SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

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ADDITIONAL SUPPORTING DOCUMENTATION

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PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL RESEARCH REPORT

SITE C: PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL RESEARCH REPORT

Prepared by Public History

For

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SITE C: PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL RESEARCH REPORT

INTRODUCTION

Public History Inc. was contracted by *Fasken Martineau DuMoulin* to conduct historical research for documentation showing the existence of, or relating to, Métis in the Peace River area of British Columbia and Alberta between European arrival to the establishment of any current Métis communities; and in doing so, to identify any references to:

- The exercise of Métis practices[1] (nature, location and type of practice);
- The development of government services and non-Métis settlement in the same areas; and
- The identification of Métis communities in the study area.

In particular, research was to address such documents as were available relating to:

- The identification of potential Métis communities along the Peace River in Northeast British Columbia and Northwest Alberta within Treaty 8 territory. For further clarity, it was agreed that the relevant geographic area included portions of northeastern British Columbia and northwestern Alberta where Treaty 8 scrip was distributed in 1899 and 1900.[2]
- The Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society and the Kelly Lake Cree First Nation.
- The Fort St. John Métis Society.

This report provides a summary of the research findings to date. Although documentation indicating the presence of individuals of mixed-European-Aboriginal descent in the study area was located in this research, no conclusive information has been located regarding either the exercise of Métis practices or the identification of Métis communities in the sources and locations that were examined. One of the more significant findings in this research concerns a 'pioneer' Métis family that arrived in the Cecil Lake area of Fort St. John in the late 1920s; the individual whose diaries were examined for this research was a member, and an Elder, of the Fort St. John Métis Society (FJMS) in 2009.[3] This was the only document identified in this research linking the FJMS membership with an historic Métis family in this location.

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[1] Where available, this report does provide information on the occupation/s of individuals identified as Métis, such as farmers, trappers, hunters, steersman, and HBC interpreters. This information was largely obtained from census documents.

[2] Please see the Treaty 8 map appended to this report.

[3] Document 0487, pp. 105, 110-11.

Due to the limited time frame for this project, ten selected sites on the Peace River with established trading posts were identified for research. This report provides an overview addressing three of these ten fur trading sites on the Peace River which there was time to analyze and review for this report. These are: Fort St. John, Hudson Hope, and Fort Dunvegan. Fort St. John and Hudson Hope are located in present-day northeastern British Columbia, while Fort Dunvegan was located in nearby northwestern Alberta.

While 380 scrip applications pertaining to the relevant study area were identified and retrieved in this research, there was insufficient time to research and collect all scrip applications relevant to the Peace River area of Treaty 8. Instead, selected Peace River locations were identified for this research, as detailed below in *Appendix A: Research Methodology*. Further context and analysis addressing the Treaty 8 scrip was also obtained from research articles and reports, in particular, those authored by Gerhard J. Ens.[4]

As Fort St. John, Hudson Hope, and Fort Dunvegan shared a similar history that was associated with the 19th century fur trade in the Peace River, these locations were addressed together in Section I. Kelly Lake, which was not the site of a 19th century trading post, is addressed in Section II. Appendix A provides an overview of the research methodology and records that were consulted in this research.

[4] See Documents 0470 and 0478.

I. FORT ST. JOHN, HUDSON HOPE AND FORT DUNVEGAN

The earliest known Europeans in the Upper Peace River area of northern British Columbia were Northwest Company (NWC) fur traders and explorers, Sir Alexander Mackenzie and John Finlay, who travelled in this area in 1793 and 1797, respectively.[5] At this time, the area was inhabited by the Sekani and Beaver (or Dunne-za) Indians, who were the focus of the fur trade in this region.[6]

In 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the NWC amalgamated and the HBC took control of its former rival's posts, giving the company a stronger foothold in the Upper Peace River region of BC.[7] In the decade following this merger, the HBC closed or moved, and surplus employees were dismissed, including newly-displaced freemen (labourers who worked for the fur trade companies without being under contract) who may have numbered Métis individuals among their ranks.[8]

During the 1840s, Oblate missionaries began visiting the Peace River area, including Dunvegan, although a permanent mission was not established at that location until 1867.[9]

In the 1860s, the HBC's trade monopoly in the Peace River region declined with the advent of free traders, including miners and the Revillon Freres, a Paris-based operation, which opened a post just downstream from Dunvegan.[10] In 1878, the HBC opened up a trail between Fort Edmonton and Athabasca landing that reduced the importance of the Peace River.[11]

The Klondike gold rush which began in 1897 precipitated the Canadian government's decision to treat with the Aboriginal people of the Peace-Athabasca district,[12] as miners, prospectors, and others flooded into northern Alberta and British Columbia on their way to the Klondike. Several travel routes to the Yukon were available, including one which led to Athabasca

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[5] Document 0480, p. 2. Please note footnote references which include page numbers cite the PDF image page number, not the original document pagination.

[6] Document 0487, p. 49.

[7] Document 0480, p. 3. See Document 0479 (also appended to the end of this report) for a map depicting the locations of the early trading posts along the Peace River.

[8] Document 0488, pp. 271-272; and Document 0478, p. 24.

[9] Document 0472, pp. 92-97.

[10] Document 0472, pp. 30-31.

[11] Document 0474, p. 12.

[12] Document 0470, p. 10.

Landing, and from there westward to Lesser Slave Lake and the middle Peace River. In the Fort St. John vicinity, the trail went northwest to the Nelson and Liard rivers, while another route went via McLeod Lake.[13]

In 1899, the Treaty 8 Commissioners visited the Peace-Athabasca District, accompanied by the 'Half-Breed Scrip Commission,' Fr. Lacombe, OMI, and the North West Mounted Police.[14] The Scrip Commission began its 1899 work at Lesser Slave Lake[15], and continued on to receive Métis applications at Peace River Crossing, Fort Dunvegan, Wolverine Point, Fort Vermilion, Fort Chipewyan, Smith's Landing, Fort McMurray, Lake Wabascaw, Pelican Portage, Grand Rapids, Calling River Portage, and Athabasca Landing.[16]

In the early 20th century, areas such as Fort St. John were being surveyed for settlement.[17] By ca. 1926, a road from Edmonton was to connect with the Peace River country, running from Edmonton to Lesser Slave Lake; westward to Grande Prairie; and then on to Dawson Creek and Fort St. John.[18]

1. Fort St. John

i. The Development of European Settlement and Infrastructure

A fur trading post was first established in the area of present-day Fort St. John by at least 1798; the various trading posts in the area of present-day Fort St. John were opened, closed, re-opened, renamed, and rebuilt in this locale from 1798 to 1823, by both the Northwest Company (NWC) and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC).

By 1798, the NWC established the Rocky Mountain Fort at Fort St. John, which remained in operation until 1804 or 1805.[19] The post was abandoned by the company when its replacement,

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[13] Document 0482, p. 10; pp. 14-15

[14] Document 0470, p. 16.

[15] 40% of all 1899 and 1900 scrip applicants were received at Lesser Slave Lake (Document 0478, p. 8)

[16] Document 0470, p. 16; p. 22.

20% of the Treaty 8 scrip applicants were born outside of the Treaty 8 area. The vast majority of scrip applicants (85%) were between 18-50 years of age, with the average age being 34. Ens suggests that this indicates a "significant Métis migration into northern Alberta from Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and that the Métis population in Northern Alberta was not as indigenous as a quick perusal of scrip applications might indicate." (Document 0478, p. 13)

[17] Document 0487, p. 60.

[18] Document 0487, pp. 61-62.

[19] Document 480, p. 2.

Rocky Mountain Portage House, was built in 1804 on the south bank of the Peace River across from present-day Hudson Hope.[20]

In 1806, the NWC established a new post called Fort St. John which was situated on the north bank of the Peace River where it meets the present-day Beatton River; this post was built to enable more efficient trade with the Beaver Indians [21]

While the NWC had a trade monopoly in the Upper Peace River and New Caledonia until 1820, the HBC was also beginning to make inroads into northern British Columbia.[22] In 1820, the HBC established its first fort in the BC portion of the Peace River Valley, which was known variously as Fort de Pinette, Yale's House, and Fort George; this post was built at the site of the former Rocky Mountain Fort and was located near the NWC St. John's post.[23]

In 1821, following the amalgamation of the two trading companies, Yale's House was shut down, and the old NWC Fort St. John's was re-opened.[24] In 1823, however, the HBC was making arrangements to shut down Fort St. John's and instead direct trade to Fort Dunvegan and the recently re-opened Rocky Mountain Portage House (at Hudson Hope). This plan would have emphasized the HBC's fur trade with the Sekani at the expense of the Beaver; however, instead this post, along with all the other HBC posts on the upper Peace River, was closed in 1823 following the murder of the Fort St. John's post manager and four HBC employees by Beaver Indians in an event referred to by the HBC as the "St. John's Massacre."[25] Following this event, the HBC ceased its operations on the Peace River upstream of Fort Vermilion.[26] HBC posts in the BC portion of the Upper Peace River were not re-opened until *ca.* 1860.[27]

The Fort St. John post was re-opened ca. 1860 close to the present-day Fort St. John.[28]

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[20] Document 480, p. 2; and Document 0487, p. 50.

[21] Document 0480, p. 3; Document 0487, p. 50.

[22] Document 0480, p. 3.

[23] Document 0480, p. 3; and Document 0487, p. 51.

[24] Document 0480, p. 6.

[25] Document 0487, p. 51.

[26] Document 0487, p. 42.

[27] Document 0480, p. 5

[28] Document 0480, p. 5; and Document 487, pp. 52-53.

In the 1880s, with the influx of settlers and gold prospectors in the Peace River area, the Dominion government began to consider taking the Aboriginal inhabitants into treaty and extinguishing their title to the land.[29] In 1881 and 1911, the Dominion of Canada conducted a census of the Peace River District, including Fort St. John.[30] In 1891, the railway reached Edmonton, bringing settlers closer to the Fort St. John area.[31]

In 1899 and 1900, the Treaty 8 Commission was accompanied by the Half-Breed Scrip Commission; scrip were certificates issued by the Dominion government entitling the holder (in this case, Métis) to receive a land allotment.[32] The mixed-ancestry individuals who applied for scrip were obliged to provide information on their date and place of birth, various places of residence, current residence, parentage, etc.

In 1923, the Fort St. John post was relocated to a fur farming area. In 1938, the Fort St. John store, dwelling and warehouse were all moved to the town of Fort St. John.[33]

ii. The Fort St. John population, ca. 1863 – 1911

Information on the Fort St. John population (whether mixed-ancestry, Indian, or European), is provided below by source. Where possible, a preliminary effort has been made to correlate individuals mentioned in the different sources; however, further research and analysis is required.

Documents that provide specific information on the ancestry of the Fort St. John population—whether mixed-ancestry, Indian, or European—are fairly limited. Relevant material was obtained largely from the HBC records, censuses, and Treaty 8 “Half-Breed Commission” scrip applications.

a. Scrip Applications

Scrip was not distributed at Fort St. John, however, some scrip applicants from other locations indicated Fort St. John as their place of birth or previous residence. In 1899 and 1900, individuals who had been born at Fort St. John represented 0.68% of all the Treaty 8 scrip

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[29] Document 0487, p. 53.

[30] See Document 0235.

[31] Document 0487, pp. 53-54.

[32] Document 0478, p. 2, n. 1.

[33] HBCA: http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/60186/1/6/1383?RECORD#hist

applicants.[34] In this research, we identified six mixed-ancestry applicants born in Fort St. John between 1863 and 1889. These were:

- Rose Beaulieu, the daughter of a French Canadian father (Jean Baptiste Lamoureux) and a "half-breed" mother (Louise Courteoreille), who was born in Fort St. John on 6 July 1863, but who left the area in 1870, residing thereafter in various locations such as Fort Providence, Fort Resolution, Fort Chipewayan, and Fond du Lac des Esclaves, before finally settling in Fort Vermilion by 1899.[35]
- Norbert Dumas, a farmer and trapper, who was born in 1873 at "St. John's on the Peace" to a "half-breed" father (Charlette Dumas) and an Indian mother (Josette [Courtorill?]). Dumas moved away at two years of age, residing thereafter at Lesser Slave Lake, Edmonton and finally at Fort Vermilion.[36]
- Mary Jane McAuley, a current resident of Willoughby [Desota?], who was born in Fort St. John on 17 July 1876 to a Scottish father (John McAuley) and a "half-breed" mother (Mary Jane Brazeau).[37]
- Michel Tastawich, a farmer and hunter, who was born in Fort St. John in 1879 to a "half-breed" father (François Tastawich) and an Aboriginal mother of Beaver and Cree ancestry (Josephte Aquisis). He later resided at Dunvegan and finally at his current residence in Spirit River.[38]
- Siblings Emma Jane and William Kennedy, the children of Maria Kennedy, a "half-breed," who was married to George Kennedy, "a white man" who worked for the HBC.[39] They were born at Fort St. John in 1887 and 1889 respectively.[40]

Table 1, below, provides information on the number of scrip applicants born at specific locations in northeastern BC and northwestern Alberta that were identified in this research.

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[34] This percentage was obtained from Document 0478, p. 10. The majority (21.48%) of scrip applicants were born at Lesser Slave Lake; and the majority (40.59%) also identified Lesser Slave Lake as their place of residence at the time of application. No Métis scrip applicant reported that they were currently resident in Fort St. John in 1899 or 1900; however, this is not surprising as Métis scrip was not offered to any residents in the Peace River area of what is now British Columbia

[35] Document 0137.

[36] Document 0291.

[37] Document 0100.

[38] Document 0377.

[39] An 1889 inspection report for the Fort St. John's post provides details on the HBC staff, including: "Geo. Kennedy, Clerk; married, 4 children; good trader."(See Document 0462, p. 4) On this scrip application, George Kennedy declared that he had managed the Fort St. John's and Hudson's Hope posts concurrently from 1881 to 1889. (See Document 0064, p. 2.)

[40] Document 0064, p. 1. Their mother was the daughter of James Pruden and Jane Desjarlais.

Table 1: Birthplace of Treaty 8 Métis scrip applicants for selected locations in northeastern British Columbia and northwestern Alberta.

Location	1810-1819	1820-1829	1830-1839	1840-1849	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	Total
Fort St. John	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	-	6
Hudson's Hope	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	3
Fort Dunvegan	-	-	1	5	3	10	41	6	1	67
Battle River	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	1	-	13
Peace River Crossing	1	1	3	2	1	7	13	3	-	31
Grande Prairie	-	-	1	-	-	1	5	3	-	10
Fort Vermilion	-	-	-	2	4	5	15	5	-	31
Totals	1	1	5	9	9	24	90	21	1	162

The scrip applications also included information on where an applicant had resided since his or her birth; 11 applicants noted that they had resided at Fort St. John during their lifetime, at some point prior to applying for scrip at the end of the 19th century.[41] Table 2, below, provides information about the prior residence of Métis scrip applicants who resided at specific locations in northeastern BC and northwestern Alberta, as identified in this research.

Table 2: Prior residence of Treaty 8 Métis scrip applicants for selected locations in northeastern British Columbia and northwestern Alberta.

Location	Residence at some point prior to scrip application	Residence at time of scrip application
Fort St. John	11	[No scrip applications were taken at Fort St. John]

[41] Documents 0058, 0064, 0065, 0136, 0247, 0253, 0323, 0349, 0372, 0384, and 0405.

Location	Residence at some point prior to scrip application	Residence at time of scrip application
Hudson's Hope	3	[No scrip applications were taken at Hudson's Hope]
Fort Dunvegan	89	14
Battle River	20	-
Peace River Crossing	88	59
Fort Vermilion	66	51
Grande Prairie	20	1

b. The 1881 Census

In 1881, a census was taken in the Peace River District recording such information as the name, gender, age, country or province of birth, profession/occupation/trade, and the origin of those enumerated. A number of individuals were described as "half-breed" in this census; however, this designation appears to have been crossed out, and additional information on the individual's European ancestry (such as French or Scottish) was added above or below the term "half-breed." Based on a comparison with the 1881 Athabasca District census, it is possible that the enumerator was not actually supposed to indicate "half-breeds" in this column.[42]

The 1881 enumeration for Fort St. John recorded that 16 people resided at this HBC post. These included eight French "half-breeds," comprising Baptiste Lafleur, an interpreter for the HBC post, together with his wife Françoise, and their six children, one of whom worked as a labourer for the company;[43] James McKinlay, a Scottish HBC clerk; Patrick Wesley, an Indian from Keewatin who was employed by the company as a steersman; Thomas Kerr, a Scottish

[42] See Document 0235. The 1881 Peace River District census was compared with the 1881 Athabasca District census (Document 0234). The Athabasca District enumerator indicated European, American, or Indian ancestry in the "origin" column, and did not mention whether an individual was of mixed-ancestry; however, the final pages of this census provides a capitulation of the number of Indians and 'half-breeds' resident at each location so the information was evidently being collected, even if it was not entered with the individual's name. This may have been the preferred method for enumerating those individuals of mixed-ancestry.

[43] Document 0235. The entire family was from the then Northwest Territories. The children's names were: Jean Baptiste (aged 20, a labourer), David, François, Genevieve, Matilda, and Napoleon.

labourer; and an Indian family from the NWT, Louison Courtoreille (labourer), Marie Courtoreille and their three children.

c. HBC Post Records

In 1885, the Fort Dunvegan post manager provided an enumeration of the "Sicconay," Beaver, Cree, "Iroquois and half-breeds"[44] who were at various HBC posts in that area, including the Fort St. John post. The tabulation noted that the St. John population comprised 31 Beaver and one Cree. No women and children were enumerated, and there was no population provided under the heading for "Iroquois and half-breeds."[45]

The 1889 HBC inspection report prepared for the Fort St. John and Peace River Landing posts recorded that there were five HBC employees at this post: two clerks, two labourers, and one carpenter. One of the clerks was "Geo. Kennedy, Clerk; married, 4 children; good trader."[46] This may be the same George Kennedy cited above, a "white man" who was married to Maria Kennedy, a "half-breed," and who worked for the HBC at various locations in the Peace River area.[47]

This inspection report included the following reference to a mixed-ancestry individual who resided at Peace River Landing but who also frequented the Fort St. John post: "Thos. Sinclair, laborer; half-breed; married, no children, engaged as surveyor and general services between St. John's and Hudson's Hope."[48]

In addition, the inspector provided an enumeration for the Beaver Indian population at this post: there were 25 men, and 55 women and children.[49]

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[44] Iroquois and "half-breeds" were grouped together in the same column.

[45] Document 0459, p. 5.

[46] Document 0463.

[47] See Document 0064. This scrip application notes that George and Maria Kennedy had seven children, four of whom were born by 1889. The last two children, Emma Jane and William Henry, were born at Fort St. John in 1887 and 1889 respectively.

[48] Document 0462, p. 4.

[49] Document 0462, p. 5.

d. The 1911 Census

The last available Dominion of Canada census is the 1911 census.[50] It records that 38 individuals were resident at Fort St. John in that year. These were 12 "Scotch breeds"[51] (6 of whom spoke Cree); 20 individuals of British or Scottish ancestry[52]; and 6 Americans.[53]

iii. Fort St. John: Post-1911

In 1913, Fort St. John was surveyed in readiness for settlement, and a local Land Office was created in 1917. Land grants in the Fort St. John area were issued to the HBC, the Revillon Frères, and the Anglican Diocese, among others.[54] By ca. 1926, a road from Edmonton was being planned connecting the Peace River country, running from Edmonton to Lesser Slave Lake; westward to Grande Prairie; and then on to Dawson Creek and Fort St. John.[55]

A Ph.D. dissertation concerning a 'pioneer' Métis family that arrived in the Fort St. John in the late 1920s, discusses the Whitford family's successive displacements in context of the Métis migrations that took place during the 19th and early 20th centuries. May Emma Whitford was born at Liza Lake, Alberta; her father (whose ancestry was British and 'Salteaus') was born in Montana. May recounts: "'His father Phillip Whitford and his [father's] two brothers came north to be part of the Riel Rebellion in 1885. Phillip brought his family and settled in Canada.'"[56] The Whitford family eventually settled in Northern Alberta.[57] May's mother, Marguerite [or, Margaret] Bruneau, was born in St. Paul des Métis in 1900, but was similarly displaced following the 1869 and 1885 rebellions. Marguerite's parents had resided in Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, but when her father was killed at Batoche, her family moved to Cold Lake, where Marguerite was raised.[58]

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[50] Document 0443.

[51] The "Scotch breeds" identified in the 1911 census were: Edith Beatton (married to a Scotsman, F.W. Beatton); Sam[son?] Small; S. and J. Johnson (mother and daughter); D.H Taylor and C. Taylor with their five children; and Martin Anderson. (Document 0443)

[52] The British and Scottish individuals resident at Fort St. John in 1911 were: F.W. Beaton and his 10 children (Beaton's wife Edith was of mixed-ancestry); H. Garbill, E. Bootles, T. Jamieson, Robert [Warner?], Daniel Brown, L. Heslip, Harold Laird, James Rutherford, and D[?] Miller. (Document 0443)

[53] The Americans resident at Fort St. John in 1911 were: L.C. Gunn, Anthonl Olsen, [C.?] E. Jarvis, Fred Treadwell, Alex Stewart, and Bert Gregory. (Document 0443)

[54] Document 0487, p. 60.

[55] Document 0487, pp. 61-62.

[56] Document 0487, pp. 97-99.

[57] Document 0487, p. 101.

[58] Document 0487, p. 105; 107.

Marguerite Bruneau met Joseph Whitford when Joseph was working as a freighter on the Athabasca River. They were married in St. Paul des Métis in 1920, but moved to the Peace River, to the location of present-day Cecil Lake, northeast of Fort St. John. The subsequent move to the Fort St. John area was apparently precipitated by the advent of the prairie dustbowls at a time when the Peace River was being widely advertised for settlement. It does note that the individual on which this research is based, May Barrette (née Whitford), was a member, and an Elder, of the Fort St. John Métis Society in 2009.[59]

While further research and analysis is required to identify the presence of any Métis residing in the Fort St. John area, statistics taken from the 2006 Canada census provide information on the contemporary self-identified Métis population of Fort St. John, and are appended to this report.

iv. The Fort St. John Métis Society

There are two province-wide Métis organizations in British Columbia, the Métis Nation of British Columbia (MNBC) and the British Columbia Métis Federation (BCMF). The MNBC was created in 1996 and formally incorporated under the name "Métis Provincial Council of British Columbia" (MPCBC);[60] it is one of the five governing members of the Métis National Council (MNC).[61]

The more recently-established BCMF, which was founded *ca*. June 2011, appears to include disaffected former members of the MNBC who were displeased with the MNBC's recent leadership and financial management.[62] The Fort St. John Métis Society (FJMS)[63], comprising 800 members, was formerly a chartered community member of the MNBC, but is now one of the BCMF's new board members.[64]

Only one document has been identified in the research conducted to date linking the present-day FJMS membership with an historic Métis family in this area; the above-mentioned Ph. D thesis about the Whitford family who moved to Fort St. John in the late 1920s. Other

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[59] Document 0487, pp. 105, 110-111,

[60] http://mnbc.ca/overview/overview.asp

[61] The other provincial Métis organizations which are governing members of the MNC are: the Métis Nation of Alberta; the Métis Nation-Saskatchewan; the Manitoba Métis Federation; and the Métis Nation of Ontario.

[62] http://bcmetis.com/wp-content/uploads/bcmf-newsletter-june-2011.pdf

[63] This Métis organization does not have a website; information pertaining to the FJMS was obtained from BCMF online newsletters.

[64] http://bcmetis.com/2011/10/historic-move-as-fort-st-john-metis-community-leadership-officially-recognize-bcmf/ ; and http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/services/down/guidetoservices_2011.pdf

connections, if any, between the present and historic Métis populations at Fort St. John would require more research.

2. Hudson Hope, BC

The NWC fur trade post, Rocky Mountain Portage House, was built in 1804 on the south bank of the Peace River across from present-day Hudson Hope, BC.[65] This post was abandoned by the NWC in 1814, but was re-established from 1823 to 1824 under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC).[66] This post, along with all the other HBC posts on the upper Peace River, was closed in 1823 following the "St. John's Massacre."[67] As noted above, following this event, the HBC ceased its operations on the Peace River upstream of Fort Vermilion;[68] HBC posts in the BC portion of the Upper Peace River were not re-opened until *ca.* 1860.[69]

In 1866, the HBC re-established the Rocky Mountain Portage at on the north bank of the Peace River at Hudson Hope.[70]

i. The Hudson Hope population, ca. 1881 – 1911

Information on the Hudson Hope population (whether mixed-ancestry, Indian, or European), is provided below by source. Where possible, a preliminary effort has been made to correlate individuals mentioned in the different sources; however, further research and analysis is required.

As with Fort St. John, documents that provide specific information on the ancestry of the Hudson Hope population—whether mixed-ancestry, Indian, or European—are fairly limited. Relevant material was obtained from the HBC records, censuses, and Treaty 8 "Half-Breed Commission" scrip applications.

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[65] Document 0480, p. 5; and Document 0487, p. 50.

[66] Document 0480, p. 3.

[67] Document 0487, pp. 52-53.

[68] Document 0487, p. 52.

[69] Document 0480, p. 5

[70] Document 0480, p. 3.

a. Treaty 8 Scrip Applications

As scrip was not distributed in the area of present-day British Columbia, scrip applications did not identify Hudson Hope as a place of current residence; however, some scrip applicants from other locations did indicate Hudson Hope as their place of birth or of previous residence.

In 1899 and 1900, three mixed-ancestry scrip applicants stated that they had been born at Hudson Hope.[71] These were:

- Mary Ann Sinclair (née McKenzie), a resident of Sandy Bay, who was born at Hudson's Hope in about 1858. Sinclair did not know her parents' ethnicity, informing the commissioners that she had been raised by an HBC officer named McKenzie but she added that she had "always understood" she had "Indian Blood."[72]
- Maggie McKay (née Sinclair), Mary Ann Sinclair's daughter, who was born at Hudson's Hope in May 1876. McKay identified both her parents, Mary Ann and Joseph Sinclair, as 'halfbreed.'
- George Frederick Kennedy, the son of Maria Kennedy, a "half-breed," who was married to George Kennedy, "a white man" who worked for the HBC.[73]

The following individuals also indicated that they had resided at Hudson Hope at a prior time:

- James Alexander Kennedy, who was the son of George Kennedy and Maria Kennedy (née Pruden) mentioned above;[74]
- [Illegible] Peggy Thomas Cardinal, the daughter of two mixed-ancestry parents (Jean Baptiste LePretre and Lisitte [?Illegible]), who resided in Hudson's Hope from 1870 until 1873 when she moved to Peace River Landing;[75] and
- Marie Kennedy née Pruden, a "half-breed," who gave birth to a son at Hudson's Hope in 1884.[76]

b. 1881 Census

Although there are no available HBC records for the Hudson Hope post until 1895, the 1881 Peace River District census records that there were 13 individuals resident at this post. The

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[71] See Documents 0108; 0295; and 0064.

[72] Document 0295.

[73] Document 0064. Kennedy's 'half-breed' mother, Maria, was identified as the daughter of James Pruden and Jane Desjarlais. Further reference to this family may have been identified in this research. An 1889 HBC inspection report for the Fort St. John's post provides details on the HBC staff, including: "Geo. Kennedy, Clerk; married, 4 children; good trader." (See Document 0462, p. 4) In 1900, George Kennedy informed the Scrip Commissioners that the Fort St. John and Hudson's Hope posts were under his charge from 1881 until 1889. (See Document 064).

[74] Document 0065.

[75] Document 0300.

[76] Document 0064.

Hudson Hope census population was completely comprised of individuals with mixed-ancestry. These were:

- The HBC post manager, Charles Dumais[77], his wife [Susan?], and their seven children Marie, Elise, [Helenore?], Charles, Norbert, Olive, and Rose);[78] and
- The HBC post interpreter, Francis St. Cyr, his wife Sophia, and their daughters Isabella and Marie.[79]

c. HBC Post Records

In 1885, the Fort Dunvegan post manager provided an enumeration of the "Sicconay," Beaver, Cree, and "Iroquois and half-breeds"[80] who were at various HBC posts in that area, including the Hudson Hope post. The tabulation noted that the Hudson Hope population comprised 19 Sicconay men, and four "Iroquois and half-breeds."[81]

The 1889 HBC inspection report prepared for the Fort St. John and Peace River Landing posts included the following reference to a mixed-ancestry individual who resided at Peace River Landing but who also frequented the Hudson Hope post: "Thos. Sinclair, laborer; half-breed; married, no children, engaged as surveyor and general services between St. John's and Hudson's Hope."[82]

3. Fort Dunvegan

The NWC built the Fort Dunvegan post on the Peace River, Alberta, in 1805-1806. As noted above, the 1821 HBC-NWC merger gave the HBC control over Fort St. John, Fort Dunvegan and Fort Vermilion, while still maintaining its own Peace River posts of Colvile House, St. Mary's House and Fort de Pinette. A year later, there were only three HBC posts still operating along the Peace River. These were Fort Vermilion, Fort Dunvegan, and Fort St. John. In 1823, following the 'St. John's Massacre' the HBC only kept the Fort Vermilion post open; however, the Dunvegan post was re-opened in 1828.[83]

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[77] Charles Dumais was born in Manitoba in around 1833.

[78] Document 0235.

[79] Document 0235.

[80] Iroquois and "half-breeds" were grouped together in the same column.

[81] Document 0459, p. 5.

[82] Document 0462, p. 2.

[83] Document 0472, p. 14; pp. 18-19.

In 1878, the HBC opened a new, more efficient, transportation route to the Peace River posts, and trails which linked Dunvegan with the Fort St. John and Spirit River posts.[84] In the same year, the company created the Peace River District which included the newly established Battle River and Fort Grahame posts. Dunvegan was designated the headquarters of this new district. A year later, the Grande Prairie out-post opened.[85] Dunvegan's importance declined in the early 20th century, however, as did the number of Indians visiting the post, and the fur-bearing animal population in this region. As the HBC fur trade returns in the Peace River area had been declining for some time, the district was disbanded in 1888. Dunvegan was no longer the headquarters for that region; instead, it now reported to Lesser Slave Lake. The Dunvegan post was finally closed in 1918.[86]

i. The Fort Dunvegan population, ca. 1824 – 1911

a. HBC and Missionary Records

The first references to Métis individuals associated with and/or visiting the Fort Dunvegan post began in the 1820s. The 1823-24 post journal refers to Métis from Lesser Slave Lake visiting the post[87] while the 1824-25 post journal makes mention of "a free half breed of this place."[88]

The Dunvegan post journals for 1835-36 record the monthly expenditures for provisions that were distributed to ‘Officers and Families,’ ‘Engaged [HBC servants] and Families,’ ‘Strangers,’ ‘Indians and Freemen,’ and ‘Voyagrs,’ at the post.[89] The 1836-37 and 1837-38 post journals provide more precise details on the population. In 1837, the post manager recorded that there were 446 Beaver Indians and 48 freemen at the Fort Dunvegan post.[90] There was no indication whether or not the freemen were of mixed-ancestry; however, in 1838, the post manager provided the following information on the “Indian Population at Dunvegan.” He identified that there were 386 Beaver Indians at the post (73 men, 105 women, 113 male children, and 95

[84] Document 0472, pp. 34-35.

[85] Document 0472, p. 35.

[86] Document 0474, p. 12; and Document 0472, pp. 41-42.

[87] Document 0454.

[88] Document 0455.

[89] Document 0456.

[90] Document 0457, p. 8.

female children) and 42 “Half Breed Freemen” (9 men, 11 women, 12 male children, and 10 female children).[91]

Of the 14 post managers for Fort Dunvegan, two are known to be Métis: George Simpson Jr. and Albert Tate, both of whom were sons of HBC officers.[92] George Stewart Simpson, the son of HBC Governor George Simpson and Margaret Taylor, an Aboriginal woman, was in charge of the post from 1860 to 1862. Apart from his two-year posting at Dunvegan, he did not reside in the Peace River area.[93] Albert Tate was employed at Lesser Slave Lake until he was appointed to Dunvegan in 1892, remaining there until 1889.[94]

Various Oblate missionaries began visiting Dunvegan during the 1840s, although a permanent mission was not set up until 1867.[95] In an 1873 letter describing various Oblate missions in the Peace River region, Fr. Henri Ev. D’Anemour (OMI) reported that in addition to Crees, Beaver and Montagnais, the St. Charles Mission at Dunvegan was also frequented by a large number of freemen (“gens libres”) whom the missionary described as “métis vivant de la vie sauvage.”[96]

In 1885, the Fort Dunvegan post manager provided an enumeration of the “Sicconay,” Beaver, Cree, “Iroquois and half-breeds”[97] who were at the post. The tabulation noted that the Dunvegan population comprised 51 Beaver men, 4 Cree men, and 16 “Iroquois and half-breeds.”[98]

In 1891, the inspecting officer reported that the Fort Dunvegan staff included Henry B. Round, clerk; Fred H.J. Bedson, apprentice clerk; John Knott, labourer and general servant; Louis Marie Henri, general servant.[99] Regarding the Aboriginal population, the inspector noted:

> The Beaver Indians of this post are disappearing very fast. In the last five years more than half of them died and very few children are growing up. They are highly scrofulous and consumptive, and for a few years back suffered severely from starvation. Between this Post and Grande Prairie Out-Post there remain

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[91] Document 0458, p. 8.

[92] Document 0472, p. 78

[93] Document 0472, p. 146.

[94] Document 0472, p. 146.

[95] Document 0472, pp. 92-97.

[96] Document 0428.

[97] Iroquois and “half-breeds” were grouped together in the same column.

[98] Document 0459, p. 5.

[99] Document 0451, p. 15. Henri came from France in 1883 as a lay brother with the Roman Catholic mission service, but left the church in 1890.

> only 25 hunters (men and boys). The rest of the hunters resorting to the Post are Crees, Iroquois, and Half-breeds, numbering 21 hunters. They are generally strong and vigorous, but owing to the scarcity of game, experience great difficulty in procuring sufficient food for themselves and families.[100]

b. Scrip Applications

In 1899, 14 self-identified Métis individuals residing in Dunvegan submitted applications for Treaty 8 scrip, representing approximately 6% of all Treaty 8 scrip applicants.[101] Of the 380 scrip applications collected in this research, 67 Métis applicants were born in Dunvegan, mostly between 1870 and 1879, representing approximately 6% of all the Treaty 8 scrip applicants.[102] In addition, approximately 88 self-identified Métis identified Dunvegan as a former place of residence.

c. Census Records

The 1881 Peace River District census records that there were 53 individuals resident Dunvegan. This included 20 non-HBC individuals such as missionaries associated with the OMI St. Charles Mission; independent traders, labourers, a trapper, farmer and families; and HBC personnel and servants, including the post factor, clerks, interpreter, labourers, blacksmith, carpenter and families. The following 14 'half-breed' individuals were identified in this census:

- Benjamin [Whitford?], a labourer;
- Maria Kennedy and her son James Alexander (her Scottish husband was George Kennedy[103], a clerk at the post);
- Louis and Rosalie Bourassa, and their children Sophia; Louis and Margaret;
- Severe and Nancy Villeneuve[104], with their children Eliza, Alfred, Pauline and [François?];

By 1911, the census for Dunvegan recorded that there were 98 residents in the Dunvegan district. These comprised approximately 60 Beaver Indians, 4 Cree Indians, 16 Métis individuals, with the remainder identified of Scottish, French or English descent.[105] The Métis individuals were Edward Laboucan, a trapper, his wife [illegible name] and five children who

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[100] Document 0451, pp. 16-17.

[101] This percentage was obtained from Document 0478, p. 10.

[102] This percentage was obtained from Document 0478, p. 11.

[103] George Kennedy was born in Manitoba; Maria Kenney was born in the NWT.

[104] Severe Villeneuve was born in Manitoba, Nancy Villeneuve was born in the NWT.

[105] Document 0438.

were all identified as 'half-breeds'; abd two families that were comprised of a Scottish father, a 'half-breed' mother, and their mixed-ancestry children. One of the surnames was 'Young,' the other was illegible.[106]

The Fort Dunvegan post was shut down in 1918.

4. KELLY LAKE[107]

1. The Kelly Lake population, *ca*. 1910 – *ca*. 2006

Kelly Lake, also sometimes known as Fritton Lake during the early 20th century,[108] is located in northeastern British Columbia, just inside the British Columbia-Alberta border and about 35 miles south of Dawson Creek.[109] The closest HBC post to this location would have been Grande Prairie, Alberta to the eastward, with the next closest McLeod Lake post to the westward.

Kelly Lake was surveyed into district lots in 1921; and the first school was set up in 1923.[110] In 1930, the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia Railway which had reached Grande Prairie in 1916, was extended to Dawson Creek.[111]

The Kelly Lake Métis' first schoolteacher from 1923 to 1925, Gerry Andrews, wrote a memoir (published in 1985) which recounted his experiences teaching at this school; and in which he provides a history and genealogy of the Métis settlement based on later research and oral interviews. [112]

Andrews reported that most of the present-day Kelly Lake Métis community (*ca*. 1985) were descendents of Métis who had migrated there *ca*. 1910 from Flyingshot Lake Settlement near Grand Prairie; and previously, from Lac Ste. Anne,[113] the site of an Oblate mission.[114] Andrews

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[106] Document 0438.

[107] As there was no HBC trading post or religious mission at Kelly Lake during the 19th century, much of the available historical information was obtained from the published memoir of the community's first schoolteacher, Gerry Andrew, who resided there in the mid-1920s. See Document 0477.

[108] Document 0477, pp. 20-21.

[109] Document 0446; and Document 0477, p. 9.

[110] Document 0477, p. 21.

[111] Document 0477, p. 19.

[112] Document 0477.

[113] This lake was named Lac du Diable in 1842. (Document 0485, p. 51.)

[114] Document 0477, p. 9. David Leonard's examination of the Grande Prairie area also concluded that Métis from Lac Ste. Anne, as well as Jasper House and La Rivière Qui Barre, had migrated to Flying Shot

found that the majority of the Kelly Lake Métis had been born at Lac Ste. Anne[115] sometime between 1850 and 1890; and he added that the Kelly Lake Métis still made an annual pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne every July.[116]

The individuals and families who migrated from Lac Ste. Anne to Grande Prairie at the turn of the 20th century included brothers Adam, Esau and William Calliou; Louis and St. Pierre Gauthier; and Alfred Gladu. The subsequent Métis migration from Grande Prairie to Kelly Lake not long afterwards included these individuals, together with Narcisse Belcourt, St. Pierre Gauthier, and families with the last names Calliou, Campbell, Gladu, Gray, Hamelin, Letendre and Supernat, most of whom were, again, originally from Lac Ste. Anne.[117] While the Kelly Lake Métis were largely of Cree and French descent, Andrews noted that Iroquois ancestry was also claimed by families with the last names Calliou, L'Hirondelle and Thomas.[118]

A preliminary review of the 1901 Grande Prairie census identified the Gladu family as 'French Breed' and the Campbell and Thomas families as 'Scotch Breed.' A preliminary review of the 1911 Grand Prairie census identified the Belcourt, Campbell, Gauthier, Gladu, Gray and Hamelin families as Cree, and the Thomas family as Iroquois. The Letendre, Supernat, Caillou and L'Hirondelle families were not identified in either census. As noted above, further research and analysis could be conducted in an effort to trace the Kelly Lake Aboriginal population's possible migration from Lac Ste. Anne and Grande Prairie.

In 1985, Gerry Andrews wrote the following description for the contemporary Kelly Lake Metis:

> The tiny Métis "Shangri-La" at Kelly Lake has thus endured for over 70 years and more than two generations with some inevitable changes in lifestyle. There is now better access and electric power. Moose and other game continue to supply food, raiment and pelts for trade. Lakes still yield fish and fowl. Berry-picking safaris are one-day jaunts by pickup truck instead of week-long treks with horses. The Métis still enjoy their fun and sociability. Some young folk have sought a way of life far from Kelly Lake but a vigorous and happy core remains. Nearly all the

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Lake near Grande Prairie during the 1880 and 1890s. These families had surnames such as Belcourt, Bisson, Callious, Campbell, Gaucher, Galdue, Hamelin and LaChapelle. (Document 0474, pp 12-13)

[115] Lac Ste. Anne was outside of the relevant study area.

[116] Document 0477, pp. 18-19.

[117] The 1901 and 1911 census records for Grande Prairie were collected in this research. See Documents 0434 and 0437.

[118] Document 0477, p. 20.

> original pioneers have passed on but their children, now elders, survive to cherish the lore and traditions of the past.[119]

By the mid-1990s, and possibly earlier, there were various Kelly Lake organizations and societies. The Kelly Lake Cree Nation was incorporated in July 1996, however, as the court ruling for *Kelly Lake Cree Nation v. Canada [1998] 2 FC 270* stated:

> It is apparent that different groups within the Kelly Lake community currently vie for recognition and authority. Many, if not all of the members of the Kelly Lake Cree Nation were formerly members of another society, the Kelly Lake First Nation, earlier incorporated under the B.C. *Society Act*, from which they had resigned.[120]

The Kelly Lake First Nation (KLFN) had indicated its intention of adhering to Treaty 8, however, the Kelly Lake Cree Nation (KLCN) instead decided to initiate an action against the federal Crown. In this action, the KLCN alleged that they were descendants of the Indians who resided on land straddling the British Columbia-Alberta border since before the making of Treaty 8. The KLCN has no status as a band under the *Indian Act*.

The court ruled that there was insufficient evidence supporting the plaintiffs' claim to Aboriginal title in the area claimed. The plaintiffs were directed to file a further amended statement of claim, which should also be served to the Kelly Lake First Nation Society which claimed similar status and rights as the KLCN.[121]

The court ruling on *Kelly Lake Cree Nation v. Canada [1999] 1 FC 496* (in which a motion for leave to file an affidavit was dismissed as it was subject to privilege) provided the following overview of the two Kelly Lake societies:

> <u>Kelly Lake First Nation</u>[122] (KLFN)
>
> ...said to consist of Beaver, Cree, and Iroquois people who live in a community in northeastern British Columbia near Dawson Creek.
>
> <u>Kelly Lake Cree Nation</u>[123] (KLCN)
>
> ...said to consist of Beaver, Cree and Iroquois people. It is not clear...how the membership of the KLCN and the KLFN differ or overlap. It appears that in 1996,

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[119] Document 0477, p. 22.

[120] *Kelly Lake Cree Nation v. Canada [1998] 2 FC 270.*

[121] *Kelly Lake Cree Nation v. Canada [1998] 2 FC 270.*

[122] Incorporated as the Kelly Lake First Nation Society in March 1995.

[123] Incorporated as the Kelly Lake Cree Nation Society in July 1996.

> there was a dispute within the KLFN, and certain members withdrew to form the KLCN.[124]

The contemporary KLCFN website maintains that:

> Kelly Lake is a Cree speaking community, approximate lineage 800 Cree speaking people, in northern eastern British Columbia, which formed a permanent Indian community in its current location (55°N 15°W) sometime near or before the turn of the 18th century.
>
> ...
>
> To date there is a total of 125 Cree speaking people who reside in Kelly Lake. Another approximate [*sic*] 675 are direct descendants from the distinctive Cree, Beaver and Iroquois lineage...The Kelly Lake Cree descendants reside within the traditional territory in Northeast British Columbia and parts of NW Alberta.[125]

In 2010, Chief Cliff Kwarkwanthea Calliou, Kelly Lake Cree Nation, together with representatives of the Belcourt, Calliou, Campbell, Desjarlais, Gauthier, Gladue, Hambler, Letendre, Savard and Knott families, instituted a civil action against the province of British Columbia for Aboriginal rights and title under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* claiming an area within British Columbia that was bounded on the north by the Peace River; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the south by the boundary between Treaty 6 and Treaty 8, and on the east in Alberta by the 6th Meridian.[126]

In June 2011, the Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society (KLMSS) signed a Statement of Cooperation with the "newly minted" British Columbia Métis Federation, as it was no longer affiliated with the MNBC.[127] The KLMSS wrote to the BC Minister of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation on 26 September 2011 asserting that "Kelly Lake is one of the only historic Métis settlements in British Columbia with well documented land use studies to provide [*sic*] our existence before effective crown control."[128]

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[124] *Kelly Lake Cree Nation v. Canada [1999] 1 FC 496*

[125] Document 0415.

[126] Document 0424.

[127] http://bcmetis.com/wp-content/uploads/bcmf-newsletter-june-2011.pdf

[128] Document 0445. The organization was concerned that the provincial Métis organization, Métis Nation of British Columbia (MNBC), was speaking on behalf of the Kelly Lake Métis; however, the KLMSS allied with the British Columbia Métis Federation (BCMF) instead.

The MNBC was a governing member of the Métis National Council (MNC), an organization that represents the interest of provincial Métis organizations in the provinces from Ontario westward. These organizations are the Métis Nation of Ontario, the Manitoba Métis Federation, the Métis Nation of Alberta, and the Métis Nation of British Columbia.

Statistics taken from the 2006 Canada census provide some information on the contemporary self-identified Métis population of Kelly Lake, and are appended to this report.

Further research on the origins of the Métis in the Kelly Lake area could be conducted to trace their migrations from other locations, including areas of northern Alberta.

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I. RECORDS CONSULTED

This research included consultation of various published, archival, and internet sources.

- The secondary source literature review focused on the Métis history for relevant study area;
- The primary published literature review addressed accounts, diaries or memoirs by explorers, traders, missionaries and any other individuals who provided details of their travels or residence in the relevant study area during the19th century and early 20th centuries.
- Preliminary Internet research focused on obtaining any available information on current Métis communities in present-day Kelly Lake and Fort St. John.
- The archival research focused on:
    - Hudson's Bay Company records for trading posts located adjacent or near the Treaty 8 Peace River region of northeastern British Columbia and northwestern Alberta;
    - Métis applications for scrip that were received by the 'HalfBreed Scrip Commission' that accompanied the Treaty 8 commissioners in 1899 and 1900;
    - Dominion of Canada census from 1881, 1901 and 1911;
    - Selected correspondence pertaining to Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) western Canada missions which are held by the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa.

While a substantive amount of primary source research was conducted, time constraints did limit our ability to exhaustively review certain holdings (such as the OMI records) or to more fully address mid-20th century materials pertaining to the study area. Further information on the records consulted is provided below.

1. Records of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA)

The HBC post journals are yearly journals/diaries that were written by the post manager for each company establishment. They provide accounts of daily post activities, and include descriptions of trade; interactions with various individuals or groups of individuals, including hunters, traders, and company employees; subsistence activities (e.g. fishing, hunting); the arrival and departures of various individuals/groups/expeditions to and from the post; and any notable incidents or events.

The district reports were prepared by an HBC inspector who visited the posts in a district and then prepared a report detailing its overall management and operations. These reports usually included an overview of the trade conditions in the district; information on the local geography;

comments on the conduct of the HBC officers and employees; and an account of Indians who traded or lived near the posts.

Preliminary research was conducted to identify potentially-relevant HBC posts that were located alongside or in the near-proximity of the Peace River. The available HBC records that were reviewed indicate extensive interconnections and contacts between the HBC posts throughout the Peace River District. The post journals, for example, often noted the arrivals and departures of HBC employees and other individuals from posts situated all along, or close to, the Peace River. Additionally, Indians and traders often patronized multiple posts depending on the season, their hunting grounds, their place of settlement, or the selection of items available for trade at different posts, among other reasons.

The HBC post records consulted in this research were:

- Hudson's Hope (BC)
- Fort St. John (BC)
- McLeod Lake (BC)
- Fort Dunvegan / Dunvegan (AB)
- Spirit River Ranch (AB)
- Grande Prairie (AB)
- Peace River Landing (AB)
- Fort St. Mary's (AB)
- Battle River (AB)
- Fort Vermillion (AB)

For northeastern British Columbia, the only HBC posts located near the Peace River were Fort St. John and Hudson's Hope; however, the surviving archival material for these posts was quite limited. The McLeod Lake records were also consulted in an effort to identify references to Métis individuals from Fort St. John and/or Hudson's Hope. All available documentation (with the exception of account books) for the Fort St. John and Hudson's Hope posts was reviewed.

For northwestern Alberta, we placed particular emphasis on HBC posts that were located along the Peace River closest to the Alberta-British Columbia border, specifically Dunvegan/Fort Dunvegan, Peace River Landing/Crossing, and Fort St. Mary's. Once the higher-priority post records were consulted, we extended the geographic area to including post records for other locations adjacent to or on the Peace River, including the Battle River, Spirit River Ranch, Grande Prairie, and Fort Vermillion posts in Alberta; however, due to the volume of material and

the limited timeframe for this research, not all Treaty 8 locations along the Peace River in northeastern Alberta could be consulted.

The table below provides a summary of the HBC records that were reviewed in this phase of research.

HBC Post Name	Date Range for the existing HBC Journals/Reports/Correspondence that were consulted
B.119 – McLeod Lake	1823-1824 1891-1901
B.189 – Fort St. John	1822-1823 1875-1877 1886-1895 1897
B.293 – Hudson Hope / Hudson's Hope	1895-1897
B.56 – Dunvegan / Fort Dunvegan	1822-1825 1834-1845 1866 1874 1885 1889 1891 1896-1900
B.190 – Fort St. Mary	1818-1821
B.224 – Fort Vermillion (Peace River)	1802-1903 1826-1828
B.247 – Battle River	1889 1895 1897
B.286 – Grande Prairie	1895

HBC Post Name	Date Range for the existing HBC Journals/Reports/Correspondence that were consulted
B.325 – Peace River Crossing	1896-1897 1903 1906 1908 1909-1910
B.350 – Spirit River Ranch	1891

2. Scrip Records

The Department of the Interior's "Half-Breed Scrip Commission", which accompanied the Treaty 8 Commission in 1899 and 1900, was responsible for recording Métis applications for scrip[129] in the Peace River region. These applications were completed on forms that required extensive personal information including the applicant's name (including maiden name) and place of birth; parentage (both names and ethnicity); place of marriage; the names of the applicant's children; all previous places of residence; and the applicant's occupation. While these applications can be extremely useful in tracing the presence of Métis individuals and/or families in the Peace River region, it should be noted that those individuals who received scrip in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories post-1870, and who then moved into the Treaty 8 area during the 1870s and 1880s could not apply for scrip on behalf of any children who were later born in the Treaty 8 area.[130]

Scrip applications which identified place names in or near the Peace River area were collected in an effort to track movements of Métis individuals and families in the Peace River area. In particular, the scrip research focused primarily on the following geographical placenames: Fort St. John, Hudson's Hope, Dunvegan, Peace River Landing / Crossing, and Fort Vermilion. A total of 380 scrip applications were located and organized in a database during this research.

[129] Scrip were certificates issued by the Dominion government entitling the holder to receive a land allotment. In the Treaty 8 area, it was used to extinguish the Aboriginal rights of Métis. (See Document No. 0478, p. 2)

[130] Document 0478, p. 12.

As the Half-Breed Scrip Commission did not visit Treaty 8 locations in the locale of present-day British Columbia (Fort St. John's or Hudson's Hope), no scrip applications identified these locations as the applicants' place of residence.

Also, while the majority of these applications were made to the Treaty 8 'Half-Breed Commission,' 29 applications dating from 1885 to 1889 that were made to the North-West Half-Breed Scrip Commission were also collected in this research.[131]

3. Census Records

Census data were collected from the 1881, 1901 and 1911 Dominion of Canada censuses.[132] .

i. The 1881 Census

For the 1881 census[133], the Peace River was part of two sub-districts: Peace River (Subdistrict S) and Athabaska (Subdistrict T).

The Peace River Sub-district constituted the southwestern portion of the Peace River which included Hudson's Hope, Fort St. John and Dunvegan. The term 'halfbreed' was used by the enumerator for this sub-district. As noted above, this designation of 'halfbreed' appears to have been crossed out, and additional information on the individual's European ancestry (in particular, French and Scottish) added above or below the designation. Based on a comparison with the 1881 Athabasca District census, it is possible that the enumerator was not actually supposed to indicate "half-breeds" in this column.[134]

The Athabaska Sub-district constituted the northeastern portion of the Peace River from Fort Vermillion to Fort Chipewyan. The term 'halfbreed' was not used by the enumerator for this sub-

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[131] Document 0470, pp. 35-36.

[132] It should be noted that there are two additional censuses that were conducted specifically in western Canada in 1906 and in 1916. The 1906 Census of the Northwest Provinces addressed population and livestock information and did not include a racial or tribal origin category. The 1916 Census of the Prairie Provinces retained the racial or tribal origin category, but no longer utilized the term "half-breed." Since our research was focused on the identification of Metis populations based upon their geographic location, the lack of the use of "half-breed" or other relevant descriptors prevented us from making use of this data.

[133] Please see Documents 0234 and 0235.

[134] See Document 0235. The 1881 Peace River District census was compared with the 1881 Athabasca District census (Document 0234). The Athabasca District enumerator indicated European, American, or Indian ancestry in the "origin" column, and did not mention whether an individual was of mixed-ancestry; however, the final pages of this census provides a capitulation of the number of Indians and 'half-breeds' resident at each location so the information was evidently being collected, even if it was not entered with the individual's name. This may have been the preferred method for enumerating those individuals of mixed-ancestry.

district; however, the final page of this census entitled, “Return of Indians Frequenting Posts” provided the total numbers of Indians and ‘Halfbreeds’ who resided at the following locations: Fort Vermillion, Red River Post, Fond du Lac, Fort McMurray, Fort Smith and Fort Resolution.

ii. The 1901 Census

While the 1901 census was the first one to include a category for race, there was no separate data for either Hudson’s Hope or Fort St. John in that census year. Census data for the BC portion of the Peace River area was collected into a single return which did not indicate an individual’s residence, or whether or not an individual self-identified as Métis. Specific census records were available for the following locations: Dunvegan, Fort Vermillion, Grande Prairie, Peace River Landing, Spirit River and Fort Chipewyan.[135]

iii. The 1911 Census

Records of the 1911 census enumeration were available from the following locations: Dunvegan, Fort Vermillion, Grande Prairie, Spirit River, Peace River Landing, Fort Chipewyan, Hudson’s Hope and Fort St. John.[136] These census records indicate whether or not the enumerated individual self-identified as a Métis (e.g. “Scotch breed,” etc.).

4. Archives Deschâtelets

The Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa houses historical records of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) missions in Canada, extending back to 1841.The order first entered the District of Athabasca in 1847. At that time, one of the most important missions in the district was St. Charles, at Fort Dunvegan on the Peace River. Selected correspondence of missionaries who were known to be at the St. Charles Mission and other relevant locations from 1848 to the late 19th century was consulted in this research.

II. AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH & ANALYSIS

The following areas could merit further research and/or analysis:

- An analysis of the HBC records correlating the post employees, traders and hunters with information obtained from the census and scrip records could be of use to this research. Throughout our review of HBC materials, for example, we encountered individuals with names and/or occupations that could indicate Métis descent; however, without further corroborating evidence this could not often be conclusively established. Further analysis

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[135] Please see Documents 0431, 0432, 0433, 0434, and 0436.

[136] Please see Documents 0437 to 0444 inclusive.

could provide useful information on the movements of Métis individuals and/or families in this region.

- As our review of the OMI archival holdings was a very preliminary one, further research could be conducted to examine the St. Charles mission records in more detail; and to consult the published mission reports that were compiled by the OMI beginning in 1862.
- Follow-up research could also be conducted based on various leads and information that were identified during this project phase in the primary and secondary sources. For example, further research to trace the Kelly Lake Aboriginal population's possible migration from Lac Ste. Anne and Grande Prairie; and to identify other relevant primary and secondary source materials for the Fort St. John location, particularly from *ca.* 1920 to the 1990s.