

Acho Dene Koe Traditional Use Study

-Final Report-

Prepared For:

The Government of Canada


And

Acho Dene Koe First Nation

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August 15, 2012



Acknowledgements

We at DM Cultural Services, Ltd. – and in particular Robert Diaz, Amy Le Corre, and Chelsea Dale – thank the Acho Dene Koe community, its elders, members, and leadership for the trust you’ve placed in us. We recognize all community members who contributed their knowledge of their history, culture and territory to this work.

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Executive Summary

This report summarizes the results of the Acho Dene Koe (ADK) Traditional Use Study (TUS). This TUS project was completed in cooperation with and through a concerted effort by D.M. Cultural Services, Ltd. and the ADK between April 2010 and March 2012. The focus of this research has been to record and map TUS sites or areas within the ADK Traditional Territory, thus documenting sites of cultural and historical significance to the ADK people. The most tangible results are the identification, mapping, and cataloguing of TUS sites in a database. The entire TUS study involved four phases:

- ◆ Phase 1: Project set up;
- ◆ Phase 2: Archival information gathering, mapping of TUS sites from written sources, entering of TUS sites into database;
- ◆ Phase 3: Interviews and ground truthing;
- ◆ Phase 4: Project wrap up and final report production.

This report serves several important purposes. These purposes include:

- ◆ A summary of the work and history of the TUS project
- ◆ A history of past research into ADK culture and history.¹
- ◆ A presentation of the research methodology
- ◆ A presentation of the research results.

While the report is detailed and technical, the most functional components of this project are its maps and database. The map set consists of one key map at a scale of 1:265,000. All of the 697 TUS sites, recorded via research, are plotted on this map. The information on this map was then transferred to a GIS system, producing point, line and shape files. Bolster Consulting Ltd completed this latter transfer. The database contains location, reference and historical information about each site.

¹ This is not intended to be a comprehensive ethnography of the ADK people; rather, it describes ADK culture from a geographical or land use perspective.

1.0 Introduction

The ADK community are concerned about the impact of development projects within their traditional territory. These impacts range from mining to forestry and such projects have the potential to impact the ability of community members to harvest plant and animal foods. As such, this report offers a summary of the traditional activities of the ADK describing both the activities and the places that the activities occur. With this report, and the accompanying database and map set as tools, the ADK are better equipped to discuss their needs with governments and resource developers.

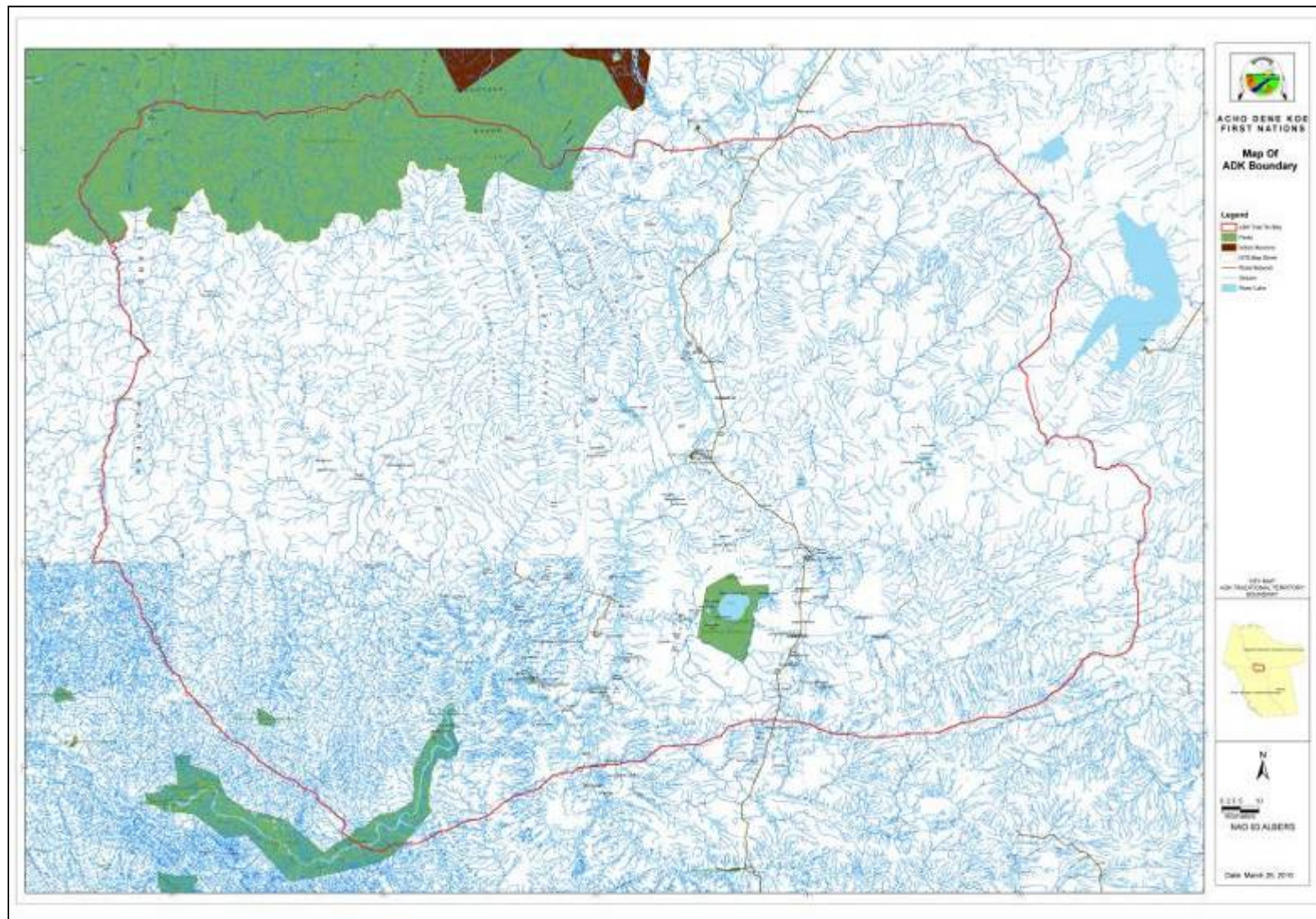
This report summarizes the results of a two-year Traditional Use Study (TUS).

1.1 Purposes of the Acho Dene Koe (ADK) Traditional Use Study

This project is designed to facilitate decision-making and consultation between the Acho Dene Koe, the federal government of Canada, and the governments of the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, and the Yukon. The objectives of this study are to:

1. Collect information that will lead to a better understanding of the Traditional Knowledge and practices of the ADK peoples within their territory;
2. Summarize the work and history of the ADK Traditional Use Study (TUS) project;
3. Provide the reader with a history of past research into ADK culture and history;
4. Identify and map Traditional Use sites throughout the ADK traditional territory;
5. Cultivate an appreciation of Traditional Knowledge and Aboriginal perspectives among non-Aboriginal audiences and contribute to the building of Traditional Knowledge capacity within ADK.

Map 1: ADK Traditional Territory



1.2 Research Methodology

Overview

The research for this report was conducted by a team of researchers from ADK and from DM Cultural Services, Ltd (DMCS). DMCS researchers assisted the ADK team in setting up the research project and finalizing its design.

There were four phases of research conducted during this study. The phases were:

- ◆ Phase 1, Planning and Establishment of the project
- ◆ Phase 2, Documentary and Archival Research, Preliminary Mapping
- ◆ Phase 3, Oral Interviews and Ground Truthing
- ◆ Phase 4, Data Entry, Digital Mapping and Final Reporting

The data for this report comes from **archival research**, library research, and interview research about ADK territory, culture, and ways of life. During the archival research phase, a survey of ethnographic and historical publications related to the ADK people was conducted. The research team visited the archives at The Royal British Columbia Museum and reviewed several sources of information there. Information was acquired from the University of Victoria. ADK material at the Library and Archives of Canada was also reviewed. In all cases, we sought information regarding the history of the ADK peoples.

The information in this report is also built upon information provided to the research team by ADK Elders and community members. Research trips involved **interview sessions** with Elders and other community members familiar with the uses of local lands. These trips produced several hours of taped interviews. They include lengthy descriptions of uses of animals and plants, the ADK words for place names and animal species. We learned about how ADK peoples use the land.

Upon completion of library and interview research, several ADK members were employed to ‘**ground-truth**’ the areas in which the Elders had described during the interviews. More specifically, the ADK members showed researchers around the traditional territory and the proposed development sites. Sites were accessed via helicopter, truck, boat, and traveling on old trails by all-terrain vehicles (ATVs). Researchers viewed where ADK peoples hunt, trap, and collect medicinal and edible plants, the location of villages and camps, and, importantly, the connections between knowledge of the land and the actual procurement of food. The researchers developed an appreciation for the extensive knowledge required to live off of the land, and learned that different parts of the territory are used at varying times of the year.

The following subsections list and describe the various project phases in order of their occurrence.

Phase 1: Planning and Establishment of the Project

Phase 1 consisted of project setup. At this stage, the ADK research team was hired and office infrastructure was put in place and the team briefed about the project phases and purposes. Culturally related documents and or audio/video sources were identified for research, particularly those already in the ADK community. A basic storage and retrieval system was already in place, thus allowing this study to add to the existing system.

Figure 1: Research Participants



Phase 2: Documentary and Archival Research, Preliminary Mapping

Phase 2 consisted of preliminary research and the identification of all bibliographic sources pertinent to the ADK people and their territory. All sources were reviewed for TUS sites. A set of preliminary maps that identified TUS sites found in the archival document search was created.

In December 2011, the researcher team traveled to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, Manitoba to retrieve the HBC post journals of Fort Liard, Fort Halkett, and Fort Nelson. These records were analyzed and information pertinent to this study was extracted. The data was used to support interview data and create a historical context regarding the daily travel of Fort Liard Indians throughout their territory.

After visiting or accessing information repositories, DMCS copied as many sources as possible for review. Documentary research continued with the identification of TUS sites found within written documents. Utilizing TUS site recording forms, all written sources were reviewed for pertinent data. Special attention was paid to site activity, location and source of information.

As archival research continued to reveal TUS sites, this information was transferred onto the preliminary maps. Preliminary mapping consisted of placing dots, polygons or lines (representing TUS sites) on maps. Using the TUS site forms generated from the document search, a dot or polygon was placed on a map to signify an individual TUS site (each site may have contained numerous activities). Each site was then assigned a unique number that corresponded with a TUS file folder given the exact same number. Each TUS file folder held all TUS data that was accumulated about that particular site, including source of the information.

Phase 3a: Oral Interviews

Phase 3 of the TUS project involved interviewing cultural advisors, listening to existing interview tapes to identify TUS sites, continued archival acquisition, mapping, data entry, draft mapping and report writing.

The majority of Phase 3 information came from cultural advisors; the identification of these individuals was a group effort. First, the ADK team developed a list of elders. One of the goals in interviewing Elders was to learn about TUS sites and practices of the ADK people. Furthermore, talking with Elders allowed us to understand where information came from and how it was passed on to others. Other individuals who were interviewed were those people whom may not have been considered Elders but who held a great deal of knowledge.

Interviews typically began with an introduction and explanation of the project and its goals. Discussions also included how the data would be used in the TUS study, which community members had permission to view the data and how the data may be used in the future. Only after the interviewee was comfortable with the people present in the room and the project goals, would the interview start. Each interviewee was walked through the project goals again and given various options such as having the interview recorded, signing a consent form or requesting a copy of the audiotape. Most of the interviews were in English, others in Dene, and audio recorded, lasting from two to six hours. Only in a few instances, the information was not marked on maps. At the completion of the interview, the cultural advisor was presented with an honoraria gift.

The interviews were conducted using a set of 1:265,000 scale maps for reference and the plotting of site locations. Mapping occurred during the interview process. A separate set of interview maps was used for each interview. The data retrieved during the interview process was then remapped onto the preliminary maps.

The interviews were both rigidly structured and open ended. These interviews involved a formal set of questions aimed at retrieving TUS site-specific information. However, throughout the interviews, the methodology often became open ended, as this encouraged the interviewees to take advantage of the relaxed nature of the situation to speak freely, often mentioning TUS sites that may not have otherwise been discussed. After an interview was completed, the data was remapped onto the preliminary maps and cross-referenced with existing data.

Phase 3b: Ground Truthing,

Once the preliminary maps were completed, sites were identified by the team for ground truthing. These sites included: Bovie and Celebita Lakes (NWT), Francois (BC) and Maxhamish (BC). Ground truthing occurred over a three-week period. During this time the ground truthing teams applied learned skills to properly record data about each site in the ground truthing zone.

The sites visited on all trips were photographed, GPS coordinates were taken, sites were measured where possible, and a surface examination was conducted. Upon completion, the site location was confirmed on the preliminary maps, remapped in the correct location or, in some cases because of physical evidence, new sites plotted.

Figure 2: Maxhamish Lake During Ground-truthing



When the ground truthing was completed, much time was spent processing the new information into the larger study. This included, creating new site forms for new sites discovered and using the ground truthing data to more accurately map the previously known information. All photographs were labeled with a unique photograph number and a site number.

Phase 4: Data Entry, Digital Mapping and Final Reporting

This final phase of the work involved entering site information into the TUS database (developed by DMCS Ltd., in Access 8.0). The Database is user friendly, as each data entry screen resembles the hard copy TUS site form, including drop down menus to eliminate confusion. The process involved creating a skeleton of each TUS file folder, entering into the database the site number, activity, purpose, location and source. After each site had a skeleton record in the database, all data entry was stopped. At this point, the

preliminary maps were cross-referenced with the contents of each file folder to ensure that each site was correctly and accurately mapped. Only after this quality control/quality assurance was complete did data entry resume. Once the data entry was completed and cross-referenced with the TUS maps, interpretation of the results took place.

The data entry and mapping work was subjected to a rigorous quality assessment and control process, particularly as the digitizing of the maps was completed. This process included:

1. The creation of an inventory of sites in MS Excel: The inventory included Map Name, TUS_ID, and feature type (Point, Polygon, or Line). If a feature crossed over two maps, this was flagged in the inventory. The inventory then later served as a checklist to verify features as the digitizing was completed.
2. The use of a digitizing tablet: In order to accurately capture the TUS features hand drawn on the maps it was necessary to register the paper map on the digitizing tablet. This involves establishing control points to register the paper map to the geographic space of the digital base data. When identifying and selecting control points to register the paper maps a couple different base layers were used. The most common layers were the transportation and river line work from the TRIM 1:20,000 base data.
3. Creation of shape files: The TUS sites were digitized into an ESRI shape file for each of the three feature classes:
 - ◆ ADK_LUO_Lines.shp
 - ◆ ADK_LUO_Points.shp
 - ◆ ADK_LUO_Polygons.shp
4. Digitizing: The majority of ADK feature boundaries were digitized directly from the paper maps once registered as they did not follow base mapping features. However, where TUS features appeared to follow base map features, the line work from the 1:20,000 TRIM base map data was used to create the features.
5. Labeling and Final Maps: The TUS_ID number was included in the shapes files as the key identifier; this is also the attribute that the TUS sites are labeled with on the map. The labels for the TUS map were created and stored in an annotation Geodatabase. The final maps were created using ESRI ArcMap.

This report was produced during the final phase of the work. In total, the project recorded 697 TUS sites within the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, and the Yukon.

2.0 Acho Dene Koe People and Their Relationship to the Land²

2.1 Who are the ADK?

Broadly speaking, the Acho Dene Koe are speakers of an Athapaskan language. More narrowly, they are often referred to as Dene Tha' (or 'Slavey') by anthropologists and linguists. Both the Athapaskan label and the Dene Tha' name imply close cultural and linguistic connections between the Acho Dene Koe and neighbouring groups in the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, northern Alberta and northeastern British Columbia. The neighbours of the Acho Dene Koe speak related languages, known to academics as the Slavey-Hare language grouping (Krauss and Golla 1981:71-72; Bouchard 2006:4-5).

In the past, the Acho Dene Koe have been referred to by various names. The most common name is Fort Liard, or the Fort Liard Band,³ in reference to the Hudson Bay Company fort located in the centre of Acho Dene Koe territory. Several neighbours are sometimes labelled Deh Cho and share a political structure, which unites them with the Acho Dene Koe (ADK).⁴

The Acho Dene Koe traditional economy involves the hunting of moose and caribou, trapping of smaller animals, fishing and gathering of plant foods. These activities take place in a territory centred on the Liard River. The history of the Acho Dene Koe community parallels the changes brought to northern Canada by resource seekers including fur traders, miners, and more recently, oil and gas developers.

² This report is not a comprehensive ethnohistory of the ADK; however, some sense of who the ADK are and how they relate to the land they claim as their traditional territory is useful for interpreting the information gathered.

³ The Fort Liard Band is not the Liard River Band. The Liard River Band is located in northern British Columbia and represents an amalgamation of Kaska, Nelson River, Liard, Frances Lake, and Watson Lake Bands (see <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/hts/tgu/pubs/t8/tre8-eng.asp>).

⁴ The Deh Cho communities include Katlodeeche Dene (Hay River), Deh Hah Gotie Dene (Fort Providence), Ka'agee Tu Dene (Kakisa Lake), Sambaa K'e Dene (Trout Lake), Tthe'K'ehdeli Dene (Jean Marie River), N'ah adehe Dene (Nahanni Butte), Liidli Keu Dene (Fort Simpson), Pehdzeh Ki Dene (Fort Wrigley), Ts'ueh Nda (West Point), and Tulita (Begae Shuhagot'ine). Métis communities at Fort Providence and Fort Simpson are also part of the Deh Cho. (See <http://www.dehchofirstnations.com/members.htm> for a map and additional information and history of these groups; also Bouchard 2006:4-5; Asch and Wishart 2004).

Figure 3: Moose Meat on Drying Rack

2.2 Defining Traditional Ecological/Environmental Knowledge

During the course of this study, the research team gained a considerable amount of knowledge about TUS sites, geography, biology, culture, and traditional lifestyles. Much of this information has been documented and is included in the following sections of this report. The research team was also concerned, however, with environmental knowledge in general and, more specifically, traditional use patterns and sites pertaining to the ADK traditional territory. This information, along with a brief review of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), is detailed below.

Shackeroff and Campbell define TEK as a “culturally developed framework involving people, their beliefs about the world, and their cultural means of collecting, processing and transmitting information about the environment” (2007: 351). Berkes offers a more complete definition of TEK as he considers the concept to be “a cumulative body of knowledge, practise, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment” (Berkes 2008:7). Anthropologists Charles Menzies and Caroline Butler define TEK as the term used “to describe the knowledge and beliefs that Indigenous peoples hold of their environments that is handed down through the generations” (Menzies and Butler 2006: 6). Menzies and Butler elaborate by listing several characteristics of TEK, making it a field of study distinct from sciences like biology. According to Menzies and Butler, TEK is:

- ◆ Cumulative and long-term: It develops over generations and is based on comparisons between past and present conditions.
- ◆ Dynamic: TEK changes over time.
- ◆ Historical: Because TEK is cumulative and dynamic, it provides “historical understanding” about the environment.



- ◆ Local: It is developed locally and applies intimately to local areas.
- ◆ Holistic: All aspects of the environment, and a people's knowledge of it are integrated and interconnected.
- ◆ Embedded: TEK is part of a particular cultural context and is embedded in the everyday lives of the people who know it.
- ◆ Moral and spiritual: TEK is frequently predicated upon reciprocal relationships with animals and plants. As such, there are right ways and wrong ways to harvest local resources or, in other words, to treat animals and plants (Menzies and Butler 2006:7-10).

Over the course of the research, the research team found that all of these points were critical to an understanding of ADK knowledge.

With these points in mind, it is easier to understand the 'validity' or 'truth-value' of research dependent on the experiences of individual ADK experts. ADK people know about the land and animals and the locations that are best for harvesting food and camping, as they have conducted these activities for generations. The knowledge of young people today is based on the teachings of their parents and grandparents. This was particularly apparent during the mapping of cultural sites, as different people repeatedly identified the same places as productive locations for fishing, hunting, collecting plants, or trapping animals.

2.3 Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Seasonal Round

The Acho Dene Koe⁵ were and still are exclusively hunters, fishers, and gatherers. In many ways, these activities remain the focus of life today. Their subsistence activities reflected a changing economic relationship to their environment throughout the course of a year; as such, their lifestyle was highly mobile as they traveled a well-known territory in search of food (Nahanni 1977). They traveled in small groups to locations where food resources were known to be at their best for harvesting.

The ADK had a vast material culture. In addition to using tools such as traps and knives for acquiring food, the ADK toolkit included technology such as sleds, moose-hide boats, and canoes used for travelling throughout their territory. The women sewed their clothing from animal hides, which quite often would be adorned with intricate beading patterns for decoration. Producing leather from moose hide required tanning tools including scrapers and fleshers. Weapons used for war and the hunts were made from materials that included obsidian and animal bones (Lamont 1977). In order to obtain the essential resources, the ADK maximized their use of an area by exploiting small game and fish while searching for large game to be used for food and raw materials. This strategy minimized the threat of starvation in an area where resources were widely dispersed, and many were available only seasonally (Osgood 1936).

⁵ This section of the report relies on published materials to describe the economics of hunting and gathering by ADK and Dene Tha' peoples. It also uses information gained during interviews with ADK members.

In addition to describing the availability of resources, the following section discusses the seasonal movements and subsistence patterns of the ADK throughout their traditional territory.

Annual Patterns

During interviews, many Elders and other community members explained that providing for one's family is a responsibility of all people. Each family had access to specific areas of land, and knew what food resources could be exploited there at different times of year (Lomen, Interview #5). Hunters knew where their hunting areas ended and those of others began; boundaries between the hunting territories were also known. Animal species including moose, deer and black bear are hunted and killed for food at any time of the year, while berries and other plant materials are collected for food and medicinal purposes throughout the growing season, from spring to fall. Some products from trees such as bark and wood are also collected year-round as needed.

Fish are an integral part of the ADK diet. Nets, hooks, and spears are used to catch fish from lakes and rivers throughout the year. Fish are eaten fresh and dried, and certain types are fed to their dogs for use throughout the winter, as taking care of the dogs is very important to the survival of the hunter or trapper (Lomen, Interview #5). In addition, areas around lakes were often utilized as retirement areas for elderly community members. Unable to travel around efficiently, many Elders would permanently reside at a lake and live off of fish. This in part, explains why there are so many burials at lakes throughout the ADK territory.

Seasonal Patterns

The following charts summarize the yearly round of activities that ADK peoples follow in order to secure food from the land. The seasonal round is a composite prepared from discussions with several Elders and community members, and is enhanced by archival and library research. These seasonal patterns are generally followed today, although store bought food supplements food gathered from the land.

Spring (From Thaw to June)

Figure 4: Drying Fish



During the spring months, when the frozen landscape began to thaw, families made their way to the rivers and lakes in preparation for break-up. In some regions, bark canoes and moose skin boats were made during this time for transportation to carry families and their winter loads to traditional summer camps (Seya, Interview #4). Spring camps were set up in areas where water ducks and geese would pass on their migration path northward. Canada geese are abundant during migration and are common on the sandbars along the Liard River (Kotchea, Interview #13). Spring is also the time of year when plants and berries are collected for food and medicinal purposes. Hunting resumes in earnest as travel becomes easier. Hunting by boat for moose and beaver was commonplace (Timbre, Interview #3).

Table 1: Spring Harvesting

Species Name	Slavey Name ⁶	Month Harvested/Hunted	Usage
Crowberry		March/August	Drupes are consumed in early spring as well as in August after they ripen
Bog Cranberry		Early spring/August	Berries are consumed when ripe (when in muskeg areas, the ADK will consume these berries to quench thirst as the water is stagnant and not potable)
Mountain Sorrell		May	The berries of the mountain plant are consumed (Slave name for this plant is Mountain Plant)
Canada Geese	Ha	Migration from April-September	Hunted for food; down is used for pillows and comforters
Cow-berry, Mountain Cranberry		March/April	The red berries are consumed when they turned red and are also made into jam
White or Paper Birches		May	Sap is consumed as a beverage
Loons	Tutsi	May-mid-October	Meat is consumed and the skins with the feathers attached are made into caps that women wear in the rain
Ducks and Geese	Tsi; Ha	April/May	Migrating birds reach the area at this time and the meat is used as a food source, tail feathers used to make vanes of arrows, and feathers used to stuff pillows
Grouse	Di	May-mid July	Used as a source of meat and the eggs can be gathered at this time for eating
Sandhill Crane	Deh	May	Migrate to the area at this time and are shot for their meat
American Coot	Tseko	May	Considered a type of duck; shot for their meat and are desirable because of their plumpness
Owls	Beoi	April	Available as a source of meat all year but are said to be at their plumpest in April. The carcasses are dried or consumed fresh
Moose	Kolo	Spring	Moose are hunted by boat and used as a meat source while the hides are used for material purposes
Beaver	Tsa	Spring	Beaver are hunted by boat and used as a meat source, while the furs are used for moccasins and clothing
Sheep	Doh	March/April	Used as a food source and for the wool (Seya, Interview #4)
Mountain Goat	Ehmbah	March/April	Food source

⁶ Lamont, 1977: 350-360

Summer (June to August)

By summertime, fishing for various types of fish begins. Such species include whitefish, pickerel, jackfish, Billy nose, Dolly Varden (trout), and lingcod (Timbre, Interview #3). Although this is considered a more relaxed time of year in comparison to the other months when food resources are easily secured, by August, winter food supplies become a major focus and the round begins again.

Table 2: Summer Harvesting

Species Name	Slavey Name ⁷	Month Harvested/Hunted	Usage
Alpine Bearberry		August	Berries are consumed fresh or boiled to make soup
Alpine Bistort		July	Roots are gathered, fried, and consumed or stored in a ground cache
Saskatoon Berries		July	Consumed fresh
Blueberries		July-August	Berries are consumed when ripe
Bunchberry	Nooe Dzi	August	Fruits are consumed fresh; referred to by natives as “marten berries”
Crowberry		March/August	Drupe are consumed in early spring as well as in August after they ripen
Fireweed, Great Willow Herb		July/August	Flowers are consumed
Ground Juniper		All year round	Consumed when ripe
Wild Lily-of-the-Valley		August/early September	Berries are consumed once they turn red
Bog Cranberry		Early spring/August	Berries are consumed when ripe (When in muskeg areas, the ADK will eat these berries to quench thirst as the water is stagnant and not potable)
Chokecherry		Late August	Black fruits are consumed when ripe
Skunk Currant		July	The hairy red fruits are consumed when ripe
Wild Black Current		August	Berries are consumed when ripe
Wild Red Current		August	Berries are consumed when ripe
Wild Gooseberry		Late June	Berries are consumed when they are green and are not eaten once ripened

⁷ Lamont, 1977: 350-360

Prickly Wild Rose		Late August	Hips can be consumed any time after they turn red. The hips are used to soothe the stomach of someone who is starving
Dwarf Raspberry		Late July	Fruits are consumed fresh or stored in baskets in the ground
Cloudberry		July	Berries are consumed when they turn yellow and soften
Dewberry		Mid July	Berries are consumed when ripe
Wild Red Raspberry		July-Mid August	Berries are available to consume fresh until August. Can also be dried in a mass, stored in a cache and boiled again before eating
Northern Comanra		July/August	Fruits are consumed when ripe
Canada Buffalo Berry, Soapberry		July	Berries are consumed when ripe. The roots and lower stems are used to reduce fever

Three-leaved Solomon's Seal		July/August	Consumed nce ripened to a dark red color
American Milk-Vetch		July/August	The roots are consumed raw, used as a starvation food
Spring Beauty		Year round	Tubers ("like potatoes") were sliced and fried to eat
Lousewort		-----	Roots were consumed raw during times of starvation
Balsam Poplar		June/July	The outer bark could be removed and the inner bark scraped off and consumed when starving while hunting game
Mint		July	Used for medicinal purposes such as soothing sore throats, common colds and flu, and aches and pains
Low-bush Cranberry, Moose berry	Kolo Dzi	Mid-August	Fruits are boiled when ripe to yield a cough medicine
Twisted-Stalk		August	Consumed once turned red
Dwarf Blueberry		August	Berries are consumed when ripe
Alpine Blueberry		Mid-July	Berries are consumed fresh, dried or buried in caches
Cowberry, Mountain Cranberry		Late August	Berries consumed when ripened, used to make jam
Water Lily (Rat Root)		July/August	Used for medicinal purposes such as soothing sore throats, common colds and flu, and aches and pains
Labrador Tea		July	Plant is dried to make a tea and used to relieve stress and treat cramps
Whitefish	Tlu; Oedihi	July	These fish spawn in July when they are caught and consumed, and they are found in Fisherman Lake, Trout Lake, and Maxhamish (Sandy) Lake
Pickrel		Summer	These fish spawn in spring and are found in Fisherman Lake, Bovie Lake, Maxhamish (Sandy) Lake, and Trout Lake
Jackfish		Summer	These fish spawn in spring and are found in Fisherman Lake, Maxhamish (Sandy) Lake, Bovie Lake, and Trout Lake
Billy Nose		Summer	
Dolly Varden	Dezenah	Summer	These fish spawn from late August through November, and are found in the LaBiche and Kootanelee Rivers
Ducks (numerous species)	Ha	Spring/Summer	Found in ponds and creeks and are hunted for food
Bearberry		August	Consumed fresh or boiled to make soup
Black Bear	Sah Denitle	Mid-July; September	The bears are more plump this time of year and the meat is consumed while the fat is used to make bannock

Fall (September to November)

Fall is a season of abundance. During this time, moose, deer, elk, and black bear are sought. The hunt for large game provides the ADK with meat for processing into dry meat for winter storage as well as partly dried meat for short-term storage (Lamont, 1977). Moose continues to be the most important animal for the ADK as it provides food preserved by freezing and drying, fat for grease, and hides tanned for moccasins and clothing (Betthale, Interview #10). The fat from bears is an important source of nutrients and energy and it provides flavour and lubrication to dried meat and fish. Beaver trapping is another important activity in the fall. The beavers are caught along the rivers and used as a food source, for constructing material items, or selling the pelts for income. In November, families will travel to lakes to continue harvesting and storing fish in high caches in preparation for the winter months ahead (Bertrand, Interview #12).

Table 3: Fall Harvesting

Species Name	Slavey Name ⁸	Month Harvested/Hunted	Usage
Mountain Ash Berries		September	Used to make tea and is a remedy for chest and stomach pain
Low/High Bush Cranberries		September	Berries are consumed when ripe or non-ripened berries are consumed to soothe a sore throat
Cattail		September/October	Roots are consumed and the cotton can be pressed into a wound to stop bleeding
Yellow Water-Lily		September/October	Roots can be consumed and are dug out when the water is low
Sweet Vetch		September	Soup is made from the roots, or they can be dried and put on a fire and the smoke will relieve sore eyes
Wild Lily-of-the-Valley		September	Berries are consumed once turned red
Beaver	Tsa	October	Trapping season begins and these animals are used as a food source and pelts are sold for income
Muskrat	Teka	November	Food source; winter pelts are sold for income
Porcupine	Kohai	October/November	Trapped for food on occasion, and the quills are used for decoration on clothing and baskets sold for income

⁸ Lamont, 1977: 350-360

Moose	Kolo	September	Moose are hunted at this time of year as the rutting season begins in fall
Yarrow		All year	Used to make tea and is a remedy for chest and stomach pain
Muskeg Tea	Gotsin Tah Go	All year	Used to make tea as a remedy for colds
Black Bear	Sah Denitle	September	Bears are more plump this time of year and make for more flavourful meat
Rabbit		Fall	Hunted as a food source and hides are used as well
Ground Squirrels	Glo	Fall	Trapped as a food source
Marten	Nooe	Fall	Trapped and the pelts are sold for income
Lingcod		October/November	Lincod spawn at this time and are caught and consumed or dried
Yellow Water Lily		September	Roots can be dug at this time as water levels are low; they are fried and consumed

Winter (December to February)

With snow covering the ground, the ADK turn their focus towards trapping small game. Trapped animals include marten, fox, lynx, squirrel, fisher, rabbits and beaver. These activities continue throughout the winter months. Furs were an important source of currency for the ADK as they could trade them for various items through the HBC (Berreault, Interview #6). Throughout the winter, fish are caught using nets through the ice (Bertrand, Interview #12). Overall, winter proved to be the harshest months for the ADK.

Table 4: Winter Harvesting

Species Name	Slavey Name⁹	Month Harvested/Hunted	Usage
Caribou	Medzi	Winter months	Hunted and used as a food source
Deer	Yatone	Winter Months	Hunted as a food source
Moose	Kolo	Winter months	Hunted as a food source
Bear	Sah	Winter months	Hunted as a food source
Marten	Nooe	Winter months	Caught as a food source and for furs
Fisher	Nooe Tso	Winter months	Caught as a food source and for furs
Lynx	Nodah	Winter months	Caught as a food source and for furs
Squirrel	Glo	Winter months	Caught as a food source and for furs
Fox	Nogoe	Winter months	Caught as a food source and for furs
Rabbit		December-February	Caught as a food source and for furs
Wolverine	Noga	Winter Months	Caught as a food source and for furs

⁹ Lamont, 1977: 350-360.

3.0 Results: Current and Traditional Land Use Information Within the ADK Territory

ADK peoples move widely across their territory in pursuit of food and other resources. The activities of trapping, hunting, fishing, and plant gathering have taken place here over generations, as the information from community members and some archival documentation indicate. This section offers a brief sketch of the areas of the territory that are within or around the ADK traditional territory. This sketch is based on the words of community members provided during interviews and includes some archival information or details provided in previous traditional use studies.

3.1 Traditional Use Site Types

This TUS study yielded the identification of 697 geographically unique sites within the study area. Generally speaking, all sites have been classified into the following categories:

Ceremonial/Religious: A ceremonial or religious place is a location where people perform ritual acts in order to make contact with a supernatural power or powers considered to be divine, or to have control of human destiny.

Commercial: A place or site engaged in commerce (i.e. trading, exchange); a place having to do with the purchase and sale of goods and services.

Cross-Cultural Interaction: A place noted for an event, or for its interaction between two or more cultures.

Cultural Landform: Landforms are topographical features that are distinguishable by their physical characteristics, or by their use as a landmark. Landforms are classified by their use as boundary markers, as features that provide guides for navigation or prediction, or as lookouts. Others are simply named places that comprise part of a group's mental map, and become part of a group's story, even though the landform may not be seen as symbolic of something in the ideological realm.

Domestic: A place or area where people reside either permanently or temporarily in shelters ranging in complexity from no structure at all to substantial permanent dwellings. All residences are typed as Domestic regardless of their purpose.

Food Harvesting: A place or area where food products for human consumption are obtained. Food harvesting has been divided into activities reflecting major place type distinctions in activities concerning the collection and processing of food.

Material Harvesting: A place or area from which materials are obtained for use in technology, trade, and displays of wealth.

Non-Renewable Resource Activity: A place or area involved in the operation of using non-renewable resources such as quarrying.

Recreation: A place or area involved in recreation, sport, or other non-resource or non-work activity, such as swimming, games, etc.

Renewable Resource Activity: A place or area involved in the action of using a renewable resource, with such sub-types as horticulture, forestry, fishing, etc.

Service: Any place related to an organized system with material aids used to supply the needs of people in areas, such as government, medical, communications, etc.

Supernatural: A place or area where it is believed non-human beings linger. The unifying characteristic of the places classified within this place-type is that they all involve non-human beings that imbue a site with their presence, but do not necessarily leave a mark on the landscape. Some sites associated with supernatural beings are forbidden places believed to cause misfortune to those who go there. Yet, because certain places are associated with non-humans, they are ideal sites for making contact with potential non-human partners (guardian spirit powers), and are occasionally used for this purpose. Their use as spirit questing areas by certain individuals, however, is secondary to their association with the beings believed to reside there.

Traditional History: A place or area associated with a narrative that a group uses, within its own cultural framework, to recount its past, including its origins and evolution to contemporary times.

Transportation and Communication: A place used to facilitate travel or communication. This is further identified by the manner in which the place is related to travel or communication, or by the nature of the technology constructed at the site.

The following table identifies the sites by *purpose*, although many sites have more than one purpose.

Table 5: TUS Site Summary Table

Site Purpose	Number of Sites
Airstrips	12
Berry Picking	27
Birthplace	6
Burial	38
Cabin	223
Fishing	62
Gathering Places	14
Historical	5
Hunting	146
Spiritual	4
Traditional Name	84
Trails	78

Trapline	47
Total	746¹⁰

3.2 Geographic Distribution of TUS Sites

ADK territory spans British Columbia, Northwest Territories and the Yukon. The following table details the site distribution that intersects these three geopolitical zones.

Table 6: Geographic Site Distribution¹¹

Geographic Zone (s)	Number of Sites
BC	305
NWT	336
YT	63
BC/NWT	16
BC/YT	11
NWT/YT	6
NWT/BC/YT	1

3.3 Zones of Use

Presenting sketches of the areas used by ADK peoples for the harvesting of food and other resources offers an opportunity to link the maps and areas of use to the words of the land users. These sketches are not meant to be complete histories of the areas; rather, they offer a sense of what people do when they are out on the land. It also indicates the interconnections between places, reminding us that the places of cultural significance within the ADK landscape do not exist in isolation.

Acho Dene Koe people move widely across their territory in pursuit of food and other resources. The activities of trapping, hunting, fishing, and plant gathering have taken place here over generations, as the information from community members, and some archival documentation indicate. This section offers brief sketches of small areas of the territory, including an overall description of the territory within NWT, BC and the Yukon. The sketches are based on the words of community members provided during interviews

¹⁰ Although this TUS study yielded the identification of 697 geographically unique sites within the study area because some sites have more than one use the total number of sites by purpose is 746. For example, some trails have also been identified as hunting areas and are thus counted more than once in Figure 5: TUS Site Summary Table.

¹¹ Numerous sites are found in multiple jurisdictions (NWT, BC, Yukon). As such, some sites are counted more than once when analyzing geographic site distribution. For example, numerous trails that originate in BC cross into the NWT and are thus counted once in each geographic zone.

and they include some archival information or details provided in previous traditional use studies. With the mandate to focus on NWT and BC, it becomes quite clear that the ADK have been exercising aboriginal rights in BC/NWT since before signing Treaty 11. In fact, much of the data and genealogical information gathered can date ADK families utilizing NWT, BC and the Yukon well back into the 19th century.

3.4 Northwest Territories

The Northwest Territories is the home of Fort Liard, an historic Hudson's Bay Company trading post, and the current settlement of the ADK. Based upon archival documents and interviews with ADK members, the traditional territory of the ADK within the Northwest Territories is defined with boundaries extending north to Nahanni Butte; south to the BC border; east to Trout Lake; and west to the Northwest Territories/Yukon border. Of the 697 TUS sites documented in this study, 336 are located within the NWT, 16 are located within both the NWT and BC, and 6 are located in both NWT and the Yukon. Descriptions of several sites of particular cultural meaning to the ADK are listed below, and include the Liard River, Fort Liard, Fisherman Lake, Bovie Lake, Celebita Lake, and Trout Lake.

Liard River

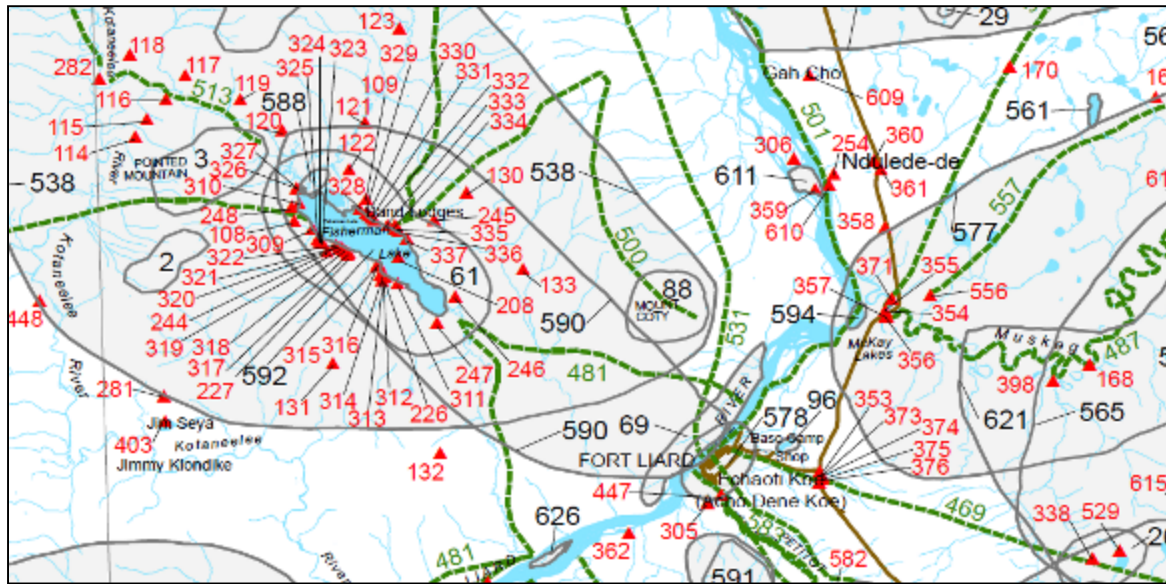
Figure 5: ADK Cabins on the Liard River

Most people interviewed described travel along the Liard River. Members of the Betthale family (Interview #9) noted that it was a three-day trip by boat along the Liard from Fort Liard to Fort Nelson. Pierre Berreault indicated that the Liard River, when frozen, was a perfect route for traveling with dog team (Interview #6). The Liard River is used for travel between Fort Liard and other communities like Nahanni Butte, Nelson Forks, and François. Fishing takes place along the river. Importantly, the Liard River is considered a transportation highway for the ADK. Whether traveling by hand made boats using pole/paddle or outboard, the River itself is critical to the physical and cultural survival of the ADK.



Fort Liard

Map 2: Fort Liard Area



Fort Liard is the primary home community for many Acho Dene Koe people. The former site of a Northwest Company and later, a Hudson Bay Company post, Fort Liard has a recent history primarily related to fur trading. For more than 150 years, Acho Dene Koe people and others have traded furs here and purchased supplies for activities that take place elsewhere. There is, however, evidence of older habitation and use of this place. In particular, the Bethhale family noted the existence of a battle site near the village (Bethhale, Interview #9). Fort Liard is located conveniently at the confluence of several travel routes, as the

Liard River provides a means for travel to Fort Nelson to the south, and Nahanni Butte to the north. Seasonally, the river was traveled by canoe and other kinds of boats during the summer, and in winter, it formed a frozen winter road. In addition to water routes, overland trails converge at Fort Liard, providing important historic and present day travel routes for the ADK. Trails to the east lead to Lede'h Ke'h (Bovie Lake) and on to Trout Lake., while trails to the southeast lead to Maxhamish (Sandy) Lake. To the west, a trail leads to Fisherman's Lake.

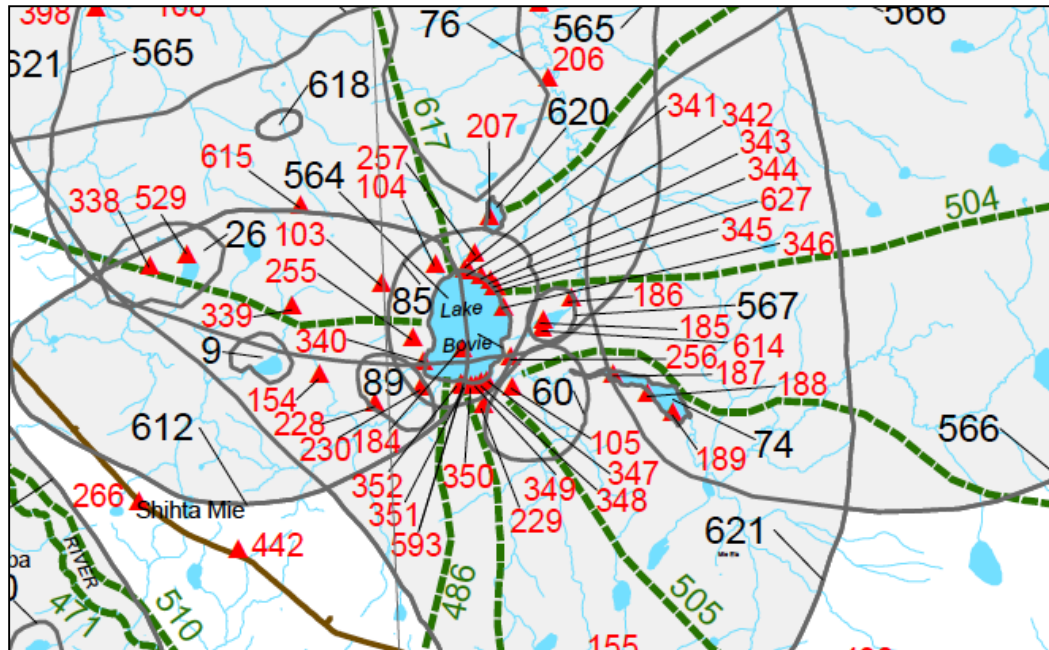
Fisherman Lake

Located in the extreme southwest of the Northwest Territories, Fisherman Lake lies in the basin formed between the two southern fingers of the Liard Range of the Franklin Mountains. The lake “receives most of its water as runoff from these mountains, and in turn drains by means of a small creek, called ‘Fish Creek’ by the local people, which flows into the Liard River” (Lamont 1977:16). Being fairly shallow, Fisherman Lake is home to an abundant fish population and contains a substantial amount of aquatic vegetation (Lamont 1977:5).

Fisherman Lake is both an extremely important resource procurement area and a place of cultural significance for the Acho Dene Koe people (Gordon Timbre, Lucy Lomen, Isadore Lomen, Henry Bertrand, Jim Seya, Frank Lomen). According to S. M. Lamont, 'Old Codielle', or 'Fisherman', is the person for whom the lake is named (Lamont, 1977:7). Johnny Klondike, a member of the Fort Liard Acho Dene Koe, along with his wife Margaret Fantass of Beaver River, lived at Fisherman Lake year-round (Report on Traditional Knowledge XX:10-18). Of their four children, one child (Laura Klondike) was born at the end of Fisherman Lake (Lamont 1977:8). Frank Lomen recalls many ADK people living at Fisherman Lake; these people have since died off, and others have moved away (Lomen, F., 2010). According to Johnny Klondike, Fisherman Lake band members travelled to Fort Liard for supplies up to four trips annually, in early January, April, June, and September (Lamont 1977:5). Winters were spent trapping west of 124°15' longitude in the Yukon, while the April trip to Fort Liard for supplies occurred prior to the snow melt and the opening of rivers and streams which, in turn, initiated an intense concentration on beaver hunting and trapping (Lamont 1977:5). In June, band members travelled down the Liard and Beaver Rivers in spruce-bark canoes and moose-hide boats to trade furs at Fort Liard (Lamont 1977:5). Other families and members of the Fisherman Lake band gradually moved away from Fisherman Lake, as there appears to have been a trend toward living in Fort Liard throughout the year (Lamont 1977:8).

According to Lamont (1977:4-5), the band territory of the Fisherman Lake Slave "apparently extended from Fort Liard (123°29' W) on the east, across the La Biche Mountains (referred to by the natives as the "Grass Mountains") in the Yukon to Whitefish River (about 125° W) on the west. Northern and southern limits were less clearly defined, but seemed to include the Jackfish (65°55' N) and Beaver Rivers (60° N) respectively". Many Acho Dene Koe people, including Jim Seya, have cabins at Fisherman Lake (Acho Dene Koe, n.d.:15). Hunters and trappers use these cabins as starting points for trapping activities. Marten are an important species trapped in the black and white spruce (Report on Traditional Knowledge XX:10-18), beaver and rabbit are also trapped around Fisherman Lake. Jim Seya's trapping area surrounded Fisherman Lake until he was forced to move to Celebita Lake due to oil and gas companies moving into the Fisherman Lake area (Seya, J. 2010). In addition to trapping, the lake provides a supply of whitefish in both the summer and winter. According to Lamont (1977:5), many families travelled to Fisherman Lake during the month of September to catch their supply of whitefish for use over the winter. Fisherman Lake is also known to have important cultural significance to the Acho Dene Koe. Notably and importantly, there are as many as one hundred burials at and around Fisherman Lake (Report on Traditional Knowledge XX:10-18).

Map 3: Bovie Lake Area



Lede'h Ke'h (Bovie Lake) is another important resource procurement area linked to Maxhamish Lake by a short trail. Lede'h Ke'h is easily accessible from Fort Liard by a trail and, to the east, trails link Lede'h Ke'h to Celebita Lake and eventually to Trout Lake (Bertrand, Interview #1; Lomen, Interview #2). Frank Lomen has a house at Bovie Lake (Lomen, Interview #2). Gordon Timbre noted that tools were made at Lede'h Ke'h and, given the short distance between the two lakes, it makes sense that some of these tools would have been used throughout the region (Timbre, Interview #3).

ADK people fish for whitefish, pickerel, jacks, suckers, and other fish in Lede'h Ke'h. Nets are constructed and used to catch as many fish as possible at this lake. In the past, ADK families used fish caught in the lake to supplement moose

meat when moose were scarce or difficult to find. In addition to the ADK, the missionaries and clerks employed by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) also fished at Lede'h Ke'h. The missionaries and clerks would also use nets to catch fish for themselves as well as to feed their dogs (Acho Dene Koe n.d.:13-16).

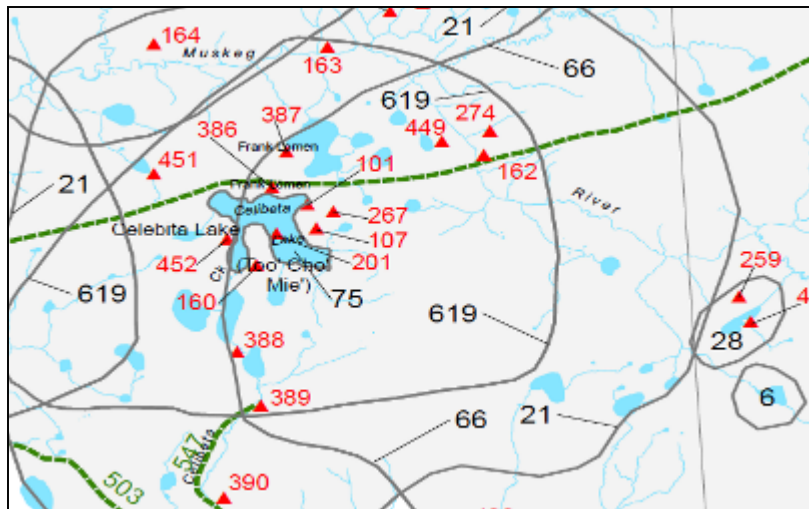
Lede'h Ke'h is a place of spiritual significance, as the ADK came from various parts of their territory to gather at Lede'h Ke'h for ceremonial purposes. Before a ceremony, the men would go hunting for moose, bear and small animals, and during the ceremony, they would drink tea, dance, and drum. Ceremonial gatherings would last for about three days during the summer, and at the end of the gathering the people would trade items with one another and share stories and legends before traveling by land back to their homes (Acho Dene Koe n.d.:13-16).

Several areas of importance to the ADK surrounding Lede'h Ke'h were also mentioned during the interview process. Isadore Lomen, Michael Sassie and Eddie Sassie spoke of how they would fish and snare beaver in Hook Lake, or 'Gu-Da-Ga', which is southeast of Bovie Lake and is accessible by a trail extending from the lake. Eddie Sassie went on to discuss his birthplace under a spruce tree, located east of Lake Bovie, near another small lake (TUS#614). This lake is an important resource procurement site, as pickerel, suckers and whitefish were caught using nets in the lake, and a trapping area located on the west side of the lake (TUS#612) belongs to Stanley Thomas (Hope, Interview #26; Sassie, Interview #28).

Upon ground truthing at Bovie Lake, the research team observed twelve cabins located along the shores of the lake, all of which belong to ADK members. More specifically, the following ADK members currently own cabins at Bovie Lake: Ernie McLeod, Mike Sassie, Frank Lomen, Jim Seya, Floyd Diamond C', Edward Diamond C', John and Patsy Berreault, Joe Bertrand, John and Gordon Timbre, Dale Timbre, Ervin Berreault and Stanley Thomas.

Celebita Lake

Map 4: Celebita Lake Area



Located east of Lede'h Ke'h (Bovie Lake), Celebita Lake was considered a stop over place for ADK members who were en route to Fort Liard from Trout Lake to trade their good and provisions at the HBC trading post. ADK members would travel along trails to Celebita Lake, or Thoo'Cho Mie', an area used extensively and exclusively by ADK members. Celebita Lake has four TUS sites along its shoreline, which include one cabin (TUS #386) owned by Frank Lomen, and the lake itself is used by ADK members for both summer and winter fishing, as many different species of fish are found in the lake (Codille, D. 2010).

During groundtruthing, the research team observed many ice fishing holes on the lake. Seventeen additional TUS sites are found within the area surrounding the lake, and include two more cabins, hunting, trapping, and berry picking areas, and a spiritual site. In addition, Celebita Lake has one trail leading to and away from the area. Frank Lomen, an ADK Elder, informed the research team that he owns three cabins around Celebita Lake, and that he first travelled to the lake when he was young with his parents, who would hunt, fish, and trap around Celebita Lake. The research team was informed that

at one time long ago, Trout Lake community members owned cabins at Celebita Lake until an enormous fire ravaged the area and burned the cabins to the ground; the Trout Lake members never returned to the lake again.

A large polygon spanning much of Celebita Lake and extending east is identified as Jim Seya's hunting and trapping area. In addition to his hunting and trapping area, Jim informed the research team that he owns a trapping cabin within this area, located just northeast of Celebita Lake. ADK members Isadore Lomen and Henry Bertrand discussed fishing at a small lake northwest of Celebita Lake that they referred to as 'Blue Lake', or 'Tu-dee-clay'. In addition, there is a vast berry picking area that surrounds Celebita Lake where ADK members harvested different varieties of berries. Similarly, many of the ADK would hunt for moose and caribou around the lake and trap small game. Ernie McLeod informed the research team that his father, Willie McLeod hunted with Frank Lomen and Ned Seya in the Celebita area (McLeod, Interview #29).

Trout Lake

Located northeast of Celebita Lake, Trout Lake or "Saabakeh", meaning "place where there are trout", is another important historic ADK community and resource procurement area. The lake serves as an important summer and winter fishing area for the ADK, as it is known to contain trout, pickerel, whitefish, salmon, and jackfish (Lomen, L. 2010). According to S.M. Lamont, Willie McLeod of Fort Liard claimed that Trout Lake was the birthplace of the late Johnny Klondike (Lamont, 1977:7). The community of Trout Lake was the home of Lucy Lomen's father and aunt Shirley (Lomen, L. 2010), Armund Bertrand's mother (Bertrand, A. 2010), and was, for a time, the home of Frank Lomen's father's family, who were originally from Whitehorse (Lomen, F. 2010). In addition to domestic dwellings found on the southeast corner of Trout Lake, several camp sites are found around Trout Lake, with one site located on the southwestern arm of the lake (Codille, 2010). The lake itself served as an important canoe or water route in summer, and a dogsled route in winter (Codille, 2010). A hunting and trapping trail runs from Bovie Lake to the southern tip of the lake before continuing to the village of Trout Lake, while a skidoo trail runs from Arrowhead River east to the lake (Codille, 2010). Frank Lomen recalls traveling by dogsled from Celebita Lake to Trout Lake to visit his relatives, and residents of Trout Lake would travel to Fort Liard via Celebita Lake for supplies (Lomen, F. 2010). Many years ago people from Trout Lake traveled to Fort Liard in the month of June for about 3 months to gather for celebrations, and to trade furs and provisions (Lomen, I. 2010).

3.5 British Columbia

As with NWT, the far north-eastern portion of BC holds many important places within the ADK territory. The ADK traditional territory within BC is defined with boundaries extending north to the BC/NWT border; south to just north of Fort Nelson, west to just west of the headwaters of the Scatter River, and east to the east side of Kotcho Lake. Of the 697 recorded TUS sites, 305 sites are found within BC, 16 sites are found within BC and NWT, and 11 sites are found with BC and the Yukon. Descriptions of several sites

within BC that have a particular cultural meaning to the ADK are listed below, and include Francois (Tli Go Che), Maxhamish (Sandy) Lake, La Jolie Butte (Pretty Hills), Coles Lake, and Nelson Forks.

Francois

From Fort Liard, ADK members would travel south down the Liard River, or by trail along the east side of the river towards Francois, or Tli Go Che, Slavey for ‘skinny dogs brother’ (Lomen Interview #2). According to Mary Capot-Blanc, the settlement of Francois was named after her maternal grandfather Francois, whom moved to Tli Go Che from Lower Post (Capot-Blanc, M., 2010). At one time, Francois was a community of approximately 200 people, had a church, a school, and employed an HBC fur trade agent. Currently Francois is used year round by many ADK members including Fred Berreault, Steve Kotchea and family, and Henry Bertrand, who all own cabins there (Berreault Interview #24). In addition to cabins, many TUS sites are found at Francois, including hunting, trapping, spiritual sites and burials. Fred Berreault’s mother was buried at Francois in 1938, and Herbert Berreault, Steve Kotchea and Joe Bertrand informed the research team about other gravesites around Francois. During the groundtruthing process, the research team observed and photographed some of the aforementioned burial sites at Francois. Five trails used for transportation purposes extend to and from the community of Francois, branching out in all directions. Maxhamish (Sandy Lake) is to the east, Nelson Forks and La Jolie Butte, or ‘Pretty Hills’, are to the south, the Beaver River is located to the south and then northwest, and a winter dog sled trail from Francois extends south along the east side of the Liard River towards Zus Creek (Kotchea, Interview #1). Armund Bertrand, an ADK Elder, discussed his family’s relationship with Francois and informed the research team that Francois was his father’s birthplace. As part of the research process, the research team was given the opportunity to attend a family gathering held at Francois in July 2010. At the gathering, many members of the community discussed moose hunting, by boat and by land, and trapping in and around Francois. During this visit, the research team discovered that Francois remains to be an important place that is used by ADK members year round.

Maxhamish (Sandy) Lake

Figure 6: Betthale Cabin on Maxhamish Lake



As with Francois, Maxhamish or Sandy Lake is a very significant place for ADK members. Currently, the government of BC has registered 9 pre-contact archaeological sites on or near Maxhamish Lake, indicating the temporal depth of this important Lake. Moreover, Maxhamish Lake and surrounding areas are a significant and productive place for Acho Dene Koe hunters, fishers, trappers and plant gatherers. The Betthale family are particularly connected to the Maxhamish Lake area, as William Betthale was born here, and several family members have cabins at the lake (Betthale Family, Interview #9). In addition to the Betthale family, Eva Hope and Joe Bertrand were born at Maxhamish Lake, and Joe Bertrand's father lived his entire life at the lake (Hope, 2010; Bertrand, J., 2010). Stanley Bertrand and Daniel Lomen have cabins at Maxhamish Lake (Kotchea 1999:19), and another cabin (TUS #417) located on the northwest shore of the lake is owned by Dolphus Codille (Codille, 2010). Maxhamish Lake is connected to ADK settlements including François,¹² Fort Liard, Trout Lake, La Jolie Butte, and Nelson Forks by a network of trails crossing through the area. Kotchea's report on Traditional Knowledge at Maxhamish Lake (Kotchea 1999) clearly states the importance of the trails around the lake, as residents of the Fort Liard region utilize these trails on a frequent and collective basis. These trails are accessed and used by the ADK for various purposes during different seasons. A main trail located on the shore of Maxhamish Lake connects all the historical sites around the lake. In addition, several other historical trails lead to different locations on the Liard River, to Fort Liard, and the Petitot River (Kotchea, 1999:19). In terms of resource procurement, a large trapping area with a 15 km radius surrounds the lake, and the lake itself is an important source of fish including whitefish, jackfish, and pickerel; these fish are traditionally speared and smoked using alder wood (Bertrand, Interview #1).

¹² François is an important place historically for the ADK because it is associated with the François Lake Tribe. This tribe is almost certainly part of the ADK today. (see also Isadore Loemen, Interview #7).

La Jolie Butte (Pretty Hills)

La Jolie Butte, or “Pretty Hills”, is the birth place of Mary Capot-Blanc, and she resided here until she reached 18 years of age (Capot-Blanc, M., 2010). According to Mary, there are three burial sites at La Jolie Butte, all of which were members of Mary’s family (Capot-Blanc, M., 2010). In addition to burials, several cabins (TUS #450) are found at La Jolie Butte. Many Elders spoke of the La Jolie Butte area as being an important location where hunting and trapping occurs. An extensive hunting and trapping area (TUS #571) extends southwest from Francois, encompassing much of the Liard River and surrounding area. Many ADK members trap for various species within this area, including beaver (spring), muskrat (fall), porcupine (fall), rabbit (fall-winter), ground squirrels (fall), martin (fall-winter), lynx (fall-winter), squirrel (fall-winter), fox (fall-winter) and wolverine (fall-winter). In addition, a large hunting area (TUS #576) surrounds La Jolie Butte settlement, and extends from Francois south to Nelson Forks.

Coles Lake and Surrounding Area

Coles Lake (TUS #1) is known to the ADK as “Geguto”, named for the abundance of moose in the area, and is the birthplace of Jerry Betthale (Betthale, L. 2010). According to Louie Betthale, Coles Lake is a resting area for moose seeking refuge from mosquitoes (Betthale, L. 2011). Coles Lake is an important hunting, trapping, fishing, and berry picking area for the ADK. The lake provides an important fish source to the ADK, who consume and store fish in caches around the lake for dog food over the winter (Betthale, L. 2011). Species of fish found in Coles Lake include jackfish, greylings, and suckers. One important fishing site is located at the mouth of a small creek found on the northwest point of Coles Lake (TUS #9), while two more fishing and hunting sites are located along the northern side of Coles Lake (TUS #31; 33). In addition to moose, an abundance of wolverines are found around the lake, as well as spruce grouse, which are hunted in the fall (Betthale, L. 2011).

In addition to the abundance of resources found in the area, several campsites and cabins can be found on and around Coles Lake. A cabin once owned by the late William Betthale (TUS #12) is located on the south side of Coles Lake Creek, approximately one km west of the lake. Moving west along the Coles Lake Creek, another cabin is located on the western shore of Coles Lake (TUS #32). Two cabins owned by Louie Betthale (TUS #13; 15) are located along the north shore of Coles Lake, one of which was newly constructed in summer 2010. A third cabin owned by Louie Betthale (TUS #14) is located due south of TUS #13 on the south side of Coles Lake.

Nelson Forks

Located approximately 115 km northwest of Fort Nelson at the confluence of the Liard and Fort Nelson Rivers, Nelson Forks (TUS #97) is a site of great historical importance to the ADK people. This was the location of a Dene Thah (Slavey) First Nation Village

and a Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post. The site of Nelson Forks was chosen as the location of an HBC trading post for its location at the confluence of the Liard and Fort Nelson Rivers, which are major transportation routes that allowed for easy access for ADK members to trade goods at the post. The settlement of Nelson Forks is the birthplace of Billy Loe, and is the site of several burials (Bertrand, S. et. al, 2010). Several trails (TUS #515; 534) connect Nelson Forks to other important places within ADK territory, including Francois and Maxhamish Lake (Codille, 2010). Historically, Nelson Forks had permanent and seasonal dwellings as many ADK members resided there during the trading season. It has been estimated that at one time, up to three hundred people lived at Nelson Forks. Due to a combination of economic factors and disease, the settlement of Nelson Forks was eventually reduced to a collection of foundations and rubble. During groundtruthing, the research team observed the remains of many buildings, root cellars, cache pits, gardens, and gravesites.

3.6 Yukon Territory

As with NWT and BC, several places of cultural significance to the ADK are found within the Yukon. The ADK traditional territory within the Yukon extends north along the Liard Plateau to the NWT/Yukon border; south to the BC/Yukon border; west to the Toobally Lakes; and east to the Yukon/NWT border. Of the 697 TUS sites recorded in this project, 63 sites are located within the Yukon, 11 sites are located within the Yukon and BC, and 6 sites are located with the Yukon and NWT. Descriptions of several places of cultural significance to the ADK are listed below, and include the Beaver River, the La Biche River, Fantasque Lake, and the Toobally Lakes.

Several features of the Yukon are noteworthy, where traditional uses by ADK members are concerned. First, the Yukon portion of the territory is more mountainous than the NWT or BC portions of the territory. Movement throughout the Yukon regions is more difficult than elsewhere. Despite this, rivers like the Beaver River and the La Biche River functioned as effective transportation routes. Travel took ADK members as far as Toobally Lake. Hunting, fishing, and trapping took places as people moved around. Second, Yukon Mountain is home to highland caribou and moose. The ADK consider these animals to be superior food to caribou and moose that are more local to Fort Liard. Third, and relatedly, the plant and animal species consumed by ADK members are abundant in the Yukon. Further, due to the lack of development in the Yukon, the Yukon region of the territory is still considered by the ADK to be their "bread basket."

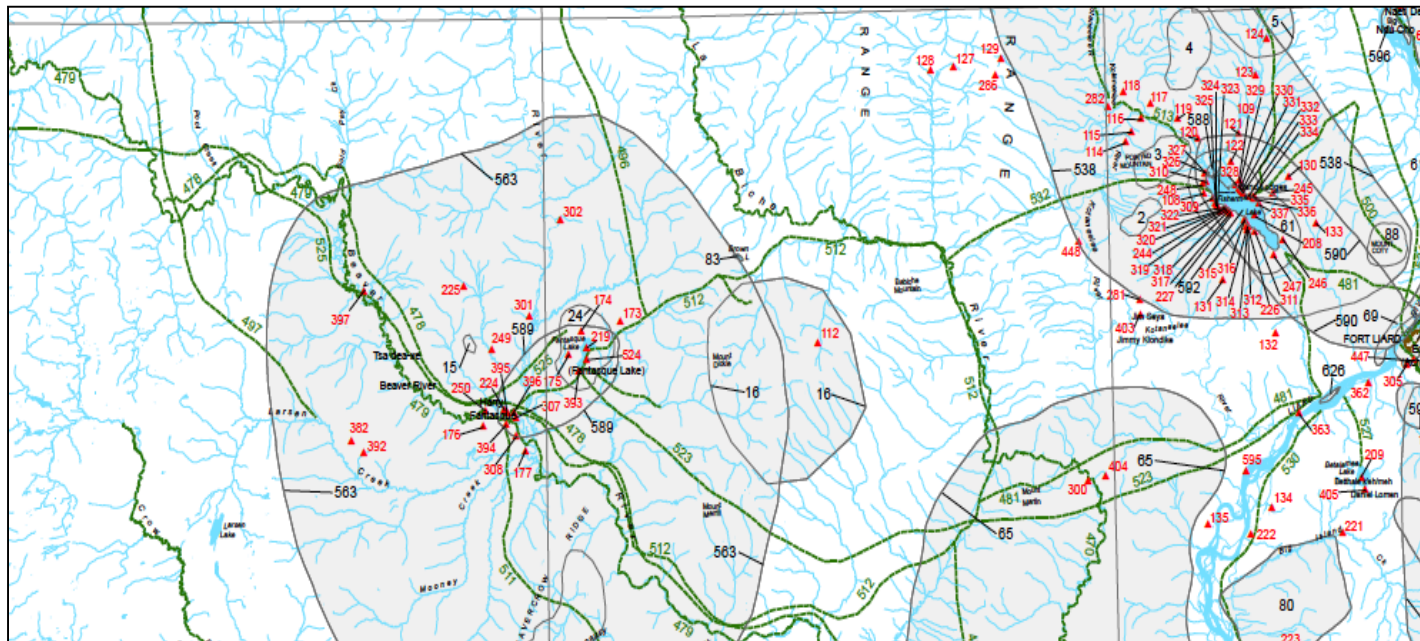
Beaver River

The Beaver River is an important all-season transportation route for the ADK, and is accessed by water along the Liard River from La Jolie Butte, Nelson Forks, François, and Fort Liard. Jim Seya (Seya, Interview #4) described using a spruce boat as a method of

transport along the Beaver River in the spring and summer months. In the winter, the frozen river also makes for an effective travel route.

In addition to water transportation routes, land based travel trails follow the Beaver River and are utilized by the ADK for hunting, trapping, and transportation purposes. A trail (TUS #483) extending north/south connects the Beaver River to Mt. Marten area (Lomen, I. 2010). Another trail (TUS #511) runs from the Beaver River to the southwest of Fantasque Lake, and further south to Beavercrow Mountain. Frank Lomen, whom was born along the Beaver River, explained that the families living at Beaver River traveled together along the river down to Fort Liard to visit and pick up their supplies (Lomen, 2010).

Map 5: Beaver River Area



The Beaver River valley and surrounding areas are also used by the ADK for trapping and hunting beaver and moose. Isadore Lomen's father's trapping area was along the entire length of the Beaver River, and Henry Bertrand's father (Francis Bertrand) had his trapping area was alongside Isadore Lomen's father's area (Lomen,

I. 2010). Jim Seya hunted on foot for beaver along the east side of the Beaver River, and travelled far up the river with Harry Fantas (Seya, 2010). Frank Lomen's family hunts and traps in an area encompassing the headwaters of the Beaver and Whitefish Rivers, and notes that the remains of campsites should still be there (Loman, F. 2010). Several cabins are found in the Beaver River area, including one built by Pierre Bertrand, and another occupied by Napoleon Capot-Blanc. In addition, Gabriel Bertrand owns a cabin (TUS #412) on the Beaver River along the Yukon/BC border (Bertrand, S. et. al, 2010).

The ADK are also connected to the Yukon and the Beaver River area through the Klondike family. Johnny Klondike, an ADK member, has a trapline along the Beaver River. He lived in the Beaver River area for ten years. His wife, Margaret Fantass, was part of a family that also lived on the Beaver River. Two of their children were born on the Beaver River (Lamont 1977:6-8).

La Biche River

Beginning in the Yukon just south of Tika Creek, the La Biche River (TUS #470) flows southeast into BC where it meets with the Liard River. Hunting and trapping by ADK members occurs alongside the river, and fish species including Dolly Varden and bow trout are caught using nets. Hunting and trapping is not limited to the La Biche River itself; rather, hunting and trapping areas surround the river and extend up into the Kootanelee range (Lomen, F. 2010). Frank Lomen has traveled up to the headwaters of the La Biche River and hunted, trapped, and fished extensively throughout the area, as the entire area is known to the ADK as a traditional hunting and trapping area (Lomen, F. 2010). In addition to the Beaver River, the La Biche serves as an important transportation corridor. Gabriel Bertrand has a trail connecting the La Biche and Beaver Rivers (Bertrand, S. et. al, 2010),

Fantasque Lake

The name of Fantasque Lake derives from the the Fantass family. The Fantass family, including Fantass Suza and her children Harry and Margaret, are from the area (Lamont 1977:6).

Toobally Lakes

The Toobally Lakes are located at the westernmost boundary of the ADK territory. Information regarding present day traditional use sites at or around the Toobally Lakes is limited; however, it is known that the ADK used the lakes to catch food fish for themselves as well as their dogs (Bertrand, S. et. al, 2010). S.M. Lamont noted that some band members, including Johnny Klondike and family, occasionally travelled outside of the band territory, sometimes visiting the Toobally Lakes (126°20' W) in the Yukon (Lamont, 1977:4-5). Frank Lomen has a trail that he uses to travel to the lakes for fishing (Lomen, F. 2010).

4.0 Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Post Journals Analysis

This report summarizes research conducted on the Hudson Bay Company records for Fort Liard, Fort Nelson, and Fort Halkett. The researchers analyzed historic Hudson's Bay Company post journals and archival records for the three locations. This work consisted of extracting information about the movements of the Fort Liard Indians or present day Acho Dene Koe people for the purpose of placing their ancestors on the lands that are presently being claimed as the Acho Dene Koe traditional territory. It is important to note that several journal years are either missing, unavailable to the public, or have been damaged or destroyed over the years; therefore, the data compiled from the post journals of each fort is limited.

Fort Liard is located in the Northwest Territories on the north bank of the Black River, where the Black River meets the Liard River. It was established in 1800 by George Keith of the Northwest Company and became a Hudson Bay Company possession in 1821 on the merger of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies. It was a functioning trading post until at least 1970.¹³ Acho Dene Koe connections to Fort Liard are documented widely in the post's journals. The names of ADK ancestors are recorded in those journals, as are the travels and economic activities participated in by those ancestors.

Fort Nelson is located in British Columbia. It was had at least three locations. The first post was established by George Keith of the Northwest Company in 1805, eighty miles up the Liard River from the Forks. In 1865, the fort was relocated to the junction of the Fort Nelson and Muskwa Rivers. And, in 1942, a new post was built one mile upstream from the older, 1865 location; this move is an attempt to access traffic on the newly built Alaska Highway.¹⁴ We have a limited number of records from Fort Nelson; however, Acho Dene Koe connections to Fort Nelson are identified through personal names. Reflections by the post journal writers show that Aboriginal people, including the Acho Dene Koe, were visiting regularly and participating in the mercantile economy of the post and region.

Fort Halkett is located in British Columbia at the confluence of the Smith and Liard Rivers. It was established in 1829 to allow for easier access by Sekani traders. Fort Halkett was abandoned in 1865 on the establishment of the new Fort Nelson.¹⁵ The records from Fort Halkett show ancestors of the Acho Dene Koe visiting the fort.

In sum, these three forts form the central locations for contact and trade between the Acho Dene Koe and a larger commercial and mercantile world. The documents produced at the forts create a set of images, sometimes fixed in time, of the comings and goings of regional Aboriginal peoples. This report illuminates those travels and interactions.

¹³ Information from the Hudson Bay Company data summary sheet for Fort Liard.

¹⁴ Information from the Hudson Bay Company data summary sheet for Fort Nelson.

¹⁵ Information from the Hudson Bay Company data summary sheet for Fort Halkett.

4.1 Central Conclusions

This report concludes that the ancestors of the Acho Dene Koe are highly visible in the records of Forts Liard, Nelson, and Halkett. By extension, it is clear that the ancestors of the Acho Dene Koe are heavily involved in the nineteenth century fur trade throughout their claimed territory and beyond.

4.2 Historical Sketches of Forts Liard, Nelson, and Halkett

Using the post journals of the three Hudson Bay Company forts in the Acho Dene Koe areas of movement, the following sections summarize the history of each fort.

Fort Liard

The present day hamlet of Fort Liard traces its origins back to 1805, when the Northwest Company employed George Keith to construct the first fur trade post on the Liard River (Keith 2001). Keith constructed the first Liard River post at the confluence of the Liard and Netla Rivers in 1805, before abandoning the post in the spring of 1806 in favour of moving the post further up river to “induce the Slaveys to trap closer to where the beaver were reportedly more plentiful” (Keith 2001:47). As such, Keith established his second fur trade post west of the mouth of the Biskaga River (the present day Muskeg River), downstream from the Petitot River or “Little Noir River” (Keith 2001:49). In 1822, following the absorption of the Northwest Company by the Hudson’s Bay Company, a new and final post was established by Murdoch MacPherson at the confluence of the Liard and Black (Petitot) Rivers that would become known as ‘Fort Liard’ (Keith 2001).

Fort Nelson

In the early 1800s, the Northwest Company founded a trading post on the east branch of the Liard River which later came to be known as Fort Nelson; however, a discrepancy exists regarding the actual founding date. One source lists the founding date of the first Fort Nelson post by the Northwest Company as being sometime in 1805, and was followed by a series of four trading posts that were constructed in this area as earlier ones were abandoned or burned (Fort Nelson Culture & History 2012). Keith (2001) disputes this claim as he notes that the only Northwest Company trading post on the Liard River in existence as late as 1811 was that of the Biskaga post, located opposite the mouth of the Biskaga River. Consequently says Keith, “claims that Fort Nelson or Fort Liard were built before this time find no support in the documentary record” (Keith 2001:60). In 1865 the Hudson’s Bay Company founded the Fort Nelson post near the present day airport in the town of Fort Nelson (Fort Nelson Culture & History 2012).

Fort Halkett

Fort Halkett was established in 1829 as a Hudson's Bay Company post on the Liard River near Fort Nelson River, before moving in 1832 west on the Liard River to the confluence with the Smith River. In July 1829, the first Chief Factor of Fort Halkett began his post journal with a description of the establishment of the Fort, writing:

According to instructions received from Chief Factor Dease, I proceeded from Fort Simpson on the 27th June in a large canoe accompanied by ??? Baptist Cudein Interpreter, Charles Forrest and Sourd Youlout Middlemen, for the purpose of establishing a trading post for the accommodation of a party of the Thekanny [Sekani] Indians up the Buffalo River, a small stream which in conjunction with another of much the same size, designated by the _____ Red Deers River, discharge their waters into the East branch of the River aux Liard (HBCA B.85/a/1, 1829:1).

In addition to the Sekani, Fort Halkett traded provisions and furs with the Dene-Thah and Kaska Nations before closing in 1875 (BC Parks 2012). In speaking to the establishment of Fort Halkett, historian George Bryce writes:

It was probably shortly after the union of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies that Fort Halkett, far up the western branch of the river, was erected. After forty or fifty years of occupation, Fort Halkett was abandoned, but a small post called Toad River was built some time afterward, half way between its site and that of Fort Liard (Bryce 1900:293).

4.3 Analysis of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Post Journals

Again using the post journals of the three Hudson Bay Company forts in the Acho Dene Koe areas of movement, the following sections present tables outlining the frequency of visits of Liard Indians to each of the forts and provide data analysis supporting the presence of the Fort Liard Indians in parts of NWT, BC, and the Yukon. This information and analysis dates up to the ratification of Treaty 11 (in 1921-22) and the establishment of provincial/territorial borders.

Frequency of Travel by Fort Liard Indians

The following sections and tables present the frequency of visits by 'Fort Liard Indians' and 'Other Indians' to each of Fort Liard (Table 1), Fort Nelson (Table 2), and Fort Halkett (Table 3) for each post journal year. The number of visits presented in each table should be interpreted as an estimate, as there are a number of factors that may adversely affect the accuracy of such visits. These factors include difficulties in transcribing the journals due to poor quality and clarity, discrepancies between post journal authors

regarding the origins or territories of specific Indians, and the researchers' inability to transcribe several Fort Liard journals written in French (as indicated by '* French' in Table 1). In addition, it should be noted that the number of visits does not necessarily represent individual Indians; rather, the numbers represent separate groups of Indians (e.g. The entry "4 Nelson Indians came to the fort today..." represents **one** visit; the entry "4 Nelson Indians came to the fort today. In the evening two Indians came from the Opposite Lake..." represents two visits, etc.).

It is notable that many of the journals suffer from limited descriptions of summer-time movements of Aboriginal peoples. In some cases, this is a result of the post journal writers traveling away from the posts during the summer months. It is also assumed that Aboriginals were traveling and hunting away from the posts, too. Further, this suggests that Aboriginal people relied less on the forts for trade, food, and support during the summer months.

Fort Liard Records

Fort Liard gives us the most detailed and robust account of the travels of Liard Indians and other Aboriginal peoples (Table 1; Appendix 1). Of particular importance are the entries which link people to places in the region. Trout Lake, Sandy (Maxhamish) Lake, and Bouvie Lake are mentioned repeatedly throughout the almost eighty years covered by these journals. Several examples are possible and the ones below identify places or show the number of types of people coming to Fort Liard. Place names are marked in bolded text.

June 21, 1823: "Two young men arrived from the vicinity of **Lac de Troute**, they belong to a small family who made their hunts in that [quarter?] and are now on their way here" (B.116/a/2).

December 1, 1824: "Touhouchien went off. Another Indian arrived from **Sandy Lake** and handed me a tally of 80 skins that he and 3 others have at their lodge" (B.116/a/3).

May 16, 1827: "Pouce Coupe who did not come forward with his party that arrived on Saturday last, arrived with an excellent hunt. Neither of these leaders said anything worth mentioning here. They all seem to be well satisfied and in high spirits, and inclined to do well this summer. They saw the Chipewayans of Fort Vermillion who told them that Crees from the south came last summer on a war excursion towards the Rocky Mountains, and the upper part of Peace River, and that they were to come again this summer" (B.116/a/5).

May 28, 1827: "Two Indians arrived with their winter hunts which amount to 75 beaver. They passed the winter in the vicinity of **Troute Lake** and came from there by land which is the cause of their coming in too late after the other Indians, who all came in canoe" (B.116/a/5).

June 14, 1828: “Two young men came from **Bouvais Lake** where the Grand Blanc is still living on fish as well as his whole party. The old man sent word that he was on the eve of his departure for the **East Branch** where he is to make his provision hunt” (B.116/a/7).

December 31, 1894: “The above Indians brought about 2600 lbs meat, not so bad. Lots of the Liard Indians arrived for the New Year and brought very little” (B 116/a/25).

May 13, 1895: “The Nelson and Liard Indians with fair fur hunts” (B 116/a/25).

July 15, 1895: “A party of the Nelson and Liard Indians arrived yesterday” (B 116/a/25).

November 10, 1900: “Also Moyah and Oshanah and two boys arrived with Adokoya from **Lake Bouvie** they brought a few marten and a few lynx” (B 116/a/25).

December 2, 1900: “Bellatah and Oshinna arrived from **Lake Bouvie** with furs” (B 116/a/25).

Table 7: Frequency of Indian Visits to Fort Liard

Year of Post Journal	Total #of Visits by Fort Liard Indians	Total #of Visits by Other Indians	HBC Post Journal Reference
1822-1823	29	47	(HBCA B.116/a/1)
1823-1824	31	55	(HBCA B.116/a/2)
1824-1825	17	62	(HBCA B.116/a/3)
1825-1826	23	58	(HBCA B.116/a/4)
1826-1827	14	41	(HBCA B.116/a/5)
1827-1828	27	56	(HBCA B.116/a/6)
1828-1829	25	71	(HBCA B.116/a/7)
1829-1830	23	39	(HBCA B.116/a/8)
1830-1831	19	38	(HBCA B.116/a/9)
1831-1832	24	44	(HBCA B.116/a/10)
1833-1834	14	38	(HBCA B.116/a/11)
1834-1835	9	77	(HBCA B.116/a/12)
1835-1836 (Journal Partially French)	1	25	(HBCA B.116/a/13)
1836-1837	*French	*French	(HBCA B.116/a/14)
1837-1838	*French	*French	(HBCA B.116/a/15)

1838-1839	*French	*French	(HBCA B.116/a/16)
1839-1840	*French	*French	(HBCA B.116/a/17)
1840-1841 (Journal Partially French)	2	7	(HBCA B.116/a/18)
1841-1842	*French	*French	(HBCA B.116/a/19)
1842-1843	15	74	(HBCA B.116/a/20)
1843-1844	37	100	(HBCA B.116/a/21)
1844-1845	9	88	(HBCA B.116/a/22)
1864-1868	22	258	(HBCA B.116/a/24)
1890-1903	18	410	(HBCA B.116/a/25)

There are many personal names in these journals. In some cases, distinguishing between the names of Europeans and the names of Aboriginals is impossible (see Appendix 1). That said Indian names in the Fort Liard Journals likely include the following, listed generally from early appearance to later appearance between the 1820s and 1900:

- Ettochienbeta
- Ackeabeta (Ackea)
- Pouce Coupe¹⁶
- P. de Chien (Petit Chien)
- Mortne's son
- Touhouchien
- Bodachackbeta
- L'Homme de Noire
- The Fool
- Ditchy
- Bedsithassaz
- Bodcohack
- Caribeux blanc (Caribou)
- Akagulla
- Petit Castor

¹⁶ Gilbert Capot-Blanc identifies Pouce Coupe as a Sekani Chief (Capot-Blanc 2009:18-19). Capot-Blanc describes Pouce Coupe's genealogy, citing Morice's history of northern British Columbia as his primary source (Morice 1978:137). In his report, Capot-Blanc makes a compelling case for the Sekani ancestry of many Aboriginal people living in northeastern British Columbia.

- Sa quini a
- Betadis
- Lakatinahow
- Partridge
- Sakeuchaia
- Francois
- Pierro
- Pascal
- Thla-cho-enne-tah (Thla-cho-en-metah)
- Fantast Jnr. (Young Fantast)
- Old Fantast
- Agroazza
- Thosleask
- Westentah
- Aleck
- Jose Fantasque (Jose Fantas)
- Noyah
- Bethale
- Modest
- Bellatah
- Oshinna
- Old Chacho
- Tobolly
- Dila

Fort Nelson Records

We have a small number of Fort Nelson journals with which to work. Covering roughly six years, from August 1887 to May 1893, these journals are rich with the names of Fort Liard Indians and other Aboriginal peoples (Table 2; Appendix 3). The journals mostly indicate the comings and goings of these people, noting at times the goods they were carrying for trade. In their references to hungry people, they indicate the importance of the forts in the seasonal round of activities of the Aboriginal peoples of the region. The following illustrates these features of the record.

August 20, 1887: “A Fort Liard Indian (Gros Tete’s son) arrived” (B.320/a/1)

This entry is followed by:

August 28, 1887: “Matonda Gros Tete’s 1st son arrived with meat, grease and furs” (B.320/a/1).

Other examples of the travel and trade are found in Appendix 3.

Table 8: Frequency of Indian Visits to Fort Nelson

Year/Post Journal #	Total #of Visits by Fort Liard Indians	Total #of Visits by Other Indians	HBC Post Journal Reference
1887-1890	17	144	(HBCA B.320/a/1)
1890-1893	9	170	(HBCA B.320/a/2)

Fort Liard Indian names in the Fort Nelson journals include:

- Madaure Pouce Coupe
- Gros Tete
- Fantasque
- Gros Tete’s son
- Old Pouce Coupe
- Pouce Coupe

Fort Halkett Records

Many entries in the Fort Halkett journals describe the frequent travel of ‘Fort de Liard Indians’ or ‘Fort Liard Indians’ to and from Fort Halkett (Table 3; Appendix 2). We assume that the Fort Liard Indians mentioned here are the ancestors of the Acho Dene Koe and, as such, these journal entries provide a strong case for placing the Fort Liard Indians in and around Fort Halkett throughout much of the 1800s. Furthermore, beyond documenting trade between the Fort Liard Indians and Fort Halkett, various journal entries

describe the employment of several Fort Liard Indians as ‘Fort Hunters’ for Fort Halkett. The earliest journal entry describing the employment of Fort Liard Indians is dated April 13th, 1836 and reads as follows:

Early this morning one of our hunters /a native of Fort de Liard/ arrived with the tongue of a male moose he had killed quite close to the fort. He states that the Indians who left this on the 10th Instant passed at their camp on their way to the fort and threatened their lives. On their return from hence they endeavored to pillage their property, and he had no doubt that they would have put either of their threats into execution had not our hunters rose camp from when they first met and came within a short distance of the fort. In doing so he is of the opinion that they frustrated the designs of those evil inclined and cowardly people. It’s however fortunate for us that nothing serious occurred, as we would never have succeeded in keeping any longer the Indians of Fort de Liard about us, and on whom our sole support has depended since the erection of this establish (HBCA B 85/a/7).

The entries found in the Fort Halkett post journals from the years 1829 to 1859 describe the visits and daily interactions with a large number of Indians from various bands and territories (Table 3; Appendix 2). This is not surprising, given the central location of Fort Halkett, and its establishment as a primary trading centre for Sekani peoples (see Hudson Bay Company Information Sheet on Fort Halkett). In general, these interactions involved the movement of supplies and trade goods between the forts of the region. The Fort Liard Indians are routinely described bringing food to Fort Halkett. The journal entry from March 28, 1838 offers an example:

The Gouche with the Castor and their families cast up this evening very unexpectedly. They report that there are no more animals in that quarter that the Carribeau have all disappeared. They have however killed two moose deer for us near the opposite Lake (B.84/a/8).

Or, this entry, from May 9, 1842:

The Gauche Lapie and Cozelly arrived at different intervals to day from Smiths River and Collectively rendered here 3 entire beaver, 2 swans, 17 geese, 3 cranes and 12 ducks (B.84/a/11).

In short, Fort Halkett is a busy place. The Liard Indians are well-represented in the journals of this fort.

Table 9: Frequency of Indian Visits to Fort Halkett

Year/Post Journal #	Total #of Visits by Fort Liard Indians	Total #of Visits by Other Indians	HBC Post Journal Reference
#1: 1829-1830	3	59	(HBCA B.85/a/1)
#2: 1830-1831	3	78	(HBCA B.85/a/2)
#3: 1831-1832	5	35	(HBCA B.85/a/3)
#4: 1833-1834	3	47	(HBCA B.85/a/4)
#5: 1834-1835	3	49	(HBCA B.85/a/5)
#6: 1834-1835	*Travel Diary	*Travel Diary	(HBCA B.85/a/6)
#7: 1835-1836	1	69	(HBCA B.85/a/7)
#8: 1837-1838	16	65	(HBCA B.85/a/8)
#9: 1839-1840	29	111	(HBCA B.85/a/9)
#10: 1840-1841	26	110	(HBCA B.85/a/10)
#11: 1841-1842	8	60	(HBCA B.85/a/11)
#12: 1842-1843	0	46	(HBCA B.85/a/12)
#13: 1843-1844	1	61	(HBCA B.85/a/13)
#14: 1844-1845	2	91	(HBCA B.85/a/14)
#15: 1858-1859	0	33	(HBCA B.85/a/15)

The Fort Halkett journals list a number of personal names. These names are:

- Little Gouche (Gouche?)
- Fressie
- L'homme de Mian
- Petit Castor (Castor?)
- Pouce Coupe
- La Pie
- Capot-Blanc

4.4 Places of Travel By Fort Liard Indians

In addition to the aforementioned data, dates of visits to Fort Liard were referenced linking Indians to various places throughout Acho Dene Koe territory. The following table (Table 4) links the earliest recorded dates of Indian travel from Fort Liard to specific places within the territory including Trout Lake, Bouvais Lake (Bovie Lake), Sandy Lake (Maxhamish), Francois, and Fantas (Fantasque Lake).

Table 10: Earliest Mentions of Indian Travel To and From Places Within ADK Territory

Post Journal Year	Place	HBC Post Journal Reference
1823 (December 5 th)	Trout Lake	(HBCA B.116/a/2)
1824 (December 18 th)	Sandy Lake (Maxhamish)	(HBCA B.116/a/3)
1828 (February 21 st)	Bouvais Lake (Bovie Lake)	(HBCA B.116/a/6)
1829 (December 21 st)	Fort Halkett	(HBCA B.116/a/8)
1891 (March 9 th)	Francois Lake	(HBCA B 116/a/25)
1892 (January 11 th)	Fantasque	(HBCA B 116/a/25)

It seems clear that Liard Indians traveled beyond the boundaries of Acho Dene Koe territory. Gilbert Capot-Blanc notes this in his research when he identifies evidence of Liard Indian visits to Fort Dunvegan in Alberta:

'... I was surprised to find eight of the Fort des Liard Sikkannies with their families at St. Johns, where they came this fall for the first time. They told me that old St. Johns was the post to which their tribe originally resorted, that on its abandonment they had to go to Liards for their supplies but that now that their old post was established they returned to it being nearer and easier of access for them than Fort des Liards. They received no encouragement from either myself or Bourassa to make St. Johns their trading post, on the contrary I did all I could to dissuade them from returning and told Bourassa to supply them with ammunition to take them back to Liard...' (Capot-Blanc 2009:83-84; citing a letter by James V. Dunlop, (clerk) to Chief Trader Robert Campbell, dated Fort Dunvegan, November 24, 1862; B. 39/b/15).

Capot-Blanc summarizes this extensive travel:

The Sekanni and Dene Tha' aboriginal people travelled hunted, fished and trapped all over the northeastern territory of British Columbia. There is evidence of Sekanni Indians trading as far as Fort Halkett to sell their furs. There is mention of a priest who in September, 1860 tried to reach Fort Halkett. A Roman Catholic Priest named Father Gascon made two attempts to go farther than Fort Liard to visit Fort Halkett. Father Gascon mentions that the Rocky Mountain Indians and Sekanais Indians traded at Fort Halkett ... The Slave and Sekanais Indians were recorded at Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories, in 1861 by Bishop Grandin. P. Duchaussois, O.M.I. (Capot-Blanc 2009:83).

In short, the ancestors of the Acho Dene Koe were wide-ranging people. They took advantage of the trade in furs and other provisions to establish a position in the wider economic changes affecting north-western Canada in the nineteenth century. The records of the Hudson Bay Company demonstrate this clearly.

4.5 Archaeological Record, Borders, and Treaty 11 Ratification

Prior to European contact and the presence of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies at Fort Liard, an historic Athabascan people are thought to have inhabited the territory. In 1952, a team of archaeologists excavated the Pointed Mountain site located along the western side of a small valley just north of Fisherman Lake, NWT. According to MacNeish (1954), the archaeological evidence excavated from this site indicates a dating of 5,000 to 8,000 years ago for the occupation of the Pointed Mountain site (MacNeish, 1954:237). Furthermore, artifacts similar to the 'long-side notched points' found at the Pointed Mountain site have also been found at Bovie Lake, Nelson Forks, and Trout Lake near Fort Liard, as well as in parts of the Yukon and Alaska (MacNeish, 1954:246). Although the cultural origin of these early peoples cannot be proven, MacNeish suggests that "there are hints of a thread of cultural continuity from the Pointed Mountain microlithic assemblage to the Spence River complex which may be connected with a more historic Athabascan culture" (MacNeish, 1954:252).

In 1870, "the British government transferred control of the North-western Territory to Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company sold Rupert's Land to the new Dominion for 300,000 pounds sterling" (Canadian Heritage, 2012). On July 20th, 1871, British Columbia became the sixth province to join confederation, and in 1898 the Yukon became a territory separate from the Northwest Territories (Canadian Heritage, 2012). Several decades later, Treaty No. 11 was signed by the ADK at Fort Liard on July 17th, 1922, effectively ceding and surrendering to the Government of Canada their Aboriginal rights, titles, and privileges to their traditional lands (Cloutier, 1957).

As seen in the Hudson's Bay Company post journals, the Fort Liard Indians traveled extensively throughout the historic territory of Rupert's Land known as the North-western Territory, or the present-day provinces/territories of BC, NWT, and the Yukon. HBC post journal data listed in Table 5.4 places the Fort Liard Indians (present-day ADK people) at various locations throughout NWT, BC, and the Yukon. Based on the post journals, the ADK were traveling throughout BC and the Yukon prior to the establishment of the BC border in 1870, the Yukon Territory in 1898, and the ratification of Treaty No. 11 in 1922.

4.6 Conclusions: The Importance of Personal Names and Place Names

Upon review of the Hudson's Bay Company post journals of Fort Liard, Fort Halkett and Fort Nelson, the research team found that a number of Fort Liard Indians were documented as regularly travelling to and from these posts for the purpose of trade. These Indians were identified as being 'Liard Indians' in the post journals of Fort Nelson and Fort Halkett.

Personal names add to the story. Several Liard Indians are identified in the documents of the Northwest Company Factor George Keith and are listed by Lloyd Keith in his analysis of the HBC records from this era (Keith 2001). According to Keith (Keith 2001:46), many of the trading leaders who came to trade at George Keith's Liard River Post included:

- Mortne (Sitllborn)
- Partridge Chief
- Pere du Chien (Dog father)
- Leucheux (Squinty Eyes)
- Pouce Coupe (Cut Thumb)
- Grand Cheveux (Big Hair)

Furthermore, Gilbert Capot-Blanc, in his ranging history of northeastern British Columbia, quotes from the account book from Fort Dunvegan on the Peace River in Alberta in his attempt to show the extensive range of Aboriginal peoples during the nineteenth century fur trade era. Capot-Blanc writes:

"Also coming in to trade at this time from the north side of the Peace River were such Chiefs as Atochelehé, Bottle, Raquette, Bras Cassé, L'Eau, Fantasque, Grande Oreilles, Pork Eater, Pied de Caribou, Grande Castor and Grand Batard." Many of the original Indian names were lost to history and new names were ascribed by Métis traders or

freemen with whom the Indians had first made contact (Capot-Blanc 2009:72; citing Dunvegan Account Book, 7 Nov 1842, B.56/d/2a).¹⁷

Many of the Aboriginal people identified by Keith as being ‘Liard Indians’ and as traders in the Dunvegan account books appear years later in the HBC post journals of Fort Liard and Fort Halkett. Some of the descendants of these Indians appear in the Fort Nelson journals much later. The confirmation of Liard Indians is supported within the historical documents of both the Northwest Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company, thus lending credence to the notion that Liard Indians travelled widely, hunting, trapping, and trading their provisions throughout various parts of present day BC, NWT, and the Yukon.

Likewise, place names hint at the range of travel these men undertook to trade furs and to maintain relationships with the Europeans at the forts. Key places in ADK history – Sandy Lake, Trout Lake, Bouvie Lake, Francois, and Fantasque – are identified back into the 1820s. The place names and the personal names are, taken together, mindful of the extensive travel and interchange between Aboriginal peoples living at or near Fort Liard. The connections between known ADK people (like Capot-Blanc or Pouce Coupe) add to the evidence that the Acho Dene Koe and their ancestors have a presence in the Euro-Canadian written and historical record back to its earliest production in the 1820s.

5.0 Trap Line Data

This section of the report outlines the results of archival research into Acho Dene Koe trapping territories and trapping rights. The first section of the report presents a series of trap line maps and the names of the people associated with those trap lines. These maps represent a pre-1950s era of trap line registration when groups are associated with trapping territories. The second section emphasizes trapping activities after 1950 or 1951. After this time, group trap lines become associated with individuals. Finally, a brief discussion about Francois, BC and the people who lived there will be presented. Three issues related to Francois appear in the archival record during the 1950s. One, the Francois families are listed on a few censuses. Two, Game Wardens and Indian Agents express concern for Francois and Liard River families trapping in the Yukon. And three, correspondence from August 1951 suggests that the attempts of Francois trappers (and others) to register trap lines in the 1930s failed; in August 1951 a proposal is presented to cancel these applications. Supporting archival documentation is presented throughout the report and in three appendices.

¹⁷ Capot-Blanc makes the connection between northeastern British Columbia Aboriginals and their trade and travel: “In 1839 Traditional Chief Alderick Fantasque (Fontas) was trading at Fort Dunvegan and appears on the Hudson's Bay Company Dunvegan Account Book. Alderick Fantasque was a Traditional Chief of the Sekanais Indians from the Fort Nelson, B.C. and surrounding areas. This evidence of Chief Fantasque trading as far as away as Dunvegan proves that the Sekanais [sic] Indian travelled great distances to sell their furs” (Capot-Blanc 2009:71).

Significantly, the archival documents that inform this section frequently list the birth dates or ages of the trap line holders and their family members (eg. RG10 Volume 11497 File20-10-1-BC Box1). Joseph Berreault's birth year is given as 1888. Jimmy Betsaka's birth date is December 13, 1911. Joseph I'na was born on June 5, 1893 (see Appendix 2 for the scan of this document). The importance of these birth dates is that it provides an indication of the temporal depth of ADK people in BC.

5.1 Group Trap Lines (1946)¹⁸

In this section, we present maps of the trapping territories registered to specific groups of Acho Dene Koe people. These are trap lines, as registered, prior to extensive registration of trap lines to individuals. An index map, showing the location of each of the maps that follow in this section, is given in Appendix 2.

Area A (Bovie Lake District, NWT)

This trap line is located in the area around Celebita Lake. It is associated with Francis (Arrowhead) Ehttan (chief), William Sassie, Charlie Sassie, Baptiste Mckay, Alfred Thomas, Alexi Behille, and John Baptiste Jacob.

Area B (Fish Lake, NWT)

This trap line is located northwest of Fort Liard around Fish (Fisherman) Lake. It is associated with Diamond C, Phal (Fisherman) Codille, Jim Codille, Emanuel Codille, Joseph Codille, Alexi Loman, and Wind (Mouye) Nitsi.

Area C (Blue Bill, NWT)

Area C is located south of Nahanni Butte. It is associated with Charlie Yohee.

Area D (Netla River, NWT)

Area D is located west of Nahanni Butte. It is associated with Emil Lenoir, Joseph (Rednose) Konisenta, Harry Tisso, Old Tisso, Frank Vital, John Vital, Johas Marsellin, Old Mateau, and George Mateau.

¹⁸ RG 85 Vol.352; Vol 1253 File 404-2 pt4; Vol 1253 File 404-2 pt 4

Area E (Muskeg River, NWT)

Area E is located along the Muskeg River, although no map has been located. It is associated with William Edwards.

Area F (North of Fort Liard, NWT)

Area F is located north and east of Fort Liard. It is associated with Adam Neto.

Area G (Near Fort Liard, NWT)

Area G is located south of Fort Liard. It is associated with Baptiste Dooda.

Area H (Trout Lake, NWT)

The Trout Lake trap line is listed simply as ‘Indian Trapping Area.’ There are no obvious names included with this map. Notations along the trails are illegible.

5.2 Individual Trap Lines (1951 and 1952)

In 1951 and 1952, it appears that group trap lines were turned into individual trap lines. The process under which this occurred requires more research.

Individually Registered Trap Lines in Northwest Territories

- 401-James Codille
- 402- William Sassie
- 403-Joseph Jumbo
- 404-Charles Yohee
- 405-John Vital for George Matue
- 406-Adam Mouye
- 407-Alfred Edda
- 408-William Edward

409-Alixé Behile
410-Albert Thomas (Ekinla)
411-Joseph Edda
412-Emmanuel Codille
413-Baptiste Dooda
414-George Turner
415-William King
416-Felix Hunter
417-Gus Kraus
418-Fred Mcleod

Individually Registered Trap Lines in British Columbia

These names are taken from British Columbia trap line maps.

ca. 1952 - 1957

Michel Bertrand and Co.
Napoleon Capot-Blanc
Narcisse (sr) Capot-Blanc and Family
Thomas J. Mould
Stanley R. Meers
Berreault
Adell Peterson
Teriault
Allan P. Wright
William Betthale and Family
Joseph In'a and Co.
Jimmy Tierry(?) and Family
Bertrand
Billy Badine and Family
John Mayo and Family
Stubby Dettieh and Family

Carl Arhus
 Robert Laroche
 Ernest Michel and Co.
 Harry (?) Capot-Blanc

5.3 Francois, BC

There is some archival evidence to indicate a direct relationship between Francois BC (also known as Franceways) and the Acho Dene Koe of Fort Liard, NWT. In particular, we have identified lists of families living at Francois between 1950 and 1953. Two of these lists are given in Table XX (see also From RG10, Volume 11497, File 20-10-1, Box 1, 1950-1951, Appendix 2). Further, in 1951, some concern was expressed by wildlife officials about Francois families trapping across territorial boundaries. These letters, and some interpretation, is provided below.

Francois Families and Names

Table 11: Francois Families, 1951-52 & 1952-53

Note: First name in each group is assumed to be a head-of-household

From RG10, Volume 11497, File 20-10-1, Box 1 Indians of the Fort Norman Agency Living at Francois BC (1951-52)	From RG10, Volume 11497, File 20-10-1-BC, Box 1 Indians of the Fort Norman Agency Living at Francois BC (1952-53)
Bertrand, Michel _____, Francois _____, Pauline _____, Gabriel _____, Philomene Bertrand, Phillipe _____, Mrs. Phillipe _____, Napoleon _____, George _____, Armand _____, Joe _____, William _____, Widow Marie (Mrs. J.B.) _____, Albert Betthale, Old Andrew	Bertrand, Michel _____, Francois _____, Pauline _____, Gabriel _____, Philomene Bertrand, Phillipe _____, Mrs. Phillipe _____, Napoleon _____, George _____, Armand _____, Joe _____, William _____, Widow Marie _____, Albert Betthale, Old Andrew

_____, William	_____, William
_____, Germaine	_____, Germaine
_____, Gerry	_____, Gerry
David, Stanley	David, Stanley
E'ta (Thomas), Edward (dead)	Inha, Joseph
_____, Julie	_____, Mary
Inha, Joseph (Hee Haw)	_____, Isadore (Sambo Francis)
_____, Mary	Kotchea, Fred
_____, Isadore (Sambo Francis)	_____, Mrs. Fred
Kotchea, Fred	_____, Old Mary Ann
_____, Mrs. Fred	_____, Joe
_____, Old Mary Ann (mother)	_____, Jacques
_____, Joe	_____, Tommy
_____, Jacques (Jake)	_____, Antoine
_____, Tommy	_____, James
_____, Antoine	Perreault, Joseph
_____, James	_____, Frederick
Perreault, Joseph	_____, Pierre
_____, Frederick	_____, William
_____, Pierre	Timbre, Vital
_____, William	_____, Johnny
Timbre, Vital	Bertrand, Stanley
_____, Johnny	Timbre, Alec
Bertrand, Stanley	_____, Mrs. Alec
Timbre, Alec	_____, Jimmy
_____, Mrs. Alec	
_____, Jimmy	

5.4 Trap Line Boundary Issues

In 1951, Wildlife and Game officials in the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and British Columbia discussed the apparent disregard for territorial and provincial boundaries by trappers from Fort Liard, Northwest Territories (from RG10, Volume 11497, File 20-10-1, Box 1; see Appendix 3 for scans of the letters). In a letter dated October 6, 1951, J. Galibois, Indian Superintendent for Fort St. John

Indian Agency, writes of his frustrations to R.J. Meek, Superintendent for the Yukon Indian Agency: “You are experiencing the same difficulties with Francois Band, BC and Fort Liard, NWT Indians trapping in the Yukon as I have with Alberta Indians and also NWT Indians trapping in BC”. Galibois continues in the letter to explain that his solution to the problem of ‘cross border trapping’ is to gradually eliminate Indian trappers from other provinces: “It is a slow process,” writes Galibois, “and works this way: The Game Warden refuses to add names to existing trap lines; the death of the last tenant extinguishes the title and the trapline reverts to the Game Commission for fresh disposal and we are given first chance to allot it to one of our Indians” (Galibois to Meeks, October 6, 1951). Galibois proposes meeting with the Francois Indians and identifies the location of Francois as “on the Liard River, 12 miles south of the NWT Boundary.” He also suggests a meeting at Fort Liard.

The correspondence on this issue continues and further identification of the Francois Indians is given. In a letter dated October 10, 1951, Superintendent LC Hunter explains the Francois Indians this way: “... regarding Indians from Ft. Liard, NWT, trapping in the Yukon. I believe that the Indians Referred to are from Slave Band 8, Fort Liard, and are members of this Agency. During my last trip to Ft. Liard several Indians complained that since registration ... they find that several whitemen have registered an area they formerly trapped ... the Indians who complained were Joe Duntra, Alfred Thomas, Francis Nande, Jim Seya, and Harry Fantastique” (from RG10, Volume 11497, File 20-10-1, Box 1; see Appendix 3 for scans of the letters).

A number of observations and issues arise from this correspondence:

- ◆ These letters imply a direct connection between Francois and Fort Liard; if nothing else, the idea that the game and Indian commissioners would visit both Francois and Fort Liard to deal with a common issue, suggests that the agents saw these two communities as related.
- ◆ Was there a systematic effort to disenfranchise Francois residents from trap lines in the Yukon or elsewhere?

5.5 Francois Trap Line Registrations (1951)

Aboriginal trappers from Francois, BC also appear in the archival record in connection to the elimination of trap lines that Francois people may have tried to register in the 1930s. In a revealing memo from Fort Nelson Game Warden J.A. McCabe to Fort St. John Indian Superintendent E.J. Gailbois (August 17, 1951; from RG10, Volume 11497, File 20-10-1, Box 1; see Appendix 4 for scans of the memo), McCabe presents a list of twenty six names who applied for trap lines but never received them. McCabe proposes canceling these applications:

Following are a list of twenty-six Applications for Registration of Trap-line dated between 1932 and 1935, in favor of Indians ... it was noted that these old applications were still on file. However to the best of my

knowledge the holders of these trap-lines are now deceased or else are no longer trapping in this province and their trapping area has since reverted to some other trapper. If it meets with your approval, the undersigned would suggest that these trap-line registrations be canceled enmasse ...” (McCabe to Meeks, August 17, 1951).

The names on McCabe’s list include several from Franceways, BC (ie Francois). The Franceways names are: Eaha and son Pierre, Edward “Indian,” Michel “Indian,” and Cochie “Indian.” Notably, Old Franceways is listed as a trapline applicant; Old Franceways is listed as living at Liard River, BC. The list also includes the map coordinates of the trap line locations.

Galibois’ response to McCabe’s memo is dated August 30, 1951 (see Appendix 4). Galibois writes: “I wholly concur with your suggestion, confident that Indians’ legitimate claims that may arise later will not be wronged to any great extent by the present mass cancellation ...” (Galibois to McCabe, August 30, 1951). Galibois then lists the names of trap line applicants whose applications are to be canceled. On Galibois’ list, Old Franceways’ name is ‘corrected’ to Old Francois.

A number of observations and issues arise from this correspondence:

- ◆ People from Francois are clearly identified as living on the Liard River in British Columbia.
- ◆ To what extent were the applications of the 1930s ignored at that time? Was this an intentional denial of aboriginal trap line registration?
- ◆ Did the trap line applications get canceled?
- ◆ Given the apparent preference to assign trap lines to groups prior to 1950, how does this list of individuals fit into that history?

6.0 Results

The results of this TUS project clearly indicate that the ADK people extensively use areas throughout their entire territory, both historically and presently. By reviewing the 697 TUS sites mapped along with the spreadsheet of site usage, it becomes clear that ADK members frequently travel throughout their territory to perform various activities. It is also important to note that many Elders mentioned traditional stories about land formations, conflicts, and nation-to-nation interactions, all of which support ADK presence in their territory. Specifically, the ADK use the Liard River and conducted land based activities on both sides of the river. Community members also indicated that they traveled as far south as Fort Nelson, and north of Nahanni Butte. Typically, travel to the south or the north was in pursuit of resources as per the seasonal round, trade at fur trade posts or to visit family/friends in neighbouring communities. Similarly, elders interviewed frequently mentioned traveling east to the Trout Lake area and west past the headwaters of the Beaver River. Here too, travel east-west was based on seasonal activities, trade or social gatherings. As illustrated on the TUS maps, land and water based activities extend in all directions of the territory, with some more concentrated than others. The Hudson's Bay Company post journals of Fort Liard provide a historical context in placing the ADK throughout various places within and outside their territory, thus supporting the present day interview data.

This project deliberately focused its efforts on the NWT, BC, and the Yukon. That being said, almost half of the 697 TUS sites (336) are located in NWT. These sites are diverse and typically revolve around water and land transportation corridors. Indeed, whether by land or water, ADK people have historically and currently travel the landscape in search of food, plants, fish and furs. As the maps illustrate, these activities take members as far northeast as Trout Lake and as far north as Nahanni Butte. The research team was informed that neighbours from Trout Lake and Nahanni Butte would travel into ADK territory along the same travel corridors, often stopping at lakes and camps that are used by ADK people. In these instances, we see cross cultural interactions occurring. However, it is also clear from ground truthing that in the NWT, the ADK exclusively utilize Bovie and Celebita Lakes, which is consistent with the historic and contemporary trap line data. With regards to BC, 305 of the total 697 TUS sites are found within the most northerly portion of the province. As with the NWT, ADK people traveled along rivers and land to family trapping areas, gathering places, and camping locations. While there are only 63 TUS sites recorded with the Yukon, the ADK travelled widely throughout the southeast portion of the territory. As with the NWT and BC, rivers are essential travel corridors and resource procurement areas, and the Beaver and La Biche rivers in the Yukon are considered to be very important travel corridors for the ADK. The research conducted over the course of this two-year project demonstrates that ADK people have aboriginal rights to areas throughout BC, NWT, and the Yukon.

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Appendix 1: Fort Liard Indian Visits to Fort Liard

Notes: Note: **Yellow highlighting** indicates the names of Liard Indians within the journal. **Blue highlighting** indicates that people arrived from within current ADK territory.

Date	Page	Journal Entry	Journal Reference
July 1, 1822	2	"Settled with the Robe and party who took their departure to join their family whom they left behind at Lac Derriere. Ettochenbeta with 5 young men arrived with good hunts---settled with the party and they went off".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
July 24, 1822	3	"The hunter arrived with his family but nothing else".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
August 3, 1822	4	"The Fort Hunter came to the house today with 2 buck moose half dried".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
August 17, 1822	4	"Our Fort Hunter arrived this evening with part of a buck moose, dried meat".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
August 23, 1822	5	"Our Fort Hunter came to the house with loud complaints of no animal tracks to be found anywhere".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
August 28, 1822	5	"The arrivals of yesterday went off. Our Fort Hunter came to get assistance to bring a doe moose to the Fort".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
September 8, 1822	6	"...our new hunter came for assistance to bring a doe and calf which he killed near the river Basgaga, to the Fort it being late when he arrived, he sleeps at the Fort".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
September 14, 1822	6	"Our hunter Ackea killed a buck moose".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
September 20, 1822	6	"Our two Fort hunters came to the Fort with a little dried meat".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
October 10, 1822	7	"Two of the Hunters came to the house this evening and tell me that they have 3 moose deer in cache for us".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
October 24, 1822	8	"Grand Jeune Homme arrived with Pouce Coupe —8 skins in all—received their hunts which are very good in the provisions way".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
December 1, 1822	11	"Ettochenbeta arrive with his party as also 4 men from P. de Chien in all 21 individuals....Their leader, Ettochenbeta, brought 20 skins in meat....".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
January 6, 1823	14	"Our hunter arrived today with a large black bear at his tail".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
January 14, 1823	14	"Our Hunter arrived this evening after having put a buck moose in cashe".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
January 16, 1823	16	"Our Hunter arrived after having killed a large buck moose above the old Fort".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
January 27, 1823	17	"Our hunter arrived with 3 pairs of snow shoes which he got laced for the men at the Indian camp".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
February 4, 1823	16	"The Hunter arrived with the tongue of a doe moose which he left in cashe".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
February 18, 1823	17	"The Hunter arrived after having gone about 5 days without success".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
February 23, 1823	17	"The Hunter arrived unsuccessful".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
March 1, 1823	17	"The Hunter arrived with two buck moose tongues".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
March 8, 1823	17	"Our Hunter arrived and left a doe moose buried in the snow".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)

March 18, 1823	18	"The Hunter arrived vexed at his gun which will not make fire".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
March 21, 1823	18	"The Hunter arrived with the news of having a buck and doe moose in the field".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
March 28, 1823	19	"The Hunter arrived and left a doe moose in the field".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
April 2, 1823	20	"Baptiste and the Hunter arrived this morning but killed nothing".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
April 6, 1823	21	"Baptist and the hunter arrived with two Indians whom they met on their way to the Fort with a few furs and half dried meat. They are the same who left on the 11 th of December last, and have been in the mountains since then—they did not meet with the Nahanies though they found some of their encampment roads of the early part of winter".	1822-1823 (B.116/a/1)
June 2, 1823	1	"Cannibeta and Pouce Coupe arrived with 3 young men. This party made an excellent hunt".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
June 5, 1823	2	"Ettochienbeta and party arrived with their winter hunts".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
June 15, 1823	3	"Our Hunters arrived but very hungry".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
June 21, 1823	3	"Two young men arrived from the vicinity of Lac de Troute, they belong to a small family who made their hunts in that [quarter?] and are now on their way here".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
July 3, 1823	4	"The Hunters arrived early this morning with a moose deer".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
July 13, 1823	5	"The Hunter arrived with Baptiste and brought the remainder of the buck moose of which the boy brought apart last week".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
July 19, 1823	5	"The Hunter arrived but no luck".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
July 31, 1823	6	"Our Hunter also arrived with part of a doe moose and calf".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
August 13, 1823	6	"Our Hunter Ackeabeta who went off on the 2 nd of last month arrived today 3 days out of the west branch. He brought a good hunt of provisions and a few beaver skins with a doe moose fresh".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
August 18, 1823	6	"An Indian (Mortne's son?) came to the Fort with his family and brought us fresh meat. He came from the east branch where he says there is not an animal fresh to be seen....Our Hunter also arrived but did not see a track".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
August 20, 1823	7	"The Hunter arrived late and left a doe moose and calf in the field".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
August 21, 1823	7	"Pouce Coupe arrived with his party and delivered his hunt which is very good for this season".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
August 24, 1823	7	"Ettochienbeta arrived accompanied by two young men....Pouce Coupe's brother arrived from the west branch with an excellent provision hunt but only two beaver skins".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
September 14, 1823	9	"Our Hunter Ackea arrived and left a buck moose deer in the field of which he brought as much as he could carry on his back".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
September 15, 1823	9	"Brenard, the Hunter, and two other Indians went for the buck moose reported yesterday".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
September 17, 1823	9	"One of our Hunters arrived with the news of a buck moose being in the woods for us, a little above the old Fort".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
September 20, 1823	10	"Brenard and the Hunter arrived late in the evening and instead of one moose deer brought 2".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
September 27, 1823	10	"Our Hunter arrived and left a large buck moose en cashe on the Opposite mountain".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
October 3, 1823	11	"One of our Hunters arrived and left a large buck moose in cashe".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)

October 5, 1823	11	"Two Indians arrived from the mountains with 13 beaver skins.....Ackeabeta, Hunter, arrived and left a buck, doe and calf moose in cashe".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
October 17, 1823	12	"Our Hunters arrived but only one of them had good luck to kill, he left a doe moose in cashe".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
November 9, 1823	14	"Two Indians came from the vicinity of Trout Lake with a few martens".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
December 5, 1823	15	"3 Indians arrived from the vicinity of Trout Lake with two sleys containing a few furs and provisions	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
December 22, 1823	16	"Our Hunters came to the Fort to enter upon their vocation".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
January 9, 1824	17	"The Little Hunter came to the house after having opened the road to another of his caches in which there is a doe moose and calf for which two men will go tomorrow".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
January 30, 1824	18	"The Little Hunter arrived much cast down after having missed on 3 moose deer".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
February 9, 1824	18	"Our Hunter arrived with the happy intelligence of having 4 buck and 1 doe moose deer in the field for us".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
February 16, 1824	19	"The Hunter also arrived after hearing ??? upon a doe moose".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
February 25, 1824	19	"The Hunter arrived with the tongue of a buck moose".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
March 9, 1824	19	"The Little Hunter arrived with the tongue of a doe moose and calf".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
March 28, 1824	20	"One of the Hunters arrived with news of a buck moose deer and a bear being in cashe for us".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
April 5, 1824	21	"One of our hunters came to the Fort".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
April 14, 1824	21	"Our two hunters came to the house to give up their commission for the season, and will turn their attention to beaver hunting for the remainder of the spring".	1823-1824 (B.116/a/2)
July 11, 1824	14	"Four Indians arrived from the vicinity of Lac de Trout with a few furs".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
August 8, 1824	17	"The Petit Chien (Fort Hunter) arrived with 5 bastards and 2 beaver skins".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
August 17, 1824	19	"The Petit Chien arrived with two bastards and a beaver but saw no large animals....."	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
August 26, 1824	20	"The Hunter arrived to tell us that he killed a doe moose of which he brought us a good load on his back".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
August 30, 1824	20	"Ettochienbeta and party came to the house on their way up Riviere Noire; they came from the vicinity of the old Fort.....".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
September 5, 1824	21	"Our Hunter arrived accompanied by Adam.....".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
September 8, 1824	22	"Petit Chien arrived and left a buck moose in the field....".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
September 17, 1824	17	"Our hunters also came to the house with a large black bear and requesting permission to go to the heights of Riviere Noire.....".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
October 9, 1824	25	"Our Fort Hunters, whom I have all found at the house, have been very successful since my departure...".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
November 14, 1824	29	"One of the Hunters came to the house for the purpose of guiding the men to his fall caches".	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
December 1, 1824	30	"Touhouchien went off. Another Indian arrived from Sandy Lake and handed me a tally of 80	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)

		skins that he and 3 others have at their lodge”.	
December 17, 1824	32	“Petit Chien arrived with the news of a doe moose in the field”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
December 31, 1824	33	“One of our Hunters came to the Fort in company with Adam and brought two beavers, flesh and all”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
January 18, 1825	35	“3 Indians came from LaBlete’s Party from Sand Lake; they came to the Fort to get a little ammunition; they made no hunts since last fall”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
February 20, 1825	38	“One of our Hunters arrived today and says that he left 3 cariboux and 2 moose in cashe...”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
February 27, 1825	38	“Petit Chien, Ft. Hunter, arrived to tell us that he has 6 moose deer for the Fort that he killed since he left...”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
March 11, 1825	40	“One of the Hunters came to tell us that he killed a doe moose not far up the Riviere Noire”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
March 15, 1825	40	“One of our Hunters arrived to tell us that he left a doe moose in the snow for us about half a day’s march up the Riviere Noire”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
April 7, 1825	43	“Petit Chien came to the house with 20 skins in furs and to tell us he has two more moose in cashe for the Fort”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
April 10, 1825	44	Two of the Hunters also arrived to report six moose deer they have killed since we had last accounts from there”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
May 24, 1825	50	“A party of Indians came from the vicinity of Trout Lake with very poor returns”.	1824-1825 (B.116/a/3)
June 6, 1825	1	“Petit Chien arrived with 11 bruin skins”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
June 20, 1825	2	“Petit Chien came to the Fort with 90lbs of fresh meat. He came out of the Riviere au ? le sac, where he left the Indians that were fishing about the beginning of month at the opposite lake “.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
July 6, 1825	4	“Petit Chien with a doe moose and calf fresh. He is likewise alarmed by the vestiges of strangers....”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
July 30, 1825	5	“Our Hunter came to the Fort for ??? to bring home a doe and 2 cubs he has killed at the entrance of the Basgaga River”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
August 7, 1825	6	“Our Hunter came to the house with a swan”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
August 13, 1825	6	“Our Hunter came to the house quite lame having hurt his foot chasing a beaver”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
September 2, 1825	7	“Our Hunter who went to Fort Simpson on the 18 th arrived and brought us the following supply: 17lb shot, 16lb ball, 13lb tobacco, 13lb gun powder”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
September 11, 1825	8	“Our Hunter arrived unsuccessful”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
September 15, 1825	8	“Our Hunter also arrived with part of a buck moose deer that he killed on this side of Basgaga River”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
October 21, 1825	9	“One of the fall Fort Hunters arrived this evening with the disagreeable intelligence of having but one moose deer in cashe”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
November 30, 1825	11	“One of our Hunters arrived and brought a load of rabbits on his back together with a few marten skins”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
December 13, 1825	12	“Petit Chien arrived and says that the men will be here tomorrow”.	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)

January 17, 1826	13	"The Little Hunter arrived with many complaints against his gun, and consequently wishes to change it".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
January 22, 1826	13	"Two Indians arrived and brought 140 martens and 9 beaver skins. They have been all summer and since fall in the vicinity of Trout Lake from where they now come"	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
January 28, 1826	13	"One of our Hunters arrived this evening and reports 5 animals in the field".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
February 8, 1826	14	"One of the Hunters came to report 2 moose deer".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
March 5, 1826	14	"Derosier with two of the Hunters arrived and report seven moose in the field".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
March 31, 1826	15	"One of the Hunters came to tell us that he has 3 moose deer in the field for us".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
April 6, 1826	15	" Petit Chien (hunter) came to the house to get ammunition, he tells us that he left two moose deer in cashe for us at the entrance of Basgaga River".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
April 18, 1826	16	" The Hunters came to the Fort and gave up their commission for this season".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
May 7, 1826	17	"An Indian arrived with his family and brought a hunt of 101 martens, he passed the winter above the vicinity of Trout Lake"	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
May 15, 1826	17	"A pretty large band of Indians arrived with Pouce Coupe as their leader, they state that they have passed a great part of the winter in the vicinity of Hay River and appear to have made a good hunt both in provisions and furs".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
May 25, 1826	18	" Our Hunter (???) arrived from the Old Fort where he has passed the spring".	1825-1826 (B.116/a/4)
July 17, 1826	2	" Petit Chien and another Indian arrived".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
August 12, 1826	3	"An Indian arrived and brought a note dated at Fort Simpson 31 st July from Mr. John Hutchison. The Indian has been there since last summer, but being a native of this river , and all his connections resorting to this post, he thought best to come and join them".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
November 10, 1826	6	" Bodachackbeta arrived, and tells us that the Grand Blanc and party are on their way to the Fort and will be here in a few days".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
November 21, 1826	6	"Today one of the Hunters arrived with the fat of a bear and requests a man to be sent for the flesh".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
December 6, 1826	7	" Petit Chien arrived and tells us that he has six moose deer in security for the Fort and requests men to go for them. He passed the summer on Basgaga River".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
January 31, 1827	8	"One of the Hunters arrived with 24 rabbits and 3 pieces of half dry meat".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
February 12, 1827	9	"One of the Hunters came to tell us that he has put 3 moose deer in security".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
February 21, 1827	9	" Little Hunter arrived with information of 4 moose deer being in cashe for us but at a great distance".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
February 24, 1827	9	"One of the Fort Hunters came to tell us that he killed seven moose deer a few days ago".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
March 2, 1827	9	"The Indian who passes the winter alone in the vicinity of Sandy Lake came to the Fort to tell us that he has put four Moose deer in security for us, and to request that we should go for them"	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
March 7, 1827	10	"One of the Fort Hunters also arrived, with a very wobbly sley of fresh meat and with the tongues and noses of 4 moose deer he has killed lately".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
March 11, 1827	10	"One of the Fort Hunters came to inform us that he has put two doe moose in security for us".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
March 21, 1827	10	"One of the Hunters also arrived and informs us that he left a doe moose in the field".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)

March 30, 1827	11	"Our hunter "l'homme de noire" came to tell us that he has killed and put in security since he went off on the 22 nd 9 moose deer, and not far off".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
May 6, 1827	12	"A small party of Indians that has passed the winter in the vicinity of the Fork came today along with the Fort hunters".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
May 10, 1827	13	"One of the Hunters that went off on Monday came back today to tell us that he has killed two moose deer near Basgaga River one of which he has given us and the keeps the other for themselves".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
May 16, 1827	13	"Pouce Coupe who did not come forward with his party that arrived on Saturday last, arrived with an excellent hunt. Neither of these leaders said anything worth mentioning here. They all seem to be well satisfied and in high spirits, and inclined to do well this summer. They saw the Chipewayans of Fort Vermillion who told them that Crees from the south came last summer on a war excursion towards the Rocky Mountains, and the upper part of Peace River, and that they were to come again this summer".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
May 28, 1827	14	"Two Indians arrived with their winter hunts which amount to 75 beaver. They passed the winter in the vicinity of Troute Lake and came from there by land which is the cause of their coming in too late after the other Indians, who all came in canoe".	1826-1827 (B.116/a/5)
August 5, 1827	4	"Pouce Coupe and his party arrived today".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
August 9, 1827	4	"The Pouce Coupe and three of his followers came to inform us that a party of several men crossed the Riviere Noire in the course of last night and came into the print behind the Fort. On entering into the woods they dispersed and the Pouce and his party are to tomorrow follow them. We have no doubt but these are the expected Bandiette, and that they will show themselves some way very soon".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
August 13, 1827	5	"The Indian who arrived yesterday went off. Three other Indians came from the direction of Sandy Lake with 250lbs of dry meat and 12lbs of grease for which they got some ammunition and tobacco and they went off, being in a great hurry to return to their families whom they left unexpected".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
August 27, 1827	5	"Today Petit Chien and L'Homme de Noire arrived with a little dry meat and a few beaver skins, they came from the Grand Blanc's camp, on the Riviere Noire, and brought a message from the old man regarding the murderers from Peace River, whom he does not wish should be molested upon his lands, apprehending the consequences to his tribe from the Beaver Indians".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
August 30, 1827	6	"One of our hunters arrived today but he killed nothing since he went off. I proposed to him to go with the Indian that arrived yesterday with a canoe of provisions to Fort Simpson".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
October 8, 1827	8	"Pouce Coupe and party arrived this morning. The party brought but a poor hunt. They made mention of the Banditte, and said if they should see them in the course of the winter they would keep them from ever coming again to molest their Fort".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
October 9, 1827	8	"Petit Chien, Fort hunter, arrived late in the evening with 5 moose deer which he has killed a few days ago and has put in security for the Fort".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
October 14, 1827	9	"Settled with the Indians. MacDougall arrived with the hunter. The cause of his delay is, that there was no one to come home with him. The Indians at the lake, and whom I expected would have come with him had gone camp".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)

November 9, 1827	10	"Our hare Hunter came to the house this evening with 95 hares and a beaver skin".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
November 17, 1827	10	"Our hare Hunter came to tell us that he has 80 hares collected at his tent".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
November 25, 1827	10	"Our hare Hunter came to the house to tell us that he has 104 hares ready at his tent to be brought to the Fort".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
December 7, 1827	11	"One of our Fort Hunters came to the Fort to ??? upon his duty".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
December 15, 1827	11	"The Fool himself came to the house with his family who are all very ill with the Hooping Cough which is now a general complaint".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
December 18, 1827	11	"Our hare Hunter (the Fool) came back again today, determined, as he says, to get medicines from us to cure his family of the Hooping Cough".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
December 28, 1827	11	"Our Hunter also came to the house but had no luck since he went off".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
January 10, 1828	12	"An Indian came to the Fort to pass the remainder of the winter as Fort hunter. His party, which he left by Sandy Lake, have done nothing since last fall".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
February 1, 1828	13	"Our Hunter ??? with the tongues of two moose deer that he killed a few days ago".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
February 17, 1828	14	"One of our Hunters came starving to the Fort this evening".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
February 21, 1828	14	"Two of our hunters came to the house to tell us that they killed between them five moose deer in the vicinity of Bouvais Lake".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
February 24, 1828	14	"Two Indians came from the vicinity of Sandy Lake where there is a small party trapping martens. Some of the party had paid their debts, and others had from twenty to thirty skins when the hooping cough got among them and carried off two children which put a full stop to their industry".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
February 28, 1828	14	"One of our Fort Hunters arrived with the tongue of a small buck moose he killed yesterday".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
March 1, 1828	14	"An Indian came from a small party of 4 men who pass the winter in the vicinity of Sandy Lake. He brought a tally of 120 skins which is the amount of their hunt since last fall. One of our Hunters arrived to tell us that he killed a doe moose and a calf yesterday".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
March 18, 1828	15	"One of our Fort Hunters came home this evening with seven moose deer tongues".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
March 21, 1828	16	"One of the Hunters came to tell us of a doe moose he killed yesterday".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
March 29, 1828	16	"Two hunters came from the vicinity of Sandy Lake to tell us that they have five moose deer for us in that quarter, and request men to go for them".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
April 20, 1828	18	"Petit Chien came to the Fort to settle his amount as Fort hunter since last fall".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
May 6, 1828	19	"Pouce Coupe arrived with his party and they delivered their winter hunts".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
May 16, 1828	20	"A small party of Indians arrived with their winter hunts which consist entirely of lynx and martens. They passed the winter in the vicinity of Troute Lake where beaver are very scarce. A man and a boy of the Indians of Fort Simpson came along with them for the purpose, as they say, of seeing some of their relations who are among the Indians of this place".	1827-1828 (B.116/a/6)
June 14, 1828	2	"Two young men came from Bouvais Lake where the Grand Blanc is still living on fish as well as his whole party. The old man sent word that he was on the eve of his departure for the East	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)

		Branch where he is to make his provision hunt”	
July 14, 1828	3	“The Grand Jeune Homme and Petit Chien arrived and kept long conferences with the strangers. The latter went off late in the evening”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
July 23, 1828	3	“Today two Indians, Petit Chien and Nosanch, came to the Fort with a little dried meat”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
August 18, 1828	4	“Petit Chien came to the Fort with 3 small bales of dried meat”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
August 26, 1828	5	“Four Indians arrived from above (among where is the Fool our Fort hunter) with dried meat”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
September 8, 1828	5	“The hunter and the other two Indians came home with the meat on Friday evening. Today one of our Indians who are encamped on the opposite shore came with the rest of a buck moose which he has killed near the river. Two young men arrived from above with dry meat and have got a little ammunition. They went to join their relations who are on the opposite shore. Late in the evening the Fool arrived with the intelligence of his having killed a female moose which he left in the field at no great distance”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
September 12, 1828	5	“Our Hunter (the Fool) arrived this evening with the tongues and noses of two moose does which he has killed but at too great a distance to get all home fresh he also brought the skin and back fat of a bear”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
October 4, 1828	6	“Still equipping the Indians. Pouce Coupe and party arrived and brought a good provision hunt. The party passed the summer on the East Branch and have been the most successful of all our Indians in collecting provisions”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
October 6, 1828	7	“Faille went for a doe moose and returned late in the evening accompanied by the Hunter”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
October 12, 1828	7	“The Chief Marque arrived with his party. They came from the vicinity of Bouvais Lake where they passed the summer and made little or no provisions”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
November 4, 1828	8	“Our hare Hunters came to the house with 248 hares”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
November 6, 1828	8	“The Fool (Fort hunter) arrived and brought 124 hares”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
November 13, 1828	8	“The Hunter came to the house with 154 hares”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
November 28, 1828	9	“The hare Hunters came to the Fort with each a load of hares”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
January 19, 1829	10	“I left here on the 23 rd and returned today, 8 days from Fort Simpson.....No Indians except the Fort hunter came to the house during my absence”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
March 11, 1829	12	“One of the Hunters came to the house with 48 hares. He has been out hunting in all directions about the Fort but did not see the track of any large animal”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
March 14, 1829	12	“One of the Hunters came to the Fort with 32 hares”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
March 15, 1829	12	“One of the Fort Hunters came to tell us that he has killed two moose deer a few days ago. These are the first that the Hunters have killed since January last”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
March 25, 1929	13	“Two of the Hunters came to the house and wish to give up hunting for this season it being unfavourable for them, they say, to kill now owing to the state of the snow and the weather”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
March 31, 1829	13	“One of the Hunters came to the house and tells us that he and his companion have 3 moose	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)

		deer for the Fort”.	
April 26, 1829	15	“The Fort hunters arrived with their families. They have all been starving since the beginning of the month and now come to the Fort for support”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
May 4, 1829	15	“An Indian (Ditchy) came from the OP. Lake with six geese, four ducks and two beaver skins”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
May 15, 1829	15	“ Pouce Coupe and his party arrived, and delivered their hunts. They passed the winter on the East Branch and they all made good hunts. Two of the Hay River Chipewyans are with the party and they express a strong desire to pass the summer along with the Indians of this place. One of them brought a note dated 4 th intimating that the Beaver had paid his debts at that place”.	1828-1829 (B.116/a/7)
July 9, 1829	2	“ The Hunter came home today he saw no animal tracks so he went off”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
July 14, 1829	3	“An Indian (Ditchy) came to the house with two beaver skins, the flesh of one, and 20lbs of half dried meat. He met the East Branch party this morning near the entrance of the West Branch”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
July 23, 1829	3	“ Our Hunter arrived this evening and brought us the meat of a small moose calf which he had the good fortune to kill two days ago”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
August 1, 1829	4	“ The Hunter came to the house with some dried meat part of a doe moose that he killed in the Black River too far off to be carried to the Fort fresh”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
August 9, 1829	5	“ The Hunter came to the house with part of the flesh of a black bear, and two large dishes of raspberries”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
August 12, 1829	5	“ The Hunter came home but was not successful”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
August 24, 1829	6	“ The Hunter arrived this evening with the meat of a bear”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
September 28, 1829	7	“ Pouce Coupe and four of his followers arrived today and brought a good provision hunt. They came from the East Branch where there are several small parties collecting provisions”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
October 31, 1829	11	“ Our hare Hunters came for a supply of provisions”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
November 27, 1829	12	“Settled with the young men who arrived yesterday and they went off. One of the Hunters came to the house to guide the men to a deposit of fresh meat that he made last fall”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
November 29, 1829	12	“One of the Hunters came to the house for a supply of ammunition. He killed no animals since he went off but spent his ammunition firing upon hares to feed himself”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
December 7, 1829	13	“Four Indians came from Trout Lake with a few furs to exchange from ammunition”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
December 9, 1829	13	“Four Indians came from the vicinity of Trout Lake. They brought each a sleigh carrying a few furs and provisions, the produce of their summer hunt. They seem to be extremely disappointed in our total want of dry goods”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
December 12, 1829	13	“One of our Hunters came to tell us that he killed a buck moose a few days ago, and request that it may be sent for immediately, not being in sufficient security”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
January 4, 1830	14	“One of the Hunters came to the house with a view to change his gun for a better one”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
January 16, 1830	15	“Baptiste came home today accompanied by the Hunters they report 3 buck moose killed on Sandy Lake road one of which was brought home with him and weighed 223lbs”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
January 22, 1830	15	“Faillie came home with meat accompanied by the Hunter ”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
February 17, 1830	16	“One of the Hunters came to tell us that he and his companion have 7 moose deer for the Fort 2 bucks, 2 does and 3 calves all on the border of the Riviere Noire”.	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)

February 28, 1830	17	"One of the Hunters came to tell us that he killed three moose deer a few days ago".	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
March 10, 1830	18	"One of the Hunters came to announce 12 moose deer in the vicinity of Sandy Lake".	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
March 15, 1830	18	"One of the Hunters came to announce 7 doe moose deer which he killed since he left this in company with Mr. Dease on 6 th Inst."	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
March 20, 1830	18	"One of the Hunters came to announce 3 moose deer".	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
March 31, 1830	19	"One of the Hunters came to tell us that he left a doe moose for us yesterday in the snow".	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
April 5, 1830	19	"One of the Hunters came to the house to settle his account and brought the tongues of 3 moose which he killed a few days ago..."	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
April 6, 1830	19	"One of the Hunters came with the tongues of 3 buck moose which he left buried in the snow this morning".	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
April 8, 1830	19	"One of the Hunters came to announce 5 more moose deer in the direction of Bouvais Lake all within a day's walk of the Fort".	1829-1830 (B.116/a/8)
June 2, 1830	1	"The Indians delivered their hunts, and some of them received a little ammunition for provisions they brought and took receipts for their furs which we have not the means to pay. Pouce Coupe and the Mortnes' Sons arrived with their bands but it being late in the day, their hunts are not yet received. They both (the two leaders) passed the winter in the immediate vicinity of Fort Halkett and left that place a few days ago. Two young men from the Mortnes' party remained with the Chipewayans and them".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
August 18, 1830	4	"The Indians went off in the direction of Sandy Lake from where they are to proceed to the Iroquois River and the East Branch of the Riviere au Liard"	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
October 23, 1830	6	"Four Indians came from Sandy Lake and brought about 150lbs of dry meat, and 12lbs of grease besides a few moose skins. Three other Indians came down the Riviere Noire where they were stopped by the ice coming down with their summer hunts"	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
October 30, 1830	7	"One of the Hunters came to the house today and says that he has been starving since he left this on the 21 st Inst."	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
November 7, 1830	7	"Baptiste came from Sandy Lake accompanied by one of the Hunters ".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
November 30, 1830	8	"One of the Hunters came to the house from a hunting excursion of 15 days during which he suffered much from starvation".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
December 11, 1830	8	"Two of the Fort Hunters came to the house with their families they were towards the mountains to the westward since the beginning of October and in all that time killed only one doe moose with her two calves".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
December 22, 1830	9	"One of the Hunters came to the house but he killed nothing since he left it on the 12 th "	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
February 12, 1831	11	"Two Indian boys came from the vicinity of Trout Lake from a small party that pass the winter there and reported by the two youngsters to be starving. The object of the latter in coming to the Fort is to get a supply of ammunition for skins that are collected at their camp"	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
February 16, 1831	11	"One of the Fort Hunters came with the agreeable news of eight moose deer killed for us up the Black River but at a great distance say four days march".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)

February 18, 1831	11	"Bedsethisaz??? Fort hunter, came to tell us that he has two moose deer for us, two days march beyond Sandy Lake".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
March 5, 1831	12	"Two of the Hunters came to the house to tell us that they have 18 moose deer in security for us on the mountain beyond Sand Lake and it's in security".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
March 12, 1831	12	"The two Indians went off. One of the Hunters came to tell us that he has three moose deer for the Fort which he killed since he left this on Monday last".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
March 18, 1831	13	"Two of the Hunters came to the house and tell us that they have twelve moose deer and two cariboux secured for the Fort".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
March 19, 1831	13	"Another of the Hunters arrived today with news of 5 more moose deer".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
March 20, 1831	13	"Hatiabeta came to the Fort with dried and half dried meat. They came from the vicinity of Troute Lake and were 13 days on their way"	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
March 27, 1831	13	"One of the Fort Hunters Codsedille came with the tongues of 7 moose deer which he left in security for us on the Basgaga River".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
April 4, 1831	14	"One of the Hunters came to announce four moose deer".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
April 12, 1831	14	"Two of the Hunters came to the house but they killed nothing since they went off two days ago".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
April 15, 1831	14	"One of the Hunters came to report three moose deer one of which is near here and the other two at the distance off".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
April 23, 1831	15	"One of the Hunters came to the house and brought us a bastard".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
May 22, 1831	16	"The Pouce Coupe with his party arrived today with their winter hunts which are very poor indeed. The party passed the winter in the vicinity of Fort Halkett and gave more attention to collecting provisions than furs. L'Anglois (Chipewayan of Fort Halkett) with a couple of followers passed the spring with the Pouce Coupe and as usual has done more harm than good. Among other reports he says the The'kinnies are coming this summer to make war on the Nahanies".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
May 23, 1831	16	"Received the hunts from the Indians who arrived yesterday. The Fort hunters came to the house accompanied by some of their relations".	1830-1831 (B.116/a/9)
July 23, 1831	3	"Two Indian boys came to the house. They came down the East Branch, and are in search of their father (Pouce Coupe) who is on his way to the Fort. The two youngsters paid a visit to Fort Halkett (in passing) by which they missed their father".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
August 12, 1831	4	"Pouce Coupe came to the fort with his family. He has been since spring on the East Branch and Buffalo River, and is now on his way to the westward in the direction of Beaver River where he is to make his provision hunt".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
October 16, 1831	7	Toughoustsien, one of the Fort hunters came to the Fort and reports that he has four moose deer dried and put in security for the Fort. He passed by Beaver Lake and brought a note.....".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
October 22, 1831	7	"An Indian boy came from Bouvais Lake, and proceeded on immediately to Sandy Lake to join his relations who are in that direction".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
November 6, 1831	8	"Two of the Fort hunters arrived accompanied by their families".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)

November 13, 1831	9	"One of the Fort Hunters came to the house to get something to eat for himself and family".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
November 21, 1831	9	"Three Indian boys came from a party that pass the winter about Trout Lake.....they say marten are very abundant about the lake. Five of the Indians of Fort Simpson are with the party".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
November 27, 1831	10	"One of the Fort hunters came to the Fort, he has not been successful since he went off. He says he cannot subsist near the Fort with his family near the Fort and asks permission to go and join his relations beyond Sandy Lake".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
November 29, 1831	10	" Pouce Coupe with five other Indians came to the house. They came from the Beaver River where they passed the summer. They made a deposit of dry meat of 10 bales and 4 bladders of grease which is the total of their summer provision hunt. Sent for Letenville to Sandy Lake that he may accompany the party back to their camp and pass a few months with them".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
December 15, 1831	11	"One of the Fort Hunters came to the house with news of having killed two moose deer".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
January 10, 1832	12	"One of the hunters (Betsithessay ???) came to the house to tell us that he has killed three moose deer for us beyond Sandy Lake".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
January 28, 1832	13	"One of the Fort Hunters came to the house in a low state by starvation. His family is also on their way to the Fort".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
January 29, 1832	13	"The Hunter's family arrived and are in a low state for want of food".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
February 6, 1832	13	"The Hunter who went off on Friday came home with the tongue of a buck moose that he killed yesterday. Another of the Hunters also arrived with news of two more moose deer in the field".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
February 16, 1832	14	"One of the Fort Hunters came to the house but he had no luck since he went off".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
February 21, 1832	14	"The Hunter came home but was unsuccessful".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
March 1, 1832	15	"One of the Hunters came to report a doe moose he killed yesterday".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
March 9, 1832	16	"One of the Hunters came to the house for a supply of powder and ball".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
March 12, 1832	16	"Two of the hunters (Bedsithassaz and Bodcohack) came with the men for a fresh supply of ammunition as well as to tell us that they had the good fortune to slaughter nine moose deer that they found altogether on Thursday last".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
March 14, 1832	16	"The Hunter who went off on ??? came home with the tongues of a doe moose and calf that he killed yesterday".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
April 4, 1832	17	"One of the Hunters came to the house to make a demand upon the store for provisions".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
April 15, 1832	18	"One of the Hunters came to the house with news of two moose deer in the field".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
April 22, 1832	18	"One of the Hunters came to the house with the head of a moose deer on his back....Two Indian boys came from a small party that pass the winter near the Old Fort".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
May 24, 1832	21	"The Fort Hunters came to the house to settle their accounts for the season. The party that arrived yesterday received payment for their very poor hunts. They received very little beside ammunition and tobacco. They go across the river to the Opposite Lake to live there for some time upon fish".	1831-1832 (B.116/a/10)
July 9, 1833	3	" L'Homme de Noire arrived according to appointment to join the West Branch party as hunter.	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)

July 22, 1833	3	"Today one of the Fort Hunters came with 30lbs of dried meat and 150lbs of fresh".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
September 16, 1833	6	"An Indian, Ditchy , came to the house with a little dry meat and a few beaver skins. He came down the Beaver River where his party passed the summer".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
October 3, 1833	7	" Pouce Coupe with a few followers arrived. This party passed the summer on the Buffalo River and made a pretty good provision hunt".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
October 10, 1833	8	"Three Indians arrived with a few furs. They came by Sandy Lake and being afoot they brought no provisions though they have small deposits of dry meat secured for the Fort".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
November 21, 1833	11	" Touhouchea and Little Hunter came to the house. These two Indians passed the summer on the Black River where they made a deposit of dry meat for which they request two of the men should be sent".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
February 8, 1834	16	"One of the Fort Hunters came to the house for a supply of ammunition being starving with his family".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
February 22, 1834	16	"Two of the Fort hunters (Cariboux blanc and Akagulla) came to the house—the latter to announce a small buck moose that he has killed for us and both for a supply of ammunition".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
March 10, 1834	17	"One of the Hunters came to the house with the news of a doe moose being in the field for us".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
March 12, 1834	17	"Another of our Hunters came to report two moose deer but at a great distance say on the Iroquois River".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
March 18, 1834	18	"One of the Fort Hunters came to announce three moose that he has killed up on the Black River five days march from here".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
April 1, 1834	18	"One of the Hunters came to the house with a supply of ammunition. He has not killed an animal yet this winter".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
April 4, 1834	19	"One of the Hunters came to the house but no news".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
April 17, 1834	20	"One of the Hunters came to the house accompanied by two of the men who were stationed with him in hopes he should kill, but hunger drove them all three to the house".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
May 10, 1834	22	"Two Indians L'Home de Noire and brother arrived. They both agreed immediately to go off to Fort Halkett at act there as hunters during the summer. They go across land and the traveling in the mountains is difficult at this season, they think they will reach there in nine or ten days".	1833-1834 (B.116/a/11)
June 15 1834	3	Michel La Cas came from Bouvais Lake when he passed the spring with his family and brought us 30 fishes besides a bear skin, two beaver, and one martin. Having received payment for what he brought he went off.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
August 12, 1834	13	One Indian arrived he is come from the Mountains they brought a few pieces of dry meat. One of the Fort Indians arrived, he brought 14 med Beaver in furs and 15 lbs dry meat.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
October 6, 1834	19	Morwick returned to Sandy Lake Savayard (?) went to join Jonhston at Bouvais Lake one of the hunters came to the house he put a buck moose in Security for the winter a couple of days ago. McLeod the only man now at the Fort was variously employed about the fields.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
October 9, 1834	20	Pouce Coupe with three other Indians arrived. The old man is sick _____ the middle of summer and has consequently done nothing neither he or his party. They passed the summer on the west branch of Buffalo River.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
October 11, 1834	20	Lavoyard (?) came from Bouvais Lake and said that Johnston continues to make a pretty good	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)

		fishery he had nearly 1200.	
October 14, 1834	20	Now daily one of the Fort Hunters cam to the house with the tongues and noses of two mouse deer he secured for us on this River La Biche.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
October 19, 1834	21	Thomas Morwick came from Sandy Lake for a supply of twin to repair the nets and its the same time to tell us that the Fisherman Latenville (?) is very sick for some days past. This man who a good fisherman cannot live upon fish he is subject to violent when living solely on that food.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
November 24, 1834	25	Indian and Morwick came home from Sandy Lake with 500 small white fish.	1834-1835 (B.116/a/12)
August 5, 1835	4	In the afternoon Akouine and two young boys arrived they brought 34 skins made of mixed furs dry meat they received payment and will return tomorrow to join their families whom they left at Trout Lake. They are getting two young Dog along with them which they promise bring back on the first snow.	1835-1836 (B.116/a/13)
August 26, 1835	5	The inspector arrived he reports that the Grand Jeune Homme party and Pouce Coupe are on the to the house.	1835-1836 (B.116/a/13)
October 10, 1840	7	“Cariboux Blanc and Petit Castor with two or three others arrived today they brought 6 beaver and 2 bear and 215 lbs dry meat.....Desriviere assisting me in dealing with the Indians in the capacity of interpreter, he may be an excellent one for all I know”.	1840-1841 (B.116/a/18)
July 11, 1842	2	“The Fort hunter Saqui-ni-a comes to the Fort with all his family and brother in law”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
July 16, 1842	2	“In the evening the Fort hunter arrived having killed a male moose”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
July 21, 1842	2	“The Hunter kills a small black bear that he brought to the Fort 64lbs bear meat”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
July 23, 1842	2	“The Cariboux Blanc comes to the Fort with 165 dried white fish of a small size”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
September 26, 1842	3	“Saka arrives from Sandy Lake and reports that Liard has 4000 fish collected. Ekesellay also arrives from Opposite Lake and brought 5 fish”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
October 23, 1842	4	“La Per and Cariboux Blanc arrive at the Fort the former with one piece of dried meat the later three pieces total weight 20lbs also they brought a few furs. I gave them their Fall advance and they go off. Tahys also arrives from the Opposite Lake fishery and reports that he has in all 500 fish”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
November 4, 1842	4	“Tahys with Desmarais arrive from Sandy Lake fishery with the first load of fish”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
November 10, 1842	4	“Tahys and Desmarais arrive from Beauvais Lake with each a load of fish”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
November 16, 1842	5	“An Indian arrives with 15 skins in martens and 1 black bear skin. My Fort hunter also arrives he killed a small bear but only brought a thigh and a shoulder”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
November 17, 1842	5	“Yesterday the Fort hunter’s father and brothers arrive starving they cannot snare hares”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
December 12, 1842	5	“Tahys and Desmarais start for Sandy Lake for fish....the Fort hunter who started on the 5 th comes home half starved”.	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
January 7, 1843	6	“The Indian (Sa Ka) was off early to save Desmarais. The Fort Hunter comes home killed none	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)

		but found the tracks of a moose about 1 ½ day's march from the Fort".	
January 17, 1843	6	"Early this morning my Fort hunter is at the Fort he says he fired two shots at a moose and missed".	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
January 27, 1843	6	"Pouce Coupe arrives having left his family to come on as well as they can".	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
February 4, 1843	7	"Betadis arrives from Fort Halkett with a letter from Mr. Pampbun. Also the Fort hunter (Sa quin ni a) comes home but did not kill. I suspect this Indian keeps his moose for Spring and does not wish to kill any at present".	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
March 7, 1843	7	"Sa quini a arrives and at last killed 1 large and 3 small moose but keeps the lungs out for himself and now goes off from the Fort with his family exactly what I expected he would do".	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
May 15, 1843	9	"McLeod arrives with 18 fish. Pouce Coupe also arrives with 3 furs and 4 ducks and 3 beavers in meat".	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
May 24, 1843	10	"La Per, Cariboux Blanc, Amon and Chester arrive on a visit only and have encamped near the Fort but brought nothing with them".	1842-1843 (B.116/a/20)
July 22, 1843	2	"I forgot to mention yesterday of the arrival of Pouce Coupe and Lakatinahow".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
July 24, 1843	2	"Pouce Coupe and Lakie whom I had sent yesterday in quest of bears came home today with nothing".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
July 29, 1843	3	"Gros Chien's wife and family came to the Fort in a starving condition".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
August 2, 1843	3	"The hunter comes back he has set side snares and this evening went to the Opposite Lake to visit his mother in law who is unwell".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
August 3, 1843	3	"In the evening the hunter arrives and I equip him for ??.....he goes to join Lecorfy above, having fallen out with his wife".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
August 12, 1843	4	"Late in the evening Caribou Blanc arrived with 90lb dried meat".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
September 8, 1843	5	"Gros Chien arrived from Beauvais Lake.....he reports the lake to be plentiful of fish, I gave him a new net to fish for the Fort".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
September 9, 1843	5	"The hunters come back with a bear they killed yesterday. In the evening two Indians from Grand Blanc with 300 lbs dried meat, 8 moose skins and 15 beaver skins".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
September 26, 1843	6	"In the afternoon Caribou Blanc arrived from above with 12 beaver skins and the meat from beaver".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
September 28, 1843	6	"In the evening my two hunters Sakeuchaia and Dick arrive from below with their relations starving".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
October 2, 1843	6	"Sent Lange and Indian to repair the fence about the stacks at the hay lake. In the evening Pouce Coupe arrived from above starving".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
October 8, 1843	7	"Dick, one of my hunters arrived from across in course of the day, but has been unsuccessful".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
October 11, 1843	7	"Francis and his men arrive from above; their 3 rd day from Francis Lake and at noon they took their departure.....Dick took his passage along with them as far as Nahanies River where he is to hunt".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
October 12, 1843	7	"A short time after my hunters Fran and Peirs arrive to the great news of their having killed four moose deer and put in deposit for the Fort".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
October 26, 1843	8	"In the eve Gros Chien, Charley and Armons arrive starving, also my hunter, the former,	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)

		brought nothing, the latter, six beaver skins and 2 in meat. Lange arrived and tells me Liard has now 18000 fish in cache".	
November 2, 1843	8	"Caribou and Partridge arrive for a net".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
November 8, 1843	9	"??? And Lange arrive from Sandy Lake".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
November 18, 1843	9	"Dick arrives from below unsuccessful".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
November 22, 1843	9	"I arrange the Indians and they take their departure....One of my hunters arrives this evening from the ??? and says that Landrie is dangerously ill.... Sakeuchaia arrives".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
November 25, 1843	9	"My hunters arrive Sakeuchaia and Dick but unsuccessful".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
November 28, 1843	10	"Landrie and ?? arrived from Sandy Lake the latter brings 300 fishes".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
December 2, 1843	10	"Harry and Lange arrive this morning from Beauvais Lake with 79 fishes".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
December 6, 1843	10	"Sakeuchaia arrived but killed nothing having missed 2 shots on a buck moose. Ekenekuta also arrives and tells the same tale. Sakeuchaia goes off immediately".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
December 8, 1843	11	"A young Indian and his mother arrive from Sandy Lake 12 marten".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
December 12, 1843	11	"Sakeuchaia arrives with his wife and family".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
January 19, 1844	13	"Harry, Lange, Desuveires, and Landrie arrived with 400 lbs fresh meat.....they were accompanied by one of the hunters (Francois)".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
January 28, 1844	13	"This evening Sakeuchais arrived from an unsuccessful excursion after moose. An Indian also arrived from Sandy Lake for ammunition for the hunters there".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
February 14, 1844	14	"Larosque and the Indian who started with him arrive from Sandy Lake, accompanied by Macleod and Larosque".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
February 17, 1844	15	"Larosque, Tahys and the Indian arrive from Sandy Lake bringing 809 fishes".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
February 20, 1844	15	"Lapine and wife start for their camp, Sasta and Dick started for Fort Halkett yesterday, the latter to remain there in capacity of Fort Hunter".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
February 21, 1844	15	"Tahys, Larosque and Anderson arrive from Sandy Lake".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
March 1, 1844	15	"Landrie and Cheetis arrive from Sandy Lake with 613 hung fish. Jack starts on a hunting excursion above".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
March 5, 1844	16	"Dick and his mother arrive with a few rabbits and one marten".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
March 7, 1844	16	"In the afternoon Pouce Coupe and Lapine arrive, with the 3 other Indians from across the river".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
March 19, 1844	17	"In the afternoon Sakeuchaia arrives, he has been about a month off towards the source of the Muskega River in search of caribou".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
March 22, 1844	17	"In the afternoon Sakeuchaia arrives with his wife and family".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
March 23, 1844	17-18	"Sakeuchaia starts on a Tour de Chafse, he will return in two days for his wife and family	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)

		whom he has left here being too weak to accompany him yet....In the evening Caribou Blanc arrives with intelligence of 2 moose being killed by the hunters at Sandy Lake".	
March 29, 1844	18	"Sakeuchaia arrives with the tongue of a female moose, which he has killed about ½ days walk up the Riviere Liard".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
April 11, 1844	19	"Landrie and Lange arrive from Sandy Lake".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
April 21, 1844	20	"In the evening Lange and Landrie arrive from the Opposite Lake, and also our Fort hunter Sakeuchaia unsuccessful".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 2, 1844	21	"The Indians left this morning for the fishery....This evening two of my hunters cast up from above-- Francois and Pierro, bringing collectively 7 beaver meat, 50 lbs dry meat, 6 geese and 6 ducks".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 7, 1844	21	"Harry arrives with my hunters, but they have brought but little".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 9, 1844	21	"Francois hunting and brings 3 geese and 1 swan".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 10, 1844	21	"At noon Caribou Blanc and Armons arrive with their families, they brought 70 lbs in furs and 10 in meat".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 12, 1844	22	"Jack and his father who arrived yesterday with a few furs go to the Opposite Lake, at same time McLeod and Sakeuchaia, the former brought 17 fishes and the latter 8 heads game".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 13, 1844	22	"I equip my four hunters Sakeuchaia, Pascal, Francois and Pierro with ammunition and they will be off tomorrow morning for above....Pouce Coupe arrives from above....McLeod returns to the fishery".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 15, 1844	22	"At noon Pascal's father and brother arrive, also Ditchay and father bringing 60 lbs furs which is not much".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
May 22, 1844	22	"My hunters also arrived today unsuccessful".	1843-1844 (B.116/a/21)
July 6, 1844	2	"Two of our Fort hunters cast up one bringing the meat of a buck moose the other provided a moose which he still intends to have".	1844-1845 (B.116/a/22)
July 11, 1844	3	"One of the hunters cast with the meat of a young buck moose and after a short stay he went off".	1844-1845 (B.116/a/22)
August 4, 1844	4	"One of our hunters cast up with some dry meat, also part of the meat of 4 bears".	1844-1845 (B.116/a/22)
September 9, 1844	6	"One of our hunters sent up having killed 2 buck moose which he secured for the Fort—he went off at once".	1844-1845 (B.116/a/22)
October 8, 1844	7	"Around 30 Indians had been arranged during yesterday and today and all took their departure. 2 of my hunters cast up, they report 5 moose deer secured for the Fort".	1844-1845 (B.116/a/22)
March 27, 1845	16	"Donald arrived with one of the Indians and hunter with the meat of a small moose".	1844-1845 (B.116/a/22)
October 22, 1864	3	"Thla-cho-enne-tah one of the Fort hunters arrived, and brought one female moose to the Fort with him. He was supplied with ammunition and sent off at once".	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
November 12, 1864	4	"Fantast Jnr. Old Rognan McKay and Agroazza arrived at the Fort this evening".	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
December 6, 1864	6	"Kako, Adetho, Zeetlee and Canards started for Charley's camp for meat. Thosleask and Garson arrived home from Lac Bouvier fishery".	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
December 31,	7	"Charley, Marcellais and young Fantast came to the Fort. Old Rognon and son Agooyazza	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)

1864		came to the Fort and brought one sled of rabbits”.	
January 31, 1865	9	“Old Fantast who has been almost dead this winter came to the Fort today, he looks very poor on it”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
February 4, 1865	9	“Old Gros Chien arrived at the Fort, with a little girl of his who is nearly dead”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
February 19, 1865	10	“Fantast Jr. and Vadnais came to the Fort with 128 rabbits	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
March 4, 1865	11	“Duchay arrived at the Fort this evening, he has 1 female moose and 2 fawns for the Fort. Thla-cho-en-metah was at the Fort today also, and announced his having two animals for the Fort”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
June 18, 1865	16	“An Indian belonging to Big Island arrived at the Fort (Le Tow, and brought 43 skins furs)”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
July 17, 1865	18	“Thla-cho-en-netah arrived at the Fort with some fresh meat”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
August 5, 1865	19	“Vadnais came to the Fort from Lac Beauvais where he was fishing for the Fort dogs. He will return on Monday”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
December 30, 1865	28	“Vadnais came to the Fort yesterday from Lac Bouvais “.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
January 12, 1866	29	“Fantast and old Rognon came to the Fort on a visit to Mr. McLean”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
January 21, 1866	30	“Vadnais and McKay arrived home from Sandy Lake fishery”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
February 4, 1866	31	“Young Fantast came to the Fort today”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
February 12, 1866	31	“Young Fantast and McKay came to the Fort with a few skins rabbits”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
October 9, 1866	39	“Old Hoole returned to the OP Lake....The Inspector and Little Hunter came to the Fort”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
October 20, 1866	40	“William McLeod and Vadnais came home from Lac Beauvais fishery”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
November 8, 1866	41	“Lapine and William McLeod brought home 368 rabbits from Kako’s camp....All the Indians went off today”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
November 17, 1866	42	“Lapine and McLeod returned from the Opp. Lake and brought home 480 fish. Fantast, Charley, McKay, Aigooyazzie, Bob and Edsenddah came to the Fort. Two Indians Duncan and Blk. Collah, arrived with the packet from Fort Halkett”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
November 25, 1866	42	“William McLeod accompanied by Aigooyazzie and his wife came home from Lac Beauvais and brought 86 fish including 9 fish from the Big fish Lake. Aigooyazzie is on his way to the Opposite Lake to assist Bonhomme there”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
November 29, 1866	42	“Garson made a trip to Fantast’s camp and brought home 136 rabbits. Fantast came to the Fort and brought 1 male moose”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
December 16, 1866	44	“Fantast came to the Fort and announced that he has got tracks made to the most of his caches”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
December 31, 1866	44	“The Old Chief and party started off this evening. A party of Mountain Indians came to the Fort and brought a few furs and some meat. All the Fort hunters came to the Fort”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
February 18, 1867	48	“Lapine and Genhomme started this morning for the buffalo.....Kako has three moose, Charley has six, and Fantast two”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
April 2, 1867	50	“Fantast and Charly came to the Fort with their families. A party of Mountain Indians came to the Fort and brought a few skins in furs and meat. Charly shot a female moose not far from here up the river”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
April 26, 1867	52	“Fantast fired and missed a goose this morning”.	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)

April 27, 1867	52	"Fantast shot two ducks this morning".	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
May 3, 1867	53	"Fantast and Marcellais each shot a goose today, the first this season".	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
December 31, 1867	59	"All the Fort Hunters came to the Fort this evening to spend New Year's Day here. Fantast has 1 male moose in cache for the Fort and Charly two".	1864-1868 (B.116/a/24)
March 9, 1891	6	"A boy arrived from Francois Lake for supplies".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
April 2, 1891	7	"Frank arrived with Chacho's moose. The Fort hunter arrived for sleds".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
July 31, 1891	9	"The hunter arrived last night with a little dry meat".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 11, 1892	17	"Three boys arrived from Fantasque for supplies".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 25, 1892	17	"3 Indians arrived from Fantasque with a little meat and furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 29, 1892	17	"A Trout Lake Indian arrived for supplies".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 5, 1892	19	"The hunter arrived with the news of 5 moose in cache".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
April 22, 1892	20	"A Trout Lake Indian arrived with meat and furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 23, 1892	26	"The trippers started to the hunter for 2 moose killed in the fall. Some Indians from Sandy Lake".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 30, 1892	26	"Some Indians arrived from Sandy Lake for supplies, they are hard up again in that quarter for grub, rabbits are not numerous enough to feed them".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 19, 1892	27	"The trippers started to McKay for rabbits. Fantasque's sons arrived with a few furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 3, 1893	28	"The trippers started for 2 moose killed by Fantasque son—3 Trout Lake Indians arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
February 14, 1893	29	"Francois and Bapt. arrived with a few furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
September 28, 1893	36	"Three Indians arrived from Nelson".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
October 9, 1893	37	"Some Nelson Indians arrived yesterday and left this evening. Also Francois and Bapt. Lepie".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 7, 1893	38	"Boniface arrived with 120 fish, also 2 Indians from Trout Lake".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 9, 1894	40	"A party of the Nelson Indians arrived with some furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
February 12, 1894	41	"Fantasque's son arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
April 9, 1894	43	"Some Indians arrived with fair hunts. 2 Nelson Indians arrived last night, but brought very little".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
August 4, 1894	47	"Fantasque's son arrived with a little meat".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
October 1, 1894	49	"A band of Fort Nelson Indians arrived with some meat and furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 29, 1894	51	"A large band of the Nelson Indians arrived for the New Year".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 31, 1894	51	"The above Indians brought about 2600 lbs meat, not so bad. Lots of the Liard Indians arrived for the New Year and brought very little".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
May 13, 1895	56	"The Nelson and Liard Indians with fair fur hunts".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
July 15, 1895	58	"A party of the Nelson and Liard Indians arrived yesterday".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
September 20, 1895	62	"A party of the Nelson Indians arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)

October 8, 1895	63	"Some Nelson Indians arrived with a little meat and furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 4, 1896	66	"A large party of Nelson Indians (with 5 sleds)".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 7, 1896	66	"Two Trout Lake and four Liard Indians arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
January 16, 1896	66	"A party of Nelson Indians and Rapid Indians with furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
February 14, 1896	67	"Fantasque and party (8 Indians) arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
May 29, 1896	70	"2 boys arrived from the Nelson Indians for tea".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
September 19, 1896	74	"Fantasque and party arrived from Nelson".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
September 26, 1896	74	"A party of the Nelson Indians arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 14, 1896	76	"Some Indians arrived from Francois house with furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 8, 1896	77	"Fantasque arrived with furs and lynx".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
February 19, 1897	79	"A party of Nelson Indians arrived (Fantasque's Son)".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 17, 1897	80	"Four Trout Lake arrived, but brought very little".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 22, 1897	80	"Two Trout Lake Indians arrived with a few furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 24, 1897	80	"A Nelson Indian arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
May 11, 1897	82	"Two Indians arrived from the Nelson Indians for tea and tobacco. They are to arrive here tomorrow".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 17, 1898	92	"Two Indians arrived from Francois with a few skins of furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 18, 1898	97	"Westentah started, Fantasque's sons arrived from Sandy Lake with a few furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 22, 1899	103	"Aleck arrived with a few furs, from Francois".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
April 3, 1899	104	"Jose Fantasque and Bob's son arrived with a few furs".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
August 25, 1899	112	"Jose Fantasque arrived this evening with some fresh meat".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
September 8, 1899	115	"Jose Fantasque came in with some meat".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
September 15, 1899	115	"Chacho arrived this morning starving from below. Jose Fantasque arrived this evening with a few bear skins".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
October 13, 1899	117	"Settled with Small Nahanni today. Some Providence and Simpson Trout Lakers arrived today".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 11, 1899	120	"Some Trout Lakers with two boys from the lake came in today".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 27, 1899	122	"Jose Fantas arrived in the afternoon.....Bob son and Jose left this afternoon".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 2, 1899	123	"Jose Fantasque arrived with a fur".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 8, 1899	123	"Jose Fantas and Cho-?? Arrived".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 11, 1899	123	"A band of Simpson and Providence Trout Lakers arrived about 5 o'clock. Settled with the whole shooting match".	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)

February 11, 1900	127	“Jose Fantas arrived on the 8 th with one moose for the Fort”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
April 10, 1900	131	“The Trout Lake Indians were in and brought some furs also Noyah and Bethale”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 6, 1900	141	“ This evening Jose Fantast and Modest arrived from up the river with a few furs and with news of a female moose in cache for the Fort”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
November 10, 1900	142	Also Moyah and Oshanah and two boys arrived with Adokoya from Lake Bouvie they brought a few marten and a few lynx	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 2, 1900	148	“Bellatah and Oshinna arrived from Lake Bouvie with furs”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 11, 1900	149	“Two boys also arrived from Francois House with a few furs. Got paid in the evening and ready to start off early in the morning”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
December 23, 1900	150	“Old Chacho arrived from Lake Bouvie with a few fish”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
February 8, 1901	157	“This evening Tobolly arrived from Labiche River with news of two moose in cache for the Fort”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
February 12, 1901	158	“Jose Fantasque and Dila cast up today from up the river with news of one moose deer for the Fort”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
March 8, 1901	160	“Old Fantasque arrived from his house this morning”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)
October 27, 1901	179	“Old Fantast arrived from his house”.	1890-1903 (B 116/a/25)

Appendix 2: Fort Liard Indian Visits to Fort Halkett

Notes: Note: **Yellow highlighting** indicates the names of Liard Indians within the journal. **Blue highlighting** indicates that people arrived from within current ADK territory.

Date	Page	Journal Entry	Journal Reference (Fort Halkett Journals)
September 1, 1829	6	"This morning we were surprised by the arrival of the Indians from Fort de Liard . They came with a small supply of balls, sent from Fort Simpson for this place."	1829-1830 (B.85/a/1)
January 28, 1830	13	" A young Chipwayan arrived in company with them. He came from a party of the Fort de Liard Indians who are about 4 days march below this place."	1829-1830 (B.85/a/1)
February 8, 1830	13	" Four young Indians belonging to the Fort de Liard arrived about mid day. They were sent by their leader to enquire if he would receive from them some half dried provisions they have at their lodges, and being at present rather short of that essential commodity, we accepted their offer, and they are to be back here in some hence."	1829-1830 (B.85/a/1)
August 6, 1830	5	"At 6 PM we were again surprised by the arrival of Mr. McPherson from Fort de Liard. He was accompanied by two Indians of that place ."	1830-1831 (B.85/a/2)
December 12, 1830	11	" Late in the evening we were visited by three Indians belonging to Fort de Liard . They brought us a small supply of fresh meat and state that they have got a few hares at their camp for which I intend sending, as we are now beginning to be reduced very low, and our hunters do not make an appearance."	1830-1831 (B.85/a/2)
January 13, 1831	13	"This forenoon an Indian and his wife arrived from Fort de Liard being the bearers of letters from Fort Simpson."	1830-1831 (B.85/a/2)
March 21, 1832	20	" Three Indians belonging to Fort de Liard arrived about noon . They state that they were by two men belonging to that place who have passed the winter along with them, and who are now in their way to this place. Our hunters returned without having seen an animal back."	1831-1832 (B.85/a/3)
April 22, 1832	23	"An Indian belonging to Fort de Liard arrived this morning. He brought 3 skin in provisions for a small supply of ammunition, which he received and went off."	1831-1832 (B.85/a/3)
May 12, 1832	26	" In the forenoon 3 Indians belonging to Fort de Liard arrived . They brought a few skins in provisions for to get a supply of ammunitions."	1831-1832 (B.85/a/3)
May 18, 1832	27	"This morning three Indians belonging to Fort de Liard arrived , they brought three mooseskins to get a supply of ammunitions".	1831-1832 (B.85/a/3)
August 27, 1833	6	"The two hunters who arrived on the 25 th took their departure, and in the afternoon another L'homme de mine cast up and says he has killed a buck moose."	1833-1834 (B.85/a/4)
December 7, 1833	13	"The Little Gouche another of the fort hunters who had left us on the 4 th ultimo, cast up, the same complaint as with the others, he complains of such has been more fortunate, exclusive of supporting himself and family, he has secured in deposit two rein deer for the fort."	1833-1834 (B.85/a/4)
April 21, 1834	24	"In the forenoon Gouche and Fressie two of the fort hunters made their appearance, and brought	1833-1834 (B.85/a/4)

		103lbs wright meat they lately killed six rein deer, but the distance being great which accounts for their not bring more.”	
June 3, 1834	2	In company with the hunters an Indian (L’homme de Mian) from Fort de Liard arrived, he has been sent across land by M. McPherson, and intended as a hunter to accompany the surveying party. By a few lines from M. McPherson, he left Fort de Liard 11 th Ultimo, at which date all friends in that quarter were well.	1834-1835 (B.85/a/5)
June 14, 1834	3	Two fort hunters from Fort de Liard , for the support of the establishment, during my absence no Indians visited the fort, and the support of the people at the establishment chiefly rested in the success of the nets at the fishing station on the opposite shore.	1834-1835 (B.85/a/5)
November 7, 1834	11	Shortly after the above arrivals, two Indians from Fort de Liard cast up , conveying dispatches from Governor and Council of 8 th July, and I was happy to learn that intelligence from distant quarters were of a favorable nature, as well as from Fort Simpson and Liard.	1834-1835 (B.85/a/5)
April 13, 1836	15	Early this morning one of our hunters / a native of Fort de Liard/ arrived with the tongue of a male moose he had killed quite close to the fort. He states that the Indians who left this on the 10 th Instant passed at their camp on their way to the fort and threatened their lives. On their return from hence they endeavoured to pillage their property, and he had no doubt that they would have put either of their threats into execution had not our hunters rose camp from when they first met and came within a short distance of the fort. In doing so he is of the opinion that they frustrated the designs of those evil inclined and cowardly people. It’s however fortunate for us that nothing serious occurred, as we would never have succeeded in keeping any longer the Indians of Fort de Liard about us, and on whom our sole support has depended since the erection of this establish.	1834-1835 (B.85/a/7)
Sept 30, 1837	12	Tranquille and Indian lately from Fort de Liard at the house unable to do any thing of a sore hand.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
October 24, 1837	14	I was glad to find upon my arrival here two Indians/ The Gouche and Petit Castor / who have been sent here as hunters from Fort de Liard by Mr. Bristors. They left their on the 12 th Ult the day after the boat and have been since on their way further inland. They passed by the Carribeau Mountains and are pleased to observe that they have secured 9 rein deer for us which they have deposited along their rout for us.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
November 11, 1837	16	The Gouche and Petit Castor cast up but since they left here 20 th Ult they have had no luck in carribeau hunting having added only one to the number then reported they say that altho there are a few in that quarter from the want of snow upon the ground it is impossible to approach them. They have brought their families to the vicinity of the fort and commenced to snare hares in the evening they returned to their camp	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
December 7, 1837	18	The Petit Castor came to the house for a supply of ammunition. He says that hares are very abundant good at their present station but that from the want of snow hardly any can be taken into the snares.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
December 24, 1837	20	In the evening the Gouche came to the house for the purpose of showing his deposits of meat in the mountains. He left at his camp 235 hares for us and his companion the castor 168 hares.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
February 11,	24	The Indian/Detchay/ who accompanied Hoole from Fort de Liard being to return back	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)

1838		immediately. Three nights provisions and a little supply of ammunition was given to Detchay to conduct to Fort de Liard and his to start to morrow morning. I tried without success to prevail upon him to remain here at present as hunter, however he has promised to come up in course of March with his family. The Gouche who went off for below on Thursday cast up with bad news that he could catch no hares in that quarter.	
February 15, 1838	24-25	One of the Indians / Castor /who started with the men last Friday cast up and I am sorry to learn from him that one of the caches where 3 animals were was totally destroyed by bears.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
February 21, 1838	25	The Inspector & Capot Blanc arrived in the evening.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
February 25, 1838	26	The Petit Castor one of the Indians who started on Monday with the men to show two of his caches arrived and I am glad to learn from him that they are both untouched he went off immediately for the camp.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
March 4, 1838	26	Arrived in the evening the Gouche and brought a tally of 22 skins in hares at his camp. He and companion made a tour de chasse beyond Lac de Peche. He has come to the fort for a supply of ammunition and are to try their luck again.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
March 28, 1838	28	The Gouche with the Castor and their families cast up this evening very unexpectedly. They report that there are no more animals in that quarter that the Carribeau have all disappeared. They have however killed two moose deer for us near the opposite Lake.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
April 11, 1838	29	Hoole and Landrie were off at an early hour but soon after returned having meet two of the hunters / Gouche and Castor / coming to announce 3 rein deer killed.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
April 14, 1838	29	Tranquille likewise arrived from the heights of the Beaver River. He and his two associated have done nothing since they left here in February. The have met some Fort de Liard Indians and Nahannies there with whom they idled away their time. The Inspector and Detchay have arrived then from Fort de Liard.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
April 19, 1838	30	The Gouche who went off last Friday cast up with four rein deers tongues and has left that number of animals in the wood for us a short distance beyond the fishery.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
May 9, 1838	31	The Castor rendered in store 12 beaver skins and the meat of 5, one dresses moose skin and five ducks.	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
May 17, 1838	32	Early this morning three of our hunters / Goche , Inspector and Cozelly/ arrived from Smiths Lake. The inspector and Gouche received a supply of ammunition and took their departure to join their families and have orders to be all here on the 25 th .	1837-1838 (B.85/a/8)
May 10, 1839	3	We started with our canoe & baggage down to the entrance of McPhersons River and pitched our tent on Rafuze Island which command a pleasant view of the surrounding country and what is more desirable that it is the most convenient place for hunting and a general pass for the Mauvais Monde and other tribes when the cross the river. We meet the Gouche who started 2 days ago and received from him 4 geese and a swan he shot 2 beaver but they sunk.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
May 17, 1839	3	The Gouche went off with his family down the river. Castor & Detchay went up McPhersons River. Late in the evening Pouce Coupe & Inspector cast up from below and brought a swan from the Gouche and Inspector a beaver & 2 geese.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
June 2, 1839	6	After crossing the Indians who went off well pleased and expressed their gratitude at our being	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)

		to return to old Fort Halkett and promised to visit us again in course of summer along with their relations. We then got underway down stream and took the Gouche and Inspector in passant who are now for some days back without eating any thing except roots. There we found Dechay and Petit Castor from this latter we got a part of a beaver and purchased a doe from the Gouche for 10 ____ for the kettle. Parted with Detchay, Petit Castor and Thlo co chosse who are to cross inland to Smith Lake . We got two small beaver from Detchay & Petit Castor which with a gull & a hare was divided 8 men 3 wives and 9 children being all the food we had to day.	
June 27, 1839	10	This morning the Gouche and Petit Castor cast up in canoe from Smiths river with the meat of 2 moose deer and the meat and skins of 4 beaver. One of the moose was killed by Gouche the other by Inspector.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
July 5, 1839	11	In the afternoon the families of the Gouche and Inspector cast up from Lac de gros passion.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
July 8, 1839	11	Four of our hunters cast up in canoe down Smiths river traded with the meat of a moose deer 2 rein deer and that of a large bear fresh & entire. Petit Castor killed the moose & bear. They brought also 20 beaver skins between them.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
July 27, 1839	13	Early this morning the arrivals of yesterday took their departure and the Gouche cast up with the meat of a large Moose deer spliced say 100 lbs, 80 lbs fat and 2 bladders of blood with 3 beaver skins.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
August 2, 1839	14	The Gouche and companions cast up empty handed having all missed up rein deer.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
August 7, 1839	14	The Gouche cast up but met no success on his last trip.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
August 11, 1839	14	Late last evening three of or hunter cast up from below say Petit Castor , Shagganhaie and Tandie. They brought 14 large and 7 small beaver, 115 lbs dry meat and 11 grease being part of the meat of 5 moose and 3 caribeaux. LaPie the eldest sent one of the former but the other 3 hunters still in that quarter had no success. The Gouche likewise cast up but empty handed.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
August 17, 1839	15	The Gouche who Hoole left on Thursday cast up announced that he killed a large buck moose on the opposite side the river beyond Portage Brulle.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
August 29, 1839	15	In the evening the industrious Gouche and two wives cast up with the meat of a large buck rein deer, the back of fat of which weighs alone 28lbs the largest I have yet seen in this quarter. This being the 3 rd animal the Gouche brought us fresh & entire since the middle of July and all of them excellent.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
September 3, 1839	16	This morning three of our hunters/ Pouce Coupe , Inspector and LaPie just cast up they have been in the Carribeau Mt quarter but their success was very indifferent.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
September 5, 1839	16	Five of the hunters went off but in the evening Pouce Coupe cast up again.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
September 16, 1839	17	In the evening Petit Castor cast up from below with his gun broke and a bundle of meat not yet examined.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
September 23, 1839	18	Arrived at the fort in the afternoon where I found all the hunters collected but only the indefatigable Gouche brought some thing he arrived from the upper part of the country with	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)

		the meat and grease of 2 moose deer.	
November 7, 1839	23	The Mauvais Monde took their departure and the Gauche and Inspector cast up and reports that no hares are at that place where they encamped last night for the purpose of commencing snaring.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
November 22, 1939	25	The Gauche cast up quite discouraged and says that since they left here Saturday that they all collectively got only 4 hares and an owl. This is truly gloomy tidings that our hunters from who we expected some assistance are already starving and at a loss where to steer to now to get something to keep them alive desperate as the state of the store is I could not refuse a mouthful to the poor fellows.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
April 9, 1840	38	Hoole, Cozelly & Gauche with 3 sleys between 5 days and rendered 413lbs fresh & 125lbs spliced meat in store and reports the good news of 10 entire animals in the woods.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
April 22, 1840	39	Lapie and Cozelly went off and Gauche with Inspector cast up from Smiths River the former brought meat fresh of a deer. Three young men cast up from a camp of a starving party of the Mauvais Monde.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
May 20, 1840	41	The Gauche accompanied by Deriviere cast up in canoe with 6 ½ skins in meat & 6 furs.	1839-1840 (B.85/a/9)
June 9, 1840	2	The Gauche arrived from the opposite lake starving. It cannot be expected that the company servants are too well off where the fort hunters starve almost to death.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
June 30, 1840	5	This morning Gauche and another Indian cast up from Johnston's Lake with a few fish & a beaver. Four company servant servants and three Indian lads accompany myself.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
July 13, 1840	6	The Gauche and family cast up no fish can be taken now at Johnstons lake what he will do to support such a large family I know not and I believe he is at a loss himself.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
July 20, 1840	6	Ballais and Gauche both accompanied by the woman above mentioned cast up from the fishery. The form brought 17lbs bear meat and 11 fish.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
August 20, 1840	9	The Gauche and Ballais arrived at last craving wherewith to eat. It is most surprising this being the most fortunate hunter of the place formerly. He left here 14 th Ult and since then did not see the track of a single large animal. He reports that Baptiste has slaughtered a moose but at a great distance off that we may judge our share will not be much.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
August 30, 1840	9	Baptiste and Gauche arrived they brought only 30lbs dry meat.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
October 11, 1840	13	Cozelly and the Gauche cast up from below and brought up the large canoe left at the Portage by Lapierre. But I am sorry to find that they brought no provisions except a little bears grease and 3 beaver with 18 beaverskins and 2 bearskins. They report that altho they extended their excursion a long ways off that no trace of large animals as any where to be made.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
October 21, 1840	14	The Gauche cast up on the opposite shore but could not be crossed.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
November 11, 1840	16	The Gauche arrived in the evening but had no luck since he went off.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
November 17, 1840	17	The Gauche unable to support himself a family upon the hares sent to the house this evening to beg a few fish they have subsisted entirely upon berries for some time a gloomy news that such	B.85/a/10 1840-1841

		a good hunter would be reduced to such straits.	
December 7, 1840	19	The Gauche arrived starving of a turnee of several days south side the west branch he went off to his camp.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
January 1, 1841	21	The Gauche old wife with her children cast up starving and poor as we are humanity made me give them a mouthful and they went off.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
January 4, 1841	21	The Gauche with his brigade cast up starving.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
January 9, 1841	22	The Gauche cast up last night starving and his large family this evening.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
January 25, 1841	23	One of the Gauches wives cast up craving a mouthful to eat and her emaciated appearance testifies her need.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
February 1, 1841	23	Late last night the Gauche cast up with one side rib having killed a rein deer but far off as was himself reduced at lowes ebb by his long privations. He is to be off tomorrow in that direction.(south)	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
February 22, 1841	25	This evening the Gauche cast up but cannot boast of his success of two small rein deer he killed brought us 75lbs dried meat he says that rein deer are scarce & and no snow to approach them if they were abundant.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
March 1, 1841	26	Early in the forenoon the Gauche cast up with the glad tidings of his having killed 3 rein deer for us than which a more cheering news could be brought.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
March 7, 1841	26	The Gauche who opened the track came back with them & and in the evening.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
March 25, 1841	28	The Gauche and Baptiste likewise cast up but thought they went far & near since they went off 10 th Inst killed only one moose deer and they had scarcely time to skin the animal when the starving Mauvais Monde came upon them & devoured up the whole they report that there are neither tracks or animals to be seen in that quarter.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
May 12, 1841	32	12...Hoole and Jausaume occupied in the forenoon the fixtures for canoe building and in the afternoon delving. Late in the evening Colville with three other lads of the Gens grand Dim arrived form the upper country the vicinity of Francois Lake. One of them never saw a fort or "whites" till this evening the other two lads were here for the first time last Nov, the stranger, says that he has a cache of furs at Fenlaysons Lake. They brought here a few furs and a little dried meat. The other Indians cast up from below starving two of whom are Thickanies & reports that that tribe who were on their way to the fort for the first time since the abandoning of the place in 1836 have returned midway hither to retrace their steps back to their old quarter, the site of old Fort Halkett which they have been reduced to no from their wretched condition from starvation.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
May 16, 1841	33	The Gauche cast up from Johnston's Lake.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
May 17, 1841	33	The Gauche went for the he left yesterday and brought 22 geese.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
May 26, 1841	34	Pouce Coupe cast up from Smith Lake & brought a little meat fowls & furs.	B.85/a/10 1840-1841
May 28, 1841	34	The Gauche with the Inspector & another lad. The Inspector brought a very good hunt in furs & meat especially of the latter of which were are	B.85/a/10 1840-1841

		very much in need that no other could be at present so welcome to our store.	
September 11, 1841	3	In the forenoon Cozelly cast up from the vicinity of the portage with the glad news of his having a moose deer half dried for us at that place and has come for a canoe to fetch it up with which he soon after returned accompanied by the Gauche who is equipped for the Fall hunting and is to try his luck down along that west branch. Pouce Coupe is likewise ready and is to start tomorrow in the direction of the Carribeau Mountain.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
October 30, 1841	8	Late this evening two of our hunters (Gauche & Cozelly) who left here 11 th Ult cast up from below but have so successful as to secure a single animal for this poor establishment, they have at the camp some bears grease & a few furs and says that but for the early setting in of the snow and their want of snowshoes they would have secured a more ____ article. They brought here part of a grizzley bear killed close by the backfat of which weighs 47lbs.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
March 2, 1842	17	This afternoon we were cheered by the arrival from below of Gauche and Inspector, with 2 sleys on which they brought 160lbs dried meat, a very acceptable article to us. They report favourably of animals being plenty and abundance of snow to hunt the and also of some more meat being at their camp which is below Toad River along way off.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
April 8, 1842	20	Pouce Coupe accompanied by Cathlebertuis arrived from Smiths Lake the latter brought a very acceptable a seasonable supply of spliced meat say 80lbs with a few furs the former nothing the starving Mauvais Monde having visited him which together with family sickness prevented his having anything. They report that not the vestage of a single animal is now to be seen any where far or near.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
April 19, 1842	21	This evening we were cheered by the arrival of the Gauche with a sley at his tail of which he delivered in store 100lbs half dried meat their which in our present destitute state.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
April 24, 1842	21	The Gauche and Baptiste arrived with the good news that they left two rein deer for us on this mountain.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
May 9, 1842	23	The Gauche Lapie and Cozelly arrived at different intervals to day from Smiths River and Collectively rendered here 3 entire beaver, 2 swans, 17 geese, 3 cranes and 12 ducks.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
May 17,	24	Late last evening Gauche and Pouce Coupe arrived from Smiths River the latter brought between prime furs & leathers, 30MB the other 14 and both a few skins in fowl. They were all settled in course of the day were all off in different directions and Pouce Coupe to return from the service of Fort Halkett and to return this native home Fort de Liard.	1841-1842 (B.85/a/11)
May 29, 1843	22	The Gauche & Ballais were on the hunt all day & brought home 8 hares.	1843-1844 (B.85/a/13)
June 30, 1844	5	The Indians started according to parole given and in the evening the Gauche Inspector and Co cast up from Johnston's Lake. They brought some furs and fish not yet inspected.	1844-1845 (B.85/a/14)

Appendix 3: Fort Liard Indian Visits to Fort Nelson

Note: Yellow highlighting indicates the names of Liard Indians within the journal.

Date	Page	Journal Entry	HBC Journal Reference
August 10, 1887	1	"Madaure Pouce Coupe arrived".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
August 17, 1887	2	"Pouce Coupe arrived this evening--starving".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
August 20, 1887	2	"A Fort Liard Indian (Gros Tete's son) arrived".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
August 28, 1887	3	"Matonda Gros Tete's 1 st son arrived with meat, grease and furs".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
October 10, 1887	6	"Crowe and Pouce Coupe arrived without meat".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
November 3, 1887	9	"Fantasque and others arrived from the Small Chief's camp bringing meat and furs".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
November 13, 1887	10	"Pouce Coupe and Crowe's wife arrived from their camp starving".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
November 21, 1887	11	"Old Pouce Coupe again turned up—starving".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
January 5, 1888	17	"Pouce Coupe made his appearance".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
April 10, 1888	28	"Indian from Fort Liard arrived with some meat".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
April 28, 1888	29	"Two Indian boys arrived from Fort Liard this morning with the packet from Fort Simpson".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
January 10, 1889	48	"Alexis and a boy arrived from Fort Liard".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
January 25, 1889	51	"Pouce Coupe has just informed me that he has been trading furs with Vital. This same man has given me a great deal of trouble with his dickering with Indians".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
March 21, 1889	58	"In the evening Netaquanta and Fantasque's boy arrived and report starving".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
April 29, 1889	62	"Gros Tete's son a Fort Liard Indian arrived from above".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
October 19, 1889	76	"Fantasque's two sons arrived this morning with some beaver skins and two small pieces of meat, settled with them right away. Old Pouce Coupe also arrived today being very hard up, not having eaten for two days".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
November 8, 1889	77	"Fantasque and son and Sakass arrived from across and brought a few furs".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
November 21, 1889	79	"Old Pouce Coupe came back this evening rather hard up, having only killed two rabbits".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)

1889			
December 4, 1889	81	"Old Pouce Coupe arrived yesterday afternoon and brought one or two rabbits".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
December 14, 1889	82	"Old Pouce Coupe came to the Fort today with 4 rabbits".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
December 28, 1889	83	"Old Pouce Coupe arrived yesterday and brought a few rabbits".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
March 25, 1890	89	"Massem and Fantasque's son arrived from the father's camp, and report that they are starving, they came for tea and tobacco".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
April 20, 1890	92	"Two Indians from Fort Liards arrived this evening for tea and ammunition, as I have no tea, I gave them only ammunition, they brought a few martens".	1887-1890 (B-320 a-1)
August 14, 1890	2	"The Small Chief, Fantasque, and one or two others, are here waiting for tobacco, unloaded everything this evening".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
November 8, 1890	7	"Fantasque and Bertrand arrived with fur this evening, they came for tea and tobacco".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
November 22, 1890	8	"Pouce Coupe arrived today with a few rabbits".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
December 3, 1890	9	"Pouce Coupe arrived today with one rabbit, he starved a little, the last time he was off".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
December 11, 1890	9	"Pouce Coupe arrived today having only been off 2 days, no rabbits".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
February 12, 1891	15	"Alexis returned from the hunters camp, and reports another female in cache for the Fort, killed by an Indian from Liards, who is stopping with him".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
April 11, 1891	21-22	"Fantasque's son arrived this evening for tea and tobacco, arranged with him at once, and he returned to his camp in the night".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
April 15, 1891	22	"The packet from Simpson arrived this morning, Alexis and Petit Louis, also some Indians from Liards came with them and brought a little meat".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
September 24, 1891	33	"Fantasque arrived today with a good deal of meat".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
March 8, 1892	49	"Fantasque's 2 sons, and the Chief's son arrived this evening for tea and tobacco, they report that they have plenty of fur at their camp, but I have very little tobacco here now, as the Indians have been coming in so much this winter. I arranged with them at once".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
April 14, 1892	54	"This morning the packet from Simpson arrived. Alexis and an Indian from Liards brought very good news".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
September 10, 1892	65	"I sent the skiff to Liards today for some missing pieces, Sibbiston steering, also Petit Louis and two Indian boys who arrived yesterday, the brother also went down with them. Fantasque and his son arrived this evening with fresh meat and some furs, arranged with him at once".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
October 12, 1892	68	"Fantasque and his boys arrived yesterday, with a little meat and one or two beaver skins".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)

December 29, 1892	75	"Whitehead and others left for their camp this morning. Fantasque and Marie's sons arrived with furs this evening".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
March 2, 1893	82	"Montah, and one or two Fort Liards Indians came in today with a few furs".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)
April 19, 1893	85	"Montah and others arrived this evening with some furs. Some Fort Liards Indians also arrived today, arranged with them all at once.....Whitehead's boys arrived this evening with some meat and furs, arranged with all this evening".	1890-1893 (B 320/a/2)