SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A05 PART 1

COMMUNITY SUMMARY:
DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:
BC Hydro Power and Authority

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Prepared by:
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January 2013

Deninu K'ue First Nation

Deninu K'ue means "moose island" and is a settlement corporation at Fort Resolution, southwest of the Slave River Delta on the south shore of Great Slave Lake.[1]

According to Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, as of December 2012, the Deninu K'ue First Nation (DKFN) has a total registered population of 878 people, with 1 member living on DKFN's own reserve and 439 on their own Crown land.[2] DKFN uses a custom electoral system.[3]

DKFN members fish, moose hunt, and trap ptarmigan and rabbit year-round.[4]

The DKFN is a member of the Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, which also represents the Dettah, Ndilo, and Ltsel K'e Dene First Nations.[5]

Historical Background

The DKFN members are culturally Dene.[6]

On July 25, 1900, the ancestors of the DKFN adhered to Treaty 8 at Deninu Kue.[7]

In 1920, a commissioner for Canada met with the Akaitcho Dene people regarding a conflict between Canada and the Akaitcho over the Akaitcho's hunting of migratory birds due to the Migratory Birds Convention that Canada had entered into with the United States and Mexico in 1916. At this meeting, the Commissioner assured the Dene they could continue hunting migratory birds, and that areas could be created where the Dene had the exclusive ability to hunt, trap, fish, and gather. The areas that were created by Order-in-Council were Yellowknives Game Preserve and the Slave River Preserve. In the 1950s, at the request of the non-Dene living in the area, the Minister of Indian Affairs removed the Preserves so that non-Dene could also hunt in the area.[8]

Current Negotiations

The DKFN, Yellowknives Dene First Nation, and Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation (collectively, the Akaitcho Dene First Nations) are currently negotiating with the Government of Canada and the Government of the Northwest Territories to clarify ownership, rights to, and management of lands and resources in the region and the structure, operation, and legal

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[1] Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation. 2012. *About Deninu Kue, Northwest Territories, Canada*. Available at: http://www.akaitcho.info/the_akaitcho_treaty_8_tribal_corporation_009.htm. Accessed: December 2012 ("Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, About Deninu Kue").

[2] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC). 2012. *First Nation Detail, Deninu K'Ue First Nation*. Available at: http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/FNP/Main/Search/FNMain.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=762&lang=e. Accessed: December 2012 ("AANDC, Deninu K'Ue First Nation").

[3] AANDC, Deninu K'Ue First Nation.

[4] Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, About Deninu Kue.

[5] .Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation. 2012. *Welcome to our website.* Available at: http://www.akaitcho.info/index.html. Accessed: December 2012.

[6] Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation. 2012. *History of the Weledeh and Akaitcho Region: Who entered Into Treaty*. Available at: http://www.akaitcho.info/the_akaitcho_treaty_8_tribal_corporation_042.htm. Accessed: December 2012 ("Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, History of the Weledeh and Akaitcho Region").

[7] Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, History of the Weledeh and Akaitcho Region.

[8] Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, History of the Weledeh and Akaitcho Region.

status of the Akaitcho government. In June 2000, the parties entered into a Framework Agreement to establish the process and scope of negotiations. In August 2006, the parties signed an Interim Land Withdrawal Agreement to protect certain lands during the negotiations.[9]

The Interim Land Withdrawal Map for Crown land can be found here:

http://www.daair.gov.nt.ca/_live/documents/content/ADFN_ILW_Map_crownland.pdf

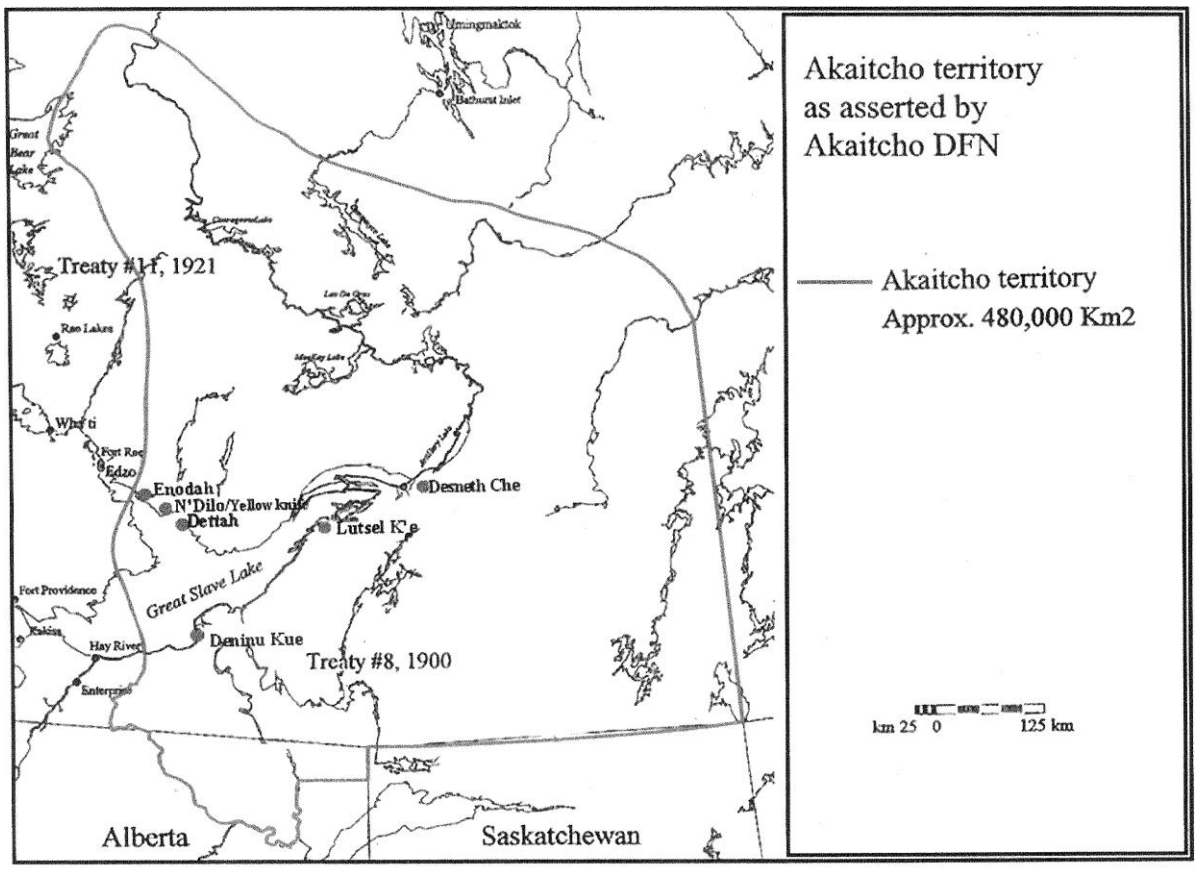
The Interim Land Withdrawal Map for Commissioner's land in Yellowknife can be found here:

http://www.daair.gov.nt.ca/_live/documents/content/ADFN_ILW_Map_commissionersland.pdf

[9] Akaitcho Treaty 8 Tribal Corporation, History of the Weledeh and Akaitcho Region.

Traditional Territory Map

DKFN. 2012. Akaitcho territory map.



SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A05 PART 2

BC HYDRO CONSULTATION SUMMARY: DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:

BC Hydro Power and Authority

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Prepared by:

Site C First Nations Engagement Team

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January 2013

Volume 5 Appendix A, Part 2, provides a summary of consultation activities undertaken by BC Hydro with each of the 29 Aboriginal groups listed in Table 9.1 of the EIS, as required pursuant to section 7.2.1 of the EIS Guidelines. This summary describes consultation activities that took place between November 1, 2007 and November 30, 2012, including meetings, phone calls, letters and emails, and consists of a high-level description of "key events" followed by a chronological summary of the consultation process during the above time period.

Volume 5 Appendix A, Part 2, will be updated with new or additional information prior to the submission of the EIS to the Joint Review Panel.

DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

CONSULTATION SUMMARY

Defined Terms	
"BCEAO"	Environmental Assessment Office, Province of British Columbia
"CEA Agency"	Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency
"Deninu K'ue"	Deninu K'ue First Nation
"EIS"	Environmental Impact Statement
"Potential Downstream Changes Report" or "updated Downstream Report"	Site C Clean Energy Project, *Potential Downstream Changes* (BC Hydro, May 2012)
"Site C" or "the Project"	The proposed Site C Clean Energy Project
"Stage 3 Consultation Agreement"	Site C Clean Energy Project Stage 3 Consultation Agreement between Deninu K'ue and BC Hydro, dated November 16, 2011
"TLUS"	traditional land use study

Key events

2007

- November: BC Hydro made initial contact with Deninu K'ue and expressed its commitment to effective consultation with respect to the Project.

2008

- April: BC Hydro wrote to Deninu K'ue and expressed interest in scheduling an introductory meeting to provide an overview of the Project and develop a consultation plan. The letter attached the Stage 1 Summary Report.
- September: BC Hydro wrote to Deninu K'ue and advised that it would be available to travel to the Northwest Territories in the second half of October, and requested an introductory meeting to develop a plan for future consultation.

2009

- February: BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue for the first time to provide an introductory Project overview.
- May: BC Hydro provided Deninu K'ue with a draft Stage 2 consultation agreement, but the Project moved forward to Stage 3 before a Stage 2 consultation agreement could be concluded.

2010

- April: BC Hydro advised Deninu K'ue of the provincial government's announcement that the Project would move forward to Stage 3, and provided a link to a website containing the Stage 2 Report and 35 appended studies and reports.
- September: BC Hydro tabled a draft Stage 3 consultation agreement for Deninu K'ue's consideration.

2011

- January: BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue, including the sub-Chief and several Councillors, to provide a Project overview and review the progress of BC Hydro's work in studying potential downstream effects. BC Hydro provided Deninu K'ue with a copy of the *Stage 2 Review of Potential Downstream Changes from Site C Operations: Preliminary Findings* (October 2009).

- March: BC Hydro provided Deninu K'ue with summary documents describing proposed studies for the 2011 field program, to be undertaken through the Environmental Program (Physical Environment), and invited feedback and comments.
- May: BC Hydro advised Deninu K'ue that it had submitted the Project Description Report and provided a link to the report.
- June: BC Hydro met with Deninu K'ue's Chief and Council and several community members, to provide a Project update and a presentation on the downstream effects of hydroelectric power generation, in order to generate discussion about issues of concern to Deninu K'ue.
- November: BC Hydro and Deninu K'ue finalized and executed the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*, dated November 16, 2011. The agreement established the principles, processes and scope for consultation between Deninu K'ue and BC Hydro in Stage 3, and provided Deninu K'ue with capacity funding to participate in the consultation process.

2012

- February:
  - BC Hydro wrote to Deninu K'ue to provide an update on BC Hydro's proposed approach to Site C procurement and contracting work.
  - BC Hydro wrote to Deninu K'ue to provide an update on the progress towards completing an updated report regarding potential downstream changes, including an overview of some preliminary study results. BC Hydro offered to meet with Deninu K'ue to review the interim results.
  - BC Hydro met via teleconference with Deninu K'ue's Chief and Council and representatives of the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. BC Hydro provided a Project update and discussed the status of BC Hydro's work on potential downstream changes.
- May:
  - BC Hydro provided Deninu K'ue with the Potential Downstream Changes Report (May 2012) and requested input regarding the results. The letter offered

to arrange a meeting with BC Hydro's subject matter expert in hydrology to discuss the report's findings.

- BC Hydro wrote to Deninu K'ue regarding the process and rationale for identifying the proposed Valued Components and spatial boundaries in the draft EIS Guidelines, and expressed interest in receiving feedback from Deninu K'ue.

- August: BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue to provide a Project update and to present the findings of the Potential Downstream Changes Report. BC Hydro's Senior Engineer and Hydrology Expert reviewed the report's findings, summarized as follows:

  - Surface water regime: BC Hydro reported that it was likely the Project would result in greater fluctuation of water levels near the Site C tailrace with effects diminishing further downstream and little notable change at the Town of Peace River. BC Hydro indicated that it expected no seasonal change in the timing of water releases.

  - Ice regime: BC Hydro reviewed the expected changes in the ice regime as a result of the Project, explaining that (a) there would be no changes in ice thickness, (b) there would be no change in the timing of ice break-up, and (c) there would be a slight delay in ice front progressions, with an average delay of three days at the Town of Peace River, and greater upstream.

  - Geomorphology and sediment transport: BC Hydro indicated that expected changes in flows as a result of the Project were not expected to influence the bedload transport capacity downstream or have any influence on channel erosion or deposition.

  In response to a question about the spatial boundaries of the downstream studies, BC Hydro advised that the study boundaries were determined by the farthest extent of any identifiable changes to the river, and that many of the boundaries were set beyond the last point of any identifiable change. BC Hydro advised that Water Survey of Canada gauges were used in the study, with the closest to Fort Resolution being at Peace Point.

- September:

  - BC Hydro participated in a conference call with Deninu K'ue. BC Hydro expressed interest in receiving traditional knowledge information from Deninu K'ue, however advised that a full scope TLUS would not be supported.

- BC Hydro wrote to Deninu K'ue advising that the EIS Guidelines had been issued by the BCEAO and the CEA Agency on September 7. BC Hydro highlighted the areas of the EIS Guidelines that specifically addressed the incorporation of information from Aboriginal groups, and invited Deninu K'ue to provide additional information for BC Hydro's consideration in preparing the EIS. The letter included a specific request for a traditional territory map, as well as requests for information regarding Deninu K'ue's current use of lands and resources for hunting fishing and trapping, and other purposes, and information regarding how the Project would affect Deninu K'ue's current use of lands and resources, and their exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights. BC Hydro followed up in late October and advised that it remained interested in receiving additional information to support the preparation of the EIS.

- BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue which advised that BC Hydro had updated the Project footprint map for Site C, and provided a link to the updated map and associated shape file data. The letter attached a memorandum outlining the specifics of the new and amended information, which identified, among other things, a reduction in the area of the proposed Site C dam site from 3907 hectares (April 2012) to 2025 hectares (October 2012).

- <u>November</u>: Deninu K'ue wrote to BC Hydro in response to BC Hydro's letters requesting additional information to support the preparation of the EIS, and enclosed a map of Deninu K'ue's traditional territory. The letter indicated that Deninu K'ue was willing to work with BC Hydro to provide the requested information, but remained concerned that the information would not be considered by BC Hydro based on the current spatial boundaries identified in the EIS Guidelines. The letter enclosed a study plan and budget intended to enable Deninu K'ue to respond to the information requests in BC Hydro's letter. The letter emphasized the importance of considering traditional use information in the EIS, and explained its perspective on how Deninu K'ue's experience of the impacts of the W.A.C. Bennett Dam could be used to inform the environmental assessment for the Site C Project.

Chronology of Events

2007

On November 21, 2007, BC Hydro sent an introductory letter to Deninu K'ue regarding the Project. The letter introduced BC Hydro's senior advisor responsible for First Nations consultation, and expressed BC Hydro's commitment to effective consultation with First Nations should the Project proceed further through BC Hydro's multi-stage decision making process.

2008

On April 10, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue in follow up to BC Hydro's letter of November 21, 2007. The letter advised that BC Hydro had developed an engagement strategy for the Project and formed a team to consult with First Nations. The letter advised that BC Hydro planned to begin engagement with Treaty 8 First Nations in Alberta and the Northwest Territories in May and June, and would contact Deninu K'ue to set up an introductory meeting. The letter attached the Stage 1 Summary Report.

On September 26, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue in follow up to its letter of April 10, 2008. The letter advised that BC Hydro would be available to travel to the Northwest Territories in the second half of October, and requested an introductory meeting with Deninu K'ue to develop a plan for future consultation. The letter enclosed a further copy of the Stage 1 Summary Report.

2009

On February 17, 2009, BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue including two Councillors, staff members, Elders, and other community members. BC Hydro provided an introductory overview of the Project and responded to questions and concerns raised by meeting participants. Deninu K'ue advised that it had observed reduced water levels and seasonal fluctuations in the Slave River and Great Slave Lake which it attributed to impoundment of water at the Williston Reservoir, and expressed concern that Site C might add to the problem.

On March 20, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue enclosing a capacity funding cheque for costs associated with the meeting of February 17, 2009.

On May 20, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue attaching a draft Stage 2 consultation agreement for Deninu K'ue's review and consideration. However, owing to delays associated with Deninu K'ue's band election, the Project had moved to Stage 3 before a Stage 2 consultation agreement could be finalized.

2010

On April 19, 2010, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue advising that the Government of B.C. had announced that the Project would move forward to Stage 3, the Environmental and Regulatory Review Stage. The email also provided a link to the Project website where the final Stage 2 Report and 35 appended studies and reports had been posted.

On September 23, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue and enclosed a draft Stage 3 consultation agreement for Deninu K'ue's review and consideration. BC Hydro expressed interest in scheduling a meeting to discuss the draft and provide an update on the Project.

2011

On January 25, 2011, BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue (Sub-Chief, three Councillors, staff) and twelve members of the Elders Council. BC Hydro provided a project overview and reviewed the anticipated timelines for the regulatory process. BC Hydro highlighted the Stage 2 Downstream Report as potentially being of particular interest to Deninu K'ue, and agreed to follow up and provide a copy. BC Hydro advised that its work on potential downstream changes was being updated, and that a revised report would likely be ready for review by First Nations at the end of 2011. Deninu K'ue expressed concern about the potential impact of Site C on water levels and advised that the water levels in the Slave River and the Great Slave Lake had dropped significantly in the past summer. A member of the Elders Council described the impact of low water levels on birds, traditional uses and boat transportation. BC Hydro explained that the downstream effects of the Project would be analyzed in the updated Downstream Report, including potential changes in water levels, water flow and icing. Deninu K'ue advised that it was heading into an election in the coming weeks and would provide comments on the draft Stage 3 consultation agreement when the new Chief and Council were in place. BC Hydro reiterated its interest in concluding a consultation agreement in the near future.

On January 31, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue further to the meeting of January 25, 2011, and attached a copy of the *Stage 2 Review of Potential Downstream Changes from Site C Operations: Preliminary Findings* (October 2009).

On March 15, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue advising that BC Hydro was engaged in planning for the upcoming field season of environmental work associated with the Project. The letter indicated that, in order to engage Aboriginal groups in discussion of this work, BC Hydro had prepared summary documents that described proposed studies for the 2011 field season. The letter enclosed a study outline and work plan summary for the Environmental Program: Physical Environment. The letter advised that the purpose of the proposed studies was to characterize baseline environmental conditions, including water levels and flow, flood forecasting, water temperature and ice, sediment transport,

microclimate, air quality, noise, greenhouse gases, and contaminated sites. The letter explained that the baseline data would be used to inform the assessment of potential environmental effects associated with the Project. The letter requested input from Deninu K'ue regarding the proposed studies, and explained that they could be changed or revised in scope or timing based on input from the Aboriginal groups. The letter also included links to the following Stage 2 studies:

- Baseline Greenhouse Gas Emissions Report by Jacques Whitford AXYS (Stantec) (2009).
- Review of Potential Downstream Changes from Site C Operations – Preliminary Findings. Report by Jacques Whitford and BC Hydro (2009).
- Preliminary GHG Emissions Estimate from Construction Materials – Site C Hydro Project. Memo by Jacques Whitford and BC Hydro (2009).

On March 24, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue enclosing a capacity funding cheque for costs associated with the meeting held on January 25, 2011.

On May 10, 2011, Deninu K'ue sent a letter to BC Hydro and provided a list of suggested revisions to the draft Stage 3 consultation agreement, in follow up to a commitment made at the meeting of January 25, 2011.

On May 18, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue advising that BC Hydro had submitted the Project Description Report to the BCEAO and the CEA Agency, and provided a link to the report.

On June 28, 2011, BC Hydro met with Deninu K'ue's Chief and Council and eight community members. BC Hydro provided an overview of the Project and gave a presentation titled "Downstream Effects of Hydroelectric Power Generation", taking questions throughout. BC Hydro explained that the updated Downstream Report would not be finalized until the fall of 2011, and that the presentation was developed as an interim step as a means to generate discussion about issues of interest to downstream First Nations. BC Hydro indicated that it had received Deninu K'ue's comments on the draft Stage 3 consultation agreement, and the parties agreed to schedule a teleconference to review the draft agreement.

On July 14, 2011, BC Hydro met via teleconference with representatives of Deninu K'ue (Environment Manager, IMA Coordinator) to review the draft Stage 3 consultation agreement. BC Hydro agreed to provide a revised draft based on the discussion.

On August 3, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue enclosing a cheque to cover the costs associated with the meeting held on June 28, 2011.

On August 5, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue in response to Deninu K'ue's letter dated May 10, 2011 and the teleconference on July 14, 2011. The letter advised that BC Hydro had reviewed Deninu K'ue's proposed revisions to the draft Stage 3 consultation agreement, and attached a revised draft with annotated comments addressing each of the proposed revisions. The letter advised that BC Hydro was prepared to have further discussions with Deninu K'ue to clarify outstanding issues and work toward finalizing the agreement.

On September 30, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue advising that the federal and provincial governments had announced a draft harmonization agreement that would refer the Project to a Joint Review Panel. BC Hydro noted that the regulators would be inviting written public comments on the draft agreement and provided website links to the CEA Agency and BCEAO websites.

On November 18, 2011, Deninu K'ue sent a letter to BC Hydro enclosing a signed copy of the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement* and the associated Band Council Resolution. On December 9, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue attaching a final copy of the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*, signed by BC Hydro.

The *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*, dated November 16, 2011 establishes the principles, process and scope for consultation between BC Hydro and Deninu K'ue for Stage 3, and provides capacity funding to enable Deninu K'ue to participate in the consultation process, to engage with BC Hydro to identify potential impacts of the Project on Deninu K'ue and its section 35(1) rights, and to identify strategies to avoid, mitigate, manage and/or accommodate those potential impacts. The agreement includes provisions addressing confidentiality, budgeting and work planning, funding and payment schedules, and communication between the parties. The agreement includes a draft work plan for a defined consultation project, under which Deninu K'ue would provide BC Hydro with feedback on the Potential Downstream Changes Report. The agreement will remain in effect until the completion of Stage 3, subject to termination by either party upon 90 days written notice.

On December 14, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*.

<u>2012</u>

On January, 10, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*.

On February 6 and 15, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue attaching the following two documents intended to provide an update on BC Hydro's proposed approach to Site C procurement and contracting work:

- Examples of Potential Contracting Work Related to Construction (January 24, 2012)
- Site C Procurement Update for First Nations (January 24, 2012)

The email also provided web links to information presented at the Site C Business Information Session in fall 2011.

On February 8, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue to provide an update on the progress towards completing an updated report regarding the potential downstream changes expected with the Project. The letter provided an overview of the work carried out to date, a description of the scope of the current analyses, and some preliminary study results. BC Hydro offered to meet with Deninu K'ue to review the interim results or, alternatively, to meet upon completion of the updated report.

On February 21, 2012, BC Hydro met via teleconference with representatives of Deninu K'ue (Chief, five Councillors, IMA Coordinator, consultant), and representatives of the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. BC Hydro provided an update on the Project and discussed the status of BC Hydro's work on potential downstream changes. BC Hydro advised that it had circulated a study update to Deninu K'ue on February 8, 2011, and that the Downstream Report would likely be completed in April or May. BC Hydro suggested that Deninu K'ue review the study update and contact BC Hydro if it had any questions. Representatives of the CEA Agency and the BCEAO reviewed their respective roles in the environmental assessment process. BC Hydro committed to providing Deninu K'ue with maps of the Project area.

On March 12, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue attaching maps of the Project area and Project activity zones, in response to Deninu K'ue request in the meeting of February 21, 2012.

On May 4, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue which attached the updated Potential Downstream Changes Report, and requested input regarding the results. The letter offered to arrange a meeting with BC Hydro's subject matter expert in hydrology to discuss the report's findings.

On May 23, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue regarding the identification of Valued Components and spatial boundaries for the Environmental Assessment, and expressed its desire to consult further with Deninu K'ue on these issues. The letter explained the process and rationale used to identify Valued Components in the draft EIS

Guidelines, and attached a graphic representation of the Valued Component identification methodology. The letter also explained the process of defining spatial boundaries for each Valued Component. The letter expressed interest in receiving feedback from Deninu K'ue regarding the proposed Valued Components and related spatial boundaries.

On May 25, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue advising that BC Hydro had created a secured file transfer website for Aboriginal groups containing commonly requested Site C documents (e.g., environmental reports, maps and presentations). The letter provided a link to the website and access information.

On August 8, 2012, Deninu K'ue sent an email to BC Hydro with attached Quarterly Financial Reports prepared pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*, for the following periods: November 16, 2011 to December 31, 2011; January 1, 2012 to March 31, 2012; and April 1, 2012 to June 30, 2012. Deninu K'ue sent revised copies on August 20, 2012 and August 28, 2012.

On August 27, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue enclosing a table titled "Preliminary Summary of Construction Phase Workforce" which summarized the timing, type of jobs and number of opportunities that BC Hydro anticipated would be needed to construct the Project. The letter provided a link to secured file transfer website where additional information regarding Project opportunities had been posted.

On August 28, 2012, BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue (Chief, two Councillors, two band members) to provide a Project update and present the findings of the Potential Downstream Changes Report. BC Hydro's Senior Engineer and Hydrology Expert reviewed the report's findings with respect to expected changes in the surface water regime, the ice regime, and geomorphology and sediment transport, summarized as follows:

- Surface water regime: BC Hydro reported that it was likely the Project would result in greater fluctuation of water levels near the Site C tailrace with effects diminishing further downstream and little notable change at the Town of Peace River. BC Hydro indicated that it expected no seasonal change in the timing of water releases.

- Ice regime: BC Hydro reviewed the expected changes in the ice regime as a result of the Project, explaining that (a) there would be no changes in ice thickness, (b) there would be no change in the timing of ice break-up, and (c) there would be a slight delay in ice front progressions, with an average delay of three days at the Town of Peace River, and greater upstream.

- Geomorphology and sediment transport: BC Hydro explained that geomorphology referred to the river shape, while the sediment regime referred to the quantity, timing,

and mode of transport of particulate matter by river flows. BC Hydro indicated that expected changes in flows as a result of the Project were not expected to influence the bedload transport capacity downstream or have any influence on channel erosion or deposition.

During the downstream presentation, BC Hydro answered questions regarding the potential contribution of climate change to changes in water flow and the spatial boundaries used for BC Hydro's studies. A participant asked whether any studies were conducted in the local area near Fort Resolution, and why BC Hydro had not extended the study boundaries to areas further downstream. BC Hydro advised that the study boundaries were determined by the farthest extent of any identifiable changes to the river, and that many of the boundaries were set beyond the last point of any identifiable change. BC Hydro advised that Water Survey of Canada gauges were used in the study, with the closest to Fort Resolution being at Peace Point. Deninu K'ue identified a number of changes that members had observed in their area, including low water levels in Great Slave Lake, changes to the Great Slave Delta (filling), and difficulty navigating areas in the Slave River. Deninu K'ue expressed the view that the W.A.C. Bennett Dam had contributed to some of the changes in the area, and BC Hydro agreed to provide Deninu K'ue with the contact information of its Aboriginal Relations and Negotiations department which dealt with historical grievances. The parties agreed to conduct further discussions on the collection of traditional knowledge data to be incorporated into the EIS.

On September 17, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue in follow up to the meeting of August 28, 2012. BC Hydro clarified that it was prepared to consider a proposal for a traditional knowledge study, but requested more details about the scope, budget and timeline for the study, and how the study would inform the environmental assessment for the Project. BC Hydro suggested that there might be sufficient funding in the current consultation agreement for the study to be carried out, rather than entering into a new agreement.

On September 21, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue advising that the EIS Guidelines had been issued by the CEA Agency and the BCEAO on September 7, and provided a link to where the document was available online. The letter highlighted the areas of the EIS Guidelines that specifically addressed the incorporation of information from Aboriginal groups. The letter requested any additional information such as mapping of traditional territories, traditional knowledge, concerns regarding potential for adverse effects on the various components of the environment as identified by Deninu K'ue, current land use information, including reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources, current use of lands and resources for hunting, fishing and trapping, and current use of lands and resources for activities other than hunting, fishing and trapping. The letter advised that BC Hydro would like to continue to receive information with respect to any asserted or

established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights of the community that may be adversely affected by the Project, and in particular information concerning hunting, fishing, and trapping. The letter expressed interest in understanding how the environment was valued by the community for current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes, including activities conducted in the exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights, and how current use may be affected by the Project. The letter invited Deninu K'ue to continue to identify any interests the community may have had with respect to potential social, economic, health and physical and cultural heritage effects of the Project.

On September 25, 2012, BC Hydro had a telephone conversation with Deninu K'ue's consultant regarding BC Hydro's letter of September 21, 2012. The consultant indicated the letter had raised a number of issues for Deninu K'ue, including historical grievances related to the W.A.C. Bennett Dam and the need for funding to complete a TLUS, and advised that she intended to send a proposal to BC Hydro respecting the issues. BC Hydro explained that the Site C team was not responsible for dealing with historical grievances, and that BC Hydro was not prepared to support a full TLUS for Deninu K'ue given its assessment that downstream changes would be minimal in the vicinity of Deninu K'ue. The consultant explained that she had been carrying out interviews with trappers with trap lines on the Slave River. BC Hydro expressed interested in receiving traditional use information from the trapper survey, and proposed an amount of funding to support the provision of that information to BC Hydro.

On October 5, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email notification of invitation to Deninu K'ue for the upcoming Site C Business Information Sessions, to be held in November 2012. BC Hydro attached information about the session time and location for various destinations around British Columbia, and advised that the notice would be posted on its secured file transfer website. A detailed invitation and registration link was provided by BC Hydro on October 16, 2012.

On October 9, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue and provided a new link to the secured file transfer website for Aboriginal groups.

On October 24, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue advising that BC Hydro had updated the Project footprint map for Site C. The letter noted that in April 2012, BC Hydro had provided Deninu K'ue with the GIS shape file data and/or a PDF map of the Project footprint. The letter advised that the information had since been updated and provided a link to a secured file transfer website containing the updated map of the Project footprint, and associated shape files. The letter also attached a memorandum outlining the specifics of the new and amended information, which included a reduction in the area of the proposed Site C dam site from 3907 hectares (April 2012) to 2025 hectares (October 2012).

On October 25, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue in follow up to BC Hydro's letter of September 21, 2012, which had invited Deninu K'ue to provide any relevant information for consideration in preparing the EIS. The letter advised that BC Hydro remained interested in receiving information from Deninu K'ue to support the preparation of the EIS.

On November 1, 2012, Deninu K'ue's legal counsel sent a letter to BC Hydro, in response to BC Hydro's letters of September 21, 2012 and October 25, 2012. The letter enclosed a map of Deninu K'ue's traditional territory, and explained that the northern banks of the Peace River and the entirety of the Slave River Watershed were of central concern to Deninu K'ue, as those areas had been used for hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering and cultural practices since time immemorial. With respect to the Potential Downstream Changes Report, the letter expressed concern about a number of assumptions and gaps in the report, and advised that Deninu K'ue was currently seeking proposals from qualified experts to undertake a detailed review of the report, as contemplated under the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*. The letter described a lack of consensus with respect to the scope and reach of downstream changes associated with the Project, and suggested that the extent of downstream changes would need to be assessed, rather than pre-determined in advance of an assessment by a single report commissioned by BC Hydro. The letter emphasized the importance of considering information associated with Deninu K'ue's traditional use and exercise of rights in the Northern Peace and Slave River watersheds in the EIS. The letter asserted that baseline information, including traditional knowledge, would be essential to a proper cumulative effects assessment of the Project, and that the baseline used for the assessment should include both a pre- and post-W.A.C. Bennett Dam case. The letter stated that the membership was experiencing impacts from the W.A.C. Bennett Dam on their traditional use and exercise of rights, and identified a number of examples. The letter suggested that the identified impacts, as experienced by Deninu K'ue water and land users, showed how changes to the Peace River flow regime caused downstream effects in the Slave River system. The letter indicated that Deninu K'ue was willing to work with BC Hydro to provide the information identified in BC Hydro's letter of September 21, 2012, but remained concerned that the information would not be considered by BC Hydro based on the current spatial boundaries identified in the EIS Guidelines. The letter enclosed a study plan and budget intended to enable Deninu K'ue to respond to the information requests in BC Hydro's letter. The study plan proposed that Deninu K'ue would prepare an Ethno-Historical Impact Report, a Treaty 8 Intent Report, and a Traditional Knowledge and Use Report, to be compiled into one final report and submitted to BC Hydro by March 31, 2013.

On November 15, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue which sought to address potential gaps in the information exchange between the parties. The letter requested that

Deninu K'ue notify BC Hydro of instances where information requested in meetings or consultations to date had not been provided, and committed to following up on outstanding information requests as soon as possible.

SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A05 PART 2(A)

UPDATED BC HYDRO CONSULTATION SUMMARY: DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:

BC Hydro Power and Authority

<contact information removed>

Prepared by:

Site C First Nations Engagement Team

<contact information removed>

July 2013

Volume 5 Appendix A, Part 2, provides a summary of consultation activities undertaken by BC Hydro with each of the 29 Aboriginal groups listed in Table 9.1 of the EIS, as required pursuant to section 7.2.1 of the EIS Guidelines. This summary describes consultation activities that took place between November 27, 2012 and May 31, 2013, including meetings, phone calls, letters and emails.

Volume 5, Appendix A, Part 2 is an update of the summary of consultation activities filed with the EIS on January 25, 2013.

DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

CONSULTATION SUMMARY

Defined Terms	
"BCEAO"	Environmental Assessment Office, Province of British Columbia
"CEA Agency"	Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency
"Deninu K'ue"	Deninu K'ue First Nation
"EIS"	Environmental Impact Statement
"JFK Law"	Janes Freedman Kyle Law Corporation, legal counsel for Deninu K'ue First Nation
"Kerr Wood Leidal"	Kerr Wood Leidel Associates Ltd., consultant for Deninu K'ue First Nation
"LGL"	LGL Limited – Environmental Research Associates, consultant for Deninu K'ue First Nation
"Potential Downstream Changes Report"	Site C Clean Energy Project, *Potential Downstream Changes* (BC Hydro, May 2012)
"Site C" or "the Project"	The proposed Site C Clean Energy Project
"Stage 3 Consultation Agreement"	Site C Clean Energy Project Stage 3 Consultation Agreement between Deninu K'ue First Nation and BC Hydro, dated November 16, 2011

Chronology of events

2012

On November 27, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to JFK Law, legal counsel for Deninu K'ue, in response to Deninu K'ue's letter dated November 1, 2012. BC Hydro noted that Deninu K'ue had inquired about the relationship between the spatial boundaries described in the EIS Guidelines for the Wildlife Resources, Fish and Fish Habitat, and Vegetation and Ecological Communities Valued Components, and the information in the Potential Downstream Changes Report. BC Hydro advised that the results of the physical environment studies on hydrology were made available to the consultants working in all disciplines for the effects assessments in the EIS, and that the spatial boundaries for the Valued Components were developed taking into account the results of these studies. BC Hydro further noted that the downstream limits of the Local Assessment Areas were set at a point where the changes in the river had diminished to the point where the change could not have an impact on the Valued Component. BC Hydro explained that it remained interested in hearing the views of Deninu K'ue with respect to the potential downstream changes that may result from the Project. BC Hydro suggested that a review of the Technical Data Reports to be appended to the EIS would now be more appropriate as the information contained in those reports would be far more detailed than what was summarized in the Potential Downstream Changes Report. BC Hydro acknowledged the concerns raised by Deninu K'ue community members with respect to their experience of impacts attributed to the W.A.C. Bennett dam, and advised that a copy of Deninu K'ue's letter dated November 1, 2012, had been provided to a group within BC Hydro's Aboriginal Relations and Negotiations department tasked with managing issues related to historical grievances. BC Hydro provided contact information for BC Hydro's Director of Aboriginal Relations and Negotiations. With respect to Deninu K'ue's proposed work plan to gather information related to Deninu K'ue's use and occupation of the Slave River and Slave River watershed, BC Hydro advised that it was prepared to offer funding which could be provided as a Defined Consultation Project pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.* BC Hydro thanked Deninu K'ue for providing the traditional territory map and for identifying the significance of the Slave River watershed to Deninu K'ue. BC Hydro noted that the traditional territory map would be included in the EIS.

On December 10, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue attaching a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*.

On December 13, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue, providing a link to the following draft EIS Technical Data Reports on a secured file transfer website:

- Aquatic Productivity Reports
- Downstream Ice Technical Data Report
- Contaminated Sites Technical Data Report

- Fluvial Geomorphology and Sediment Transport Technical Data Report
- Microclimate Technical Data Report
- Noise Technical Data Report
- Peace River Valley Ungulates Study Program Technical Data Report
- Water Quality Technical Data Report
- Air Quality Technical Data Report

BC Hydro noted that the reports were in draft form and that edits may be made prior to submission of the EIS.

On December 13, 2012, JFK Law sent a letter to BC Hydro in response to BC Hydro's letter dated November 27, 2012. The letter noted that Deninu K'ue disagreed with the spatial boundaries proposed in the EIS Guidelines and advised that it had concerns with the approach taken in the Potential Downstream Changes Report. The letter stated that it was imperative that that Deninu K'ue be able to retain a qualified independent expert to review the Potential Downstream Change Report, as the report was of foundational significance in the scoping of the environmental assessment to date. The letter attached a proposal and budget to retain a consultant to review the Potential Downstream Changes Report, and proposed that the work be funded pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.* In addition, the letter stated that the funding offered by BC Hydro for Deninu K'ue proposed study of use and occupation was not sufficient. The letter suggested that a meeting or teleconference would be most efficient for the purpose of reaching an agreement on a work plan and budget for the study.

On December 21, 2012, BC Hydro met with JFK Law by teleconference to discuss Deninu K'ue's funding proposals for the review of the Potential Downstream Changes Report, and the use and occupation study, as set out in the letter dated December 13, 2012. BC Hydro suggested that it no longer made sense to focus on the Potential Downstream Changes Report as Deninu K'ue could now have access to the Technical Data Reports which would be appended to the EIS. BC Hydro explained that the Technical Data Reports would provide Deninu K'ue's consultant with access to the actual data used in the assessment. JFK Law agreed that the review should include the Technical Data Reports and committed to submitting an amended funding proposal. With respect to Deninu K'ue's funding proposal for a use and occupancy study, BC Hydro indicated that it was not prepared to agree to the budget proposed in JFK Law's letter of December 13, 2012, but offered to provide funding for a desktop exercise where existing studies would be summarized. JFK Law noted that very little information existed regarding current use in the area of the Slave River watershed and requested funding for interviews with 8-10 trappers. The parties discussed the elements of such a study and came to an agreement on a funding amount. BC Hydro confirmed that the results of the study would be included in the final EIS which would be submitted in July or August, 2013. The parties agreed to discuss future meeting dates in January 2013.

On December 21, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to JFK Law providing a link to the following three reports that had been posted to a secured file transfer website: (1) Fluvial Geomorphology and Sediment Transport Technical Data Report; (2) Climate Change Summary Report; and (3) Surface Water Regime Technical Memos. BC Hydro noted that the reports were in addition to those posted on December 13, 2012. BC Hydro suggested that Deninu K'ue's consultant also review the Downstream Ice Regime Technical Data Report, and perhaps the Reservoir Temperature and Ice Regime Technical Data Reports.

2013

On January 10, 2013, JFK Law sent a letter to BC Hydro confirming the agreements between BC Hydro and Deninu K'ue with respect to BC Hydro's funding of: (1) an overview traditional use study of the Slave River watershed; and (2) a review by LGL/Kerr Wood Leidel of the Potential Downstream Changes Report, as well as the associated draft Technical Data Reports. The letter noted that traditional use study would be an "overview" rather than a detailed study, and would be based on interview with 8-10 Deninu K'ue members who were known as traditional land users of the Slave River watershed. The letter noted that interviewees would be selected from a larger group of lands users based on availability and, wherever possible, based on their relative intensity and time depth of land use. The letter suggested that BC Hydro meet with Deninu K'ue's Chief and Council in Fort Resolution in order for Deninu K'ue to learn more about the development of the draft EIS and to provide BC Hydro with input into the same.

On January 28, 2013, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue, advising that it had submitted the EIS to the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. The letter explained that the EIS described the rationale for the Project, identified potential effects and benefits, proposed measures to avoid or mitigate effects and met other information requirements set out in the EIS Guidelines. The letter included links to CEA Agency and the BCEAO's websites containing the complete EIS. In accordance with Section 20.8 of the EIS Guidelines, BC Hydro also attached an Aboriginal Summary, presenting its understanding of asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights, and other Aboriginal interests potentially impacted by, and concerns with respect to, the Project. This summary also provided BC Hydro's understanding of the potential adverse effects of the Project on those asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights and interests.

On January 28, 2013, BC Hydro sent an email to Deninu K'ue attaching a draft Letter of Understanding which outlined the parties' agreement with respect to funding, deliverables and timelines for two Defined Consultation Projects to be completed pursuant to section 9.2 of the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*. These included: (1) an Overview Traditional Land Use Study to be prepared by Vanden Berg & Associates; and (2) a review of technical information respecting the potential downstream changes resulting from the Project, to be prepared by LGL/Kerr Wood Leidel. The letter set out the terms of the agreement with respect to funding, deliverables and timelines for the

two Defined Consultation Projects, and requested that Deninu K'ue indicate its acceptance of the terms by signing and returning the Letter of Understanding.

On February 4, 2013, Deninu K'ue provided BC Hydro with a written report summarizing its activities pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement* from October to December, 2012.

On February 12, 2013, Deninu K'ue sent an email to BC Hydro, attaching the signed Letter of Understanding dated January 28, 2013.

On February 14, 2013, Deninu K'ue sent an email to BC Hydro, attaching the quarterly financial report for October 1, 2012 to December 31, 2012 pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*.

On February 22, 2013, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue attaching a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Letter of Understanding dated January 28, 2013.

On March 1, 2013, JFK Law sent an email to BC Hydro attaching the document titled "Report Review – Site C Clean Energy Project, Potential Downstream Changes", prepared by Kerr Wood Leidal, further to the Letter of Understanding dated January 28, 2013. The email also attached a cover letter, prepared by LGL, summarizing the key findings of Kerr Wood Leidal's report. In the cover letter, LGL stated that in general the information presented in the reports reviewed by Kerr Wood Leidal was "adequate for a project of the magnitude of the Site C Project" and that "the approaches and methods were of a standard to be expected for these types of analyses". LGL stated that the most significant information gap was the absence of a justification for the downstream extent of the studies at Peace Point. LGL also identified an information gap related to the development of models used to simulate downstream flow with and without the Project. LGL noted that no information was provided on changes to downstream flows during construction and reservoir filling, apart from stating that flows would always exceed the existing Peace Canyon minimum licensed flows. (This document is also posted on the CEA Agency website, document number 1439).

On March 15, 2013, JFK Law sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a report titled "DKFN Ethno-history Report: Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use", prepared by Vanden Berg & Associates, dated March 11, 2013. The report was submitted pursuant to the Letter of Understanding dated January 28, 2013. The report contained a section titled "Historic Use and Occupation of the Slave River Region" which examined historical documents dating to the time of contact between Europeans and Chipewyans in the Slave River region, and a section titled "To the Present through Interviews" which presented the results of interviews with Deninu K'ue members regarding their modern-day hunting, trapping, and fishing practices in the Slave River region.

On March 26, 2013, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue attaching a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Letter of Understanding dated January 28, 2013.

On March 27, 2013, Deninu K'ue provided BC Hydro with a written report summarizing its activities pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement* from January to March, 2013.

On April 14, 2013, Deninu K'ue sent a letter to the CEA Agency and the BCEAO (cc: BC Hydro), attaching its comments on the draft EIS. (This letter is also posted on the CEA Agency website, document number 1398).

On May 9, 2013, BC Hydro met with representatives of Deninu K'ue (Chief and Council, Interim Measures Coordinator, JFK Law) and eight elders to provide a Project update and a presentation on the potential downstream changes of the Project. The parties discussed BC Hydro's consideration of Deninu K'ue's Ethno-history report in the forthcoming submission to the CEA Agency and the BCEAO, and BC Hydro's consideration of Deninu K'ue's information requests respecting the EIS. JFK Law stated that Deninu K'ue's main concern was that BC Hydro had not studied the downstream effects past Peace Point and therefore the EIS did not consider the potential effects of the Project on the Slave River Delta or the Peace Athabasca Delta. BC Hydro noted that it had responded to each issue raised in Deninu K'ue's information requests, and noted that BC Hydro's views were set out in technical memos on the Peace Athabasca Delta, Spatial Boundary Selection, and Cumulative Effects Assessment. BC Hydro's Senior Engineer and Hydrology Expert reviewed the findings in the EIS with respect to potential downstream changes, including the expected changes in the surface water regime, the ice regime, and geomorphology and sediment transport. BC Hydro explained that changes to flow and water levels would largely stop at the Town of Peace River, upstream of Peace Point. BC Hydro further explained that there would be no noticeable change in the ice regime at Carcajou, upstream of the Peace Athabasca Delta, and that no changes to geomorphology were expected due to the small changes in the flow regime expected with the Project. BC Hydro also noted that the Site C reservoir would act as a sediment "sink" due to the slower moving water in the reservoir compared to current conditions. Deninu K'ue (Chief) asked whether Deninu K'ue could undertake its own study of downstream conditions past Peace Point. BC Hydro advised that the results of the EIS showed that the effects of the Project on the surface water regime did not extend past Peace Point, and that the information was reflected in BC Hydro's responses to the information requests recently submitted by Deninu K'ue. The parties discussed concerns from the Deninu K'ue community regarding historic issues related to diminished water levels in the Slave River watershed, which some elders attributed to the W.A.C. Bennett Dam. BC Hydro recommended that Deninu K'ue contact BC Hydro's Aboriginal Relations and Negotiations department responsible for dealing with historical grievances related to existing BC Hydro projects. An elder requested assistance from BC Hydro to enable elders from Deninu K'ue and other communities along the Peace River to attend the Technical Advisory Working Group meeting in Peace River, Alberta.

BC Hydro noted that funding was available to Deninu K'ue pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement,* and suggested that Deninu K'ue consider whether that funding would be sufficient to attend the meeting in June.

On May 24, 2013, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue attaching a capacity funding cheque to support elders' attendance at the Technical Advisory Working Group meeting to be held on June 6, 2013 in Peace River, Alberta.

On May 24, 2013, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue, advising that it had submitted an Aboriginal Group Supplementary Report for the Project to the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. The letter explained that BC Hydro had received additional traditional land use or community baseline information from five Aboriginal groups that was not received in time to be included in the January 25, 2013 EIS submission. BC Hydro advised that the information had been reviewed and incorporated into its baseline information and effects assessments, and that it had been provided to the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. BC Hydro attached the following reports: the Deninu K'ue Traditional Land Use Baseline and Assessment Amendment Report, and the Revised Aboriginal Summary; and extended an offer to meet.

On May 29, 2013, JFK Law sent a letter to the CEA Agency and the BCEAO attaching Deninu K'ue's comments on BC Hydro's responses to the comments provided by Deninu K'ue on the draft EIS. (This letter is also posted on the CEA Agency website, document number 1431).

On May 30, 2013, BC Hydro sent a letter to Deninu K'ue in response to Kerr Wood Leidel's report titled "Report Review – Site C Clean Energy Project, Potential Downstream Changes", submitted to BC Hydro on March 1, 2013. The letter advised that while Deninu K'ue's hydrology consultant had reviewed near-final reports with respect to the analysis and predicted influence of the Project on surface water regime, thermal and ice regime, fluvial geomorphology and sediment transport, and the influence of climate change on stream flow in the Peace River basin, final versions of these reports had been included in the EIS submitted in January 2013. BC Hydro advised that it had reviewed Kerr Wood Leidel's report in light of the requirements set out in the EIS Guidelines, and that the letter provided minor clarifications on four topics raised in the report. The letter clarified the assumptions used in the electrical load conditions in the Site C Operations Study, the reasons why increased flow fluctuations were predicted downstream of the Site C dam, the approaches to characterizing expected water levels in the Site C reservoir, and the rationale for the downstream study boundaries. The letter attached copies of the technical memos on the Peace Athabasca Delta and Spatial Boundary Selection. The letter also included information on the calibration of the models used in the downstream flow analysis, and the changes to downstream flows during construction and reservoir filling, providing the locations in the EIS where this information could be found. (This letter is also posted on the CEA Agency website, document number 1471).

SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A05 PART 3

REVISED ABORIGINAL LAND AND RESOURCE USE SUMMARY: DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:

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Prepared by:

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April 2013

Deninu K'ue First Nation (DKFN)

In preparing responses to these questions, information on the Deninu K'ue First Nation (DKFN) and on current and past use of lands and resources by DKFN was obtained from on-line research and from an Ethnohistory Report submitted by DKFN in March 2013.[1] BC Hydro did not enter into a Traditional Land Use Study agreement with DKFN.

Chipewyan and Yellowknife ancestors of the Deninu K'ue adhered to Treaty 8 on July 26, 1900 at Fort Resolution (Deninu K'ue).[2] DKFN territory includes the area around Great Slave Lake east from the Yellowknife River on the north side of Great Slave Lake, then west along the south shore of the lake to Rocher/Taltson River, Slave River, Little Buffalo River, and Big Buffalo River in the Northwest Territories. DKFN assert that they have used and occupied this region prior to contact and continue to do so up to today.[3] In December 2012, the registered population of the DKFN was 878.[4] The major community is at Deninu K'ue (Fort Resolution), NWT.

DKFN is a member of the Akaitcho First Nations (AFN). The asserted territory of the AFN encompasses 480,000 square kilometres in southern Northwest Territories and a small area in northeastern Alberta (Figure 1).[5] Four members of the AFN, including DKFN, are negotiating a Treaty 8 Northwest Territories Settlement Agreement with Canada and the Government of the Northwest Territories.[6]

1. **What is the DKFN's current use of lands and resources for hunting, fishing and trapping activities, including the location of the activity, the species targeted, and the traditional uses of the harvested animals within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs?**

   The DKFN use the region of the Slave River and surrounding area in the Northwest Territories for hunting, trapping, fishing and transportation. The Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs are distant from the traditional territory of the DKFN in the southern part of the Northwest Territories. No specific information was identified that described or documented current use by the DKFN of lands and resources within

[1] The sources consulted for this study are set out in the References.
[2] Vanden Berg and Associates (2013). DKFN Ethno-History Report: Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use. Report prepared for DKFN and submitted March 11, 2013: 6.
[3] Vanden Berg and Associates 2013: 6; maps 6 to 17.
[4] AANDC (2012). Website http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNMain.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=762&lang=eng.
[5] Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations, Canada and Government of NWT (2001). Interim Measures Agreement, 26 June 2001.
[6] Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations, Canada and Government of NWT (2000). Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations Framework Agreement. 25 July 2000.

the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs for hunting, fishing or trapping activities.

2. **What is the DKFN's current use of lands and resources for activities other than hunting, fishing and trapping, including the nature, location and traditional use purpose within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs?**

   The Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs are distant from the traditional territory of the DKFN. No specific information was identified that described or documented current use by the DKFN of lands and resources within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs for other traditional activities.

3. **What is your understanding of the exercise of asserted Aboriginal rights or treaty rights by the DKFN within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs?**

   The DKFN assert that their treaty rights include the right to hunt, fish, trap and gather to sustain their livelihood in their traditional territory.[7]

   No information was identified relating to the exercise of asserted Aboriginal rights or treaty rights by the DKFN within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs.

4. **Identify past, current and reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources by DKFN members for traditional purposes who may be adversely impacted by the Project within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs.**

   The Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs are distant from the traditional territory of the DKFN in southern Northwest Territories. No past or current use of lands and resources by DKFN members within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and

[7] Deninu K'ue First Nation (nd). Presentation for Scoping Session for the Proposed Taltson River Expansion. Mackenzie Valley Review Environmental Board.

Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs has been identified, nor has any information been identified relating to reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs by DKFN members.

DKFN assert that the Site C project will impact their continued use of the Slave River region for transportation, hunting, trapping, and fishing.[8]

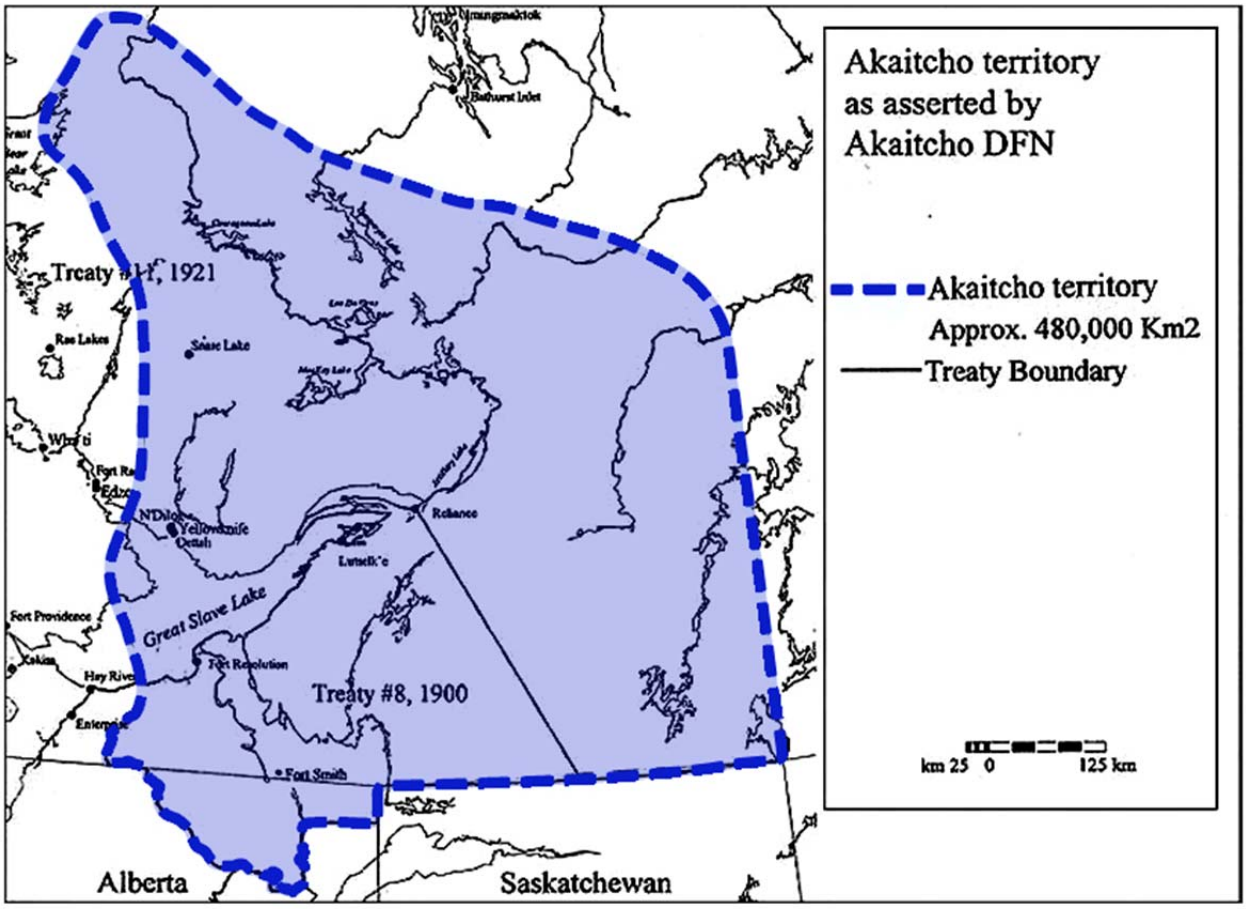
5. In the TLUS, is there any information relating to the exercise of asserted Aboriginal or treaty rights outside the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs?

BC Hydro did not enter into a Traditional Land Use Study agreement with DKFN. DKFN did undertake an Ethnohistory study of DKFN land and resources use which they provided to BC Hydro in March 2013.

The traditional territory of the DKFN includes the area of Treaty 8 located in the southern part of the Northwest Territories. In a recent DKFN study, he Slave River region is documented as the major area where DKFN ancestors exercised and DKFN members continue to exercise their asserted Aboriginal or treaty rights.[9]

[8] Vanden Berg and Associates 2013: 5.
[9] Vanden Berg and Associates (2013). DKFN Ethno-History Report: Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use. Report prepared for DKFN and submitted March 11, 2013.

Figure 1: Map of the Asserted Territory of the Akaitcho Territory First Nations, including the Deninu Kue First Nation (Akaitcho DFN, Canada and Government of NWT (2001). Appendix E. Akaitcho Boundary and Interim Measures Agreement, 28 June 2001).



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Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations, Canada and Government of NWT (2001). Akaitcho Boundary and Interim Measures Agreement, 28 June 2001. http://www.yellowknife.ca/Assets/City+Clerks/Forms+And+Publications/Giant+Mine+Lease+Area+Land+and+Water+Use+Plan+-+Appendix+E.pdf.

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Deninu K'ue First Nation (2012). Presentation for the Public Hearings regarding the DeBeers Canada Gahcho Kue Diamond Mine Proposal. Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board, December 3-7, 2012. http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EIR0607-001_DKFN_Presentation.PDF.

Vanden Berg and Associates (2013). DKFN Ethno-History Report: Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use. Report prepared for DKFN and submitted March 11, 2013.

SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A05 PART 4

REVISED ABORIGINAL SUMMARY:

DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:

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May 2013

Deninu K'ue First Nation

As required by Section 20.8 of the EIS Guidelines, the following summary presents BC Hydro's understanding of Deninu K'ue First Nation's asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights, and other Aboriginal interests potentially impacted by, and concerns with respect to, the Project. The summary also provides BC Hydro's understanding of the potential adverse effects of the Project on the treaty rights and interests of Deninu K'ue First Nation.

Deninu K'ue First Nation's Treaty Rights

Section 35(1) of the Constitution recognized and affirmed treaty rights of Aboriginal groups. Treaty 8 was entered into in 1899 and guarantees the First Nation signatories the "right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered" subject to two limitations: (i) "such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country," and (ii) "saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes."

The following Aboriginal groups listed in Table 34.1 of Volume 5 Section 34 Asserted or Established Aboriginal Rights and Treaty Rights, Aboriginal Interests and Information Requirements are signatories or adherents to Treaty 8: Blueberry River First Nations, Fort Nelson First Nation, McLeod Lake Indian Band, Saulteau First Nations, Doig River First Nation, Halfway River First Nation, Prophet River First Nation, West Moberly First Nations, Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation, Beaver First Nation, Dene Tha' First Nation, Duncan's First Nation, Horse Lake First Nation, Little Red River Cree Nation, Mikisew Cree First Nation, Smith's Landing First Nation, Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation, Tallcree First Nation, Woodland Cree First Nation, Deninu K'ue First Nation, and Salt River First Nation.

For a more thorough discussion of rights under Treaty 8, see Section 34.3.2.1 of Volume 5 Section 34 Asserted or Established Aboriginal Rights and Treaty Rights, Aboriginal Interests and Information Requirements.

Deninu K'ue First Nation's Concerns with Respect to the Project

The following table presents a high-level description of the concerns identified by Deninu K'ue First Nation in consultation activities with BC Hydro between November 1, 2007 and November 30, 2012, including those identified in meetings, phone calls, letters, emails, and any submissions made during the comment periods for the EIS Guidelines. The following table also includes new issues raised in the DKFN Ethno-History Report, Site C Dam and Traditional Lade Use (prepared by Vanden Berg and Associates, March 11, 2013).

1

Alternatives to the Project
Interest in BC Hydro's consideration of alternatives to the Project including wind energy, solar energy, nuclear energy, geothermal energy, gas-fired generation, fiber from the mountain pine beetle kill and upgrading existing generation facilities closer to the Lower Mainland.
Cumulative Effects
Concern regarding the Project's potential contribution to the cumulative impacts of development in the region, including pipelines, logging, oil and gas, coal mining and coal bed methane.
Interest in using a pre-development, pre-industrial or pre-W.A.C. Bennett Dam baseline in order to assess the cumulative environmental effects of the Project, and to assess the cumulative implications of the Project on the exercise of section 35(1) rights.
Water – Surface Water Regime
Concern about potential downstream impacts of the Project on water flow and water levels, including in the Peace River, Slave River, McKenzie River, Salt River, Great Slave Lake and the Peace Athabasca Delta.
Interest in extending the scope of the spatial boundaries for downstream studies to ensure that all potential downstream effects, as far as the Peace Athabasca Delta and/or the Great Slave Lake are included in the scope of the effects assessment.
Water - Methylmercury
Concern about mercury accumulation and contamination in fish.
Wildlife Resources
Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on wildlife, wildlife habitat and biodiversity.
Concern about the potential effects of the Project on migratory birds and migratory bird habitat, including warblers, marsh birds, ducks, woodpeckers, red and blue listed neo-tropical migratory birds, Slave River area geese and water fowl.
Concern about the potential effects of the Project on furbearers and habitat for furbearers, including fishers, wolverine, rabbits, muskrats and beaver.
Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes
Concerns about the potential effects of the Project on fishing, including access, water flow, water levels and habitat.
Concerns about the potential effects of the Project on hunting, including access to traditional hunting areas using rivers.
Interest in collecting baseline traditional knowledge. Interest in incorporating traditional knowledge into the environmental assessment.
Land and Resource Use Effects
Concerns about the loss of income from reduced wildlife harvesting opportunities.
Human Health
Concerns related to the contamination of fish and wildlife resulting in a lack of faith in country foods. Perception of health risk related to methylmercury in country foods.
Asserted or Established Aboriginal Rights

Concern that BC Hydro didn't agree to fund a Traditional Land Use Study or Traditional Ecological Knowledge Study for some Aboriginal groups located downstream of the Project.
Treaty Rights (Hunting, Fishing and Trapping)
Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on Treaty 8 rights.
Aboriginal Interests – Existing Hydroelectric Projects on the Peace River
Assertion that the W.A.C. Bennett and Peace Canyon dams impacted and/or continue to impact the Treaty 8 First Nations downstream, including on the Peace River, Slave River, the Peace Athabasca Delta and the Slave River Delta, including their ability to exercise section 35(1) rights.

These concerns are presented in an issues tracking table under Volume 1 Appendix H Aboriginal Information, Distribution and Consultation Supporting Documentation, which outlines BC Hydro's consideration and/or response to the concern or provides a reference to where the concern is considered or responded to in the EIS.

Potential Adverse Effects of the Project on Deninu K'ue First Nation's Treaty Rights

Based on the review and consideration of additional baseline information provided in the DKFN Ethno-History Report, Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use (prepared by Vanden Berg and Associates, March 11, 2013) related to the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes by the Deninu K'ue First Nation, the effects assessment conducted on the Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes VC as described in Sections 19.4 and 19.5 of the EIS does not change.

Based on the review and consideration of baseline conditions related to the current use of lands and resources VC provided in the DKFN Ethno-History Report, the baseline and effects assessment described in EIS Section 19, and BC Hydro's understanding of established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights set out in Section 34.3, no changes are required to the assessment of potential impacts on the exercise of treaty rights for Deninu K'ue First Nation, as described in Sections 34.3.3 of the EIS.

DENINU K’UE FIRST NATION

DKFN ETHNO-HISTORY REPORT: SITE C DAM AND TRADITIONAL LAND USE

May 24, 2013 Aboriginal Group Amendment Report

DKFN ETHNO-HISTORY REPORT

Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use

Rocky and Tori Lafferty with a Buffalo on the Slave River

Prepared by Vanden Berg & Associates

March 11, 2013

Table of Contents

Introduction 5
Section I: Historic Use and Occupation of the Slave River Region 9
The Study Area 9
1770 – 1779 12
1780 – 1789 16
1790 – 1799 20
1800 – 1809 25
1810 – 1819 29
1820 – 1829 31
1830 – 1839 42
1840 – 1859 50
1860 – 1869 50
1870 – 1879 52
1880 – 1889 52
1890 – 1899 54
1900 – 1909 63
1910 – 1919 66
1920 – 1929 72
1930 – 1939 87
1940 – 1949 92
1950 – 1959 95
The Impacts of the W. A. C. Bennett Dam on the Slave River 98
1960 – 1969 99
1970 – 1979 108
Conclusion 111
Section II: To the Present through Interviews 113
Oral Histories 114
Hunting 119
Trapping 136
Fishing 151
The Impacts of Mines, Dams, and Industry in the Slave River Region 157
Report Summary 169

Report Conclusion **171**
Bibliography **173**

Introduction

The following report was prepared by Vanden Berg and Associates for the Deninu K'ue First Nation in response to the proposed Site C Clean Energy Project (Site C) on the Peace River. This proposed dam and hydroelectric generating station in northeast British Columbia would be the third dam on the Peace River system and a successor to both the W. A. C. Bennett Dam and the Peace Canyon Dam. Given that "the hydrological regime of the Slave River is affected by one of the world's largest reservoirs [Williston Reservoir], located more than 1200 km upstream on the Peace River, its main tributary" (Culp *et al.* 2005:824), the Site C project will impact the Deninu K'ue First Nation in their continued use of the Slave River region for transportation, hunting, trapping, and fishing.

The Slave River is formed by the confluence of the Peace River and the Rivière des Rochers, an outflow from Lake Athabasca, and flows north approximately 420 km to the Great Slave Lake. For the final 200 km, before emptying into Great Slave Lake, the Slave River "meanders through the active portions of the massive Slave River Delta, which is 8300km^2 in area and up to 70km wide" (Culp *et al.* 2005:819).

Historically, the Slave River has served as an important transportation route for Chipewyan Indians, European explores, missionaries, and fur traders. The Deninu K'ue First Nation continue to use the Slave River and surrounding territory as an essential transportation route, as well as an important area for hunting, trapping, and fishing. While most of the river is considered to be easily navigable during the summer months, formidable rapids spanning approximately 2.5 km are located between Fort Fitzgerald and Fort Smith (Culp *et al.* 2005:819). Additional sets of rapids are also located further north along the Slave River. These rapids necessitated the creation and use of portages, such as that at Grand Detour, for the transportation of goods on the Slave River. Travellers, including Peter Fidler, George Back, Peter Baker, Frank Russell, Warburton Pike and the Chipewyans also utilized alternate routes to avoid these rapids, such as Little Buffalo River, Taltson River and Rat River.

Plate 1: Slave River Delta (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 1975).

The Deninu K'ue First Nation (DKFN) is located at Fort Resolution, in the Northwest Territories, by the mouth of the Slave River. The DKFN are descendants of Chipewyan and Yellowknife people who were signatories to the 4th Treaty 8 Adhesion signed at Fort Resolution on July 26, 1900. They have used and occupied the area around Great Slave Lake east from the Yellowknife River on the north side of the lake, then west along the south shore to Rocher/Taltson River, Slave River, Little Buffalo River, and Big Buffalo River. They have used and occupied this region prior to and post contact.

The North West Company (NWC) established Fort Resolution as a trading post in 1806 (although Usher (1971) has cited 1786 as the year this fort was established) (Keith, ed. 2001:166 n. 4). Post contact the Chipewyans, and a Chipewyan sub-group, the Yellowknives, began trading with the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). They hunted and trapped beaver, muskrat (often referred to as rats), marten, bear, fox, goose, mink, moose, woodland caribou, lynx, wolf, wolverine, and hare. Over the course of the next two centuries a

prodigious quantity of furs and meat was brought in to the fort and traded for European goods and supplies

In the course of our research, we have accessed documentation from a variety of sources including the journals of the various explorers who visited the region, Hudson's Bay Company records, St. Joseph's Mission records, federal government records including of course Indian Affairs records, and ethnographies and journal articles of the anthropologists who have studied the region. More importantly, we conducted interviews with hunters, trappers and fishers who use the Slave River and its Delta and tributaries.

Section I: Historic Use and Occupation of the Slave River Region

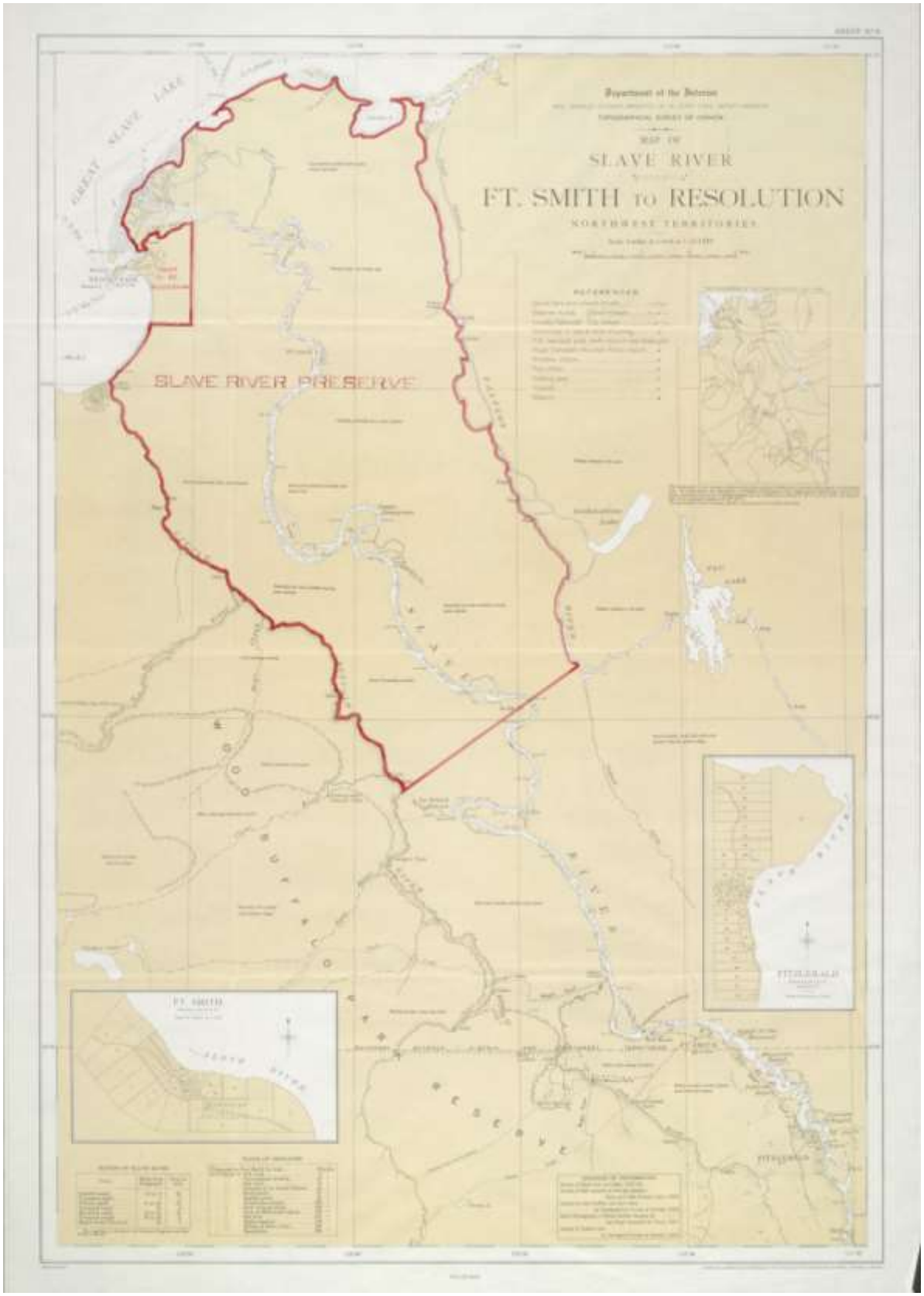
We have divided up the years spanned in this section of the report by decade in order to make the content more digestible. For instance, the information derived from David M. Smith's 1975 dissertation pertaining to his dissertation research in Fort Resolution is used in the section "1970 – 1979." There are exceptions to our rule. For example, Hearne, the first European explorer in the area, travelled through the Great Slave Lake and Slave River region between 1769 and 1772. In this case we placed the information in the decade that it was recorded in. However, if it made more sense to place a 1769 quote into the "1770 – 1779" decade for the sake of continuity, we have done that.

What follows is the documentary trail pertaining to the use and occupation of the Slave River region by the Chipewyans, and the Chipewyan sub-group, the Yellowknives, between 1769 and 1975. The period between 1975 and today will be dealt with in Section II: To the Present through Interviews.

The Study Area

We have selected to document the area which had been the subject of the 1926 Preserve (see Map 1) set aside for the First Nation people of the area due to the over-hunting and over-trapping by non-native hunters and trappers. This area is bounded by the Taltson River on the east and the Little Buffalo River on the west. It runs from the southern shore of Great Slave Lake, south up the Slave River from the delta at Great Slave Lake to Lake Athabasca. The Taltson River lies to the east of the Slave River and the Little Buffalo River to the west.

Map 1: Map of Slave River: Ft. Smith to Resolution (Department of the Interior 1928).



There is a much-travelled portage between the Slave and Little Buffalo Rivers used by the Chipewyans both prior to and post contact to today as the mouth of the Little Buffalo River was a preferred location for setting up camp—camps which were both temporary and permanent in nature. A trapper could bring their furs to those camps then on to Fort Resolution just across the bay. Below is a map (Map 2) created on Google Earth, depicting the area under discussion.

Map 2: A map of the Slave River region created by the author on Google Earth.

The area delineated above encompasses the Slave River but does not focus upon it. Hunters and trappers from any community do not limit their activities to one watershed, although a particular watershed may be their primary focus. Therefore associated watersheds (to the Slave River watershed) are also discussed in this report in order to provide a context that is, to provide an holistic perspective on the use, by members of the Deninu K'ue First Nation, of this portion of their territory.

1770 – 1779

In 1768, Samuel Hearne was commissioned by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to investigate the possibility of a Northwest Passage and to report on the Indian "mining" of copper in the region. The Chipewyans had brought copper from the Coppermine River/Yellowknife River, to trade with the HBC at the Prince of Wales' Fort sparking the interest of the company men stationed there. In 1768, Hearne remarked in his journal that:

> Some Northern Indians [Chipewyans] who came to trade at Prince of Wales's Fort . . . brought farther accounts of the grand river, as it was called, and also several pieces of copper as samples of the produce of the mine near it (Hearne 1795:xxxii).

Between the years 1769 and 1772 Hearne traversed the North eventually reaching the copper "mines" on the Coppermine River and the Arctic Ocean. Hearne's guide during his travels was Matonabbee, a respected Chipewyan chief. With Matonabbee as his guide and a party of "Northern Indians" (Chipewyans) Hearne traversed large areas of what is now the Northwest Territories, including the Great Slave Lake and Slave River region (Hearne 1795:xxxv):

> I was fitted out with everything thought necessary, and with ammunition to serve two years. I was to be accompanied by two of the Company's servants, two of the Home-guard (Southern) Indians, and a sufficient number of Northern Indians to carry and haul my baggage, provide for me, &c. (Hearne 1795:xxxiv-xxxv).

After travelling north through the barren lands east of Great Slave Lake and reaching the Arctic Ocean, Hearne, on his route back from Coronation Gulf and Bloody falls, ventured due south through the transitional forest, across Great Slave Lake and along the Slave River. Upon reaching the south shore of Great Slave Lake sometime between the 9th and 11th of January 1772, Hearne noted an immediate change in the geography:

> Immediately on our arrival on the <u>South side</u> of the Athapuscow Lake [Hearne's name for Great Slave Lake], the scene was agreeably altered, from an entire jumble of rocks and hills, for such is all the land on the North side, to a fine level country, in which there was not a hill to be seen, or a stone to be

> found: so that such of my companions as had not brass kettles, loaded their sledges with stones from some of the last islands, to boil their victuals with in their birch-rind kettles, which will not admit of being exposed to the fire. They therefore heat stones and drop them into the water in the kettle to make it boil.
>
> Buffalo, moose, and beaver were very plentiful; and we could discover, in many parts through which we passed, the tracks of martins, foxes, quiquehatches [wolverine], and other animals of the furr kind: so that they were by no means scarce: but my companions never gave themselves the least trouble to catch any of the three last mentioned animals; for the buffalo, moose, and beaver engaged all their attention; perhaps principally so on account of the excellency of their flesh; whereas the flesh of the fox and quiquehatch are never eaten by those people, except when they are in the greatest distress, and then merely to save life. Their reasons for this shall be given in a subsequent part of my Journal (Hearne 1795:250-251).

Hearne's Northern Indian (Chipewyan) guides, including Matonabbee, were quite familiar with the country. Before reaching the south shore of the lake near the Slave River Delta, the Northern Indian guides collected rocks in order to boil water during the next leg of their journey. During Hearne's trek through the Slave River region he briefly described the buffalo and the Northern Indians' method of processing its meat and skin:

> The buffalo in those parts, I think, are in general much larger than the English black cattle; particularly the bulls, which, though they may not in reality be taller than the largest size of the English oxen, yet to me always appeared to be much larger. In fact, they are so heavy, that when six or eight Indians are in company at the skinning of a large bull, they never attempt to turn it over while entire, but when the upper side is skinned, they cut off the leg and shoulder, rip up the belly, take out all the intestines, cut off the head, and make it as light as possible, before they turn it to skin the under side. The skin is in some places of an incredible thickness, particularly about the neck, where it often exceeds an inch . . .
>
> The hair of the body is soft and curled, somewhat approaching to wool; it is generally of a sandy brown, and of an equal length and thickness all over the body: but on the head and neck it is much longer than it is on any other part.
>
> The Indians, after reducing all the parts of the skin to an equal thickness by scraping, dress them in the hair for clothing; when they are light, soft, warm,

> and durable. They also dress some of those skins into leather without the hair, of which they make tents and shoes; but the grain is remarkably open and spungy, by no means equal in goodness to that of the skin of the moose (Hearne 1795:251-252).

From the buffalo hide the Chipewyans manufactured clothing, tents, and shoes. Buffalo do not range north of Great Slave Lake, as such Hearne's guides would only have had access to them in this region and/or further south. Hearne later described the preparation and use of moose hides by the Chipewyan:

> The skins of the moose, when dressed by the natives, make excellent tent-covers and shoe-leather; and in fact every other part of their clothing. These, like the skins of the buffalo, are of very unequal thickness. Some of the Indian women, who are acquainted with the manufacture of them, will, by means of scraping, render them as even as a piece of thick cloth, and when well dressed they are very soft; but not being dressed in oil, they always grow hard after being wet, unless great care be taken to keep rubbing them all the time they are drying. The same may be said of all the Indian-dressed leather, except that of the wewaskish, which will wash as well as shammoy-leather, and always preserve its softness (Hearne 1795:259).

On the 27th of January 1772, Hearne turned east—at this point travelling between the Slave River and the Taltson River, hunting along the way:

> Accordingly, after having walked upwards of forty miles by the side of Athapuscow River [Hearne's name for the Slave River], on the twenty-seventh of January we struck off to the Eastward and left the River at that part where it begins to tend due South.
>
> In consequence of this determination of the Indians, we continued our course to the Eastward; but as game of all kinds was very plentiful, we made but short days journies [sic], and often remained two or three days in one place, to eat up the spoils or produce of the chace [*sic*]. The woods through which we were to pass were in many places so thick, that it was necessary to cut a path before the women could pass with their sledges; and in other places so much of the woods had formerly been set on fire and burnt, that we were frequently obliged to

> walk farther than we otherwise should have done, before we could find green brush enough to floor our tents (Hearne 1795:270-271).

After travelling east between the 27th of January and February 15th 1772 they reached a "river that empties into Lake Clowey" (Hearne 1795:271). Fuller, a Hearne scholar, identified Lake Clowey as a lake located in the Taltson River system (1999:261-262). From the 15th to the 24th of February, 1772 Hearne and his party travelled east along this "small river" toward Lake Clowey where they encountered "lakes and ponds . . . well-stocked with beaver, and the land abounding with moose and buffalo" (Hearne 1795:272):

> From the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth of February, we walked along a small river that empties itself into the Lake Clowey . . . The little river lately mentioned, as well as the adjacent lakes and ponds, being well-stocked with beaver, and the land abounding with moose and buffalo, we were induced to make but slow progress in our journey. Many days were spent in hunting, feasting, and drying a large quantity of flesh to take with us, particularly that of the buffalo; for my companions knew by experience, that a few days walk to the Eastward of our present situation would bring us to a part where we should not see any of those animals (Hearne 1795:271-273).

On February 24th 1772, Hearne and his party encountered a Northern Indian leader named Thlew-sa-nell-ie. He and his party were travelling through the Slave River region. Whether they met Thlew-sa-nell-ie at Lake Clowey or along the river that runs into it is unclear, but regardless, the meeting took place between the Taltson River and the Slave River:

> On the twenty-fourth, a strange Northern Indian leader, called Thlew-sa-nell-ie, and several of his followers, joined us from the Eastward. This leader presented Matonabbee and myself with a foot of tobacco each, and a two-quart keg of brandy (Hearne 1795:271-273).

As indicated above, Hearne's party was joined by several more Chipewyans from Thlew-sa-nell-ie's party near the Taltson River. Shortly after Hearne and his party left the Slave River region, they travelled east and "proceeded at a much greater rate" (Hearne 1795:273).

1780 – 1789

By the late 1700s the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, in competition with each other, sought to expand their trade boundaries. Both the HBC and the NWC moved into the Great Slave Lake region in or about 1786:

> Following the success of [Peter] Pond, an enterprising group of Montreal traders formed the Northwest Company, which constructed a post near the mouth of the Slave River in 1786. In response to these developments, the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to extend its activities into the interior, and they built a post on Great Slave Lake at about the same time (VanStone 2009:93).

With the establishment of the forts the Chipewyans in the region began trading furs in exchange for European goods (steel implements, flint, etc.) and other items (castoreum[1] and babiche).

During this period of intense competition, each company sent out an explorer to traverse the Slave River region: Alexander Mackenzie for the North West Company between 1789 and 1793 and Peter Fidler for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1791 and 1792 (who will be discussed in the section entitled "1790 – 1799").

Alexander Mackenzie, as a partner in the North West Company, set out to explore the north of Canada in order to both initiate trade with the more northern Indigenous peoples and to discover a route to the "Frozen Ocean". In 1788, one year previous to his journey, he wrote to Roderic Mackenzie (who, at the time, was constructing Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca) stating that he had met the "English Chief," a Chipewyan man who would later accompany him down the Slave River across Great Slave Lake and down the Mackenzie River toward the Arctic Ocean:

> The English Chief[2] arrived here yesterday with seven others you passed in some of the small lakes to the right of the River. He seems pleased at having

[1] "*Castoreum.* A secretion from the scent glands of the female beaver, used to rap beaver by rubbing it on a piece of bait set near the trap. The smell generally proved irresistible to the beaver" (Keith, ed. 2001:452).

> Goods at the Lake and promised to stop all his people from going to Churchill. He tells me he has a Rendezvous with the Red Knives and Slaves near the Fort of Slave Lake. He wishes to go and attend it. I rather prefer he should remain and collect his friends for your Fort, and send two young men in his place to the Rendezvous and conduct the Red Knives to this quarter, in case Mr. Le Roux will come here in the course of the Winter, with some Strangers. The English Chief conveys great hopes of seeing a number of Indians. I hope you have seen some of the Natives by this time. Adieu! (Mackenzie 1788:435).

Mackenzie, as witnessed in the above quote, was able to prevail upon the "English Chief" to persuade his people to trade with the North West Company at Fort Chipewyan in preference of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Churchill. As indicated by the phrase "He seems pleased at having Goods at the Lake and promised to stop all his people from going to Churchill," this shift in trade loyalties has less to do with politics and more to do with convenience (Mackenzie 1788:435). Additionally, the English Chief had plans to meet the Yellow Knives and the Slaves at the Hudson's Bay fort at Great Slave Lake (later to be known as Fort Resolution).

Alexander Mackenzie left the next year for the Arctic Ocean. He embarked from Fort Chipewyan heading down the Slave River toward the Great Slave Lake. In the following quotation Mackenzie lists his companions and crew. Among them is the "English Chief," a Chipewyan who, as seen above, frequented the fort on the south shore of Great Slave Lake:

> June 1789
> *Wednesday, 3.*—We embarked at nine in the morning, at Fort Chepewyan, on the South side of the Lake of the Hills, in latitude 58. 40. North, and longitude 110. 30. West from Greenwich, and compass has sixteen degrees variation East, in a canoe made of birch bark. The crew consisted of four Canadians, two of whom were attended by their wives, and a German; 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. These men were engaged to serve us in the twofold capacity of interpreters and hunters. This chief has been a principal leader of his countrymen who were in the habit of carrying furs to Churchill Factory, Hudson's Bay, and till of late very much attached to the interest of that

[2] "A Chipewyan chief who in 1789 accompanied Mackenzie on his journey down the Mackenzie River" (Lamb 1970:435 n. 3).

> company. These circumstances procured him the appellation of the English Chief (Mackenzie 1801:1-2).

Mackenzie's description of his canoe trip down the Slave River is brief. His three Chipewyan hunters hunted geese, duck, and beaver for their party (Mackenzie 1801:3-9). Upon reaching the Slave River Delta Mackenzie remarked:

> *Tuesday,* [June] *9.*—The Indians informed me, that, at a very small distance from either bank of the river, are very extensive plains, frequented by large herds of buffaloes; while the moose and rein-deer keep in the woods that border on it. The beavers, which are in great numbers, build their habitations in the small lakes and rivers, as, in the larger streams, the ice carries every thing along with it, during the spring. The mud-banks in the river are covered with wild fowl; and we this morning killed two swans, ten geese, and one beaver, without suffering the delay of an hour; so that we might have soon filled the canoe with them, if that had been our object (Mackenzie 1801:8).

Mackenzie's Chipewyan guides were clearly familiar with this region. After exiting the Slave River Delta along an eastern channel (leaving Mackenzie and his party somewhere along the southern shore of Great Slave Lake between the mouth of the Slave River and the Taltson River), Mackenzie and his party were forced to camp from June 10th through to the 18th due to heavy ice along the lakeshore. During this period they set nets in the lake and sent the Chipewyans out hunting. On June 13th, the hunters returned from a hunting excursion along the Slave River with game. Several families of Indians accompanied them:

> *Saturday,* [June] *13.* —The weather was cloudy, and the wind changeable till about sunset, when it settled in the North. It drove back the ice which was now very much broken along the shore, and covered our nets. One of the hunters who had been at the Slave River the preceding evening, returned with three beavers and fourteen geese. He was accompanied by three families of Indians, who left Athabasca the same day as myself: they did not bring me any fowl; and they pleaded in excuse, that they had travelled with so much expedition, as to prevent them from procuring sufficient provisions for themselves (Mackenzie 1801:10).

On June the 18th Mackenzie's party was able to travel four miles northwesterly along the shore

of Great Slave Lake. There their hunters had killed a caribou (referred to below as a rein-deer) and there they encountered two more Indian families:

> *Thursday,* [June] *18.* —The nets were taken up at four this morning with abundance of fish, and we steered North-West four miles, where the ice again prevented our progress. A South-East wind drove it among the islands, in such a manner as to impede our passage, and we could perceive at some distance ahead, that it was but little broken. We now set our nets in four fathom water. Two of our hunters had killed a rein-deer and its fawn. They had met with two Indian families, and in the evening, a man belonging to one of them, paid us a visit; he informed me, that the ice had not, stirred on the side of the island opposite to us. These people live entirely on fish, and were waiting to cross the lake as soon as it should be clear of ice (Mackenzie 1801:12).

From here Mackenzie traveled north across the Great Slave Lake. The party then followed the north shore of Great Slave Lake west into Yellowknife Bay on route to the Mackenzie River. In Yellowknife Bay Mackenzie encountered a large number of "Red-Knife Indians" (also known as Yellowknives) and began trading with them. They told him that many more would be along, including Slave and Beaver Indians:

> *Tuesday,* [June] *23.* — . . . We landed on the main land at half past two in the afternoon at three lodges of Red-Knife Indians, so called from their copper knives. They informed us, that there were many more lodges of their friends at no great distance; and one of the Indians set off to fetch them: they also said, that we should see no more of them at present; as the Slave and Beaver Indians, as well as others of the tribe, would not be here till the time that the swans cast their feathers (Mackenzie 1801:17).

Mackenzie remained in Yellowknife Bay until the next day trading with the Indians:

> *Wednesday, 24.* —M. Le Roux purchased of these Indians upwards of eight packs of good beaver and marten skins; and there were not above twelve of them qualified to kill beaver. The English chief got upwards of an hundred skins on the score of debts due to him, of which he had many outstanding in this country. Forty of them he gave on account of debts due by him since the winters of 1786 and 1787, at the Slave Lake; the rest he exchanged for rum and other necessary articles; and I added a small quantity of that liquor as an

> encouraging present to him and his young men (Mackenzie 1801:17).

On June 25th 1889 Mackenzie left the Copper Indians and headed toward the Mackenzie River. The period of his travels toward the Arctic Ocean by the Mackenzie River are not of importance to this report as during this time he generally falls in with the Dogribs.

Mackenzie then retraced his route. He exited the Mackenzie River, followed the north shore of Great Slave Lake to the eastern edge of Yellowknife Bay, headed south across Great Slave Lake and entered the Slave River Delta along one of its smaller channels. From September 3rd to the 13th 1789 Mackenzie travelled up the Slave River toward Fort Chipewyan, Mackenzie then returned to Fort Chipewyan.

In 1801 Mackenzie published his journals. He included a section entitled "A General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the North-West" in which he recounted his experience on the Slave River. This description includes his description of the use of the Salt River by both Voyageurs and Indians:

> Thus do these voyagers live, year after year, entirely upon fish, without even the quickening flavour of salt, or the variety of any farinaceous root or vegetable. Salt, however, if their habits had not rendered it unnecessary, might be obtained in this country **to the Westward of the Peace River, where it loses its name in that of the Slave River,** from the numerous salt-ponds and springs to be found there, which will supply in any quantity, in a state of concretion, and perfectly white and clean. When the Indians pass that way they bring a small quantity to the fort, with other articles of traffic (Mackenzie 1801:xc).

1790 – 1799

Peter Fidler explored the Slave River region during the late 1700s for the Hudson's Bay Company. The journals of his exploration were originally written in the late 18th century, however they were not published until 1934, republished in 1968. In early September of 1791, he travelled northwest from Cumberland House, Saskatchewan with Philip Turnor, Fidler and Turnor went their separate ways near Lake Athabasca. Fidler made the decision to stay the

winter with the Chipewyans in this region:

> 1791
> September 4th Sunday. In the afternoon I embarked with 4 Canoes of Jepewyans, in order to remain the whole Winter with them & acquire their Language (Fidler 1968:495).

He began his journey with his Chipewyan guides by descending the Slave River to Great Slave Lake:

> [September] 9th Friday Early in the morning passed by us in a small Canoe, 2 Canadians & one woman, one their way from the Slave Lake to the Athapescow House at 10 AM got underway proceeded down the slave river till night & put up (Fidler 1968:497).

After several days travel down the Slave River, Fidler and his party disembarked on the west bank and portaged over to Little Buffalo River. Fidler noted that this region was filled with beaver:

> [September] 19th Monday about 9 AM got underway went down the Eggid da zal la dezza or [Little] Buffalo river (Tyrrell 1968:502 n. 1) . . . great number of beaver houses in it in some reaches lower down that was not more than ½ mile long I have counted 9 different houses all well stocked with beaver a more plentiful place I never before saw or indeed any ay approaching too it (Fidler 1968:503).

Buffalo and beaver were abundant in the area:

> September 23rd Friday At 8 AM got underway (being very early with the Jepewyans) . . . The Men went on hunting on the West side & killed a young Bull about a mile off which we directly fetched, pretty good meat . . . Fine barren ground on the West side near the river great number of Buffalo tracks on both sides of the river & vast numbers of Beaver Houses all along the Indians taking little notice of them as the kill Buffalo (Fidler 1968:505).

Fidler's party reached Great Slave Lake via the Little Buffalo River on the 6th of October. From there they skirted the shore to the east and arrived at the Slave River Delta. There they met a

Chipewyan who informed him that there was an encampment of Chipewyans eight miles up the Slave River:

> October 15th Saturday . . . In the afternoon the men went for Birch to make sledges & very fortunately met with one of their Countrymen . . . he informed that there were several Tents about 8 miles up the river & that the Ice opposite these Tents were passable over it . . . proceeded up along the river & arrived at the Tents about noon 10 Canoes here that were stopped by the Ice on the early setting in of the Fall They are luckily tolerably stocked with Fresh & Dry meat (Fidler 1968:513).

Fidler's journals are much more detailed than those of Hearne and Mackenzie who had passed through the region in search of the Arctic Ocean. Fidler had been sent to survey the area. Hearne and Franklin tended to focus on the numbers of miles they had travelled and the weather, while Fidler talked about the lives of his companions and the means taken to ensure survival. His goal, as stated in his first quote provided above, was to "acquire their Language" (Fidler 1968:495).

While continuing up the Slave River, Fidler and his party met more Chipewyan Indians:

> [October] 23rd Sunday Moved up the [Slave] river about 2 miles to a Large Island . . .
> 25th Tuesday After dark a Canadian & a chepawyan arrived here (Fidler 1968:514).

On November 2nd 1791 Fidler stayed on the Taltson River with a Chipewyan family—Thooh and his wife and son. Early in the morning on November 2nd Thooh left to check the area around their camp. While Thooh was gone several Chipewyans visited the camp on their way to the "Slave Lake House":

> November 2nd Wednesday . . . 2 young men a Boy & an old man called Nen nee, or Left handed, came to us they are on their way to the Slave Lake House for Credit (Fidler 1968:520-521).

On November 4th Fidler, the Chipewyan woman, and her child set out to find the tent of the four aforementioned Chipewyans. Fidler moved ahead of his group following the track where it was

visible in the snow. Fidler became lost near the Taltson River. Below is the beginning of that account:

> [November] 4th Friday As the Woman & boy walked slow I set foreward by myself seeing the Track in some places & after going about 14 miles I found several where the Indians had been thru taking Beaver houses [on the Taltson River] (Fidler 1968:521).

The tracks did not lead to any Indian camps, and after two days Fidler found an area where some meat had been cached for later use:

> [November] 6th Sunday . . . There was . . . one Moose & 1 Black Bear which the Indians had killed in the Fall & could not conveniently take away[.] They had built a small log house over it to keep it from being eaten by the wild animals & intended to return for it so soon as there was good hawling[.] At this place I determined to remain until I found Indians (Fidler 1968:521-522).

Eventually his Chipewyan travelling companions returned and they resumed moving through the country. Fidler's experiences above show the intensive use of the Slave River region by Chipewyan peoples. Over a span of four days, Fidler had come across three groups of Chipewyans.

On December 20th 1791 on Swampy Lake (1½ miles from the eastern bank of the Slave River near the Slave River Delta), Fidler encountered two Chipewyans who told him of 40 tents of Chipewyans to the north along the Slave River:

> December 20th Tuesday Gabbles younger brother & Din na sleeny arrived at our Tent [on Swampy Lake 1½ miles west of the Slave River near its Delta] they say that there are 40 Tents of <u>Chepewyans a little way to the Northward of us that they are returning</u> from war with the Esquimeaux & had killed 5 Tents of those harmless inoffensive people (Fidler 1968:532).

They continued down the Slave River. Fidler and his party set up camp on Big Island. Here Fidler's party encountered a number of Chipewyans and "Canadians":

> 1792
> January 7th Moved to the Big Island [in the Slave River] . . .
> January 8th Sunday . . . At Noon arrived 2 Canadians & 4 Jepewyans with 8 Sledges leaded with 14 pieces of Goods . . .
> 9th Monday Arrived this morning 2 Canadians & 2 Jepewyans with 4 Sledges loaded with Trading Goods as yesterday (Fidler 1968:535-536).

Fidler and his party moved on from Big Island. Further up the Slave River, Fidler met another Chipewyan who informed him that there were others nearby:

> [January] 15th Sunday Moved up the [Slave] River 3 Miles & put up on the SW side of the main shore . . . In the evening a young Jepewyan arrived at our Tents in search of some of his countrymen to get a supply of Provisions from Their Tent . . . he says that they will join us in a few Days (Fidler 1968:537).

Fidler then left the Slave River travelling east. While camped east of Slave River, several groups of Indians, both Chipewyans and Yellowknives, visited Fidler's camp. They brought news on three separate occasions of Yellowknives and Chipewyans camped along the Stony River, a tributary of the Taltson River (Tyrrell 1968:546 n. 1):

> [March] 14th Wednesday . . . Arrived 2 Jepewyans from the Thay thule dezza or Stony River they slept 2 nights in coming here several Jepewyans are at that river Moved NNE 6 miles to the edge of the Stony Ground about 8 miles from the Thay thule dezza bearing North (Fidler 1968:549).

> [March] 16th Friday . . . In the evening arrived at our Tent a Coppermine river Indian he says that there a good many of his countrymen a good way down the Thay thule dezza [the Stony River (Tyrrell 1968:546 n. 1)] this river empties itself into the Tall chu dezza [the Taltson River (Tyrrell 1968:546 n. 1)] a long way down (Fidler 1968:549).

> [March] 25 Sunday . . . Thooh returned [from Stony River] he brought with him 16 Martin Skins that his Countrymen had given him as he is still a good deal short of having Furrs enough to pay our Credit [they are near Fort Smith (Tyrrell 1968:551 n. 1)] (Fidler 1968:551).

Fidler descended the Slave River returning to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca in late April 1792.

Fidler recorded his encounters with Chipewyans and Yellowknives in the Slave River region who were hunting, trapping, fishing, and trading along the Slave, Little Buffalo, Buffalo, and Taltson Rivers throughout his journal.

1800 – 1809

The North West Company built Fort Chipewyan on the north shore of Lake Athabasca in 1786. Likewise during that year the Hudson's Bay Company constructed a fort on the south shore of Great Slave Lake (VanStone 2009:93). The North West Company had endeavoured to build a fort east of the mouth of the Slave River on the south shore of Great Slave Lake (Keith, ed. 2001:11). Over the next five years the NWC moved the fort, first, closer to the Slave River and then up to Ring Lake "fifteen miles up the Slave River" (Keith, ed. 2001:11). During this period several North West Company clerks kept journals, which document their years at the fort on Ring Lake. The Hudson's Bay Company Archives do not have in their possession any records for Fort Resolution which pre-date 1818 despite its existence, in one of its several incarnations, at this period in time. They do, however, have records for the years 1803 – 1806 pertaining to Chiswick House, a fort east of the mouth of the Slave River on the south shore of Great Slave Lake. We could not locate the documents at this point in time.

James Porter kept the first North West Company journal for the Slave Lake post for the years 1800 and 1801. He was stationed at the North West Company's "Slave Lake" fort, which had been relocated "15 miles up the Slave River at Ring Lake, where the fishing was thought to be better" (Keith, ed. 2001:86). During his stay at the Slave Lake Fort on Ring Lake, Porter took note of a number of Indians who came into the fort to trade. Porter does not often identify these individuals although at times he did record where they had come from or where they intended to hunt. "Chipewyans and Yellowknives (Red Knives) were the only two nations identified as trading at Slave Lake Post, while Dogribs frequented the post at Lac La Martre [north of the

north arm of Great Slave Lake]" (Keith, ed. 2001:19). Lloyd Keith (2001) is the editor of the volume in which Porter's and other NWC clerks' journals have been published:

> SUNDAY [February] 23RD [1800] – five Indians [arrived] with Traines[3] Traded for [24] skins of fresh meat 2 of Grease 2 of Pack Cords[4] & 1 of Castorume[5] ["[arrived]" and "[24]" are additions to the original text by the editor] (Porter 2001:87).
>
> FRIDAY [February] 28TH [1800] – This morning Moineau & 2 Indians arrived . . . they say there is already upwards of 40 Indians who left of [*sic*] trenching[6] Some time ago & Come to pass the remainder of the winter along the Slave River ["[*sic*]" was added by editor] (Porter 2001:87).
>
> WEDNESDAY [April] 15TH [1800] – Eleven Indians arrived 10 from Roche[7] & one from the Beaver Country. Drew 169 skins of Credit Traded 47 Skins of Sundry Peltries 6 of Castorume 15 Skins value of Babiche 2 of Collets[8] on half carriboux robe 6 skins ditto with the hair one net & a piece of a Lodge (Porter 2001:94).
>
> THURSDAY [June] 4TH [1800] . . . Meat [met] Marlin[9] on the Traverse on his way to Fort Chipewean he returned with & Gave us 2 thighs & three Shoulders of fresh meat (Porter 2001:102).
>
> THURSDAY [June] 11th [1800] . . . Gave 2 fathoms of Tobº to the Grand Coquin[10] to cut amongst a Band of Indians [who] is already Gone far in to the

---

[3] "*Traîne.* A sledge or toboggan pulled over the snow by dogs or humans" (Keith, ed. 2001:455).
[4] "Pack cords, sometimes called babiche, were lacings made from rawhide used to secure the different packs (or pieces) that made up the freight of a canoe" (Keith, ed. 2001:87: n. 10).
[5] "*Castoreum.* A secretion from the scent glands of the female beaver, used to rap beaver by rubbing it on a piece of bait set near the trap. The smell generally proved irresistible to the beaver" (Keith, ed. 2001:452).
[6] "*Trench (tranches).* Chisels used to chop through the ice in the winter, generally in the hunt for beaver" (Keith, ed. 2001:456).
[7] "The Indians may have come from the vicinity of Bell Rock, a large limestone cliff six miles below the Portage des Noyés, now called Rapids of the Drowned [on the Slave River by Fort Smith]" (Keith, ed. 2001:94 n. 32)
[8] "*Collets*. Snares made from sinew and used to entrap animals ranging in size from hares to moose" (Keith, ed. 2001:452).
[9] "Marlin, Fort Chipewyan and Slave Lake Trading Leader . . . By September [1800], Marlin and his band of "Montagniers" (Chipewyans) began taking their credits at W.F. Wentzel's Slave Lake Post" (Keith, ed. 2001:442).

> Lands & not to be here till the animals befall [come near] ["[who]" was added by the editor] (Porter 2001:103).
>
> Wednesday, 1st of July 1800 Trois Pousis[11] arrived with 10 more of his followers[.] Gave them all a bit of Tobº[.] Traded 11 Skins of furs value of 18 of Dryed meat 11 of Pounded meat 4 of Grease & one dressd Moose Skin which was almost [Porter failed to complete this sentence] (Porter 2001:107).

In August of 1802 Porter left the Ring Lake Fort. Willard Ferdinand Wentzel took his place as fort factor. During Wentzel's tenure as fort factor at the Slave Lake fort he traded with Chipewyans (also known throughout the journals as Montagniers). Several of these Chipewyan individuals are the same individuals as those recorded in Porter's 1800 – 1801 Slave Lake post journal. He wrote:

> MONDAY [August] 23RD [1802] . . . There are 4 more Montagniers[12] gone up the River au Rat [most likely Rat River, a tributary to the Taltson River] & are to come out a little above the Beaver Island (Wentzel 2001:167).
>
> WEDNESDAY [August] 25th [1802]. In the morning 2 of Theardan's Sons with 2 more Chepewyans arrived – Paid 27 Skins meat & traded 4 in beaver . . . Theardan[13] is to Hunt on the Slave River consequently a man will be necessary there (Wentzel 2001:168).
>
> MONDAY [September] 6th [1802]. Arrived 2 young men from Grand Coquin & Trois Pouce [the same Chipewyan man mentioned by Porter in 1801] – They come for Tob: AM: & rum – Sent them 30 balls, 3 M: ~~Shot~~ Powder & ½ fm Tob. With a Small Keg of rum. They intend to Hunt about the Forks ["It may be some confluence along the Slave River" (Keith, ed. 2001:171 n. 19)] – 7 PS of Fish in the Nets (Wentzel 2001:170-171).

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[10] "Grand Coquin (Big Rascal), Fort Chipewyan and Slave Lake Trading Leader . . . a Chipewyan trading leader, lived along the course of the Slave River" (Keith, ed. 2001:436).

[11] "Trois Pouces (Three Thumbs), Fort Chipewyan and Slave Lake Trading Leader . . . As early as the winter of 1799 Trois Pouces and his band of Chipewyans appear in the journal of James McKenzie" (Keith, ed. 2001:449).

[12] The Montagniers mentioned in the Slave Lake journals were Chipewyans" (Keith, ed. 2001:167 n. 8).

[13] "Slave Lake Trading Leader, 1802. Theardan was a Chipewyan who traded at Slave Lake in 1802. He hunted the lands about the Slave River" (Keith, ed. 2001:449).

> SATURDAY [September] 11th [1802] . . . About 4 P.M. La Beccass arrived from Athabasca with letters from Messrs D. McKenzie & J. McKenzie & Thompson he Saw Morin[14] at the Grand Detourne[15] who Sends me 7 Skins in Peltries & 2 in Meat – with his compliments that the Indians are well & Hunt Still better (Wentzel 2001:172-173).
>
> Tuesday [September] 14th [1802] . . . About an Hour after Trois Pouce arrived brought the meat an orignal [moose] & set off immediately (Wentzel 2001:173).
>
> THURSDAY [September] 16th [1802] . . . It was Trois Pouce that brought us this piece of news. He brought us a Beaver (Wentzel 2001:174).
>
> WEDNESDAY [September] 29TH [1802]. Arrived 5 Montagniers from Marlin's band they came for Credits & are to wait the arrival of the Canoes towards Dark 3 more came from Trois Pouce brought a little Meat but for their own Guts (Wentzel 2001:177).

Willard Wentzel's journals end in October of 1802. The above quotes range between August and October of 1802. These are the last remaining North West Company records from the Slave Lake post at Ring Lake. The whereabouts of the NWC records for the years after 1802 is unknown despite the presumed continuance of the fort up until the HBC/NWC merger in 1821.

In 1805 Alexander McKenzie (the nephew of Alexander Mackenzie the explorer) took control of the Great Bear Lake post on the south shore of Great Bear Lake. In 1805 he travelled down the Slave River to Great Slave Lake. He then travelled west through Great Slave Lake, down the Mackenzie River, and north to Great Bear Lake. While travelling down the Slave River, McKenzie encountered several Chipewyans:

> [September] 18TH [1805] - Embarked at 2 OClock in the morning, put a shore at Salt River . . . since my departure from there at two OClock I put a shore on

[14] "Morin, interpreter, North West Company, Slave Lake, 1799-1802 . . . He is mentioned in W.F. Wentzel's summer journal of 1802 as living with a band of Chipewyans near the rapids of the Slave River and along the Salt River" (Keith, ed. 2001:413).

[15] "Also called Le Grand Détour, the meandering of the Slave River created a long, westward loop about fifteen miles in length. It is located below all the major rapids on the river, near the modern community of Fort Smith" (Lamb as cited in Keith, ed. 2001:173 n. 30).

> a Island where there were three Lodges of Chipewyans, I rec^{d} 10 Skins in meet [meat] from them for which I gave them a note to Mr D. M^{c}K ["meat" was put in square brackets by the editor] (McKenzie 2001:212).

Here McKenzie encountered several lodges of Chipewyan Indians near the Salt River, a tributary to the Slave River just north of Fort Smith. The two parties traded and camped together. The next morning McKenzie left to continue his travels up the Slave River:

> [September] 19TH [1805] – Embarked at 12 O'clock of the night at 12OClock stopped [*sic*] at the little Lake[16] to know the reason why no men was with the Indians a long [*sic*] the River (McKenzie 2001:213)

1810 – 1819

The Hudson's Bay Company journals for Fort Resolution start in 1818. Aulay MacAulay departed from Grand Rapids, Manitoba in July 1818 en-route to Fort Resolution. On September 7th, 1818, after having reached Lake Athabasca, MacAulay left for Great Slave Lake along the Slave River. While travelling down the river he encountered several groups of Indians camped on the edge of the river:

> September 7th 1818: "We embarked early – but had not gone far before we came to a camp of Indians – here we landed to try if they would trade anything with us" (MacAulay 1818-1819:8).

> September 9th 1818: "Came to the Salt River about ten A.M. – From here a Canoe was dispatched For Salt to the Salt Springs which is about a half day is [sic] paddling up this River – After Send of the Canoe we Set forward towards the evening we met a Band of the Slave Lake Indians in campt [*sic*] on the Bank of the Rivere [*sic*]" (MacAulay 1818-1819:8b).

> September 10th 1818: "We embarked early – to day we met two or three more Indian from whom we got Some Scraps of bad meat we impressed [?] them to come the Fort" (MacAulay 1818-1819:8b).

[16] "Perhaps Ring Lake [the location of the temporary NWC fort along the Slave River]" (Lamb as cited in Keith, ed. 2001:213 n. 12).

As noted in the September 9th quote above "Slave Lake Indians" were camped along the Slave River at its confluence with the Salt River. MacAulay's journals are nearly illegible. For this reason only a few quotes concerning trade have been cited:

> November 3rd 1818: Sent Mandevile [*sic*] our interpreter their likewise in hopes of his meeting with some Indians" (MacAulay 1818-1819:15).
>
> November 24th 1818: "This morning Mr Gregnon and two men went to the Stoney Island. Mr. G is to remain for some time in hopes of his getting some Indians, that Place, being a general pass for the Yellow Knives Indians" (MacAulay 1818-1819:16).

At the end of his journal for the years 1818 – 1819, MacAulay reported on trade in the district. In this section he described his interaction with the Chipewyans. He also explained why he believed that the Chipewyans were not trading with the HBC:

> Altho [*sic*] this is the third year we have wintered at this lake we unfortunately have had but very little intercourse with the Natives of it . . . There appears to be a great number of Indians about this Lake. Where the NW company have three Posts established on the borders of the Lake from those three establishments they generally turn out yearly from 80 to 90 pack of excellent Furs. Each pack weighing for 85 to 90 pounds eight. These furs they get from the Indians for a small traffic in compensation to the value of the Furs . . .
>
> The Natives that inhabit **round the Lake** go by the name of the Chipewayen [*sic*] Indians, which tribes are numerous besides there are several other tribes [ill] by the name of Yellow Knives and others by that of the Slave and Rappid Indians. These last mentioned inhabit the northern parts of the Lake, Mckenzies [*sic*] River, Marten and Great Bear Lakes . . .
>
> The Chipewyan Indians are no ways given to war with there [*sic*] neighbouring tribes and other ~~Na[ions]~~ Nations of Ind. They are of a very quiete [*sic*] disposition and no ways given to stealing or cheating and are a sober set, and [ill] set of Indians, and not much given to drinking strong liquours [*sic*] as m[ost] of the other tribes of Indians are . . .
>
> These were the very seasons that we find it to [*sic*] difficult to get a footing in the Athabasca, arriving to the queit [*sic*] disposition of the Indians and the great

> influence [*sic*] the North West Traders have over them on that very account and theire [*sic*] being accustomed to trade with them from theire [*sic*] infancy (MacAulay 1818-1819:24-24b).

According to MacAulay the Chipewyans around Great Slave Lake, of which "there appears to be a great number," were trading with the NWC in preference to the HBC. At this point in time the NWC continued to control much of the trade in the region. In 1821 the two companies merged under the banner of the Hudson's Bay Company and the clashes that arose as a consequence of their competition for a monopoly on the fur-trade ceased.

HBC clerks were only obligated to record what had been traded. The traders were not necessarily required to record the names of Indians or to which band they belonged unless asked to take a census. Nor are they required to record the Indians subsistence activities or any of the pelts that they acquire for their own purposes. For these reasons the records differ in the detail recorded from year to year.

1820 – 1829

In 1819 William Brown replaced MacAulay at the HBC's Slave Lake post. He was adept at recording the names of the individuals trading at the fort:

> October 15th 1819: "The Poisson Blanc, one of the principle Indians of the Post, joined us" (Brown 1819-1820:16).
>
> January 14th 1820: "Thebeault & Bennais went off in search of a band of Indians, belonging to Athabasca, whom we understand are about 7 days march from this and have a considerable number of furs – They [the men who are searching for the band of Indian] have also Tobacco, ammunition & Rum to [give to] the Poisson Blanc to prevent him from coming to the Fort . . . which we learned he was intending to do . . . as it would cause a great deal of expences [*sic*] if he came – They are to bring all the furs hum, and his young men have, as also all those the Grand Jeune Homme has" (Brown 1819-1820:62).

> April 25th 1820: "In the afternoon the Poisson Blanc, Fanon, and five other Indians arrived – escorted by Fournier and la Course . . . The first is our Chief this year, as he altho' an old man has killed by far the most skins of all the Indians belonging to this place" (Brown 1819-1820:128).

> April 29th 1820: "In the forenoon the Poisson Blanc and his band pitched off. They have gone to the little Lake [possibly Ring Lake] contiguous to the Big River [Slave River], there to build their Canoes and hunt till the opening off the Navigation, when they intend to proceed to Riviére de Beouf [either a Slave River tributary or Buffalo River]" (Brown 1819-1820:130).

Brown recorded visits from Delorient, Chinnahy, and Grand Jeune Homme (the same man that Brown had recorded as a chief who had been observed hunting with Poisson Blanc on January 14th 1820 above):

> November 19th 1819: "About sunrise Delorient and two Indian Boys arrived from Chinnahy's Tent. Received 3 Martins from the first - he informs us that the Grand Jeune Homme . . . This is the fellow we had made a Chief of, and who left us stated on the 19th of last month . . . and has the meat of 3 cows, half of which he intends to give to us and the other half to the N.W." (Brown 1819-1820:20).

> April 28th 1820: "In the forenoon another band of Indians pitched off – They have gone to Riviére de Roche, where they mean to make their Canoes, and hunt during the summer, this is one of the few places in the vicinity where Beaver are, and in fact the only place where any Beaver worth [ill] were killed in the winter" (Brown 1819-1820:130).

Caribou Eaters (a Chipewyan people) were hunting, trapping, fishing, and trading in the Slave River region:

> November 19th 1819: "In the afternoon seven of the Indians called Carribeau Eaters, arrived at the N.W. Fort guarded by two of their men. These Indians did not use to come in till about Christmas, so that we are of opinion they have left their Lands with the intention of coming in by open water, and have been taken by the Ice" (Brown 1819-1820:29).

> November 20th 1819: "In the forenoon one of the Carribeau eaters, called Clayz ellah, gave the N.W. the slip and came running over here" (Brown 1818-1819:29).

Brown also identified several groups of Yellowknives who visited the fort:

> March 28th 1820: "In the Evening four Indians belonging to the Yellow Knife Tribe, arrived at the N.W. Fort guarded by one of their men – they did not appear to have much" (Brown 1819-1820:99).
>
> April 13th 1820: "In the morning a band of Indians arrived consisting of 6 Men and a Boy escorted by Thebeault, Cadian, Forcier and Tenient . . . The above are yellow Knife Indians from Mountain Island, who have come here all they [*sic*] way on purpose to trade with us - Two of them who came in head of the rest thro' the wood as spies, to endeavour to find us out, was met by Cadian – who informed them he belonged to the English – upon which the [*sic*] immediately began to leap and dance for joy - at the sametime [*sic*] telling him where to go and find those who were behind with the Furs. They traded the most part of their skins &c. for ammunition . . . In the forenoon the Bea, and the Fort Hunters of the N.W. arrived accompanied by all their young men and dependants - which made a formidable band. We were of opinion that it was more of the yellow Knifes tribe, and under that impression had a race to meet them, which caused a general turn out of the N.W.Co's forces armed Cap a pie but nothing took place, as the Indians had nothing" (Brown 1818-1819:106-107).

Over the course of his interaction with the Yellowknives, Brown and Robert McVicar, another fort factor, came to recommend the Yellowknives as guides for the next leg of Sir John Franklin's expedition to the "Polar Sea."

Franklin began descending the Slave River from Fort Chipewyan in July of 1820. In his journal (published in 1924) he described the river, its channels, and the delta in some detail:

> *July 24*.— . . . The course of the river is very winding, making in one place a circuit of seven or eight miles round a peninsula, which is joined to the west bank by a narrow isthmus. Near the foot of this elbow, a long island occupies the centre of the river, which it divides into two channels . . . <u>We passed the</u>

> mouth of a broad channel leading to the north-east, termed La Grande Rivière de Jean, [Jean River] one of the two large branches by which the river pours its waters into the Great Slave Lake; the flooded *delta* at the mouth of the river is intersected by several smaller channels, through one of which, called the Channel of the Scaffold, we pursued our voyage on the following morning, and by eight A.M. reached the establishment of the North-West Company on Moose-Deer Island . . .
>
> Soon after landing, I visited the Hudson's Bay Post on the same island, and engaged Pierre St. Germain, an interpreter for the Copper Indians. We regretted to find the posts of both the Companies extremely bare of provision; but as the gentlemen in charge had despatched [*sic*] men on the preceding evening, to a band of Indians, in search of meat, and they promised to furnish us with whatever should be brought, it was deemed advisable to wait for their return, as the smallest supply was now of importance to us (Franklin 1924a:308-310).

While stationed at the NWC fort on Great Slave Lake at Moose-Deer Island Franklin described the food that the NWC personnel stationed at the fort had access to either through trade with the Chipewyans or by fishing for whitefish, trout, and other species of fish themselves:

> Moose-Deer Island is about a mile in diameter, and rises towards the centre about three hundred feet above the lake. Its soil is in general sandy, in some parts swampy. The varieties of the northern berries grow abundantly on it . . . The inhabitants live principally on the fish, which the lake at certain seasons furnishes in great abundance; of these, the white fish, trout, and *poisson inconnu* are considered the best. They also procure moose, buffalo, and rein-deer meat occasionally from their hunters; but these animals are generally found at the distance of several days' walk from the forts. The Indians who trade here are Chipewyans. Beavers, martens, foxes, and musk-rats, are caught in numbers in the vicinity of this great body of water (Franklin 1924a:310-311).

Franklin clearly identifies Chipewyans as the Indians who trade at the fort thus putting to rest any doubt as to the tribal affiliations of the Indians living along the Slave River in the Slave River region who trade at the NWC and HBC forts near the Slave River Delta.

After spending a few days at the fort, Franklin left with his Yellow Knife guides and headed

north. George Back, a midshipman on Franklin's voyage, stayed behind at this point in order to prepare for their return journey. He travelled back and forth between Fort Chipewyan and the Fort on Moose-Deer Island to procure supplies and provisions for the returning party. During his travels he made several remarks of interest in his journal, which was later added to Franklin's 1824 journal as supplementary information, published in 1924.

The first quote of interest is one in which he took note of the local geography including specifics regarding the Slave River system. Leaving from Fort Chipewyan for Moose-Deer Island, he wrote that Little Buffalo River and the Salt River, were connected:

> On the 23d of December [1820] I left the Fort, with Beauparlant and a Bois-brulé, each having a sledge drawn by dogs, laden with pemmican. We crossed an arm of the lake, and entered the Little Buffalo River, which is connected with the Salt River, and is about fifty yards wide at its junction with the lake—the water is brackish (Back as cited in Franklin 1924b:65).

He also provides us with the reason as to why the Chipewyans and others chose (and to this day choose) to travel from the Little Buffalo River to the Slave River and vice versa:

> This route is usually taken in the winter, as it cuts off a large angle in going to the Great Slave River. In the afternoon we passed two empty fishing-huts, and in the evening encamped amongst some high pines on the banks of the river, having had several snow-showers during the day, which considerably impeded the dogs, so that we had not proceeded more than fifteen miles (Back as cited in Franklin 1924b:65-66).

Also note Back's mention of two encampments along the Little Buffalo River. The next day, while travelling up the same river, he noted the number of portages taken and evidence of use of this route by the Indians:

> *December 24* and *25* [1820].—We continued along the river, frequently making small portages to avoid going round the points, and passed some small canoes, which the Indians had left for the winter (Back as cited in Franklin 1924b:66).

On a third trek back to Moose-Deer Island from Fort Chipewyan, Back again met some Indians on the bank of Little Buffalo River:

> *February 9* [1821].— . . . I had with me four sledges, laden with goods for the Expedition, and a fifth belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. We returned exactly by the same route, suffering no other inconvenience but that arising from the chafing of the snow-shoe, and bad weather. Some Indians, whom we met on the banks of the Little Buffalo River, were rather surprised at seeing us, for they had heard that we were on an island, which was surrounded by Esquimaux (Back as cited in Franklin 1924b:73).

Robert McVicar kept the journal at Fort Resolution in 1820 and 1821. Several of the same Chipewyan traders that Brown had encountered during the 1819-1820 season, including Poisson Blanc (alternately called white fish) and Grand Jeune Homme, re-appear in McVicar's journal:

> June 25th 1820: "The old chief say the white fish [Poisson Blanc: the same Chipewyan as mentioned in Brown's journal of 1819-1820] left the Ft to join his son Nattirrichu – was obliged to give him [illegible] of an old net to provide for his subsistence as he has no ammunition" (McVicar 1820-1821:4b).
>
> June 28th 1820: "At 11 p.m. four young lads came in from the Grand Juen Homme's Lodge who states that there are five of our Indians at the Buffalow [*sic*] Lake in Company with the G.J.H. and that they have in all fifteen animals in dried meat and 25 Beaver skins" (McVicar 1820-1821:5).
>
> July 24th 1820: "Tenn chua arrived at the N.W.t Fort from the Grand Jeun Homme at 11" (McVicar 1820-1821:8).
>
> August 1st 1820: "At 11 am the Farron and Naltichu [possibly Poisson Blanc's son Nattirrichu who was mentioned in the June 25th, 1820 quote above] arrive who brought 117 prime martins" (McVicar 1820-1821:9b).
>
> June 1st 1820: "In the evening Kille azza arrived with 4 Geese and two Swans" (McVicar 1820-1821:1b).
>
> June 2nd 1820: "In the evening the wife of Chilliazza came to the Ft who says that all our Indians who are in the vicinity have gone in Land to Hunt Cattle" (McVicar 1820-1821:1b).

> June 3rd 1820: "At 11 AM Eunna came in from the Baute's Band with 2 Swans 2 cranes 2 Bustards and 1 Beaver" (McVicar 1820-1821:1b).
>
> June 13th 1820: "Inch chka one of the Indians I had Engaged to hunt for the Fort during the summer came in with three lge Beaver 1 otter 2 martins and 6 musquask [muskrat] skins he informs us that his Brother our other Fort Hunter is very sick and that neither have a particle of ammunition" (McVicar 1820-1821:2).
>
> July 19th 1820: "at 11 A.M. 3 Indians with their family's arrived at the N.W.t Fort. Their Canoes were heavy loaded with provisions. Ponce Cuppy is the Leader of these Indians" (McVicar 1820-1821:8).
>
> August 3rd 1820: "At 10 the Baute Chinnatha and Eunna arrived with 180 lbs dried meat and 12 lbs Grease" (McVicar 1820-1821:10).

In 1821 several North West Company wintering partners approached the HBC and made an offer to share in the administrative costs associated with their operations (Payne 2004:61). At this point the rising costs of operating the forts, the intense competition between the two companies (including minor skirmishes), and the fur trade's declining profits forced the two companies to alter the manner in which they had operated (Payne 2004:60-61). An agreement to merge their operations was signed on March 26th 1821 (Payne 2004:61). The Hudson's Bay Company name was retained. The HBC had a virtual monopoly in the north until the influx of free traders. The HBC staff at Fort Resolution continued recording daily activities in the fort journals until 1923.

In 1825 Franklin returned to the region for a second attempt at reaching the Arctic Ocean (he had been unsuccessful on his first attempt due to poor planning). Again he travelled from England into the Hudson's Bay and on to Lake Athabasca. And, again, he travelled up the Slave River. On the 28th of July 1825 he stopped at the Salt River to gather provisions of salt. He then moved downstream to Fort Resolution where he met a large group of Indians:

> We halted at the Salt River to take in salt, as we found, by a note left here, Dr. Richardson had done. The geese were moulting at this time, and unable to fly; they afforded us much sport in their chase, and an excellent supper every night.

> A body of Indians were waiting near the entrance of the lake to welcome our arrival; they were so numerous, that we were forced to omit our general custom of giving a small present to each native, and thus incurred the charge of stinginess, which the loud vociferations they raised on our setting sail, were probably meant to convey.
>
> At six, on the evening of the 29th, we reached Fort Resolution, the only establishment now at Slave Lake, and we felt happy in being once more under the roof of our hospitable friend, Mr. Robert M^c^Vicar, to whom I am much indebted for the excellent order in which he had brought up our supplies from Canada in the preceding year. Dr. Richardson, after a halt of two days, had gone forward with the boats (Franklin 1827:8-9).

After passing through Fort Resolution, Franklin travelled along the south shore of Great Slave Lake toward the Mackenzie River. Franklin soon met "La Grand Jeune Homme & party" at their encampment on the west side of the mouth of the Buffalo River (Franklin 2004:80).

> Encamped at 7h30' and mile from Presquile. Le Grand Jeune Homme & party, Chipewyan Indians, encamped here also, and we learnt that they had on the proceeding day Supplied Dr. Richardson with meat at Hay River (Franklin 2004:80-81).

This journey of Franklin's was considerably more successful as recorded in both his original (1827) journals and those compiled by R. C. Davis in 2004. He succeeded in reaching the Arctic Ocean and returned home in 1827 without any serious setbacks.

During the year of 1826 McVicar continued to record Indians hunting, trapping, and fishing in the Slave River region.

> July 31st 1826: "Thlootsy and Eltalbaugh came to the Fort in the evening…they left for Buffaloe River. Cloyaze and youngest brother also came in…they left the Fort to join their Relatives who are encamped at Rocky River" (McVicar 1826-1827:5).
>
> [Note: Chief Snuff, a signatory to the 1900 Treaty 8 Adhesion whose descendants live in Fort Resolution today, was also known as "Kloehzeh,

> Kloeze, or other variants," as Frank McKay, a DKFN member, informed Vanden Berg & Associates in an email to the authors, October 5, 2012.]
>
> February 25th 1826: "in the afternoon the 2 men went with Mattezze on the 16th returned with the following furs, 20 skins of which they received from Bettannaeddi, who they found encamped with Mattezze's Brothers in Slave Lake River, vis. 21 beavers, 1 bear, 331 musksquash [muskrats], 134 martens, 2 silver foxes, 1 cross ditto, 1 red ditto and 2 lynx. In company with these men 2 boys arrived 2 from Halyaze for a supply of tobacco" (McVicar 1826-1827:10).
>
> March 12th 1827: "The arrival of the 10th left the fort for Slave River where he and his Brothers are to employ themselves actively trapping Martens for the remaining part of the season" (McVicar 1826-1827:10b).
>
> April 9th 1827: "Yesterday Evening Tsanghe and Chunequire (Pa[w] Co[n]pu's son in Law) came in … they and the Indians of yesterday left the Fort for Slave River where they are to trap Martens while they Continue in Season" (McVicar 1826-1827:11b).

McVicar left the Great Slave Lake region in 1827 when he was transferred to the Montreal district (University of Toronto 2000b). That same year Simon McGillivray took over McVicar's post and remained there for at least the next two years. At this point in time a large number of Indians were recorded as trading at the fort. As an alternative to listing every individual who came in, from here on in we will quote those references to named individuals which cite the area with which they were associated or their linguistic affiliation. Below are several quotes collected by McGillivray during the 1827 – 1828 trading season which describe trade at Fort Resolution located on the south shore of Great Slave Lake by the Slave River Delta:

> March 9th 1828: "about mid-day arrived The et sesse & a Boy from the vicinity of Buffaloe River. He has furs enough to pay his debt this [ill] after getting a few Supplies" (McGillivray 1827-1828:14).
>
> March 13th 1828: "arrived two young lads from Chunas linni's lodge who is tented in Slave River" (McGillivray 1827-1828:14b).
>
> April 11th 1828: "Arrived Chunas linné and three other lads" (McGillivray 1827-1828:19).

> April 20th 1828: "Arrived Louis Laferté, Cardieu & La Chapelle from Buf. River [ill] a fur Caps…the same day, they saw Swan [ill] at Buf. River" (McGillivray 1827-1828:20).
>
> April 28th 1828: "Hareyous and party, as well as Seltlah took their leave, well pleased. Harayouse is to hunt about here during summer, and proposes going up to Ft Chipn in the Autumn for debts . . . Natezze and some others have [ill] the camp towards Buf. River . . . At night arrived Catouelthell, Talatsusé their 2 sons, Bellezze and Tatlou el chuel" (McGillivray 1827-1828:22-22b).
>
> May 13th 1828: "The Indians broke ground, and gone towards Slave River, some beyond, all to hunt musquask" (McGillivray 1828-1829:2).
>
> May 30th 1828: "Arrived Chunazé & Tourelyazé from Slave River – they brought 66 Rats, and Swan Wings" (McGillivray 1828-1829:4).
>
> July 7th 1828: "Chazelle & associate off for Slave River." (McGillivray 1828-1829:7b).

McGillivray continued the following year:

> February 15th 1829: "Komelyek & Squithe off in Slave River to trap martens." (McGillivray 1828-1829:25b).
>
> March 1st 1829: "Late this morning arrived Squithé, who tells me, that Koinelyeh has 2 male moose deer <u>En Cache</u> for the fort in Slave River above the <u>Poine auc Croix"</u> (McGillivray 1828-1829:27).
>
> March 28th 1829: "At Dusk arrived Tsanuly aze and a Boy, from Comrade a Dubois's Lodge near Slave River beyond the passage of the Grand Detour. The following Indians compose this band, viz Har ayouse or Comrade a dubois who has 50 MB –Tannulyasé 15 – Eyuné 15 – Eyasechuthé (a Fort Chipewyan Indian) 20 – Total 100 made Beaver" (McGillivray 1828-1829:fol. 30b-31).
>
> April 5th 1829: "Ezzinni delivered 9 Lynxes – This animal is quite numerous in this quarter" (McGillivray 1828-1829:32).

The references to "Buffalo" River are often a short form for "Little Buffalo" River. Buffalo River is located east of Hay River while a smaller river named the Little Buffalo River is located just west of the mouth of the Slave River near Fort Resolution. McGillivray again noted the Chipewyans presence on the "Buffalo" River.

> March 18th 1829: "Arrived Tourelyaze and Chukonait from Grand Lac de Boeuf from a band of Chipewyans of 11 men and boys – of which Betarieddu [ill] called the Grand Juenne Homme [the Chipewyan chief mentioned earlier in Brown's post journals and during Franklin's second expedition] is the leader…an [ill] they have 440 Beavers" (McGillivray 1828-1829:29).

> May 14th 1828: "arrived 3 women from Buffaloe [*sic*] River" (McGillivray 1828-1829:2).

> June 2nd 1828: "More Indians arrived to day…They all broke ground, some for Buffaloe River, others for Buffaloe Lake, and some for the east side of the Lake. Beaulieu left me in a huff about some imaginary affront, which I could not sift. He told me before parting, he was not certain of coming here but might probably go to Fort Simpson" (McGillivray 1828-1829:4-4b).

> August 3rd 1828: "About 8 am arrived Nenney azé, Eltaltough, Elluy and Chaley azé from Big Buffaloe Lake delivered 49 Swans, 1 Bear, 2 Martens, 10 Wings, 15 Rats and 40 lbs dry meat, of a most indifferent quality" (McGillivray 1828-1829:10).

> August 28th 1828: "Haintsey and 7 others cast up from the direction of Buffaloe River no provisions of any kind. They tell me they have been fishing along the Lake all the Summer, and large animals are uncommonly scarce. They were all equipped to hunt musksquash. – They delivered 1 Beaver, 14 Swans, and 188 Rats and went away" (McGillivray 1828-1829:12b).

> March 7th 1829: "Arrived Cannas lenné from Chaselle's Lodge . . . At mid day arrived Kelly from Haintsey, Kothgora and Theaddi, this party of Indians are near Buffaloe River, have only the skins of Martens" (McGillivray 1828-1829:27b).

> March 13th 1829: "Arrived Izabanaldil and 2 Boys from Nawdarricho's party, from . . . Big Buffaloe Lake, this band consists of five more & 2 youths and excellent workmen – Get the same complaints of no furs is given out – Justice

> to Nawdarricho he has some cause for not making a good hunt – one of his Wives died in the course of the Winter, and his other Wife shortly after this without any apparent cause, hung herself on a tree – Few instances occur among the Chipewyan tribe of committing suicide" (McGillivray 1828-1829:28b).
>
> May 6th 1829: "Sent off Vapin and Blondin to Buffalo River with a Pack and Indians" (McGillivray 1828-1829:37).
>
> May 10th 1829: "The Indian (Gedlarre) lodged a complaint to me that [ill] had killed one of his Dogs at Buf. River the man being here – I made him give another dog in his place" (McGillivray 1828-1829:37b).

1830 – 1839

George Back had been the midshipman for the first two of Franklin's journeys. He became an explorer in his own right in the mid-1830s. He set sail from England on February 17th 1833. On August 4th of 1833, Back began to canoe down the Slave River from Fort Chipewyan. Upon reaching the Salt River he encountered several "Slave Lake Indians":

> August 4 [1833]. – The thermometer this morning was only 36°; and a cold N.W. gale blew, which being directly against us, counteracted the current and almost prevented the canoes making head-way; we were, consequently, five hours in accomplishing the twelve miles, which brought us to the Salt River. Here there had been a recent encampment of Indians. <u>From the marks about the place, it was supposed that they had ascended the river to the plains</u>, which are generally well stocked with buffalo and other animals; and, as it was material to have an interview, the landing was taken out of my canoe; and with Mr. MacLeod for a companion, I went, quite light in search of them.

Back continued by describing his encounter with members of the "Slave Lake" tribe who were "expected to be in that direction":

> 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 further,

> 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. They merely told us what we well knew, 'that there was little water in the river, and they doubted if we could get up.'

He described his encounter with Comrade de Mandeville and his desire to acquire information from him:

> Shortly afterwards, we met a whole fleet of canoes, whose approach was notified by loud and discordant sounds – a horrible concert of voices of all ages, utterly indescribable. Their chief was an intelligent looking old man, called by the traders, 'le comarade 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, if it could be wormed out of him. To achieve this, Mr. M'Leod returned with the Indians to our encampment; there with all befitting ceremony to open the preliminaries by the customary pip; for a social puff is to an Indian, what a bottle of wine is to an Englishman; 'aperit praecordia,' it unlocks the heart, and dissipates reserve (Back 1970: 77-79).

Back continued along the Slave River toward Fort Resolution after meeting and trading with Slave Lake Indians at the confluence of the Slave and Salt Rivers. Upon Back's arrival the fort factor at Fort Resolution informed him that "Le grand Jeune Homme," was near "Buffalo Creek," now known as Little Buffalo River:

> Soon after my arrival I was informed by Mr McDonnell that the chief, called "Le grand Jeune Homme," who had been mentioned to me by Mr. Charles, was somewhere near the Buffalo Creek, a day or two from the house (Back 1970:83).

Back remained at Fort Resolution for several days gathering provisions. On the 11th of August 1833 he left Fort Resolution, travelled up the Slave River to the Jean Marie River, and followed the latter river (distributary) back to Great Slave Lake. On the way he encountered the same Indians that he had met on August 4th near the confluence of the Salt and Slave rivers. The band he encountered had been hunting in this area:

> I embarked the next morning, August 11th, at 6 A.M., . . . The weather was squally and threatening, and a heavy swell, which sometimes rose into crested waves, warned us to avoid the open lake, and seek protection of the windward islands. The canoe shipped much water, but the men kept on their work, and, after crossing an exposed bay, we soon reached the muddy entrance of the Little Channel. This took us to the Slave River, which we traversed, and discovered, on the eastern bank, a large party of Indians, who proved to be the same we had seen at Salt River. They were assembled in little groups, thinking that, according to the general custom of the traders, we should land; but perceiving that it was not our intension to do so, they called out 'What! Does the great chief go past, with-out even offering us a pipe of tobacco?' How-ever, on we passed, and entered a very narrow channel, where I began the survey, and shortly after another, called Cha-bilka, which is said to come from lakes not far distant.

He provided a description of a Chipewyan encampment:

> Near to this was an Indian encampment, the occupants of which were busily and noisily employed in drying the met of three recently killed moose. The successful hunters, apparently not a little vain of their prowess, were either lying at full length on the grass, whiffing the cherished pipe, or lounging on their elbows, to watch the frizzling of rich marrow bone, the customary perquisite of their labours (Back 1970:90-92).

From this point on Back began travelling eastward. Back's goal was to survey the "Great Fish River." He achieved his goal in June 1834 when he spent a month travelling the river surveying it for the HBC (University of Toronto 2000a). He returned to England in September 1835.

The Fort Resolution Hudson's Bay Company journals for the period 1829 to early 1834 are missing. The journals begin again in 1834. The information contained in the 1834 – 1835 journal is limited. Alexander R. McLeod's journals for the years 1835 to 1837 provide more evidence regarding land use and occupation of the Slave River region

McLeod recorded Grand Jeune Homme, the Chipewyan trading chief, and other Indians hunting on the Slave River:

> September 3rd 1835: "At dusk two lads arrived from G. Jeune Hommes Party, stationed on the Banks of the Slave River, above River a Landié – they have brought provisions not yet received" (McLeod 1835-1836:9b).
>
> September 4th 1835: "Received from the arrivals of yesterday 3 Bear Skins, 100 lb Dried Meat and 30 lb Grease" (McLeod 1835-1836:9b).
>
> September 28th 1835: "Grande Jeune Homme and Whooaze departed, without their families, on a short hunting excursion, about the entrance of Slave River" (McLeod 1835-1836:13).
>
> September 29th 1835: "Grand Jeune Homme returned from hunting, brought some Wild fowl of which six pieces fell to our share" (McLeod 1835-1836:13).
>
> August 15th 1836: "About Noon arrived Naltez, Eryellez, and Sakitheyellez from the Détour in Slave River; they were sometime in Company with Ezennay and Nawdee, who have gone to the heights of Buffº Creek" (McLeod 1836-1837:9).
>
> September 13th 1836: "Chunayillez and Chakallay, with their families arrived from Pointe de Roche; confluence of River a Jean, their invitation being to join the Chiefs Party that go up Hay River" (McLeod 1836-1837:12).
>
> October 1st 1836: "Thlootzee & Family arrived from Salt River; he also brought some Meat partially dried weight 215 lb, beside a Bear Skin & 2 Muskquashes – and nearly 5 Kegs of Salt" (McLeod 1836-1837:14).

Grand Jeune Homme was again recorded as frequenting the fort. At this point in time he had moved his camp from the Little Buffalo River to the Slave River.

Another river in the Slave River/Slave Lake region that the Chipewyans are recorded as hunting and trapping along is the Rocher River. From there they bring meat and skins in to the fort to trade:

> October 3rd 1835: "This forenoon Eszellay & hakithay arrived from River des Rocher, Received their hunt, also Beaulieux and followers, which is as follows, viz. 2 Bear Skins, 363 Musksquashes, 10 Swans, 1 Marten – 365 lb Dried

> Meat, 35 lb Pounded, 35 lb Grease, 126 Rain Deer Tongues (McLeod 1835-1836:14).
>
> December 20th 1835: "In the Evening Esthuthay, arrived, from his Brothers Party, about River du Rocher, the latter was here, the beginning of last month, after he got back to his party…the above Native brought 6 Large Beaver, 3 Small, 2 Otters, 7 martens, 3 White Foxes & 1 Musksquash" (McLeod 1835-1836:27b).
>
> January 29th 1836: "Late in the Evening Gros Tête, Native, arrived from Tsentheray's Party, River des Rocher, three days travel from hence. – This individual brought 7 Large Beavers, 10 Small, 1 Wolverine and two White Foxes" (McLeod 1835-1836:31b).
>
> August 14th 1836: Three Natives arrived from the Upper part of River des Rocher, they are the only individuals in that direction who have (ill) starvation in the course of this season – they brought 2 Black Bears, 4 Large Beavers, 3 Otters, 30 Musksquashes and 57 Swans" (McLeod 1836-1837:9).
>
> February 9th 1837: "In the Dzaddeeazé & a Boy arrived in three days travel from their Camps up River des Rocher, that little party have been pretty fortunate since fall, of late Petit Chaiseur, & his little Party have joined them" (McLeod 1836-1837:26).

Below are quotes taken from the Fort Resolution Post Journals written by Alexander McLeod from 1835 – 1837. He referred to "Little Buffalo River" as Buffalo Creek:

> September 7th 1835: "Nigh sunset, Yethcurray and Baptiste (Native) arrived Across Buff Creek, brought the Meat of two Buck Moose Deer" (McLeod 1835-1836:10).
>
> September 23rd 1835: "Louis Cadieu arrived from Buff. Creek, accompanied by Thloocie & four other Natives, who brought their Provision hunt, consisting of 350 lb Dried Meat and 50 pounds of Grease – They also brought 41 Musksquashes and 8 Swans" (McLeod 1835-1836:12).
>
> September 28th 1835: "Two Stragglers, natives are gone on a Mission to Buff. Creek, on their own business" (McLeod 1835-1836:13).

> October 3rd 1835: "Tlooaszay returned with the Meat of a Moose . . . Louis Cadieu arrived from Buff Creek Fishery, he left on a stage 2,200 White fish in charge of Baptiste Indian who attends to the Weir" (McLeod 1835-1836:14).
>
> April 5th 1836: "Tethcurray came to inform that he had secured a Doe moose, nigh the entrance of Buff. Creek" (McLeod 1835-1836:38).
>
> August 8th 1836: "the arrivals of yesterday, were supplied with ammunition & Tobacco, and departed in the Afternoon, with the intention of ascending Buffº Creek, in preference to Slave River, as it is ascertained that animals are unusually scarce along that River; Baatselyie, just arrived from thence and has met with no success whatever" (McLeod 1836-1837:8b).
>
> September 14th 1836: "Haintsay & Thoozen arrived from the Creek the[y] brought 2 Bear Skins & 3 Musksquashes, a [ill] dried Meat" (McLeod 1836-1837:12).
>
> September 27th 1836: "Baptiste, Tlootsee's Brother, arrived, having met with an accident, going up Buffº Creek" (McLeod 1836-1837:13b).
>
> October 1st 1836: "Haintsay & Son, arrived from a hunting excursion up Buffº Creek, they brought the Meat of a Buck Moose, weight 460 lb" (McLeod 1836-1837:14).

Francis Butcher took over as factor at Fort Resolution between 1837 and 1840. Below is a sample of the journal entries recorded during his sojourn at Fort Resolution pertaining to traders coming in from the Slave and Little Buffalo rivers:

1837:

> March 28th 1837: "a lad from Pohas to say he has in cache a female & his brother a young male moose deer they caught on the borders of Slave river a days [*sic*] march from the Fort" ([Butcher?] 1837-1838:18b).
>
> August 3rd 1837: "Two Natives arrived from Yettarrys party who are up Buffaloe [*sic*] Creek, they brought the flesh of two Rein deer fresh" ([Butcher?] 1837-1838:6b).

August 22nd 1837: "Yaraloru 7 two other natives arrived from hunting excursion up Slave river they brought 59 Musquash 7 1 Swan" ([Butcher?] 1837-1838:8).

August 23rd 1837: "The Natives also have decamped two are off to join Beaulieu & Party . . . the others are to hunt Musquash in the direction of Slave river" ([Butcher] 1837-1838:8).

1838:

July 14th 1838: "Arrived Casyou from Buffaloe Creek, brought a few provisions of dried meat, he is alone . . . says the fire has raged from one end of Buffaloe Creek to the other" ([Butcher?] 1838-1839:3b).

August 16th 1838: "the Indians took their departure towards evening some in the direction of Buffaloe Creek others toward Slave river" ([Butcher?] 1838-1839:5).

August 25th 1838: "arrived Thlootsie & brother from Buffaloe Creek has made a good summer hunt in the way of provisions 53 Skins 300 lbs dried Meat 70 lbs Grease" ([Butcher?] 1838-1839:6).

September 7th 1838: "Tiezezeheh arrived form Buffaloe Creek sent by Yettarry to say they had seen the fresh tracks of the cow" ([Butcher?] 1838-1839:6b).

October 13th 1838: "Nawdee & party took their departure for Buffaloe Creek" ([Butcher?] 1838-1839:9).

October 14th 1838: "Bapt le Borgne arrived this morning from Buffaloe Creek says he has 30 [ill] Fish" ([Butcher?]1838-1839:9).

1839:

June 11th 1839: "Departed Sans Petie & brothers & Chunasis for Buffaloe Creek in which direction they intend [ill] the summer" ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:1b).

> July 20th 1839: "arrived Captaine Nawnack, Iea, Baltel, Yellee & Heyeltoo from Buffaloe Creek brought 800 lbs dried meat 60 lbs Grease & 60 lbs Reindeer Meat" ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:3b).
>
> October 3rd 1839: "arrived Yethcorray & brother from Buffaloe Creek with the meat of a male moose deer. Fabian started for Buffaloe Creek for two days to [ill] Beaulieu in putting up a home" ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:8).
>
> October 6th 1839: "arrived Madeville, Fournier, Jacnaihai, Capot Rouge & followers also Garelina from Buffaloe Creek the latter came to tell that Beaulieu is very unwell ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:8).
>
> October 18th 1839: "Dorian came in from Buffaloe Creek, also Ettatough Ec, ka, ha & Tie, ze, zeg, ch,[17] the latter comes to inform us that Getlany has a female Moose en cache for the Fort" ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:9).

McLeod, as can be seen above, makes frequent reference to "Buffaloe Creek" which appears to have become a key campsite or centre for Chipewyans from the Slave River area – a jumping off point for trading at Fort Resolution. It was after all at the mouth of the Little Buffalo River (Buffalo Creek) which was at the time a transportation route allowing individuals hunting and trapping on the Slave River to circumvent the rapids (on the Slave River):

> August 22nd 1838: "Arrived . . . Manger du Lard & Brother, Frise, Eyaelthu, Sakithyillay & Lamalice from Buffaloe River & Yethcarray & <u>brother from Slave river"</u> ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:5).

The Chipewyan peoples who traded at Fort Resolution continued to hunt and trap along the Slave River during the late 1830s:

> February 7th 1840: "Departed Fabien & Dorion for Hunters [*sic*] lodge in Buffaloe Creek. Sylvester, St. Louis & Wentzel to try + find the cache made by Cheenay, sho, aze in Slave river last December" ([Butcher?] 1839-1840:14b).

As witnessed above, during the 1830s there are numerous accounts regarding Chipewyan peoples hunting and trapping in the Slave River region.

[17] The naming convention used here by Butcher appears to be similar to the one used by other Europeans in the region of dividing a name into syllables with dashes.

1840 – 1859

Few documents pertaining to the Slave River region or Fort Resolution have been located for this period of time. Indian Affairs was not yet in existence, the Hudson's Bay Company's records for this period are either not archived or are illegible, and no "explorers" appear to have passed through the region.

1860 – 1869

Early in the 1850s priests of the Catholic order "Oblates of Mary the Immaculate" (OMI) and ministers of Protestant denominations established churches in the main settlements around Great Slave Lake. Although the Oblate missionaries had had a presence in Fort Resolution since 1852, they did not construct a permanent residence until 1858 when St. Joseph's Mission was built. In a letter written from St. Joseph's Mission in 1863, Father Emilé-Fortuné Petitot, a well-known priest in Fort Resolution during the 1800s, described the various Indians of the fort and noted the date of Oblate settlement in the region:

> The Saint-Joseph's Mission was founded by Mgr Faraud five years ago [1858]. There, I replaced the R.P. Eynard, who left some days after my arrival to visit the Dogrib natives who inhabit the shores of the end of the lake [most likely the north-west corner of the lake]. The Indians who frequent the mission Saint-Joseph are the Montaignais or Chipewyans, whose proper name is Dènè, that is to say, the "real men"; the Yellowknives or Tratsan-ottiné, and the Indians of *lac aux Buffles*: Edjiéré troukénadé [translated from French] (Petitot 1863:369).

Over the years the priest constructed several schools in the area. The DIA annual report of 1891 described the "Fort Resolution (Boarding)" school as in operation with eight "Pupils on Roll" (Department of Indian Affairs 1891:242). However, a school of some sort had been in operation since the Oblate Missionaries had arrived in 1852. The school was located in St. Joseph's Mission.

Petitot recorded his observations regarding the Slave Lake area, including the Slave River region, in parish records, letters and articles for academic journals. These documents were written largely between 1863 and 1891.

The HBC journals spanning the period between late 1840 and 1864 are either missing from the Hudson's Bay Company archives or are for the most part illegible. A clerk, presumed to be James Lockhart, began keeping the Fort Resolution post journal in 1864. At this point in time names recorded by the Canadian Government in 1900 begin to appear in the HBC journals. Paulette Chandelle, and Louison Ah-Thay (also known as Louison Dos Noir (Department of Indian Affairs 1909:1270)) signed the Treaty 8 Adhesion at Fort Resolution in 1900 (Macrae 1900:xlv). Both individuals appear below in Lockhart's references to Indians hunting along the Slave River and, more broadly, the south shore of Great Slave Lake:

> August 23rd 1864: "Dos Noire arrived traded a black Bare. he started for Buff'o River" ([Lockhart?] 1864-1865:1).
>
> January 24th 1865: "Mr Lockhart and Louison off to Buffalo River in search of two Moose killed by Jock. Philip and Henry started for two Moose belonging to Francois" ([Lockhart?] 1864-1865:7b).
>
> July 1st 1865: "The Buffalo River Indians all arrived. I counted all their Furs. they brought about 300 Martens" ([Lockhart?] 1864-1865:15b).
>
> October 14th 1864: "Pierre Beaulieu, his father in law, Martelle Augustin and other Indians left for little Buffalo river. A blessed riddance!" ([Lockhart?] 1864-1865:3b).

Rocher River also continued to be recorded as a location where the Chipewyan Indians of Fort Resolution hunted and fished:

> October 7th 1864: "The old fisherman 'Ahs yill ay' who returned starving a few days ago from the Riviere de Roche started to go and make another attempt as we have heard that the water has fallen" ([Lockhart?] 1864-1865:3).
>
> June 30th 1865: "Old Martell his son & an other arrived. Mark & others also arrived from R – de – Roche" ([Lockhart?] 1864-1865:15b).

1870 – 1879

Few records exist for the 1870's save for those of the OMI priest Father Emilé-Fortuné Petitot. In 1874 he wrote a paper on the subject of the indigenous populations in the Athabasca-Mackenzie region. He did not make note of any specifics regarding the hunting practices in the Slave River region but did delineate the territory of the Chipewyans, as he knew it at that point in time:

> The *Montagnais,Chippeweyans* and *Athabascans* (*Dénè*). There are 4 000 of them between the Churchill or English river and Slave Lake. They inhabit Lakes Cross-Island, Froid-du-cœur [Cold-heart?], La Biche [Doe], Buffalo and Athabaskaw, the length of the river of that name and of that of the Slaves [the Slave River] [translated from French] (Petitot 1874:833).

In 1874 Petitot enumerated the Chipewyans at 4000 individuals.

1880 – 1889

In 1883 Petitot wrote an article for the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*. This article was entitled "On the Athabasca District of the Canadian North-West Territories." He made two specific references to the people on the Slave River. Petitot first placed the Beaulieu family at a settlement along the Salt River:

> Besides these vast deltas there are other lands, <u>on the left bank of the Slave River,</u> perfectly fit for cultivation; this is indeed proved by the old settlement of the Beaulieu family on the banks of the Salt River (Petitot 1883:643).

Petitot also mentioned a recent epidemic that impacted the Chipewyan peoples in the region:

> The same fate [depopulation due to disease] has befallen the Chipewyans. In their total of 500 must be reckoned those of Fort Smith, at the foot of the rapids of the Slave River, as well as those of the Salt River, and many families of the Great Slave Lake and Ox River (Petitot 1883:652).

No other account is given for this epidemic that took place in the 1880s. A more devastating epidemic of both influenza and tuberculosis occurred in the region during the late 1920s and early 1930s. This will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

The HBC journal records for the period spanning 1865 to 1885 are either unavailable or missing. They resume in 1886 with J. Klett.

J. Klett recorded numerous accounts of "Indians" coming in to trade at Fort Resolution. Using the names that he recorded, of the individuals who traded at the fort, we are frequently able to link these individuals to a band using the Treaty Annuity Paylists, which began in 1900:

> March 10th 1887: "Glase arrived from Buffalo River brought news Francis Mandeville had a moose in Cache for the Fort" (Klett 1886-1889:10).
>
> December 22nd 1887: "Lousian [possibly Louison Dos Noir] & 4 others arrived from Buffalo lake brought a few furs" (Klett 1886-1889:23b).
>
> February 5th 1888: "at 7 oclock this morning Moise Mandeville start to Buffalo River with Lousian Dosinare to enable him to get to Buffalo Lake as quick as possible" (Klett 1886-1889:26b).
>
> March 7th 1888: "at 4 oclock this morning I & Michel start to Buffalo River to collect some furs among they [*sic*] Indians to keep them out of the Traders hands" (Klett 1886-1889:27).
>
> March 6th 1888: "Mr. Gaudet and son & 2 Trains Dogs & a boy start to Buffalo Lake to visit Lousian Dausinere being some time since we heard from him" (Klett 1886-1889:28b).
>
> June 15th 1888: "2 Indians arrived from Buffalo River brought news Louisian [possibly Louison Dos Noir] had arrived from Buffalo Lake" (Klett 1886-1889:32).
>
> October 22nd 1888: "Three Indians arrived from Buffaloe River Village. 'no furs' but are catching lots of fish" (Klett 1886-1889:40).

> November 24th 1888: "Trausway arrived from Buff. River & had killed three moose one of which he gave us" (Klett 1886-1889:41b).

In the above journal he recorded the presence of Louison Dos Noir, the Chief for the Chipewyans at the signing of the Treaty 8 Adhesion at Fort Resolution in 1900 (Macrae 1900:xlv).

The individuals referred to by Klett in the post journals are of both Chipewyan and of Yellowknife descent. The Chipewyans mentioned include Louison Dos Noir above and Small Francis (Department of Indian Affairs 1909:1270):

> January 22nd 1887: "Small Francis arrived brought a moose he killed which weighed 360 lbs" (Klett 1886-1889:7b).

The Yellowknife names recorded by Klett included Dzintu (also called Tzin-Tu), a signatory of the Treaty 8 Adhesion. (He marked his X as Head Man for the Yellowknives):

> April 25th 1887: "a Party of 10 Indians arrived brought a few Furs but no meat at 12 OClock tonight 2 Indians arrived from Dzintu Camp brought news of meat in Cache for the Fort" (Klett 1886-1889:12).

> May 28th 1887: "Dzintu & 4 others arrived brought a few Furs & a little meat. I and Mr. King Equipped them at once they are anxious to be off as the Ice is getting bad" (Klett 1886-1889:13b).

1890 – 1899

In June 1889 adventurer Warburton Pike left Calgary and headed north toward Great Slave Lake. Accounts of these expeditions were republished in 1967. Pike had set out to hunt musk ox for sport in the Barren Grounds of Canada. Before his journey he had familiarized himself with the region through the journals of the earlier explorers. Pike took the lead of Samuel Hearne in deciding to "trust to the local knowledge of Indians to help me" (Pike 1967:vii). With his Chipewyan guides Pike safely traversed the Great Slave Lake region and beyond between late

1889 and January 1891. Pike stopped in Fort Smith on his journey to Fort Resolution and the Barren Lands. He wrote that:

> Fort Smith, in spite of its fine situation on an open flat high above the river, is the most disreputable establishment I came across in the North, and the contrast was more striking as most of the forts are kept rather smartly. Several half-breeds have settled close round, and a large band of Indians, known as the Caribou-Eaters, whose hunting-ground lies between the two big lakes, get their supplies from here (Pike 1967:17-18).

On his first night in the Slave River region after leaving Fort Chipewyan, Pike and his party hunted ducks and muskrats which according to Pike were abundant in the Slave River Delta:

> We camped the first night in the delta of the Slave, or, as it is more usually called, the Big River. I distributed a little ammunition, and we killed enough ducks to provide the whole party with a night's provisions . . . Here we remained two days, still within twenty miles of the fort. Wild-fowl were numerous, but the great autumn migration had not yet set in, and all the birds that we found had been bred in the muskegs that surround us on all sides; they were mostly mallard, widgeon, teal, shoveller, and pintail, the latter being particularly plentiful. Musk-rats swam in all the little creeks and lakes, and, as they are esteemed as an article of food, and their skins are of a trifling value, we killed a great many (Pike 1967:24-25).

After reaching Fort Resolution and stocking up on provisions, Pike, with a party of Yellowknife Indians, began to move east across the south shore of the lake with the goal of reaching the Simpson Islands. On the third day of their journey they stopped again in the Slave River Delta, and Pike and his Indian guides hunted and fished:

> On the third day we paddled along the shore of the lake against a strong head-wind, passing the Isle de Pierre [located in the mouth of the Petit River de Jean (Pike 1967:to face p. 1)], one of the best fisheries in the neighbourhood, and camped at the Point of Rocks, the first spot on the south side of the lake where the red granite again shows up, and the end of the muskeg country that extends far on each side of the Big River. Here we caught enough whitefish with the nets to enable even the dogs to have a small feed, and, as we killed forty ducks

> while waiting for the wind to moderate, everybody was satisfied (Pike 1967:25).

In February 1890, after Pike had returned from hunting musk ox, he settled back in at Fort Resolution. He then travelled west to Little Francois' cabin at the mouth of Buffalo River (little Francois is found on the 1909 Treaty Annuity Paylist under the Chipewyan Band at Fort Resolution as Petite Francois (Department of Indian Affairs 1909:1270)). Earlier Pike had described Little Buffalo River as it appeared from Fort Resolution:

> The only high land to be seen is a conspicuous bluff marking the entrance to the Little Buffalo River some ten miles along the lake shore (Pike 1967:133).

He later described little Francois' cabin, which was below the "high bluff":

> The comfortable little shanty, under the high bluff, which forms the most conspicuous landmark within sight of Fort Resolution (Pike 1967:141).

Given the similarity of these descriptions it seems likely that little Francois' cabin is at the mouth of the Little Buffalo River. During the interviews we conducted in February 2013, as seen in Section 2, "Little Buffalo River" was often referred to as "Buffalo River."

Little Francois and Pike then travelled south:

> We followed the river for a mile or two, then turned into the woods on the west band, and, crossing a lake of some size, headed in a south-west direction through the thick pine-forest, occasionally picking up a marten from a line of traps set by little Francois, for we were following the track that he had made on his last trip, or finding a rabbit hung by the neck in one of his wife's snares; very cunning these old women are in all things concerning the stomach, and if there are many rabbit-tracks to be seen in the snow there is little danger of going without supper (Pike 1967:141-142).

While travelling through this area near little Francois' trapline, Pike described the geographic extent of "the greatest Beaver country in the world":

> On the second day we crossed a large prairie dotted with lakes, formerly the home of many beavers, and still bearing evidence of their labours in the long banks which served as dams and the huge mounds which were once their houses . . . From the Liard River and Great Slave Lake to the Peace River on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, extends the greatest Beaver country in the world (Pike 1967:142).

This area was also home to buffalo, moose, woodland caribou, black bear, and others:

> Scattered over this huge extent of country are still a few bands of buffalo. Sometimes they are heard of at Forts Smith and Vermillion, sometimes at Fort St. John close up to the big mountains on Peace River, and occasionally at Fort Nelson on the south branch of the Liard . . . Here too the giant moose and the woodland caribou have their home, and even in the short journey that I made into this district the tracks in the snow told a tale of plenty. Many black bears' skins are brought out every year, and towards the mountains the formidable grizzly is often encountered by the fearful hunter. Nor are the small fur-bearing animals wanting; foxes—red, cross, and a few silver—seek their living on the prairie, while wolverines, fisher, mink, marten, and lynx may be trapped in the woods, and a few otters frequent the streams and lakes (Pike 1967:143-144).

On the third day of their buffalo hunt, Little Francois and Pike spotted a band near the Little Buffalo River-Slave River portage north of Fort Smith. Here they shot two buffalo but took only one:

> After three days' good travel we reached the end of Francois' road, and long before daylight on the following morning were away to try and find the buffalo tracks . . . Prairie and timber were about in equal proportion, and the eye could follow the windings of a large stream that falls into the Little Buffalo River close to the Fort Smith portage . . . About noon we found the track that we had been looking for, easily distinguishable from the many tracks of moose and woodland caribou that we had crossed; little Francois made a capital approach, and after a couple of hours' walk we sighted a band of eight buffalo feeding in a small wood-surrounded swamp . . . the Indian gave us no time to watch them, and completely spoilt the chance of clean shooting by letting off his gun too soon . . . it was not till late in the second day that we secured a cow that had travelled many miles before lying down (Pike 1967:144-145).

Pike then left the Fort Resolution area and travelled north into the Barren Lands once again with his Yellowknife guides. Pike spent the rest of his time in the north hunting musk ox north of Great Slave Lake. Eventually he did embark on his return journey and at this point in time his journal becomes less descriptive. He passed by Fort Resolution on his way south but only mentioned it in passing.

Emilé-Fortuné Petitot published a book in 1891 entitled "Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves." In his book he mentioned Chipewyans hunting in the Slave Lake region. Petitot, as a priest, amateur anthropologist, and writer, was less interested in hunting and more interested in individuals and cultural groups as seen in the quote below:

> It [the trail of three people and four dogs, discovered by Petitot's guide] led towards the mouth of the Buffalo River, where we arrived at midday. To our great joy, we actually saw there a plume of white smoke, then a pointed roof of bark, and finally a real American-style cabin, with door, windows, and chimney. A quarter of an hour later we shook the hand of *Ttazin-zènè*, Black-back, a pure-blooded Tchippewayan, whom we found proudly arching his back on his doorstep, like a lord in front of his castle [translated from French] (Petitot 1891:21).

Petitot would travel the region for a variety of reasons visiting a number of Chipewyans. Below he attended a Chipewyan Indian named Dried Fruit, a young Chipewyan camping along the Slave River:

> During the course of the winter, I made a short trip of several days by snowshoe, on the Slave River, to visit a sick young Dènè. It was *Djiyé-kpanè*, Dried Fruit, my new hunter, who had come to find me.
>
> —"Father", he said to me, "my brother-in-law, Young Rat, *Dzen-*, is dying and calls on you to attend him" [translated from French] (Petitot 1891:131).

Interestingly Petitot wrote that that at this point in time the Chipewyans were camped at Fort Resolution while the Yellowknives were camped on Moose Island (albeit not far off):

> I had left my Dènè flocks, divided into Tchippewayans and Yellow-Knives, the former camped at Fort Resolution, the others around my dwelling, on Moose Island [translated from French] (Petitot 1891:97).

"Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves" was Petitot's last work regarding the Slave River region.

Klett again took up writing the Fort Resolution Post Journals in 1891. In his post journal he made many references to Buffalo River (which could be either Little Buffalo River or Buffalo River) and the people who hunted and camped there:

> July 2nd 1891: "The Buffaloe Lake Indians arrived today. Ajerricon & Louison Dos Noire Parties bringing good hunts. Two or three Fort Smith Indians arrived with them from the same place" (Klett 1891-1895:3b).
>
> December 22nd 1891: "Indians from Buffalo River arrived" (Klett 1891-1895:11b).
>
> December 31st 1891: "Some Indians arrived from Buffalo Lake. Brought their furs with them" (Klett 1891-1895:11b).
>
> April 25th 1892: "5 Indians from B. Lake arrived" (Klett 1891-1895:16b).
>
> May 2nd 1892: "Tsanzes started this morning to fish at B. River" (Klett 1891-1895:17).
>
> April 1st 1893: "Old Ajerricon & son arrived from Buffaloe River with their hunts. Report to be catching lots of suckers in the nets" (Klett 1891-1895:27).
>
> June 27th 1893: "Buffalo River Indians arrived this morning bringing their spring hunts" (Klett 1891-1895:30).
>
> June 15th 1894: "Buffalo River Indians arrived this afternoon" (Klett 1891-1895:fol. 36b).
>
> December 31st 1894: "All Buffaloe River Indians arrived today" (Klett 1891-1895:42b).

The number of times that "Buffaloe River" is referenced above makes it seems likely that he is referring to either of the two rivers—Buffalo River or Little Buffalo River—without differentiating between the two (although the Little Buffalo River is considerably closer to Fort Resolution). Additionally, a fort was constructed at Hay River in 1868 (Usher 1971:43). Buffalo River is considerably closer to Hay River.

The relatively short portage between Little Buffalo River and the Slave River allowed the people to hunt and trap along the Slave River, but establish camps on Little Buffalo River away from the busy Slave River used by all and sundry as a transportation route. The campsite also allowed for easy access to Fort Resolution across the Bay.

Klett's entry for April 4th, 1892 mentioned "three Indians" hunting "across the Bay." Fort Resolution is located at the eastern end of the Bay and the mouth of the Little Buffalo River is about halfway along the bay to the west:

> April 4th 1892: "Three Indians from across the Bay arrived, viz. Becochenay, Houkezay & Joseph Nadjere they report that they have 2 deer & 3 moose in the woods cached for the company" (Klett 1891-1895:15b).

Klett noted how numerous the animals were in that region:

> February 1st 1893: "The winter so far has been good no great cold & not much snow. Indians all well off on this side of the Lake as Rabbits & Moose are numerous. Also fur seems to be plentifull [*sic*]. On the north side of Lake little or no deer and some of the Indians have consequently had rather hard times & lost some of their dogs" (Klett 1891-1895:26).

In this paragraph Klett makes it clear that Indians are frequently hunting in the region, but, as he was obligated to only record what he has traded, he has not necessarily recorded the Indians subsistence activities or the fur they catch for their own purposes.

Between 1892 and 1894 Frank Russell, a biologist, set out into the Barren Lands north of Great Slave Lake for the University of Iowa in order to gather specimens of musk-ox and, as he stated, "everything else that I could lay my hands on" (Russell 1898:iii). After travelling north from

Selkirk, Manitoba in August 1892—a journey spanning a year—Russell began his descent of the Slave River in mid-June 1893. He reported:

> As we sped swiftly down the narrow channel below, we saw frequent signs of the presence of beavers; Mackenzie reports their occurrence there in great numbers at the time of his journey in 1789 (Russell 1898:62).

His interests included geology, biology, ecology, and human habitation. Russell noted the presence of Indians along the banks of the Slave River north of its confluence with the Salt River:

> This low ledge of brecciated limestone and that underlying the Pointe de Gravois on the right band, two miles below, are the only exposures of limestone that I saw on the Slave River. The swift current at Gravel Point forms a strong eddy where fish are abundant. This unfailing food supply accounts for the presence of three or four Indian cabins on the band above (Russell 1898:65).

On the 6th of July 1893 Russell arrived in Fort Resolution via the western channel of the Slave River. Here he encountered a large group of Yellow Knife Indians camped around the fort:

> Turning southward around Mission Island, we reached Resolution early on the morning of the 6th . . . I counted sixty lodges on the beach before the fort. The most of them were occupied by Yellow Knife Indians from the north shore of the lake (Russell 1898:67).

For the next six months Russell travelled north into the Barren Lands through Fort Rae. On December 15th, 1893 he returned to Fort Resolution and spent Christmas and New Year's there resting. On the 8th of January 1894 he attempted to employ the assistance of Little Francois (the Chipewyan mentioned earlier by Klett) in a Buffalo Hunt. Russell went to Little Francois' house at the mouth of Little Buffalo River (which makes clear the confusion surrounding the location of Little Francois' house in Pike's (1967) journal):

> As Little Francois, in contracting to guide me to the buffaloes, made his demands according to the present advanced ideas prevalent among the Chippewyans, I will narrate the circumstances somewhat in detail . . . On the

> 8th I went to his [Little Francois'] house at the mouth of little Buffalo River, and found, as I had expected, that he had not gone to hunt moose, but had asked for delay in order that sufficient time might elapse before again visiting his traps which were upon route . . . I purchased here ten sticks of the smallest whitefish that I saw anywhere in the country. They had been caught in the Little Buffalo River, and did not exceed one pound each in weight (Russell 1898:100-101).

Little Francois and Frank Russell began their hunt along Little Francois's trapline south of the mouth of Little Buffalo River along the river itself:

> Our course was toward the south, for two days, along Francois' trapping trail [south east of Little Buffalo River], where he found a few martens and a fisher in his traps and a dozen hares in his snares (Russell 1898:102).

They hunted for 13 days, however during that time they failed to find buffalo. The entry above is the only mention of Little Francois' trapline or any animals they caught. They returned to Little Buffalo River and then to Fort Resolution. Shortly thereafter Russell headed north again and with a party of Yellowknives they stayed in that region until April 13th 1894. He then descended the Mackenzie River and left the area. However, in the appendices of his journal entitled "Natural History: Mammals" he wrote regarding the hunting of buffalo in the Slave River region:

> The Indians along the Peace and Slave Rivers make occasional trips into the buffalo country with dog teams to establish lines of marten traps. When they discover a band of buffaloes they of course kill as many as they can, but they have not made systematic efforts to hunt them for their robes, as they have the musk-ox . . . Black Head, an old Yellow Knife chief, living at the mouth of the Rivière au Jean, told me that he had killed "plenty of buffaloes" in the delta of the Slave River (Russell 1898:231-232).

Russell also described the muskrat and fisher's presence in the region. Unfortunately, he does not describe how, when, or where they were hunted:

> The marten is the most abundant of the carnivores of this regions. Five or six thousand are annually obtained at a single station (Russell 1898:238).

> They [the fisher] are not common anywhere in this region. They extend northward as far as the Great Slave Lake, but are not found between Lake Athabasca and the Great Slave Lake except along the Slave River (Russell 1898:239).

Indian Affairs assumed the jurisdiction of the Indians in the region in 1900 with the signing of the 4th Treaty 8 Adhesion on July 26, 1900.

1900 – 1909

The "signing" of the 1900 Treaty 8 Adhesion by the chiefs of the Dogrib, Yellowknife, Slavey, and Chipewyan bands inhabiting the shore of Great Slave Lake marks a significant moment in the history of the interaction between the Government of Canada and the Déné people. Following the signing of this agreement, the Department of Indians Affairs (DIA) exercised increasing control over the territory covered by the Treaty 8 Adhesion and over the activities of the people living there.

The DIA assumed control over the administration of trading activities, the tallying and organizing of individuals and the tracking of tribal and band movements. Later, hunting regulations such as the creation of open and closed seasons and trapline licencing, in the name of conservation, were implemented and enforced.

In 1899 Treaty 8 was signed by Indians of the present-day Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. In 1900 the Dogrib, Yellowknife, Slavey and Chipewyan bands, inhabiting the shores of the Great Slave Lake, met with the Treaty party at Fort Resolution to sign the Treaty 8 Adhesion on July 25, 1900 (Fumoleau 2004:94).

Four groups signed the adhesion to Treaty 8 at Fort Resolution. For the "Yellow Knives" group, three men signed: Snuff as Chief, and both Tzin-Tu, and Ate-ee-zen as Head Men. For the "Dog Ribs": Dried Geese signed as Chief, and Way-mi-ah as and Crap-wa-tee as Head Men. For the "Slaves of Hay River": Sunrise and Lamelise signed, both as Head Men. For the Chipewyans,

Louison Ahthay (also known as Dosnoir) signed as Chief, while Oliver Ajjericon, Vital Lamoëlle, and Paulette Chandelle all signed as Head Men (Macrae 1900:xlv).

The Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) assumed control over the trading activities of Indians at Fort Resolution following the signing of the Treaty 8 Adhesion. The HBC post at Fort Resolution continued to operate as a trading centre. Their staff continued to record intensive use of the Slave River region by the Chipewyans and the persistence of their hunting, trapping and fishing activities. However the influence of government—both the Dominion of Canada and the newly created provinces to the south, as well as industry, were to take be the harbingers of change.

Plate 2: "Hislop and Nagle trading steamer, bringing their supplies into their post at [Fort] Resolution, Great Slave Lake" (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 1901a).

As noted above, the HBC continued to record the activities of the people in the area. Chipewyan Chief Louison Ahthay (also known as Dosnoir), and Head Men Vital Lamoëlle and Paulette Chandelle appear often in these journal entries. The HBC clerk recorded their extensive use of the region:

> October 1st 1903: "Chief Vital left for Rocher River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:2).
>
> October 2nd 1903: "Luison Dos Noir left the Buffalo Creek" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:2).
>
> January 8th 1904: "Michel Mandeville left for Vital's camp at riviere au Rocher [Rocher River]" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:7b).
>
> October 5th 1904: "Moise Mandeville, Kess, Jose Nagerias & Paulette Chandelle came in from Little Buffalo River, & the demands made by Paulette being so exorbitant I had to let him go to the opposition" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:15b).
>
> April 20th 1905: "Pierre left for Bufallo [*sic*] River this evening for fish received from Vital" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:27).
>
> June 13th 1905: "Vital & Paulette arrived this evening from Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:30).

Many entries do not name individual traders directly but do make clear just how important hunting and trapping were in the Slave River region during the early 1900s:

> October 20th 1904: "3 men from Buffalo River arrived yesterday & left this afternoon" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:16b).
>
> November 1st 1904: "All the Indians from Buffalo river in" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:17b).
>
> November 24th 1904: "a few furs coming in, Pascal & Francois in from Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:18).

> December 3rd 1904: "Moise in from Buffalo River with fur" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:19).
>
> December 17th 1904: "the hunters from Buffalo river coming in" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:20).
>
> February 17th 1905: "Young Francois in from Buffalo river & gave me 8 mink & 1 R. Fox" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:23).
>
> April 17th 1905: "Indians dropping in now & then from Buffullo [*sic*] river" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:27).
>
> January 28th 1906: "Louison & Charlie off to the Caribou grounds deer reported plentiful. Some Indians in from Sm B River & got 2 moose in cache" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:46b).

As demonstrated in these above examples, Chipewyans are recorded as bringing in mink, fox furs, moose, as well as fish.

1910 – 1919

This period represents a continuation of the commercial activities described above as well as a notable increase in the DIA's presence in the Slave River region. As in the last decade, HBC Fort Resolution Post Journals provide an invaluable source of information on the travel and trade activities of the Chipewyans in the region.

In addition, the Indian Affairs files contain documentation, which records the impacts of the first game laws to be applied to this region. The correspondence demonstrates the new reality of government regulatory pressure on the economic and subsistence activities of the Indian population. These laws restricted the number of animals that could be caught. This was achieved through the imposition of a closed season on the trapping of some fur bearing animals.

Plate 3: "Indians landing at Great Slave Lake with birchbark canoes, coming to trade at Fort Resolution" (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 1901b).

The HBC Fort Resolution Post Journals for the period 1914 to 1916 contain entries by an unnamed clerk who recorded:

> June 16th 1914: "All the L Buffalo River people came in today. Have been opening pieces all day" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1914-1916:2b).
>
> May 22nd 1915: "Several Indians came in from Braver [Little Buffalo River] with Dry fish" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:26b).
>
> November 27th 1915: "a hunter from L B River brought in some meat" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:40b).

There are also entries detailing the location of Rocher River and Stony Island and furs procured from these locations:

> October 20th 1914: "a few Indians & half breeds from Stony Island & Roche River came in today, expecting to secure debts but without luck" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:15b).
>
> June 4th 1915: "Three canoes arrived from Roche River, a few furs among the Indians, who complain of a scarcity of food, fish being scarce" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:27b).
>
> June 13th 1915: "A few Indians came in from Roche River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:28).
>
> September 16th 1915: "Some Indians from Roche River came in, expecting Debts, but got it in the neck" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:34b).

And the Slave River:

> October 18th 1914: "Indians & half breed Hunters who trap up the River, left during afternoon" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1903-1907:13).

The HBC Fort Resolution Post Journals, years 1916 – 1919, are more detailed in that some individual traders' names are recorded. However, even when specific names are not given for the Indians who visited the Fort, the locations cited indicate which areas were used intensively for hunting, trapping, and fishing activities:

> June 11th 1916: "Two Indians from Roche River came in for goods" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:8b).
>
> March 10th 1917: "busy in morning with some Indians from Roche River who have been doing a little trading for us" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:24b).
>
> March 20th 1917: "J Hole [Joseph Hole is presumed to be an English employee of the HBC. In this quote, and that which follows, Joseph Hole is trading with

> the above Indians at Fort Resolution] returned from Roche River made a good trade" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:25d).
>
> June 1st 1917: "Jos Hole started to Roche River with a Canoe load of principal goods wanted" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:32b).
>
> June 1st 1916: "a few Indians with furs came in from Roche River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:8).
>
> November 16th 1917: "Joseph Hole & Harry [ill] started to Rocher River to see the fur Hunters" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:46).
>
> November 22nd 1917: "Jos Hole came back with a little furs from Rocher River with news of the Deer at Rat River, some have been killed & the men are going out to hunt them" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:46d).

In addition to furs, deer and dried meat were reported to have originated from the Rocher River area:

> November 24th 1917: "most of the men went away for a Deer hunt at rocher river" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:46b).
>
> April 16th 1918: "Joseph Hole started to rocher river for Dry meat & to see the camps for furs" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:56).
>
> January 19th 1918: "Pierre Freeze came in from Rocher River with a load of meat. Deer hunters all coming with loads" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:49b).

It is of note that Pierre Freezie, the individual identified in the journal entry above, was elected Chief of the Yellow Knife "A" Band at Fort Resolution in 1936 (Department of Indian Affairs 1936:462).

In addition to the trapping activities described in and around Rocher River, records from this period note Indians arriving from, or returning to, Buffalo River, often the same people as those hunting, trapping or fishing along the Slave, Rocher, and Jean rivers:

> November 25th 1916: "Joseph Houle arrived from Buffalo River with a few pelts" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:15b).
>
> December 21st 1916: "Big Buffalo River Indians arriving quite busy at night up till 10 o'clock" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:17b).
>
> February 21st 1917: "Indians arrived from Buffalo River some En route to Caribou others returning to Buffalo River with grub before going on hunt" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:23).
>
> October 30th 1917: "Joseph Hoole went to Buffalo River for fish bought from Wm Clawhammer [a Chipewyan on the 1909 Treaty Annuity Paylist for Fort Resolution (1909:1272)]" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:45).
>
> March 30th 1917: "H McKay from Big Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:26b).
>
> January 10th 1918: "Henry McKay & Tetjean & Paul Ajerricon arrived from Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:49).
>
> January 11th 1918: "Trading with Buffalo River Indians" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:49).

Individuals of note in the above quotations are Henry McKay, who we know from Indian Affairs Treaty Annuity Paylists to be a Treaty Indian registered in the Chipewyan Band and paid annuities at Fort Resolution (Department of Indian Affairs 1909), and Paul Ajerricon. The latter is the brother of Oliver Ajerricon, who signed as Head Man for the Chipewyans on the 1900 Fort Resolution Treaty 8 Adhesion (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Canada 1869–1870). Paul Ajerricon is recorded in Indian Affairs Treaty Annuity Paylists as registered in the Chipewyan Band and paid annuities at Fort Resolution (Department of Indian Affairs 1909).

Little Buffalo River in particular was identified in the HBC journal entries as a good fishing location, as illustrated in the following examples:

> April 17th 1917: "Susie Nagrais arrived from L.B. River with 100 fish from our nets" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:28).

> May 11th 1917: "Pascall came in from L B River saying it won't open for at least 3 or 4 days (freezing at night)" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:30).
>
> June 25th 1918: "some Indians arrived from Little Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:62).

Rat River and Big River (Slave River) are additional areas in the Slave River region where individuals were recorded in the HBC journals as either returning from, or on their way to. Pertinent excerpts from the Fort Resolution Post Journals include:

> March 15th 1917: "Busy in morning with some Indians from Rat River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:25).
>
> November 30th 1917: "Little Chusin, Antoine & Chilcase arrived from up the big river. Some of the deer hunters arrived last night but got nothing" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1916-1919:47).

The Northwest Games Act gained Royal Assent on September 20th, 1917 thus becoming law. It was a move that would impact the ability of Indians of the Northwest Territories to continue hunting and trapping as they had in the past for subsistence and economic purposes. A regulation establishing a "close season" and an "open season" for the hunting and trapping of game animals was approved:

> "close season" with respect to any kind of game means the period during which the hunting, killing, destroying, injuring, trapping, taking, capturing, selling, trading in or molesting of such kind of game is prohibited or restricted by this Act by regulation.
>
> "open season" with respect to any kind of game means the period during which such kind of game may be hunted, killed, destroyed, trapped, taken, captured, sold; traded in or possessed (Northwest Game Act 1917).

In response to the new game laws, in 1917 L. M. Lloyd-Waters of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Fort Resolution detachment wrote about the trapping activities of the Indians in the area. He detailed the importance of beaver and muskrat both for food and for their pelts:

> At Fort Resolution very little unprime fur is killed, and that only beaver, or muskrats which the Indians some times kill for food, the pelts of which they use for clothing and for trimming gloves, etc. (Lloyd-Walters 1917:1).

The creation of the *Northwest Games Act* marks the first concrete example of government attempts at conservation in this region. The passing of the new game law had the effect of increasing government surveillance over the lives of Indians in the Great Slave Lake region.

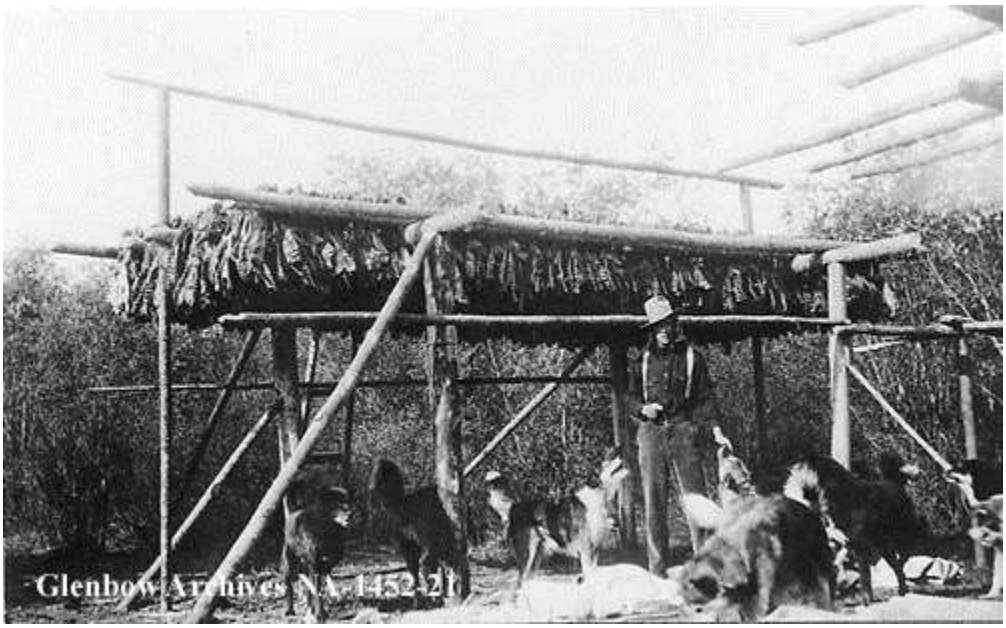
1920 – 1929

This period is marked by an expansion of a government regulatory regime within the territory of the Chipewyans, manifested through the enforcement of game laws and the creation of game preserves. The regulations are outlined in this section, as well as the manner in which the Chipewyans defied their imposition. HBC Fort Resolution Post Journal entries cited below depict the continued use of the Slave River region by Chipewyans. Just as in preceding decades, Little Buffalo River, Buffalo River, Rocher River, Rat River, and Slave River continued to be significant areas for hunting, trapping, and fishing.

Plate 4: Canoes with sails on Little Buffalo River, Alberta (Glenbow Museum 1920).

The memoir of free-trader Peter Baker (1976) provides information detailing Chipewyan trapping, hunting and fishing activities in the Slave River region during this period. Baker's account of the he time spent working and travelling in this region chronicles the families he met and traded with between 1921 and 1926, describing in detail the furs he acquired and the locations where these interactions occurred. Baker (1976) travelled extensively throughout the Slave River region, often making his way between Fort Resolution in the north, Fort Smith in the south, Little Buffalo River in the west, and the length of Taltson River to the east. He ranged significantly further afield for his commercial exploits, however only those of significance to the current study area are quoted below.

Plate 5: Drying fish at Salt River, Northwest Territories (Glenbow Museum 1923).



Baker recorded that during the spring of 1922, while in Fort Smith, he learned that it was customary for all the "Indians, half breeds, and anyone else who had sleigh dogs" (1976:54) to go to the Salt River to fish. He wrote:

> Usually, the ice on Salt River breaks up about ten days before the ice breaks on the big Slave River, and then there is a heavy run of fish, suckers, upstream on the Salt River. The people set out five-inch mesh nets, from which they would be perpetually taking fish, with women filleting by the river. They would leave the backbone still attached, and hang the fillets to dry this way. They used the

> fish for dog food in the summer months, as every family had from five to ten dogs for their teams in the winter (Baker 1976:54).

On this same trip, Baker noted that he had purchased about five hundred fish and fifty muskrat skins for a dollar each while at Salt River (1976:25). On a return trip (to trade at Stony Island in the Slave River Delta), he recalled meeting Joseph King Beaulieu, his two married sons, and three single boys, Francis, Jonnie, and Pierre working at the Roman Catholic Mission there:

> The men from the Mission went to the island in the month of September, set out nets and took from fifteen to twenty thousand fish, mostly whitefish with a few trout. They used prepared sticks of about three feet in length, pointed on one end, and with the help of a knife ran a stick through the fish, usually ten fish to a pole and the set the sticks across timber cut down to about eight feet, thus hanging up their catch to dry. They took the fresh fish by barge to Resolution, where they hung them to dry at the Resolution Mission residential school, called a Convent, with between two and three hundred pupils. The fish was used for food for themselves as a part used for dog food (Baker 1976:70).

According to his memoirs, in autumn of 1922 Baker (1976) set off with Alexander King Beaulieu to Rat River and Rocher River to trade furs. He noted running into muskrat hunters from the settlement of Rat River:

> Occasionally we would meet some young Indian girls setting steel traps inside the rat houses or pushups, then covering the cavity with snow so it wouldn't freeze. Usually there was a muskrat caught in every trap (Baker 1976:73).

On their return to Stony Island, Baker and Beaulieu visited the traps he had set along the way. About 15 miles outside of Stony Island they came upon Oliver La Win and his wife and son at their trapping camp. Baker recalled:

> They were from Rocher River and members of the Yellowknife Indian Band. He had a ten by twelve foot tent among the trees away from the lakeshore on Stony Point (Baker 1976:74).

At Fort Resolution later that same year, Baker (1976) recalled the annual arrival of Indian trappers. These groups arrived from all directions and brought a great number of furs with them. He wrote:

> During the holiday of Christmas and New Year, Indian trappers came to Resolution by dog teams and toboggan, bringing with them their fur catches of every kind of fur, fox, wolf, lynx, mink, marten white fox, wolverine, beaver and muskrat. They would drift in from all directions, big groups from the north shore of the lake, Dogribs and Chipewyans from Fort Reliance, on the Snowdrift River, the Wolf River, the Little Buffalo River and the neighbouring sites. I estimate about half a million dollars [*sic*] worth of fur used to come to Resolution in the period of one year (Baker 1976:76).

In January 1923 Baker (1976) set out from Fort Resolution toward Little Buffalo River. Along the way, he recalled seeing four groups of Indian trappers ahead of him on the trail. The following day he noted:

> One of the four trappers who had proceeded us the day before was still with us with his four-dog team. He had mink traps strung along the river banks, so every now and then he stopped to check a trap and pick up a frozen mink caught in the trap (Baker 1975:90).

The following year Baker (1976) journeyed from Fort Resolution to Edmonton, traveling at first along the Little Buffalo River route. He recalled:

> I didn't stop at the Little Buffalo River; I wanted to go much further. I met with two Indian families, and managed to stay in one of their tents overnight (Baker 1976:105).

At Fort Resolution in the autumn of 1924 Baker noted that most of the residents were preparing for the beginning of the muskrat hunt on the Slave River Delta (1976:142). He further discussed the absence of beaver and the restriction of the hunting of mink, fox, and marten until the beginning of November (Baker 1976:142). Later that month Baker traveled to Little Fishery, 15 miles from Stony Island (1976:146). Upon arriving there, Baker found:

> A number of trappers there had mink skins which they wanted to trade for goods, but I told them it was inconvenient for me to do any trading on my way out; it would be better if we all went the next day to Stoney Island (Baker 1976:146).

On another excursion to Little Buffalo River that same year, Baker met with Chipewyan William Clawhammer (Department of Indian Affairs 1909:1272) and his family. He recalled that Clawhammer traded him some dried fish for fresh (1976:150). Following this exchange, Baker:

> Noticed [Clawhammer] had a considerable number of pelts hung in a corner of his house, but more mink than any other kind.
>
> William said, "I already have over a hundred mink. Minks are unusually plentiful this year, as well as lynx, fox, marten and fisher."
>
> He asked what I had in my sleigh, and I told him mostly mail and a few articles of clothing to sell. His wife, Helene said, "Go and fetch the stuff and let us have a look. We may buy something!"
>
> I was interested in having a few of the skins, so I went and fetched the canvas bag with the goods. William picked a suit of underwear, a shirt and two pairs of socks. Helene picked a royal blue sweater, two pairs of bloomers and some stockings for herself and the little girl. They also picked out three silk kerchiefs at five dollars each, altogether amounting to the price of seven minks at seven dollars a skin. William brought a bunch of pelts and laid them in front of me.
>
> "I want you to pick your choice" he said.
>
> They were all fine pelts, and I picked out seven and thanked the folks (Baker 1976:150-151).

In the following examples drawn from the HBC Fort Resolution Post Journals, Little Buffalo River is recorded as a place of great activity where muskrats and moose were hunted and many nets were set to catch fish. An important individual to note in the below quote is "Louison Denoir," also known as Louison Dos Noir and Louison Athay, a signatory to Treaty 8 Adhesion as Chief of the Chipewyans. This man, along with others are noted in the following quotes:

> November 20th 1919: "Louison Denoir and Brother Kiroteel leave this morning for Little Buffalo River after Moose meat" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:10).
>
> March 30th 1920: "People are all fishing at little Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:25).
>
> November 16th 1920: "John, Michel and Louison Beaulieu left to go and set traps toward little Buffalo River. Paschal + Pierre Ilaire (Indians) arrived from Little Buffalo River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:57).
>
> November 25th 1921: "Few people came in from Little Buffalo and reported lots of rabbits but no moose tracks and very little fur bearing animals tracks" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:114).
>
> January 25th 1922: "All of the Big Buffalo River people came in at noon bringing Paul Agericon and wife who are sick to be treated by the Sisters. The Little Buffalo River people also came in at the same time bringing Pierre Kaun's body over to be buried [*sic*] who died from consumption" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:120).
>
> February 23rd 1922: "Wm Mandeville & Co came from small Buffalo River & traded a little furs each" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:124).
>
> February 15th 1923: "Three sleds arrived from Little Buffalo river" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:175).
>
> April 22nd 1923: "J. G. Balsillie left to visit the fish nets at Little Buffalo this evening" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:182).
>
> April 23rd 1923: "J. G. Balsillie returned from the nets with 50 fish" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:182).

The following quotes demonstrate that Rocher River continued to be an important location for fishing and for hunting deer and muskrat:

> April 3rd 1920: "Indians arriving from Rocher + Rat Rivers also from Buffalo River for Easter, not much furs being brought in and the little the Indians come in with, has to be sent from the HBCo. over to the traders" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:26).
>
> November 17th 1920: "Jos. Houle with 3 men and with their sleds arrived from Rocher River bringing fur along, all rats" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:57).
>
> March 8th 1921: "Alp. McKay along with brother Kerautret are leaving for Landry River for meat from Louison Donoir" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:71).

Rat River, Slave River, and Buffalo River can also be seen as key sites in the Slave River region for the hunting of foxes, lynx, muskrat, and moose. Important individuals to note in the below excerpts are Paul Agericon, brother of Oliver Ajericon, who signed the Treaty 8 Adhesion at Fort Resolution in 1900 as a Head Man for the Chipewyans (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Canada1870:9), and Jonny Balsillie, son of James Balsillie and Marie Fabien (Fort Resolution Education Society 1987:102). The unnamed clerk wrote:

> December 1st 1920: "Joseph Bazil came in and sold a moose that he killed up the River to the H.B.Co." (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:59).
>
> February 21st 1921: "Alphonse Mandeville pitched off to his house in the Big River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:68).
>
> January 25th 1922: "All of the Big Buffalo River people came in at noon bringing Paul Agericon and wife who are sick to be treated by the Sisters. The Little Buffalo River people also came in at the same time bringing Pierre Kaun's body over to be buried [*sic*] who died from consumption. Jos. Houle & Zooa went away at noon Moose hunting in Alphonses' Portage [presumably near his house on the Slave River, as seen in the above quote] where there are reported a lot of moose tracks" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:120).
>
> February 8th 1923: "Alphonse Lockart arrived from Rat River" (Hudson's Bay Company (unnamed clerk) 1919-1923:174).

The above HBC Fort Resolution Post Journal excerpts mark the end of this particular source of documentation. From this point on, the primary sources for documentation related to this area are the Indian Affairs files. These files are comprised primarily of letters to and from officials within Indian Affairs, Privy Council documents, inspection reports, and relevant crime reports. In the following section these documents will be explored and key themes relating to the use of the Slave River territory by Chipewyans highlighted.

The problem of white trappers in the Slave River region is described in a letter written by Assistant General Manager Murdoff of the Northern Trading Company. His letter highlights the large number of white trappers working in this region and the way that their activities resulted in the displacement of the Indian family who used these trapping grounds. Murdoff stated:

> Between Resolution and Smith we have no less than fifty-five white trappers (a trapper for every three miles) so you can get some idea how devoid of game this district will be after this winter. Heretofore this territory has been supporting ten to fifteen [presumably Indian] families from year to year, but this winter they have all been forced to abandon their homes and seek other trapping grounds (Murdoff 1923:1).

Plate 6: "Dogteam and two unidentified men at Fort Resolution" (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 1924)

This theme continues in a letter from Sgd. Bourget regarding payment of annuities at Resolution, Rae, Hay River, and Providence to the Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs. In this letter Sgd. Bourget relayed the concerns of the Chipewyans and Copper Indian band members regarding white trappers and their destructive behaviour. As a result, the creation of a protected area at the mouth of the Slave River was requested:

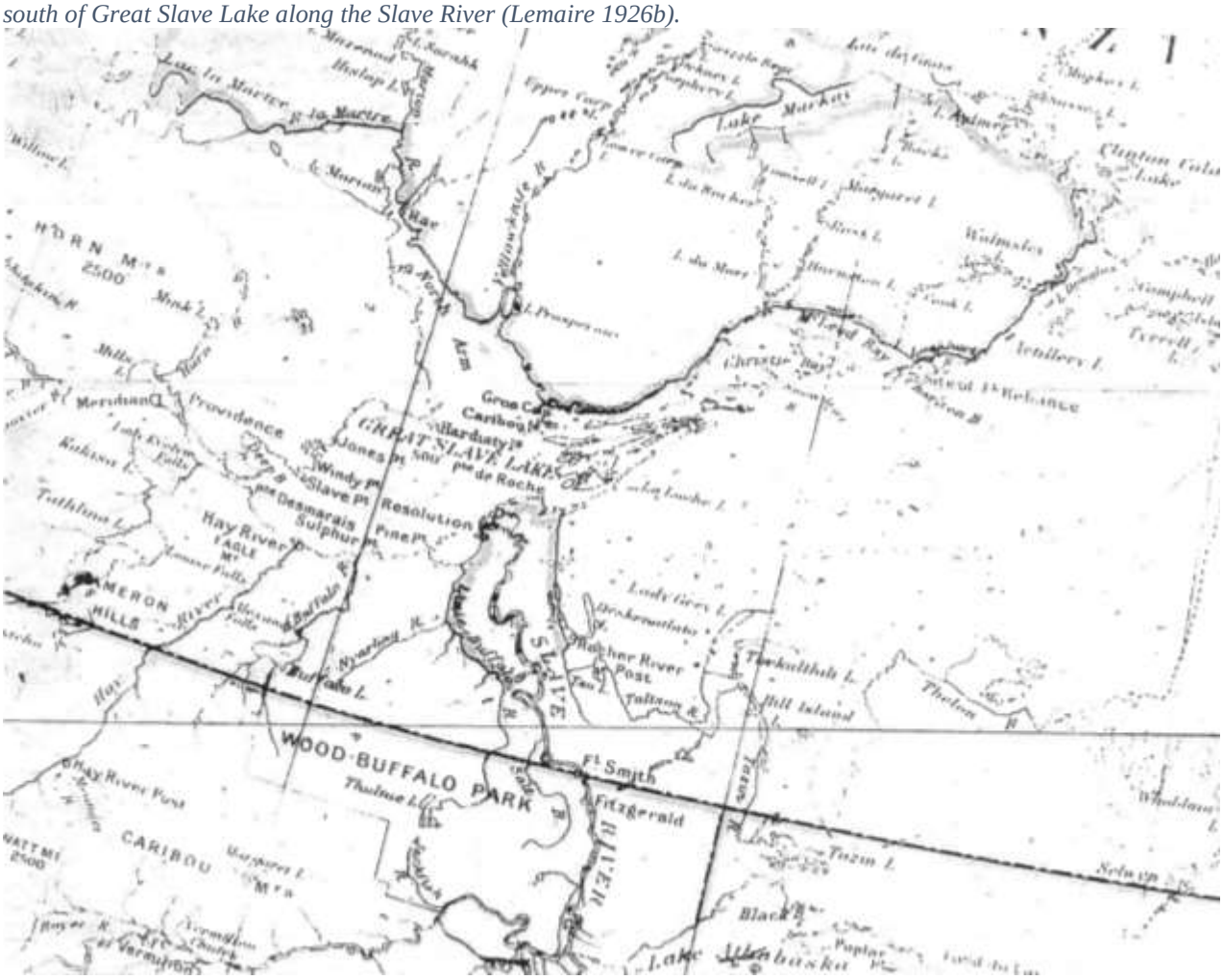
> The chief complaint of these two bands [Chipewyan and Copper Indians] was the white trapper, who, they claim, destroy the rat houses in trapping, also killing beavers without leaving some for the maintenance of the fur. The districts which the Indians claim should be protected are: The mouth of the Slave River, Rocher river (Talston [*sic*]), Lockart river [flows from Fort Reliance northward toward Artillery Lake in the Barren Lands], and extreme end of the Lake (Bourget 1923).

This appeal was heeded by government officials, who, in 1926 created the **Slave River Preserve** (see Map 3). This preserve set aside a specific area for the exclusive use of indigenous people, or those specified to be living the lives of indigenous people, to trap, hunt, trade, or traffic and outlined the following:

> Section 6 – Except with the permission of the Commissioner, no person other than native born Indians or half-breeds leading the life of Indians and no person other than Eskimos or half-breeds leading the life of Eskimos shall hunt, trap, trade, or traffic for any purpose whatsoever . . . in any of the following described areas in the Northwest Territories . . .
>
> **Slave River Preserve**—Comprising all that tract of land which may be described as follows: Commencing at the **westerly outlet of the Taltson river** at or near the iron post in mound marked B.5 of Great Slave Lake control traverse, 1921; thence westerly following the south shore of Great Slave lake to the outlet of **Little Buffalo river**; thence southerly following the right bank of Little Buffalo river to the **portage to Slave river** in approximate north latitude sixty (60) degrees, twenty-one (21) minutes; thence northeasterly in a straight line to an iron post in mound marked T.28 of the Slave river control traverse, 1921, and the continuation of this line to the **left bank of Taltson river; thence northerly following the left bank of Taltson river to the point of commencement** (Lemaire 1926a:1-2).

This is the area that we have studied for the Deninu K'ue First Nation and written this report about.

Map 3: This map outlines the boundaries of the Slave River Preserve created in 1926; see the location immediately south of Great Slave Lake along the Slave River (Lemaire 1926b).



The following quote is from Inspector Trundel's 1927 winter inspection report for the Great Slave Lake sub-district to the Officer Commanding Great Slave Lake sub-district, Fort Smith. In this letter he noted the large number of furs procured and moose hunted in the region along the Slave River:

> I arrived at Resolution Dec. 21st at 8 P.M. . . . The trappers along the Slave River have made a fair fur catch; moose also very plentiful in this locality, some Indians getting as many as six (Trundle 1927:1).

This next section addresses legislation enacted by the Canadian government that further restricted beaver trapping in the Northwest Territories. It also explores the impact of these changes on hunting, trapping and fishing activities in the Slave River region.

Plate 7: "Indian teepee and cache frames on Little Buffalo river, at the west end of the Salt River wagon road. [Wood Buffalo National Park]" (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 1926).

This first quote details a report regarding the shooting of wild goose by Joseph Bucher, a Treaty Indian, during close season:

> On August 28th 1927 at about 6.30 p.m. Joseph Boucher an Indian boy fired at and killed a wild goose that flew over the settlement . . . he knew that it was against the law, he replied that food was scarce and that he was catching no fish and that he was in need of food (Lloyd-Walters 1927).

This above report is an example of the opposition to increased government regulation. Resistance to the curtailing of hunting and trapping activities only increased after this point as a result of harsher regulation such as the extension of the closed season on beaver for a period of three years (see Figure 1) (Finnie 1928).

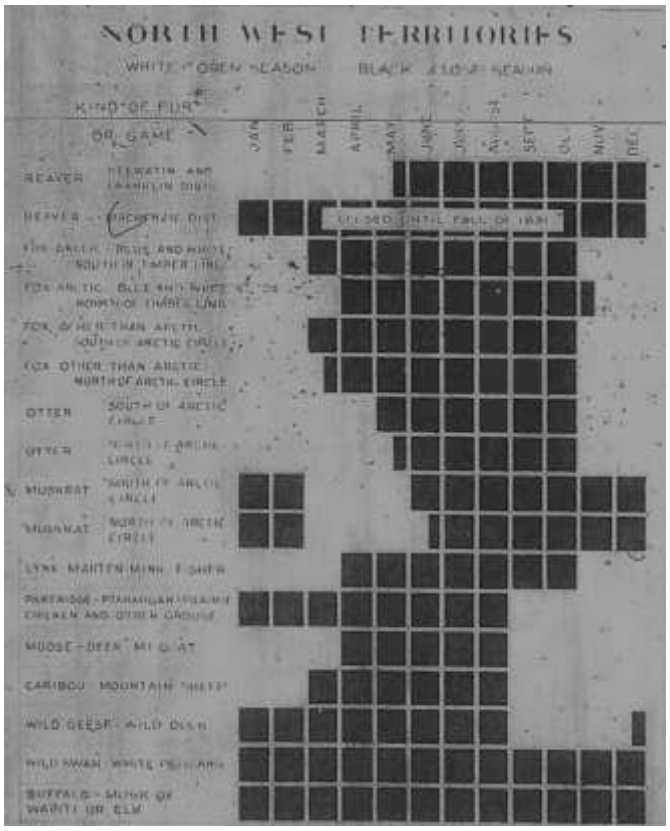


Figure 1: Northwest Territories – Amended Game Game Regulations. The white shows the open season (when one is able to hunt that particular animal), and the black shows the closed season (when the ban is in effect). Note that the beaver's closed season shows a total ban until 1931 (Finnie 1929)

It is made clear in these documents that in the early years, Indians who broke these laws did so out of necessity, in order to stave off starvation/hunger. For instance, Finnie (1928), in a letter to the deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indians Affairs wrote:

> In a wire received a few days ago, from our inspector, Mr. John F. Moran, who was then at Resolution, the following sentence appears: . . . "Indian Chief Smith and Lake Districts say have to kill beaver or starve. Refuse to obey law." . . . This refers to P.C. 277, of the 20th February last, which provides for a close season on beaver for a period of three years, commencing the 1st October, 1928 (Finnie 1928).

It was not only Indian trappers who found fault with the harsh new restriction and critiqued them for being out of touch with the lived realities of trappers in the Slave River region. Below, Parker (1928) addresses the far-reaching impacts that the lengthened close season of beaver would have on the Indians who relied on their pelts as a source of income, as well as their meat as an important food source:

> Since entering the Territories, I have . . . paid particular attention to the close season on Beaver authorized by P.C. No. 277 and becoming effective on Oct. 1st 1928. I have already made careful inquiry at Fitzgerald, Smith, Resolution and Simpson and am quite satisfied that I am already in a position to speak authoritatively on the matter in so far as it effects of Indian wards . . . the

> imposition of a close season on Beaver at this particular time will not only prove a hardship on the Indian but will create a situation more far reaching than I believe was realized by those who are responsible for the legislation . . .
>
> [2] For the fur standpoint alone, due to the low cycle, a close season on Beaver will deprive the Indian of about 331/3% of his earning power . . . But the Beaver question does not along concern the monetary income of the Indian. Equally, if not more vital an issue is the food problem . . . The Indian trapper has to hunt food for himself and family, and Beaver are killed for this purpose while enroute from place to place. The Beaver skins turned in by the Indian virtually represent the [3] number of animals killed for food, and a small spring hunt to meet his needs during the summer (Parker 1928:1-3).

Indian Agent Bourget (1928) echoed this concern in his letter, further stating that the Indians were justified in their critical response to the closing of the beaver hunt in the region:

> Previous to the treaty time, in the middle of June, during the visit of Mr. C. C. Parker and Mr. J.F. Moran, on special investigation, our Indians who had heard of their mission had sent the Chiefs from Rocher river, Yellow Knife River, and the small buffalo represented by their chiefs also, and a good meeting was held at the Agency . . . The main question that was brought up to the Inspectors was the closing of beavers . . . There is no doubt that the Indians are absolutely right in their way of thinking that the time is not ripe to close the beavers for them, during the low ebb of the fur cycle, when hardly any other fur is to be found for the last year or two, and little more prospects for this ~~year~~ next winter. Besides the beaver is a food for them, that at certain times they have the only chance of procuring (Bourget 1928).

The likelihood of starvation due to the lengthened closed season on beaver and the serious epidemic of influenza that swept through the Mackenzie District in the summer of 1928 (Lamaire 1928) exacerbated the situation. In response to calls for amendments to the total ban, Ottawa responded by changing the terms of the game law and allowed for trapping of a limited beavers catch instead:

> The Minister further states that because of a serious epidemic of influenza which broke out among the natives of the Mackenzie District during the months of July and August, 1928, it was impossible for the natives to secure

> the necessary food supply for the coming winter, and the beaver is represented as constituting an important factor in the food supply. The Minister, therefore, recommends that he be authorized to modify the terms of P.C. 277 permitting Treaty Indians, who are the heads of families, and Half-breeds leading the lives of Indians, who are the heads of families, to trap in the Mackenzie District (Lemaire 1928:1).

In a letter from the Chiefs and Headmen of the Yellowknife and Chipewyan Band of Resolution, this modification in the game law was acknowledged and their thanks offered to government officials. This excerpt from that letter describes their sentiments on the change. They wrote:

> We, the Chiefs and Headmen of the Chipewyans and Yellow Knives Bands, of Resolution, beg to offer our thanks to Doctor Duncan C. Scott and also to the Honourable Minister of the Interior . . . for the kind cooperation in procuring us the right to kill ten beavers, during the season this winter, for food and pelts, in order to help us during the low cycle of fur (Chief, Yellowknife Band *et al.* 1928).

This initial reaction soon faded, however, as scarce resources throughout the region resulted in hardship. Hunger continued to plague the Chipewyans in the Slave River region and the concession of a limited beaver hunt for each family proved inadequate in offsetting the scarcity of moose and other food sources. Bourget (1929a) described the situation is the following letter, outlining the critical state in the region and suggesting that the allotment of ten beaver per family be extended for at least one or two more seasons. He wrote:

> The first enthusiasm of the early fall, concerning the catch of fur did not last very long, and the amount of fur pelts which were caught were all taken at the start of the season, when a little run of mink appeared in the country and they were all trapped, due to a mild fall, but since then the prospects are not so good . . . As far as we can see the permission granted this fall, due to the efforts of our Department, viz to kill ten beavers for each member, head of a family, should be extended for a year or two more if conditions continue. This permission granted this year was well received by the Indians and appreciated by all. It will help the situation and give our Indians a chance to make a living and exist while in the woods. Because the supply of meat is not very plentiful this year, moose is scarce, caribou plentiful but in the extreme end of the lake,

> and in the barren lands, so the beaver may come handy when the Indians have not much to eat besides the money brought by the pelt (Bourget 1929a).

Fort Resolution Indian Agent Clement Bourget continued to advocate on behalf of the Indians of the Slave River region. In the following telegram he relayed the concerns of the Indians he met with at the treaty meeting regarding new regulations on the trapping of muskrats:

> The Indians at the Treaty meeting beg to protest against the new regulations imposed on trapping season first opening of season in November impossible to get rats according to new regulations . . . Rat season should also be open until the end of May these regulations will make life very hard for our Indians especially with the regulations ([Bourget?] 1929).

In a follow-up letter to the above telegram, Bourget (1929b) more clearly outlined the concern of the Indians he met at the Treaty meeting. He reiterated their view that the close of the beaver season while other fur was so scarce had resulted in economic hardship during a period when food was "hard to get." Bourget (1929b) also described the prevailing belief that in contrast to the promises made by the government at the signing of the treaty not to interfere with their hunting and trapping activities, there was a constant and increasing encroachment on these rights. He wrote:

> At Resolution . . . The two main topics which were treated during the treaty were already explained to our Department by wireless . . . The closing of beavers, when the rest of the fur is so scarce, and food so hard to get during certain periods, and when according to all Indians beaver is increasing, were points of discussion for hours, and we were asked to interpret their views to the Department as soon as possible, and try to obtain at least the same measure as last year [an allowance was made in the winter of 1928 for each head of family to hunt 10 beavers despite the 3 year closure of beaver season], for the Indians but with a fixed price of twenty five dollars . . . The second point was the boundary line of the musk ox sanctuary which the Indians were asking to have changed, so that they could pass along Artillery Lake . . . The whole of the treaty at all posts left a spirit of lack of confidence from the Indians and the same motto was repeated to the Department agent, viz: that the Government had promised to the Indians they they [*sic*] would hunt and trap for ever, as long as the sun would shine and many more rhetoric flowers, but that in spite of all that every year there was new regulations and restrictions so much so that

> they were always anxious to know what would be the next one (Bourget 1929b:1-2).

In a final telegram at year-end Bourget (1929c) wrote to the secretary of the Department urging that Game Law regulations with regard to the beaver season be amended in the same way as the year previous as the scarce conditions persisted. He summarized that:

> The Indians at a meeting at agency beg the department to obtain permission to kill a few beavers this spring as permitted last year the fur scarcity being more serious that last year and prices much lower stop the conditions in full appalling (Bourget 1929c).

1930 – 1939

This decade saw the continuation of a dialogue between Chipewyans in the Slave River region and regulators in Ottawa regarding the game laws. Conditions in the region continued to be difficult for Indian trappers with food scarce and government restrictions on hunting, specifically the closed season on beaver, muskrat, and moose, made survival ever more difficult. Fur prices continued to fall throughout the decade (Fur Trade Commissioner: Hudson's Bay Company 1931) and the threat of white trappers in the region was described with concern by a number of officials.

The white trappers were viewed as aggressive "strippers" of the land and resources in contrast to the Indian trappers who were conservation-minded and preserved the stock of fur-bearing animals (Author unknown 1930:3). The issue of treaty obligations also continued to be a theme in government correspondences during this decade and the increasing government regulations on hunting was met with strong protest by Indians who claimed that promises were made during treaty that ensured the continuation of their hunting and trapping activities.

In Finnie's (1930) response to Bourget (1929c) regarding the modification of Game Regulations, Finnie (1930) maintained the status-quo position of the government and dismissed Bourget's calls for further changes to the close season. He stated:

> After my trip to the Mackenzie last summer the Game Regulations were modified very substantially in favour of the Indians. The whole question was before the North West Territories Council and I do not believe there is any possibility of any further modification in the immediate future (Finnie 1930).

Finnie's position, however, was not the only view presented within Indian Affairs government correspondence. Other authors noted that the government position on outright bans on trapping certain animals was out of touch with the realities of life in the region. Correspondences written by DIA officials based in the Slave River region were more sympathetic to the position of the Indian trappers. For instance, Cornwall (1930), in a letter to the Minister of Interior and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, argued that complete close season on beaver conflicted with treaty obligations and resulted in hardship. He wrote:

> I would ask you to get such information as your Department has dealing with the request that the Indians may be permitted to kill beaver during the prime season—a privilege that has been denied them (notwithstanding treaty obligations) by Order-in-Council, possibly inspired by the theoretical idea of conservation . . . I am a believer in conservation when human happiness and life are not jeopardized (Cornwall 1930:1).

The question of the close season on the beaver continued to be pursued as seen in a 1930 memorandum to the minister of the Department of the Interior, Thomas G. Murphy. In this document Parker (as cited in Author Unknown 1930) argued in favour of special consideration for the Indians and an opening of the beaver season for this group on a limited basis. He also significantly contrasted the way in which Indians hunt to the methods of white trappers. On the first issue, that of special consideration for Indian trappers, he argued:

> The beaver question came up again this year and there is much to be said in favour of some special consideration for the Indian. From information I was able to obtain and personal observation, I am satisfied that beaver can safely be killed by Indians without endangering their numbers. I am very much in favour of opening the beaver season to Indians in the spring of 1931 on a limitation basis, i.e. say fifteen to each hunter. In so far as killing of beaver by white trappers is concerned, I am compelled to oppose it by every possible means (Parker as cited in Author Unknown 1930:4).

In regard to the issue of white trappers and just how their methods contrasted with those of Indians Parker stated:

> The Indian hunter goes inland with a small outfit of trap and a limited supply of provisions and ammunition. He has to depend upon hunting and fishing for feed for his family and his dogs. This frequently means that he is obliged to follow the food sources which are not always in a section where fur bearers can be trapped. Sustenance must necessarily come first with the result that when spring comes, he may not have had an opportunity to trap fur and his debt remains unpaid.
>
> Indians each have their own particular hunting grounds, which are never molested by other Indians. Under ordinary conditions, they conserve their furbearers, always leaving the breeders behind and frequently abandoning one section for one to two years in order to allow animals to propagate.
>
> [L] et me cite the case of only one [White trapper], and he is not exceptional, to show the contrast as between the white trapper and the Indian . . . This particular trapper, with his sin, will have this winter, 209 miles of trap line, using 1500 steel traps besides snares and has cabins on the entire trap line for each night, cabins stocked with provision. To anyone who knows the Indian hunter as I do, having travelled and lived with him, the comparison is ridiculous. And yet there be some who think that, given equal rights, the Indian should be able to compete with the white!
>
> The general attitude of the white trapper is that the Territories is a fur country in process of depletion and they are out after their share; a trapper who is a stripper. He takes all he can and leaves nothing behind. He is not a settler in the commonly accepted sense of the term. He is only a transient ready to pull stakes and leave as soon as he has made his stake or finds that it does not pay him to stay. He is altogether an undesirable character who could and should earn his livelihood in other pursuits not open to Indians (Parker as cited in Author Unknown 1930:2-3).

In part as response to the problem of white trappers, as outlined above, the Slave River Preserve was created. However, it is clear from the quote below that the boundaries of this preserve were questioned and the possibility of readjustment was presented. As the authors note, this change in

the boundary would allow a greater area for (white) residents in the region to trap and fur farm. They wrote in their recommendations:

> [Recommendations:] First – Readjust the boundary of Slave River preserve so that Slave River shall be the east boundary thereby opening that portion between Slave and Talson [*sic*] river for residents to trap and fur farm, this tract is the most ideal location on the south shore of Slave Lake (McFarlane *et al* 1931:1).

It remained illegal for treaty Indians to hunt or trap animals during the closed season. The following quote is taken from a police report that documents the case of Isidore Ajericon, son of Oliver Ajjericon, Head Man for the Chipewyans and signatory to the Treaty 8 Adhesion (Fort Resolution Education Society 1987:100). Adjericon had been accused of killing a beaver during the closed season at Little Buffalo River:

> The accused ["Isidore Ajerican (Treaty Indian)" has been accused of "killing beaver during close season] is a Treaty Indian . . . The circumstances are that a beaver appeared swimming in the Little Buffalo River near the settlement, which was seen by the accused and he went out [and killed it] (Clifford 1930).

In the excerpt below, taken from a letter sent by Chiefs Simoe and Yelle from Fort Resolution, we find a critique of the restrictive game laws and description of the impacts of this legislation on livelihoods in the territory:

> The laws are getting bad in this country, both for rats and beaver, if we want a rat we have to break the house and therefore are breaking the law, and if we set a trap for a beaver we are breaking the law, therefore it is hard for us to make a living. A couple of our men to-day lost their permits (Beaver) and don't know how they are going to make their living from now to open water (Simoe & Yelle 1934).

The problems associated with legislation restricting hunting and trapping is highlighted in the below letter from Bourget (1931b). In it he described the situation in Fort Resolution with regard to the regulations pertaining to beaver trapping and how these regulations were out of step with the experiences of trappers. He wrote:

> On the beaver question we had quite a few remarks made asking for a period until the end of May, for the Indians, claiming that on account of cold weather they could not kill their fifteen in some districts. But the general opinion of all is that the beaver is plentiful. At Hay River 15 beavers for permits were killed. Resolution, not so good, but due to the Chipewyans taking permits and in the impossibility to kill any beaver in the buffalo park according to the Indians they were in the park and none of it. Of course the request to have permission to break the lodges was also made, on this point we are not expert enough to try to demonstrate the point. Permission was asked for the Indians not to be persecuted for killing moose in summer, if in hard conditions, and short of fish (Bourget 1930b).

Other documents in the Indian Affairs files are significant in that they make particular reference to hunting, trapping, and fishing activities in the Slave River region. In particular, the sites of Rocher River and Salt River indicated in the following quotes were noted as areas where Indians could make a good living:

> To our satisfaction most of the Indians having very little fish here have gone to spend time at their homes at Rocher river and buffalo river, where they can make their living much better, but it may make a shortage of labour in some kinds of work during the summer (Bourget 1931a)

> The Indians at Salt River are not suffering, having plenty of fresh meat and even at the present prices paid for fur can manage to get staple articles from the stores, they are not well off but their credit is still food to a certain figure. Two families of this place are now camped at the South end of Tsu Lake for the purpose of hunting their allowance of beaver and contemplate moving their camp later for the spring rat hunt, they had plenty of fresh caribou meat and were drying meat for the summer months. There is quite an encampment sprung up between Tsu and Deskenatlata Lakes composed of Indians from Resolution, Rocher River and the surrounding country, so many congregated in the one place they will be inclined to visit too frequently and not pay sufficient attention to their traps, they are there for the purpose of hunting beaver and have sufficient meat to meet their wants (Kennedy as cited in Belcher 1932).

It was not, however, only the games laws that limited the ability of Indians to hunt in the Slave River region, this territory was also overrun by wolves for a period of time. In a 1931 letter to the

Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, Bourget described the situation occurring in the Hay River district. He emphasized the detrimental effect that these wolves were having on existing trapline and the presence of animals, such as moose, in the region. Bourget wrote:

> I beg to inform the Department that we just received a report from Hay River to the effect that the district is infested with timber wolves this winter and according to rumours there would be bands of wolves numbering as many as thirty five and the whole would comprise nearly two hundred wolves, destroying the trap lines and running the moose away from the country . . . One man at Hay river is willing to try and help destroy them if granted permission from the Department of The Interior, and we would respectfully recommend that some action be taken to remove this drawback to the natives hunting in the district (Bourget 1931c).

1940 – 1949

Through the creation of a Registered Trapline System, Indian or Eskimo residents in the Territories were required by government ordinance to obtain a general hunting licence for each season ([Richards?] 1949) and to register the location of their traplines (Gibson 1949). Chipewyans in the territory responded to these new restrictions in a number of ways.

In one documented example of this response, Chiefs Beaulieu, Frise, and Simon gathered in Council at Rocher River, expressed their concern to the Minister and stated that under no condition will they accept the system of registered traplines. They argued that the new legislation was an encroachment on their treaty rights and that they required the flexibility to move traplines from year to year based on changing circumstances and the availably of animals. They also cited that the dramatic decrease in the number of furs in the country was due to the activities of white trapper, bush fires, and lack of supervision in the past. In protest, the Chiefs wrote:

> We the undersigned Chiefs gathered in Council at Rocher River, N.W.T. . . . In the name of our people we state that under no condition shall we accept Registered Trap Lines. We consider it as an ancroachment [*sic*] on our Treaty Rights. Even now being free to set our traps where we wish, we can hardly

> make our living as there is practicly [*sic*] no fur left in this country. White trappers, bush fires and lack of supervision in trapping in the past are the main causes of the complete destruction of fur. It is therefore very important to us to be able to change our trap lines according to the circumstances in which we live from year to year. Registered Trap Lines can only add more hardships to our livelyhood [*sic*] (Beaulieu *et al.* 1948).

Furthermore, it was communicated in a letter to Major Mackay, Director of the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, that regarding the registration of trapping areas there was general compliance with the new laws in all areas except Resolution and Rae. Gibson posited that the natives in this area did not yet see the advantage of this new system. He wrote:

> The District Administrator, Fort Smith, in a recent report advised that the registration of trapping areas in the Mackenzie District and Wood Buffalo Park is proceeding satisfactorily at all points except Resolution and Rae in the Slave River area. The natives of the Resolution area do not as yet appreciate the advantages of the registered trapline system (Gibson 1949).

Protest was not the only action Chipewyans took in response to the new game ordinance and the requirement to apply for hunting licences and register their traplines. Individuals also navigated their way through the system through a process of strategic compliance. The table below (see Table 1) contains a list of individuals who had established their eligibility for general hunting licences under the new law. It was noted that the hunting licences were available to persons over the age of 16 years who were:

> A. An Indian or Eskimo and who
> (1) has resided continuously in the Territories since his birth, or
> (2) is a member of a family or group of Indians or Eskimos that, prior to the commencement of this ordinance, hunted in the Territories as a means of livelihood ([Richards?] 1949:1).

TABLE 1: ELIGIBILITY FOR GENERAL HUNTING LICENCES FOR SEASON 1949 – 50 ([RICHARDS?] 1949:ATTACHMENT)

NAME	ADDRESS
Beaulieu, Francois King	Rocher River, N.W.T. via Resolution, N.W.T.
Beaulieu, Louis	Resolution, N.W.T.
Beck, Grant	Rat River, N.W.T. via Resolution, N.W.T.
Boblett, M.E.	Rocher River, N.W.T. via Resolution, N.W.T.
Camsell, A.F.	Resolution, N.W.T.
Claeys, Bro. Camile	Resolution, N.W.T.
Collins, Gus.	Resolution, N.W.T.
De Melt, Edwin Raymond	Rocher River, N.W.T., via Resolution, N.W.T.
De Melt, Stewart	Rat River, N.W.T., via Resolution, N.W.T.
Donovan, James	Rat River, N.W.T., via Resolution, N.W.T.
Furlogh, Fred	Rocher River, N.W.T., via Resolution, N.W.T.
Green, Fred	Resolution, N.W.T.
Greenaway, Gordon	Rocher River, N.W.T. via Resolution, N.W.T.
Jardin, Ralph	Rocher River, N.W.T. via Resolution, N.W.T.
Lambert, Emile	Resolution, N.W.T.
Larocque, Frank	Resolution, N.W.T.
Lirretto, Leandre	Resolution, N.W.T.
Loutitt, Wm. Edward	Resolution, N.W.T.
Mercredi, Arsene (Freddie)	Rocher River, Via Resolution, N.W.T.
McQueen, Daniel	Rat River via Resolution, N.W.T.
Petrin, Antoine	Resolution, N.W.T.
Todd, George	Rat River via Resolution, N.W.T.

The strategic adoption of the new game regulations by trappers in the Slave River region is further documented in reports such as those outlined below. These two excepts illustrate how trappers adapted to these new regulations and how their hunting and trapping activities persisted in spite of these laws. Indian Agent Riopel (1944a) reported that in Little Buffalo River, two marten were accidentally caught in traps set out for other animals. These pelts were turned over to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). He wrote:

> Two Marten were caught at Little Buffalo River in traps set out for other animals and the Chief wished to find out what had become of this fur, which had been turned over to the Royal Mounted Police.
>
> Corporal W. Kennedy who was present at the conference told them, that probably a few dollars would be paid to the Indians who had accidentally

> caught this fur, as a reward for his work of skinning the animal and stretching the pelt (Riopel 1944a).

The following quote is taken from a report prepared by the RCMP regarding the accidental killing of a marten in a closed area. Treaty Indian, Pierre Killimy, voluntarily surrendered a pelt that had been caught in his trap near the Nyarling and Little Buffalo Rivers. The report stated:

> On 7-12-48 Killimy [a Treaty Indian at Fort Resolution] called at this office and voluntarily surrendered one marten pelt which he had accidentally caught in a mink net which he has placed about eight miles from the forks of the Narling [*sic*] and Little Buffalo River. The marten was found dead in the trap by Killimy 29-11-48 (Lindsay 1948).

Government files demonstrate the locations of intensive use in the Great Slave Lake region. This territory continued to be used by Chipewyans to hunt and trap. For instance, Skead (1947:5) reported that caribou were plentiful around Rocher River. Riopel's 1944 letter to the Secretary of the Department of Mines and Resources records a shooting accident on the Jean River. He summarizes the regrettable incident, noting that those nearby did not react to the gunshot, as shooting ducks on the river was a common occurrence. He reported:

> As reported in the first part of this account, Gabriel MacKay came to his death at Jean River, from his own hand accidently. When attempting to put his loaded shotgun in his canoe, he apparently slipped, there was about two inches of snow on the ground, and the hammer of the gun hit the thwart of the canoe and the gun went off . . . Pierre Petit-Jean, living close to the river heard a shot but thought nothing of it as there is always some one shooting ducks on the river at this season (Riopel 1944b).

1950 – 1959

Records from this decade describe a scarcity of game animals in the Slave River region, which impacted the health and livelihood of the Chipewyans. Government correspondence from the beginning of the decade argued that it would be justified, given the scarcity of game, to allow for

a minimum of a one-week extension in the open season for muskrat trapping in the Slave River Preserve (Kirkby 1950a; Kirkby 1950b).

Kirby (1950a) noted a petition received from Fort Resolution Indians calling for the extension of open season for muskrat. He stated that the absence of caribou in the area was compounded by a delay in the fishing season in the location of Resolution and Snowdrift. Kirby (1950a) argued that in a year when muskrats were plentiful, these factors should be taken into consideration and concessions made. He explained:

> Further to my letter of April 17th. in which I dealt with the request for an extention [*sic*] of the rat season in the Great Slave Lake area I wish to forward the petition received from Ft. Resolution Indians and also a copy of a letter from the Hudson's Bay Post Manager at Snowdrift . . .
>
> In both these areas and in particular at Snowdrift there has been no caribou to speak of and as a consequence there is no supply of dry meat to tide the Indians over the break up period on the lake when no fish can be caught. These people will all require rats for food purposes and with the shortage of complete absence of dry meat the cutting off of the season two weeks early is going to leave these people with no food, except what is purchased from the store at very high prices, for over a month. It is felt that the extending of the season during a poor wild meat year when rats are plentiful is desirable from both an economical as well as a benevolent point of view.
>
> Nets cannot be set in the main lake until well into June and consequently no fish can be caught for human food either at Resolution or at Snowdrift. Rocher River is the exception as fishing is done in the small river that will be open much earlier than the lake giving these people a much greater advantage than the people without good fishing streams.
>
> I feel that we are justified in asking for an extention [*sic*] of the rat season over a very large are[a] this year, both to help compensate the Indians, who spend every cent they get right in the country, for the very difficult winter and to take full advantage of the high in the rat cycle that will not continue for more than a year or two at most (Kirkby 1950a).

Kirby (1950b) sent a follow-up to the above letter reiterating the necessity of a week–long extension of the muskrat open season in the Slave River Preserve. He cited the low numbers of muskrat sales compared to previous years and the impact of the frozen river on the ability of trappers to ply their trade. He repeated:

> From the stores at Ft. Resolution I have been able to find that the rat sales are off about one fifth to one quarter what they were the same time last year but have not figured for the comparison as in the other three points. I do feel that in the Slave River preserve that a one week extension at the least is necessary to give these trappers a chance to make a chance. The Indian has always depended upon open water hunting and he will not be able to do anything of much consequence along this line until after the Slave River has gone out and cleared of ice. Last week this river was still solid and it will be the end of the season before open water hunting becomes general if then (Kirkby 1950b:1-2).

The scarcity of game at Fort Resolution and the surrounding area early that same year was also reported in the meeting minutes of the advisory board on wildlife protection. The matter of modifying regulations allowing Indians to sell caribou meat to traders was further suggested as a method to offset this scarcity. It was noted:

> In his report the Indian Superintendent at Fort Resolution advises that game has been very scarce and the natives are having difficulty securing sufficient furs to provide a satisfactory income . . .
>
> The Indian Superintendent complained that game was very scarce and in the same report he suggested that the regulations be modified so that caribou meat may be sold by the Indians to traders. Mr. Fraser stated that in former years the Indians sold many caribou hams to the stores and missions at Yellowknife and Rocher River. He personally had seen 400 caribou hams in a warehouse at Rocher River (Lewis 1950:2).

This proposal was not, however, met with universal approval. F. Fraser, Chief of the Northern Administration Division, wrote a memorandum to the Director of Indian Affairs regarding the issue of Indian hunting in the Northwest Territories stating that an excess number of caribou would be killed if Indians were able to sell the surplus. He argued:

> It is one of the most difficult problems to deal with, we know Indians would be conservationists but as long as there is a Hudson's Bay Posts the Indians will go out and kill caribou beyond their needs and sell to the Hudson's Bay Post in order to get cash to buy something else (Fraser as cited by Conn 1954:1).

In the years following this to-ing and fro-ing regarding the selling and storing of caribou meat there was a documented increase in the number of caribou, moose, and buffalo in the Slave River region. With regard to the current study area, the abundance of these game animals, as well as fishing and trapping, was noted:

> Caribou arrived at the settlements of Snowdrift and Rocher River right after freeze-up and the Indians of both these points had abundant meat supplies right at their door (Kirkby 1955:2)
>
> Rocher River and Resolution, however, were blessed with small numbers of caribou early, as well as a fair population of buffalo and moose. Arrangements have been made to take advantage of the caribou migration in order to fill our cold storage lockers at Snowdrift, Yellowknife, Fort Rae, Rocher River and Resolution (Kendall 1956:1-2)
>
> It will be noted that Mr. Brown estimates four hundred caribou were killed during the past season in the Rocher River area (Sivertz 1957:1).
>
> Pascal Bugghins, #102 Chip. said that there were fifteen families at present in Rocher River. Although all the men were fishing and trapping, many of them would welcome work on the road which they had heard was being built near Fort Rae (McGilp 1958:1)

The Impacts of the W. A. C. Bennett Dam on the Slave River

In 1959 the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources Water Resources Branch published a technical report examining the potential impacts of the creation of a reservoir at Hudson Hope needed for a proposed power plant. In this report Coulson stated that:

> [B]ecause the magnitude of the flow in the Peace River affects the rate of outflow from Lake Athabasca the percentage contribution of the latter to the

> Slave River flow would generally be greater in the late summer and fall months than during the remainder of the year (Coulson 1959:8).

In his summary, Coulson (1959) stated that the Slave River would be impacted as follows:

> (i) Flood flows would be reduced with storage of Peace River water, with the peak of the resulting flood being substantially reduced from the natural flood peak.
> (ii) Flows would gradually approach the natural flows through the summer until in the fall the regulated flow may be of the order of 10 percent below the natural flows if only flows above, say 50,000 c.f.s. at Hudson Hope have been stored, If, however, the whole flow of the Peace River at Hudson Hope has been stored, then the fall flow in the Slave River may be about 30 percent below the natural flow (Coulson 1959:18).

1960 – 1969

A number of significant events occurred during this decade, including a shift in the regulatory regime pertaining to trapping in the Slave River region. Game laws continued to be enforced, and RCMP searches continued to be viewed as unjust and intrusive by many members of the Fort Resolution Indian band (Mandeville 1967). Trapping was also more notably encouraged by the DIA as a means of economic improvement (Presloski 1962a; Presloski 1962c).

An anthrax outbreak among buffalo in the area between the Slave River and Taltson River proved to have a significant impact on the hunting and trapping activities of the Chipewyans of Fort Resolution (Harris 1962a; Johnston 1963a; Johnston 1963b). The DIA recorded the names of the Treaty Indians whose hunting, trapping, and fishing had been affected by the anthrax outbreak and the locations of their traplines. Despite these impediments, hunting, and trapping in the territory persisted. In fact, fur yield was documented to be on the increase.

In his report on the council meeting held at Rocher River, 1960, Kerr reported a good supply of fur-bearing animals along with good prices. He wrote:

> From all appearances, it would seem that the Indian people from Rocher River have been quite busy trapping this year. The supply of fur-bearing animal is good, and the prices being paid for fur in Rocher River are quite good (Kerr 1960:2).

Improved fur yields and sustained trapping activities were also noted in the minutes of the Resolution Band Council meeting recorded by Presloski (1962a). In this document he cited a 16% increase in trapping returns compared to the previous year. Further, Presloski (1962a) commented on the per capita return of Fort Resolution trappers and the potential for an increase in the future. He also wrote about the possibility of arrangements to allow for trappers to remain on their traplines for extended periods of time. He wrote:

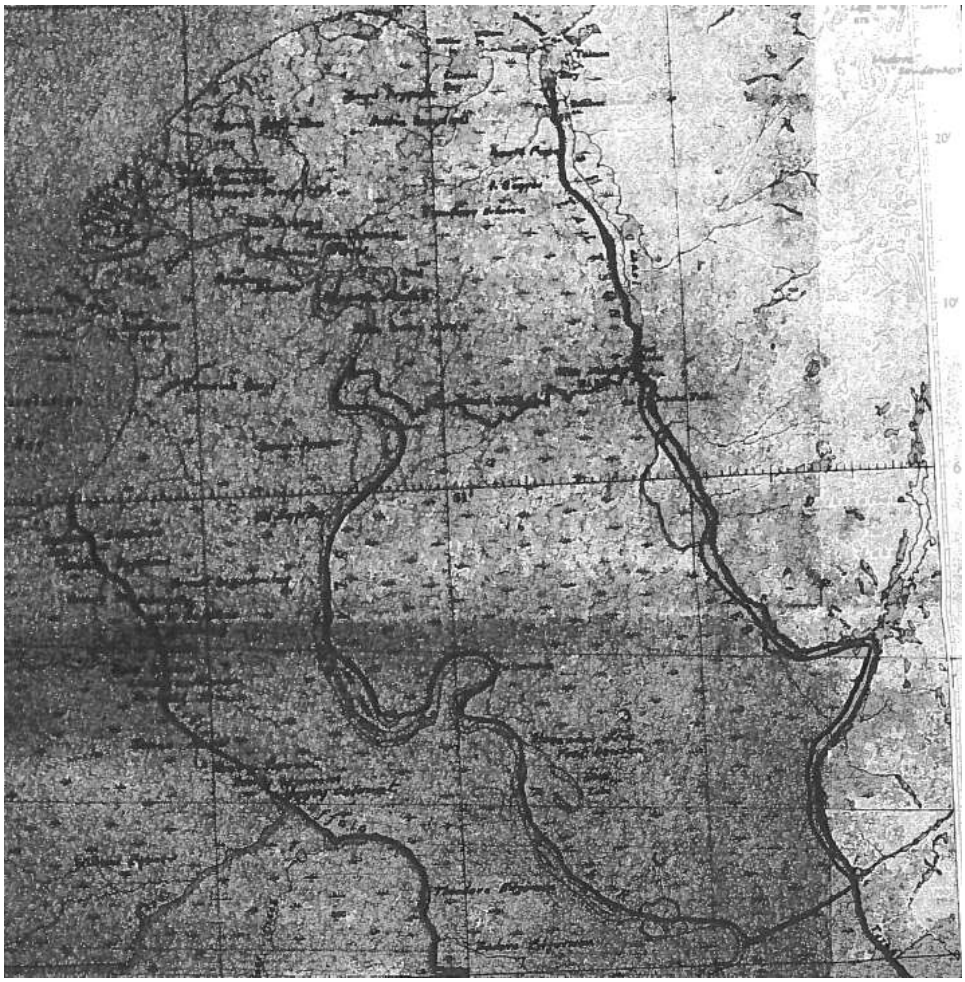
> A review was made of trapping activities and returns for 1961/62. There were more trappers out in 1961/62 than the previous season and catch showed an increase of approximately 16% . . .
>
> There are 34 Indian trappers in Resolution and it was established that a per capita return should average at least $800.00, although, it is possible to increase this to about $1,050.00.
>
> It was decided to have the Superintendent of the Agency and the Band Council interview every trapper during the week of August 20, 1962, to ascertain that preparations are made for the fall trapping by the trappers to remain on their traplines for at least 4 months. A further check would be made during the last week of September to ascertain that the trappers were prepared and that arrangements were made for children to be admitted to hostels and that departure to the traplines would be in full swing by October 1st (Presloski 1962a:1).

These positive projections were offset by an outbreak of anthrax among buffalo ranging between the Slave River and the Taltson River. Two hundred and fifty-three dead animals were located and as a result, 700 square miles were isolated. In his letter to the Indian Affairs Branch, Officer in Charge of the Mackenzie District, Harris (1962a), noted that a prohibition on all travel and trapping in the area had been suggested. This however would result in serious implications for the economy and hunting ability of those living in Fort Resolution as this was the quarantine area suggested was the site of many of their traplines. Along with his exposition on the situation,

Harris included a map (see Map 4) of the area restricted by the 1962 hunting restrictions due to anthrax. He wrote:

> [R]egarding the outbreak of Anthrax among buffalo . . . approximately 700 square miles [have] been isolated. This is the area in which dead buffalo have been found. A total of 253 plus dead animals have been located . . . I am attaching a map showing this area [located between Slave River and Taltson River; see Map 4]. It has been suggested that it may even be possible to prevent all travel in the area and prohibit all hunting and trapping. This would have extremely serious repercussions. It would in effect destroy the economy of Fort Resolution as this is the trapping and more particularly the hunting area of the people of Fort Resolution (Harris 1962a:1).

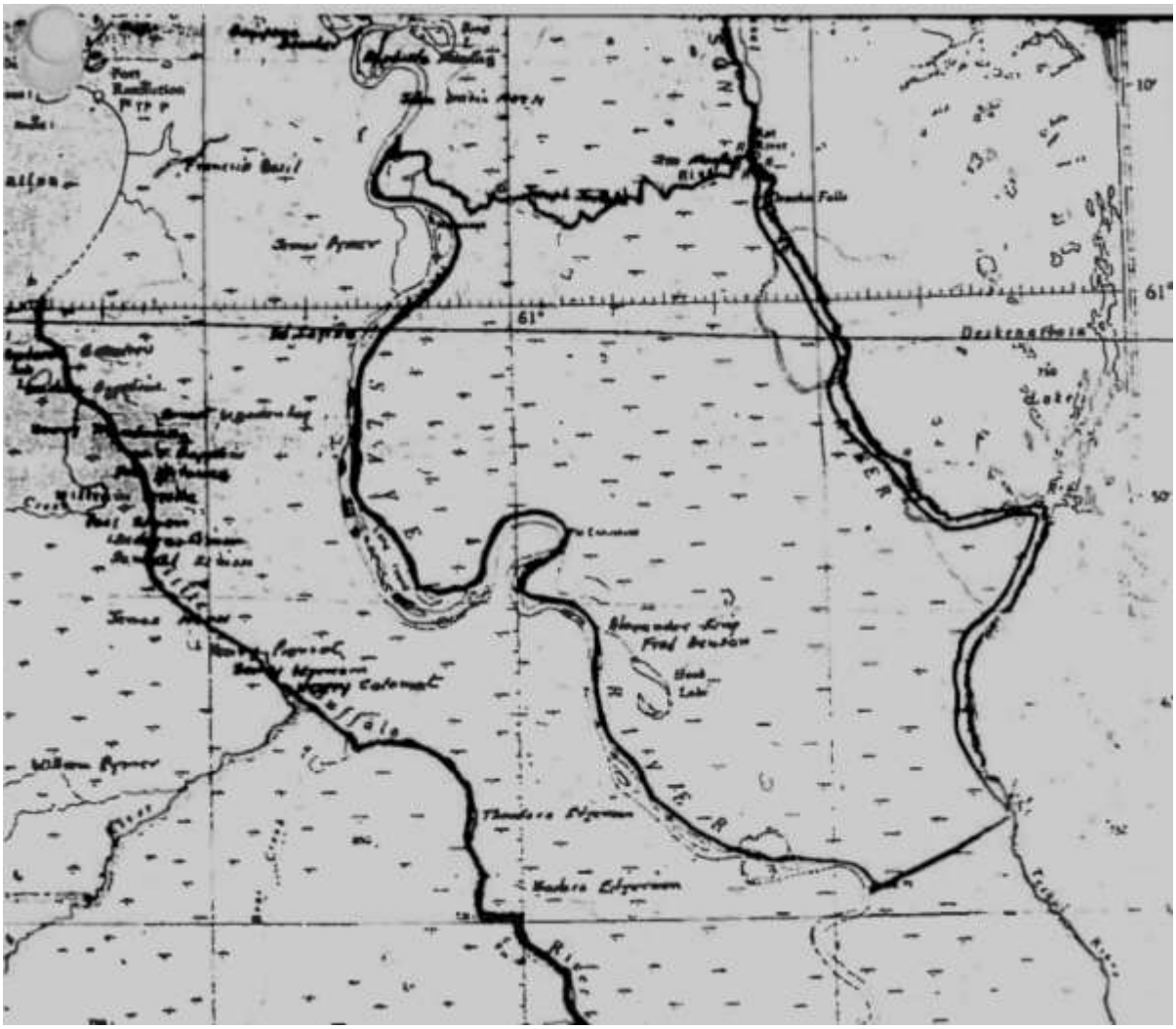
Map 4: A map showing the area restricted by the 1962 hunting restrictions due to anthrax (Harris 1962:3).



The recommendation to close the area affected by the anthrax outbreak was implemented shortly thereafter. In a follow-up memorandum to the Officer in Charge, Mackenzie District, the superintendent of Fort Smith informed the officer of the closing of the affected area. Presloski (1962b) further noted that as a result of this decision, Indians of Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, and Rocher River who previously trapped in this closed area would lose income. It was proposed that alternative hunting grounds be located for these people. Presloski (1962b) produced a map along with lists of Fort Resolution (see Figure 2 & Figure 3) and Rocher River Indians (see Figure 4) who trapped in the region affected by the ban on buffalo hunting due to anthrax. In this memorandum, Presloski wrote:

> In advising the Indians in Fort Smith, Fort Resolution and Rocher River settlements of the Branch decision that Indians will not be allowed to hunt or trap in the area, this year caution and care were exercised . . . In regard to alternative hunting and trapping grounds and sources of income which the Indians have been deprived of by the outbreak of Anthrax the matter is being given full study and consideration . . . I attach separate maps showing the trapping areas of Indians and Non-Indians and a list of Indians, by settlements, who normally hunt or trap in the infested area showing their treaty numbers, name, marital status, number of dependents, number of moose and buffalo killed in the past twelve (12) months and local estimated value of the kills [see (all handwritten names on map belong to Fort Resolution and Rocher River Treaty Indians) and Figure 2, Figure 3, & Figure 4] (Presloski 1962b:2-3).

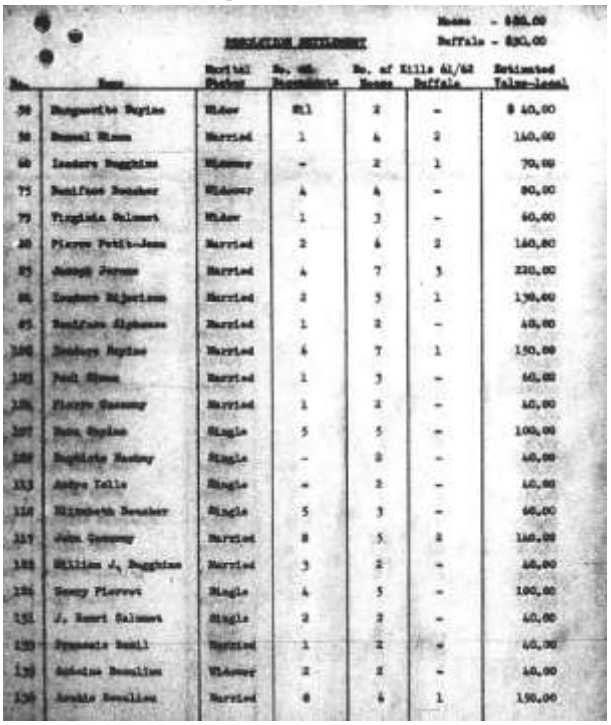
Map 5: A map depicting the Treaty Indians of Fort Resolution and Rocher River's trapping grounds. The handwritten names of the Fort Resolution and Rocher River people who trap in the area are written along the Slave and Little Buffalo Rivers. (Presloski 1962b).



As a consequence of the closure to trapping, due to the buffalo anthrax infestation in the county between the Slave and Taltson Rivers, compensatory areas were:

> The Ruthledge-Nanacho Lake area is not trapped as extensively as other areas. Again individuals are being assessed with a view to encourage them to trap in this area, with the long range plan that they will continue to trap this area as it should bring better returns than the areas closer to Fort Resolution which are more intensively trapped (Harris 1962b:2).

Figure 2: Below. A list of the Fort Resolution Treaty Indians who trap in the region affected by the ban on Buffalo hunting due to Anthrax (see Map 5) (Presloski 1962b).

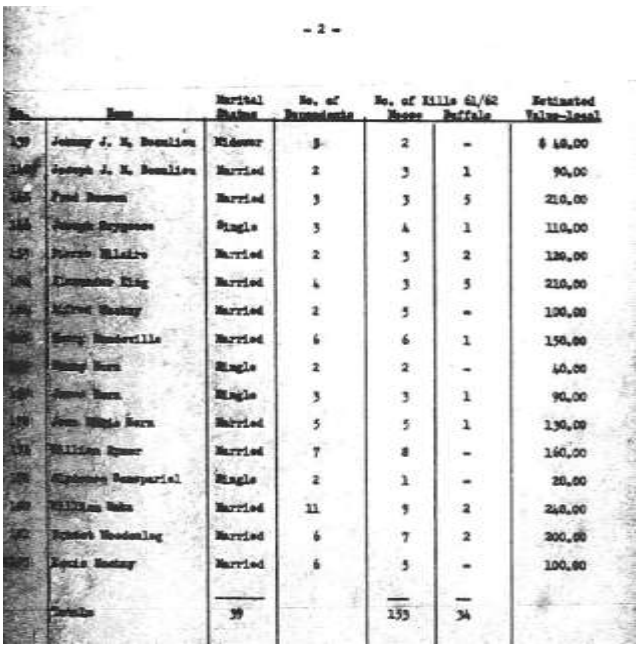


No.	Name	Marital Status	No. of Dependents	No. of Kills 61/62 Moose	Buffalo	Estimated Value-Local
[illegible]	[illegible]	Widow	[illegible]	2	-	$ 40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	1	4	2	140.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Widower	-	2	1	70.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Widower	4	4	-	80.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Widow	1	3	-	60.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	4	2	140.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	7	3	220.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	5	1	130.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	1	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	7	1	150.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	1	3	-	60.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	1	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	5	5	-	100.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	-	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	-	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	5	3	-	60.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	8	5	2	140.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	3	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	4	5	-	100.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	2	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	1	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Widower	2	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	8	4	1	150.00

Moose - $80.00
Buffalo - $30.00

ROCHER RIVER SETTLEMENT

No.	Name	Marital Status	No. of Dependents	No. of Kills 61/62 Moose	Buffalo	Estimated Value-Local
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	3	3	2	$100.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	2	4	140.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	3	5	210.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	2	2	1	70.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	5	6	260.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	3	2	3	130.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	4	2	2	100.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	4	3	210.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	7	3	300.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	8	7	4	240.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	4	3	210.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	3	2	2	100.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	2	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	3	1	90.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	-	3	4	280.00
	Totals	15		57	45	



- 2 -

No.	Name	Marital Status	No. of Dependents	No. of Kills 61/62 Moose	Buffalo	Estimated Value-Local
[illegible]	Johnny J. M. Beaulieu	Widower	3	2	-	$ 40.00
[illegible]	Joseph J. M. Beaulieu	Married	2	3	1	90.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	3	3	5	210.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	3	4	1	110.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	3	2	120.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	4	3	5	210.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	2	5	-	100.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	6	6	1	150.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	2	2	-	40.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	3	3	1	90.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	5	5	1	130.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	7	8	-	160.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Single	2	1	-	20.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	11	9	2	240.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	6	7	2	200.00
[illegible]	[illegible]	Married	6	5	-	100.00
	Totals	39		133	34	

Figure 3: Above. A continuation of Figure 2: a list of the Fort Resolution Treaty Indians who trap in the region affected by the ban on Buffalo hunting due to Anthrax (see Map 5) (Presloski 1962b).

Figure 4: A list of the Rocher River Treaty Indians who trap in the region affected by the ban on Buffalo hunting due to Anthrax (see Map 5) (Presloski 1962b).

As a consequence of the improved trapping returns following these initiatives there was a clear effort on the part of the government to encourage Indians to trap, lowering the amount of government aid required. In a correspondence reporting the meeting minutes of the Resolution Band Council it is noted:

> Superintendent Presloski advises that the returns from trapping are above average and that if this condition prevailed there would be no need of projects to supplement the economics of the people (Presloski 1962c).

High fur prices served as an incentive for increased trapping activities in the Slave River region. The subject of winter fishing was discussed and recorded in the minutes taken at a Rocher River Band meeting, Leaske (1963) noted that the Rocher River fishermen would rather spend their time trapping than winter fishing in part due to high fur prices. He wrote:

> The subject of winter fishing was discussed and all the men agreed that the Rocher River fishermen did not want to fish through the ice. They would rather spend the time on their trap lines, particularly since the price of fur is so high (Leask 1963:1).

The concerns related to the anthrax outbreak continued. Johnston (1963a) noted in his report about the community meeting held in Fort Resolution regarding the anthrax outbreak that community members had in fact trapped in the quarantined area the previous winter with no ill effects. Further, he reported that questions were raised at the meeting regarding assistance to travel to new trapline locations away from the infected area. Not all community members asked were open to relocating their traplines elsewhere and Johnston reported that of the thirty-four licenced trappers present, sixteen agreed to move to new locations. He wrote:

> Questions were raised and discussion took place concerning future trapping and hunting by the Fort Resolution people in the Anthrax area. Some stated that they trapped in the quarantined area last winter, very close to the restricted area and received no effects or illness from the Anthrax . . . Further questions were raised by people of the community about the possibility of assistance to the people in the community to go into new areas for trapping and hunting. It was felt that the distance to be travelled to an area not affected by Anthrax would be very costly to the trappers. An effort was made to determine the number of trappers who would consider taking new areas if they were effected. Of the thirty-four trappers present with trapping licences, sixteen agreed to accept new traplines elsewhere (Johnston 1963a:1-2).

The availability of transportation to distant traplines continued to be an issue raised in Fort Resolution Band Council meetings. The anthrax outbreak had forced many trappers to move their traplines. This move required government assistance. Chief Alexander King suggested reaching the more distant locations by airplane. In the 1963 band council meeting minutes, Johnston outlined King's argument:

> Chief Alexander King suggested that trappers should be transported to the bush before freezeup for trapping when they are unable to pay for their own transportation. Supplying transportation would encourage more trappers to go out on their traplines . . . Mr. Johnston advised the Council that while air transportation on a non-repayable basis is not available, arrangements are being made to build a scow for Indians to use to go to their traplines before freeze up. Chief Alexander King stated that this would not be good enough as most of the trappers could not get close enough to their traplines by using water transportation. He stated that because of the anthrax outbreak, the trappers will have much further to go to trapping areas and air transportation would be the only satisfactory way (Johnston 1963b:1).

Applications for trapping advances dating from 1964, 1965, and 1966 detail the location of traplines of some Fort Resolution Band Members. These documents show the specific location in the Slave River region that Chipewyans trapped. Edward Sayine's 1964 application locates his trapline "NE of Resolution on Slave River" (Sayine 1964). In applications for trapping advances filed in 1965, the traplines of Fort Resolution Band members Pierre Hilaire, and Isadore Bugghins are listed as "Open Area – Salt River" (Hilaire 1965; Bugghins 1965).

In the same year John Casaway reported on his application to be trapping in "Open Area – Taltson River" (Casaway 1965). In another set of applications from 1966 the trapline locations of Fort Resolution Band members Jim Fatt, Francoise Basile, Sammy Norn, are listed as "East Fort Resolution" (Fatt 1966; Basile 1965; Norn 1965). These records further indicate that these individuals "will trap in area accompanying Chief Alexander King (trapping rats)" (Basile 1965; Fatt 1966; Norn 1965).

Trapping assistance was an issue also raised in a letter from K. W. Hawkins, Administrator of the Mackenzie, is his letter to the Director of the Department of Indian Affairs. Hawkins described the situation of trapping in Rocher River and argued that while the residents there did not require social assistance, trapping assistance would enable them to travel a greater distance to obtain more furs. He wrote:

> There are 15 families living in the area, with 5 families in the settlement itself. They have wintered very well and without any particular social assistance. As you know, Mr. Ed. DeMelt had operated a store there for some years and it is expected that he will retire in the near future and close the store. The people are still very interested in obtaining a small school in Rocher River, receiving Trappers' Assistance, assistance in repairing their houses, and want permission to fish commercially for pickerel in the Taltson River
>
> Considering this group traps in a 20 mile radius of the settlement, if some Trappers' Assistance was provided they could travel further to obtain furs (Hawkins 1967).

Chief Alexander King, in his 1967 letter of resignation as Chief at Fort Resolution, stated that he intended to regain his community's respect by hunting and trapping for himself. This document highlights the continued importance of hunting and trapping to the Deninu K'ue. King wrote:

> My reason resigning from the Chief [of Fort Resolution] from this day on, August 23, 1967.
> I. That I am old and tired. And I feel it is time that the younger take on responsibilitys[sic]
> II. My people no longer have respect for me. I try to show them by going out and trapping and hunting for myself (King 1967:1).

Concern about police persecution was raised in a letter from the members of Fort Resolution to the Minister of Indian Affairs. In this letter, Modeste Mandeville, as the selected spokesperson for the Band, outlined the actions of one RCMP corporal and his excessive and unwarranted searches of community members.

Mandeville stated that the hunters and trappers of Fort Resolution respected the laws pertaining to hunting and trapping but the behaviour of the named corporal was uncalled for. Searches of individuals and homes without just cause, as well as eavesdropping, and looking in windows were described. Further, Mandeville (1967) discussed the bind that Chipewyans trappers found themselves in between government encouragement to trap on the one hand, and these excessive searches by the RCMP on the other. In the letter, he wrote:

> Dear Sir;
>
> The native population of this settlement are gravely concerned with the behaviour of the local R.C.M.P. corporal, J. Armstrong. We feel that we are being persecuted rather than protected.
>
> (1) Searches being made of trappers and hunters returning to the settlement.
> (2) Searches being made to the residences without just cause for doing so. This is practically routine weekly procedure.
> (3) Eavesdropping, peeping in windows at all hours of the nite [*sic*].
>
> We respect the law but feel that this is too much. . . Since assistance is insufficient we are urged to help ourselves. By helping ourselves we go out hunting and trapping but find the when we return we have to submit to a search by the R.C.M.P. By the way, the average price for rats is approximately 25 cents per pelt . . . We feel that this is a very serious matter and feel that action should be taken and the attached list of signatures is proof that we are very concerned (Mandeville 1967).

Three pages of signatures were attached to this letter.

1970 – 1979

David M. Smith's publications provide information on historic use and occupancy of the Slave River region by Chipewyans. We do not always agree with his conclusions as they are based upon a brief period of time spent in Fort Resolution and little documentary evidence. However, we do rely on information that he had collected during his summers spent at Fort Resolution as a student.

After concluding his fieldwork with the Deninu K'ue First Nation (DKFN) of Fort Resolution in 1972, Smith went on to publish his dissertation and a Mercury Series paper based on the former (Smith 1975; Smith 1982). In the latter work, he erroneously concluded that the members of the DKFN had, for the most part, abandoned their hunting activities and accepted the wage economy during the 1950s as a means of earning a livelihood for themselves and their families. Smith (1982) surmised that this transformation could be attributed to the impact of residential schools, hunting regulations, the fur trade, DIA administrative band movements, and mining activity. However, as the later section of the report detailing interviews with present-day members of

DKFN, members of this community continue to hunt and trap in the Slave River territory in the same way as their ancestors.

Smith's (1975) noted that following the establishment of the fur trade in the Great Slave Lake area, local bands congregated at the mouths of the major rivers that flow into the Lake. On the south shore of the lake:

> The Snowdrift, Taltson, Slave, Little Buffalo, Buffalo, and Hay Rivers all came to have named local bands which, after the 1850s at least, congregated at the mouths of these rivers in the fall and/or in the spring to take advantage of fish spawning runs (Smith 1975:120).

The seasonal rounds, which these groups participated in, were described by Smith (1975). He described task groups setting out in late October from Little Buffalo River to hunt and trap. He wrote that once ice of sufficient thickness had formed on the river and the snow had accumulated to an adequate depth, small groups departed for hunting and trapping grounds located west to Buffalo Lake and Copp Lake, and east and south toward the Slave River and Grand Detour. Smith stated that these areas were good for marten trapping and hunting, and also particularly good for woodland caribou and moose (Smith 1975:168).

Further Smith (1975) wrote that in June, while the women of Little Buffalo River remained in the village, the men would be occupied trapping muskrat and beaver. "In those day muskrats were often 'as thick as mosquitos'," particularly in the Slave River delta region (Smith 1975:177). In periods of high fur prices, a muskrat pelt could fetch as much as two dollars and in some years a diligent or lucky hunter could bring in over a thousand. Smith also noted that both beaver and muskrat meat were regarded as excellent and the men looked forward to eating them (Smith 1975:177).

Smith described not only the hunting and trapping activities in the Slave River region during "historical time," but also described fishing. He wrote:

> Some Little Buffalo River families fished and hunted along the Slave River, joining the large subsistence band led by Jean-Marie Beaulieu, whose main

> camp was located on Long Island [an island on the Slave River] (Smith 1975:179).

Smith further argued that the first cabins along the southern part of the Taltson River were constructed in the first decade of the 20th century (1975:183). It was not, however, until 1921, that most Rocher River people began to build cabins. With reference to Treaty 8 Adhesion signatory Snuff, who signed as Chief for the Chipewyans, Smith wrote:

> According to his maternal grandson, it was Snuff and his brother-in-law who built the first cabin near the present site of Rocher River. Actually they built their cabin on Snuff Channel, at a site less than on-half mile east of the present site of Rocher River (Smith 1975:183-184).

Around Rocher River, Smith noted that task groups assembled to hunt caribou and trap when "fur 'signs' were good" (1975:188). Further, in the spring, trapping for beaver around Rocher River was excellent—to the east of the village in particular. This area was known to be valuable beaver habitat (Smith 1975:188).

With reference to the hunting and trapping activities of his informants in Fort Resolution at the time of his fieldwork, Smith outlined their concern over the impacts of the hydroelectric dams to the south. He reported that the trappers he spoke to cited the Bennett Dam in British Columbia and the Taltson Power Dam 35 miles south of Fort Smith as the cause of wide fluctuations in the water-levels in the lakes, rivers and sloughs in their trapping areas. This disturbance, namely the drying out of the region, seriously affected the beaver and muskrat population. These trappers stated:

> <u>Except for unusually wet periods, the Slave River Delta supports only a small fraction of the muskrat population supported twenty-five years ago</u> . . . They do note that, in their life times, there has been a steady long-term drying-out of the country, with beaver and muskrat no longer present in many areas where they were once abundant (Smith 1975:280).

Despite these difficulties, Fort Resolution residents continued to procure the majority of their food from the "bush." Smith noted that while he lived with native families:

> Rarely did a meal occur that did not include meat, fish or fowl from the "bush." Thus, while living ten days with an Indian family in Fort Resolution in September of 1974, only two meals did not include "country" game or fish. For one or another meal we ate bison, moose, bear, duck, rabbit, and fish of several varieties (Smith 1975:283).

Smith (1975) further described the high level of importance accorded to, and great frequency of, "bush" activities for the residents of Fort Resolution. Smith was surprised at just how high the participation in these activities was for these men. He described:

> Even the few men with full-time jobs seem rarely to miss an opportunity before work, after work and on weekends to go hunting (or fishing). Elderly men, some of whom have difficulty walking, nevertheless have rabbit snares set and have people drive them along the roads to areas where they can do a little hunting now and then. Parties of men seem always, except for the extremely cold months, to be gone moose hunting along the streams, or bison hunting, especially in the vicinity of Hook Lake, some sixty miles by boat up the Slave River (Smith 1975:284).

Conclusion

The historical documents quoted in the preceding section clearly demonstrate the use and occupancy of the South Slave Lake and Slave River region by the Chipewyan ancestors of DKFN band members. Accounts written by European explorers, the North West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, St. Joseph's Mission, Indian Affairs, and anthropologists who have studied the region show the ongoing intensive use of this territory for hunting, trapping, and fishing by the ancestors of the DKFN.

Throughout the more than 21 decades detailed, a number of significant events occurred that impacted the ability of Chipewyans in the territory to continue hunting, trapping, and fishing as they had previously. These factors included the establishment of NWC and HBC trading posts in the region and the dramatic increase in the demand for furs, as well as the signing of the Treaty 8 Adhesion by the Yellow Knives, Chipewyans, Dog Ribs and Slaves, resulting in increased

government oversight and regulations into the lives and activities of these bands and their members. Further factors included the imposition of games laws, the creation of open and close seasons for hunting and trapping, and the 1962 buffalo anthrax epidemic that resulted in the creation of a quarantine area where no hunting or trapping was permitted. As a result, individuals and families were forced to use other locations for these activities.

However, in spite of all of the above, Chipewyan hunters, trappers, and fishers in the Slave River region maintained these integral cultural practices and taught them to their children. As the following section will establish, through interviews conducted with present-day DKFN band members, hunting, trapping, and fishing continues to be both economically and socially significant. DKFN band members continue to hunt, trap, and fish on the same lands, rivers, and lakes that their parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and more distant ancestors had.

Section II: To the Present through Interviews

In February 2013 interviews were conducted with members of the Deninu K'ue First Nation. For the purposes of this "Site C" report, Linda Vanden Berg, Justin Fritz, and Susannah Machelak conducted these interviews in Fort Resolution, at the DKFN Band office, and at the homes of the individuals interviewed. An earlier round of interviews was conducted during July, August, and September 2012 with members of the DKFN for a different report. We have included excerpts from those earlier interviews where they dealt with the Slave River region. During those interviews, Linda Vanden Berg, Justin Fritz, and Sophie Henderson interviewed DKFN members in Yellowknife (at the Akaitcho Treaty Office and The Explorer hotel), and in Fort Resolution (at J's Bed and Breakfast, the DKFN Band office, and the homes of the individuals interviewed).

Plate 8: Fort Resolution Aerial Photo (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre 1984).

Throughout this report we rely on both the words of the interviewees and interview notes taken by Linda Vanden Berg, Justin Fritz, Sophie Henderson, and Susannah Machelak. The words in bold are those of the interviewer (Linda Vanden Berg, Justin Fritz, Susannah Machelak, or Sophie Henderson, unless otherwise noted), and the words in standard font belongs to the interviewee.

Additional sources of information used in this section include the fieldwork conducted in Fort Resolution by anthropologist David M. Smith in the early 1970s, *Interviews of 20 Elders: Fort Resolution, NWT September 2004* by Leona Poitras, and the book *That's the Way We Lived: An Oral History of Fort Resolution Elders* compiled by the Fort Resolution Education Society.

Taken together these quotes illustrate the DKFN's continued use of the Slave River region and their connection with the past. The accounts of both the past and the present-day hunting, trapping and fishing activities are strikingly similar. Although the lifestyle of the people has changed over time the DKFN members continue to hunt, trap, and fish in the Slave River region, teaching their children their traditions as their parents and grandparents had taught them.

Oral Histories

The use of the Slave River region by ancestors of present-day DKFN members is traced through the accounts of their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. These stories continue to inform the current membership as to how, when, and where to hunt, trap, and fish. There is a clear continuity in the exploitation of an area that grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, mothers, uncles, and aunts hunted, trapped, and fished in the past and where current DKFN members carry on these same activities. It was often reported in interviews that one would learn to hunt, trap, or fish from family members and would later continue to hunt in the same locations.

You will see as you read through the interview excerpts that each person interviewed used a coloured felt-tip pen to indicate on a map where they carry out an activity. The majority of individuals included the Slave River as an area that they used frequently. So much so that we often had to wait patiently for a trapper to return from his or her traplines in order to conduct the interview. There are more than fifty trappers at DKFN. We interviewed those who were available.

This section of the report is ordered for the most part by activity: hunting, fishing, and trapping. The activities are followed by a section describing the impacts upon the wildlife in the area caused by the existing dams, impacts which the hunters and trappers have both witnessed and

experienced. These impacts upon the wildlife in turn impact the subsistence and economic pursuits of the DKFN membership. The story is told below in their own words.

DKFN band member Dean McKay recalls the first time he went out on the land by himself. He explained that he hunts and traps where his parents and grandparents had hunted and trapped:

> I went for the first time by myself when I was 16. Started hunting and trapping with dad. Will go out overnight or just for the day. If I overnight it's on Jean Marie River at my cabin, it was dad's cabin. Moms' dad trapped all around Rocher. Dad's dad hunted in Barren Lands and East Arm (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1).

DKFN band members share the particular locations where their family members hunted, trapped, and fished. Those interviewed described hunting, trapping, and fishing in a number of locations that their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents had hunted, trapped, and fished:

> My grandfather used to go to boundary – Sass River, between Fort Smith and Fort Res (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).
>
> My dad used to trap on the Slave River – he even went as far as Providence for rats (Pierrot, Mary, pers. comm., February 22, 2012:1).
>
> My parents trapped all over there [drawn on Map 17 in brown] (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).
>
> **Do you know where your dad and brothers hunted?**
> They used to go to Nyarling River and Buffalo River (Pierrot, Christina, pers. comm., July 31, 2012:3).
>
> **Do you know anything about how or where your grandparent's hunted?**
> I know from my grandfather he used to hunt. In Rocher River, Rat River (Norn, Gerald, pers. comm., July 16, 2012:3).
>
> **Have you ever gone to Lake Athabasca?**
> The elders will know about that. A few used to trap all over. Like Solomo[n] King is your best. Or Pete King one of those guys (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3).

DKFN members elder Mary Pierrot and trapper Eddy Lafferty know a great deal about the particular animals that were hunted and trapped by their parents:

> Got lots of rats toward Rocher River and Yellowknife (Pierrot, Mary, pers. comm., February 22, 2012:1).

> My dad when he used to trap in this area [his trapline] mink country. You'd get one mink and make 50 bucks. You could buy boxes of groceries. 50 bucks now and you can't get anything (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:6).

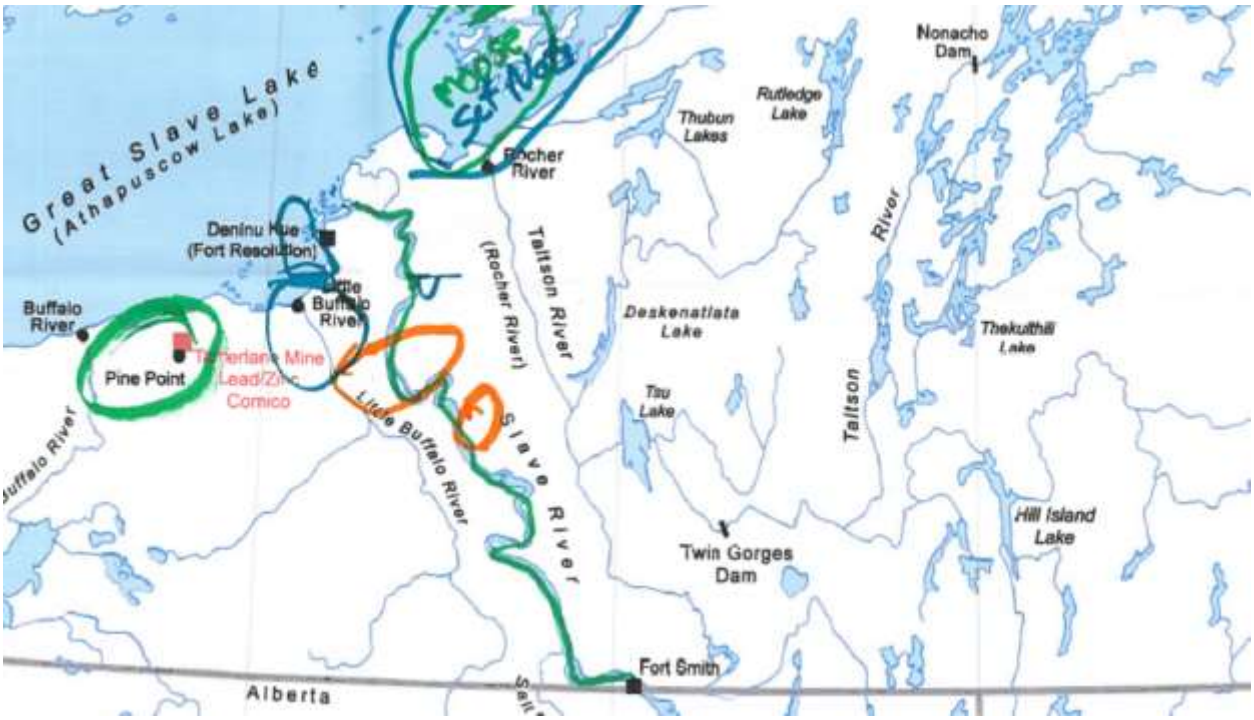
In his interview, 27-year-old Keith Fabien described the cycle of "learning" and "teaching":

> I learned to hunt and trap from Kirk [his older brother], who learned from elders. I listened to stories because someday you will have to do the same thing. Uncles, friends, and grandparents, you learn from them. We are constantly teaching, we teach the 14, 15 years olds (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3).

The importance of transmitting knowledge regarding traditional practices when teaching children to hunt, trap, and fish was highlighted in a number of interviews. Paul Boucher, Jr. recalls:

> My mom and dad raised me. They taught me traditional ways, especially my dad – ever since I can remember - [Since I was] three years old. Taught me to skin moose, fox, ducks, light fires, make camp, [take] traditional routes and [how to] [travel]. Taught me to hunt moose in the Simpson Islands and all the way up the Slave River to Fort Smith [green on Map 6] (Boucher, Paul, Jr., pers. comm., July 31, 2012:1).

Map 6: Paul Boucher Jr.'s fishing (blue) and hunting (caribou is drawn in green and buffalo is in orange) map (Boucher, Paul, Jr., pers. comm., July 31, 2012).



Greg Balsillie, when asked who taught him to hunt, described the process of learning from his father and tells the story of the first time he hunted on his own:

> Brought up with my dad, watching him then went on my own. First time hunting by myself at 14 or 15, I went down to the lake and shot a swan and got shit for it (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

In the same interview, Greg Balsillie described how he continues to hunt and trap with family and community members. This includes his children, friends, and nephews:

> Go hunting and trapping with kids, friends and nephews when we need meat. Last weekend I went with my nephew, Keith Fabien (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Gordon Beaulieu reiterated the importance of learning traditional skills and living off the land through hunting, trapping, and fishing. The following quote demonstrates the value given these skills, along with an emphasis on the opportunities afforded through education. Beaulieu also describes the particular areas within the Slave River region where he learned to hunt from his

father, including around Little Buffalo River, and on the Slave River. He stated that he continues to hunt in these same areas:

> **Who taught you where to go to hunt the caribou?**
> My dad was illiterate. He had a hard time getting jobs because he was illiterate. He drove it into us that we had to get an education. So, me and all my siblings are educated. My dad forced us.
>
> **Who taught you how to hunt?**
> He did. He made sure that we were able to survive on the land and off the land. He taught us a lot of traditional skills. He taught us how to hunt and how to trap.
>
> **Did he bring home caribou?**
> Yes. Moose, caribou, buffalo.
>
> **Where did he get the buffalo?**
> Around Little Buffalo River.
>
> **Where did he hunt moose?**
> Usually the other side of Taltson there is not much. We hunted all over. Even right now I have a camp over here.
>
> **By Pine Point?**
> No by Buffalo River. North of the Highway. I have another one here.
>
> **That's on the Slave River?**
> Ya. (Beaulieu, Gordon, pers. comm., July 31, 2012:2).

Regarding the continued importance of hunting, trapping, and fishing in the Slave River region, Donald Balsillie's discussion of the contents of his freezer at home highlights his reliance on country foods. He notes the varieties of fish, fowl, and game he stocks and how he shares these foods with elders in the community:

> I've got connie, I've got pickerel, I've got whitefish, I've got northern pike, I've got ducks, wild geese, buffalo, moose, caribou, beaver meat. Some of it's smoked, some is dried, some just cut out for barbequing. One of the elders dropped by just a few minutes ago because I promised to give him some duck,

> geese, and some moose meat (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012:7).

Theresa Simon described how moose and other country foods such as teas are prepared:

> **What do you do with the moose?**
> We package them to freeze it, make dry meat, pick berries, make teas.
>
> **What teas?**
> Labrador teas for drinking and mint teas for colds. We picked some in the Simpson Islands and same in the Taltson River. We pick berries, raspberries, cranberries, Saskatoon (Simon, Therese, pers. comm., September 25, 2012:4).

DKFN members maintain the traditions taught to them by their parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles. They continue to hunt and trap for meat and furs and to participate in the market economy deriving an income by selling furs and dried meat. The knowledge and skills have been passed down from generation to generation. Further, as will be explored below, through these activities, kinship ties, and social-political structures such as task groups are perpetuated (VanStone 2009).

Hunting

Hunting remains an important cultural, social, and economic activity for members of the DKFN. Band members continue, just as their ancestors had, to hunt moose, woodland caribou, buffalo, geese, and waterfowl in the Slave River region. Fur-bearing animals, such as beaver and muskrat are also often cited in interviews as animals that can be hunted, though these animals are also trapped. As described above, learning how to hunt from family members and maintaining familial connections remains central to the lives of DKFN band members. Through the course of the interviews conducted by Vanden Berg & Associates in 2012 and 2013, it became clear that friends and family members continue to come together to form task groups for hunting trips.

The Chipewyan socio-political process of forming “task groups” continues to this day in Fort Resolution. As articulated by VanStone (2009), these ad hoc assemblages of family and friends,

formed with the goal of exploiting specific seasonal resources and usually not lasting beyond that period, were often comprised of two related families. Kinship ties were and are just as significant in forming task groups as friendships. Task groups form for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and trapping. These socio-political structures continue to be used to the present day, as Tommy Beaulieu describes in his interview. He outlines the process of organizing a buffalo hunt in the Slave River region, between the Slave River and Buffalo River. He recalls:

> On February 15th we used to pick up out traps. Me and four or five friends from here we used to organize a hunt. We would get six or seven buffalo, and one or two moose. Fatten up our dogs and get in good shape for race in Easter. With Alfred Hillarie, Jim Bugghins, and Henry Edjericon. It was between Buffalo [River] and Slave [River]. We set up a camp and walk on snowshoes looking for tracks. The next day we would go there and hunt. Sometimes we would just spend three or four days looking for fresh tracks. Sometimes we went across Slave River. One or two old bulls for dogs and we kept hunting. That was nice, we did that year after year (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3-4).

Gerald Norn also described who he hunts with. His answers illustrate the impromptu nature of his hunting group, as well as the significance of kinship ties and friendships in the formation of task groups:

> **Who do you hunt with?**
> Whoever I can. My cousins and friends (Norn, Gerald, pers. comm., July 16, 2012:1-2).

In his interview, Keith Fabien discussed the recent hunting trip that he and nine others participated in. He also notes the significance of game in his diet:

> We just got three moose at our uncle's cabin on Hanberry Creek. Nine of us went out. The meat will last three of us about four months. We eat game meat every second day (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

The continuity of hunting activities through the generations is a theme articulated by a number of DKFN band members. Raymond Giroux explained the transmission of tradition in his discussion

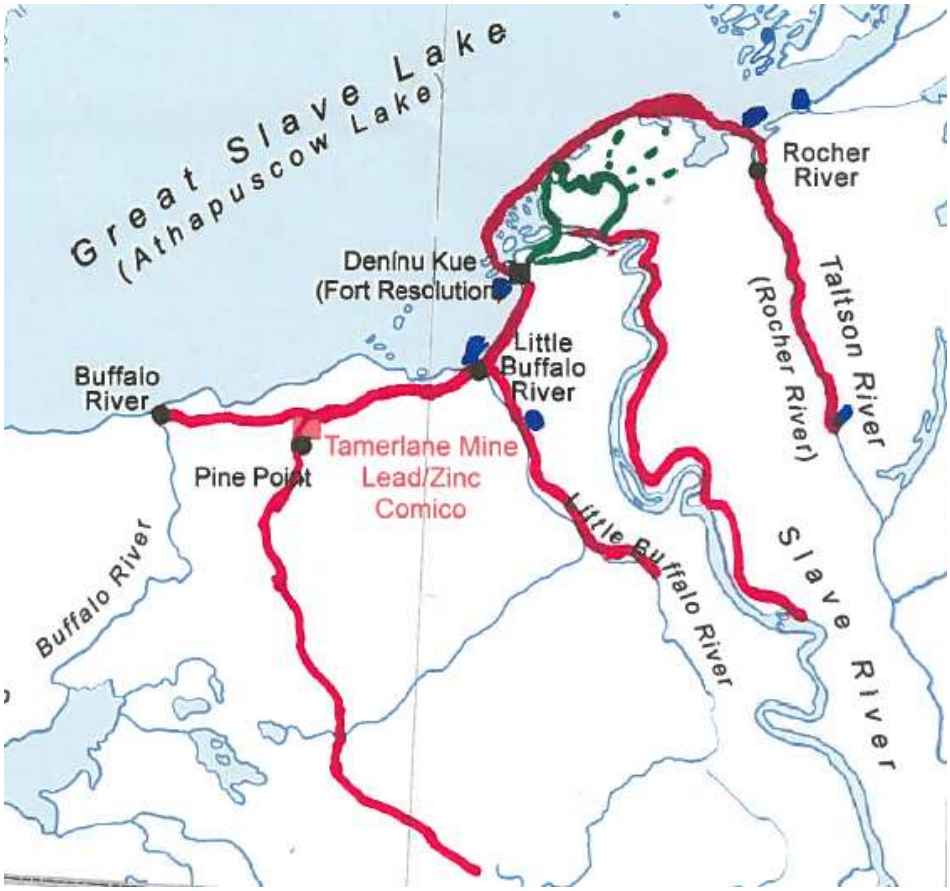
of hunting in his family. He described that they have been hunting all their lives in the Slave River region and continue to hunt in this territory:

> **Tell me about hunting in your family?**
> We've been hunting all our lives. We still do hunting now. Before, you didn't have to go to the Barren Lands before the mine opened up. We used to get caribou just out of Taltson. We used to get caribou on Rocher River. But now with the mines they're way out there. Out there at Artillery Lake. (Giroux, Raymond, pers. comm., September 25, 2012:2)
>
> My dad also had a cabin at Rat River . . . We used to stay here before. We used to go to Hook Lake to hunt buffalo and trap lynx. Me and my dad and my brother.
>
> This Friday, me and my brother, we're going to Taltson to hunt there (Giroux, Raymond, pers. comm., September 25, 2012:3–4).

Carol Collins echoed this in her discussion of her and her family's hunting practices in the Slave River region. She notes Pine Point, Fort Smith, Wood Buffalo National Park, and the Taltson River as areas that she, her stepfather, and brother hunt in:

> **Tell me about hunting in your family?**
> My stepfather he hunts around the Pine Point area. My brother Greg also, they also hunt out Rocher River, Taltson.
>
> **Where else do they hunt?**
> They go all in the [Wood] Buffalo Park area, [Fort] Smith area. They go by Skidoo, it takes him seven to eight hours to get there and back. His trap line is from here to there. We also hunt Buffalo at Shit Island. [in the Slave River] A lot of people have trap lines on that area too. Me I go anywhere. I go Taltson, I go Pine Point area. I don't set traps I just hunt. Smith Highway (Collins, Carol, pers. comm., September 26, 2012:1–2).

Map 7: Dean McKay's hunting (red), trapping (green), and fishing (blue) map (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013).



Dean McKay, in his discussion of hunting, also describes teaching his children to hunt when they were young. Following a detailed description of the areas in the Slave River region where he continues to hunt (including along the highway traveling west from Fort Resolution to Buffalo River, up Little Buffalo River, around Hook Lake and Little Detour on the Slave River) he also notes where he used to hunt moose. These areas include the Slave River, Taltson River, the Slave Lake shore, and Slave River Delta:

> I hunt [drawn in red on Map 7] up the Slave, all the way to Big Buffalo River, along the highway, up Little Buffalo. I go at least three to four times a week. Shoot moose, birds, waterfowl, rats, beavers, take kids hunting. Started when they were about five. They have shot chickens. Moose have disappeared from Slave River, Taltson, lake shore, delta. Most are now between Hay River and Smith in the forest. Not in the Slave River anymore. The water on the Slave is bad, brown with dark foam on it. It's a result of the industry. When I was

> young you could just drink the water but never now. Could drink it 20 years ago. (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1)
>
> I hunt around Hook Lake and even past to Grande Detour (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:2).

In her interview, Chrissy Lafferty also discussed how she learned to hunt moose from her father at a young age on the Slave River:

> **Did your father take you hunting?**
> Ya. I was seven when I first went out.
>
> **Where did he first take you?**
> Out on Slave River and on the east arm by Lutsel K'e and Fort Reliance.
>
> **What did you hunt?**
> Moose around Slave River, but up by Fort Reliance caribou (Lafferty, Chrissy, pers. comm., September 26, 2012:1).

Plate 9: From left to right - Tamara, Rocky, Tori, and Tanis Lafferty skinning a beaver near their cabin on Shit Island in the Slave River (unknown man in far right).

Keith Fabien also recalls leaning how to shoot at a young age. He notes that his grandmother taught him these skills:

> In the summer we used go to the island to fish and in winter hunt caribou to Taltson. In winter we hunt at Pine Point because it's open. Shoot chickens in the fall. Granny taught as how to shoot when we were six years old (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Other family members, such as aunts and uncles, are also cited in interviews to be important teachers of traditional knowledge. In an excerpt from *That's the Way We Lived: An Oral History of the Fort Resolution Elders*, Rose Fabien recalls hunting moose, making dried meat, and setting rabbit snares and traps for squirrels while staying with an aunt:

> There were no caribou around Little Buffalo River, but people used to hunt for moose all the time. There were bears, but hardly anybody ate bears. We set rabbit snares, too. In August, we'd all travel up the river for moose and make drymeat. People hunted ducks anytime in the summer. There were lots of ducks on the river in the fall. People killed lots of ducks. When my sister and me stayed with my auntie, we'd set rabbit snares close by and we'd set traps for squirrels. I remember that the first thing that I killed was two ptarmigans (Fabien, R. 1987:29-30).

Miranda Calumet notes that her brother, an avid hunter and trapper, was taught by Elders:

> My brother goes hunting and trapping. He goes a lot more than me. He's in Kananaskis. He was taught by elders around town – Stanley Beck, and Bob Boucher [our uncle] (Calumet, Miranda, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

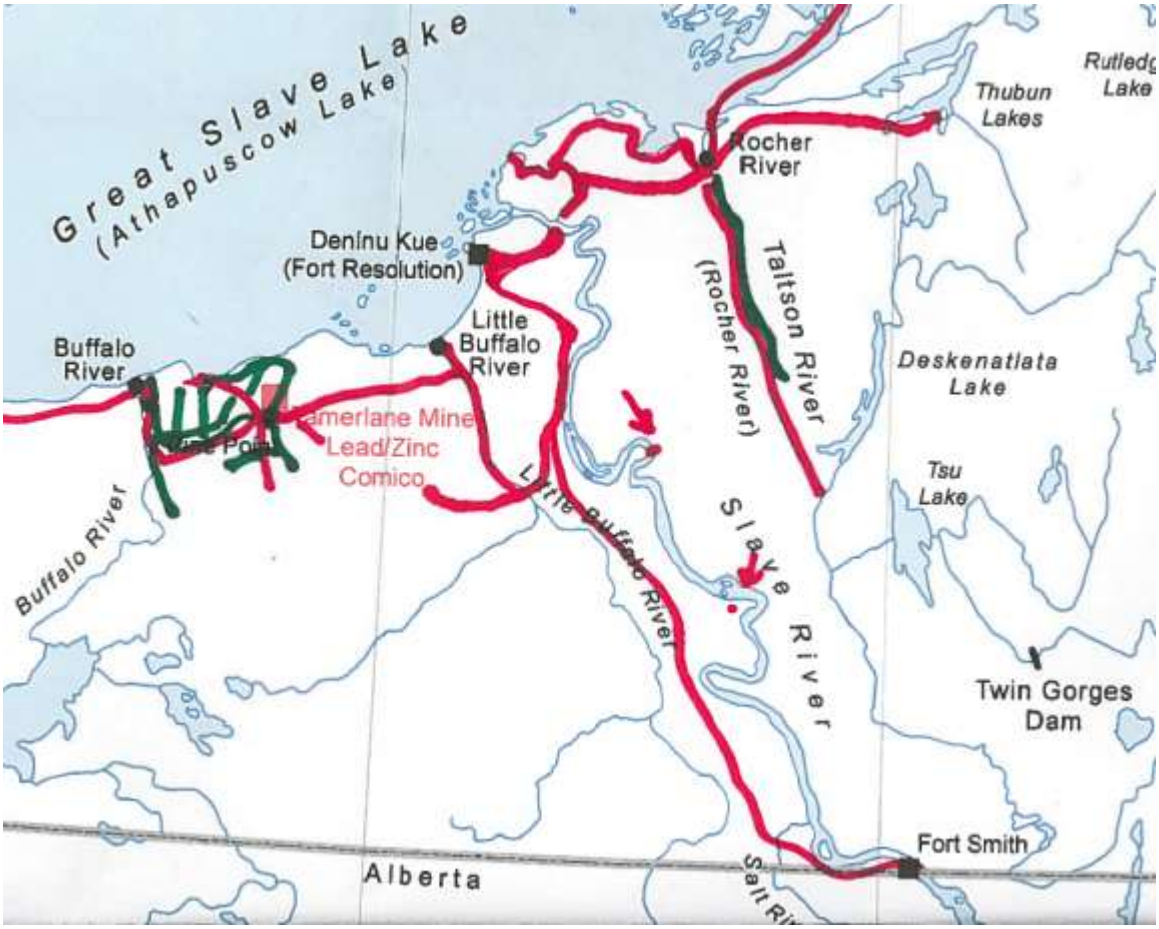
It is also interesting to note that when DKFN members were asked where they hunt, many answered with stories about where they hunted as children and as young adults. Significantly these areas continue to be important to them years later. Furthermore, where fellow band members hunt and trap is often discussed with respect to where they themselves hunt or trap. For instance George Larocque included the location of fellow trapper Jeff Sanderson's line, as well as the area he trapped with his stepfather, when discussing his own hunting. When asked to draw on the map [in red on

Map 8] where he hunts, George Larocque replied:

From Fort Resolution sometimes I usually go up the Slave, up the Jean, bush right across to Rocher River, along the Lake Shore over to Thubun. That's as far as I went with my stepfather over that way. That's Sonny Collins. Then I used to go up this way. I was 15. Me and Roger Beck. We spent two years up there up at Taltson, there. We had two dog teams and we wintered there and did the spring hunt. We did all the fall fishing for his dogs and our dogs. That was when I was younger.

I hunt up in the Slave [River] we loop around here and come down [the Little Buffalo River]. Jeff Sanderson has his trap lines over here. Then I go over to Pine Point and I hunt all around here. The whole area pretty well. Then I go to Hay River and I go to Buffalo Lake and take the highway over to the border (Larocque, George, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1).

Map 8: George Larocque's hunting (red) and trapping (green) map (Larocque, George, pers. comm., February 23, 2013).



It also became clear through the interviews conducted that DKFN band members hunt and trap very frequently in the Slave River region. The previous discussion of the importance of country foods illustrates this point, as does Gerald Norn's enthusiasm for hunting and being out on the land:

> **How often do you go out hunting?**
> Whenever I get the chance to. I like being out on the land more than I do in town. Good to think. Being out on the land (Norn, Gerald, pers. comm., July 16, 2012:1-2).

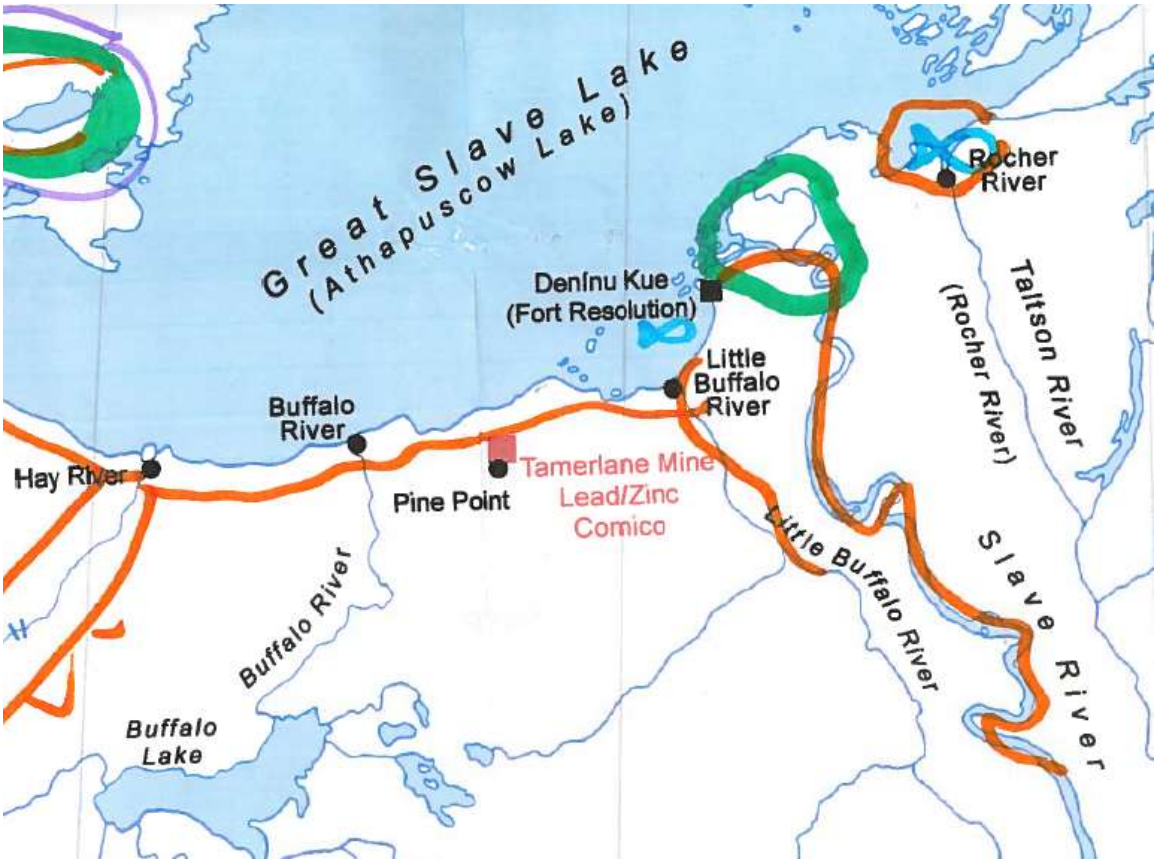
George Laroque also notes that he goes hunting every week in the fall (Larocque, George, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1). Further, when asked which animals he hunts, like many other DKFN band members, he listed moose, buffalo, woodland caribou, and caribou (Larocque, George, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1). In other interviews, similar responses were given, followed by the particular location where these animals may be hunted. When asked where he hunts and what animals, Gerald Norn replies:

> Anything that's around. Beavers, hunting or trapping; moose, buffalo.
>
> **Where do you get the buffalo?**
> They're really close. Not even that far up the river [the Slave River].
>
> **And the moose?**
> Same place pretty much. All along the river.
>
> **Do you hunt anywhere besides the Slave River?**
> The Simpson Islands, Taltson [River].
>
> **How far up the Taltson do you go?**
> Up to Rat River (Norn, Gerald, pers. comm., July 16, 2012:1-2).

In his interview, Clayton Balsillie also notes where he hunts moose and marked these areas (in orange on Map 9) on a map of the Slave River region:

> In terms of moose, following the highway system, up to Wrigley about here, hunted up the Little Buffalo [River], up the Slave [River] (Balsillie, Clayton, pers. comm., September 28, 2012:2).

Map 9: Clayton Balsillie's fishing (blue), hunting (of moose (orange)), and trapping (green) map (Balsillie, Clayton, pers. comm., September 28, 2012).



Clayton Balsillie's brother, Donald Balsillie, also described the locations where he hunts (

Map *10*):

> East of Fort Resolution, I've been up the Taltson watershed as far as Nanacho Lake. I've also been south, into the [Wood] Buffalo National Park. I have a camp about a hundred miles up the Slave River near Hook Lake, on the east shore of Long Island. I also had one at the mouth of the Taltson River [Rocher River]. I have a day-use area that I use on the Simpson Island (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., July 17, 2012:1).

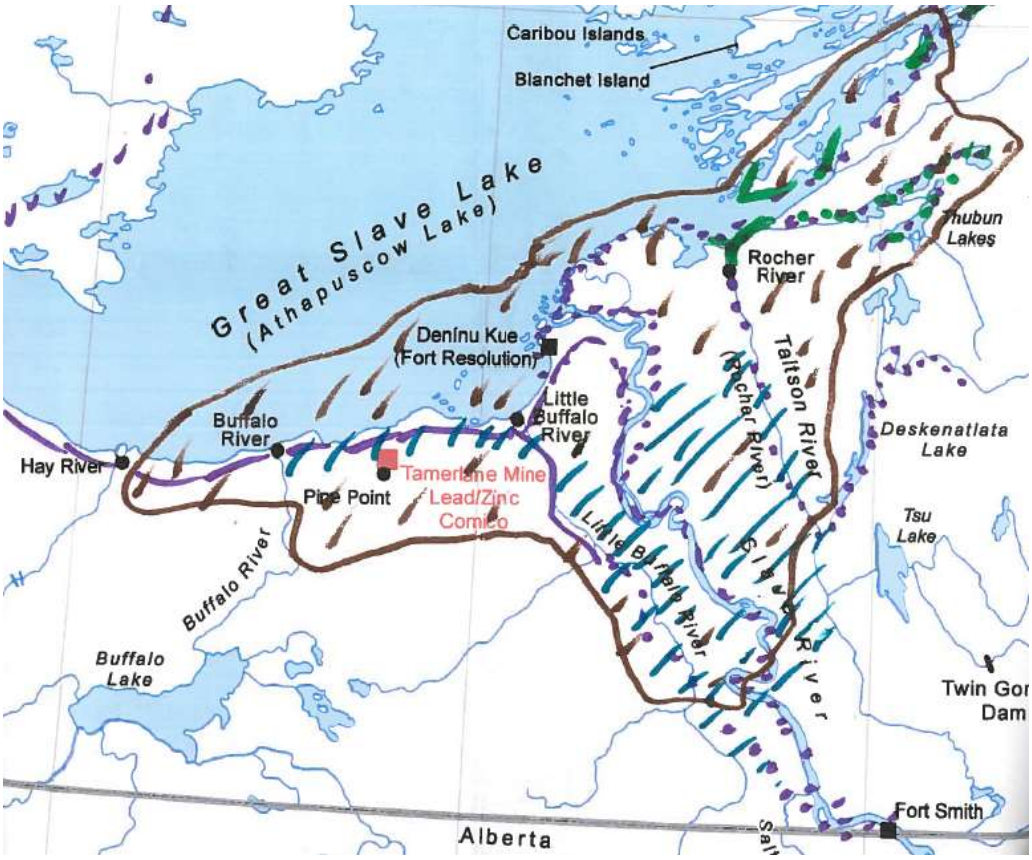
When asked where he hunts caribou [in green on Map 10], he described these locations:

> Up by Rocher River. We hunted caribou as far as Gordon Lake, Mackay Lake, Beniah Lake, Duncan Lake, in around Yellowknife, East of Yellowknife toward Caribou Islands, Rocher River, Simpson Island, Big Narrows, up by Lutsel K'e, Christie Bay, as far as Reliance (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012:2).

Further, when asked what else he hunts, Donald Balsillie described the areas he hunts moose [in purple on Map 10]:

> All the way passed Hay River, Big Buffalo [River], Little [Buffalo] River, all the way up the Slave River, then to Fort Smith, all along the Slave River Delta, all the way out to Rocher River as far as Lutsel K'e. All the way around the lake on the highway (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012:2-3).

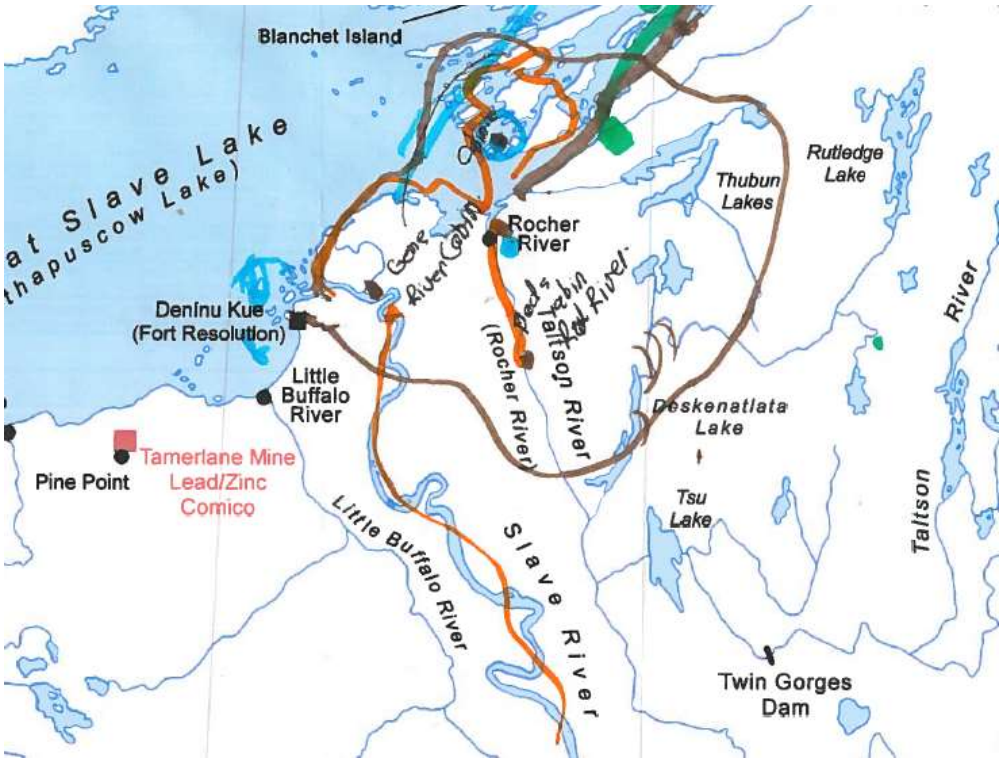
Map 10: Donald Balsillie's map showing where he hunts caribou (green) and moose (purple), and traps (brown) (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012).



He elaborated further on where he hunts both moose and caribou when asked if he follows the ice roads:

> Yes. I hunted moose all along the lakeshore. Everywhere I hunted caribou I hunted moose as well. Everywhere I hunted moose I hunt caribou as well. They're pretty much the same. <u>All the way to Fort Smith [up the Slave River]</u>. All along the highway as well. All the way up in the Taltson. All the way up the Skadiway Lake (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012:2-3).

Stan Beck also noted that for spring hunts he goes up the Taltson River, to hunt beaver and muskrats (Beck, Stan, pers. comm., July 15, 2012:3).



Map 11: Raymond Giroux's map of the Slave River region which shows where he fishes (blue), hunts moose (orange), hunts caribou (green), and traps (brown) (Giroux, Raymond, pers. comm., September 25, 2012).

In his interview, Raymond Giroux described the areas that he has hunted moose and geese:

> **Can you show me where you hunted moose [orange on Map 11]?**
> Oh, all over. Taltson Islands, Rocher River, Simpson Islands, up Slave River (Giroux, Raymond, pers. comm., September 25, 2012:4).
>
> **Where do you hunt geese?**
> Taltson River right to here, there's thousands of geese here. They stop in the Taltson Bay there (Giroux, Raymond, pers. comm., September 25, 2012:8).

Jerry Sanderson defines the areas he has hunted, and continues to hunt, in the Slave River region with the aid of a map (in green of Map 12):

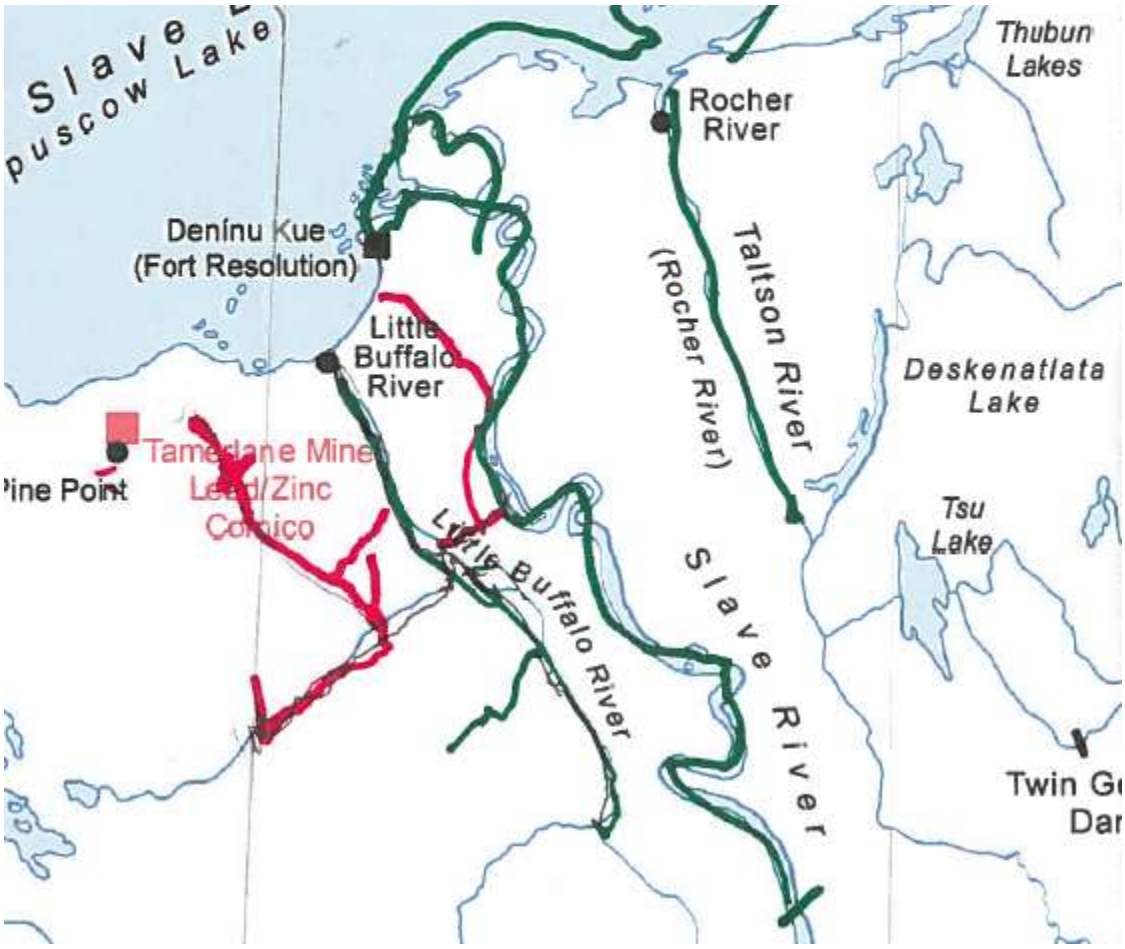
> [I] went hunting out on the delta of Slave [River] – ducks, rats, beavers – whatever was out there. Hunted and trapped up Little Buffalo River. Hunted rats around Rocher River area right up the Taltson River.

> I hunt all along the Slave River, up to the Salt River, up to the Taltson River and to Rat River to the tourist camp. I have also been all over the east arm of the Lake. When we're out we hunt and fish.
>
> [I] Hunted up the Slave River. I hunt near Pine Point. For geese and ducks in the spring because the water is open there earlier. I hunt for food (Sanderson, Jerry, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1-2).

Francois King (an Elder) described hunting moose and caribou along the Slave River, as far south as Fort Smith, and in Rocher River, by dog team:

> We used to go up the Slave River to hunt. Everyone killed moose when they went up the Slave River. We didn't kill the moose right in the river, we killed them in the bush.
>
> We used to get a lot of caribou in Rocher River. The caribou used to come right into Rocher River, then travel down to Fort Smith. We used to bring a big load of caribou meat home with our dog. When we travelled with dogs we could travel across the country on trapping trails. We would go out trapping and at the same time hunt caribou. That's how we hunted (King 1987a:31).

Map 12: Jerry Sanderson's hunting (green) and trapping (red) map of the Slave River region (Sanderson, Jerry, pers. comm., February 23, 2013).



Francois King also shared a story of an experience he had while hunting moose in Rocher River:

> Moose sleep in the water, this is true. One time in Rocher River, Samuel Simon and I went out to hunt. We stopped where there was a stand of poplar and we went into the bush there. We shot a moose and we returned for the meat the next day. It was calm that day. It wasn't too far in the bush so we paddled our canoe. While we were paddling we saw a moose floating in the water. He was alive so we went there and shot him. People used to say that moose sleep underneath the water. Maybe they come from under the water (King 1987c:86).

In his discussion about hunting moose and caribou, Tommy Beaulieu described the great number of hunters that used to gather in the Slave River region for the moose hunt, as well as how plentiful caribou were in Fort Resolution:

> In the fall time too many people hunting moose all over during the season I used to go take my boat out to Fort Smith by highway. Take my time, which was good to get a moose (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3).
>
> Long time ago caribou used to come into the bay here [points outside the window] the whole area was full of caribou. People used to go down here and always came back with meat. Caribou all over. Now the closest caribou is over here [Nonacho Lake] (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:4).

Further, with the aid of a map (Map 13), Eddy Lafferty outlined where he hunts moose and buffalo, and many the places that he travels to while hunting and fishing:

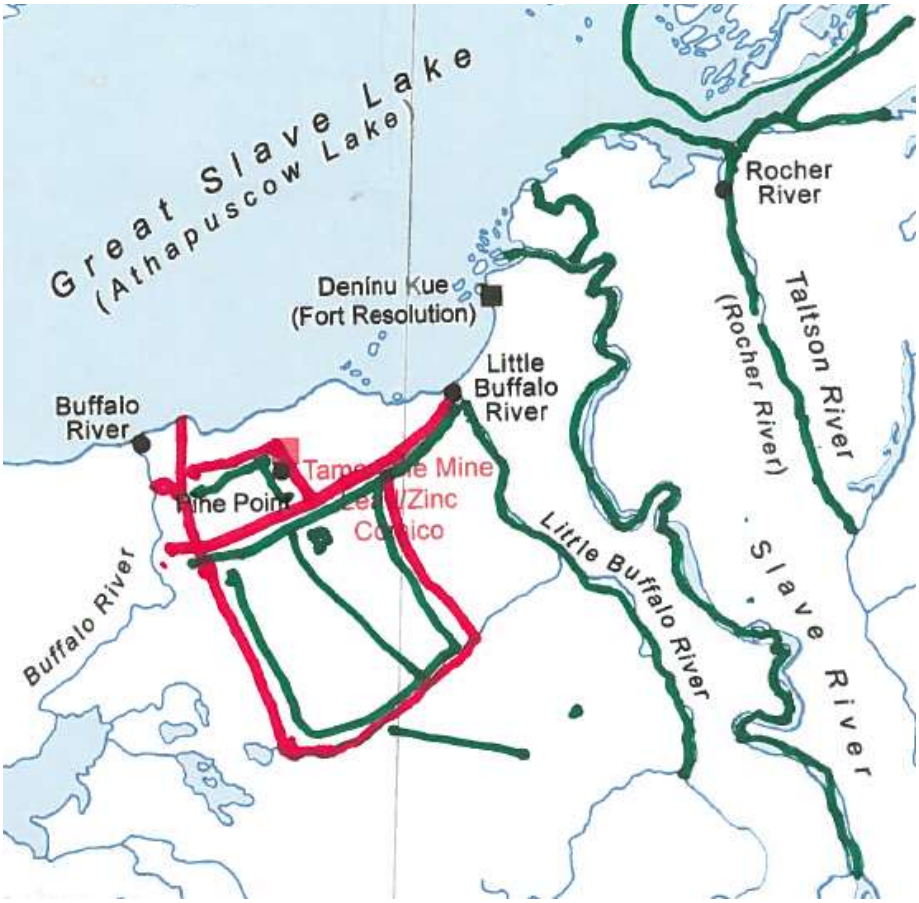
> I hunt all over [in green on Map 13]. <u>We go all the way up Slave River just about to Smith for moose in the fall</u>. I boat. All throughout the delta, Jean River, we go up to Taltson, I go down to Rat River, I go to Thubun. We go into Simpson Islands if we don't have luck anyplace. And we fish all there. In the wintertime we hunt in here too [along his trapline in red on Map 13]. We go for buffalo into Slave River, the buffalo are all in here, through Little Buffalo River, to Slave River, and to Taltson River. Hunting is in the fall. Sometimes we go for a couple days. Sometimes just for a day (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013).

Phillip Beaulieu recounted the areas that he hunts a large number of animals, including moose, buffalo, geese, and other fur-bearing animals. He also told us that his father hunted in all the same places:

> We hunt the whole lake, we hunt this river, this is the Jean River. <u>We usually go only down the [Slave] river to about here.</u> We hunt moose, we hunt buffalo. And then we hunt all this – the whole delta.
>
> **What do you hunt on the delta?**
> Geese, mink, lynx, martin, otter, muskrats and beaver, fox, wolves, fisher, wolverine, I trap where Ring Lake is then all the way to Rat River.
>
> I hunt moose down the Taltson River, I hunt until Rat River, I've been on Deskataway, I've been on Tsu Lake, I've been on the Slave River, the whole

river system. My dad hunted all the same places (Beaulieu, Philip, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:1–3).

Map 13: Eddy Lafferty's hunting (green) and trapping (red) map (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013).



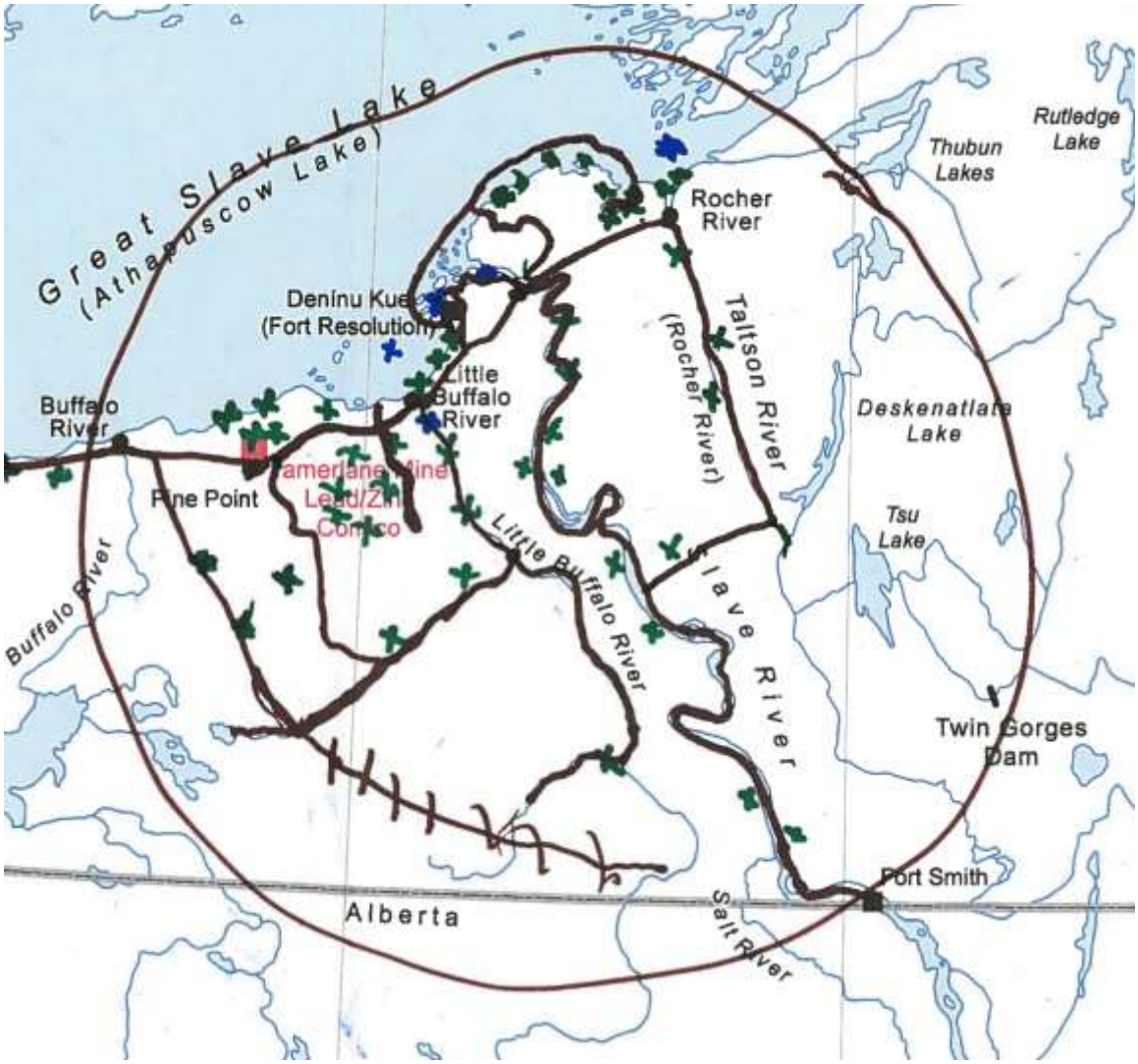
Greg Balsillie has hunted beaver, moose, caribou, geese and waterfowl extensively in the Slave River region. In his interview, with the aid of the map below (Map 14), he delineated his range, the animals he hunts, and described his most recent hunting trip:

Where do you go hunting [in green on Map 14]?
All over the place, Pine Point, Taltson, Lutsel K'e, Nonacho Lake, Big Buffalo and as far as Hay River, Sass River and Klewi River.

What do you hunt?
Anything! Moose, buffalo at Taltson, Hook Lake and not far from town here. I sometimes go for specific animals. Springtime I go for beaver, trap at Pine Point all over for beaver. I kill moose, buffalo, and caribou at Pine Point.

> [I follow] Geese routes and we hunt ducks. We hunt geese at mouth of Rocher River, Jackfish Bay and Pine Point.
>
> **When was the last time you went out?**
> Last weekend on Sunday, killed two moose by Pine Point. I went out to Hanberry Creek and the Nyarling River (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1–3).

Map 14: Greg Balsillie's trapping (brown), hunting (green), and fishing (blue) map (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2012).



Kirk Fabien, Greg Balsillie's nephew, explained the importance of the Slave River for hunting, trapping and fishing:

> **Where do you hunt and trap [shown in brown on Map 16]?**
> Everyone hunts and traps on Slave River – for moose, buffalo, and fish. It's the biggest place to fish, we set nets for dogs, connies. We caught 300 connies in the fall. Most everyone does their hunting there (Fabien, Kirk, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).
>
> We hunt rats, beaver, moose, duck, beaver. Not in summer but in the fall. We fish too and stock up on food (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1–3).

In her interview, Miranda Calumet, discussed hunting along the highway and along Little Buffalo River as well as hunting moose with her parents on the Jean Marie River when she was young:

> **Where do you hunt?**
> I hunt on the highway most of the time but sometimes as I go as far as the rapids on Little Buffalo River. During beaver season/rat season I'm mostly there. I live up in Buffalo River during the summer if I can. I go up on Buffalo River on my four-wheeler.
>
> I've been to the Jean Marie River when I was eight. My parents shot a moose there. We normally go out this way for moose or rats [around Deskenatlata River] (Calumet, Miranda, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

The above interviews provide information about the continued use of the Slave River region for hunting purposes by DKFN band members. They described not only where in the territory individuals and families continue to hunt (and the particular animals they hunt) but also the social processes through which this knowledge and these skills are transmitted between generations. As revealed through interviews with band members, hunting in the Slave River region remains an important activity in the social and economic lives of residents of Fort Resolution. The same is true for trapping and fishing.

Trapping

The DKFN and their ancestors have trapped in the Slave River region for centuries and continue to trap extensively to the present day particularly along the Slave River. The Deninu K'ue First Nation members are some of the most active trappers in the region. When asked "How many active trappers do you have?" Chief Louis Balsillie responded:

> We have in the neighbourhood of 50 active trappers (Balsillie, Louis, pers. comm., September 27, 2012:2).

Additionally, many of these trappers hunt on traplines handed down through the generations. The specific areas that present-day DKFN members trap are the same as those that their parents and grandparents hunted and trapped in. As Keith Fabien has stated:

> Everybody has his or her own trap lines. Inherited them from their grandparents (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Below are accounts of trapping by DKFN members, accounts that describe how they have learned to trap, from whom, and where. Included are stories of where the individuals' parents and grandparents trapped and how those patterns have affected their current trapping activities.

Eddy Lafferty began trapping with his father at eight years of age while his brothers and sisters were in school. As we will see, trapping at an early age is not uncommon in Fort Resolution. In the quote below, Eddy Lafferty noted the effects of industry on trapping and the inherited traplines in the region:

> I started trapping with my dad at 8 years old, so my brothers and sisters were in school. I was the youngest boy that's why I hardly had any schooling. Then Pine Point started up, and next thing you know they put cut lines through our trapping, then they started blasting and my dad warned me it will be like some days you're out there and the ground will shake. Now that the explosions that are going on here [points to Gahcho Kué on map] sending vibrations all throughout the land and the animals are not going to want to go around there (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., July 16, 2012:4).

As seen in Map 13, Eddy Lafferty's trapline (referenced above) is located in the Pine Point area. He described his trapline below:

> Right here's my trapline [in red on Map 13]. I go down Hanbury Creek [a river off of Little Buffalo River, south of Pine Point] my kids used to call me "The Hanbury Boy."
>
> **How often do you go out?**
> Every three or four days (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:1).

Frank "Rocky" Lafferty recounted a similar hunting and trapping experience at his father's cabin on Shit Island in the Slave River:

> **How old were you when you first went hunting?**
> Like the rest of my family, we were all born into. I stayed out all winter, I'd never seen town until trapping season was over. Until I was 7 years old, when I had to go to school. I was probably about 4 when I first went hunting. So about 37 years I've been hunting and trapping with my father. We share the same trap lines, share the same areas, same cabin.
>
> **Where is the trapline?**
> Slave River, Hook Island area. It's called Shit Island (Lafferty, Frank, pers. comm., July 16, 2012:1).

Starting at seven years old Frank Lafferty has now been hunting along the Slave River for 37 years. He and his family share a cabin on Shit Island. His wife Tendah and his daughter Tori, in the same interview, described this cabin. They told us:

> **Tendah:** [It's a] home away from home - a bunch of cabins [on Shit Island]; moose came for dinner - walked right by the generator. [We] smoke and dry meat - we have a smoke house there, have a satellite phone, can stay as long as we like: no TV, no ipod.
>
> **Tori:** [We] skin marten and weasels and squirrels (Lafferty, Tendah, and Tori Lafferty, pers. comm., July 16, 2012)

In Leona Poitras' 2004 interviews of Fort Resolution Elders, Gabriel Lafferty, Frank Lafferty's father, discussed how he began trapping at nine years old along the Slave River:

> I was raised in Fort Resolution. I started trapping when I was nine years old and lived in the bush with my grandfather . . . The only people I've seen were relatives and people from around here who were out trapping. I used to trap along the river [the Slave River] so I seen many people from around Fort Smith. I still trap that area. My father used to trap as well. My grandfather Napoleon raised his children around Hook Lake so they trapped around there. My father also trapped around there. Now there's only me, but my sons have started trapping in that area (Lafferty, Gabriel as cited in Poitras 2004:5).

From the quote above (and Frank Lafferty's quote before that) we can see that Gabriel Lafferty's grandfather Napoleon, Gabriel's father, Gabriel himself, and Gabriel's sons (Frank included) all trapped around Hook Lake and Shit Island in the Slave River. Frank reiterated his father's claim:

> My father trapped all over with my grandfather along the river [Slave River] (Lafferty, Frank as cited in Poitras 2004:20).

Stan Beck also inherited a trapline. His, however, is located near his grandmother's cabin on the Taltson River.

> There was a settlement at Rocher River and Rat River and I still trap at Taltson where my grandmother had a cabin (Beck, Stan, pers. comm., July 15, 2012:1).

Tommy Beaulieu, like Frank Lafferty, Gabriel Lafferty, and Eddy Lafferty, also began trapping at an early age. He was taught by his uncle when he was 12. As he grew older he began to trap by himself around Little Buffalo River and Pine Point (Tommy's trapping activities will be discussed in more detail later):

> When I was 12 years old whenever my uncle used to go out I would go out with him. Jermaine Beaulieu and Maude Beaulieu. I went out with them in the fall-time trapping, I had never set a fire before in my life. He used to throw the blanket off me at six in the morning and say "make the fire!" I used to use six boxes of matches. He was crazy. Now I can't sleep at six. I'm up.

> We got martin, weasel, beaver, lynx, and mink. Some years there's no fur. You'd be lucky if you got one, sometimes two (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:4).

Donald Balsillie was taught how to trap by his father on the south shore of Great Slave Lake in the Slave River region between Buffalo River and Taltson River:

> **Who were you taught to trap by?**
> My father.
>
> **Where?**
> A little in the Buffalo River water system, as far as Birch Creek, and through Fort Resolution to the Slave River Delta to Simpson River, and up the Taltson River System. That was my trapping area (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012:3-4).

Gabe Yelle began trapping in the Rocher River area with his father in 1937. At the time there was a substantial community at Rocher River. Despite the community's demise as a settlement, this area remains a region where DKFN members trap intensively:

> I was raised in Hadzóresche [Rocher River (Poitras 2004:7)]. I trapped in the Hadzóresche area with my dad starting around 1937. I never saw any people form [*sic*] outside of our area on our traplines. I never heard people saying they met other people either. We lived around Rocher River and rarely traveled very far from there . . . There are a lot of burial sites around Rocher River. Whenever people passed away on the land, they were buried there (Yelle, Gabe as cited in Poitras 2004:3)

Miranda Calumet, a 20 year old DKFN member, began trapping on her grandparent's trapline near Fort Smith when she was younger:

> **What animals do you primarily trap?**
> Rats and beavers.
>
> **What do you do with the furs?**
> I sell furs, and it's just something to do.

> When I was younger I went trapping around Smith. My grandparents have a trap line out there that's 72 kilometers long (Calumet, Miranda, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Greg Balsillie also inherited his family's traplines. Like many of the DKFN members quoted above he inherited his from his father (who is also still trapping):

> My dad showed me his trap lines and he still traps there still too. I inherited some of the lines from my dad (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Greg Balsillie's dad trapped, and traps, in the Slave River region between Fort Resolution and Big Buffalo River (which includes the Little Buffalo River region). Below, Greg Balsillie lists what both he and his father catch in this region:

> My dad used to catch a lot. From Fort Res to Big Buffalo and back down Little Buffalo [see Map 14]. He hunted mink and lynx . . . Now I catch lynx, mink, marten, and wolverine, whatever I can get (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Greg Balsillie's traplines need to be tended every three or four days and thus he travels through the area quite often. He stated:

> I run traps and have to collect them every three or four days. I will go out for four or five hours and even at night, use a headlamp (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

In the past Greg Balsillie tended his traps "for something to do," but, now, trapping provides a supplement to his wage:

> Price of fur is up now. Three years ago I just trapped for something to do. Now it's all up – bear, muskrat, wolverine (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Plate 10: George Larocque freeing two martens from the traps he had set near Pine Point.

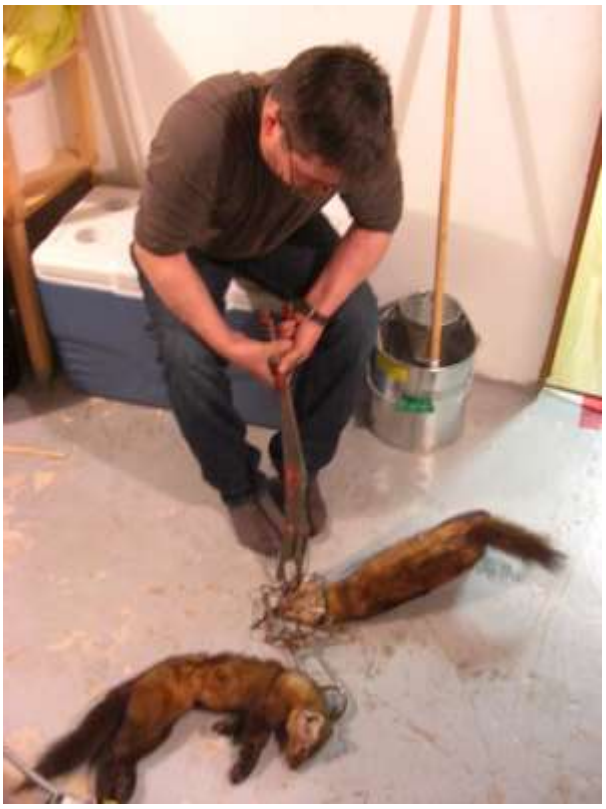


Plate 11: The two martens drying by the fire after George Larocque skinned and stretched them.

George Larocque, another DKFN trapper started trapping on his stepfather's line on the west arm of Great Slave Lake. As he grew older George Larocque began trapping past what he believed was the 'border" of DKFN territory: east of Big Buffalo River. As a young man he trapped along Big and Little Buffalo Rivers near Pine Point about once every five days:

> **How about trapping [in green on Map 8]?**
> When I was in Hay River we used to go from my stepfather's cabin and we used to go right up to Tathilena Lake and then right up to Beaver Lake, then down Kakisa River, back over and a bit down this way [looping back south]. And here Pine Point. I go from Res. When I was in Hay River I'd start after the Big Buffalo because that's what I thought the boundary was. Right at Big Buffalo there's a cabin there right over the bridge over to the right. It was owned by Archie Larocque. He lived there for a year and sold it to my brother Frankie. We used to go down the River and across then up, up, up. When I was younger I used to trap along the Taltson. Eddie was here in the Pine Point area, we trapped there for eight years. But now he's concentrating on his father's

> line. I hit the lake right here [right outside of the bay]. There's all kinds of little creeks and they used to hunt mink in there. That was in the 60s.
>
> **When you trap what do you get?**
> Pine marten, fishers, mink, and lynx . . .
>
> **How often do you check your lines?**
> I used to do it every five days but now I do it once a week (Larocque, George, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1-2).

George Larocque still traps in this area (as seen on Map 8). In fact, during the February 2013 interviews conducted by Vanden Berg & Associates, George Larocque had caught two martens just west of Little Buffalo River near Pine Point. On the night of February 23, 2013 he skinned and stretched them while the interviewers watched and took photos (Plate 10 and Plate 11).

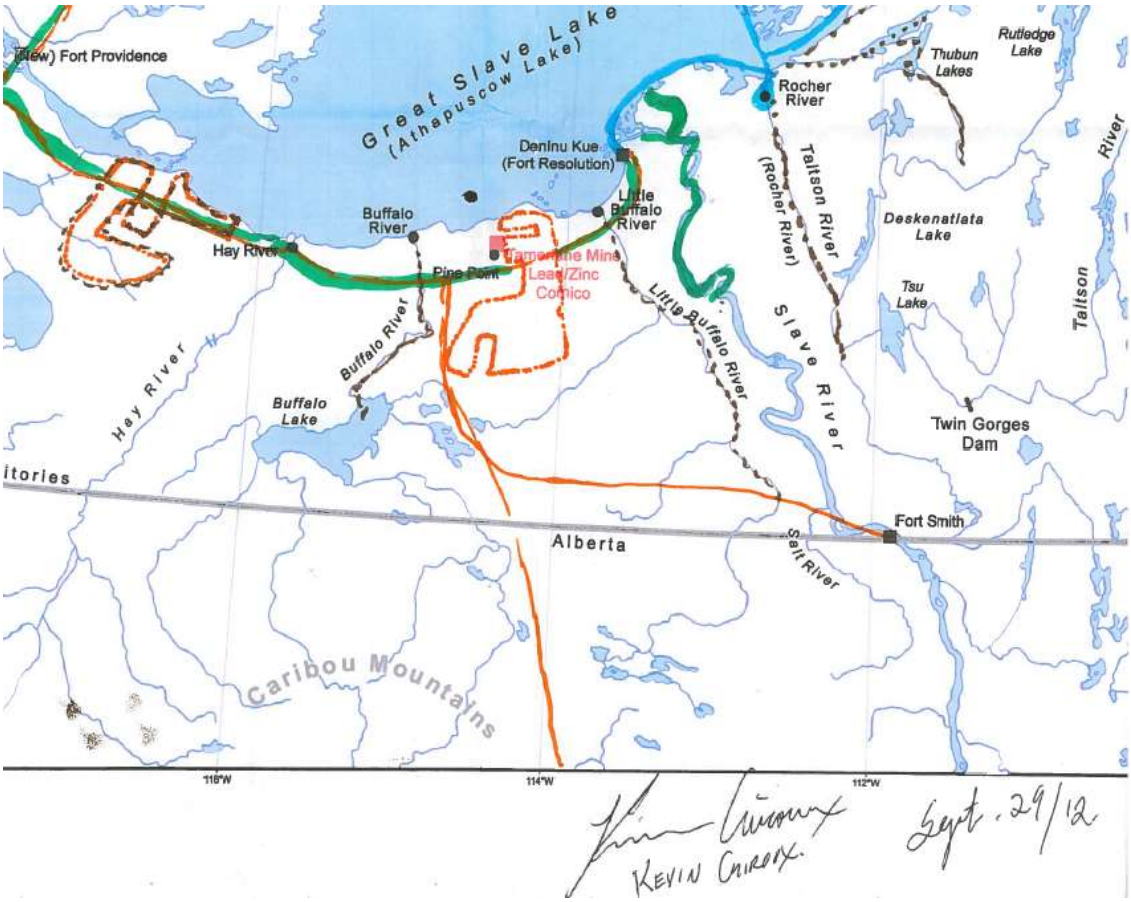
George Larocque's son, Kevin Giroux, also traps along his father's trapline:

> **Did your dad take you trapping [in dotted orange in the middle of Map 15]?**
> Oh ya, he's got a big trap line up by Pine Point. Very large. It takes three days to complete. It starts on pit PN-81, it'll take you all the way to the lake, then it takes you all the way into the prairies by woodland national park, and then back onto the highway, where we can get back to the truck (Giroux, Kevin, pers. comm., September 29, 2012:2).

Kevin Giroux generally hunts and traps on the north side of Great Slave Lake. However, with his father he traps exclusively on the south shore:

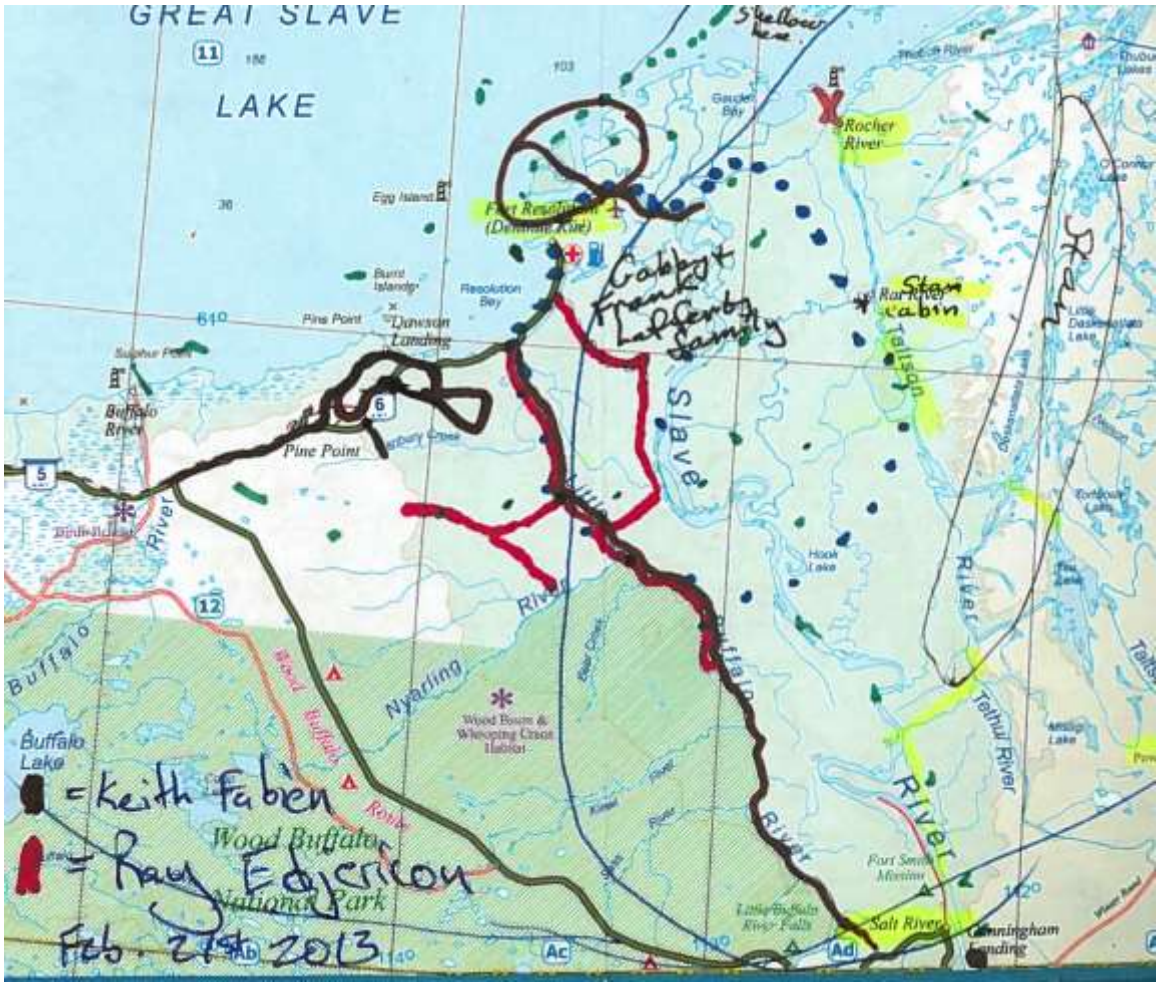
> This whole area is me and my father. Me and him, we've gone out to Thubun Lake, and Rocher River, Slave River, Little Buffalo River, Buffalo River, Buffalo Lake. When we trap we also hunt (Giroux, Kevin, pers. comm., September 29, 2012:7).

Map 15: Kevin Giroux's hunting (of moose drawn in green), trapping (orange), and fishing (blue) map for the Slave River region (Giroux, Kevin, pers. comm., September 29, 2012).



The Pine Point area trapped by George Larocque and Kevin Giroux is trapped by other DKFN members as well. Three young adult members of DKFN, Kirk Fabien, Keith Fabien, and Ray Edjericon, use this area intensively as their traplines lie along Little Buffalo River and on Pine Point itself.

Map 16: Keith Fabien's trapping (brown) map (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013) and Ray Edjericon's trapping (red) map (Edjericon, Ray, pers. comm., February 21, 2013)



While discussing a planned trip toward Fort Smith and then back up to Fort Resolution along Little Buffalo River, Keith Fabien stated that trapping in this area (as well as hunting and fishing) are of constant importance (Kirk Fabien, Keith Fabien, and Ray Edjericon were all interviewed at the same time on February 21, 2013):

> Trapping, hunting fishing is always on our minds. We plan to travel to Fort Smith on vehicle and go up Little Buffalo River to hunt rats and beavers, and shoot ducks. The river melts earlier there (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

As seen above, Keith Fabien and Ray Edjericon trap separately but in generally the same area. Their proximity allows the two trappers to meet up at times and trap together (both traplines were drawn on Map 16):

> **Where do you trap [on Map 16 in brown]?**
> I go on a big loop including . . . Old trappers cabin at Paulette. Henry Calumet used to own it (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).
>
> I check my line every four or five days [shown in red on Map 16]. Takes about 12 hours to do the route (Edjericon, Ray, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Keith and Ray have had considerable success on their traplines west of Slave River. On their lines they catch rats and beaver:

> We [Ray Edjericon and Keith Fabien] got a couple hundred [rats and beaver] last year. Sometimes lynx (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Tommy Beaulieu, a DKFN Elder, used to trap in the same area that Keith, Kirk, and Ray, of the younger generation, trap in now. He trapped along Little Buffalo River and around Pine Point before Cominco began operations at Pine Point in the mid-60s:

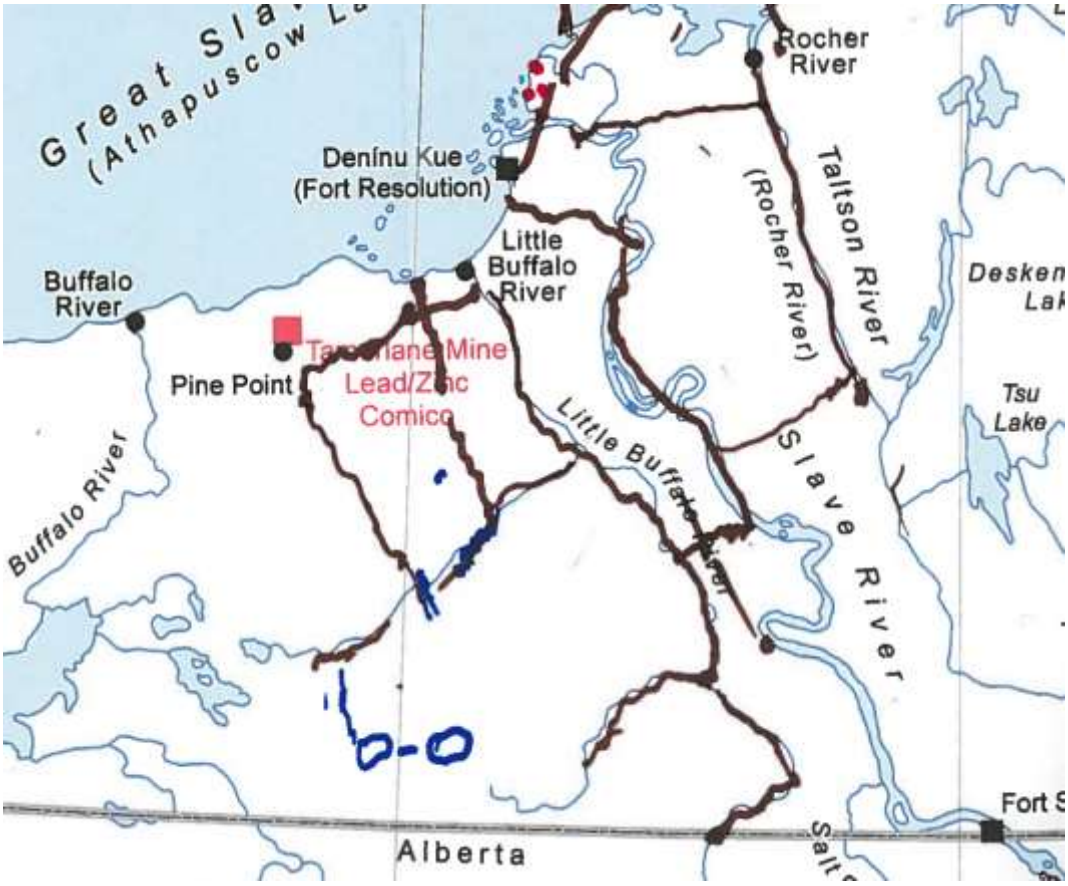
> **Do you trap [in brown and blue on Map 17]?**
> I used to trap Little Buffalo River I used to trap in here [drawn on Map 17] at Pine Point. In 1963 I trapped for six years here. There used to be lakes here, around Swampy Lake. A couple good sized lakes. At that time no cut lines made by cat. Old survey lines. Big lakes here and here [these lakes were not on the original map; Tommy drew them on Map 17 in blue] (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Tommy Beaulieu talked further about his trapping around Pine Point:

> In 1963 or 1964 Pine Point was at that time they had a couple big bunk houses and where people go eat. Only ten buildings were there and no town yet. They had an old trail down to Buffalo River that was good going for dogs so I went all the way down there. After there was a town at Pine Point I trapped there before the town started up. That was time there used to be a lot of moose,

> woodland caribou, and beaver. All that had changed, used to be all over the place (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Map 17: Tommy Beaulieu's trapping, hunting and fishing (brown) and trapping (blue) map (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013)



Throughout the 70s, lynx fur had risen exponentially in price. In the late 70s Tommy Beaulieu continued trapping along Little Buffalo River. At one point he caught a lynx along Little Buffalo River which sold for $750:

> In 1978 and 1979 Paul and I were trapping with skidoo, and not a small skidoo. One month trapping I bought a brand new truck. We caught lots of lynx and sold them for 1000 dollars each. One time I saw a blue lynx, you don't see them often. I got 750 bucks for a lynx this big, pretty small. I brought it to the store here and said "give me 150 bucks," he says "I'm not giving you 150 bucks! It's too small". I looked in the book and saw seven and a quarter. I took that back to the shop and showed the guy. His face went red! I caught it up Little Buffalo River (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:4).

Lynx were worth more in the early 70s than they were later in the decade. When the price of one lynx pelt reached $1000, Tommy Beaulieu began strategically trapping the Slave River more intensively:

> In the early 70s there was good price on lynx. Up to a thousand dollars for one. At that time we were using skidoos. We used to go across lines trapping lynx. The Slave River was also good for lynx (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

During our interview with Tommy Beaulieu he discussed more broadly how he trapped before skidoos:

> When I trapped with skidoo, it was different, it was faster. When I trapped with dogs for ten nights. I get a buffalo, moose, we would be gone 14 nights. We had a lot of food for us and the dogs. We were not that far from home - we would run all the traps and make a big loop – 10 days. You spend a couple days just hunting alone . . . Myself, I always love it better going alone. As a kid I spent a lot of time alone trapping. Don't have to wait for anyone (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2-3).

In the above quote, Tommy Beaulieu also makes it clear that hunting and trapping trips were not discrete events. When going out on traplines individuals would often hunt and fish along the way for food for themselves and, when DKFN members trapped with dog teams, their dogs.

Jerry Sanderson also trapped along Little Buffalo River and its many tributaries and distributaries (Sass and Nyarling Rivers) for marten, lynx, and other fur-bearing animals:

> Used to trap [in red on Map 12] at Little Buffalo River up to Sass and back along the water to Wood Buffalo Park. Never had park license. My son, Jeff, is on different line. He is the only one who still traps. He has another line on the Nyarling River. It was my father's old line.
> We used to trap on Nyarling – marten, lynx, anything . . .
> I used to go out trapping every three days. When we could afford to go. When we could afford gas (Sanderson, Jerry, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1-2).

Jerry Sanderson's son Jeff traps in the same region as his father (as seen in the above quote). However, Jeff follows Jerry Sanderson's father's, Jeff's grandfather's, trapline in the Nyarling prairie:

> My son goes in Nyarling prairie and Slave River road, too. He does a loop around. He traps here and there (Sanderson, Jerry, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:2).

Philip Beaulieu, a former DKFN councillor, also traps in this area:

> I trapped all this way too. Down Little Buffalo River then across Poplar Creek then Landry Creek and at the Hook Lake, then into the Prairies. There's Tower Prairie, North Prairie, Stan's Prairie (Beaulieu, Philip, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:2).

Caroline Fabien, a DKFN Elder interviewed by Leona Poitras in 2004, stated that she would go trapping with her family on Little Buffalo River for the entire winter:

> I don't know how many years we stayed at Little Buffalo River trapping. We used to go there for the whole winter; we would come back here at Christmas, then go out again and stay out for the spring (Fabien, Caroline 1987:29).

Other DKFN members who trapped in the Slave River region trapped along the Slave River or further east toward Taltson River and Rat River (a tributary of the Taltson River). Down the Slave River several places of intensive use include Hook Island, Shit Island, Long Island, Point Brulee, Grand Detour, Slave River Delta, Jean Marie River (a distributary of Slave River whose confluence with Great Slave Lake lies east of Slave River's), and the Fort Smith area.

Gordon Beaulieu trapped marten, mink, muskrat, beaver, and otter in the Slave River Delta:

> **What did you trap?**
> Oh we trapped everything. Marten, mink, rats, beaver, otters.
>
> **Where did you trap?**

> Where I was trapping was all south of the lake. I used to trap all in the delta (Beaulieu, Gordon, pers. comm., July 31, 2012:3).

Dean McKay traps along Jean Marie River on a trapline that he inherited from his father:

> My line [in green on Map 7] is on Jean Marie River, plus off a little ways in the little creeks. I go twice a week, or every four days. Pick about 12, 13 pelts every run. Made over 5000 dollars this winter plus you can get a bonus, five dollars for every pelt in the fall. I go by myself. Get wolves, wolverine, marten, fox, fisher, weasel, squirrel, timber wolf best price, 600 dollars (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1).

Several other DKFN members have made passing reference to their traplines along the Slave River. Several of the more intensive trappers of that region have already been discussed: namely Frank and Gabriel Lafferty.

Elder Henry King trapped in the same region (Hook Lake) as the Lafferty's extended family. He also trapped at Rat River (to be discussed in more detail later):

> From here we went to Hook Lake – I own a cabin there. [We went] hunting and trapping up Rat River (King, Henry, pers. comm., July 15, 2012:2).

Gene Norn trapped down the Slave River near Fort Smith on Long Island:

> I was raised here and the area around here. We trapped in the [Wood Buffalo] Park area and around Long Island. I met Joe Desjarlais on the trap line but I didn't know where he was from. He used to live in Rocher River (Norn, Gene as cited in Poitras 2004:33).

Elder Mary Pierrot recalled trapping on the Slave River all the way south to Fort Smith. She also indicated which seasons trappers trapped certain animals:

> People here used to trap on the Slave River – from Rocher River and Res. I remember we used to go up there in the spring. I remember Fort Smith too . . . They trap mink in the wintertime, spring its beaver and rats (Pierrot, Mary, pers. comm., February 22, 2012:1).

Elder Solomon King also stated that he trapped around Fort Smith:

> Trapped along Smith area too (King, Solomon, pers. comm., July 17, 2012:3).

Further east in the Slave River region, trappers exploited the Rocher/Taltson River region that includes the Rat River (one of its tributaries), where there once was a settlement. Trapping on the Taltson River has been discussed by Stan Beck, Don Balsillie, and George Larocque earlier in this report. Baptiste McKay, Solomon King, Roy King, Joseph Jerome, John Cree, and Henri King all trapped along the Rocher/Taltson and Rat Rivers:

> I was raised in Fort Resolution. The last time I trapped was around Rocher River (McKay, Baptiste as cited in Poitras 2004:14).
>
> I was raised in Rocher River. I trapped around Rocher and Rat River (King, Solomon as cited in Poitras 2004:15).
>
> I trapped with my brother-in-law Jim Beaulieu. I trapped in the Taltson River area. It was Jim's trap line (King, Roy as cited in Poitras 2004:16).
>
> I trapped in the Taltson River area. I trapped for many years, right up until I started getting my pension (Jerome, Joseph as cited in Poitras 2004:21).
>
> I was raised in Rat River and hunted and trapped all over that area (Cree, John as cited in Poitras 2004:23).
>
> I trapped in the Rocher River area (King, Henri as cited in Poitras 2004:26).

Francois King elaborated further on trapping in the Rat River area. He would travel from Rat River south (along the Slave River) to Fort Smith trapping muskrat and beaver:

> There used to be a lot of rats. There were a lot of rats way out east and the people used to go there to hunt the rats. In spring, after the month of May, we set traps in the rat houses. There were beaver a long way east and we used to travel to hunt them. In those days we could only kill a certain amount of beaver, about fifteen beavers a year, that's all. Now, you can kill as many as you want. We don't travel that far for beaver now . . . I used to go all the way

> from Rat River to Fort Smith, then back to Rat River. I would travel a long way to trap (King 1987a:31-32).

Plate 12: From left to right - three lynx, two foxes (red and silver), and 17 martins, all caught and skinned by young adult DKFN Band member Scott Lafferty.

The furs that these individuals catch, skin, stretch, and dry are sold at auction allowing trapping to function as a wage supplement or in some cases is the only wage earned. Additionally, many of these traplines have been handed down from generation to generation. It is no coincidence that present day trappers who have inherited their traplines from their ancestors, trap in the Slave River region. This area has been used by the Chipewyan ancestors of the DKFN, and is still used by the DKFN themselves, as trapping grounds since time immemorial.

Fishing

Fishing is a year round pursuit. In the winter DKFN members set nets through holes in the ice and in the summer they use hooks and lines. They fish the rivers and the lakes in the area and on Great Slave Lake they go all the way to the Simpson Islands.

Clayton Balsillie, a DKFN member living in Yellowknife, has fished the entire Great Slave Lake. Below he lists which fish he catches where (note his use of Taltson River):

> **Where have you fished or hunted [in blue on Map 9]?**
> I've gone all here, Zig-Zag Lake, I've fished all over the east arm. I've fished in near Wild-Red Bay, by Reliance, all around there, McLeod Bay, Christie Bay, Hearne Channel. I've fished in Yellowknife Bay.
>
> **What type of fish?**
> East arm: lake trout, grayling. Taltson: pike and whitefish. North of the lake: lake trout, pickerel. Russell Lake and Slemen Lake: pike and pickerel. Weekweeu and Ghost Lake: lake trout. Fished in Trout Lake for trout. Gordon Lake, and some of the smaller lakes around there (Balsillie, Clayton, pers. comm., September 28, 2012:1).

Kevin Giroux, another DKFN member living in Yellowknife, has also fished the entirety of Great Slave Lake. He would travel and fish in the Simpson Islands, along the south shore, and into Rocher River:

> **Fish [in blue on Map 15]?**
> I go through here, up to wool bay, my grandfather, Wilfred Giroux took me, we would go through this whole area, down to Rocher River, up to Patooey Point, Redcliff Islands, Lutsel K'e, they call it the Big Gap, these places are just sacred for fish. Another area I was told that's really good, into Pickatooey Point, I went there. I set my nets out by Dettah (Giroux, Kevin, pers. comm., September 29, 2012:5).

The Taltson River was, and remains, one of the chief fishing grounds of the DKFN. Almost all DKFN members interviewed fished along the Taltson River. The Taltson River has been used and occupied over time due to its location as both a location where caribou would come down to from the north and east (see hunting section) and as a river where the fish would return annually to spawn. Judith Giroux described the number of fish in the river and how they were caught:

> We used to stay in Tar River to fish. When we set nets in the river we caught a lot of fish. There were whitefish, jackfish and connie in the Taltson River. In

> the fall, when the fish were running, we could hear the fish because there were so many of them (Giroux 1987:39).

Francois King described an event similar to the one mentioned above by Judith Giroux in the book *That's the Way We Lived: An Oral History of the Fort Resolution Elders*. He also described how often DKFN members would fish and how often they ate fish:

> The people would travel to the best places to fish. Everyone would travel to go fishing, just like when you travel to go hunting. We ate fish about once a week. In Rocher River the whitefish used to run up the Taltson River to Fish Hole; there were a lot of fish there in the fall. We could hear the connies in the water, making a lot of noise, when they were running up the Taltson River in the fall. Connie are good to eat because ther [*sic*] aren't many bones in them (King 1987b:40).

Philip Buggins, another Rocher River fisherman, described the setting of nets in Rocher River. In the quote below he mentioned how fishing along the Rocher River became a livelihood to some people:

> We stayed at Rocher River and we would fish a little ways out with fish nets that we made ourselves. Our hands used to get cold when we visited our nets in the winter. We weren't the only ones who fished, some fishermen used to make a living out of fishing (Buggins 1987:39).

Donald Balsillie is one of the individuals that Philip Buggins was referring to when he said "some fishermen used to make a living out of fishing." Don Balsillie has owned and operated the Taltson Bay Big Pike Lodge since 1985:

> **Did you ever reside in Rocher River?**
> For the last 27 years, not in Rocher River but in the vicinity. 7 miles south. I have a fishing camp there (Balsillie, Donald, pers. comm., August 1, 2012:6).

Raymond Giroux also fished on Rocher River:

> **What do you catch?**
> Whitefish, jackfish, trout, pickerel, losh, mariah, suckers, connies,

> I fished in Rocher River and the Simpson Islands. We also used to fish on the lake. We take about 20 each and freeze it for the winter. Big whitefish. 4 foot long, 2 foot wide (Giroux, Raymond, pers. comm., September 25, 2012:7).

Miranda Calumet, a young DKFN member, fishes on the Taltson River. In the quote below she mentioned how fishing in the Taltson River delta has been impacted by the reduced water level along the Taltson River (to be discussed in more detail later):

> **Who taught you to fish?**
> My Grandparents . . .
> I went fishing on the Taltson River a couple of times. But now you can't really even go in the delta along the sloughs because it's only a foot deep. Good fishing out in Taltson, lots of big fish. I'm mainly just going around Taltson River and Rocher River. I've been to Rat River too their water level went down a lot (Calumet, Miranda, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Greg Balsillie fishes on all three of the major rivers in the Slave River region. He fishes at the mouths of the Taltson, Slave, and Little Buffalo Rivers and has taught his children to do the same when he can:

> Little Buffalo, Rocher River, the bay out here, Slave River at the mouth. Just at the mouth of all the rivers. Why waste gas going up the river? (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1)
>
> My girls come out fishing with my boy, when he gets away from the games (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Eddy Lafferty, a DKFN Elder, fished along the Taltson River south toward Rat River:

> We fish Taltson Bay all the way to Rat River, Slave River. I used to fish a lot because I had 50 dogs and I had to feed my dogs (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:4).

Tommy Beaulieu, another DKFN elder, fished along Little Buffalo River for the same purposes. When Tommy was younger most hunters, fishers, and trappers, in the community used dog

teams to travel through the region. At that time fishing was used as a way to feed one's dogs while out hunting or trapping, and while in the community:

> When I was older did a lot of thing throughout the year—all seasons. A lot of fishing on lake and Little Buffalo River we went there every fall when fish spawning. Hung them for dogs. Went there 7th and 8th October, the fish started coming down. We set the nets there. The nets broke they were so full of fish (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Other DKFN members fished at Little Buffalo River. Victor Lafferty, much like Judith Giroux, recounted how the whitefish would run up Little Buffalo River. During this time DKFN members would fish with nets and catch such a large amount that they would not need to fish for an entire year afterward:

> In August there were a lot of fish at Little Buffalo River, so the people used to go there to get fish. The whitefish would run up the river and everybody would go there to make dryfish. They fished with nets. One time we fished for one night and we had enough fish for the whole year (Lafferty 1987:40).

The abundance of fish on Little Buffalo River has allowed some individuals to make a living by fishing and taking others fishing on said river. Eddy Lafferty, like Donald Balsillie on the Taltson River, used to own a fishing camp on Little Buffalo River aimed at tourists called the Detan Cho Tourist Camp. Eddy Lafferty discussed this arrangement briefly below:

> I had a fishing lodge out at Little Buffalo River. I used to go logging and trap and race dogs all at the same time. I'd go off at six in the morning and come back just in time for bed (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:4).

Dean McKay fished all along the south shore of Great Slave Lake. He fished from Little Buffalo River east to Thubun River and north into the Simpson Islands:

> **Where do you Fish [drawn on Map 7 in blue]?**
> Little Buffalo, Rocher, Rat River, Thubun, Ghost Island near Simpson Island. Just fish on the lake most of the time but also up Little Buffalo (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1).

Alongside Little Buffalo River and Rocher/Taltson River, DKFN members have fished, and continue to fish, in the Slave River. The Slave River at one point was the only viable access to the north from Lake Athabasca and thus this river was used as a main transportation route. Because of its central role in the region's transportation system it also served as a source of fish when travelling between Fort Resolution and Fort Chipewyan in all seasons (see discussion in "Section I: Historic Use and Occupation of the Slave River Region" for more information).

Today DKFN members continue to fish along the Slave River. George Sanderson recalled fishing in the winter for mariahs along the Slave River:

> Before Christmas, there were a lot of mariahs in the Slave River. I used to stay on the Slave River, in those days. If you set nets, your nets would be full of mariahs. You could catch them with hooks too (Sanderson 1987:40).

Philip Beaulieu fishes out on Ring Lake (near the old NWC fort). Here he has two cabins which he uses as bases for his hunting and fishing expeditions along the Slave River:

> **Do you fish?**
> Out on Ring Lake. There we fish we hunt and we trap there too. I have two cabins there. I have one just off and then we put one in the bay so we could see better (Beaulieu, Philip, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:2).

Francois King stated that there used to be a run of "suckers" on Salt River. Members of communities spread all over the north would come to make dryfish:

> At the mouth of the Salt River [at the confluence of the Salt and Slave Rivers] there was a sucker run and a lot of connies. People used to come from Fort Fitzgerald to Salt River to make dryfish. The suckers started to run when the ices was breaking in the spring. The people even used to make dryfish for their dogs to eat (King 1987b:40).

Tommy Beaulieu made recounted just how the Slave River has changed over time. He mentioned how fishing along the Slave River has become more difficult as fish disappear. Tommy Beaulieu feels that this particular area's fishing grounds will soon be non-existent:

> The great Slave River used to be good place for in the fall time—connie, moras (fish). Now less and soon, soon nothing there (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

As we have seen, the DKFN fish extensively along all the streams, creeks, rivers, and lakes in the Slave River region. It is important to recognize the extent to which the DKFN hunt, trap, and fish in the Slave River region, but, as Tommy's quote above indicates, the viability of their way of life is being impacted by dams, mines, and other forms of industry. We will discuss these changes—from the DKFN members' point-of-view—in more detail in the following section.

The Impacts of Mines, Dams, and Industry in the Slave River Region

The DKFN's use the Slave River region extensively in their day to day lives while hunting, fishing, trapping, and engaging in other socio-economic pursuits. They live by the Slave River Delta. Whatever impacts the Slave River impacts the membership of the Deninu K'ue. Consequently, the DKFN have a vested interest in what happens to the Slave River. In addition, whatever impacts the Slave River impacts the Great Slave Lake.

During the course of the interviews conducted by Vanden Berg & Associates in July, August, and September of 2012, and February of 2013 many DKFN members told us how the dams along the Peace River have impacted the water levels in the Slave River and that the dams on the Taltson River have affected that river in the same way. They also told us that the impacts on those two rivers have had a cumulative effect upon Great Slave Lake. Many individuals, as will be shown, told us that the water level in both the river and the lake has dropped significantly in the region over the past few decades. These changes have affected transportation, wildlife, and the DKFN's ability to hunt in the region. Tommy Beaulieu, a DKFN Elder, spoke extensively on the topic.

When Tommy Beaulieu was a child his family lived in the Slave River Delta during the spring. At that time he noticed traces of where the river had frozen after a natural flood:

> I remember when I was kid, when the river ice would break up. We used to live in the delta in the spring every year. In the spring on the delta there used to be a flood, we would load up a boat with dogs and take out the land to look for good spots. There was ice up in the air 50, 60 feet. Now you don't see that (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

Since then the water-level in the Slave River has dropped according to Tommy Beaulieu:

> I remember the Slave River, deepest river in the whole country, a couple years ago I saw a sand bar in the middle of the Slave River (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:5).

Tommy Beaulieu predicts that as the water levels drop the Great Slave Lake will shrink:

> In the next 20 years that big lake here [Great Slave Lake] is going to shrink. We should leave the earth the way the creator set it up
>
> Hardly any water going down now on Taltson and Slave Rivers. Hardly any water. At Fort Providence the water is going down full blast. Hardly nothing going in to the lake. Soon hitting sand bars in the middle of the lake . . .
> The lake is going to get pretty shallow; it's going to shrink. None of the water draining into the lake it will affect fish. Now there are taking about getting dams. If that is ever going to happen, we might as well say goodbye to this river [Slave River] (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1-2).

Tommy Beaulieu noticed a similar effect on the Taltson River. There are eight reservoirs on the Taltson River that produce hydroelectricity for the region. Tommy Beaulieu, in the following quote, discussed one of the dams:

> In 1964 they put a big dam on Taltson, I used to work there. When they stared running power on the Taltson I saw their water dropped. Another river [Rat River] used to be big rapids there. I went there two summers ago. Hardly any water coming from the dam, just big boulders and no water there. There used to be big rapids, bubbling away (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

The reduction of the water levels on the Slave River has had broader impact on the region. According to Tommy Beaulieu, it has also affected the smaller creeks in the area, Little Buffalo River, and the animals in the region:

> My parents, Jonny Beaulieu, trapped and fished all his life—on Little Buffalo River and the [Slave River] delta. Before, it used to be good for muskrat and beaver. Now on the delta all the small little creeks and ponds that used to be good for rats and beaver, there are none any more.
>
> In the spring, there used to be a flood [as the result of an ice jam] and all the creeks would fill up with water. Next year they are all full of muskrat. No water now in those lakes and no muskrat (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

It is clear that the reduction in water levels along the Slave River and its tributaries and delta has had an impact on the hunting, trapping, and fishing lifestyle of the DKFN. In the above quote we see that Tommy's father, Jonny, was unable to trap muskrat on delta as their habitat has been destroyed by the dropping water levels in the river. Below, Tommy Beaulieu discussed these impacts with regards to fishing:

> Even right now, right to the point down at Mission Island [in the delta by Fort resolution] it used to be good for fishing, now it's too shallow. We used to have fish all winter long, set for fish and now there's nothing. No fish.
>
> White fish and the connie used to be this high [he held his hand approximately 1.5 metres off the ground]. We could catch connie four-feet long, we used to freeze them. Big white fish, too but now they're all gone. It's getting shallower out (Beaulieu, Tommy, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:4).

Other DKFN members have noticed this phenomenon as well. Dean McKay has noticed that in the past 20 years that he can no longer enter Hook Lake from the Slave River due to the dropping water levels in the channels (tributaries):

> Before, in the delta, <u>you could go in all the channels</u> but in the last 20 years the water has dropped. The beach is getting bigger every year. Used to be able to

> drive to Hook Lake with boats. Now there are sand bars (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:2).

George Larocque is also aware of these changes. In an interview conducted by Vanden Berg & Associates on February 22, 2013, he listed the alternate routes that DKFN members now have to take to reach Great Slave Lake from the south:

> **Are you aware of any of the impacts of the dams?**
> Just the water dropping. It's really noticeable.
>
> **They say it's only been two inches.**
> Two inches a year?
>
> **What about the Site C Dam?**
> Every year you go up you see sandbars and dry channels. Everybody from town [uses it for transportation, for hunting]. The Buffalo River you can't really go up it it's too shallow. They take the Nagle and into the Slave. They also take the Jean (Larocque, George, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:2).

Similarly, Philip Beaulieu recalled how the water in the Slave River Delta had changed since he and his father exploited that area. He stated:

> That Ring Lake area. This used to be an island before the Bennett dam. This is the only clear water on the Slave River. They put the Bennett dam in and the main channel moved over. It used to be here and now it's here and now it's here. All these start to dry up. This one here is called Steamboat. They used to go right through here. Now a lot of these dried up. It never used to be like this. The water was four feet across and the rest is grass. I went all over here with my dad (Beaulieu, Philip, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:1).

Greg Balsillie noted how many new islands there are due to the change in the water levels:

> I have noticed changes in the river level. Now there are islands. If I take my dad he won't recognize it. It's changed. I have to drive on a different side of the main channels (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Greg Balsillie later pinpointed the source of these changes:

> Dams are stopping the flow of the water into the lake. No steady flow. It affects the lake a whole lot. When you go from Fort Resolution to Stony Point you have to go way out. Used to go through the middle of Cadet Bay now you have to go with the flow of the creek you to be able to fly around. And Stony Point you can now walk to the shore. Used to be too high to walk (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3).

Many DKFN members have stated that these impacts have not just affected transportation in the region. As Tommy Beaulieu mentioned, the change in the water levels has also affected the Slave River region's wildlife:

> Hardly see rats in the Slave River. Not in the main river like before. They are on the delta and sloughs in the last seven years (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Greg then discussed the way in which these changes have impacted his ability to hunt on the Slave River:

> Now you can't get to the old good hunting spots, you have to walk in or bring a quad. The water level is too low . . .
> The animals not coming to the river as much and hardly any otters around. The water went down quite a bit. Can't get right on to shore; have to walk in the water a bit (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Jerry Sanderson also referred to the drop in the Slave River's water level. He then commented on how these changes have resulted in the animals no longer frequenting the region as regularly. Additionally, Jerry Sanderson's hunting practices have been affected.

> If you're lucky you can get up to the big rapids but it's really dry. Last time we went we barely made it. Last summer it was high but it tends to drop. It's because of the weather or the dam.
>
> Lots of sand bars on the river [Slave River]. You have to be careful. Now there is a sand bar island with a bunch of willows growing on it in the river.
> 10 years ago I hit an island.

> The water has dropped in the bay. I used to hunt ducks and go ratting in the channels in the delta but the channels are dry. They have all dried out.
>
> Over the years I've seen a lot of the places I hunted with my dad you can't get into the places any more. I hardly see the animals anymore. Used to be lots of moose on the highway, Slave Lake way and Little Buffalo River, you hardly ever see tracks. Sometime see buffalo (Sanderson, Jerry, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1).

Keith Fabien expressed a similar sentiment when referring to the potential impacts of BC Hydro's proposed Site C dam on the Peace River:

> If they put that dam on there we won't get out to the lake and we won't have our delta for the spring hunts. Right now were having a hard time getting ducks. Can't go anywhere with a big boat. We have to go with a small boat or walk with waders. New sand bars, they are turning into islands. You just hit the bars in your boat. The new dam will have the biggest effect on us. We live on the delta. The lake is so shallow now (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:1).

The Slave Lake Delta is an area rich in life with an intricate ecosystem. Keith Fabien elaborated on the relationship between the ducks referred to above and the goose grass that grows in the delta:

> The delta is full in the spring with migrating birds. We hunt there but only if the water is high to soak the goose grass. If it's dry the duck go to Taltson, they just fly right over our delta (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3).

Keith Fabien also reiterated some of the statements made by other DKFN members where it was stated that certain hunting, trapping, or fishing grounds were now unreachable because of the changing water levels:

> At Point Brule I know my friend's dad built a cabin inside an old channel. But it's dried out. The water level has dropped in the last five years (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Jean Marie River, a channel of the Slave River, an area mentioned frequently in the preceding pages, has also become inaccessible. As Keith Fabien stated:

> We can't get to Fred's Bay anymore by boat. Only in winter, we get there by snowmobile.
> Jean River has dried out can't find the channel from the lake. Have to go right up to the Slave River (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:3).

Miranda Calumet, a 20-year-old DKFN member, has also noted the change in the region's water levels due to the hydroelectric dams:

> Around Taltson River there's some places that we used to go. We used to go fishing in there. But now the rapids are like two inches deep. It used to be three feet now it's down to two inches (Calumet, Miranda, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

When asked "Do you plan on teaching your daughter to hunt and trap?" Miranda Calumet responded:

> Ya, if there's any water left (Calumet, Miranda, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Elder Mary Pierrot, a DKFN Elder was an adult at the time of the construction of and completion of both the W. A. C. Bennett Dam in 1969 and the Peace Canyon Dam in 1980. She noted the change in the water level and the ecology of the region:

> I remember ever since they made the dam on the Peace River we are low on the water – we used to come across with a kicker and now you see nothing but the grass – they should open the dam – we are really low on water. It used to be lots of water – we needed to use a boat but now you can walk across to the island. The water is full of grass [Mary Pierrot has stated that the water is so shallow that there are grasses growing in the water] (Pierrot, Mary, pers. comm., February 22, 2012:1).

Elder Mary Pierrot also mentioned the effects that the reduction in water flow in the Slave River has had on animal life:

> Now we don't get the muskrats [here] anymore because there is nothing – all the animals drink the water – we used to make good money in the [winter time and] spring time – now nothing . . .
>
> There used to be lots of moose along the Slave River but now not enough water – they left (Pierrot, Mary, pers. comm., February 22, 2012:1).

After discussing the multiple impacts that the dams along the Peace River have had on the region, specifically with regard to the reduction in water flowing into the Great Slave Lake on the Slave River, Mary Pierrot asked that the water be released:

> For God's sake tell them to open the dam not to put another one. They have to because we are low . . .
> Everybody has to get after the Peace River [people] to open the dam – they never dry up – they have to open it (Pierrot, Mary, pers. comm., February 22, 2012:1).

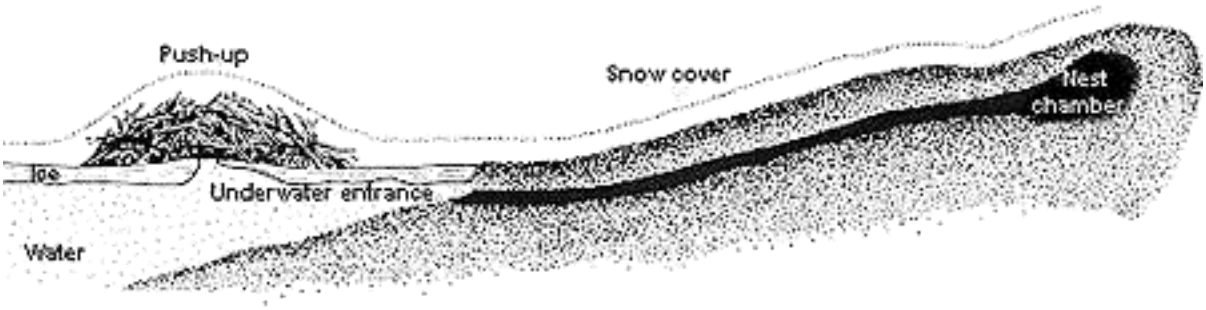
While most feel that the drying-out of the region is the primary concern, several DKFN members have also mentioned another effect that the dams along the Peace and Taltson Rivers have had on the animal populations. Eddy Lafferty discussed how the dams create problems in the region:

> All the channels that are going out are all just sand you walk across them, about 10 years ago you could use any of those channels and come out in the bay. Now you can't.
>
> When they let the water go they're making money. Either it's for the wintertime for the heat, or in the summer time for the air conditioning. Whatever's good for them is not good for here . . .
>
> In the springtime when I was a kid I remember they used to have big floods, the ice would make its own big dam and it would release its own water into the land. When that's all done it eventually goes and it's going into every channel. It's all in this delta. Now they're just shallow channels. You used to be able to come out in all these channels now you can't.
>
> In the wintertime when the muskrats make their homes and the people turn on their furnaces they let the water go to make their money <u>and it floods the area</u>

> and drowns the animals. In the last 10 years the muskrats have died out. Every time it tries to make a comeback it gets slaughtered. Probably the only ones that survive are the ones out in the inland lakes (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:1).

Muskrats construct their push-ups on top of the ice, but under the snow cover. They then chew a hole through the ice and travel underwater to their nesting chambers burrowed into the banks of the river.

Plate 13: A diagram of a muskrat push-up (Hinterland Who's Who n.d.).



Beavers construct their lodges using branches and mud. They create two underwater exits to access their food cache and nesting areas. The lodge is under the ice in the winter.

Plate 14: A diagram of a beaver lodge (Encyclopedia Britannica Kids 2006).

Both wintering strategies make these animals vulnerable to flooding, as, in each case, if a flood were to occur during, or after freeze-up, the beaver or muskrat would be trapped in their lodge and drown.

Natural floods in the region occur as a result of the breaking up of the ice along the river and it's "jamming" at the mouth. The water then backs up and floods the region. Beavers and muskrats can easily escape as break-up has already begun and there are multiple routes that enable the animals to get out of the water and above the ice. However, as several DKFN members have explained, when water is released from the reservoirs during freeze-up the animals have no chance to escape.

Philip Beaulieu has described this phenomenon:

> In the winter like it floods just enough to kill that beaver in the lodge. The only way for the beaver to get out is to chew through the ice. But what happens is they freeze in there the water gets too high too fast. Muskrats too. They don't give us warning. It's cracking there's too much water. So it floods the area all the rat push-up. They have nowhere to go. The water comes too fast. It's not only that it's taking our water. Water's low and then because they don't have to hold back all this water they release the whole thing. Drowns them right in their own home. But in the summer they just swim (Beaulieu, Philip, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:2).

While trapping on his trapline on the Jean Marie River (see Map 7), Dean McKay saw the result of what Philip Beaulieu described above. He noticed that beavers and muskrats had drowned on the Slave River as a result of the dams in the region:

> A month ago I went out for my traps and soon as I went off the row you were in water [because of the flooding]. They drowned the beavers and rats . . . The beavers make their lodges and pushups and then the dam lets the water out and they are drowned. But I guess they [the dams] need water (McKay, Dean, pers. comm., February 23, 2013:1-2).

Keith Fabien also noted this phenomenon:

> On the Slave River . . . the beaver and buffalo being drowned. They don't have anywhere else to go (Fabien, Keith, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Gabriel Lafferty noted similar occurrences in his interview conducted on September 24, 2012. Gabriel, however, discussed the release of the water on both the Slave and Taltson Rivers:

> One year the Slave River went so high it killed all our musk-rats, Taltson River, too, but lots of beaver. Their house is down there and the water raises and the beaver can't chew their way through the ice fast enough. If they raised the water in summer the wild life would be fine (Lafferty, Gabriel, pers. comm., September 24, 2012:6).

Greg Balsillie also described how beavers and muskrats become trapped under the ice on the Taltson River as a result of the Taltson dams releasing water to generate power, just as Gabriel Lafferty had above:

> In the spring they let out water from the Taltson Dam. They drown the beavers and rats. It flooded the delta and the beavers don't have way coming out of their houses. This was 25 or 30 years ago. I was just a young guy (Balsillie, Greg, pers. comm., February 21, 2013:2).

Muskrats, according to Eddy Lafferty, breed especially quickly. Eddy Lafferty expressed a belief that the muskrat population in the region could recover if the dams would stop "letting their water out," but if a new dam went in things "would only get worse":

> Because of BC Hydro or whatever letting their water out. My dad said muskrat used to breed three times a year. The young one will have a kid by the third round. So they can make a comeback. They're trying. If they put a new one [dam] it will only get worse (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:2).

Eddy Lafferty went on to decry the influx of industry, and the effects these industries have had on the wildlife. Below he fingers mines and dams as the source of the impacts on the Slave River region:

> What those dams have done here, it's not going to make it better it's going to make it worse. If you're saying we got enough power why do we have to put up another dam? It's all money. I'm for the water land. It's gotta be for the land, the birds, the fish. They could do stuff like this [the beavers near Pine Point had dammed the little streams and pushed the polluted water back toward its source at the mine] but they can't talk at the meetings. They'll all blame global change, but it's the gold and mineral. Water's life, gives life to the land, the birds the plants. Gold might buy it but gold's not going to buy it for everything. It might buy it for yourself. Eventually that's what is going to kill everybody. They're greed. Try and blame it on global changes instead of their selves. They'll just make it tougher on us. Pine Point is back, so I don't have another 20 – 30 years to wait for it to go back to how it was (Lafferty, Eddy, pers. comm., February 22, 2013:5).

Hunting, trapping, and fishing in the Slave River region remain as important cultural and economic practices for a community who have used the Slave River region intensively. Both the drying-out and the sporadic flooding of the rivers due to the many dams in the region have affected the regions' ecosystem, transportation routes, animal populations, and the hunting, trapping, and fishing pursuits of the DKFN.

Report Summary

In the section entitled “Historic Use and Occupation of the Slave River Region,” we examined historical documents dating to the time of contact between Europeans and Chipewyans in the Slave River region. Contact in the Northwest Territories began with Hearne's exploration of the region between 1769 and 1772. In this section we see the Chipewyans trading, and eventually settling, at Fort Resolution while continuing to hunt, trap, and fish in the Slave River region. In the literature reviewed, the Chipewyans are described hunting, trapping, and fishing beaver, muskrat, marten, caribou, buffalo, wolf, geese, and other animals, from the late 18th century until the present day.

Following the signing of the 1900 Treaty 8 Adhesion at Fort Resolution, the Canadian Government began to exert greater control in the region: hunting regulations were created and enforced, open seasons and closed seasons for the hunting and trapping of specific animals were imposed, and trapline registration and hunting licenses were required for a period of time. The documentation shows that, despite these legislative restrictions, the Deninu K'ue First Nation and their ancestors continued to use the Slave River region.

We conducted interviews with DKFN members pertaining to their modern-day hunting, trapping, and fishing practices. Additionally, the DKFN members interviewed discussed issues regarding the impacts of the various dams in the region, namely those on the Peace and Taltson Rivers. These interviews serve as substantive proof of the Deninu K’ue First Nation’s continued use of the Slave River region. They do so in spite of game regulations and the impact of the dams on water, wildlife, and traditional hunting, fishing, and trapping practices.

Report Conclusion

The DKFN and their ancestors have hunted, fished, and trapped in the Slave River region prior to and post contact. The present day DKFN members recall the stories of their parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and more distant ancestors hunting and trapping in the same locations. Many DKFN members have not only learned how to hunt, fish, and trap from these individuals, but their traplines, and hunting and fishing grounds have been inherited from them. These connections that the DKFN have with their past have intrinsic cultural value and significant economic value. The DKFN hunt, trap, and fish with family and friends to reinforce cultural values, strengthen familial ties, and to supplement their wages. DKFN band members own fishing lodges, some trap furs to sell on the open market, and all hunt in order to fill their freezers and those of their friends and family.

However, as we have seen, DKFN members are beginning to see a drop in the productivity of the Slave River region due to the region's drying-out owing to the holding back of the water by the dams and the sporadic flooding caused by the release of water from the reservoirs. Additionally, some of the DKFN's traditional hunting grounds are now inaccessible by boat during the spring and summer, as streams and channels have become too shallow now with the dropping water levels on the Slave River.

Nonetheless, the DKFN still hunt, trap, and fish in the Slave River region. DKFN members with young children continue to take their children out on the land to teach them what, where, when, and how to hunt, trap, and fish in the Slave River region, just as their parents and grandparents had done before them.

The above discussion illustrate the DKFN's continued use of the Slave River region and their connection with the past. The stories of hunting, trapping and fishing told to us by 20 year-old young adults to 90-year-old Elders are strikingly similar. While there have been notable changes in the region, such as the introduction of snow mobiles and the changes along the many water systems, the DKFN continue to hunt, trap, and fish in the Slave River region.

There is a belief held by many Deninu K'ue Band members, and by the Chief and council, that the proposed Site C Dam will cause the water-levels in the Slave River and its tributaries to drop further and the number of fluctuations in the water levels to increase. The cumulative impacts caused by the damming of a number of rivers flowing into the Great Slave Lake were also a matter of concern—the lake is shrinking, the ecology of the area is changing, and wildlife have clearly been impacted. The membership believe, based on their past experience, that the Site C dam will only exacerbate the situation.

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SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

DENINU K'UE FIRST NATION

TRADITIONAL LAND USE BASELINE AND ASSESSMENT AMENDMENT REPORT

Prepared for:

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May 2013

May 24, 2013 Aboriginal Group Amendment Report

1. Introduction 3

19. Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes 4

34. Assessment of Potential Impacts on the Exercise of Asserted or Established Aboriginal and Treaty Rights 6

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Approach

1.1.1 Consideration of Amended Information

The EIS submitted on January 25, 2013 includes an assessment of the potential effects of the Project on the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes by Deninu K'ue First Nation (DKFN) (section 19.4), as well as on the potential impacts of the Project on the exercise of DKFN's asserted or established Aboriginal and treaty rights (section 34.3.3). The assessment considered baseline information, described in section 19.3.1.11, made available by DKFN to BC Hydro and from other publicly available sources. As described in section 19.4, on page 19-67, DKFN had no reported current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes in the LAA, and therefore the Project is not expected to have an effect on the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes for the DKFN. DKFN was therefore not considered further in the effects assessment. Similarly, section 34.3.3 described that it was anticipated that the Project would have no impacts on the exercise of treaty rights of DKFN. In the EIS, BC Hydro noted that should additional information regarding current and reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources be received from DKFN, BC Hydro would consider and incorporate it in the EIS, as appropriate.

Deninu K'ue First Nation prepared the DKFN Ethno-History Report: Site C Dam and Traditional Land Use (Ethno-History report, Vanden Berg and Associates 2013) for consideration in the Site C Clean Energy Project (the Project) environmental assessment. The report was submitted to BC Hydro on March 11, 2013, after BC Hydro had submitted the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) to the BC Environmental Assessment Office (BC EAO) and the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (the Agency). As a result, BC Hydro considered the Ethno-History report during the pre-panel review of the EIS. The Ethno-History report is presented in its entirety in Appendix 3.

Issues and concerns presented in the Ethno-History report during the pre-Panel review phase are addressed in the EIS (January 25, 2013). Issues and concerns raised in the Ethno-History report that were not raised during the pre-Application phase are outlined in this Aboriginal Group Amendment Report. Similarly, baseline information from the Ethno-History report additional to what was provided in the EIS (based on on-line research), and lies within the Local Assessment Area (LAA) is presented in this Aboriginal Group Amendment Report. No additional data was gathered by BC Hydro to prepare this Aboriginal Group Amendment Report.

Baseline information provided in the Ethno-History report is summarized below and taken into account in the re-assessment of potential effects on current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes VC (EIS Section 19) and the impacts to the exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal and treaty rights (EIS Section 34), using the methodology applied in the EIS (Volume 2 Section 10 Effects Assessment Methodology)

19. CURRENT USE OF LANDS AND RESOURCES FOR TRADITIONAL PURPOSES

19.1 Key Issues

Table 19-1 outlines new key issues regarding current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes raised by DKFN in the Ethno-History report, and BC Hydro's approach to addressing them. Table 19.1 in the EIS has been amended to include the additional information and is shown in the table below.

Key Issues raised in the DKFN report	Approach to Addressing Key Issues
Concerns about the potential effects of the project on hunting, including access to traditional hunting areas using rivers and wildlife habitat.	• EIS Volume 3 Economic and Land and Resource Use Effects Assessment Section 19 Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes provides an assessment of the potential effects of the Project on the current and reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources for traditional purposes, including the potential effects on hunting, fishing, trapping and other cultural and traditional activities (including harvest of berries and plants). Section 34 provides an assessment of Project impacts on the exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal and treaty rights. • The effects assessment undertaken in Section 19 and this Assessment Report draws on results of the effects assessment on fish and fish habitat, vegetation and ecological communities, and wildlife resources, Sections 12, 13, and 14 of the EIS respectively.
Concerned that the Project will reduce water levels further thus impacting the ability to boat in the lake/delta for spring hunts.	• The effect of changes to access on Aboriginal land and resource use is assessed in Volume 3 Section 19 Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes.

19.2 Baseline Conditions

The description of the DKFN traditional territory in the Ethno-History Report provides more detail to the description set out in the EIS Section 19.3.1.11.2, page 19-52, lines 4-6. The territory is described as including "the area around Great Slave Lake east from the Yellowknife River on the north side of Great Slave Lake, then west along the south shore of the lake to Rocher/Taltson River, Slave River, Little Buffalo River, and Big Buffalo River in the Northwest Territories. DKFN assert that they have used and occupied this region prior to contact and continue to do so up to today" (Vanden Berg and Associates 2013: 6; maps 6 to 17).

The Slave River region is documented as the major area where DKFN ancestors exercised and DKFN members continue to exercise their asserted Aboriginal or treaty rights. The Ethno-History report indicates that the DKFN use the Slave River region and surrounding area in the Northwest Territories for transportation, in addition to fishing, hunting and berry harvesting which were noted and considered in EIS Section 19.

The DKFN Ethno-History report does not identify any past, current or reasonably foreseeable anticipated use of lands or resources by DKFN members within the LAA.

19.3 Effects Assessment and Mitigation

Based on the review and consideration of additional baseline information provided in the Ethno-History report related to the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes by the DKFN , the effects assessment conducted on the Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes VC as described in Sections 19.4 and 19.5 of the EIS does not change.

19.4 Residual Effects

There are no changes in the residual effects on Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes VC as described in section 19.6 of the EIS.

19.5 Cumulative Effects Assessment

There are no changes in the cumulative effects assessment for the Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes VC as described in section 19.7 of the EIS.

19.6 Monitoring and Follow-up

No changes are required to the monitoring and follow-up described in Section 19.8.

34. ASSESSMENT OF POTENTIAL IMPACTS ON THE EXERCISE OF ASSERTED OR ESTABLISHED ABORIGINAL AND TREATY RIGHTS

34.1 Potential Impacts on the Exercise of Treaty Rights – Treaty 8 First Nations Signatories

Based on the review and consideration of baseline conditions related to the current use of lands and resources VC provided in the Ethno-History report, the baseline and effects assessment described in EIS Section 19, and BC Hydro's understanding of established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights set out in Section 34.3, no changes are required to the assessment of potential impacts on the exercise of treaty rights for Deninu K'ue First Nation, as described in Sections 34.3.3 of the EIS.

34.2 Aboriginal Accommodation

No changes are required to the Aboriginal Accommodation described in Section 34.4 of the EIS.

34.3 Outstanding Aboriginal Issues

No changes are required to the discussion of outstanding aboriginal issues in Section 34.5 of the EIS.