarification Letter
January 27, 2015	Email from Director of Wildlife to all ACCWM Members	Provided a draft of proposed amendments to the Big Game Hunting Regulations and the Mobile Core Conservation Area regulation
January 26, 2015	Letter from NSMA to Deputy Minister Campbell	NSMA support for Mobile Core Bathurst Conservation Area & support for the BNE harvest target and bull only harvest
January 28, 2015	Letter from Deputy Minister Campbell to ACCWM	Invitation to conference call on allocation on February 2, 2015
January 28, 2015	Press Release from Minister Miltenberger	Update on management actions & consensus points
January 29, 2015	Email from ACCWM	Identified additional participants for the conference call and provided a copy of the 2009 draft allocation
January 29 & 30, 2015	Assistant Deputy Minister Bird attended the Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou meeting	Provided participants with an overview of the request for feedback on the issues to be considered regarding harvest allocations
January 31, 2015	Letter received from SRRB &	Identified 7 points of

	Déline First Nation	consensus from the <i>Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou meeting</i>
February 2, 2015	Conference Call with Aboriginal organizations and co-management board	Consultation on options for allocation of the BNE for the remainder of the 2014-2015 harvest season
February 5, 2015	Letter from President Enge of the NSMA to Deputy Minister Campbell	Rationale for NSMA's request for 100 BNE caribou

Evan Walz

From: Jack Bird
Sent: Saturday, January 31, 2015 3:01 PM
To: Ernie Campbell
Cc: Evan Walz; Bruno Croft; Sarah Kay; Simone Tieleash; Lynda Yonge; Jan Adamczewski; Judy McInton
Subject: Fwd: Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou response to Minister's request for feedback
Attachments: ATT00001.htm; L2015-021.6 SRRB - ENR Minister - Sahtu Caribou Gathering Consensus 15-01-30.pdf; ATT00002.htm

This just in.

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Deborah Simmons <director@srrb.nt.ca>
Date: January 31, 2015 at 2:28:43 PM MST
To: <michael_miltenberger@gov.nt.ca>
Cc: 'David Little' <ssi_exec_director@gov.deline.ca>, Ethel Blondin-Andrew <ebamountaindene@theedge.ca>, 'Jozef Carnogursky' <jozefcarn@hotmail.com>, 'Amy Amos' <aamos@grrb.nt.ca>, 'Kristen Callaghan' <KCallaghan@grrb.nt.ca>, 'Larry Carpenter' <wmac-c@jointsec.nt.ca>, 'WMAC' <wmacnwt@jointsec.nt.ca>, 'Frank Pokiak' <jgc-c@jointsec.nt.ca>, 'Steve Baryluk' <jgc-js@jointsec.nt.ca>, 'Jennifer Lam' <tech-rp@jointsec.nt.ca>, "'Tom Nesbitt'" <tom.nesbitt@telus.net>, 'Pete Sinkins' <peter.sinkins@pc.gc.ca>, 'Maya March' <maya.march@pc.gc.ca>, 'Attima Hadari' <attima@hadlariconsulting.com>, 'Kitikmeot Regional Wildlife Board' <krwb@niws.ca>, "'Dean, Bert'" <BDean@tunngavik.com>, "'Kugluktuk Angoniatit Association'" <kugluktukhto@qiniq.com>, 'Grant Pryzyk' <jgp@theedge.ca>, 'Sarah Spencer' <sspencer@nwmb.com>, 'Ben Kovic' <receptionist@nwmb.com>, <grandchiefediwa@tlcho.com>, <davidwedawin@tlcho.com>, <johnnyarrowmaker@tlcho.com>, <alfonznitsiza@tlcho.com>, 'Jack Bird' <Jack_Bird@gov.nt.ca>, Walter Bayha <dlc_lands@gov.deline.ca>, Walter Bayha <Nihltla321@gmail.com>, 'Leonard Kenny' <leonard_kenny@gov.deline.ca>, "Sarena Kaskamin" <rrcfgh@gmail.com>, Ruby McDonald <nwrrc@nwlc.ca>, <trrc@northwestel.net>, "Manager, DRRC" <drrc_manager@gov.deline.ca>, "Owen, Catarina" <catsilveira@gmail.com>, <josephkochon@behdziahda.com>
Subject: Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou response to Minister's request for feedback

Dear Minister Miltenberger, Attached please find a letter co-signed by the SRRB and Chief of the Délı̨ne First Nation regarding the consensus reached at the Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou regardin caribou harvesting allocations.

Máhsı,

Deborah Simmons, PhD
Executive Director
Sahtú Renewable Resources Board
www.srrb.nt.ca
<http://www.facebook.com/SahtuWildlife>

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Minister Michael Miltenberger
NWT Environment and Natural Resources
PO Box 1320
Yellowknife, NT X1A 2L9
Phone (867) 669-2355
Email Michael_Miltenberger@gov.nt.ca

Delivered via email

November 19, 2014

**RE: *Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou consensus – Minister's request for feedback on
Bluenose East caribou harvesting allocations***

Dear Mr. Miltenberger:

On January 27-29, the ʔehdzo Got'ı̨nę Gotsé Nákedı sponsored the *Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou*. The meeting included representatives from the five Sahtú communities, including Renewable Resources Councils, Sahtú Youth Network, and Délı̨negot'ı̨nę community; representatives from other jurisdictions included the NWT Wildlife Management Advisory Council, the Inuvialuit Game Council, Kugluktuk Angoniatit Association, Tłı̨chǫ Nation, and Parks Canada. At that meeting, Assistant Deputy Minister Bird provided an overview of the your request for feedback on the issues to be considered regarding harvest allocations for the Bluenose East caribou.

There was considerable discussion about this request during the Gathering, and the participants requested that we share seven points of consensus as presented to Mr. Bird. These points are listed below, along with our understanding of Mr. Bird's preliminary response during the meeting.

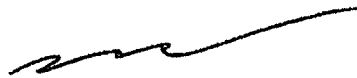
Consensus of the Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou	Preliminary ENR response
1. Decisions are needed about how to share the caribou.	This is a common starting point for discussion.
2. ENR has invited Aboriginal leaders and wildlife management authorities to a teleconference to discuss Bluenose East caribou harvesting allocations on Monday, February 2; there was strong direction that such important matters require an in-person meeting of the parties.	This message will be conveyed to the Minister.
3. Timelines for discussions and decisions should not be imposed by the Minister; rather, they need to be agreed upon by the parties. Allocations should be arrived at and implemented for the 2015-2016 harvesting season; it is not feasible to accomplish this for the current harvesting season.	This message will be conveyed to the Minister.
4. According to the best available information, the current status of the Bluenose East caribou does not constitute an emergency.	Agreed.
5. The health of the caribou depends on the health of the aboriginal peoples, their ability to "Be Dene" (Dene Ts'ı́ıı).	Did not respond.
6. The full range of actions, as presented by the Aboriginal Caucus at the November 28 meeting with the Minister, and as outlined in the Bluenose Caribou Management Plan, is needed to address declining trends.	Did not respond.
7. Education is needed in the communities to prepare the ground for any decisions that will be made.	ENR is committed to working collaboratively to support development of education and communication materials.

The Sahtú Secretariat Incorporated/Déłıne First Nation and ʔehdzo Goł'ıne Gotsé Nákedı will be present at the teleconference on Monday to discuss these points and other contributions from the parties in response to the Minister's request. The Board thanks you for your department's participation and valuable contributions to the Gathering for the Caribou.

Máhsı cho,



Paul Latour
Interim Chair



Chief Leonard Kenny

cc. Ethel Blondin-Andrew, Sahtú Secretariat Inc., parties present at the Sahtú Gathering for the Caribou, Advisory Committee for Cooperation on Wildlife Management (ACCWM)

SCHEDULE "C"

Proposed Interim Allocation of Bluenose-East Caribou for NWT Harvest for Winter 2014-2015:

Numbers from draft allocation discussed in 2011 for Bluenose-East herd (based on winter 2009-2010 harvest data & related information) & ENR Bluenose-East harvest data (recorded via community monitors, check-stations and wildlife patrols, based on winters 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2013-2014)

Aboriginal Group	A Draft Allocation discussed by ACCWM in 2011 as %	B ENR Harvest Data for Three winters (2011-2014) Harvest as %	C Average of Column A & B	D Proposed Interim Allocation as %	E Proposed Interim Allocation as share of Harvest Target of 1800
Tłı̨cho	61	72.7	66.9	61.1	1100
Sahtú	31	21.3	26.2	26.7	480
Deh cho	3	1.2	2.1	2.5	45
Inuvialuit Settlement Region	2	0*	1.0	1.4	25
NWT Métis Nation	2	1.3	1.6	2.2	40
Akaįcho Territorial Government	1	3.5	2.2	3.3	60
North Slave Métis Alliance	0*	0*	0*	2.8	50
Total	100	100	100	100	1800

*No harvest recorded

Approach Used:

- Draft Bluenose-East Allocation from 2011 and 3 last winters of harvest data (2011-2014) given equal weight (used average of % values).
- Allocation adjusted to consider factors as outlined in attached letter
- Percentages translated to share of 1800 harvest limit recommended by ACCWM in Jan. 2015.

Reported NWT Winter Harvest of Bluenose-East Caribou (February. 4, 2015)

Aboriginal Group	Bulls	Cows	Sex Unknown	Total
Tłı̨cho	38	57	151	246
Sahú	129	182	0	311
Dehchoé	21	15	0	36
Inuvialuit Settlement Region	0	0	0	0
NWT Métis Nation	0	0	0	0
Akaįcho Territorial Government	0	0	0	0
North Slave Métis Alliance	0	0	0	0
Total	188	254	151	593

Key Areas of Action where consensus was reached by the Aboriginal Caucus at the November 28th meeting of political leaders and renewable resource board chairs.

1. Land Use

i. Prioritize land use planning.

GNWT response –Yes, including range planning, and need everyone at the table.

ii. Implement interim moratorium on development in key caribou habitat.

GNWT response –Step 1: Identify key caribou habitat and thresholds as strong advice; commitment to sustainable development.

iii. Send strongly worded letter to Nunavut Environment and NWMB –management planning, land use planning, commercial harvesting and face-to-face meeting.

GNWT response –committed to working with Government of Nunavut.

iv. Complete report on range management plan and cumulative effects program by March 31, 2015.

GNWT response –yes and making sure momentum keeps going.

2. Long term management and action planning

i. Continue and prioritize the long term planning process for the Bathurst herd and finalize terms of reference for a Bathurst caribou management board as soon as possible.

GNWT response –yes; intent to establish a mechanism to make recommendations and develop plan.

ii. Continue ACCWM (Advisory Committee for Cooperation on Wildlife Management) process, including action planning.

GNWT response – the action planning to be based on standards not in crisis mode.

iii. Establish working group to identify key caribou habitat for priority fire management in 2015.

GNWT response –need to determine how best to do this.

3. Environmental Monitoring

i. Develop vegetation mapping and monitoring protocols and partnership agreements.

GNWT response –yes, longer term.

ii. Conduct TK and science literature review on the potential impacts of insects on caribou and insect control methods.

GNWT response –yes, longer term.

4. Education and communication

i. Organise voluntary "sight in your rifle" events.

GNWT response –yes, can work on community by community and on a regional basis.

ii. Collaboratively develop communication tools to promote reducing harvest.

GNWT response –yes; appropriate communications tools to be determined in consultation with communities.

iii. Continue and increase meetings and activities in the communities and on the land to encourage responsible harvesting practices.

GNWT response – can do together with all organizations and communities.

5. Predator control

I. Increase the wolf incentive program payment to \$800, reinstitute the carcass collection program.

GNWT response –yes to increasing incentive. Need to review carcass collection idea with respect to information gathering.

II. Form a Working Group and Terms of Reference with Input from Aboriginal groups to develop approach to wolf control.

GNWT response –might be quite different from region to region.

III. Coordinate program with Nunavut Environment.

GNWT response –continue to discuss.

IV. Develop a method to immediately report and record wolf sightings\caribou sightings and interactions.

GNWT response - Have a system in place; need to communicate this better.

6. Harvest management

I. Prioritize collection of harvest information; no resident, outfitter or commercial harvest.

GNWT response – always a high priority; need to work with regions to determine best method.

II. Majority bulls harvest, emphasizing young/small bulls, not big breeders.

GNWT response –most important; explore how to accomplish.

III. Recommend harvest of alternate species, encourage sharing and barter of traditional foods.

GNWT response – everybody needs to work on this.

IV. Increased enforcement, including community monitors.

GNWT response – area for further discussion.

MAR 05 2015

Mr. William Enge
President
North Slave Metis Alliance
PO BOX 2301
YELLOWKNIFE NT X1A 2P7

Dear Mr. Enge:

Bill

Allocation of harvesting tags, Bathurst Caribou herd

As you know, the Bathurst barren-ground caribou herd is currently in severe distress. In order to promote the recovery of the herd, and after considerable consultation with all affected Aboriginal groups, including the North Slave Metis Alliance (NSMA), the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (ENR) decided there would be no hunting this season. This was communicated to Aboriginal leadership throughout the fall of 2014 and was discussed extensively during our meeting of December 15, 2014.

Please be advised that if and when the Bathurst herd sufficiently recovers to allow for a limited Aboriginal harvest, the Government of the Northwest Territories is committed to providing NSMA with an equitable allocation of harvesting tags, akin to the allocation of tags for the Bluenose-East herd harvest in 2014-15.

We look forward to building a new relationship with NSMA as we manage these difficult decisions and work towards the long term sustainability of this important resource.

Sincerely,


J. Michael Miltenberger

c. Mr. Gary Bohnet, Principal Secretary

Mr. Martin Goldney, Deputy Minister
Aboriginal Affairs and Intergovernmental
Relations





SEP 30 2016

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Allocation of Bluenose-East Caribou Harvest in the Northwest Territories for the 2016-2017 Harvest Season

As you are aware, there was a large decline in the size of the Bluenose-East (BNE) caribou herd from 2010 to 2013, followed by a more rapid decline from 2013 to 2015. In response to conservation concerns arising from this decline, there were a series of letters, documents and meetings with Aboriginal governments, traditional harvesters and wildlife management authorities concerning the overall management of this herd, harvest management, and sharing of the harvest among Aboriginal user groups.

At this time, I would like to provide an update on harvest management of the BNE herd. In particular, this letter will highlight information from final reports, recommendations and determinations on BNE caribou from the Wek'èezhì Renewable Resources Board (WRRB) on June 13, 2016 following their April 2016 public hearing, and from the Sahtú Renewable Resources Board (SRRB) on July 28, 2016, following their March 2016 public hearing.

The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), Department of Environment and Natural Resources (ENR) is proposing an updated allocation of BNE caribou harvest among NWT Aboriginal user groups for the coming winter harvest season that is consistent with the sharing formula used since early 2015, and which takes into consideration the two boards' public hearings and final reports. As this herd is shared with Nunavut (NU), harvest management for the herd also needs to consider harvest management proposed to the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board (NWMB) by the Government of Nunavut (GN) and considered by the NWMB at a hearing in June 2016.

ENR's Proposed Allocation of BNE Harvest in the Northwest Territories (NWT) for Harvest Season 2016-2017:

Having considered the WRRB and SRRB final reports, determinations and recommendations, along with all of the previous meetings and correspondence on BNE harvest allocation, ENR is proposing the following allocation of harvest among Aboriginal user groups in the NWT, with all harvest to be bulls, with the exception of a very limited ceremonial harvest of cows (Table 1, below).

.../2

The allocation for 2016-2017 follows on the approach taken in 2015-2016.

The proportional harvest allocations being proposed are the same as those used in the December 2015 management proposals and as discussed at the January 2016 meeting on BNE harvest allocation (Table 2). There are slight adjustments in percentages to reflect rounding to whole numbers of caribou. The total allocations for each group identified in the December 2015 proposals were reduced proportionately based on the reduction of the overall herd harvest to 750 rather than 950, which reflects the WRRB's herd-wide determination of 750 caribou/year.

We have also taken into consideration the results of a June 2016 reconnaissance survey over the BNE calving grounds (Figure 1). While reconnaissance surveys do not have high precision, the 2016 results suggest that the rapid decline documented from 2013 to 2015 has continued.

Table 1. Allocation of Aboriginal harvest of BNE caribou in the NWT proposed by ENR in September 2016

Aboriginal Group	Allocation of Caribou	% of Total
Tłıchǫ	295	39.33
Sahtú	129	17.20
Dehcho	12	1.60
Inuvialuit	6	0.80
NWT Métis Nation	11	1.47
Akaiitcho	16	2.13
North Slave Métis Alliance	13	1.73
Nunavut	268	35.73
Total	750	99.99

We would like to acknowledge the alternate sharing formula proposed by the Wildlife Management Advisory Council-NWT (WMAC-NWT) and the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) for BNE harvest in early 2016. If that formula is accepted by all user groups of this herd, then that may become the preferred approach (letter attached). At this time, however, given that no sharing formula had been accepted by all user groups, ENR proposes to continue using the formula from February 2015.

This approach to allocation builds on the steps we have taken since the fall of 2014 when survey and other information demonstrated a rapid decline in the BNE herd and the need to take action on an urgent basis.

.../3

It reflects the need to balance the interests of all users of the herd and promotes fairness and consistency on a herd-wide basis. It also adopts a precautionary approach to management of the herd which is aimed at ensuring that the resource continues and is available for future generations.

The number suggested for NU harvest in Table 1 is reduced to reflect a total BNE herd harvest of 750, as are all the reductions for NWT groups. However, the GNWT, nor any NWT boards or agencies, do not have authority in NU, and at this time the NWMB has not made a decision on a harvest limit in NU. A Total Allowable Harvest (TAH) of 340 BNE caribou in NU was proposed by the GN, and the Kugluktuk Hunters and Trappers Association (KHTA) presented a community-based caribou conservation plan similar to the Délı̄nę's *Belare wı̄le Gots'ę ?ekwę – Caribou for All Time*, a community action plan (the Délı̄nę plan) for BNE caribou.

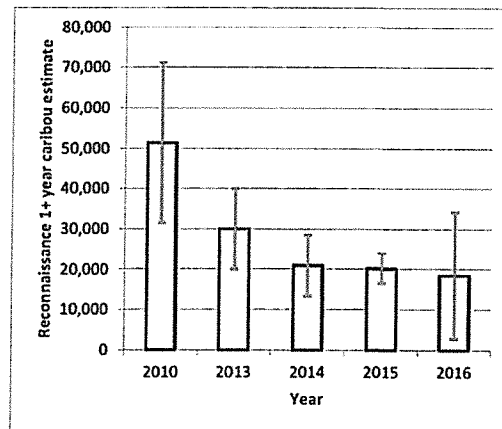


Figure 1. Estimates of 1-year-old or older caribou on the BNE calving grounds 2010-2016, based on reconnaissance surveys.

By way of background, we summarize below the previous history since 2014 on harvest allocation for this herd, when rapid declines in the BNE and Bathurst caribou herds led to a series of meetings and management actions.

Brief history (meetings and discussions) on BNE harvest and allocation since 2014:

Fall/Winter 2014-2015:

In a letter dated January 21, 2015, ENR asked the Advisory Committee for Cooperation on Wildlife Management (ACCWM) for input on allocation or a sharing formula for Aboriginal harvest of BNE caribou in the NWT.

In response, the ACCWM sent a letter on January 26, 2016 recommending that ENR host a meeting of all Aboriginal user groups to seek agreement on allocation.

Given that the winter harvest season had already begun, ENR felt that an in-person meeting could not be convened quickly enough and instead hosted a conference call on February 2, 2015 with a number of the NWT Aboriginal user groups that have harvested BNE caribou to discuss allocation or sharing of the BNE harvest. As detailed in a letter dated February 6, 2015, a number of key participants were not available for this call, and the participants who were available were unable to come to agreement on allocation at that time. As noted in the February 6 letter, ENR determined an allocation among the 7 Aboriginal user groups for a total NWT harvest of 1800 BNE caribou (recommended by the ACCWM), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Allocation of NWT Aboriginal harvest of BNE caribou as determined by ENR on February 6, 2015

Aboriginal Group	Allocation of Caribou	% of Total
Tłı̨chǫ	1100	61.11
Sahtú	480	26.67
Dehcho	45	2.50
Inuvialuit	25	1.39
NWT Métis Nation (NWTMN)	40	2.22
Akaįtcho	60	3.33
North Slave Métis Alliance (NSMA)	50	2.78
Total	1800	100

As described in the February 6, 2015 letter, this allocation was based in large part on reported harvest of BNE caribou from 2009-2014, along with many other considerations which were set out in that letter and which, along with the new and updated information, continue to be taken into account. A NU harvest of up to 1000 BNE caribou/year was assumed, although no actions or proposals for the NU harvest of this herd were developed at that time.

Population Estimate for BNE Herd from June 2015 Calving Ground Survey:

A June 2015 photographic survey of the BNE herd's calving grounds west of Kugluktuk, NU resulted in an estimate of $17,396 \pm 4,616$ breeding females. This represented a significant decline of about 50% in just 2 years from $34,472 \pm 4,364$ in 2013 and $51,757 \pm 11,092$ in 2010.

The overall extrapolated herd estimate was $38,592 \pm 4,733$ adult caribou in 2015, compared to $68,295 \pm 18,041$ in 2013. The estimates of adult caribou in the herd for 2010, 2013, and 2015 are shown in Figure 2.

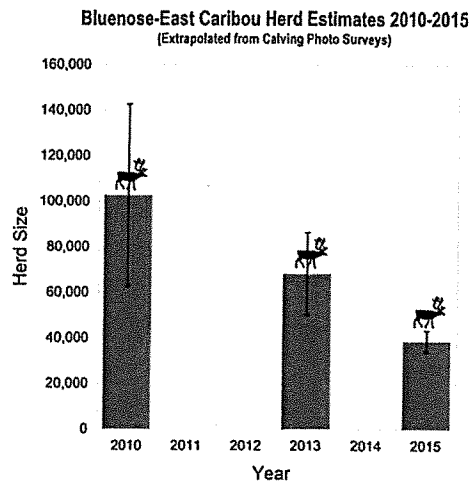


Figure 2. Estimated numbers of adult caribou in the BNE herd in 2010, 2013 and 2015.

Management Proposals on BNE Management to WRRB and SRRB in December 2015:

In accordance with the Tłıchǵ Agreement, the Tłıchǵ Government (TG) and ENR submitted a joint management proposal for the BNE herd in December 2015. At the same time, and upon request of the SRRB, ENR submitted a similar proposal to the SRRB. In view of the herds rapid and extensive decline to 2015, and particularly the 50% decline in breeding females in just 2 years, the proposals were for a TAH of 950 caribou herd-wide and 100% bulls. The allocation that was listed in the proposals is set out below.

Table 3. Allocation of Aboriginal harvest of BNE caribou as proposed by ENR and TG in December 2015

Aboriginal Group	Allocation of Caribou	% of Total
Tłıchǵ	373	39.26
Sahtú	163	17.16
Dehcho	15	1.58
Inuvialuit	8	0.84
NWT Métis Nation	14	1.47
Akaičho	20	2.11
North Slave Métis Alliance	17	1.79
Nunavut	340	35.79
Total	950	100

In this case, an allocation for NU of 340 caribou was suggested, recognizing that neither the GNWT nor any other NWT boards or agencies have jurisdiction in NU. This number was based on an assumed harvest split of 1800 caribou in the NWT and 1000 in NU, as used in early 2015. The proportionate shares for 7 Aboriginal groups in the NWT were kept the same as in early 2015.

BNE Harvest Allocation Meeting (January 20, 2016) and IGC-WMAC-NWT letter of February 26, 2016:

In response to a request from four co-management boards (SRRB, WRRB, Gwich'in Renewable Resources Board [GRRB], and WMAC-NWT) for a meeting of Aboriginal user groups of the BNE herd to seek agreement on allocation of the BNE harvest, ENR hosted a meeting on January 20, 2016 with Aboriginal user groups, co-management boards and a number of communities from the NWT and NU. The allocation as described in Table 3 was reviewed but did not have acceptance by all participants. An alternative sharing formula that would provide 2% for the Dehcho, Inuvialuit, NWTMN, NSMA and Akaitcho with the remaining 90% divided among Tłıchǫ, NU (Kugluktuk) and Sahtú harvesters was proposed but did not have acceptance by all participants. At the conclusion of the meeting, participants were asked to review the proposed allocation formulas proposed with their organization. On February 26, 2016, WMAC-NWT and IGC sent a joint letter (attached) to the Minister of ENR proposing an alternative sharing formula (2% for each of 5 groups and the 90% to be split among Tłıchǫ, Nunavut and Sahtú harvesters).

WRRB Report and Determinations of June 13, 2016 on BNE Caribou Management:

Following an April 2016 public hearing on BNE caribou management, the WRRB issued a final report on June 13, 2016 with a number of determinations and recommendations. Among the determinations, which are binding in Wek'èezhìi and that the GNWT has no authority to alter, was a TAH of 750 and 100% bulls for Wek'èezhìi with the intent of a herd-wide harvest limit of 750 for conservation reasons. In its final report, the WRRB recognized that it has no authority outside Wek'èezhìi. This represented a 21% reduction from the 950 caribou herd-wide TAH that had been proposed jointly by the TG and GNWT-ENR in December 2015. The further limitation was made in recognition of the herd's recent rapid decline and likely further decline, and uncertainty around the true harvest as compared to the reported/estimated harvest. The WRRB also determined that the allocation to Tłıchǫ citizens should be 39.29% and the remaining allocation should be to members of Aboriginal governments and organizations that traditionally harvested BNE caribou, including NU.

In addition, the WRRB determined that the TG should determine allocation of BNE harvest among Tłı̨chǫ communities and that ENR should determine allocation to other Aboriginal groups that traditionally harvested the BNE caribou, in consultation with those groups. By joint letter of August 29, 2016, TG and ENR accepted these determinations for Wek'èezhì.

SRRB Report and Decisions of July 28, 2016 on BNE Caribou Management:

After a public hearing in March 2016 on BNE caribou management, the SRRB issued a report on July 28, 2016 with 39 *Hearing Decisions*. At the hearing, the SRRB considered both the ENR management proposal submitted December 15, 2015 and the Délı̨nę plan, submitted on January 8, 2016. With respect to harvest management of BNE caribou, the SRRB did not support a TAH for the Sahtú region, and instead accepted “the principle of ɛekwé ɛedets'é k'áokerewe (caribou self-regulation), as reflected in community conservation plans, as the best foundation for Bluenose East ɛekwé conservation at this time.” The Délı̨nę plan includes an annual harvest limit of 150 BNE caribou with an emphasis on harvest of smaller bulls rather than large breeding males. The SRRB requested that the Délı̨nę plan be amended to include an 80% bull harvest and requested detailed information on how harvest and compliance would be monitored. The SRRB also reserved the option to consider a TAH if the community-based approach was unsuccessful in meeting conservation objectives and requested that other Sahtú communities develop their own “caribou self-regulation” plans, using the Délı̨nę plan as a model.

By letter of September 26, 2016, ENR responded to the SRRB report and decisions on study and management of BNE caribou. In general, ENR accepted the principle of ɛekwé ɛedets'é k'áokerewe (caribou self-regulation) and the Délı̨nę plan as appropriate ways to manage BNE caribou harvest in the Délı̨nę area. However, after careful consideration of the WRRB and SRRB reports and the different ways that the two boards approached the management of BNE caribou harvest, ENR requested that BNE harvest by Sahtú harvesters be limited to a maximum of 129 caribou/year whether that harvest occurs in the Sahtú Settlement Area or elsewhere. This represents a reduction by 750/950 (129 vs. 163) of the number initially proposed by ENR for the Sahtú in December 2015. This reduction reflects in part the results of the BNE calving reconnaissance survey that occurred in June 2016, after ENR submitted its original proposal of 950 animals, and which showed a further reduction in herd numbers from 2015. The results of this survey were submitted to the SRRB and other management authorities. The reduction also embodies the precautionary approach, as set out in the Sahtú Dene and Métis Comprehensive Land Claims Agreement at 13.1.1 and addresses the need for consistent herd-wide management.

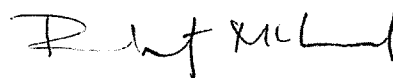
In addition, ENR requested that Sahtú harvest of BNE caribou be 100% bulls, with the exception of a very limited ceremonial harvest of cows. Managing a 100% bull harvest in Wek'èezhì and an 80% bull/20% cow harvest in the Sahtú region by harvesters who might be harvesting in both land claim areas would be very difficult. In addition, as noted in the December 2015 management proposals to the two boards, there is a pressing need to spare the herd's breeding cows, as they are the single most important part of the herd for stabilization and the possibility of recovery. In the interests of fairness, consistency, and a precautionary approach to management of the herd, ENR believes that aiming at an overall harvest maximum of 750 caribou and 100% bulls herd wide is the appropriate way to manage the BNE harvest.

NWMB Hearing on BNE Caribou, June 2016

We note that at this time (September 2016), the NWMB has not yet issued its report and recommendations for harvest of BNE caribou in NU. At the NWMB hearing in June 2016, the GN proposed a TAH of 340 caribou from this herd, and a community-based caribou conservation plan from the KHTA was also reviewed. This plan, which has many similarities to the Délneᑭ plan, included a harvest limit of 340 caribou/year and a mostly bull focus in the harvest.

As we are now into the fall harvest season, there is some urgency to this matter and I would ask you to provide us with your comments on the proposed allocation of BNE harvest in the NWT for the 2016-2017 harvest season no later than **October 15, 2016**. I would like to thank you all for your continued leadership and commitment to working together on this difficult matter, and working together to support the conservation of this invaluable resources.

Sincerely,



Robert C. McLeod
Minister
Environment and Natural Resources

c. The Honourable Robert R. McLeod, Premier

Mr. Gary Bohnet, Principal Secretary, Office of the Premier

Ms. Jody Pellissey, Executive Director, WRRB

Ms. Amy Amos, Executive Director, GRRB

Ms. Deborah Simmons, Executive Director, SRRB

Ms. Ursula Vogt, Executive Director, NWTMN

Ms. Diane Baxter, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs, GTC

Ms. Laura Duncan, Tłıchǵ Executive Officer, TG

Mr. Bert Dean, Assistant Director, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated

Dr. Erin Kelly, Acting Deputy Minister, ENR

Ms. Shaleen Woodward, Acting Deputy Minister
Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Intergovernmental Relations

Mr. Fred Mandeville, Assistant Deputy Minister Operations, ENR

Ms. Lynda Yonge, Director of Wildlife Division, ENR

Mr. Drikus Gissing, Director of Wildlife, Department of Environment (DOE), GN

Mr. Bruno Croft, Acting Superintendent, North Slave Region, ENR

Mr. Carl Lafferty, Superintendent, Dehcho Region, ENR

Mr. Jeff Walker, Superintendent, Sahtú Region, ENR

Mr. Stephen Charlie, Superintendent, Inuvik Region, ENR

Mr. Mathieu Dumond, Manager of Wildlife, DOE, GN

Mr. Sjoerd van der Wielen, Lands Protection Manager, TG

Ms. Lauren King, Wildlife, Lands, and Environment Department Manager
Łutsel K'e Dene First Nation

Ms. Jennifer Lam, Resource Person, IGC

Mr. Steve Baryluk, Resource Person, IGC

Ms. Jody Pellissey, ACCWM