

Historical Profile of the Great Slave Lake Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community

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The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Justice Canada.

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Abstract

With the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *R. v. Powley* [2003] 2 S.C.R., Métis were recognized as having an Aboriginal right to hunt for food as recognized under section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. In consequence, Justice Canada developed a research program designed to explore the history related to possible Métis ethnogenesis and the imposition of ‘effective European control’ in selected sites across Canada. Through the use of archival and published documents, this paper explores one of the selected geographic areas; the Great Slave Lake region of the North West Territories. This study examined the social history, demographic, and genealogical background of the Great Slave Lake European-Indian ancestry population, the distinctive cultural practices of the European-Indian ancestry group, and some possible indicators of ‘effective European control’. A detailed, chronological and thematic, historical narrative dating from the 18th century to the 20th century is presented, along with a discussion surrounding certain concepts utilized in *Powley*.

Author's Biography

Gwynneth Jones is a self-employed historian whose clients include federal and provincial governments, First Nations and Métis organizations. She has been retained as an expert in several court cases dealing with Métis and First Nation claims, including *R. v Powley and Powley*. Her areas of specialization include the historical development and ways of life of mixed-ancestry populations, and nineteenth-century public administration. She holds a Master's degree in Public Administration from Queen's University, and a Master's degree in History from York University.

I. Executive Summary

1. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, the Great Slave Lake area was unknown to people of European ancestry. Indian groups called by later European observers “Slavey” or “Slave”, “Chipewyan”, “Dogrib” and “Yellowknife”/“Red Knife”/“Copper Indians”, used and occupied Great Slave Lake and its vicinity. Today, these groups may be included under the general term “Dene”. Chipewyan trade brigades travelled to the Hudson Bay Company’s York Factory or Fort Prince of Wales (later Churchill) to trade furs for European goods, which they then in turn traded to other Indians around Great Slave Lake.
2. Samuel Hearne of the Hudson’s Bay Company travelled with a Chipewyan group over the frozen Great Slave Lake and down the Slave River in the winter of 1771 - 1772. By the mid-1780s, fur traders had established intermittently-operated posts on the south shore of Great Slave Lake, near the mouth of the Slave River.
3. Historical evidence suggests that a few mixed-ancestry families may have been resident in the Great Slave Lake area prior to the arrival of the traders. The fathers of these families may have been affiliated with French trading companies operating in the interior of North America, arriving at Great Slave Lake by following the Chipewyan trade brigades. Although the population of solely European ancestry of Great Slave Lake was very small in the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, the employees of the trading companies (exclusively male) were quick to form families with local Chipewyan women. By 1800, a number of mixed-ancestry children had been born in the region, and Europeans had established a limited year-round presence centred on trade posts.
4. Gaps in the documentary record in the first two decades of the nineteenth century obscure the development of this cohort of mixed-ancestry children, but by 1820 a prominent group of locally-born mixed-ancestry adults had emerged. This group was particularly affiliated with the North West Company, which dominated trade in the area.
5. After the merger of the HBC and the North West Company in 1821, the total number of people directly employed by the fur trade was greatly reduced. Many unemployed Europeans and Canadians went home. Others, including some of mixed ancestry, stayed around Great Slave Lake, working intermittently for the HBC and/or living with Indian groups hunting and trading.
6. By the middle of the nineteenth century, missionary priests of the order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate had established a presence at a few points around Great Slave Lake. The birth and marriage records kept by these priests illustrate the establishment of a network of mixed-ancestry families around the Lake, linking people in and out of fur-trade employment, and newcomers and longtime residents.
7. Observers in the second half of the nineteenth century (priests, fur traders, and travellers) were consistent in identifying a mixed-ancestry presence around Great Slave Lake separate from the European and Indian populations. The precise characteristics of this

population are not well-defined in the historical records reviewed for this report. Ways of life, languages spoken, and religious affiliation appeared to vary along the continuum of full-time European fur-trade employment through to “Indian” life on the land. Very generally speaking, mixed-ancestry people showed a greater tendency to seasonal or full-time wage employment than the local Indian population, more skills and knowledge of living and travelling on the land than the European population, and more geographic and occupational mobility than either. Marriage patterns also continued to emphasize the ties between mixed-ancestry families through the nineteenth century. Census and scrip records indicate that the mixed-ancestry population around Great Slave Lake was almost entirely born and raised in the Athabasca-Mackenzie district.

8. Gold strikes in the Yukon in 1897 and 1898 attracted unprecedented numbers of travellers through the Slave River and Great Slave Lake region. Intermittent North West Mounted Police patrols between Lake Athabasca and Great Slave Lake began in 1897. Canada concluded Treaty Eight with Indian people at Fort Smith and Fort Resolution in 1899 and 1900. Scrip was also issued to mixed-ancestry applicants. European settlement in this region was very slow to develop, and government presence was limited until after the First World War.
9. High post-war prices for furs attracted trappers of solely European ancestry to the Great Slave Lake area in 1919 and 1920, and oil strikes near Fort Norman also heightened government interest in the region. A Territorial council was appointed in 1920, and in 1921 a Territorial civil service staff was brought into Fort Smith. In the summer of 1921, Canada concluded Treaty Eleven with Indian people of Great Slave Lake. Scrip was issued in 1924.

II. Methodology/Introduction

This report is the result of a successful proposal submitted under a Request for Proposals by the Department of Justice Canada, for historical research on the Great Slave Lake area's mixed European-Indian ancestry community. The study area, according to the Request for Proposals, was as follows:

'Study region' or 'the Great Slave Lake area' is a term which, for the purposes of this study, specifically refers to the southeastern Mackenzie Drainage basin, encompassing the shores of Great Slave Lake and its southern hinterlands, with a focus on the mixed-ancestry history of the present-day areas of Rae-Edzo, NT, Fort Smith, NT, and Fort Resolution, NT.

The objectives of the review, according to the Request for Proposals were:

- a) To conduct historical research in the study region in order to construct a neutral narrative describing the facts existent in the documentary historical record relating to the early history of mixed Indian-European or mixed Inuit-European ancestry peoples in the region.
- b) To collect, compile and index key, primary source documents according to the methodology and the format provided to the Contractor...

The successful contractor was asked to address the following key questions in regard to the study region:

1. Identify and chart the ethnogenesis of any mixed European-Indian or European-Inuit population in the study region, including evidence of the date by which the mixed-ancestry population emerged;
2. Describe and document any of the 'distinctive cultural' practices, customs or traditions of the mixed-ancestry population, including what distinguished the mixed-ancestry population from European, Indian or Inuit groups existing at the time in the study region;
3. Describe and document various indicators of when 'effective European control' in the area might have been established.

The successful contractor was also instructed to focus on primary sources while researching and writing the report, and not to include information from oral histories collected in the contemporary period or recent ethnographic observation. The contractor was also instructed not to make legal or quasi-legal determinations on issues such as whether a population was a "Metis community", or the date of "effective European control" in the study area. Documentation of continuity between present-day populations and historic populations was also outside the scope of the study. The central concern of the study was to chart the early history of the interactions

between, and relevant social characteristics of, Indians and Europeans in the study area, and the emergence of any mixed-ancestry populations.

In this report, I will therefore be analyzing the content of historical primary sources relevant to the key questions I was asked to address, with emphasis on the early period of emergence of a mixed-ancestry population. In analyzing these documents, however, it is important to understand that they do not provide complete information about the people, events and regions under study. The primary sources reviewed were created by people of solely European ancestry who were relative newcomers to the area and were not privy to the internal workings of the Indian, Inuit or mixed-ancestry societies there. Each document was created to meet the needs of the writer and his prospective audience, whether it was for an entertaining travel narrative, an account of financial transactions, a chronology of the business of a fur trade post or a mission, or a Mounted Police report. Indian, Inuit, or mixed-ancestry people of the nineteenth century in this region did not create their own documents to record what was important to them. As most document authors were of British descent, even the cultures and activities of those of French-Canadian ancestry are reported from an outsider's perspective. The documentary evidence regarding distinctive cultural practices of the mixed-ancestry population is very shallow for most of the study period; the extent to which this accurately reflects the historical situation at different periods is open to discussion. Mixed-ancestry people in this region adopted a variety of life patterns and cultural manifestations. I did not wish to choose one or more of these to create a stereotype against which some other mixed-ancestry group might be measured, and I did not set out to describe (for example) French-Canadian voyageur or Orkney cultures, which would have been another project altogether and a much larger one. Another difficulty might be that in focussing on the earliest records and the development of mixed-ancestry populations, I have not canvassed the kind of later records that might describe cultural development. My objective has been to provide as clear a picture as possible of what is in the documents that I did review.

The issues of presence and absence of documentary information are very prominent in this study area. As noted in the previous paragraph, most document creators, with the literacy skills to generate documents and the literate audience to read and preserve their papers, were cultural outsiders to the mixed-ancestry population. Documents were created where and when there were

Europeans to create them, which leaves huge areas in time and space unreported to us. People of Indian, Inuit or mixed ancestry are reported only at their intersections with document creators. The appearance of certain types of documents, for example the vital statistics registers that were established in the 1850s, may suddenly reveal a historical situation that was previously only faintly visible. It is important not to confuse the emergence of types of information with the emergence of the historical phenomena they describe, and to recognize that the qualities of the documentary information left to us could skew the historical picture we see almost beyond the recognition of the population at the time. I have chosen to use a style in this report that brings the documents to the forefront, possibly at the expense of developing a smooth historical narrative in which the sources are buried in supporting roles to the story. One could almost say that this is a historical profile of documentary information, rather than a historical profile of mixed-ancestry people, but there are so many interpolations between that documentary record, the people, and us, that I believed that it was important to be transparent in setting out the material.

Part of this transparency is the use of terminology as it appears in the source documents. Terms such as “Aboriginal”, “Indigenous” and “Indian” carry a range of meanings for modern readers. At the request of the Department of Justice, I have not used the term “Aboriginal” or “non-Aboriginal”. If the source documents enabled me to make clear identifications of (for example) “Chipewyan”, Dene, mixed ancestry, French-Canadian, or Orkney, I have conveyed these identifications in the report. In many instances, however, the documents are not clear, and in these cases I have used the words “Indian, Inuit or mixed-ancestry” as a non-specific term embracing all the possible options of Indian, Inuit and mixed Indian/Inuit/European ethnicity. The term “Indian”, in this report, is usually quoted from a document, but occasionally I have found it appropriate to use it as a general descriptor for a cultural group distinct from European or mixed-ancestry populations but not necessarily limited to one tribal group.

Some historic terms, such as “half-breed” or “sauvage”, are now not favoured by many people. However, the evolution of descriptive terms, especially for people of mixed ancestry is a significant part of the story. It is part of the evolution of perceptions and identity for these people as a separate population. Therefore, the historic terms will be used in quotation marks as

they appear in the documents. In instances where terms are not specified or where no document is being quoted directly, the modern term “mixed ancestry” will be used. This term will be applied only to people of mixed Indian/Inuit/Métis and European descent. Quotations from documents will preserve the original spellings, punctuations and usages, as these are part of the available information about the source.

One important aspect of presence and absence in historical documentation is the presence or absence of women and children in the records. Some types of records, such as the fur trade records on which this paper relies so heavily, are notoriously poor at recording the lives and names of women and children. Without names, women and children disappear from the historical record, and cannot be linked positively to later individuals or families. The commencement of vital statistics registers for Great Slave Lake in the 1850s brings many women and children back into the historical record, and relationships between families through the female lines suddenly become apparent. However, even these documents seriously understate the prominence and persistence of the female part of the mixed-ancestry population, as relationships outside the formal recognition of the Church (polygamous families, couples not married in the Church, children born out of Church marriages) are obscured. There is no doubt that many mixed-ancestry women and children are not accounted for in the documents and in this paper.

The anthropologist Richard Slobodin, in his study of the Mackenzie District (including Great Slave Lake) “Metis” published in 1966, observed,

There is another widespread feature of kinship and social life among Mackenzie Metis that is not easy to characterize. This is the patronymic connection. The bearers of not many more than a dozen family names constitute a majority of Mackenzie Metis, with about as many other names slightly less common. A few of these names were borne by ancestors of real historical distinction; all of them are names well-known and repeatedly encountered in the history of the northwest and of the fur trade. The student of northern and fur trade history feels as though he is encountering the living past as he hobnobs with people named Beaulieu,

Mercredi, Mandeville, Lafferty, Bouvier, Fabien, Isbister, Jones,¹ Flett, Hardisty, Fraser, Camsell, Hodgson, Firth, Stewart and McKay.²

The history of mixed-ancestry populations in this region, as it is in many regions, is really a kind of family history. The history begins with the initial contact between an identifiable European-ancestry person and an Indian person, and the documentation of resulting children. The historian then tries to trace and document these children as they mature, take on occupations, form partnerships, and have children of their own. The history of these mixed-ancestry children taken together becomes the history of the mixed-ancestry population, with all its variety and common threads.

The historical approach known as “collective biography” is a particularly powerful way of collecting and organizing information about populations to allow for the analysis of trends and differences.³ It is particularly well-suited to generating information about populations that appear in some historical records, but which are poorly-described in contemporary narrative sources. As such, it seems ideal for the study of mixed-ancestry populations.

The drawback of “collective biography” studies is that they are extremely time-consuming to develop. Databases are constructed in which all the available small bits of historical data are compiled for each identifiable person in the records. This information can come from census data, account books, vital statistics records, mentions by name in narrative documents, employment records, land registers, tax rolls, *et cetera*. The database can then be sorted to create individual or family stories (sometimes in startling detail) or to identify trends, linkages and variances across the population generally. These can generate finely-sorted historical analyses of

¹ No relation to the present author.

² Richard Slobodin, *Metis of the Mackenzie District* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Université Sainte-Paul University, 1966), 70.

³ Published examples of this methodology, including explanatory sections on how it was applied, include Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880 - 1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), and Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

income, ethnicity, occupational data, geographic location, family relationships, language and cultural characteristics, and other key factors in describing populations. However, creating a database of this type, even for a relatively small population like the mixed-ancestry people with some link to Great Slave Lake, can take two to three months. Large projects can take years.

The compromise reached for this paper was to use many of the same sources that a “collective biography” study would use, but to analyze them in a descriptive rather than a statistical and database-centred way. This of course has its failures and limitations. The conclusions can only be an estimate of what the result of a more detailed study might be. Links, patterns, discontinuities and trends that a systematic data sort might turn up may have been overlooked. However, as approximate as the results might be, I believe that it is still possible to pull out some suggestive details and strands to illustrate some of the salient features of the mixed-ancestry population in this region. Relying on narrative sources alone would leave us with almost nothing, and would draw us to sources that are deeply biased. While documents such as account books, post journals and vital statistics registers are biased in the type of information they record, the basic information they can provide on income, expenditures, geographic location and family relationships is less dependent on personal opinion than is the description offered by a transient traveller or an angry employer.

Of course, I have not ignored the descriptive material available, as limited as it is. I have attempted to combine a variety of techniques in writing this report. There is some approximate statistical analysis from numeric and demographic sources such as account books and censuses. This material plus some narrative information from post journals, reports, travellers’ accounts and the like can be combined to generate some small biographies of selected individuals, which can illuminate the experiences of mixed-ancestry people. Then, there are some general descriptions of mixed-ancestry people as a group that can give an added dimension to the more finely-detailed material. Finally, I have tried to present all these types of data adhering as closely as possible to a chronological framework, to keep a sense of the patterns of life, change, and continuity over time.

Not all of the documentary information available has been reviewed for this report. I focussed on the earliest material available for each location, in accordance with my general instructions. Some additional sources for review, especially in later periods, are identified in the Discussion/Analysis and Suggestions for Further Research sections of this report. As well, records from adjacent areas, such as Fort Simpson and Fort Chipewyan, may be relevant to this area but were not included in the study region.

This report is divided into seven major sections: an Executive Summary, this Methodology/Introduction, the historical Narrative (itself divided into eight parts), a Discussion/Summary addressing specific questions as proposed by the Department of Justice, Suggestions for Future Research, Appendices to the Narrative, a list of References to sources consulted in researching the report, and two separate volumes of selected Key Documents with an index.

III. Narrative

III.A First Indian-European Contact at Great Slave Lake, 1715 - 1800

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Great Slave Lake area was unknown to Europeans. In 1670, when the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in England as both a legal commercial entity and the grantee of a vast territory in North America, the interior of North America north-west of Lake Superior and the coast north-west of Hudson Bay had not been explored or mapped by Europeans.⁴ The grant to the Hudson's Bay Company included the lands and waters draining into Hudson Bay.⁵

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht between Britain and France allocated parts of North America to each country. Britain was confirmed in its possession of the Hudson's Bay Company territories. In 1763, under the Treaty of Paris, France ceded all its territories in North America, with the exception of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and the town of New Orleans, to the British. At the time of the Treaty of Paris, European mapping and exploration of northwestern North America had progressed little since 1670. An English map prepared from existing knowledge in 1744 showed nothing north and west of the Winnipeg River system, and a French map of 1755 labelled the same projected territories as "entièrement inconnus".⁶

In 1715, a Hudson's Bay Company employee, William Stewart, accompanied by Chipewyan (Dene) guides, had crossed the Barren Lands from York Factory to visit the Chipewyan east of Great Slave Lake and the Slave River, but no written records or maps of this journey were created. Stewart was apparently too ill for much of the trip to make notes of his location or be able to offer a coherent account of the country or its people. Trade goods from the Hudson's Bay Company were being carried inland at this time by preponderantly Cree traders, whom the Company had armed with guns. During Stewart's journey to Great Slave Lake, his female Chipewyan guide and interpreter, Thanadelthur, had negotiated a peace agreement between her

⁴ Early maps related to the Canadian North West are summarized in plates 36 and 58 in R. Cole Harris, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. I, *From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

⁵ Hudson's Bay Company Charter text found at www.solon.org

⁶ Harris, plates 36 and 58.

people and the Cree. Shortly after the return of Stewart in 1717, the HBC established Prince of Wales Fort at the mouth of the Churchill River, in an attempt to reach the Chipewyan population more directly. Chipewyan trading parties then visited both Churchill and York Factory.⁷

Using historical document, anthropologists Diamond Jenness and Cornelius Osgood attempted to plot the distribution of Indian peoples around Great Slave Lake at contact, in works published in 1963 and 1946 respectively.⁸ Although their work differed in detail, they agreed in placing the Yellowknives (also known historically as the “Red Knives” or “Copper Indians”) at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake, the Dogrib at its northern tip (in the vicinity of present-day Rae-Edzo), and the Slave or Slavey people along the western and southern shores. Jenness and Osgood located the Chipewyan between Great Slave Lake and Hudson Bay, the Beaver (now known as the Tsattine) south of the Slavey people in the vicinity of Lake Athabasca, and the Kaska and Sekani to the west of the Beaver and Slavey. Today, the Slavey, Chipewyan, and Dogrib people are all included under the term “Dene”, and the Yellowknives have become incorporated into other Dene groups.⁹ In this paper, the historical terms will be used as they appear in the source documents, as they reflect the understanding of European observers at the time as to the organization and distribution of separate Indian peoples.

Documentary history for the Great Slave Lake area begins in 1770, with Samuel Hearne’s account of his 1770 - 1772 expedition from Prince of Wales Fort to the Coppermine River and the Arctic Ocean. Hearne’s description of his voyage was written about twenty years later, and published in 1795. The “Northern Indians” (Chipewyan/Dene) with whom he travelled were seasoned traders. He described the trade in the early 1770s as follows:

⁷ See “Thanadelthur”, <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/about/cbc3.html> (extracts of journals and other documents on Hudson’s Bay Company website); Harris, plate 58; Glyndwr Williams, “William Stuart”, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. II, David Hayne and André Vachon, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969; reprinted with corrections 1982), 614 - 616.

⁸ Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada*, 6th Edition (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 65, Anthropological Series no. 15, 1963), 377 – 404; Cornelius Osgood, “The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians” (New Haven: Yale University, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 33, 1946). Both as remapped by David Alan Harrison in “Hay River, NWT. 1800 – 1950: A Geographical Study of Site and Situation”, Ph.D thesis (Geography), University of Alberta (1984).

⁹ See Beryl Gillespie, “Territorial Groups Before 1821: Athapaskans of the Shield and the Mackenzie Drainage” and “Yellowknife”, in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 6, *Subarctic*, June Helm, ed. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 161 - 168; 285 - 290.

Before Churchill River was fettled by the Hudfon's Bay Company, which was not more than fifty years previous to this journey being undertaken, the Northern Indians had no other metal but copper among them, except a small quantity of iron-work, which a party of them who visited York Factory about the year one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, or one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, purchased; and a few pieces of old iron found at Churchill River, which had undoubtedly been left there by Captain Monk...

The Copper Indians set a great value on their native metal even to this day; and prefer it to iron for almost every use except that of a hatchet, a knife, and an awl... When they exchange copper for iron-work with our trading Northern Indians, which is but seldom, the standard is an ice-chisel of copper for an ice-chisel of iron, or an ice-chisel and a few arrowheads of copper, for a half-worn hatchet; but when they barter furs with our Indians, the established rule is to give ten times the price for every thing they purchase that is given for them at the Company's Factory. Thus, a hatchet that is bought at the Factory for one beaver-skin, or one cat-skin, or three ordinary martens' skins, is sold to those people at the advanced price of one per thousand *per cent.*; they also pay in proportion, for knives, and every other smaller piece of iron-work. For a small brass kettle of two pounds, or two pounds and a half weight, they pay sixty martens, or twenty beaver in other kinds of furs. If the kettles are not bruised, or ill-used in any other respect, the Northern traders have the conscience at times to exact something more. It is at this extravagant price that all the Copper and Dog-Ribbed Indians, who traffic with our yearly traders, supply themselves with iron-work, &c.

From those two tribes our northern Indians used formerly to purchase most of the furs they brought to the Company's Factory; for their own country produced very few of those articles, and being at that time, at war with the Southern Indians [Cree] they were prevented from penetrating far enough backwards to meet with many animals of the fur kind; so that deer-skins, and such furs as they could extort from the Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians, composed the whole of their trade; which on an average of many years, and indeed till very lately, seldom or ever exceeded six thousand *Made Beaver per annum.*

At present happy it is for them, and greatly to the advantage of the Company, that they are in perfect peace, and live in friendship with their Southern neighbours. The good effect of this harmony is already so visible, that within a few years the trade from the quarter has increased many thousands of Made Beaver annually; some years even to the amount of eleven thousand skins. Beside the advantage arising to the Company from this increase, the poor Northern Indians reap innumerable benefits from a fine and plentiful country, with the produce of which they annually load themselves for trade, without giving the least office to the proper inhabitants.

Several attempts have been made to induce the Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians to visit the Company's Fort at Churchill River, and for that purpose many presents

have been fent, but they never were attended with any fucefs. And though feveral of the Copper Indians have vifited Churchill, in the capacity of fervants to the Northern Indians, and were generally fent back loaded with prefents for their countrymen, yet the Northern Indians always plundered them of the whole foon after they left the Fort. This kind of treatment, added to the many inconveniencies that attend fo long a journey, are great obstacles in their way; otherwife it would be as poffible for them to bring their own goods to market, as for the northern Indians to go fo far to purchafe them on their own account...¹⁰

Although metal, guns and trade goods were common among the people Hearne and his party met -- he described a group of Indian people they encountered as “so poor as not to have one gun among them”¹¹ – he recorded that a woman from a “far” territory to the West, captured by “Athapufcow” Indians, “had never seen iron, or any other kind of metal, till she was taken prisoner”.¹²

Hearne spent part of the winter of 1771 – 1772 moving south through islands over a very large frozen “Lake Athapuscow” and down a river. Later scholars (such as Harris and Neatby) have identified these features as Great Slave Lake and the Slave River.¹³

Hearne, in describing the Great Slave Lake area, did not mention any rival non-Indian traders in the vicinity. These traders would have been of considerable interest to him and his colleagues in the Hudson’s Bay Company. However, by 1776 “Canadian” traders operating out of Montreal had penetrated far enough inland along the Saskatchewan and Nelson River systems to provide competition for the Chipewyan fur trade. Even Hearne’s guide and friend Matonabee threatened to take his business “To the Canadian Traders” if Hearne did not give him enough “presents” at Fort Prince of Wales in October 1776.¹⁴

¹⁰ Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales’s Fort in Hudson’s Bay to the Northern Ocean undertaken by order of the Hudson’s Bay Company for the Discovery of Copper Mines, a North West Passage, &c. In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, & 1772*, (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971), 175 – 179. The “Made Beaver” was a standard of trade or currency equivalent for the fur trade, notionally based on the value of one prime dressed beaver skin.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 283.

¹² *Ibid.*, 267.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 223, 247 – 270; see also “A Map exhibiting Mr. Hearne’s Tracks in his two journies for the discovery of the Copper Mine River, in the Years 1770, 1771 and 1772, under the direction of the Hudson’s Bay Company”, bound in the same volume, and the Introduction by H. B. Neatby, p. xxi; also Harris, plate 58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 290 – 291 (fn.); see also Harris, plate 62.

It is uncertain, from the existing sources, exactly when some of these early “Canadian Traders” made their way to the Great Slave Lake region. Historian Kerry Abel estimated that “a number of French-Metis had begun to arrive in a vital but little-known population shift” as early as the 1750s.¹⁵ The first possible evidence of such a presence relates to François Beaulieu (I) (“The Patriarch”), whose son François Beaulieu II told Father Emile Petitot¹⁶ in 1863 that his father had come to the northwest (date and location unspecified) with a chartered trading company called La Compagnie des Sioux.¹⁷ This company had posts as far west as the vicinity of present-day Prince Albert before the government of New France closed them in 1760.¹⁸ Christopher Hanks, in a biography of François Beaulieu II done for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, speculated that the senior Beaulieu had fallen in with the Chipewyan trading brigades to Fort Prince of Wales after the closing of the Compagnie des Sioux posts, and had thereby found his way to Great Slave Lake. These long-distance Chipewyan brigades were discontinued after a devastating smallpox epidemic in the early 1780s, the establishment of inland posts closer to the hunting grounds of the Chipewyan and their trading clients, and the temporary destruction of Prince of Wales’ Fort by the French in 1782.¹⁹

Beaulieu II told Petitot “quoique sauvage, j’aimais les Français parce que mon grand-père était Français”,²⁰ implying that his family had otherwise, from his grandparents’ generation forward,

¹⁵ Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 76.

¹⁶ Emile Petitot was a French missionary priest of the order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate who spent several years in the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River regions. See John S. Moir, “Émile Petitot”, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XIV, Ramsay Cook and Jean Hamelin, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 838 - 840.

¹⁷ Emile Petitot, “Géographie de l’Athabaskaw-Mackenzie et des grands lacs du bassin arctique” (Paris: Librairie C. Delagrave, 1875), 18; Emile Petitot, *En route pour la mer Glaciale* (Paris: Letourzey et Ane, 1887), 312.

¹⁸ Christopher Hanks, “François Beaulieu II: The last *Coueurs de Bois* in the Far Northwest”, unpublished Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada Agenda Paper, n. d., 7; see also Harris, plate 40.

¹⁹ See Hearne, 178 – 179; W. A. Sloan, “The Native Response to the Extension of the European Traders into the Athabasca and Mackenzie Basin, 1770 – 1814”, *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LX, no. 3 (1979): 281 – 283. The precise mortality rate of the smallpox epidemic is not known; Hearne estimated that it could have been as high as 90 per cent (Sloan, 282). A Chipewyan trading brigade arrived at Fort Prince of Wales in 1787, after an absence of several years. By the early 1790s, the Chipewyans were expressing great reluctance to undertake this long trip (see Sloan, 290).

²⁰ Emile Petitot, *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest* (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères et Ch. LeClerc, 1886), 338. This interview took place in Chipewyan, so these may not be Beaulieu’s exact words.

not identified as solely European. He told Petitot that his mother was “Dènè”, “qui ne parle que le Cris”, and that his grandmother had been Cree.²¹ The specification that his Dene mother spoke only Cree may hint that she or her parents had been captured or adopted by the Cree. The Cree and Chipewyan territories were adjacent to each other across northern Canada, overlapping in the vicinity of present-day Fort Chipewyan. François Beaulieu I’s great grandson told the surveyor George Blanchet, in the early 1920s, that his great grandfather was a “Frenchman of the Churchill brigade. They camped at Fort Chipewyan”.²²

In 1778, Peter Pond led a small party into the Lake Athabasca area to establish a trading post on the Athabasca River about 40 miles south of the Lake. This was the first post ever built beyond the Methye Portage from the English River to the Athabasca River systems. Pond brought out some of the furs he had collected in the spring of 1779, having been tremendously successful. He returned to Athabasca in the spring of 1783, as part of a partnership called the North West Company, and came out again in the spring of 1784. The winter of 1784 – 1785 saw Pond participating in discussions regarding the formation of the new North West Company partnership, as well as another proposed new company, later called the “New Concern”.²³ During this time, he drew a map in an attempt to convince government patrons to sponsor an exploratory journey to the “Ice Sea”, which he supposed to be close to the outlet of Great Slave Lake.²⁴ The drafting of this map, which was based on information provided to him by the Indians, has led some scholars to believe that he reached Great Slave Lake in exploring and trading trips during the winter of 1783 – 1784, although there is no direct evidence for this.²⁵ He returned to Lake Athabasca in the fall of 1785, this time closely followed by a competitor, John

²¹ Ibid., 430.

²² From Blanchet papers at the B. C. Archives and Records Service, cited in Sandra Dolan, “The Salt River Settlement”, in *Picking up the Threads: Métis History in the Mackenzie Basin* (Yellowknife: Métis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories, 1998), 262.

²³ This is not the same as the XY Company, which was not formed until 1798.

²⁴ The map is NMC 24315, untitled, no date; and is also bound in Gordon Charles Davidson, *The North West Company* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967).

²⁵ Barry Gough, “Peter Pond”, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. V, eds. Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin, 683 - 684 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Harry W. Duckworth, *The English River Book: A North West Company Journal and Account Book of 1786* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), 177, fn. 50. Duckworth quotes a letter of Isaac Ogden to his father recounting a conversation with Pond in 1789, during which Pond claimed to have explored the Mackenzie River to 70 miles from its outlet on Great Slave Lake.

Ross, from the “New Concern” who established a rival post not far away. In 1785, Pond’s trading fort was located near the delta of the Athabasca River, and was manned by three clerks and forty-six voyageurs, while Ross had about twenty-four men.²⁶ In 1786, Pond sent his second-in-command, Cuthbert Grant,²⁷ and some men to winter at a new post on Great Slave Lake some miles east of the Slave River delta. Laurent Leroux, then a trader for the “New Concern”, established a trading house the same winter very near by. At least one historian believes that Pond could have explored Great Slave Lake in the summer of 1787, based on an updated and more accurate map he produced in July 1787.²⁸ On the updated map, a line is drawn from Grant’s post through the islands in Great Slave Lake, to an “x” on the shores of present-day Yellowknife Bay.²⁹ It is not known what this line means; it may be an exploration route of Pond’s or Grant’s. Pond remained at Lake Athabasca until the spring of 1788, when he left the North West for good. The North West Company house called Fort Chipewyan was established in the spring of 1788, on the north shore of Lake Athabasca.³⁰

The rival houses on Great Slave Lake were apparently abandoned after the summer of 1787, although Leroux stayed in the area until midwinter 1789.³¹ Leroux’s biographer claims for his subject the distinction of being “the first white man to explore Great Slave Lake”.³² Leroux shares with Alexander Mackenzie and his party the first clearly documented journey through the western part of Great Slave Lake. On June 3, 1789, Mackenzie departed Fort Chipewyan with a group that included “four Canadians, two of whom were attended by their wives, and a German

²⁶ Duckworth, xviii. “Voyageur” is Duckworth’s term.

²⁷ Scottish-born father of the Métis leader by the same name, who was born in 1793 after the senior Grant had moved to the Souris River in present-day Saskatchewan. See Hartwell Bowsfield, “Cuthbert Grant”, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. IV, Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 310.

²⁸ Duckworth, p. xxiii.

²⁹ This map is reproduced in George Ramsay Rae, “The Settlement of the Great Slave Lake Frontier, Northwest Territories, Canada, from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century”, Ph.D. thesis (Geography), University of Michigan (1963), 82.

³⁰ Gough, 683 - 684; René Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last : A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870 - 1939* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975, reprinted by Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004).

³¹ Pierre Dufour, “Laurent Leroux”, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VIII, eds. Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin, 500 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

[possibly John Steinbruck, a NWC clerk]; we were accompanied also by an Indian, who had acquired the title of English Chief, and his two wives, in a small canoe, with two young Indians; his followers in another small canoe”.³³ Another canoe carried Laurent Leroux, his crew, and some trade goods. The “English Chief” had acquired his nickname from having been a follower of Matonabee, Hearne’s guide and friend, and having been a leader of the Chipewyan brigades to the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Prince of Wales’/Fort Churchill post.³⁴ One of François Beaulieu I’s biographers states that Beaulieu had been aligned with the “English Chief”, a reasonable assumption if Beaulieu had been part of these brigades.³⁵

Those who met François Beaulieu II at different times in his life estimated he had been born at various dates from 1771 to 1793.³⁶ In one story Beaulieu told Petitot, he estimated his age as sixteen or seventeen in 1799 (i. e. born 1781 or 1782), when he had been working for the North West Company as a hunter for the post on Great Bear Lake.³⁷ In another story, in which he recounted how he had seen “les premiers Français” at Grosse-Ile near present-day Fort Providence on Great Slave Lake, he described himself as a fifteen-year-old living with his parents. This event was dated 1789; however it is not completely clear from Petitot’s rendition of the story whether this date was given by Beaulieu or imputed by Petitot. Petitot’s notes on this story indicate that it relates to the first visit to Great Slave Lake by Peter Pond (1783 – 1784, or 1787?). Beaulieu described the arrival of a great number of French, with “un grand chef, plus un chef subalterne”, who had with them “un Anglais qui comprenait, je crois, un peu de tchippewayan” named James. (Beaulieu told Petitot this story in Chipewyan.) This group visited the cabin of Beaulieu’s uncle Jacques, and asked if anyone there understood French. Jacques replied in the affirmative, adding that “nous sommes tous ici Français ou fils de Français”. “Le grand chef des Blancs” then told him that Jacques would serve as an interpreter,

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hanks, 7.

³⁶ See Hanks, 8.

³⁷ Petitot, *Traditions Indiennes*, 337. Lloyd Keith places the construction of a NWC Great Bear Lake post at some time between 1801 and 1804. Alexander Mackenzie, mentioned by Beaulieu in his story, apparently arrived to take charge of this post in 1805. See *North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company 1800 - 1821*, ed. Lloyd Keith, 26 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001).

and requested him to “rassemble donc tout le monde”. Jacques then convened a meeting of “tous les sauvages...de tous les côtés du lac des Esclaves”, including the Dogribs, although “ma famille avait épousé les intérêts des Dènè”. The French then explained that they wished the Indians to catch and prepare furs and meat, and that in exchange they would provide them with “beaucoup de bonnes et belles choses” to allow them to live comfortably. The French then gave a metal kettle to the Dogribs and demonstrated its usefulness, and distributed other presents such as European clothing, a knife, a hatchet, needles, and tobacco (with which the Dogribs were unfamiliar). Beaulieu then noted that his uncle left to follow the French to act as an interpreter.³⁸

Beaulieu himself did not specify that he met with Peter Pond, who was an American who may have spoken enough French to communicate with his subordinates. Beaulieu may have met a party from Grant or Leroux’s posts some time between 1786 and 1787. It also seems possible that the group described might have been from Alexander Mackenzie’s convoy, which might explain why there were a large number of French-speaking people present (as opposed to a small exploratory party such as might have travelled with Pond). The French-speaking person who met with Beaulieu’s uncle Jacques may have been Leroux, or even Mackenzie himself, as most traders spoke at least a little French. Mackenzie describes two meetings with Indians near Great Slave Lake that share some of the features of Beaulieu’s story, although it is odd that Mackenzie did not observe that the “Indians” spoke fluent French. This may be explained if it was in fact Leroux that met with them personally, and the reference to the young man who spoke Chipewyan may also suggest that at least some of the conversations were carried out in that language.

Close to Big Island (east of present-day Fort Providence), Mackenzie described coming across “three lodges of Red-Knife Indians”, who told them that “there were many more lodges of their friends at no great distance, and one of the Indians fet off to fetch them”. Leroux purchased a large quantity of furs from these people, and the “English Chief” collected more than one hundred skins on account of trading debts owed to him, despite the fact the “there were not above twelve of them qualified to kill beaver”. Mackenzie held several discussions with the group regarding the possible route to the river he was seeking, but “could obtain no information

³⁸ Petitot, *Traditions Indiennes*, 429 – 433.

that was material to our expedition; nor were they acquainted with any part of the river...but the mouth of it". Mackenzie then "engaged one of the Indians to conduct us; and I accordingly equipped him with various articles of clothing, &c.". After this,

In the afternoon I assembled the Indians, in order to inform them that I should take my departure on the following day; but that people would remain on the spot till their countrymen, who they had mentioned, should arrive; and that, if they brought a sufficient quantity of skins to make it answer, the Frenchmen would return for more goods, with a view to winter here, and build a fort, which would be continued as long as they should be found to deserve it. They assured me, that it would be a great encouragement to them to have a settlement of ours in their country; and that they should exert themselves to the utmost to kill beaver, as they would then be certain of getting an adequate value for them. Hitherto, they said, the Chipewyans always pillaged them; or, at most, gave little or nothing for the fruits of their labour, which had greatly discouraged them; and that, in consequence of this treatment, they had no motive to pursue the beaver, but to obtain a sufficient quantity of food and raiment.³⁹

Leroux stayed behind to wait for the other Indians, and did not accompany Mackenzie any further. He went on around Great Slave Lake to establish a temporary summer trading post at Lac la Martre, and met Mackenzie again on the south shore of Great Slave Lake in August of 1789. In the meantime, Mackenzie and the "English Chief" grew exasperated with their guide, who had difficulty finding the entrance to the river. On June 29, they finally started up the river they had been looking for. About thirty miles up the river, "our Red-Knife Indian had never explored beyond our present situation", although "he and his relations frequently" met up the Horn River to the north.⁴⁰

About 100 miles up the river, Mackenzie met another group of five families, who turned out to be Slavey and Dogrib. The Indians travelling with Mackenzie spoke with them in Chipewyan. The Mackenzie party

made them smoke, though it was evident they did not know the use of tobacco; we likewise supplied them with grog; but I am disposed to think, that they accepted our civilities rather from fear than inclination. We acquired a more effectual influence over them by the distribution of knives, beads, awls, rings, gartering, firesteels, flints, and hatchets...⁴¹

³⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, 16 – 17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 – 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

This account picks up the parts of Beaulieu's story regarding the presence of the Dogribs, their unfamiliarity with tobacco, and the positive effect of the distribution of European goods.

Mackenzie also accurately described the Dogrib spruce-root cooking pots that were part of Beaulieu's account. A guide from this group went, albeit reluctantly, with Mackenzie's party, but the rest of Mackenzie's description of them, as timid people with almost no knowledge of European technology, does not seem likely to apply to the Beaulieu family camp.

At the commencement of the return journey from tidal waters to Fort Chipewyan, Mackenzie observed that there were ten men and four women in his party:⁴² apparently, himself, the four Canadians and their two wives, the "German", the "English Chief" and his two wives, two Indian hunters, and the person who had travelled with them since the vicinity of Big Island (the guide from the Dogrib/Slavey camp had deserted them, and there is no record of the first guide having left). It is possible that this unnamed person was Jacques Beaulieu, François II's uncle, and that this is the source of the story recorded in several documents that the senior Beaulieu accompanied Mackenzie to the Arctic Ocean. If this is the case, it appears that Mackenzie at least initially identified the Beaulieus as "Indians" under the influence of the "English Chief", although they identified themselves as being "Français ou fils de Français". Mackenzie, unlike other explorers, did not describe or even name his men in the journal of his voyage to the Arctic Ocean, so we have no further insights as to whether his opinions of his Big Island guide changed over time. Mackenzie did note consistently that the two young Indian hunters travelled and worked together, which may mean that the Big Island guide assumed a role closer to that of the Canadian *engagés*⁴³ as a canoeman and general worker.

François Beaulieu I, however, is named by Mackenzie as accompanying him on his voyage to the Pacific Ocean in 1793.⁴⁴ Mackenzie indicated that Joseph Landry and Charles Ducette were

⁴² Ibid., 77.

⁴³ This was a common term used by North West Company officers to describe their employees. Mackenzie refers to the "Indians" in his party but rarely mentions the others separately, describing them only as "men".

⁴⁴ Ibid., 152.

the men in this crew who had also accompanied him in 1789.⁴⁵ Mackenzie also observed that the men who were with him at his point of departure in the Peace River country had made the arduous round-trip journey to Rainy Lake with the spring brigades,⁴⁶ placing them firmly in the category of fur-trade canoemen.

Regardless of the difficulty in establishing the precise date of the establishment of the mixed-ancestry Beaulieu family, it seems reasonable to state that they were already living in the Great Slave Lake area at the very beginning of the period of European trader residency there. The French-Canadian, French-speaking Beaulieus had intermarried with the Cree (in the first mixed generation) and the Chipewyan (in the second generation), and had established ties with the Chipewyan around Great Slave Lake.

Laurent Leroux established a post in Yellowknife Bay in the fall of 1789, after his trip back to Fort Chipewyan with Mackenzie, but left the Athabasca-Mackenzie district permanently in the spring of 1791.⁴⁷

However, by the 1790s, people of European ancestry had begun to establish a sufficiently persistent presence in the Great Slave Lake area that the first signs of local mixed-ancestry family formation appear. “Old Fort Providence” post near Yellowknife Bay was established by the North West Company in 1790, and a permanent NWC Lac la Martre post was opened *circa* 1792. A North West Company post was re-established near the mouth of the Slave River in 1791, and was moved in the same vicinity in 1794 and 1799 to better capture trade routes and fisheries.⁴⁸ The Hudson’s Bay Company was conspicuously absent in this region before 1800. Peter Fidler, an HBC trader and surveyor, wintered with Chipewyan Indian people on Great

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 136.

⁴⁷ Dufour, 500.

⁴⁸ Rae, 119; Keith, 11 – 13.

Slave Lake in 1791 – 1792, but he was affiliated with a struggling HBC post on Lake Athabasca that was closed in the spring of 1792.⁴⁹

III.B Mixed-Ancestry Families in the Great Slave Lake Region to 1800

The origins of the Beaulieu family at Great Slave Lake have already been discussed. While the records for this early period are far from complete, several other individuals of European ancestry who lived at Great Slave Lake can be identified by name, and in some cases information can be obtained on wives and families.

Thirteen men, plus two senior clerks, were hired by the North West Company to establish the post on Great Slave Lake in 1786. The North West Company was much better staffed and equipped than its rivals in this period, and its hopes for this region were high, so this may be considered a substantial contingent. Five of the men (in one canoe) bound for Great Slave Lake drowned *en route*, leaving only eight to work with one clerk (Grant) at the Lake. Seven men and one clerk were dispatched to the new Peace River post in the same year. A minimum of four (as engaged by Mackenzie in 1789) to five men were required to manage a canoe, portage equipment, build and maintain a post, cut wood, fish, hunt and undertake trading expeditions at an outpost. However, it was important to keep employees to a minimum, especially in a country as difficult as Great Slave Lake, to maximize profits and reduce the strain on food supplies. The population of European descent employed at these posts (in total) can therefore be estimated as approximately thirteen to fifteen in 1786 – 1787, perhaps only a few between 1787 and 1789, and probably less than 25 in the 1790s. A statement of the number of wintering employees (partners, clerks and servants) for the North West Company in 1802 stated the total number of employees in posts in the Athabasca district, which included 18 posts such as the large post of Fort Chipewyan, posts far up the Mackenzie River, posts at Great Bear Lake and on the Liard and Nahanni Rivers as well as at Great Slave Lake, as 207.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ See HBCA, B.9/a/1, B.9/a/2, and B.9/a/3, Lake Athabasca Post Journals, 1790 – 1792; also J. G. McGregor, *Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Explorer 1769 – 1822* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 1998), 34 – 42.

⁵⁰ “General Return of the Departments and Posts occupied by the North West Company, in the Indian Country, with the number of Partners, Clerks & Men employed in that Trade, exclusive of the King's Posts”, 30 October 1802, reprinted in Davidson, 280.

The names of the thirteen men who were hired to accompany Cuthbert Grant to the Northwest Company's Great Slave Lake post in 1786 have been preserved in the "English River Book", a compendium of a fragment from a Lake Athabasca post journal, accounts, and miscellany from the spring of 1786, and the names of the five who drowned can be deduced by their absence from later records.⁵¹ Other individuals named as working out of the Lake Athabasca post appear in later fur trade documents related to the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie districts. Some of these people are linked to wives and children in the records, identifying the first generation of mixed-ancestry children growing up in the region.

For example, of the thirteen men dispatched to Great Slave Lake in 1786, Laprise, Laviolette⁵² and Laverdure⁵³ can be positively linked to wives; and Joseph Landry Cadien and Charles Doucette Cadien were two of the four "Canadians" who took two wives with them with Mackenzie to the Arctic. Landry (the identifier "Cadien" or "Cayen" often means "Acadian") purchased 75 bunches of beads and a dozen rings at Ile-a-la-Crosse in June of 1786,⁵⁴ which could have been for a wife and female relatives (although the quantity involved seems to suggest a small stock for trading). Cuthbert Grant also had a family, but it appears this family was started after he left the Great Slave Lake region.⁵⁵ Laprise, by 1800, had two wives and an unknown number of children that moved with him between his postings at Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River,⁵⁶ which has prompted historian Harry Duckworth to state that "Laprise would have been one of the first voyageurs to take a Chipewyan wife".⁵⁷ One of his daughters was old enough to be married to an Indian who traded at the North West Company's post on

⁵¹ Duckworth, xxxvi – xxxvii.

⁵² Keith, 133, fn. 18.

⁵³ Duckworth, 155 – 156.

⁵⁴ Account book in "English River Book", (HBCA F.2/1), reprinted in Duckworth, 30.

⁵⁵ George Woodcock, "Cuthbert Grant", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. VIII, eds. Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin, 341 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

⁵⁶ John Thomson, "Journal Mackenzies River Alias Rocky Mountain" 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 133 (entry for 10 October 1800).

⁵⁷ Duckworth, xxviii.

Peace River in 1800; a son was very likely the Baptiste La Prise who accompanied Samuel Black up the Finlay River (a tributary of the Mackenzie) in 1824.⁵⁸

Laurent Leroux, Cuthbert Grant's competitor on Great Slave Lake, had according to his biographer made a country marriage with an Ojibwa from the Athabasca region prior to 1789, and that they had "at least four girls".⁵⁹ This is slightly perplexing, as the Ojibwa had not generally penetrated as far as Athabasca at this time and Leroux had arrived in the Northwest only after 1784. In fact, as Leroux had previously been stationed at Michilimackinack in Michigan, his wife was probably from that vicinity. There is no further information available about his mixed-ancestry children. It is unlikely that his country family came out to Québec with him in 1791 – 1792, as he married a French-Canadian woman at L'Assomption in June 1796.⁶⁰

Another man in Mackenzie's crew in 1793, Jacques Beauchamp, also had a recorded family. Beauchamp worked at North West Company posts up the Mackenzie River in the 1790s, and in June 1799 was killed while on a trading expedition to the Inuit.⁶¹ On 30 October 1800, his widow and her two children arrived at the NWC Slave Lake post seeking food and shelter. Eleven days later, she "went to live" with an unidentified Indian.⁶²

François Piché first appeared in Athabasca/Mackenzie records as arriving at the North West Company's Athabasca post in May 1786 from Ile-a-la-Crosse, with a letter for Peter Pond.⁶³ Piché's account for that year shows that he had been engaged during 1785 and had been part of the brigades from Rainy Lake, and that Pond engaged him for three years starting in June 1786 to work at Athabasca.⁶⁴ In 1787, he apparently shot and killed an opposing trader, and he

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵⁹ Dufour, 500 (quote from the biography).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Keith, 20, 383.

⁶² James Porter, "Journal kept by Mr Porter at Slave Lake", 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 117 (entries for 30 October and 9 November 1800).

⁶³ Journal kept by Cuthbert Grant at Lake Athabasca, 1786, as reprinted in Duckworth, 17 – 18 (entry for 6 May 1786).

⁶⁴ Account book in "English River Book" (HBCA F.2/1), as reprinted in Duckworth, 77.

disappeared into the local Chipewyan population until 1791, when he was observed overseeing construction of a new North West Company post at Great Slave Lake near the mouth of the Slave River.⁶⁵ In January of 1801, the North West Company's Ring Lake (Great Slave Lake) post journal recorded the arrival of Piché's brother-in-law Thionelzar,⁶⁶ implying that Piché had married into the local Chipewyan population. The name Piché is subsequently found frequently in fur-trade records for the Athabasca/Mackenzie, and at least some of these people are very likely Francois Piché's descendants. The senior Piché died in an accidental gunpowder explosion at Hay River in the summer of 1818.⁶⁷

Piché's decision (and ability) to vanish into the local Indian population was not unique, and it highlights some of the reasons why the precise dates and circumstances of mixed-ancestry family formation are often obscure. There were no birth, marriage or death records in the Great Slave Lake region until 1852 at the earliest. The journals of fur traders were intended for the documentation of commercial information and the management of the fur trade rather than chronicling the life and thoughts of the employees, so information regarding personal relations and family life appears only rarely. Male employees were expected to earn their salaries by performing specific tasks, and these tasks are recorded in the journals. Although the contributions of women were recognized as essential to life in the North West, their labour receded into the background of everyday routines and they were normally recompensed in food and shelter only through their partners. Fur trade writers often named only the most important Indians to their trade in the journals, and Indian women, like their brothers and fathers, remain nameless there. The individuals mentioned in the journals were only those who intersected with the trade of the post, and if there were those like Piché who did not care to come near, they could be invisible both to the traders and to present-day researchers.

⁶⁵ "Journal of a Journey from Cumberland House North America ...towards the Athapiscow Country and back to York Factory", Philip Turnor, 1790 – 1792, HBCA B.9/a/3 (also reprinted in *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, ed. J. B. Tyrell (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), entry for 22 July 1791; Peter Fidler, "A Journal from Ile a la Crosse by way of Swan Lake", entries for 25 June and 9 July, 1791, as quoted in MacGregor, 34 – 35; also Keith, 415 – 417.

⁶⁶ James Porter, "Journal kept by Mr Porter at Slave Lake", 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 123 (entry for 9 January 1801).

⁶⁷ Keith, 417.

Petitot described another possibly similar case in his book Autour du Grand Lac Esclaves (1891). In it, he described meeting “deux vieux Métis franco-dene, tous deux septuagenaires” at Great Slave Lake in 1863. This would imply that both men were born in the 1790s or possibly the late 1780s. One of them, Louis Cayen,

était le fils d’un Parisien qui était venu s’échouer obscurément chez le Tchippewayans. Je l’aurais deviné a son langage plus châtié que celui de la généralité des Métis, à son accent plus pur; mais surtout à son scepticisme...⁶⁸

There are several individuals carrying the surname “Cadien” or “Cayen” in the Great Slave Lake region in the fur trade documents of the 1790s and early 1800s. There are Joseph Landry Cadien and Charles Doucette Cadien, mentioned above, who were engaged to go to Great Slave Lake by the North West Company in 1786 and who travelled with Mackenzie to both the Arctic and Pacific Oceans. At least one of these men may have had a wife with him in 1786 and/or 1789. Then there is a “Cadien nevau DeBale” (this name appears in several variants) who was working out of the North West Company’s Great Slave Lake post in 1800.⁶⁹ He and John Thomson, clerk at the Great Slave Lake post, travelled with two women to operate an outpost at Lake Claire (near Lake Athabasca) in the summer of 1800.⁷⁰ A “Pierre Lanneau Cadien le Gros Nez” (again found in many variants) also served at the North West Company’s Great Slave Lake (Ring Lake) post in 1800, and this man is identified in the journals as having a family.⁷¹ Three other “Cadiens” are mentioned in Mackenzie River journals of the early 1800s, and a “Michel” and a “Louis” Cadien appear on the North West Company employment register for Athabasca for the period 1811 – 1821. Louis Cadien had a son named Louis who served the North West Company in Athabasca between 1818 and 1821.⁷² It may be impossible to ascertain for certain which of these men was the father of the man with whom Petitot spoke – and perhaps if Louis’ father really wished to “échouer obscurément chez le Tchippewayans”, none of these possibilities are accurate -- but there are many potential mixed-ancestry children amongst all these individuals.

⁶⁸ Emile Petitot, *Autour des Grands Lac des Esclaves* (Paris: Albert Savine, 1891), 76 – 77.

⁶⁹ James Porter, “Journal kept by Mr Porter at Slave Lake”, 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 88, 94 (entries for 29 February and 10 April 1800); also Keith’s collective biography of the “Cadiens”, 388 -390.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 101 (entry for 2 June 1800).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 117 (entry for 30 October 1800).

⁷² Keith, 390.

Petitot's other "vieux Metis franco-dene", Baptiste Le Camarade de Mandeville, was Louis Cayen's brother-in-law, and according to Petitot was "d'origine normande".⁷³ The Mandeville family is well-documented in the Great Slave Lake region from 1800 onwards. The first reference to Mandevilles in fur trade documents is in the servants' contracts of the North West Company for 1799, where Joseph Mandeville is noted as having renewed his contract at Fort Chipewyan.⁷⁴ In March of 1800, the North West Company post journallist at Great Slave Lake recorded Mandeville's arrival, with his family, from "the Lodges", where he had been living with the Indians.⁷⁵ In May of 1800, unusually, the journal marked the birth of a daughter to Mandeville and his wife.⁷⁶ In October of 1800, another North West Company employee took a canoe said to "belong to Mandeville",⁷⁷ again a novelty as few employees had such significant property of their own in the North West. These clues may indicate that Mandeville had already been in the country and had established roots there for a period of time before 1800.

Petitot named several others in his recollections of the Great Slave Lake area:

La présence dans ces parages subarctiques de Métis français très âgés et nés dans le pays même, tels que Beaulieu, Poitras, son beau-frère, Cayen, Le Camarade, Lafleur, de Charlois, les frères Touranjeau et autres, nous est une preuve que nos compatriots devancèrent nos bons voisins d'outre-Manche dans les *Pays d'En-Haut*. Malheureusement, aventuriers sans fortune, coureurs de bois obscures, gens sans lettres ni but avoué, ils ne se soucièrent jamais de revendiquer l'honneur et la gloire d'avoir découvert et habité les premiers ces régions reculées et inhospitalières.⁷⁸

Of the others he mentions, a Jean-Baptiste Lafleur and his son Jean-Baptiste were active in the Peace River country for the North West Company from 1786 to 1822, when the Lafleurs were transported to Montréal with their families. The son was rehired and worked as an interpreter in

⁷³ Petitot, *Autour des Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 78.

⁷⁴ Keith, 408 – 409.

⁷⁵ James Porter, "Journal kept by Mr Porter at Slave Lake", 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 88 (entry for 1 March 1800).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 96 (entry for 5 May 1800).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 115 (entry for 13 October 1800).

⁷⁸ Petitot, *Autour des Grands Lac des Esclaves*, 78.

the Peace between 1827 and 1875. Any links between this family and a Great Slave Lake family prior to 1800 are uncertain.⁷⁹ The Tourangeau family appears to originate with an Antoine Tourangeau who came out with the North West Company in the English River district around 1785 – 1786, probably bringing with him an Indian wife from the Red River district and possibly at least one daughter. Jean-Baptiste Tourangeau, likely Antoine’s son, stayed in the Athabasca district.⁸⁰

In addition, there are other North West Company employees who had wives and children by the turn of the nineteenth century at Great Slave Lake: Jean-Baptiste Adam, brother-in-law to a hunter who patronized the NWC Slave Lake post;⁸¹ Bastoné or Bostonnais, an employee at Great Slave Lake in 1800 who wanted to stay close to the post because his wife was about to give birth there;⁸² Joseph Pass-par-tout or Nasplette, engaged in 1786 to serve at Great Slave Lake, whose “woman” and “all her children” were given food at Slave Lake post in 1800 to tide them over to Fort Chipewyan;⁸³ and Morin, whose Chipewyan wife from the Great Slave Lake/Fort Chipewyan region had deserted him and gone back to her relatives, but who went back to him at Great Slave Lake in 1800 to bear his child in preference to being sold or “turned off” to another man.⁸⁴

The total of all these individuals that we can name, from the few records that survive, suggest that there was a young but significant and growing population of first-generation mixed-ancestry children in the Great Slave Lake region by 1800. Some of these children were related to Indian

⁷⁹ Duckworth, 151 – 152.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 170 – 171.

⁸¹ William Wentzel, “Journal kept at Slave Lake”, 1802, reprinted in Keith, 166, 173 – 175 (entries for 21 August 1802, 15 September 1802, 21 September 1802).

⁸² James Porter, “Journal kept by Mr Porter at Slave Lake”, 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 115 (entry for 15 October 1800).

⁸³ Ibid., 111 (entries for 3 and 7 August 1800); see also Duckworth, 161. Porter noted in his journal that “Passpertous woman” told him that “her Keeper Marlin has Got the Tete de Leivres Daughter to wife and thrown her away”.

⁸⁴ James Porter, “Journal kept by Mr Porter at Slave Lake”, 1800 – 1801, as reprinted in Keith, 115 (entries for 14 and 15 October 1800); also *ibid.* (Keith), 413; James McKenzie, journal kept at Fort Chipewyan, 1799, as reprinted in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, Vol. II, ed. L. R. Masson (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1960), 384 – 385 (entries for 9 and 10 April 1799).

groups outside the study area, such as the Cree and Ojibwa, but most of the ones whose families can be identified were related via their mothers to the Chipewyan Indian population trading out of the Slave Lake posts. These children appear to fall into three general categories: those like the children of Lafleur and John Thomson, who travelled back to Québec with their families when their father's tour in the North West was over,⁸⁵ those like the children of Beauchamp and Leroux, whose whereabouts after their father's departure are unknown and who may have returned with their mothers to the Indian population, and those like the children of Mandeville, Beaulieu and Cayen who later became prominent in the mixed-ancestry population. Even within families, children may have found different destinations, depending on choices, luck, marriage and skills. The first decades of the nineteenth century were to be pivotal for this young group.

III.C Fur Trade Post Life at 1800

By 1800, the patterns of fur trade post life, imported from eastern posts and adapted to local conditions, were well-established in the Athabasca-Mackenzie district.⁸⁶ Each post had a senior officer in charge. In the North West Company, these senior men ("*commis*", or "clerks", or "traders") were almost all of Scottish origin or descent; those who were not born in Scotland usually came from Quebec. The employees of the post were predominantly French-Canadian, and were sorted into ranks and paid (via credits, as no cash circulated in the North West at this time) roughly based on experience, skills, and reliability. These ranks were known by the positions taken in a canoe: "*gouvernail*" (steersman, a senior rank), "*milieu*" (middleman, or general worker) and "*devant*" (bowsman, senior to the *milieu* but below the *gouvernail*). Some employees were also identified as interpreters, guides (a very senior and responsible rank) and skilled tradesmen. Sometimes, men were given bonuses or paid at a more senior rank mid-season, if they had demonstrated exceptional ability and had taken on extra work. However, the journals show that building and keeping a fur post provisioned, heated, equipped, and supplied with customers entailed a terrific amount of hard physical labour, and that all ranks (including,

⁸⁵ For Thomson, see Keith, 128.

⁸⁶ The information in this section is a synthesis of several post journals, previously cited. This includes all the journals up to 1802 reprinted in Keith; the Lake Athabasca journal reprinted in Duckworth; the Turnor journal reprinted in *Journals of Samuel Hearne*, Tyrell, ed.; HBCA, B.9/a/1, B.9/a/2 and B.9/a/3; and the McKenzie journal reprinted in Masson, Vol. II.

especially at small posts, the clerks) were expected to do their share. The men's daily life at a post included cutting wood, making and repairing canoes, furniture, metal goods, and buildings; locating and bringing in necessities like birchbark and meat from Indian hunters, going out to live for weeks at a time with groups of Indians to ensure that they hunted and brought their furs into the post (called living *en derouine*), and, especially at Athabasca and Great Slave Lake, fishing. When rations grew short at a post, men and their families would be sent either to live with a group of Indians or to live at a fishing station, to reduce pressure on food supplies. Little agriculture was practised at these posts in the early years and almost no flour or other European food was brought in; the principal food supply was meat (fresh or dried, usually brought in by trading Indians or Indian hunters hired by the post) and fish (caught fresh daily, together with any stored stock dried or frozen from peak spawning times). Pemmican, made from dried buffalo, deer or moose meat and pounded with fat and berries (if available) was a treat saved for the travelling spring and fall canoe brigades shipping furs out and trade goods in. These brigades had to move too fast to hunt or fish *en route*, and needed the high-energy, compact, dense food source that pemmican could supply.⁸⁷

There were many other necessary tasks for post life that are inferred in the journals and accounts of the period. Moose and deer hide had to be dressed and made up into clothing and moccasins (a travelling man could go through a pair of moccasins in a day). Some ready-made clothes were brought in, but most of a post's inventory was in yard goods that would have to be made up by the user. (Some Hudson's Bay Company posts had tailors, as the HBC discouraged their men from forming partnerships with local women.) Sinews had to be extracted from large game and prepared for use in snares, snowshoes, clothing and equipment. The men shared a common kitchen area and received rations of meat and fish, but there was normally no one person in charge of preparing meals. If vegetable products such as spruce gum, tree roots and berries were available nearby, someone had to collect and prepare them. Fishnets had to be made and repaired, and snares for small game (especially rabbits, a staple at northern posts) made, set and emptied. In hunting parties, someone had to carry baggage and set up camps while the men were out chasing game and trapping fur-bearers. Who were these invisible workers? Matonabee,

⁸⁷ Based on a synthesis of post journals previously cited. See also Keith, 9 - 26.

Samuel Hearne's Chipewyan guide and friend, scolded Hearne on hearing that he had twice failed in his attempts to reach the far interior:

He attributed all our misfortunes to the misconduct of my guides, and the very plan we pursued, by the desire of the Governor, in not taking any women with us on this journey, was he said, the principal thing that occasioned all our wants: 'for, said he, when all the men are heavy laden, they can neither hunt nor travel to any considerable distance; and in case they meet with success in hunting, who is to carry the produce of their labour? Women, added he, were made for labour; one of them can carry, or haul, as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night; and, in fact, there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance, or for any length of time, in this country, without their assistance.' 'Women, said he again, though they do every thing, are maintained at a trifling expence; for as they always stand cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times, is sufficient for their subsistence.' This, however odd it may appear, is but too true a description of the situation of the women in this country...⁸⁸

Hearne, after travelling with Matonabee's group for almost two years, described life on the land as "excessive hard labour", and noted that Indian women were "capable of dressing all kinds of fkins, converting them into the different parts of their clothing, and able to carry eight or ten fstone [one stone = 14 pounds] in Summer, or haul a much greater weight in Winter...when the men kill any large beaft, the women are always sent to bring it to the tent: when it is brought there, every operation it undergoes, such as splitting, drying, pounding, &c. is performed by the women".⁸⁹

Custom and diplomacy added further practical reasons for men at the posts to seek female companionship, and for the local Indian populations to be willing to accept such partnerships. Hearne observed that "it is a very common custom among the men of this country to exchange a night's lodging with each other's wives. But this is so far from being considered as an act which is criminal, that it is esteemed by them as one of the strongest ties of friendship between two families; and in case of the death of either man, the other considers himself bound to support the children of the deceased".⁹⁰ In inter-ethnic partnerships, the cause of diplomacy could be further

⁸⁸ Hearne, 55.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 89 – 90.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 129.

assisted by the exchange of knowledge of language, territories and customs. The advantages of establishing long-term relationships between Europeans with access to valuable goods, and Indian people with access to food and furs, seemed apparent to both parties and have been well-documented in other locations.⁹¹

Sometimes violence marred these intergroup relationships established through women. Hearne had remarked that the Chipewyan Indian men with whom he had travelled staged wrestling matches for women, both attached and single, with the woman obliged to go with the victor;⁹² he had also seen women from weaker groups captured by force,⁹³ and women beaten by their male partners.⁹⁴ The North West Company traders, however, at least periodically overstepped the Chipewyan bounds of acceptable behaviour in competing for and appropriating women. In 1792, Malcolm Ross, the Hudson's Bay Company trader positioned next to Fort Chipewyan, observed,

The Jepowyan Indians complains very much of the injustice done them by the Canadians in taking their women from them by force; some of the Canadians keeps no less than 3 women & several 2. – an instance happened this day of the injustice of the Canadians in the traffic of the Fair Sex. – A Canadian that had 2 women before, went to their tents and took a young woman away by force, which was the only support of her aged Parents: The old Indian her Father, interfered, he was knocked down & dragged some distance by the hair of his head, although so infirm with age that he is obliged to walk with a stick to support himself – such is the goings on in this Quarter, all this is encouraged by their masters, who often stand as Pimps to procure women for their men, all to get the mens wages from them. – The summer masters sole employ is in taking care of the mens women, which is, in my humble opinion, a very immodest employ, but be it as it will they make great profit, the Masters in the Traffic of the Females for the mens uses.⁹⁵

While Ross was probably inclined to take the dimmest possible view of the activities of North West Company employees (perhaps here misinterpreting negotiations between Indian and European leaders over women, and the North West Company's willingness to support the

⁹¹ See for example Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670 – 1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishers, 1980).

⁹² Hearne, 103 – 107.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, and 285 – 286.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁹⁵ Journal of Malchom Ross, quoted in Tyrrell, 446, fn 1 (entry for 28 April 1792).

families of employees while they were away from the posts on the summer brigades), there is no reason to disbelieve his account of the particular violent episode and the Chipewyan complaints over these and like occurrences. Philip Turnor, one of Ross's companions adjacent to Fort Chipewyan during the winter of 1791 – 1792, reported that Peter Fidler had told him that the particular group of Chipewyans with whom he had wintered at Great Slave Lake

continued near the sides of the river...moving a little up until the beginning of April when he [Fidler] and the Indian Men came to the Houses [Fort Chipewyan] leaving the Women behind for fear of their being taken from them by the Canadians who make a common practice of it one of the Indians had his Gun taken from him under pretence of the Indian having taken a Woman clandestinely from him two years ago which the Indian did not seem to deny but said it was what the Canadians frequently did to them...⁹⁶

Then, while Turnor was packing the canoes to take the Hudson's Bay Company party back to Cumberland House,

Captⁿ Mis-ta-poose [the "English Chief"] a leading Indian...and Eighteen men with him passed by our House with Guns and Woman with a hatchet vowing vengeance against the Canadians on account of their fetching some Women from them which had run away with them from the Canadians but they left their Guns in the woods and went to the Canadian House with them they disputed a little but did not get the Women one of them had been from the Canadians two years the method by which they get most of the Che-pa-wy-an Women is by the Masters seizin them for their Husbands or Fathers debts and them selling them to their men from five hundred to two thousand Livres and if the Father or Husband or any of them resist the only satisfaction they get is a beating and they are frequently not satisfied with taking the Women but their Gun and Tent likewise the Canadians say the Che-pa-wy-ans never behaved so insolent to them before as they have done this year but they impute it to our being in this Country...⁹⁷

James Mackenzie, the cantankerous North West Company officer in charge of Fort Chipewyan in 1799, described in his own words an episode similar to the scenario set out by Turnor above:

Saurada arrived and paid 72 skins, beaver credits, between himself and two sons. This Indian brought his daughter, who deserted in the course of the winter from Morin, at Slave Lake, in order to be returned to her husband (Morin). Mr. Porter [the NWC officer in charge at Great Slave Lake] wrote me, by Morin's orders, to sell her to the highest bidder and debit Morin for the amount.

⁹⁶ Turnor, "Journal of a Journey", as reprinted in Tyrell, 448 (entry for 10 April 1792).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 449 (entry for 2 May 1792). Italics as printed in Tyrell.

Two advantages may be reaped from this affair; the first is that it will assist to discharge the debts of a man unable to do it by any other means, for he is neither good middleman, foreman, steersman, interpreter nor carpenter; the second is that may be the means of thickling some lecherous miser to part with some of his hoard. I therefore kept the woman to be disposed of in the season when the Peace River bucks look out for women, in the month of May...

I offered Morin's wife (to take care of her till the arrival of Mr. Finlay,) first to Etier, then to Dusablon and then to old Marcil, but she refused them all *tour a tour*...As soon as they were gone, she said that, as it was her fate to be bound to a *Benchulaigh-Slini*, she should as soon have her former *Benchulaigh-Slini*, Morin, as any other. She has a young *Ojijauke* on board her frigate on its way to this world, but how far advanced in the voyage, I have not enquired.⁹⁸

Mackenzie did not record the eventual destination of this woman. Saurada, however, continued to trade at the post, and indeed he seemed to believe that his daughter should return to her partnership with the NWC man. Although an attempt was made to turn her off to another man, she refused all the proposed partnerships (as seemed to be her prerogative) and decided to return to her original husband. Another Chipewyan group called by Mackenzie the "*Montagners*",⁹⁹ however, appeared to regard the "trade" in women as an invitation to trouble:

Trois Pouces and three of four more Montagners arrived from the Carribou Country, who informed us that Lafrance had been killed last summer by the rascals who deserted with Dusablon's wife...

The Montagners, being much afraid, came all into the house to enquire whether we intended to revenge Lafrance's death upon them, or not. In order to keep them hereabout all summer, I thought it necessary to assure them that one of those who were here now should suffer the least injury on that account while they behave themselves as they ought, but that if any d—nd rascal of them deserted this summer with any of the Frenchmen's women, he and she would both lose their heads...

They desired that we should trade no more women, on any account. I told them we would do as we thought proper, for it was not their business to prescribe rules to us...¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ James Mackenzie, journal kept at Fort Chipewyan, 1799, as reprinted in Masson, 384 – 385 (entries for 9 and 10 April 1799).

⁹⁹ Keith, 7.

¹⁰⁰ James Mackenzie, journal kept at Fort Chipewyan, 1799, as reprinted in Masson, 387 – 388 (entry for 18 April 1799).

As evidenced by this episode with the “*Montagners*”, when personal relationships became entwined with intergroup diplomacy, power and trade relationships, complications could ensue. However, the practice of “country marriage” continued, whether or not it was condoned by the leadership of the traders or the Indians.

Finally, of course, relationships between Indian women and European men provided the men with their only available opportunity to enjoy some of the comforts of family life, companionship, and children, especially as some of these men spent most of their active lives in the North West.

III.D Development of the Fur Trade and the First Mixed-Ancestry Generation, 1800 - 1820

The period from 1800 to 1821 was a turbulent and difficult time for the fur traders and their clients. The North West Company pursued a policy of aggressive expansion to cut off fur and provision supplies from their rivals at Hudson’s Bay Company posts, and the HBC responded with a limited and generally unsuccessful expansion of its own. A third company, the XY Company, also attempted to compete at some locations. Although rival traders did sometimes assist one another with the necessities of life and companionship, the nature of the competition was often vicious, with constant harassment and occasional violence. Unfortunately for both the Indian hunters and the post employees, several years during this period after 1810 were characterized both by catastrophic collapses in the animal population (particularly cyclical fluctuations in hares, the staple of the Northern food chain; and variations in buffalo, moose and caribou migration patterns), and a climatic variation called the “Little Maunder Minimum” which produced extraordinarily cold temperatures winter and summer.¹⁰¹ Posts were moved often in an attempt to capture what little food supply was available, and employees died or were driven away by starvation. The Indian population was unable to collect enough to feed themselves and also starved in some years; and was certainly incapable of producing a surplus to allow for the collection of furs and the provisioning of forts. Other residents also suffered: Daniel Harmon, the North West Company trader at Dunvegan on the Peace River, reported in his journal in March 1809 that "several Canadians have lost their lives by famine, in the vicinity of

¹⁰¹ Keith, 57 – 58, 67.

Great Slave Lake...It is reported, that one man killed his wife and child, in order to supply himself with food...These Canadians came up into this part of the world, *free*, to hunt the beaver, &c. and they were at too great a distance from our establishments, to receive any aid from us, until it was too late, for the greater part of them."¹⁰²

Some of the posts that were opened and closed on or near Great Slave Lake between 1800 and 1821 are as follows:¹⁰³

Dates	Name	Location	Company
1790 - 1823	Old Fort Providence	Near Yellowknife Bay	NWC, taken over by the HBC in 1821
1792 – 1821 (?)	Lac la Martre	North side, near mouth of Lac la Martre River draining into Great Slave Lake	NWC
1799 – 1804	Slave Lake fort	Ring Lake (15 miles up the Slave River from Great Slave Lake)	NWC
1801 – 1806	Red Knife Fort	Between Big Island and mouth of Hay River, south shore of Great Slave Lake	NWC
1802 – 1804	Chiswick House	Ring Lake	HBC
1802 – 1805	Great Slave Lake	Ring Lake	XY Company
1803 (?) – 1805	Lac la Martre	(probably near NWC post)	XY Company
1804 – 1821	Slave Lake fort	Moose Deer Island (mouth of Slave River)	NWC
1804 – 1806	Chiswick House	Moose Deer Island	HBC
After 1806	Fort George (?)	20 miles above entrance of Mackenzie River on Great Slave Lake	NWC

¹⁰² Daniel Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., 1904, 143 - 144.

¹⁰³ The information for this table comes from Keith; HBCA B.41 (Chiswick House post journals); Rae; and Harrison.

After 1806	name (?)	Right bank of Red Knife River, a few miles from mouth	NWC
1806 – 1819	Hay River post	Above rapids of Hay River, near Great Slave Lake	NWC
1815 – 1819 (discontinuous)	Fort Resolution	Moose Deer Island	HBC
1819 – 1822	Fort Resolution	Moose Deer Island	HBC

Documentation from this period for these posts is discontinuous. A few journals from the earliest years of the century have survived from the North West Company's Slave Lake posts (previously cited in this paper). Daily journals for 1802 through 1804 have survived from Chiswick House. Some records from the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Wedderburn on Lake Athabasca, particularly a list of inland servants from 1802 – 1803 and some account books starting in 1816, are helpful in identifying who was in the vicinity from the Hudson's Bay Company. Hudson's Bay Company post journals start from Fort Resolution in 1818, and account books from 1820. George Simpson's journal, correspondence, and report from the Athabasca District in 1820 – 1821 provide much interesting information and insights. We therefore have some material from the beginning of the century, and substantial documentation from the few years just before the merger of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, but almost nothing in between. The documentation from these "end posts" demonstrates substantial changes over this twenty-year period, but unfortunately the precise pattern of development over the years is obscure.

The daily journals from the Hudson's Bay Company's Chiswick House (1802 – 1804) describe a way of life similar to those at the North West Company posts. All of the men employed there (nine, plus the clerk, in 1802 – 1803; and eight, plus the clerk, in 1803 – 1804) were newcomers to the district, having come in as part of a brigade of 16 men under the direction of Peter Fidler from Cumberland House to Lake Athabasca (Nottingham House). There were no references to family ties, and the men struggled to establish contact with the Indians and collect enough food to survive. All of the men at Chiswick House between 1802 and 1804 were of British (preponderantly Scottish) descent, while the NWC house, as was their custom, employed a

Scottish officer in charge and French-Canadian workers.¹⁰⁴ A list of men engaged “inland” by the HBC, appended as part of the 1802 – 1803 Nottingham House journal, provides the parish of origin of each of 134 men. Almost all are from Scottish parishes. One only is listed as being from “Canada”, one from “Edmonton”, and six from “Hudson’s Bay”, of which three were apprentices. None of the employees from “Hudson’s Bay” (implying that they were born in HBC trading territories, and were thus of mixed ancestry) were among those posted to Great Slave Lake.¹⁰⁵

The “List of Servants Wages” in the 1816 - 1817 Fort Chipewyan account book¹⁰⁶ (in which employees stationed at Great Slave Lake would have been entered) presents a quite different picture. Fifteen officers and clerks were paid in British pounds, and of these thirteen had Scottish or English names and two had French names. Eighty other employees were paid in French livres, and of these, seventy-three had French names. The remainder were Scottish, English, Iroquoian or of unknown origin. Some of these names were those of North West Company men from the Athabasca-Mackenzie district from a period twenty to thirty years earlier, such as Joseph Adam; Louis, Antoine and Augustus Bouchie (Boucher); and André and Francis Morin. It is unclear whether these men were related to the earlier North West Company employees. The senior trader in the area, John Clarke, had been a North West Company officer in the Athabasca-Mackenzie from 1800 to 1810. Clarke had had at least one country wife and three children, although their eventual whereabouts are unknown.¹⁰⁷

The account books provide a record of what Company goods were purchased, expressed as debits against the credit balance of their salary. Clarke, as Chief Factor, was paid almost twice as much as his next subordinate (300 pounds per year), and bought such elegant items as “Mens fine shoes”, gilt coat and waistcoat buttons, and “fancy silk” handkerchiefs; but he also purchased fine white and fancy beads, thread, fancy chintz, several yardages of cloth of various

¹⁰⁴ HBCA, B.41/a/1, B.41/a/2, and B.41/a/3.

¹⁰⁵ HBCA, B.39/a/2, “YF [York Factory] List of Servants Inland 1802”. York Factory kept the personnel records for most of the men deployed throughout the North West.

¹⁰⁶ HBCA, B.39/d/1.

¹⁰⁷ Keith, 365 – 367.

types and colours, a shawl, fine twine, and horn and ivory combs.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that he was buying for at least one woman (wife or daughters). Most of the other officers made similar purchases for women.

Among the junior clerks and men, a few, like John Linklater and James Isbister, apparently bought nothing in 1816 - 1817 (these men were paid thirty-five pounds per year). Others, like George Innes, Pierre Blondin, Pierre Duplessis, John Flett, Francois Mandeville, August Bouchie, and François Forcier, bought items such as dressed skins (to be made into clothing and equipment), lace, shawls, rings, fancy chintz cloth, and beads, as well as treats of rum and tobacco and goods such as knives, soap and blankets. Other men, such as Joseph Brounell, “Rondeau”, Pierre La Plant, Joseph Dugarny, and Joseph La Point dit Disotit, bought only small quantities of rum, tobacco, knives, small pieces of cloth or hides, and pipes, suggesting perhaps that they bought only for themselves. A few, notably the Bouchies and Joseph Adam, managed to add to their salaries by bringing in small quantities of furs on their own account, and Pierre Blondin sold the Company two dogs.¹⁰⁹

No food items appear on the account books, as employees were expected to either eat the Company’s rations or supply their own. The account book for 1817 listed the equipment given to at least some men as part of their salary package. “Equipment” items included blankets, shirts, handkerchiefs, cloth, knives, tobacco, and in one instance (to “Bouchie”, a guide and therefore an employee of high rank) soap, swansdown, a shawl, a variety of cloth, and thread.¹¹⁰

The 1816 – 1817 Fort Chipewyan account book also includes a list of debts given to Indians. This consists of 32 names, most if not all apparently Dene.¹¹¹

The Fort Resolution post journal of 1818 – 1819 throws more descriptive light on the changing trade and social situation around Great Slave Lake. On July 15, 1818, six canoes with six men

¹⁰⁸ HBCA, B.39/d/1, page 14 and facing page 15.

¹⁰⁹ HBCA, B.39/d/1.

¹¹⁰ HBCA, B.39/d/2.

¹¹¹ HBCA, B.39/d/1, page 56. Author’s interpretation.

each, packed with trade goods and “Men and families Baggage” left Cumberland House for Lake Athabasca.¹¹² After some transshipment at the HBC house on Lake Athabasca, an equal number of men and canoes set out for Great Slave Lake on September 6, arriving at the site of Fort Resolution on September 11. *En route*, however, the party became aware that they were being both preceded and followed by North West Company employees, who warned the Indians not to have anything to do with the HBC party and watched their every move.

We...had not gone far before we came to a couple of Indians – here we landed to try if they would trade any thing with us – but having two NW half Breeds following us – the poor Inds became as dense as a Stone as soon as they saw these Savages And finding our endeavours to make them either Speak or take anything from us became useless – we embarked and proceed – Here the two half Breeds remained knowing the One Joseph M Gillivray a half Breed a Son of William McGillivray – in a north Canoe well manded was a head of us...¹¹³

This appears to be the first use of the term “half breed” in the Great Slave Lake documents.

The men named in the journals as serving at Fort Resolution in 1818 – 1819 were:

Aulay McAulay, clerk in charge
Amoutt [Amiotte?]
Bressette
A. Causteu [Cousteau?]
Phillip Courvalle
Cuthbert
Delanie [Delaney?]
Joseph Delorme
Louis Delorme
Isaac Fowler
Grignon
Joseph
Hassbault
J. Jebbican
J. Le Gauter [Le Gauthier?]
Mandeville, interpreter
R. Masta
Jacques Perrault
St. Jean

¹¹² HBCA, B.181/a/1, page 1.

¹¹³ HBCA, B.181/a/1, page 8 (entry for 7 September 1818).

The ethnic composition of the post employees, judging by the names of the men, was quite different from that of Chiswick House in 1802 – 1804. It resembled much more the usual composition of a North West Company post: a Scottish senior officer with predominantly French Canadian employees. None of these employees are identified as “half breeds”, as the North West Company men were, although in some cases their family names are later associated with mixed-ancestry individuals.¹¹⁴

The routine of this post was very similar to other posts of this time and this area, with the notable exception that the employees did not travel out with groups of Indians to live *en derouine*. The reasons for this were twofold: first, the Indians had little or nothing to do with the HBC post, possibly because of fear of reprisals from the NWC post employees next door,¹¹⁵ and secondly, as McAulay noted dispiritedly, “owing to our being in want of the most necessary articles for voyaging after Indians Particularly dry Provisions”.¹¹⁶ The result was, in McAulay’s words, that “the NWCoy are carrying every thing before them, as usual”,¹¹⁷ and “we are doing nothing but loocking out for our living We see no Indians nor can we go in search of them”.¹¹⁸ Much time and effort was expended in keeping the post stocked with fish, first from Buffalo River some miles to the west, and then from another spot across from Stony Island, about four days or 25 miles away. At Stony Island, the fishing party was sent out with a small stock of trade goods, as the spot was reputed to be “a place where the Indians generaly [sic] pass from the North of the Lake”.¹¹⁹ Mandeville, the interpreter, was sent to both fishing places to supervise the work and attempt to intercept any travelling Indians, but McAulay learned that “the NW Company have a Fort upon the Yellow Knives Indians land – and I imagine that is the reason none of them make their appearance this way”.¹²⁰ One of the men at the fishing station took a local Indian girl who

¹¹⁴ These cases will be referenced as they appear in later records.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., for example page facing page 15 (entry for 1 November 1818); page facing page 18 (entry for 22 December 1818); page 20 (entry for 15 February 1819).

¹¹⁶ Ibid., page facing page 16 and page 16 (entry for 19 November 1818).

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., page facing page 21 (entry for 10 March 1819).

¹¹⁹ Ibid., page facing page 16 (entry for 14 November 1818); also for example page 10 (entry for 23 September 1818); page 12 (entry for 11 October 1818); page 15 (entry for 10 November 1818).

¹²⁰ Ibid., page facing page 17 (entry for 5 December 1818).

had sought refuge at the post as a wife, but a raiding party of NWC men took her away, much to McAulay's irritation.¹²¹

After a season of constant threats, scuffles, spying and harassment from the NWC, McAulay had no furs to show for all his efforts. Among the reasons McAulay gave for the post's lack of success in contacting the Indians was that the NWC "take the Indians in all quarters their half Breeds being so well acquainted with all the Country – So that we will Stand but a poor Chance with them".¹²² He explained that "it is astonishing the influence they [the NWC] have over the natives here – none of them dare stir without their permission as they keep a strong guard over them at all times".¹²³ McAulay wrote that "I cannot but lament the want of good experienced men – the want of which we feel very much here – all these we have are young hand from Canada how is not much accaustomed to the maner the NWCoy carries on the opposition in this part of the Country".¹²⁴ He concluded his annual report to his superiors by writing,

The NW Company generally keeps a number of men both summer and winter to guards and prevent the Indians from having any intercourse with the English Traders, since the Canadien Expedition came into this part of the Country – Whose men are well acquainted both with the Indians and the country they inhabit; by which reason they have a great superiority over our men that newly came into the country – notwithstanding all this it is well known that the Indians are not partial to the Canadian Traders, and it is only fear that prevents them from joining the English Traders...¹²⁵

By 1818, an identifiable cadre of mixed-ancestry individuals affiliated with the North West Company, familiar with the country and well-connected with the local Indian population, had emerged in the Great Slave Lake region.¹²⁶

McAulay named Joseph McGillivray and "Baulieu" among the NWC "Rascals" with whom he contended during the winter of 1818 - 1819.¹²⁷ In the spring of 1820, the first Franklin Arctic

¹²¹ Ibid., page 22 (entry for 14 April 1818).

¹²² Ibid., page facing page 12 (entry for 4 October 1818).

¹²³ Ibid., page facing page 14 (entry for 18 October 1818).

¹²⁴ Ibid., page facing page 15 (entry for 30 October 1818).

¹²⁵ Ibid., page facing page 25.

¹²⁶ Author's interpretation.

exploring expedition met a man named “Boileau”, described by them as a “half breed”, at the NWC post of Fort Chipewyan. This man drew a map of the country north of Great Slave Lake for them.¹²⁸

Franklin reported that the Indian people who traded their furs at Fort Chipewyan were members of the “Dinneb” (Dene) people, whose “original hunting grounds” were between Athabasca and Great Slave Lake, to the Churchill River. The traders tried to encourage these people to hunt further westward where beaver were more plentiful, instead of on the barren lands where they could find “easy subsistence” hunting caribou. About 240 hunters went to Fort Chipewyan, 160 to the Great Slave Lake post, and 40 to the Hay River post.¹²⁹ The Franklin party engaged some “Canadian” voyagers at Fort Chipewyan, and expected to pick up two interpreters at Great Slave Lake.

At the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Moose Deer Island on Great Slave Lake, Franklin engaged Pierre St. Germain, “an interpreter for the Copper Indians”.¹³⁰ Franklin described St. Germain as a “Chipewyan Bois Brulé”.¹³¹ Other St. Germain’s recorded in the Great Slave Lake area at earlier periods may have been Pierre St. Germain’s ancestors. A Paul St. Germain was the “principal Guide into the Athepescow Country” of the North West Company “ever since its first establishment”, according to Peter Fidler, writing on Paul St. Germain’s death in 1804. Fidler described this man in 1804 as having been nearly forty years in the country (since *circa* 1764). Another man, Vernant St. Germain, served the North West Company in Athabasca-Mackenzie in approximately the 1780s. No direct link can be established between Paul, Vernant

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, page 13 (entry for 16 October 1818). Franklin later noted that “Boileau” had described the area east of Great Bear Lake to the Coppermine River (see John Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, 1969), 205.

¹²⁸ Journal of George Back, 1819 – 1822, as reprinted in *Arctic Artist: The Journal and Paintings of George Back, Midshipman with Franklin, 1819 – 1822*, ed. C. Stuart Houston, 60 (entry following the entry for 26 March 1819), (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994). Back had earlier commented on a settlement of “half breeds – or as the Canadians call them Metiss or Bois-brulees” near the north end of Lake Winnipeg. Back and the other members of his party who left journals of this expedition invariably called their French-Canadian voyageurs “Canadians”; his descriptions of “Boileau” and of the “Metiss” settlement are the only two instances in which he applies the term “half breed”.

¹²⁹ Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey*, 155.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 208.

and Pierre, but the presence of earlier St. Germain opens the possibility that Pierre was a “Chipewyan Bois-Brule” of the same cohort as the Mandevilles, Beaulieus and Cayens. François Beaulieu (II) married a Catherine St. Germain (one of several “country wives” by whom he had several children) in the Catholic Church in Red River in 1848. She was reported to be the daughter of Pierre St. Germain and Thakavilther. This may be the first recorded marriage between second-generation or third-generation Great Slave Lake mixed-ancestry individuals.¹³² Another man, Joseph St. Germain, was listed as an employee for the first time in the Fort Chipewyan account book of 1821 - 1822. In the Fort Chipewyan “Report on District” for 1823 - 1824, he was described as a “Hf Breed hunting with the Indians”¹³³ and by at least 1825 he seems to have operated out of Great Slave Lake.¹³⁴

Pierre St. Germain had been highly respected for his skills as an interpreter and a liaison with Indian people, but was considered to have a dangerous tendency to socialize and drink with North West Company “half Breeds”. This had culminated in an episode in April of 1820 where St. Germain, while travelling with a group of Indians bringing furs back to the post, had been visited in their camp by “Boileau [likely Beaulieu] and Iskanigeese..two N. W. Half Breeds”. After some drinking had taken place, the furs had been given to the North West Company men, probably under threat of violence. McVicar at Fort Resolution wrote in disgust,

past experience convinces me that he is not proof against Rum when off on journey's of that nature especially when he falls in Company with the half Breeds in the Service of the North West Company -- It is to be lamented that a man whose abilities might render him of the most essential Service to his Employers Should degrade himself so low...¹³⁵

McVicar did not make the observation that St. Germain was socializing with people with whom he shared ethnic background, including a possible son-in-law. To McVicar, the NWC “half breeds” were a separate group with whom St. Germain should have no connections. When St. Germain had expressed an interest in joining the Franklin expedition, the HBC let him go,

¹³² See Duckworth, 168 - 169; Diane Payment, “Métis People in Motion”, in *Picking up the Threads*, 79 - 80.

¹³³ HBCA B.39/e/6, folio 9.

¹³⁴ HBCA, B.181/a/6, Fort Resolution post journal, 1825 - 1826.

¹³⁵ HBCA, B.181/a/2, Fort Resolution post journal, page 121 - 122 (entry for 22 April 1820).

believing that St. Germain's skills would be valuable to the party but believing him untrustworthy in the heat of competition.¹³⁶

At Fort Providence, the North West Company post, Franklin picked up Willard Frederick Wentzel (a North West Company trader), Indian guides and hunters, and another interpreter, Jean Baptiste Adam, also a "Chipewyan Bois Brulé".¹³⁷ The total number leaving Fort Providence was 28, including Wentzel, the four officers of the expedition, an English seaman, seventeen "Canadian voyagers", three of their wives, three of their children, and the two interpreters.¹³⁸ Franklin noted that "the eastern shores of the Great Slave Lake are very imperfectly known: none of the traders have visited them".¹³⁹

Wentzel and some of the "voyagers" left Franklin over the course of the winter of 1820 - 1821. Franklin's expedition was poorly-equipped and short of food, reflecting the situation at the posts and in the Indian camps throughout the country. Ten men died of starvation and exposure on the expedition's trip back from the Arctic Ocean in the fall of 1821. In December 1821, the debilitated survivors -- St. Germain, Adam, two of eleven "voyagers", the English seaman and three of the four officers -- came in to Fort Providence. John Richardson, one of Franklin's officers, recorded on 14 December 1821 that "Adam our Interpreter being unlikely to be employed by the United Companies [of the HBC and the NWC], was desirous of associating with the Red Knives and leading an Indian life, and applied to Capt. F. for his discharge, which was granted to him".¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Colin Robertson at Fort Chipewyan recommended to McVicar that St. Germain be allowed to join Franklin, writing "Being given to understand that Pierrish St. Germent has expressed a wish to join the Expedition under the command of Lieut. Franklin and others -- and as I consider St. Germent particularly calculated for rendering much service to these Gentlemen, not only from his knowledge of the Country but the Languages and habits of the Natives, I therefore give him full permission to enter into a new Engagement with the above party." Quoted by C. Stuart Houston in John Richardson, *Arctic Ordeal: The Journal of John Richardson, Surgeon-Naturalist with Franklin, 1820 - 1822*, ed. C. Stuart Houston, 215 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984).

¹³⁷ Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey*, 201, 208.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁴⁰ Richardson, *Arctic Ordeal*, 178.

George Simpson, the young, ambitious, energetic, educated and opinionated Governor of the Northern District of the Hudson's Bay Company, noticed the North West Company "half breeds" on his arrival in September 1820 to winter at Fort Wedderburn, adjacent to the North West Company post of Fort Chipewyan. His, and the HBC's, experience with French mixed-ancestry people had not been positive; such people had recently been prominent in North West Company violence, attacks and harassment of HBC posts and personnel from the Grand Portage (near present-day Thunder Bay), through the Selkirk settlement, right to the doorsteps of the Fort Wedderburn and Fort Resolution posts. He did not trust former employees of the North West Company, although he recognized that many of them had skills and energy desperately lacking among his own men. In his report on to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company on the 1820 – 1821 season in the Athabasca District, Simpson wrote:

we have certainly a few good men, but the greater proportion are poor miserable wretches, loaded with infirmities, and totally incapable of the arduous duties they have to perform...the others were in every respect a useless burthen upon the Post, not worth their Victuals, some of them North West renegado half breeds, disaffected, and I verily believe still in the pay of their former Employers.¹⁴¹

He observed in general that

The North West Coy. I believe have even more trouble with their people than we have, but they are altogether a superior class of Men, Stout active fellows in every respect qualified for the laborious Duties they have to perform, whereas the Compys. Agents in Canada appear to select the most miserable wretches the country produces for this Service...¹⁴²

At Great Slave Lake in particular, Simpson described the contrast in the fall of 1819 between the companies' staff and equipment:

Five N. W. Canoes made their appearance manned by 30 gay stout Canadian Voyageurs, laden with 140 pieces of Merchandize each weighing 90 lbs; this formidable Party disconcerted the Indians very much, Mr. McVicars entreaties however prevailed on them to wait patiently until the arrival of our long expected and much talked of Squadron, which at the close of the Season arrived, but his disappointment and that of the Indians may be easily conceived when this magnificent Brigade dwindled away to three Wrecks of Canoes, manned by half

¹⁴¹ Report from George Simpson to the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, 18 May 1821, as reprinted in *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson 1820 and 1821, and Report*, ed. E. E. Rich, 358 - 359 (Toronto: Champlain Society (for the Hudson's Bay Record Society), 1938).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 399.

starved, ragged miserable wretches and laden with 40 pieces Merchandize weighing on average 60 lbs. each...¹⁴³

Simpson, like McAulay in 1818, commented on the power of the North West Company over the local Chipewyan population on Great Slave Lake:

if the Country did not still abound with valuable Furs it would not be dealing too harshly to leave them to their fate under the yoke of their ruthless Tyrants the N. W. Coy. and their own half breed progeny who have actually drenched the Land with their blood, whole bands of them having been at different times massacred by the savage relatives of that association...¹⁴⁴

Simpson's solution was not to attempt to hire away the North West Company men, but to flood the Athabasca district establishments with at least a hundred new carefully-chosen men recruited primarily in Quebec and Scotland. For the Great Slave Lake district in particular, he proposed that Fort Resolution be staffed with one "experienced District Master", two clerks, an interpreter and a guide, a "Canadian blacksmith", two "Orkney fishermen", and 20 "Canadian voyageurs"; and an outpost at "Montagne Island" with one "experienced Clerk in charge", another "clerk for Voyaging &c", an interpreter, two "Orkney fishermen", and five "Canadian voyageurs".¹⁴⁵ In moving into new trading territories, Simpson stated that

Connubial alliances are the best security we can have of the goodwill of the Natives, I have therefore recommended the Gentlemen to form connections with the principal Families, immediately on their arrival, which is no difficult matter as the offer of their Wives & Daughters is the first token of their Friendship & hospitality...¹⁴⁶

In the Mackenzie district, Simpson observed that

The North West Coy. chiefly depend on the exertions of their half breed Hunters and a few Chipewyans from this neighbourhood. We have not been a sufficient length of time in the Country to raise up auxiliaries of the former description and the restrictions which the Honble. Committee have put on Matrimonial alliances and which I consider most baneful to the interests of the Company are tantamount to a prohibition of forming a most important chain of connection with the Natives, so that we have solely to depend on the Indians who have no other feelings than

¹⁴³ Ibid., 369.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 376.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 374 – 375.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 392.

those which interest and mercenary views create towards us; it is never matured to attachment and a price is only required to make those on whom our existence depends our inveterate Enemies...¹⁴⁷

Although Simpson referred to the Committee's prohibition on country marriages with the local Indian population, he was certainly aware that a large number, if not most, of the Hudson's Bay Company's employees at Fort Wedderburn and other posts had wives and children, as he mentioned them frequently in his journal. In a few cases, he singled out wives as being particularly valuable as interpreters and emissaries to trading partners,¹⁴⁸ and he emphasized to some women that they were expected to work as well as their husbands at necessary tasks such as the dressing of skins and the making of moccasins.¹⁴⁹ Effectively, he recommended in his report to the Governor that the Hudson's Bay Company develop their own mixed-ancestry cadre of employees born into Company families and well-connected to the local Indian population, having identified this cadre as a secret of the North West Company's success.

III.E Merger of the Fur Trade Companies and Changes in the Great Slave Lake Population, 1820 - 1830

The major event in the fur trade during this period was the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, effective for "outfit" 1821 - 1822.¹⁵⁰ One implication of this event was immediately obvious: the system of duplicate posts established so that each company could watch over and intercept the other's trade was to be dismantled, and the complements at each remaining post (many of whom had been effectively hired for security rather than business purposes) were to be reduced. The Hudson's Bay Company also took advantage of its monopoly position post-merger to implement other changes in the organization of its business, and the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 395 – 396.

¹⁴⁸ See for example Lamalice's wife, "Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821", reprinted in Rich, 83 (letter of Simpson to William Brown, 16 October 1820).

¹⁴⁹ See for example Greill's wife, *ibid.*, 90 (letter of Simpson to Joseph Greill, 21 October 1820).

¹⁵⁰ "Outfit" was the term used for a trading season (June through May). It captures the value of furs and other goods collected as related to expenditures (including wages) commencing with the spring shipment of goods from the main North American depots to the trading posts. See for example "Report of Fort Chipewyan for Outfit 1823", HBCA, B.39/e/6.

reductions and changes together had significant effects on the European and mixed-ancestry populations around Great Slave Lake.

The surviving documents from this period include Hudson's Bay Company post journals and account books from Fort Wedderburn/Chipewyan and Fort Resolution, and reports on the district written by District Masters or Chief Factors (which also include accounts and lists of employees, customers and their families). The Athabasca-Mackenzie district was reconfigured in 1825 to split Fort Resolution and the Mackenzie River posts from Fort Chipewyan, Athabasca and the Peace River country, although of course these areas were still interconnected, especially as the men and equipment for Fort Resolution still came through Fort Chipewyan. Account books at the depot (York Factory) and headquarters levels are also available for the key period from 1820 to 1825, and illustrate some of the changes in the HBC workforce during this time. However, differing formats and coverage in the accounts and employment records make direct comparisons difficult.

In attempting to understand the changes that took place over this decade, a variety of techniques will be used. Analysis of the account books can provide some limited statistical information on the employment population as a whole, such as numbers of employees, the number and composition of dependents, rates of turnover, wage rates, occupational classifications and reported or inferred ethnic background. The account books combined with narrative material from the journals permit the construction of small biographies of some individuals, which can be used to illustrate the differing experiences and life patterns of mixed-ancestry people during this period. Finally, there is a limited amount of general narrative material, concentrated in the district reports, which can be set out simply to describe contemporary perceptions of the populations around Great Slave Lake as a whole. The results of these three analytical methods will be presented within a chronological framework as much as possible, to avoid losing sight of the patterns of change throughout the period. The threads from account book analysis, biography and narrative description will be drawn together at the end of this chapter to generate some general observations.

Account book analysis can provide the underpinnings for understanding the types of changes brought on by the merger and subsequent reorganization. A Fort Wedderburn account book for “outfit” 1820 - 1821 lists all the employees of the Lake Athabasca posts (Fort Wedderburn; Harrison House at the east end of the Lake, the partner post to the NWC’s Fond du Lac; and Berens House, the present-day Fort MacKay).¹⁵¹ This volume is of interest because several of the employees listed were later transferred to Great Slave Lake posts. Of seventy-seven men listed, fifty-three were identified as “Canadian”. Two individuals were not supplied with an ethnic identification; one is George Simpson, who was English. Three (Bouché dit Lamallice, Bouché dit Wakan, and Pierre Blondin) were labelled “Canadian Halfbreed”; one (Charles Marseilles) as an “Athabasca Halfbreed”. Five were “Scotchmen”, four were “Orkneymen”, and a miscellany of “Irishman”, “Negro”, “American”, “German”, “Frenchman”, “Englishman”, and “Iroquois” rounded out the list. Of the seven clerks (post managers, traders or bookkeepers), three were Canadian, two were Scots, one was German, and one was English. The four “Halfbreeds” were identified as “Guide”, “Interpreter” (two), and “Milieu”.¹⁵² Most of the employees had been in the district the previous year. Pierre Blondin was an exception, having come from Fort St. Mary’s (Sault Ste. Marie).¹⁵³

The Fort Resolution account book for 1820 - 1821 lists twenty-three people as employees.¹⁵⁴ Of these, nineteen are noted as being from “Canada”, the District Master and one other employee are recorded as being from Scotland, and one man (Joseph Laverdure, a middleman) is listed as a “Hlf.Breed”. The origin of one person was not identified. Seventeen of the employees from “Canada” have French names (one, Paul Martin, could be either French or English).

The Fort Chipewyan (formerly Fort Wedderburn) account book for employees for 1821 - 1822 shows the effect of the merger.¹⁵⁵ Two hundred and one people are listed, unfortunately without information as to location, classification or ethnicity. Many new names appear, including names

¹⁵¹ HBCA, B.39/d/5.

¹⁵² See page 19 for an explanation of this term.

¹⁵³ HBCA, B.39/d/5.

¹⁵⁴ HBCA, B.181/d/1, fol. 3.

¹⁵⁵ HBCA, B.39/d/12.

previously associated with the North West Company such as Jean Baptiste Adam (hired by Franklin in 1820 from the North West Company post at Old Fort Providence), François Beaulieu, Louis Cadien (Deballit), Louis Cadien (dit Lamoureux),¹⁵⁶ Peter Augustin Pond (the son of the NWC fur trader), and Alexander Wentzel (mixed-ancestry son of NWC trader Willard Wentzel). The names are even more predominantly French, with perhaps half a dozen British names and as many Iroquoian names. Eighty-seven of the names on the Fort Chipewyan account book list appear on a separate list of “summer men” engaged for the brigades, including François Beaulieu, engaged at Fort Chipewyan.¹⁵⁷ Twelve “summer men” were listed as engaged at [Great] Slave Lake, including Alexander Wentzel.

The list of servants at Fort Resolution for 1826 - 1827 showed fourteen names, plus four names separately.¹⁵⁸ Three of the men whose names were shown separately were clerks. Eleven of the seventeen men whose origin can be identified were noted as being from “Canada”; ten of those names were French in origin. Three others: Pierre Blondin, Alexander Wentzel, and William McGillivray, were of mixed ancestry (as ascertained by the notation “N. W.” for country of origin, and/or by remarks in earlier documents). Blondin was a middleman, Wentzel was an interpreter, and McGillivray was a clerk. There is almost no overlap between the names on the 1820 - 1821 list and the 1826 - 1827 list; Blondin and the clerk Robert McVicar are the only two who appear on both.

In the 1825 - 1826 accounts for Fort Resolution, there is a separate list entitled “Abstract of Families, Cost + Expenditure of Provisions at Fort Resolution”.¹⁵⁹ A total of 12 women and 22 children were listed as having received provisions from the Fort’s stock, including eleven children “whose reputed Father are either deceased or retired from the Service”.¹⁶⁰ The other women and children were distributed among the families of (asterisks show those who appear on

¹⁵⁶ A “Louis Cadien” had appeared on the HBC accounts for employees at Fort Resolution in 1820 - 1821.

¹⁵⁷ HBCA, B.39/d/11, fols. 35 - 38.

¹⁵⁸ HBCA, B.181/d/3a, page facing page 18.

¹⁵⁹ HBCA, B.181/d/2, fol. 32.

¹⁶⁰ These women and children were not listed by name. The number of dependents was indicated by a numeral next to the name of the man associated with them.

the 1826 - 1827 Fort Resolution lists): Robert McVicar*, Michel Danis, Michel Dumas*, Louis La Chapelle*, Antoine Morin*, Pierre Blondin*, Francois Pichez, Duncan McDougall*, Pierre La Ferté*, Louis La Ferté*, Francois Paul, and Francois Verinence. Most families listed had a woman present and one or two children. Of these, Danis, Blondin, and Pichez (or Piché) can be identified through Fort Chipewyan records as being of mixed ancestry; and Dumas, La Chapelle, Morin, McDougall, the LaFertes, Paul, and Verinence as being from “Canada”.¹⁶¹

The Headquarters and York Factory personnel records for the immediate post-merger period cover clerks and traders almost exclusively. This is only a small part of the total employee population for the Athabasca District, and these people may have been treated differently from lower-ranked employees. It is apparent from these records, however, that somewhat fewer than one-half of the clerks and traders were retired or discharged between 1821 and 1823.¹⁶² While many of these were former North West Company men, the Hudson’s Bay Company also took the opportunity to purge its staff of illiterates, drunkards, and those in poor health, with unsuitable attitudes, or no flair for management or trading. Of a page listing thirteen North West Company clerks from the Athabasca District, the Hudson’s Bay Company decided to keep nine at least until 1825. Two others resigned, and three were deemed unsuitable for the service.¹⁶³ Several clerks had their wages reduced, with notes on their record that they were poorly educated or even illiterate, having been retained during the period of the “opposition” for other strategic purposes.¹⁶⁴ However, several clerks, such as Charles Brisbois, Guy Hughes, William McGillivray, and Charles Warren Dease (all former North West Company clerks; McGillivray was of mixed ancestry) got substantial salary increases after the merger, and a large number of clerks that were retained saw their wages stay about the same.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ HBCA, B.39/e/8, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1824 - 1825, pages 34 - 37.

¹⁶² HBCA, B.239/f/14, York Factory Lists of Servants 1822.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, fol. 3, read together with employment records in HBCA, A.34 (Headquarters records, Servants’ Characters and Staff Records, 1822 - 1830).

¹⁶⁴ See also the quotation from Chief Factor James Keith at Fort Chipewyan reproduced later in this section, in which he refers to “about a dozen half breeds, partly hired and ostensibly employed as Interpreters, Fort Hunters +c”, in the pre-merger period at Fort Chipewyan, as “leading and consequential characters” in the “Native” population. HBCA, B.181/e/9, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1825 - 1826, page 3.

¹⁶⁵ HBCA, A.34.

Philip Goldring, in his analysis of the effect of the merger of the NWC and the HBC on HBC employees, indicates that the wages of “*Canadien*” and mixed-ancestry workers were lowered by one-third, and Europeans’ wages by one-sixth,¹⁶⁶ but I have not been able to verify this for Fort Resolution at the time of writing. Comparisons are complicated at Fort Resolution by the fact that in 1820 - 1821 those below officer class were paid in *livres*, and in 1825 all employees were paid in pounds sterling. A Fort Wedderburn account book of 1819 - 1820 provided wage figures in both pounds and *livres*, which may provide some guidelines for conversions if the currency and the exchange rates remained similar. A few years after the merger, the Company also changed from a “Canadian” or “North West” standard of wages and prices of goods to employees, to a “European” standard, regardless of where an employee was hired.¹⁶⁷ The European standard was approximately one-quarter to one-third lower. This also makes comparisons complex, as doubtless employees’ real living standards were affected differently according to their consumption patterns, and this may not be reflected in their wage rates.

The very high rate of turnover at Fort Resolution also allows very little comparison between the pre- and post-merger period. William McGillivray is the only employee at Fort Resolution for whom comparable salary figures at the merger and afterwards are available. In the 1820 - 1821 accounts of Fort Resolution, middlemen were listed at wage rates of between 600 and 1000 *livres* per year.¹⁶⁸ At the rates suggested by the Fort Wedderburn account book, this would be the equivalent of £22/10 to £37/10 per year. In November of 1822, four men with French names were engaged as middlemen at Fort Resolution at the rate of 800 *livres* per year (£30), plus equipment.¹⁶⁹ In 1826 - 1827, middlemen at Fort Resolution (seven French-Canadians, one French mixed-ancestry, and one English-Canadian) were paid nineteen pounds per year.¹⁷⁰ In

¹⁶⁶ Philip Goldring, *Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson’s Bay Company*, Vol. II, Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980; cited in Jennifer Bellman and Christopher Hanks, “Northern Métis and the Fur Trade”, in *Picking up the Threads*, 51.

¹⁶⁷ See HBCA, B.39/e/6, Fort Chipewyan Report on District, 1823 - 1824, page 4; also HBCA, B.39/e/8, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1824 - 1825, page 13; HBCA, B.39/e/9, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1825 - 1826, pages 5 - 6.

¹⁶⁸ HBCA, B.181/d/1, Fort Resolution account book 1820 - 1821, fol. 3

¹⁶⁹ HBCA, B.181/a/4, Fort Resolution post journal 1822 - 1823, page 18 (entry for 5 November 1822).

¹⁷⁰ HBCA, B.181/d/3a, Fort Resolution account book 1826 - 1827, page 29.

1820 - 1821, the interpreter at Fort Resolution (a French-Canadian) was paid 1400 livres (£52/10), and steersmen were paid 1200 livres (£45). In February 1823, an interpreter (a person of French-Canadian and Chipewyan ancestry) was hired at Fort Resolution for 2000 livres per year (£75) plus equipment.¹⁷¹ In 1826 - 1827, the interpreter (an English-speaking mixed-ancestry person, Alexander Wentzel) was paid twenty-two pounds per year, and steersmen (three French-Canadians) was paid twenty-four pounds each per year. The wages of the clerks (a Scotsman, an English-Canadian, two unknowns [one English, one French] and one English mixed-ancestry person) are unknown except for McGillivray, who was paid sixty pounds per year).

The destination of these men, if discharged or retired, was overwhelmingly to “Canada”. A few went to “Europe” and to Red River.¹⁷² Philip Goldring, in his work on the Hudson’s Bay Company’s labour system, states that the HBC moved some Mackenzie District families to “good fishing lakes” elsewhere,¹⁷³ but I have not been able to verify this for Fort Resolution at the time of writing.

To summarize the information available in these account books, there was substantial turnover in the HBC workforce between 1820 and 1825. Both former North West Company employees and Hudson’s Bay Company employees were dismissed in large numbers after the merger of the two companies in 1821. The records obscure how many of the “new” names on HBC employee lists in the mid-1820s were former North West Company men and how many were recruited for the first time from Europe, Canada or “Hudson Bay”. At Fort Resolution, the workforce both before and after the merger was preponderantly Canadian and mostly of French ancestry, but the proportion of French-Canadian employees was reduced by the mid-1820s. The number of mixed-ancestry employees, however, had increased. The post continued to be home to many families; the wives and children of the post employees. Management of the post both before and

¹⁷¹ HBCA, B.181/a/4, Fort Resolution post journal 1822 - 1823, page 29 (entry for 15 February 1823).

¹⁷² Ibid., and HBCA, B.239/f/14. York Factory Engagement Registers, starting in 1823, provide a wealth of information on men hired after that date, including home parish, occupation, postings, wages and final destinations. Unfortunately a complete copy of these registers was not accessible to me at the time of writing. In any event, they provide only incidental information on the change in the workforce between 1820 and 1823.

¹⁷³ Goldring, cited in Bellman and Hanks, *Picking up the Threads*, 50.

after the merger was of Scottish or English descent, with the exception of William McGillivray, a mixed-ancestry former NWC clerk who was retained by the HBC after 1821. The total post-merger complement at the HBC post had been reduced by about one-fifth by the mid-1820s, and of course the NWC post, which had always been more fully staffed, no longer existed at all. As well, the NWC posts at Lac la Martre and Old Fort Providence had been closed, except for an intermittent presence for a few months a year by HBC employees from other posts. Most of the discharged or retired employees probably returned to “Canada”, and some may have gone to “Europe” or Red River.

The account books of the early to mid-1820s also illustrate an important new development in the Fort Resolution trading area: the emergence of a small cohort of mixed-ancestry or “French” people trading furs to the post under the Indian debt system.¹⁷⁴ Of interest in the “Indian Debts” section of the 1820 - 1821 Fort Wedderburn accounts is an entry for “Comrade of Mandeville’s Bro^r or The man of Beado”.¹⁷⁵ It is not clear what the meaning of this name is, or whether it is related to the nickname “Le Camarade de Mandeville” that Petitot applied to the mixed-ancestry elder that he met in 1863. Francois Mandeville was listed from 1817 to 1821 as an employee of the Fort Wedderburn post, as a “Canadian” interpreter at Harrison’s House. Joseph Mandeville was a North West Company employee who had established a family at Great Slave Lake by 1800. Charles and John Beado were clerks with the Hudson’s Bay Company at the merger.¹⁷⁶

On June 27, 1820, Robert McVicar recorded in the Great Slave Lake post journal that

two of Ft. Wedderburn Indians arrived as also 5 of Ft Chipewyan’s at the N. W. Fort -- Mandeville the Great Chief of the NW at athabasca Lake is the Leader of these Indians -- whom I gained over to our Interest...At 11 P. M. the above Indians started for the Cariboo Lands -- promised Mandeville to send a man after him who will pass the summer [with them]...¹⁷⁷

It is not clear what the relationship is (if any) between this “Mandeville”, “Le Camarade de Mandeville”, Francois Mandeville, and Joseph Mandeville.

¹⁷⁴ Under the debt system, clients of a trading post received an advance of goods to equip them for a hunting season, which they then repaid by bringing in furs or provisions.

¹⁷⁵ HBCA, B.39/d/5, Fort Wedderburn account book 1820 - 1821, page facing page 6.

¹⁷⁶ HBCA, A.30/17, Headquarters records, “List of Servants in Hudson’s Bay” 1821 - 1841, page 17.

¹⁷⁷ HBCA, B.181/a/3, fol. 5 (entry for 27 June 1820).

There is also an “Abstract of Indian Population Resorting at Great Slave Lake” in the 1825 - 1826 Fort Resolution accounts.¹⁷⁸ Seventy-seven “Chipewyan” men and 49 “Yellow Knife” men were reported to trade at Great Slave Lake, for a total of 463 people including women and children. All the names on the list appear to be Dene.¹⁷⁹ In the 1827 - 1828 accounts, something new appears in the list of “Chipewyans”. “Jack, Frenchman”, “Tsat di nelt saw or Fortin HfBreed”, “Tzandzelle Fortin Brother”, “Cata lou el thili or Camarade de Mandeville”, Ctsansberra His [Camarade de Mandeville’s] Son”, Camarade de Mandeville’s half brother and his family, “Kelly are or Comrade de Le Roux”, “Francois Beaulieu Hf Breed”, and “Harayouse or Comrade a Dubois” all appear for the first time. No such names appear on the list of Yellowknives trading at the post.¹⁸⁰

One of these individuals, François Beaulieu [II], can be identified as a former employee of the North West Company who was not retained by the Hudson’s Bay Company after the merger (although he was hired on the summer canoe brigades at least in 1821 - 1822).¹⁸¹

The Fort Resolution post journals, Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution reports on district, and the literature from John Franklin’s second expedition (1825 - 1827) provide some narrative material to fill out the suggestions made in the analysis of the account books, especially as they relate to those mixed-ancestry people no longer employed by the Hudson’s Bay Company. On 29 June 1822, Robert McVicar wrote in the Fort Resolution post journal that

at 2 P. M. Billaraddie and 4 men arrived at the post they had not any thing of any discription. they inform me that Sallyerr /the [illegible] Native had gone to the Lake in hopes of meeting a new Company there. -- It appears from the statements of the Indians that the stories which the Half Breeds put in circulation regarding the Americans coming this Year to athabasca have been productive of very bad effects, and the whole of the Indians are become quite careless to the Voice of reasoning, and as to the adoption of harsh measures with them, it would only tend to strengthen the frivolous excuses they are already making to justify their going

¹⁷⁸ HBCA, B.181/d/2, fol. 33.

¹⁷⁹ Author’s interpretation.

¹⁸⁰ HBCA, B.181/d/3b, fols. 26 - 28.

¹⁸¹ HBCA, B.39/d/11, Fort Chipewyan account book 1821 - 1822, fol. 36.

to their Lands, where they will find themselves /from the swarms of Cariboux which inhabit that Country/ quite independent of us.¹⁸²

McVicar did not specify which “half breeds” the Indians had contacted, although to this point this term seems often to have been employed by HBC men in reference to North West Company employees or allies of mixed ancestry. From this quotation, it might be possible to make two inferences: first, that the “half breeds” mentioned were influential among the Indians, at least on trade-related matters, and secondly that they encouraged the Indians to assert independence from the HBC and take advantage of possible opportunities from competition. At this stage, many Chipewyan had tired of the European fur trade and the abuses and food shortages they had suffered under it, and were expressing a preference to return to their old ways of feeding and clothing themselves.¹⁸³ A few years later, in 1826, Chief Factor James Keith of Fort Chipewyan summarized the situation at the time of the merger as follows:

During the Contest, Novelty combined with an insatiable thirst for property, the last a very predominant feeling in a Chipewyan had attracted numbers from their lands, who in more quiet and tranquil periods, would have felt less disposed to visit this place, which they always deservedly considered a Grand Depot and Chief place of Resort -- than the Centre and Focus of Opposition, whose abundance of Property and the Policy of the times, afforded ample scope and strong incentives for much liberality and extravagance, of which the Natives in general, though more particularly the leading and consequential characters, who comprised about a dozen half breeds, partly hired and ostensibly employed as Interpreters, Fort Hunters +c. +c. availed themselves to the full extent, extorting gratuitously by mere dint of importunity and threats of joining the opposite Party, what they either could not obtain or would not consent to take on debt -- Hence at the Coalition they were generally well clothed and provided -- many had hoarded up, and all had heavy outstanding Balances...¹⁸⁴

This summary draws out the close ties between the “half breeds” allied with the North West Company and many of the leading Chipewyan chiefs, and their combined skill at using the period of competition to extract the maximum in European goods from the rival firms. For many

¹⁸² HBCA, B.181/a/4, page 4.

¹⁸³ See also Sloan, 298 - 299.

¹⁸⁴ HBCA, B.181e/9, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1825 - 1826, page 3. Later in the same report, Keith blamed the “number of half Breeds and leading Characters composing those who sent hither [Fort Chipewyan], the manner in what there were employed and indulged...fully account for them entertaining higher notions and being less moderated on their demand and expectation than at any other Chipewyan Post in the Country”. Ibid., page 12.

Chipewyans, this higher level of distribution of goods had made it worthwhile for them to leave their caribou lands and become involved with the European fur trade. Keith's description indicates that at the time of the merger, at least some of the Chipewyans and their North West Company "half breed" contacts were well-equipped enough to consider leaving the fur trade, or at least to take some time out to see if competition would re-establish itself. In fact, many of them were so heavily indebted there was little incentive to stay inside the fur trade system. The Hudson's Bay Company recognized this by forgiving all Athabasca/Mackenzie Indian debt in outfit 1823 - 1824 and lowering the tariff for goods by about 25 per cent, on the condition that gratuities were discontinued.¹⁸⁵

However, in describing Fort Resolution in his report of 1825 - 1826, Keith drew a distinction between the histories of Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan:

[Fort Resolution] Being a place of Chipewyan Resort only secondary to this [Fort Chipewyan], which it now almost eclipses in every respect, many of my remarks touching the disposition, habits and peculiarities of that tribe at Fort Chipewyan are applicable here, with this difference that those attached to this place [Fort Resolution], comprising fewer half breeds, and less indulged and spoiled during the late Contest are proportionately more manageable and open to argument and advice and...the Chipewyans of this place have had little to divert much less to abstract their attention and exertion from the main object, and are only a few days march or Paddle from those trails, where Rein deer are at certain season to be found in abundance, and which often cause a longing to Chipewyans; partly owing to its supplying them with food and Clothing, which they cannot always resist gratifying -- Here can they indulge their natural propensities at much less trouble to themselves and sacrifice to the Company...than those here [Fort Chipewyan]...¹⁸⁶

The post journals also illustrate the appearance of mixed-ancestry Great Slave Lake residents as independent fur producers. In 1820, Robert McVicar at Fort Resolution had recorded the arrival of emissaries from "Mandeville the Great Chief of the NW at athabasca Lake". In June of 1822, he reported that "Two young Indian Ladds arrived from Cammarade de Mandeville and the Prre. with 97 lbs. poor Dried Meat 3 Swans, 28 Musquash 2 Common Martins 2 Beaver 3 Moose

¹⁸⁵ See HBCA, B.39/e/8, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1824 - 1825, page 13; HBCA, B.39/e/9, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1825 - 1826, pages 5 - 6. Gratuities were goods distributed free to a post's clients, without an expectation that they would be paid for in furs or provisions.

¹⁸⁶ HBCA, B.39/e/9, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1825 - 1826, page 22.

Skins and 21 black Bears”.¹⁸⁷ “Cammarade de Mandeville” appeared by McVicar’s description to be a noted chief, as he had described “Mandeville” in 1820: he commented that the “Indian Ladds” had told him that Camarade de Mandeville was “dreadfully afflicted with sore eyes, that the other Indians are under the necessity of carrying him upon their Backs from one place to another”.¹⁸⁸ McVicar, in this statement, apparently classified Le Camarade de Mandeville as an Indian. The next day, the two boys went back to “join their Relations”.¹⁸⁹

In later journal entries, McVicar identified Le Camarade de Mandeville by his Indian name, Castooclshil (or variations).¹⁹⁰ Castooclshil, with two other “Chiefs with their followers”, left the Fort vicinity for “the North?” in October 1822 “to make their winters Hunt in the Rocky Country”.¹⁹¹ While waiting for some equipment to arrive at the Fort in April 1823, Castooclthil and his followers hunted on “the borders of the Slave River”, and in the fall and winter of 1823 - 1824 they planned to hunt “in the track of country which lay between Great Bear Lake and Copper Mine River”. This was made possible by the Yellowknives and Hare Indians’ vacating the area after intribal strife.¹⁹² Anthropologist June Helm has woven together fragments of oral and documentary history to identify Castooclthil/Le Camarade de Mandeville as an intermediary between the Dogrib and the Yellowknife people, with “friends” on both sides, in the course of their warfare in the territory between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake in the mid-1820s.¹⁹³ The eventual outcome of this tribal war, which may have been provoked by changes in trade patterns caused by the closing of the fur posts at Lac la Martre and Old Fort Providence, was the dispersal of the Yellowknives into the Chipewyan and Dogrib population.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ HBCA, B.181/a/4, Fort Resolution post journal 1822 - 1823, page 4 (entry for 30 June 1822).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., page 4 (entry for 1 July 1822).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., for example page 13 (entry for 30 September 1822), page 14 (8 October 1822).

¹⁹¹ Ibid., page 14 (8 October 1822).

¹⁹² Ibid., page 52 - 53 (entry for 24 April 1823).

¹⁹³ June Helm, *The People of Denedeh: Ethnohistory of the Indians of Canada’s Northwest Territories*, (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 220 - 229.

¹⁹⁴ Beryl C. Gillespie, “Yellowknife”, in *Subarctic*, ed. June Helm, 286 - 288 (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981) *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 6.

On the same July day that Le Camarade de Mandeville's "Indian Ladds" left the Fort, McVicar wrote,

Pierrette Ste. Germant and Bob. /Half Breed freemen/ arrived at the Fort. from the Salt Plains where they left their Relations they brought nothing with them, I cannot find out the purport of their mission. the former states 'that he came down merely to see us and the latter had no [illegible] whatever.'¹⁹⁵

Pierre St. Germain (whom Franklin had identified as a "Chipewyan Bois-brule") had last been listed as an HBC employee on the Fort Wedderburn accounts of 1819 - 1820, as an interpreter, and one of the most highly-paid non-officers at 2000 livres or 75 pounds per year. St. Germain left a few days later with another party of Indians, but "his companion Bob remained here for the Summer under the promises of being rewarded for any work he may do".¹⁹⁶ He was put to work almost immediately helping the other employees with manual labour, and in fact stayed on at the post over the winter.¹⁹⁷

While St. Germain had wished to visit his former colleagues at the post, he had left the Hudson's Bay Company under a cloud, after socializing with and losing furs to Beaulieu and other North West Company "half breeds". St. Germain had then been engaged by the first Franklin expedition at the Hudson's Bay Company post on Moose Deer Island in late July 1820,¹⁹⁸ and returned to Fort Chipewyan (now an HBC post) in January 1822.¹⁹⁹ Although St. Germain had been instrumental in saving the survivors of the party, Back and Franklin had found him and the "Canadians" hard to manage (possibly because the "Canadians", familiar with the country, knew they were being led into a fatal situation), and they did not regret to hear that St. Germain's agreement with the HBC was not to be renewed.²⁰⁰

In early February of 1823, McVicar wrote a letter to Edward Smith, Chief Factor for the district, informing him that McVicar had been instructed by his immediate superior from the Mackenzie

¹⁹⁵ HBCA, B.181/a/4, Fort Resolution post journal 1822 - 1823, pages 4 - 5 (entry for 1 July 1822).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, page 5 (entry for 3 July 1822).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, starting on page 5 (entry for 5 July 1822), see for example page 28 (entry for 10 February 1823).

¹⁹⁸ Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Polar Sea*, 198 (entry for 24 July 1820).

¹⁹⁹ Back, *Arctic Artist*, 202.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

River department that “probably the services of Jean-Bte. Adin [Adam] could be dispensed with in that Quarter”.²⁰¹ Adam, identified by Franklin as a “Chipewyan Bois-Brulé”, had been a North West Company employee from approximately 1801 (at Great Slave Lake) until 1820²⁰² and does not appear on HBC Fort Chipewyan or Fort Resolution account books through 1822. Franklin had discharged him in 1821 to live “an Indian life” with the Yellowknives.²⁰³ On 15 February 1823 Adam came into Fort Resolution and, in McVicar’s words, “gave such a distressing account of the miseries which he had suffered since he became a free man, that feelings of humanity induced me to engage him for the term of Two Years as an Interpreter for any Post where his services may be required -- he had two thousand Livres and the Equipment granted to Interpreters at present in the Service”.²⁰⁴ This was 600 livres more than the interpreter at Fort Resolution had been paid in 1820 - 1821, who had been the highest-paid non-officer there at that time. It is apparent from Adam’s experience (and perhaps that of “Bob”) that some newly-minted “freemen”, even those with twenty years and family in the country, had a difficult time with the transition from employee with a steady wage to self-sufficiency.

The Fort Chipewyan Report on District for outfit 1823 - 1824 included the Great Slave Lake post (Fort Resolution) and outpost (Hay River, transferred to Fort Vermilion part way through the year), although most of the detail provided relates only to Fort Chipewyan. The winter complement at Fort Chipewyan consisted of 57 men, 24 women and 37 children for a total of 118.²⁰⁵ Tables at the back of the report identified the families supported by the post,²⁰⁶ as well as children of “non-residents” supported with the name of their “immediate protector”.²⁰⁷ Chief Trader Peter Warren Dease had the largest family, of a woman and five children, and in addition was the “protector” of a grown daughter of Jean-Baptiste Adam and the wife and four children of Chief Trader Edward Smith, who had temporarily been posted to the Mackenzie River district.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 26 (entry for 10 February 1823).

²⁰² Keith, 383.

²⁰³ Richardson, *Arctic Ordeal*, 178.

²⁰⁴ HBCA, B.181/a/4, page 29 (entry for 15 February 1823).

²⁰⁵ HBCA, B.39/e/6, page 1.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., fol. 8.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., fol. 9.

Adam's destination is unfortunately not legible; it may be "Berthier" (in Quebec). Edward Smith, although absent in the Mackenzie, took responsibility for the wives and children of James Sutherland, a mixed-ancestry interpreter who had died at Fort Chipewyan in early 1823; Archibald McMurray, a Scottish clerk who had died in Canada in 1822; and Joseph St. Germain, a mixed-ancestry interpreter who was described in the table as a "Hf Breed hunting with the Indians".²⁰⁸ Eight other women and children had been at least temporarily placed directly on the HBC accounts; these were individuals whose father had been posted elsewhere, had gone to Red River, or had simply disappeared.²⁰⁹ While the Company attempted to discourage the accumulation of a large number of dependents at each post, these entries show that senior officers in particular took personal responsibility for families whose fathers could no longer look after them.

Seven of the thirty family heads on the list of those with dependents supported at Fort Chipewyan (including Joseph St. Germain and James Sutherland) were identified as "half breeds of Canadian and European Parents". These family heads had a total of five second-generation mixed-ancestry children supported by the post.

James Keith, the District Master and author of this annual report, commented on his employees as follows:

Among the number of Engagés were about ten partly composed of Anglo-Indians, servants of the former HBay Co. brought in to steer and man the Boats, whose behaviour and general qualifications I had no reason to find fault with -- true, they were not an average specimen of Orkney men, being particularly chosen -- and they stood out with the [illegible] and Portage along in the voyage equally well with Jean Baptiste [slang term for French-Canadian], and indeed were more [illegible] and regular than the Former -- in the wintering grounds are better calculated for any fixed routine of labour about the Fort, than for voyaging or rather Journeying with dogs and sleds, which they are very awkward in managing --

²⁰⁸ St. Germain spent most of his time travelling with Indian people in the Great Slave Lake area. For example, in August of 1825, he was reported to be with a group of about 30 Yellowknives hunting around Jackfish Lake (HBCA, B.181/a/6, Fort Resolution post journal 1825 - 1826, page 10 {entry for 8 August 1825}). In October of 1825, he came in from the camp of Akaitcho, the Yellowknife Chief, but stayed only a day before going back (HBCA, B.181/a/6, Fort Resolution post journal 1825 - 1826, page 15 {entries for 8 and 9 October 1825}).

²⁰⁹ HBCA, B.39/3/6, Fort Chipewyan Report on District 1823 - 1824, fols. 8 and 9.

As to the Character and Principles of Jean Baptiste, they are too well known to require any comment or illustration from me. The contemplated reduction from the Canadian to the European Standard of Wages and price of goods is yet somewhat unpopular and unfamiliar, but what is yet more obnoxious with the Canadian Voyageur, at least that Portion thereof in this District is the proposed change from Boats to Canoes [an error: the context of the documents indicates the change was from canoes to boats], which owing to the great distance, number of Portages and heavy cargoes; they cannot get [illegible] to -- and such marked aversion cannot be more clearly evinced, than by the difficulty of hiring them when not exempted from voyaging in Boats.²¹⁰

This passage illuminates an interesting intersection of labour culture and ethnicity. In both North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company cultures, French-Canadians had made the canoe voyages as much their own as their labour status would allow, inventing paddling songs, initiation rituals, traditions such as the "dram"²¹¹ on passing difficult portages or reaching a post, and building a fund of lore and stories about the skills, feats and tragedies along the route. These are well-documented in fur trade journals, letters and other documents.²¹² The larger York boats, with which the Company was experimenting, held more cargo, required fewer persons to operate, were slower-moving, and significantly increased the proportion of heavy, less-skilled labour (portaging of goods) to skilled labour (the manoeuvring of the vessel). Keith reported that the French-Canadians of the Athabasca-Mackenzie resisted this change to the point of refusing to accept contracts for any work unless they were exempted from this particular distasteful new work regime. They also objected, according to Keith, to the implementation of a new, more standardized wage regime based on European rather than local labour conditions, even if there was a corresponding rollback in the prices of the goods they bought. The Company was responding by bringing in new employees from a different culture, who were unattached to the old work traditions and therefore accepted the new regimes without complaint. Keith found in these particular circumstances that "former HBay Co." employees of mixed Indian and English-speaking ancestry were like the Orkneymen with whom they worked, unattached to French-Canadian work traditions and willing to adapt to new, more managed routines. The

²¹⁰ Ibid., page 4.

²¹¹ A serving of liquor.

²¹² See for example MacGregor, 114, 125; John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the years 1825, 1826, and 1827* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971), 9; HBCA, B.181/a/1, Fort Resolution post journal, 1818 - 1819, entry for 4 September 1818, page facing page 8.

difficulty, as Keith emphasized in this and subsequent reports,²¹³ was that French-Canadian employees with experience on the land had many skills that the new hands lacked, especially in the challenging environments of the North. The 1821 - 1822 list of “summer men” for the Athabasca-Mackenzie district, predominantly French, includes several francophone individuals whose mixed ancestry can be verified (as well as many whose ancestry is unknown).²¹⁴ It is perhaps unwise to draw broad generalizations based on the fragmentary narrative information available, other than to note that by the mid-1820s, mixed-ancestry people resident near Great Slave Lake were members of labour groups that, in this transition stage, diverged in work culture along British and French ethnic lines.

The report for 1824 - 1825 repeated many of the same themes. The new “Boat system” had proven to be much cheaper in monetary expenditure,²¹⁵ but Keith had found it very costly in men and time. The new boats moved more slowly, needed deeper water and had to take a longer route, and as a result had arrived much later at Fort Chipewyan (October 8) than the canoe brigades of the past.²¹⁶ In a district where freezeup in the northern regions could begin by mid-October, this was a dangerous proposition. In the fall of 1824, the outfit for Fort Resolution was trapped in ice a few miles from the Fort on 31 October, which not only created much extra labour for the employees but left the waiting Indians unable to reach their hunting grounds by open water.²¹⁷ The French-speaking employees of the Company remained as strongly opposed to the boat system as before, and after two years Keith had found their European replacements to be unsatisfactory:

The experience derived from the employment of the few Europeans (principally Orkneymen) for these two years past is conclusive that they are as little disposed or adapted for such long voyages, coupled with the peculiar routine + mode of living in the wintering ground + with the exception of one, who appeared to have

²¹³ HBCA, B.39/e/8, Fort Chipewyan Report on District, 1824 - 1825, page 3, 9 - 11, 47; see also HBCA, B.39/e/9, Fort Chipewyan Report on District, 1825 - 1826, page 9; HBCA, B/181/e/1, Fort Resolution Report on District, 1825 - 1827, page facing page 6, page facing page 14.

²¹⁴ HBCA, B.39/d/11, Fort Chipewyan account book, 1821 - 1822, fols. 37 - 38.

²¹⁵ Keith calculated the saving in wages, equipment, rations *et cetera* as eight hundred and fifty pounds per year. The total value of returns for the District for 1824 - 1825 was about ten thousand three hundred pounds. HBCA, B/39/e/8, Fort Chipewyan Report on District, 1824 - 1825, pages 43 - 44.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, page 3.

²¹⁷ HBCA, B.181/e/1, Fort Resolution Report on District 1825 - 1827, page 9 or page facing page 6.

rather hastily decided, none of them have consented to return hither whose agreements permitted them to retire -- and with the Canadians, the projected extinguishment of Canoes + introduction of Boats as much as the reduction of wages + Equipt. combined with a variety of other causes consequent on the Coalition have operated to detach + wean so many of the ablest + more expert voyageurs from the District, that the few remaining are either super annuated or in other respects inefficient + must required to be replaced + lately we have been so much stinted and dependent in these respects fluctuations from one scale + system to another + occasionally reduced of necessity to bow to + comply with the whims + terms of these people that it is high time the Concern at large should incur some sacrifice...²¹⁸

...the living at this place constitute one principal objection with the Europeans to returning, though such is the difference of taste, disposition and temperament between them + Jean Baptiste that two out of every three Canadians that hire for the District if left to their choice, would stipulate to winter here...²¹⁹

Keith pointed out that if the Orkneymen refused to renew because of the mode of living and the drudgery of the boat voyage, and “Jean Baptiste” refused to renew because of aversion to the boat system, “our hands are tied + the business at a stand”.²²⁰

In accordance with instructions from the senior management of the HBC, Keith had reduced the number of employees’ wives and children supported by the posts during 1824 - 1825. Across the entire district (including Great Slave Lake), 32 women and 41 children were supported by the Company, a reduction of 23 from the year before. This included seven wives and seven children that were supported at Great Slave Lake.²²¹ However, Keith warned against cutting back further:

...the Expenses allowing Families on their present reduced scale, are so very trifling, that were Policy, Utility and Interest allowed to decide the question of their further Continuance or Prohibition, methinks all three would unite in acknowledging the obligation they confer by the length of service, experience + ability they secure to the Country, the business of which would otherwise be conducted by a regular succession of green hands; by the public duties, + peculiar drudgery they perform to which few if any green hands or novices could be trained up, by the liberal advances + heavy Book debts they occasion which for last Outfit (1823) in the whole North District, appear little short of £22,000 one

²¹⁸ HBCA, B/39/e/8, Fort Chipewyan Report on District, 1824 - 1825, pages 9 - 10.

²¹⁹ Ibid., page 11.

²²⁰ Ibid., page 47.

²²¹ Ibid., pages 36 - 39.

half whereof at least or £11,000 may safely be attributed to Families ...Moreover other considerations apart, would not morality + some of the Cardinal Virtues, if not to whisper in their favor, be induced to tolerate + connive at their existence as the lesser of two evils, from the more settled habits, warmer affections, unity of attachment, + parental duties they are calculated to impose in lieu of the dissensions, unhappiness + disorder which the absence or prohibitions of such connexions would certainly most aggravate...²²²

Hinting at the increasingly local origins of his employees, Keith recommended a complete ban on importation of liquor if the liquor trade with the Indians was to be eliminated, arguing that “there is too great a mixture of blood + connexion, of similarity of habits, tastes + disposition, between part of the inmates of an Establishment + those acting as fur hunters, to render it safe or politic to attempt weaning one part, while the other is allowed free indulgence”.²²³

According to Christopher Hanks, François Beaulieu (II) was rehired as an interpreter by Keith at Fort Chipewyan some time between 1823 and 1825,²²⁴ although his name does not appear on the lists of employees appended to the Reports on District from this period. Beaulieu played a prominent part in Captain John Franklin’s second exploratory expedition in 1825 - 1826. He was engaged for the expedition, probably at Fort Chipewyan, well before Franklin’s arrival in the area, as described by Robert McVicar in May 1825 at Fort Resolution:

Hathponde and his Brother Ehabisoghe arrived from Fort Chipewyan. -- they inform me, that Fra^s. Beaulieux -- (Half Breed) with a small Band of Ft. Chipⁿ. Indians are on their way to this place, the former is hired for the Expedition, and is to join Mr. Dease, Soon as possible, the Indians are Equiped for the Season, and are to make their Hunts in the vicinity of McKenzie’s River...²²⁵

Charles Warren Dease, the HBC’s trader at Fort Good Hope about three-quarters of the way down the Mackenzie River, had been assigned responsibility for meeting the needs of the expedition, particularly in hiring locally for interpreters, hunters, labourers, canoemen, fishermen, and the like. He had spent the winter of 1824 - 1825 at Big Island in Great Slave

²²² Ibid., page 55. Keith, a Scotsman, did not claim a wife or children in the 1824 - 1825 returns. He was returned to York Factory at the end of the trading season.

²²³ Ibid., page 12.

²²⁴ Hanks, 18.

²²⁵ HBCA, B.181/a/6, Fort Resolution post journal 1825 - 1826, page 1 (entry for 19 May 1825).

Lake, and was travelling ahead of the Franklin party with his men and trade goods.²²⁶ Beaulieu was engaged as an interpreter for the expedition. Charles Warren Dease and his brother, Peter Warren Dease, had both been employed by the North West Company at Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River, and it is likely that they were well-acquainted with Beaulieu.

On 25 May 1825, McVicar recorded that

Beaulieu and party, arrived at the Fort with 30 Geese. Those Indians who accompanied Beaulieu from Fort Chipewyan, are totally destitute of the article of Provisions in consequence are unable to proceed any further, unless they get supplied here...²²⁷

Three days later,

Beaulieu, and party took their departure for Big Island where they expect to join Mr. Dease. -- Poitras, and two other Indians from Fort Chipewyan have accompanied him to the Entrance of McKenzies River, where they intend to make their Summer and winter [hunts]...²²⁸

Although McVicar here described Poitras as an “Indian”, he had called Poitras an “Indian Half Breed living around Fort Chipewyan” in late 1824. McVicar had also noted that Poitras had at least two wives.²²⁹ A variety of terms were coming in to use at Great Slave Lake to describe people of mixed ancestry, although they were not used with perfect consistency. The phrase “Indian Half Breed” may have been used by McVicar to emphasize the “Indianness” of Poitras, whereas a phrase like “Anglo-Indian” or “Canadian Half Breed” might emphasize European parentage and seems to have been applied to HBC employees. Beaulieu, interestingly, seems generally to have been described simply as a “Half Breed” or called by his name, and writers of this period did not usually classify him as an Indian or a French-Canadian.

Captain John Franklin passed through Forts Chipewyan and Resolution in July 1825 on his way to his winter camp. After discharging most of the “Canadians” who had taken the expedition

²²⁶ McVicar at Fort Resolution noted in the post journal on 14 November that “two excellent Hunters of both Beaver and moose Deer have joined the Expedition, and are now employed hunting for the party at Big Island”. One of these was named “Yeddlrore”. HBCA, B.181/a/5, Fort Resolution post journal 1824 - 1825, fol. 12.

²²⁷ Ibid. (entry for 25 May 1825).

²²⁸ Ibid. (entry for 28 May 1825).

²²⁹ HBCA, B.181/a/5, Fort Resolution post journal 1824 - 1825, page facing page 9 (entry for 9 October 1824).

party from Montreal at Fort Chipewyan, he arrived at Fort Resolution on 29 July, at which point the “Canadians” requested “a dance” to the music of bagpipes and mouth harp to celebrate the passage of the last portages until Great Bear Lake. After a night of merriment, Franklin received the unpleasant news that most of the Indian hunters who had worked with the last expedition had been killed in the recent Yellowknife/Dogrib tribal war, and that the Yellowknives were unwilling to return to Great Bear Lake. The party pressed on, leaving Fort Resolution on 31 July, hopeful that they could persuade the Dogrib to hunt for them once they reached Great Bear Lake.²³⁰ When they reached Fort Simpson, they received word from Dease that he had engaged “Indian hunters”.²³¹ On 27 July, Dease arrived at the expedition’s Fort Franklin, four days’ travel from Fort Norman on the site of an abandoned NWC post at Great Bear Lake, with “fifteen Canadian voyageurs, Beaulieu, the interpreter, and four Chipewyan hunters”.²³² Dease had undertaken to superintend the commencement of the construction of the Fort, the “Indian hunters”, and the operations of the fishermen, while the expedition members took advantage of the remaining weeks of open water to explore the vicinity. Finding a group of Dogrib Indian people on the site, Dease dispatched “a select party of Indians” under Beaulieu’s direction to hunt caribou in the northeast part of the lake during August and September.²³³ François Beaulieu (II) would have been familiar with Great Bear Lake from his years in the North West Company’s service as a hunter there.

At Fort Norman, Franklin discharged the rest of the “Canadian” canoe crew who had come from Penetanguishene, as well as most of the crew that had been hired by Dease to get them to Great Bear Lake. These people were “sent in canoes to Slave Lake, where I had arranged with Mr. McVicar for their being supplied with the means of gaining subsistence by fishing, during the winter; and the following spring, there were to be forwarded to Canada, at the expense of Government, according to the terms of their agreement”.²³⁴ In their place, there were “well-

²³⁰ John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition*, 8 - 11.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

²³² *Ibid.*, 51.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

selected” boat crews composed primarily of “Englishmen”.²³⁵ When Franklin reached Fort Good Hope, Dease allowed him to take the “young half-breed named Baptiste”, the interpreter at the Fort, as a guide to the mouth of the Mackenzie River.²³⁶

Dease came back to Fort Franklin to spend the winter there, taking responsibility for “the procuring and issuing of provision, and the entire management of the Canadian voyageurs and Indians”.²³⁷ This was to be no small task, as there were no less than fifty people “belonging to the establishment” for the winter of 1825 - 1826. These included “five officers, including Mr. Dease; nineteen British seamen, marines and voyagers; nine Canadians; two Esquimaux; Beaulieu, and four Chipewyan hunters; three women, six children, and one Indian lad; besides a few infirm Indians, who required temporary support”.²³⁸ This large group was to be supported by three fishing stations and the efforts of the hunters. Four Dogrib hunters were hired to hunt caribou in the vicinity of the Fort, but, in Franklin’s view, “from want of skill, contributed very little fresh meat to our store”.²³⁹ The two “Esquimaux” (Inuit) were not accustomed to the type of hunting required, and were no more successful. On the 20th of September, “Beaulieu returned with his family, the Chipewyan hunters, and some Dog-ribs, bringing a supply of dried meat, rein-deer tongues, and fat, sufficient for a month’s consumption”.²⁴⁰ He reported that the caribou were headed in the direction of the Fort. This success earned Beaulieu the task of hunting for the post with the Chipewyans and sometimes a few Dogribs or Canadians; Franklin called him “the most expert moose-hunter”.²⁴¹ The Chipewyan hunters left the Fort between Christmas 1825 and March 1826, returning with their families.²⁴²

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid., 24.

²³⁷ Ibid., 56.

²³⁸ Ibid., 53.

²³⁹ Ibid., 54.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 57.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 70, see also 57, 71.

²⁴² Ibid., 74. Historian Jennifer Bellman and anthropologist Christopher Hanks, in their article “Northern Métis and the Fur Trade”, quote George Back’s journal naming one of these “Chipewyan hunters” as “Cayenne”. Franklin is clear in identifying the hunters as “Indians”, but it may be possible that “Cayenne” was the Louis Cayen to whom Petitot spoke in 1863, whose French father had “disappeared among the Chipewyans”, or a relative. As discussed earlier in this paper, “Cayen” or “Cadien” was also a common nickname applied to French-speaking employees of

Beaulieu was stationed at the Fort during the summer of 1826, and did not accompany any of the exploring parties. As he was by now much more valued as a lead hunter than an interpreter, Franklin instructed him to bring four Canadians and a fully-provisioned boat to a meeting point on Great Bear Lake for a party led by Richardson, returning by canoe to the Fort by September 1826. Dease was instructed to keep the Fort well-stocked with provisions until at least the spring of 1828, in case any of the parties should become trapped in the Arctic.²⁴³

Richardson was mortified to find that Beaulieu was not at their appointed meeting-place on schedule, and was contemplating a 300-mile walk with worn-out men, equipment and poor provisions, when “Beaulieu’s party, consisting of four Canadians, four Chipewyan hunters, and ten Dog-ribs, which, with their wives and children, amounted to about thirty in all”, appeared.²⁴⁴ He told Richardson that he had left Fort Franklin, at Dease’s direction, on the appointed day, but that he had been delayed by bad weather.²⁴⁵ The whole party arrived safely back at Fort Franklin by 1 September.²⁴⁶

Beaulieu’s stock was not promoted when Dease, Franklin and Richardson discovered that there were no provisions collected at the Fort, despite “the repeated promises which the Fort hunters and the Dog-ribs in general had given us”.²⁴⁷ The people living at the Fort over the summer had been feeding themselves adequately by fishing.

The only reason they assigned to Mr. Dease, on his remonstrating with them, was, that they had been withheld from hunting at any great distance from the Fort, by

Acadian ancestry. See Bellman and Hanks, “Northern Métis and the Fur Trade”, in *Picking up the Threads*, 49; citing the reference in Back’s journal as NAC, MG24, H62, MS 395/5/1-2.

²⁴³ Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition*, 82 - 83.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 281.

²⁴⁵ Hanks quotes Richardson, in a later comment to Franklin, as expressing the sentiment that while Beaulieu was generally trustworthy, Beaulieu had not believed that the Richardson party would really appear at the meeting-place and so had “dallied” hunting along the way (Hanks, “Francois Beaulieu II”, 20 - 21). However, a party of thirty would have to have done some hunting *en route*, especially if the Fort was not well-provided with preserved food. The party of five men originally envisioned by Dease and Richardson would have travelled much faster, and this surely did not escape Richardson.

²⁴⁶ Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition*, 282.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 287.

the fear of meeting the Copper Indians, who, they fancied, would be lying in wait to attack them. This excuse, however, had been so often alleged without a cause, that it was considered mere evasion, and we attributed their negligence to the indolence and apathy which mark the character of this tribe...²⁴⁸

Beaulieu immediately set out for the north side of the Lake and returned in late September with “some hunters” and “a supply of dried meat”.²⁴⁹ Although Franklin wrote that his “anxiety was, in some measure, relieved” by Beaulieu’s efforts, Beaulieu’s term of engagement was up, and

he was desirous of quitting our service; and though he was our best hunter, Mr. Dease advised me to comply with his request, as he had collected a number of useless followers, whom we must have fed during the short days. He accordingly took his departure, accompanied by seventeen persons, which was a very important relief to our daily issue of provision. I furnished them with ammunition from the store to enable them to hunt their way to Marten Lake [Lac la Martre] where they intended to fish until the return of spring.²⁵⁰

In his stay at Great Bear Lake, Beaulieu had evidently attracted a group of followers, probably on the strength of his connections with the Fort and his skill as a hunter. Some of these people may have been among the party of thirty he brought with him to meet Richardson, and could have been either Chipewyan or Dogrib. Dease, Richardson, and Franklin, however, regarded the gathering of “useless followers” as a burden rather than as a virtue, and although Beaulieu had been invaluable to them in the winter of 1824 - 1825, they were willing to let him go in the fall of 1826. Franklin and Dease expected Beaulieu, as an employee, to serve his employers by adhering to their instructions and schedules and making their needs his first priority, but Beaulieu recognized other obligations to his Indian family and followers. When these two were perceived as conflicting, the groups parted ways.

In 1827, Beaulieu was reported to be trapping in the Lac la Martre area with five other families, including three who can be identified as Dogrib.²⁵¹ He was trading furs at Fort Resolution during this period. Historian Jennifer Bellman and anthropologist Christopher Hanks believe that Beaulieu was trading not only on behalf of his own family and followers, but with the

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 287 - 288.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 288.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Bellman and Hanks, 59, citing the Fort Resolution post journal of 1826 - 1827, HBCA, B.181/a/7, fol. 10d - 11d.

Slavey and Dogrib in general between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake, charging a middleman's markup on goods.²⁵² Possibly in an attempt to regularize this situation, the HBC hired him to winter at Lac la Martre in 1829, providing him with a small selection of goods worth from eight to ten pounds sterling.²⁵³ This arrangement continued into the 1830s.

The 1820s were characterized by sudden changes in the fur trade population at the beginning of the decade, and then a working through of these changes. The population of solely European descent in the Great Slave Lake region decreased sharply after the employee reductions following the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821, although it is not possible to develop a precise measurement of this decrease. As a result of changes in work regimes and compensation, and, doubtless, the stresses that accompany most such large-scale reorganizations, many pre-1821 employees did not re-engage after 1821, contributing to very high turnover in the period 1820 - 1825. While most of the Europeans and Canadians no longer employed by the fur trade companies went home, some mixed-ancestry people with significant length of residence and family ties in the country stayed. Other mixed-ancestry people from both the NWC and the HBC remained as employees post-merger, and a few mixed-ancestry people (both English and French) were brought in through the HBC from outside the district. The overall effect was to slightly increase the proportion of mixed-ancestry employees in the HBC in the Fort Chipewyan/Great Slave Lake district, increase the number of Scottish or English-Canadian employees, and decrease the proportion of French-Canadians. However, French-Canadians were still in a majority, especially in the ranks below clerk.

Among mixed-ancestry people, a number of different potential directions developed, segmented along the lines of employed/not employed, and French or English ancestry. Those who stayed with the HBC, mostly of mixed French-Canadian and Chipewyan ancestry, had to adapt to changes in staffing, compensation, and summer brigade work, and to the new monopoly environment where there was no competitor to strategize against or to provide an alternate source of employment. However, most of their year-round work routines remained the same: manual labour, going out to live and cement relationships with Indian hunting groups, and travel between

²⁵² Bellman and Hanks, 22 - 23.

²⁵³ Ibid., citing HBCA, B.200/e/9, Fort Simpson Report on District, fol. 2.

posts. Although they were often identified ethnically as “half breeds”, they shared work life with their French-Canadian counterparts, many of whom established local family ties of their own and adapted well to wintering and travelling life. A small number of employees of mixed English-speaking and Chipewyan ancestry continued as clerks and interpreters, and an even smaller number of mixed-ancestry “Anglo-Indians” were brought in from other HBC districts to help with the York boats and do general work around the Forts. Their supervisors thought these people were similar in skills and temperament to the Scottish and Orkney boatmen and labourers imported at the same time.

Outside regular fur trade employment, some succeeded and some failed. Individuals like François Beaulieu (II) and Le Camarade de Mandeville appear to have become recognized leaders of family and allied Chipewyan and/or Dogrib groups trapping and trading furs. Some of these people, like Poitras and de Mandeville, became classified as “Indians” by their HBC trading partners. Other former fur trade employees, like Jean-Baptiste Adam and “Bob”, seem to have had difficulty making a living without regular wages, despite long experience and family connections in the country. And, as in previous periods, there are many mixed-ancestry adults and children who cannot be accounted for in the surviving records.

III.F Fur Trade Monopoly and the Arrival of the Missionaries, 1830 - 1890

Account books and employment records for the 1830s cover the period unevenly, but illustrate a few generalities about fur trade employment at this time. First, the rate of turnover slowed from the transitional times of the 1820s. For the outfit 1837 in the Athabasca District (which included Fort Resolution, Fort Chipewyan, Fond du Lac and Peace River), three new men were brought in from Canada and three more were engaged *en route*.²⁵⁴ For outfit 1838, four new men were brought in from Canada, and seven men retired. Of these seven, one went to Red River, and the destinations of the others are not noted.²⁵⁵ Although significant recruiting for the HBC as a

²⁵⁴ HBCA, B.239/f/16, York Factory Lists of Servants [1836 - 1838], pages 2 - 4.

²⁵⁵ HBCA, B.239/f/18, York Factory Lists of Servants 1838 - 1839, pages 1 - 4.

whole was still done in “Canada” (43 men for outfit 1838, the majority French-Canadian) and “Europe” (35 men, mostly of British descent), few “green hands” from Europe seem to have been sent out to the Athabasca or the Mackenzie.

Of the fifteen men listed on the employee accounts at Fort Resolution for 1834 - 1835, at least four (Louis Cadien, Pierre Laferté, Pierre Blondin, and Pierre Obichon) had appeared on Fort Resolution employee accounts in the 1820s. (By 1838 - 1839, Pierre Mercredi, who had been on Fort Resolution accounts from the mid-1820s, was listed again there.) Ethnically (judging by name alone, as these records do not specify), five were of British descent, and ten were of French descent.²⁵⁶

Transfers between districts amounted to only a handful in a year.²⁵⁷ However, a sample of individual employment records demonstrates that employees moved frequently within a district. For example, François Mercredi was engaged as a middleman and fisherman at Fort Chipewyan in 1833, 1834 and 1838, at Fort Resolution in 1839, Fort Chipewyan in 1841, Fort Garry in 1845, and Fort Resolution in 1848 and 1850. After this, his record noted that he went to Red River.²⁵⁸ Baptiste Bouché dit Lamalice, 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 a boatbuilder at Fort Simpson in 1865.²⁵⁹ A year-by-year examination of the accounts tends to confirm this impression. For example, in 1839 - 1840, Pierre Blondin, who was often listed at Fort Resolution, was working out of Fort Chipewyan, and Pierre Obichon, also frequently at Fort Resolution, was at Fort Vermilion.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ HBCA, B.181/d/4b, Fort Resolution Account Book 1834 - 1835,.

²⁵⁷ See for example the York Factory Lists of Servants for 1836 - 1838 and 1838 - 1839, cited above.

²⁵⁸ HBCA, B.239/u/1, York Factory Engagement Register 1823 - 1851, fol. 223; also HBCA, B.39/a/38, Fort Chipewyan post journal 1839 - 1840, page 12.

²⁵⁹ HBCA, B.239/u/2, York Factory Engagement Register 1846 - 1877, fol. 18. Paul Bouché dit Lamalice, a “Canadian Halfbreed” who was likely an antecedent, can be identified on Fort Wedderburn accounts by at least 1819.

²⁶⁰ HBCA, B.39/a/38, Fort Chipewyan post journal 1839 - 1840, fol. 12.

In the 1838 - 1839 list of HBC employees kept at York Factory, and many subsequent lists, there are lists of retired employees who chose to remain in the district, and lists of “freemen” (former employees who were no longer under contract to the HBC, but who remained in HBC territory). These lists may be an indicator of mixed-ancestry populations outside HBC employment, as many of these retirees and “freemen” stayed in the country because of their family connections. The choice to stay in the fur trade territory may also reflect a preference for that life and society, instead of the life of the towns, cities and farms of “Canada” or even the growing agricultural and trade community of Red River.²⁶¹ One retiree who remained “at various Districts in the Country” in 1838 was Joseph Laverdure, a “half breed” employee who had worked at Fort Resolution as early as 1820, and who may be linked to the Laverdure with a country wife who was one of the thirteen men the North West Company sent to Great Slave Lake in 1786. Other “freemen” listed in the 1838 York Factory records (not linked to a specific location in the documents) include Jean Baptiste Adam, François Piché (recorded in 1825 - 1826 as having a family supported at Great Slave Lake), and Joseph St. Germain.²⁶²

These lists can offer a glimpse of the mixed-ancestry families outside regular HBC employment, a historically elusive group not well described in documents of this period. Travellers through the area had contact with a few others. The two notable travellers of this period were George Back, who headed an Arctic expedition from 1833 to 1835, and John Richardson, who led an expedition to search for the lost ships of Sir John Franklin in 1848 - 1850. Both men had accompanied Franklin on earlier explorations through the area, and were to some extent familiar with the region and its people.

Back engaged most of his crew either in England or at Norway House. Fifteen of the men that left Norway House were of British descent, of whom two (George Sinclair and Peter Taylor) were of mixed ancestry. One was Chipewyan, three were Iroquois, four were of French descent (one, Antoine De Charloit, was a “Metif” or “half-breed”), and one was probably of German

²⁶¹ Author’s interpretation. A detailed statistical study has not been undertaken to tabulate the characteristics of retirees and freemen who chose to stay in the region and those who went to Britain, Canada or Red River.

²⁶² HBCA, B.239/f/17, York Factory Lists of Servants 1838 - 1839, fols. 22 and 23.

descent.²⁶³ Travelling up the Slave River from Fort Chipewyan in early August, Back and his party encountered the signs of a “recent encampment of Indians” at the mouth of the Salt River.

From the marks about the place, it was supposed that they had ascended the river to the plains, which are generally well stocked with buffalo and other animals...with Mr. McLeod [an HBC clerk from the Mackenzie River district who had been selected to accompany Back] for a companion, I went...in search of them. We had hardly rounded the second point, when the sight of a ‘cache’, suspended from the apex of a deserted lodge, convinced us that we should soon come up with the stragglers; and, accordingly, about a quarter of a mile farther, two young Indians thrust their dark bodies through the branches of the trees, and called to us to stop. They formed part of the tribe of Slave Lake Indians, who were expected to be in this direction, and their friends were not far from them...Shortly afterwards, we met a whole fleet of canoes...Their chief was an intelligent looking old man, called by the traders, ‘le camarade de Mandeville;’ and from his extensive knowledge of the country to the northward and eastward of Great Slave Lake, there was every reason to expect considerable information...²⁶⁴

Back went further up the Salt River to the salt deposits, filled five bags, and returned to find “the Indians” at their encampment “at the mouth of the river”, discussing possible routes with McLeod. “The Camarade”, termed by Back a “Chipewyan chief”,²⁶⁵ drew a sketch of the “north-eastern country”, although he could not pinpoint the exact location of the ocean in relation to the two major rivers he described (now called the Back and the Thelon). The lakes *en route* had been “frequently visited” by “many of their number”, and “they knew every winding” of them.²⁶⁶

A few days later, Back arrived at Fort Resolution. While waiting to meet with the chief Le Grand Jeune Homme, who was camped a day or two away on the Buffalo River, he met an acquaintance from the previous expeditions.

...there being many Indians at the Fort, and among them a half-breed, of the name of La Prise, whom I had seen on a previous occasion, and who had now become a kind of leader of a small party accustomed to hunt to the eastward, I thought it a good opportunity of gaining some information as to the bending of the Great

²⁶³ George Back, *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, and along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean, in the years 1833, 1834, and 1835* (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1970), 56, 62, 66.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 77 - 78.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 458.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 79 - 81.

Slave Lake, and the nature of the country at its eastern extremity. La Prise, who had been subjected to similar catechising by my friend Sir John Franklin, in 1820, at once understood me, and pointed to the compass, as an instrument with which he was acquainted. Having been placed right over it, he pointed his hand in the direction of the places required, while I carefully noted their magnetic bearings; and it is but justice to state, that the whole of his description was subsequently found to be remarkably correct...²⁶⁷

A “young hunter” who had just returned from the area in question then entered and drew another sketch of the land north-east of Great Slave Lake for Back. Back then took the post’s interpreter, “Louison”, with him, and set off again, describing his party as “one Englishman...one Canadian, two half-breeds, and two Indians”.²⁶⁸ They passed Le Camarade de Mandeville’s group again, this time encamped on the east side of the mouth of the Slave River.²⁶⁹ La Prise and his group travelled with Back’s party, hunting for them along the way and showing them the route. Back noted that La Prise had the etiquette and mannerisms of a “true Chipewyan” and was an expert hunter.²⁷⁰ La Prise accompanied Back for the next ten days, seeing him to the far north-eastern tip of Great Slave Lake.²⁷¹ La Prise then went back to give McLeod a message regarding the site of a winter establishment for the Back group, and was with McLeod at the spot at the north-eastern point of Great Slave Lake (Fort Reliance) when the exploring party returned in the fall.²⁷²

In March of 1834, when the group at Fort Reliance was running dangerously low on food, Le Camarade de Mandeville came by with two sledges of dried meat, “dragged from their lodges, five days’ journey distant”.²⁷³

Sir John Richardson’s “Arctic Searching Expedition” of 1848 - 1850 provides another outside view of the Great Slave Lake region. Richardson hired the core of his crew in England, and additional canoemen at Sault Ste. Marie for the transcontinental voyage. Working his way down

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 84.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 90.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 91.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 94 (quotation), 93 - 94.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 115.

²⁷² Ibid., 181.

²⁷³ Ibid., 239.

the Slave River in July of 1848, Richardson found that he did not have to make the 20-mile trip up the Salt River to collect salt, as Franklin and Back had done.

We obtained some bags of this useful article from Beaulieu, who was guide and hunter to Sir John Franklin on his second overland journey, and who has built a house at the mouth of the Salt River. This is a well-chosen locality for his residence: his sons procure abundance of deer and bison meat on the salt plains...and Slave River yields plenty of good fish at certain seasons...A limestone cave in the neighbourhood, which was too distant for us to visit, supplies Beaulieu with ice all the summer, and he gave us a lump to cool water for drinking, which was extremely grateful. The ammunition and tobacco with which I repaid these civilities were no less acceptable to him. Indeed, I believe that he turns his residence on the boat-route to good account, as few parties pass without giving him a call...²⁷⁴

Richardson's group stopped for only an hour at Fort Resolution. They proceeded to the west, where they passed by the "abandoned" Hay River Fort, and the former Fort George, which had stood on the south side of the lake near the eastern tip of Big Island. They passed by a spot on the north shore of the Lake across from Big Island, where Richardson hoped to install any people from the "Discovery" ships he could rescue, as the fisheries there were consistent and the adjacent Horn Mountain area was well-stocked with caribou, bison, and hares.²⁷⁵ The Richardson party made their winter camp at Fort Confidence, on the north shore of Great Bear Lake near the mouth of the Dease River. Dogrib hunters (located on-site, plus a group from Lac la Martre that found Fort Confidence more convenient for trade than Fort Simpson) supplied them with meat, and they caught fish from the Lake. For once, there was plenty of food. One of their party, a man named [Baptiste] Bruce who may have been hired by the expedition at Cumberland House, played on a fiddle for dances: "with that aptness which the half-breeds show to learn any thing that comes under their observation, [he] had made his own fiddle, and taught himself to play upon it".²⁷⁶ Bruce had several years of service time with the HBC in the Mackenzie District, although he had initially been engaged by the Company at Red River.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ John Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition: Journal of a Boat-Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), Vol. I, 148 - 150.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 153 - 161.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 79.

²⁷⁷ See HBCA, B.239/f/22, York Factory Lists of Servants 1840 - 1841, page 4 (Baptiste Bruce); HBCA, B.239/f/34, 1848 - 1849, page 10.

These Franklin men met their “half-breed” acquaintances again after an absence of between thirteen and twenty-eight years, and found them prospering in somewhat different ways. La Prise had become the leader of a “small hunting party” of “Indians”, who were trading at Fort Resolution and hunting in lands northeast of Great Slave Lake. He was familiar with European technologies like the compass, but was also a skilful hunter and had the manner of a Chipewyan. François Beaulieu (II), on the other hand, had built a house at the junction of the Salt and Slave Rivers and was using it as a small trading establishment for boats *en route* up the Slave River, providing a convenient way for travellers to acquire salt, ice, and possibly provisions. His sons hunted in the vicinity and the family was able to fish close by. In 1833, Beaulieu had been given the equivalent of 310 Made Beaver in goods, at a discount, to trade furs from the Lac la Martre “Indians” at Fort Simpson, but the HBC trader there objected to the rate of profit he was taking.²⁷⁸ Christopher Hanks indicates that Beaulieu was given an official position at Fort Resolution in 1848 and attracted the Dogrib trade from north of Great Slave Lake to the post, but I have not been able to confirm this information to date.²⁷⁹ The Beaulieu family in general moved in and out of HBC employment frequently in the period from the 1840s to the 1870s.²⁸⁰ “Le Camarade de Mandeville”, on the other hand, was completely identified with the Chipewyan Indians and was considered by observers to be a “Chipewyan Chief”. He was trading out of either Fort Chipewyan or Fort Resolution and hunting over a wide area that included the vicinity of the Slave and Salt Rivers, the mouth of the Slave River on Great Slave Lake, and a large territory north and east of Great Slave Lake.

These mixed-ancestry people had been born and raised in the country, had adult children, and led local groups that may have included Indians, people of mixed-ancestry and people of sole

²⁷⁸ HBCA, B.200/a/15, fo. 11, quoted in Abel, 99.

²⁷⁹ Hanks, 24.

²⁸⁰ For example, according to the York Factory lists of servants, François Beaulieu “fils” (III) “deserted” from Athabasca in 1847 - 1848, after being hired as a middleman in 1845, while his father was a “freeman”. In 1859 - 1860, according the engagement registers, François Beaulieu “A” (II?) was on the Athabasca lists as an interpreter, engaged at Fort Chipewyan, and renewed contracts with breaks in between throughout the 1860s. Alexis Beaulieu (son or grandson) was brought into the service in 1859 - 1860 as an apprentice blacksmith. He later became an interpreter and trader engaged at Fort Simpson and Fort Resolution. Joseph “King” Beaulieu (son) served as an interpreter and trader engaged at Fort Resolution and Fort Simpson in the 1860s.

European descent. While these individuals and their parents had begun in full-time fur trade employment, they had successfully made the transition to living independently, with varying degrees of involvement in the fur trade as small traders and producers. In addition to these variations on a hunting and trading life outside the direct employment of the Hudson's Bay Company, long-time mixed-ancestry employees like Pierre Blondin and Louis Cadien continued to make their living as workmen, boatmen, interpreters and emissaries to the Indians, and new mixed-ancestry families were formed from year to year around the HBC posts.²⁸¹ In 1838 - 1839, the families of the engagés at Fort Resolution received almost as much in provisions as the engagés themselves, which given their reduced ration, may imply almost twice as many women and children as employees.²⁸²

Among the changes between 1820 and 1848 noted by Richardson was the presence of a "Roman Catholic mission" established in 1846 by Father Louis-Francois Lafleche at Ile-a-la-Crosse. Although some Dene had been exposed to Christian missionary work by priests who visited Methye Portage from Red River at the time of the passage of the brigades, these contacts had been fleeting and their effect uncertain.²⁸³ After summer visits to Fort Chipewyan in 1847 and 1848, Father Henri Faraud established a permanent mission at Fort Chipewyan in 1849, called La Nativité. This was intended to be a launching point for more far-flung missionary work by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. In 1851, Father Alexandre Taché was ordained bishop of the Oblates for this enormous new north-west territory.²⁸⁴

In the summer of 1848, "quelques sauvages du G. L. des Esclaves"²⁸⁵ came down to Fort Chipewyan to participate in the mission activities. In the summer of 1852, Faraud visited Fort

²⁸¹ See for example accounts of John Dorion, Alexander Hool, Jean-Baptiste Sylvestre, and Francis Butcher, HBCA, B.181/d/5, Fort Resolution account book 1838 - 1839; William McMurray, HBCA, B.181/d/6, Fort Resolution account book 1843 - 1844, page 4.

²⁸² HBCA, B.181/d/5, Fort Resolution account book 1838 - 1839, page facing last page. In 1838 - 1839, there were fifteen employees listed in the Fort Resolution accounts; in 1843 - 1844, there were eleven.

²⁸³ Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, Vol. II, 29.

²⁸⁴ Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995), 41 - 43.

²⁸⁵ PAA, Accession PR2001 - 1184, Box 1, « Chronique de la mission de la Nativité depuis sa fondation en 1847. Livre premier 1847 - 1912 », page 11. Written by Father Le Joussal based on an original by Father Taché.

Resolution and performed many baptisms and marriages. The register of these baptisms and marriages provides the first official vital statistics record for the area.²⁸⁶

A selection of entries from these registers, as well as the first available registers from other mission sites, is summarized in the table in Appendix A. Among the entries are:

Marriage of Catherine Beaulieu, daughter of François Beaulieu and LaLouise, to Joseph Bouvier, the son of J.-B. Bouvier and Marguerite Larante. Witnesses J.-B. Lepinet and Pierre Cayen.

Marriage of Pierre Cayen, son of Louis Cayen and Catiha, to Joseph Denetcha, daughter of Denetcha and Ihalsekall. Witnesses J.-B. Lepinet and Joseph Bouvier.

Baptism of children Henri, Marguerite, Marie, and Scholastique Cayen, ages 2 through 9, children of Louis Cayen and Joseph. Godparents Louis Henri Houle, Joseph Cyr, J.-B. Cyr, Marie Laferté, Alexis Laliberté, Julie Boucher and Joseph Bouvier.

Baptism of children Elise and Jean Cyr, children of Jean-Baptiste Cyr and Marie Boucher. Godparents Joseph LeTendre, Louise Fabien, Jean Fabien, and Marie Laferté.

Marriage of Jean Fabien, son of Jean Fabien and LaLouise, to Anne Eziele. Witnesses J.-B. Lepinet and Joseph Bouvier.

Baptism of children Marguerite, Marie, and Isabelle Guilboche, children of Marcel Guilboche and Sophie Blayonne. Godparents Joseph Beauchamp, Marie Laferté, François Laroque, Julie Boucher, Joseph Huppée and Joseph Cyr.

Marriage of Magdelaine Houle, daughter of François Houle and Sophie Huppée, to J.-B. Lepinet, son of J.-B. Lepinet and Charlotte. Witnesses Joseph Bouvier and Pierre Cayen.

Baptism of children Joseph Jean and Josephine Huppée, children to Joseph Huppée and Joseph Cyr. Godparents J.-B. Cyr, Julie Boucher, Joseph Bouvier and Catherine Beaulieu.

Baptism of children Guillaume, Jacques, and Joseph LeTendre, children of Joseph LeTendre and Marie Laferté. Godparents Alexis Parisien, Marie Laferté, Louis Fabien, Jean Cyr, and Marie Boucher.

Baptism of François Maleville or Molville, son of François and Javotte, age about 50. Godfather Joseph LeTendre.

Marriage of François Maleville or Molville to Marie Tsotehipheta.

²⁸⁶ AD, W238 .M62F3, Fort Resolution registres de baptêmes, confirmations, mariages 1852 - 1966, no. 1 (1852 - 1854), no. 2 (1856 - 1859).

Baptism of Jean-Baptiste Molville or Maleville, son of François Molville and Ezaeigazi, age about 25.

Marriage of Jean-Baptiste Menville or Maleville, to Aune Flueger.

Marriage of Joseph Roi, son of Alexis Roi and Josephthe Gauthier, to Henriette Ezenne. Witnesses J.-B. Lepinet and Joseph Bouvier. Also baptism of their daughter Josephthe.

Also at Fort Resolution, 1855:

Baptism of Sophie Beaulieu, daughter of Kin [King] Beaulieu and Mari Anne Flamand. Godparents Henri Aekenson and Marie Beaulieu.

At Fort Resolution, 1856:

Baptism of children Honoroy, Marie and Baptiste Fabien, children of Janot Fabien and Anne Ezezele. Honoroy born at Salt River. Godparents King and his wife Marie Anne Beaulieu; and “Catherine Janvier femme Beaulieu”.

At Fort Resolution, 1858:

Baptism of Sophie Hool or Houle, daughter of William Hool and Marie Beaulieu. Godparents François Beaulieu and Catherine Wapeshka.

Baptism of Anastasia Sanderson, daughter of George Sanderson and Isabelle. Godmother Marie Dess.

At Fort Resolution, 1859:

Marriage of Francis Hool or Houle, son of François Hool and Lisette, to Françoise Tsadjede, daughter of Tsineayziède and Tsinagaze. Witness Beauchamp.

These entries help to bring some families out of the shadows of the Hudson’s Bay Company records. The Beaulieu family is prominent, as might be expected, and the Cayen family is represented. It is unclear whether the Maleville or Molville clan is related to the Mandevilles; there were also a Bazil Mainville who was at Fort Chipewyan and Fort Vermilion in the 1820s.²⁸⁷ Baptiste Mandeville was a bowsman on the boat brigades from Fort Resolution to Portage La Loche in the 1860s.²⁸⁸ The Houles may be related to François Houle, a mixed-

²⁸⁷ The information in this section is taken from York Factory lists of servants, Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan account books, Fort Chipewyan Reports on District, Fort Rae account books, and York Factory engagement registers. Examples are provided in the footnotes below.

²⁸⁸ HBCA, B.172/d/8, Fort Rae account books 1861 - 1866, page 41.

ancestry man who served at Fort Chipewyan, Fort Vermilion, Fort Halkett, and Fort Simpson in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. An Alexandre and an Antoine Houle also served in the Athabasca district. A Joseph Huppée (junior) retired from the English River district in 1838 and was said to have gone to Red River;²⁸⁹ a Joseph Huppée was listed in York Factory records as a 27-year-old “Native” steersman in the Mackenzie River District in 1851 - 1852.²⁹⁰ Joseph Beauchamp, “Native”, was listed in York Factory records among the Northern Department employees in 1850 - 1851 and in the Mackenzie River District in 1851 - 1852. It is not known if he was related to the Beauchamp who left a widow and children who sought help at the Slave Lake post in 1800. Jean-Baptiste and Joseph Lepiné or Lepinez were listed in the York Factory records as “Freemen” in 1838 - 1839. Jean-Baptiste (senior?) was reported at Red River in 1841 - 1842.²⁹¹ Baptiste Lepinez was employed as a steersman in the Mackenzie River district in the 1850s. Cyr or St.-Cyr is a name that appears in this region beginning in the North West Company post journals; Jean-Baptiste St. Cyr was listed as an HBC employee in the Athabasca District in 1838 - 1839. Joseph LeTendre was employed at Fort Chipewyan in 1839 - 1840;²⁹² Jean-Baptiste LeTendre (senior) was listed as a “Freeman” in 1838 - 1839.²⁹³ A Jean-Baptiste LeTendre was also listed on the English River accounts of 1785 - 1786. Louis and Pierre Laferté served at Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, and Pierre was recorded by the HBC as having retired in the Athabasca district in 1842 - 1843. Joseph Roi or Roy was an employee in the Athabasca District in the 1830s and 1840s. The church records confirm the persistence of many families in the Great Slave Lake region, place families in geography and time, assist in bringing women into the historical record, and document relationships between families through the female line.

The vital statistics records also demonstrate the web of relationships developing between mixed-ancestry families, and local mixed-ancestry families and relative newcomers of French descent.

²⁸⁹ HBCA, B.239/f/17, York Factory List of Servants 1838 - 1839, page 19; HBCA, B.239/f/18, York Factory List of Servants 1838 - 1839, page 4.

²⁹⁰ HBCA, B.239/f/40, York Factory List of Servants 1851 - 1852, page 8.

²⁹¹ HBCA, B.239/f/24, York Factory List of Servants, 1841 - 1842, page 14.

²⁹² HBCA, B.239/f/19, York Factory List of Servants, 1839 - 1840, page facing page 6; also HBCA, B.39/a/38, Fort Chipewyan post journal 1839 - 1840, page facing page 12.

²⁹³ HBCA, B.239/f/17, York Factory List of Servants, 1838 - 1839, page facing page 23.

At mid-century, there were still some outmarriages to Dene women occurring, but there was a strong tendency for mixed-ancestry and francophone families to choose marriage partners among themselves, as well as to cement family ties more informally by naming godparents from the same groups. This may suggest the ties of friendship as well as economic and other practical considerations.

Another binding factor, of course, was affiliation to the Roman Catholic Church, which as well as being the first Christian church in the region was the ancestral church of most of the mixed-ancestry and French-speaking residents. Although most of the names on the first registers are Dene, Taché observed that a key factor in the immediate success of missionary visits to Fort Chipewyan was the support and influence of the “Métis”:

Une circonstance qui contribua beaucoup a augmenter le heureux disposition des Montagnais [Chipewyan] ce fut l’ascendant qui exercent hier eux les exemples et les discours de quelques Métis de leur nation. Ces derniers enfants naturels de voyageurs Canadiens, avaient, a la verité, herite les vices de leurs pères, mais l’amour de la religion si naturel aux coeurs des Canadiens avait [illegible] jusqu’a leur fils...²⁹⁴

François Beaulieu was an advocate for the Roman Catholic Church in the Great Slave Lake/Fort Chipewyan area. He was baptized at Fort Chipewyan in September 1848, and in December 1848 he married Catherine St. Germain there.²⁹⁵ As he had at least two other wives, this was doubtless a difficult decision, as the Church would not accept him until he was willing to select one. He pressed the Oblates to establish a mission near his house at Salt River, but they did not have the capacity to undertake more than visits for another thirty years.²⁹⁶ The Oblate priest Father Emile Petitot interviewed him on Moose Deer Island, near Fort Resolution, in 1863.²⁹⁷ Beaulieu’s granddaughter Marguerite Bouvier spent at least a year in Montreal in the noviciate for the Grey

²⁹⁴ « Chronique de la mission de la Nativite », 9.

²⁹⁵ Registers cited by Diane Payment in “Métis People in Motion”, 79 - 80.

²⁹⁶ Martha McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene, 1847 - 1921* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995), 111 - 112. The priests mentioned these visits to “le bon patriarche Beaulieu” as pleasant intervals in their travelling routine; see for example “Missions de Mackenzie”, based on a report by Bishop Faraud, in *Missions de la Congregation des missionnaires oblats de Marie Immaculée*, t. 6, (Paris: Typographie Hennuyer, 1867), 326; and Bishop A. A. Taché, “Vingt années de missions dans le nord-ouest de l’Amérique”, in *Missions de la Congregation des missionnaires oblats de Marie Immaculée*, t. 5, (Paris: Typographie Hennuyer, 1866), 162; in which Taché called Beaulieu “le Seigneur de la rivière au Sel”.

²⁹⁷ Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 76.

Nuns, and Bishop Grouard was hopeful in 1871 that she would be “le premier lis de la vallée MacKenzie transplanté dans le jardin du Seigneur”.²⁹⁸

Through these birth and marriage records, it is possible to see a sample of the mixed-ancestry population in the Great Slave Lake region as an interconnected group, less fragmented by occupational and employment status and temporary residence, and accepting new members from incoming fur-trade employees, and building relationships between families of long standing in the country. These records also provide confirmation of relationships between generations bearing the same names that, prior to the coming of the priests, could largely only be guessed at by the historian. They are, however, by no means a complete record, and still leave many unions and children undocumented.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches were engaged in a race to establish missions and reach potential converts in the Athabasca-Mackenzie district. Both had a presence at Fort Chipewyan. In the summer of 1858, the Oblates established a permanent mission at Fort Resolution (St. Joseph), just as the Anglicans were preparing to overleap them and begin a permanent mission at Fort Simpson. The Oblates opened a mission outpost on Big Island, at the western end of Great Slave Lake, in 1858, but this was a poor location in terms of soil, wood and vulnerability to flooding. The Oblates opened another outpost (St. Michel) at Fort Rae (a small HBC post established in 1852 on an island near the northern tip of Great Slave Lake) in 1859, and at Fort Good Hope, also in 1859. While Anglican and Oblate missionaries often pursued and competed with each other in the North, the Anglicans established a significant presence only at Fort Simpson during this period.²⁹⁹

In 1861, the Oblates settled on a site sixty miles to the west of Big Island on the north bank of the Mackenzie River, and named it Providence. The mission buildings were constructed in 1862. This was a somewhat risky place to build a mission, as it was not close to an HBC trading post, but the Oblates were looking for a suitable base location for a bishop who would travel the

²⁹⁸ E. Grouard to « Ma Soeur Marie Colombe », 6 December 1871, AD, Collection Communautés religieuses, HPF 4191.C75R B3.

²⁹⁹ See Choquette, and Donat Levasseur, *Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada, 1845 - 1967* (Edmonton : University of Alberta Press, 1995).

North, and did not wish to engage in any disputes with the HBC over land use and activities.³⁰⁰ The Company had some reservations about the presence of missionaries in the North, and some Protestant senior officers and post managers were still less enthusiastic about Catholic missions being established on their doorsteps.

The Providence site was successful in attracting visitors. Some selected entries in the first register³⁰¹ were as follows:

At Grand-Ile (Big Island), 1858:

Baptism of children Sophie, Joseph, Elise, and Marie Beauchamp, children of Joseph Beauchamp and Marguerite Catherine Delame or Delorme, ages 9 ½ to 1½ years old. Another daughter was baptized at Fort Resolution in 1859.

Baptism of children Madeleine and William Lepinet, children of Baptiste Lepinet and Madeleine Houle, ages 5 and 2. Godparents William Houle, Marie Beaulieu, and Françoise Beaulieu.

Baptism of François Thibault, son of François Thibault and Djeithon.

At Providence, 1860:

Baptism of Antoinette Robillard, daughter of André Robillard and Marguerite. Godparents Antoine Laviolette and Madeleine Laferté.

At Providence, 1861:

Baptism of Joseph Beaulieu, son of Keen [King] Beaulieu and Marianne T'eumi. Godparents Dasya dit Forgeon and Marie Beaulieu.

At Providence, 1862:

Baptism of Joseph Piché, son of François Piché and Leany [?] McDonald. Godparents Kin [King] Beaulieu and Marie Anne Beaulieu.

At Providence, 1863:

Baptism of Elise Houle, daughter of William Houle and Marie Beaulieu. Godparents Joseph Kin [King] Beaulieu and Suzanne.

At Providence, 1864:

³⁰⁰ McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 50; also Choquette, 143 - 144; Levasseur, 83 - 85.

³⁰¹ AD, W446 .M62F14 7, Providence mission and Grande Isle registre de baptêmes 1858 - 1905.

Baptism of Isabelle Desjardins, daughter of Baptiste Desjardins and Delphine Atsi. Godmother Marie Beaulieu.

Baptism of Julienne MacKay, daughter of Johny MacKay and Marguerite Cadieux. Godmother Marie Beaulieu.

Baptism of Sophie Sabourin, daughter of Joseph Sabourin and Cecile Bekenejawon. Godmother Sophie Cayen.

At Providence, 1865:

Baptism of Antoine Lacroix, son of Louison Lacroix and Marie L'Esperance. Godparents Antoine Laviolette and Marie Cayen.

Many of the same trends, and indeed the same names, are observable in these registers as in the ones for Fort Resolution. The links between old and new mixed-ancestry and (primarily) French-ancestry families are evident, as well as some continuing, but limited, outmarriage to Dene women. It is likely that the François Piché whose child was baptized at Providence in 1862 was a son of François Piché, a mixed-ancestry man from Red River, who had been recorded as having a family supported at Great Slave Lake in 1824 - 1825, and had been listed as a "Freeman" in 1838 - 1839. In 1841 - 1842, he was reported to have gone to Red River. François Piché the younger worked on the brigade boats carrying furs from Fort Resolution to Portage La Loche in the 1860s.³⁰² John MacKay (junior) was employed as a fisherman in the Athabasca district in the 1840s, and was reported by the HBC to have retired in the district in 1843 - 1844. François Thibault was first recorded as a labourer in the Mackenzie River district in 1850 - 1851, and transferred to Fort Rae for 1853 - 1854.³⁰³ Antoine Laviolette was recorded as a 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 at Great Slave Lake in 1786. André Robillard was recorded as having retired as a steersman in the Mackenzie River district in 1861, after having been one of the first employees at Fort Rae in 1853 - 1854.

³⁰² HBCA, B.172/d/8, Fort Rae account book 1861 - 1866, page 41.

³⁰³ HBCA, B.172/d/1, Fort Rae account book 1853 - 1854, page facing page 9. The information in this paragraph not specific to Fort Rae is taken from York Factory employment records (Lists of Servants, B.239/f).

It is probably reasonable to state that almost every mixed-ancestry or European-ancestry person in these registers had entered the district through the fur trade at some point. The registers reflect a group of present and former fur-trade employees who had built family networks across Great Slave Lake and over the boundaries of waged and independent ways of life. While some eventually retired to Red River, their children, for whom Great Slave Lake was home, stayed and raised families.

The early Fort Rae account books³⁰⁴ open up another source of information on the area on the north shore of Great Slave Lake, which had not seen year-round European habitation since the days of the North West Company. (Unfortunately, there are no other records from Fort Rae until 1888 at the earliest.) Employees of the post in the first ten years (1853 - 1863) included Louison Cadien (interpreter), Oliver and Louison Laferté, Alexis and King Beaulieu, Pascal and William Houle, Baptiste Bouchez dit Lamalice, and Baptiste Mainville. The complements were small: one clerk (of English or Scottish descent), and from five to ten employees, who were at this period predominantly of French ancestry, with a strong mixed-ancestry component. As at other Hudson's Bay Company posts, there were several families associated with the employees, who were supported at least in part by post provisions. In 1861 - 1862, employees Pierre Gendron, Henry Cuppage, Olivier Laferté, William Hoole, Baptiste Bouchez dit Lamalice, and Jack McKay transferred money from their wages to Monseigneur Grandin, probably as donations to help build the mission station at Fort Rae.

The first account book from Fort Rae identified many client "Indians" as trading at Fort Resolution or Fort Simpson, with a smaller number from Fort Norman. It is possible that many of the Indian people listed had not made the long trip to these posts personally in previous years, and had traded with people like Beaulieu. Although furs were collected at Fort Rae, it was an important provision post, shipping large quantities of meat and pemmican from the caribou herds to other posts. Among the names on the early "Indian" accounts are Boileau or Beaulieu, identified as "A Leader" or "Chief", with one to three of his brothers or brothers-in-law. He was given much more credit for both furs and meat than any of the other "Indians". Alexis and King Beaulieu, when they were employees of the post, were also debited for moderate amounts of

³⁰⁴ HBCA, B.172/d/1 through B.172/d/11, Fort Rae account books 1853 - 1869.

goods “paid to Indians”, which may show that they had been equipped as small traders.³⁰⁵ “Bob”, “Charles Brisbois’ brother”, “Robillard”, and “Marseillais” and several of his brothers also appear on the “Indian” accounts. These were names associated with French-Canadian or mixed-ancestry employees of the Company in earlier years.

The Hudson’s Bay Company sponsored a small official post at Salt River, at the Beaulieu family compound, in 1864. Not only did the HBC wish to have the Beaulieu trade and influence in their organization, but free traders were moving into the Peace River country and the Company wanted to keep them out.³⁰⁶ A free trader named McQuesten wintered near Fort Vermilion in 1864 and may have traded at Salt River in 1866.³⁰⁷ The Salt River outpost was probably closed in 1873. Le Patriarche Beaulieu (Francois Beaulieu II) died at a great age in 1875.³⁰⁸

Fort Providence was built next to the Roman Catholic mission of Providence in 1868. This post was intended to provide better access to Indian hunters between Fort Simpson and Fort Resolution, and to discourage the northward movement of some free traders operating in the Peace River country. A seasonal fishing station was retained on Big Island. In 1867, the Soeurs Grises (Grey Nuns) had established an orphanage and school at Providence.³⁰⁹ The five nuns who came out to staff this school were likely the first European women to see Great Slave Lake. Father Auguste Lecorre, who was ordained at Providence in 1870, described the little settlement at that time as follows:

Devant elle des îles boisées fut divisent de fluve en trois grands cuemaux. Derrière elle à peu de distance, s’étendent des bois des prairies. Autour d’elle deux champs cultivés. Ajoutez à cette esquisse une résidence avec chapelle et quelques petits bâtiments accessoires. Un [peu] plus loin la maison des soeurs et des enfants; puis une centaine de pas [il avaient?] [le Fort] Providence, avec son

³⁰⁵ Joseph King Beaulieu operated outposts at present-day Snowdrift and later at Fond du Lac. See *Our Metis Heritage: a Portrayal*, eds. Joanne Overvold Burger and Allan Clovis, photograph of Joseph King Beaulieu I in section “Metis and the Trading Companies”, (Metis Association of the Northwest Territories, n. d.).

³⁰⁶ Harrison, 97 - 98, citing 1866 - 1867 HBC documentation.

³⁰⁷ Harrison, 97 - 98, citing 1866 - 1867 HBC documentation.

³⁰⁸ Petitot, *Traditions Indiennes*, 433.

³⁰⁹ Levasseur, 82.

agence anglaise et ses [cinq] maisonnettes. Des familles métisses et Indiennes au service de la [Compagnie] [fait?] la physionomie d'ensemble de la place...³¹⁰

The Hudson's Bay Company opened a post at the mouth of the Hay River in 1868. This was a small outpost established to support Fort Resolution, and also to intercept traders from the Peace River country who were tempted by the relatively easy and established route from Fort Vermilion overland to the Hay River.³¹¹ The Oblates came soon afterward to establish a mission on the site, built in the spring of 1869. However, this mission did not have the success of the others, as the resident priest, Father Gascon, wrote at the end of November 1869:

Tres-peu de familles sont venues au fort, et les hommes seulement, et ils ne sont demeures que deux ou trois jours...D'ici au printemps, à l'exception des deux chasseurs du fort avec leurs familles, ces sauvages ne doivent pas venir. Ils sont à chasser au loin, dans le but de trouver des fourrures pour payer leurs dettes...

La population du fort se compose de Sauteurs, d'Écossais, de sauvages protestants. Sur cette population, trois personnes seulement sont catholiques. Depuis le passage de Mgr Faraud, le 27 août, j'ai eu pour serviteur et pour compagnon un jeune métis, que son frère vint rejoindre un mois après. Ces deux jeunes gens vivent des mets de la même cuisine, et habitent sous le même toit...³¹²

The first HBC account book available from Hay River, for the period 1869 - 1871, suggests that all of the seven employees of the post were of Scottish descent.³¹³ In fact, this post was not very successful, as most of the projected clients could get better prices by going to Fort Vermilion or a site on the Hay River close to Fort Vermilion called the "Horse Tracks". The mission was closed in 1875, and the HBC post was closed in 1878.³¹⁴

Fort Smith was opened by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1874. This establishment, at the north end of the Slave River rapids, was more important as a transportation depot and a commercial

³¹⁰ Auguste Lecorre, « Souvenirs d'un Vieux Missionnaire Aveugle », PAA, Accession 71.220, Box 166, file 6760, page 6 bis. As the title implies, Lecorre had been blind for many years and had developed his own unique style of writing. Sometimes words are merged together or letters are omitted or repeated, and accents are omitted.

³¹¹ Harrison, 100.

³¹² Father Gascon to Superior General, 30 November 1869, in *Missions de la Congrégation des missionnaires oblats de Marie Immaculée*, t. 10 (Paris : Typographie Hennuyer, 1872), 14 - 15.

³¹³ HBCA, B.289/d/1, Hay River account books, 1869 - 1871, page 12.

³¹⁴ Harrison, 111; « Codex historicus de la Mission Ste. Anne Riviere au foin », PAA, Accession 97.109, Box 95, item 207A, pages 1 - 3.

supply post than as a fur post, although furs were traded there. Once again the Oblates arrived soon after the post was built, founding St. Isidore mission there in 1876.³¹⁵ Unfortunately, there are almost no surviving early records relating either to the post or to the mission. Fort Smith's partner settlement at the south end of the Slave rapids was called at this time Smith's Landing (later to be renamed Fort Fitzgerald or Fitzgerald after a North West Mounted Police constable who drowned near Fort McPherson).³¹⁶

Transportation technology, and therefore work patterns, underwent another significant change in the Great Slave Lake area in the early 1880s. The Hudson's Bay Company built the 135-foot steamboat "Grahame" at Fort Chipewyan and put it into service between Smith's Landing and Fort McMurray in 1882, and built another steamer (the "Wrigley") at Fort Smith in 1885 for use between Fort Smith and the Mackenzie River posts.³¹⁷ The steamboats largely displaced the York boats formerly in use, although scows were still used to get goods over rapids and for freight shipments. The requirements for the heavy manual labour of managing the boats were reduced dramatically. The steamboats needed large quantities of cordwood, however, and crews were still necessary to move goods over the portage road between Smith's Landing and Fort Smith.³¹⁸ The steamboats also needed skilled pilots familiar with the rivers and lake navigation. Over the succeeding years mixed-ancestry people acquired the technical training to apply to their local knowledge, and became some of the best-known pilots on these waterways.³¹⁹

The mixed-ancestry parishioners of the Oblates frequently figured in their reports and correspondence. Father Emile Petitot has been quoted earlier in describing Francois Beaulieu (II), Le Camarade de Mandeville, and Louis Cayen, all of whom he met at Great Slave Lake in the summer of 1863. He also described many other mixed-ancestry people in his writings, such as Marianne, the wife of his Chipewyan servant at Moose Deer Island in 1863, who was the

³¹⁵ Levasseur, 124.

³¹⁶ Fumoleau, 425, 431, 433.

³¹⁷ Fumoleau, 11.

³¹⁸ The date at which the portage from Smith's Landing to Fort Smith was upgraded to a wagon road is obscure, but it was in operation by 1888. Canada, Parliament, *Report of the Select Committee of the Senate appointed to enquire into the resources of the Great Mackenzie Basin* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1888), 9 - 10.

³¹⁹ See for example George Pendleton, "John Berens -- Pilot", *The Beaver*, June 1942, 30 - 31.

daughter of North West Company trader Willard Wentzel and his Chipewyan wife.³²⁰ Petitot reminisced about the resident population of Fort Good Hope (Bonne-Esperance or Good Hope mission), at which he had been posted in 1864 - 1873 and 1876 - 1878, in his book *Quinze ans sous le Cercle Polaire*, published in 1889. Several of the people he met at Fort Good Hope also either lived at Great Slave Lake or had family connections there:

A l'exception d'un excellent Ecosais nommé Johnstone, le personnel du fort Bonne-Esperance était entièrement français et catholique, à cette époque; bourgeois en tête. Je dis français, bien qu'il s'y trouvât trois Métis saut-en-arrière tchippeways : William Charles Burke, Henry Sanderson et Peter Trindell, dans les veines desquels il n'y avait pas une seule goutte de sang franc ou normand. Toutefois, comme ils appartenaient de loin et par les mâles à la race gallique, et qu'ils avaient embrassé le catholicisme, ils s'intitulaient bravement Français et se rangeaient dans le camp de la France.

Le bourgeois ou commandant du fort, M. C.-P. Gaudet, de l'amitié duquel je m'honore, était un Canadien franco-irlandaise...

En outre des cinq engagés déjà nommés, il avait encore à son service l'interprète Francis Houle, et le Peau-de-Lièvre Jacques Tatékoyé...

Peter Trindell avait pour femme une Esclave du fort des Liards d'une beauté remarquable, et qui fut mon premier professeur d'esquimaux.

Henry Sanderson était un original qui avait épousé une Tchippewayane du grand lac des Esclaves...

Francis Houle, frère de William et d'Antoine...cumulait les fonctions d'interprète d'été, de timonier, en été, et de voyageur, en hiver. C'était un Métis franco-castor qui avait passé sa jeunesse sur le versant occidental des Montagnes-Rocheuses...³²¹

Petitot met Jacques Beaulieu dit Nadé, "un Métis franco-flanc-de-chien [Dogrib], fils naturel du vieux patriarche Beaulieu", in the summer of 1864 on the shores of a lake between Lac la Martre and Fort Rae. Petitot identified Jacques Beaulieu dit Nadé as the "chef" of a "tribu" of "Indiens du lac la Martre".³²²

³²⁰ Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 80.

³²¹ Emile Petitot, *Quinze Ans sous le Cercle Polaire* (Paris : E. Dentu, 1889), 53 - 54.

³²² Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 264 - 265.

Petitot characterized Le Camarade de Mandeville, as he had met him and his family in 1863 near Fort Resolution, as follows:

François-Baptiste Le Camarade de Mandeville, âgé de 65 ans en 1863, Métis franco-castor, élevé parmi les Tchippewayans, et marié en secondes noces à une Esclave, Marie *Tsa-shiré-tsa*; excellent homme, second interprète du fort Resolution, chasseur et pêcheur...³²³

Mandeville, according to Petitot, had twelve living children, aged 45 to three years old, and thirty-one grandchildren from his two marriages. The third eldest, Alexis or *San-reldhel*, l'Enjoué, *Chi-édin*, or l'Enroué, was a Chipewyan chief. The fourth eldest was Baptiste, a hunter for the Fort. Petitot wrote,

Tous ces enfants de Le Camarade étaient de vrais sauvages dènè, ne comprenant pas un mot de français, à l'exception de Baptiste et de Michel [the third youngest, aged 12], élevés dans le fort, prenant des noms indiens à la naissance de leur premier-né et affublés du pagne de des jambières de cuit comme de vrais sylvicoles. Et voilà comment l'on devient sauvage...³²⁴

Although most of Mandeville's children were not able to speak French, except for the two raised "in the fort", some of the other locally-born mixed-ancestry people Petitot met were French-speaking. He tried to reproduce their somewhat "flattened" dialect in his stories, for example:

Quelques jours après,³²⁵ Nancy Pépin, la femme de mon engagé canadien, une Métisse tchippewayanne, fille du vieux patriache [sic] Beaulieu, entre chez moi :

-- « Père, me dit-elle, je viens t'avârtir que tu te fais retaper d'une belle façon par les chavages. Quand i'sortent d'y d'icite, ça vient chez nous, après ça ça risent de toë : « Ah! c'té père-là il est ben bon, qu'i disent; rien que ça » il est trop mangeux d'lard. Il n'a pas d'esprit. S'i' continue à nous donner sa viande chèche, y en aura ben vite plus pour lui ni pour vous aut', dans le hangar. V'là quoi ce qui'i' disent, les chavages. »³²⁶

Without hearing this passage, it is of course difficult to judge the influences on the accent exactly. It seems to reflect a Canadian French, not surprisingly, with perhaps some additional shortening of words like "ils" and shifting of consonant sounds like those in "sauvage" and

³²³ Ibid., 359.

³²⁴ Ibid., 359 - 360.

³²⁵ The date here is June 1863, at Moose Deer Island.

³²⁶ Ibid., 105. "Le patriache" Beaulieu, however, seems to have spoken to Petitot in Chipewyan; see Petitot's *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*.

“seche”. In any event, Petitot clearly thought the dialect was characteristic enough that it was an essential part of the story for his readers.

Petitot took a keen interest in the francophone presence and contributions to the North West, and was anxious to convey to his readers the importance of a connection to France. He emphasized the early presence of French-speaking Canadians and mixed-ancestry people in the Great Slave Lake area, the role of French-Canadian “voyageurs” in supporting British exploration, and the continuing francophone influences in the region. Some of his advocacy should be read with caution, but his observations are interesting:

Bien que cette contrée subarctique soit devenue foncièrement anglaise, tous les noms géographiques en sont demeurés français, à cause de la nécessité où se trouvent les officiers de la Compagnie d’Hudson de se plier aux exigences de leur position, qui les oblige à avoir à leur service des Canadiens et des Métis français à titre d’interprètes, de guides, de voyageurs et de charpentiers...

Les Métis parlent de la France comme de leur patrie, parce qu’ils en sont issus; parce qu’ils sont et demeurent Français par le coeur et les sentiments, tout en étant sujets britanniques par le fait brutale de la conquête. Voilà tout. Quoi de plus légitime? On entend, en effet, ces bons Créoles appeler *neige française* la neige folle et fondante de l’automne; parce qu’elle ressemble à celle que leurs pères avaient connue dans la mère-patrie. Ils appellent *canard de France*, le mallard à la gorge irisée, qui immigre de la Chesapeake ou des Florides; parce que c’est le même oiseau que leurs pères avaient chassé dans les marais de la Sologne. Ils ont baptisé *souliers français* les chaussures solides mais peu élégantes qu’ils reçoivent de Glasgow ou d’Édimbourg, par opposition aux minces brodequins dèné; parce que cette chaussure est analogue à celle dont firent usage leurs pères, les *Français d’France*...

Toutefois, je dois convenir que les Danè donnent à nos compatriotes canadiens ou métis un nom qui est, pour leurs maîtres anglais, une injure implicite et constante que ces Indiens leur jettent à la face.

Ce nom est *Banlay*, contraction de *Ba-no-o-play* (Pour lui est la terre, Celui auquel la terre appartient). Depuis le Portage des Grenouilles jusqu’aux rivages esquimaux, le nom des Français a le même sens dans quelque dialecte que ce soit...³²⁷

These observations, if accurate, indicate that at least some French-Canadian fathers took some care to pass on some aspects of French dialect and identity to their mixed-ancestry children in the

³²⁷ Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 86 - 87.

North. Most of these French-Canadian fathers had been several generations out of France themselves, so these cultural manifestations had been very persistent indeed through these families and had clearly taken on some importance. In other instances, as Petitot noted with the Mandevilles, the French cultural influence had disappeared within two generations and had been replaced with Chipewyan culture, language and identity, in Petitot's view.

Petitot, writing in 1891, accused the Hudson's Bay Company of attempting to eradicate the French "Métis" in the North West by eliminating rations except to those actually under contract starting in the year 1866. A glance at the Fort Chipewyan account book for 1874 - 1875 shows that "Families" were still receiving provisions, although at a level that seems lower than in the past, and comprising almost all fish instead of meat.³²⁸ The process had begun, according to Petitot, with the discontinuance of employment of "Métis iroquois" on the boat brigades in the North in 1862, and their replacement not with French-Canadians or Red River Metis but "des équipages saulteurs ou savaonais protestants, à demi civilisés, et gouvernés par des Métis orcadiens ou écossais".³²⁹ A list of brigade crews from Fort Resolution to Portage La Loche, drawn up with the Fort Rae accounts some time between 1861 and 1866, indicates that the crews were predominantly Indian, with a few mixed-ancestry English and French members.³³⁰ Petitot wrote that families of the "Métis" around the northern posts, once rations were cut back, supported themselves by "se livrant à un petit trafic clandestin avec les Indiens pourvoyeurs des forts-de-traite. Ceux-ci, autant par affection que par intérêt, firent passer *in petto* aux Métis, les provisions sèches nécessaires à leur famille".³³¹ As well, the women redoubled their efforts in fishing, collecting firewood, and snaring hares. Although the HBC attempted to discourage their servants from marrying, Petitot indicated that the young French-Canadian and mixed-ancestry men married as before, believing that the HBC could not do without their services. However, the Company responded, "inonda les districts du Nord de matelots et de pêcheurs orkneys et écossais". These Orkneymen and Scotsmen, called by the "Métis" "ces petits n'Anglais", "se montrèrent si aimables, si enjoués, si bons compagnons avec Metis et Indiens, en dépit d'une

³²⁸ HBCA, B.39/d/147, Fort Chipewyan account book 1874 - 1875

³²⁹ Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 83.

³³⁰ HBCA, B.172/d/8, Fort Rae account book 1861 - 1866, page 41 and page facing page 42.

³³¹ Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 89 - 90.

moralite souvent douteuse, qu'ils gagnerent aussitot les bonnes graces de tout le monde". Despite their likeability, however, these men turned out to be "pietres marcheurs et de pietres voyageurs" (as James Keith had observed in the 1820s), were "depayses et nostalgiques" for their homeland, did not put down roots, and left after two or three years.³³² Employee lists for at least some northern posts, such as Fort Rae in 1868 - 1869³³³ and Fort Chipewyan in 1874 - 1875,³³⁴ do show a markedly larger proportion of Scottish names than the 1820s or midcentury employee lists.

Petitot believed that the distinctive "Métis population of the North was French and Catholic, and that the English had either not intermarried with the Indian population or had not created a separate "Métis" culture:

Je dois répéter, pour la région du grand lac des Esclaves et du Mackenzie, ce que j'ai dit du Canada et de la Louisiane, par rapport au métissage. Le Français s'y est assimilé l'élément peau-rouge en convolant à de véritables mariages avec les filles danites, et en procréant une famille métisse, héritière du nom, de l'esprit, de la religion de des moeurs des Français.

L'Anglais, au contraire, s'est seulement servi de l'élément peau-rouge pour des fins d'intérêt ou de jouissance matérielle et transitoire, sans songer à faire souche.

Les familles métisses du Nord-ouest sont donc françaises ou tout au moins catholiques. Les Métis demeurés isolés dans les bois, auprès de leurs mères Indiennes, ou bien élevés à l'indienne, sont presque tous des rejetons de la bourgeoisie britannique ou tout au moins protestante. Je pourrais citer des noms à l'appui. Les convenances m'en empêchent; mais ceux qui ont habité et pratiqué l'extreme Nord-Ouest savent bien que tel est le cas...³³⁵

Evidently Petitot's arguments are not completely consistent; he himself had observed that the majority of the Mandevilles and some of the Beaulieus had merged into the Chipewyan population, and he had described British mixed-ancestry individuals at Fort Good Hope who had allied themselves with the French Catholic population of the post. It is quite possible that he characterized the "Métis" population of Great Slave Lake as French and Catholic because this

³³² Ibid., 89 - 91.

³³³ HBCA, B.172/d/11, Fort Rae account book 1868 - 1869, page 5.

³³⁴ HBCA, B.39/d/147, Fort Chipewyan account book 1874 - 1875, page facing last page (not a complete list of servants).

³³⁵ Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, 92.

was the group that he wanted to see. However, his remarks are suggestive and may lead to further insights, and it appears to be true that most mixed-ancestry individuals in the area in the 1860s and 1870s were of French descent and affiliated with the Catholic Church.

In 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its proprietorship of Rupert's Land to Canada. Subsequent to this transfer, Canada began to collect information on Rupert's Land and the northern territories, sending members of the Geological Survey into what is now northern Alberta and requesting information on the population of the district from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company had kept lists of employees and families, people trading at its posts, freemen, and some censuses of Indians within a post area, but had not customarily undertaken a precise census of the entire population. In 1873, Roderick MacFarlane, the HBC Chief Factor for the Athabasca District based at Fort Chipewyan, compiled a "Census of the Population of Athabasca District in 1873". It is not clear who requested this information. A nominal census has not been located, but a recapitulation sheet showing "Chipewyan Nation", "Crees" and "Half Breeds" at various posts, divided by marital status, age and gender, has been preserved in HBC records. This sheet shows that the combined "Half Breed" population of Fort Chipewyan, Red River [Fort McKay] outpost, and Salt River Outpost was 57, compared to 86 Crees and 537 Chipewyans. However, "Indians, Half Breeds and others, with their families in the Companys Service" were not included in this census.³³⁶

The first official Dominion census of the Great Slave Lake area was taken in 1881.³³⁷ Roderick Macfarlane at Fort Chipewyan co-ordinated the collection work, compiling some tables himself and collecting information from the managers of HBC posts and outposts. Fort Providence had a recorded population of 44, including eleven men and women associated with the Oblates and the Grey Nuns. Ethnic identifications on this (and other) censuses must be interpreted with caution; for example, Joseph Bouvier was identified as a French Canadian Roman Catholic interpreter, and his wife Marguerite and daughter Maria Augustine were similarly described. However, Marguerite claimed for Metis scrip in 1900, and was the daughter of Louison Lafferty and Marie L'Esperance, both described in scrip records as "half breeds". Drawing on information from

³³⁶ PAA, HBC records, Accession 82.95, Box A.

³³⁷ Dominion manuscript census 1881, Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts, NAC reel C-13286.

other sources such as marriage and scrip records, over half of the enumerated population of Fort Providence (excepting the missionaries and nuns) can be identified as being of mixed ancestry. At Fort Smith, to take another example, some of the Beaulieus were enumerated as “French”, and others as “Indian”. The census forms were filled out by the enumerators, and it is not clear how ethnic classifications were decided upon; i. e. whether the classifications were as declared by the individual or were imputed by the enumerator (who would have known all these people well.) The Census administration set out guidelines for ethnic classification for enumerators, but these were intended to list acceptable ethnic labels and standardize the treatment of children. As even the treatment of standardized categories varied from return to return in the same year (for example, in identifying the children of mixed marriages as “Mixed”, “French-Indian”, or simply “French”), it seems very likely that the assignment of ethnic classifications varied as well according to the ideas or practices of the enumerator.

The other settlements enumerated around Great Slave Lake were Big Island (population 28), Fort Rae (24), Fort Smith (39), and Fort Resolution (54). As at Fort Providence, at least one-half of these populations were either identified as being of mixed ancestry or can be identified as such through other sources. In addition, 230 “Indians” of the Chipewyan, Yellow Knife, Slave and Dog Rib “tribes” were stated as “frequenting” Fort Resolution, 115 Indians at Fort Smith, 456 Indians at Fort Providence, and 615 at Fort Rae. These “Indians” were not enumerated by name.

Occupationally, most of the named family heads were recorded as being in employments typical of the Hudson’s Bay Company (except for those in religious orders). Exceptions include Henry Cadien, of “Mixed” ancestry at Fort Rae, who was described as a “Freeman”. Michel Mandeville at Fort Smith was a “Fur Hunter &c”, and Francois Beaulieu (“French”) was a “Fisherman &c”. At Fort Resolution, Pierre Beaulieu (“French”) was a “Hunter & Fisherman”, as were Henry Fabien, François Mandeville, and William Mandeville (all “French”).

In the spring of 1884, Roderick Macfarlane at Fort Chipewyan compiled another census for the information of government officials, who were considering the costs and benefits of entering into a Treaty with the Indian people resident north of Treaty Six. Macfarlane referred to the 1881 census for Forts Chipewyan, Fond du Lac, McMurray, Smith, Resolution, Red River [McKay]

and Vermilion, and summarized the results for the Indian population as follows: “Beaver Tribe Indians 158, Slaves 69, Yellow Knives 125, Carriboo Eater 502, Dog Ribs 217, Chipewyans proper 505, Crees 211, and Half breeds who live with and as Indians 44”.³³⁸ He compiled a “List of the Population of Athabaska district entitled to participation in any lands that may be granted by government to the natives of the N. W. T.”, in other words, Métis scrip. At Fort Chipewyan, he named 32 family heads in this category, representing a total of 138 people, including members of the Beaulieu, Laviolette, Mercredi, St. Cyr, Tourangeau and Piché families. At Fort Smith he listed 13 family heads representing 46 people, including members of the Beaulieu, Hoole, Mandeville, and Cadien families. At Fort Resolution, he listed 12 family heads and 59 people, including the Beaulieus (Paul, Pierre, François, Joseph and King), Mandevilles (François, Michel, and William), and Norn, Tandion, Fabien and Flett. In two cases, the husband of a woman Macfarlane thought eligible for scrip was noted as having received Manitoba Métis scrip. Macfarlane added four family heads and 16 people who had recently moved out of the Athabaska district on a separate list. The total for the whole district was 62 families representing 333 people.³³⁹

Macfarlane also attached a census of the “White” population in the Mackenzie River district, although in fact many of the people on this list were identified as “Mixed” or even “Indian”. The families in this census included Bouchers, Lafertés, Fletts, Hooles, Beaulieus, Trindells, Bouviers, and Sandersons. The Mackenzie River district included Fort Providence (42 people, of which 25 were identified as “mixed”), Fort Rae (26; 21 “mixed”), and Big Island (26; 22 “mixed”). The ethnic identifications on this census, compared to the 1881 census, appear to accord more closely (although not entirely) with information available from other sources. It may therefore be of significance that one woman, the wife of the trader at Fort Liard, was identified as “American”, born in the United States. Unlike other women on this list, there is no other evidence to indicate that she was of Indian ancestry or mixed-ancestry, so she may be the first married woman of purely European ancestry to have lived in this region.

³³⁸ R. Macfarlane, Chief Factor, Hudson’s Bay Company, Fort Chipewyan, to Lawrence Clarke, Hudson’s Bay Company, Prince Albert, 28 May 1884, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4006, file 241209-1.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, attachment to the letter.

In 1891, ethnic origin was not collected as part of the census data, except for “French Canadian”. However, the place of birth of the mother and father was collected. On this basis, two European women can be located at Fort Resolution (the Protestant missionary’s wife, and the wife of a “farmer”).

The 1891 census attempted to list and name both Indians and non-Indians.³⁴⁰ The priest at Fort Resolution who took the census also included the maiden name of wives, where he knew it. This allows us to see that the Beaulieus had intermarried with the Lamoureux, Hope (an Cree Indian family brought up in the fur trade), Sanderson, Mandeville, and some Dene families and that the Mandevilles had intermarried with both Dene and local mixed-ancestry families. The mixed-ancestry families with a long presence in the region drew primarily from both old and new fur-trade families for marriage partners, although some mixed-ancestry men continued to take Dene women as brides. (The reverse appears to be very rare at this time.) The vast majority of the enumerated population was Dene. Almost everyone at Fort Resolution was classified as a “Hunter”; a few mixed-ancestry people were noted as HBC servants. At Fort Providence, the same general trends hold. Listed among the “Indian Hunter” population were Lamalice families, Joseph Thibault and his family, “Jose McKay”, and the “Laundrie” family. At the Fort, Joseph and Baptiste Bouvier (from Manitoba) and their families, and Vital Laferté and his family were among those listed. Joseph Bouvier was an interpreter; Baptiste was a “Fur Trapper”. At Fort Rae, occupations are omitted except for the priests and chief HBC trader. Lafertés, Beaulieus, Cadiens, Norns, Germaines, and McKays were listed there. There is no separate census for Fort Smith surviving. At Fort Chipewyan, Alphonse Beaulieu was a “Steamboat Pilot”, and Pierre Mercredi was a clerk with the Hudson’s Bay Company, but most of the population were still “Hunters + Fishermen”.

III.G Treaty, Traders and Gold, 1890 - 1900

Government involvement in the Great Slave Lake region prior to 1890 was very limited. A North West Territories Council and a Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories were

³⁴⁰ Dominion manuscript census 1891, Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts and Unorganized Territory (NWT), NAC reels T-6426 and T-6427.

appointed by the federal government after the creation of Manitoba in 1870, but their actions rarely reached far into the Great Slave Lake area. In December of 1873, Roderick Macfarlane at Fort Chipewyan wrote to the North West Territories Council requesting that a Civil Magistrate or commissioner be posted there, anticipating “incursions of large numbers of Miners, Traders and others”.³⁴¹ No such appointments were made, and Macfarlane’s concerns were rather premature. However, the Canadian Government did extend the application of legislation forbidding the sale of liquor to “Indians” to the North West Territories as of May 1874.³⁴² In March of 1877, Bishop Faraud of the Athabasca-Mackenzie diocese applied to the federal government for funding for the boarding schools at Fort Providence and Fort Chipewyan,³⁴³ but was turned down by the Department of the Interior. In considering this request, Deputy Minister of the Interior E. A. Meredith noted that “the schools are so very far removed from our present Treaty Limits...that it would be establishing I fear a dangerous precedent should the Govt grant any annual allowance to them”.³⁴⁴

In response to a request in 1880 for assistance for starving Indian people in the Mackenzie District, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Lawrence Vankoughnet advised the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Sir John A. Macdonald, that

they are outside Treaty limits, and the Department has not charged itself with the care of Indians with whom no treaties have been made. Dewdney [the Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the North West Territories] has consequently nothing to do with the Indians...being fed by the H. B. Coy in the MacKenzie River District...³⁴⁵

The first funding for schools in the Athabasca-Mackenzie district was granted by Canada in 1884, when the Department of Indian Affairs allotted \$400 per year to the “Indian Schools in the

³⁴¹ R. Macfarlane to Donald A. Smith, 24 December 1873, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3609, file 3278.

³⁴² Canada Order in Council, 28 May 1874, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3610, file 3442.

³⁴³ Bishop Faraud to E. A. Meredith, 12 March 1877, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3649, file 8185.

³⁴⁴ E. A. Meredith and L. Vankoughnet to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 6 June 1877, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3649, file 8185.

³⁴⁵ L. Vankoughnet to Sir John Macdonald, 15 October 1880, NAC, MG26A (Sir John A. Macdonald Papers), Vol. 293.

Diocese of Athabasca” run by the Anglican Church.³⁴⁶ These schools were at Fort Vermilion and Fort Chipewyan.

The late 1880s brought a combination of declines in animal populations (notably hares) and incursions of contagious diseases like influenza and measles in the Athabasca-Mackenzie, and the Hudson’s Bay Company and the churches found themselves supporting many sick, starving and bereaved Indian people. The HBC objected to taking full responsibility for these people, who were now within Canadian territory although not under Treaty. In November 1886, the Commissioner of the HBC, J. Wrigley, argued that

it has been urged that the Company in a case like the present ought themselves to give necessary assistance on the ground that they have the exclusive benefit of the service of the Indians. In the past, this may to some extent have been true, but at the present time, a large number of traders participate in the benefit and under these altered circumstances it can hardly be expected that the Company should take upon themselves the whole burden...³⁴⁷

However, Deputy Superintendent General Vankoughnet replied to this argument by advising Sir John Macdonald that

The transfer of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s interest in the country to the Dominion in consideration of value received...has not practically up to the present time altered in any respect the relations of the Company to the Indians...No White settlement has been effected in those regions in consequence of said transfers...the game and fur-bearing animals have not been diminished in numbers through any action of the Government in settling the country...³⁴⁸

The HBC’s request for compensation for relief was refused.

In the late summer of 1887, R. G. McConnell of the Geological Survey of Canada explored the Slave, Salt and Hay Rivers from Fort Smith. After wintering at Fort Providence, he travelled north and west up the Mackenzie River and its tributaries to the Alaska border, and came south via the Chilkoot Pass. Although McConnell believed that “the possible oil country along the Mackenzie valley is...almost co-extensive with that of the valley itself”, he recognized that “its

³⁴⁶ L. Vankoughnet to Bishop R. Young, 20 February 1884, PAA, Accession 70.387, A.30/A281/95.

³⁴⁷ J. Wrigley to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 12 November 1886, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3708, file 19502, pt. 1.

³⁴⁸ L. Vankoughnet to Sir John A. Macdonald, 19 January 1887, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4006, file 241209-1.

remoteness from the present centres of population...will probably delay its development for some years to come".³⁴⁹

In mid-1888, after repeated petitions from the Anglican and Catholic Churches' Athabaska and Mackenzie dioceses and the Hudson's Bay Company, Canada agreed to grant \$7,000 to the HBC for "affording relief to Indians in the case of whom if such relief were not afforded starvation would inevitably ensue, the grant thus made to be given once for all in consideration of the exceptional distress existing among the non treaty Indians".³⁵⁰ Canada also granted \$500 each to Bishops Bompas (Anglican) and Clut (Catholic) for twine and hooks for "destitute Indians in the Mackenzie and Athabasca District".³⁵¹

By the end of 1890, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Edgar Dewdney, was willing to consider the idea of making a treaty with the Indian people in the Athabasca and Mackenzie districts, possibly including Great Slave Lake.³⁵² However, after some information-gathering, this initiative was apparently discontinued by the end of 1892. By the fiscal year 1896 - 1897, Anglican schools at Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution, and Catholic schools at Fort Chipewyan and Providence mission were receiving grants of \$200 per year, but this funding had not been extended to any other services in the region.³⁵³

The Anglican school at Fort Resolution had been opened formally in 1890, although the wife of the Anglican missionary there had previously been teaching a few pupils at the Fort. However, the school did not attract a large number of students from outside the immediate area, being overshadowed by the relatively successful Catholic mission. The Anglican Church opened another school near the site of the former HBC post at Hay River in 1893, choosing the location

³⁴⁹ R. McConnell, "Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins, N. W. T.", 9 May 1891, Canada, Parliament, Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Annual Report 1891.

³⁵⁰ Sir John A. Macdonald to Privy Council, 7 July 1888, NAC, RG10, Deputy Superintendent General's Letterbooks.

³⁵¹ L. Vankoughnet to H. Reed, 23 May 1889, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3708, file 19502, pt. 1.

³⁵² Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to Privy Council, 7 January 1891, NAC, RG10, Departmental Letterbooks; Canada Order in Council 52, 26 January 1891, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3848, file 75236-1.

³⁵³ "List of schools in the Outside Treaty Limits provided in the Estimates for 1896-7", n. d., NAC, RG10, Vol. 3815, file 56465.

because of its relatively easy access to food supplies, situation along a convenient transportation route along Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River valley, and considerable distance from a Catholic mission. This school (a residential school) turned out to be quite successful and led to the re-establishment of Hay River as a European settlement. The school at Fort Resolution was closed in 1895.³⁵⁴

In January of 1897, the first patrol of the North West Mounted Police to Fort Chipewyan and Great Slave Lake left Fort Saskatchewan, travelling by dog team. The instructions of the Commissioner of the NWMP to the patrol were to “obtain an exhaustive report on the condition of affairs there generally, and particularly to collect information likely to be useful to the government in their future dealings with that territory”.³⁵⁵ The police were to enforce ordinances dealing with liquor and the Northwest Territories *Game Act*, although they were reminded that “many of the Indians and small traders may be ignorant of the law, and therefore may have offended unwittingly”.³⁵⁶ The patrol was also instructed to recommend suitable locations for NWMP posts.³⁵⁷

The patrol left Fort Chipewyan on 4 February, heading along the Slave River for Smith’s Landing. It took five days to get there, because no previous travellers had been through to break a trail. There were no settlements between Fort Chipewyan and Smith’s Landing. At Smith’s Landing, “there [were] twelve families...who live by fishing, hunting and trapping during the winter, and in summer are employed in transporting goods for the Hudson’s Bay Company and traders over the portage to Fort Smith”.³⁵⁸ Many of the residents were away “in the bush, trapping”, when the patrol came through. Leaving Smith’s Landing,

The portage is through bush, and a fair cart road has been made. This is the centre of the buffalo country, and on my arrival I found a party of hunters who

³⁵⁴ Harrison, 126 - 135; 139 - 140..

³⁵⁵ Inspector A. M. Jarvis, “North-West Mounted Police Patrol Athabaska District Winter 1896 - 97”, in Report of the Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police for the year 1897, Appendix L, in Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, no. 15, (1898), 3.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ The census of 1901 indicated that most of the residents of Smith’s Landing at that time were from long-established mixed-ancestry families.

had already made their long hunting snow shoes and were ready to start in search of buffalo. Amongst them was Susa Beaulieu, a well known hunter. These people had never heard of a game law and were much surprised on hearing of it, but willingly gave up their hunt when I explained to them the necessity of complying with this law. There are three minor trading posts in this vicinity being out posts of the Hudson's Bay Company and C. Fraser...

A very cold drive over the portage brought us to Fort Smith a small trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, managed by Mr. McKinley, and is a shipping point for the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River, the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer 'Wrigley' a screw boat plying there.

There is a river fishery at this place...

Mr. McKinley and Mr. Hanbury, an English sportsman, who is on a hunting expedition had just returned from an unsuccessful buffalo hunt...

The Indians inhabiting the country along the Great Slave River from Smith's Landing to Fort Resolution are Chippewyans, Cariboo Eaters and Yellow Knives...There is also a small band of Slavies, a few Crees and some half-breeds, chiefly composed of the Beaulieu family. Some of the Indians are said to journey all the way to Edmonton in the spring to trade their furs, and return with whisky which they smuggle through for themselves and other Indians who intrust them with furs to take out...

I remained at Fort Smith until the following morning, 10th February, and started for Fort Resolution having secured the services of a guide, and here I may mention that the Indians in the vicinity, hardly ever move from their homes, excepting to visit their lines of traps. I understand that this has been the custom for generations and there are many old Indians who have not been even to Chippeweyan...

There is a winter fishery on the Slave River [at the mouth of the Salt River], and two houses on the west bank, both vacant, as the owners had 'pitched off'...

On the 11th February we met Rev. Mr. Marsh, of Hay River, and Frank Mobley, a trapper from Beaver River, on their way out of the north country.

On our arrival at the portage of the Grande Detour we found a white man named C. Charlston, a United States ex-soldier, in a starving condition, having been deserted by his Indian companions who had 'pitched off' on a buffalo hunt. I gave him provisions to enable him to reach Fort Smith...From after reports I believe this man to be of unsound mind and unable to take care of himself, he is said to be a fugitive from justice...

After about two miles of portage and 8 miles on the Great Slave River without a trail, we struck a hunter's shack, occupied by Campbell Young and George Martin, who reported a successful take of fur...On the trail next day, the 12th February, we found what we supposed to be a dog, but turned out to be a coyote, a very unusual animal to see in that country, it had been poisoned...At my first interview with John Trindle, the offender, he not knowing that I was a police official, mistook me for Mr. Warbuton Pike, who had been there hunting buffalo and musk ox...

We...arrived at Fort Resolution on Sunday, 13th February...

This Hudson's Bay Company's Fort is built on the shores of the lake, is stockaded and contains several neat buildings, it is not as large as Chippeweyan, though an important trading post in charge of Mr. C. F. Gaudet. There is also a trading post belonging to Nagle and Hislop who have another at Stony Island 20 miles distant on the lake. There is a Roman Catholic Mission and a day school managed by two priests. The mission owns a side wheel steamer which crosses the Great Slave Lake and carries supplies to the Missions at the Peel and Mackenzie Rivers. The church is built of logs and is 60 x 30 feet, four lay brothers are employed by the mission.

Through the winter the population consists of only about 108 souls, in the summer like at Chippeweyan, it increases to 600 or 700. This may be called the land of plenty as regards meat and fish, the cariboo being very numerous this year, the lake trout are of great size, very plentiful and of fine flavour. I met a number of Indians here, Dogribs, Yellowknives and Slavies who came in to trade their furs and get their outfit to enable them to go to the Barren Grounds after musk ox...³⁵⁹

Several new features manifest themselves in this report. First, there were a small number of European travellers and tourists, unaffiliated with either the fur trade or the missionaries. While the Great Slave Lake area was still challenging to reach, a few hardy sports hunters and "fugitives" were beginning to find their way. Secondly, local competition was emerging in the fur trade. Hislop and Nagle had established at least two posts on Great Slave Lake by 1897, and some "Indian" people were trading as far south as Edmonton. Transportation improvements like the portage road and steamers owned by both the HBC and the missions facilitated travel and the movement of goods. The population settled around the trading posts and missions had increased, although much of the Indian or mixed-ancestry population still moved seasonally from trading post to hunting grounds to fishing places. The police, while on this patrol, tried several people for offences such as laying poison bait or assaulting their spouses, and told the residents for the

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 9 - 11.

first time about legislative restrictions on harvesting animals. Although many features were familiar from earlier periods -- the search for fur and caribou, dog team travel, the Beaulieu hunting along the Slave River -- some early indicators of change were becoming evident. However, the inspector in charge of the police patrol did not recommend any permanent police presence north of Fort Chipewyan, identifying instead the lower Athabasca River, Lesser Slave Lake, and the Peace River district as priorities for future patrols.³⁶⁰

In the spring of 1897, an unprecedented number of travellers came north through Fort Chipewyan and Great Slave Lake. Gold had been struck in the Klondike in the summer of 1896, and while most prospectors came into the Yukon from the north coast, many tried an overland route from Edmonton, by steamboat up the Slave River, along Great Slave Lake, and then over to the Mackenzie and its tributaries. With the prospectors came other businesspeople who were looking to establish services along the route. This activity caused local residents, notably the Beaver Indian people of the Peace River and Nelson districts, as well as the Indian and mixed-ancestry people at Lesser Slave Lake, and Ottawa government officials to consider again the question of settling a treaty north of Treaty Six. The federal government considered attempting to negotiate a treaty in the summer of 1898, but arrangements could not be made in time and a target of the summer of 1899 was set.³⁶¹ Initially, the Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the North West Territories did not recommend including Great Slave Lake in a treaty:

With these Indians I do not think it is absolutely necessary to treat at present. They are not numerous, their territory so far as is at present known is of no particular value and they very rarely come into contact with Whites except those who pass hastily through their territory, and from Fort Smith northward they are of a tribe quite distant from those with whom it is proposed to treat...³⁶²

However, by late 1898, mining interest had turned to the shores of Great Slave Lake. In October 1898, Corporal Trotter of the newly-established Fort Smith detachment of the North West Mounted Police reported that he had met a man passing south “to civilization” via Fort Smith

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 19.

³⁶¹ See René Fumoleau, *As Long as this Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870 - 1939* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 51 - 53; Donald Wetherell and Irene Kmet, *Alberta's North: A History, 1890 - 1950* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, Canadian Circumpolar Institute Press, and Alberta Community Development, 2000), 44 - 47; NAC, RG10, Vol. 3848, file 75236-1.

³⁶² A. E. Forget to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 25 April 1898, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3848, file 75236-1.

with “specimens of quartz ore that he found while prospecting on the shore of Great Slave Lake”. This man told Trotter that “should they turn out to be valuable when he has them assayed, that he will organize a Company of Capitalists in France, and return early in the spring to commence the development of his claim”.³⁶³ In his “General” remarks for the month of October, Trotter wrote,

The Indians in this locality are very jealous of whitemen, trappers and miners coming in their country and wanted them forbidden to do so. Another thing they are very much troubled about is that they should be compelled to take treaty and live on reserves. They do not seem to understand the nature of the treaty at all, and, from what I can learn the Government will have a great deal of trouble before they will get them to accept of it. Whitemen and Halfbreed Traders are I believe importuning them not to do so, by telling them that they will be put on a reserve and kept there...³⁶⁴

By January 1899, a number of mineral claims had been staked around Great Slave Lake, and one company alone estimated that it had spent \$25,000 in sending prospectors to the area.³⁶⁵

Although the boundaries of the new Treaty were not strictly defined in the negotiators’ mandate, the Minister Clifford Sifton considered it important to include Great Slave Lake because of these claims.³⁶⁶

Reports came in from several quarters in the proposed Treaty area to the effect that the Indian people were not all in favour of accepting a Treaty, for some of the reasons suggested by Trotter in the quote above. Canada decided to offer scrip to all “Halfbreeds” in the Treaty territory, except for those who had already received scrip in Manitoba, “on the wide basis of being born in the country, and not having previously been settled with”, believing this “would doubtless smooth matters in treating with both the Halfbreeds and Indians of the north”.³⁶⁷ This required a change in Government policy, which had previously restricted the issue of scrip to “Halfbreeds”

³⁶³ “Extract from Report of Corporal Trotter, Fort Smith Detachment”, 31 October 1898, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3848, file 75236-1.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Canada Order in Council 101, 11 January 1899, NAC, RG2, Vol. 3326, file 1929 - 1935, 14 January - 25 January 1899.

³⁶⁶ Marginalia by Sifton on David Laird, “Memorandum respecting proposed Indian Treaty No. 8 and Halfbreed claims”, 7 January 1899, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3848, file 75236-1.

³⁶⁷ David Laird to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 30 March 1899, NAC, MG27 (Clifford Sifton papers), Vol. 64, R. C. 488.

or their heirs who had been resident in the North West Territories prior to 15 July 1870 (the date of the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada). The Order in Council confirming this arrangement stated that adhering to the earlier rule would "tend rather to disturb than to satisfy the Halfbreeds, and would certainly cause them to so use their great influence with the Indians as to make it extremely difficult if not impossible to negotiate a Treaty".³⁶⁸ People of mixed ancestry could also choose to take Treaty instead of scrip, on the basis that "it is practically impossible in instructing the Commissioners to draw a hard and fast line between the Halfbreeds and the Indians, as some of them are so closely allied in manners and customs to the latter that they will desire to be treated as Indians...it would be more conducive to their own welfare, and more in the public interest, to take them into treaty, than to give them scrip".³⁶⁹ A Halfbreed Commission to hear and decide on scrip claims was established at the same time as the Treaty Commission, and the intent was to have the two travel in tandem, with scrip being dealt with after a Treaty had been signed.³⁷⁰

The North West Mounted Police provided estimates to the Government of the population with which the Treaty and Scrip Commissions would have to deal. At Fort Smith and Smith's Landing, as estimated 189 "Indians" and 92 "Half-breeds" were expected. A list of names was also provided. Families of Andersons, Mercredis, Bouchers, L'epinay [Lepine or Lepinet], Houles, Sandersons, Ruels, Mandevilles, Tourangeaus, Villebruns, Cayens, Trindels, and McKays were included on the list of "Half breeds" at Fort Smith and Smith's Landing.³⁷¹

Poor travelling conditions and logistical problems delayed the arrival of the Treaty and Halfbreed Commissions at their first stop at Lesser Slave Lake, and as a result the Commissions split up and worked as quickly as possibly to cover the rest of the territory. A party of Treaty Commissioners spent less than 24 hours at Fort Chipewyan before dashing on to Smith's Landing. At Smith's Landing, the Commissioners met Robert Bell of the Geological Survey, who had been investigating mineral deposits on Great Slave Lake. Bell told them that

³⁶⁸ Canada Order in Council 916, 6 May 1899, NAC, RG2, Vol. 778, file 2000c, Vol. 526.

³⁶⁹ Canada Order in Council 1703, 27 June 1898, NAC, RG10, Vol. 3848, file 75236-1.

³⁷⁰ Canada Order in Council 916, 6 May 1899, NAC, RG2, Vol. 778, file 2000c, vol. 526, 6 May 1899.

³⁷¹ NAC, RG18, Series B-1, Vol. 1435, file 76-1899, pt. 2.

“something had been said in the House [of Commons] before he left Ottawa to the effect that it was the intention of the Government to extend the time during which the killing of Wood Buffalo would be prohibited for another year from the 1st January next”. However, the Commissioners did not tell the Indian and mixed-ancestry people assembled at Smith’s Landing or Fort Chipewyan that these restrictions were to be continued, believing that “our mission would likely have been a failure if we had opened up the question”.³⁷² In their final report to the Government, the Treaty Commissioners emphasized that “our chief difficulty was the apprehension that the hunting and fishing privileges were to be curtailed...we had to solemnly assure them that only such laws as to hunting or fishing as were in the interest of the Indians and were found necessary in order to protect the fish and fur-bearing animals would be made, and that they would be as free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it”.³⁷³ The Halfbreed Commission got only as far north as Fort Chipewyan in 1899, although the Treaty Commissioners took information for scrip applications at Smith’s Landing. A joint Treaty and Halfbreed Commissioner, J. A. Macrae, visited Fort Smith and Fort Resolution in 1900.³⁷⁴

Seventy-three family heads took Treaty at Smith’s Landing in 1899.³⁷⁵ Of these, many were members of historic Great Slave Lake mixed-ancestry families, such as Michel Mandeville, Joseph Mandeville, Jose Beaulieu, Pierre Laviolette, Baptiste Beaulieu, Alphonse Beaulieu, William Lepiné [Lepinet], Maurice Ruel (noted as being “one of the Beaulieu family”), John Tourangeau, Maise Hoole, Jerome Cadien, Joseph Tourangeau, François Tourangeau, Jacob McKay, Baptiste Boucher, Francois Hoole, Jerome Beaulieu, Michael Mandeville, Catherine Sanderson, Ligure Piché, and Henry Sanderson jr. Other members of these same families took scrip in 1900. Detailed studies in this and other areas suggest that it is unwise to impose general

³⁷² J. A. J. McKenna to [Clifford] Sifton, 26 July 1899, NAC, MG27 (Clifford Sifton papers), Vol. 66, R. C. 490, pages 7 - 10.

³⁷³ Report of Commissioners for Treaty No. 8 (David Laird, J. H. Ross, and J. A. J. McKenna), to Clifford Sifton, 22 September 1899, in “Treaty No. 8”, DIAND Publication QS-0576-000-EE-A-16 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1966), 5 - 6.

³⁷⁴ J. A. Macrae, “Report of Commissioner for Treaty No. 8”, 11 December 1900, in “Treaty No. 8”, DIAND Publication QS-0576-000-EE-A-16 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1966).

³⁷⁵ Treaty Annuity Paylist, “Chipewyan Band Paid at Smith’s Landing”, 17 June 1899, NAC, RG10, Vol. 9342.

conclusions about identity on individual decisions to take scrip or Treaty, and that these decisions were based on many personal calculations based on situations at the time and place.³⁷⁶

The Treaty and scrip did however have at least two important results. The body of records generated by the scrip application process, which required the collection of basic genealogical and residence data, bequeathed a substantial data set for the mixed-ancestry people that did choose scrip. The Treaty and scrip process also introduced a legislative distinction between individuals based on their choice, which may initially have had little impact on their daily lives but would later determine rights of residency and access to natural resources, and reinforce societal groups along the lines first established in 1899 - 1900 (Treaty Eight) and later in 1921 - 1924 (Treaty Eleven).

Summaries of genealogical data included on scrip applications for Treaty Eight and Treaty Eleven are attached as Appendix B. It is important to note that this data contains errors, omissions and contradictions. For example, the scrip application of Joseph Beaulieu, born in the district of Athabasca in 1844, states that his father François Beaulieu was a “French Canadian”, but his father was François Beaulieu (III), grandson of François Beaulieu (I) and clearly of mixed ancestry. In the applications from Delphine Beaulieu (nee Cadien, born 1840 at Fort Resolution) and her children, she is identified as a “Chipewyan Indian”, but given the history of this name in the Great Slave Lake region it seems unlikely that she was not of mixed ancestry at some remove. In the applications for Michel and Moise Mandeville, their father was stated to be François Mandeville, “half-breed” or “French half-breed”, married to Marie Maunzie (Slave Indian). However, on their brother William Mandeville’s application, François Mandeville was stated to be “French Canadian”, married to Marie Maunaje, Slave Indian.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ See for example G. Neil Reddekopp, and Patricia Bartko, “Distinction without Difference? Treaty and Scrip in 1899”; Gerhard J. Ens, “Taking Treaty 8 Scrip, 1899 - 1900: A Quantitative Portrait of Northern Alberta Metis Communities”; and Patricia Bartko, “Lesser Slave Lake Aboriginal Population Circa 1899: ‘The Community Quandary -- Choosing Between Treaty and Scrip’”, all in *Treaty 8 Revisited: Selected papers on the 1999 Centennial Conference*, eds. Duff Crerar, and Jaroslav Petryshyn (Grande Prairie: Grande Prairie Regional College, 2000).

³⁷⁷ Note that although the NAC summaries state this ethnic origin to be “Métis”, it appears as “half-breed” on the original documents.

Despite these limitations, the scrip records can provide a valuable overall picture of a larger group. The data from the scrip records tend to reinforce the impression from earlier records such as the midcentury baptismal records and Hudson's Bay Company employment lists and accounts. A core of families with long residence in the Great Slave Lake area, such as the Beaulieus and Mandevilles, intermarried with the local Chipewyan population but also with successive waves of mixed-ancestry and sole-European-ancestry newcomers, from the Lafertés and Houles in the 1820s and the Mercredis in the 1830s through to mixed-ancestry children of the Sandersons and Berens near the end of the century.³⁷⁸ Outmarriage of newcomers and established families to Dene women continued throughout the period, although marriages to other mixed-ancestry partners were more common. Most of the claimants for scrip were born in the area bounded roughly by Fort Chipewyan, Fort Liard, Fort Simpson, Fort Rae, and Fond du Lac, although many applicants had apparently moved several times within the district during their lives (demonstrated by different places for birth, marriage, and scrip application). While English- and French-ancestry families did tend to intermarry strongly, they were by no means exclusive groups, and by the beginning of the twentieth century there are many examples of "mixed" mixed-ancestry marriages. These particular records are not well-designed to show connections outside the district, as anyone who had already collected scrip in Manitoba or under the other numbered treaties would have been discouraged from applying. However, the interconnectedness of the families in the Great Slave Lake basin area, as demonstrated by these scrip records, is nonetheless striking. As marriage partners for mixed-ancestry people were selected by their families until into the twentieth century, these intermarriage patterns are significant as expressions of collective direction and perception as well as individual choice and socialization.³⁷⁹

One aspect of kinship relationships that has not been explored in this paper is the pattern of Chipewyan kinship ties that may be expressed through some of these mixed-ancestry marriages.

³⁷⁸ Scrip records for Treaty 8, searchable by location and name, NAC, RG15.

³⁷⁹ See Slobodin, 38 - 39. Slobodin, interviewing mixed-ancestry people around Great Slave Lake in 1963, was also struck by the mobility of these twentieth-century people over their lives through Northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories (66 - 68). Note that I do not agree with Slobodin on his characterization of the Great Slave Lake "Metis" population as being affiliated historically with two groups, a "Red River" group and a "Northern Metis" group.

As most Indian spouses were “Chipewyan”, there are doubtless kinship patterns of Dene families embedded in the mixed-ancestry marriages that are not apparent from the analysis done to date.

Scrip applications in 1899 - 1900 and 1924 also collected information on occupations (primarily for males). The summaries of scrip applications from the National Archives in Appendix B unfortunately do not provide occupational information for most files; the originals would have to be consulted to do an occupational study of the Great Slave Lake scrip records. Historian Gerhard Ens has tabulated the occupations given on the 1900 scrip applications from Fort Resolution. According to his study, 50% of the applicants were hunters and/or trappers, 17% were unknown, 11% were hunters/trappers/fishermen, 5.5% were fishermen, 5.5% were HBC clerks, 5.5% were hunters/trappers/traders, and 5.5% were traders/miners.³⁸⁰

The 1901 census³⁸¹ attempted to collect information on mixed-ancestry populations more precisely and systematically than previous censuses, although the results still vary with the enumerator. Initials such as “S. B.” (Scottish breed), or “F. B.” (French breed) specify the background of identified mixed-ancestry individuals, and some enumerators went further in adding Aboriginal modifiers such as “Chipewyan F. B.”. As in previous censuses, the results should be read in the context of other documents providing information on ancestry, but the census documents do add valuable information about families and populations as a whole. Occupations were not requested on the 1901 census forms.

At Fort Providence, the school had grown to thirteen nuns and fifty students (as of March 31, 1901). Fourteen of these students were identified as being of mixed ancestry. The great majority of the population enumerated at Providence were classified as Slavey Indians. Mixed-ancestry families at Providence included Lamoureux, Bouvier, Lanoix, Hope, and the widows and children of Cayen and Landry (who were identified as Indian). Most of the “Indians” were recorded as having been born at Providence; this probably represents an estimate on the enumerators’ part. One distinguishing feature of mixed-ancestry individuals was variety in the

³⁸⁰ Ens, Gerhard, “Taking Treaty 8 Scrip, 1899 - 1900”, 257.

³⁸¹ Dominion Census, 1901, Athabaska and Mackenzie Districts, Unorganized Territory, NAC, reel T-6555.

birthplace, such as Good Hope, Fort Simpson or Fort Rae, but only the Hopes were born outside the district (St. Peters, Manitoba, and Winnipeg, for the husband and wife respectively).

At Fort Resolution, the majority of the population was of mixed ancestry. The Beaulieu family was prominent, as might be expected, as well as the Mandevilles, Sandersons and Norns. The trader Edward Nagle was there with his German-Russian wife and their children (who were classified as “Irish”, after the ancestry of the father). Most of the Beaulieus and Mandevilles recorded as having been born at Fort Resolution, but the other mixed-ancestry families listed a variety of birthplaces such as Fort Rae, Providence, Fort Smith, and Athabasca. A handful came from outside the district, from Manitoba, Carlton, or Winnipeg.

The population of Fort Rae was listed as being almost all Dogrib, with a few Slavey Indians. Six mixed-ancestry families were enumerated at Fort Rae and at Willow River, 20 miles away. Family members were recorded as having been born at Fort Rae, Big Island, Fort Wrigley, Fort Chipewyan, Fort Simpson, Providence, and Fort Resolution, with the elderly Louis Landrie dit Laferte and his wife Marie L’Esperance claiming the only birthplace outside the district in Manitoba.

At Fort Smith, most of the small population (43) was classified as being of mixed ancestry. These included the Andersons (from Athabasca), the large Bourbonnais family from Saskatchewan, the Arsenault family from “Mackenzie”, and the Normand family from Athabasca. This is a rather atypical settlement for the region at this time, as it appears to have attracted mostly newcomers. Smith’s Landing was about the same size and also predominantly of mixed ancestry, but most of the family names -- Tourangeau, Beaulieu, Mercredi and Cayen -- can be located early in the nineteenth century fur trade.

The overall impression offered by the Census is reinforced by the report of the NWMP officers responsible for the district. Inspector West of the Peace River sub-district, which was centred in Lesser Slave Lake and extended north to Fort Chipewyan and Smith’s Landing, reported that there were “very few white people” in his district. He identified about fourteen European families in total, apart from HBC or other fur traders, engaged in farming, ranching, trapping and

wage labour. Officer Commanding Constantine, based in Fort Saskatchewan, described Smith's Landing as being composed of "about ten families of Indians and Half-breeds mixed, who live by hunting, fishing and trapping during the winter, and in summer are employed in the transporting of the freight for the Hudson's Bay Co. and the traders over the portage to Fort Smith".³⁸²

III.H Increasing Presence of Persons of Sole-European Descent and Government Regulation, 1905 - 1950

In 1905, the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created. A new Council was mandated to govern the reconfigured Northwest Territories (NWT), and Lieutenant Colonel F. White (a former North West Mounted Police Comptroller) was appointed Commissioner of the NWT. However, White (resident in Ottawa) did not appoint a council or provide any new ordinances or policies, and the budget of the NWT government did not exceed \$6,000 during White's tenure (until 1918).³⁸³

In 1907, the Province of Alberta introduced restrictions on the killing of beaver. As the Alberta/NWT border ran between Fort Smith and Smith's Landing, through the middle of prime hunting territory near the Salt River, this immediately introduced distinctions in access to harvesting between mixed-ancestry people who lived north and south of the boundary. The NWT allowed "residents" to hunt for food at any time of the year, with the exception of hunting for buffalo.

An initial survey of Smith's Landing was undertaken in 1910, and the Smith's Landing and Fort Smith townsites were surveyed in 1912.³⁸⁴ In 1911, the first full-time representatives of the Canadian government arrived in Fort Smith and Fort Simpson. These were Indian agents

³⁸² Report of the Commissioner of the North West Mounted Police for the year 1901, in Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, no. 28 (1902), 53 - 62.

³⁸³ Fumoleau, 47.

³⁸⁴ Carl Engler, D. L. S., "Plan of Smith Landing Settlement on Slave River", 7 July 1910; E. A. Neville, D. L. S., "Plan of part of Fort Smith Settlement on Slave River", 23 September 1912; E. A. Neville D. L. S., "Plan of Smith Landing Settlement on Slave River", 26 September 1912; all in NAC, RG15, Series D-II-a, Vol. 1097, file 2604568.

appointed by the Department of Indian Affairs.³⁸⁵ The Indian Agent at Fort Smith took on many other governmental roles, such as mining recorder, coroner, justice of the peace, recorder of vital statistics, and Parks Branch agent. This multifaceted role persisted until 1921.³⁸⁶

The *Codex Prissericus*, or chronicle, of everyday life at the Fort Smith Oblate mission from 1909 records some activities of local mixed-ancestry people around the mission in the early part of the twentieth century. These activities are very similar to those undertaken by mixed-ancestry people around fur trade posts a hundred years earlier. For example, in April of 1910, Joseph Mercredi arrived “avec les animaux de la HBC”.³⁸⁷ In April 1914, Isidore Mercredi, carpenter, began work painting the priests’ house, and Eusebe Mercredi began building the foundations of “la maison des engagés”, helped by Baptiste Anderson. Willie Brown (mixed-ancestry son of Magnus Brown, an HBC trader) brought in a hundred dried fish for the dogs.³⁸⁸ In May of 1914, Albert Norn and Baptiste Beaulieu came with mail from Fort Resolution.³⁸⁹ In November 1914, the mission received moose meat from Isidore Mercredi and Maurice Ruel, among others, and “Petit Lomm Houle” interpreter for the HBC, brought the mail from Fort Resolution.³⁹⁰ By mid-December, “les gens du Fort Smith partent à la chasses aux caribous aux environs de Smith Landing”.³⁹¹

Although the initial surveys for settlements at Fitzgerald (Smith’s Landing), Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, and Fort Chipewyan were complete before the First World War, townsite registers do not indicate any early rush to secure lots. The Roman Catholic Church obtained two lots in Fort Smith in 1915, and nine other lots were disposed of by 1920. Correspondence files regarding land disposition in Fort Smith reveal that the land registers do not represent the actual

³⁸⁵ A. J. Bell, Annual Report, Fort Smith Agency, 3 February 1912, in Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, in Canada, Parliament, *Sessional Papers*, no. 27 (1913), 128 - 130; and G. Card, extract from report, 31 March 1912, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6732, file 420-2A.

³⁸⁶ F. H. Kitto, Report on the Mackenzie District, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4092, file 548036, page 13.

³⁸⁷ “Codex Prissericus”, Fort Smith (St. Isidore mission), 1909 - 1926, PAA, page 13.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 51 - 53.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 86 - 89.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 93.

population at the time of disposition or, in most cases, the time of arrival of the acquirers. The dates of disposition instead seem to reflect the time at which long-time occupiers of the lots felt the need to secure legal title, possibly because of increased demand for land from newcomers.³⁹² After 1920, the pace of legal disposition increased markedly in the communities between Fort Chipewyan and Fort Resolution. Dozens of lots were alienated, where almost no disposition activity had occurred before.³⁹³

In 1916, Canada put forward a proposal to create a “game reserve” between the Peace and Slave Rivers, in particular to protect the buffalo but also to create a sanctuary for fur-bearers and big game animals. Indian chiefs at Fort Chipewyan, Fitzgerald and Fort Smith were canvassed for their views on this preserve by H. J. Bury, a Department of Indian Affairs official, but there is no evidence that mixed-ancestry people were consulted.³⁹⁴ The Department of the Interior also began consultations in late 1916 on a new *Game Act* for the Northwest Territories. Information was requested from the Department of Indian Affairs and local Royal North West Mounted Policemen on the potential effect of the proposed Act and its regulations.³⁹⁵ The Fort Resolution detachment replied that

The only trappers in this district are Canadians and are independent trappers.

The following firms are trading in this district. The Hudson’s Bay Co. The Northern Trading Co. Edmonton. Fairweathers, Ltd. Toronto, J. H. Bryan, King Edward Hotel, Edmonton...None of the firms in this district employ any natives, other than an halfbreed for interpreter, and occasionally a few Indians for boats crews...

Indians, natives and residents of more than one year [should be] exempt from the provisions of the Act covering animals and birds [close seasons]...when needed for food. Also travellers, surveyors and explorers, other than those travelling with the Transportation Companies boats [licensed] to carry passengers...

³⁹² See for example NAC, RG15, Series D-II-1, Vol. 1082, file 2282791; Fort Smith Settlement or Townsite Register, Fort Resolution Settlement or Townsite Register, PAA, Accession 74.32, item 486A; NAC, RG10, Vol. 7997, file 191/30 -11-1; NAC, Rg15, Series D-II-1, Vol. 1097, file 2604568. Some of the lots applied for had been occupied by mixed-ancestry people since the 1880s.

³⁹³ Fort Smith and Fort Resolution Settlement or Townsite Registers.

³⁹⁴ H. J. Bury, “Proposed Buffalo Reserve in Northern Alberta”, 13 April 1916, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

³⁹⁵ W. W. Cory to Duncan Campbell Scott, 4 December 1916, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6742, file 420-6 pt. 1; J. B. Harkin to [RNWMP in the NWT], 15 May 1917, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6742, file 420-6, pt. 1.

Under present conditions it would work a hardship on all residents to prohibit or limit the use of game animals or birds as they are dependent on wild meat for their meat supply...³⁹⁶

This report highlights some interesting developments in the fur trade since the turn of the twentieth century. Although more, and smaller, trading firms had moved into the Great Slave Lake area, they tended to employ fewer local people, especially during the First World War, when fur markets and prices were somewhat depressed. The “natives”, including “halfbreeds”, were fur producers, and all residents relied on being able to hunt and fish for food year-round. The 1917 *Act Respecting Game in the Northwest Territories of Canada* exempted all “native-born Indian[s], Eskimo[s] or halfbreed[s]...*bona fide* resident[s] of the Northwest Territories” from licencing to hunt or trade in game, and close seasons were not to apply “when such persons are actually in need of such game...to prevent starvation”.³⁹⁷

In 1919, a new Commissioner for the North West Territories was appointed in Ottawa, and preparations were made to establish a working government with officials in the territory. An information-gathering trip was undertaken by F. H. Kitto, a government surveyor, in the summer of 1920, and planning for Treaty Eleven north of Treaty Eight was commenced.³⁹⁸

During the summer of 1920, Kitto toured the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie Districts, gathering information on natural resources and economic development. He spoke to traders, transportation company officials and steamboat “officers”, missionaries, trappers, prospectors, North West Mounted Policemen, in short, “practically every white man in the District as well as most of the native chiefs” between Fort Smith and Fort McPherson.³⁹⁹ He estimated that there were “possibly” 150 “White” permanent residents in the Mackenzie District, compared to 900

³⁹⁶ Great Slave Lake Sub-District, Fort Resolution Detachment, Royal North West Mounted Police, to Officer Commanding, Fort Fitzgerald, 26 June 1917, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6742, file 420-6, pt. 1.

³⁹⁷ *An Act respecting Game in the Northwest Territories of Canada*, 7 - 8 Geo. V, Cap. 36, ss. 4(3), and 4(9).

³⁹⁸ Fumoleau, 433 -434.

³⁹⁹ Report, F. H. Kitto, D. L. S., NAC, RG10, Vol. 4092, file 548036, pages 2 - 3.

Treaty Indians, 3,500 non-Treaty Indians, “possibly” 200 “Half-breeds”, and “possibly” 250 “Esquimos”.⁴⁰⁰ He described a typical fur trade “Fort” as follows:

These posts, or so-called ‘Forts’ are very similar, each consists of a number of log buildings, usually arrayed in the form of a rectangle, enclosing a small yard, which is further protected in certain cases by stockades to close in the gaps between the buildings. As a rule the fortifications were not elaborate and are now entirely disregarded. The buildings represent stores, warehouses, workshops and homes for the resident traders. Nearly every ‘Fort’ occupies a strategic or commanding position as well as one with convenient and suitable landing for boats. Clusters of Indian cabins or wigwams surround it, giving a local coloring while churches, mission buildings and police barracks complete the scene...⁴⁰¹

Three companies controlled “practically the whole of the trade of this district”: the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Northern Trading Company, and Lamson and Hubbard Canadian Company.

Trading posts were located at Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, Hay River, Providence, Fort Simpson, Fort Rae, and a number of other locations up the Mackenzie River and on the Arctic coast. Of these, Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, Fort Providence and Fort Simpson were largest settlements around Great Slave Lake. Fort Smith was “the present gateway to the interior as the established routes of travel lead northerly through it”.⁴⁰² Kitto noted that “the half-breeds” living at Fort Smith “trap in the winter, and freight on the portage during the summer”.⁴⁰³

Transportation in the district was by steamer or small private boat, and in the winter by dog team. There were no roads or railways. The three fur companies operated their steamers primarily for transportation of their own goods and employees, offering only a “limited” service to the public. The other institutions in the region, such as the churches and the police, had their own smaller boats to meet their own needs. At most, the fur company boats made three trips a season along Great Slave Lake. Rail connections went as far north as Fort McMurray from Edmonton, and steamers connected Fort McMurray to Fort Chipewyan and Fitzgerald.⁴⁰⁴ Fort Smith and Fort Resolution received mail once a month in the winter, and via passing boats in the

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., page 4.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., page 5.

⁴⁰² Ibid., pages 5 - 6.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., page 16.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., pages 6 - 7.

summer. Hay River and Providence got three mails over the winter season. There were no telephones or telegraphs.⁴⁰⁵

The Catholic Church operated schools at Fort Smith (day school), Fort Resolution (boarding and day), and Providence, and the Anglicans had their boarding school at Hay River. All schools taught in English, although the Catholic schools taught French in the upper grades. As well as academic subjects, the schools taught manual arts: building and agriculture for the boys, and sewing, cooking and “general housework” for the girls. Kitto thought that the performance of the children at the school was “remarkable”, but that the effects of the schooling were “transient”, with most children reverting to their old ways of life after returning to their communities.⁴⁰⁶ A General Hospital was operated by the Catholic church at Fort Smith. There were only one or two doctors in the entire Mackenzie District, although the Department of Indian Affairs attempted to recruit doctors to act as Indian Agents in the North.⁴⁰⁷

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police Mackenzie subdistrict was headquartered in Fitzgerald, with detachments at Fort Resolution and Fort Simpson. The entire complement for the Mackenzie River and the Arctic was two officers and “about a dozen” non-commissioned officers and men.⁴⁰⁸

There were two government officials in the entire Mackenzie District: Gerald Card, the Indian Agent at Fort Smith, and T. W. Harris, the Indian Agent and Mining Recorder at Fort Simpson.⁴⁰⁹ The Indian Agencies and the Catholic and Anglican Churches ran their own sawmills and cultivated gardens. Kitto commented that the 1919 - 1920 trapping season had been very successful both in quantity of furs collected and prices paid, and that “in the case of white trappers the provisions of the federal *Income Tax [Act]* should have been applied”.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., page 9.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., page 11.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., pages 11 - 12.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., pages 12 - 13.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., pages 13 - 14.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., page 20.

Very few prospectors, “white trappers”, or tourists were venturing into the Mackenzie District, and accommodation and restaurants for outsiders were nonexistent. Visitors either had to be self-sufficient, or were entertained as guests by the missions or the trading companies. However, Kitto observed that in 1919 oil had been struck at Fort Norman, and while the obstacles to exploiting and transporting the oil were presently considerable, interest in the area was accelerating rapidly. Although “the fur trade...has represented for a century and a quarter practically the entire activities of this great district[,] the next step in its development is now being made and we are face to face with consequent necessary adjustments requiring immediate attention”.⁴¹¹

Regarding the proposed Treaty for the Mackenzie District, H. A. Conroy, a senior Indian Affairs official who had been in charge of the administration of the Treaty Eight area, advised the government that

In making Treaty with the Indians along the McKenzie River, it will be necessary to treat with the half-breeds. This problem is a little different from the one which confronted the Commissioners at the time Treaty 8 was made. At present I do not think that there are more than fifteen families who will have to be dealt with by scrip, and these are old respected families in the country, who could not be expected to enter into Treaty. I might even say that some of these families are historic. The names include the following: Camsells, Gaudet, Beauview [Beaulieu?], Lafferty, McDonald, Smith and Firth...

The other half-breeds in this country are mostly living the Indian mode of life, and I feel confident that I shall be able to take them into Treaty, as it is in their own interests to have this done. I do not think that there will be more than 75 families of half-breeds whom it will be necessary to take into Treaty. It is a curious thing that the half-breeds in this country are either whites or Indians and that there is no medium course such as we find in other provinces...⁴¹²

In the winter of 1920 - 1921, the new Commissioner of the NWT, W. W. Cory (a former Deputy Minister of the Interior) enacted ordinances, including one requiring an Access Certificate to enter the NWT (certifying that the traveller was properly outfitted and able-bodied); appointed members to the NWT’s governing Council, and organized “a complete staff, both for service in

⁴¹¹ Ibid., pages 17 - 18; 3 - 4.

⁴¹² [Memorandum], H. A. Conroy, date-stamped 13 December 1920, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4042, file 336877.

Ottawa and for service in the Mackenzie District".⁴¹³ The oil strikes at Norman and the consequent need to establish local regulatory apparatus for staking and recording, plus the increasing numbers of newcomers to the Territory, were adduced as reasons to put an increased government presence in place.⁴¹⁴ On 26 May 1921, twenty-four men, with two scows and thirty tons of supplies, arrived in Fort Smith to establish the first Territorial administrative headquarters. As well as their civil service duties, the territorial staff tackled the digging of cellars for their buildings, fencing their lot, and breaking and planting a half acre with vegetables.⁴¹⁵ During the summer of 1921, a Treaty Commission toured Great Slave Lake and points north obtaining signatures to Treaty Eleven (legislative delays put back the scrip process to 1924).⁴¹⁶

Both the numbers and the impact of people of sole-European descent in the NWT increased rapidly in the early 1920s. In the fall of 1922, one observer reported that

There has been a great influx of White trappers to this district this fall...There are approximately 40 White trappers between Fort Smith and Great Slave Lake...They very often crowd the Indians from their old districts. This will make it very difficult for the Indians to make a living...⁴¹⁷

The prosperous fur years of 1919 - 1920 did not go unnoticed by young men who were having difficulty finding work in southern Canada, and small traders followed close behind them. The hope of most of these trappers was to make enough in two or three seasons to build up a small stake to establish them in the south.⁴¹⁸ The Catholic Bishop Breynat, at Fort Resolution, and other long-term residents of sole-European descent pressed the federal government to take action to protect Indian, Inuit and mixed-ancestry trappers. In October, the Northwest Territories District Agent at Fort Smith, J. A. McDougal, proposed that areas be set aside for the exclusive use of Indian and mixed-ancestry trappers. The RCMP Inspector posted at Fort Smith concurred,

⁴¹³ Northwest Territories Minutes of Sessions, 9 May 1921, page 10; as cited in Fumoleau, 199.

⁴¹⁴ Fumoleau, 198 - 200.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 199.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 217 - 270.

⁴¹⁷ McDougal to O. S. Finnie, 10 October 1922, DIAND file 1003-2-5, vol. 1; cited in Fumoleau, 315.

⁴¹⁸ Fumoleau, 319 - 323.

stating his view that “the country west of Slave River and Hay River be reserved for the Indians. In this connection, I would say that by Indians I mean Treaty Indians and also half-breeds who are natives of the Territories”.⁴¹⁹ In early 1923, the number of “white trappers” working between Forts Resolution and Smith had increased to at least 55,⁴²⁰ and the RCMP counted 118 by mid-1923.⁴²¹ On 22 September 1923, five game preserves were set aside in the NWT, “as hunting and trapping Preserves for the sole use of the bona fide aboriginal native of the North West Territories [as] there is grave danger of these natives being reduced to want and starvation”.⁴²² One of these preserves took in land on both sides of the Slave River including Fort Resolution, and another included 70,000 square miles along the north shore of Great Slave Lake, up to Great Bear Lake. The term “bona fide aboriginal native” included Treaty Indians, non-Treaty people of mixed ancestry, and Inuit resident in the Territories. By 1926, “white trappers” were putting pressure on resources in the Fort Reliance area south and east of Great Slave Lake.⁴²³ A police detachment was established at Fort Reliance in 1927.⁴²⁴

Meanwhile, a national park had been created in December 1922 along the Peace and Slave Rivers in Alberta and the NWT, to protect the wood buffalo.⁴²⁵ There was considerable discussion both inside government and in the local area regarding regulations for hunting in this park (Wood Buffalo Park). The Director of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior in Ottawa, O. S. Finnie, offered his opinion “that it would be a hardship on the half-breed to restrict him from hunting and trapping in Wood Buffalo Park”, but asked the Department’s local Agent in Fort Smith for his perspective.⁴²⁶ McDougal replied that he had canvassed Indian Agent Card (posted, as of 1923, to the new Indian Agency at Fort Resolution) and Bishop Breynat for their opinions as well. Card thought that “it might be better

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 328.

⁴²⁰ D. N. Murdoff to Finnie, 26 January 1923, DIAND file 1003-2-5, vol. 1; cited in Fumoleau, 318.

⁴²¹ Inspector Fletcher to McDougal, 25 July 1923, NAC, RG85, vo. 340, file 991; cited in Fumoleau, 319.

⁴²² Canada Order in Council 1862, 22 September 1923, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

⁴²³ Report of Inspector Fletcher, Fort Smith, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for the year 1926, page 80; quoted in Fumoleau, 334.

⁴²⁴ Fumoleau, 437.

⁴²⁵ Canada Order in Council 2498, 18 December 1922, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

⁴²⁶ Finnie to McDougal, 23 August 1923, NAC, RG85, Vol. 1213, file 400-2-3, pt. 1.

for administration purposes to treat half breeds as white men in all reserves as then they might work cutting wood etc., instead of leading the life of an Indian”,⁴²⁷ but Breynat had different views:

1. There should be made some difference between half breeds born in the Territories and those coming from Outside. I do not see any reason why the latter ones should, in any way, be encouraged to come into the district.
2. Some of the half breeds born in the Territories are working for the different trading companies and in return for their work are supplied with all the necessaries of life. For such ones trapping and hunting in the Park could be prohibited without great inconvenience.
3. It would be an altogether different matter with the half breed natives who have to live an Indian life, although they may have houses at the Fort. Most of them should have been accepted in the treaty instead of being refused the privilege, as it has been the case. However they are not very many and quite often they have to meet so many difficulties to secure their living that to forbid them access to the reserve for hunting purposes would seem to be imposing upon them too much hardship.⁴²⁸

Breynat here referred to some “half breeds...from Outside” who were coming north from their trapped-out territories near Lac la Biche. He also summarized for government officials the variety of ways of life followed by mixed-ancestry people, across the range from full-time wage or salaried employment to a subsistence life indistinguishable from that of most Indians.

McDougal concluded by setting out his “personal opinion that it might be advisable to allow the few Indian half breeds here [Fort Smith] and at Resolution who lead the lives of Indians to have the privilege of trapping in the Park. There may be a few at Fitzgerald affected but I would advise prohibiting all half breeds not residents of the N. W. T. from access to the Park”.⁴²⁹ The eventual outcome of this discussion was to exclude all but Treaty Indians from hunting and trapping in the Park as it was constituted in 1922.

In 1925, the Department of the Interior moved to narrow the number of people who could hunt and trap in Wood Buffalo Park to “only those persons who had formerly hunted and trapped in the area, now a park...providing such persons were Treaty Indians”.⁴³⁰ The Departments of the

⁴²⁷ McDougal to Finnie, 5 September 1923, NAC, RG85, Vol. 1213, file 400-2-3, pt. 1.

⁴²⁸ Breynat to McDougal, 3 September 1923, NAC, RG85, Vol. 1213, file 400-2-3, pt. 1.

⁴²⁹ McDougal to Finnie, 5 September 1923, NAC, RG85, Vol. 1213, file 400-2-3, pt. 1.

⁴³⁰ M. G. [Maxwell Graham] to Finnie, 23 July 1925, NAC, RG85, Vol. 1213, file 400-2-3, pt. 1.

Interior and Indian Affairs began to compile a list of people believed to meet these criteria. The names on a draft list included Treaty Indians from Fort McMurray to Fort Resolution.⁴³¹ The Department of Indian Affairs also forwarded a list of people taken into the Treaty since the creation of the Park in 1922 from Fort Smith, Fitzgerald, Fort Chipewyan, Fort Resolution, and Hay River, including several members of mixed-ancestry families such as Tourangeau, McKay, McSwain, Boucher, Beaulieu, and Sanderson. Perhaps aware that these people might be known as being of mixed ancestry, the Department added an explanation that “this Department makes no distinction whatever between Indians and half-breeds who have been admitted into Treaty”.⁴³²

However, the Department of the Interior did not accept all the names on the Department of Indian Affairs’ lists as being entitled to hunt and trap within the Park. In particular, Felix Beaulieu, a “half breed” originally from Fort Resolution, was accepted into Treaty at Fort Smith in 1925 and hunted in the north part of the Park in 1925 - 1926, but his eligibility for Park hunting privileges was denied by the Department of the Interior.⁴³³ Beaulieu protested against his exclusion, stating, in the words of the Acting District Agent at Fort Smith, that “his parents took scrip and that since a lad of 13 years he had hunted in the Wood Buffalo Park, along with Treaty Indians...Beaulieu is now 19 years of age...he...took Treaty in order that he might hunt and trap in the Park...He intimated that he would not have taken Treaty had he not wished to trap in his old hunting grounds”.⁴³⁴ Beaulieu was eventually granted a permit.⁴³⁵

In April 1926, Wood Buffalo National Park was extended south of the Peace River. After lobbying by Treaty Indians and local residents, including those of mixed ancestry, mixed-ancestry people who had “hunted and trapped within that portion of the Park lying south of the Peace River” were allowed to continue, provided that they were granted a permit. Several lists

⁴³¹ Card to MacKenzie, with attached “List of Indians who have Trapped or are Trapping in the Wood Buffalo Park”, 6 November 1925, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

⁴³² McLean to Finnie, 19 December 1925, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

⁴³³ McDougal to Finnie, 12 August 1926, Parks Canada Fort Smith file, “Historical Documents on WBNP Creation”.

⁴³⁴ Murphy to Finnie, 6 November 1926, Parks Canada Fort Smith file, “Historical Documents on WBNP Creation”.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

of people believed to be eligible to hunt and trap on that basis were drawn up over the succeeding years, although these lists were a source of constant controversy and appeals. At the heart of the matter was the situation as described by the Park Warden in 1937: “Indians are nomadic in trapping and it is very probable that close investigation would disclose that eighty per cent of the middle aged Indians from Fort McMurray to Hay river, N. W. T. have at some time in their life hunted and trapped in the area which is now the Wood Buffalo Park”.⁴³⁶ For example, in September of 1932, William Heron, Baptiste Anderson, Fred Berens, Susie Beaulieu, Jean King Beaulieu, François King Beaulieu, Paul King Beaulieu, and Augustin Mercredi, “half breed residents of the N. W. T.” at Fort Smith, petitioned to “hunt and trap in our trapping grounds in the Wood Buffalo Park”.

When the Wood Buffalo Park was closed to every one but Indians, we were turned out of our trapping grounds, and forced to trap in an area already covered with trap lines of white men and natives, with the result that it is extremely hard to make a living...

There are only a few of us who lost our trapping grounds in the Wood Buffalo Park, and we would ask your consideration of our request that we may again be permitted to use our old trapping grounds...⁴³⁷

The Chief of the Fort Smith Band did not endorse this petition, as he feared that it would lead to similar requests from “half breeds” at Salt River, Fort Resolution, Hay River, Fitzgerald and “other points”.⁴³⁸ The petition was refused.⁴³⁹ However, there were also several instances when the Chiefs of Indian Bands supported the opening up of the Park or the relaxing of game regulations for “native-born half-breeds of this District”.⁴⁴⁰

In June 1933, the Department of the Interior began to attempt to evict summer residents from Wood Buffalo Park. The Park Warden supplied a list of names of those who lived in the Park

⁴³⁶ Dempsey to Meikle, 20 February 1937, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

⁴³⁷ Petition of William Heron and others to H. E. Hume, 3 September 1932, Parks Canada Fort Smith file, “Historical Documents on WBNP Creation”.

⁴³⁸ McDougal to Hume, 22 September 1932, Parks Canada Fort Smith file, “Historical Documents on WBNP Creation”.

⁴³⁹ Hume to McDougal, 6 October 1932, Parks Canada Fort Smith file, “Historical Documents on WBNP Creation”.

⁴⁴⁰ See for example Chief Laviolette to Minister of Agriculture, Province of Alberta, 31 March 1936, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6733, file 420-2C.

“between trapping seasons”, which comprised several identified “halfbreeds” from families including the Tourangeaus and Ladouceurs, and members of the Boucher, Piché and Beaulieu families who were Treaty Indians.⁴⁴¹ The Park Warden also noted that “In the Northern area of the old park the indians summer at Salt River and Fort Smith out of the park except a small number of families on Buffalo Lake, the names I am unable to furnish at present”.⁴⁴² Later in 1933, Fredrick Rone McDonald was elected Chief at Fort Smith and applied for a permit to hunt in the Park, “having hunted and trapped in the park several years”, but was refused a permit and removed from the Band lists when it was discovered he had been discharged from Treaty (as a “half-breed”) in 1921.⁴⁴³ A list of Park permit holders for the south part of the Park from 1936 shows a mix of “Free” (Treaty Indian) and “P. P.” (paid permit) permit holders from the Beaulieu, Flett, Houle, Cayen, Lepiné, Mercredi, Mandeville, McKay, Piché, Robillard, Villebrun, and Wylie families. The district nearest Salt River, open only to Treaty Indians, listed permits granted to members of the Beaulieu, Boucher, Houle, Laviolette, Tourangeau and Mandeville families, among others. The permit holders from Fort Resolution (also all Treaty Indians), included some Mandevilles and McKays, and those closer to Hay River included members of the Lamalice and McKay families.⁴⁴⁴

In part in response to the difficulties with hunting and trapping regulations and the generally poor economic conditions for Indian people in the NWT, the Department of Indian Affairs dispatched C. C. Parker, the Inspector of Indian Agencies for Ontario and Quebec, to the Northwest Territories to make a general inspection tour during the summer of 1928.⁴⁴⁵ Parker’s assessment of the “Halfbreed” situation was scathing:

...for the novelty of nomenclature I am inclined to give much credit to the Northwest Territories where we find people defined as aliens, non-residents, white, halfbreeds, halfbreeds living the lives of Indians, Indians, Eskimo, Eskimo

⁴⁴¹ “Indians and Halfbreeds who live in the Annex to Wood Buffalo Park between trapping seasons”, “Old Park North of Peace River”, M. J. Dempsey, attached to letter Dempsey to Cummings, 14 June 1933, NAC, RG85, Vol. 346, file 803.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Turner to McGill, 31 October 1933, and MacKenzie to Turner, 2 November 1933, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714.

⁴⁴⁴ A Lamalice was Chief of the Band based near Hay River in the 1930s.

⁴⁴⁵ DCS [Duncan Campbell Scott] to Parker, 24 April 1928, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4094, file 600264.

halfbreeds and Eskimo halfbreeds living the lives of Eskimo. I may have missed some...we should concern ourselves with the 'halfbreed living the life of an Indian'. These poor outcasts, victims of one of the most iniquitous schemes ever fostered and maliciously operated are deserving of sympathetic consideration. I must confess lack of familiarity with the halfbreed scrip law and what is said in this report is influenced entirely by what was observed while in the Territories.

When one sees Indians, whole families of them, who speak little or no English or French, who live the lives of Indians, and are quite incapable of supporting themselves otherwise, discriminated against because at some time in the past at their own option or the urge of some interested party they accepted scrip and thus sold their miserable mess of potage, a sense of injustice rises up in indignation and the crying need of re-adjustment will not down.

There are people in the Territories today who should have the full privileges of the Treaty Indian; who never should have been anything else and who today are virtual outcasts eeking out a more miserable existence than the Treaty Indian.

It may be granted that there are many halfbreeds who should be so classed and are not deserving nor in need of paternal protection. A great many of them are creditable citizens and tradesmen. I speak of a class of 'halfbreeds' who are more Indian than a great proportion of the so called Indians I have on the reserves within my own inspectorate. I could wish I had a few on some of my reserves for prize exhibits of pure blooded descendants of Canada's aboriginal inhabitants.

I would strongly urge the advisability of an independant 'halfbreed commission' to re-open the whole question and by personal interview and inquiry make a re-adjustment of the status of these people. There are many cases where these people should be taken into Treaty and be allowed to enjoy the same privileges which are now and will be allowed to Treaty Indians. An injustice has been done which the Government of Canada must and can rectify...

It is worthy of note that at the meetings of Indians I was able to hold before the epidemic laid everyone low, the Indians invariably spoke on behalf of the halfbreed and asked that they be accorded the same hunting and other privileges enjoyed by themselves...⁴⁴⁶

Although the Department of Indian Affairs found many aspects of Parker's report difficult to accept, it did instruct its agents at Fort Simpson, Fort McMurray, and Fort Resolution in early 1929 to make a list of all "halfbreeds who are to all intents and purposes Indians, and living the

⁴⁴⁶ Report of C. C. Parker, NAC, RG85, Series C-1-1, Vol. 792, file 6327, p. 16 - 17. The epidemic referred to was a terrible influenza epidemic, spread by infected individuals on the steamboat "Distributor" on which Parker rode along Great Slave Lake and up the Mackenzie. This journey took on a hideous nightmarish quality vividly described by several passengers. See for example Helm, *People of Denedeh*, 140 - 143; Fumoleau, 355 - 358.

lives of Indians”, with a view to admitting them to Treaty, regardless of whether they or their ancestors had taken scrip.⁴⁴⁷ The Indian Agent at Fort McMurray proposed three individuals who had not yet received either scrip or Treaty (Augustine Mercredi, “Cripple” Beaulieu and Rene McDonald).⁴⁴⁸ Agent Bourget at Fort Resolution, however, submitted thirty-four names from Fort Resolution alone, and expressed his enthusiasm for the project:

I have the honour to send, under same cover, the list of the Half Breeds of Resolution, Hay river, Providence, and Rae living the life of Indians and deserving to be taken on treaty with the others if feasible.

Many of them of course had received the script [sic] when first paid, but most of these recipients received only the value in trade which would amount only to a ridicule sum in those days. Some had the script delivered to either parents or adoptive parents like the case of George Fabien mentioned on the list. Some have been applying for the script but so far never obtained satisfaction.

Some names put on the list are for fairness to all these, I believe with the advise of the Mission, who could be taken, but of course we could not consult them all, because many are away at present trapping or hunting caribou, or far distant from us specially at Rae. The list will give an idea to the Department of the number of probable entrants. We have no doubt that the majority will accept, their only fear being that they may be put on small reserves, which fear we have explained to them is without foundation. And as they are taking our word and also the Mission, the majority will be pleased to be able to have the Department’s protection if it can be arranged. For ourself, we believe it is the best act of justice that could be advocated and pressed.

Some name mentioned above may not look deserving cases, because the man is partly working, but the jobs are kept only for short periods as a rule and the man reverts to his trapping life in most cases.

Specially during the last few years we had too many classes among these people, we had the treaty Indians, the Indians not born here, the half breeds from the territories, those who were born in the old territories and lived here and some from outside, and all the divisions were for people of the same stock and all living by hunting and trapping, some had protection and some were left to their own ressources, and most of them as the list shows married to Indian girls who simply lost their protection for the children when married to half breeds, to thier [sic] dissatisfaction.

⁴⁴⁷ Scott to Stewart, 26 January 1929; and Department of Indian Affairs to Harris, Card and Bourget, 31 January 1929, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4094, file 600264.

⁴⁴⁸ Card to Scott, 14 February 1929, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4094, file 600264.

I am sure Inspector C. C. Parker has observed one of the greatest troubles in this north when he favored this correction.⁴⁴⁹

The names Bourget submitted for Fort Resolution included members of the Norn, Bouvier, Tourangeau, Mandeville, McSwain, Fabien, King, Smith, Beaulieu, Lafferty, Mercredi, Houle, Larocque, and Sanderson families. At Hay River, he proposed four people, from Providence, ten; and from Rae, four, three of whom had been born outside the district. The nominees of local origin were from the Fabien, Robillard, Norn, Bouvier, Lafferty and other families.⁴⁵⁰ Bourget followed up later in 1929, forwarding a letter written to him by François Mandeville at Fort Chipewyan, who had heard from Bishop Breynat that

the half Breeds at Fort Resolution who were force to take scrips are now can take treaty if they want to.

I am one of who were force to take scrip therefore I wish you would be so kind as to put me on your list with the rest. My wife and my son have not get the scrip yet as you know, + if we have to go back to Fort Resolution to get the treaty we can do so...

we make our living the same way as Indians, therefore we would like to be treated like indians...⁴⁵¹

In a letter to the Department in 1932, Bourget referred to “the group of Half Breeds taken on treaty 3 years ago”, and supported this group’s request to have Jean Marie Beaulieu appointed a Chief: “a nice old man, at the head of a large family, and really acting as a Chief for years, for the half breeds, and Indians by his help to all”.⁴⁵² Other mixed-ancestry people who were hunting and trapping, however, did not want to be identified by government as “Indians”. When Wood Buffalo Park Warden M J. Dempsey at Fort Chipewyan began issuing permits to hunt in the Park (which were free to Treaty Indians), he reported that “nearly all the half breeds wanted

⁴⁴⁹ Bourget to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 18 February 1929, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4094, file 600264.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ François Mandeville to Bourget, 19 June 1929, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4094, file 600264.

⁴⁵² Bourget to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6880, file 191/28-3, pt. 2D. Bourget also paid Josue (Susie) Beaulieu as a Chief at Fort Rae, although the Department had instructed him that the Band could not have two Chiefs and an elderly man named Murphy was the one officially recognized. Bourget explained that he believed that “the prestige of the Department and the agent would be badly hurt” if Beaulieu was not recognized, and that he was “convinced...the best move...[was] to pay the extra ten dollars, and at least leave the man under the illusion that he was still the Chief of this band or group”. Report of annuity payment trip, 29 August 1933, NAC, RG10, Vol. 6880, file 191/28-3, pt. 2D.

to hand me two dollars for the next year permit...they seem unanimous in wishing to be placed on the status of not living the life of an Indian”.⁴⁵³

In 1936, M. Christianson, the Department of Indian Affairs’ Inspector of Indian Agencies in Alberta, investigated the “Half breed question” in the Northwest Territories. He reported,

I found the Half-breed question to be an issue in different places in the North West Territories. There are about 145 Half-breeds in the Fort Resolution Agency, which is the largest number at any point there...Of this number, 12 families live in Providence, and they are in very poor circumstances, I was informed by the Sisters at the School, and they are really much worse off than the Indians. I can only attribute this to the fact that they have been allowed to get a foot-hold in the Fort instead of going out and rustling for themselves as the Indians do.

Wherever I went I found that most of the Half-breeds live the life of an Indian, and of course are intermarried with Indians, and a great many of them are no different in appearance from the Indians, the White blood being practically obscured. Then, of course, there are people of mixed blood there who are of a superior type, and they are living as Whites.

After discussing the matter with several people, and giving it considerable thought, I believe our Department should take into Treaty all half-breeds or three-quarter-breeds who are living with Indians, and following their mode of life. I received some applications from these people, three of which I have submitted to the Department. Then again, the matter of script [sic] comes up: I did not seem to be able to ascertain which Half-breeds had taken script, and at some places I was told they had waited either for this or to be taken into Treaty for some time, but nothing had been done about it...⁴⁵⁴

The Department of Indian Affairs then again asked Agents at Fort Resolution, Fort Simpson and Fort Good Hope to forward names of “the heads of all halfbreed families in your Agency who have not received scrip and who desire to be taken into treaty”.⁴⁵⁵ In 1943, senior Department of Indian Affairs officials noted that of the 164 people added to Band lists in the Northwest Territories since 1930, “many...were not Indians as defined by the *Indian Act*”.⁴⁵⁶ Another Indian Affairs official estimated, in 1946, that intermarriage between “white” traders and

⁴⁵³ Dempsey to McDougal, 21 May 1934, NAC, RG85, Series D-1-A, Vol. 1213, file 400-2-3.

⁴⁵⁴ Extract from report, M. Christianson to Dr. McGill, 18 August 1936, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4092, file 567205.

⁴⁵⁵ MacKenzie to Amyot, Truesdell and Read, 15 September 1936, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4092, file 567205.

⁴⁵⁶ Jackson to Hoey, 12 August 1943, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4092, file 567205.

trappers and the local Indian population had been so extensive in the Northwest Territories that “today in the whole area there are probably few Indians of pure stock”.⁴⁵⁷

Richard Slobodin, in his 1966 book *Metis of the Mackenzie District*, and Joanne Overvold Burger, in a photograph album from mixed-ancestry families in the NWT published in 1976, confirm the impressions of mixed-ancestry occupations and life in the twentieth century presented in the documents quoted above. Slobodin, who interviewed older mixed-ancestry people around Great Slave Lake in 1963, reported that they had had very varied occupational histories, working in transportation, trading, construction, trapping and fishing, as well as many “odd jobs” as the opportunities arose.⁴⁵⁸ Family photographs reprinted in the Overvold Burger book depict late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century mixed-ancestry people trapping, working on boats, and in the capacity of traders and interpreters for the HBC and other companies. In 1976, Ted Trindell, a mixed-ancestry elder who attended the mission school at Providence from 1909 to 1912, recalled,

In those days [trapping] was a common way of life, there was not much question of a person’s future like there is today as far as education is concerned. There was a basic five years of schooling with one of the churches and there wasn’t much chance of continuing with your education after your time was up. You either trapped, piloted on the rivers or worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company.⁴⁵⁹

In this respect, the mixed-ancestry people of the Great Slave Lake region continued the patterns of life established by their eighteenth-century forbears, combining Indian subsistence skills and European paid employments in shifting proportions to suit their opportunities and preferences.

IV. Discussion/Summary

This section provides a synopsis of the historical evidence available to address the particular research questions laid out in the Request for Proposals on this project. The questions will be laid out in italics before the summaries of historical evidence.

⁴⁵⁷ Falconer to Gibson, 21 May 1946, NAC, RG10, Vol. 4094, file 600264. Falconer provided no additional information about this statement.

⁴⁵⁸ Slobodin, *Metis of the Mackenzie District*, 77 - 111, especially 78 - 79.

⁴⁵⁹ Joanne Overvold Burger, ed., *Our Metis Heritage: a Portrayal*, Metis Association of the Northwest Territories, 1976.

IV.A Identify and chart the ethnogenesis of any mixed European-Indian or European-Inuit population in the study region, including evidence of the date by which the mixed-ancestry population emerged.

Specific questions to be addressed include the following:

IV.A.1 What are the historical demographics of the study region?

IV.A.2 What evidence, if any, is there of a mixed-ancestry population living together in the study region?

IV.A.3 Did the mixed-ancestry population self-identify as a culturally distinctive group? And, if yes, how did the group self-identify and how was the group viewed by others in the area?

IV.A.4 If more than one mixed-ancestry grouping existed in the study region, were the identified groups discrete or linked geographically and/or culturally?

IV.A.5 In what period did the mixed-ancestry group emerge?

IV.A.6 What is the ancestral history of the mixed-ancestry group? For example, were they previously part of a larger group or were there any effects due to migration?

The Great Slave Lake region was populated, at the time of contact, by Indian people now all considered to be part of the Dene nation. Historical names for these people included the Chipewyan or Northern Indians, who occupied the eastern end of the Lake; the Yellowknives or Copper Indians, who ranged to the east and north; the Slavey or Slave Indians, who lived near the western end of the Lake; and the Dogrib, who occupied lands north of the Lake. The first people of European descent in the Great Slave Lake region appear to have been French-Canadian or possibly French-mixed-ancestry people who moved in as part of contacts they made with the Chipewyans in the fur trade. French-Canadians came into the area in somewhat larger numbers with the advent of established fur trade posts in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, as well as a small number of men of British or Northern European descent who were the managers and officers of the fur trade. Among Europeans and Euro-Canadians, people of French descent were in the majority until the end of the nineteenth century, with English and Scottish (including Orkney) ancestry the next most common. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, there were still very few people of European descent in the region. Dene Indian people were in a substantial majority, followed by people of mixed ancestry, and then those of solely European ancestry.

The mixed-ancestry population emerged as a cohort of children or teenagers by the turn of the nineteenth century. This group appeared in the historical records as vigorous young adults by 1820, prominent in the operations of the fur trade in the area, especially within the North West Company. These “North West Company halfbreeds” were quite apparent as a group to outside observers. Newcomers in the male population, mostly of solely European descent but occasionally of mixed ancestry, continued to arrive over the course of the nineteenth century. Marriage and baptism records show that these newcomers were integrated into older mixed-ancestry families, and their mixed-ancestry children born in the region in turn married into mixed-ancestry families old and new. Throughout the nineteenth century, European and mixed-ancestry marriage to Dene women continued to occur, but was not as common as marriage within the mixed-ancestry population. Census records from the late nineteenth century show that the Great Slave Lake mixed-ancestry population was overwhelmingly locally-born, with few mixed-ancestry people born outside the region. Some of these people were identified by observers as “Indians” or Europeans, but the use of the term “Métis” or “halfbreed” to distinguish mixed-ancestry individuals or populations persisted throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The nature of the Great Slave Lake area, with its emphasis on subsistence wildlife harvesting and the fur trade, discouraged the accumulation of large numbers of people in settlements. Groups of mixed-ancestry people were evident by the end of the nineteenth century, particularly at Fort Resolution and Smith’s Landing (Fitzgerald), but even these communities were often depleted of population by seasonal harvesting cycles. There is some limited documentary evidence of mixed-ancestry people moving and hunting together, either in extended family groups such as the Mandevilles or the Beaulieus, or in combined groups such as the “Cayenne” that came to hunt with François Beaulieu II and the second Franklin expedition, and the “Indian Half breed” Poitras that accompanied Beaulieu’s group part way to Fort Franklin. The historical evidence tends to emphasize mixed-ancestry people hunting with “Indian” groups, probably at least in part because that was what they were expected to do if they were employed by fur traders. Marriage and baptism records indicate that marriage networks between mixed-ancestry families extended to all parts of Great Slave Lake and into some adjacent areas like Fort Simpson, Fort Chipewyan, and Great Bear Lake. Employment and scrip records indicate that many in the mixed-ancestry

population moved frequently around this larger region, which helps to explain the far-flung marriage networks. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century geographic co-location of mixed-ancestry families should probably therefore be thought of in those broad terms, rather than focussing on one settlement or neighbourhood.

The broadness of the geographic connections between mixed-ancestry people extends to some degree to connections across linguistic and religious lines. The majority of the mixed-ancestry population was of French and Dene ancestry. A small group, becoming more prominent near the end of the nineteenth century, was of British (English or Scottish/Orkney) descent. In the early part of the nineteenth century, there is some limited evidence to indicate that fur-trade employers saw French mixed-ancestry people as being similar to French-Canadians, and British mixed-ancestry people as being like others of British descent. These two groups were often divided along religious as well as linguistic lines, the French being overwhelmingly Catholic and the British tending to the Anglican Church. However, the overall presence of the Catholic Church was much greater than that of the Anglican Church around Great Slave Lake -- the Indian population was also overwhelmingly allied with the Catholic Church -- so that some people of British descent supported the Catholic Church's efforts even if they were not nominally Catholic. Birth and marriage records show that there was intermarriage between the English and French mixed-ancestry populations, although there was a stronger tendency to marry within the language group. The records also show that there was continuing intermarriage between members of families employed by fur-trade companies, and those who did not have full-time employment. Altogether, nineteenth-century documents suggest that there was some segmentation in the mixed-ancestry population, but that the subgroups were not impermeable.

The question of self-identification is one of the most difficult to address, as the historical records of the eighteenth and nineteenth century are not designed to capture this information. Mixed-ancestry people themselves were not generating documents during this period, and outside observers were not focussed on recording mixed-ancestry identity and culture. Petitot, in the 1860s, documented several examples of French traditions and sayings passed down through generations of mixed-ancestry families, including his paraphrase of François Beaulieu II's statement "quoique sauvage, j'aimais les Français parce que mon grand-père était Français".

Petitot also noted that, even within the same family, mixed-ancestry people could vary widely in their acculturation. Some mixed-ancestry people did not learn to speak a European language and spent their lives with the Indians, becoming, in Back's description of LaPrise, "true Chipewyan". Many retained their language skills and worked as interpreters, combining European knowledge with skills living on the land and working with Indian people.

By the turn of the twentieth century, many mixed-ancestry people were living truly mixed lives like the group at Smith's Landing, "hunting, fishing and trapping during the winter, and in summer...employed" in transportation or other wage activities. Bishop Breynat referred to these people as living "an Indian life, although they may have houses at the Fort". Indian Agent Bourget asked that some mixed-ancestry people be taken into Treaty and allowed Indian benefits, "because the man is partly working, but the jobs are kept only for short periods as a rule and the man reverts to his trapping life in most cases". Inspector of Indian Agencies Christianson noted they seemed worse off than the Indians, possibly because "they have been allowed to get a foot-hold in the Fort instead of going out and rustling for themselves as the Indians do". Although some Indian people shared this life, they were less likely to be involved in the wage economy, and Europeans were not usually involved in harvesting activities except for sport or for short-term economic gain. Again, the marriage and baptismal records speak to a group who constructed connections across geographic, occupational and ethnic lines, and this may be the most convincing evidence of self-perception of common identity.

The focus of this paper on the early period of ethnogenesis directed my research towards the earliest available records from each geographic area and of each document type. However, there is certainly evidence that suggests the mixed-ancestry population evolved as the nineteenth century went on, in terms of occupations and ethnicity. The development of this population has not been systematically treated in this paper. A review of later records would help to fill out this part of the story.

IV.B Describe and document any of the 'distinctive cultural' practices, customs or traditions of the mixed-ancestry population, including what distinguished the mixed-ancestry population from European, Indian or Inuit groups existing at the time in the study region;

Specific questions to be addressed include the following:

IV.B.1 What, if any, were the defining features of the mixed-ancestry population? For example, was there a common way of life, distinctive identity, or political structure?

IV.B.2 What were the primary cultural or economic activities, customs, practices or traditions of the mixed-ancestry group? Also, what were the distinct activities, practices, customs and traditions of Europeans, Inuit or Indian people in the study region that contrasted with those of the mixed-ancestry population?

IV.B.3 What the geographic territory throughout which these activities, practices, customs or traditions took place?

IV.B.4 What geographic area(s) did the mixed-ancestry group reside in, occupy, and utilize economically?

Some of the answers to these questions have been summarized in the previous section. The mixed-ancestry people of the Great Slave Lake region exhibited a variety of degrees of European or Indian acculturation and integration. Although they were predominantly of French-Canadian ancestry and Catholic at the turn of the twentieth century, single cultural types, in my opinion, do not define this population. The population itself demonstrated this in their marriage patterns, which in an age of parental control over marriage partnerships were strong indicators of group perception. These marriage patterns span a wide geographic area, bind together newcomers, old and new mixed-ancestry families and the Dene, and to a moderate degree cross linguistic (French/English) and religious lines.

The polymorphous nature of this population can be expressed another way through occupations and employment patterns. Mixed-ancestry people were prized as fur-trade employees for their language ability, skills in living on the land, and influence with the Indian population. European employers struggled to control these skills and connections to their advantage. Mixed-ancestry people relied to a greater or lesser degree on waged employment, from full-time lifelong fur trade employment at one extreme to leaders of “Indian” fur-hunting groups on the other. As lifelong employment opportunities for local people were reduced over the course of the nineteenth century, many mixed-ancestry people moved into part-time wage work on the transportation systems. This type of employment fit well with the skills many mixed-ancestry people had learned in winter travel and summer water navigation, and was also peculiarly suited to the characteristics of this population generally. Unlike most Europeans, mixed-ancestry people had the knowledge, connections and willingness to be able to support themselves on the

land in the intervening periods between summer or sporadic winter employment. They did not wish to leave the country, because they had grown up and had family connections there. While some Indian people also became involved in periodic wage employment, mixed-ancestry people had deeper roots in the employment culture.

The distinctive characteristic of mixed-ancestry families may be something more subtle and difficult to describe and document than language, occupational pattern, religion or dress. Francois Beaulieu II is one of the few mixed-ancestry people who speaks to us directly about identity through nineteenth-century documents, and I return to his quotation (probably conveyed to Petitot in Chipewyan), “quoique sauvage, j’aimais les Français parce que mon grand-père était Français”. When Petitot transcribed the scraps of French references and usages transmitted through mixed-ancestry families more or less “Indian”, he tried to convey this quality of the mixed-ancestry person. It is the awareness of having connections on both sides of the European and Indian divide; deep ancestral connections to the local landscape and some link to the visitors who came to make some part of their lives there. As time passes, connections also develop with people of dual ancestry like them. Depending on the context, individual identity and connection could shift from one ethnicity to another. Back’s travelling companion La Prise could navigate from a compass as well as from the land. It is clear from the documents that outsiders recognized a “half breed” group, of varying characteristics, in the Great Slave Lake population from at least the second decade of the nineteenth century. Some were “living the lives of Indians”, some were “creditable citizens and tradesmen”. Some were Catholic, others Protestant, many spoke several languages, others spoke only Chipewyan. These manifestations may all be included in mixed-ancestry identity.

The geographic area over which mixed-ancestry people conducted their activities was extensive. François Beaulieu II is associated in the documents with Big Island (probably in the late 1780s), Great Bear Lake (at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in the 1820s), Lac la Martre (in the 1820s and 1830s), Fort Resolution, Salt River and the adjacent buffalo grounds (from the 1840s to the 1870s), and Fort Chipewyan (from the 1810s onward). In these areas, he hunted, fished and traded, both for the fur trade companies and on his own. Indian and mixed-ancestry people who traded at Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan typically struck off for the “barren

lands” to the east of Great Slave Lake to hunt caribou in the fall. Caribou were also hunted north of Great Bear Lake. The buffalo herds that gathered south of Great Slave Lake were another draw for mixed-ancestry people from the south shore of the Lake to at least as far south as Fort Chipewyan, and trapping fur-bearers was carried there on as well. Seasonal fisheries were used by mixed-ancestry people along the Slave River, near Fort Resolution, and near Big Island (near Providence). The area north of the mouth of the Mackenzie River, in the Horn Mountains, was also used as a hunting area by some mixed-ancestry people.

As employees of the fur-trading companies or the missions, mixed-ancestry people pursued a variety of activities around each settlement on Great Slave Lake: fishing, hunting, trading, cutting firewood, and working around the Forts. They travelled on foot, by dog-team, and on the waterways connecting all the posts, and out on the land to meet fur hunters. They carried mail, transported supplies and furs, and guided strangers. Employment records show that it was not unusual for HBC employees to be engaged out of several different posts in the same district over the course of their careers.

IV.C Describe and document various indicators of when ‘effective European control’ in the area might have been established.

Specific questions to be addressed include the following:

IV.C.1 When was the first trading post established in the study region?

The first trading posts in the study region were established in 1786, by the North West Company and the “New Concern”,⁴⁶⁰ on the south shore of Great Slave Lake east of the Slave River delta. These posts were abandoned after the summer of 1787. A temporary post (“Old Fort Providence”) was operated in Yellowknife Bay in the fall of 1789 by the North West Company. A permanent North West Company post was established near the mouth of the Slave River in 1791.

IV.C.2 What was the history of colonial policy with respect to settlement in the study region?

⁴⁶⁰ Not the XY Company, which was not founded until 1798.

The Great Slave Lake region was considered to be unsuitable for agriculture and large permanent settlements. During the period of Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, the Company attempted to keep out rival traders, and appears to have been largely successful. The Canadian government did not consider the Indian population of the Great Slave Lake area to be eligible for government assistance prior to the Treaty of 1899, although some limited funding was granted to a few mission schools and for general relief in times of famine. The impetus to obtain a Treaty in 1899 was the influx of prospectors on Great Slave Lake, which in turn was an aftereffect of the Klondike gold rush of 1897 - 1898. The Canadian government did not make any attempt to encourage immigration to Great Slave Lake in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, except for publishing some information about the mineral potential of the area.

IV.C.3 When were treaties in the study region signed with local Aboriginal people?

In 1899/1900 (Treaty Eight), with:

the Cree Beaver, Chipewyan and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs and Headmen...

Commencing at the source of the main branch of the Red Deer River in Alberta, thence due west to the central range of the Rocky Mountains, thence northwesterly along the said range to the point where it intersects the 60th parallel of north latitude, thence east along said parallel to the point where it intersects Hay River, thence northeasterly down said river to the south shore of Great Slave Lake, thence along the said shore northeasterly (and including such rights to the islands in said lakes as the Indians mentioned in the treaty may possess), and thence easterly and northeasterly along the south shores of Christie's Bay and McLeod's Bay to old Fort Reliance near the mouth of Lockhart's River, thence southeasterly in a straight line to and including Black Lake, thence southwesterly up the stream from Cree Lake, thence including said lake southwesterly along the height of land between the Athabasca and Churchill Rivers to where it intersects the northern boundary of Treaty Six, and along the said boundary easterly, northerly and southwesterly, to the place of commencement.⁴⁶¹

and in 1921 (Treaty Eleven):

with the Slave, Dogrib, Loucheaux, Hare and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter define and described, by their Chiefs and Headmen...

⁴⁶¹ Fumoleau, 68-69.

Commencing at the northwesterly corner of the territory ceded under the provisions of Treaty Number Eight; thence northeasterly along the height-of-land to the point where it intersects the boundary between the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories; thence northwesterly along the said boundary to the shore of the Arctic ocean; thence easterly along the said shore to the mouth of the Coppermine river; thence southerly and southeasterly along the left bank of the said river to Lake Gras by way of Point lake; thence along the southern shore of Lake Gras to a point situated northwest of the most western extremity of Aylmer lake; thence along the southern shore of Aylmer lake, and following the right bank of the Lockhart river to Artillery lake; thence along the western shore of Artillery lake and following the right bank of the Lockhart river to the site of Old Fort Reliance where the said river enters Great Slave lake, this being the northeastern corner of the territory ceded under the provisions of Treaty Number Eight; thence westerly along the northern boundary of the said territory so ceded to the point of commencement...⁴⁶²

IV.C.4 When were the first land surveys conducted in the study region?

An initial survey of Smith's Landing was undertaken in 1910, and the Smith's Landing and Fort Smith townsites were surveyed in 1912. Fort Resolution was also surveyed before the First World War. No general township surveys have been undertaken in this region.

IV.C.5 When was the first European settlement established in the study region? (Including, when was the first recorded official European-sponsored settlement?)

The first European "settlements" were the fur trade posts. These were very small in extent and population. By the end of the nineteenth century, the year-round population of Fort Resolution (the largest settlement on Great Slave Lake) was only about a hundred people, most of whom were of mixed ancestry.

IV.C.6 When was the first North West Mounted Police or Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer stationed in the study region?

The first patrol of the North West Mounted Police to go north of Fort Chipewyan reached Great Slave Lake in the winter of 1897. On this patrol, the officers explained the law, especially the game law, and arrested, tried and convicted people for the first time in the district. In 1898, a detachment of the North West Mounted Police was established at Fort Smith.

⁴⁶² Fumoleau, 213-214.

IV.C.7 When were the first local legislatures, local court, and permanent religious mission (or church site) established?

The first local legislature was established for the NWT after the Second World War. In 1905, upon the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, a Commissioner for the NWT was appointed, but he remained in Ottawa and did not appoint a governing Council. In the winter of 1920 - 1921, a new Commissioner of the NWT appointed a governing Council and began to issue ordinances.

In 1911, the Department of Indian Affairs established an Indian Agency at Fort Smith. The Indian Agent also acted as the Justice of the Peace for the area.

The first permanent religious mission in the area was at Fort Resolution (St. Joseph mission), established in 1858.

IV.C.8 When were international or political boundaries first established?

The boundary between the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories was established in 1898. The boundary between Alberta, Saskatchewan and the NWT was established in 1905.

In general, the presence of persons of sole-European ancestry in the Northwest Territories was very limited until about 1920. Excellent fur prices in 1919 - 1920 attracted trappers north, and an oil strike at Fort Norman in 1919 brought exploration companies and prospectors into the area. These developments made local regulatory apparatus and enforcement necessary. In May of 1921, the first Territorial administrative headquarters was established at Fort Smith.

V. Suggestions for Future Research

The analysis of sources attempted in this paper could be made more systematic, detailed and precise by creating a database of the historical information available on mixed-ancestry individuals. This database could be used both to assemble information on the life histories and

attributes of individuals, and to aggregate this information into general analyses of trends and attributes of the population, such as occupation, language, wage income, and geographic location. This analysis could be isolated to specific moments in time (a “snapshot” analysis) or extended over time to generate a longitudinal study. Although many of the key documents for this database have already been collected, the Hudson’s Bay Company Northern Department Engagement Registers would add a significant amount of data for the period after 1821, and later documents in series already partially collected, such as Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan account books and reports, would also contribute important information.

The emphasis on tracing the first emergence of a mixed-ancestry population in the study area in the research for this paper has meant that the development of this population has not been addressed in much detail. Documentation after the 1820s was reviewed on a sampling basis, or by the selection of the first available records for a source and geographic location (i. e. the first church registers, or the first account books available from a trading post). Demographic and occupational shifts in the population from the 1820s to 1900 are suggested by some of the sources already analyzed, but this part of the paper could be developed in much more depth. Analyses of later sources may also assist in filling out the descriptions of the cultural characteristics of the population.

The documents already analyzed strongly suggest that some wider geographic links to the study area should be explored. In particular, records from Fort Chipewyan and Fort Simpson may hold information on mixed-ancestry people linked to Great Slave Lake, as well as some of the Mackenzie River missions and posts.

An anthropologist with detailed knowledge of the Dene genealogies and societies of the study area could doubtless contribute valuable information on the place of mixed-ancestry people in Dene family, economic and cultural relationships. Aspects of these relationships have been suggested in this paper, but additional work could be done in situating mixed-ancestry people in the Dene context.

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Game regulations, Wood Buffalo National Park,
(Fort Chipewyan; photographs: Bluenose Lake;
Croker River, Thom Bay; Peace River; Jackfish
River; Portage Creek; map indicating location of
trading posts in Wood Buffalo Park; Salt River;
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VII. Appendices

Appendix A

Extracts of Selected Entries in Oblate Birth, Marriage and Death Registers

**Extracts of Selected Entries in Oblate
Birth, Marriage and Death Registers**

These entries are drawn from the Fort Resolution (St. Joseph) Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths no. 1 1852 - 1854 , and no. 2 1856 - 1859 (AD, W238 .M62F3); Providence (Grande Isle) Baptismal Register 1858 - 1905 (AD, W446 .M62F14 7); and Fort Smith (St. Isidore) Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths 1877 - 1888 (AD, W446 .M62F14 2).

Name	Vital statistics records	Other
Beauchamp, Joseph	Baptized at Grand Isle (near Fort Providence), 15 August 1858, age 7 ½, Son of Joseph Beauchamp and Marguerite Catherine Delame. Also Elise Beauchamp, age 4 ½ (no. 26), Sophie Beauchamp, age 9 1/2 (no. 24), and Marie Beauchamp, age 1 ½, (no. 27).	
Beauchamp, Marie Adele	Born 12 August 1859, baptized 20 August 1859 at Fort Resolution (no. B138, register 2). Daughter of Joseph Beauchamp and Catherine Delorme. Godparents Pierre Beaulieu and Marie L'Esperance	
Beaulieu, Baptiste Antoine	Baptized at Fort Providence (no. 562), born 15 January 1889. Son of Francois Beaulieu and Rose Lamoureux [?].	Baptismal register notes Baptiste was married in Vermilion in 1917.
Beaulieu, Catherine	Married 28 June 1852 at Fort Resolution to Joseph Bouvier* (no. M25). Joseph the son of J. – B. Bouvier and Marguerite Larante; Catherine the daughter of Francois Houle and LaLouise. Witnesses J. – B. Lepinet* and Pierre Cayen*.	
Beaulieu, Francoise	Born 7 April 1855, baptized 10 April 1855 at Fort Resolution (no. B177). Daughter oof Francois Beaulieu and Catherine Janvait. Godparents Andre Landry* and Marie Beaulieu	
Beaulieu, Joseph	Baptized 13 May 1861, at Fort Providence, born 10 May 1861 (no. 89). Son of Keen Beaulieu and Marianne T'eumi [?]. Godparents Dasya dit Forgeon and Marie Beaulieu	
Beaulieu, Josephine	Baptized 18 July 1857, age 11 months, at Fort Resolution (no. B42, register 2). Daughter of Pierre Beaulieu and Delphine Cazien. Godparents Joseph Goulet and Marie	
Beaulieu, Michel	Born 18 April 1875, baptized at Fort Providence (no. 362). Son of Pierre Beaulieu and Delphine. Godparents Joseph Bouvier and Catherine Beaulieu	
Beaulieu, Sophie	Born 2 April 1855, baptized 10 April 1855 at Fort Resolution (no. B176). Daughter of Kin Beaulieu and Mari Anne Flamand. Godparents Henri Aekenson and Marie Beaulieu	

Bedgere, Sophie	Baptized 13 August 1857 at Fort Resolution (no. B41, register 2). Daughter of Jeremie Bedgere and Marie Anne Ezilepe. Godfather Kin Beaulieu	
Bouvier, Joseph	Married 28 June 1852 at Fort Resolution to Catherine Beaulieu* (no. M25). Joseph the son of J. – B. Bouvier and Marguerite Larante; Catherine the daughter of Francois Beaulieu and LaLouise. Witnesses J. – B. Lepinet* and Pierre Cayen*.	
[Canadien], Catherine	Baptized 6 February 1864, age ?, at Fort Providence. Daughter of Canadien and Asi. Godmother Catherine femme Bouvier	
Canadien, Cecile	Baptized 22 November 1868, age 8 days, at Fort Providence (no. 283). Daughter of Joseph Canadien and Marie Assi. Godparents Joseph and Nancy Pepin	
Canadien, Jean	Born 29 November 1870, baptized at Fort Providence (no. 310). Son of Joseph Canadien and Marie Assi. Godfather Johnny	Note on baptismal record indicates Jean died in Rae in 1952
Cayen, Josephte	Baptized 27 June 1852, age <u>circa</u> 40, at Fort Resolution (no. B166). Daughter of Denetcha and Ihalsekall	Note on baptismal record: “femme Cayen”
Cayen, Henri	Baptized 27 June 1852, age 6, at Fort Resolution (no. B159). Son of Louis Cayen and Josephte*. Godparents Louis Henri Houle and Josephte Cyr	
Cayen, Marguerite	Baptized 27 June 1852, age 2, at Fort Resolution (no. B162). Daughter of Louis Cayen and Josephte*. Godparents J.-B. Cyr and Marie Laferte	
Cayen, Marie	Baptized 27 June 1852, age 9, at Fort Resolution (no. B159). Daughter of Louis Cayen and Josephte*. Godparents Alexis Laliberte and Julie Boucher	
Cayen, Melchior	Baptized 14 October 1858, age 14, at Fort Resolution (no. B66, register 2). Son of Etdhan and Ekontheraynela	
Cayen, Pierre	Married 28 June 1852 to Josephte Denetcha at Fort Resolution (no. M21). Pierre the son of Louis Cayen and Catiha (both deceased). Witnesses J. – B. Leponit [Lepinet] and Joseph Bouvier	
Cayen, Scholastique	Baptized 27 June 1852, age 6, at Fort Resolution (no. B161). Son of Louis Cayen and Josephte*. Godparents Joseph Bouvier and Marie Laferte	
Charbonneau, Emile	Born 25 September 1870, baptized at Fort Providence (no. 309). Son of Joseph Charbonneau and Adele. Godfather Emile	

Cyr, Elise	Born 26 March 1850, baptized 6 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. 87). Daughter of Jean Baptiste Cyr and Marie Boucher. Godparents Joseph LeTendre and Louise Fabien	
Cyr, Jean	Born 1 December 1847, baptized 6 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. 86). Son of Jean Baptiste Cyr and Marie Boucher. Godparents Jean Fabien and Marie Laferte	
Desjardins, Callixte	Baptized 22 August 1860, age ?, at Fort Providence (no. 64). Son of Enkison [?] Desjardins and Atoi. Godmother Maïen Wool [?]	
Desjardins, Isabelle	Baptized 28 June 1864, age 2 months, at Fort Providence (no. 201). Daughter of Baptiste Desjardins and Delphine Atsi. Godmother Marie Beaulieu	
Fabien, Baptiste	Baptized 25 December 1856, age 2, at Fort Resolution (no. B32, register 2). Son of Janot Fabien* and Anne Ezezele. Godmother "Marie Anne epouse de Kin Beaulieu".	
Fabien, Honoroy	Baptized 25 December 1856, age 3, at Fort Resolution (no. B31, register 2), born at Salt River. Son of Janot Fabien* and Anne Ezezele. Godfather Kin Beaulieu	
Fabien, Jean	Married 28 June 1852 at Fort Resolution to Anne Eziele [note: Nattore] (no. M23). Jean Fabien the son of Jean Fabien and LaLouise. Witnesses J. – B. Lepinet and Joseph Bouvier	
Fabien, Marie	Baptized 25 December 1856, age 6 months, at Fort Resolution (no. B33, register 2). Daughter of Janot Fabien* and Anne Ezezele. Godmother Catherine Janvier femme Beaulieu"	
Guilboche, Isabelle	Born 2 June 1850, baptized 27 September 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. B165). Daughter of Marcel Laroche. Godparents Joseph Beauchamp and Marie Laferte	
Guilboche, Marguerite	Born 16 December 1846, baptized 27 September 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. B163 [sic]). Daughter of Marcel Guilboch and Sophie Blayoune [or Blayonne]. Godparents Francois Laroque and Julie Boucher	
Guilboche, Marie	Born 13 September 1848, baptized 27 September 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. B164). Daughter of Marcel Guilboche and Sophie Blayoune [or Blayonne]. Godparents Joseph Huppee and Josephte Cyr	
Houle, Elise	Born 6 February 1863, baptized shortly thereafter at Fort Providence (no. 123). Daughter of William Houle and Marie Beaulieu. Godparents Joseph Kin Beaulieu and Suzanne	
Houle, Elise	Married Pierre Laviolette 14 April 1879, at Fort Smith (no. M1). Pierre the son of Laviolette and Ebandry Deze, Elise the	

	daughter of William Houle and Marie Beaulieu.	
Hool [Houle], Francis	Married Francoise Tsadjede [1859] at Fort Resolution (no. M9, register 2). Francis the son of Francois Hool and Lisette; Francoise the daughter of Tsinayziede and Tsinagaze. Witness Beauchamp.	
Houle, Joseph	Baptized 25 October 1868, age ?, at Fort Providence (no. 282). Daughter of William Houle and Marie Beaulieu	
Houle, Magdelaine	Married 28 June 1852 at Fort Resolution to J. – B. Lepinet (no. M24). J. – B. the son of J. – B. Lepinet and Charlotte; Magdelaine the daughter of Francois Houle and Sophie Houppie [Huppe]. Witnesses Joseph Bouvier* and Pierre Cayen*.	
Hool [Houle], Sophie	Baptized 18 July 1858, age 1 year, at Fort Resolution (no. B43, register 2). Daughter of William Hool and Marie Beaulieu. Godparents Francois Beaulieu and Catherine Wapeshka	
Huppee [Huppe], Joseph Jean	Born 12 February 1852, baptized 27 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. B157). Son of Joseph Huppee and Josephthe Cyr. Godparents J. – B. Cyr and Julie Boucher	
Huppee [Huppe], Josephine	Born 2 April 1850, baptized 27 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. B158). Daughter of Joseph Huppee and Josephthe Cyr. Godparents Joseph Bouvier* and Catherine Beaulieu*	
Jonas, Baptiste	Baptized 14 April 1878, age ?, at Fort Smith (no. ?). Son of Thomas Jonas and Francoise Beaulieu. Godparents Joseph Beaulieu* and Sophie Cayen	
Lacorne [?], Rosalie	Baptized 27 June 1864, age 3 months, at Fort Providence (no. 213). Daughter of Boniface Lacorne and Marie. Godfather J.-B. Pepin	
Lacroix, Antoine	Baptized 19 September 1865, born same day, at Fort Providence (no. 226). Son of Louison Lacroix and Marie L'Esperance. Godparents Antoine Laviolette and Marie Cayen	
Lafleur, Guillaume	Baptized 23 April 1888 at Fort Smith, age ? (no. 5). Son of Jean Lafleur and Aureline [?] Mercredi	
Landry, Elise	Baptized 28 April 1876, age 3 months, at Fort Providence (no. 346). Daughter of Andre Landry and Catherine Djetha	
Landry, Eugene	Married 28 January 1855 at Fort Resolution to Louise Ekerherne (no. M25). Notes “Louizon Tchiezelle” and “Tolton”.	
Landry, Julien	Baptized 25 February 1857 at Portage la cassette (Slave River) (no. B38, Fort Resolution register 2). Son of Eugene Landry* and Louise Ekinerhe. Godparents Francois Beaulieu and Anne	

	Azegede	
Lanois [?], Patrice	Born 19 December 1875, baptized at Fort Providence, died 27 December 1875. Son of Henri Lanois and Catherine. Godparents J. – B. Beauchamp and Catherine	
Lanvin [?], Marie	Born 1 October 1871, baptized at Fort Providence (no 315). Daughter of Modeste Lanvin and Sophie Beaulieu. Godparents Bouvier and Catherine Bouvier	
Laviolette, Pierre	Married Elise Houle* at Fort Smith, 14 April 1879 (no. M1). Pierre the son of Laviolette and Ebandry Deze, Elise the daughter of William Houle and Marie Beaulieu.	
Lepinet, Jean-Baptiste	Married 28 June 1852 at Fort Resolution, to Magdelaine Houle*. J. – B. the son of J. – B. Lepinet and Charlotte; Magdelaine the daughter of Francois Houle and Sophie Houppie [Huppe]. Witnesses Joseph Bouvier* and Pierre Cayen*.	
Lepinet [L'Epinet], Madeleine	Baptized 15 August 1858, age 5, at Grand Isle (near Fort Providence) (no. 29). Daughter of Baptiste L'Epinet* and Madeleine Houle*. Godparents William Houle and Marie Beaulieu	
Lepinet [L'Epinet], William	Baptized 15 August 1858, age 2, at Grand Isle (near Fort Providence) (no. 30). Son of Baptiste L'Epinet* and Madeleine Houle*. Godmother Francoise Beaulieu	
LeTendre, Guillaume	Born 29 October 1850, baptized 6 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. 88). Son of Joseph LeTendre and Marie Laferte. Godparents Alexis Parisien and Marie Laferte	
LeTendre, Jacques	Born 12 May 1849, baptized 6 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. 89). Godparents Alexis Parisien and Louise Fabien	
LeTendre, Joseph	Born April 1852, baptized 6 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. 90). Son of Joseph LeTendre and Marie Laferte. Godparents Jean Cyr and Marie Boucher	
MacKay, Catherine	Baptized at Fort Providence (no. 483). Born <u>circa</u> April 1883. Daughter of Elie MacKay and Agi [?] Julie. Godmother Adele MacKay	
MacKay, Julienne	Baptized 19 June 1864, age 2 months, at Fort Providence (no. 197). Daughter of Johny MacKay and Marguerite Cadieux. Godmother Marie Beaulieu	
Malville [Maleville], Angele	Baptized 4 May 1856 at Fort Resolution (no. B182). Daughter of Francois Malville* and Marie Tsatseeheta.	
Malville [Maleville],	Baptized 10 January 1859 at Fort Resolution (no. B73, register	

Eliza	2). Daughter of Francois Malville* and Marie Tsatseeheta.	
Molville [Maleville], Francois	Baptized 20 June 1852, age <u>circa</u> 50, at Fort Resolution (no. 104). Son of Francois and Javotte. Godfather Joseph LeTendre	
Molville [Maleville], Francois	Married 21 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. M1) to Marie Tsotehipheta	
Molville [Maleville], Jean-Baptiste	Baptized 20 June 1852, age about 25, at Fort Resolution (no. 106). Son of Francois Molville* and Ezaeigazi	
Molville [Maleville], Jean-Baptiste	Married 21 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. M2) to Aune Flueger	
Malville [Maleville], Louis	Baptized 6 September 1854, age 8, at Fort Resolution (no. B170). Son of Francois Malville* and Shadulpaze. Godfather J. – B. Malville*.	
Malville [Maleville], Michel	Baptized 4 May 1856, age 3, at Fort Resolution (no. B181). Son of Francois Malville* and Marie Tsatseeheta.	
Maleville, Theophyle	Baptized 10 February 1884 at Fort Smith, age ? (no. B. L. 3). Son of Baptiste Maleville and Catherine Beaulieu	
Martel, Helene	Baptized 27 June 1870, age ?, at Fort Providence (no. 313). Daughter of Pierre Martel* and Marie. Godmother Marguerite Bouvier	
[Martel], Marie	Baptized 3 April 1864, age ?, at Fort Providence (no. 172). Daughter of Martel and Sanikamon. Godmother Marie Yakimon	
Martel, Pierre	Baptized 12 June 1870, age 25, at Fort Providence (no. 301).	
Paul or [Sabourin], Francois	Baptized 8 August 1862, age 1 month, at Fort Providence (no. 112). Son of Sabourin and Netenidenion. Godparents Jean Beauchemin and Marie Anne	
Piche, Joseph	Born 31 May 1862, baptized at Fort Providence summer 1862 (no. 109). Son of Francois Piche and Leany [?] McDonald. Godparents Kin Beaulieu and Marie Anne Beaulieu	
Richard, Antoine	Born 19 April 1867, baptized at Fort Providence [1868?] (no. 263). Son of Francois Richard and Francoise Ledoux. Godparents Antoine and Mary Laviolette	
Robillard, Antoinette	Baptized 20 August 1860, aged 1 year, at Fort Providence (no. 62). Daughter of Andre Robillard and Marguerite. Godparents Antoine Laviolette and Madeleine Laferte	
Robillard, Felix	Baptized 15 August 1858 at Grand Isle (near Fort Providence),	

	age ?, (no. 28). Son of Andre Robillard and Marguerite Champlain. Godmother Francoise Beaulieu	
Roi, Joseph	Married 28 June 1852 at Fort Resolution to Henriette Ezenne (no. M22). Joseph the son of Alexis Roi (deceased) and Josephthe Gauthier. Witnesses J. – B. Lepinet and Joseph Bouvier	
Roi, Josephthe	Born 6 November 1850, baptized 27 June 1852 at Fort Resolution (no. B163). Daughter of Joseph Roi* and Henrottee	
Ross, Edouard	Baptized 24 October 1858, age 15 days, at Fort Resolution (no. B71, register 2). Son of Bernard Ross and Tselkwislini. Godparents Joseph Sauvet [Sauve] and Delphine Casieu	
Sabourin, Antoine	Baptized 3 July 1868, age ?, at Fort Providence (no. 276). Son of Jean Sabourin and Cecile Bekenejawon.	
Sabourin, Charles	Baptized at Fort Providence (no. 503), born June 1884. Son of Martel and Sophie Sabourin*. Godfather Pierre Beaulieu	
Sabourin, Josephine	Baptized 26 June 1872, age <u>circa</u> 4 months, at Fort Providence (no. 321). Daughter of Joseph Sabourin and Angele Tayandi	
Sabourin, Sophie	Baptized 12 June 1864, age 2 months, at Fort Providence (no. 177). Daughter of Jean Sabourin and Cecile Bekenejawon. Godmother Sophie Cayen	
Sanderson, Anastasia	Baptized 24 October 1858, age 15 days, at Fort Resolution (no. B70, register 2). Daughter of George Sanderson and Isabelle. Godmother Marie Dess	
Sauvet [Sauve], Alexandre	Baptized 26 July 1858 at Fort Resolution (no. B49, register 2). Son of Joseph Sauvet and Marie Dess. Godparents Petrouille and Tsinayage Isabelle	
Sauve, Angelique	Born 26 April 1852, baptized 20 June 1856 at Fort Resolution (no. B20, register 2). Daughter of Norbert Sauve and Josephthe St. Pierre. Godparents Baptiste Boucher and Marie Sauve. See also Marguerite, age 3 (no. B21) and Marie, age 1 (no. B22).	
Sauvet [Sauve], Charles	Baptized 25 October 1858, age 1 month, at Fort Resolution (no. B49, register 2). Son of Joseph Sauvet and Marie Dess. Godparents Kin Beaulieu and his wife	
Savoyard, Francois	Baptized at Fort Providence (no. 515), born 31 August 1885. Son of Joseph Savoyard and Francoise L'Esperance [?]. Godparents William Lepine and Cecile Boyea [Boyer?]	
Savoyard, Melanie	Baptized at Fort Providence (no. 489), born 20 August 1883. Daughter of Joseph Savoyard and Francoise Boucher.	

	Godparents Baptiste Bouvier and Marguerite Gaudreau	
Thomas [dit Antoine], Francois	Baptized 12 February 1884 at Fort Smith, age ? (no. B. L. 4). Son of Thomas and Francoise Beaulieu	
Thibault, Francois	Baptized at Grand Isle (near Fort Providence) 15 August 1858, age ? (no. 31). Son of Francois Thibault and Djeithon	

VII. Appendices

Appendix B

Métis Scrip -- ArchiviaNet

Summaries of Genealogical Information
on Métis Scrip Applications

Metis scrip – ArchiviaNet

Fort Resolution

25 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Balsillie, James A.R. - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Providence, NWT - Born, Winnipeg, 1876 - Occupation, trader - Father, Balsillie, John, (White man) - Mother, Rowand, Adelaid, (Metis) - Married, to Marie Fabien in 1901 in Fort Resolution - Children, ten names on declaration - claim no. 33 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

26 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Basillie Marie - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Hay River - Born, Resolution July 1, 1877 - Father, Honore Fabien - Mother, Eliza Manville - Married, to James R. Basillie - Claim no. 71 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

27 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Moise - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Resolution NWT - Born, August 15, 1899, Fort Rae - Occupation, trapper - Father, Beaulieu, Moise, (Metis) - "Marie", (Indian) - Married, 1918 in Resolution to Celine Beaulieu - Children, three - Pascal, July 3, 1922, Lucienne, August 26, 1920, Fred, November 1919 - Claim no. 57 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

28 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Marguerite - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Winnipeg 1854 - Father, Lafferty Louison, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Lesperance, (Metis) - Married, 1876 in Providence to Joseph Bouvier - Children, four living, two dead - Marie, 1878, Rosina, 1890, Michel, 1893, Marguerite, 1897 - Claim no. 54 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

29 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Fabien, Helen - Concerning her Metis grant for \$240.00 - Residence, Fort Resolution - Born, Fort Simpson in 1883 - Father, Sabbestin, Thomas, (White man) - Mother, Marie, (Indian) - Married, 1906 at Fort Providence to John Fabien - Children, seven living, one dead - Joseph, 1907, James, 1909, Mary Rose, 1912, Bernadette, 1914, Frank, 1915, Albert, 1917, Alice, 1919 - Claim no. 1 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

30 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Jones, Charlotte Sarcel - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Resolution - Born, Fort Liard, 1868 - Father, Sarcel, (Indian) - Mother, Deceased, (Indian) - Married, October 1906 at Fort Simpson to Henry William Jones - Children, five - Edward Gabriel, September 14, 1900, Dora Virginia, February 12, 1903, Alfred, August 28, 1904, Henry, December 24, 1906, Frederick, March 24, 1909 - Claim no. 35 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

31 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Henry - Concerning his Metis grant - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Fort Nelson, September 20, 1882 - Occupation, trapper - Father, Vital Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Caroline LaMalice, (Metis) - Claim no. 56 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

32 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, James - Concerning his Metis grant - Address, Fort Simpson - Born June 7, 1900 at Fort Resolution - Occupation, trapper - Father, Alex Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Eliza McIvor, (Metis) - Claim no. 43 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

33 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Victor - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Liard in 1887 - Occupation, trader and interpreter - Father, Boniface Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, in 1912 at Resolution to Mary Rose Madeline - Children, four - Alice, 1913, Leon, 1914, Edward, 1917, Virginia, 1919 - Claim no. 23 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

34 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Loutit, Eliza Jane - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Fort Rae, March 3, 1905 - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1924, Hay River to Edward Loutit - Claim no. 58 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

35 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Loutit, Helen Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Resolution - Born, 1896 Fort Wrigley - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriett Brown, (Metis) - Married, in 1913 at Fort Chipewyan to Alexandra Loutit - Children, three living, one dead - Archibald, 1915, Peter Francois, 1917, Mable, 1919 - Claim no. 34 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

36 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mandeville, Lucienne - Concerning her Metis grant - Address, Resolution - Born, Norman, 1864 - Father, deceased, (Indian) - Mother, deceased, (Indian) - Married, 1879, Providence to Johnny Sanderson died, 1914, and 1917, Norman to Moise Mandeville - Claim no. 55 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

37 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sanderson, Isobel - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, McPherson in 1895 - Father, Baptiste Lecou, (Metis) - Mother, Margaret Laporte, (Metis) - Married, in 1915 at Fort Resolution to John Sanderson - Claim no. 25 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

38 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Bella; address: Fort Resolution; claim no. 47; born: 1869 at Fort Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Scot); mother: Elizabeth Manger de Lard (Chipeyan Indian); married: 1884 at Fort Resolution to Petit Pierre Beaulieu; children living: 6; scrip notes nos. A12807 & A4438 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

39 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Catherine; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 22; born: 1870 at Fort Smith; father: Petitjean (Chippewyan Indian); mother: Eliza Twan-nee-yah (Chippewyan Indian); married: 1885 at Fort Resolution to Jean Marie Beaulieu; children living: 7; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

40 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Dalphine; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 51; born: 1840 at Fort Resolution; father: Paul Cadieu (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Elizabeth (Indian); married: 1854 at Fort Chipewyan to Pierre Beaulieu; children living: 9 children deceased: 3; scrip notes nos. A12761 & 4392 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

41 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Flora, King; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 27; born: 1864 at Isle la Crosse; father: John Hope (Scot); mother: Emily Anderson (Cree Indian); married: 1881 at Fort Resolution to Joseph King Beaulieu, Jr.; children living: 3; children Deceased: 3; scrip notes nos. A12758 & A 4389 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

42 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Francois; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 12; born: 1869 at Fort

Smith; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Delphine Cadieu (Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12746 & 4377 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

43 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Henri; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 13; born: 1878 at Fort Resolution; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Delphine Cadieu (Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12748 & A4379 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

44 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Jean Marie; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 14 to 21; born: 1860 at Fort Resolution; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Delphine Cadieu (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1865 at Fort Resolution to Catherine Petitjean; children living: 7; children deceased: 2; scrip notes nos. A12749 & A4380 for Jean Marie Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12750 & A4381 for Marie Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12752 & A4382 for John Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12752 & A4383 for Louison Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12753 & A4384 for Alexander Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12754 & A4385 for Louis Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12755 & A4386 for Elise Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12756 & A4387 for Ellen Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

45 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Jr., Joseph King; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 23 to 26; born: 1860 at Big Island, mouth of McKenzie River; father: Joseph King Beaulieu Jr. (Métis); mother: Mary Anne Francois (Métis); married: 1881 at Fort Resolution to Flora Hope; children living: 3; children deceased: 3; scrip notes nos. A12774 & A4405 for Joseph King Beaulieu, scrip notes nos. A12775 & A4406 for Jean Moise Beaulieu, scrip notes nos. A12776 & A4407 for Susan Harriette Beaulieu, scrip notes nos. A12777 & A4408 for Baptiste Alexander Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

46 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Michel; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake via Edmonton; claim no. 11; born: 1875 at Port Providence; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Chipewyan Indian; scrip notes nos. A12744 & A4375 for Michel Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

47 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Petit Pierre; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim nos. 40 to 46; born: 1859 at Fort Resolution; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Josephine Paul (Métis); married: 1884 to Bella Sanderson at Fort Resolution; scrip notes nos. A12825 & A4456 for Petit Pierre Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12826 & A4457 for Narcisse Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12827 & A4458 for Patrice Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12828 & A4459 for Catherine Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12829 & A4460 for Marguerite Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12830 & A4461 for Antoine Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

48 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 48 to 50; born: 1833 at Fort Resolution; father: Beaulieu (Métis); mother: LaLouise (Cree Métis); married: 1854 at Fort Chipewyan to Delphine Cadieu; children living: 9; children deceased: 3; scrip notes nos. A12804 & A4435 for Pierre Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12805 & A4436 for Louison Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12806 & A4437 for John Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

49 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; address: St. Agathe; claim no. 1442; born: 5 Dec., 1875 at Fort Resolution; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Laforte (Métis) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

50 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1339 , Reel C-14956 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cardinal, Elise; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 370; born: Feb., 1867 at Fort Resolution; father: Joseph King Beaubien (Métis); mother: Marie Anne Flammand (Métis); married: June, 1891 at Vermillion to Baptiste Cardinal; scrip cert. no. 820 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

51 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1346 , Reel C-14967 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Fabien, Eliza; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 128 to 132; born: 1859 at Fort Resolution; father: François Mandeville (Métis); mother: Marie Maunsye (Slave Indian); married: 1874 at Fort Resolution to Henri Fabien; children living Marie, Madeleine, Rose, John & Helene; children deceased: Caroline & one unnamed **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

52 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1346 , Reel C-14967 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Fabien, George; his guardian: Annie McLeod; claim no. 133; born: 1892 at Fort Resolution; father: Henri Fabien (deceased Métis); mother: Pas-chen (deceased Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12909 & 4540 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

53 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Flett, Charlotte; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 407; born: 1 Aug., 1865 at Fort Simpson; father: William Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 26 Jan., 1880 at Fort Resolution to William Flett; children living: Mary, Sophia Agnes, William, George, John James, Alfred, Richard, Isabella, Louisa, Robert Nicholas & Florence; children deceased: Letitia; scrip cert. no. 882 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

54 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Flett, William; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 414; born: 24 Dec., 1851 at Winnipeg, Manitoba; father: George Flett (Métis); mother: Charlotte Diolet (Métis); married: 26 Jan., 1880 at Fort Resolution to Charlotte Smith; children living: 9; children deceased: Letitia; William Flett, scrip cert. no. 883 A; Sophia Agnes Flett, scrip cert. no. 885 A; Mary Flett, scrip cert. no. 884 A; William George Flett, scrip cert. no. 886 A; John James scrip cert. no. 887 A; Alfred Flett, scrip cert. no. 888 A; Richard Flett, scrip cert. no. 889 A; Isabella Louisa Flett, scrip cert. no. 890 A; Robert Nicholas Flett, scrip cert. no. 891 A; Florence Flett, scrip cert. Mo. 892 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

55 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Garson, Peter Flett; heir to his deceased daughter, Catherine Jan; claim no. 134; Garson; born: 10 Nov., 1878 at Fort Resolution; died: Aug., 1891 at Domremy, Saskatchewan; address: Domremy, Saskatchewan; father: Peter Flett Garson (Métis & deponent); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form D, no. 227 for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

56 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14977 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Hyslop, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 178; born: 1840 at Dease Lake near Liard River; father: François Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpeid (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1862 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Bouchier, & 1898 at Fort Rae to James Hyslop; children deceased: Marie; scrip notes nos. A4558 & A5569 for 160 & 80 acres respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

57 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Laferte, Joseph Smith; address: Fort Resolution, via Edmonton; claim no. 199 to 203; born: 1855 at Fort Resolution; father: Wabiscaw Laferte (Métis); mother: Kell-tell (Indian); married: 1875 at Fort Resolution to LaFamille; children living: Madelaine, Ellen, Elise, (born, 1886), Lucy Anne (born, 1890), Rosalique (born, 1892), Pierre (born, 1899); children deceased: Marie & Annie; Elise Laferte, scrip nos. A12894 & A4525 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Joseph Smith Laferte, scrip nos. A12893 & A4524 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Lucy Anne Laferte, scrip nos. A12895 & A4526 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Rosalique Laferte, scrip nos. A12896 & A4527 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Pierre Laferte, scrip nos. A12897 & A4528 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

58 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Laferte, LaFamille; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 204; born: 1860 at Fort Resolution; father: L'Andre (Yellow Knife Indian); mother: LaLouise (Yellow Knife Indian); married: 1875 at Fort Resolution to Joseph Smith Laferte; children living: Ellen, Madelaine Elise, Lucy Anne, Rosalique & Pierre; children deceased: Marie & Anne; scrip nos. A12878 & A4509 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

59 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Laferte, Louison; address: Fort Rae via Edmonton; claim no. 205; born: 1822 at Fort Resolution; father: Laferte (Métis); mother: Mary Anne (Cree Indian); married: 1848 at Winnipeg to Marie Lesperence; children living: Boniface; Vital; Octave; Alexis; Henri; Antoine; Marguerite; Marie & Monique; children deceased: Louis; Modeste; Rose & Adele **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

60 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferte, Boniface; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 190; born: 1861 at Winnipeg; father: Louison Lafferte (Métis); claim no. 197; mother: Marie Lesperence (Métis); married: 1879 at Fort Providence to Madelaine Bouvier; children living: Marie Rose; Julie; George; Victor; Marguerite; Joseph & Michel; children deceased: Charles **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

61 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** MacKay, William Morrison; for his living son, William Duncan MacKay; address: Edmonton; born: 1877 at Resolution, Great Slave Lake; father: William Morrison MacKay (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 3341; claim no. 3154 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

62 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Alphonse; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; born: 1863 at Fort Resolution; father: Francois Mandeville (Métis); mother: Marie (Slave Indian); married: 1885 at Fort Resolution to Victorine Antoine; scrip notes nos. A12924 and A4555 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; claim no. 230 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

63 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Madelaine; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1872 at Fond du Lac; father: Joseph King Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Mary Anne Cayen (Métis); married: 1888 at Fort Resolution to Moise Mandeville; children living: Marie Rose, Louis Joseph and children deceased: Catherine, Harriet and Mary Anne; scrip notes nos. A12915 and A4545; claim no. 241 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

64 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Marcelline; born: 1864 at Fort Resolution; father: Capot Blanc (Yellowknife Indian); mother: Sophie Bell-Knee (Yellowknife Indian); married: 1881 at Fort Resolution to William Mandeville; scrip notes nos. 12898 and A4479; claim no. 243 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

65 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Marie Madelaine; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1877 at Fort Resolution; father: Michel Mandeville (Métis); mother: Marie (Slave Indian); scrip notes nos. A12920 and A4551; claim no. 237 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

66 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Michel; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1857 at Fort Resolution; father: Francois Mandeville (Métis); mother: Marie Maunzie (Slave Indian); married: 1873 at Fort Resolution to Marie; children living: Madelaine, Francois, Isidore, Elizabeth and Joseph Elzear; children deceased: Michel, Pierre, Marguerite, John, Caroline, Louis Alphonse and Loen Patrie; Francois Mandeville, scrip notes Nos A12916 and A4547 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; Michel Mandeville, scrip notes Nos A12915 and A4546 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; Isidore Mandeville, scrip notes Nos A12917 and A4548 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; Elizabeth Mandeville, scrip notes nos. A12918 and A4549 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; Joseph Elzear Mandeville, scrip notes nos. A12919 and A4550 for \$160.00 and \$80.00 claim no. 232 to 236 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

67 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Moise; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; born: 1861 at Fort Resolution; father: Francois Mandeville (French Métis); mother: Marie Maunzie (Slave Indian); married: 1888 at Fort Resolution to Madelaine King Beaulieu; children living: Marie Rose and Louis Joseph; children deceased: Catherine, Harriet and Mary Anne; Moise Mandeville, scrip notes nos. A12911 and A4549 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; Marie Rose Mandeville, scrip Notes; nos.

A12912 and A4543 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; Louis Joseph Mandeville, scrip notes nos. A12913 and A4544 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; claim no. 238 to 240 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

68 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mandeville, Victorine; born: 1873 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Antoine (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Lizette Ka-za-say (Chipewyan; Indian); married: 1885 at Fort Resolution to Alphonse Mandeville; scrip notes nos. A12847 & A4478; claim no. 231 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

69 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mandeville, William; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1849 at Fort Resolution; father: Francois Mandeville (French Canadian); mother: Marie Maunaje (Slave Indian); married: 1881 at Fort Resolution to Marcelline Capot Blanc; scrip notes nos. A12910 and A4541 for \$160.00 and \$80.00; claim no. 242 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

70 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14988 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McKay, Mary Louise; address: Edmonton; born: 4 Oct., 1881 at Resolution, Great Slave Lake; father: William Morrison McKay (Whiteman); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1082; claim no. 1786 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

71 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McKinley, Bella; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1869 at Fort Providence; father: Magnus Brown (Scot); mother: Bella (Dog-rib Indian); married: 1889 at Fort Resolution to James McKinley; children living: John, Sterling, Archie & Elenora; children deceased: Florence; scrip notes nos. A12922 & A4553 for \$160.00; & \$80.00; claim no. 273 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

72 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McKinley, James; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1857 at Perthshire, Scotland; father: John McKinley (Scot); mother: 1889 at Fort Resolution to Bella Brown; children living: Johnnie, Sterling, Archie & Elenora; children deceased: Flora; Johnnie Mc Kinley, scrip notes nos. A13340 & A5014 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Sterling McKinley, scrip notes nos. A13341 & A5016; Archie McKinley, scrip notes nos. A13342 & A5016; Elenora McKinley, scrip for \$240.00; claim no. 269 to 272 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

73 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McLeod, Annie; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; born: 1859 at Fort Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Scot); mother: Elizabeth Manger-de-Lard (Indian); married: 1894 at Edmonton to Frank McLeod; scrip notes nos. A12923 & A4554 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 274 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

74 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Rose Marie; address: Smith's Landing; born: 1880 at Fort Resolution; father: Joseph Beaulieu or (King); (Métis); mother: Marie Anne Flammand (Métis); married: 1895 at Vermillion to Alexandre Mercredi; scrip notes nos. A12932 & A4563; claim no. 245 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

75 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norn, Ellen; address: Fort Resolution, via Edmonton; born: 1875 at Fort Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Scot); mother: Elizabeth Manger-de-lard (Chipewyan; Indian); married: Sept., 1899 at Fort Resolution to George Norn; children living: Beatrice; scrip notes nos. A12862 & A4493 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 290 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

76 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norn, George Robert; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1877 at Fort Rae; father: William Robert Norn (Métis); mother: Jean Mary Sanderson (Whitewoman); married: 1899 at Fort Resolution to Ellen Sanderson; children living: Louise, born: June, 1900; George Robert Norn, scrip notes nos. A12925; & A4556 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Louise Norn, scrip notes nos. A12926 & A4557; for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 288 & 289 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

77 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Norn, Grace; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; born: 1875 at Fort Norman; father: William Robert Norn (Métis); mother: Jean Mary Sanderson (Scot); scrip notes nos. A12861 & A4492 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 299 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

78 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Sanderson, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; via Edmonton; born: 1844 at Buffalo Lake near Hay River; father: Mangerde-lard (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Zo-see (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1856 at Fort Resolution to Henry Sanderson; children living: Annie, James, Henry, Ellen, Charles, Bella & George; children deceased: Francois, Marie & 2 unnamed children; scrip notes nos. A12886 & A4517; claim no. 326 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

79 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Sanderson, George; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; via Edmonton; born: 1878 at Fort Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Orkney Islander); mother: Elizabeth Manger-de-lard (Chipewyan; Indian); scrip notes nos. A12929 & A4560 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 327 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

80 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Sanderson, James; address: Chipewyan; born: 30 June, 1863 at Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Métis); mother: Isabelle (Indian); married: 15 July, 1881 at Chipewyan to Bienvenue Tourangeau; children living: Jean, Maria Julia, Edward, Henri, Catherine & Marie Rose; children deceased: John, Louise & James Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 983A; Jean Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 984A; Marie Julia Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 985A; Edward Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 986A; Henri Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 987A; claim no. 461 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

81 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Shawan, Sophie or Nipissing; address: Fort Vermillion; born: Oct., 1852 at Fort Smith; father: Joseph King Beaulieu, Sr. (Métis); mother: Marie Anne Flammand (Métis); married: in 1866 at Fort Resolution to Modeste Laferty & in Jan., 1896 at Fort Vermillion to Jean Baptiste Shaevan or Nipissing; children living: Marie, Joseph, Jean Baptiste, Elizabeth, Marie Anne, Philippe, Antoinette & Adeline; children deceased: Louison Modeste, Felix, Pierre, Rose, Henriette & Louison Modeste; Sophie Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 821A; Marie Anne Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 822A; Philippe Shawan or Nipissing, scrip cert. No; 823A; Antoinette Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 824A; Adeline Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 825A claim no. 364 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

82 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1368 , Reel C-15005 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Swanston, Catherine; for her deceased daughter, Catherine Jane; Swanston; address: Prince Albert, Sask; born: 15 April, 1878 at Fort Resolution; died: 14 Feb., 1882; father: Thomas Swanston (deceased Scot); mother: Catherine Flett (Métis & deponent); heirs: scrip cert.: form D, no. 233 for \$120.00 to Catherine Swanston; Margaret Francis Swanston, scrip cert.: form D, no. 413; for \$120.00; claim no. 204 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Hay River

7 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Basillie Marie - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Hay River - Born, Resolution July 1, 1877 - Father, Honore Fabien - Mother, Eliza Manville - Married, to James R. Basillie - Claim no. 71 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

8 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90** **File Title:** Loutit, Eliza Jane - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Fort Rae, March 3, 1905 - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1924, Hay River to Edward Loutit - Claim no. 58 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

9 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Hay River - Born, Fort Rae in 1894 - Father, Antoine Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Beaulieu, (Metis) - Married, in 1912 at Chipewyan to Leon G. Mercredi - Children, two living, two dead - Ignace Clement, 1912, Lionel Hubert, 1919 - Claim no. 5 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

11 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Norn, Charles; address: Hay River, Great Slave Lake; born: 1877 at Hay River; father: Robert Norn (Scot); mother: Catherine Smith (Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12885 & A4516 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 287 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

12 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Sanderson, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; via Edmonton; born: 1844 at Buffalo Lake near Hay River; father: Mangerde-lard (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Zo-see (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1856 at Fort Resolution to Henry Sanderson; children living: Annie, James, Henry, Ellen, Charles, Bella & George; children deceased: Francois, Marie & 2 unnamed children; scrip notes nos. A12886 & A4517; claim no. 326 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Fort Smith

7 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Berens, Ellen - Concerning her Metis claim - Residence, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Simpson - Father, John Berens - Mother, Monique Lafferty - Married 1924 to John R. Berens - Claim no. 74 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

8 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Berens, Fredrick - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Athabaska Landing - Father, John Berens - Mother, Monique Lafferty - Claim no. 73 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

9 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Berens, John - Concerning his family Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, 1871 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, pilot for N.T. Co. - Father, Berens, Samuel, (Metis) - Mother, Mary, (Indian) - Married, in 1896 at Fort Rae to Monique Lafferty - Children, eight living, deceased four - Mary Louise, 1899, Ellen, 1901, Alice, 1904, Alfred, 1906, William, 1908, Dora, 1911, Frederick, 1899, Saragine, 1915 - Claim no. 29 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

10 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Berens, John Richard - Concerning my Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith, NWT - Occupation, steam boat man - Born, March 13, 1894, Simpson, NWT - Father, MacPherson, George, (Metis) - Mother, Berens, Sarah, (Metis) - Married, May 12, 1924 to Ellen Berens of Fort Smith - Children, none - Claim no. 37 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

11 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Camsell, Frank Ernest - Concerning his family Metis claim - Residence, Fort Rae - Born, 1878 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, trader - Father, Camsell, Julien S., (White man) - Mother, Sara Foulds, (Metis) - Married, 1909 to Marie Madeleine Bushier at Fort Smith - Children, four living, two dead - Claim no. 31 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

12 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , [Access code: 90](#) **File Title:** Heron, William Henry - Concerning his Metis grant - Address, Fort Smith, NWT - Born,

Wrigley, October 27, 1890 - Occupation, steamboat pilot - Father, Frank Huron, (White man) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Claim no. 39 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Alex Joseph - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Rae - Occupation, steamboat hand - Father, Louis Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Gay, (Metis or Indian) - Claim no. 38 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacPherson, Sarah - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Simpson in 1870 - Father, Samuel Berens, (Metis) - Mother, Julia, (Indian) - Married, in 1900 at Fort Simpson to George MacPherson - Children, two living, eight dead - Claim no. 36 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

15 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McPherson, Christine - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Fort McPherson in 1882 - Father, Baptiste Boucher, (Metis) - Mother, Sophi Houle, (Metis) - Married, in 1899 at Fort Smith to David McPherson - Children, two living, ten dead - Lisa, 1903, James Richard, 1905 - Claim no. 27 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Noyer, Baptistine - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, at Fort Good Hope in 1898 - Father, Baptiste Lecou, (Metis) - Mother, Margaret Laporte, (Metis) - Married, in 1916 at Fort Smith to Frank Noyer - Children, two - Ellen, 1917, Dan Robert, 1920 - Claim no. 24 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

17 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sanderson, Isobel - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, McPherson in 1895 - Father, Baptiste Lecou, (Metis) - Mother, Margaret Laporte, (Metis) - Married, in 1915 at Fort Resolution to John Sanderson - Claim no. 25 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Catherine; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 22; born: 1870 at Fort Smith; father: Petitjean (Chippewyan Indian); mother: Eliza Twan-nee-yah (Chippewyan Indian); married: 1885 at Fort Resolution to Jean Marie Beaulieu; children living: 7; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Francois; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 12; born: 1869 at Fort Smith; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Delphine Cadien (Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12746 & 4377 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

20 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Brown, William; address: Fort Smith via Edmonton, Alberta; claim no. 64; born: 1876 at Fort Simpson; father: Magnus Brown (Scotsman); mother: Bella (Indian); married: Jan., 1900 at Fort Smith to Margaret Bouchier; scrip Notes. nos. A 12845 & A 4476 for \$160.00 & 80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cayen, Jerome; address: Smith's Landing via Edmonton; claim nos. 101 & 102; born: 1869 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Joseph Cayen (Métis); mother: Bonne Eh-ketch-on (Indian); married: 1897 at Fort Smith to Catherine Germain; children living: 1; children deceased: 1 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

22 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cayen, Joseph; address: Fort Smith, Athabasca; claim no. 475; born: 1843 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Cayen (Métis); mother: Suzanne Ennethechap (Indian); married: 1871 at Chipewyan to Catherine Etlacolet;

children living: 6; children deceased: 1; Joseph Cayen, scrip cert. no. 1039 A; Ezechiel Cayen, scrip cert. no. 1040 A; Eleonore Cayen, scrip cert. no. 1041 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

23 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1341 , Reel C-14959 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Charles, Benjamin; address: Fort Verillion; claim no. 410; born: Oct., 1869 at Fort Goodhope, McKenzie River; father: William Charles (Métis); mother: Fanny Bailey (Métis); married: 31 March, 1889 at Fort Vermillion to Sarah Smith; children living Benjamin Charles (deponent); scrip cert. no. 915 A; Elizabeth Charles, scrip cert. no. 916 A; William Charles, scrip cert. no. 917 A; Sarah Jane Charles, scrip cert. no. 918 A; Ellen Agnes Charles, scrip cert. no. 919 A; John Edward Charles, scrip cert. no. 920 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

24 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1341 , Reel C-14959 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Charles, Sarah; born: 4 Sept., 1870 at Great Slave Lake; claim no. 404; father: William Robert Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 31 March, 1889 at Fort Vermillion to Benjamin Charles; children living: 5; scrip cert. no. 901 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

25 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1346 , Reel C-14968 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Fidler, Flora; address: Fort A la Corne; claim no. 1026; born: 1858 at Cumberland House; father: Charles Fidler (Métis); mother: Charlotte Atkinson (Métis); married: 1873 at Cumberland House to Peter Smith; children living: Alexander, Caroline, Harriet, Ann, Peter, & Cornelius; children deceased Robert & William; scrip for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

26 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Charlotte; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 407; born: 1 Aug., 1865 at Fort Simpson; father: William Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 26 Jan., 1880 at Fort Resolution to William Flett; children living: Mary, Sophia Agnes, William, George, John James, Alfred, Richard, Isabella, Louisa, Robert Nicholas & Florence; children deceased: Letitia; scrip cert. no. 882 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

27 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Scholastique; address: Fort Smith; claim no. 488; born: 1868 in Athabasca District; father: François Boileau (Métis); mother: Catherine Janvier (Métis), widow of James Flett; children living: Marie Louise Flett; Scholastique Flett, scrip cert. no. 1201A; Marie Louise Flett, scrip cert. no. 1202A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

28 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, William; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 414; born: 24 Dec., 1851 at Winnipeg, Manitoba; father: George Flett (Métis); mother: Charlotte Diolet (Métis); married: 26 Jan., 1880 at Fort Resolution to Charlotte Smith; children living: 9; children deceased: Letitia; William Flett, scrip cert. no. 883 A; Sophia Agnes Flett, scrip cert. no. 885 A; Mary Flett, scrip cert. no. 884 A; William George Flett, scrip cert. no. 886 A; John James scrip cert. no. 887 A; Alfred Flett, scrip cert. no. 888 A; Richard Flett, scrip cert. no. 889 A; Isabella Louisa Flett, scrip cert. no. 890 A; Robert Nicholas Flett, scrip cert. no. 891 A; Florence Flett, scrip cert. Mo. 892 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

30 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Laferte, LaFamille; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 204; born: 1860 at Fort Resolution; father: L'Andre (Yellow Knife Indian); mother: LaLouise (Yellow Knife Indian); married: 1875 at Fort Resolution to Joseph Smith Laferte; children living: Ellen, Madelaine Elise, Lucy Anne, Rosalique & Pierre; children deceased: Marie & Anne; scrip nos. A12878 & A4509 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

31 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lizotte, Bella; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 403; born: 21 May, 1874 at Great Slave Lake; father: William Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 23 November, 1893 at Vermillion to Pierre Lizotte; children living: Mary Agnes, Peter; John & Liza Jane; scrip cert. no. 875A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

32 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Christine; address: Fort Smith, via Edmonton; born: 1869 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lepine (Métis); mother: Angel Houle (Métis); married: 1888 at Fort Chipewyan to Joseph Mercredi; children living: Albert, Louis, Rose, Patrice & Victoire; scrip notes nos. A12933 & A4564 for \$160.00 & A \$80.00 respectively; claim no. 252 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

33 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Joseph; address: Fort Smith via Edmonton; born: 1860 at Wabiscaw; father: Joseph Mercredi (Métis); mother: Marie Lafferty (Métis); married: 1888 at Wabiscaw to Christine Lepine; children living: Victoire, Louis, Rose, Patrice & Albert; Joseph Mercredi, scrip notes nos. A12871 & A4502 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Victoire Mercredi, scrip notes nos. A12872 & A4503 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Albert Mercredi, scrip notes nos. A12873; & A4504 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Louis Mercredi, scrip notes nos. A12874 & A4505 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Rose Mercredi, scrip notes nos. A12875 & A4506 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Patrice Mercredi, scrip notes nos. A12876 & A4507 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 246 to 251 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

34 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 29 Sept., 1867 at Fort Smith; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Lafferty (Métis); married: 14 Aug., 1883 at Fort Chipewyan to Pierre Mercredi; children living: Pierre Isidore, Alexis Victor, Philippe George, Leon Joseph & Antoine Stanislas; children deceased: Marie Celestine; scrip cert. no. 976A; claim no. 455 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

35 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Shawan, Sophie or Nipissing; address: Fort Vermillion; born: Oct., 1852 at Fort Smith; father: Joseph King Beaulieu, Sr. (Métis); mother: Marie Anne Flammand (Métis); married: in 1866 at Fort Resolution to Modeste Laferty & in Jan., 1896 at Fort Vermillion to Jean Baptiste Shaevan or Nipissing; children living: Marie, Joseph, Jean Baptiste, Elizabeth, Marie Anne, Philippe, Antoinette & Adeline; children deceased: Louison Modeste, Felix, Pierre, Rose, Henriette & Louison Modeste; Sophie Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 821A; Marie Anne Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 822A; Philippe Shawan or Nipissing, scrip cert. No; 823A; Antoinette Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 824A; Adeline Shawan or Nipissing, scrip Cert; no. 825A claim no. 364 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

37 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Smith, Mary; address: Fort Vermillion; born: 15 March, 1835 at St. Paul's; Manitoba; father: William Bird (Métis); mother: Venus (Métis); married: 28 Aug., 1860 at Fort Simpson to William Robert Smith; children living: James, William, Robert, Charlotte, Mary, Sarah & Isabella; children deceased: John Lockhart; scrip cert. no. 867A; claim no. 408 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

39 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Smith, Peter; heir to his deceased son, Roderick Smith; address: Kinistino, Sask; born: Oct., 1886 at Fort a la Corne; died: March, 1900; father: Peter Smith (Métis & deponent); mother: Flora Fidler (Métis); claim no. 75 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

40 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Smith, Peter; heir to his deceased son, Cornelius; George Smith; address: Kinistino, Sask; born: 1884 at Fort a la Corne, Sask; died: June, 1889 at Fort a la Corne; father: Peter Smith (Métis & deponent); mother: Flora Fidler (Métis); scrip cert.: form D, no. 139 for \$240.00; claim no. 119 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

41 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Smith, Peter; heir to his deceased son, William Smith; address: Kinistino; born: 1883 at Fort a la Corne, Sask; died: Sept., 1883 at Fort a la Corne; father: Peter Smith (Métis & deponent); mother: Flora Fidler (Métis); scrip cert.: form D, no. 135 for \$240.00; claim no. 121 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

42 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith, Peter; heir to his deceased son, Robert Smith; address: Kinistino Settlement; born: 1881 at Fort a la Corne, Sask; died: Dec., 1881 at Fort a la Corne; father: Peter Smith (Métis & deponent); mother: Flora Fidler (Métis); scrip cert.: form D, no. 137 for \$240.00; claim no. 124 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

43 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith, Peter; address: Fort a la Corne; born: 1843 at St. Peters; father: John Smith (Métis); mother: Harriet (Métis); married: 1873 at Cumberland to Flora Fidler; children living: Alexander, Caroline, Harriet Ann, Peter & Cornelius; children deceased: 2; scrip for \$240.00; claim no. 228 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

45 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith, William Robert; address: Fort Vermillion; born: 21 Oct., 1833 at St. John's; Manitoba; father: William Robert Smith (Whiteman); mother: Mary Swain (Métis); married: 28 Aug., 1860 at Fort Simpson to Mary Bird; children living: James, William Robert, Charlotte, Mary, Sarah & Isabella; children deceased: John Lockhart; scrip cert. no. 866A; claim no. 394 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

46 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith Jr., William Robert; address: Fort Vermillion; born: 26 July, 1862 at Fort Simpson; father: William Robert Smith, Sr. (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 1885 at Vermillion to Phileside; Lizotte; children living: John, Eliza, Charlotte, William, Madeleine & James; children deceased: Jean; William Robert Smith, Jr., scrip cert. No; 868A; John Smith, scrip cert. no. 869A; Eliza Smith, scrip cert. no. 870A; Charlotte Smith, scrip cert. no. 871A; William Smith, scrip cert.no. 872A; Madeleine Smith, scrip cert. no. 873A; James Smith, scrip cert. no. 874A; claim no. 409 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

48 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Trindle, John; address: Good Hope, McKenzie River District; born: 1867 at Fort Smith; father: Peter Trindle (Métis); mother: Susanne Lapie (Indian); scrip cert. no. 936A; claim no. 444 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

50 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Vanderson, Charles; address: Fort Smith; born: 1864 in British Columbia; father: Henry Vanderson (Englishman); mother: Isabella (Indian); married: Fall, 1888 at Fort Smith to Katrine; Houle; children living: Sophie, Leon & no name; children deceased: no name, Thereret & no name; scrip cert. no. 1067A; claim no. 502 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Fort Providence

2 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Balsillie, James A.R. - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Providence, NWT - Born, Winnipeg, 1876 - Occupation, trader - Father, Balsillie, John, (White man) - Mother, Rowand, Adelaid, (Metis) - Married, to Marie Fabien in 1901 in Fort Resolution - Children, ten names on declaration - claim no. 33 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

3 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Bouvier, George - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Providence, NWT - Born, Providence 1893 - Father, John Baptise Bouvier - Mother, Marie Lafferty - Married, to Veronique Lecou, July 1914 - Claim no. 70 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

4 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Bouvier, James - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Providence - Born, Providence 1896 - Occupation, interpreter & trapper - Father, Bouvier, Baptiste, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Lafferty, (Metis) - Claim no. 20 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

5 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, John Baptiste - Concerning his claim as Metis - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Simpson, 1858 - Occupation, trader - Father, Joseph Bouvier, (White man) - Mother, Catherine Boullieau, (Metis) - Married, Providence in 1884 to Marie Lafferty - Children, seven living, two dead - Claim no. 18 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

6 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Joseph - Concerning his Metis claim - Residence, Providence - Born, 1888 in Providence - Occupation, interpreter - Father, Bouvier, Baptiste, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Lafferty, (Metis) - Married, Celine Lafferty at Providence in 1912 - Children, Borine, 1913, Pauline, 1915, Joseph George, 1920, Joseph, 1917, Alfred, en 1919 - Frederic, Daniel, 1919 - Claim no. 19 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

7 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Marguerite - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Winnipeg 1854 - Father, Lafferty Louison, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Lesperance, (Metis) - Married, 1876 in Providence to Joseph Bouvier - Children, four living, two dead - Marie, 1878, Rosina, 1890, Michel, 1893, Marguerite, 1897 - Claim no. 54 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

8 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Brown, Harriet - Concerning my Metis claim, wife of Frank Heron - Address, Alberta - Occupation, married woman - Born, Providence, NWT, 1866 - Father, Brown, Magnus, (White man) - Mother, Isabella, (Indian) - Children, nine - Edward John, March 24, 1888, Francis Julien, April 16, 1889, Henry William, October 27, 1890, Robert Crawford, September 12, 1893, Ellen Rose, October 24, 1894, Percy Lenord, March 12, 1896, Benjamin, April 13, 1904, Annie Eliza, March 3, 1905, Sarah Isabella, March 29, 1908 - Claim no. 72 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

9 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Fabien, Helen - Concerning her Metis grant for \$240.00 - Residence, Fort Resolution - Born, Fort Simpson in 1883 - Father, Sabbestin, Thomas, (White man) - Mother, Marie, (Indian) - Married, 1906 at Fort Providence to John Fabien - Children, seven living, one dead - Joseph, 1907, James, 1909, Mary Rose, 1912, Bernadette, 1914, Frank, 1915, Albert, 1917, Alice, 1919 - Claim no. 1 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

10 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Gardiner, Julia - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Residence, Simpson - Born, Fort Providence in 1882 - Father, St. Boniface Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Bounier, (Metis) - Married, in 1906 at Fort Nelson to Archibald Gardiner - Children, four living, one dead - George, 1906, Edward, 1908, Lysa, 1914, Pauline, 1916 - Claim no. 16 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

11 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Heron, Edward - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Fort Simpson, March 24, 1898 - Occupation, Hudson Bay Co. manager - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1913 at Fort Providence to Margaret Sibbeston - Children, two living, two dead - Harriet, May 3, 1914, Frank, November 29, 1918 - Claim no. 3 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

12 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Boniface - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Providence - Born, St. Boniface, 1851 - Occupation, trader - Father, Louison Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Marie L'Esperance, (Metis) - Married, 1879 at Providence to Madeline Bouvier - Children, eight living, two dead - Claim no. 7 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, George - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Wrigley in 1884 - Occupation, trader - Father, Boniface Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Bouvier (Metis) - Married, at Providence to Elizabeth Sarrolette - Children, one boy, one dead, Joe Boniface, 1917 - Claim no. 22 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Harry - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Providence, September, 1880 - Occupation, interpreter - Father, Harry Lafferty (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, 1907, Rae to Ellen Fabien - Claim no. 64 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

15 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Mary Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Born, Providence 1880 - Father, Boniface Lafferty - Mother, Madeleine Bouvier - Claim no. 68 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Victor - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Liard in 1887 - Occupation, trader and interpreter - Father, Boniface Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, in 1912 at Resolution to Mary Rose Madeline - Children, four - Alice, 1913, Leon, 1914, Edward, 1917, Virginia, 1919 - Claim no. 23 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

17 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lecou, Veronique - Concerning her Metis grant - Address, Providence - Born, Good Hope, May 8, 1898 - Father, Julian Lecou, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Kasi, (Indian) - Married, July 1914, Providence George Bouvier - Children, three - Mary Denise, October 30, 1916, John, October 4, 1918, Georgina, August 30, 1922 - Claim no. 60 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lemouel, Mary Rose - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Providence - Born, Providence, February 28, 1890 - Father, Baptiste Bouvier, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Lafferty, (Metis) - Married, March 31, 1907 at Providence to Jochin Lemouel - Children, three living, one dead - Jean Marie, 1911, Dora, 1913, Jochin, 1915 - Claim no. 21 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lepine, Emily - Concerning her Metis grant - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Simpson, September 1896 - Father, McPherson, George, (Metis) - Mother, Berens, Sarah, (Metis) - Married, 1915, Athabasca Landing to Frank Lepine - Children, four (see Lepine Frank) - Claim no. 61 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

20 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lepine, Frank - Concerning his Metis grant - Address, Providence, NWT - Born, Fort Chipewyan, July 7, 1894 - Occupation, trapper - Father, Francois Lepine, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Adel Savoyard, (Metis) - Married, 1915, Athabasca Landing to Emily Berens - Children, four - Cecilia, October 27, 1916, Sarah, August 10, 1918, Lillian, January 1, 1920, Napoleon, December 2, 1922 - Claim no. 62 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mandeville, Lucienne - Concerning her Metis grant - Address, Resolution - Born, Norman, 1864 - Father, deceased, (Indian) - Mother, deceased, (Indian) - Married, 1879, Providence to Johnny Sanderson died, 1914, and 1917, Norman to Moise Mandeville - Claim no. 55 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

22 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Nolin Pauline - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Providence - Born, St. Anne des Chenes Monday June 6, 1877 - Father, Duncan Nolin, (Metis) - Mother, Caroline Harrison, (Metis) - Occupation, "nun" - Claim no. 59 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

23 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Beaulieu, Michel; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake via Edmonton; claim no. 11;

born: 1875 at Port Providence; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Chipewyan Indian; scrip notes nos. A12744 & A4375 for Michel Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

24 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1336 , Reel C-14949 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bertrand, Henri; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 438; born: 15 July, 1874 at Fort Providence; father: Charles Bertrand (Whiteman); mother: Adele Platecote (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert.: form A, no. 931 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

25 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Baptiste; address: Fort Providence via Edmonton; claim no. 55 to 60; born: 1859 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Bouvier (Métis); mother: Catherine Beaubien (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Marie Lafferty; children living: 5; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

26 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Marie; address: Fort Providence via Edmonton; claim no. 61; born: 1870 at Fort Rae; father: Louison Lafferty (Métis); mother: Marie L'Esperance (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Baptiste Bouvier; children living: 5; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

27 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Brown, Magnus; for his children: George, born: 1883 at Fort Providence; Margaret, born: Oct., 1885 at Big Island, Big Slave Lake; claim no. 2389; address: Athabasca Landing; father: Magnus Brown (Whiteman & deponent); mother: Ann Norm (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1528, George; scrip cert.: form C, no. 1530, Margaret **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

28 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Brown, Magnus; for his deceased son, James; claim no. 2390; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 1878 at Fort Providence; father: Magnus Brown (Whiteman & deponent); mother: Ann Norm (Métis); died: 1892; file ref. 666116 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

29 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Gairdner, Jane Catherine; address: St. Albert; claim no. 2476; born: 14 Aug., 1878 at Fort Providence; father: George W. Gairdner (Whiteman); mother: Marguerite Bouvier (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1682 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

30 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Gairdner, Margaret; for her son, Louis Gairdner; claim no. 2550; address: St. Albert; born: 10 April, 1885 at Fort Providence; father: George Gairdner (Whiteman); mother: Margaret Gairdner (Métis & deponent); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1790 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

31 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Laferte, Madeleine; address: Fort Nelso; claim no. 198; born: 1862 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Bouvier (Métis); mother: Catherine Beaulieu (Métis); married: 1879 at Fort Providence to Boniface Laferte; children living: Marie Rose; Julie; George; Victor; Marguerite; Joseph & Michel; children deceased: Charles **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

32 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferte, Boniface; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 190; born: 1861 at Winnipeg; father: Louison Lafferte (Métis); claim no. 197; mother: Marie Lesperence (Métis); married: 1879 at Fort Providence to Madelaine Bouvier; children living: Marie Rose; Julie; George; Victor; Marguerite; Joseph & Michel; children deceased: Charles **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

33 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lépine_____, William; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 223; born: 1853 at Fort Liard; father: Baptiste Lépine____ (Métis); 228; mother: Angelle Houle (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Cecile Le-grand-Isle; children living: Guillaume; Alexandre; Adele; Napoleon and Rosine; children deceased: Francis **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

34 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lizotte, Marie; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 375; born: 2 October, 1871 at Fort Providence; father: Modeste Lanoix or Laferty (Métis); mother: Sophie Beaulieu (Métis); married: 3 November, 1895 at Fort Vermillion to Augustin Lizotte; children living: Louisa; children deceased: William; scrip cert.: no. 799A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

35 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKinley, Bella; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1869 at Fort Providence; father: Magnus Brown (Scot); mother: Bella (Dog-rib Indian); married: 1889 at Fort Resolution to James McKinley; children living: John, Sterling, Archie & Elenora; children deceased: Florence; scrip notes nos. A12922 & A4553 for \$160.00; & \$80.00; claim no. 273 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

36 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Savoyard, John; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 4 Jan., 1878 at Fort Providence; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis); mother: Francis Beauchamp (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 2406; claim no. 3116 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

37 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Savoyard, Joseph; heir to his deceased son, Joseph Alexis; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 6 Aug., 1875 at Fort Providence; died: 25 April, 1895 at Athabasca Landing; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis & deponent); mother: Francoise Boucher (Métis); scrip cert.: form F, no. 1272; claim no. 3197 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

38 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Savoyard, Modeste; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 7 Aug., 1881 at Fort Providence; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis); mother: Francoise Boucher (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1698; claim no. 3202 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

39 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Scott, Ellen Harriet; for her minor daughter, Cecilia Jane Scott; address: Winnipeg; born: 21 July, 1889 at Fort Providence; father: Samuel Scott (Whiteman); mother: Ellen Harriet Reid (Métis & deponent); claim no. 1539 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Fort Rae

5 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1325 , Reel C-14936 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Blanchard, Jane Bell - Concerning her claim as a head of family - Address, Winnipeg - Born, Fort Rae, May 14, 1856 - Father, Lawrence Clark - Mother, Jane Bell, (Métis) - Married, Sedley Blanchard, Aug. 5, 1876 - Children living, three (names on declaration) - Children deceased, one - Scrip for \$250 - Claim 1469 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

6 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Beaulieu, Moise - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Resolution NWT - Born, August 15, 1899, Fort Rae - Occupation, trapper - Father, Beaulieu, Moise, (Metis) - "Marie", (Indian) - Married, 1918 in Resolution to

Celine Beaulieu - Children, three - Pascal, July 3, 1922, Lucienne, August 26, 1920, Fred, November 1919 - Claim no. 57
Finding Aid number: 15-22

7 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Berens, John - Concerning his family Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, 1871 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, pilot for N.T. Co. - Father, Berens, Samuel, (Metis) - Mother, Mary, (Indian) - Married, in 1896 at Fort Rae to Monique Lafferty - Children, eight living, deceased four - Mary Louise, 1899, Ellen, 1901, Alice, 1904, Alfred, 1906, William, 1908, Dora, 1911, Frederick, 1899, Saragine, 1915 - Claim no. 29 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

8 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Camsell, Frank Ernest - Concerning his family Metis claim - Residence, Fort Rae - Born, 1878 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, trader - Father, Camsell, Julien S., (White man) - Mother, Sara Foulds, (Metis) - Married, 1909 to Marie Madeleine Bushier at Fort Smith - Children, four living, two dead - Claim no. 31 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

9 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Field, Mary Adelaide - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, December 4, 1886, Fort Rae - Father, Lafferty, Louis, (Metis) - Mother, Elmer Challon, (Metis) - Married - Children, four dead - Claim no. 40 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

10 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Gowen, Veronique - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Good Hope - Born, in 1896 at Fort Rae - Father, Vital Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Caroline Lamelice, (Metis) - Married, 1913 at Fort Rae to Ernest Raymond Gowen - Claim no. 6 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

11 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Heron, Edward - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Fort Simpson, March 24, 1898 - Occupation, Hudson Bay Co. manager - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1913 at Fort Providence to Margaret Sibbeston - Children, two living, two dead - Harriet, May 3, 1914, Frank, November 29, 1918 - Claim no. 3 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

12 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Adeline - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Rae, NWT - Born, Fort Rae, 1898 - Father, Vital Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Caroline (Metis) - Claim no. 26 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Alex Joseph - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Rae - Occupation, steamboat hand - Father, Louis Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Gay, (Metis or Indian) - Claim no. 38 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Harry - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Providence, September, 1880 - Occupation, interpreter - Father, Harry Lafferty (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, 1907, Rae to Ellen Fabien - Claim no. 64 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

15 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, Jonas - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Rae, 1906 - Occupation, employee Hudson's Bay Co. - Father, Harry Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier (Metis) - Claim no. 65 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Loutit, Eliza Jane - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Fort

Rae, March 3, 1905 - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1924, Hay River to Edward Loutit - Claim no. 58 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

17 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McGurran, Wilhelmina - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Cold Lake, Alberta, February 18, 1901 - Father, Thomas William Harris, (White man) - Mother Judith Scanie, (Indian) - Married, in 1916 at Simpson to Harry McGurran - Children, two - Frances Ellen, February 19, 1918, Thomas William, May 3, 1922 - Claim no. 63 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Hay River - Born, Fort Rae in 1894 - Father, Antoine Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Beaulieu, (Metis) - Married, in 1912 at Chipewyan to Leon G. Mercredi - Children, two living, two dead - Ignace Clement, 1912, Lionel Hubert, 1919 - Claim no. 5 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Waite, Adeline - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Fort Rae, August 17, 1892 - Father, Harry Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, 1921 at Fort Rae to James Waite - Claim no. 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; for his deceased sister, Marguerite Beaulieu; claim no. 1443; address: St. Agathe, Manitoba; born: 19 July, 1880 at Fort Rae; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Laferte (Métis); died: 18 Sept., 1895 at St. Boniface; heirs: Marie Laferte (mother), Pierre Beaulieu (brother & deponent), Antoine Beaulieu, Alexis Beaulieu, Jean Baptiste Beaulieu, Marie, wife of Pierre Merundi, & Madelaine, wife of Antoine Lanaix **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

22 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; for his deceased sister, Marie Rose Beaulieu; claim no. 1449; address: St. Agathe, Manitoba; born: 1 Nov., 1885 at Fort Rae, MacKenzie District; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Laferte (Métis); died 1894; heirs: see application no. 1443 above **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

23 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Marie; address: Fort Providence via Edmonton; claim no. 61; born: 1870 at Fort Rae; father: Louison Lafferty (Métis); mother: Marie L'Esperance (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Baptiste Bouvier; children living: 5; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

24 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Garson, William McKay; address: Prince Albert; claim no. 428; born: 4 June, 1873 at Fort Rae, Great Slave Lake; father: Peter Flett Garson (Métis); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 611 for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

25 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14977 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Hyslop, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 178; born: 1840 at Dease Lake near Liard River; father: Francois Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpeid (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1862 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Bouchier, & 1898 at Fort Rae to James Hyslop; children deceased: Marie; scrip notes nos. A4558 & A5569 for 160 & 80 acres respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

26 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Laferte, Louison; address: Fort Rae via Edmonton; claim no. 205; born: 1822 at Fort

Resolution; father: Laferte (Métis); mother: Mary Anne (Cree Indian); married: 1848 at Winnipeg to Marie Lesparence; children living: Boniface; Vital; Octave; Alexis; Henri; Antoine; Marguerite; Marie & Monique; children deceased: Louis; Modeste; Rose & Adele **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

27 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McLeod, William; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 25 Dec., 1873 at Fort Rae; father: William McLeod (Whiteman); mother: Ann Norn (Métis); married: 18 Dec., 1895 at Athabasca Landing to Maria Gullion; children living: Matilda; scrip cert.: form E, no. 3335; claim no. 2936 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

28 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norn, George Robert; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1877 at Fort Rae; father: William Robert Norn (Métis); mother: Jean Mary Sanderson (Whitewoman); married: 1899 at Fort Resolution to Ellen Sanderson; children living: Louise, born: June, 1900; George Robert Norn, scrip notes nos. A12925; & A4556 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Louise Norn, scrip notes nos. A12926 & A4557; for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 288 & 289 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Yellowknife

(no entries)

Smith's Landing

5 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1325 , Reel C-14936 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Blanchard, Jane Bell - Concerning her claim as a head of family - Address, Winnipeg - Born, Fort Rae, May 14, 1856 - Father, Lawrence Clark - Mother, Jane Bell, (Métis) - Married, Sedley Blanchard, Aug. 5, 1876 - Children living, three (names on declaration) - Children deceased, one - Scrip for \$250 - Claim 1469 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

6 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Moise - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Resolution NWT - Born, August 15, 1899, Fort Rae - Occupation, trapper - Father, Beaulieu, Moise, (Metis) - "Marie", (Indian) - Married, 1918 in Resolution to Celine Beaulieu - Children, three - Pascal, July 3, 1922, Lucienne, August 26, 1920, Fred, November 1919 - Claim no. 57 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

7 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Berens, John - Concerning his family Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, 1871 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, pilot for N.T. Co. - Father, Berens, Samuel, (Metis) - Mother, Mary, (Indian) - Married, in 1896 at Fort Rae to Monique Lafferty - Children, eight living, deceased four - Mary Louise, 1899, Ellen, 1901, Alice, 1904, Alfred, 1906, William, 1908, Dora, 1911, Frederick, 1899, Saragine, 1915 - Claim no. 29 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

8 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Camsell, Frank Ernest - Concerning his family Metis claim - Residence, Fort Rae - Born, 1878 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, trader - Father, Camsell, Julien S., (White man) - Mother, Sara Foulds, (Metis) - Married, 1909 to Marie Madeleine Bushier at Fort Smith - Children, four living, two dead - Claim no. 31 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

9 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Field, Mary Adelaide - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, December 4, 1886, Fort Rae - Father, Lafferty, Louis, (Metis) - Mother, Elmer Challon, (Metis) - Married - Children, four dead - Claim no. 40 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

10 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Gowen, Veronique - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Good Hope - Born, in 1896 at Fort Rae - Father, Vital Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Caroline Lamelice, (Metis) - Married, 1913 at Fort Rae to Ernest Raymond Gowen - Claim no. 6 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

11 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Heron, Edward - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Fort Simpson, March 24, 1898 - Occupation, Hudson Bay Co. manager - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1913 at Fort Providence to Margaret Sibbeston - Children, two living, two dead - Harriet, May 3, 1914, Frank, November 29, 1918 - Claim no. 3 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

12 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Adeline - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Rae, NWT - Born, Fort Rae, 1898 - Father, Vital Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Caroline (Metis) - Claim no. 26 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Alex Joseph - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Rae - Occupation, steamboat hand - Father, Louis Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Gay, (Metis or Indian) - Claim no. 38 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Harry - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Providence, September, 1880 - Occupation, interpreter - Father, Harry Lafferty (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, 1907, Rae to Ellen Fabien - Claim no. 64 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

15 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafferty, Jonas - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Rae, 1906 - Occupation, employee Hudson's Bay Co. - Father, Harry Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier (Metis) - Claim no. 65 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Loutit, Eliza Jane - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Resolution, NWT - Born, Fort Rae, March 3, 1905 - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1924, Hay River to Edward Loutit - Claim no. 58 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

17 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McGurran, Wilhelmina - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Cold Lake, Alberta, February 18, 1901 - Father, Thomas William Harris, (White man) - Mother Judith Scanie, (Indian) - Married, in 1916 at Simpson to Harry McGurran - Children, two - Frances Ellen, February 19, 1918, Thomas William, May 3, 1922 - Claim no. 63 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mercredi, Marie Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Hay River - Born, Fort Rae in 1894 - Father, Antoine Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Beaulieu, (Metis) - Married, in 1912 at Chipewyan to Leon G. Mercredi - Children, two living, two dead - Ignace Clement, 1912, Lionel Hubert, 1919 - Claim no. 5 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Waite, Adeline - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Fort Rae, August 17, 1892 - Father, Harry Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Catherine Bouvier, (Metis) - Married, 1921 at Fort Rae to James Waite - Claim no. 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; for his deceased sister, Marguerite Beaulieu; claim no. 1443; address: St. Agathe, Manitoba; born: 19 July, 1880 at Fort Rae; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Laferte (Métis); died: 18 Sept., 1895 at St. Boniface; heirs: Marie Laferte (mother), Pierre Beaulieu (brother & deponent), Antoine Beaulieu, Alexis Beaulieu, Jean Baptiste Beaulieu, Marie, wife of Pierre Merundi, & Madelaine, wife of Antoine Lanaix **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

22 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; for his deceased sister, Marie Rose Beaulieu; claim no. 1449; address: St. Agathe, Manitoba; born: 1 Nov., 1885 at Fort Rae, MacKenzie District; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Laferte (Métis); died 1894; heirs: see application no. 1443 above **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

23 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bouvier, Marie; address: Fort Providence via Edmonton; claim no. 61; born: 1870 at Fort Rae; father: Louison Lafferty (Métis); mother: Marie L'Esperance (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Baptiste Bouvier; children living: 5; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

24 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Garson, William McKay; address: Prince Albert; claim no. 428; born: 4 June, 1873 at Fort Rae, Great Slave Lake; father: Peter Flett Garson (Métis); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 611 for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

25 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14977 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Hyslop, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 178; born: 1840 at Dease Lake near Liard River; father: Francois Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpeid (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1862 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Bouchier, & 1898 at Fort Rae to James Hyslop; children deceased: Marie; scrip notes nos. A4558 & A5569 for 160 & 80 acres respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

26 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Laferte, Louison; address: Fort Rae via Edmonton; claim no. 205; born: 1822 at Fort Resolution; father: Laferte (Métis); mother: Mary Anne (Cree Indian); married: 1848 at Winnipeg to Marie Lesparence; children living: Boniface; Vital; Octave; Alexis; Henri; Antoine; Marguerite; Marie & Monique; children deceased: Louis; Modeste; Rose & Adele **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

27 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McLeod, William; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 25 Dec., 1873 at Fort Rae; father: William McLeod (Whiteman); mother: Ann Norn (Métis); married: 18 Dec., 1895 at Athabasca Landing to Maria Gullion; children living: Matilda; scrip cert.: form E, no. 3335; claim no. 2936 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

28 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norn, George Robert; address: Fort Resolution; born: 1877 at Fort Rae; father: William Robert Norn (Métis); mother: Jean Mary Sanderson (Whitewoman); married: 1899 at Fort Resolution to Ellen Sanderson; children living: Louise, born: June, 1900; George Robert Norn, scrip notes nos. A12925; & A4556 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Louise Norn, scrip notes nos. A12926 & A4557; for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 288 & 289 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Fort Fitzgerald

(no entries)

Fort Simpson

1 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1327 , Reel C-14937 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Desjarlais, Larose - Concerning her claim as a child - Address, Fort Qu'Appelle - Born, July, 1854 at St. Francois Xavier - Father, Michel Desjarlais, (Métis) - Mother, Julie Bonneau, (Métis) - Married, May, 1881 at Qu'Appelle to John Simpson - Children living, two - Children deceased, one - Scrip for \$240 - Claim 161 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

2 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Berens, Ellen - Concerning her Metis claim - Residence, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Simpson - Father, John Berens - Mother, Monique Lafferty - Married 1924 to John R. Berens - Claim no. 74 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

3 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Berens, John - Concerning his family Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, 1871 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, pilot for N.T. Co. - Father, Berens, Samuel, (Metis) - Mother, Mary, (Indian) - Married, in 1896 at Fort Rae to Monique Lafferty - Children, eight living, deceased four - Mary Louise, 1899, Ellen, 1901, Alice, 1904, Alfred, 1906, William, 1908, Dora, 1911, Frederick, 1899, Saragine, 1915 - Claim no. 29 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

4 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Berens, John Richard - Concerning my Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith, NWT - Occupation, steam boat man - Born, March 13, 1894, Simpson, NWT - Father, MacPherson, George, (Metis) - Mother, Berens, Sarah, (Metis) - Married, May 12, 1924 to Ellen Berens of Fort Smith - Children, none - Claim no. 37 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

5 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Bouvier, John Baptiste - Concerning his claim as Metis - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Simpson, 1858 - Occupation, trader - Father, Joseph Bouvier, (White man) - Mother, Catherine Boullieau, (Metis) - Married, Providence in 1884 to Marie Lafferty - Children, seven living, two dead - Claim no. 18 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

6 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Camsell, Arthur F. - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, 1870, Fort Simpson - Occupation, manager, Hudson's Bay Co. - Father, Camsell, Julien S., (White man) - Mother, Sarah, Foulds, (Metis) - Married, twice (first time in 1901 at Fort Simpson to Margaret Sebestin and second time in 1908 to Rose Kirkly at Fort Simpson - Children, four living, four dead - James, Henry, 1902, Mary, 1911, Mable, 1913, Charles, 1917, Frank S. 1909-1910, Sarah, 1915-1919, Albert, 1903-1903, Ethel, 1904-1905 - Claim no. 9 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

7 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Camsell, Frank Ernest - Concerning his family Metis claim - Residence, Fort Rae - Born, 1878 at Fort Simpson - Occupation, trader - Father, Camsell, Julien S., (White man) - Mother, Sara Foulds, (Metis) - Married, 1909 to Marie Madeleine Bushier at Fort Smith - Children, four living, two dead - Claim no. 31 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

8 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Christie, Grace Sybil - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Edmonton, Alberta - Born, April 13, 1911, Fort Simpson - Occupation, student - Father, Christie, Charles T., (White man) - Mother, Nellie, McSwain, (Metis) - Claim no. 78 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

9 Reference: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Fabien, Helen - Concerning her Metis grant for \$240.00 - Residence, Fort Resolution - Born, Fort Simpson in 1883 - Father, Sabbestin, Thomas, (White man) - Mother, Marie, (Indian) - Married, 1906 at Fort Providence to John Fabien - Children, seven living, one dead - Joseph, 1907, James, 1909, Mary Rose, 1912, Bernadette, 1914, Frank, 1915, Albert, 1917, Alice, 1919 - Claim no. 1 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

10 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Field, Mary Adelaide - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, December 4, 1886, Fort Rae - Father, Lafferty, Louis, (Metis) - Mother, Elmer Challon, (Metis) - Married - Children, four dead - Claim no. 40 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

11 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Gardiner, Julia - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Residence, Simpson - Born, Fort Providence in 1882 - Father, St. Boniface Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Bounier, (Metis) - Married, in 1906 at Fort Nelson to Archibald Gardiner - Children, four living, one dead - George, 1906, Edward, 1908, Lysa, 1914, Pauline, 1916 - Claim no. 16 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

12 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Heron, Edward - Concerning his Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Fort Simpson, March 24, 1898 - Occupation, Hudson Bay Co. manager - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriet Brown, (Metis) - Married, 1913 at Fort Providence to Margaret Sibbeston - Children, two living, two dead - Harriet, May 3, 1914, Frank, November 29, 1918 - Claim no. 3 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Jones, Charlotte Sarcel - Concerning her Metis grant of \$240.00 - Address, Fort Resolution - Born, Fort Liard, 1868 - Father, Sarcel, (Indian) - Mother, Deceased, (Indian) - Married, October 1906 at Fort Simpson to Henry William Jones - Children, five - Edward Gabriel, September 14, 1900, Dora Virginia, February 12, 1903, Alfred, August 28, 1904, Henry, December 24, 1906, Frederick, March 24, 1909 - Claim no. 35 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** King, Selina, - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Liard - Born, October 20, 1904 at Fort Simpson - Father, Edmond Elonkku, (Indian) - Married, February 5, 1920 at Fort Simpson to William Chapman King - Claim no. 53 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

15 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lafferty, James - Concerning his Metis grant - Address, Fort Simpson - Born June 7, 1900 at Fort Resolution - Occupation, trapper - Father, Alex Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Eliza McIvor, (Metis) - Claim no. 43 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lepine, Emily - Concerning her Metis grant - Address, Providence - Born, Fort Simpson, September 1896 - Father, McPherson, George, (Metis) - Mother, Berens, Sarah, (Metis) - Married, 1915, Athabasca Landing to Frank Lepine - Children, four (see Lepine Frank) - Claim no. 61 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

17 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacPherson, Sarah - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Smith - Born, Fort Simpson in 1870 - Father, Samuel Berens, (Metis) - Mother, Julia, (Indian) - Married, in 1900 at Fort Simpson to George MacPherson - Children, two living, eight dead - Claim no. 36 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McGurran, Wilhelmina - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Rae - Born, Cold Lake, Alberta, February 18, 1901 - Father, Thomas William Harris, (White man) - Mother Judith Scanie, (Indian) - Married, in 1916 at Simpson to Harry McGurran - Children, two - Frances Ellen, February 19, 1918, Thomas William, May 3, 1922 - Claim no. 63 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McLeod, Marguerite - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Liard - Born, at Fort MacPherson in 1886 - Father, John Firth, (White man) - Mother, Marguerite Stewart, (Metis) - Married, in 1902 at Fort Simpson to Frederick McLeod - Children, seven living, two dead - Laura, 1905, William Charles, 1907, Joan Alice, 1909, Marguerite Ruby, 1911, Powina, 1912, Violet Agnes, 1915, John Angus, 1918 - Claim no. 17 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

20 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Phillips, Jane - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, Fort MacPherson, October 21, 1900 - Father, Enoch Moses, (Indian) - Mother, Annie, Stewart, (Metis) - Married, June 30, 1916 at Fort McPherson to Wm. George Phillips - Children, four living, two dead - Doris, August 13, 1917, Cecil, February 17, 1919, Gladys, November 18, 1920, Thomas, May 16, 1923 - Claim no. 42 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Sibbeston, James - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, McPherson in 1872 - Father, James Sibbeston, (White man) - Mother, Mary Ensil, (Indian) - Married, in 1893 at McPherson to Anna Josie - Children, four living, two dead - Margaret, 1898, William, 1901, Sarah, 1906, John Henry, 1917, Mary Edna, 1920 - Claim no. 4 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

22 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Sibbeston, George Charles - Concerning his Metis claim - Address, Fort Simpson - Born, Fort Simpson, September 5, 1888 - Occupation, trapper - Father, Thomas Sibbeston, (White man) - Mother, Julia Sakejomon, (Indian) - Married, to Harriet Lafferty - Children, six living, one dead - Adeline, 1913, Frederick, May 26, 1915, Edna, January 9, 1917, Laura, 1920, not on application - Claim no. 41 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

23 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Wabasca, Mary Louise - Concerning her Metis claim - Born, Fort Simpson - Father, John Berens - Mother, Monique Lafferty - Married, to Peter Wabasca - Claim no. 27 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

30 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1333 , Reel C-14944 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Abrahams, Elizabeth; wife of John Abrahams; claim no. 22; address: Prince Albert, Sask; born: 1863 at Peels River, Fort Simpson; father: Hans Neilson (Norwegian); mother: Sophie Barber (Indian); scrip cert.: form E, no. 3226 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

31 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Bouvier, Baptiste; address: Fort Providence via Edmonton; claim no. 55 to 60; born: 1859 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Bouvier (Métis); mother: Catherine Beaubien (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Marie Lafferty; children living: 5; children deceased: 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

32 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Brown, Magnus; for his children: Mary Georgina, born: 1888 at Fort Simpson; Rose Louisa, born: 1890 at Fort Simpson; address: Athabasca Landing; claim no. 3201; father: Magnus Brown (Whiteman & deponent); mother: Ann Norm (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1694, Mary Georgina; scrip cert.: form C, no. 1696, Rose Louisa **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

33 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Brown, William; address: Fort Smith via Edmonton, Alberta; claim no. 64; born: 1876 at Fort Simpson; father: Magnus Brown (Scotsman); mother: Bella (Indian); married: Jan., 1900 at Fort Smith to Margaret Bouchier; scrip Notes. nos. A 12845 & A 4476 for \$160.00 & 80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

34 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1339 , Reel C-14955 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Camsell, George; born: Fort Simpson; claim no. 1631; father: Julian Stewart Camsell (Whiteman); mother: Sarah Foulds (Métis); file ref. 415391 on 2049237 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

35 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Charlotte; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 407; born: 1 Aug., 1865 at Fort Simpson; father: William Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 26 Jan., 1880 at Fort Resolution to William Flett; children living: Mary, Sophia Agnes, William, George, John James, Alfred, Richard, Isabella, Louisa, Robert Nicholas & Florence; children deceased: Letitia; scrip cert. no. 882 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

36 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Roderick; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 1791; born: 24 Oct, 1871 at Fort Simpson; father: James Flett (Whiteman); mother: Jane Lapée (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1092 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

37 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Roderick Ross; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 135 & 136; born: 1872 at Fort Simpson; father: James Flett (Scot); mother: Jane Lepine (Métis); married: 1898 at Fort Chipewyan to Adele Lepine; children living: William James, born; 20 May, 1799; children deceased: William James Flett, scrip notes nos. A12778 & A4409 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

38 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Gairdner, William Joseph; address: St. Albert; claim no. 2475; born: 27 April, 1876 at Fort Simpson; mother: Marguerite Bouvior. (Métis); father: George W. Gairdner (Whiteman); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1680 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

39 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Garson, Annie; husband: William Garson; claim no. 427; address: Prince Albert, Saskatchewan; born: Aug., 1875 at Fort Simpson; father: Hans Neilson (Norwegian); mother: Sophie Barber (Indian); scrip cert.: form E, no. 313 for 240 acres of land **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

40 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1350 , Reel C-14974 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Hackland, Mary Louise; address: Oak Point; claim no. 749; born: 8 May, 1887 at Fort Simpson; father: William Lucas Hardisty (Métis); mother: Mary Ellen (Métis); married: 1896 to Alfred Ernest Hackland; file ref. 1404822 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

41 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1350 , Reel C-14975 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Hardisty, Frank Allen; address: Winnipeg; claim no. 750; born: 8 April, 1886 at Fort Simpson; father: William Lucas Hardisty (Métis); mother: Mary Allen (Métis); file ref. 1404822 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

42 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1350 , Reel C-14975 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Hardisty, William Lucas; address: Winnipeg; claim no. 2078; born: 7 Oct., 1872 at Fort Simpson; father: William Lucas Hardisty (Métis); mother: Mary Allen (Métis); married: 1896 at Winnipeg to Winnifred Heakland; file ref. 1404822 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

43 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14977 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Hyslop, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 178; born: 1840 at Dease Lake near Liard River; father: Francois Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpeid (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1862 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Bouchier, & 1898 at Fort Rae to James Hyslop; children deceased: Marie; scrip notes nos. A4558 & A5569 for 160 & 80 acres respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

44 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Laferte, Madeleine; address: Fort Nelso; claim no. 198; born: 1862 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Bouvier (Métis); mother: Catherine Beaulieu (Métis); married: 1879 at Fort Providence to Boniface Laferte; children living: Marie Rose; Julie; George; Victor; Marguerite; Joseph & Michel; children deceased: Charles **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

45 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Leask, Jane; address: Winnipeg, Manitoba; claim no. 1448; born: 27 January, 1879 at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River; father: Thomas Leask (Whiteman); mother: Eliza (Indian); file ref. 766904 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

46 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lépine, Baptiste; address: Fort Chipewyan, via Edmonton; claim no. 211; born: 1871 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lépine (Métis); 214; mother: Angélique Houle (Métis); married: 1893 at Fort Chipewyan to Elise Tourangeau; children living: Marie Victoria; Adeline Bernadette and Jean Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

47 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lépine, François; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 216; born: 1859 at Fort Liard; father: Baptiste Lépine (Métis); 220; mother: Angélique Houle (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Simpson to Marie Adele Savoyard; children living: Marie Adele; Francis; Denise and Beatrice; children deceased: Duffield and Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

48 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lépine, Madelaine; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 222; born: 1840 at Fort Liard; father: François Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpied (Métis); married: 1855 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Lépine died: 1896 at Fort Chipewyan; children living: François; Baptiste; Christine; Bella; William and Adele; children deceased: Jean; Madelaine; Susette; Rose and Michel **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

49 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lépine, Marie Adele; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 221; born: 1871 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis); mother: Françoise Boucher (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Simpson to François Lépine; children living: Marie Adele; Francis; Denise and Beatrice; children deceased: Duffield and Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

50 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lizotte, Elizabeth; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 376; born: 29 June, 1877 at Fort Simpson; father: Modeste Lanoix or Laferty (Métis); mother: Sophie Beaulieu (Métis); married: 18 April, 1898 at Fort Vermillion to Joseph Lizotte; children living: Frederick; scrip cert. no. 798A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

52 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKenzie, Mary; address: Fort Qu'Appelle; born: 1822 at Nipigan, Lake Superior; father: Roderick McKenzie (Scot); mother: Angélique Mallette (Métis); married: 1840 at Fort Simpson to Adam McBeath; children living: Roderick, Christie, Jane, Alexander, Margaret, Catherine, Anne, Flora & Ellen; children deceased: Mary; scrip for \$160.00; claim no. 1283 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

53 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McLean, William Alexandre; address: Winnipeg, Man; born: 11 Oct., 1872 at Fort Simpson; father: William James McLean (Whiteman); mother: Helen Hunter (Métis); scrip cert. no. 36B; claim no. 265 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

54 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mercredi, Christine; address: Fort Smith, via Edmonton; born: 1869 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lépine (Métis); mother: Angélique Houle (Métis); married: 1888 at Fort Chipewyan to Joseph Mercredi; children living: Albert, Louis, Rose, Patrice & Victoire; scrip notes nos. A12933 & A4564 for \$160.00 & A \$80.00 respectively; claim no. 252 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

56 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1360 , Reel C-14991 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Moore, Alice Maud; address: Selkirk; born: 6 April, 1884 at Fort Simpson; father: ?; mother: Grace Agnes Moore (Métis); claim no. 1585 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

57 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1360 , Reel C-14991 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Moore, Grace Agnes; for her deceased daughter, Margaret Cameron; address: Selkirk; born: 14 Jan., 1878 at Fort Simpson; died: 30 June, 1891 at St. Peters; father: Adolphus Cameron (deceased Métis); mother: Grace Agnes Sanderson (Métis & deponent); claim no. 1584 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

58 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Neilson, Hans; heir to his deceased son, Edward Neilson; address: Prince Albert, Saskatchewan; born: 1873 at Fort Simpson; died: 29 Aug., 1899 at Prince Albert; father: Hans Neilson (Norwegian & deponent); mother: Sophie Barber (Indian); scrip cert.: form D, no. 393 for \$240.00; claim no. 173 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

59 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Neilson, Hans; for his absent son, Charles John Neilson; address: Prince Albert; born: 1861 at Fort Simpson; father: Hans Neilson (Norwegian & deponent); mother: Sophie Barber (Indian); scrip issued for 240 acres; file ref. 774916; claim no. 1147 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

60 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15000 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** St. Arnauld, Madeleine; address: Lesser Slave Lake; born: 25 June, 1873 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis); mother: Francoise Boucher (Métis); married: Spring, 1899 at Athabasca Landing to David St. Arnauld; children living: Amelia; Madeleine St. Arnauld, scrip cert. no. 77A; Amelie St. Arnauld, scrip cert. no. 78A; claim no. 40 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

61 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15002 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Saunders, Caroline Catherine; address: Prince Albert, Sask; born: Oct., 1859 at Pells River near Fort Simpson; father: Hans Neilson (Norwegian); mother: Sophia Barber (Métis); husband: John Saunders; scrip cert.: form E, no. 3225; file ref. 396766; claim no. 20 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

70 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith, Mary; address: Fort Vermillion; born: 15 March, 1835 at St. Paul's; Manitoba; father: William Bird (Métis); mother: Venus (Métis); married: 28 Aug., 1860 at Fort Simpson to William Robert Smith; children living: James, William, Robert, Charlotte, Mary, Sarah & Isabella; children deceased: John Lockhart; scrip cert. no. 867A; claim no. 408 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

71 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith, William Robert; address: Fort Vermillion; born: 21 Oct., 1833 at St. John's; Manitoba; father: William Robert Smith (Whiteman); mother: Mary Swain (Métis); married: 28 Aug., 1860 at Fort Simpson to Mary Bird; children living: James, William Robert, Charlotte, Mary, Sarah & Isabella; children deceased: John Lockhart; scrip cert. no. 866A; claim no. 394 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

72 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15004 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Smith Jr., William Robert; address: Fort Vermillion; born: 26 July, 1862 at Fort Simpson; father: William Robert Smith, Sr. (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 1885 at Vermillion to Phileside; Lizotte; children living: John, Eliza, Charlotte, William, Madeleine & James; children deceased: Jean; William Robert Smith, Jr., scrip cert. No; 868A; John Smith, scrip cert. no. 869A; Eliza Smith, scrip cert. no. 870A; Charlotte Smith, scrip cert. no. 871A; William Smith, scrip cert.no. 872A; Madeleine Smith, scrip cert. no. 873A; James Smith, scrip cert. no. 874A; claim no. 409 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

73 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1368 , Reel C-15005 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Swanston, Catherine; address: Prince Albert, Sask; born: 13 Oct., 1859 at Fort Simpson; father: Andrew Flett (deceased Scot); mother: Mary (Indian); husband: Thomas Swanston; scrip issued; file ref. 656576; claim no. 14 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

74 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Turner, Catherine; address: Fort Saskatchewan; born: 17 Sept., 1872 at Fort Simpson, Athabasca; father: Magnus Brown (Whiteman); mother: Isabella (Stony Indian); scrip cert.: form E, no. 2398; claim no. 1946 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

75 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Villebrun, Belle; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 15 Aug., 1875 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lepine (Métis); mother: Angele Houle (Métis); married: 9 Sept., 1896 at Fort Chipewyan; to Onesime Villebrun; children living: Marie Dora & Marie Augustine; scrip cert. no. 994A claim no. 446 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Fort Chipewyan

1 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-1 , Volume 829 , Reel T-14456
File : 621576 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** ELLEN LOUTIT, NEE FLETT, FORT CHIPEWYAN - HALFBREED
CERTIFICATE OF SELF AND CHILDREN **Keywords:** LOUTIT ELLEN **Outside Dates:** 1899-1919 **Finding Aid number:** 15-5 15-6

2 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lepine, Frank - Concerning his Metis grant - Address, Providence, NWT - Born, Fort Chipewyan, July 7, 1894 - Occupation, trapper - Father, Francois Lepine, (Metis) - Mother, Marie Adel Savoyard, (Metis) - Married, 1915, Athabasca Landing to Emily Berens - Children, four - Cecilia, October 27, 1916, Sarah, August 10, 1918, Lillian, January 1, 1920, Napoleon, December 2, 1922 - Claim no. 62 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

3 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Loutit, Helen Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Fort Resolution - Born, 1896 Fort Wrigley - Father, Frank Heron, (Metis) - Mother, Harriett Brown, (Metis) - Married, in 1913 at Fort Chipewyan to Alexandra Loutit - Children, three living, one dead - Archibald, 1915, Peter Francois, 1917, Mable, 1919 - Claim no. 34 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

4 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-d , Volume 1372 , Reel C-15011 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie Rose - Concerning her Metis claim - Address, Hay River - Born, Fort Rae in 1894 - Father, Antoine Lafferty, (Metis) - Mother, Madeline Beaulieu, (Metis) - Married, in 1912 at Chipewyan to Leon G. Mercredi - Children, two living, two dead - Ignace Clement, 1912, Lionel Hubert, 1919 - Claim no. 5 **Finding Aid number:** 15-22

5 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Dalphine; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 51; born: 1840 at Fort Resolution; father: Paul Cadieu (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Elizabeth (Indian); married: 1854 at Fort Chipewyan to Pierre Beaulieu; children living: 9 children deceased: 3; scrip notes nos. A12761 & 4392 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

8 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Isabelle King; address: Fort Vermilion, Peace River; claim no. 39; born: 1876 at Fort Vermilion; father: Tatee-tee-say (Beaver Indian); mother: LaLouise Isah-yeh-tah (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1895 at Fort Vermilion to Paul King Beaulieu; children living: 3; scrip notes nos. A12762 & A4393 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively
Finding Aid number: 15-21

9 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Jean Marie; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 14 to 21; born: 1860 at Fort Resolution; father: Pierre Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Delphine Cadieu (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1865 at Fort Resolution to Catherine Petitjean; children living: 7; children deceased: 2; scrip notes nos. A12749 & A4380 for Jean Marie Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12750 & A4381 for Marie Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12752 & A4382 for John Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12752 & A4383 for Louison Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12753 & A4384 for Alexander Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12754 & A4385 for Louis Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12755 & A4386 for Elise Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12756 & A4387 for Ellen Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

10 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Joseph; born: 1844 in Athabasca district; claim no. 493; father: Francis Beaulieu (French Canadian); mother: (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert. no. 1207A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

12 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Pierre; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; claim no. 48 to 50; born: 1833 at Fort Resolution; father: Beaulieu (Métis); mother: LaLouise (Cree Métis); married: 1854 at Fort Chipewyan to Delphine Cadieu; children living: 9; children deceased: 3; scrip notes nos. A12804 & A4435 for Pierre Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12805 & A4436 for Louison Beaulieu; scrip notes nos. A12806 & A4437 for John Beaulieu **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Sophie; wife of Joseph Bolian; claim no. 489; born: 1846 in Athabasca District; father: Joseph Cayen (Métis); mother: Chipewyan Indian; scrip cert. no. 1203A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1336 , Reel C-14949 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bertrand, Henri; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 438; born: 15 July, 1874 at Fort Providence; father: Charles Bertrand (Whiteman); mother: Adele Platecote (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert.: form A, no. 931 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

15 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1336 , Reel C-14950 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bird, Sophie; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 449; born: 1 July, 1872 at Fort Chipewyan; father: James Favelle (Métis); mother: Angélique Ki-sop-we-we-yitam (Métis); married: Sept., 1889 at Chipewyan to Joseph Bird; children living: 2; children deceased: 1; scrip cert.: form A, no. 969 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Boucher, Judith; for her deceased daughter, Caroline; claim no. 2207; address: Lac la Biche; born: 1881 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Narcisse Boucher (Whiteman); mother: Judith McCarthy (Métis & deponent); died: 1890 at Fort Chipewyan; hers: Judith Boucher (mother); Narcisse Boucher (brother); Theophile Boucher (brother); Francois Boucher (brother); Alphonse Boucher (brother); Millan Boucher (brother); Antoine Boucher (brother); Alexandra Boucher (brother) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

17 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Boucher, Sarah; address: Qu'Appelle; claim no. 1270; born: 1865 at Battleford; father: Pierre Boucher (Métis); mother: Marie (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1880 at Fort Walsh to Andrew Fleury; children living: Tommy; scrip for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bourassa, Lencia; address: Fort Vermillion, Alberta; claim no. 374; born: 1860 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Baptiste St. Cyr (Métis); mother: Julia McCarthy (Métis); married: 1876 at Little Red River to John Bourassa; children living: 11; children deceased: 1; scrip cert.: form A, no. 788 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bourk, Marguerite; address: Saddle Lake; claim no. 1997; born: 1 June, 1872 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Louis Lavallee (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1792; mother: Catherine L'Esperance (Métis) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

20 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1337 , Reel C-14951 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Bourque, Elizabeth Jane; address: Lac la Biche; claim no. 2215; born: 23 Oct., 1877 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Frederick Gardner (English); mother: Flora Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1476 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Brown, Ann; address: Athabasca Landing; claim no. 2394; born: 1853 at Great Slave Lake; father: Robert Norm (Whiteman); mother: Chipewyan Indian; scrip cert.: form C, no. 1526 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

22 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1339 , Reel C-14955 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cardinal, Adelaide; address: Lac la Biche; claim no. 2349; born: 1873 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Donald McDonald (Métis); mother: Catherine Tourenqeau (Métis); file ref. 1400492 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

23 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1339 , Reel C-14955 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cardinal, Alexandre; born: 16 May 1873 at Fort Vermillion; claim no. 385; father: Louis Cardinal (Métis); mother: Marie Bisson (Métis); married: 6 Aug. 1895 at Fort Chipewyan to Christine MacDonald; children living: 3 (names on application); Alexandre Cardinal, scrip cert. no. 816 A; Louis Pierre Cardinal, scrip cert. no. 817 A; Magloire Cardinal, scrip cert. no. 818 A; Guillaume Cardinal, scrip cert. no. 819 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

25 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1339 , Reel C-14956 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cardinal, Christine; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 369; born: Aug., 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Donald McDonald (Métis); mother: Catherine Tourangeau (Métis); married: 6 Aug., 1895 at Fort Chipewyan to Alexander Cardinal; children living: 3 (names on application); scrip cert. no. 815 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

26 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cardinal, Sophie; address: Fort McMurray; claim no. 499; born: 1876 at Fort Chipewyan; father: John or Jack McKenzie (Métis); mother: Lalouise Grosse Tete (Indian; married: 12 Aug., 1898 at Fort McMurray to David Cardinal; scrip cert. no. 1066 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

27 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Carey, Edward; for his deceased brother, Francis Carey; claim no. 3151; address: Edmonton; born: Sept. 1870 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Edward Francis Carey (Whiteman); mother: Mathilde Tremblay (Métis); died: March 1875; scrip cert.: form F, no. 1852 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

28 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cayen, Jerome; address: Smith's Landing via Edmonton; claim nos. 101 & 102; born: 1869 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Joseph Cayen (Métis); mother: Bonne Eh-ketch-on (Indian); married: 1897 at Fort Smith to Catherine Germain; children living: 1; children deceased: 1 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

29 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cayen, Joseph; address: Fort Smith, Athabasca; claim no. 475; born: 1843 at Fort

Chipewyan; father: Cayen (Métis); mother: Suzanne Ennethechap (Indian); married: 1871 at Chipewyan to Catherine Etlaquet; children living: 6; children deceased: 1; Joseph Cayen, scrip cert. no. 1039 A; Ezechiel Cayen, scrip cert. no. 1040 A; Eleonore Cayen, scrip cert. no. 1041 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

30 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1342 , Reel C-14960 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cooper, Philomene; born: 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 472; father: Benjamin Kisikopimoteo (Cree Indian); mother: Marie Takaro (Cree Indian); married: Sept. 1898 at Fort Chipewyan to Bathurst F. Cooper; children living: Philomene Cooper, scrip cert. no. 1049 A; Mary-Jane Cooper, scrip cert. no. 1050 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

31 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1343 , Reel C-14961 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** D'Amours, Marie Louise; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 393; born: 24 Jan., 1880 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Francois Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Rose Lamoureux (Métis); married: 22 Nov., 1898 at Vermillion to Prudent D'Amour; scrip cert. no. 865 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

32 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1343 , Reel C-14961 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Daniel, Gregory; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 118; born: 1879 at Fort Chipewyan; father: James Daniel (Métis); mother: Madeleine Boucher (Métis) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

33 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1343 , Reel C-14961 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Daniel, James; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 119 to 126; born: 1858 at Winnipeg; father: Griffen Daniel (Métis); mother: Mary (Métis); married: 1876 at Fort McMurray to Madeleine Boucher; children living: 9, Mary, Gregoire, Helene, Frederick, Eliza, Honorine, John James, Alexander & James Louis **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

34 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1343 , Reel C-14961 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Daniel, Madeleine; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 127; born: 1862 at Fort McMurray; father: Joseph Boucher (Métis); mother: Madeleine (Métis); married: 1876 at Fort McMurray to James Daniel; children living: 9, Mary, Gregoire, Helene, Frederick, Eliza, Honorine, John James, Alexander & James Louis **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

35 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1344 , Reel C-14963 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Desjarlais, Betsy; for her deceased father, Joseph Gouin; claim no. 2871; address: Lac Ste. Anne; born: 1839 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Antoine Gouin (Whiteman); mother: Eliza **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

37 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1346 , Reel C-14967 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Evans, David; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 483; born: 1869 at Norway House; father: Robert Evans (Métis); mother: Mary; married: 1887 at Fort Chipewyan to Ellen Benjamin; children living: Philip, Mary & John; children deceased: Sophie, Catherine, Frederick, & Alexander; David Evans, scrip cert. no. 1052 A; Philip Evans, scrip cert. no. 1053 A; Mary Evans, scrip cert. no. 1054 A; John Evans, scrip cert. no. 1955 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

38 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1346 , Reel C-14967 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Evans, Ellen; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 484; born: Birch Mountains on North Shore of Peace; River in 1864; father: Benjamin Kesikopimotayo (Métis); mother: Mary (Indian); married: 1887 at Fort Chipewyan to David Evans; children living: Philip, Mary & John; children deceased: Sophie, Catherine, Frederick & Alexander; scrip cert. no. 1051 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

39 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1346 , Reel C-14967 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Fabien, George; his guardian: Annie McLeod; claim no. 133; born: 1892 at Fort Resolution;

father: Henri Fabien (deceased Métis); mother: Pas-chen (deceased Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12909 & 4540 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

40 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Adele; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 137; born: 1880 at Big Island; father: Baptiste Lepine (Métis); mother: Madeleine Houle (Métis); married: 1898 at Fort Chipewyan to Roderick Ross Flett; children living: William James; children deceased: 1; scrip notes nos. A4538 & A5549 for 160 & 80 acres respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

41 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, James; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 436; born: 29 Oct., 1860 at Fort Chipewyan; father: George Flett (Métis); mother: Charlotte Diolette (Métis); scrip cert. no. 946A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

42 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, John Sr; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 476; born: 1847 at Fort Chipewyan; father: George Flett (Métis); mother: Charlotte Diolette (Métis); married: 1879 at Fort Chipewyan to Eleonore Saint Cyr & 18 Sept., 1898 at Fort Chipewyan to Josephine Plate Coté; children living: 6; children deceased: William; John Flett Sr., scrip cert. no. 1025A; John Flett Jr., scrip cert. no. 1026A; Charlotte Flett, scrip cert. no. 1027A; Ellen Flett, scrip cert. no. 1028A; Mary Jane Flett, scrip cert. no. 1029A; William James Flett, scrip cert. no. 1030A; Peter Flett, scrip cert. no. 1031A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

43 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Josephine; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 465; born: 1869 at Fort Chipewyan; father: François Plantecoté (Indian); mother: Josephine Si-sen (Indian); married: Sept., 1898 at Chipewyan to John Flett, & 1888 at Pond du Lac to an Indian Pierriche; 1889 at Fort Chipewyan to Baptiste Lecroche; children living: Victoire & Elizabeth; children deceased: Eusebe, Ellen, Flora, & William; Josephine Flett, scrip cert. no. 1002A; Victoire Lecroche, scrip Cert no. 1003A; Elizabeth Lecroche, scrip cert. no. 1004A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

44 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Roderick; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 1791; born: 24 Oct, 1871 at Fort Simpson; father: James Flett (Whiteman); mother: Jane Lapée (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1092 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

45 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1347 , Reel C-14969 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Flett, Roderick Ross; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 135 & 136; born: 1872 at Fort Simpson; father: James Flett (Scot); mother: Jane Lepine (Métis); married: 1898 at Fort Chipewyan to Adele Lepine; children living: William James, born; 20 May, 1799; children deceased: William James Flett, scrip notes nos. A12778 & A4409 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

46 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Forcier, Baptiste; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 479; born: 15 Aug., 1855 on MacKenzie River; father: Baptiste Forcier (Métis); mother: Françoise Noir (Indian); married: May, 1876 at Fort Chipewyan to Catherine Tourangeau; children living: Rosalie, Xavier & Mary Anne; children deceased: Elizabeth, Joseph, Jean, Baptiste & Anne; Catherine Forcier, scrip cert. no. 1015 A; Rosalie Forcier, scrip cert. no. 1016 A; Mary Anne Forcier, scrip cert. no. 1017 A; Xavier Forcier, scrip cert. no. 1018 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

47 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Fraser, Colin; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 141; born: 1850 at Jasper House; father: Colin Fraser (Scot); mother: Nancy Beaudry (Métis); married: 1878 at Edmonton to Flora Roland; children living: Lavisca, James, Roderick, Frederick & Mary; children deceased: Maria & Edward **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

48 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Fraser, Colin; address: Chipewyan; claim no. 422; born: 15 Sept., 1849 at Jasper House; father: Colin Fraser (Whiteman); mother: Nancy Beaudry (Métis); married: April, 1875; children living: James, Marie, Roderick, Frederick, Mary & Vici; children deceased: 1; Vici Fraser, scrip cert. no. 956 A; Roderick Fraser, scrip cert. no. 957 A; Frederick Fraser, scrip cert. no. 958 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

49 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Fraser, James; address: Chipewyan, Lake Athabasca; born: 16 Aug., 1876 at Edmonton; father: Colin Fraser (Métis); mother: Flora Rowland (Métis); scrip cert. no. 55 B : claim no 440 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

50 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Frederic, Cyrville; address: Lac la Biche; claim no. 2233; born: 1878 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Louis Frederic (Métis); mother: Marguerite Fausseneuve (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1498 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

51 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Frederic, Louison; heir to his deceased children: Alexandre, born: 16 Feb., 1871 at Athabasca; died: 1872 at Fort Chipewyan; Eleonore , born: 14 June, 1872 at Athabasca; died: April, 1889; Hyacinthe , born: 4 April, 1880 at Lac la Biche; died: April, 1880; address: Lac la Biche; father: Louison Frederic (Métis & deponent); mother: Mathilde Badger (Métis); Alexandre: scrip cert.: form F, no. 774; Eleonore: scrip cert.: form F, no. 776; Hyacinthe: scrip cert.: form F, no. 778; claim no. 2225 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

52 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14970 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Frederick, Louis; for his deceased wife, Mathilde Badger; claim no. 757; born: 1848 at St. Peters, Manitoba; died: Nov., 1878 at Fort Chipewyan, Athabasca; address: Lac la Biche; father: Badger (Métis); mother: Mary (Métis); married: July, 1869 at Norway House to Louis Frederick, the deponent; children deceased: Alexandre; heirs: her children, Eleonore Frederick, scrip for \$80.00; & Charlotte Frederick, scrip for \$80.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

53 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Gairdner, William; address: Lesser Slave Lake; claim no. 28; born: 24 July, 1876 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Fred Gairdner (Whiteman); mother: Flora Flett (Métis); married: 29 June, 1898 to Mary Gladu; scrip cert. no. 64 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

54 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1348 , Reel C-14971 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Gairdner, William Forget; for his son, Archibald, George Frederic; claim no. 2956; Gairdner; born: June, 1884 at Fort Chipewyan; address: Edmonton; father: William Forget Gairdner (Whiteman; & deponent); mother: Flora Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1602 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

56 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1349 , Reel C-14973 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Gladu, Marie or Moostous; address: Fort Chipewya; claim no. 469; born: 3 Nov., 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Alexis Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Mary or Marie Thomas (Métis); married: June, 1897 at Chipewyan to Pierre Gladu; or Moostous; children living: Jean; scrip cert. no. 1005 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

57 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1349 , Reel C-14973 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Gladu, Pierre; address: Fort Chipewya; claim no. 435; born: Oct., 1870 at Fort Dunvegan; father: Pierre Gladu or Moostous Sr. (Métis); mother: Julie Gibat (Métis); married: June, 1897 at Chipewyan to Marie Tourangeau; children living: Jean; Pierre Gladu, scrip cert. no. 929 A; Jean Gladu, scrip cert. no. 930 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

58 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Hoole, Madelaine; born: 1873 in Athabasca District; claim no. 487; father: Joseph Cadieu (Métis); mother: Chipewyan Indian; husband: Joseph Hoole; scrip cert. no. 1200 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

59 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Houle, Cecile; address: Athabasca Landing; claim no. 593; born: 1852 at Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca; father: Gregoire Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Josephine Piche (Métis); married: 1878 at Fort Chipewyan to William Houle; children living: Catherine, Melanie, Virginie, Therise, Joseph, Maggie & Alexandre; children deceased: John, Lucia & Pauline **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

60 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Houle, Cecile; address: Athabasca Landing; claim no. 2443; born: 1866 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Gregoire Bruneau (Métis); mother: Josephine Piche (Métis) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

61 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Houle, William; for his minor daughter, Melanie Houle; claim no. 2371; address: Athabasca Landing; born: Spring, 1885 at Lac la Biche; father: William Houle (Métis & deponent); mother: Cecile Bruneau (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1382 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

62 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Houle, William; heir to his deceased children: Marie Pauline, born: Fall, 1882 at Athabasca Landing; died: Feb., 1886; Lucia, born: 1876 at Fond du Lac (Athabasca); died: Sept., 1888; address: Athabasca Landing; father: William Houle (Métis & deponent); mother: Cecile Bruneau (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert.: form F, no. 846, Marie Pauline; scrip cert.: form F, no. 848, Lucia; claim no. 2372 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

63 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Houle, William; heir to his deceased children: Abraham, born: 1872 at Chipewyan; died: Winter, 1886 at Chipewyan; William, born: 1874 at Chipewyan; died: Jan., 1886 at McMurray; address: Athabasca Landing; father: William Houle (Métis & deponent); mother: Cecile Bruneau (Métis); scrip cert.: form F, no. 1194, Abraham; scrip cert.: form F, no. 1196, William; claim no. 3107 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

64 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14977 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Hyslop, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution via Edmonton; claim no. 178; born: 1840 at Dease Lake near Liard River; father: Francois Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpeid (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1862 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Bouchier, & 1898 at Fort Rae to James Hyslop; children deceased: Marie; scrip notes nos. A4558 & A5569 for 160 & 80 acres respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

65 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1352 , Reel C-14978 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** King, William Henry; address: Millerville; claim no. 1657; born: 3 July, 1875 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Cornwallis King (Whiteman); mother: Charlotte Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 3353 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

66 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafleur, Joseph; address: Vermillion; claim no. 378; born: 1862 at Dunvegan; father: Baptiste Lafleur (Métis); mother: Marie Maigates or Bisson (Indian); married: 1881 at Fort Chipewyan to Pauline Mercredi; children living: Marie Victoire; Guillaume; Josephine; Pierre Auguste; Maria Lucia; Marie Vitaline & Napoleon; children deceased: Joseph; Angele & John Joseph; Joseph Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 837A; Marie Victoire Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 838A; Guillaume Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 839A; Pierre Auguste Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 840A; Marie Vitaline Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 841A; Napoleon Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 842A; Josephine Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 843A; Maria Lucia Lafleur, scrip cert. no. 844A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

67 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1353 , Reel C-14979 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lafleur, Pauline; address: Vermillion, Alberta; claim no. 377; born: Nov., 1867 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Joseph Mercredi (Métis); mother: Marie Laliberte (Métis); married: 1885 at Chipewyan to Joseph Lafleur; children living: Marie Victoire, Guillaume, Pierre Auguste, Marie, Victorine, Julien, Josephine & Maria Lucia; children deceased: Joseph, Angele & John Joseph; scrip cert. no. 800A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

68 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1354 , Reel C-14980 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lambert, William John; address: Vermillion; claim no. 366; born: 1851 in Winnipeg, Manitoba; father: John Lambert (Métis); mother: Hannah Asham (Métis); married: 1878 at Fort Chipewyan to Elize Lizotte; children living: William, Mary Anne, Hannah, John James, Margaret, Catherine, Lilly, Peter, Eliza, and Edward; children deceased: Elise; wife: Elise Lizotte; address: Vermillion; born: 1860 at Vermillion; father: Michael Lizotte (White); mother: Sophie Tourangeau (Métis); Elise Lambert, scrip cert. no. 826A; William Lambert, scrip cert. no. 827A; Mary Anne Wylie, scrip cert. no. 962; Hannah Lambert, scrip cert. no. 829; John James Lambert, scrip cert. no. 53B; Catherine Lambert, scrip cert. no. 831A; Margaret Lambert, scrip cert. no. 832A Lilly Lambert, scrip cert. no. 833A; Peter Lambert, scrip cert. no. 834A; Eliza Lambert, scrip cert. no. 835A; Edward Lambert, scrip cert. no. 836A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

69 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lautit, Caroline; address: Chipewyan; claim no. 428; born: 24 May, 1871 at Edmonton; father: John Fraser (Métis); mother: Sarah Jane Vincent (Métis); married: 5 March, 1894 at Edmonton to Peter Lautit Jr; children living: Henry, born: 13 September, 1896 at Chipewyan; and Mabel Ellen, born: 6 March, 1898 at Chipewyan; cert. no. 953A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

70 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lautit, Charlotte Florence; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 429; born: 10 December, 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Peter Lautit (Métis); mother: Ellen Flett (Métis); scrip cert. no. 945A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

71 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lautit, George; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 421; born: 8 May, 1876 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Peter Lautit (Métis); mother: Ellen Flett (Métis); married: 10 January, 1897 at Fort Chipewyan to Mary Ann McSwain; children living: Edward, born: 25 September, 1898 at Fort Chipewyan; George Lautit, scrip cert. no. 935A; Edward Lautit, scrip cert. no. 939A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

72 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lautit, Mary Anna; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 427; born: 7 January, 1878 at Fort Norman; father: Donald McSwain (Métis); mother: Jan (Indian); married: 10 June, 1897 at Chipewyan to George Lautit; children living: Edward, born: 25 September, 1898 at Chipewyan; scrip Cert no. 955A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

73 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lautit Jr., Peter; address: Chipewyan; claim no. 420; born: 11 Aug., 1871 at Chipewyan; father: Peter Lautit (Métis); mother: Ellen Flett (Métis); married: 5 March, 1894 at Edmonton to Caroline Fraser; children living: Henry, born: 13 September, 1896 at Chipewyan; Mabel Ellen, born: 6 March, 1898 at Chipewyan; Henry Lautit, scrip cert. no. 951A; Mabel Ellen Lautit, scrip cert. no. 952A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

74 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lautit, Thomas; address: Fort Chipewyan; claim no. 530; born: 5 October, 1873 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Peter Lautit Sr. (Métis); mother: Ellen Flett (Métis); scrip cert. no. 58B **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

75 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1355 , Reel C-14982 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lavallée, Louis or Martin; for his deceased children; claim no. 2141; address: Lac la Biche; Louis, born: 1866 at Fort Chipewyan; died: 1868 at Fort Chipewyan; Marie Pauline, born: 1874 at Big Point Deschênes; died: 1875 at St. Boniface; Joseph Louis, born: 1876 at Big Point Deschênes; died: 1878 at Big Point Deschênes; father: Louis Lavallée (Métis and deponent); mother: Catherine L'Espérance (Métis) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

76 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lépine, Baptiste; address: Fort Chipewyan, via Edmonton; claim no. 211; born: 1871 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lépine (Métis); 214; mother: Angélique Houle (Métis); married: 1893 at Fort Chipewyan to Elise Tourangeau; children living: Marie Victoria; Adeline Bernadette and Jean Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

77 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lépine, Elise; address: Fort Chipewyan, Via Edmonton; claim no. 215; born: 1876 at Fort Chipewyan; father: François Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Isabel Cayen (Métis); married: 1893 at Fort Chipewyan to Baptiste Lépine; children living: Marie Victoria; Adeline Bernadette and Jean Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

78 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lépine, François; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 216; born: 1859 at Fort Liard; father: Baptiste Lépine (Métis); 220; mother: Angélique Houle (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Simpson to Marie Adele Savoyard; children living: Marie Adele; Francis; Denise and Beatrice; children deceased: Duffield and Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

79 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lépine, Madelaine; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 222; born: 1840 at Fort Liard; father: François Houle (Métis); mother: Elise Toutpiéd (Métis); married: 1855 at Fort Simpson to Baptiste Lépine died: 1896 at Fort Chipewyan; children living: François; Baptiste; Christine; Bella; William and Adele; children deceased: Jean; Madelaine; Susette; Rose and Michel **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

80 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lépine, Marie Adele; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 221; born: 1871 at Fort Simpson; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis); mother: Françoise Boucher (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Simpson to François Lépine; children living: Marie Adele; Francis; Denise and Beatrice; children deceased: Duffield and Baptiste **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

81 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14984 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lépine_____, William; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; claim no. 223; born: 1853 at Fort Liard; father: Baptiste Lépine_____(Métis); 228; mother: Angélique Houle (Métis); married: 1884 at Fort Providence to Cécile Le-grand-Isle; children living: Guillaume; Alexandre; Adele; Napoleon and Rosine; children deceased: Francis **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

82 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lizotte, Jean; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 388; born: 15 December, 1858 at Fort Vermillion; father: Michel Lizotte Sr. (Métis); mother: Sophie Tourangeau (Métis); married: June, 1880 at Fort Chipewyan to Julie Mercredi; children living: John, Elise, Louis Napoleon, Rose, Marie Jane, Sophie, Joseph and Flora; children deceased: Patrice and Charlotte; Jean Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 845A; John Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 846A; John, Elise Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 847A; Louis Napoleon Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 848A; Rose Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 849A; Marie Jane Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 850A; Sophie Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 851A; Joseph Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 852A; Flora Lizotte, scrip cert. no. 853A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

83 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lizotte, Julie; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 379; born: 1862 at Ile A la Crosse; father: Abraham Mercredi (Métis); mother: Charlotte (Métis); married: June, 1880 at Fort Chipewyan to Jean Lizotte; children deceased: Patrice and Charlotte; children living: Jean, Elise, Louis, Napoleon, Rose, Marie Jane, Sophie, Joseph and Flora; scrip cert.: no. 863A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

84 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Lizotte, Sophie; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 395; born: 1834 at Wabasca, Fort

Chipewyan; father: Baptiste Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Marie Valnet (Métis); married: 16 October, 1850 at Fort Chipewyan to Michel Lysotte; children living: Madelaine, Marie, Michel, Jean, Elise, Adeline, Christine, Felicité, Lisa, Rose, Pierre, Augustin and Joseph; children deceased: Pierre, no name and Adele; scrip cert.: no. 767A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

85 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; for his absent son, Alexander Isbister MacFarlane; address: St. John's near Winnipeg; born: 14 December, 1873 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: May Christie (Métis); scrip Issued for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1430 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

86 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; heir to his deceased son, James Scott Graham MacFarlane; address: St John's near Winnipeg; born: 13 November, 1884 at Fort Chipewyan; died: 1 April, 1887 at St. John's Manitoba; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Mary Christie (Métis); scrip Issued for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1431 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

87 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; for his absent daughter, Elsie Harriet MacFarlane; address: St. John's near Winnipeg; born: 28 July, 1875 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Mary Christie (Métis); scrip Issued for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1432 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

88 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; for his living son, William Camsell MacFarlane; address: St. John's near Winnipeg; born: 10 December, 1878 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Mary Christie (Métis); scrip Issued for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1433 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

89 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; for his living daughter, Lillian Mary MacFarlane; address: St. John's near Winnipeg; born: 16 December, 1880 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Mary Christie (Métis); scrip Issued for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1434 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

90 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; for his absent daughter, Emma Annabella MacFarlane; address: St. John's near Winnipeg; born: 4 February, 1877 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Mary Christie (Métis); scrip for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1435 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

91 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** MacFarlane, Roderick; for his living daughter, Kate Caroline MacFarlane; address: St. John's near Winnipeg; born: 26 November, 1871 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick MacFarlane (Whiteman and deponent); mother: Mary Christie (Métis); scrip Issued for 240 acres; file ref. 965353; claim no. 1436 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

92 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1357 , Reel C-14986 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mandeville, Victorine; born: 1873 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Antoine (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Lizette Ka-za-say (Chipewyan; Indian); married: 1885 at Fort Resolution to Alphonse Mandeville; scrip notes nos. A12847 & A4478; claim no. 231 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

94 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14987 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McDonald, Daniel; address: Chipewyan; born: 24 Feb., 1878 at Chipewyan; father: Donald McDonald (Métis); mother: Catherine Tourangeau (Métis); scrip cert. no. 938A; claim no. 443 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

95 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14987 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McDonald, Jean; address: Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca; born: 1879 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Daniel McDonald (Métis); mother: Catherine Tourangeau (Métis); claim no. 268 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

96 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14988 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKay, William Morrison; for his minor children: Eirene Esther, born: April, 1890 at Chipewyan; Florence Edith, born: 2 Nov., 1894 at Chipewyan; Charles Edward, born: 12 Nov., 1896 at Chipewyan; address: Edmonton; father: William Morrison McKay (Whiteman & deponent); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1088, Eirene Esther; scrip cert.: form C, no. 1089, Florence Edith; scrip cert.: form C, no. 1090, Charles Edward; claim no. 1789 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

97 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKenzie, Frederick; address: Fond du Lac; born: Nov., 1871 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Alexander McKenzie Sr. (Métis); mother: Marie Saint Cyr (Métis); married: 15 May, 1898 at Fond du Lac to Victoire Headbone; children living: Marie, born: 16 July, 1899; Frederick McKenzie, scrip cert. no. 1012A; Marie McKenzie, scrip cert. no. 1013A; claim no. 480 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

98 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKenzie, Victoire; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1879 at Fond du Lac; father: Pierre Headbone (Indian); mother: Marie Anne (Indian); married: 15 May, 1898 at Fond du Lac to Frederick McKenzie; children living: Marie; scrip cert. no. 1014A; claim no. 468 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

99 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McMurray, Harriet; for her living son, John Donald McMurray; born: 17 Oct., 1870 at Fort Chipewyan; address: Kildonan; father: William McMurray (Whiteman); mother: Harriet Inkster (Métis & deponent); file ref. 775944; claim no. 1610 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

100 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McSwayne, Donald; address: Chipewyan; born: 21 June, 1851 at ?; father: James McSwayne (Whiteman); mother: Christie Campbell (Whitewoman); married: 16 June, 1873 at Fort Norman to Jane Taylor; died: March, 1897; children living: Christie; Nellie; Marianne; William; Mary; Tessie; Rosie; children deceased: Margaret St. Norman; Mary McSwayne, scrip cert. no. 988A; Tessie McSwayne, scrip cert. No 989A; Rosie McSwayne, scrip cert. no. 990A; Nellie McSwayne, scrip cert. no. 991A; William McSwayne, scrip cert. no. 993A; Christine McSwayne, scrip cert. no. 1214A; claim no. 458 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

101 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mercredi, Anne; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 11 Nov., 1876 at Fond du Lac, Athabasca; father: Joseph Mercredi (Métis); mother: Marie Laliberte (Métis); scrip cert. no. 763A; claim no. 454 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

102 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mercredi, Christine; address: Fort Smith, via Edmonton; born: 1869 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lepine (Métis); mother: Angel Houle (Métis); married: 1888 at Fort Chipewyan to Joseph Mercredi; children living: Albert, Louis, Rose, Patrice & Victoire; scrip notes nos. A12933 & A4564 for \$160.00 & A \$80.00 respectively; claim no. 252 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

103 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Mercredi, Germain; address: Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca; born: 12 Feb., 1872 at Fond du Lac; father: Joseph Mercredi (Métis); mother: Marie (Métis); married: 10 Sept., 1896 at Chipewyan to Marie Daniel; children living: Marie Madeline, born: 17 Aug., 1897; Germain Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 970A; Marie Madeline Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 971A; claim no. 460 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

104 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Joseph; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1860 at Portage la Loche; father: Abraham Mercredi (Métis); mother: Charlotte Peapicous (Cree Indian); married: 17 April, 1892 at Fort Chipewyan to Julienne Laviolette; children living: Charlotte, Marie Victoire & Marie Madelaine; children deceased: Marie Josephine; Joseph Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1019A; Charlotte Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1020A; Marie Victoire Mercredi, scrip Cert; no. 1021A; Marie Madelaine Mercredi, scrip Cert; no. 1022A; claim no. 478 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

105 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Julienne; address: Fond du Lac; born: 23 March, 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Antoine Laviolette (Métis); mother: Madelaine Piche (Métis); married: 17 April, 1892 at Fort Chipewyan to Joseph Mercredi; children living: Charlotte; Marie Victoire & Marie Madelaine; children deceased: Marie Josephine; scrip cert. no. 1023A; claim no. 467 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

106 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; born: 1877 at Fond du Lac; father: Pierre Riche (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Julie "Hairy-martin foot" (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1890 at Fond du Lac to Napoleon Mercredi; children living: Napoleon & Julie; claim no. 256 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

107 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie; address: Fond du Lac; born: 26 Aug., 1877 at Fort McMurray; father: James Daniel (Métis); mother: Madeleine Boucher (Métis); married: 10 Aug., 1896 at Fort Chipewyan to Germain Mercredi; children living: Marie Madeleine; scrip cert. no. 995A; claim no. 453 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

108 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Marie; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 29 Sept., 1867 at Fort Smith; father: Alexis Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Marie Lafferty (Métis); married: 14 Aug., 1883 at Fort Chipewyan to Pierre Mercredi; children living: Pierre Isidore, Alexis Victor, Philippe George, Leon Joseph & Antoine Stanislas; children deceased: Marie Celestine; scrip cert. no. 976A; claim no. 455 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

109 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Napoleon; address: Fort Chipewyan via Edmonton; born: 1869 at Fond du Lac to father: Joseph Mercredi (Métis); 255; mother: Marie Laliberte (Métis); married: 1890 at Fond du Lac to Marie Pierre-Riche; children living: Napoleon & Julie; claim no. 253 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

110 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Pierre; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 13 Dec., 1862 at Fort Fond du Lac, Athabasca; father: Joseph Mercredi (Métis); mother: Marie Laliberte (Métis); married: 14 Aug., 1883 at Fort Chipewyan to Marie Beaulieu; children living: Pierre Isidore, Alexis Victor, Philippe George, Leon Joseph & Antoine Stanislas; children deceased: Marie Celestine; Pierre Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 977A; Pierre Isidore Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 978A; Alexis Victor Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 979A; Philippe George Mercredi, scrip Cert; no. 980A; Leon Joseph Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 981A; Antoine Stanislas Mercredi, scrip Cert; no. 982A; claim no. 462 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

111 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Sara; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 28 Jan., 1869 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Donald McDonald, I (Métis); mother: Catherine Tourangeau (Métis); married: 14 April, 1885 at Fort Chipewyan to Vital Mercredi; children living: Marie Rose, Adeline, Victor, Celestine, Marianne & Marie; children deceased: Napoleon & Marie; Albertine; scrip cert. no. 1024A; claim no. 466 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

112 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Valentine; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1857 at Isle a la Crosse; father: Abraham Mercredi (Métis); mother: Charlotte Huppe (Métis); claim no. 1768 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

113 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Vital; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1860 at Portage la Loche; father: Abraham Mercredi (Métis); mother: Charlotte Peapicous or Tyenisis (Cree Indian); married: 14 April, 1885 at Fort Chipewyan to Sara McDonald; children living: Marie Rose, Adeline, Victor, Marianne, Celestine & Marie; children deceased: Napoleon & Marie Albertine; Vital Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1032A; Marie Rose Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1033A; Adeline Mercredi, scrip N Cert. no. 1034A; Marie Anne Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1035A; Victor Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1036A; Celestine Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1037A; Marie Mercredi, scrip cert. no. 1038A; claim no. 477 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

114 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1360 , Reel C-14991 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Montgrand, Caroline; address: Portage la Loche; born: 1866 at Athabasca River; father: Joseph Easthay (Chipewyan); mother: Isabelle (Chipewyan); married: 1892 to William Montgrand; children living: Joseph, Ellen, Pelagie, Noel, Pierre & Harry; claim no. 43 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

116 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norn, Charles; address: Hay River, Great Slave Lake; born: 1877 at Hay River; father: Robert Norn (Scot); mother: Catherine Smith (Chipewyan Indian); scrip notes nos. A12885 & A4516 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 287 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

117 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norn, Ellen; address: Fort Resolution, via Edmonton; born: 1875 at Fort Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Scot); mother: Elizabeth Manger-de-lard (Chipewyan; Indian); married: Sept., 1899 at Fort Resolution to George Norn; children living: Beatrice; scrip notes nos. A12862 & A4493 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 290 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

118 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1361 , Reel C-14993 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Norris, Sophia Martha; address: Beaver Lake; born: 1871 at Fort Chipewyan; father: James Pruden, Métis); mother: Genevieve Desjarlais (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 2388; claim no. 3098 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

119 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-14999 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Robillard, Albert; address: Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca vi; Edmonton; born: 1876 at Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca; father: Louison Robillard (Métis); mother: Julie Nee-shith or Tnechinsh (Chipewyan; Indian); married: 1887 at Fort Chipewyan to Marie McDonald; children living: Louis Daniel; children deceased: No name & Rose; claim no. 322 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

120 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-14999 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Robillard, Delphine; address: Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca, vi; Edmonton; born: 1873 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Paul Esay-tshore (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Delphine Bedkadhi (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1895 at Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca to Pierre Robillard; claim no. 325 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

121 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-14999 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Robillard, Elzear; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: Feb., 1871 at Fond du Lac, Lake Athabasca; father: Louison Robillard (Métis); mother: Julie Laviollette (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1598; claim no. 2367 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

122 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-14999 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Robillard, Elzear; for his minor stepson, Joseph Villeneuve; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1884 at Lac la Biche; father: Edward Villeneuve (Métis); mother: Mary Cardinal (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1408; claim no. 2429 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

123 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-14999 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Robillard, Julie; address: Fond du Lac, Athabasca; born: 1849 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Eneshinth (Montagnais, Indian); mother: Isabelle Laviolette (Métis); married: in 1867 at Fond du Lac to Felix Lecroche & on 16 April, 1872 at Fond du Lac to Louis Robillard; children living: Elzear, Pierre, Felix, Albert & Johnny; children deceased: Louis, Auguste, Baptiste & no name; scrip cert. no. 1001A; claim no. 456 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

124 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-14999 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Robillard, Marie; address: Fond du Lac, Athabasca Lake; Edmonton; born: 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Daniel McDonald (Métis); mother: Catherine Tourangeau (Métis); married: 1887 at Fort Chipewyan to Albert Robillard; children living: Louis Daniel; children deceased: No name & Rose; claim no. 323 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

126 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-15000 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Ross, Mary; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: July, 1867 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Roderick Ross (Scot); mother: Victoria Harriot (Métis); scrip for \$240.00; claim no. 2 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

127 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-15000 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Ross, Roderick; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 24 March, 1869 at St. Andrews, Man; father: Roderick Ross Sr. (Scot); mother: Victoria Harriot (Métis); scrip for \$240.00; claim no. 5 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

128 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-15000 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Ross, Victoria; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1844 at Edmonton; father: John Edward Harriot (Englishman); mother: Annie Rowand (Métis); married: 1863 to Roderick Ross; children living: John Edward, Donald, Mary & Roderick; children deceased: 2; scrip for \$160.00; claim no. 1 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

129 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1365 , Reel C-15000 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Rowland, Flora Margaret; address: Edmonton; born: 1879 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Frederick Gaudner (Whiteman); mother: Flora Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 2454; claim no. 2962 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

130 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15000 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Saint-Cyr, Francis; address: Lesser Slave Lake; born: 1854 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Jean Baptiste Saint-Cyr (Métis); mother: Julie McCarthy (Métis); married: 1877 at Vermillion to Sophie; Bourassa; children living: Isabelle, Julienne; Mary, Emillia, Felicite, Bernard & Madeleine; children deceased: Louise; Francis Saint-Cyr, scrip cert. no. 51A; Marie Saint-Cyr, scrip cert. no. 52A; Emillia Saint-Cyr, scrip cert. no. 53A; Felicite Saint-Cyr, scrip cert. no. 54A; Bernard Saint-Cyr, scrip cert. no. 55A; Madeleine Saint-Cyr, scrip cert. no. 56A; claim no. 24 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

131 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sanderson, Bienvenue; born: 1868 at Chipewyan; father: Antoine Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Madeline Laroche (Métis); married: 1883 at Chipewyan to James; Sanderson; children living: 6; children deceased: 2; scrip cert. no. 1006A; claim no. 470 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

132 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sanderson, Elizabeth; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; via Edmonton; born: 1844 at Buffalo Lake near Hay River; father: Mangerde-lard (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Zo-see (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1856 at Fort Resolution to Henry Sanderson; children living: Annie, James, Henry, Ellen, Charles, Bella & George; children deceased: Francois, Marie & 2 unnamed children; scrip notes nos. A12886 & A4517; claim no. 326 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

133 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sanderson, George; address: Fort Resolution, Great Slave Lake; via Edmonton; born: 1878 at

Fort Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Orkney Islander); mother: Elizabeth Manger-de-lard (Chipewyan; Indian); scrip notes nos. A12929 & A4560 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 327 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

134 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1366 , Reel C-15001 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sanderson, James; address: Chipewyan; born: 30 June, 1863 at Resolution; father: Henry Sanderson (Métis); mother: Isabelle (Indian); married: 15 July, 1881 at Chipewyan to Bienvenue Tourangeau; children living: Jean, Maria Julia, Edward, Henri, Catherine & Marie Rose; children deceased: John, Louise & James Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 983A; Jean Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 984A; Marie Julia Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 985A; Edward Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 986A; Henri Sanderson, scrip cert. no. 987A; claim no. 461 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

135 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15003 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sinclair, Anne Isabella; address: St. Francois Xavier; born: 26 Sept., 1880 at Chipewyan; father: Peter Sinclair (Whiteman); mother: Philomene Letendre (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 3408; claim no. 1497 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

137 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1368 , Reel C-15005 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Sutherland, Maria; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 17 March, 1878 at Edmonton; father: Colin Fraser (Métis); mother: Flora Rowland (Métis); married: 31 May, 1898 at Fort Chipewyan to John Sutherland; scrip cert. no. 928A; claim no. 426 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

139 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15006 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Thompson, Caroline; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 15 Dec., 1880 at Fort Chipewyan; father: James Thompson (Whiteman, Scot); mother: Louise Encore (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert. no. 54B; claim no. 425 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

140 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Alexis; born: 1842 at Chipewyan; father: Baptiste Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Marie (Métis); married: May, 1859 at Chipewyan to Mary Thomas; children living: Alexandre, Caroline, Jean Baptiste, Madeline, Marie, Isabelle, Emerence & Daniel; children deceased: Madeline; Alexis Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 972A; Isabelle Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 973A; Emerence Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 974A; claim no. 459 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

141 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Catherine; address: Chipewyan; born: 18 March, 1869 at Chipewyan; father: Antoine Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Magdeleine Larocque (Métis); scrip cert. no. 948A; claim no. 433 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

142 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Daniel; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 12 Oct., 1867 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Alexis Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Marie Thomas (Métis); married: 1896 at Fort Chipewyan to Suzanne; Tutsinnae; children living: Leon; Daniel Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 1042A; Leon Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 1043A; claim no. 474 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

143 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Isabelle; address: Chipewyan; born: 1867 at Chipewyan; father: Charles Piche (Métis); mother: Suzette Martin (Indian); married: 1886 at Chipewyan to Jonas; Tourangeau; children living: Antoine, Louis & Isidore; scrip cert. no. 940A; claim no. 431 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

144 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/01511e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Isidore; address: Smith Landing, Athabasca District; born: 1876 at Chipewyan; father: Francois Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Isabel Cadieu (Métis); Daughter: Veronique, born: 1898; Isidore Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 1208A; Veronique Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 1209A; claim no. 494 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

145 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Jonas; born: 23 Feb., 1864 at Chipewyan; father: Antoine Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Magdeleine LaRocque (Métis); married: 1886 at Chipewyan to Isabelle Piche; children living: Antoine, Louis & Isidore; Jonas Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 941A; Isidore Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 942A; Antoine Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 943A; Louis Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 944A; claim no. 423 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

146 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Louis; address: Chipewyan; born: 15 Dec., 1872 at Chipewyan; father: Antoine Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Madeline LaRocque (Métis); scrip cert. no. 954A; claim no. 437 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

147 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Madeline; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1840 at Winnipeg; father: Charles Larocque (Whiteman); mother: Catherine Lafournier (Métis); married: 1 May, 1860 at Red River Settlement; to Antoine Tourangeau; children living: Bienvenue, Amable, Jonas, Catherine, Louis, Rose & Pierre; children deceased: Hermanigilde, Marie & Marianne; Madeline Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 960A; Pierre Tourangeau, scrip cert. no. 959A; claim no. 432 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

148 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Mary; born: 1838 at Norway House; father: Thomas (Métis); mother: Betsy (Indian); married: May, 1859 at Chipewyan to Alexis; Tourangeau; children living: Alexandre, Caroline, Daniel, Jean Baptiste, Madeline, Marie, Isabelle & Emerence; children deceased: Madeline; scrip cert. no. 975A; claim no. 448 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

149 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Rose; address: Chipewyan, Lake Athabasca; born: 19 June, 1876 at Chipewyan; father: Antoine Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Madeline LaRocque (Métis); scrip cert. no. 947A; claim no. 430 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

150 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Sophie; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: Oct., 1868 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Francois Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Isabelle Cayen (Métis); scrip cert. no. 964A; claim no. 447 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

151 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Suzanne; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 9 June, 1878 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Jean Marie Tutsinnæ (Chipewyan Indian); mother: Rose Dykelmi (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1896 at Fort Chipewyan to Daniel; Tourangeau; children living: Leon; scrip cert. no. 1056A; claim no. 485 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

152 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tremblay, Charlotte dit Paul; address: Lac la Biche; born: 6 Nov., 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Louison Frederic (Métis); mother: Mathilde Badger (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1282; claim no. 2211 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

153 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Villebrun, Belle; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 15 Aug., 1875 at Fort Simpson; father: Baptiste Lepine (Métis); mother: Angele Houle (Métis); married: 9 Sept., 1896 at Fort Chipewyan; to Onesime Villebrun; children living: Marie Dora & Marie Augustine; scrip cert. no. 994A claim no. 446 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

154 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Villebrun, Francis; address: Smith's Landing via Edmonton, Alberta; born: 1846 at Winnipeg, Manitoba; to father: Louis Villebrun (French Métis); 352; mother: (French Métis), Louise Colan; married: 1866 at

Fort Chipewyan to Marie St; Cyr; children living: Onesime, Maxime, Isidore, Francois, John & Victoire; John Villebrun, scrip notes nos. A12881 & A4512 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Maxime Villebrun, scrip notes Nos. A12883 & A4514 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Francis Villebrun, scrip notes nos. A12879 & A4510 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Victoire Villebrun, scrip notes nos. A12882 & A4513 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; Isidore Villebrun, scrip notes nos. A12880 & A4511 for \$160.00 & \$80.00; claim no. 349 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

155 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Villebrun, Marie; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1 Nov., 1846 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Jean Baptiste Saint Cyr (Métis); mother: Julie Mercredi or McCarthy (Métis); married: 1 Jan., 1866 at Fort Chipewyan to Francis Villebrun; children living: Francis Jr., Onesime, Frederic, Mary Lilia, Maxime, John Noel, Victoire & Isidore; scrip cert. no. 949A; claim no. 424 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

156 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Villebrun, Onesime; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1869 at Fort Chipewyan; father: Francois Villebrun (Métis); mother: Marie St. Cyr (Métis); married: 9 Sept., 1896 to Belle Lepine; children living: Marie Dora & Marie Augustine; Onesime Villebrun, scrip cert. no. 996A; Marie Dora Villebrun, scrip cert. no. 997A; Marie Augustine Villebrun, scrip Cert; no. 998A; claim no. 463 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

157 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, Annie; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1851 at Fort Chipewyan; father: George Flett (Métis); mother: Charlotte Tourangeau (Métis); married: 16 May, 1866 at Fort Chipewyan; to William Wylie; children living: William, Peter, John, Edward, Emma, Eliza, Mary Ann; Annie Wylie, scrip cert. no. 965A; Mary Ann Wylie, scrip cert. no. 966A; claim no. 445 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

158 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, Edward; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 1 Sept., 1874 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Wylie (Métis); mother: Annie Flett (Métis); scrip cert. no. 968A; claim no. 464 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

159 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, Eliza; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 2 June, 1878 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Wylie (Whiteman); mother: Annie Flett (Métis); scrip cert. no. 967A; claim no. 451 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

160 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, Emma; born: 4 April, 1876 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Wylie (Whiteman); mother: Annie Flett (Métis); scrip cert. no. 962A; claim no. 452 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

161 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, John; address: Chipewyan, Lake Athabasca; born: 11 Aug., 1871 at Chipewyan; father: William Wylie (Whiteman); mother: Annie Flett (Métis); scrip cert. no. 934A; claim no. 441 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

162 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, Mary Ann; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 14 Feb., 1881 at Fort Vermillion; father: William John Lambert (Métis); mother: Elise Lizotte (Métis); married: 28 June, 1899 at Vermillion; to Peter Wylie; scrip cert. no. 962A; claim no. 450 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

163 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Wylie, Peter; address: Fort Chipewyan; born: 2 Aug., 1869 at Fort Chipewyan; father: William Wylie (Whiteman); mother: Annie Flett (Métis); married: June, 1899 at Fort Vermillion to Mary Anne Lambert; scrip cert. no. 1007A; claim no. 481 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

164 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1371 , Reel C-15010 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Wylie, Jr., William; born: 20 Oct., 1867 at Chipewyan; father: William Wylie, Sr. (Whiteman); mother: Anne Flett (Métis); married: 17 April, 1894 to Emilie Flett; children living: Alice Jane & Emilie Rose; William Wylie, Jr., scrip cert. no. 1044A; Alice Wylie, scrip cert. no. 1045A; Emilie Wylie, scrip cert. no. 1046A; claim no. 482 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Great Slave Lake

not elsewhere listed

9 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1338 , Reel C-14953 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Brown, Henry; address: Athabasca Landing; claim no. 2393; born: 1880 at Great Slave Lake; father: Magnus Brown (Whiteman); mother: Ann Norm (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1524 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

10 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1341 , Reel C-14959 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Charles, Sarah; born: 4 Sept., 1870 at Great Slave Lake; claim no. 404; father: William Robert Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 31 March, 1889 at Fort Vermillion to Benjamin Charles; children living: 5; scrip cert. no. 901 A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

12 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1349 , Reel C-14973 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Gladu, Melanie; address: Athabasca Landing; claim no. 2938; born: 11 Aug., 1883 at Big Island, Great Slave Lake; father: Joseph Savoyard (Métis); mother: Francoise Boucher (Métis); married: 23 April, 1898 at Lesser Slave Lake to St. Paul Gladu; scrip cert.: form E, no. 3334; file ref. 573747 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

13 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1350 , Reel C-14975 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Hebert, Henri or Henry Bear; address: Touchwood Hills; claim no. 839; born: 1846 at Great Slave Lake; father: Henri Hebert (Whiteman); mother: Marguerite Tourangeau (Métis) **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

14 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1352 , Reel C-14977 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Jones, Mary; address: Vermillion; claim no. 396; born: 21 Feb., 1867 at Great Slave Lake; father: William Robert Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 7 May, 1891 at Vermillion to Robert Jones; children living: Mary Jones, scrip cert. no. 876A; Agnes Jones, scrip cert. no. 878A; Robert Jones, scrip cert. no. 879A; George Jones, scrip cert. no. 877A; Edward Jones, scrip cert. no. 880A; Stanley Jones, scrip cert. no. 881A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

16 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1356 , Reel C-14985 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Lizotte, Bella; address: Fort Vermillion; claim no. 403; born: 21 May, 1874 at Great Slave Lake; father: William Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 23 November, 1893 at Vermillion to Pierre Lizotte; children living: Mary Agnes, Peter; John & Liza Jane; scrip cert. no. 875A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

18 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14988 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKay, Agnes Jane Margaret; address: Edmonton; born: 29 June, 1879 at Great Slave Lake; father: William Morrison McKay (Whiteman); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1080; claim no. 1785 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

19 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14988 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** McKay, Mary Louise; address: Edmonton; born: 4 Oct., 1881 at Resolution, Great Slave Lake; father: William Morrison McKay (Whiteman); mother: Jane Flett (Métis); scrip cert.: form E, no. 1082; claim no. 1786 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

24 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1367 , Reel C-15003 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Smith, James Sinclair; address: Vermillion; born: 1861 at Great Slave Lake; father: William Robert Smith (Métis); mother: Mary Bird (Métis); married: 1886 at Vermillion to Mary Cardinal; children living: Mary Anne, William, John, Bella, Frank, Lilly, Sarah & Mellice; children deceased: James Sinclair; James Sinclair Smith, scrip cert. no. 51B; Mary Anne Smith, scrip cert. no. 760A; William John Smith, scrip cert. no. 761A; Bella Smith, scrip cert. no. 762A; Frank Smith, scrip cert. no. 763A; Lily Smith, scrip cert. no. 764A; Sarah Smith, scrip cert. no. 765A; Mellice Smith, scrip cert. no. 766A; claim no. 381 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Athabasca Landing

not elsewhere listed

20 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-1 , Volume 830 , Reel T-14456
File : 622537 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** FRANCOISE SAVOYARD, NEE BOUCHER, ATHABASCA LANDING, CLAIM FOR HALFBREED SCRIP **Keywords:** SAVOYARD FRANCOISE **Outside Dates:** 1899-1902 **Finding Aid number:** 15-5 15-6

21 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-1 , Volume 830 , Reel T-14456
File : 622538 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** JOSEPH SAVOYARD, ATHABASCA LANDING, RE. HALFBREED SCRIP **Keywords:** SAVOYARD JOSEPH **Outside Dates:** 1899-1904 **Finding Aid number:** 15-5 15-6

30 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1326 , Reel C-14937 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Chalifoux, George - Concerning his claim as a head of family - Address, Edmonton - Born, 1843 at Athabasca - Father, Chalifoux, (Métis) - Mother, Josephite, (Métis) - Married, 1867 at St. Albert to Marguerite Couteau, (died 1880), 1881 to Madeleine, (died 1883) and 1884 to Angele Delorme - Children living, seven (names on declaration) - Children deceased, one - Scrip for \$160 - Claim 483 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

33 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1330 , Reel C-14940 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McGillivray, Edward - Concerning his claim as a head of family - Address, Victoria - Born, 1816 at Athabaska - Father, Simon McGillivray, (Métis) - Mother, Thérèse Roy, (Métis) - Married, 1862 at Edmonton to Isabelle Fraser - Children living, five (names on wife's declaration) - Children deceased, one - Scrip for \$160 - Claim 506 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

34 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1330 , Reel C-14940 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Omand, Nancy - Concerning her claim as a head of family - Address, St. Albert - Born, 1835 at Churchill, (Hudson Bay) - Father, William Omand, (Métis) - Mother, Nancy Budds, (Métis) - Married, 1857 at Athabasca to Baptiste Tourangeau - Scrip for \$160 - Claim 1008 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

35 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-b , Volume 1332 , Reel C-14942 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Tourangeau, Louison - Concerning his claim as a head of family - Address, St. Albert - Born, 1838 at Athabasca - Father, Jean Tourangeau, (Métis) - Mother, Marie Vadonet, (Métis) - Married, 1863 at Red River Settlement to Alphonsine Laliberté - Children living, eight (names on declaration) - Children deceased, two - Scrip for \$160 - Claim 935 **Finding Aid number:** 15-20

48 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1334 , Reel C-14946 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Auger, Julie; on behalf of the heirs of her deceased husband, Pierre Auger; claim no. 649; address: Lac la Biche; born: 1856 on Athabasca River; father: Augustin Auger (Métis); mother: Rosalie Labonne (Métis); died:

27 Jan., 1886; heirs: Julie Rivet (widow & deponent) & his children Auguste Auger, Emile Auger, Emma Auger, Francis Auger; Five Scrips for \$48.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

50 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Joseph; born: 1844 in Athabasca district; claim no. 493; father: Francis Beaulieu (French Canadian); mother: (Chipewyan Indian); scrip cert. no. 1207A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

51 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14948 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Beaulieu, Sophie; wife of Joseph Bolian; claim no. 489; born: 1846 in Athabasca District; father: Joseph Cayen (Métis); mother: Chipewyan Indian; scrip cert. no. 1203A **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

67 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1339 , Reel C-14956 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cardinal, Catherine; address: Lac la Biche; claim no. 659; born: 1868 on Athabasca River; father: Jean Baptiste Cardinal (deceased Métis); mother: Josephthe Chalifoux (Métis); scrip for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

77 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1340 , Reel C-14957 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Cartier, Julie; address: Lesser Slave Lake; claim no. 99 to 100; born: 1838 at Athabasca District; father: Cisseway Casquao (Collins, Métis); mother: Keekissequok (Métis); married: 1853 at Lesser Slave Lake to Francois Cartier; children living: 7; children deceased: 1; Julie Cartier, scrip notes nos. A12813 & A4444 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively; Colin Cartier, scrip notes nos. A12814 & A4445 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

123 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1351 , Reel C-14976 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Houle, Charles; for his insane brother -in-law Louis Decoin; claim no. 754; born: 1834 on Athabasca River; address: Lac la Biche; father: Francois Decoine (Métis); mother: Josephthe Desjarlais (Métis); scrip for \$240.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

146 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1358 , Reel C-14988 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McKay, Isabel; address: Smith's Landing, Athabasca District; born: 1878 in McKenzie River District; Parents: Both Métiss; husband: Isidore Tourangeau; scrip cert. no. 1204A; claim no. 490 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

148 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14989 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** McLeod, William; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 25 Dec., 1873 at Fort Rae; father: William McLeod (Whiteman); mother: Ann Norn (Métis); married: 18 Dec., 1895 at Athabasca Landing to Maria Gullion; children living: Matilda; scrip cert.: form E, no. 3335; claim no. 2936 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

150 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Elizabeth; address: Smith Landing, Athabasca District; born: 1881 in Athabasca District; father: Alphonse Beaulieu (Métis); mother: Delphine Tourangeau (Métis); husband: Narcisse Mercredi; scrip cert. no. 1206A; claim no. 492 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

152 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1359 , Reel C-14990 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Mercredi, Narcisse; address: Athabasca District; born: 1872 in Athabasca District; father: Abraham Mercredi (Métis); mother: Charlotte Merondi (Métis); scrip cert. no. 1213A; claim no. 496 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

163 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/0151e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1363 , Reel C-14997 , **Access code:** 90 **File Title:** Piche, William; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 1864 at Winnipeg; father: Francois Piche (Métis); mother: Jany (Métis); claim no. 2250 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

190 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Tourangeau, Jean Baptiste; address: Smith's Landing, Athabasca; born: 1881 in Athabasca District; father: Francois Tourangeau (Métis); mother: Isabel Cadieu (Métis); file ref. 822364; claim no. 566 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

191 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1369 , Reel C-15007 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Tourangeau, Rosalie; address: Athabasca District (Smith's Landing); born: June, 1870 in Athabasca District; father & mother: Métiss; husband: Francis Villebrun; scrip cert. no. 1205A; claim no. 491 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

194 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Villebrun, Francis; address: Smith's Landing, Athabasca; born: 1858 at Fond du Lac, Athabasca; father: Francis Villebrun and; mother: Marie; children Living: Francis, born: ?; 1 Feb., 1897; Louis Napoleon, born: 4 Feb., 1899; Francis Villebrun, Jr., scrip cert. No; 1210A; Francis Villebrun Jr., scrip cert. no. 1210A; Louis Napoleon Villebrun, scrip cert. No; 1212A; claim no. 495 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

195 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1370 , Reel C-15008 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Villeneuve, Edward; address: Athabasca Landing; born: 1882 at Lac la Biche; father: Edward Villeneuve (Métis); mother: Adelaide Decoine (Métis); scrip cert.: form C, no. 1374; claim no. 2365 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

Fort Vermilion

not elsewhere listed

1 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1334 , Reel C-14946 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Auger, Agathe; address: Lac la Biche Settlement; claim no. 711; born: 1848 at Fort Vermilion, Peace River; father: Baptiste Auger (Métis); mother: Josephte Chalifoux (Métis); married: 1864 at Lac la Biche to Charles Johnstone; children living: 6; scrip for \$160.00 **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

2 **Reference:** <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/db/gad/inv/015i1e.htm>RG15 , Interior , Series D-II-8-c , Volume 1335 , Reel C-14947 , **Access code: 90 File Title:** Beaulieu, Isabelle King; address: Fort Vermilion, Peace River; claim no. 39; born: 1876 at Fort Vermilion; father: Tatee-tee-say (Beaver Indian); mother: LaLouise Isah-yeh-tah (Chipewyan Indian); married: 1895 at Fort Vermilion to Paul King Beaulieu; children living: 3; scrip notes nos. A12762 & A4393 for \$160.00 & \$80.00 respectively **Finding Aid number:** 15-21

**A Historical Profile of the Great Slave Lake Area's
Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community**

Key Documents

**Prepared for Justice Canada
Gwynneth C. D. Jones
Vancouver, British Columbia.**

31 March 2005.

VIII. Index of Key Documents

[Editor's Note: A list of "key documents" was compiled during the research process. This list has been presented here in order to provide further context and information. Each key document has a number (1 through 52). These documents can be accessed at the archives and institutions noted in the full reference listed below.]

Number	Date	Description	Source
1	July 1787	"Portion of a map of north-western America prepared by Peter Pond for presentation to the Empress of Russia"	Gordon Charles Davidson, <i>The North West Company</i> (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967).
2	25 March 1790 (copy made 26 October 1909)	"Travels of Capt. Peter Pond of Milford from April 1773 to March 1790 Extracted from his own Map by Ezra Stiles"	W. Kaye Lamb, ed., <i>The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
3	1795	Extracts, Samuel Hearne, <i>A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean undertaken by Order of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Discovery of Copper Mines, a North West Passage, &c. In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, & 1772</i> . Includes "A Map exhibiting Mr. Hearne's Track in his two Journies for the discovery of the Copper Mine River, in the Years 1770, 1771 and 1772, under the direction of the Hudson's Bay Company".	Reprinted by M G. Hurtig Ltd., Edmonton, 1971.
4	18 February 1800 to 15 February 1801	James Porter, "Journal kept by Mr. Porter at Slave Lake"	Lloyd Keith, <i>North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800 - 1821</i> (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).
5	1801	Extracts, Alexander Mackenzie, <i>Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years</i>	Reprinted by M. G. Hurtig Ltd., Edmonton, 1971.

		<i>1789 and 1793 with a Preliminary Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Fur Trade of that Country</i>	
6	August - October 1802	Willard F. Wentzel, "Journal kept at Slave Lake"	Lloyd Keith, <i>North of Athabasca: Slave Lake and Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800 - 1821</i> (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).
7	1816 - 1817	Extracts, Fort Wedderburn [later Fort Chipewyan] account book	HBCA, B.39/d/1
8	15 July 1818 - 4 June 1819	Extracts, Aulay McAulay, Fort Resolution Post Journal and report	HBCA, B.181/a/1
9	1820 - 1821	Extract, Fort Wedderburn [later Fort Chipewyan] account book	HBCA, B.39/d/5
10	1820 - 1821	Extract, Fort Resolution account book	HBCA, B.181/d/1
11	18 May 1821	Extracts, George Simpson, "Report on the Athabasca Department", with attached "Route Map of Simpson's Athabaska Journey 1820 - 1821"	HBCA, B.39/e/1; also reprinted in E. E. Rich, ed., <i>Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson 1820 and 1821, and Report</i> (Toronto: Champlain Society {for the Hudson's Bay Record Society}, 1938).
12	1821 - 1822	Extracts, Fort Chipewyan account books	HBCA, B.39/d/11; HBCA, B.39/d/12
13	1822	Extract, York Factory Lists of Servants	HBCA, B.239/f/14
14	1822 - 1830	Extracts, Hudson's Bay Company Headquarters Records, Servants Characters and Staff Records	HBCA, A.34
15	[1823]	Map, "Route of the Expedition from Isle à la Crosse to Fort Providence in 1819 & 1820"	NMC 5455, H3/700/1823
16	1823 - 1851	Extracts, York Factory Engagement Register	HBCA, B.239/u/1
17	5 June 1824	Fort Chipewyan Report on District, 1823 - 1824 (report complete, some appendices omitted)	HBCA, B.39/e/6
18	1825 - 1826	Extracts, Fort Resolution account book	HBCA, B.181/d/2
19	1826 - 1827	Extract, Fort Resolution account book	HBCA, B.181/d/3a

20	1827 - 1828	Extracts, Fort Resolution account book	HBCA, B.181/d/3b
21	[1828]	Map, "Route of the Arctic Land Expedition, under the Command of Captn. J. Franklin, R. N., from Great Slave Lake to Great Bear Lake River", F. N. Kendall	NMC 8744, H3/700/1828
22	1828	Extracts, John Franklin, <i>Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827</i>	Reprinted by M. G. Hurtig Ltd., Edmonton, 1971.
23	[1836]	Map, "Map of the Discoveries and Route of the Arctic Land Expedition. in the Years 1833 & 1834", G. Back	NMC 6145, H3/800/1836
24	1836	Extracts, George Back, <i>Narrative of the Land Arctic Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, and Along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean, in the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835</i>	Reprinted by M. G. Hurtig Ltd., Edmonton, 1970.
25	1838 - 1839	Extracts, York Factory Lists of Servants	HBCA, B.239/f/17
26	1839 - 1840	Extracts, York Factory Lists of Servants	HBCA, B.239/f/19
27	1839 - 1840	Extract, Fort Chipewyan Post Journal ("Statement of Servants in the Athabasca District Outfit 1839")	HBCA, B.39/a/38
28	1846 - 1877	Extracts, York Factory Engagement Register	HBCA, B.239/u/2
29	1851	Extracts, John Richardson, <i>Arctic Searching Expedition: Journal of a Boat-Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin, Vols. I and II</i>	London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans
30	1853 - 1854	Extracts, Fort Rae account book	HBCA, B.172/d/1
31	1861 - 1866	Extracts, Fort Rae account book	HBCA, B.172/d/8
32	1863 - 1864	Extracts, Fort Rae account book	HBCA, B.172/d/5
33	1866 - 1867	Extract, Fort Rae account book	HBCA, B.172/d/10
34	1866 - 1893	Extracts, York Factory Engagement Register	HBCA, B.239/u/3
35	1874 - 1875	Extracts, Fort Chipewyan account book	HBCA, B.39/d/147
36	1881	Extracts, Dominion Census, Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts	NAC, reel C-13286
37	28 May 1884	Letter and attached tables, Roderick Macfarlane, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Chipewyan	NAC, RG10, Vol. 4006, file 241209-1
38	1886	Extracts, Emile Petitot, <i>Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest</i>	Paris : Maisonneuve Freres et Ch.. Leclerc, 1886.
39	1887 - 1906	Extracts, HBC Headquarters (Accountant's Office) Records, Fur Trade Engagement Registers for Servants and Clerks	HBCA, D.38/56
40	1891	Extracts, Dominion Census, Athabasca and	NAC, reels T-6426

		Mackenzie Districts, and Unorganized Territory (NWT)	and T-6427
41	1891	Extracts, Emile Petitot, <i>Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves</i>	Paris : Albert Savine, 1891.
42	24 April 1897	Report “re Northern Patrol” and associated documents, North West Mounted Police	Annual Report of the North West Mounted Police for the year 1897, in Canada. <u>Sessional Papers</u> , 1898, no. 15.
43	17 July 1899	Treaty Annuity paylist, Treaty no. Eight, “Chipewyan Band Paid at Smith Landing”	NAC, RG10, Vol. 9434
44	18 July 1899	Declarations for scrip application, Joseph Bolieau	NAC, RG15, Series D-II-8-c, Vol. 1335
45	18 July 1899	Declarations for scrip application, Scholastique Flett [Beaulieu]	NAC, RG15, Series D-II-8-c, Vol. 1347
46	18 July 1899	Declarations for scrip application, Joseph Hoole	NAC, RG15, Series D-II-c, Vol. 1351
47	1901	Extracts, Dominion Census, Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts, Unorganized Territory	NAC, reel T-6555
48	1920	Report, F. H. Kitto	NAC, RG10, Vol. 4092, file 548036
49	23 September 1923	Canada Order in Council 1862 with attached map of hunting preserves in the NWT and Wood Buffalo Park	NAC, RG10, Vol. 4049, file 361714
50	1936	“Wood Buffalo Park Permits Issued for 1936”	NAC, RG85, Vol. 1384, file 401-24-4, pt. 1
51	1984	Maps, “Athapaskan Indians in Northwest Canada (1725) (after Jenness); and “Athapaskan Indians in Northwest Canada at time of First Historic Contact (after Osgood)”.	D. A. Harrison, <i>Hay River NWT. 1800 - 1950: A Geographical Study of Site and Situation</i> , Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1984.
52	1984	Map, “Routeways into Mackenzie-Athabasca Districts 1860s - 1880s”	D. A. Harrison, <i>Hay River NWT. 1800 - 1950: A Geographical Study of Site and Situation</i> , Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1984.